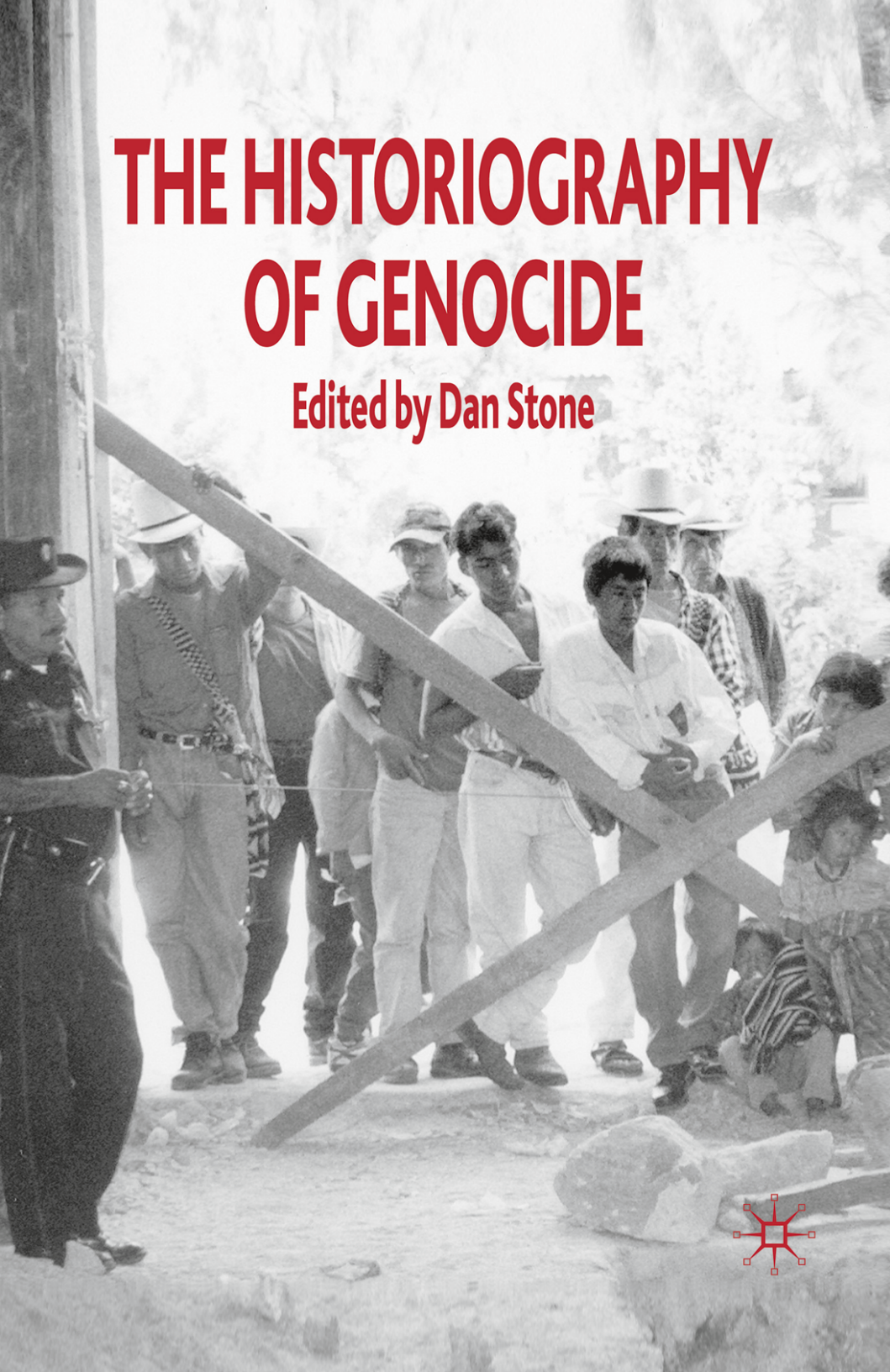


THE HISTORIOGRAPHY OF GENOCIDE

Edited by Dan Stone



The Historiography of Genocide

Also by Dan Stone:

BREEDING SUPERMAN: Nietzsche, Race and Eugenics in Edwardian and Interwar Britain

COLONIALISM AND GENOCIDE (*co-editor with A. Dirk Moses*)

CONSTRUCTING THE HOLOCAUST: A Study in Historiography

HANNAH ARENDT AND THE USES OF HISTORY: Imperialism, Nation, Race and Genocide (*co-editor with Richard H. King*)

HISTORY, MEMORY AND MASS ATROCITY: Essays on the Holocaust and Genocide

RESPONSES TO NAZISM IN BRITAIN 1933–1939: Before War and Holocaust

THE HISTORIOGRAPHY OF THE HOLOCAUST (*editor*)

THEORETICAL INTERPRETATIONS OF THE HOLOCAUST (*editor*)

The Historiography of Genocide

Edited by

Dan Stone

Professor of Modern History, Royal Holloway, University of London

palgrave
macmillan



Editorial matter, selection, introduction, Chapter 14 © Dan Stone 2008.
All remaining chapters © their respective authors 2008.
Softcover reprint of the hardcover 1st edition 2008 978-1-4039-9219-2

All rights reserved. No reproduction, copy or transmission of this
publication may be made without written permission.

No paragraph of this publication may be reproduced, copied or transmitted
save with written permission or in accordance with the provisions of the
Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988, or under the terms of any licence
permitting limited copying issued by the Copyright Licensing Agency, 90
Tottenham Court Road, London W1T 4LP.

Any person who does any unauthorised act in relation to this publication
may be liable to criminal prosecution and civil claims for damages.

The authors have asserted their rights to be identified as the authors of this
work in accordance with the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

First published 2008 by
PALGRAVE MACMILLAN
Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire RG21 6XS and
175 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10010
Companies and representatives throughout the world

PALGRAVE MACMILLAN is the global academic imprint of the Palgrave
Macmillan division of St. Martin's Press, LLC and of Palgrave Macmillan Ltd.
Macmillan® is a registered trademark in the United States, United Kingdom
and other countries. Palgrave is a registered trademark in the European
Union and other countries.

ISBN 978-0-230-27955-1 ISBN 978-0-230-29778-4 (eBook)
DOI 10.1057/9780230297784

This book is printed on paper suitable for recycling and made from fully
managed and sustained forest sources. Logging, pulping and manufacturing
processes are expected to conform to the environmental regulations of the
country of origin.

