

DICTIONARY OF GENOCIDE



SAMUEL TOTTEN AND PAUL R. BARTROP

Dictionary of Genocide

Volume 1: A–L

Volume 2: M–Z

SAMUEL TOTTEN
and
PAUL R. BARTROP

*With contributions by
Steven Leonard Jacobs*



GREENWOOD PRESS
Westport, Connecticut • London

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Totten, Samuel.

Dictionary of genocide / Samuel Totten and Paul R. Bartrop ; with contributions by Steven Leonard Jacobs.

p. cm.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-0-313-32967-8 (set : alk. paper)—ISBN 978-0-313-34642-2 (vol. 1 : alk. paper)—
ISBN 978-0-313-34644-6 (vol. 2 : alk. paper)

1. Genocide—History. 2. Crimes against humanity—History. I. Bartrop, Paul R. (Paul Robert), 1955– II. Jacobs, Steven L., 1947– III. Title.

HV6322.7.T68 2008

304.6'6303—dc22 2007028430

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data is available.

Copyright © 2008 by Samuel Totten and Paul R. Bartrop

All rights reserved. No portion of this book may be reproduced, by any process or technique, without the express written consent of the publisher.

Library of Congress Catalog Card Number: 2007028430

ISBN: 978-0-313-32967-8 (set)
978-0-313-34642-2 (vol. 1)
978-0-313-34644-6 (vol .2)

First published in 2008

Greenwood Press, 88 Post Road West, Westport, CT 06881
An imprint of Greenwood Publishing Group, Inc.
www.greenwood.com

Printed in the United States of America



The paper used in this book complies with the Permanent Paper Standard issued by the National Information Standards Organization (Z39.48-1984)

10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

The authors dedicate this book to all past and present victims of genocides and mourn their loss, and those scholars and other activists who are aggressively working on the eradication of this ongoing human tragedy.

Contents

VOLUME 1

List of Entries	ix
Acknowledgments	xxi
Introduction	xxiii
<i>Dictionary of Genocide, Entries A–L</i>	1

VOLUME 2

<i>Dictionary of Genocide, Entries M–Z</i>	265
Bibliography	487
Index	507

List of Entries

Abdul Hamid II
ABiH
Absolutism
Accelerator
Aché
Actors
Adana
Administrative Measures
Advisory Committee on Genocide Prevention
Aegis Trust for the Prevention of Genocide
Afghanistan, Genocide in
African Union
African Union, Constitutive Act
“Agenda for Peace”
Akashi, Yasushi
Akayesu, Jean-Paul
Akazu
Aktion(en)
Aktion Reinhard
al-Bashir, Omar Hassan Ahmed
Albigensian Crusade
Allied Force
al-Majid, Ali Hassan
AMAR Appeal
Amaury, Arnold
Ambassador Morgenthau’s Story
Amin, Idi
Amnesty
Amnesty International
Anfal
Angkar Loeu
Angkar’s Eight-Point Agenda
Annan, Kofi
Anschluss
Antecedents to the Holocaust
Anti-Jewish Legislation Implemented by the
Nazis
Antiquity, Genocide During
Antisemitism
Arabism
Ararat
Arbour, Louise
Area Bombing
Argentina and “Disappearances”
Arierparagraph
Arkan
Arkan’s Tigers
Armageddon
Armenia: The Betrayed
Armenian Atrocities Committee
Armenian Genocide
Armenian Genocide, British Response to
Armenian Genocide, Denial of
Armenian Genocide Institute-Museum
Armenian Genocide, Role of Turkish
Physicians in
Armenian Genocide, United States’ Response
to
Armenian Massacres
Armenian Question, The
Arms Embargo
Arusha Accords
Aryan
Aryan Myth
ASEAN
Asocials, Nazis’ Designation as
Assyrian Genocide
Asylum
Atatürk, Mustafa Kemal
Atrocities Documentation Project
Auschwitz-Birkenau
Australia, Genocide in
Australian Institute for Holocaust and
Genocide Studies
Authoritarianism
Autocracy

LIST OF ENTRIES

- Autogenocide
 AVEGA-AGAHOZO
 Awami League
Awlad Al-Beled
Axis Rule in Occupied Europe
- Babi Yar
Back to Ararat
 Bagosora, Théoneste
 Baha'is in Iran
Bahutu Manifesto
 "Banality of Evil"
 Bangladesh Genocide
 Bangladesh Genocide, U.S. Response to
 Barayagwiza, Jean-Bosco
 Barmen Declaration of the Confessional Church
 Bassiouni, M. Cherif
 Belzec
 Benenson, Peter
 Beothuk People, Genocide of
 Bermuda Conference
 Bettelheim, Bruno
Beyond Borders
 Biafra, Genocide in
 Bibliographies of Genocide
 Bikindi, Simon
 Bilateral Aid
 Birkenau
 Bisengimana, Paul
 Bitburg Cemetery
 Bizimungu, Augustin
 Black Africans, of Darfur
 Black and Tans
Black Deeds of the Kremlin, The
 Black Legend
 Blackbirding
 Blaskic, Tihomir
 Blood Libel
 "Blue Helmets" or "Blue Berets"
 Blue Scarf
 Body Bag Effect or Syndrome
 Bonhoeffer, Dietrich
 Booh-Booh, Jacques-Roger
Bophana, a Cambodian Tragedy
 Bosnia-Herzegovina
 Bosnian Safe Areas
 Boutros-Ghali, Boutros
Brahimi Report
 Brand, Joel
 Brazil, Genocide of Indigenous Peoples
Bringing Them Home
 Broad-Based Transitional Government
 Bryce, Viscount James
 Buchenwald
- Buddhists, Destruction of by Khmer Rouge
Bund Deutscher Mädel
 Bund Report(s)
 "Burning Times, The"
 Burundi, Genocide in
 Bushnell, Prudence
 Butz, Arthur
 Bystanders
- Calling the Ghosts: A Story about Rape, War
 and Women*
 Cambodian Documentation Commission
 Cambodian Genocide
 Cambodian Genocide Justice Act
 Cambodian Genocide, United States'
 Response to
 Canada, Genocide in
Carlsson Report
 Carnegie Commission on Preventing Deadly
 Violence
 Carthage, Genocide in
Carthago delenda est!
 Catholic Church, and the Holocaust
 Center for International Development and
 Conflict Management
 Century of Genocide
*Century of Genocide: Critical Essays and
 Eyewitness Accounts*
 Cham People, Genocide of
 Chamberlain, Neville
Chap Teuw
 Chapter Six and a Half
 Chapter VI of the UN Charter
 Chapter VII of the UN Charter
 Charny, Israel W.
 Chelmno
 "Chemical Ali"
 Chetniks
 Chile
 China, Genocide in
 Chittagong Hill Tracts, Genocide in
 Chmielnicki, Bogdan
 Chmielnicki Pogroms
 Choeng Ek
 Christian X, King of Denmark
Churban
 CIA and Genocide
 Civil War
 Class
 Classification of Genocides in Multiple
 Categories
 "Clearing the Bush"
 Clinton's Apology, Rwandan Genocide
 "CNN Effect"

Coalition for an International Criminal Court
 Coalition for International Justice
Coalition Pour la Défense de la République
 Coercive Diplomacy
 Cold War
 Collaborators
 Collective Intervention
 Collective Responsibility, Imposition of by
 Nazis
 Collectivization
 Colonial Genocide
 Colonialism
 Command Responsibility
 Commission for Historical Clarification
 Committee of Jurists
 Committee of Union and Progress
 Committee on Conscience
 Communism
 Compassion Fatigue
 Complementarity Principle
 Complex Humanitarian Emergency
 “Comrade Duch”
 Concentration Camps, Bosnian War
 Concentration Camps, Holocaust
 Concentration Camps, South African War
Concordat
 Conference on Security and Cooperation in
 Europe
 Confessional or Confessing Churches
 Conflict Prevention Network
 Conflict Resolution and Genocide
Conquistadores
Conspiracy
 Contact Group
 Control Council Law No. 10
 Convention
Cordon Sanitaire
 Cossacks, Genocide of
 Coughlin, Father Charles E. Roman
 Crimes against Humanity
 Crimes of Universal Jurisdiction
 Cromwell, Oliver
 Cultural Genocide
 Cultural Revolution
 Cultural Survival
 Culture of Impunity, Relationship to
 Genocide
 CUSHRID Net
 Customary International Law
 Czechoslovakia and Ethnic Cleansing

 Dachau
 Daimler-Benz
 Dallaire, Major-General Romeo

 Darfur (Sudan), Genocide in
 Dark Tourism
 Dayton Agreement
 Death Camps
 Death Squads
 Death Squads in Rwanda
 Declaration
 Declaration on Principles of International
 Law Concerning Friendly Relations and
 Co-operation (1970)
 Declaration on the Enhancement of the
 International Relations (1987)
 Declaration on the Inadmissibility of
 Intervention (1965)
 Definition of Genocide, Chalk and
 Jonassohn’s
 Definition of Genocide, Charny’s
 Definition of Genocide, Dadrian’s
 Definition of Genocide, Fein’s
 Definition of Genocide, Horowitz’s
 Definition of Genocide, Lemkin’s
 Definition of Genocide Used in UN
 Convention on the Prevention and
 Punishment of the Crime of Genocide
 Degrees of Genocide
 Degrelle, Leon
 Dehumanization
 Deir ez Zor
Dekulakization
 Del Ponte, Carla
 Democide
 Democracies
 Democracy and Genocide
 Democracy Promotion
 Democratic Kampuchea
 Denazification
 Deportations, in USSR
Der Stürmer
 Des Pres, Terrence
 Desecration of the Host
 Desensitization
 Desk Killing
 Despotism
 Despotism
 Destruction Process of the Jews by the Nazis
 Developmental Genocide
Diary of Anne Frank
*Diary of Dawid Sierakowiak, The: Five
 Notebooks from the Łódź Ghetto*
 Dictatorship
 Dili Massacre
Dimensions: A Journal of Holocaust Studies
Dirección de Inteligencia Nacional
 Direct Responsibility

LIST OF ENTRIES

- Dirty War
 Dirty War, Argentina
 Disappearances
 Discrimination
 Discrimination, Protection from Under
 International Law
 Disease and Genocide
 “Dispersion”
 Distributive Justice
 Djemal, Ahmed (Pasha)
 Doctors’ Trial
Documenting Atrocities in Darfur
 Domestic Genocides
 Doubling
 Draft Code of Offenses Against the Peace and
 Security of Mankind
 Drina Corps
 Drost, Pieter N.
 Duch, (Khang Khék Iev)
 Dunant, Henri
Dunera Boys
 Duranty, Walter
 Dutchbat

 Early Warning System
 East Timor, Genocide in
 Eastern Zone (Kampuchea)
 Economic and Social Council, United
 Nations
 Economic Sanctions
 Economically Motivated Genocide
 Eichmann, Adolf
*Eichmann in Jerusalem: A Report on the Banality
 of Evil*
 Eichmann Trial
 Eicke, Theodor
 Eight Stages of Genocide
Einsatzgruppen
 Electronic Jamming
 Eliticide
 Emergency Rescue Committee
 Enabling Act
 Enclosures
Encyclopedia of Genocide
*Encyclopedia of Genocide and Crimes Against
 Humanity*
Encyclopedia of the Holocaust
 Ennals, Martin
 Enver, Ismail (Bey)
 Epithets
 Erdemovic, Drazen
Escape from Sobibor
 Ethiopia, Genocide in
 Ethnic Cleansing

 Ethnic Cleansing, Undertaken in the Former
 Yugoslavia
 Ethnic Conflict
 Ethnicity
 Ethnocentrism
 Ethnocide
 Ethnopolitical Conflict
 Eugenics, Nazi Belief in
 Euphemisms
 European Network of Genocide Scholars
 European Platform for Conflict Prevention
 and Transformation
 Euthanasia Program of Nazis
 Evian Conference
 Excremental Assault
 Expulsion
 Expulsions and Genocide
 Extrajudicial Killings
 Ezhov, Nikolai

 Facing History and Ourselves
 Failed State
 FALANTIL
 Famine
 Farben, I. G.
 Fascism
 Faurisson, Robert
 Federal Republic of Yugoslavia
 Financial Sanctions
 First Nations
 First-Person Accounts of Genocide
 Foca, Rape Camp
 Food Insecurity
Forces Armées Rwandaises
 Forensic Inquiry and Genocide
 “Forgotten Genocide”
Forty Days of Musa Dagh, The
 Forum on Early Warning and Early Response
 FRETILIN
Frontline: Ghosts of Rwanda
 Fry, Varian Mackey
 Functionalism
Funktionshäftlinge

Gacaca
 Gacaca Law
Gacaca: Living Together Again in Rwanda?
 Galbraith, Peter
 Galen, Bishop Clemens August Graf von
 Gas Chambers
 Gas Vans
 Gendercide
 Gendercide Watch
 Gender-Related Persecution

- Generalgouvernement*
 Geneva Conventions
 Genghis Khan
Génocidaire
 Genocidal Massacre
 Genocidal Rape
 Genocidal Societies
Genocide: A Critical Bibliographical Series
 Genocide and Politicide Project
 Genocide by Attrition
 Genocide, Causes of
 Genocide, Classification in Multiple
 Categories
 Genocide Convention Implementation Act of
 1988
 Genocide, Denial of
 Genocide, During Early Modern Period
 Genocide Early Warning System
 Genocide Education
 “Genocide Fax,” January 1994
Genocide Forum, The
 Genocide, History of
 Genocide, Misuse of the Concept/Term
*Genocide Studies and Prevention: An
 International Journal*
 Genocide, Theories of
 Genocide Watch
 Geno/Politicide
Gerombolan Pengacau Keamanan
 Gestapo
 Glücks, Richard
 Goals of Anti-Jewish Administrators through
 the Ages
 Goebbels, (Paul) Joseph
 Goldstone, Richard
 Golkar
 Gorazde
 Göring, Hermann
 Gosh, Salah Abdallah
 Grave Breaches of the Geneva Conventions
 and Protocols I and II
Great Dictator, The
 Great Purges
 Great Terror, The
 Grotius, Hugo
 Guatemala, Genocide in
 Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement
 Gulag
Gulag Archipelago, The
 Gusmao, Xanana

 Habyarimana, Juvenal
 Hademar
 Hague Conventions

 Hama
 Hamidian Massacres
 Hamitic Hypothesis
Heart of Darkness
 Heavy Weapons Exclusion Zones
 Hegemonial Genocide
 Hegemony
 Heidegger, Martin
 Heng Samrin
 Herero People, Genocide of
 Heydrich, Reinhard
 Highland Clearances
 Himmler, Heinrich
 Historical Revisionism vs. “Historical
 Revisionism”
 Hitler, Adolf
 Hitler Youth
 Hoess, Rudolf Franz
 Holbrooke, Richard
 Holiday Inn Sarajevo
 Hollerith Machine
 Holocaust
 Holocaust Analogy
*Holocaust and Genocide Studies: An
 International Journal*
 Holocaust, United States’ Response to
 Horizontal Inequality
Hostis Humani Generis
 Hotel des Mille Collines
Hotel Rwanda
 Huguenots
 Human Destructiveness
 Human Rights
 Human Rights Internet
 Human Rights Law
 Human Rights Watch
 Humanitarian Action
 Humanitarian Assistance
 Humanitarian Intervention
 Hussein, Saddam
 Hutu
 Hutu Power
 Hutu Ten Commandments

*I Will Bear Witness: A Diary of the Nazi
 Years—1933–1941* and *I Will Bear Witness:
 A Diary of the Nazi Years—1942–1945* by
 Victor Klemperer
 Identity Cards, Rwanda
 Ideological Genocide
 Ieng Sary
 IFOR
 Igbo People, Genocide of
 Imperialism

LIST OF ENTRIES

- Implementation Force (IFOR)
Impuzamugambi
In Rwanda We Say: The Family that Does Not Speak Dies
In the Beginning Was the Ghetto: Notebooks from Łódź
 Incentives, and Diplomatic Practice
 Indian Removal Act, 1830
 INDICT Campaign
 Indigenous Groups and Genocide
 Indigenous Peoples
 Individual Responsibility, Concept of
 Indonesia and Genocide
 Indonesia, Mass Killing of Suspected Communists
 Inducements, as Part of a Sanctions Policy
Inkotanyi
 Inquisition
 Institute for the Study of Genocide
 Institute of Turkish Studies
 Institute on the Holocaust and Genocide (Jerusalem)
 Integrated Network for Societal Conflict Research (INSCR) Program
 Intentionalists
 Intentionalists'/Functionalists' Debate
 Intentionality
Interahamwe
 INTERFET
 Intergovernmental Organizations
 Internal Displacement
 Internal Refugees
 International Alert
 International Association of Genocide Scholars
 International Bill of Rights
 International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty
 International Commission on Missing Persons
 International Committee of the Red Cross
 International Court of Justice
 International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights
 International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights
 International Covenant on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination
 International Criminal Court
 International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda
 International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia
 International Crisis Group
 International Humanitarian Law
 International Intergovernmental Organizations
 International Law
 International Military Tribunal
International Network on Holocaust and Genocide
 International Panel of Eminent Personalities
 International Workgroup for Indigenous Affairs
Internet on the Holocaust and Genocide
Inyenzi
 Iraq Special Tribunal for Crimes Against Humanity
 Irredentism
 Irving, David
 "Israel"
 Izetbegovic, Alija
 "J"
 Jackson, Robert H.
Janjaweed
 Jasenovac
 Jewish Question
Journal of Genocide Research
Journey to Darfur, A
Jud Süß
Judenfrei
Judenrat
Judenrein
Jus ad Bellum
Jus Cogens
Jus in Bello
 Just War Theory
 Kagame, Paul
 Kaganovich, Lazar Moiseevich
 Kajuga, (Jerry) Robert
 Kambanda, Jean
Kangura
Kapos
 Karadzic, Radovan
 Karamira, Froduald
 Karski, Jan
 Ka-Tzetnik 135633
 Ke Pauk
 Kemal, Ismail (Bey)
 Kenney, George
 Khieu Samphan
 "Khmer Noir"
 Khmer Rouge
 Kielce Pogrom
 Kigali Memorial Centre
 Killing Fields, The

- Killing Fields, The*
 Kim Il-sung
 Kishinev Pogrom
 KOLAKOPS
 Kosovo Force
 Kosovo Intervention, and Allegations of a
 Serb-perpetrated Genocide
 Kosovo Intervention, Serb Claims of
 Genocide
 Kosovo Liberation Army
Kristallnacht
 Kristof, Nicholas D.
 Krstic, Radislav
Kulak
 Kuper, Leo
 Kurdish Genocide in Northern Iraq
 Kurdish Genocide in Northern Iraq, U.S.
 Response to
 Kutner, Luis

Land of Wandering Souls
 Language and Genocide
*Last Days of the Jerusalem of Lithuania:
 Chronicles from the Vilna Ghetto and the
 Camps, 1929–1944*
Last Just Man, The
 Laval, Pierre
 Law for the Protection of German Blood and
 German Honor
 Law for the Restoration of the Professional
 Civil Service
 Lawyers Committee for Human Rights
 Le Chambon-sur-Lignon
 League of Nations, and Intervention
Lebensborn
Lebensraum
 Lemkin, Raphael
 Lenin, Vladimir Ilyich Ulyanov
 Leopold II, King of the Belgians
 Lepsius, Johannes
 Lewis, Bernard
 Libya, Genocide in
 Lidice
 Lieber, Dr. Franz (Francis)
Life is Beautiful
 “Life Unworthy of Life”
 Linguicide
 Lon Nol
 London Charter
Lost Boys of Sudan
 Lowry, Heath W.
 Lublin-Majdanek
 Lukic, Milan

