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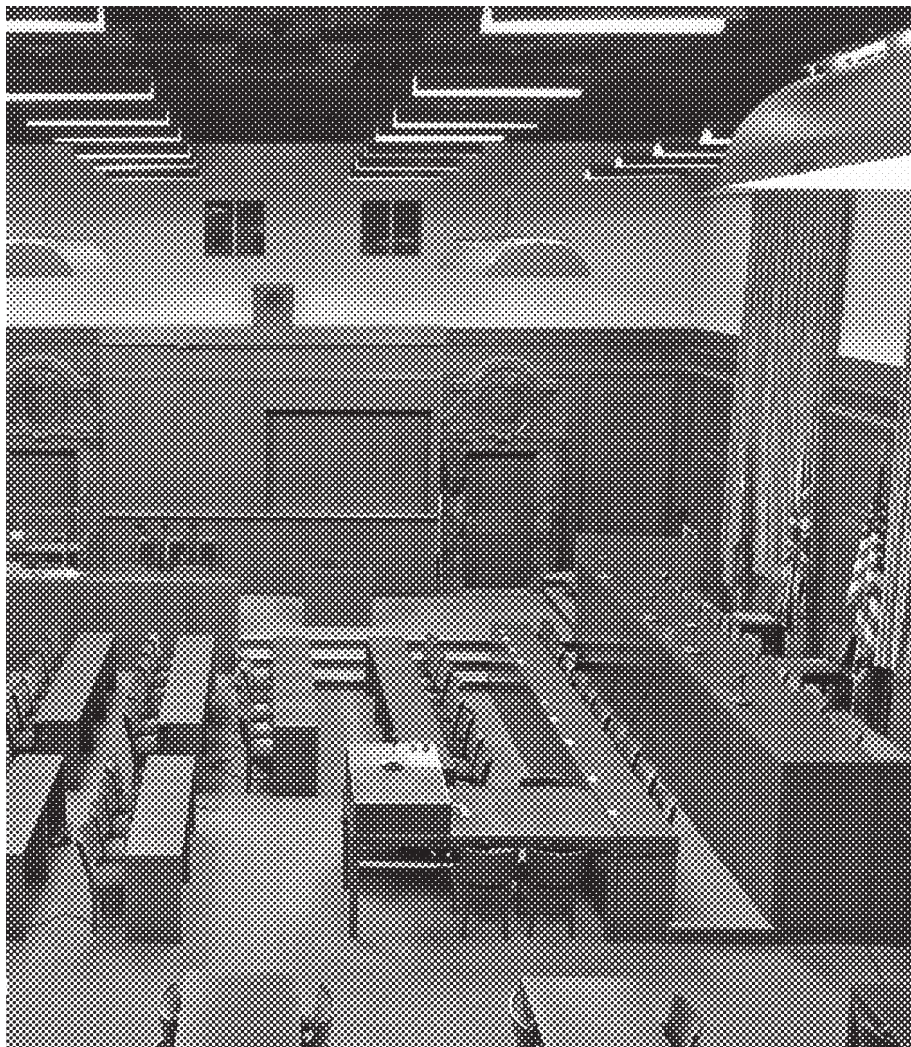
T H E

TRIBUNAL

A TRIAL AGAINST THE TRANSGRESSIONS OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

JUNE 19 – JUNE 21, 2015

ZKM | KARLSRUHE



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T H E

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A TRIAL AGAINST THE TRANSGRESSIONS OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

The GLOBALE begins with a *Tribunal*, a public trial against the twentieth century for its crimes against humanity, animals, and the natural environment. Now, at the beginning of the twenty-first century, it is highly necessary to subject modernity and its fundamentals to a critical appraisal. Modernity is a history of violence and genocide, expulsion, persecution, and annihilation; an *Age of Extremes* (Eric Hobsbawm, 1994), a century of extreme cruelty and disinhibitions. Wasn't the main street of the twentieth century *The Road to Terror* (John Arch Getty and Oleg V. Naumov, 2002)? Doesn't the map of the twentieth century predominantly consist of *Killing Fields* (dir.: Roland Joffé, 1984) and *Bloodlands* (Timothy Snyder, 2010)? And aren't the twentieth century's most significant sites the forced labor camps, penal camps, prison camps, and places of exile?

From the concentration camps to the Gulag: Isn't the camp the primary political metaphor of the twentieth century? "[T]oday it is [...] the camp that is the fundamental biopolitical paradigm of the West" (Giorgio Agamben, *Homo Sacer: Sovereign Power and the Bare Life*, 1998). Did we not observe how in the twentieth century not only "rogue states" attempted to enshrine lawlessness in a legal constitution using a state of exception as an excuse? Don't millions of political murders evidence the fact that in an increasing number of states rights have been replaced by lack of rights and anomie is the rule? This lack of rights of the individual in the twentieth century existed exemplarily in the concentration camps, which, according to Agamben, is the spatialization of the state of exception: the "camp is a piece of land placed outside the normal juridical order". Weren't a great many countries operating outside of the normal juridical order in the twentieth century? Didn't a state of exception prevail for several decades in the twentieth century that allowed governments to suspend their legal systems — ostensibly based on the ability of the sovereign (according to Carl Schmitt) and his power to revoke the rule of law? "[T]he state of exception has now reached its maximum worldwide deployment" (Agamben, *Homo Sacer: State of Exception*, 2005) — in other words: the camp system. Wasn't the twentieth century the century of the total devaluation of human life with the camp system as its symbol? Isn't the state of exception the norm in most countries of the world today?