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

The historiography of genocide / edited by Dan Stone.
p. cm.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

1. Genocide—History. 2. Crimes against humanity—History.
I. Stone, Dan, 1971—

HV6322.7.H57 2008

304.6'630722—dc22

2007048561

10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1
17 16 15 14 13 12 11 10 09 08

Transferred to Digital Printing in 2011

Contents

<i>List of Charts</i>	vii
<i>List of Tables</i>	viii
<i>Notes on the Contributors</i>	ix
Introduction	1
<i>Dan Stone</i>	
I. Concepts	7
1. Defining Genocide	9
<i>Ann Curthoys and John Docker</i>	
2. Problems in Comparative Genocide Scholarship	42
<i>Anton Weiss-Wendt</i>	
3. Conceptions of Genocide and Perceptions of History	71
<i>David Moshman</i>	
4. Collective Violence and the Shifting Categories of Communal Riots, Ethnic Cleansing and Genocide	93
<i>Veena Das</i>	
5. Cultural Genocide in Australia	128
<i>Robert van Krieken</i>	
6. Genocide and Modernity	156
<i>A. Dirk Moses</i>	
7. Religion and Genocide: A Historiographical Survey	194
<i>Doris L. Bergen</i>	
8. Gender and Genocide	228
<i>Adam Jones</i>	
9. Prosecuting Genocide	253
<i>William A. Schabas</i>	
II. Case Studies	271
10. Genocide in the Americas	273
<i>Alfred A. Cave</i>	

11. Decent Disposal: Australian Historians and the Recovery of Genocide <i>Tony Barta</i>	296
12. Colonial Genocide: The Herero and Nama War (1904–8) in German South West Africa and Its Significance <i>Jürgen Zimmerer</i>	323
13. The Armenian Genocide <i>Donald Bloxham and Fatma Müge Göçek</i>	344
14. The Holocaust and Its Historiography <i>Dan Stone</i>	373
15. The Crimes of the Stalin Regime: Outline for an Inventory and Classification <i>Nicolas Werth</i>	400
16. The 1947 Partition of India <i>Ian Talbot</i>	420
17. Mao's China: The Worst Non-Genocidal Regime? <i>Jean-Louis Margolin</i>	438
18. Documentation Delayed, Justice Denied: The Historiography of the Cambodian Genocide <i>Ben Kiernan</i>	468
19. Mass Killings and Images of Genocide in Bosnia, 1941–5 and 1992–5 <i>Robert M. Hayden</i>	487
20. The Historiography of the Rwandan Genocide <i>Scott Straus</i>	517
21. <i>¿Si Hubo Genocidio en Guatemala!</i> Yes! There Was Genocide in Guatemala <i>Victoria Sanford</i>	543
22. Genocides of Indigenous Peoples <i>Robert K. Hitchcock and Thomas E. Koperski</i>	577
<i>Index</i>	618

Charts

Chart 21.1	Command responsibility for acts of violence	547
Chart 21.2	Ethnicity of victims	548
Chart 21.3	Total number of massacre victims in northern El Quiche March 1981 to March 1983	554
Chart 21.4	Number of massacres in northern El Quiche	554
Chart 21.5	Average number of victims per massacre in northern El Quiche	555
Chart 21.6	El Quiche data	556
Chart 21.7	Regime responsibility for percentage of massacre victims Baja Verapaz, 1980–1982	556
Chart 21.8	Percentage of massacre victims 1980–1983 by Municipality for Salama and Rabinal, Baja Verapaz	557
Chart 21.9	Number of massacre victims – Rabinal, Baja Verpaz 1980–1982	558
Chart 21.10	Percentage of massacre victims by gender Baja Verapaz, 1980–1983	558
Chart 21.11	Command responsibility of army and PACS during the last 12 months of Lucas Garica Regime	560
Chart 21.12	Command responsibility of army and PAC under Rios Montt Regime	562

Tables

Table 3.1	Genocide: definitions and criteria	78
Table 19.1	Total casualties by ethno-national group in Bosnia (1941–5 and 1992–5)	492
Table 22.1	Estimated numbers of the world's indigenous peoples for 2005	580
Table 22.2	Twentieth- and twenty-first-century cases of genocide of indigenous peoples	586

Notes on the Contributors

Tony Barta is a Research Associate at La Trobe University, where he taught European and Australian history and founded the History and Film programme in 1985. In addition to his work on genocide in Australia, he has written on twentieth-century Germany, and on historiography, media and historical understanding. He is the editor of *Screening the Past: Film and the Representation of History* (1998).

Doris L. Bergen is the Chancellor Rose and Ray Wolfe Professor of Holocaust Studies at the University of Toronto. She is the author of *Twisted Cross: The German Christians in the Third Reich* (1996) and *War and Genocide: A Concise History of the Holocaust* (2003) and the editor of *The Sword of the Lord: Military Chaplains from the First to the Twenty-First Centuries* (2004). Her research focuses on issues of religion, gender, ethnicity and violence, particularly in the context of Nazi Germany, the Holocaust and World War II.

Donald Bloxham is Reader in History at the University of Edinburgh. He is author of *The Great Game of Genocide: Imperialism, Nationalism, and the Destruction of the Ottoman Armenians* (2005), *The Holocaust: Critical Historical Approaches* (2005, with Tony Kushner) and *Genocide on Trial: War Crimes Trials and the Formation of Holocaust History and Memory* (2001). He is editor, with Mark Levene, of the Oxford University Press monograph series *Zones of Violence*.

Alfred A. Cave is Professor of History at the University of Toledo. He is the author of *Jacksonian Democracy and the Historians* (1964), *An American Conservative in the Age of Jackson* (1969), *The Pequot War* (1996), *The French and Indian War* (2004), *Prophets of the Great Spirit* (2006) and numerous articles primarily on the ethno-history of Early America.

Ann Curthoys is Manning Clark Professor of History, Australian National University. Following research into the unpublished manuscripts of Raphael Lemkin in New York in December 2003, she has prepared for publication with the journal *Patterns of Prejudice* a draft chapter Lemkin wrote on Tasmania as genocide; she has also written a chapter for Dirk Moses, ed., *Genocide and Colonialism* (2005). With John Docker, Ann co-edited *Aboriginal History* (vol. 25, 2001), a special section entitled "'Genocide'? Aboriginal History in International Perspective', for which they wrote the introduction 'Genocide: Definitions, Questions, Settler-Colonies'.

Veena Das is Kriger-Eisenhower Professor at the Department of Anthropology, Johns Hopkins University. Her most recent book is *Life and Words: Violence and the Descent into the Ordinary* (2006). She is an honorary fellow of the American Academy of Art and Sciences and elected Member of the Third World Academy of Sciences. She holds an honorary doctorate from the University of Chicago.

John Docker is a Visiting Fellow at the Humanities Research Centre, Australian National University. On 26 February 2004, he gave a paper entitled 'Raphael Lemkin's History of Genocide and Colonialism' at the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Center for Advanced Holocaust Studies, Washington D.C., which has been put on the Museum's website. He is the author of *1492: The Poetics of Diaspora* (2001), and a chapter for Dirk Moses, ed., *Empire, Colony, Genocide* (forthcoming 2008).

