EVAP Episode 36_ Natia Navruzov

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SPEAKERS

Natia Navrouzov, Jaclyn Streitfeld-Hall

Jaclyn Streitfeld-Hall 00:12

Welcome to Expert Voices on Atrocity Prevention by the Global Centre for the Responsibility to Protect. I'm Jaclyn Streitfeld-Hall, Research Director at the Global Centre. This podcast features one-on-one conversations with practitioners from the fields of human rights, conflict prevention and atrocity prevention. These conversations will give us a glimpse of the personal and professional side of how practitioners approach human rights protection and atrocity prevention, allowing us to explore challenges, identify best practices and share lessons learned on how we can protect populations more effectively.

- Jaclyn Streitfeld-Hall 00:47
 - Today, I'm joined by Natia Navrouzov, Executive Director of Yazda. Thank you for joining us today, Natia.
- Natia Navrouzov 00:54
 Thank you so much for having me.
- Jaclyn Streitfeld-Hall 00:56

Natia, this year marks 10 years since the genocide perpetrated by the Islamic State, or Da'esh against the Yazidis in Sinjar. Could you share with our listeners the crimes that were committed against the Yazidi and other minorities in Iraq from 2014 to 2017?

Natia Navrouzov 01:12

Yes, so in June 2014, ISIS started to seize some very large territories of Iraq. Firstthe city of Mosul, which is the second biggest city in Iraq. Then they also took over Tal Afar, which is close

to Mosul. And then in August, 2014 they encircled Sinjar, which is the homeland of the Yazidis, and the way ISIS committed its crimes, and especially against Yazidis, was very clear in terms of their genocidalintent. So, you know, when they came, they had a clear plan. They had studied the Yazidis in advance and had concluded that, you know, those were people who were not of the book. So they distinguish among the minority groups, between, you know, communities that have a book, religions that have a book, such as the Christians, and then those who don't, so Yazidis. So for Yazidis, in a matter of days, ISIS executed around 5,000 people - mainly young, male adolescents, men and also elderly. So this category of people was deemed not to be fit enough to be enslaved or to serve the caliphate. So they were executed and then ISIS enslaved around 7,000 Yazidi women and children, and took themto captivity, sometimes for some people, for over 10 years now.

Jaclyn Streitfeld-Hall 02:53

Your organization, Yazda, has been an important actor in the aftermath of the genocide against the Yazidi. Can you share a bit about Yazda's work?

Natia Navrouzov 03:02

So while these crimes were happening in the very, very early of August 2014, there was a movement from the Yazidi diaspora, especially in the US. So there is a Yazidi community there, especially people who used to serve the US militaryafter their invasion of Iraq so they had resettled their through such special programs, and had been living there for some years, and of course with their family still in Sinjar. So when ISIS attacked, they were informed very quickly of what was happening, the fact that ISIS was killing people, enslaving them, forcing them to convert, and taking them to different areas of Irag and Syria. So these Yazidis, with the support of Yazidi still present in Iraq and who were not captured by ISIS, started to lobby the US government, the State Department specifically, but also the Pentagon, pushing them to take action. And actually, the US is the first country, through President Obama, which also stated at that moment, I think it was on the seventh of August, so four days after the start of the attacks, that what was happening might be a genocide. Sothis group of people then, after a safe corridor was established and Yazidis were able to escape, especially those who were stuck on Sinjar Mountain, decided to establish an NGO that was called Yazda. And Yazda really was established three weeks after the third of August, and since then, we have been operating for 10 years now, and we have been providing the Yazidi community and other minorities with different types of support. One of course, humanitarian, we have been especially supporting direct survivors of ISIS enslavement, with mental health support, medical care, things like helping them to redo their IDs when they come back from captivity. You have to imagine that people just fled over capture, did not have time to take anything with them, or were deprived of their belongings while in captivity. So people come back really with nothing. So we really try to support them holistically after their release from captivity. And then in terms of the second big mandate that we have, we are very active on justice, accountability, transitional justice, and we have been especially documenting ISIS crimes for over nine years now, trying to use that evidence to push forward different transitional justice initiatives.

Jaclyn Streitfeld-Hall 05:47

On the justice and accountability side, what is the history behind the creation of INITAD (United

on the judice and accountability side, what is the motory behind the creation ordinarias (officed

Nations Investigative Team to Promote Accountability for Crimes Committed by Da'esh/ISIL)? Why did the Security Council create this body? And what promise did UNITAD bring for survivors and victims of the atrocity crimes committed in Iraq?