 Macedonia
 “Machete Genocide”
 MacKenzie, Lewis
 Maharero, Samuel
Malleus Maleficarum
Man in the Glass Booth, The
 Mandate, of a United Nations Mission
 Mandates, and United Nations Peacekeeping
 Operations
Mandi Laut
 Mao Zedong
 Marr, Wilhelm
 Marsh Arabs
 Mass Graves
 Mass Killing
 Mass Rape
 Mass Rape as a Crime Against Humanity
 Mauthausen-Gusen
 McCarthy, Justin A.
 McCloskey, Frank
 McMillan, Angus
 Mechanisms of Genocide
Médecins sans Frontières
 Media, Inciting Genocide
 Media Trial, Rwanda
Mein Kampf
 Mendés, Juan E.
 Mengele, Josef
Mens Rea
 Mentally and Physically Handicapped,
 Treatment of by Nazi Germany
 Métis People
Mfecane
 Micombero, Michel
 Middle Ages and Genocide
 Milgram, Stanley
 Military Occupation
 Militias
 Milosevic, Slobodan
 Minorities at Risk Project
 Minority
Mischlinge
Mit Brennender Sorge
 Mladic, Ratko
 Modernity and Genocide
 Mogadishu
 Mogadishu Line
 Molotov, Vyacheslav Mikhailovich
 Monowitz
 Montreal Centre for Genocide Studies
 Morgenthau, Henry Sr.
 Moriori People, Genocide of
Mortal Storm, The

LIST OF ENTRIES

- Moscow Declaration
Mouvement Démocratique Républicain
Mouvement Révolutionnaire National Pour le Développement
 Moynier, Gustav
 Mozambique, Genocide in
 Multilateral Aid
 Multilateralism
 Multiple Genocide
 Mussolini, Benito
Myth of the Twentieth Century

Nacht und Nebel
 Nahimana, Ferdinand
 Nama People, Genocide of
 Nanking Massacre
 National Socialism
 Nationalism
 Nation-building
 Nation-state
 Native Americans, Genocide of
 NATO
 NATO and the Kosovo Intervention
 Nazi Ideology
 Nazim, Dr. Mehemed
 Neo-Nazism
 Never Again International
 Neville, Auber Octavius
 “New People,” Cambodia
 News Media
 Ngeze, Hassan
 Niemöller, Martin
 No-Fly Zones
 Nongovernmental Organizations
 Nonintervention
Non-Refoulement
Nostre Aetate
 Nuba
 Nuon Chea
 Nuremberg Code
 Nuremberg Laws
 Nuremberg Principles
 Nuremberg Trials
 Nuremberg Tribunal Charter

 Obote, Milton
 Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights
 Ogilvie, Albert George
 “Old People,” Cambodia
 Omarska Concentration Camp
 Omnicide
 One-sided Killing
Operasi Keamanan

 Operation Allied Force
 Operation Barbarossa
 Operation Condor
 Operation Deliberate Force
 Operation Deny Flight
 Operation Encirclement and Annihilation
 Operation Horseshoe
 Operation Menu
 Operation Nemesis
 Operation Provide Comfort
 Operation Reinhard Death Camps
 Operation Support Hope
 Operation Turquoise
 Optimal Genocide
 “Ordinary Men”
 Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe
 Organization of African Unity
 Oric, Naser
 “Other Victims” of the Third Reich
 Ottoman Empire

 Pacification
 Partisans, Jewish
 Pavelic, Ante
 Peace Enforcement
 Peace Maintenance
 Peace Operations
 Peace-building
 Peacekeeping
 Peacemaking
PeaceWatch
 Pearson International Peacekeeping Training Center (formerly called the Lester P. Pearson International Peacekeeping Center)
 People of Integrity
 Personnel Continuities
 P-5
Pianist, The
 Pinochet, Augusto, Case Against
Pioneers of Genocide Studies
 PIOOM Foundation
 Pius XI
 Pius XII
 Plavsic, Biljana
Pogrom
 Pol Pot
 Poland, Ethnic Cleansing in
 Polish National Council
 Political Groups, and the UN Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide

Political Killings
 Political Section
 Politicide
 Pontic Greeks, Genocide of
 Population Collapse
 Populations at Risk
Porrajmos
 Potocari
 Potsdam Conference
 Powell Doctrine
 Preconditions of Genocide
 Prejudice
 Presidential Decision Directive 25
 Presidential Guard
Prevent International News Monitor
 Prevention of Genocide
 Preventive Deployment
 Preventive Diplomacy
 Preventive Disarmament
 Private Military Companies
 Project Paperclip
 Propaganda
 Propaganda, and Genocide
 Propaganda, and Serb State-run Television
Prosecute Now!
 Prosper, Pierre-Richard
Protocols of the Elders of Zion
 Proxmire, William
 Public Support Syndrome
 Purification, Metaphors of

 Quisling, Vidkun
Quo Vadis

 Racak Massacre
 Racial Antisemitism
 Racial Hygiene
 Racial State
 Racism
 Radio B-92
 Radio Jamming, Rwandan Genocide
Radio-Télévision Libre des Mille Collines
 Rambouillet Accords
 Rambouillet Conference
 Rape Camps, Former Yugoslavia
 Rape Warfare, Former Yugoslavia
 Rapid Action Force
Rassenkampf
Rassenschande
Rasseverrat
 Rassinier, Paul
 Realism
Realpolitik
 Reeves, Eric

Refolement
*Refolement, Swiss Policy During the
 Holocaust*
 Refugee
 Religion and Genocide
 Repatriation
*Report of the International Commission of
 Inquiry on Darfur to the United Nations
 Secretary-General*
 Republika Srpska
 Rescuers during the Holocaust
 Reserve Police Battalion 101
 Resettlement
 Resettlement Country
 Resistance Movements During the Holocaust
 Retributive Genocide
 Revolution and Genocide
 “Rhineland Bastards”
 Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact
 Riegner, Gerhard
 Righteous Among the Nations
 Righteous Gentile
 Ringelblum’s Archive
 Risk Assessments
 Risk Factors
 Ritter, Dr. Robert
 Roadblocks, Rwandan Genocide
 Role of Physicians During the Holocaust
 Roma and Sinti During the
 Third Reich
 Rome Statute of the International Criminal
 Court
 Roosevelt, Eleanor, and the Universal
 Declaration of Human Rights
 Roosevelt, Franklin Delano
 Rose, Sir Michael
 Rosenberg, Alfred
 RTS TV or Serbian Television
Rubanda Nyamwinshi
 Ruggiu, Georges
 Rugova, Ibrahim
 Rules of Engagement
 Rummel, Rudolph J.
 Rusesabagina, Paul
 Russell Tribunals
 Rutaganda, Georges Anderson Nderbumwe
 Rwandan Armed Forces
 Rwandan Genocide
 Rwandan Genocide, Churches’ Role
 Rwandan Genocide, French Response
 Rwandan Genocide, U.S. Response
 Rwandan Government Forces
 Rwandan Patriotic Army
 Rwandan Patriotic Front

LIST OF ENTRIES

- Safe Areas
 Safe Havens, Northern Iraq
 St. James Palace Declaration
 Sanctions
 Sanctions Assistance Missions
 Sand Creek Massacre
 Santebal
 “Sarah”
 Sartre, Jean-Paul
 Satellite Images of Genocide
 Save Darfur Coalition
 Schanberg, Sydney H.
 Scheffer, David
 Schindler, Oskar
Schindler’s List
 Scholl, Hans and Sophie
Schreibtischtäter
 Scorpions
 SD
 Secondary Graves
Serbian Memorandum
 Sèvres, Treaty of
*Shake Hands with the Devil: The Journey of
 Romeo Dallaire*
 Shanawdithit
 Shaw, Stanford
 “Sheep to the Slaughter”
Shoah
Shoah
 Sihanouk, Norodom
 Simon Wiesenthal Center
Site 2 Around the Borders
 Slave Labor During the Third Reich
 Slavery and Genocide
 Smart Sanctions
 Smith, Bradley
 Sniper Alley
 Sobibór
 Social Darwinism
 Social Engineering
 Socialism
Soldier Blue
 Somalia Factor
Sometimes in April
 Son Sen
Sonderkommando
 Southern Sudan, Genocide in
 Sovereignty
 Species Consciousness
 Srebrenica, Dutch Peacekeepers
 Srebrenica Massacre
 Srebrenica Resignation, Dutch Government
 SS (*Schutzstaffel*)
 SS St. Louis
SS-Totenkopfverbände
 Stabilization Force
 Stalin, Josef
 Stalin-Roosevelt-Churchill Declaration
 STAND (A Student Anti-Genocide
 Coalition)
 Stangl, Franz
 Stanley, Henry Morton
 State Commission for the Free Transfer of the
 Civilian Population
 State Failure Task Force
 Stereotyping
 Stockholm International Peace Research
 Institute
 “Stolen Generations”
 Streicher, Julius
S21: The Khmer Rouge Killing Machine
 Supplement to the Agenda for Peace
 Survival International
 Survivor Testimony

 Ta Mok
 Tadic, Dusan
 Talaat, Mehmet (Pasha)
 Tasmanian Aborigines
 Tattoo
 Technology and Genocide
 Tehlirian, Soghomon
 Temporary Protection
 T-4
 Theory (General) of Genocide
 Theresienstadt
 Third Reich
 Third World
 Thousands
 Tibet
 Timur, Amir
 Tiso, Monsignor Jozef
 Tito, Josip Broz
 Topf, J.A., and Sons
Torgsin
 Total Genocide
 Total War
 Totalitarianism
Totally Unofficial Man
 Trade Sanctions
 Trading with the Enemy Act
 Trail of Tears
 Transaction Publishers
 Travel Sanctions
*Treatment of the Armenians in the Ottoman
 Empire, 1915–1916, The: Documents
 Presented to Viscount Grey of Fallodon,
 Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs*

- Treaty
 Treblinka
 Trigger
Triumph of the Spirit
 Trocme, André
Truce, The
 Truggernanna
 Tudjman, Franjo
 Tuol Sleng
 Tutsi
 Tuzla
 Twa
 Typologies of Genocide

 Ukrainian Pogrom of Jews
 Unilateral
 Uniqueness of Holocaust Argument/Debate
 United Nations Assistance Mission for
 Rwanda
 United Nations Bureau for Crisis Prevention
 and Recovery
 United Nations Charter
United Nations Chronicle
 United Nations Commission of Inquiry on
 Darfur
 United Nations Convention on the
 Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of
 Genocide
 United Nations Department of Peacekeeping
 Operations
 United Nations–European Union,
 Negotiation Process in Bosnia
 United Nations General Assembly
 United Nations High Commissioner for
 Refugees
 United Nations Peace Forces
 United Nations Peacekeeping Operations
 United Nations Protected Sites in Rwanda
 United Nations Protection Force
 United Nations Rapid Reaction Force,
 Proposal for
 United Nations Security Council
 United Nations Security Council Resolution
 827
 United Nations Security Council Resolution
 995
 United Nations Special Advisor on the
 Prevention of Genocide
 United Nations Transitional Authority in
 Cambodia
 United Nations Voluntary Military Force
 UN Whitaker Report on Genocide, The
 United States Army School of the Americas
 United States Cambodian Genocide Justice Act

 United States Commission on the Ukraine
 Famine
 United States Committee for Refugees and
 Immigrants
 United States Holocaust Memorial
 Museum
 United States Institute of Peace
 United States Presidential Leadership
 Syndrome
 Universal Declaration of Human Rights
 Universal Jurisdiction
Untermenschen
Uprising
 USSR, Genocide in
Ustashe
 Utilitarian Genocide
 Utopian Genocide
 Uwilingiyimana, Agathe

 Van Anraat, Frans
 Vance-Owen Peace Plan
 Vendean Massacres
Vernichtung
Vernichtungslager
 Versailles Peace Conference on War
 Crimes
 Versailles Treaty
 Vichy France
 Victor's Justice
 Vietnam Analogy
 Vietnam Intervention in Cambodia
 Vietnam Intervention in Cambodia, United
 States' Response
 Visegrad
Voices from the Lake
Volk
 Von Trotha, Adrian Dietrich Lothar
 Vorn Vet
 Vrba, Rudolf
 Vukovar

 Waldheim, Kurt
 Wallenberg, Raoul
 Wannsee Conference
 War and Genocide
 War Crimes
 Warsaw Ghetto Uprising
 Wegner, Armin T.
Wehrmacht
 Western, Jon
 Westphalia, Treaty of
 White Arm Bands
 White Rose
 “Who Remembers the Armenians?”

LIST OF ENTRIES

Wiesel, Elie
Wiesel, Elie, and the Bosnian Genocide
Wiesenthal, Simon
Wilde-KZ
Wise, Stephen Samuel
“Work”
World Genocide Tribunal
Wounded Knee

Xenophobia
Xenophobic Genocide

Yad Vashem
Yale University Genocide Studies Program
Yalta Conference
Yanomami People

Year Zero
Year Zero, Concept of
Yellow Star or Badge
Yugoslav People’s Army
Yugoslavia
Yuki People, Genocide of

Zepa
Zivanovic, Milenko
Zlata’s Diary: A Child’s Life in Sarajevo
Zoryan Institute for Contemporary Armenian
Research and Documentation
Zündel, Ernst
Zur Vernichtung durch Arbeit
Zurug
Zygielbojm, Szmul Artur

Acknowledgments

Samuel Totten wishes to acknowledge the initial interest and enthusiasm of Drs. Israel W. Charny, Eric Markusen, and Henry Huttenbach in this project.

Paul R. Bartrop would like to acknowledge, with gratitude, the research assistance of Eve Grimm, Morgan Blum, and Jordana Silverstein. He is especially thankful to Margaret Iaquinto, of Bialik College, Melbourne, for the dedication and enthusiasm she brought to the task of guiding him through the necessary intricacies of advanced information technology—sometimes literally saving the day when the project could otherwise have been in jeopardy. Finally, he would like to extend his gratitude to all the students who, since 1998, have passed through the Comparative Genocide Studies elective at Bialik College and who have taught him so much about the need to be precise whenever we are discussing genocide.

Introduction

The idea for the development of this *Dictionary of Genocide* was conceived by Samuel Totten in the late 1990s. This was at a time when an ever-increasing number of scholars in various fields (international law, sociology, political science, history, and psychology, among others) were turning their attention to the seemingly insuperable problem of genocide.

Cognizant of the fact that scholars in different fields often used certain key terms in different ways and that many new terms germane to genocide prevention and intervention were being coined and/or used in various and often extremely different ways, Totten concluded that there was a critical need for a dictionary that accurately, clearly, and concisely delineated genocide-related terminology. It seemed that such a dictionary would make a contribution to the relatively new but burgeoning field of genocide studies and would thus be useful not only to scholars but also to government officials, intergovernmental personnel, and university students.

When a term is defined or understood in various ways by different individuals, groups, and/or organizations, it results in miscommunication. Furthermore, without a clear definition that is agreed upon by most, *if not everyone*, it is difficult, if not impossible, to discuss and analyze, let alone ameliorate, an issue or problem in an effective manner. Indeed, the misunderstanding as to what a specific term means can lead not only to disagreements but also to lengthy and acrimonious debates and arguments as well as missed opportunities to solve critical situations. Ironically, there does not exist a more classic example of such misunderstanding in the field of human rights than the debate over how to define the term *genocide*.

The definition of *genocide* used in the United Nations Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (UNCG) is the one definition that is internationally recognized by individual states, intergovernmental organizations, ad hoc tribunals such as the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY), the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR), and the International Criminal Court (ICC). That said, numerous scholars have devised their own definitions of *genocide* in an attempt to make the definition either more inclusive (e.g., including groups not covered under the UNCG, such as “political groups”) or more exclusive (e.g., limiting the focus to mass murder versus such harmful acts as causing “serious mental harm”). As a result of both the limitations of the UNCG’s definition and the many new definitions devised by scholars, there has been an ongoing debate over which definition, if any, is the

“best.” As many have pointed out, though, while certain alternative definitions to the UNCG may be more useful for analyzing whether a situation constitutes genocide, the *only* definition that has authority within international law is that of the UNCG. It is therefore this definition that is used in prosecutions of those alleged to have committed genocide.

The following definition is that which is found in the UNCG, the latter of which was adopted by Resolution 260 (III) A of the United Nations General Assembly on December 9, 1948:

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:

- (a) Killing members of the group;
- (b) Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group;
- (c) Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part;
- (d) Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group;
- (e) Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group.

Genocide is not the only term that often suffers from being defined in various ways by different individuals and organizations for vastly different reasons (some good, some not). Others, by way of example, include *ethnic cleansing*, *intent to commit genocide*, and *humanitarian intervention*.

Once the team of authors had been assembled, Totten drew up an initial list of 600 terms. Each author was assigned 150 that most closely complemented his area(s) of interest and expertise. Each of the authors also agreed to add additional terms that he considered essential to include in such a dictionary.

The terms included in the dictionary address an eclectic and broad array of topics, issues, and events. Those terms that have the most direct relationship to genocide deal with such issues as the following: the definition of genocide; theories of genocide; the history of genocide; specific cases of genocide; the prevention of genocide; the intervention of genocide; and the denial of genocide.

An attempt has been made to be as inclusive and comprehensive as possible in regard to the inclusion of terms herein. Be that as it may, the authors realize that various readers will wonder why certain terms were not included and/or why certain terms were not addressed in greater detail. Just as the authors needed to appreciate the following, so do readers: First, space constraints naturally limited the breadth and depth of the entries. Second, the dictionary is just that, a dictionary, not an encyclopedia. Third, the field is rapidly evolving, and new terms are constantly being coined. Even as the dictionary enters publication, there are certain to be new terms in use previously unknown to the authors. That said, the authors have been intent on including as many entries as possible while still providing a solid overview to each and every term, thus making the dictionary as useful as possible for scholars and practitioners in the field.

The authors wrestled constantly over which entries should be included and, more vitally, those that would be omitted—and how such decisions were to be made. In view of the conceptual breadth encompassed by genocide studies, the authors believe that the inclusion of *every* entry is herein justified. It is this commitment to defensible incorporation that in our opinion renders the dictionary an important research resource that will be beneficial for many years to a wide array of users.

Intent on being as comprehensive and as detailed as possible in the selection and write-up of the definitions, respectively, the authors quickly exceeded the number of pages the publisher had allocated for this project. Kindly and generously, when approached about the latter situation, our editor, Debra Adams, and her superiors at Greenwood Publishing, graciously, and without hesitation, suggested that the dictionary be published as a two-volume set. The authors greatly appreciate such outstanding support for this scholarly endeavor.

A genuine effort has been made to provide definitions that are generally most accepted by the international community. Where germane, any debates or disagreements over a term are duly noted and commented upon. In certain cases, alternative definitions are provided, especially when the latter are definitions that are becoming more commonly accepted among scholars and practitioners.

In order to be as accurate as possible in defining the terms, the authors agreed to consult only the most authoritative sources for developing the definitions and to use at least two sources in working up the definition. The rationale for the latter was to prod each of the authors to cross-check the accuracy of the definitions they developed. In fact, it was not unusual for an author to consult four or more sources prior to developing a definition. Furthermore, each of the authors aimed at conceptual and narrative consistency in the writing of their entries. Still, the authors felt it necessary to constantly circulate entries to each other for critique and commentary. As a result of this process, over time a stylistic mean was achieved and maintained.

Despite the Herculean efforts by the authors to be as inclusive, comprehensive, and accurate as possible, they fully realize and appreciate, as previously mentioned, that certain oversights may remain. In that regard, the authors welcome—indeed, encourage—scholars, practitioners, and others to notify them of any oversights or inaccuracies, and every effort will be made to correct such in any forthcoming editions of the dictionary.