The mise-en-scène of the three-day *Tribunal* is inspired by Franz Kafka's novel *The Trial* ^(1914/1915) and various prominent trials of the twentieth century. Kafka's novel is about a man named K., who is indicted for reasons unknown to him by an anonymous power: "Someone must have been spreading lies about Josef K., for without having done anything wrong he was arrested one morning" – these are the opening lines of the novel. It ends with K's brutal execution and his questions left unanswered: "Where was the judge he'd never seen? Where was the high court he'd never reached?" These words of Kafka about despotic power and murder are prototypical of the experiences of millions of people in the twentieth century. In the twentieth century there was unprecedented, massive destruction of human life: for purely political reasons, using administratively organized killing industries, some 250 million people were murdered. In view of the genocides and weapons of mass destruction in the twentieth century, can one call this a century of rationality and civilization?

Already the Bible shows evidence of a theory of violence, namely in the tenth ^(Lutheran) commandment: "You shall not covet your neighbor's wife, nor his manservant, nor his maidservant, nor his cattle, nor anything that is his." The Bible also refers to a mimetic rivalry, a rivalry of desire, and also reveals and denounces the scapegoat mechanism. René Girard incorporated this structural spot, this "scapegoat mechanism" as origin of archaic religions, this imitation which breeds violence, into his theory of violence.

In his book *Deceit, Desire and Novel* ⁽¹⁹⁶¹⁾, he first developed his thesis that all desire is mimetic, that it imitates the desire of others. In *Violence and the Sacred* ⁽¹⁹⁷²⁾, he tried to show that ritual sacrifice, like the paradoxical death of Christ for the sins of mankind, serves to minimize and to stop violence in societies. If the mechanisms of prohibition don't work against this mimetic doubling any more, the spiral of violence is disrupted by the sacrifice of a scapegoat. The guilt of the sacrificial victim is a construction of which everyone knows, a mere fiction, a lie; that is why the victim is transfigured into something "sacred" with hindsight.

The ballet *Le sacre du printemps* ⁽¹⁹¹³⁾, for which Igor Stravinsky composed the music and Vaslav Nijinsky choreographed, illustrates these reflections and instances very accurately.

The historical trials, which serve as a model for this *Tribunal*, include the Dadaist mock trial of Maurice Barrès presided over by André Breton ⁽¹⁹²¹⁾, the Nuremberg Trials ^(1945–1949),

the six Frankfurt Auschwitz trials ^(from 1963), and the Vietnam War Crimes Tribunal ^(1966/1967). As the first international trials prosecuting war crimes, the Nuremberg Trials are exemplary for legal proceedings to ascertain individual guilt in crimes against humanity. The Vietnam War Crimes Tribunal, also known as the Russell Tribunal, was initiated in 1966 as a private non-governmental body by the mathematician, philosopher, and Nobel laureate in literature Lord Bertrand Russell in collaboration with many prominent intellectuals, such as Jean-Paul Sartre to document American war crimes. The Russell Tribunal was the model for later judicial investigations of violations of international law, for example, the United Nations International Criminal Tribunal in The Hague.

To come to terms with its criminal past, in the revolutionary 1960s a new form of drama was developed in Germany, the documentary theater of Rolf Hochhuth, Heinar Kipphardt, and Peter Weiss. These authors put rigorously factual texts on the stage, assembled from historical documents, archive material, and records, to raise political awareness. With his play *The Deputy* ⁽¹⁹⁶³⁾, Hochhuth had effectively indicted Pope Pius XII. because of his complicity with National Socialism. Kipphardt's play *Brother Eichmann* ^(1982, posthumously premiered 1983) uses the transcripts of SS-Obersturmbannführer Adolf Eichmann's interrogations to show an exceptional case of inhumanity as the normal case. Some years previously, Victor Klemperer ^(LTI: a philologist's notebook, 1947) as well as Dolf Sternberger, Gerhard Storz, and Wilhelm Emanuel Süskind had already demonstrated in their book *Aus dem Wörterbuch des Unmenschen* ⁽¹⁹⁵⁷⁾ that the inhumane Nazi language was for many years everyday speech. Other documentary theater plays by Kipphardt address the crimes perpetrated during the Nazi regime by normal people in their normal milieu: for example, *Joel Brand* ⁽¹⁹⁶⁵⁾, the true story of a business deal in which Eichmann offered one million Jews in return for a hundred thousand lorries, and *Der Hund des Generals* ⁽¹⁹⁶²⁾, in which a general sacrifices sixty soldiers by sending them on a senseless suicide mission to avenge the death of his dog (a soldier named Pfeiffer had shot the general's dog because it had ripped apart his trousers). Especially Peter Weiss formulated *The Aesthetics of Resistance* ^(1971–1981). Weiss participated in the Russell Tribunal against the Vietnam War in Stockholm und Roskilde. In 1968, he wrote the documentary collage *Viet Nam Discourse*. In 1974, at the suggestion of the Swedish film director Ingmar Bergman, Weiss wrote a stage version

of Franz Kafka's novel *The Trial*. Weiss was an observer at the Frankfurt Auschwitz trials from 1963 to 1965, and based on Bernd Naumann's reports he developed *The Investigation: Oratorio in 11 Cantos* ⁽¹⁹⁶⁵⁾, the most forceful German play about the Holocaust.

