



THE ISG NEWSLETTER

Number 52
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WINTER 2016

LIVES AT RISK

AFGHANISTAN

Human Rights groups have begun to document widespread gross violations of human rights, including mass murder and gang rape, associated with the Taliban’s recapture of the southern city of Kunduz on October 1, 2015. Activists report that the Taliban fighters used a “hit list” with names and photographs to target women’s rights activists as well as journalists and other human rights and civil society activists. Midwives were raped and killed for providing health care to women in the city. The families of Afghan police and security forces were targeted with genocidal violence, including the public rape of family members, the killing of children and entire families, combined with the burning of homes and looting of property.

Amnesty International, “Afghanistan: Harrowing accounts emerge of the Taliban’s reign of terror in Kunduz,” 1 October 2015, available at:

<http://tinyurl.com/TerrorInKunduz>

BELGIUM

Since the shooting outside of the Jewish Museum in Brussels in May 2014, in which

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three people were killed, Jews in Belgium have faced growing public anti-Semitism. Jewish children have been forced out of public schools by rampant bullying, and assaults and vandalism against Jewish people and Jewish institutions have increased. On November 13, 2015 several ISIS members with Belgian citizenship carried out terrorist attacks in Paris that immediately killed 127 people. As of November 21, 2015, the Belgian Prime Minister declared a state of emergency in response to intelligence warning of imminent Paris-style attacks in the Belgian capital.

BURMA/MYANMAR

Despite political elections in November 2015 that were a win for the National League for Democracy (NLD), the pro-democracy party of Aung San Suu Kyi, the position of Burma's religious and ethnic minorities remains precarious. In the past half-decade, Burma's civilian and military authorities have engaged in the abuse of ethnic and religious minorities, the mass rape of women, the use of forced labor, and extrajudicial killings. The estimated 1.3 million Muslim Rohingyas have been denied citizenship and basic rights and persecuted by government forces, and tens of thousands have been forced into concentration camps. Earlier in 2015 the national parliament passed legislation preventing the Rohingya from participating in the November elections. In 2015 three important reports have been issued warning of genocide against the Rohingya:

Penny Green et. al., "Countdown to Annihilation: Genocide in Myanmar," Report of the International State Crime Initiative, 2015, available at:

<http://tinyurl.com/statecrime-Rohingya>

Allard K. Lowenstein International Human Rights Clinic, Yale Law School, "Persecution of the Rohingya Muslims: Is Genocide Occurring In Myanmar's Rakhine State? A Legal Analysis," October 2015, available at:

<http://tinyurl.com/RohingyaPersecution>

The Simon-Skjoldt Center for the Prevention of Genocide, USHMM, "They Want US All to Go Away": Early Warning Signs of Genocide in Burma," May 2015, available at:

<http://tinyurl.com/SignsofGenocide> with an update from September 2015 available at:

<http://tinyurl.com/BurmaReportUpdate>

BURUNDI

Since his contested reelection to a third term in July 2015, the government of Burundian President Pierre Nkurunziza has faced protests from opposition and civil society groups. Human Rights Watch issued a report accusing Nkurunziza of using excessive force against opponents even before the elections were held. Subsequent coordinated and targeted violence against opposition leaders and prominent members of civil society organizations have led to fears of impending genocide. These fears have been compounded by extremist rhetoric from President Nkurunziza and the president of the Burundian Senate, which is reminiscent of extremist rhetoric in neighboring Rwanda before the 1994 genocide of Rwandan Tutsis. Over 200,000 refugees have fled to neighboring countries, where many of them face overcrowding, flooding, cholera and other illnesses. On November 12, 2015 the UN

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Security Council adopted Resolution 2248, condemning violence and stating its intention to consider additional measures.

Amnesty International, “Braving Bullets -- Excessive Force in Policing Demonstrations in Burundi,” July 2015, available at: <http://tinyurl.com/DemonsttationsInBurundi>

UN Security Council, “Condemning Increasing Violence in Burundi, Security Council Unanimously Adopts Resolution 2248 (2015), States Intention to Consider ‘Additional Measures’,” November 2015, available at: <http://tinyurl.com/ViolenceinBurundi>

CANADA

Canada’s newly-elected Prime Minister, Justin Trudeau, has vowed to implement the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP) and appointed Canada’s first aboriginal justice minister, Jody Wilson-Raybould. These steps come on the heels of a UN report published over the summer that maintained that Canada was failing its indigenous peoples. The report focused on the disproportional murder rate faced by young women from Inuit, First Nation and Métis backgrounds, which is four times higher than other women in Canada as well as questions of land claims and resource management.

International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, Human Rights Committee, “Concluding observations on the sixth periodic report of Canada,” August 2015, available at: www.refworld.org/docid/5645a16f4.html

CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

Fighting between Christian anti-balaka

militias and Muslim Seleka rebels, which began in December 2013, has taken the lives of thousands of people. While both sides have committed crimes against humanity, Christian militias engaged in widespread ethnic cleansing of Muslims characterized by genocidal atrocities. African Union peacekeepers, French troops, and a UN peacekeeping mission have helped to stem the violence. Their work has resulted in two peace deals, one signed between anti-balaka and Seleka rebel groups on April 8, 2015 and one signed between the two ex-Presidents on April 14, 2015. Nevertheless, there are concerns about the abilities of these leaders to enforce the peace deals on the ground. As of December 2015, there are still over 450,000 internally displaced people and there has been an uptick in communal violence since September 2015. An interagency working group under the leadership of the UN Population counted over 60,000 cases of gender-based violence in the first ten months of 2015; 30,000 of those incidents involved sexual violence and rape. This amounts to over 100 cases per day.