An issue to be confronted by all scholars of genocide studies—or for that matter, of any subject that has the word *studies* in its title—is that there is no single and unitary discipline base embedded within it to which one can turn for guidance. Genocide studies, being a subject dealing with the most basic of social, political, economic, religious, intellectual, historical, military, ethical, and cultural issues, is by its very nature broad; almost anything, conceivably, can be included within its ambit. Consequently, it is important to draw attention to the fact that the authors of this dictionary, while each in his own way an internationally recognized authority on specific genocides and/or on general themes pertaining to genocide, are nonetheless not experts on all facets of humanity's genocidal encounter. No one is nor could be. To be so would be akin to being an expert on nothing less than all elements of the human experience, in all countries, at all times, and in all its manifestations. We, of course, do not claim such authority, though we have attempted, using the most conscientious methods possible, to compile a dictionary that will be the first port of call for students, instructors, and researchers involved in the contemplation of the phenomenon of genocide. It is not intended that the entries in the dictionary will be the final word on a subject; indeed, it is strongly counseled that the entries should *never* be employed as a substitute for solid scholarly research.

Although there are various dictionaries available on the Holocaust, human rights, and war, not a single dictionary, until now, has addressed the issue of genocide directly. It is the hope of the authors that this work complements the two major encyclopedias that

now exist on the topic of genocide: *Encyclopedia of Genocide* (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC Clio Publishers, 1999) and *Encyclopedia of Genocide and Crimes against Humanity* (New York: Macmillan, 2004).

Having said that, it should be pointed out that we hold the dictionary to be a valuable resource for those seeking to ascertain meanings of terms with which they are unfamiliar. It also provides the rudimentary details of the lives of key individuals as they relate to genocide and establishes a useful context into which concepts and events can be understood.

A project of this nature cannot be undertaken without additional assistance from others. A vast number of colleagues and contacts, too numerous to mention here, have been consulted on individual points of detail over the course of the research phase of this dictionary. Although we cannot name them all, we are certain that they will recognize their input as they read over the entries of their specific interest.

In the early stages of preparing this dictionary, another genocide studies scholar, Henry Huttenbach of City University, New York, participated as an author. Unfortunately, personal circumstances saw Henry withdraw from the project after having drafted a number of entries. The authors would like to place on record their acknowledgment of Henry's initial involvement in the project and recognize the efforts he made while a member of the team. The authors also wish to acknowledge the contribution of Steven Leonard Jacobs, Department of Religion at the University of Alabama at Tuscaloosa, for his hard work and assistance in regard to suggesting potential terms to define, initial work on a wide range of terms, and drafting of numerous terms.

A

Abdul Hamid II (1842–1918). Sultan of the Ottoman Empire (1876–1909). During his reign, a series of massacres of Armenians took place throughout the empire, most notably between 1894 and 1896. These massacres were ordered by the sultan for the purpose of intimidating the Armenian population into acquiescing to Turkish demands that they cease agitating for special status and that they dampen their national aspirations. For these (and other) atrocities within the empire, Abdul Hamid was often described as the “Red Sultan,” due to the bloodshed he was responsible for having unleashed. As sultan, Abdul Hamid was conscious of the need for Turkey to modernize, but he sensed that by doing so the inhabitants of the Ottoman Empire would see new opportunities through education, technology, and commerce that could destabilize his autocratic rule. Consequently, he was resistant to reform on a broad scale, notwithstanding his encouragement of higher education for certain levels of society—though as a force for regime reinforcement rather than public enlightenment. Abdul Hamid’s rule became renowned for its harshness, even despotism, and his often reactionary approach to developments within his realm led to a stifling of all initiative from those who might have been his chief supporters. In 1908, a group led by educated military officers, colloquially known as the Young Turks, staged a coup d’état in which power passed from the absolutism of the sultan to rule by a military clique. He was succeeded in 1909 by Mohammed V (1844–1918; reigned 1908–1918), whose rule was henceforth overseen by the Young Turks.

ABiH (Bosnian, ARBiH; *Armija Republike Bosne i Hercegovine* or *The Army of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina*). The Muslim-led army of Bosnia and Herzegovina during the conflict in the former Yugoslavia between 1992 and 1995.

Absolutism. A style of monarchy in which the monarch wields power to an almost unlimited degree. It is important to realize that an absolute monarch does not possess the same power as a despot, in that his or her authority is limited by age-old convention, often unwritten constitutional constraints, and an aristocracy (or nobility) that can keep the unrestrained power of the monarch in check should the exercise of that power descend into arbitrary—and, therefore, unstable—behavior. Absolute power is most frequently a highly centralized form of power, with the reins of government and administration often embodied directly in the person of the monarch. The most famous example of absolutist rule is to be found in the France of King Louis XIV (1643–1715), during whose reign the notion of an all-powerful absolute ruler—in which the sovereign was the representative

of God on earth and thus above the affairs of all other human beings—reached its zenith. In its purest form, royal absolutism is resistant to the arbitrary temptations of tyranny, as an absolutist ruler is invested with an aura of paternal responsibility toward the people over whom he or she rules. In view of this, the system, though undemocratic, is one in which the protection of the population from the excesses of government, at least in theory, is the primary duty of the monarch.

Accelerator. The term *accelerator* refers to the worsening of a situation or grievance(s) between or among groups, which, in turn, increases the probability of an event or incident that could trigger the outbreak of violence or precipitate the start of a violent conflict.

Aché. In 1974, the International League for the Rights of Man and the Inter-American Association for Democracy and Freedom issued the charge that the government of Paraguay was complicit in genocide against the Guayaki Indians (Aché). In doing so, the two organizations filed a complaint with the United Nations secretary-general in which they listed a series of alleged violations that they claimed would ultimately lead to the disappearance of the Guayaki ethnic group. Most of the killings—as well as the forcible transfer of Aché children—had been committed by Paraguayan ranchers, farmers, and laborers and not by members of the Paraguayan army or police forces. Some scholars and activists argued at the time that *de facto* genocide had occurred and that the Paraguayan government was responsible due to the fact that it had failed to adequately protect its citizens. It was also argued that the Paraguayan government purposely disregarded the actions against the Aché because it favored the opening up of lands for ranching, farming, and other uses. During the debate that ensued over the plight and fate of the Aché, it was argued by some that the issue of the “intent” to commit genocide was difficult, if not impossible, to establish in a clear and decisive manner. Leo Kuper (1908–1994), an early and noted genocide scholar, countered (in his book, *Genocide: Its Political Use in the Twentieth Century*. New Haven, CT: Yale University, 1981) that intent could be imputed when such killings and kidnapping had become an established practice, and, he continued, the latter is exactly what the Aché had faced.

Actors. In international relations, an actor is any entity possessed of a distinctive individual character (or “personality”), sufficient to enable it to play a role within the international community. Most frequently, actors take the form of states, though actors can also be intergovernmental or nongovernmental organizations, transnational corporate companies, heads of state, or heads of global institutions. In the modern world, dominated by the Westphalian states system (established in 1648 as a result of the Treaty of Westphalia at the end of the Thirty Years’ War), it is still the state that serves as the primary actor in international relations. Diplomatic recognition, and the relations that come from this, form the foundation of interstate action today. Increasingly, however, nonstate actors—ranging from movements for national independence such as the Kosovo Liberation Army and the African National Congress, to alliance systems such as the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, to terrorist organizations such as Al-Qaeda or Jema’ah Islamiya, to international bodies like the World Health Organization or the International Committee of the Red Cross—are also considered as actors within international relations, though they do not possess the same status as do states and are consequently often frozen out of negotiations (or accorded only observer status) in multilateral dialogues. The roles of actors in international relations are as multifaceted as the types of actors themselves, and it is anticipated that the number of such roles will increase as the twenty-first century unfolds.

Adana. Region and city on the Mediterranean coast of the Ottoman Empire, situated in approximately the same location as the former province of Cilicia. In April 1909, widespread massacres of Armenians took place in Adana, masked by civil strife accompanying the Young Turk revolution and involving attempts by defenders of the deposed Sultan Abdul Hamid II (1842–1918; reigned 1876–1909) to reestablish his autocratic rule. Taken as a whole, the massacres throughout the city of Adana and its hinterland numbered up to thirty thousand Armenians and can be seen both as an afterword to the Hamidian Massacres of 1894–1896 and as a precursor of the more extensive Armenian genocide that began in April 1915. First-person accounts and other documentation have variously implicated supporters both of the sultan and of the Young Turks for the massacres, and it can be said that this outbreak of destructive anti-Armenian savagery was perpetrated by elements on both sides. Despite this, the most important legacy of the massacres was the further reinforcement of murderous violence as a means of action toward the Armenian population of the empire. The socialization of the Turkish population into an acceptance of mass killing authorized by the state, which began at the end of the nineteenth century, was maintained and extended as a result of the Adana massacres, preparing for the much greater cataclysm that was to come in the form of the infamous Ottoman Turk-perpetrated Armenian genocide between 1915 and 1923. Certain Armenians, for their part, realized henceforward that the new Turkey inaugurated by the Young Turks had only a limited role for them to play and that this role was not likely to embrace full and equal participation in the future of the empire.

Administrative Measures. The term *administrative measures* was a euphemism used by the Soviet authorities during the 1932–1933 man-made Ukraine famine and was “used to mean brute force applied in an arbitrary fashion” (Commission on the Ukraine Famine, 1988, p. 229).

Advisory Committee on Genocide Prevention. The Advisory Committee on Genocide Prevention, which was formed in May 2006, was the brainchild of UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan (b. 1938). The committee was established in order to provide support to the secretary general’s special adviser on the prevention of genocide, Juan Mendez (b. 1944). Its mandate is to meet at least twice a year. It initially comprised a wide range of experts, including those on conflict prevention, human rights, peacekeeping, diplomacy, and mediation. Among the members of the initial Advisory Committee were: Senator Romeo Dallaire (b. 1946) of Canada (who served as head of the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda [UNAMIR] prior to and during the 1994 Rwandan genocide); Nobel Peace Prize recipient Bishop Desmond Tutu; Gareth Evans of Australia, president of the International Crisis Group and former minister for foreign affairs of Australia; and Sadako Ogata of Japan, cochair of the Commission on Human Security and former high commissioner for refugees.

Aegis Trust for the Prevention of Genocide. Aegis Trust is a nonsectarian, non-governmental organization genocide prevention initiative that aims to promote a fundamental change in the response to genocidal situations, moving away from reactive measures to policies of prevention. It is based in Nottinghamshire, England.

Afghanistan, Genocide in. In April 1978, a communist government seized power in Afghanistan and immediately set about the task of remaking society in order to entrench its rule. During the first eighteen months of the regime, the precommunist intelligentsia was wiped out in the tens of thousands, and scores of thousands more fled to countries in the West. As Afghanistan seemed to be sliding toward chaos, troops from the USSR invaded in

December 1979 in order to prop up the communist regime and install politicians better disposed toward the Soviet Union. Once the occupation of the country was an established fact, the Soviets were faced with constant guerrilla war from armed Afghan opponents of the Soviet occupation, who called themselves Mujahideen (fundamentalist Islamic freedom fighters). Afghanistan, a country that is essentially rural and agrarian, possessed a society that offered natural cover for the Mujahideen, and the Soviet strategy to combat their effectiveness took two forms. First, Soviet troops launched a systematic operation to depopulate certain regions so that the Mujahideen would be deprived of an environment from which to launch their attacks on the occupiers; second, they initiated a military campaign in which they hoped their more modern and superior firepower would shatter the ability of the insurgents to fight back. It was intended through this that so much destruction would take place that the civilian population would be deprived of the will to continue sheltering the Mujahideen. Such military strategies were effective over large parts of the country, and the toll on the Afghani people was catastrophic. It has been estimated that the military conflict claimed 180,000 casualties overall, with 90,000 killed. But civilian deaths numbered more than 1.5 million, representing 10 percent of the total population (and 13.5% of the male population). Some 6 million refugees fled to surrounding countries; Afghanistan was laid waste, with agricultural production and livestock numbers halved. The Soviet strategy of “rubblization” returned the country to the Dark Ages, paving the way for a radicalization of the survivors (many of whom joined the now infamous Taliban movement) that would be realized in the decade after the Soviet departure in 1988.

African Union (AU). The AU was established in September 1999 as the result of an extraordinary session of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), in which African heads of state and government leaders issued a declaration (the Sirte Declaration) calling for its establishment. The AU’s main objective, building on those of the OAU, is to accelerate the process of continental integration for member states by addressing the multifaceted social, economic, and political problems prevailing throughout Africa. The major rubric under which the AU operates is the unity of African peoples and states; given this, it is deeply committed to removing the last vestiges of colonialism and assisting all its members to develop their full potential in a truly African context. It rejects foreign exploitation and seeks to build a strong economic environment from within Africa itself. Further, it is committed to peace, security, and stability for the continent and thus serves as the principal body through which African states and peoples can promote democracy and the guarantee of fundamental human and civil rights. The AU’s most pressing concern, since its establishment, has been the ongoing humanitarian crisis and genocide in Darfur, Sudan, an issue still requiring (as of late 2007) resolution. Much of the AU’s activity in this regard has been directed toward the attainment of a settlement without external intervention from the United Nations. Darfur has thus served as an important testing ground for the African Union; such gains as it has made have not always been appreciated by the international community, individual nation-states, and scholars, all of whom have often held that Darfur is a bigger problem than the fledgling AU can handle by itself. As things stand, the AU is in danger of becoming another multi-nation “talking shop” unless it can achieve the unity its founding documents proclaim.

African Union, Constitutive Act. In Article 4 of this act, it notes “the right of the Union to intervene in a Member State pursuant to a decision of the Assembly in respect of grave circumstances, namely: war crimes, genocide, and crimes against humanity.”

“Agenda for Peace.” On January 31, 1992, then secretary-general of the United Nations Boutros Boutros-Ghali (b. 1922) was tasked by the UN Security Council to prepare for circulation to the entire membership of the UN “an analysis and recommendations on ways of strengthening and making more efficient within the framework of the [U.N.] Charter the capacity of the United Nations for preventive diplomacy, for peace-making and for peace-keeping” and to do so no later than July 1, 1992. That report, dated June 17, 1992, was entitled “An Agenda for Peace: Preventive Diplomacy, Peacemaking and Peace-keeping,” and it addressed the following topics: (1) the changing context; (2) definitions; (3) preventive diplomacy—measures to build confidence, fact-finding, early warning, preventive deployment, demilitarized zones; (4) peacemaking—the World Court, amelioration through assistance, sanctions and special economic problems, use of military force, peace-enforcement units; (5) peacekeeping—increasing demands, new departures in peacekeeping, personnel, logistics; (6) postconflict peace-building; (7) cooperation with regional arrangements and organizations; (8) safety of personnel; (9) financing; and (10) an Agenda for Peace (which also addressed the questions of power, democracy, trust, reform, and dialogue among nations).

The lengthier “Supplement to an Agenda for Peace: Position Paper of the Secretary-General on the Occasion of the Fiftieth Anniversary of the United Nations,” dated January 3, 1995, comprised the following: (1) introduction; (2) quantitative and qualitative changes; (3) instruments for peace and security—preventive diplomacy and peace-making, peacekeeping, postconflict peace-building, disarmament, sanctions, enforcement action; (4) coordination; (5) financial resources; and (6) conclusion.

Both documents are comprehensive in nature and thoroughly address the issues with which they are concerned. Tragically, as is evidenced by the 1994 Rwandan genocide, the 1995 genocide in Srebrenica, and the ongoing genocide in Darfur (which ignited in 2003 and is ongoing as of today, late 2007), the oft-used cliché “the spirit is willing but the body is weak” seems applicable here: the right words have been said, but the lack of action, all too often the result of bitter political infighting and rivalries, continues to prevent the UN from acting in a decisive manner to halt crimes against humanity and genocide.

Akashi, Yasushi (b. 1931). Japanese diplomat and officer of the United Nations Secretariat (the first Japanese national to be employed in this role). In his long career of over forty years with the United Nations, he served in numerous posts, rising to under-secretary-general (USG) for humanitarian affairs and emergency relief coordinator. One of his postings, during 1995, was as Special Representative of the Secretary-General (SRSG) to the former Yugoslavia. His major approach in this undertaking was an avowed stance of emphasizing UN impartiality with regard to all sides involved in the fighting during the Bosnian War (1992–1995). This attracted controversy from many critics around the world, who claimed that a policy of impartiality aided the Serbs by enabling them to aggress against the Bosnian Muslims with impunity, while not permitting the Muslims to defend themselves—and the latter was exacerbated by retaining the declared UN arms embargo on all sides, which prevented the Muslims from purchasing weapons to protect themselves with from the ongoing barrage of Serbian attacks. Some detractors implicated Akashi in the success of the Bosnian Serb assault on the eastern Bosnian city of Srebrenica in July 1995; his evenhandedness, it was argued, led to a reluctance to authorize UN military action against the Serb forces commanded by General Ratko Mladic (b. 1942), resulting in the victory of the Serbs and their subsequent massacre of between seven thousand and

eight thousand Muslim boys and men from the city. The UN leadership did not see any such complicity, and after his tour of duty in Bosnia, Akashi received very senior postings: as SRSG for Cambodia, USG for disarmament affairs, and USG for public information. He had previously served as Japanese ambassador to the United Nations in 1974.

Akayesu, Jean-Paul (b. 1953). The trial of Jean-Paul Akayesu at the International Criminal Court for Rwanda (ICTR) was the first genocide trial in an international court in history. (Many are under the misconception that the Nuremberg Tribunal conducted the first trials of genocide, but they, in fact, tried the defendants on charges of crimes against humanity, crimes against peace, and war crimes, but not genocide.) Richard Goldstone, the chief prosecutor of the ICTR and the International Criminal Tribunal of the former Yugoslavia (ICTY), charged Akayesu with twelve counts of genocide, crimes against humanity, and violations of Article II of the 1949 Geneva Conventions. Ultimately, three additional counts of genocide and crimes against humanity were added to the charges, which alleged that he had ordered and condoned the rape and sexual mutilation—and then, the murder—of hundreds of Tutsi women.

Akayesu had been a schoolteacher, then a school district inspector, prior to his election to the office of *bourgmestre*, or mayor, of the small Rwandan town of Taba in April 1993. He was a member of the Hutu political party known as the *Mouvement Démocratique Républicain* (MDR), the Democratic Republican Movement, which he joined in 1991 and of which he soon thereafter became the local branch president. In his capacity as mayor, Akayesu had control of the communal police and was responsible for the maintenance of order, but his authority extended beyond these formal limits. In Rwanda, a considerable degree of informal dominion devolved upon the role of mayor, who acted as a kind of father figure within the commune. During the genocide that began in April 1994, it has been estimated that some two thousand Tutsi were massacred in Taba, many of whom had sought refuge in the Bureau Communale (approximating a city hall and a community center)—the heart of Akayesu's domain. It has been alleged that Akayesu did not provide support or succor for those his position had entrusted him to protect; it has also been alleged that he actively encouraged the *Interahamwe* militias who had come to Taba, as well as the local Hutu population, to participate in the mass murder, rape, and torture of the Tutsi. In the aftermath of the conquest of Rwanda in July 1994 by the forces of the Tutsi-led Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF), Akayesu fled the country. He was arrested in Lusaka, Zambia, on October 10, 1995, and transferred to the jurisdiction of the ICTR, in Arusha, Tanzania, on May 15, 1996. His trial began on January 9, 1997. The trial prosecutor for the Akayesu case was Pierre-Richard Prosper (b. 1963), a U.S. citizen and an attorney, who mounted a successful case in which Akayesu was found guilty, on September 2, 1998, of nine of the fifteen counts—including all of those that related to genocide (inciting genocide, rape as a case of genocide, and genocide). Not only did this make Jean-Paul Akayesu the first person convicted of the specific crime of genocide in an internationally accredited courtroom, but it marked the first occasion on which the UN Genocide Convention of 1948 was upheld as law. The trial and conviction of Akayesu was also notable due to the fact that the verdict/conviction was the first to find rape to be a crime of genocide.