In the visual arts the wave of engaging with the past began earlier, in the 1950s. In 1953 a design competition was organized for a "Monument to the Unknown Political Prisoner" in which Alexander Calder, Max Bill, Naum Gabo, and many other artists took part. In 1957, the International Auschwitz Committee invited designs for an Auschwitz–Birkenau Memorial; Joseph Beuys was among the artists who submitted plans. Entitled *Black Room*, Wolf Vostell created a cycle of three object assemblages (*Auschwitz Searchlight*, *Treblinka*, *German View*) in 1958, which references the Holocaust. Bazon Brock published in 1960 *Das Erschrecken am Es*, which refers to the documentation *1939–1945: We Have Not Forgotten* ^(1959, ed. Tadeusz Mazur et al.) that he also used for his action *Die endlose Linie* ⁽¹⁹⁵⁹⁾.

Films like *Murderers Among Us* ⁽¹⁹⁴⁶⁾ directed by Wolfgang Staudte that were released immediately after the war engaged with the themes of avoiding dealing with the crimes of National Socialism and the continuity of its system by employing followers of the Nazis or worse in the reconstruction of West Germany.

Thus there were isolated attempts in the field of culture to analyze the crimes of the twentieth century, German judiciary failed completely to prosecute National Socialist war crimes in the post-war period. This was in no small measure also due to the fact that the judiciary was rife with former National Socialists. An exception was Fritz Bauer, who in 1963 initiated the Frankfurt Auschwitz Trials against all opposition. He supposedly once said that when he left his office he entered "enemy territory" — an indication of the hostile mood of the German press and populace to any attempts at seeking clarification and justice.

Karlsruhe is an appropriate location to hold the *Tribunal*, in our opinion, because it is the center of German administration of justice. The city is deemed to be "the residency of the law," as it hosts both the Federal Constitutional Court and the Federal Attorney General of Germany. The location of the ZKM opposite the building of the Federal Attorney General of Germany and the history of the ZKM building make our institution particularly suited to holding such a trial. In the rooms where today art and culture are produced and presented, weapons and munitions were fabricated by

forced laborers during the first half of the twentieth century — this fact alone makes it especially necessary for the ZKM to understand itself as part of history.

The Karlsruhe *Tribunal* will investigate the massive annihilation of human life, exploitation of the planet, and extermination of animals and other living organisms in the twentieth century. The Tribunal will attempt to develop a perspective that will not only prevent social institutions and communities — from religion to the state — from failing again, but will also preclude them from continuing to be the cause (in the view of some commentators) of a *Historia universal de la infamia* (A Universal History of Iniquity, Jorge Luis Borges, 1935) in the twenty-first century.

In their presentations and exhibitions of work, distinguished scholars, politicians, and artists will explore the crimes being investigated by the *Tribunal* from historical, legal, philosophical, and artistic perspectives and will present their latest research results.

The crimes against humanity which the *Tribunal* is investigating will be illustrated with texts and images by the panorama projection *The Coldest Planet in the Universe: The Human Heart. Violence and Genocide in the Twentieth Century*. Further evidence on the crimes against humanity, nature and animals in the Twentieth Century, its representation in the media and its social and cultural reflection, will be provided by the Film program in the lecture hall and the Media Installation, which is part of the stage design that refers to the subject matter of the conference.

Peter Weibel

THE COLDEST PLANET IN THE UNIVERSE: THE HUMAN HEART VIOLENCE AND GENOCIDE IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

Conceived by Peter Weibel, researched by Antonia Marten, Anja Folberth, Vera Dietel and Adam Rafinski, and programmed by Nikolaus Völzow and Oliver Wrobel, this installation supplies background information on the crimes against humanity put on trial in the *Tribunal*.

Visual and written material will depict approximately 150 significant examples of massacres, genocides, civil wars, assassinations, and terrorist attacks from the twentieth century on the large screen in the ZKM_PanoramaLab. The chronological portrayal of these bloody events allows visitors to learn more about both well-known and forgotten or suppressed crimes against humanity and to reflect on how these events were worked through both politically and socially. An interactive display makes it possible to access facts and images on the individual crimes.

The crimes are presented with brief details on the place and time of the events, the parties involved in the conflict, the number of people who died, the weapons used, as well as a short description of the causes and course of events. The data is taken from a comprehensive internet search; its heterogeneous character reflects the various ways crimes against humanity are represented, categorized, and assessed in online media. Countless photos and documents on the Holocaust and the genocide in Rwanda can be found on the Internet, while other equally horrific events are barely documented online, if at all.