UNHCR, Central Africa Republic: Quarterly Factsheet, September 2015, available at: <http://www.unhcr.org/51498a7d9.html>

DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF THE CONGO

Despite the recent signing of a landmark declaration by military commanders in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, in which they pledged to combat rampant sexualized violence in the country, women and children, including infants, still face the threat of rape on a daily basis. Furthermore, the Ugandan-led Islamist rebel group called the

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Allied Democratic Forces has been committing massacres of civilians in eastern DRC since 2014.

United Kingdom: Foreign and Commonwealth Office, Human Rights and Democracy Report -Democratic Republic of the Congo(DRC), 12 March 2015, available at: <http://tinyurl.com/j9o4ahz>

Human Rights Watch, “DR Congo: Scores Killed in Rebel Attacks, Army, UN Should Protect Civilians in Beni,” 16 December 2014, available at: <http://tinyurl.com/DRC-rebelattacks>

COLOMBIA

Reports by women’s and human rights groups have documented widespread sexual and gender-based violence against women during Colombia’s 51-year civil war. The conflict killed 260,000 people and left over six million displaced. It is estimated that between 2000 and 2009 12,809 women were victims of conflict rape, 1,575 women had been forced into prostitution, 4,415 had forced pregnancies and 1,810 had forced abortions. Although all parties to the conflict had committed sexualized violence, only the government paramilitaries were guilty of using sexualized violence to impose “social and territorial control.” Their attacks often involved genocidal rituals. As a consequence of women’s activism, supported by the 2013 report “Colombia: Women, Conflict-Related Sexual Violence and the Peace Process,” women now comprise at times over one-third of the negotiators at the peace talks in Havana, Cuba.

ABColumbia, “Colombia: Women, Conflict-Related Sexual Violence and the Peace

Process,” November 2013, available at: <http://tinyurl.com/ABColumbia>

FRANCE

On November 13, 2015 Paris was the site of ISIS terrorist attacks that immediately killed 127 people. These attacks together were the largest terrorist attack in Europe since the Madrid bombing in 2004. They followed several terrorist attacks in France earlier in the year. In January, Islamists targeted the office of the satirical paper *Charlie Hebdo*, killing twelve.

Two days later another attack specifically targeted and killed four Jewish patrons at the Hyper Cache Supermarket in Paris. In October, a rabbi and two Jewish worshipers were stabbed in an attack outside a synagogue in Marseilles. Ring-wing parties, such as the National Front, fan the flames of both anti-Semitism and anti-Islamism. Hate crimes against French Muslims have also increased in 2015 and the recent spate of ISIS attacks have led to concerns about civil liberties and increasing anti-Muslim sentiment.

HUNGARY

Gains by the right-wing and avowedly Anti-Roma and anti-Semitic Jobbik Party has raised new concerns about the security of the Roma and Jewish populations in Hungary. Hungary’s brutality in dealing with refugees from the conflicts in the Middle East, and especially its policy of indefinite detentions of refugees, has roused the concern of human rights groups. Lydia Gall and Izza Leghtas, “Dispatches: Seeking Protection, Behind Bars in Hungary,” October 2015, available at: <http://tinyurl.com/HungaryReport>

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IRAQ

ISIS militants continue to commit genocide and crimes against humanity, including widespread sexualized violence, against religious, national and sexual minority groups, including the Ezidi religious minority, minority Christian populations, the Shabak (Shia) minority, persons suspected of belonging to the LGBTQI community, and resistant Sunni Arabs such as the Al-Shaitat tribe in Syria. In March 2015, the United Nations Human Rights Council accused ISIS of genocide against the Ezidi. Sexualized violence against the Ezidi was featured in the Frontline documentary, “Escaping ISIS.”

United Nations, Human Rights Council, “Report of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights on the human rights situation in Iraq in the light of abuses committed by the so-called Islamic State in Iraq and the Levant and associated groups,” available at: <http://tinyurl.com/Doc-A-HRC28-18>

Frontline, “Escaping ISIS,” July 2015, available at: <http://tinyurl.com/escapingisis>

ISRAEL/WEST BANK/GAZA

The most recent war in Gaza led to an upswing in genocidal language within Israel, the West Bank, and Gaza and has provided a rallying point for anti-Semitic rhetoric and hate crimes in the rest of the world, particularly in Western Europe. The current crisis over East Jerusalem has led to deaths on each side. Amnesty International recently condemned Palestinian

terrorism against Israeli citizens as well as Israeli settler terrorism against Palestinians and abuses committed by Israeli state forces.

Amnesty International, “All Deliberate Attacks on Civilians Reprehensible and Unjustified,” November 2015, available at: <http://tinyurl.com/AmnestyIntl-Gaza>

LATIN AMERICA

According to a recent Small Arms Survey report, half of the 25 countries with very high femicide rates are located in Latin America. El Salvador has the highest murder rate of women in the world. Gender-based hate crimes against women in the Edomex state of Mexico has skyrocketed in the past years, with over 1000 women reported missing from 2011 to 2012, 53 percent of whom are under age 17. Women have been killed in Edomex at ten times the rate of Ciudad Juarez, another region in Mexico with a very high femicide rate, and the bodies of those killed are often mutilated and left out in public, a pattern suggestive of hate crime. El Salvador, Guatemala and Honduras are also facing an astronomical rise in violence directed specifically at children, leading to massive refugee flows, particularly to Mexico and the United States.