Akayesu was sentenced, on October 2, 1998, to life imprisonment, and, though he appealed, his conviction was confirmed on June 1, 2001. Akayesu is currently serving out his life sentence in Bamako Central Prison, Mali.

Akazu (Kinyarwanda, “Little House”). Euphemism given to the heart of the political structure of the Rwandan ruling party, the *Mouvement Révolutionnaire Nationale pour le Développement* (National Revolutionary Movement for Development), or MRND, from 1975 to 1994. The party was begun by Major General Juvenal Habyarimana (1937–1994) as a means of centralizing radical Hutu ideologies across all of Rwanda and taking control of the bureaucracy, the church, and the military—all within the structure of a one-party state, with Habyarimana at its center as president. The major locus of power within this structure was the so-called Akazu, an informal but tight-knit (and highly corrupt) network of Habyarimana’s closest family members, friends, and party associates. It was said to be so thoroughly dominated by Habyarimana’s wife Agathe (née Kazinga) that, at times, even her husband was often frozen out of the decision-making process. (It was for this essential reason that the Akazu was known in some circles as Le Clan de Madame, a direct reference to the dominance she wielded over those in the circle.) The name Akazu was originally, in precolonial times, a term given to the inner circle of courtiers to the royal family; under the MRND regime, and particularly Agathe Habyarimana’s dominance, it developed such awesome power that it even instituted its own death squad, recruited from members of the Presidential Guard. The Akazu was, in reality, an oligarchy that not only held back any possibility of Rwanda returning to democracy but also worked assiduously to promote the interests of northern Rwanda (the Akazu base) over those of the south, to further destabilize the position of the minority Tutsi throughout the country, and, through its extensive network of supporters in the bureaucracy, the financial sector, and society generally, to skim off vast amounts of public money for the sole good of the extended Habyarimana family. The Akazu is the focus of most accusations concerning the planning of the Rwandan genocide of the Tutsi in 1994, with some even suggesting that it was Akazu members who arranged for Juvenal Habyarimana’s plane to be shot down on April 6, 1994—the spark that triggered the genocide that took place over the next hundred days and resulted in the murder of between five hundred thousand and one million Tutsis and moderate Hutus.

Aktion(en) (German, operation[s]). Best understood as a term used predominantly by the SS (*Schutzstaffel* or “Security Police”) and their allies to describe the nonmilitary campaign of roundups and deportations of Jews and other “undesirables” in the eastern territories under German occupation. The two most significant of these *aktionen* were (1) *Aktion Reinhard*, after the assassination of RHSA (*Reichssicherheitshauptamt*, “Reich Security Main Office”) chief Reinhard Heydrich on May 27, 1942, in Prague, Czechoslovakia, whose purpose was to murder all the Jews in the five districts of the *Generalgouvernement* (General Government) encompassing Krakow, Warsaw, Radom, Lublin, and Galicia, and later expanded to include all Jews deported to occupied Poland; and (2) *Aktion 1005*, which was developed in the summer of 1942 to obliterate all traces of the Nazi *Endlösung* (Final Solution) by the use of slave laborers, including Jews who were subsequently murdered, to both exhume and burn the bodies of the Nazis’ victims. Nearly 400 anti-Jewish *aktionen* took place between November 1939 and October 1944.

Aktion Reinhard (German, Operation Reinhard). Code name given to the Nazi implementation of the “Final Solution of the Jewish Question” from 1942 onward. The name was conferred on the operation as a memorial to the head of the Reich Security Main Office and the Gestapo, Reinhard Heydrich (1904–1942), who was assassinated by Czech partisans in June 1942. At first, the plan was to inaugurate measures that would

lead to the eradication of the Jewish population of the area known as the *Generalgouvernement* (the Nazi reconstruction of Nazi-occupied Poland, part of which was designated as the area where the extermination of Jews and other “undesirables” would be undertaken), but the scope of the plan broadened to include Jews transferred to Poland from throughout Nazi-occupied Europe. *Aktion Reinhard* was thus an undertaking embracing the resettlement and mass murder of millions of Jews, accompanied by the plunder and transmission of Jewish property back to the Reich. The reach of the operation was so extensive that its realization “necessitated” the creation of three extermination camps in eastern Poland: Sobibor, Belzec, and Treblinka. These became known as the *Aktion Reinhard* Camps and were established with the specific task of murdering Jews. By the time of their termination in 1943, the three camps had resulted in the murders of nearly two million Jews: 250,000 at Sobibor, 600,000 at Belzec, and 870,000 at Treblinka. *Aktion Reinhard* was such a major part of the Holocaust that its contours have come to characterize the popular image of the Nazi destruction of Europe’s Jews.

al Anfal Campaign. See Anfal.

al-Bashir, Omar Hassan Ahmed (b. 1944). Omar Hassan al-Bashir has been the leader of Sudan since 1989. Born into a peasant family of farming laborers in the tiny village of Hosh Bannaga, north of Khartoum, al-Bashir joined the army as a young man, studied at a military college in Cairo, Egypt, became a paratrooper, and participated in Egypt’s war against Israel in 1973. Returning to Sudan, and four years after having been promoted to the rank of general by the democratically elected President Sadeq al-Mahdi (b. 1936), al-Bashir participated in the June 30, 1989, military coup. With the support of Hassan al-Turabi (b. 1932), the fundamentalist leader of the National Islamic Front (NIF), al-Bashir immediately set out to “Islamicize” the state. He then dissolved parliament, banned all political parties, and forced all free presses to shut down. He also named himself chief of state, prime minister, chief of the armed forces, and minister of defense. In 1991, al-Bashir instituted sharia (strict adherence to Islamic religious law) and intensified a scorched-earth campaign in which Muslim Arabs from the north had long been engaged in a hard-fought battle with Christian and animist black Africans in the south. (As far back as 1983, the southern-based Sudan People’s Liberation Army [SPLA] had begun fighting the Sudanese government in an effort to gain self-determination and establish a secular democracy. From that point onward, the Sudanese government had undertaken a brutal war to suppress the effort. For close to twenty years, al-Bashir’s regime carried out military attacks in the south of Sudan, during which time it is estimated some 2 million people lost their lives. Finally, in 2002, following a prolonged peace process, the war in the south came to an end.)

Beginning in 2003, al-Bashir’s regime undertook a scorched-earth campaign against the black Africans of Darfur in western Sudan. Beginning in the 1990s, Arabs and black Africans in the Darfur region began to clash over land and water use, primarily as a result of a severe drought and increasing desertification. Over time, the clashes became increasingly violent, but when the clashes were adjudicated by courts, the black Africans often found themselves being treated less fairly than the Arab population. For many years (beginning in the early 1990s and continuing through the early 2000s), in fact, black Africans of Darfur complained bitterly that the Arabs in the region were given preferential treatment over black Africans by the Sudanese government. For example, black Africans asserted that although the Sudanese government taxed them, the government did little to nothing to

enhance the infrastructure of Darfur (i.e., the development of roads and schools). They also called for better treatment of black Africans at the hands of the police and court system.

When the black Africans felt that their complaints were falling on deaf ears, a rebel group, the Sudanese Liberation Army (SLA), formed and, in early 2003, began carrying out attacks against government and military installations. Shorthanded due to the war in the south, al-Bashir hired nomadic Arabs to join forces with government of Sudan (GOS) troops to fight the rebels. However, instead of focusing their attacks solely on the rebels, the GOS and the Arab militia (referred to as the *Janjaweed*, or horsemen with guns) carried out a scorched-earth policy against all black Africans in the three-state region of Darfur. Supporting the desire of the al-Bashir's government to allow only Arabs to reside in Sudan, the GOS troops and the *Janjaweed* were bent on either forcing the black Africans to flee Sudan or killing them. Within a short period of time, hundreds of villages had been utterly destroyed by the GOS and the *Janjaweed*, thousands of black Africans had been killed and raped, and hundreds of thousands had fled, seeking sanctuary elsewhere. By late 2004, it was estimated that close to 2 million refugees had sought sanctuary in internally displaced camps (IDP) within Sudan and almost 200,000 others had fled to refugee camps just over the border in Chad. Estimates of the dead ranged from 250,000 to 400,000. By mid-2007, it was estimated that up to 2.5 million black Africans were in IDP camps and over 250,000 were in refugee camps in Chad. Beginning in late 2006 and continuing into 2007, GOS troops and the *Janjaweed* began carrying out attacks on the IDP camps and even on the refugee camps in Chad, where the two groups continued to kill people and rape girls and women at will.

Albigensian Crusade. Between the twelfth and the fourteenth centuries CE, a situation arose in southern France whereby the Cathars, or Albigensians, were accused by the Roman Catholic Church of heresy. In its drive to wipe out all traces of dissent, the French Church fell upon the freethinking people of the Languedoc region, destroying them utterly. The campaign to crush the Cathars was considered by the Church to be a Crusade in that the Cathars were not held to be Christian in the accepted sense but rather a race of apostates. This Crusade was directed by the French monarchy and executed by the French nobility, particularly from the northern parts of the country; the campaign had an added political character in that the northerners were able to conquer the south, thereby assisting the process of French unification. The means employed to suppress the Cathars were denunciations, torture, and, frequently, mass execution through burning at the stake or in open pits. Although some have questioned the applicability of the term *genocide* to describe the fate of the Cathars—*religious persecution* being a preferred expression—there can be little doubt that the Cathars formed an identifiable group (which would have been recognized as such [e.g., a religious group] under the terms of the 1948 UN Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide [UNCG]) and that the measures instituted against them by the Church fit under the terms laid down by the UNCG. When all was said and done, cities with populations numbering in the tens of thousands were wiped out; areas were depopulated, and the crusaders took literally the command attributed to the Cistercian bishop who led the Crusade, Arnold Amaury (d. 1225), during the final assault on the city of Beziers, to “Kill them all; God will know His own!” By the end of the process, at the beginning of the fourteenth century, Catharism was no more, its existence as a major alternative Christian movement in France snuffed out by sword and fire.

Allied Force. The official operation name of NATO's controversial bombing of Kosovo in 1999 that was undertaken in order to force the Serbs from "cleansing" and killing the Albanian residents.

al-Majid, Ali Hassan (b. 1941). Ali Hassan al-Majid, commonly referred to as "Chemical Ali" by Western journalists, was minister of defense in the Baath Party regime of Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein (1937–2006). A first cousin of Hussein, al-Majid was also one of his senior advisers and was a brutal "enforcer" for the regime. Renowned for his ability to mobilize state resources in order to repress dissent, al-Majid was appointed as Hussein's military governor after the occupation of Kuwait in 1990–1991 and played an important role in extending Iraqi control over the conquered country. Earlier, between 1986 and 1989, he had already achieved a fearsome reputation during the Anfal Campaign against Iraq's Kurdish population in the north, where his willingness to use mustard gas and nerve gas against Kurdish civilians led to international accusations of genocide leveled at Hussein's government—accusations that were subsequently verified by numerous independent organizations (e.g., Human Rights Watch) in the West. After Iraq's defeat in the Gulf War of 1991, Kurds in the north and Shiites in the south (specifically, the Ma'dan people, or "Marsh Arabs"), encouraged by U.S. president George H. W. Bush (b. 1924), rebelled against Baath Party rule. Again, al-Majid was in the forefront of the suppression of this resistance. Throughout the 1990s, al-Majid continued to act as Hussein's chief intimidator, subduing another attempt at Shiite insurgency in 1999—resulting, again, in substantial loss of life. Following the final defeat of the Hussein government in the spring of 2003 by the U.S.-led "Coalition of the Willing," doubt existed as to al-Majid's fate; initial reports about his death gave way to later reports that he was missing, though presumed dead. When finally, on August 21, 2003, he was captured by U.S. forces, he became one of the highest-profile of all alleged Iraqi war criminals. Along with Saddam Hussein and other leading members of his government, al-Majid was placed on trial before the Iraq Special Tribunal for Crimes Against Humanity (IST), an ad hoc court established by the Iraqi Governing Council in December 2003. As of September 2007, al-Majid's trial is continuing.

AMAR Appeal. The AMAR Appeal was established in Britain in 1991 to deliver emergency humanitarian aid for refugees and other vulnerable people in the region of the Persian Gulf. It is essentially a worldwide appeal on behalf of the Shia of southern Iraq, the so-called Marsh Arabs, or Ma'dan people. The AMAR Appeal was founded by a British member of Parliament, the Conservative politician Emma Nicholson (b. 1941)—now Baroness Nicholson of Winterbourne, a Liberal Democrat and member of the European Parliament. The main work of the AMAR Appeal has focused on providing basic health care, clean water, and essential educational services for those Ma'dan who were made homeless by the military campaign waged against them by the armed forces of Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein (1937–2006) after the Gulf War of 1991. Up to 95,000 still live in refugee camps in Iran, unable to return to their previous way of life owing to Hussein's policy of draining the marshland environment in which their ancestors had lived for thousands of years—an act of retribution after the Ma'dan had risen in revolt following the Gulf War. AMAR has received funding from the British and other governments, from international agencies, and from corporate and private donations. The AMAR philosophy rests on restoring hope to those who were brutalized under the former Hussein regime; its key principle is to build local capacity, keeping its overhead to a minimum and

employing local staff as much as possible. The AMAR mission statement clearly delineates the aims of the organization: “to recover and to sustain professional services in medicine, public health, education and basic need provision within refugee and other communities living under stress in war zones or in areas of civil disorder and disruption.” In order to achieve these objectives, AMAR engages in a wide variety of activities locally while raising consciousness about the ongoing plight of the Ma’dan externally. Since 1991, AMAR has raised over £8 million to assist its relief operations.

Amaury, Arnold (d. 1225). A French Cistercian bishop of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, also known as Arnald Amalric. The papal plenipotentiary in Languedoc, he was later appointed archbishop of Narbonne. Instrumental in the campaign of the Roman Catholic Church to wipe out the alleged heresy of the Cathars, or Albigensians, who were practicing their version of Christianity in southern France between the twelfth and the fourteenth centuries CE, Amaury led his followers in what was considered by the Church to be a Crusade. The Cathars were not held to be Christian in the accepted sense but rather were considered a race of apostates. The means employed to suppress the Cathars were denunciations, torture, and, frequently, mass execution through burning at the stake or in open pits. The final assault against the major Cathar stronghold, the city of Beziers, took place in July 1209. As the troops were looking to Amaury for advice on how to distinguish Cathars from Catholics, he is reputed to have said, in Latin, “Caedite eos. Novit enim Dominus qui sunt eius,” or “Kill them all. God will know His own!” Though there is some dispute as to whether Amaury actually did utter these infamous words—they are attributed to him but undocumented—there is no doubt that they clearly encapsulate the attitude prevailing at the time. What is certain is that the sack of the city and the utter annihilation of its inhabitants—Catholic as well as Cathar—formed part of Church policy, as the wider campaign of Cathar suppression saw them completely destroyed as a major alternative Christian movement in France by the beginning of the fourteenth century.

Ambassador Morgenthau's Story. The title of a memoir produced by the U.S. ambassador to the Ottoman Empire between 1913 and 1916, Henry Morgenthau, Sr. (1856–1946). The account pertains primarily to his observations of the Young Turk genocide of the Armenians, beginning in April 1915. The book was published in 1918 by Doubleday, Page and Co., New York, and had the approval of the U.S. State Department. It brought to a wide reading audience the devastation wrought by the Turks on the Armenian people during 1915–1916 and was written in a style that inflamed much American opinion against the Turks. A preliminary rendering of *Ambassador Morgenthau's Story* appeared in the monthly magazine *The World's Work* in November 1918 and thus received some measure of wider circulation just as the book was gaining currency. Among Morgenthau's conclusions regarding the genocide is the very important one that the killing of Armenians was a premeditated policy on the part of the Turks and that, in his numerous meetings with Young Turk leaders—principally, Mehemet Talaat Pasha (1874–1921)—damning statements of culpability in the killings were made frequently. Critics of Morgenthau's memoir, many of whom adopt a denial position regarding the Armenian genocide, contend that the book is a distortion of the truth; was wartime propaganda; and was produced for the purpose of stirring up hatred of Turkey, which its continued appearance still does today. *Ambassador Morgenthau's Story* has gone through many reprintings and is still currently available, published most recently by Wayne State University Press in Detroit, Michigan.

Amin, Idi (c. 1925–2003). Idi Amin Dada Oumee ruled Uganda as military dictator between January 25, 1971, and April 13, 1979. It is not certain when he was born; a range of dates between 1923 and 1928 has been discussed, with 1925 being the most commonly cited. After a very basic education, Amin joined the King's African Rifles of the British colonial army as a private in 1946 and rose through the ranks to become sergeant major before obtaining a commission as lieutenant. Amin expressed himself best physically, at first as an athlete—he was both a champion swimmer and Uganda's light-heavyweight boxing titleholder between 1951 and 1960—and then as a tough military disciplinarian. After Uganda's independence in 1962, the country's first prime minister, Milton Obote (1924–2005), promoted Amin to captain (1963); then to deputy commander of the army (1964); and then to general and chief of staff of the armed services (1965). Amin's rise had been spectacular, but it was possibly because of that very success that, after a while, Obote began to have second thoughts about his protégé. Relations between the two became increasingly acrimonious until, in January 1971, Amin launched a coup against Obote's government while the prime minister was attending a Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting in Singapore. Amin declared himself president and began a reign of terror throughout the country. Shortly after taking power, he established "killer squads" for the purpose of rooting out and murdering Obote's supporters; these squads were responsible for scores of thousands of deaths and for perpetrating state-sponsored rape and torture. On August 9, 1972, Amin ordered the expulsion of all Asians (mainly Indians or descendants of Indians, a great many possessing Ugandan citizenship) within ninety days. In conditions of great hardship, most managed to obtain urgently needed sanctuary before the deadline expired. All in all, the Amin regime was responsible for up to 300,000 deaths, though some estimates reach as high as half a million. In June 1976, an Air France passenger plane flying from Tel Aviv to Paris was hijacked by Arab terrorists, who separated the Jews on board from the non-Jews (the latter of whom they released in Benghazi, Libya). The ninety-eight Jews on the plane were taken to Entebbe, Uganda, and held hostage at the airport there. The Israeli government launched a successful commando raid to rescue the hostages—effectively an incursion into sovereign Ugandan territory—in which Amin was a bit player pushed aside by bigger events. There was little doubt that the terrorists found their way to Uganda because of their expectation of a positive reception from Amin, a Muslim. In October 1978, Amin overreached himself when he attacked neighboring Tanzania; not only did that country's troops launch a successful counterattack, but they took the fight into Uganda itself, forcing Amin out of office in 1979 and restoring Obote in 1980. Amin, who became more and more devout religiously, found sanctuary first in Libya and then in Saudi Arabia. He died in Saudi Arabia on August 16, 2003, never having been called to account for the crimes against humanity committed under his rule and in his name.

Amnesty. A legal guarantee that a person or group will not be charged or held.

Amnesty International (AI). AI is a worldwide human rights movement of people acting on the conviction that governments must not deny individuals their basic human rights. Founded in 1961 in London by Peter Benenson (1921–2005), a barrister, it was the recipient of the Nobel Peace Prize in 1977. AI bases its work on the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights. As part of its campaign to protect fundamental human rights, AI regularly publishes country reports and other documents on human rights issues around the world. It also issues "urgent action bulletins" for the purpose of

alerting its membership of the dire need to contact government officials where particularly serious or egregious human rights infractions are taking place. Although AI does not focus on genocide per se, its efforts to address “extrajudicial killings” (or political killings) and crimes against humanity are undoubtedly germane to the issue of genocide. Indeed, much of its work has focused on major human rights abuses in countries where, ultimately, the government has been found to have committed genocide (e.g., Guatemala in the 1980s and 1990s, Rwanda in the early 1990s, the former Yugoslavia throughout the 1990s, and Darfur throughout the early 2000s). It is also noteworthy that AI was involved in pushing for the establishment of the International Criminal Court (ICC).