Due to the tabooing of violence, it is rather difficult to obtain reliable information on the numbers of deaths and victims. To avoid further loss of data as a consequence of the repression of victims, we heavily depend on further extensive research. Hence our gratitude goes to all, who contribute to this scientific achievement of shedding light on this darkness of violence by statistics and figures.



FILM INSTALLATION AND STAGE

The mise-en-scène for the ZKM conference recreates the courtroom of the Nuremberg Trials (1945–49), which was itself specially staged for the historically significant military tribunals. Speakers assuming the role of prosecutors and expert witnesses will address the participants from an elevated platform in the ZKM_Foyer. As with the Nuremberg Trials, the proceedings will be open to the public: interested parties may take part on site or via a live stream. As a result, before the GLOBALE begins, the ZKM_Atrium 7 will become a place of jurisdiction in which the crimes of the twentieth century are put on trial.

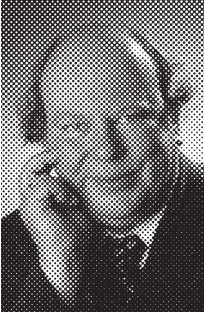
Twenty-four cathode ray monitors flanking the stage will show roughly fifty films, spliced and shown without sound, which depict crimes against humanity and the subsequent legal proceedings. Occupying the entire room, the media installation draws on both historical and contemporary film material about genocides, massacres, assassinations and historical court processes and on both documentary and narrative sources; it is organized chronologically.

The film collage concretizes the Tribunal's topic beyond the lecture series itself, and is supplemented with the audio-text installation in the ZKM_PanoramaLab and contributions from international experts.

The media installation in ZKM_atrium 7 is accompanied by a film program inside the lecture hall, which focuses on crimes against animals and nature. On display are documentaries and features, which inform about environmental pollution caused by poison and waste, about the outrageous treatment of animals and about the dangerous consequences of special-interest food production for humans, nature and animals. Among the films shown are Maria-Monique Robin's *The World According to Monsanto* (2009), Eric Guéret's *The Nuclear Nightmare* (2009) and Erwin Wagenhofer's 2005 film *We feed the World*.

SPEAKERS

BORIS BARTH



born in 1961, is professor for history at the University of Konstanz^(DE). He was visiting professor at several international universities, amongst others at Charles University in Prague^(CZ), Koç University in Istanbul^(TR) and at Jacobs University in Bremen^(DE). Furthermore, Barth has worked for different companies and foundations as expert and advisor, such as The Alexander von Humboldt Foundation and The Swiss National Science Foundation^(SNF). His most important publications include *Genozid: Völkermord im 20. Jahrhundert. Geschichte, Theorien, Kontroversen* (Beck, Munich, 2006), *Das Zeitalter des Kolonialismus* (Wiss. Buchgesellschaft, Darmstadt, 2007), and *Globalgeschichten. Bestandsaufnahmen und Perspektiven* (ed., Campus, Frankfurt am Main, 2014).

ROGER BERKOWITZ

born in 1968, is associate professor of politics and human rights at Bard College and director of The Hannah Arendt Center for Politics and Humanities, New York^(US). He is working on the clash between plurality and diversity in issues of governance, privacy, and discrimination. His first book *The Gift of Science: Leibniz and the Modern Legal Tradition* (Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 2006) shows how the justice is transformed by science. He edited *Thinking in Dark Times: Hannah Arendt on Ethics and Politics* (Fordham University Press, New York, 2010).



BAZON BROCK



born in 1936, thinker on duty and artist without an œuvre, is emeritus professor of aesthetics and cultural education at the University of Wuppertal^(DE). He was also professor at the Hamburg University of Fine Arts^(1965–1976, DE) and the University of Applied Arts Vienna^(1977–1980, AT). In 1992 he was made an honorary doctor of technical sciences by the Swiss Federal Institute of Technology, Zurich^(CH); in 2012 he received an honorary doctorate from the Karlsruhe University of Arts and Design^{(HfG) (DE)}. In 2014 he was made honorary professor of prophecy at the Saar College of Fine Arts, Saarbrücken^(DE). Brock is the founder of “The Thinkery / Society for Working on Unsolveable Problems and Measures of Higher Authority” based in Berlin.

MIHRAN DABAG



born in 1944, is director of the Institute for Diaspora and Genocide Research, member of the board of the Center for Mediterranean Studies and professor of history at the Ruhr University Bochum ^(RUB) (DE). His research fields include structural comparisons of genocide; diaspora, nationalism; memory theories and politics of remembrance. Among his publications are *Genozid und Moderne* (ed., Leske + Budrich, Opladen, 1998); *Die Machbarkeit der Welt* (ed., Fink, Munich, 2006); and *Verlust und Vermächtnis. Überlebende des Genozids an den Armeniern erinnern sich* ^(Schöningh, Paderborn, 2015).