“Femicide: A Global Problem,” Small Arms Survey No. 14 (2012), available at: <http://tinyurl.com/smsNote14>

Nina Lakhani, “The ‘Invisible’ Victims of Edomex, Mexico’s Most Dangerous Place to Be Female,” The Guardian, 15 April 2015, available at: <http://tinyurl.com/Mexico-missinggirls>

United Nations High Commissioner

for Refugees, Children on the Run, 11 March 2014, available at: <http://tinyurl.com/children-on-the-run>

NIGERIA

The Muslim fundamentalist insurgency Boko Haram continues attacking targets in Nigeria's northern territory as well as in neighboring Cameroon, Niger and Chad. It has emerged as the world's most deadly terrorist organization and pledged its allegiance to ISIS in March of this year. Boko Haram's attacks in Nigeria frequently follow a genocidal pattern of killing men and boys and kidnapping, raping and sexually enslaving women and girls. The well-known kidnapping of over 200 school girls in April 2013 from the northeastern town of Chibok followed on the heels of a massacre of over 40 school boys in February of the same year. The government of Nigeria has been accused of indiscriminate attacks against Muslim civilian populations as part of its counter-insurgency efforts.

Amnesty International, "Our job is to shoot, slaughter and kill": Boko Haram's reign of terror in north east Nigeria," 13 April 2015, available at: <http://tinyurl.com/NortheastNigeria>

Institute for Economics and Peace, "Global Terrorism Index 2015: Measuring and Understanding the Impact of Terrorism," available at: tinyurl.com/understandingTerrorismimpact

NORTH KOREA

The North Korean dictatorship, which suppresses all political, civil, religious and labor rights and operates a vast network of political prisons and forced labor camps across

the country, was accused of being responsible for massive crimes against humanity by Human Rights Watch in January 2015. Human Rights Watch further argued that the international community should finally hold its leadership accountable by referring it to the ICC. In an 8 September report to the General Assembly, the special rapporteur concluded that there had been no improvement in the human rights situation, with grave violations continuing on a large scale, and regretted the DPRK's refusal to meet with him or otherwise engage. He called on the international community to step up its efforts to address the situation. A 25 September Secretary-General's report to the General Assembly on the DPRK also noted the lack of progress on any of the key human rights issues and, among other things, highlighted the impact of sanctions on UN agencies operating in the DPRK. In October, the UN special rapporteur on human rights in North Korea, Marzuki Darusman, accused the state of violating the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and of using over 50,000 people as forced laborers abroad to make billions of dollars for the state. These foreign slave labor camps were featured in a 2015 VICE documentary, "North Korean Labor Camps." On 19 November, the General Assembly's Third Committee adopted its annual resolution on the DPRK by a vote of 112 in favor, 19 against and 50 abstentions. The resolution reiterated the condemnation of "long-standing and ongoing systematic, widespread and gross violations of human rights" in the DPRK and encouraged the Security Council to continue considering the recommendations of the commission of inquiry and take appropriate action to ensure accountability, including a referral to the ICC or the imposition of targeted sanctions against those found to be responsible

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for crimes against humanity.

North Korean Labor Camps documentary:
<http://tinyurl.com/NkoreaLaborCamps>

Situation of Human Rights in the Democratic Republic of North Korea: Notes by the Secretary-General, United Nations General Assembly, 8 September 2015:
<http://tinyurl.com/NKoreaSept2015>

PERU

According to Survival International, the government of Peru has leased over 70% of its Amazon territory to oil companies. Oil exploitation, alongside illegal logging, threatens the existence of an estimated fifteen remaining ‘uncontacted’ tribes. Without intervention on their behalf, Survival International estimates that these tribes will disappear completely.

RUSSIA

The adoption of the federal anti-gay “propaganda” law in June 2013 has resulted in official toleration of hate crimes directed at the LGBTQI community.

Human Rights Watch, License to Harm: Violence and Harassment against LGBT People and Activists in Russia, 15 December 2014, available at:
<http://www.hrw.org/node/130557>

SOUTH SUDAN

The war that has been raging between the South Sudan government forces (Sudan People’s Liberation Army) and the Sudan People’s Liberation Movement/Army-In Opposition (IO) took a dangerous turn in spring and summer 2015, when the South Sudan government forces began to deliberately and systematically target civilians and commit grave violations of human

rights.

Human Rights Watch, “They Burned it All,” July 22, 2015, available at:
<http://tinyurl.com/HRW-SouthSudan>

SUDAN (DARFUR)

The Government of Sudan under President Omar al-Bashir, indicted by the ICC for war crimes, crimes against humanity and genocide, continues its systematic genocidal campaign against the Muslim populations of Darfur, including the mass rape of over 200 women and girls in the Darfur town of Tabit in October 2014.

Human Rights Watch, “Mass Rape in Darfur: Sudanese Army Attacks against Civilians in Tabit,” 11 February 2015, available at:
<http://tinyurl.com/massrapeinDarfur>

SUDAN (NUBA MOUNTAINS/BLUE NILE)

The Government of Sudan has been targeting civilian populations in the southern Nuba Mountains and Blue Nile regions with aerial bombardment, ground attacks, and widespread sexual violence since conflict erupted in 2011. It has recently stepped up its bombing and starvation campaign in the Nuba Mountain region, resulting in continuous refugee flows into South Sudan.

Samuel Totten, “Nuba crisis deepens: Refugees fleeing death, destruction,” Arkansas Online, 10 April 2015, available at:
<http://tinyurl.com/NubaCrisisDeepens>

Human Rights Watch, “Sudan: Soldiers, Militias Killing, Raping Civilians: Urgent Need for UN, AU Investigation in Blue Nile, Southern Kordofan,” 15 December 2014, available at:
<http://tinyurl.com/HumanRightsWatchSudan>

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SYRIA

The Assad government continues its attacks against the Sunni civilian population, including the use of barrel bombs and chemical weapons. It is currently estimated that 220,000 people have died since 2011.