Anfal (also referred to as al Anfal and the Anfal Campaign). The al Anfal (the spoils of war) campaign was the name of a series of military campaigns undertaken by Saddam Hussein’s (1932–2006) Iraqi Baathist regime against the Kurdish population residing in northern Iraq. The campaign was named after the eighth chapter of the Koran, which is titled Surat al-Anfal and is about a battle against “unbelievers” and the need to cut off the roots of the unbelievers. It was an odd choice of terms, for the Kurds, themselves, are Muslim and Iraq, at the time, was a secular state.

In early 1987, shortly after Iraqi president Saddam Hussein named his cousin Ali Hassan al-Majid (a.k.a. “Chemical Ali”; b. 1938 or 1941 [undetermined]) as secretary-general of the administrative zone called the “Northern Bureau” (the location of Iraqi Kurdistan), al-Majid promised “to solve the Kurdish problem and slaughter the saboteurs.” The Kurds were perceived to be a problem by Iraq as they desired their own autonomous area, were hard to control, often engaged in battle with Iraqi military forces based in northern Iraq, and some were known to have fought with Iran during the Iran-Iraq War. Indeed, a true understanding of the campaign cannot be divorced from the protracted Iraq-Iran War, fought between 1980 and 1988.

The prelude to the Anfal began in spring 1987 when al-Majid oversaw the initial destruction of villages and the resettlement of thousands of Kurds against their will. The Kurds, whose ancestors had lived in these villages for centuries, were forcibly moved into relocation centers where the Iraqi government could easily monitor their movements. During this same period, the first order to carry out mass killing was made. More specifically, those Kurds who refused to leave the so-called prohibited zones and relocate in the newly designated areas were deemed traitors and automatically became targets of extermination. From that point forward, a series of sieges or Anfals were carried out: (1) the First Anfal: February 23–March 19, 1988, including a chemical attack on Halabja; (2) the Second Anfal: March 22–April 1, 1988; (3) the Third Anfal: April 7–20, 1988; (4) the Fourth Anfal: May 3–8, 1988, including chemical attacks on Goktapa and Askar; (5) the Fifth, Sixth, and Seventh Anfals: May 15–August 26, 1988; and (6) the Eighth (and final) Anfal: August 25–September 6, 1988, which also included chemical attacks (Human Rights Watch, *Genocide in Iraq*, 1993). An area comprising over one thousand villages (possibly as many as two thousand) was designated a “killing zone” by the Iraqi minister of defense, and, subsequently, thousands of Iraqi Kurd homes were destroyed and close to one hundred thousand Kurds—men, women, and children—were, variously, machine-gunned and gassed to death. Generally, the survivors were forced into areas bereft of water, food, housing, or medical care.

Over 4 million pages (some fourteen tons) of Iraqi government documents have been gathered by investigators of the Anfal, and such evidence supports the fact that there was

the intent on the part of the Iraqi regime to destroy the village population of Kurds as such, thus constituting a genocidal process. With the fall of Hussein in 2003, the ongoing struggles for democracy in Iraq, and the incessant resistance incursions, the volatility of the region has not yet ended. The question of whether the Kurds will have a voice in the new Iraq or a sovereign nation-state of their own remains open-ended.

Anfal Campaign. See Anfal.

Angkar Loeu. Angkar Loeu, which literally means the “high organization” in the Khmer language, was, in reality, Pol Pot’s (1925–1998) Communist Party that was responsible for the genocide of the Cambodian people between 1975 and 1979. Angkar Loeu served as the top leadership echelon in Democratic Kampuchea (the latter a bizarrely ironic name for what was, in actuality, a totalitarian dictatorship).

Angkar’s Eight-Point Agenda. Pol Pot (1925–1998), the leader of the Cambodian communist revolutionaries known as the Khmer Rouge, which overthrew the Cambodian government in 1975 and established the totalitarian state of Democratic Kampuchea, created an eight-point agenda for *Angkar Loeu* (the “high organization,” or the leadership of Kampuchea’s communist dictatorship) to follow as it set out to create what it perceived as a utopian state. The eight-point agenda comprised the following: (1) evacuate the people from the cities; (2) abolish all markets; (3) abolish all currency; (4) defrock all Buddhist monks; (5) execute the leaders of Lon Nol’s government and army; (6) establish cooperatives across Cambodia, with communal eating; (7) expel the entire ethnic Vietnamese population; and (8) dispatch Khmer Rouge troops to the Thai and Vietnamese borders to secure the integrity of the revolution from encroachment from Cambodia’s traditional rivals.

Annan, Kofi (b. 1938). UN undersecretary-general for peacekeeping (1993–1997) and UN secretary-general (1997–2006). Annan was undersecretary-general for peacekeeping during the UN’s incompetent handling of the crisis in Rwanda prior to, during, and following the 1994 Rwandan genocide and the extremely complex and murderous crisis in the former Yugoslavia. He was the UN secretary-general during the relatively successful containment of violence in East Timor (1999), the controversial NATO bombing of Kosovo (1999), and the first four years (2003–2006) of the genocidal crisis in Darfur, Sudan, during which the UN did little to nothing to stanch the killing. In the latter two cases, the UN Security Council largely tied his hands, though many assert that he could have used his post as a bully pulpit much more than he did to generate attention and concern over both genocidal crises.

Anschluss. German-language term usually understood to mean “linkage,” “connection,” “union,” or “annexation” and referring specifically to the annexation of Austria by Germany on May 13, 1938, which was met with no significant resistance either governmentally or militarily. Shortly thereafter, the Nazi racial laws were instituted against Austria’s Jewish population of approximately 185,000 persons.

Antecedents to the Holocaust. Historians do not always agree on all of the antecedents that have been cited as leading up to the Holocaust. For many years, historians were roughly grouped as being either *intentionalists* (who argued that the Nazis’ intent, early on, was to exterminate the Jews) or *functionalists* (that the unfolding of events—setbacks and opportunities—resulted in the decision to establish the death factories in Poland). More recently, though, there is a group of historians that fall somewhere in the middle of the two camps, acknowledging and building their own interpretations on the strengths

(while winnowing the weaknesses) of each of the aforementioned groups' positions—in addition to their own analysis of documents that were unearthed in the archives of the former Soviet Union in the 1990s. That said, some of the many antecedents that many historians can and do agree on are as follows: the long, sordid history of antisemitism by Christians; the advent of political antisemitism; the racial antisemitism of the Nazis; social Darwinism; extreme nationalism; totalitarianism; industrialism; and the nature of modern war.

Anti-Jewish Legislation Implemented by the Nazis. Between 1933 and 1939, the Third Reich passed four hundred pieces of legislation whose express purpose was to “define, isolate, exclude, segregate, and impoverish German Jews” (Berenbaum, 1993, p. 22). A week after the National Socialists (Nazis) gained power in Germany, the government passed its first series of laws that targeted the Jews: the Civil Service Law of April 7, 1933, whose express purpose was the dismissal of all so-called non-Aryans from the civil service, including all educators working in state schools.

Antiquity, Genocide During. *Genocide* is a new word for an ancient practice, and it has taken many forms in the past. In the Ancient World, the destruction of entire groups was common enough that we can identify a pattern within the literature of total extermination appearing regularly. The Hebrew Bible contains a number of important passages that refer to mass destruction which today would be identified as genocide (see, e.g., Deuteronomy 7). The Greeks engaged in the practice widely; one well-known example, among many chronicled, is that of Thucydides (c. 471–399 BCE), in the case of the island inhabitants of Melos. The Romans, too, committed genocide, in numerous locations—most notably in the fate that befell the inhabitants of Rome’s archenemy Carthage in 146 BCE, where both the people were destroyed and the land upon which they lived was despoiled. In the aftermath of the Roman victories over the Jews of Palestine (Judaea) during the first and second centuries CE, at which time the Temple was destroyed (70 CE), the Jews were a devastated people. After the final confrontation between Roman and Jewish forces at Betar (135 CE), over half a million Jews had been killed, and the survivors were dispersed through slave markets across the known world. War was the most common facilitator of genocidal destruction, and, after a victory (or a defeat, depending on one’s perspective), it was frequently a given that the wholesale massacre of those defeated might take place as a means of cementing in place one’s conquest of the opposing army. It might just as easily not have taken place, depending on the disposition of the king or general in charge at the scene; thus, genocides in the Ancient World were not always predictable. One thing is certain, though: a consciousness for genocidal activities existed in the Ancient World, and Western civilizations were far from tentative at invoking it when circumstances (as their leaders viewed it) required such action to take place.

Antisemitism (German, *Antisemitismus*). Hatred of the Jews as a people and/or Judaism as the religious/cultural/social traditions of the Jewish people. The term was coined by the German antisemite Wilhelm Marr (1818–1904), who used it to describe the Jews as a racial group, and then used the term in a political context. The origins of such antipathy toward Jews and Judaism can be traced back to the Hebrew Bible, where the Jews are described by the pharaoh of Egypt (Exodus 1) and the prime minister of Persia (Esther 3) as an alien, disloyal, overly numerous group. Such antisemitism may best be labeled as social-cultural and political antisemitism. With the birth and success of Christianity, and the New Testament’s orientation of the Jews as primarily responsible for the murder

of its Christ (i.e., deicide) rather than the Romans, antisemitism takes on a religious or theological expression, as does the early Christian understanding that the Jews and Judaism's relationship with their God had now been superseded. Particularly pernicious during the Middle Ages was the false charge that Jews needed to murder innocent Christian children to drain their blood for the preparation of the unleavened cakes (matzo) used in the celebration of the Passover, as well as the charge that the Jews poisoned the wells, resulting in the Black Death (bubonic plague) that ravaged Europe. During the evolution of Western civilization, specifically the rise of mercantilism and capitalism, at which time Jews were outsiders to the guilds and thus prevented from many craft occupations as well as owning and farming land, antisemitism took on an economic coloration. With the rise of the Enlightenment in Europe, the severing of power from the Church, and the refusal of the Jews to surrender their identity and merge into the larger societies, social and cultural forms of antisemitism, again, came to the fore, accompanied by variations of political antisemitism. Marr's transmutation of antisemitism into a racial category ultimately set the stage for the most virulent and violent expression of antisemitism: that of the racial or biological antisemitism of the Nazis during World War II and the Holocaust, which, at its end, saw the murder of almost 6 million Jewish men, women, and children (1 million below the age of twelve and half a million between the ages of twelve and eighteen). In the aftermath of World War II, and the revelations of the Holocaust, antisemitism as such, in all its permutations, saw a dramatic decrease throughout the world. However, with the beginnings of the twenty-first century, most especially as a result of the ongoing tensions in the Middle East between Israel and her Arab neighbors, falsely described as "anti-Zionism" rather than antisemitism, violent expressions of antisemitism continue to rear their ugliness both on the continent of Europe (e.g., France and Germany) and throughout the Middle East.

Arabism. The belief system held by certain Arab groups that Arab values and norms are superior to all others. A classic case of Arabism is the conflict in Darfur, Sudan (2003–2008), in which the Arab-run government of Sudan has disparaged the black Africans of Darfur as less than human (e.g., "dogs," "slave dogs," and "Nuba" or "slave") and have made it clear in their ongoing attacks (2003–2008) against the black Africans that they are not welcome in Sudan as they are not Arabs. During the process of their attacks, Sudanese government troops and the *Janjaweed* (Arab militia) have carried out a scorched-earth policy that has resulted in the utter destruction of black African villages and the mass rape and genocide of the black African people.

Ararat. A major motion picture produced in 2001 by Canadian film director Atom Egoyan, *Ararat*, which premiered at the Cannes Film Festival, is based on the 1915–1923 genocide of the Armenians by the Ottoman Turks. The latter resulted in the murders of more than 1 million Armenian men, women, and children.

The somewhat convoluted plot of this almost two-hour film involves a series of intertwining subplots, the unifying theme revolving around a studio making a movie about the genocide. The various characters (Ani, the art historian hired as consultant; her son Raffi; an actor hired to play a Turkish officer; and a customs officer) in the movie-within-the-movie work through the historical and moral elements of the parts they are to play, while the production staff wrestles with the most appropriate way(s) to bring the story of the Armenian defense of the city of Van, within the overall texture of the genocide, to the screen.

Produced by Robert Lantos (b. 1949) and Atom Egoyan (b. 1960) and directed by Egoyan, *Ararat* is one of only a very few major motion pictures taking the Armenian genocide as its theme, and, as such, it is controversial. It has been condemned by many Turks and Turkish sympathizers, who deny the veracity of the Armenian genocide and assert that *Ararat* is nothing but anti-Turkish propaganda. When the film was released, many cinemas in the English-speaking world would not screen it for fear of attracting pro- and anti-Armenian demonstrations, and the film was given only a limited release in the United States, the United Kingdom, and Australia. In Canada, on the other hand, *Ararat* was the recipient of Best Picture, Best Actress, and Best Supporting Actor (to Arsinée Khanjian [b. 1958] and Elias Koteas [b. 1961], respectively) at the Canadian Genie Awards, as well as awards from other bodies. In 2006, an edited version of *Ararat* was shown on Turkish television, to mixed responses.

Though it received mixed reviews, this film has kept the issue of the Armenian genocide before a wide audience that is largely unfamiliar with the events contained therein.

Arbour, Louise (b. 1947). Louise Arbour received her BA from the Collège Régina Assumpta in 1967 and her law degree in civil law from the Université de Montréal in 1970 and was admitted to the Ontario bar in 1977. Between 1974 and 1987, she taught at and was associate dean of the Osgoode Hall Law School at York University and continued to publish extensively in the fields of criminal procedure, criminal law, human rights, civil liberties, and gender issues. Appointed to the Supreme Court of Ontario in 1987, she was later appointed to the Court of Appeals for Ontario in 1990, and in 1996 she was appointed chief prosecutor of war crimes for the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR) in Arusha, Tanzania, and the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY) in The Hague. In May 1999, at the ICTY, she presented the indictment against Slobodan Milosevic, the president of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. In 1999, she was also appointed to the Supreme Court of Canada. On February 10, 2004, she accepted the position of high commissioner for human rights of the United Nations, taking her oath of office on July 1, 2004.

Area Bombing. Area bombing is a military air strategy that targets a city in its totality as a single military objective, rather than by identifying specific military objectives and attacking them. This can disrupt an enemy's lines of communication, weaken civilian morale, sap a nation's willingness to continue military operations, and even sow discord toward a government that could allow its citizens to be attacked this way—and any of these, for military planners, can be considered legitimate objectives. But the upshot of area bombing has traditionally been the killing of vast numbers of innocent civilians. Some authors, such as Eric Markusen and David Kopf in their 1995 book *The Holocaust and Strategic Bombing: Genocide and Total War in the Twentieth Century*, have suggested that such bombing borders on the genocidal (where it is not an act of genocide outright), as the people were killed for no other reason than by virtue of their nationality as the air planners sought a way to destroy the enemy's capacity to continue waging war through killing substantial numbers of civilians. Examples of area bombing abounded in the twentieth century, including the bombing of the following cities prior to and during World War II: Guernica, Rotterdam, Coventry, and London by the Germans; Dresden by the Allies; and Tokyo (and arguably Hiroshima and Nagasaki) by the United States. Later, in the late 1960s and early 1970s, the United States also dropped a huge tonnage of bombs on North Vietnam during the Vietnam War.

Area bombing is not to be confused with the air bombardment of military targets in urban areas, from which it is distinguished by carpet bombing’s declared illegality under international law. Additionally, Protocol 1 of the Fourth Geneva Convention, signed in 1977, declared area bombing to be a war crime, though an imprecision in the Protocol’s language has made it possible for states to find loopholes to help them avoid the stigma of international condemnation.

Argentina and “Disappearances.” During the period 1976–1983, at which time Argentina suffered under harsh military rule, between 11,000 and 15,000 people were killed in what has become known as the “Dirty War” (in Spanish, *La Guerra Sucia*; more colloquially, *El Proceso* or “The Process”). The victims were murdered by the military authorities not because they had transgressed the law but because of their known or suspected political beliefs. The victims were most frequently arrested, tortured, and then “disappeared,” the practice of detention without trial and murder without due visible process giving its name to the victims as *Los Desaparecidos* (the disappeared ones). Often, as documented cases show, military helicopters would take the victims far out to sea, where they would be dumped. Military officers justified such acts as necessary to stop what they referred to as acts of terrorism, but, without any form of open trial, the *desaparecidos* were more than likely to have been only political opponents or those on the political left—trade unionists, students, priests of liberal opinion, and the like. Although not constituting genocide according to the terms of the 1948 UN Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, Argentina’s Dirty War undoubtedly amounted to a series of politically inspired mass killings. The purpose of the killings was to destroy a vague and perpetrator-defined group, the right wing Argentinian government’s opposition on the left.

Arierparagraph. This term refers to the Nazi definition of a person who was of “non-Aryan descent.” On April 11, 1933, the Nazis issued a regulation that a person of non-Aryan descent was any person who had a Jewish parent or grandparent; the parent or grandparent was presumed to be Jewish if he (or she) belonged to the Jewish religion.

Arkan (Nickname of Zeljko Raznatovic; [1952–2000]). A former criminal who became one of the most infamous, vociferous, and violent paramilitary leaders/warlords of the Serbs in 1990s. He led the so-called Arkan’s Tigers.

Arkan’s Tigers. Arkan’s Tigers was the popular name of the Serbian Volunteer Guard headed by the paramilitary leader Zeljko Raznatovic (1952–2000), who went by the nickname of Arkan. The Tigers were notorious for the atrocities they committed on the behalf of the regime of Slobodan Milosevic (1941–2006). They were a huge force, and by 1994 the group had, according to its own claims, trained some ten thousand men. It is suspected that many of the members of the group had been seconded from both police and army units. Despite claims by Milosevic that Arkan ran an independent operation, there were scores of signs that the Tigers operated with Milosevic’s imprimatur and assistance. For example, during the massacre at Prijedor in May 1992, Arkan’s Tigers, along with other Serb paramilitary groups, perpetrated the atrocities not only with the full knowledge of the Yugoslav People’s Army (JNA) but also with its full support. In addition, when Arkan’s men committed atrocities in Zvornik, they were allowed to do as they wished in the center of the city while Yugoslav army units held down the perimeter areas.

Armageddon. Corruption of the Hebrew term *Har Megiddo* (Mount Megiddo), a rocky outcrop in northern Israel. A number of biblical and extrabiblical accounts align Armageddon with the Last Days, a time during which the final divine revelation will

reportedly take place and ultimate heavenly redemption will begin under the direction of a God-sent messiah (Hebrew, *moshiach*). A precondition for this, in both the Jewish and the Christian religious traditions, will be a massive human catastrophe (Hebrew, *chevlei ha-mashiach*, “the birth pangs of the Messiah”). In ancient times, two events seemed to fit this precondition; both, interestingly, took place following the death of Jesus. In 70 CE, the Romans completed their subjugation of the Jews with the capture and sacking of Jerusalem. In the last battle, one hundred thousand Roman troops stormed the city, destroyed the holy temple, and turned their swords on the people. At least 600,000 Jews were slaughtered. Then, during the Bar Kochba Revolt of 132–35 CE, another 580,000 Jews were massacred, and nearly a thousand towns and villages were destroyed. The emperor Hadrian (76–138 CE) then rebuilt Jerusalem, renamed it Aelia Capitolina, and dedicated it to pagan gods. On the site of the Temple Mount, a column in honor of Hadrian was erected alongside a shrine to Jupiter Capitolinus. All Jewish rites were forbidden on pain of crucifixion, as were Jewish religious days and the weekly observance of the Sabbath. It was said that, in the final battle between the Roman legions and Simeon Bar Kochba’s (d. 135 CE) warriors at Megiddo, the number of dead on both sides was piled so high as to form a mountain of corpses. This may have been the origin of Mount Megiddo’s association with massive human carnage that comes to us today as Armageddon. The concept was revived again in Christian scripture as the location of the final struggle between good and evil (Revelation 16:14, 16:16, 19:19), again, imbued with strong messianic prophecy.