LUTZ DAMMBECK

born in 1948, is an artist and filmmaker. His works have been exhibited in numerous exhibitions, including *XX. Jahrhundert. ein Jahrhundert Kunst in Deutschland* ^(Nationalgalerie, Berlin, 1999), *Paranoia* ^(Academy of the Arts, Berlin, 2006), *Kunst und Kalter Krieg. Deutsche Positionen 1945–1989* ^(Los Angeles County Art Museum, 2009), and *Nostalgia Is an Extended Feedback* ^(Nam June Paik Art Center, Seoul, 2013). His films include *Das Netz – Adorno, LSD und Internet* ⁽²⁰⁰³⁾ and *Overgames* ⁽²⁰¹⁵⁾. Dammbek lives and works in Hamburg.



FRANK DIKÖTTER



born in 1961, is chair professor of humanities at the University of Hong Kong ^(CN). Before moving to Asia in 2006, he was professor of the modern history of China at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London ^(GB). Dikötter is author of nine books about the history of China, including *Mao's Great Famine: The History of China's Most Devastating Catastrophe, 1958–1962* ^(Walker & Co., New York, 2010), winner of the Samuel Johnson Prize in 2011, and *The Tragedy of Liberation: A History of the Chinese Revolution 1945–1957* ^(Bloomsbury, London, 2013), shortlisted for the Orwell Prize in 2014.

PAUL N. EDWARDS



is professor for information technology at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor^(US). He is co-editor of the *Infrastructures* book series^(The MIT Press, Cambridge) and the journal *Big Data & Society: Critical Interdisciplinary Inquiries*. In his research he explores the history, politics, and cultural aspects of computers, information infrastructures, and global climate science. Edwards' book *A Vast Machine: Computer Models, Climate Data, and the Politics of Global Warming*^(The MIT Press, Cambridge, 2010) was awarded with several prizes, amongst others with the Computer History Museum Prize. Further publications include *Changing the Atmosphere. Expert Knowledge and Environmental Governance* (ed. with Clark Miller, The MIT Press, Cambridge, 2001) and *The Closed World. Computers and the Politics of Discourse in Cold War America* (The MIT Press, Cambridge, 1996).

RAPHAEL GROSS

born in 1966, is professor of Jewish history and culture at the University of Leipzig^(DE) and director of the Leipzig Simon Dubnow Institute of Jewish History and Culture. He is also director of the Jewish Museum in Frankfurt am Main^(DE). His research focuses on intellectual history and the history of law. His published works include *Carl Schmitt und die Juden. Eine deutsche Rechtslehre* (Suhrkamp, Frankfurt am Main, 2000), *Anständig geblieben. Nationalsozialistische Moral* (Fischer, Frankfurt am Main, 2010), and *November 1938. Die Katastrophe vor der Katastrophe* (C.H. Beck, Munich, 2013).



TERIKE HAAPOJA



born in 1974, is a Finnish-American visual artist based in New York^(US). Haapaja's large-scale installation work, writing, and political projects investigate the structures of othering with a specific focus on problems arising from the anthropocentric world view of western modernism. Haapaja represented Finland in the 55th Venice Biennale (2013)^(IT) with a solo show in the Nordic Pavilion, and she has been rewarded with numerous grants and prizes, including Dukaatti prize, Ars Fennica Award candidacy⁽²⁰⁰⁸⁾ and the Kiila-prize. Since 2012, she is working on an interdisciplinary artistic research project entitled *The History of Others*.

CLIVE HAMILTON

born in 1953, is professor of public ethics at Charles Sturt University in Canberra ^(AU). He has held a number of visiting academic positions, including at Sciences Po ^(Paris, FR), Yale University ^(New Haven, US), and the University of Oxford ^(GB). His books include *The Freedom Paradox: Towards a Post-Secular Ethics* ^(Allen & Unwin, Crows Nest, 2008), *Requiem for a Species: Why We Resist the Truth About Climate Change* ^(Earthscan, London, 2010), and *Earthmasters: Playing God With the Climate* ^(Yale University Press, New Haven, 2013). He is currently writing a book on the larger meaning of the Anthropocene.



KERRY HIGGS

born in 1946, is writer, associate at the University of Tasmania ^(AU) and fellow of the International Centre of the Club of Rome ^(CH). Her research focuses on limits to growth, ecological economics, ecological decline, neoliberalism, and corporate propaganda. Higgs has authored *Collision Course: Endless Growth on a Finite Planet* ^(The MIT Press, Cambridge, 2014) and *All That False Instruction* ^(Spinifex Press, North Melbourne, 2001).



BEN KIERNAN

born in 1953, is professor of history and director of the Genocide Studies Program at Yale University, New Haven ^(US). His books include *How Pol Pot Came to Power* ^(Verso, London, 1985), *The Pol Pot Regime* ^(Yale University Press, New Haven, 1996), and *Genocide and Resistance in Southeast Asia* ^(Transaction Publishers, New Brunswick, 2008). His book *Blood and Soil: A World History of Genocide and Extermination from Sparta to Darfur* ^(Yale University Press, New Haven, 2007) won the Independent Publisher Book Awards 2008 Gold medal for History, and the German Studies Association's 2009 Sybil Halpern Milton Memorial Book Prize. Its German translation *Erde und Blut* ^(Dt. Verl.-Anst, Munich, 2009) won the first place in Germany's Nonfiction Book of the Month Prize *Die Sachbücher des Monats*, sponsored by Süddeutsche Zeitung and NDR Kultur.