Fatma Müge Göçek is Associate Professor of Sociology and Women's Studies at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor. She is author of *Rise of the Bourgeoisie, Demise of Empire: Ottoman Westernization and Social Change* (1995) and *East Encounters West: France and the Ottoman Empire in the Eighteenth Century* (1999) and editor of *Social Constructions of Nationalism in the Middle East* (2002). She is co-organiser of the Workshop on Armenian/Turkish Scholarship (WATS).

Robert M. Hayden is Professor of Anthropology, Law and Public & International Affairs and Director of the Center for Russian & East European Studies at the University of Pittsburgh.

Robert K. Hitchcock is Professor and Chair of the Department of Anthropology at Michigan State University in East Lansing, Michigan, USA. His work focuses on human rights, development, refugees and resettlement, especially in southern Africa and North America. He has published several papers on genocides of indigenous peoples. He is the author of *Kalahari Communities: Bushmen and the Politics of the Environment in Southern Africa* (1996), and a co-editor of *Hunters and Gatherers in the Modern World: Conflict, Resistance, and Self-Determination, Endangered Peoples of Africa and the Middle East: Struggles to Survive and Thrive* (2000), *Indigenous Peoples' Rights in Southern Africa* (2004) and *Updating the San: Myth and Reality of an African People in the 21st Century* (2006). Currently, he is working on a book on the Ju/'hoansi San of Namibia since independence and doing research on dam-related resettlement in Africa.

Adam Jones is currently Visiting Fellow at the Yale Genocide Studies Program. He holds a PhD in Political Science from the University of British Columbia. He has published two books on the mass media and political transition, and two edited volumes on genocide: *Gendercide and Genocide* (2004) and *Genocide, War*

Crimes & the West: History and Complicity (2004). His scholarly articles on gender and conflict have appeared in *Review of International Studies*, *Ethnic & Racial Studies*, *Journal of Genocide Research*, *Journal of Humanitarian Assistance*, and other publications. He serves as executive director of Gendercide Watch (www.gendercide.org), a Web-based educational initiative that confronts gender-selective atrocities against men and women worldwide.

Ben Kiernan is the A. Whitney Griswold Professor of History and Professor of International and Area Studies at Yale University. He is founding Director of Yale's Cambodian Genocide Program and its Genocide Studies Program (www.yale.edu/gsp). In 2000–3, he also served as Convenor of the Yale East Timor Project. Kiernan is the author of *How Pol Pot Came to Power: Colonialism, Nationalism and Communism in Cambodia, 1930–1975* (2nd edn, 2004) and *The Pol Pot Regime: Race, Power and Genocide in Cambodia under the Khmer Rouge, 1975–1979* (1996). He is a member of the Editorial Boards of *Critical Asian Studies*, *Human Rights Review*, the *Journal of Human Rights*, the *Journal of Genocide Research* and *Zeitschrift für Genozidforschung*. His 2002 anthology *Conflict and Change in Cambodia* won the *Critical Asian Studies* Prize for that year. He is also editor of *Burchett: Reporting the Other Side of the World, 1939–1983* (1986) and *Genocide and Democracy in Cambodia: The Khmer Rouge, the United Nations, and the International Community* (1993), and co-editor with Robert Gellately of *The Specter of Genocide: Mass Murder in Historical Perspective* (2003).

Thomas E. Koperski is a humanities area researcher specializing in interdisciplinary approaches to the social sciences. Currently he is in the graduate program in Political Science at the University of Nebraska-Lincoln. His interests range from globalization and its impacts and management, development of governmental systems, human rights of indigenous peoples worldwide and the emerging field of bio-politics. He has done research on genocides of indigenous peoples and on the rights of indigenous peoples in southern Africa, and has published articles in *The Indigenous World*.

Jean-Louis Margolin is senior lecturer in history at the University of Provence in Aix-en-Provence, and Deputy Director of the Research Institute on South-East Asia (IRSEA/CNRS) in Marseille. He is the author of *Singapour 1959–1987: Genèse d'un nouveau pays industriel* (1989) and a number of articles on Singaporean economic and political history during the twentieth century. He is currently engaged in a comparative historical analysis of the political background of development strategies followed in South Korea, Taiwan and Singapore. He has also worked on political mass crime in East Asia, and more specifically on repression under Asian communist regimes, using a comparative approach that led to his contribution to the *Black Book of Communism* (1997),

as well as to specific studies on the Cambodian genocide. He is a member of the editorial boards of *Espaces-Temps*, a social sciences journal, and of *Moussons*, dedicated to Southeast Asia.

A. Dirk Moses teaches history at the University of Sydney, Australia. He is the author of *German Intellectuals and the Nazi Past* (2007), and editor of *Empire, Colony, Genocide* (forthcoming 2008), *Colonialism and Genocide* (2007, with Dan Stone), and *Genocide and Settler Society: Frontier Violence and Stolen Indigenous Children in Australian History* (2004).

David Moshman is a professor of educational psychology at the University of Nebraska, where he teaches adolescent development, cognitive development and related courses. He is the author of *Adolescent Psychological Development: Rationality, Morality, and Identity* (2nd edn, 2005). He also teaches and writes about the psychology of genocide, including issues of conceptualization and denial. His chapter 'Genocidal Hatred: Now You See It, Now You Don't' appeared in R. J. Sternberg, ed., *The Psychology of Hate* (2005).

Victoria Sanford is Associate Professor of Anthropology at Lehman College, City University of New York. She is the author of *Buried Secrets: Truth and Human Rights in Guatemala* (2003), *Violencia y Genocidio en Guatemala* (2003) and (co-editor with Asale Angel Ajani) of *Engaged Observer: Anthropology, Advocacy and Activism* (2006). She is completing a book entitled *Morality and Survival* about child soldiers in Guatemala and Colombia. Her current research is on femicide and impunity in contemporary Guatemala.

William A. Schabas is Director of the Irish Centre for Human Rights at the National University of Ireland, Galway, where he also holds the chair in human rights law. He is the author of 12 books dealing in whole or in part with international human rights law, including *Introduction to the International Criminal Court* (2nd edn, 2004), *Genocide in International Law* (2000), *The Abolition of the Death Penalty in International Law* (3rd edn, 2003), *International Human Rights Law and the Canadian Charter* (1996), *The Death Penalty as Cruel Treatment and Torture* (1996) and *Précis du droit international des droits de la personne* (1997). He has also published more than 150 articles in academic journals, principally in the field of international human rights law. Professor Schabas is editor-in-chief of *Criminal Law Forum*, the quarterly journal of the International Society for the Reform of Criminal Law.

In May 2002, the President of Sierra Leone appointed Professor Schabas to the country's Truth and Reconciliation Commission, upon the recommendation of Mary Robinson, the United Nations High Commission for Human Rights.