Armenia: The Betrayed. This 2003 BBC-produced video provides a historical overview of the Ottoman-Turk genocide of the Armenians (1915–1923) as well as contemporary footage and interviews (with noted historians and various contemporary politicians) about the ongoing effort by the current Turkish government to deny the fact of the genocide and how the Armenians are responding to such denial.

Armenian Atrocities Committee. The Armenian Atrocities Committee was a non-governmental organization formed in the United States to draw public attention to the mass murder of fellow Christians (e.g., the Armenians citizens) by the Ottoman Turks (1915–1923). The group was successful in drawing broad public attention to the massacres (actually a genocide, but the term had not been coined yet), raising money for humanitarian purposes but also calling for a pacifist approach that “put safety first” and thus advocating against military intervention by the United States.

Armenian Genocide. A genocide committed against Armenians by the regime of the Committee of Union and Progress (*Ittihad ve Terakki Cemiyeti*), also known as the Young Turks, in the Ottoman Empire in the period following April 24, 1915 (1915–1923). According to most accounts, at least 1 million—though, on the balance of probabilities, closer to 1.5 million—Armenians were slaughtered as a direct result of deliberate Turkish policies seeking their permanent eradication from the empire. At the time the genocide began, well after the outbreak of World War I, the Turkish military forces were waging war against the Russians in the northeast and the British, French, and Australian and New Zealand Army Corps (ANZAC) forces at Gallipoli, but resources were diverted to the campaign of murdering the Armenian population within the empire. The genocidal measures were far more extensive than any previous anti-Armenian massacres (such as those in 1894–1896 or at Adana in 1909) and saw all the relevant agencies of government directed toward the singular aim of totally destroying the Armenian population.

That the genocide took place under cover of war was more than just a matter of interest; the war was in reality a crucial part of the genocide's success. By conducting deportations of Armenians in places far off the beaten track, forcing many victims (primarily women and children, including babies) into harsh, scorching-hot underpopulated regions of the empire, the Turks were able to exploit the war situation for the purpose of achieving their genocidal aims. Technology, in the form of modern telecommunications and transportation, was employed to coordinate the killing activities and speed up the process, while other minorities supportive of the Turks' aims, in particular Kurdish and Arab allies, assisted in carrying out the murders. The eventual result was a loss of life—in a relatively short span of time—of what had hitherto been unimagined proportions. The worst of the killing was over within a year, but only because the ferocity of the Turks' campaign led to a shortage of potential victims. This did not, however, stop the killing, and Armenian communities in various parts of the empire, where they were found, continued to be attacked up through the early 1920s.

Armenian Genocide, British Response to. Throughout the nineteenth century, British governments had taken careful note of anti-Christian developments within the Ottoman Empire, which ultimately culminated in the large-scale massacres of Armenians on order of Sultan Abdul Hamid II (1842–1918; reigned 1876–1909) between 1894 and 1896. Foremost in his condemnation of these actions was the senior British statesman and former prime minister William Ewart Gladstone (1809–1898), who had been highly critical of the Turks throughout his prime ministerships in the 1870s and 1880s. In the period immediately prior to the outbreak of World War I in July–August 1914, British concern was voiced about the fate of the Christian populations of the Ottoman Empire in the face of Young Turk nationalist campaigns, but it was not until news of the genocide of the Armenians began to circulate during the spring and summer of 1915 that serious British attention was directed specifically toward their plight. In that year, the government assigned to Viscount James Bryce (1838–1922) the task of gathering whatever information could be found on the then-developing genocide. Bryce took on as his researcher a young historian, Arnold J. Toynbee (1889–1975), who edited and arranged a vast range of documents into a blue book, or official documentary collection. It was a devastating indictment of the deportation and extermination of the Armenians.

On May 24, 1915, the British joined with their French and Russian allies in publicly warning the Young Turk regime that they would hold all the members of the Ottoman government personally responsible for the massacres. Unable to do anything concrete to stop the genocide outside of winning the war, Britain could not ease the plight of the Armenians while the killing was taking place. In 1917, the British prime minister, David Lloyd George (1863–1945), promised the Armenian population that Britain would not support any postwar settlement that allowed the Turks to retain control over Armenian territory. This promise was reaffirmed in 1918 and formed part of the Treaty of Versailles at the end of the war. Power politics intruded into these sentiments, however, and Britain found itself forced—by circumstances and by preference—to back away from its stated commitments to the Armenians. This found its clearest expression in the half-hearted attempts by the British authorities to bring arrested Young Turk leaders before a military or criminal tribunal after the war; most of those in British custody were ultimately released, with only a few trials of minor figures having taken place (resulting in few convictions).

Armenian Genocide, Denial of. Arguments questioning the veracity of claims of a Turkish genocide of the Armenians during and after World War I have usually taken one of four basic forms: the destruction of the Armenians at the hands of the Ottoman Turks never happened; Turkey is not responsible for the vast number of Armenian deaths, which inadvertently resulted from disease and starvation during the deportation of Armenians out of war zones; the term *genocide* is inapplicable owing to the fact that there was no intent on the part of the Young Turk government to destroy the Armenian population; and, finally, any deaths that did occur were the result of a destructive civil war in the Ottoman Empire, during which at least as many—for some, more—Turks died as did Armenians. These assertions, individually and collectively, have been made by successive Turkish governments and their supporters since the 1920s and are still prevalent today. The most recent areas in which issue has been taken with claims of an Armenian genocide have been in academia (through the establishment of Turkish-funded chairs of Turkish studies dedicated to a “no-genocide” position) and in political campaigns lobbying national legislatures against voting on propositions recognizing the genocide. Because denial of the Armenian genocide is Turkish state policy, it differs from most other forms of genocide denial, which are, for the most part, conducted by individuals or organizations acting in a private capacity. For several decades, Turkish governments were in some ways successful in their worldwide advocacy of a “no-genocide” position, but in recent years various states (e.g., France) and international organizations (e.g., the United Nations) have rejected Turkish denialism and passed resolutions acknowledging the genocide. Moreover, the European Union has made oblique references to Turkish accession being dependent on a public recognition of the genocide and a departure from the long-held denialist policy.

Armenian Genocide Institute-Museum. The Armenian Genocide Institute-Museum was opened in Yerevan, Armenia, in 1995, as part of the events commemorating the eightieth anniversary of the beginning of the Armenian genocide (1915–1923) at the hands of the Young Turk regime. One of its architects, Sashur Kalashian, also designed the nearby Armenian Genocide Memorial. Both the museum and the memorial are situated on the same hilltop overlooking Yerevan, Tsitsernakaberd (Swallow’s Fort), though the presence of the one had been designed so that it does not detract attention from the other. The museum contains an impressive collection of historical documentary material, archival documents, photographs, and other artifacts from the time of the genocide. The principal activities of the institute-museum are both to gather together historical documents and to conduct tours for the public. In this sense, it serves primarily an educational function; in addition, however, its ongoing brief is to collect new data whenever it emerges. International activities undertaken under the institute-museum’s aegis include academic conferences, liaison with scholarly institutions around the world, and translation of Armenian and Turkish documents into other languages so as to help broaden the range of scholarship on the Armenian genocide.

Armenian Genocide, Role of Turkish Physicians in. For many in Ottoman Turkish society, the racial necessity of the Armenian genocide required a justification that transcended ideology or abstract propaganda. Consequently, biological reasons were often raised for the need to remove Armenians from Turkish society; such reasons looked to medical science for support. Early statements referred to the Armenians as “dangerous microbes,” and Dr. Mehemet Reshid (1873–1919), in particular, formulated ways to

bring home to the Armenians their less-than-human status. Reducing them to the level of animals, Reshid pioneered the technique of nailing horseshoes to the feet of living men and marching them through the streets and of nailing Armenians to crosses in emulation of that which happened to Jesus Christ. This conception of his role placed his Turkish identity above that of his calling as a medical practitioner. In other instances, Turkish physicians were known to have killed Armenian children by injecting them with morphine prior to dumping them in the Black Sea, and Red Crescent hospitals were known to have poisoned Armenian children. Ultimately, Turkish physicians played a role in the Armenian genocide in several ways similar to that of the medical profession during the Nazi genocide of the Jews two decades later. Indeed, the perversion of medical science to the cause of genocide pointed to a major failure of the ethical underpinnings of medicine in Turkey early in the twentieth century, a perversion taken up by others later. After World War I, a trial was held of those apprehended for the massacres that took place at Trebizond during the genocide; the doctors arraigned were for the most part acquitted.

Armenian Genocide, United States' Response to. News of the Armenian genocide of 1915 at the hands of the Young Turk regime almost immediately appeared in the press in the United States. Accounts from Armenian missionaries and journalists in Turkey, particularly in Constantinople, were filled with strong detail describing Turkish atrocities. At an official level, U.S. consuls in the provinces, as well as the U.S. ambassador, Henry Morgenthau, Sr. (1856–1946), sent back thorough reports of what they had themselves seen or been told by eyewitnesses. The response of the U.S. public was one of shock and anger. Although the United States had not yet entered the Great War, the news of what was happening to the Armenians turned the American public against the Turks. Specifically as a reaction to news of the genocide, a charity named Near East Relief was created in order to raise funds for the alleviation of Armenian distress. The transfer of monies was authorized by the U.S. Department of State, and any additional attempts at humanitarian relief received the earnest support of U.S. president Woodrow Wilson (1856–1924). The amount of relief money collected was enormous; at its height, Near East Relief administered a budget of \$117,000,000, the majority of it having been raised through donations from U.S. citizens. This generosity was replicated politically by the Wilson administration, and his idea of self-determination for the peoples of Europe found a healthy audience among those who thought the Armenians' only hope of freedom from continued persecution lay in the creation of an independent Armenia. By 1920, this had crystallized around a movement to create an American League of Nations mandate for Armenia. This did not eventuate. In the chaotic environment of the postwar years, U.S. oil interests, fearful they might lose access to the oil fields of the Middle East, pressured the U.S. government to soften its stance on Turkey and Armenia. The mandate proposal was dropped, and, in the decades that followed, right through to the end of the twentieth century, every U.S. administration fell into line behind a Turkey committed to denying the Armenian genocide. The Armenians were effectively abandoned by successive U.S. governments, which were held hostage by big business, the strategic interests generated by the Cold War, and the biases of individual politicians. The response of the United States to the Armenian genocide has thus undergone a number of changes, from full support of the victims to their near-total abandonment.

Armenian Massacres. Massacres were carried out against Armenians by different regimes within the Ottoman Empire during two time frames—between 1894 and 1896 and in 1909. In the first, from 1894 to 1896, Sultan Abdul Hamid II (1842–1918; reigned 1876–1909) carried out a series of massacres, the worst occurring in 1895. Estimates of those killed range widely, anywhere between 100,000 and 300,000, with thousands more maimed or rendered homeless. Most of those killed were men; the killings took place in open areas, in the full sight of the community, and seemed to be designed for the purpose of intimidating the Armenian population rather than its wholesale destruction. The massacres were, in fact, an attempt to quash talk of independence and the spread of a distinctive nationalist (perceived to be anti-Ottoman) identity. The massacre of 1909, by contrast, which took place in the region surrounding the city of Adana, was largely the result of civil strife between the supporters of the sultan and the Young Turk reformers, in which the Armenians appeared to be scapegoats for both sides. The Adana massacres claimed possibly up to thirty thousand victims. Both persecutions—the 1894–1896 massacres (also referred to as the Hamidian Massacres, after the sultan) and the 1909 Adana massacres—seemingly prepared the Turkish population to accept the much greater genocidal measures that were undertaken from 1915 onward and must be seen as physical and psychological precursors to that tragedy.

Armenian Question, The. Term used to describe the issue of how to bring about reforms in the condition of the Armenian population of the Ottoman Empire during the reign of Sultan Abdul Hamid II (1842–1918; reigned 1876–1909). In the latter part of the nineteenth century, the Ottoman reform movement known as *Tanzimat* attempted to restructure society on constitutional and social lines, trying to bring the Ottoman Empire closer to modern European standards. The Armenians of the empire, encouraged by this development, hoped that an alteration to their status as second-class citizens might follow; consequently, a number of petitions were sent to the grand vizier's office in Constantinople requesting protection from Turkish violence and ill-treatment in the provinces. Such requests were viewed by Abdul Hamid and his government as an affront to the sultan's authority. As the problem of how to treat the Armenians (and by extension, other non-Muslim minorities in the empire) began to attract the attention of Europe's Christian nations, the sultan's thoughts turned to the most efficient way to solve it. His decision, by 1894, was that the only viable way to get rid of the "Armenian Question" would be for the Armenians themselves to be eradicated. The Hamidian Massacres of 1894–1896, in which at least 100,000 (and possibly double that number or even more) people were murdered on the royal command, were the direct result of Abdul Hamid's "solution" to the "Armenian Question."

Arms Embargo. The embargo of weapons is a form of sanctions. The United Nations, a regional organization such as NATO, or a coalition of nations may impose an arms embargo (prohibition on the purchase and/or shipment of military armaments) against a nation that is threatening and/or actually carrying out threats against one component or another of its citizens. An arms embargo represents an effort to bring such a conflict to a political—rather than military—solution. Under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations, such an embargo can be imposed in response to "a threat of peace, breach of peace or act of aggression" and, although not explicitly stated, may also be invoked under Article 41. Such embargoes are understood to be binding upon all member states. Only the UN Security Council itself has the power to invoke mandatory embargoes. Once

an embargo is implemented by the UN, the UN, in turn, must establish a Sanction Committee to monitor the effectiveness of an embargo, gather information regarding its effectiveness, address humanitarian exceptions, and keep the international community informed of the progress of such efforts. Individual nation-states themselves have also sanctioned such embargoes, usually through their own control and limiting of exports to warring countries.

Arusha Accords. A set of five agreements signed by the Hutu-dominated government of Rwanda and the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF) in Arusha, Tanzania, on August 4, 1993. It was intended that the Arusha Accords would end the civil war between the two parties. The talks leading to Arusha were cosponsored by the United States, France, and the Organization of African Unity and ranged over a wide variety of topics: refugee resettlement, power sharing between Hutu and Tutsi, the introduction of an all-embracing democratic regime, the dismantling of the military dictatorship of President Juvenal Habyarimana (1937–1994), and the encouragement of a transparent rule of law throughout Rwanda. In the months that followed the signing of the accords, a number of meetings took place for the purpose of negotiating their implementation. These meetings required the parties to travel to and from Arusha, sometimes by road and at other times by plane. It was after one of these meetings, on April 6, 1994, that the plane carrying Habyarimana and the president of Burundi, Cyprien Ntaryamira (1955–1994), was shot down—it has never been proven conclusively by whom—by a missile fired from the outskirts of the Kigali Airport. All on board were killed, triggering the genocide of Rwanda’s Tutsi population and the murder of moderate Hutu over the next 100 days.

Aryan. Originally a Sanskrit term understood to mean “noble” or “superior.” Ironically, the term Aryan was, originally, a reference to a group of people who lived in a region now divided into India, Afghanistan, and Iran. The people were hardly, as the term now suggests, blond-haired and blue-eyed.

Via a rather tortured and twisting road of numerous interpretations and confluences of Sanskrit, Indo-Iranian, and German words by various scholars and nonscholars, the term was eventually adopted by nineteenth-century European and U.S. “race specialists” who came to understand the word to mean something along the lines of “the honorable people.” Many of these same individuals came to believe and tout their descendants as being Nordic. Physical characteristics such as blond hair, blue eyes, above-average height, a particular shape of the skull, muscularity, and athletic prowess were later characterized by the Nazis as evidence of membership in the “true Aryan race,” distinct from such “lesser forms” as Jews and blacks. Although other so-called white Europeans, such as Poles, may have shared some of these characteristics, they were, according to the Nazis, ineligible for membership in their “master race” and were referred as *untermenschen* (subhuman).

Ironically, other than SS Chief of the Reich Security Main Office Reinhard Heydrich (1908–1942), none of the other Nazi leaders (e.g., Hitler, Bormann, Goering, Goebbels) met their own criteria of Aryan Nordicism.

Aryan Myth. Though the root meaning of the word Aryan comes from the Sanskrit in which it means something akin to either “nobleman” or “gentleman,” a nineteenth-century misreading of history suggested an invasion of the Indian continent and peoples by a fair-skinned Central Asian migratory superior warrior race. Ultimately, Hitler and the Nazis drew upon that misunderstanding to divide the world between themselves (Aryans)—insisting that the Germanic peoples were themselves the descendants of that original

conquering force—and their enemies (Jews). In this way they created a dichotomy that they perceived as constituting a battle between superior and inferior peoples. Thinking such as this, though fictitious, thus made the adaptation of the Hindu swastika (i.e., the wheel in motion, though the position of the feet is different) a powerful visual and graphic reminder of the connection and furthered the Nazi philosophy, drawing upon Charles Darwin (1809–1882) and others, as a biological conflict between two different orders (“races”) of human beings, with disastrous consequences for the Jews.

ASEAN. An international organization whose focus is the region of Southeast Asia. The Association of South-East Asian Nations was established on August 8, 1967, in Bangkok, Thailand, by five states: Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore, and Thailand. Subsequently, five additional states joined ASEAN: Brunei Darussalam (January 8, 1984); Vietnam (July 28, 1995); Laos and Myanmar/Burma (both July 23, 1997); and Cambodia (April 30, 1999). The association’s founding document, the ASEAN Declaration, states that the assembled states “represent the collective will of the nations to bind themselves together in friendship and cooperation and, through joint efforts and sacrifices, secure for their peoples and for posterity, the blessings of peace, freedom and prosperity.” The key elements by which this is to be realized include nonintervention in the affairs of member states; settlement of disputes in a peaceful manner; renunciation of the use of force; and “mutual respect for the independence, sovereignty, equality, territorial integrity, and national identity of all nations.” Pursuant to ASEAN’s promotion of peace and stability, it has overseen the establishment of a number of international accords pertaining to a variety of regional issues. In 1992 ASEAN leaders declared that the association should intensify the level of its dialogue on political and security issues with other states in the Asia-Pacific region, and consequently, in 1994, the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) was established as a means to reach out to such states (which include Australia, Japan, South Korea, India, the United States, China, Canada, and Russia, among others). In 1997 ASEAN adopted a program called ASEAN Vision 2020, which aimed at creating closer economic integration within the region. The ambition is to transform the area covered by the ASEAN states into a single economic powerhouse by the end of the first quarter of the twenty-first century. In its external relations, too, ASEAN sees itself playing an increasingly important role in the future, though the earthquake and tsunami that devastated much of the region on and after December 26, 2004, are likely to result in some of ASEAN’s activities being cut back, perhaps for several years.

Asocials, Nazis’ Designation as. *Asocials* was the general Nazi term for those persons declared outside the community of the *Volk*, the latter of which was used to indicate a highly mystical understanding of membership. *Asocials* included criminals, prostitutes, drug addicts, juvenile delinquents, homosexuals, vagrants, and the Roma peoples. The Nazi orientation toward such persons was that their behaviors were genetically and racially determined and, therefore, beyond correction. Once inside the concentration and death camps, *asocials* were forced to wear black triangles on their clothing, whereas pink triangles designated homosexuals and brown triangles designated Romas.

Association of Southeast Asian Nations. See ASEAN.