Natia Navrouzov 06:08

So, I think it's easy to understand that one of the first demands of the Yazidi lobby and advocacy was justice. So one of the first things we asked, as Yazda and also other groups, was that justice needed to be served to the community, and Yazidis actually even beyond ISIS, crimes, have been subjected to numerous other genocidal campaigns over you know our history. I'm also Yazidi, and I also have heard from my own family stories of previous attacks and enslavements. And you would think that those are things that would not repeat in modern history, but they did happen, and I think the Yazidi genocide is one of the worst examples, especially of enslavement and sexual violence of women and children. So we asked justice for that. And what we basically asked for from the very beginning was an international tribunal. We lobbied the UN very strongly, as well as different countries. And we thought, okay, ISIS is a global issue, right? It's a global threat. I think over 80 nationalities composed ISIS, or people from over 80 countries joined ISIS. I think we often tend to see it as only an Iraqi or Syrian problem. Sometimes we do see that it's also a problem of our countries. I grew up in France, and in France we had were the one of the worst terrorism attacks, also a few years ago, so then we sort of realized that ISIS is broader than that, but we tend to forget it. And so we askedfor an international tribunal. There wasn't any appetite for that, you know. One of the main reasons was, it's just too expensive. And there's also this, this tendency of promoting first justice within national systems. But in our situation, Iraq was just not willing to prosecute ISIS members for international crimes, because, first of all, it still, until today, 10 years later, does not have a legislation that criminalizes genocide, crimes against humanity and war crimes. And even if it had, it just completely lost the trust of the community. So Yazidis are Iraqis, and they were not protected by their state. And there is since then, a lot of mistrust, and 10 years on it still hasn't been rebuilt. So our advocacy really heavily relied on the support of the international community. So the establishment of such a tribunal and it, as you know, there are examples with Rwanda and former Yugoslavia, but there wasn't any appetite. What we got back then is the creation of UNITAD. So we were told, okay, as a first step, although there is no political will at the Security Council to establish such a tribunal, we can offer you at least this mechanism that would document the crimes so that the evidence is preserved and you can use it, hopefully in the future for prosecution. So UNITAD was created and in 2017 through a UN Security Resolution and then started to be active and operating in Irag in the fall of 2018.

- Jaclyn Streitfeld-Hall 09:34
 - Last year, the government of Iraq requested that the Security Council not renewthe mandate of UNITAD after this month, September 2024. Why did that happen?
- Natia Navrouzov 09:48

Yes, so as I just said, UNITAD was created by the Security Council. It's a ChapterSix mechanism. So it means that every year Iraq needed to provide its approvalfor UNITAD to be to be renewed. It was happening every year in September since 2017, so seven years of operating. As you just