Professor Schabas has often been invited to participate in international human rights missions on behalf of non-governmental organizations such as Amnesty International (International Secretariat), the International Federation of Human Rights, and the International Centre for Human Rights and Democratic Development to Rwanda, Burundi, South Africa, Kenya, Uganda, Sudan, Cambodia and Guyana. He has worked as a consultant to the Ministry of Justice of Rwanda, the United States Agency for International Development and the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe. He was a delegate of the International Centre for Criminal Law Reform and Criminal Justice Policy to the United Nations Diplomatic Conference of Plenipotentiaries on the Establishment of an International Criminal Court, Rome, 15 June–17 July 1998. He is a member of the board of several international human rights organizations and institutions, including the International Institute for Criminal Investigation, of which he is chair, and the International Institute for Human Rights (Strasbourg), of which he is treasurer.

From 1991 to 2000, William Schabas was professor of human rights law and criminal law at the Département des sciences juridiques of the Université du Québec à Montréal, a Department he chaired from 1994 to 1998; he now holds the honorary position of *professeur associé* at that institution. He has also taught as a visiting or adjunct professor at McGill University, Université de Montréal, Université de Montpellier, Université de Paris X-Nanterre, Université de Paris XI, Université de Paris II Pantheon-Assas, Dalhousie University and University of Rwanda, and he has lectured at the International Institute for Human Rights (Strasbourg), the Canadian Foreign Service Institute, the United Nations Institute for Training and Research and the Pearson Peacekeeping Centre. He is a member of the Quebec Bar, and was a member of the Quebec Human Rights Tribunal from 1996 to 2000. Professor Schabas was a senior fellow at the United States Institute of Peace in Washington during the academic year 1998–9. In 1998, Professor Schabas was awarded the Bora Laskin Research Fellowship in Human Rights by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada.

Dan Stone is Professor of Modern History at Royal Holloway, University of London. He is the author of *Breeding Superman: Nietzsche, Race and Eugenics in Edwardian and Interwar Britain* (2002), *Constructing the Holocaust: A Study in Historiography* (2003), *Responses to Nazism in Britain, 1933–1939: Before War and Holocaust* (2003) and *History, Memory and Mass Atrocity: Essays on the Holocaust and Genocide* (2006); editor of *Theoretical Interpretations of the Holocaust* (2001) and *The Historiography of the Holocaust* (2004); and co-editor of *Colonialism and Genocide* (2007, with A. Dirk Moses) and *Hannah Arendt and the Uses of History: Imperialism, Nationalism, Race and Genocide* (2007, with Richard H. King). He is a member of the editorial boards of the *Journal of Genocide Research* and *Patterns of Prejudice*.

Scott Straus is Assistant Professor of Political Science at the University of Wisconsin, Madison. Straus is the author of two books on Rwanda: *The Order of Genocide: Race, Power, and War in Rwanda* (2006), and, with Robert Lyons, *Intimate Enemy: Images and Voices of the Rwandan Genocide* (2006). *The Order of Genocide* received the 2006 Award for Excellence in Political Science and Government from the Association of American Publishers. Straus also co-authored, with David Leonard, *Africa's Stalled Development: International Causes and Cures* (2003), and he translated Jean-Pierre Chrétien's *The Great Lakes of Africa: Two Thousand Years of History* (2003). Straus has additionally published articles in *Foreign Affairs*, *Genocide Studies and Prevention*, the *Journal of Genocide Research* and the *Wisconsin International Law Journal*.

Ian Talbot is Director of the Centre for Imperial and Post-Colonial Studies at the University of Southampton. He has published extensively on the Partition of India and on Pakistan history. His most recent works include, *Divided Cities: Partition and Its Aftermath in Lahore, Amritsar* (2007) and *Pakistan: A Modern History* (2005).

Robert van Krieken teaches and researches in sociology and socio-legal studies in the Department of Sociology and Social Policy at the University of Sydney. His books include *Children and the State*, *Norbert Elias* and *Sociology: Themes and Perspectives*, and his journal publications include studies of the historical sociology of child welfare, violence and civilization, state-formation and changing forms of subjectivity. His current research addresses a number of questions in the history and sociology of law, including transformations in family law and legal reasoning as a mode of knowledge-production.

Anton Weiss-Wendt received his PhD in modern Jewish history from Brandeis University. Before joining the Norwegian Holocaust Centre in Oslo he taught Soviet history at Keele University in the UK. His intellectual interests include, but are not limited to, comparative genocide and prosecution of war crimes, East European and Soviet history. He has published in *Journal of Genocide Research*, *Holocaust and Genocide Studies*, *Nationalities Papers* and *Journal of Baltic Studies*. His book, *Murder Without Hatred: Estonians, the Holocaust, and the Problem of Collaboration*, is forthcoming. In his current research project he examines the connection between war crimes trials and the Cold War.

Nicolas Werth is Director of Research at CNRS (Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique) in Paris. After studying at the Ecole Normale Supérieure, he taught for eight years in Minsk and Moscow, and was cultural attaché at the French Embassy in Moscow during the period of perestroika. He came to CNRS in 1989, where he specializes in the social and political history of the USSR, in particular

the Stalinist period and the question of state violence. He is the author of many works, including *Etre communiste en URSS sous Staline* (1981), *La vie quotidienne des paysans soviétiques de la Révolution à la Collectivisation, 1917–1939* (1984), *Les procès de Moscou* (1987), *Histoire de l'Union soviétique, de l'Empire russe à la CEI, 1900–1991* (1991, 5th edn, 2001), *Rapports secrets soviétiques. La société russe dans les rapports confidentiels, 1921–1991* (1995), *L'Île aux cannibales* (2006), *La Terreur et le désarroi. Staline en son système* (2007) and *Les Années Staline* (2007). He has also co-edited *Histoire du Goulag Stalinién* (2004, 7 volumes) and contributed to *The Black Book of Communism* (French edn, 1997, English edn, 1999).

Jürgen Zimmerer is Lecturer in International History at the University of Sheffield, UK. His areas of research include comparative genocide, African history, the transnational history of European colonialism and representations of the imperial world in various European countries (Germany, Great Britain and Portugal). He is co-editor of the *Journal of Genocide Research* and president of the International Network of Genocide Scholars. Recent publications include *Deutsche Herrschaft über Afrikaner. Staatlicher Machtanspruch und Wirklichkeit im kolonialen Namibia* (2001), *Genocide in German South-West Africa: The Colonial War of 1904–1908 and Its aftermath* (co-edited, 2003; English translation 2006), *Verschweigen-Erinnern-Bewältigen. Vergangenheitspolitik in globaler Perspektive* (edited, 2004), *Raphael Lemkin 'On Genocides': The 'Founder of the Genocide Convention' as a Historian of Mass Violence*, (co-edited, 2005) and *Von Windhuk nach Auschwitz. Beiträge zum Verhältnis von Kolonialismus und Holocaust* (forthcoming).