Assyrian Genocide. The Assyrian genocide took place at the hands of the Young Turk regime in the Ottoman Empire, alongside the Armenian genocide and the Pontic Greek genocide that the Turks carried out during and after World War I. The Assyrians, an ancient people inhabiting modern-day southeastern Iraq and northwestern Iran, refer to

their experience as having taken place between 1915 and 1918. By 1922, in a memorandum from the Assyro-Chaldean National Council, an estimate of approximately 275,000 was given as the total number of deaths caused by the Turks and their Kurdish collaborators. As with the Armenian genocide, a large proportion of the deaths occurred as a result of death marches from victims' homelands into the Syrian Desert. Most of those who died were the victims of heat, starvation and thirst, exposure, and incessant brutality at the hands of their captors. Although no official national or international recognition of the Assyrian genocide has been made, acknowledgment at lower levels of government has taken place. Perhaps the most significant of these came in April 2001, when New York governor George Pataki (b. 1945), in a statement also embracing the Armenian and Pontic Greek genocides, made specific reference to the Assyrian tragedy. Other individuals, notably American Pontic Greek scholar and activist Thea Halo, have referred to the Turkish campaign more broadly, calling it a genocide against the Christian population of the Ottoman Empire; the preference in this case is not to divide the three national experiences into their constituent parts but rather to categorize all of the deaths and atrocities as being of a single cloth. There is, certainly, a remarkable similarity between them, at least on the surface. The Assyrian population throughout the empire was subjected to massacre, deportation, dismemberment, torture, and other atrocities. Whole cities were depopulated, and, when not killed outright, the inhabitants were sent on the aforementioned death marches. The question of whether they were the victims of anti-Christian persecution, as both the Assyrians and the Pontic Greeks claim, or were caught up in necessary relocations by the Turkish army caused by World War I brings up issues of authenticity and denial—as with the Armenian situation, another case of Turkish refusal to consider the reality of their nation's history. The genocide of the Assyrians has largely been written out of history; this small people's past as a victim of genocide has been largely subsumed by that of the Armenians (and, to a lesser extent, the Pontic Greeks), a situation that must be addressed by scholars of genocide if the final act of the Assyrian genocide—historical amnesia—is not to occur.

Asylum. An act by a nation to grant protection within its boundaries to individuals in flight from persecution, the threat of death, or other types of serious harm resulting from, for example, violent conflict due to ethnic cleansing, religious persecution, abject racism, crimes against humanity, and/or genocide. An individual granted asylum is known as a refugee. Asylum involves numerous components, including *non-refoulement* or the permission to remain indefinitely in the country of asylum.

Asymmetrical Killing. See One-Sided Killing.

Atatürk, Mustafa Kemal (1881–1938). Turkish general and statesman, founder of the Republic of Turkey, and the man recognized by his people as the father of the nation. Mustafa Kemal, called Atatürk (Father of the Turks), had dabbled in a small way in Young Turk politics prior to World War I but was never a major figure in any capacity until his defense of Gallipoli in 1915. The invasion of the Dardanelles by British, French, Indian, and ANZAC (Australian and New Zealand Army Corps) troops on April 25, 1915, saw Kemal's absence from Constantinople and Anatolia at exactly the time that the Turkish genocide of the Armenians got under way. As a result, he was spared the opprobrium of being linked to the killing and was able to concentrate solely on the military side of saving his country from invasion and defeat. After the war, in the aftermath of the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, Kemal was able to rally the forces of Turkish nationalism and

reclaim Turkish pride. Mobilizing the remnants of the old Ottoman armies into a new fighting force, he negotiated the withdrawal of the occupying French and Italians, beat back the Greeks amid a campaign of massive destruction and killing on both sides, and browbeat the British into relinquishing their foothold at Chanak in September 1922. As part of his campaign to reclaim Turkey from the Allies, however, remaining pockets of the Armenian population were wiped out, in a continuation of the Young Turk genocide. Two areas were hit particularly hard: the French occupation zone of Cilicia, in southern Anatolia, and the area on the Turkish-Soviet border, in what was left of historic Armenia. Under Kemal's orders, Nationalist troops occupied substantial areas of what had been slated as independent Armenia (a proposal that was watered down into a U.S.-controlled League of Nations mandate, though this, too, failed to see the light of day), and in a last outbreak of extreme violence the city of Smyrna, with a large Greek and Armenian population, was razed in 1922 and its population massacred by advancing Turkish Nationalist troops. Subsequently, Kemal turned his attention to the modernization, militarization, and industrialization of Turkey—all goals that had been sought by the Young Turks. The one thing that had stood in their way was an obsession with racial issues, primarily with regard to the Armenians and the Pontic Greeks. With those populations gone, Kemal was able to pick up where the Young Turks had left off and, in so doing, both distance himself from the Young Turks' actions and, at the same time, suppress national awareness of what they had done. It was from this foundation that a Turkish culture of denial surrounding the Armenian genocide developed, a culture of denial that has to this day been reinforced by successive Turkish governments.

Atrocities Documentation Project (ADP). In July and August of 2004, the U.S. State Department and the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) sponsored an investigation into the ongoing killing of black Africans in Darfur, Sudan. Twenty-four investigators from around the globe interviewed over 1,100 black African refugees in some nineteen refugee camps inside Chad, along the Chad-Sudan border. In an analysis of the data collected, it was reported that the following percentage of interviewees ($n = 1,136$) witnessed or experienced the following: killing of a family member, 61 percent; the killing of a non—family member, 67 percent; shooting, 44 percent; death from displacement, 28 percent; abduction, 25 percent; rape (which was believed to be underreported), 16 percent; hearing racial epithets, 33 percent; village destruction, 81 percent; and aerial bombing, 67 percent. Based on the analysis of the findings, U.S. Secretary of State Colin Powell (b. 1937) declared, in a report to the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee, on September 9, 2004, that Sudan had committed genocide (and possibly still was committing genocide) against the black Africans of Darfur.

Powell's announcement was historic in that it was the first time one sovereign nation had formally accused another sovereign nation of genocide. During his testimony, the United States, via Powell's declaration, also invoked for the first time ever by any government, Chapter VIII of the UN Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (UNCG), calling on the UN Security Council to take action "appropriate for the prevention and suppression of acts of genocide." The ADP, itself, was historic in that it was the first official investigation by a sovereign nation of an ongoing case of mass violence for the express purpose of determining whether the violence amounted to genocide.

Ultimately, the U.S. government referred its findings and concerns to the UN Security Council, which, in turn, conducted its own study in December 2004 and January 2005.

Upon analysis of the data collected by its Commission of Inquiry (COI), the UN declared, in late January 2005, that it had found ample evidence of crimes against humanity but not genocide (though, it said, the collection and analysis of additional evidence could possibly result in the finding of genocide). Subsequently, the UN referred the matter to the International Criminal Court (ICC), which then began its own investigation with an eye toward prosecuting the alleged perpetrators.

Two genocide scholars (Dr. Eric Markusen [1946–2007] and Dr. Samuel Totten [b. 1949–]) served as members of the ADP, along with a host of lawyers (including a prosecutor with the U.S. Justice Department), high-ranking police investigators from Canada, Great Britain, and the United States, and humanitarian specialists. Totten and Markusen edited a book, *Genocide in Darfur: Investigating Atrocities in the Sudan* (New York: Routledge, 2006), that provides a description, discussion, and analysis of the ADP, its findings, and the ramifications of the latter.

Auschwitz-Birkenau. In 1940 SS Chief Heinrich Himmler ordered the establishment of what would later become the largest extermination site under Nazi hegemony, thirty-seven miles west of Krakow in southern Poland. Auschwitz I, primarily for Polish political prisoners, already held almost 11,000 prisoners by 1941 when Auschwitz II, or Birkenau, was constructed less than two miles away. Birkenau held the primary instruments of extermination, the gas chambers, and, ultimately, realized the murders of the majority of Jews, Poles, Roma, and others, not only due to gassings but also due to so-called medical experiments, starvation, torture, beatings, and so on. Close to 1.5 million Jews, the primary victims, including children, met their deaths there, as well as almost 16,000 Soviet POWs; between 200,000 and 500,000 Roma (definitive figures are difficult to ascertain); and as many as 2 million others, including Poles, “asocials,” and political dissidents. Auschwitz III, or Monowitz (Polish *Monowice*) was used to demarcate a number of additional camps throughout the area; it was mainly a slave-labor operation, which, in 1943, began producing large quantities of synthetic rubber (German *Buna*) under the auspices of the German industrial conglomerate I. G. Farben, as well as other products. In 1944 an unsuccessful uprising-rebellion took place which saw both the destruction of one of the gas chambers and crematoria and the deaths of the leaders of the rebellion and a number of the other participants. Toward the end of that same year, Himmler ordered the dismantling of both Auschwitz I and Auschwitz II. On January 27, 1945, representatives of the Soviet army entered Auschwitz and liberated those still alive.

Australia, Genocide in. The situation concerning the Aborigines of mainland Australia during the time of colonial settlement by Britain poses a number of questions relative to genocide. The most important of these is also the most straightforward: did the destruction of Aboriginal society in the century following the arrival of the First Fleet in 1788 constitute genocide? For some, the answer is an unequivocal yes; for others, the answer is nowhere near as obvious. There was no definite state-initiated plan of mass extermination; indeed, it was frequently the case that colonial governments tried to maintain Aboriginal security in the face of settler and pastoralist encroachments and meted out punishments (even hangings) of those found guilty of the murder of Aborigines. Despite this, there were immense and very intensive periods of killing in the bush, accompanied by enormous population losses as a result of disease and starvation. The result saw the effective destruction of Aboriginal society by European settlement during the nineteenth century. Where genocide is concerned, however, this must be understood against two

essential facts. In the first place, there was no unified stance on Aborigines throughout the century, as the Australian continent was divided into six separate British colonies (mostly self-governing from the middle of the century) until federation in 1901. Second, no government at any time displayed the necessary intent, in word or in deed, that would prove the existence of a genocidal policy. This in no way mitigates the catastrophe that destroyed the Aborigines, but neither does the history show that the tragedy was the result of what might be termed genocide. In the twentieth century, however, a policy of the independent Commonwealth of Australia did constitute genocide as defined under the 1948 UN Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (i.e., Article II [e], which refers to the forcible transference of children from a group to another group for the purpose of permanently transforming the group's identity). This relates to the forcible removal of children of part-Aboriginal descent from their parents and subsequent placement in a non-Aboriginal environment for the purpose of "breeding out the color." The policy, which was set in place by state and federal governments, was to last in various forms until the 1970s. It decimated at least two generations of Aborigines of mixed descent, and, in a major federal government inquiry (*Bringing Them Home: National Inquiry into the Separation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Children from their Families*) in 1997, the allegation of genocide of these "Stolen Generations" was for the first time raised in an official capacity. The inquiry concluded that a case for genocide, according to this policy of forced child removal, could be made.

Australian Institute for Holocaust and Genocide Studies (AIHGS). Formerly known as the Centre for Comparative Genocide Studies (which was founded by genocide scholar Colin Tatz), the official objectives of the AIHGS are research; consultancy work; education of and supervision of research by undergraduate, graduate, and postgraduate students; and conducting community and public education programs. Among its occasional publications are *International Holocaust and Genocide Network (ITNetwork)* and *Genocide Perspectives*. It also offers courses across the globe over the Internet through the Online University. The AIHGS is based at the Shalom Institute, Shalom College, University of New South Wales, Sydney.

Authoritarianism. A type of control—whether in government, in the workplace, or within formal institutions—that is characterized by rigid forms of authority and an expectation on the part of the managing executive that such authority will be closely adhered to by an acquiescent or servile population. At the state level, in an authoritarian regime, citizens are subjected to a vast number of governmental intrusions upon their lives and often have their personal liberties controlled by the state from the cradle to the grave. It is important to note that there are a number of shades of authoritarianism, which can range from severely repressive dictatorial (e.g., Nazi Germany or Soviet Russia) or absolutist rule (e.g., royalist France or tsarist Russia) right through to milder forms in democratic countries (e.g., Britain under the prime ministership of Winston Churchill [1874–1965] during World War II or France under the rule of Charles de Gaulle [1890–1970] during the 1960s). Authoritarian rule need not, therefore, be synonymous with dictatorship, with which it is sometimes confused, though an authoritarian government, once set in place, can lead to this under certain circumstances—for example, if the economy deteriorates severely, the nation becomes involved in a foreign war, or civil strife breaks out within the country.

Autocracy. A form of government, usually located in the person of a single ruler invested with supreme political power. A notable feature of an autocracy is that the autocrat is in

exclusive possession of executive, legislative, and judicial power or has the authority to delegate and rescind such powers according to his or her individual decree. Historically, autocracy is associated with monarchy, particularly royal absolutism, though even in an absolutist system the monarch needs the active assistance (or, at the least, the compliance) of an aristocracy that serves as an enforcement arm of the royal will. In the modern world, an autocrat can also be a totalitarian political leader such as Josef Stalin (1879–1953) of the Soviet Union or a military dictator such as Idi Amin (c. 1925–2003); under such regimes, power concentrated in the hands of a single leader can be corrupted such that the unimpeded persecution of political, ethnic, racial, or religious minorities can take place with impunity and without recourse to constitutional or democratic forms of redress.

Autogenocide. A term used to describe the genocidal events that took place in Cambodia between 1975 and 1979, under the Khmer Rouge regime of Pol Pot (1925–1998). It looked as if the regime was practicing genocide on its own people—indeed, as if the population was killing its own in a kind of genocidal self-imposed civil war. This was before the various group identities of the victims—ethnic Vietnamese, Chinese, Chams, and others—had become known. The killing of Cambodians by Cambodians seemed unprecedented, hence the forging of a neologism—autogenocide (or self-genocide)—to pinpoint the singularity of the genocidal events in what was now called the Democratic Republic of Kampuchea. Later, this proved to be an oversimplification, as it became apparent that the lethal policies of the Khmer Rouge were far more complex than originally thought. All manner of issues were involved. It was a civil war but also much more: there was anticolonialism, a Marxist revolution, monoethnic nationalism, the autonomy of ethnic minorities, and romantic utopianism, among others. None of these is conveyed by the term *autogenocide*.

AVEGA-AGAHOZO. AVEGA, a name derived from *Association des Veuves du Génocide* (Association of Genocide Widows), is a nonprofit organization conceived and created by fifty widows of the 1994 Rwandan genocide. The founders, themselves all genocide survivors, established the association on January 15, 1995; it received ministerial approval from the Rwandan government on October 30, 1995. AVEGA-AGAHOZO was initiated to assist the scores of thousands of widows and orphans produced by the genocide and to alleviate their sufferings as they struggle to adapt to their postgenocide situation. Since its inception, AVEGA has expanded its areas of concern to include not just widows and orphans but also children who have become heads of households as a result of the genocide; parents who have lost some or all of their children; the elderly; and the handicapped. After 1997, given the increasing number of individuals who benefit from AVEGA, the organization adopted a policy of administrative decentralization. This enables AVEGA to support its client group across the country, avoiding the possibility of a recurrence of the tribal or regional biases that led to the genocide in 1994. AVEGA sees its mission as the following: to promote the general welfare of the genocide victims, to promote solidarity among members of the association, to carry out activities aimed at helping the widows, to cooperate with like organizations, to uphold the memory of the genocide victims, to fight for justice, and to participate in the national reconstruction and reconciliation process of Rwanda. AVEGA is a good example of the determination of many in Rwanda to act in a positive way—of coping with the past, in order to build the future.

Awami League. Founded in 1949 as an oppositional party in what was then East Pakistan, prior to the creation of Bangladesh, the Awami League was conceived out of a moderate socialist ideology that had a specific concern for students, workers, laborers, peasants, young people, and women. In 1970, because of its electoral successes, the government of Pakistan banned the Awami League, but with the outbreak of war in 1971, and the break-away of Bangladesh (during which Pakistan perpetrated genocide against the Bangladeshis), it, initially, became the dominant political party of the new nation-state, though, in the years succeeding independence, it lost elections to the Bangladesh National Party (BNP) in 1981, 1991, and 2001. The political successes and failures of the Awami League must be viewed in the context of violent upheaval both within Pakistan and within Bangladesh itself.

Awlad Al-Beled. This Arabic term literally means “children of the country.” A self-given sobriquet of the riverine Arabs living in Sudan, it denotes that they are “the true Sudanese” within Sudan. It is a term, then, that separates them from, for example, the black Africans of Darfur, who are not considered to be “true Sudanese” by the riverine Arabs.

Axis Rule in Occupied Europe. Authored by Dr. Raphael Lemkin (1900–1959), this massive 674-page text was published in 1944 by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace in Washington, D.C. Subtitled “Laws of Occupation, Analysis of Government, Proposals for Redress,” it is, according to its author’s preface, “an analysis, based on objective information and evidence, of the rule imposed upon the occupied countries of Europe by the Axis Powers—Germany, Italy, Hungary, Bulgaria, and Rumania” (p. ix). Significantly, chapter 9 introduces its readers to the concept of genocide, discussing the meaning and concept of the term and techniques of its use in various fields (political, social, cultural, economic, biological, physical, religious, and moral), and includes recommendations for the future (e.g., prohibitions and international controls; pp. 79–95). *Axis Rule in Occupied Europe* would later become a primary document in Lemkin’s ongoing successful crusade to cajole the United Nations to adopt the 1948 Convention for the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, which remains the only such legal document and definition in effect.

B

Babi Yar. A ravine located northwest of the Ukrainian city of Kiev. On September 29 and September 30, 1941, somewhere between 33,000 and 50,000 Jews were brutally murdered after they were forced to line up in groups of ten at the edge of a ravine, strip naked, and surrender both clothing and valuables, all in reprisal for a Soviet partisan attack on the German command center in Kiev. They were then shot by Einsatzgruppe 4A (mobile death squad) of the Nazi SS. Subsequent to the initial slaughter, the murders continued and included Soviet non-Jewish citizens, Ukrainians, and Roma. Estimated additional deaths between 1941 and 1943 range from 100,000 to 133,000.

In 1961 the Russian poet Yevgeni Yevtushenko commemorated these murders with his now-famous poem “Babi Yar,” which begins “No gravestones stand on Babi Yar; / Only coarse earth heaped roughly on the gash: / Such dread comes over me.” In 1962 the Russian musical composer Dimitri Shostakovich set it to music in his Thirteenth Symphony. In 1974 a monument was erected to the victims; unconscionably, no mention of the Jews was included.

Back to Ararat. This documentary (1993) provides a chronicle of the Ottoman-Turk genocide of the Armenians between 1915 and 1923. In doing so, it traces the generations of people who were driven from their homeland—as well as the generations who dream of someday returning to Mount Ararat—through interviews with people living in various parts of the world.

Bagosora, Théoneste (b. 1941). Chief of cabinet in the Rwandan Ministry of Defense in the administration of President Juvenal Habyarimana (1937–1994), Bagosora assumed effective control of Rwanda after April 6, 1994. Most accounts consider Bagosora as being the man responsible for coordinating the genocide of Rwanda’s Tutsi population following the assassination of Habyarimana on that date.

A colonel in the *Forces Armées Rwandaises* (FAR), the Rwandan military forces, Bagosora was one of the Hutu extremists in a government of hard-liners and had visions of himself as presidential material at some time in the future. He was a highly placed associate of the *Akazu*, the inner circle of the ruling *Mouvement Révolutionnaire National pour le Développement*, or National Revolutionary Movement for Development (MRND) party, dominated by members of Habyarimana’s family.