said, last year, by surprise and and very shockingly, we found out that Iraq did want to renew UNITAD for another year, but that was it. Their message was that, after one more year, UNITAD needs to shut its operations and leave the country. So at that time you know I was informed in advance, informally, I wasn't supposed to know, but I found out when it was already too late, Iraq had already sent the letter to the Council, and it wasn't possible to sort of go and lobby Iraq to change their mindon this letter. So with colleagues, we came together very fast. We mobilized civilsociety, we put out a statement even before the Council session took place, and think it was at the time, endorsed by 50 NGOs, including survivor networks, really sharing concerns about this decision. I also want to highlight that these NGOs did not only represent Yazidi community, but also communities across all Iraq, different communities, different geographical areas. So there was a huge consensus among all of us that UNITAD needed to continue its work. The reason behind UNITAD's closure are still a little bit unclear, and I think it will take a while to have the full picture. Of course, in terms of our engagement, both with UNITAD and Iraq, they are right now also competitive narratives. AndI think this happens when something is sort of shut down without any agreement. So of course, UNITAD wanted to continue its work, Iraq was againstit. So one of the main reasons Iraq put forward is the fact that UNITAD hasn't been sharing anything with them and and UNITAD was established primarily to support Iraq and its accountability efforts, but UNITAD hadn't been sharing evidence, according to Iraq, with them. I think that goes back to the way UNITAD was established. UNITAD was established by the UN under UN principles, UNITAD needs to follow UN principles, needs to apply, you know, international law, humanitarian law, human rights law. And I think it was very clear from the beginning that UNITAD could not share anything with our with Iraq, with the death penalty and with concerns around fair trial rights. I do believe that there wasn't enough discussions between Iraq and UNITAD perhaps, and when I also say UNITAD, I mean the UN in general, over the past seven years on how to find a compromise on that, right. From the beginning, both parties knew. Iraq knew that UNITAD was established to support its work, but only under certain conditions. And the UN knew that Iraq had the death penalty and also that their concerns around fair trial rights. But you know the feeling I also had is that both were operating in parallel, sometimes coming together, having perhaps vague discussions, keeping their positions and just continuing their routes. Very late in my opinion, a working group was established, in March 2023, so a few months before Iraq decided to shut down UNITAD, there was a working group that was established to discuss that issue, how to ensure that UNITAD evidence can be used in Iraq, how to encourage Iraq to pass a legislation that criminalizes these crimes for which UNITAD was even collecting evidence, but that came a bit too late. There were previous attempts to push forward such a law, but they were always politicized, and theynever really went through. So yeah I think there was this sort of completely distortion of expectations, and what is really sort of painful to see is that it was to the detriment of the survivors. Because ultimately UNITAD was created to serve justice for survivors as a first step to collect that evidence so that it could serve justice for survivors. And Iraq had made that promise by letting UNITAD come into the country and take all that evidence and use it. The whole purpose was to use it. So over the past year, we have, unfortunately in a way, lost the whole reason of why UNITAD was created, and it really became this sort of clash of narratives between UNITAD and Iraq, with civil society in between trying to sort of you know salvage the situation and recenter the discussion around survivors and their needs. But I think one of the key points I would take from all of this process is that there has to be lessons learned, sort of exercise around UNITAD and also around Iraq and also their failures.

Jaclyn Streitfeld-Hall 15:51

That leads into another question, which is to what degree were survivors and victims consulted

regarding the end of UNITAD's mandate? And you know were there their concerns considered, and what are the plans for the path forward, interms of what happens with evidence and everything that that UNITAD was working towards?

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Natia Navrouzov 16:19

So UNITAD, the creation of UNITAD was really a push forward by survivors, especially, survivors like Nadia Murad, with the support of you know, human rights lawyer Amal Clooney, with Yazda and and also others. Their advocacy pushed this process forward in 2017 but then when it came to the closure of UNITAD there was barely any communication. As I said, I just found out throughmy contacts, I wasn't supposed to know. It just happened. It was not possible to stop it anymore. And while it was happening the whole year, where we were engaging in advocacy and lobbying and side discussions, there was barely any communication, neither from UNITAD nor Iraq, on what's happening. You know, what is the plan? And I do think this is also because none of them really knew. I think there were different phases over the past year. There was one phase where there was still the hope that UNITAD could be salvaged, that we could still save UNITAD. So what there wasn't a lot of communication around that time about UNITAD's closure and what it actually meant, because there was a hope that it will still remain. And then I think quite late, we all realized that UNITAD will be closed, and of course, the plan forward needed to mainly come also from Iraq, from the UN and UNITAD side. There were two important reports, one that came out in January this year, that really highlighted issues around informed consent. You know when, when UNITAD's closure was announced, one of the main concerns from the survivors communities was, especially when they had given their statements, was, will it be shared with Iraq? Because when Iraq asked for UNITAD's closure, one of their main demands is, okay, now you hand me everything over, and you close and you go, and of course, that created concerns among the survivors who were aware of that decision. But the UN, the Secretary-General in January this year, clarified very quickly and very clearly that there is a UN principle of informed consent, and nothing would be shared by UNITAD to Irag without the consent of the sources, including survivors when it was survivors testimonies. And then they also proposed a way forward, which was we should have a follow up mechanism, which is a they called it a repository mechanism that could continue to handle the evidence that UNITAD had collected outside of Irag, so that it could remain accessible to Irag, but also third states. Then in March, so two months later, UNITAD itself published a roadmap, highlighting what it coulddo in the time it had left and also what needed to be done moving forward. I think what was quite disappointing is the lack of transparency and plan forwardfrom Iraq itself, because ultimately Iraq is responsible for that process. Right? These victims are Iraqis. Most of the crimes were committed in Iraq by a lot of Iraqi nationals, perpetrators, and Iraq was ultimately the one closing UNITAD, so we were expecting a bit more transparency and information on what was their plan forward. And up until today, it remains unclear. They did say that they will pass, finally, a legislation that criminalizes core international crimes. But the timeline is still unclear, and we are pushing for consultations of survivorsbefore such a law is passed, to make sure that they're included in the process. We also believe that even such a law, if it's passed, let's say tomorrow, and the start these prosecutions, Iraq has still not put enough effort to rebuild the trust. The element of trust is really missing, it's very important. That's why a lot of survivors were speaking to UNITAD, because they trusted it. It was an external mechanism. It wasn't an Iraqi one, it wasn't national. With UNITAD's closure, it sent a really negative message to survivors. So Iraq really needs to invest in this effort of trust building. Because, as I said, even if there is a law, I do not know a lot of survivors who would go and testify in a purely national process, and then there is a strong need for witness protection. A lot of the survivors were enslaved and attacked by their own neighbors. You know, we often think that ISIS is this

