



*The Newsletter of the Division of International Criminology of the American Society of Criminology*

## Special Issue on Genocide



**2015 marks the 100 year anniversary of the Armenian genocide**, therefore this special issue of the Division of International Criminology (DIC) of the American Society of Criminology (ASC) newsletter is dedicated to the subject of genocide. The Armenian Genocide involved a centralized and systematic annihilation of over a million Armenians by the Turkish government of the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. After World War II (WWII), Polish-Jewish jurist Raphael Lemkin studied the events and the aftermath of the Armenian genocide as the foundation for crafting the 'United Nations Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide.' Suren Manukyan, from the Armenian Genocide Museum & Institute in Yerevan, Armenia, opens this special issue with a description of the events that begun with a systematic extermination of a population and resulted with the United Nations Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of Genocide.

Although criminology has been slow in including the study of genocide within its area of study, the research that has been done has shown that criminologists are uniquely equipped to approach the understanding of this complex and multifaceted subject. Joachim Savelsberg (University of Minnesota, U.S.A.) discusses his recent work on the varied narratives of mass violence and genocide in Darfur found in six European countries and the United States. The research suggests that the transfer of knowledge on genocide and mass violence is itself a complex process of social construction. Next, William Pruitt (Virginia Wesleyan College, U.S.A.) looks at comparative-historical analysis (CHA) as an empirically sound and effective qualitative research method to explore and analyze genocides across time and space, providing rich data on the similarities and differences between various genocides. John Hagan (Northwestern University, U.S.A.) takes us a step further by exploring the choices countries make when they invade another country. Hagan's contribution to this newsletter is an adaptation of his forthcoming book, *Iraq and the Crimes of Aggressive War* (2015) which discusses the decision the US made to intervene in Iraq but not in Sudan, and how this environment enabled further gross human rights violations to occur. The final piece in this issue turns to another famous genocide, that in Rwanda. Here Michael Fox, from Japan's Innocence & Death Penalty Center at the University of Hyogo transcribes his interview with Rev. Pius Naykayiro on the use of restorative justice to heal a country and unite a population devastated by genocide.

We hope this issue focused newsletter will provide some inspiration for further research and interest in this subject among criminologists! Finally, in addition to some news on forthcoming books and upcoming meetings we have Rosemary Barberet's thoughts on her recent visit to Chile, where she talks about the richness of traveling to meetings beyond your native country and also the Museo de la Memoria y de los Derechos Humanos (Museum of Memory and Human Rights), as evidence of a country learning from its past through remembrance. Finally, the newsletter announces the next special issue of the International Journal of Comparative and Applied Criminal Justice on new directions in terrorism research.

The next newsletter on the ASC meeting in Washington D.C. will be distributed early 2016, we look forward to your interesting contributions and news. And as before, we request that you please forward this e-mail to *at least* one non-DIC member you know, so that word about the Division's activities and its membership can grow.

Thank you!

**Anamika Twyman-Ghoshal, Ph.D.**

DIC Newsletter Editor

**Katie Wahrer**

DIC Newsletter Assistant Editor

# Chair's Report

Dear Colleagues,

My term as Chair of the Division of International Criminology (DIC) will be ending at the conclusion of ASC meeting in Washington, DC. I hope that during my term I have been able to bring exposure to the Division and its international activities. My journey in leading the Division did not come alone. I was assisted by a team of dynamic colleagues who made my job a rewarding experience.



Sesha Kethineni

I take this opportunity to thank members of DIC who served on various committees for their hard work and dedication. In particular, I would like to thank Dr. Jay Albanese for all his encouragement during my term and Dr. Anamika Twyman-Ghoshal for her dedication and tireless work in compiling and editing articles for the newsletter.

My sincere thanks to Dr. Freda Adler, my mentor and friend, for her invaluable suggestions and support for the Division. Most importantly, my thanks go out to the members for all their support to make the DIC a success.

The DIC website has a new section on study-abroad programs. Please take a few minutes to review the website. If you would like your program to be included, send the information to Dr. Jay Albanese. After two years of serving as chair, I am delighted to leave the charge to Dr. Sheldon Zhang, the incoming chair. I am completely confident that the new chair will continue to increase DIC activities and make the Division a success.

**Sesha Kethineni, Chair**  
ASC Division of International Criminology

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# Armenian Genocide: From May Declaration to Genocide Convention

By Suren Manukyan, Ph.D.

Armenian Genocide Museum & Institute, Yerevan, Armenia.

## Under the Cover of War

In 1915-1923, the Ottoman government embarked upon the systematic decimation of its civilian Armenian population. During WW1, the genocide of the Armenian population within the Ottoman Empire was implemented in several stages. First, Armenian soldiers serving in the Ottoman army were isolated and disarmed. Next, they were either shot or starved to death. On April 23rd and 24th, 1915, (based on a list of eminent Armenian businesspeople, politicians and intellectuals) 235 individuals were arrested in Constantinople. The

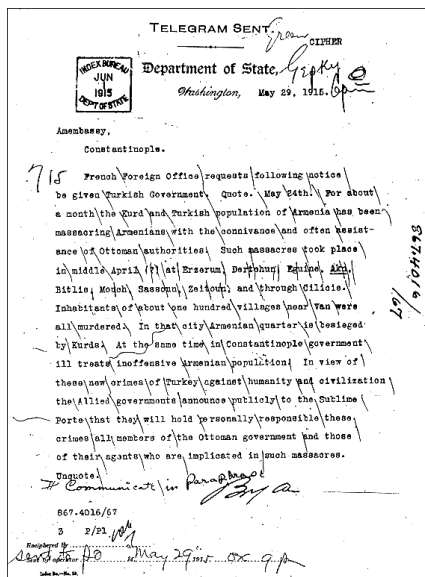


Suren Manukyan

number of people arrested soon increased to 800. Deportation was the another crucial phase of exterminating the Armenian population of the Ottoman Empire. Deportees were led out of their native towns and villages, and their property was looted. In most locations, along the route, armed local Turkish and Kurdish gangs knew the exact arrival time of the caravans, and used this opportunity to raid and kill helpless Armenians. Those who survived were forced to march under the scorching sun through mountains and steppes to the Syrian deserts, where a number of settlements (Katma, Bab, Mumpuch, Meskene, Rakka, Deir ez-Zor, Ras ul-Ain) were turned into concentration camps. There, the Turkish authorities were determined to complete the extermination of survivors through massacre and starvation.