UGANDA

The sponsor of Uganda's "Kill the Gays" bill (the Anti-Homosexuality Act) announced in March 2015 that he plans to reintroduce the bill in Parliament. This threat has so far gone nowhere. The original bill made gay sex a crime punishable by death; a court overturned the law in August 2014 on a technicality. Human Rights groups documented a tenfold increase in violence against suspected LGBTQI Ugandans after passage of the first bill and LGBTQI people in Uganda continue to face persecution, leading many of them to seek refuge in neighboring Kenya.

Saurav Jung Thapa, "LGBT Uganda Today: Continuing Danger Despite Nullification of Anti-Homosexuality Act," Human Rights Campaign Global, September 2015, available at: <http://tinyurl.com/LGBTugandaToday>

UNITED STATES

As presidential campaigns pick up speed, the United States is facing an upswing in hate speech, hate groups, discriminatory legislation and hate crimes. According to the Southern Poverty Law Center, the number of hate groups has increased by 30 percent since 2000. Discriminatory laws targeting especially LGBTQI people, massacres inspired by misogynist and right-wing ideologies, hate crimes against Jews, Muslims, and people of color, including indigenous people, growing anti-Semitism and racism on college campuses,

and widespread police brutality against people of color challenge the security of these groups. Furthermore, discriminatory child removal policies affecting black and Native populations continue with little public attention. Refugee children and families arriving from El Salvador, Guatemala and Honduras continue to be treated in ways violating international law. Since November 2015 political officials have called for registering and rounding up Muslims in the wake of the terrorist attacks in Paris. A presidential candidate recently called for the US to close its borders to Muslims.

IN HONOR OF SHERI P. ROSENBERG (1967-2015)

BY JOYCE APSEL

Joyce Apsel

President, Institute for Study of Genocide

New York University

It is with a deep sense of personal loss that on the occasion of the Biennial Lemkin Award, we remember Sheri Rosenberg. And, it is fitting that for the third time, the ISG Lemkin Lecture and Award be held at Cardozo Law School, where Sheri did so much of her important work on a range of issues such as genocide prevention and the responsibility to protect. For the many students in the audience, Sheri serves as an extraordinary model for a new generation of scholar activists in human rights and genocide studies, building on Raphael Lemkin's model of engaged scholarship. A number of students here are from New York University, and may find it of interest that Sheri graduated from NYU and then attended law school at Cardozo School of Law.

Originally, I met Sheri at a conference of the International Association of Genocide Scholars just as she began to develop and expand the Holocaust and Human Rights Program at Cardozo Law School. She created a series of programs and clinics, most recently as the Director of the Human Rights and Atrocity Prevention Clinic, that made Cardozo Law School a center for international human rights dialogues, advocacy and educational initiatives. And, she, along with her students and associated faculty, took part in important legal cases including at the European Court of Human Rights to Boston and teaching about the Armenian Genocide to New York City asylum claimants.

Sheri and I met periodically over the years in New York City discussing a range of issues, brainstorming; a combination of the personal and professional. Her vision, knowledge and intelligence were extraordinary, and her willingness to share ideas and dedication inspiring.

At my suggestion as President of the Institute for the Study of Genocide, she became a member, and later a Board Member and served as Executive Director of ISG. Sheri's vision was continually growing, as evidenced by a series of cutting edge programs and conferences at Cardozo Law School beginning with an important re-evaluation of the Nuremberg trials. And, under her leadership, the Institute for the Study of Genocide was a co-sponsor or participant in a number of these conferences about post genocide Rwanda, atrocity crimes and most recently, *The Responsibility to Protect: a Framework for Confronting Identity*. Sheri participated in an ISG conference sponsored at the University of Notre Dame, and co-authored an article on Genocide by Attrition included in the volume *Genocide Matters: New Perspectives and Ongoing Issues*. In 2011 and 2013, under Sheri's auspices, the Institute for Study of Genocide Biennial Lemkin Award Ceremony and Lecture, for the outstanding work on genocide or other gross human rights violations chosen by scholars from the Lemkin Award Committee, was held at Cardozo Law School attended by Cardozo law students as well as NYU undergraduates, faculty and the public. And, this evening we continue that tradition.

One of the things that amazed me about Sheri was her capacity to pull together different networks and people across regions and generations who were interested in a range of human rights and genocide studies topics. Based in part on earlier work with the Human Rights Chamber in the Balkans, she presented a number of papers at conferences and wrote articles on issues related to justice in the Balkans such as "Equality after Genocide: Jurisprudence of the Legal Institutions Established in Dayton's Bosnia." More recently, I heard her analyze the legal implications of the "responsibility to protect" at a panel she organized at the American

IN HONOR OF SHERI P. ROSENBERG (1967-2015)

Jewish Historical Society for their series honoring Raphael Lemkin; and read an article she wrote on the “responsibility to protect” which provides a unique interpretation based on her expertise in law and genocide studies. These are just some examples of the many projects and works she led and/or contributed to.

Two images among many stand out: visiting Sheri in Philadelphia after she gave birth to her third child, Margaux, and watching her as a loving mother with

her three small children. The other is of Sheri at the podium at Cardozo Law School (standing on a platform to be seen) at the end of one of the many conferences she organized, her voice ringing out clearly and with brilliance pulling together the themes and their significance about a range of human rights issues. Her presence and vision are cherished and remembered; my condolences to her entire family.

INSTITUTE FOR THE STUDY OF GENOCIDE LEMKIN AWARD IN HONOR OF PROFESSOR SHERI ROSENBERG

Institute for the Study of Genocide Lemkin Award

In honor of Professor Sheri Rosenberg

November 12, 2015 — 6pm - 8pm
Benjamin N. Cardozo School of Law

In honor of Sheri P. Rosenberg, the 2015 ISG Lemkin Award was presented to **Dr. Mark Levene**, University of Southampton, The Parkes Institutes for the Study of Jewish/non-Jewish Relations, for his two volumes on *The Crisis of Genocide: Devastation: The European Rimlands, 1912-1938*; & *Annihilation: The European Rimlands, 1939-1953* (Oxford University Press, 2014).