external force that came, and it was only foreigners, and to some extent, it also was, especially in Syria and Raqqa, a lot of foreigners came in there, but the Sinjar attacks that itself was mainly committed by the neighbors. Iraqi society is very tribal, so there's a risk for survivors, if they testify in a court to have consequences for their tribe, for their family members. So, witness protection is very, very important.

Jaclyn Streitfeld-Hall 21:47

How does, how does UNITAD's closure jeopardize efforts to hold ISIL members accountable for atrocities? And I guess coming off of that, are there aspects of UNITAD's work that remain incomplete? We've talked a little bit about the challenges of what do we do with creating a repository for what they had collected, but are there also things they had not yet achieved that now remain sort of open ended with the mandate ending this month?

Natia Navrouzov 22:21

So when it comes to UNITAD's investigation on Sinjar, Sinjar is an area of around 50 villages and collectives, so it's a lot of different places. Over the years UNITAD did not focus only on Sinjar, they also had investigations on Mosul, on Tikrit, so other areas of Iraq where ISIS also committed horrific crimes. But when it comes to Sinjar, of course they did not have time to cover all these areas. They mainly focused on Kocho, Solagh, a little bit Hardan. You know, some of these villages but and this is just you know I'm just throwing this number, it shouldn't be taken as accurate, but if I had to estimate, I would say maybe UNITAD was able to cover 10% of Sinjar. There's still a lot of documentation that needs to be done. But also the documentation that has been collected needs to remain accessible. And UNITAD's closure, and the fact that there's no follow up mechanism, of course, will jeopardize any justice efforts, especially from third states. Third states were heavily relying on UNITAD's evidence, because the terms of reference, as I said, was saying that primarily recipient of dividends should be Iraq but it also says that third states that are investigating core international crimes committed by ISIS were allowedto request information from UNITAD, and a lot of states were doing that. So therisk now, with the closure of UNITAD and the lack of a follow up mechanism is that some states might just look into terrorism. They have their nationals that are repatriated, or they have people who are residing on their territory that they suspect of having joined ISIS probably committed crimes, but they don't really know what, because there's no real mutual legal assistance with Iraq or Syria, ofcourse. So they just go for terrorism, and that's something that we have been fighting for 10 years to avoid. We want the full extent of the crimes to be uncovered and prosecuted. That's the huge that's a huge risk right now. There's still IIIM (International, Impartial and Independent Mechanism - Syria) for Syria, so that's also important to highlight but UNITAD was still very important on Iraq. One thing of UNITAD's work that also hasn't been completed, that in the consultations I myself had with survivors, not just Yazidis, but also from differentcommunities, Christian, Shabaks, Turkmen, also Shias fromTikrit, one thing they kept highlighting is who will continue the exhumation process. Despite all the criticism we could also have towards UNITAD, they really really moved this exhumation process forward. When they came to Iraq in September 2018, a fewmonths later in March 2019, the first exhumations in Sinjar started in Kocho. Then it continued, like they have been exhuming since then. Around 65 mass graves were opened by UNITAD. Of course, the National Forensic Iragi team was leading, but with the heavy and important support of UNITAD and with UNITAD's departure, now the question is, who will continue to support that Iraqi team? Of course, there