## Crime against humanity and civilization

On May 24th, 1915 Great Britain, France and Russia issued a joint declaration referring to Armenian deportations and massacres in the Ottoman Empire.



For about a month the Kurd and Turkish populations of Armenia has been massacring Armenians with the connivance and often assistance of Ottoman authorities. Such massacres took place in middle April (new style) at Erzerum, Dertchun, Eguine, Bitlis, Mush, Sassun, Zeitun, and throughout Cilicia. Inhabitants of about one hundred villages near Van were all murdered. In that city Armenian quarter is besieged by Kurds. At the same time in Constantinople Ottoman Government ill-treats inoffensive Armenian population. In view of those new crimes of Turkey against humanity and civilization, the Allied governments announce publicly to the Sublime-Porte that they will hold personally responsible [for] these crimes all members of the Ottoman government and those of their agents who are implicated in such massacres.

# Armenian Genocide:

## From May Declaration to Genocide Convention

*(Continued)*

This joint Declaration was an exceptional phenomenon; the three allied states declared that the Turkish government was responsible for the crimes against Armenians. For the first time the term “crime against humanity and civilization” was used in international policy and diplomacy. This term was later codified in Article 6c of the Nuremberg Charter and the Preamble of the 1948 United Nations Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide. Based on this declaration, Young Turk criminals were imprisoned and brought to trial at the end of the war. Thus, the May 1915 Declaration provided a precedent for holding the Nuremberg trials after WWII.

### **Criminals before the Court**

After WWI and the defeat of the Ottoman Empire, the newly-formed Turkish government decided to prosecute the organizers of the Armenian Genocide, partly to preclude possible intervention by the international community.

In the December 16th, 1918 resolution, investigation committees were set up to collect evidence on the Armenian massacres: secret telegrams, official documents, orders, eyewitness accounts, etc. Each document was authenticated by competent ministerial officials with the notation, “it conforms to the original.” In addition, the Administration’s Inquiry Commission compiled a large amount of pretrial evidence through interrogations with suspects.

A special court-martial was formed through an imperial irade (written decree) on January 8th, 1919, with jurisdiction over the trial of perpetrators of deportations and massacres. The military panel of judges included a presiding judge with the rank of divisional general (Mahmud Hayret Paşa, who in March 1919 was replaced by Mustafa Nazim Paşa) and two associate judges with the rank of general, brigadier general, or colonel (supplied by the Defense Ministry). The attorney-general and his deputies were provided by the Ministry of Justice. The judicial inquest addressed the criminal activity of: Young Turk government leaders; the members, provincial executive secretaries, and officials of the ruling Committee of Union and Progress party; the Special Organization (Teşkilât-ı Mahsusa); as well as the organizers of deportations and massacres in specific provinces (Yozghat, Trebizond, Byoyukdere, Kharbert, etc).

It was established that Armenian deportations and massacres did not constitute military or disciplinary measures, neither were they limited or local in scope, as the defense tried to present. These were premeditated and thoroughly planned activities initiated and carried out by the order of the Young Turk government, which employed prisoners to murder Armenians.

The legal proceedings against Young Turk leaders and government members ended on July 5th, 1919, in the publication of the verdict. Prime Minister Grand Vezir and Minister of Interior Mehmed Talaat Pasha, ministers Enver Pasha, Djemal Pasha and Dr. Mehmed Nazim were, in absentia, convicted and sentenced to death, while other members of the government received various terms of imprisonment. In summer 1919 the Committee of Union and Progress party and other officials were also given the death penalty, in absentia. Another 36 officials were given terms of imprisonment.

# Armenian Genocide: From May Declaration to Genocide Convention

(Continued)

However, the case of bringing the organizers of the Armenian Genocide to justice was left unfinished. Of those who were present at their trials, only three were convicted. Others were killed by Armenians in private acts of revenge. When Mustafa Kemal's nationalist movement came to power, it annulled all of these trials and pardoned the individuals sentenced. All original litigation records disappeared.

In 1915, the Armenian population of the Ottoman state was reportedly at around two million. An estimated one million died by 1918; while hundreds of thousands became stateless refugees. By 1923, virtually the entire Armenian population of Turkey had disappeared.

## Lemkin and Armenian Genocide

The Armenian Genocide, a tragic episode of world history, left an important mark on Raphael Lemkin (1900–1959), a Polish lawyer of Jewish origin, who coined the term “genocide”. In 1921, when Lemkin was a student, he followed with great interest the trial of another student, Soghomon Tehlirian, the man who, as part of operation ‘Nemesis’, carried out the death sentence of Talaat Pasha, Minister of Interior of the Ottoman Turkey and one of the organizers of the Armenian Genocide. Lemkin was disappointed and concerned that the organizers of the Armenian Genocide were not punished after WWI.

I was shocked. A nation was killed and the guilty persons were set free. Why is a man punished when he kills another man? Why is the killing of a million a lesser crime than the killing of a single individual? ...At that moment, my worries about the murder of the innocent became more meaningful to me. I didn't know all the answers but I felt that a law against this type of murder must be accepted by the world. (Donna-Lee Frieze, 2013, p. 19–20)

The conditions for drafting such a law were favorable in the wake of Germany's defeat in WWII. Lemkin was involved in the Nurnberg trials as an expert, and he exerted consistent efforts to have the newly-formed UN adopt a resolution on condemning and preventing genocide. His efforts were rewarded on December 9, 1948 when the UN General Assembly adopted the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, which Lemkin helped draft.