Introduction

Dan Stone

In the introduction to *The Historiography of the Holocaust*, which appeared in 2004, I noted that in due course it would be necessary to produce a similar book for the historiography of genocide. The rapidity with which this turned out to be the case was surprising, and reflects the fact that genocide studies is one of the fastest-growing disciplines in the humanities and social sciences. Of course, this growth in the literature does not apply equally to all cases of genocide, and that on genocide in Bangladesh, Iraq, Burundi, Ethiopia or East Timor remains relatively limited, which is why they are regrettably omitted from this book. But it is also not the case that the historiography of genocide has grown only with respect to the 'canon' of genocides: the Armenian genocide, the Holocaust, Cambodia and Rwanda. Rather, there has been a steady growth of literature on colonial genocides, especially in North America, Australia and German South West Africa (though nothing like the same extent on, for example, the Belgian Congo, the Caribbean, Peru or Argentina); as well as an attempt to understand communist regimes (the USSR and China, Cambodia is a special case here) and other forms of mass atrocity such as the Partition of India, or the violence of twentieth-century South American regimes through the lenses of genocide studies. Such an approach does not please everyone; indeed, arguments about whether or not genocide took place in India or Australia can often obscure as much about a particular history as they can reveal (if it is genocide, what more needs to be said, why should we try and understand the patterns of interaction, violent or otherwise, that lie behind the events?). Yet, it is also the case that these debates can bring and have brought considerable energy and vigour to historiographical and broader cultural debates.

That said, it remains to be seen whether or not such a thing as a recognizable discipline of genocide studies really exists. One critic argues that 'genocide studies is not a discipline but a field dealing with a certain phenomenon and therefore is not theoretically bound to a specific set of methods.'¹ Certainly,

there are journals, notably the *Journal of Genocide Research*, scholarly bodies, and no shortage of international conferences. But what is discussed at these forums has the tendency to become, beyond the addition of more detail to particular case studies, a merry-go-round of definitional debates. In other words, the 'discipline' cannot even agree on the meaning of its basic terms. Some scholars feel that this is a problem peculiar to genocide studies, but it can also be regarded, if not as a sign of strength, at least as a sign of fluidity, genuine intellectual engagement with a profoundly moving and difficult topic, and critical debate. The lack of clarity in the field can also therefore be an indication of great potential, and not just a reflection of the conceptual confusion built into the concept from its invention by Raphael Lemkin.²

If that potential is to be released, then, as Mark Levene points out, scholars need to do more than just engage in 'comparative genocide studies'.³ That is not to make the unrealistic demand that scholars must learn many languages and conduct research in many countries before they can pronounce on the meaning of genocide. It means, rather, that instead of contenting themselves with drawing similarities and dissimilarities between cases of genocide, they must attempt to develop general, empirically informed, theoretical statements about genocide as such – what it is, when it happens, who supports it, and so on.

The problem is that, even where some sort of consensus to be arrived at as to the meaning of genocide – say, by agreeing to stick with Lemkin's definition or the United Nations' version of it – there is no guarantee that this would facilitate agreement as to any other question pertaining to genocide. We might end by showing only that a certain number of genocides have taken place throughout human history, and that in each case circumstances differ so widely that it is impossible to make general statements about, for example, what kind of person takes part in genocide or what political or economic circumstances are most conducive to its occurrence. Or we might wish to collapse all '-cide' terms (politicide, ethnocide, democide, indigenocide and so on) so that there is no distinction between, say, ethnic cleansing and genocide, and all cases of mass atrocity are termed genocide.⁴ As Anton Weiss-Wendt reminds us with salutary sobriety in his challenging chapter, there is much basic work yet to do before genocide studies can rightfully take its place among the other interdisciplinary specialisms.

Readers of this volume can make up their own minds as to how far the volume succeeds in bringing coherence to the field. But what it does do is offer up to date and comprehensive assessments of the large literature relating to theories of genocide and to many cases of genocide from the colonial period onwards.

The historiography of genocide is a classic case of 'uneven development'. The literature on the Holocaust – which, for good or ill, has provided many of the theoretical frameworks and research strategies for analyzing other genocides – is unmanageably large. My chapter on this subject omits as much as it mentions.

By contrast, Victoria Sanford's chapter on Guatemala refers to relatively few authorities for the simple reason that they do not exist in anything like the same numbers. In that case, and in the case of events that are less obviously examples of genocide, such as the Partition of India, that shortage of historical literature (not *per se*, but from a genocide studies perspective) is perhaps unsurprising. But in the cases of Australia and North America it is remarkable that, given the enormous historiography on the colonial period and frontier conflict in both places, there is not more that directly addresses the question of genocide. Mark Levene is right when he notes the 'dearth of really good overviews of settler-native conflict in the New World.'⁵ Alfred A. Cave's chapter goes a long way to correcting this situation, but obviously there is scope for more, especially since it is clear that so many historians who write on American Indians and Australian Aborigines shy away from confronting the question of genocide.

What has happened here is that the study of genocide has been dominated since the 1980s – when Leo Kuper's pioneering work appeared – by political scientists in the North American liberal tradition.⁶ Their aim (obviously laudable in itself) was to prevent genocide, and to this end they sought to analyze past occurrences of the phenomenon in order to draw up typologies and thus to provide 'early-warning' signals of likely genocidal situations in the world.⁷ This process is critically analyzed by Ann Curthoys and John Docker and by David Moshman in their treatments, which look at the development of the idea of genocide since Lemkin and the trend to typologization, respectively. Historians, who traditionally focus on the particular and not the general, did not play an active role in the development of this work; indeed they were somewhat suspicious of it. In recent years, though, a new generation of historians, anthropologists and, most impressively, political scientists such as Scott Straus, has turned to a more strictly historical approach to genocide. Thus, many scholars are likely to locate the origin of genocide less in a single moment, decision or blueprint (which is, problematically for history-writing, demanded by the UN Convention's legal interpreters, who need to demonstrate 'intent') than in a radicalizing dynamic, a process in which even perpetrators themselves may be unclear about how and when they have passed over into the moral abyss and moved from discrimination to violence to genocide. Tony Barta's idea of 'construing intent through action', which he put forward over 20 years ago, seems to bear more relation to reality than the search for incriminating documents that reveal an 'intent to destroy', finding which is, of course, an exceptionally rare occurrence.

What this new cohort who pay more attention to historical detail have also shown, if often only implicitly, is that genocide – in contrast to what was suggested by the earlier political science paradigm – is not committed by aberrant lunatics in faraway places about which we know little and desire to know even

less. Rather, genocide has historically been committed by ‘us’ in the West, in settler colonial situations, as Jürgen Zimmerer shows, and continues to be committed across the world in the name of development, as Robert K. Hitchcock and Thomas E. Koperski show in their study of indigenous peoples. Furthermore, where it was once simple to assume that genocide was committed in backward countries ruled by savage despots, A. Dirk Moses shows that the number of social theorists and philosophers who have seen a meaningful relation between modernity and genocide – even if not in the direct sense popularized by Zygmunt Bauman in his simplistic reading of Weber – means that we can no longer glibly take it for granted that genocide is only ever part of someone else’s history. This is the uncomfortable conclusion also reached by Doris Bergen and Adam Jones, whose analyses of the roles played in genocide by religion and gender respectively should give us pause for thought about our own traditions – in this case, whoever ‘we’ are – as much as others’.