are other actors as well present, like ICMP, but UNITAD was doing a lot. And this is also the perception survivor communities had, so they are now really worried about who will continue the forensic work that needs to continue, because, beyond criminal accountability, this is also about reparations, truth telling. A lot of families still are not able to move on because they are half missing and they don't know if their relatives are alive or were killed, and if they were killed, they want the remains back. They want to be ableto bury them. The exhumation in itself is not even enough, because then you have to do identification of remains, and that's a very complex process, and UNITAD again was contributing a lot to that. Now it's unclear how this complex process will continue, how Iraqi team can do it by itself. It needs support. It needs an annual budget from Iraq. It needs international community support and expertise. And then you have a lot of people, especially survivors in the diaspora, so they're leaving Iraq. So if they leave, then how to collect their DNA sample to allow the matching? It's a whole sort of complex process that needs to continue. And there's no clear plan right now on how it will.

Jaclyn Streitfeld-Hall 27:25

As you were talking about the risk of of prosecution on terrorism, as opposed to the the totality of the crimes. It's a sad reflection, but it's so interesting how many parallels we see between different situations and there's so many lessons to learn from this case that can be applied in in other country's situations wherethat sort of through line of terrorism creates a mask, where both in terms of policy options during the conflict, as well as in the aftermath of atrocities looking at Justice and Accountability. It really affects you know what states are willing to look at and how accountability is upheld. If you're really just looking through that terrorism lens, as opposed to atrocities and other crimes. So I think it's a really important point you made there.

Natia Navrouzov 28:29

Yeah and often terrorism trials, especially the ones we're seeing in Iraq, are about the security of the state, right? They are not about security of individual victims and how this impacted them and also, to me, genocide trials and core international crime trials are a way to also build a historical truth of what a group like ISIS can do, and it has potential preventive, you know, it can be preventive. It can prevent people to join ISIS. I think giving the example of Iraq, often what we hear and in some parts of Iraq, especially in the south, Sinjar is inthe north, and then often in the south, we hear that, "Oh, you know, Yazidis are exaggerating what they're saying happened to them is not true." There's, you know, even a denial. And I think if you only have terrorism trial that you know are focusing on on protection of the state and on the group as a terrorist group,and not these other crimes which are very, very important, then, yeah, the society also is not aware of part of what happened in their own country. And I think this is very dangerous and could lead to repetition of history.

Jaclyn Streitfeld-Hall 29:57

Absolutely, and I think you know what you've said also about how this isn't just about accountability for survivors and their families and victims. It's about bringing life back and reconciliation and reparation. Because as you said, these were neighbors committing crimes

against communities that they lived amongst. So I think it's really important in that process to take seriously what survivors in the Yazidi community and other communities who were targeted actually want going forward.

Natia Navrouzov 30:39

Exactly, and I think that's something that has been sometimes missing, asking the community what they want. Of course, they want criminal accountability. It's a strong demand. But from my experience now, I have been in Iraq for over six years, and I have been speaking to a lot of people, including survivors. This is often not even in their top three demands. You know they often ask, one of the first things I always hear is, I want someone to look for the missing. You know, we still have 2700 missing Yazidis, for example, and I want the all the mass graves to be exhumed. So now, as I said, UNITAD did a lot of work, but we still have around 34 mass graves, only in Sinjar that need to be opened, and then hundreds of remains in the more trade, Baghdad that need to be identified. Those are the top two demands all the time, from the families and the survivors. And then they asked for an income, they often, especially the women, their husbands and the men and the family were executed, so they're the only breadwinner, and it's very difficult in a society that used to be and still is very patriarchal. So those are sort of the daily things that they are struggling with, and that they ask for. I do believe that, you know, as you said, UNITAD was closed last week. I think it has been a week now, exactly on the 17th of September, UNITAD was closed, and there was no resolution that was even discussed on the follow up mechanism. It doesn't mean it's not going to happen, hopefully our advocacy and lobbying will continue, and hopefully the evidence will be accessible. But if it is, I think there has to be some thinking about to make it available, not only for criminal justice, but also for truth telling. Often individual survivors, of course, know what happened to them. They know who were their captors, and they're able to describe them and everything that was around them, but there's a lack of understanding also, of what ISIS was as an organization, you know the bigger picture. I think this evidence would allow to have this bigger picture, and it's important, again, for truth telling, and to show the world what ISIS was and still is and prevent. There's a resurgence of ISIS right now as we are speaking. And it's not a finished problem. So I think it's important that we consider using this evidence beyond criminal justice as well.