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**Are you interested in contributing to  
the DIC newsletter?**

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## Representing Mass Violence and Genocide: The Case of Darfur

*By Joachim J. Savelsberg, Ph.D.*

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Much hope has been invested in the ability of criminal courts to tell the history of crimes against humanity and genocide. If you can, remember Justice Robert Jackson's much cited words at the International Military Tribunal in Nuremberg: "Unless we write the record of this movement with clarity and precision, we cannot blame the future of days of peace it finds incredible the accusatory generalities uttered during the war. We must establish incredible events by credible evidence" (Landsman, 2005, p. 6). President Franklin Delano Roosevelt thought along similar lines. He was determined, as his confidant Judge Samuel Rosenman noted, "that the question of Hitler's guilt – and the guilt of his gangsters – must not be left open to future debate. The whole nauseating matter should be spread out on a permanent record under oath by witnesses and with all the written documents" (ibid.). Roosevelt's and Jackson's hopes are supported by different branches of sociological theory, including a Durkheimian tradition that stresses the ritual power of legal trials, work on the legitimacy of law based on procedure or Habermasian ideas regarding the deliberative nature of legal proceedings.

The mass violence in Darfur, Sudan, and interventions by the UN Security Council (UNSC) and the International Criminal Court (ICC) offer one more tragic opportunity to explore the effect of legal interventions. Some five years ago I set out to doing just that, supported by NSF-funding (SES-0957946) and a group of research assistants, leading among them Hollie Nyseth Brehm (now on the faculty at Ohio State). I specifically asked how UNSC and ICC interventions color representations of the mass violence in Darfur. I sought to overcome limitations of past work in three ways: (1) being mindful that judicial institutions never work in isolation, thus inquiring into possibly competing narratives that arise from the humanitarian aid and diplomacy fields; (2) considering that international courts use the media to spread their definition of the situation to civil society; and (3) understanding that the receptivity to an international court's narrative may vary across countries. I conducted, with the help of a team of six graduate student coders, a comprehensive media analysis of 3,387 news reports published between 2003 and 2010 in prominent newspapers in each of eight countries. Two newspapers, one conservative the other left liberal, were selected for two North American (Canada, United States) and six European countries (Austria, France, Germany, Ireland, United Kingdom, Switzerland). Selection of these countries with democratic governments and advanced economies allowed for a controlled comparison, focusing on effects of specific social forces such as dominant types of foreign policy, carrier groups, social mobilization, and collective memories of mass violence and genocide. The newspapers include, for example, the New York Times and Wall Street Journal for the US, the Guardian and the Times for the UK, and Le Monde and Le Figaro for France. I also conducted in-depth interviews with Africa correspondents, NGO experts from Amnesty International, as a human rights oriented NGO, and Doctors without Borders, as a humanitarian aid focused NGO, and with foreign ministry officials in these countries. These interviews helped clarify the nature of the fields in which crucial, but potentially competing, representations of the mass violence were generated, the character of these representations, and the channels through which they were communicated to mass media.



# Representing Mass Violence and Genocide: The Case of Darfur

(Continued)

Analyses show that UNSC and ICC interventions increase interpretations of mass violence as a form of criminal violence in all countries under investigation. Yet, they do so at different levels as some countries are more inclined to label mass violence as criminal, while others lean toward definitions of the situation as a humanitarian emergency or civil war, in line with narratives generated in the humanitarian aid and diplomacy fields. Other reports on specific forms of suffering, such as rape, and the categorization of violence as genocide also vary across countries. In-depth studies of individual countries show how country specific forces evoke country specific representations, despite the globalizing effects of UNSC, ICC or international NGOI need those two checks for the insurance claim interventions. In the United States, for example, the presence of groups that identify with victims (e.g., African Americans, Evangelicals, and Jews) push the narrative toward one of crime and genocide. Policy traditions are another force. In Ireland for instance, a country with a strong focus on humanitarian aid, I identified a predominance of the humanitarian emergency narrative. Also a country's policy focus on diplomatic mediation (e.g., Switzerland) moves narratives away from a criminal justice frame. Another force that generates a country-specific reception of global narratives is the shape memories of mass violence take. Germany's memories of the Holocaust provide especially remarkable illustrations. Multi-level and multi-variate statistical analyses for all eight countries and 3,387 articles confirm that cultural sensitivities and policy practices indeed matter. Again, they do not interfere with messages ICC interventions disseminate, but they color them to some degree. Other factors that affect reporting include reporters' gender and newspapers' ideological orientation. Articles by female reporters, for example, are more likely to alert to the issue of rape. And liberal papers are initially more likely to report on the mass violence in Darfur, but these differences become neutralized after judicial interventions. These findings are described in detail in several publications (Savelsberg, 2015; Savelsberg & Nyseth Brehm, 2015). The book will appear in August 2015, not just in paper, but also as an online, open access edition, freely available around the globe, part of a new experiment of the University of California Press.

In the end, the Darfur case shows that power may, at least for substantial periods, prevail over justice. President al-Bashir, charged with war crimes, crimes against humanity and genocide, has not been delivered to the ICC. Yet, it is also clear that those responsible for massive violence against their populations are no longer ignored or even celebrated as heroes. Instead, they are presented to world opinion as criminal perpetrators, despite the presence of competing narratives. Consequences for the prevention of future crimes against humanity and genocides are not yet known. Institutions of international criminal law are in their infancy, and much more experience is needed. Scholarship should help monitor the process.

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## Comparison matters when studying genocide.

*By William R. Pruitt, J.D., Ph.D.*

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While the word genocide did not exist until the mid-20th century, the act of genocide—killing based on race, ethnicity, religion, or nationality—has existed for millennia (Power, 2001). The rigorous academic study of genocide though is relatively recent.

The lack of academic inquiry is most often linked to the notion of national sovereignty, a concept commonly interpreted to mean that a state could not be held accountable for their actions by other states.