But genocide, as everyone who picks up this book will know, is not a stable concept; indeed it epitomizes what is meant by the phrase ‘essentially contested concept’. One man’s genocide is another man’s unfortunate bout of disease-drive ‘population readjustment’, as Robert van Krieken and Veena Das demonstrate in their conceptual chapters. In the case of the Armenian genocide, the Turkish government continues to exploit uncertainties and lack of knowledge to propound its negationism. And even in the cases of Cambodia and Rwanda there is a good deal of debate about the basic characteristics of the events, as Ben Kiernan and Scott Straus show. In the cases of Yugoslavia, India, China and the Soviet Union, there is little consensus as to the applicability of the term ‘genocide’, nor is there agreement that even if the events could be so described, that doing so would necessarily be the most cogent or informative way of approaching them. Ian Talbot argues for the usefulness of the term when discussing Partition, but his is a minority voice, though one that is definitely getting louder. That mass death has occurred in modern China no historian would seek to deny, but Jean-Louis Margolin provides an instructive demonstration that mass murder and genocide are conceptually distinct, even if the moral or criminal difference in this instance may be negligible. And while many have sought to make the genocide label stick to the Soviet Union, especially in their treatment of the Ukrainians in the ‘terror famine’, Nicolas Werth shows that it is perhaps only with great caution that one can find a convincing case of genocide in the course of Stalin’s reign. Robert M. Hayden’s analysis of Yugoslavia is, however, the most contentious here, since, while he is disputing neither that terrible things occurred in Bosnia in the early 1990s nor that the Serbs were the main guilty party – it is important to state this clearly, since his work has often been misinterpreted by propagandists – he is taking on the decision of the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia that ‘genocide’ is the correct way of interpreting those events. To some this

conclusion is an affront to common sense, or politicized hair-splitting; but it reveals that the concept of genocide, however clear it might seem in one's preferred definition (most scholars believe that the UN Convention has problems) does not always correspond clearly to the demands of writing history.

It is because writing about the past, when done well, is complex and messy, that those who seek to produce typologies of genocide as a guide to future political action, are often sceptical of the work of historians. Scholars of genocide sometimes have the tendency to be rather self-congratulatory, as if those who do not spend their lives researching, writing about or actively trying to prevent genocide are any less concerned about its occurrence. Within the still fairly small community of genocide studies, this self-congratulatory tone sometimes spills over into unattractive internecine debates about the 'correct' relationship between academic research and political activism. One activist has written in a public, online forum that 'lawyers and activists make history. Most historians just write about it.'⁸ It is not my intention here to overturn this division between 'activists' and 'historians'; rather, I wish to suggest that the dichotomy is a false one, drawn for rhetorical effect. The inclusion here of an important essay by the leading scholar of law and genocide, William Schabas, should make it clear that a concern with prosecuting perpetrators has historically been at the heart of genocide studies, as it continues to be. The 'pioneers of genocide studies' may have believed that they were changing the world by writing about genocide. Perhaps it is even the case that those who devote themselves to genocide prevention have prevented a genocide from taking place. But the new cohort of genocide scholars – which is not necessarily the same thing as a generational shift – that has been responsible for the rapid growth of the field over the last decade, perhaps has a more cautious approach. Those who undertake historical, anthropological, legal, sociological or philosophical research into genocide are, one ventures to suggest, at least as alarmed by the thing that they study as those who pioneered the field in the 1980s. It is precisely because they are careful scholars that they do not make grand claims for the significance of their work in terms of preventing genocide. Those who have little patience for scholarship do not need to engage with it; but there are many ways to engage with (and change) the world and, if this collection of essays succeeds in demonstrating that the scholarly engagement with genocide is not the least meaningful of them it will have justified its existence.

Notes

1. C. Gerlach, 'Extremely Violent Societies: An Alternative to the Concept of Genocide', *Journal of Genocide Studies*, 8, 4 (2006), 463.
2. See A. D. Moses, 'The Holocaust and Genocide', in *The Historiography of the Holocaust*, ed. D. Stone (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), pp. 533–55; A. Rabinbach,

6 Introduction

- 'The Challenge of the Unprecedented: Raphael Lemkin and the Concept of Genocide', *Simon Dubnow Institute Yearbook*, 4 (2005), pp. 397–420.
3. See M. Levene, *Genocide in the Age of the Nation State. Vol. 1: The Meaning of Genocide* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2005).
 4. See M. Shaw, *What is Genocide?* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2007), pp. 48–62 for the argument that there is no real distinction between ethnic cleansing and genocide. See also B. Lieberman, *Terrible Fate: Ethnic Cleansing in the Making of Modern Europe* (Chicago, IL: Ivan R. Dee, 2006).
 5. M. Levene, 'Nation-States, Empires, and the Problems of Historicizing Genocide: A Response to Wolfgang Reinhard and Anthony Pagden', *Journal of Genocide Research*, 9, 1 (2007), 131.
 6. See Moses, 'The Holocaust and Genocide'; idem., 'Conceptual Blockages and Definitional Dilemmas in the "Racial Century": Genocides of Indigenous Peoples and the Holocaust', *Patterns of Prejudice*, 36, 4 (2002), 7–36.
 7. H. Fein, 'Genocide: A Sociological Perspective', *Current Sociology*, 38, 1 (1990), pp. 1–126.
 8. G. Stanton, communication to H-Genocide, 29 November 2002 (www.h-net.org/~genocide).

I. Concepts

1

Defining Genocide¹

Ann Curthoys and John Docker

Genocide is one of those rare concepts whose author and inception can be precisely specified and dated. The term was created by the brilliant Polish-Jewish jurist Raphael Lemkin (1900–59), in his book *Axis Rule in Occupied Europe: Laws of Occupation, Analysis of Government, Proposals for Redress*, published in the USA in 1944. Lemkin was also the prime mover in the discussions that led to the 1948 United Nations (UN) Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide. The concept was immediately recognized worldwide to be of contemporary significance and future importance, for it calls attention to humanity at its limits. It is a major concept in international law, for its framework of group experience and rights challenges both a stress on the individual as the subject of law and the exclusive jurisdiction of modern nation states. It has led to the reconceptualization of the whole of human history as involving a history of genocide, for it amply fulfills Croce's dictum, so important for twentieth- and twenty-first-century historical writing, that history is written out of the urgent concerns and dangers of the present.² Since the beginning, it has been embroiled in argument and controversy, which show no sign of abating as the pressing contexts of world history continuously change. Questions that have arisen over the past 60 years include: Are there forms of genocide which do not involve mass killing? What are the criteria for assessing intention in genocidal events and processes? Do genocides necessarily involve state action or leadership? Should mass killing based on political categories be called genocide? What is meant by cultural genocide? And finally, to what extent must our definition of genocide for the purposes of historical scholarship conform to the definition used in international law? Despite the different answers scholars have given to these questions, the usage of 'genocide' as a meaningful and suggestive term in international law, history, and social science continues to grow, as this present volume attests.