Dr. Mark Levene gave a lecture on: “**On Deadly Movements and Lethal Closures: Population Movements, the Environment and Genocide.**”

Panelists: Joyce Apsel, New York University, President of ISG and, Ernesto Verdeja, Associate Professor of Political Science, Undergraduate Director, Kroc Institute for International Peace, University of Notre Dame, ISG Lemkin Committee Chair.

The Lemkin Award honors Raphael Lemkin, the originator of the concept of genocide and first exponent of a United Nations Genocide Convention.

JOIN US IN DC FOR THE 2016 LEMKIN SUMMIT

Join us for The Lemkin Summit to End Genocide and Mass Atrocities, this year's 3-Day conference bringing community leaders and students at the forefront of the anti-atrocity movement to D.C. for a weekend of learning and action. Together, we will hear from expert panels and guest speakers on topics including U.S. government responses and tools, supporting civil society groups and changemakers on the ground, and on conflict areas including Central African Republic, Democratic Republic of Congo, Sudan, and South Sudan.

This year's Lemkin Summit will launch our collective efforts in 2016, the final year of the Obama Administration, to counter genocide and mass atrocities. Participants will network with one another, receive advocacy training, and learn how to leverage their connections, the media, and other resources to engage their communities and policymakers in taking action. The conference will culminate in a lobby day on Capitol Hill.

The Lemkin Summit is named in honor of Raphael Lemkin, a Polish-Jewish lawyer who was an ardent activist and tireless defender of human rights. Lemkin coined the term "genocide" in 1944, lobbied the UN for genocide to be added to international law, and participated in the drafting of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide.

When:

Saturday January 30 11 am-9:00 pm, light lunch, dinner provided
American University

Sunday January 31 9 am-9 pm; breakfast, lunch, and dinner provided
American University

Monday February 1 9 am-5 pm; breakfast provided
Capitol Hill

* Participants are expected to attend the full conference.

Cost: Registration Fee covers food, training, and materials; accommodations are not included. Fee waivers are available for qualifying students.

Regular rate: \$150

Student and Young Professional (under 25) rate: \$50

Travel/Accommodations: A limited amount of travel stipends will be available to students coming from outside D.C. to subsidize their travel costs. To apply for a travel stipend, please indicate your interest below.

We will be sharing recommended hotels near the summit ASAP and notify accepted applicants. Some student activists in the D.C. area will also be able to accommodate out-of-town students; contact advocacy@enoughproject.org to be connected to hosting students in D.C.

For application, [click here](#).

VERDEJA NEW ISG EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Ernesto Verdeja is Associate Professor of Political Science and Peace Studies in the Department of Political Science and the Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies, University of Notre Dame. His research interests include large-scale political violence (genocide, war crimes, crimes against humanity), transitional justice, political reconciliation and trials and truth commissions. He is the author of 'Unchopping a Tree: Reconciliation in the Aftermath of Political Violence,' and coeditor of 'Genocide Matters: Ongoing Issues and Emerging Perspectives,' 'Globalization, Social Movements and Peacebuilding,' and 'Responding to Genocide: The Politics of International Action.' More information is available here: everdeja.weebly.com.

THE EXCHANGE: JOSHUA OPPENHEIMER AND DAVID RIEFF ON GENOCIDE— HOW DIFFERENT ARE VICTIMS FROM VICTIMIZERS?

By FP Staff September 10, 2015

Filmmaker Joshua Oppenheimer, who was awarded a 2014 MacArthur “genius grant,” has challenged the relationship between filmmaker and subject, and between film and audience in his two documentaries about the 1965-1966 slaughter of perceived communists in Indonesia, *The Act of Killing* and *The Look of Silence*. This type of mass violence has long been a focus for writer and analyst David Rieff, who has made a career studying and reporting on international conflict and humanitarian aid in books such as *A Bed for the Night* and the upcoming *The Reproach of Hunger*. Oppenheimer and Rieff recently talked in Foreign Policy’s recording studio in Washington about whether society is desensitized to the realities of genocide and why it’s important to examine — and even to understand — its perpetrators.

Joshua Oppenheimer: Most nonfiction films dealing with human rights abuse tend to tell us that things are well in hand because we’re following an activist or an investigator or a judicial process that promises some sort of resolution even if, when the film ends, things are still a mess. The sense of things getting better when we leave allows the viewer to more easily let go of the experience and to feel like it is being dealt with by somebody, somehow. It also serves the viewer to feel that, by having this explained to us as a phenomenon that’s at least at arm’s length from us, it’s something that we can understand from above. The task of cinema in intervening in and exploring these issues is to actually immerse us in these problems, in these phenomena, so that we actually feel something about what is it like as a survivor or, in the case of *The Look of Silence*, to have to live surrounded by the still-powerful perpetrators and to live in fear for half a century. Most human rights documentaries

also replicate that most basic form of narrative escapism, dividing the world into good guys and bad guys. That is reassuring because we inevitably identify with the good guys. But it’s problematic because it makes it difficult to understand — not in the sense to excuse, but to understand how human beings do these sorts of things to each other and the consequences for how we continue to live in the aftermath of atrocity. If we don’t accept the uncomfortable proposition that every perpetrator of virtually every act of evil in our history has been a human being like us, then we actually foreclose the possibility of understanding how we do this to one another and therefore make it impossible to figure out how we might prevent these things.