Many genocide scholars have returned to Raphael Lemkin's original concept of the term. When Lemkin coined the word genocide he did so having witnessed the atrocities committed against the Armenians in World War I and the Jews in World War II (Ibid, p. 19). From its inception, genocide has been based on comparative knowledge. If we are to be true to the trail-blazing path set by Lemkin then we must look at genocide through a comparative lens. Comparative analysis provides the ability to see similarities and differences in an attempt to more fully understand the phenomenon of genocide.

For example, comparative-historical methodology has been used for generations. Comparative-historical case studies were the foundation of the social sciences and utilized by the original founders of the social sciences (Mahoney & Rueschemeyer, 2003.) This form of research fell out of fashion with the rise of quantitative, statistical research methods. But recently, comparative-historical methodology has re-emerged as a leading form of methodology in the social sciences (Ibid). The comparative-historical analysis (CHA) is best understood as a methodology oriented toward the explanation of substantively important outcomes. CHA is designed to answer questions about large-scale outcomes (Mahoney, 2004). When cases share an outcome, they can be systematically compared across time to understand the causes of these large-scale outcomes. Since it is difficult to quantify genocide studies, the appropriate methodology turns to qualitative methods, and CHA appears to be a solid approach to fully understanding the causes of genocide.

While the generalizability of the comparative-historical research may be more limited than quantitative analysis, the in-depth knowledge gained from case studies using this method outweighs the speed associated with quantitative methods. Most methodologists would agree that obtaining reliable inferences through quantitative methods alone is difficult (Ibid). Comparative-historical analysis seeks to determine if the degree of generality of any causal condition is constant across time and place. The comparative-historical methodology uses process tracing and congruence testing in order to examine the generality of the causal conditions. Process tracing involves analyzing a case into a sequence of events and then showing how those events are linked (Goldstone, 2003). Researchers must first make deductions about how events are linked over time. The cases analyzed through CHA then either support or weaken those deductions. If the case studies support the prior deductions then there is reason to believe that those events are a causal condition. However, if the case analyses do not support the deductions then those deductions should be re-evaluated before making any causal conclusions.



## Comparison matters when studying genocide.

(Continued)

Congruence testing is used to make claims of common patterns (Ibid). Congruence testing improves the understanding of how certain cases are related or different from each other. This process cannot be used to create universal generalizations, but it does assist in the comprehensive knowledge of particular cases of interest. Process tracing uncovers the causal conditions that lead to a specific outcome and then congruence testing analyzes how many cases with a shared outcome also share the causal conditions. The greater the number of cases studied, the more generalizable such studies become.

Many have asked whether the Holocaust is a unique genocidal episode which cannot be compared to other episodes (Bloxxham, 2013). Using CHA to examine the Holocaust and other episodes of genocide may expand our potential to explain, understand, and prevent future mass atrocities. "Whatever the future of 'genocide' as a subject of interest, comparison as a method of study will remain" (Ibid). Criminologists have many tools at our disposal to contribute to the exploration and examination of genocide, CHA stands as one method to utilize in the process.

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John Hagan

## Choosing to Invade Iraq and Not to Intervene in the Genocide in Darfur\*

By John Hagan

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The following is adapted from Chapter One of **Iraq and the Crimes of Aggressive War**, Cambridge University Press, by John Hagan, Joshua Kaiser, and Anna Hanson, 2015.

In 2003, the U.S. government chose to ignore international criminal law by invading Iraq, while at the same time deciding not to militarily intervene in the crimes of Sudan's Darfur genocide. Criminologists have had relatively little to say about the Darfur genocide, and even less to say about the invasion of Iraq.

Saddam Hussein's regime in Iraq had committed genocidal violence in the 1980s against the Kurds and against the Shia in the 1990s. However, in the 1980s the United States had provided covert accessory support to Saddam's genocidal attacks on the Kurds in his war with Iran, and following the first Gulf War in the 1990s, President George H.W. Bush publicly incited the Shia to rebel against Saddam, and he then refused to intervene when Saddam ordered massive atrocities against the Shia.

It wasn't until after the 9/11 attacks that the United States chose to invade Iraq. By this time, Saddam's regime had bureaucratized its use of violence, disassembled its weapons of mass destruction, and was no longer a genocidal threat. The dark irony was that the National Commission on Terrorist Attacks on the United States has also found that while Saddam Hussein had nothing to do with Osama bin Laden's planning of the 9/11 attacks, Sudan's leadership had not only cooperated with bin Laden by hosting him and his entourage in Sudan until 1996, they also had actively encouraged bin Laden to seek out Saddam's support.

As events in 2002 and 2003 led up to the invasion of Iraq, the United States did little to deter the crimes of genocide that were unfolding in the Darfur region of western Sudan. The signing of a peace agreement in South Sudan, ending 20 years of genocidal violence in this part of the country was given priority over responding to Sudan's growing perpetration of massive atrocity crimes to the west in Darfur.

The Sudanese government had in the past leveraged its government military forces with local Arab militias, the feared "Janjaweed," to overwhelm African indigenous groups. The regime in Khartoum now correctly calculated that the United States would be too consumed with its invasion of Iraq to challenge a quick and brutal repression by the Sudanese government of the African groups in Darfur, as it had done previously in South Sudan.

The crimes that unfolded in Darfur – contemporaneously with the invasion and occupation of Iraq – involved genocide on a grand scale. The violence that exploded in the spring and summer of 2003 was massive. At least 300,000 ethnic Africans died and from two to three million were displaced from their homes and villages in Darfur in 2003 and 2004.

The U.S. State Department documented this genocidal violence with detailed survey work among Darfuri refugees in neighboring camps in Chad, and it used the resulting evidence to declare the violence as genocide. However, it then abstained from a U.N. Security Council resolution that allowed Sudan and its leadership to be referred for investigation to the International Criminal Court. The United States also declined to undertake a humanitarian intervention in Darfur that could have directly responded to the loss of hundreds of thousands of African lives.