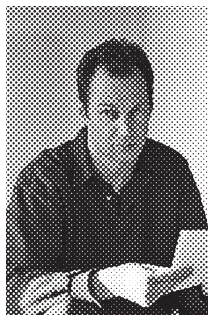


CLAUDE KLEIN

born in 1939, is emeritus of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem^(IL). He graduated in law and political science at the University of Strasbourg^(FR). After obtaining his PhD, he left for the Faculty of Law of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, where he specialized in constitutional law and legal theory. Klein served as dean of the College of management Law School, Tel-Aviv^(IL) and has taught as visiting professor at numerous universities in France, Canada, and the USA. His books include *Le cas Eichmann. Vu de Jérusalem*^(Gallimard, Paris, 2012) and *Peut-on cesser d'être juif?*^(Grasset, Paris, 2014).



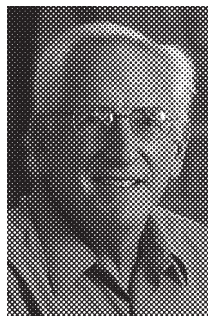
HANS-WERNER KROESINGER



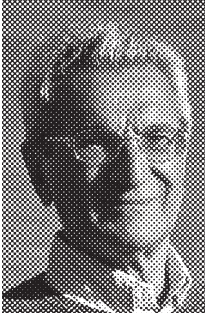
born in 1962, is author and stage director. He worked with Robert Wilson and Heiner Müller in New York^(US) and Berlin^(DE) and participated in documenta X in Kassel^(DE) in 1997. His plays are based on documents with focus on political conflicts, such as *Q & A – QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS*^(The Eichmann Trial), *HERERO 100*^(The Herero Genocide), *RUANDA REVISITED*^(The Rwandan Genocide), and *Musa Dagh – Days of Resistance*^(The Armenian Genocide). The works of Kroesinger have been shown at Staatstheater Stuttgart^(DE), HAU Hebbel am Ufer in Berlin^(DE), Berliner Ensemble^(DE), Münchner Kammerspiele^(DE), and Salzburger Festspiele^(AT).

NORMAN M. NAIMARK

born in 1944, is professor of history and director of Global Studies at Stanford University, California^(US). He was chair of Stanford's Department of History and programs in International Relations and International Policy Studies and served on the editorial boards of a series of leading professional journals. His current research focuses on the history of genocide in the twentieth century and the history of communism. His books include *The Russians in Germany*^(Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1995), *Fires of Hatred*^(Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 2001), *Stalin's Genocides*^(Princeton University Press, Princeton, 2011).



ANTONIO NEGRI



born in 1933, is an Italian philosopher and political scientist. He was professor for legal philosophy and director of the Institute of Political Science at the University of Padua^(IT). Negri is one of the leading figures of the Italian student movement in the 1960s and 1970s. His work focuses on political philosophy and the effect that globalization has on society. The acclaim for his books coauthored with Michael Hardt, *Empire* (Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 2001), *Multitude* (Penguin, London, 2005), and *Commonwealth* (Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 2009) established Negri as one of the most important thinkers in the modern political debate. Despite having retired, he continues to give guest lectures regularly at universities all over the world.

JAN M. PISKORSKI

born in 1956, is professor of Comparative European Studies at the University of Szczecin^(PL) and member of several research institute boards and editorial boards, including Przegląd Historyczny in Warsaw^(PL). He has also been a visiting professor at the Universities of Halle, Mainz, and Osnabrück^(all DE). Piskorski specializes in the history of migration and civilization. In 2010, he received the Prize of the Berlin-Brandenburg Academy of Sciences and Humanities. Piskorski publishes texts and short stories in monthlies, weeklies, and newspapers, for example *Merkur. Deutsche Zeitschrift für Europäisches Denken* and *Odra*. His most recent publication is *Die Verjagten. Flucht und Vertreibung im Europa des 20. Jahrhunderts* (Siedler, Munich, 2013).

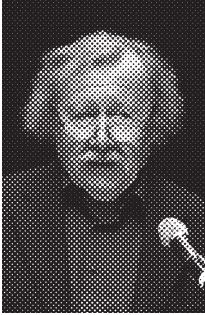


SASKIA SASSEN



born in 1949, is professor for sociology at Columbia University, New York^(US). She has served as fellow, distinguished lecturer and visiting professor in a large number of international institutions and is member of several research committees. For her research on globalization, urban sociology, world economy, and migration, Sassen has received many awards and honors, among them multiple doctor honoris causa and the Prince of Asturias Award for Social Sciences in 2013. Recent books include *Expulsions: Brutality and Complexity in the Global Economy* (Harvard University Press, New Haven, 2014) and *Territory, Authority, Rights: From Medieval to Global Assemblages* (Princeton University Press, Princeton, 2008).