David Rieff: I completely agree with the centrality of the issue that these are people like ourselves. One must not give into the narcissism of the fact that one is above the ground rather than under it. I think that we have very romantic views of ourselves and of progress, so that indeed we don’t think the killers are like us. There’s a wonderful story that [writer] Clive James used to tell of being at a cocktail party in London and having all these people talking about what it would’ve been like to have been a prisoner in a concentration camp. As he writes, the more interesting question is not, what would you have done if you’d been a prisoner in Auschwitz or in Barkhausen? But instead, what would you have done if you’d been a guard? The fact is, we tell ourselves fairy tales. Maybe people always did; maybe people always will. But one of the most uncomfortable things I’ve learned is how rapidly a victim becomes a victimizer, and a victimizer a victim. And I’ve never recovered from that. There is a kind of human rights preening that we wouldn’t do that, that if only nations and peoples lived up to their responsibilities or something —

THE EXCHANGE: JOSHUA OPPENHEIMER AND DAVID RIEFF ON GENOCIDE

as if there were some formula for this, as if people weren't afraid or angry or subservient. It's almost as if the human rights movement, to me, behaves as if Freud never lived.

JO: I think it's a really important point that you're making, that these kinds of stories have buried in them this narcissism of trying to construct a narrative that reassures ourselves. And that's exactly what I've tried to get away from in both of these films. I want them to not be a kind of window onto a far-off place that people knew little about and cared even less about, but actually a mirror in which we see ourselves. I find, as I'm now releasing the film in the United States, and it's at the end of this year where we've been reminded in terrible and important ways again and again about the open wound of race in our country, I find that people are constantly asking me to sort of bring the film back as an allegory for impunity at home. * * *

DR: I'm very skeptical of so-called "humanitarian interventions" for all sorts of reasons. Obviously, as we were taught in first-year philosophy, there are limiting cases; I'm not an absolutist. But I think that [the West doesn't] know enough usually to intervene. I mean, this is a very narcissistic society, and it's a very inward-looking society. And when it gets indignant, it also gets hubristic. Syria is an excellent example of this. Of course one wants the war in Syria to be over, but does anyone in Washington or Brussels have the faintest idea of how to do it? So just saying, "There's interventionism, or there must be something else" — I'm afraid that does start to remind me of the sort of primitivism of binary thinking. I don't know how to solve the Syrian issue, and I don't think anyone else does. The bitter joke, "You can't get there from here" might apply. And there's the issue of who's doing the intervening. In Syria, for example, it

would be the same countries that colonized Syria — that is to say, the Turks under the Ottomans, and the imperial Western powers. Surely there's something wrong with that. Maybe the honorable thing to do is to witness these situations, to try to learn lessons in one's own society, one's own life, from the horrors and the tragedies one sees. Again, there are exceptions. But the idea that basically the template should be interventionist, that the default position should be interventionist, seems to me to just be complete madness, to be blunt.

JO: I think that there's something you said that was crucial: When the society becomes indignant, it can become hubristic. I think that indignation is pleasurable, and it's pleasurable because it's self-righteous. And, of course, the follies of the Blair and Bush interventions were all about this false sense of: "We're good, and now all we have to do is identify the good guys in every country and support them and then everything we do should be good." The world becomes kind of distorted and obscured by this false moral view of oneself. There's a crucial moment in *The Act of Killing* where Adi Zulkadry and Anwar Congo, the two death squad members in the film, are watching this piece of government propaganda that justified the killings, and I asked them, "What do you feel about this film?" And Zulkadry says, "Of course it's a lie. We know this is a lie." And Congo panics visibly and says, "Well, it may be a lie, but it's the one thing that makes me feel better about myself," suggesting that the perpetrators sincerely believe those stories — whether it's the ideological anti-communism, which I think was the excuse for murderous plunder in Indonesia, or the anti-terrorism that's used as an excuse for policy in the Middle East. This has sort of led me to the insight, which is maybe reduced to platitude here, that the human capacity for evil depends on our ability to

THE EXCHANGE: JOSHUA OPPENHEIMER AND DAVID RIEFF ON GENOCIDE

lie to ourselves. If the perpetrators are human, then they know what's right and wrong. How do they get themselves to be self-serving? Well, by telling themselves that they're not being self-serving. And this righteous indignation as the starting point for kind of hubristic intervention, I think, is the start of that mechanism. It's the beginning always of self-deception. * * *

DR: One of the things I keep coming back to is this great exchange between Freud and Einstein about war. It's 1932, and Einstein writes a letter to Freud discussing the possibility of preventing war. Freud says he's pessimistic because there's a "death instinct" that lures people and that draws people and that attracts people to war and death, and that isn't going to go away. In Rwanda, for example — and I think in Bosnia too — people were mobilized by fear. They were people like us, and when they weren't in this pressurized situation, there were just as many decent people among the killers as among any other group of people. But they were afraid. They were mobilized to be afraid. And so, what in any rational or decent context would seem like murder to them seemed like self-defense. And I believe this goes back to the Nazis. I mean, I think the Nazi analogy is always a dangerous one. But I believe there's some truth to that. The Jews were going to "infect" the German people, and so there was something defensive. One really has to understand these things, otherwise one just sits there — neither understanding nor preventing. And indignation really is a kitsch emotion.

JO: Yes. It's reminiscent of how [Milan] Kundera defined "kitsch" as the crying of a second tear. You cry the first tear because something is genuinely, singularly upsetting. And you cry the second tear because everybody is crying that first tear with you, and you know that. So you retreat from the

pain into oneself and into this sort of fantasized or imaginary collective of people mourning with you. Also, I think when you mentioned Freud, there was something there maybe more profound and more difficult to talk about. The death instinct, the fascination with that exorbitant power over life and death, that God-like power that people have when they're incited to kill and participate in atrocities — I think there's a fascination and attraction which is unfortunately defying of rational explanation.