# Choosing to Invade Iraq and Not to Intervene in the Genocide in Darfur\*

(Continued)

Instead, American eyes were focused on Iraq and the pre-emptive invasion designed to remove the perceived threat to the United States and its allies of Saddam's presumably hidden weapons of mass destruction [WMD], despite reports of U.N. inspectors that there were no WMD to be found. It was a triumph of the legal cynicism of criminal militarism that led to the choice to invade Iraq – alongside the choice not to protect the victims of the Darfur genocide. Darfur was the path not taken. In explicit violation of international criminal law and a plausible justification of self-defense, the United States invaded Iraq in a war of choice and aggression.

Flash forward 5 years, in May of 2008, the Republican Party knew it would be nominating John McCain to run for President and Hilary Clinton and Barack Obama were still battling for the nomination of the Democratic Party. In a rare moment of political unanimity, all three candidates signed a full page pledge published in the New York Times promising that "WE STAND UNITED ON SUDAN." Their promise was that "If peace and security for the people of Sudan are not in place when one of us is inaugurated as President on January 20, 2009, we pledge that the next Administration will pursue these goals with unstinting resolve."

Yet seven years later, there is no sign of this U.S. presidential or congressional resolve, while mass atrocities continue in Darfur and while several million victims driven from their land during the genocide remain concentrated in internal Sudanese displacement camps and in refugee camps across the border in Chad. Darfur is a crime of genocide without end, while Iraq is a crime of aggression that is equally open ended in its consequences. These massive crimes beg for increased criminological attention.

**WE STAND UNITED ON SUDAN**

As we campaign for President of the United States over the next several months, we expect there to be significant focus on the many differences between us. After all, elections are about choices in a free society. We have had a spirited contest so far and fully expect a robust debate about issues foreign and domestic right up to Election Day.

As we engage in this process, we are fully aware that friend and foe around the globe are watching and sometimes reacting based on their own analysis of the latest developments in the campaign.

It is with this awareness that we are taking the uncommon step of issuing a joint statement about an issue.

After more than five years of genocide, the Sudanese government and its proxies continue to commit atrocities against civilians in Darfur. This is unacceptable to the American people and to the world community.

We deplore all violence against the people of Darfur. There can be no doubt that the Sudanese government is chiefly responsible for the violence and is able to end it. We condemn the Sudanese government's consistent efforts to undermine peace and security, including its repeated attacks against its own people and the multiple barriers it has put up to the swift and effective deployment of the United Nations-African Union peacekeeping force. We further condemn the Sudanese government's refusal to adhere to the terms of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) that ended the conflict in southern Sudan.

Today, we wish to make clear to the Sudanese government that on this moral issue of tremendous importance, there is no divide between us. We stand united and demand that the genocide and violence in Darfur be brought to an end and that the CPA be fully implemented. Even as we campaign for the presidency, we will use our standing as Senators to press for the steps needed to ensure that the United States honors, in practice and in deed, its commitment to the cause of peace and protection of Darfur's innocent citizenry. We will continue to keep a close watch on events in Sudan and speak out for its marginalized peoples. It would be a huge mistake for the Khartoum regime to think that it will benefit by running out the clock on the Bush Administration. If peace and security for the people of Sudan are not in place when one of us is inaugurated as President on January 20, 2009, we pledge that the next Administration will pursue these goals with unstinting resolve.



Michael H. Fox

## Healing and Reconciliation: Restorative Justice in Rwanda.

An Interview with **Rev. Pius Naykayiro**,  
Rwanda Country Director of Good News Jail & Prison  
Ministry.

By **Michael H. Fox**

*Japan Innocence & Death Penalty Center, University of Hyogo, Japan*

In 1994, Rwanda was subsumed in genocide; in 100 days, close to a million people were killed. The genocide demonstrated the sudden ruthlessness that can inflame a nation, and the irresponsibility of the world community to respond to an international crime. "Restorative Justice" has become a goal in the alleviation of human conflict. A therapeutic bridge between perpetrator and victim, its potential rewards far exceed punishment and retribution.

Pius Naykayiro has spent most of the last two decades advancing the cause of restorative justice. He serves as the Rwanda director of the Good News Jail & Prison Ministry, a worldwide organization serving 22 US states and 26 countries ([www.goodnewsjail.org](http://www.goodnewsjail.org)). The organization's goal is to transform the hearts and minds of those behind bars, their families, and their victims.

### **Where were you when the hostilities started?**

On April. 6th, I was on a bus bound for the airport to catch a flight to Nairobi in Kenya. While en route, the bus suddenly stopped, and the driver refused to go any farther. At this point, we all knew that hostilities had begun. I went to the home of an acquaintance. Everyone stayed indoors, nobody dared go out. I stayed in this small house with four people for two weeks with no showers, little water, and no food. At times, we could hear people being beaten to death. I never thought about hunger, only about survival.

### **What triggered the genocide?**

The news that the president had died in a plane crash. Soon after, the media announced that the Rwanda Patriotic Front was invading to take over the country. We were advised, "Do not associate with the enemy." Riots began and the military began killing people indiscriminately. After two weeks, it became a full-fledged genocide.

### **Was the government responsible for the tragedy?**

Absolutely. They planned and ignited the genocide. The Tutsis living in exile wanted to come back, and they had acquired important skills which could contribute to Rwandan development. But in 1990, not wanting to lose power, the government out rightly refused their return. At this time, we could feel a disaster brewing.

### **How does the reconciliation process work?**

Typically, genocide perpetrators must acknowledge their responsibility, face the survivors, and ask for forgiveness. "I am the one who killed your siblings. Some I beat with a club. Others I sliced with a machete. The hacked bodies were buried in such and such a place." The perpetrators sometimes break down and cry, and kneel in forgiveness. One of the worst said "What I did was beyond being human. Kill me if you want." Now he is forgiven and lives with the victims in the same village.

### **Do all victims forgive?**

Not everyone can, and some tell the perpetrators to leave and never come back. But the number of those who do forgive is very high, and the success has exceeded all my expectations. Repentance has power beyond what we can imagine. When perpetrators bow down in repentance, it has tremendous force. People cry together. This is the real healing of the hearts. And refusal to forgive today does not mean forever. Tomorrow may bring new changes.