PETER SLOTERDIJK



born in 1947, is philosopher, writer, professor for philosophy and aesthetics, and director of the Karlsruhe University of Arts and Design^{(HfG) (DE)}. In 2013, he received the Ludwig Börne Award, and in 2011 he received an honorary doctorate from Nijmegen University^(NL). His book *Critique of Cynical Reason*^(University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, 1988) is one of the best-selling philosophical books of the twentieth century. His most recent publications include: *Was geschah im 20. Jahrhundert? Unterwegs zu einer Kritik der extremistischen Vernunft*^(Suhrkamp, Berlin, 2015) and *Die schrecklichen Kinder der Neuzeit*^(Suhrkamp, Berlin, 2014).

HANNIBAL TRAVIS

is professor of law at Florida International University, Miami^(US). He has also served as visiting associate professor at Villanova University^(US), and as visiting fellow at Oxford^(GB). His books include *Genocide in the Middle East: The Ottoman Empire, Iraq, and Sudan*^(Carolina Academic Press, Durham, 2010), and *Genocide, Ethnonationalism, and the United Nations: Exploring the Causes of Mass Killing Since 1945*^(Routledge, London, 2012). He is a former editorial advisory board member of the *Journal of Genocide Research* and the international journal *Genocide Studies and Prevention*. He currently serves as an editorial advisory board member to *Genocide Studies International*, the peer-reviewed genocide studies journal of the University of Toronto Press and the Zoryan Institute in Toronto^(CA).



JÜRGEN ZIMMERER



born in 1965, is professor of modern history at the University of Hamburg^(DE) and President of the International Network of Genocide Scholars^(INoGS). Since July 2014, he is the head of the Hamburg research center for post-colonial heritage and early globalization inaugurated by the government of Hamburg. His most important publications include *Von Windhuk nach Auschwitz? Beiträge zum Verhältnis von Kolonialismus und Holocaust*^(LIT, Münster, 2011), *Kein Platz an der Sonne. Erinnerungsorte der deutschen Kolonialgeschichte*^(ed., Campus, Frankfurt am Main, 2013), and *Climate Change and Genocide. Environmental Violence in the 21st Century*^(Routledge, London, 2015).

MODERATORS

JOSEPH COHEN

born in 1971, is lecturer of philosophy at University College Dublin ^(IE) and guest professor of philosophy at the Karlsruhe University of Arts and Design ^{(HfG) (DE)}. He has authored *Le spectre juif de Hegel* ^(Gallilée, Paris, 2005), *Le sacrifice de Hegel* ^(Gallilée, Paris, 2007), and *Alternances de la métaphysique. Essais sur Emmanuel Levinas* ^(Gallilée, Paris, 2009). With Raphaël Zagury-Orly he co-edited *Heidegger. Qu'appelle-t-on le Lieu?* ^(Les Temps Modernes, Gallimard, Paris, 2008) and *Derrida. L'événement Déconstruction* ^(Les Temps Modernes, Gallimard, Paris, 2012). He is also member of the editorial board for the journal *Cités* ^(PUF, Paris). His domains of philosophical research span from German idealism to French contemporary philosophy and focus primarily on the question of sacrifice in the history of philosophy and theology.



PETER WEIBEL



born in 1944, is Chairman and CEO of ZKM | Center for Art and Media Karlsruhe (DE) as well as professor of applied media and media theory at the University of Applied Arts Vienna (AT). As an artist, curator, and theorist he publishes in the intersecting fields of art and science, recently: *Enzyklopädie der Medien, Bd. 1: Architektur und Medien* ^(Hatje Cantz, Ostfildern, 2015), *Medienrebell* ^(Walther König, Cologne, 2015) and *The Global Contemporary and the Rise of the New Art Worlds* ^(The MIT Press, Cambridge, 2013). In 2015 also *global aCtIVISM. Art and Conflict in the 21st Century* ^(MIT Press, Cambridge) will be published.

RAPHAEL ZAGURY-ORLY

born in 1967, is currently guest professor of philosophy at the Karlsruhe University of Arts and Design ^{(HfG) (DE)}. Since 2004 he is lecturer at the Bezalel Academy of Arts and Design Jerusalem (IL), where he directed the MFA program from 2010 to 2014. He has authored *Questionner encore* ^(Gallilée, Paris, 2010) and co-edited *Judéités. Questions pour Jacques Derrida* ^(Gallilée, Paris, 2003) as well as *Heidegger. Qu'appelle-t-on le Lieu?* ^(Les Temps Modernes, Gallimard, Paris, 2008). He is a member of the editorial committee of the French journal *Cités* ^(PUF, Paris) and scientific editor at the Resling publishing house in Tel-Aviv ^(IL). His philosophical research focuses on German idealism and European contemporary philosophy, from phenomenology to hermeneutics and deconstruction.