DR: Absolutely. And that's confirmed by what we know from World War II, which Christopher Browning has written about so well in his extraordinary book, *Ordinary Men*. It's about a police battalion of not young, but sort of early middle-aged German guys. What Browning shows is that these guys didn't actually have to kill the Jews who they rounded up. And they actually could've gotten out of doing so. But almost none of them did. Finally, with your film, one has to start talking about who these people are as people — that the victimizers are like us. As [French poet Charles] Baudelaire said, "mon semblable, mon frère" — "my double, my brother." Until we face that, we're just going to keep going to ceremonies that honor heroic people. But that doesn't help one understand, and indeed it does make one smug.

A version of this article originally appeared in the September/October issue of FP.

TURKISH HUMAN RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS

Dear All,

Please give public recognition to these brave Turkish human rights organizations for their courageous stand, amplify their work and applaud their commitment to Human Rights.

They partnered with us from the very first moment in our journey back in December 2013, to oppose the ruling of ECHR. They joined Zoryan Institute with their public statement quoted in our advertisement placed in Swiss-French and German-papers, to help raise awareness about the true intend of Perinçek's to promote hatred towards Armenians in Turkey and at the same time to exert pressure on Swiss government to intervene and appeal the ECHR ruling.

Moreover, they helped us in the research and the translation of the portions of 17,000 page Erkenegon trials, highlighting some of the (450 page) proceedings of Perinçek's trial and his criminal verdict of 5 time life sentence by Turkish Courts.

These were relevant to our efforts to oppose ECHR's erroneous ruling in 2013 as this work, as part of overall research done in this respect, was critical to the case and extremely helpful for our lawyers in their formulation of the strategy and preparation of the Amicus-Brief submitted by the Turkish-Armenian coalition of HR organizations.

Finally their involvement as Turkish partners with Zoryan Institute, in our joint submission of the Brief, Was, politically extremely important.

Please note that they, as Human rights organizations, would be our potential and natural partners in the future cases and trials in Turkey, concerning the continued discrimination and hate Literature/ speech toward the Armenians and other.

Best Regards

K.M. Greg Sarkissian
Zoryan Institute, President

TURKISH HUMAN RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS

HUMAN RIGHTS ASSOCIATION TRUTH JUSTICE MEMORY CENTER

16 October 2015

In the hearing on 15 October 2015, the Grand Chamber of the European Court of Human Rights pronounced its final ruling on *Perinçek v. Switzerland*, which was retried after the appeal to ECHR's previous decision. According to the ruling, the Grand Chamber found that Doğu Perinçek's declarations impugning the Armenian Genocide are protected by the freedom of expression, and concluded that the Court of Lausanne violated the European Convention on Human Rights, clause 10 on the freedom of expression, by sentencing Doğu Perinçek on account of his statements.

Three human rights organizations, the Turkey-based Human Rights Association (HRA) and the Truth Justice and Memory Center (the Memory Center), as well as the Toronto-based International Institute for Genocide & Human Rights Studies (IIGHRS), appealed to the ECHR in July to present a Third Party Intervention file to the Grand Chamber. After due consideration, the ECHR approved this request.

As the HRA and the Memory Center, whose appeal to make a case was accepted by the ECHR, we declare that the Grand Chamber's ruling does not invalidate the rationale we presented in our Third Party Intervention file.

The ECHR Grand Chamber's recent verdict will by no means invalidate the veracity of our warnings that genocide denial cannot be considered solely within Swiss borders and that it will exacerbate threats against the Armenian society in Turkey, including their right to life.

The ECHR Grand Chamber deliberated on the

issue from what can be called a technical point of view and asked whether the Swiss court breached clause 10 of the European Convention on Human Rights by convicting Perinçek on account of his declarations, concluding that the said events did not constitute incitement to hatred within Swiss borders.

The consequences of the issue outside of Switzerland, especially in the country where the genocide took place, were not taken into consideration. And yet, ECHR decisions are binding throughout the confines of the European Council; they set a precedent. The decision will thus cause problems in the resolution, in accordance with universal human rights laws, of the cases of human rights violations caused by genocide denial in all of these countries, including Turkey.

In certain segments of the Turkish media, both the initial ECHR ruling in favor of Perinçek's freedom of expression and the Grand Chamber's ruling on 15 October 2015 are presented as evidence for the ECHR's confirmation of the view that there was no Armenian Genocide; in other words, for their claim that the ECHR also denies genocide.

The above constitutes a blatant and intentional distortion, and in fact a lie: blatant, because the Grand Chamber decision has been published, for all to see. In the ruling, this lie is explicitly refuted in Paragraph 102 of the section "The Scope of the Case": "As regards the scope of the case, the Court underlined that it was not required to determine whether the massacres and mass deportations suffered by the Armenian people at the hands of the Ottoman Empire from 1915 onwards could be characterised as genocide within the meaning of that term under international law; unlike the international criminal courts, it had no authority to make legally binding pronouncements on this

TURKISH HUMAN RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS

point.” It is clear from this passage that the question of whether the mass deportations and massacres of Ottoman Armenians constitute a genocide was left outside the scope of the case.

This prevarication, that the ruling of the ECHR Grand Chamber disproves the “claims” on the Armenian Genocide, is intentional as well as blatant, because it aims to encourage individuals, circles, and even public servants who provoke hatred against the Armenians in Turkey; it seeks to obstruct investigations on such declarations or acts, and to prevent the perpetrators from being brought to justice.

Most recently, special operations units’ announcements on the megaphone in Cizre, “You are Armenian, you are all Armenians, you are Armenian bastards,” clearly demonstrate the connection between the denial of the Armenian Genocide and the current living conditions of the Armenian people, who are deprived of the security of life. As human rights defenders, we witness this connection every single day. The fact that the Armenian people have no security of life in Turkey, a country of denial, is evidenced by the murders of Hrant Dink, Sevag Balıkcı, and Maritsa Küçük in Samatya, all of which took place in the last few years. In fact, these cases will most probably be taken to the ECHR, which will in turn have to take

into consideration the consequences of genocide denial in Turkey.