Raphael Lemkin defines 'genocide'

We necessarily begin with a portrait of Raphael Lemkin and his originating definition.³ Lemkin was born on 24 June 1900 in Bezwodne, a village near the small city of Wolkowysk (now Vaulkovisk). When Lemkin was growing up, Wolkowysk was part of Tsarist Russia; between the World Wars it was located in Poland, and is now in Belarus. In his unfinished autobiography, 'Totally Unofficial Man', written in 1958 not long before he died, Lemkin recalls that from childhood he was stirred by historical accounts of extermination. He read about the destruction of the Christians by Nero; the Mongols overrunning Russia, Poland, Silesia, and Hungary in 1241; the persecution of Jews in Russia by Tsar Nicholas I; the destruction of the Moors in Spain; and the devastation of the Huguenots. He confides that from an early age he took a special delight in being alone, so that he could feel and think without outer disturbances, and that loneliness became the essential condition of his life.⁴

Lemkin gained his doctor of laws at the University of Lvov in 1926; after a year of study in Heidelberg, Rome, and Paris, he became a public prosecutor in Warsaw.⁵ In 1933, the year of Hitler's election to government in Germany, Lemkin sent a paper to a League of Nations conference in Madrid on the Unification of Penal Law.⁶ He proposed that the crimes of barbarity and vandalism be considered as new offences against the law of nations. Acts of barbarity, ranging from massacres and pogroms to the ruining of a group's economic existence, undermine the fundamental basis of an ethnic, religious, or social collectivity. Acts of vandalism concern the destruction of the cultural heritage of a collectivity as revealed in the fields of science, arts, and literature. Lemkin argued that the destruction of any work of art of any nation must be regarded as an act of vandalism directed against 'world culture'.⁷ Lemkin always regretted that the 1933 conference did not enact his proposals in international law. He felt that if they had been ratified by the 37 countries represented at Madrid, the new laws could have inhibited the rise of Nazism by declaring that attacks upon national, religious, and ethnic groups were international crimes and that the perpetrators of such crimes could be indicted whenever they appeared on the territory of one of the signatory countries.⁸

In 1939, Lemkin fled Poland and reached Stockholm in Sweden, where he did extensive research on Nazi occupation laws throughout Europe. On 18 April 1941, he arrived in the United States via Japan. He thought help for European Jewry, including his own family, could only come from the United States, which he saw as a nation born out of moral indignation against oppression, and a beacon of freedom and human rights for the rest of the world. Yet he also records that as he travelled by train to take up an

appointment teaching law at Duke University, he saw at the chillingly named Lynchburg station, Virginia, toilet signs saying 'For Whites' and 'For Colored'. He recalls that in Warsaw 'there was one single Negro in the entire city', employed as a dancer in a popular nightclub. Lemkin contrasts the 'feeling of curiosity and friendliness' that prevailed 'towards this lonely black man in Poland' with attitudes in Poland towards its 'three million' Jews. Lemkin says that he asked the 'Negro porter if there were indeed special toilets for Negroes', but was met with a puzzled look mixed with hostility; he observes that after 17 years in the United States he now understood that the porter must have thought he was making fun of him.⁹ This enigmatic anecdote indicates at the very least that an ambivalence about the moral history of the United States remained to his last days, especially revealed in his unpublished papers and the controversy, discussed in detail later in this chapter, in which he was involved in the early 1950s over whether or not African-American history and experience constituted genocide.¹⁰

What was notable about Lemkin's 1933 proposals concerning barbarity and vandalism was the width of his formulations. In a similar spirit, 11 years later, chapter nine of *Axis Rule* proposed his new concept of 'genocide', deriving the term from the Greek word *genos* (tribe, race) and Latin *cide* (as in tyrannicide, homicide, fratricide). Genocide is composite and manifold; it signifies a coordinated plan of different actions aiming at the destruction of the essential foundations of life of a group. Such actions can, but do not necessarily, involve mass killing. They involve considerations that are cultural, political, social, legal, intellectual, spiritual, economic, biological, physiological, religious, and moral. Such actions involve considerations of health, food, and nourishment; of family life and care of children; and of birth as well as death. Such actions involve consideration of the honour and dignity of peoples, and the future of humanity as a world community.¹¹

In 1933, Lemkin had focused on what he would later call genocide as an episode or act or event. In 1944, he saw genocide as also a process, a process that may include destructive episodes or acts or events. A key passage on the opening page of chapter nine states:

Genocide has two phases: one, destruction of the national pattern of the oppressed group; the other, the imposition of the national pattern of the oppressor. This imposition, in turn, may be made upon the oppressed population which is allowed to remain, or upon the territory alone, after removal of the population and the colonization of the area by the oppressor's own nationals.¹²

Lemkin here defines genocide as a twofold process of destruction and replacement, a process that entwines genocide and colonization.

In the post-war years Lemkin worked tirelessly in the fledgling UN circles to persuade relevant committees to pass a convention banning genocide.¹³ At the same time, in 1947 he began writing a history describing many examples of genocide in the past, which he could submit as memoranda to influential delegates.¹⁴ For this research, Lemkin gained financial assistance from various sources, such as the Viking Fund and the Lucius N. Littauer Foundation in New York, as well as from the Yale Law School, which provided him with an office and research support.¹⁵ When he left his position teaching international law at Yale in 1951, he was supported by organizations of East European ethnic communities in the US, such as the Lithuanian American National Council and the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, with whom he had developed close political ties.¹⁶

Lemkin's book on the history of genocide remained unfinished and unpublished when he died in 1959. Yet the various manuscript chapters and research notes and cards are now being explored.¹⁷ They make fascinating reading. The book kept expanding, taking in examples from antiquity to modernity. In particular, he pursued the linking of colonization with genocide made in chapter nine of *Axis Rule* to include European colonizing around the world, including that of the Americas, by the Spanish from 1492 and later in North America by the English, French, and post-independence Americans. He is highly critical of Columbus as an egregious genocidist (Lemkin's own term) who set the historical example for the future of Spanish colonization in the Americas, instituting slavery and catastrophic loss of life. He develops a sophisticated methodology that permits the possibility of multifaceted analyses of settler-colonial histories in relation to genocide. He carefully distinguishes between cultural change and cultural genocide. He points out that the relationship between oppressor and victim in history is always unstable, and that in world history there are many examples of genocidal victims transforming into genocidists, the formerly persecuted into the persecutors of others. He points to recurring features in historical genocides: mass mutilations; deportations under harsh conditions often involving forced marches; attacks on family life, with separation of men and women and taking away of the opportunity of procreation; removal and transfer of children; destruction of political leadership; and death from illness, hunger, and disease through overcrowding on reserves and in concentration camps.¹⁸