### **Will conciliation ever be completed?**

Many people are indifferent to repentance and forgiveness. But the healing of the heart is a long process. It took 100 days to kill a million people, it has taken 20 years to rebuild our country. Over the past twenty years, we needed help from the world. But now Rwanda can be a model--a teacher of peace and justice-- to all the nations of the world.

### **Has the international community done enough in the aftermath?**

The international governments should recognize their failure for not preventing the genocide. The UN Special Mission did nothing. Had they stepped in when dead bodies were being piled into rivers and lakes, the worst could have been averted. The Belgian military came to protect their own citizens. Belgium apologized, but not the UN. Kofi Anan, came to Rwanda, but never even attempted apology. Rwandan leaders refused to meet him, and he left the country in utter disgrace.

## Healing and Reconciliation: Restorative Justice in Rwanda.

An Interview with **Rev. Pius Naykayiro**, Rwanda Country Director of Good News Jail & Prison Ministry.

*(Continued)*



**Rev. Pius Naykayiro**

### **Were you accused?**

Soldiers came into the small house where I took shelter. "What are you doing here? Do you think you are better than all those other people. Now, it is your turn to die." I knew that this was the end. I had some money in my pocket, and gave it to them, about \$100. Their intention changed from murder to protection. I think God used the soldiers to save our lives.

### **Were you a victim of the violence?**

One night, some guy, a complete stranger, started beating me. Having seen so many dead bodies, I thought this was the end. In the midst of the beating, I heard a voice, "Run, run!" Despite an aching body and dripping blood, I escaped to a banana plantation. It was really dangerous, dogs and hyenas were everywhere, wandering around eating dead bodies. The next morning, I was treated in a clinic.

### **And you later encountered the man who beat you?**

Yes, he was discovered and brought before me. He acknowledged the beating. "What should be done to him?" I had no answer. He himself was beaten seriously by the soldiers. Though he knelt down and begged forgiveness, I just couldn't acquiesce. Three years later we met again by chance. At that time I was ready to forgive, but he chose to flee.

### **What became of your family?**

Six weeks into the genocide, I decided to return to my village. Not only my house, but every house was empty. In all, I lost 11 family members. Two sisters were burnt alive. My brother, his wife, and four children were beaten to death. They were buried in mass graves.

### **Have you yourself made peace with the past?**

After the tragedy, I was hopeless, angry. One day during prayers, I heard God's voice, "If you want to serve ME, You have to forgive THEM." One cannot serve God with anger or hatred. I never thought I could forgive those who made women into widows and children into orphans. But I have. Forgiveness is not easy, it requires hard work, and takes time. But it is possible.

### **What are children taught in school?**

The genocide was a shame upon all of us. ALL Rwandans were affected and ALL must take part in conciliation. This must never be allowed to happen again. Being Rwandan is very valuable, above being Hutu or Tutsi. Therefore, we must continue to work for national unity.

### **How have people reacted to your lectures?**

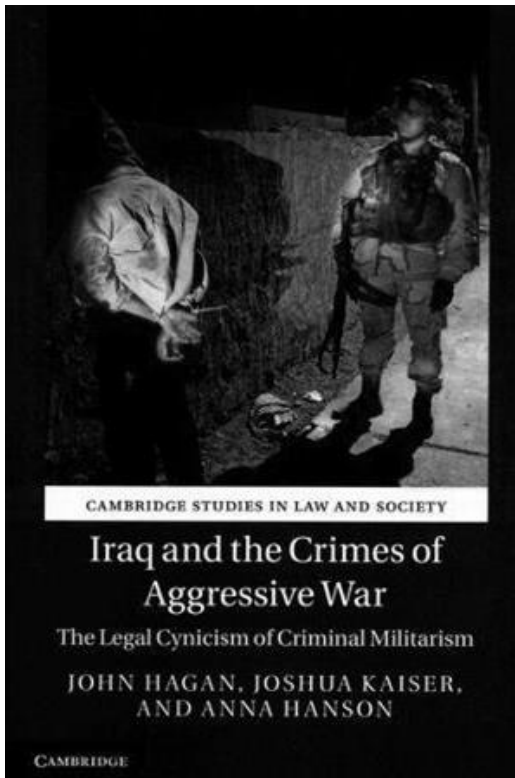
In 2008, I shared my testimony in Denver. A woman with a wounded heart stated, "I have a problem with your story of forgiveness." She didn't think Rwandans had a reason to forgive. "Why should you praise a God who has allowed your people and family to be slaughtered?" I responded, "Do you think God was good before the genocide?" She replied in the affirmative. I added, "And it was this same God who saved me from being killed."



## Featured Book:

# Iraq and the Crimes of Aggressive War

By John Hagan, Joshua Kaiser, and Anna Hanson. Cambridge University Press, 2015



From the torture of detainees at Abu Ghraib Prison to unnecessary military attacks on civilians, this book is an account of the violations of international criminal law committed during the American-led invasion and occupation, to the withdrawal, followed by the conflicted continuing involvement in Iraq. Taking stock of the entire war, it uniquely documents the overestimation of the successes and the underestimation of the failings of the Surge and Awakening policies. This book reveals how an initial cynical framing of the American war led to the creation of a new Shia-dominated Iraq state, which in turn provoked powerful feelings of legal cynicism among Iraqis, especially the Arab Sunnis. The predictable result was a resilient Sunni insurgency that reemerged in the aftermath of the 2011 American withdrawal.

Examining more than a decade of evidence, this book makes a powerful case that the American war in Iraq constituted a criminal war of aggression. This book:

- Documents the origins of a resilient Arab Sunni insurgency in the criminally violent actions of the U.S.-led coalition and forces in Iraq.
- Provides a readable and comprehensive social scientific and historical analysis of the U.S.-led war in Iraq.
- Persuasively makes that case that the U.S.-led invasion and occupation of Iraq was a criminal war of aggression.