The ruling of the Grand Chamber of the European Court of Human Rights was restricted to a narrow interpretation of clause 10 of the European Convention on Human Rights, and contented itself with investigating whether Perinçek’s pronouncements (which were worded rather differently than the violent language he uses in Turkey), “what was done does not constitute genocide,” fall within the scope of the freedom of expression. Racism against Armenians in Turkey was included neither in the ECHR’s deliberations, nor in the rationale for the ruling, as also evident in the ECHR press release on the ruling. Furthermore, the decision was reached by 10 votes against 7, which demonstrates the disagreement within the Grand Chamber on the question.

The Human Rights Association and the Memory Center will persevere, independently of the Grand Chamber’s decision, in their efforts to confront the past, expose historical facts, and pave the way for the restitution of justice in Turkey, as well as in their struggle—on the basis of the international law of human rights—against genocide denial, which continues to threaten the lives of and incite hatred against the Armenian community in Turkey.

ROAD TO DAYTON PAVED WITH GENOCIDE

BY MILTON LEITENBERG

Milton Leitenberg

ROAD TO DAYTON PAVED WITH GENOCIDE

International passivity, lack of support for peacekeepers doomed Srebrenica 20 years ago; 8,000 Muslim refugees died.

Documents show Bosnian Serb plans changed from “squeezing” Srebrenica, to overrunning the enclave, to mass murder, in less than two weeks.

U.N./NATO air strikes plus better-armed peacekeepers likely would have changed calculus.

National Security Archive Electronic Briefing Book No. 535

Posted November 23, 2015

Edited by Tom Blanton and Emily Willard

Special thanks to Michael Dobbs and Sarah Chaney Reichenbach

For more information contact: nsarchiv@gwu.edu and 202.994.7000

Washington, D.C., November 23, 2015 — Lack of reaction by United Nations forces in the former Yugoslavia to escalating Bosnian Serb offensives in June and July 1995 played a crucial role in the eventual decision by Bosnian Serb general Ratko Mladic to murder more than 7,000 Muslim refugees, Bosniak men and boys of Srebrenica, 20 years ago, according to documents posted today by the National Security Archive (<http://nsarchive.gwu.edu>). The documents show the Srebrenica genocide represented a debacle for international peacekeeping and a turning point towards more forceful intervention, culminating in the Dayton accords that ended the Balkan wars on November 21, 1995.

The documents published today formed part of

the briefing book compiled by the Archive for the historic “critical oral history” conference in The Hague this past June on the 20th anniversary of the Srebrenica genocide. The U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum and The Hague Institute for Global Justice co-organized the conference with the Archive’s support, and this week are publishing the conference transcript and rapporteur’s summary to mark the 20th anniversary of the Dayton agreement.

Check out today’s posting at the National Security Archive — <http://tinyurl.com/roadtodayton>

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Unredacted, the Archive blog — <http://nsarchive.wordpress.com/>

THE NATIONAL SECURITY ARCHIVE is an independent non-governmental research institute and library located at The George Washington University in Washington, D.C. The Archive collects and publishes declassified documents acquired through the Freedom of Information Act (FOIA). A tax-exempt public charity, the Archive receives no U.S. government funding; its budget is supported by publication royalties and donations from foundations and individuals.

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Darfur: Genocide Before Our Eyes

ed. Joyce Apsel. Institute for the Study of Genocide, 3rd ed., 2007. \$20 in the U.S., \$25 in other countries by Global Priority Mail. Essays by Joyce Apsel on "Teaching About Darfur through the perspective of genocide and human rights"; Jerry Fowler, "The Evolution of Conflict and Genocide in Sudan"; Eric Markusen and Samuel Totter, "Investigating allegations of genocide in Darfur"; Eric Reeves, "Darfur: Genocide before Our Eyes"; Gregory Stanton, "Twelve Ways to Deny a Genocide"; and Jennifer Leming, "The Human Impact of War in Darfur." Also contains four maps, glossary, webography of sources on Sudan and the text of the UN Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of Genocide. To order, first contact Joyce Apsel, jua5@nyu.edu

The Prevention of Genocide: Rwanda and Yugoslavia Reconsidered

(Institute for the Study of Genocide, 1994)

\$25 US / \$30 International (Prepaid, international money orders, U.S. Dollars only)

Ever Again?: Evaluating the United Nations Genocide Convention On its 50th Anniversary. (1998) Essays by noted scholars, journalist and lawyers. \$15 US / \$20 International

Teaching About Genocide: An Interdisciplinary Guidebook with Syllabi for College and University Teachers

New Edition 2002, eds. Joyce Apsel and Helen Fein. Published for the Institute for the Study of Genocide in cooperation with the American Sociological Association. Syllabi by 22 noted teachers (in anthropology, history, international affairs, law, philosophy, political science, psychology, law, religion, sociology) on the Armenian genocide; the Holocaust; genocide and Holocaust; genocide; genocide, human rights and international affairs; essays by the editors; and selected internet websites on genocide. Cost for mailing: in the US is \$18 for members of ISG, IAGS and ASA and \$22 for all others; add \$3 for Canada and Mexico and \$6 for other countries. To order, send check in US dollars drawn on a US bank or by credit card (American Express, MasterCard or Visa) to American Sociological Association: by mail (1307 New York Avenue, NW, Suite 700, Washington, DC 20005-4701); telephone (202 383 9005, ext. 318), by fax (202 638 0882) or web (www.asanet.org).

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