Lemkin's views on humanity and violence were double-edged, both optimistic and pessimistic. He fervently hoped and believed that international law could restrain or prevent genocide. Yet he also argued that genocide has followed humanity through history, that it occurs between groups with a certain regularity just as homicide takes place between individuals. In retrospect, we can see Lemkin's historical conceptions and legal thinking emerging from a 1930s and 1940s context where émigré intellectuals were attempting to

reprise and develop traditions of cosmopolitanism and internationalism which they saw being engulfed by Nazism, itself a culmination of nineteenth-century nationalism and colonialism. Figures like Walter Benjamin, Freud, Lemkin, Hannah Arendt, Erich Auerbach, Albert Einstein, and Leo Spitzer were concerned that humanity should establish a duty of care to all the world's peoples and cultures.¹⁹ Central to Lemkin's thought were notions of world culture and the oneness of the world, valuing the variety and diversity of human cultures.²⁰ Yet as we shall see, in the post-war world, riven as it was by the racial divide and the Cold War (with its sense, shared by Lemkin himself, of an absolute gulf between two monolithic opposed blocs, the Communist and the 'Free World'), the notion of a common humanity was pushed ever further to the margins.

When Lemkin died in New York on 28 August 1959, seven people attended his funeral. Most of his family had perished in the Holocaust.²¹ Yet he left a rich legacy, for genocide quickly proved to be a protean and productive, if contested, concept.

The United Nations Convention on Genocide, 1948

One immediate source of complication is that Lemkin in effect produced, or influenced into being, two definitions, the discursive definition in chapter nine of *Axis Rule* and the codified definition of the 1948 UN Genocide Convention. Although the latter was based on the former, a tortuous political process in a divided Cold War atmosphere meant that what emerged was a narrower definition than the one Lemkin originally proposed. In the deliberations of the various committees, there were, Leo Kuper records, major controversies regarding the groups to be protected, the question of intent, the inclusion of cultural genocide, the problem of enforcement and punishment, the extent of destruction which would constitute genocide, and the essential nature of the crime.²² The Soviet representatives, for example, led the attack to exclude political groups. Kuper feels that one 'must acknowledge that there was cause for anxiety that the inclusion of political groups in the Convention would expose nations to external interference in their internal affairs'. In the controversy over cultural genocide, Kuper observes that the roles of the national delegations were somewhat reversed, with the Soviet Bloc pressing for its inclusion, while the Western European democracies were opposed. Presumably, Kuper notes, the 'representatives of the colonial powers would have been somewhat on the defensive, sensitive to criticism of their policies in non-self-governing territories'.²³ Lemkin especially regretted the exclusion of cultural genocide ('very dear to me').²⁴

The Articles of the UN Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, United Nations General Assembly 9 December 1948,

became widely known and quoted.²⁵ Article II sets out the key clauses of the definition:

In the present Convention, genocide means any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such:

1. Killing members of the group;
2. Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group;
3. Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part;
4. Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group;
5. Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group.

The omission of political and cultural genocide was cause for regret in some quarters, and both have remained issues in scholarly and legal debate ever since. The case of cultural genocide is especially complex. Leo Kuper reflects that while cultural genocide was dropped from the Convention it survived in vestigial form in the prohibition on the forcible transfer of children from one group to another, and in the term 'ethnical' group, suggesting protection of groups with distinctive culture or language.²⁶ We would also argue that the notion of 'mental harm' was and is open to being interpreted as implying cultural as well as psychological genocide.

While cultural genocide was muted in the 1948 Convention and political genocide was omitted, in Lemkin's 1944 definition in *Axis Rule* the cultural and political were both strongly present as part of the manifold ways the essential foundations of life of a group were being destroyed.²⁷ We might say that Lemkin's 1944 definition, and the Lemkin-influenced definition enshrined in the 1948 Convention, acted in subsequent thinking about genocide like a double helix, neither reducible one to the other nor wholly separable.

An early sociology of genocide: Jessie Bernard, 1949

The extreme violence and extent of slaughter and mass death of World War II left many intellectual fields epistemologically shaken and uncertain: how did their discipline now look in the light of such catastrophe?²⁸ Sociology became one of the fields most affected. Indeed, the crisis posed to sociology, with its functionalist inheritance and normative assumptions, is a recurring theme in the history of attempts to define genocide. A very early sociological engagement came from Jessie Bernard in 1949. Bernard, who would later become well known for her arguments concerning gender, sex, marriage, motherhood, and family life, as well as for *Marriage and Family among Negroes* (1966), which

examined the effects of racism on Black culture, discussed genocide in her book *American Community Behavior*. In the preface to the 1962 edition, Bernard says that in the 1940s most sociology curricula gave little recognition to problems engendered by competition and conflict, in a world in which war, strikes, revolutions, rebellions, and riots were endemic. Her aim was to rectify this omission by studying 'community disorganization', not least violence, for the 'extraordinary importance of this phenomenon has seemed to demand sociological consideration'.²⁹ The final section of the book, 'The World Community', drew directly on Lemkin's essay 'Genocide – A Modern Crime' (*Free World*, April 1945) to argue that race and ethnic conflict on the world stage had experienced an 'unexpectedly brutal turn', in Germany taking the form of 'genocide, so-called, that is, of exterminating whole peoples', for example, 'that an estimated 6 million Jews were systematically destroyed in gas chambers'. The weapons in the arsenal of genocide, she adds, could also include, in relation to occupied peoples, 'reducing the birth rate by keeping the sexes separated, chronic undernourishment, specific vitamin deficiencies'. Sometimes the 'objective is not to destroy the people as physical beings but to destroy them as bearers of culture'. In such situations, liberal arts training is forbidden because it might stimulate national thinking; religious sanctions must be thoroughly wrecked. Nevertheless, Bernard noted, referring to post-war desires for decolonization, increasingly 'the darker races are rebelling against their status as exploited peoples', accompanied by support from world opinion; the Apartheid mode of race relations in South Africa, for example, was on the defensive.³⁰

It would soon be the turn of the United States to be on the defensive in the court of world opinion, somewhat to the dismay of Lemkin himself.

We Charge Genocide: condemning the treatment of African Americans, 1951

Genocide as a legal convention proved almost immediately to be troubling and problematic in the context of the Cold War. Both sides recognized that the charge of 'genocide' might be made against the other, and each wished to avoid being charged. This struggle was the strongest within the US in the early 1950s, where two groups, in particular, competed to have the UN consider accusations of genocide: Eastern European émigrés wanted charges of Soviet genocide while radical African Americans sought charges of American genocide. It is to the latter we now turn.

In *The Archaeology of Knowledge* Michel Foucault advised that in the history of ideas we should never forget the importance of notions and phenomena like 'threshold, rupture, break, mutation, transformation'.³¹ Such could well be said of a momentous event in American and African American history.