Jaclyn Streitfeld-Hall 33:21

As you noted, UNITAD was closed a week ago, and as we've been discussing it, it seems like there is a danger that the expectations of survivors, the desires of communities may not be met, or at least not in in kind of the short term. As kind of a final point, what do you think the Iraqi government and the international community, either together or even in their individual capacities, should do now to mitigate this and ensure justice and accountability, but also ensure the capacity for that truth telling?

Natia Navrouzov 34:08

I think it's important that the international community has those conversations with Iraq, and that Iraq, of course, is included in that conversation, because ultimately, we want Iraq to be leading on that process, of course, with the reassurances and guarantees and in a survivor

centered way. But we do believe that Iraq has a strong role to play in building the trust again with their own citizens and one way is to move this process forward. So it's important that both parties, Iraq and international community, recenter the conversation about survivor needs. But as you said, also managing their expectation. I think the creation of UNITAD itself is the lessons learned in terms of managing expectations. You cannot create this UN Mechanism, have it operate for seven years, I think over 200 millions were spent, maybe more, and then, on the other hand, tell us, "Oh, there's not enough money for a tribunal." And then, you know, this evidence ends up in an archive, so there has to be a managing of expectation of survivors. We still hope that the closure of UNITAD can revive the conversations about the creation of a prosecutorial mechanism. Of course, we are realistic, we know it will be very difficult. It might not happen now, maybe in the future, maybe never. But it's important to note that the Netherlands has a new coalition, and they also promised that they would establish an international tribunal. I was in the peace palace a few days ago. Wehad a conference on the Yazidi genocide, and the Dutch Minister of Foreign Affairs was there andrepeated. One of the things I told him is we will hold you accountable for that statement, because, again, it's very important what you're saying, and we want that, but we also need you to manage expectations. But he seems very serious, and he promised to have a follow up with us, and he seems very willing to have such a tribunal. If it's not international, then maybe it could be regional. You know, in Europe, because European countries have a big role to play as well. There is already the Joint Investigative Team on ISIS, the JIT between Netherlands, Belgium, France and Sweden. Maybe a way to move this forward is also to invite Iraq to be an observer so that they also do understand what investigating and prosecuting genocide concretely means, because I think it's very theoretical to them right now, and of course, it's not in their system. It's not the mentality of the judges there, but I do also know that some judges in Iraq really want that. It's just often also lack of political will from their government, but they are willing to look into that. And really one of the maybe last solutions, if we don't have an international or regional tribunal or hybrid tribunal, would be for us to at least have two or three high level cases that are being prosecuted, both by a mix of international community and Iraq doing this jointly. I don't know if it was done in such a way in the past, but why not? I think we need to be creative, right? And I think there's still very high level ISIS members that are in custody in Iraq, and what we are afraid of is that they will also just be executed at some point. So while they're alive, I think there has to be this conversation so that there are these high level cases, and we also showcase them by making sure they're seen by survivors. Something we did not really speak about yet is that we have cases right in Germany, we had nine cases. We have a case now that started in Sweden. We will have a case in the Netherlands this year. Those universal jurisdiction cases are super important, and we will continue to support them. And if there is a follow up mechanism to UNITAD, I'm sure it will also support them, and IIIM is doing that. But these cases are not so much in the pipeline of survivors, they don't know about them often. Even if they know they, they don't really understand how they work. What they want is really high level international cases, and I think maybe if there is no international tribunal, having Iraq and international community having a sort of agreement might be a creative solution. And then, of course, there is the ICC. But as you know, Iraq is not a State party to the Rome Statute. It doesn't mean that it couldn't mean a larger declaration that I think Article 12, 3 or 4 and accept jurisdiction. And I know there was a visit of Prosecutor Karim Khan to Iraq at the end of last year, and he also used to head UNITAD. So of course, he has the topical knowledge. But you know, I think with everything else happening in the world right now, especially in Palestine and Ukraine, I think ISIS crimes and Yazidi genocide sort of got lost a little bit, and that's why it's so important for NGOs like Yazda, but also others, to keep it under the loop and make sure that justice process is not forgotten.

Jaclyn Streitfeld-Hall 39:43

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