PROGRAM

FRIDAY

JUNE 19 2015

- 10:00 – 10:45 Introduction: Peter Weibel
- 10:45 – 11:30 Norman M. Naimark: *Stalin on Trial*
- 11:30 – 12:15 Lutz Dammbeck: *Worstward Ho*
- 12:15 – 13:30 Lunch break
- 13:30 – 14:15 Roger Berkowitz: *How to Love Our World: Hannah Arendt's Judgement of Adolf Eichmann*
- 14:15 – 15:00 Claude Klein: *A Jurist's Look at the Eichmann Trial and at Hannah Arendt's Consideration on it*
- 15:00 – 15:45 Raphael Gross: *Franz Kafka, Hans Kelsen und die Normativität des Bösen*
- 15:45 – 16:00 Coffee break
- 16:00 – 16:45 Mihran Dabag: *Gestaltung durch Vernichtung. Weltanschauliche Rahmungen von Völkermorden im 20. Jahrhundert*
- 16:45 – 17:30 Boris Barth: *The Young Turks in Power and the Armenian Genocide*
- 17:30 – 18:00 Snack break
- 18:00 – 18:45 Jürgen Zimmerer: *The First German Genocide (1904–1908) in Context: Towards a Postcolonial Reading of Germany's Racial Century*
- 18:45 – 19:30 Ben Kiernan: *The World History of Genocide*
- 19:30 – 20:15 Hannibal Travis: *Patterns of Genocidal Education: From the Ottoman Empire to Contemporary Zones of Mass Killing*

**LOCATION:
ZKM | ATRIUM 7**

**CONFERENCE LANGUAGES:
GERMAN, ENGLISH**

SATURDAY**JUNE 20 2015**

- 10:00 – 10:15 Introduction: Peter Weibel
- 10:15 – 11:00 Terike Haapoja: *The Unwritten History of Non-Humanity*
- 11:00 – 11:15 Coffee break
- 11:15 – 12:00 Antonio Negri: *Il socialismo e la nazione*
- 12:00 – 12:45 Jan M. Piskorski: *Die Verjagten. Flucht und Vertreibung im Europa des 20. Jahrhunderts*
- 12:45 – 13:45 Lunch break
- 13:45 – 14:30 Paul Edwards: *Time Crimes: The 20th Century's Long Now*
- 14:30 – 15:15 Clive Hamilton: *Requiem for a Species*
- 15:15 – 15:30 Coffee break
- 15:30 – 16:15 Kerryn Higgs: *The Age of Growth: Collision Course*
- 16:15 – 17:00 Hans-Werner Kroesinger: *FACEing Documents or Dealing with History on Stage Without Making Deals*

SUNDAY**JUNE 21 2015**

- 10:00 – 10:45 Frank Dikötter: *Mao's Great Famine*
- 10:45 – 11:30 Saskia Sassen: *Expulsions*
- 11:30 – 11:45 Coffee break
- 11:45 – 12:30 Bazon Brock: *The Logic of Globalization Destroys the Idea of a Universal Evolution of Mankind*
- 12:30 – 13:15 Peter Sloterdijk: *Was geschah im 20. Jahrhundert?*

**THE TRIBUNAL ALSO LIVE
ON THE WEB AT
<http://zkm.de/live-stream>**

IMPRINT

Conference, Film Installation, Panorama Projection & Stage

| | |
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| Concept: | Peter Weibel |
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| Project assistance: | Anett Holzheid |
| Project management museum technical services: | Andrea Hartinger |
| Museum technical services: | Stefan Wessels, Claudius Böhm, Volker Becker, Mirco Frass, Rainer Gabler, Gregor Gaissmaier, Ronny Haas, Christof Hierholzer, Werner Hutzenlaub, Gisbert Laaber, Marko Preitschopf |
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The Coldest Planet in the Universe: The Human Heart.

Violence and Genocide in the Twentieth Century

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| Research: | Antonia Marten, Vera Dietel, Anja Folberth, Adam Rafinski |
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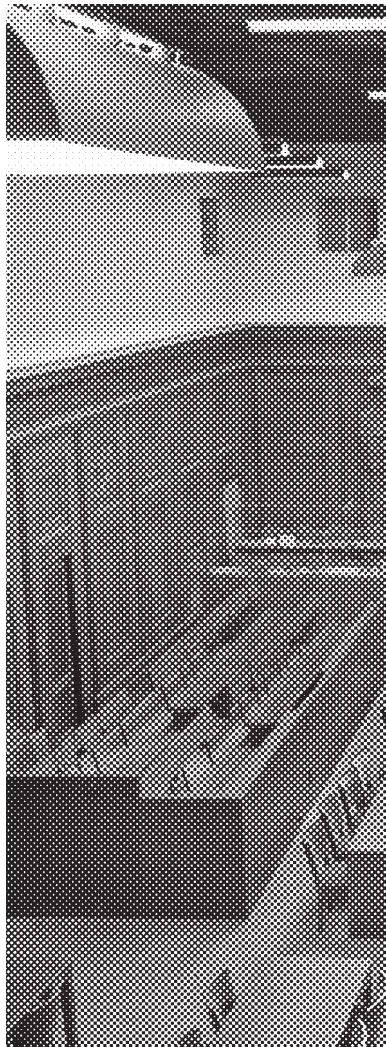
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JUNE 2015 - APRIL 2016 AT ZKM
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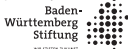


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