*Do you have an idea for a  
featured book?*

*E-mail:*

*a@twymanghoshal.com*



# Forthcoming Publications on Genocide

**Amending the Past: Europe's Holocaust Commissions and the Right to History (Critical Human Rights)**

By Alexander Karn

(September 29, 2015)

**The Failures of Ethics: Confronting the Holocaust, Genocide, and Other Mass Atrocities**

by John K. Roth

(September 30, 2015)

**Open Wounds: Armenians, Turks and a Century of Genocide 1st Edition**

by Vicken Cheterian

(October 16, 2015)

**From the Land of Shadows: War, Revolution, and the Making of the Cambodian Diaspora (Nation of Nations)**

by Khatharya Um

(October 16, 2015)

**Genocide and Gender in the Twentieth Century: A Comparative Survey**

By Amy E. Randall

(October 22, 2015)

**The Geometry of Genocide: A Study in Pure Sociology (Studies in Pure Sociology)**

By Bradley Campbell

(October 23, 2015)

**Just Remembering: Rhetorics of Genocide Remembrance and Sociopolitical Judgment (The Fairleigh Dickinson University Press Series in Communication Studies)**

By Micheal Warren Tumolo

(November 1, 2015)

**The Armenian Genocide Legacy (Palgrave Studies in the History of Genocide)**

By Alexis Demirdjian

(November 4, 2015)

**Genocide, Torture, and Terrorism: Ranking International Crimes and Justifying Humanitarian Intervention**

By Thomas W. Simon

(November 5, 2015)

**Who Counts?: The Mathematics of Death and Life after Genocide**

By Diane M. Nelson

(November 6, 2015)

**Teaching About Rape in War and Genocide**

by John K. Roth and Carl Rittner

(November 20, 2015)

**From War to Genocide: Criminal Politics in Rwanda, 1990–1994 (Critical Human Rights)**

By André Guichaoua

(December 1, 2015)

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about your book?*

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## Thanksgiving in Chile: A Rich 'Criminology' without the Trimmings

By Rosemary Barberet

John Jay College of Criminal Justice, New York, New York, U.S.A.

After begging to be excused from my family's Thanksgiving, I accepted an invitation to deliver plenary addresses at the National Conference on Research on Violence and Crime which was held in Santiago, Chile from November 27th–28th, 2014. I was curious to reconnect with a Chilean colleague I had met in Spain, Dr. Sebastián Salinero from the University of Talca. We met with others from the research community on crime and justice in Santiago de Chile; I was familiar with the work of Hugo Frühling and Lucía Dammert, as well as with the chapter on Chile that attorney Joanna Heskia had written for my co-edited book with Cindy Smith and Sheldon Zhang, *Routledge handbook of criminology: An international perspective* (2011). Most of all, I was curious to visit the cherished homeland of President Michelle Bachelet whose career I followed for three years when she directed UN Women. Bachelet, whose father was tortured under the dictatorship of Augusto Pinochet, and who herself was detained, is now President of Chile for the second time.

As in many countries, the academic offerings for studies in criminology in Chile are rather limited, and thus many crime and justice research scholars do not feel comfortable calling themselves criminologists. This conference, which was being held for the ninth time, attracted a collection of scholars from various disciplines who conduct largely empirical research on all facets of crime and justice. It was sponsored by thirteen participating organizations, notably the Fundación Paz Ciudadana and the Center of Studies in Criminal Law of the University of Talca, CEDEP (at its graduate campus in Santiago). It is springtime in Chile in November, but there is much to be done before summer: the holidays coincide with the end of the academic semester as well as the end of the academic year. Santiago was blossoming with life, and the conference was small (about 200 attendees) but lively.



Rosemary Barberet with  
representatives of Tierra de  
Esperanza in Santiago, Chile

# Thanksgiving in Chile: A Rich 'Criminology' without the Trimmings

(Continued)

The conference featured mainly Chilean research, in such familiar areas as youth crime, desistance, drug trafficking and drug abuse, victim protection, desistance and re-entry, human trafficking, school violence, prison disciplinary sanctions and prison violence, recidivism, burglary, crime mapping, and partner violence. In addition, two Mexican presentations featured a bone chilling analysis of kidnapping victims' experiences and a study of the attitudes and experiences of detained youth in Mexico, as detailed by Elena Azaola, a well known Mexican anthropologist and former member of the Mexican Commission on Human Rights. Azaola highlighted the many youth in her sample who were sicarios (trained killers for the drug cartels) and told the audience, "These youth are not in social limbo; we speak of social death." Peruvian researchers at the conference examined the black market for firearms in Lima and the consequences of urban growth and inequality on crime. Inequality is honestly foregrounded in crime research in Chile and other Latin American countries, simply because social segmentation is extreme.

Chilean scholars struck me as empiricist in nature and receptive to ideas from abroad. Some readers will remember when The International Symposium on Environmental Criminology and Crime Analysis (ECCA) had their conference in Chile in 2005. I met researchers who were collaborating with scholars from the US and others who were eager to do so. Scholars presenting from one of Chile's main drug abuse treatment NGOs, Fundación Tierra de Esperanza, were collaborating on research on drug abusers trajectories with North American scholars and legal researchers from the Universidad Austral de Chile in Valdivia were collaborating with Lisa Hilbink from the University of Minnesota on a study of perceptions of the criminal justice system in Chile. I was told that Chileans look to Europe and the United States for good ideas and best practice. Indeed, when I mentioned NIJ's new evidence-based website of best practice, [crimesolutions.gov](http://crimesolutions.gov), the audience was intrigued with such a 'typically American' pragmatic invention. The audience also gasped when I showed that "Formal System Processing for Juveniles" had a Red Sign for No Effects on the outcome of "Crime & Delinquency - Multiple crime/offense types" (Petrosino et al, 2010). Although Chile has only had a separate juvenile justice system since 2007 and most Chilean researchers were critical of it, it would be unthinkable for the government there to showcase such a result.

Relations with the government are a central concern for Chilean crime and justice scholars, as they are for many around the globe. Predicting how new parties in power will develop policies on public safety, obtaining access to institutional samples, and the never ending quest for the transparency of crime and criminal justice data, were topics avidly discussed at the conference. The two main organizers of the conference are proponents of the transparency of criminal justice institutions. The Fundación Paz Ciudadana, a crime and justice research foundation, routinely produces web-based reports with basic statistics on crime and justice obtained from the government, and also conducts its own surveys and studies, some in English (<http://www.pazciudadana.cl>). The CEDEP of the University of Talca has created a criminal justice system observatory <http://observatorio.dpenal.cl/observatorio/>.

A visit to Chile would be historically myopic if it did not include a trip to the Museo de la Memoria y de los Derechos Humanos (Museum of Memory and Human Rights), a museum launched by President Bachelet during her first term, in 2010. This museum houses an archive of documents from the dictatorship (1973-1990) and three floors of exhibits detailing the 1973 US-supported coup d'état, experiences of the detained through interrogation and torture, life of Chileans in exile and the final transition to democracy (<http://www.museodelamemoria.cl>). This sobering experience is evidence that Chile has learned a great deal from its own past and is determined not to forget it. Indeed the wide ideological spectrum of current researchers on crime and justice is a tribute to a new tradition of tolerance. As a US-based scholar, one might have missed some discussion of the institutionalization of criminology, the future of the discipline, and other typical trimmings of academic criminological defensiveness. However, it was uniquely refreshing to enjoy the feast without these trimmings - to see young, enthusiastic and socially committed scholars share their research results with others.

## References

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- Smith, C.J., Zhang, S.X. & Barberet, R. (Eds.) (2011). *Routledge handbook of criminology: An international perspective*. London: Routledge.

# Upcoming Meetings and Conferences

Fancy a trip?

Here is a list of some important meetings taking place in the coming year

26–30 October, 2015

Cyber Security:

Intelligence and Awareness Course

The Hague, The Netherlands

<http://www.esc-eurocrim.org/www.lowlandssncourses.wordpress.com>

8–10 November, 2015

Asian Association For Substance Abuse Research,

University Of Macau, Macau Foundation, etc.

University of Macau, Macao, China

<http://www.lessdrugs.org/>

17–19 November, 2015

Australian Public Sector Anti-Corruption Conference (APSACC) 2015

Brisbane, Australia

Brisbane Convention & Exhibition Centre

<http://www.apsac.com.au/>

18–21 November, 2015

American Society of Criminology Meeting:

The Politics of Crime and Justice

Washington DC, USA

<http://www.asc41.com/annualmeeting.htm>

26–27 November, 2015

6th Annual Conference of the Victimology Society of Serbia New Trends in Victimology Theory and Practice:  
Dilemmas and Challenges in Protecting Victims

[http://www.vds.org.rs/SestaGodisnjaKonferencijaVDSEng\\_Najava.htm](http://www.vds.org.rs/SestaGodisnjaKonferencijaVDSEng_Najava.htm)

28 November, 2015

I2FC 2015 Conference:

The Cost of Economic Crime

Porto, Portugal

<http://www.obegef.pt/i2fc/2015/>

12–13 January, 2016

First International Conference on Positive Criminology and Positive Victimology

Towards a New Paradigm in Law Enforcement, Sentencing and Rehabilitation

Bar-Ilan University, Ramat Gan, Israel

[biupositive@gmail.com](mailto:biupositive@gmail.com)

4th–7th February, 2016

Western Society of Criminology

43rd Annual Conference

Vancouver, British Columbia, Canada

<http://westerncriminology.org/conference-3/>

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about the conference  
you are hosting?  
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The new issue of the DIC-affiliated journal is available now!

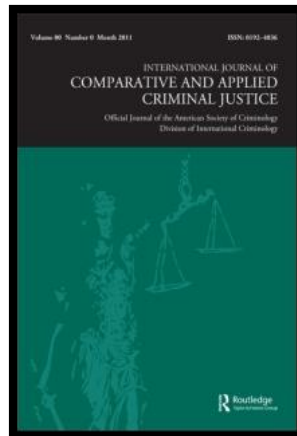
## Special Issue: New directions in terrorism research

The journal is published 4 times each year, and it is free to paid members of the ASC

Division of International Criminology

This special issue of the International Journal of Comparative and Applied Criminal Justice focuses on new directions in terrorism research. The four articles in this issue move the field of terrorism studies in general and the criminology of terrorism in particular, forward by focusing on under-examined areas of study, or providing one of the few empirical examinations of an important theory or issue. Aneela Salman's article opens the special issue and examines the link between gender inequality and terrorism cross nationally. Next, Ashmini Kerodal, Joshua D. Freilich, Steven Chermak, and Michael Suttmoeller offer one of the first quantitative empirical investigations of noted terrorism scholar Ehud Sprinzak's Split Delegitimization theory of the life course of terrorist groups. Manuela Caiani and Patricia Kroll's study complements the Kerodal et al. project by focusing on the European far-right. Caiani and Kroll examine whether the Internet acts as a substitute for important face to face social and political processes. Finally, Freilich, Chermak, and Gruenewald's essay reviews the terrorism literature to identify four under-explored issues and outline a research agenda that could begin to fill these gaps.

**Mahesh Nalla**  
Editor



Introducing the special issue on new directions in terrorism research

*Joshua D. Freilich, Ashmini G. Kerodal & Michele Galletta*

Green houses for terrorism: measuring the impact of gender equality attitudes and outcomes as deterrents of terrorism

*Aneela Salman*

A test of Sprinzak's split delegitimization's theory of the life course of far-right organizational behavior

*Ashmini G. Kerodal, Joshua D. Freilich, Steven M. Chermak & Michael J. Suttmoeller*

The transnationalization of the extreme right and the use of the Internet

*Manuela Caiani & Patricia Kröll*

The future of terrorism research: a review essay

*Joshua D. Freilich, Steven M. Chermak & Jeff Gruenewald*