Bagosora had a history of planning and engaging in violent anti-Tutsi activities long before the 1994 genocide. By 1990, Bagosora reportedly had developed a plan to exterminate the

Tutsi in Rwanda. As early as 1992, Bagosora reportedly had the Rwandan army's general staff draw up lists of all those persons who were thought to be associated in any way with the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF). Ultimately, such lists were used by the military and the *Interahamwe* to locate, capture, and kill Tutsi and moderate Hutu during the period of the genocide. Beginning in early 1993, Bagosora is known to have distributed weapons to militias and other extremist Hutu.

Bagosora was a vehement opponent of the Arusha Agreements (signed in 1993), as he wanted nothing to do with the RPF or, for that matter, shared governance of Rwanda with the Tutsi, let alone coexistence with the Tutsi. Bagosora publicly stated that the Tutsi would be wiped out if the RPF continued its fight against Rwanda or if the Arusha Accords were enforced. Bagosora is said to have been the individual who gave the order on April 7, 1994, to the military to begin the mass killing and who issued the order that roadblocks be set up all across Rwanda so as to capture and kill fleeing Tutsi and moderate Hutu.

After the conclusion of the genocide and the victory of the antigovernment RPF, Bagosora disappeared. On September 3, 1996, he was apprehended in Cameroon and subsequently transferred for trial to Arusha, Tanzania.

At the hearing before the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR) in March 1997, he pleaded not guilty to the charge of genocide. His trial began on April 2, 2002, simultaneously with the trials of three others—Brigadier-General Gratien Kabiligi (b. 1951), former chief of military operations in the FAR; Lieutenant-Colonel Anatole Nsengiyumva (b. 1950), former military commander of Gisenyi Military Camp; and Major Aloys Ntabakuze (b. 1954), former commander of the Kanombe Paracommando Battalion, Kigali. At the time of this writing, the trial is continuing.

Baha'is in Iran. The Baha'i faith originated in Iran in 1844. Almost from the first proclamation of the new faith by the Bab (1819–1850), and its development by Bahauallah (1817–1892), Baha'is have been persecuted as Muslim heretics. In the 1850s and 1860s, over twenty thousand Baha'is were put to death, with thousands more imprisoned, often for life. Persecution and massacres continued throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. When the Islamic revolution began in Iran in 1978, discrimination, harassment, persecution, torture, and killings increased dramatically. Baha'is were hounded from their jobs, denied entry to colleges and universities, and forbidden employment in government service. Pensions for the elderly were cut off completely, and Baha'is were denied the right to own businesses. Baha'i cemeteries were confiscated and vandalized. International travel was forbidden to Baha'is. Baha'is were also routinely killed in small groups numbered in the tens and hundreds by the revolutionary authorities. The Bahai'is' persecution by the fundamentalist Islamic regime in Iran is based on their status as a breakaway movement from Islam, certainly, but it is just as much the modernity and dynamism of the Baha'i religion that drives fundamentalist Islam to wage its ongoing campaign of persecution within Iran. Baha'i beliefs gravitate naturally toward pacifism, parliamentary democracy, religious toleration with regard to other faiths, and the compatibility of science with religion. Against this, a hard-line intolerance within Islam, born of the belief that there is but one way to salvation, has meant the Baha'is have been a ready target for persecution. Although this has not resulted in wholesale mass killing of the Baha'is in Iran, there can be little doubt that Iranian revolutionary actions against the Baha'i community are aimed at its long-term destruction.

Bahutu Manifesto (March 1957). On March 24, 1957, Gregoire Kayibanda (1924–1976), the chief editor of Rwanda's Roman Catholic newspaper *Kinyamateka*,

together with the archbishop of Kabgayi, André Perraudin (1914–2003), published the now-infamous *Bahutu Manifesto*, which, for the first time in Rwandan history, explained the political problems of the country in racial terms as a clash between Hutu and Tutsi. It demanded the emancipation of the Hutu and the establishment of a racial quota system in both education and employment (which favored the Hutu, the larger population of the two). The implications of the *Bahutu Manifesto* were to provide an ideological foundation and justification for various genocidal massacres and, ultimately, the 1994 genocide, which were to follow, by further dividing Hutu and Tutsi, providing a false intellectual argument, and supposedly addressing the highly questionable superiority of the former and the dubious inferiority of the latter.

“Banality of Evil.” A term introduced by German Jewish philosopher and refugee émigré Hannah Arendt (1906–1975) in her 1963 book, *Eichmann in Jerusalem: A Report on the Banality of Evil*, about the trial in Israel of Nazi bureaucrat Adolf Eichmann (1906–1962). The book originally appeared as a series of articles in *New Yorker* magazine and took the form of a report on the trial, the circumstances leading up to it, and the nature of Eichmann’s testimony throughout. Arendt’s major conclusions were that there was, in fact, little that was special about Eichmann and that he was simply a career bureaucrat working within a totalitarian system that condoned mass murder. His own “evil” was neither outside the human experience nor anything other than normal within its time-and-place setting. She argues that he was, in fact, a petty civil servant who did not question his orders because it was not within his professional competence to do so. In short, he simply got on with his job and made the best possible use of it that he could. In that regard, Arendt asserts, there was nothing demonic about Eichmann, one of the major architects of the Nazi “Final Solution of the Jewish Question”; rather, he was the epitome of how the phenomenon of evil can in fact be quite banal or ordinary. In view of her thesis—which by implication took the actions of Eichmann out of the realm of the supernatural and made them very, very human—Arendt was criticized by many who could not bring themselves to believe that the radical evil expressed by the Nazis could, in fact, be anything other than superhuman, not of this world, “monstrous,” and the like. Arendt’s thesis regarding “the banality of evil” went quite the other way, exposing, through Eichmann, that, if the conditions are “right,” anyone could permit themselves to be carried along by the momentum of a murderous totalitarian regime—and to become willing accomplices in its crimes.

Bangladesh Genocide. The year 1971 saw an independence struggle take place on the Indian subcontinent, in which East Pakistan sought to secede from West Pakistan. It was a move that was resisted by West Pakistan with staggering violence. The Pakistani army was dominated by West Pakistanis, who saw any possibility of an Eastern departure as being essentially a weakening of their own position. When the East Pakistani Awami League won a majority of seats in a new Constitutional Assembly that seemed likely to give the Easterners political control of the country, the army moved in on East Pakistan with the intention of destroying the Awami League’s ascendancy. Along the way, it was envisaged that the army could also rid East Pakistan of its large Hindu minority and terrorize the East Pakistani people into accepting what was in reality a colonial status. In a short period of time, a massive explosion of violence resulted in the murder of 3 million people, a quarter of a million women and girls raped, 10 million refugees who fled to India, and 30 million displaced from their homes. Ultimately, a calculated policy of genocide initiated by the government of West Pakistan was unleashed on the people of East Pak-

istan for what seemed to be the singular purpose of coercing the people into accepting a continuance of Pakistani rule over the region. In the end, the strategy did not work. From the ruins arose the independent country of Bangladesh, supported by intervention from the army of neighboring India and the consequent defeat of the Pakistani forces. But the human cost was staggering, and an argument can be made that, to this day, the war of 1971, and an unsettled political situation, have still not enabled Bangladesh to settle into a confident nation-building environment.

Bangladesh Genocide, U.S. Response to. The independence struggle that took place in 1971 on the Indian subcontinent, in which East Pakistan seceded from West Pakistan, resulted in an paroxysm of violence in which the army of Pakistan, dominated by West Pakistanis, engaged in extreme acts of terror. In a short span of time, some 3 million Bangladeshis (a term the East Pakistanis preferred to be called) lost their lives, an estimated 250,000 women and girls were raped, and approximately 10 million fled to India. It was a calculated policy of genocide initiated by the government of West Pakistan for what seemed to be the singular purpose of coercing the people into accepting a continuance of Pakistani rule over the region. Observing this, the U.S. administration of President Richard M. Nixon (1913–1994) seemed little concerned to intervene. Cold War politics featured as an important determinant of how the U.S. government approached third world developments. Because Pakistan enjoyed a close positive relationship with the United States as a counter to Soviet influence in India, Nixon did not wish to upset that delicate balance by issuing a protest over Pakistani actions in East Pakistan. Added to his concerns about the Soviet Union, Nixon knew that Pakistan was a useful conduit to opening and maintaining contacts with Communist China. The Chinese enjoyed good relations with Pakistan owing to their mutual enmity of India, and Nixon saw that this could be played on provided there was no boat-rocking over Pakistani excesses in Bengal. Though it was reported that some U.S. diplomats and other members of the U.S. State Department expressed their disgust and distress over Washington's adoption of a realpolitik perspective at a time of immense human catastrophe, the Nixon administration's path was set—a path that would lead to the opening of a dialogue between the United States and China later that year and pave the way for Communist China to take its seat at the United Nations.

Barayagwiza, Jean-Bosco (b. 1950). Anti-Tutsi media executive in Rwanda, active before and during the genocide of 1994. Barayagwiza was born in Mutura commune, in Gisenyi, western Rwanda. He was a cofounder, with Jean Shyirambere Barahinura (b. 1956), of the extremist *Coalition pour la Défense de la République* (CDR) party and presided over the party's affairs in Gisenyi Prefecture from February 6, 1994, up to and including the period of the genocide. Barayagwiza, with Dr. Ferdinand Nahimana (b. 1950), also founded the anti-Tutsi radio station, *Radio-Télévision Libre des Mille Collines* (RTLM), which was largely responsible for sustaining the Hutu public's focus on the extermination of the Tutsi both before and after the start of the genocide on April 6, 1994.

Prior to the genocide, Barayagwiza was director of political affairs in the Rwandan Ministry of Foreign Affairs, having studied law in the Soviet Union. As Rwanda was progressively overrun by troops of the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF) during the genocide in June and July 1994, Barayagwiza, along with most other high-ranking génocidaires, left the country. He was arrested in Cameroon on March 27, 1996, and—after incarceration for 330 days without being informed of the charges against him—was transferred to the

jurisdiction of the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR) in Arusha, Tanzania, on November 19, 1997. The delay was contrary to ICTR standing orders, which stipulate that charges must be laid within ninety days of an arrest being made. Because of this infraction, the ICTR was obliged to release him. However, on March 31, 2000, the ICTR Appeals Chamber overturned its earlier decision and directed that he stand trial. This, in turn, was consolidated into a larger proceeding, along with two other media personalities involved in the genocide, Nahimana and Hassan Ngeze (b. 1961). According to the ICTR indictment against him, in addition to his actions vis-à-vis RTLM, Barayagwiza allegedly presided over several meetings to plan the murder of Tutsi and moderate Hutu in Mutura commune, Gisenyi prefecture. He is also alleged to have assisted in the distribution of weapons and funds to the *Interahamwe* militia and to have ordered murders and violent acts against people of Tutsi origin. Furthermore, it was alleged that he knew or had reason to know that members of the CDR party had participated in the killings of Tutsi and moderate Hutu in Gisenyi prefecture. In spite of his position and responsibilities in the CDR, he allegedly did nothing to prevent those acts or to punish those responsible.

During what became known as the “Media Trial,” the three were found responsible for creating a climate that implanted the idea of Tutsi annihilation onto the Hutu worldview long before the killing actually began. In a decision handed down in December 2003, all three defendants were found guilty by the ICTR. Barayagwiza was declared guilty of crimes against humanity and incitement to genocide and given a sentence of thirty-five years; with credit for time served, this was later reduced to twenty-seven years.

Barmen Declaration of the Confessional Church. In Germany, on May 31, 1934, a group of dissident Protestant Evangelical Church pastors and theologians, in what would later become the Confessing or Confessional Church, issued the “Theological Declaration of Barmen,” disassociating themselves from their own denomination by refusing to acknowledge the primacy of the state over the Church, concepts of racial superiority, and the dismissal of non-Aryans in church positions. The document itself was written by Reformed theologian Karl Barth and Lutheran theologian Hans Asmussen and consisted of two sections: (1) “An Appeal to the Evangelical Congregations and Christians in Germany,” and (2) “Theological Declaration Concerning the Present Situation of the German Evangelical Church.” Its condemnations included the following:

We reject the false doctrine that beyond its special commission the State should and could become the sole and total order of human life and so fulfill the vocation of the Church as well. We reject the false doctrine that beyond its special commission the Church should and could take on the nature, tasks and dignity which belong to the State and thus become itself an organ of the State. We reject the false doctrine that the Church could and should recognize as a source of its proclamation, beyond and besides this one World of God, yet other events, powers, historic figures and truths as God’s revelations. We reject the false doctrine that the Church could have permission to hand over the forms of its message and of its order to whatever itself might wish or to the vicissitudes of the prevailing ideological and political convictions of the day. We reject the false doctrine that there could be areas in our life in which we would not belong to Jesus Christ but to other lords, areas in which we would not need justification and sanctification through him. We reject the false doctrine that with human vainglory the Church could place the Word and work of the Lord in the service of self-chosen desires, purposes, and plans. We reject the false doctrine that, apart from this ministry, the Church could, and could have permission to, give itself or allow itself to be given special leaders (Führer) vested with ruling authority.

Bassiouni, M. Cherif (b. 1937). A visionary in the field of international law, Bassiouni, professor of law at DePaul University in Chicago, Illinois, and president of DePaul's International Human Rights Law Institute, was an early and strong advocate—through his writings and speeches—of the establishment of an international criminal court. Ultimately, Bassiouni played a major role in the establishment of both the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY) and the International Criminal Court (ICC). In 1992 he was appointed a member, and later chairman, of the UN Commission to Investigate Violations of International Humanitarian Law in the former Yugoslavia. From 1995 to 1998 he served as the vice chair of the UN General Assembly Committee for the Establishment of an International Criminal Court, and in 1998 he was elected chairman of the Drafting Committee of the UN Diplomatic Conference on the Establishment of an International Criminal Court. His writings (well over two hundred law review articles published in Arabic, English, French, German, Italian, and Spanish and over sixty books of which he was the author and/or editor) are considered to be seminal works in the field of international law, particularly as they apply to the issues of human rights, crimes against humanity, and genocide.

BBTG. See Broad-Based Transitional Government.

Belzec. Located in southeastern Poland, the Nazi death camp at Belzec was established on November 1, 1941, began operating on March 17, 1942, and ceased operations in December 1942. By that time, upwards of six hundred thousand persons had been murdered, primarily Jews but also Roma and Poles. Only two Jews are known to have survived. Belzec was part of the overall plan of “Operation Reinhard” for the extermination of all the Jews within the *Generalgouvernement* of Poland under the administration of Governor-General Hans Frank (1900–1946) and was the initial camp for testing the mass extermination of Jews. The camp itself was divided into three separate areas: administration, a storage area for plundered goods, and the extermination area, which initially contained three gas chambers but which were later replaced by six. SS Colonel General Christian Wirth (1885–1944) served as its first commander, and SS Master Sergeant Lorentz Hackenholt (1914–?) was responsible for both extermination procedures and the use of Zyklon B Gas in the crematoria. The camp's second commander was Gottlieb Hering (1887–1945). At the direct order of SS Chief Heinrich Himmler (1900–1945), the camp—after being dismantled, the bodies cremated and buried, the plunder relocated—was turned into a farm for a Ukrainian family. In the summer of 1994, the entire region was overrun by Soviet troops.

Benenson, Peter (1921–2005). Peter Benenson, a British lawyer, founded Amnesty International (AI), the now renowned international human rights organization, in 1961. The founding of AI resulted from a newspaper article, “The Forgotten Prisoners,” Benenson wrote and had published on May 28, 1961, in the *Observer* (London) and that was reported on in *Le Monde* (Paris). In announcing an impartial campaign to assist victims of political persecution, Benenson wrote: “Open your newspaper any day of the week and you will find a report from somewhere in the world of someone being imprisoned, tortured or executed because his opinions or religion are unacceptable to his government. . . . The newspaper reader feels a sickening sense of impotence. Yet if these feelings of disgust all over the world could be united into common action, something effective could be done.” In a matter of a week, Benenson received over a thousand letters offering help, thus laying the foundation for the human rights organization that ultimately became known as Amnesty International.

Beothuk People, Genocide of. The indigenous people of Newfoundland, the Beothuks, were termed “Red Indians” by the earliest English travelers at the beginning of the sixteenth century owing to their practice of painting their bodies with red ocher. In June 1829 a young Beothuk woman, Shanawdithit (c. 1803–1829), died of tuberculosis in St. John’s; she is generally regarded as “the last Beothuk.” A people numbering anywhere between five hundred and two thousand at the time of first European contact (the higher figure is the more likely), the Beothuk population collapsed steadily after the middle of the eighteenth century. It has been estimated that by 1820 the Beothuk population had been reduced by 92 percent of its approximate total at first contact; by 1823, it reached 96 percent. The pitiable few Beothuks left by the end of the decade could probably be counted on the fingers of two hands, if they could be found. The major reasons behind the demise of the Beothuk population of Newfoundland can be attributed to settler depredations and murders, a decline in Beothuk hunting areas, kidnapping of Beothuk women and a consequent decline in reproductive potential, and—above all—diseases, particularly tuberculosis. Applying the definition of the 1948 UN Genocide Convention, none of this amounts to genocide because the critical component of intent is absent. The British colonial government did not pursue a policy aimed at the destruction of the Beothuk; in 1769 there was, instead, a clear statement that the murder of the Beothuk was a capital crime, and, during the first two decades of the nineteenth century—by which time it was far too late—there were a number of serious official attempts undertaken to rescue the last Beothuks from what was regarded as an inevitable fate. Modern-day claims that the Beothuks were “murdered for fun” by the English settlers, who hunted them for “sport,” do the historical record less than justice and sow an unfortunate confusion in the mind of an unsuspecting public. Extinction came to the Beothuks of Newfoundland, but it did not come through genocide.

Bermuda Conference. Convened by Britain and the United States in Bermuda on April 19, 1943, the Bermuda Conference’s avowed purpose was to discuss the plight of Jewish refugees under Nazi rule. The fact is, the knowledge that Germany was exterminating Jews was already well established.

Held at the relatively remote site of Bermuda for the express purpose of controlling the flow of information by the news media, no official representatives of Jewish organizations were permitted to attend. The agenda of discussion was also severely curtailed; that is, the particularity of specifically Jewish tribulations was masked by use of the term *political refugees*. Further to this, more attention was placed on prisoners of war than on refugees. The possibility of Palestine, then under British control, as a site for refugees and the issue of direct negotiations between Britain and Germany were not even discussed. Even discussion concerning the possibility of sending food parcels to those already incarcerated in the concentration camps was curtailed.

At its conclusion, on May 1, 1943, the Bermuda Conference was, in truth, more of a public relations ploy on the part of both Britain and the United States than a serious attempt to address the issue. Other than the establishment of a small refugee camp in North Africa, no real attempt was made to save those who could have been saved.

Ironically, April 19, 1943, the first day of the Bermuda Conference, was also the first day of the Warsaw Ghetto Revolt. No statement during the conference, however, was issued concerning the revolt, nor did the revolt have any impact on the deliberations regarding the plight or fate of the refugees.

Bettelheim, Bruno (1903–1990). A professor of psychoanalysis who was born in Vienna, Austria, and was incarcerated in Nazi concentration camps during 1938 and 1939. He emigrated from the Third Reich to the United States and became best known for his educational methods in addressing the needs of emotionally disturbed children as well as for his theories regarding prisoner behavior in Nazi concentration camps. In the latter regard, the principal theory he advanced and developed over four decades was trailblazing, though it was challenged by some in the decades following owing to its oversimplification of highly complex issues.

He pursued a degree in psychology at the University of Vienna, which awarded him a PhD in 1938. With the *Anschluss* (literally, union; which, in reality, was a forced union) by Germany of Austria in March 1938, Bettelheim, a Jew, became subject to Nazi anti-semitic policies, and, in May of that year he was arrested. First incarcerated in Dachau in September 1938, he was transferred to Buchenwald but through good fortune and friends on the outside, he managed to be released in April 1939. He arrived in the United States on May 11, 1939, where he began a new life during which he became one of the world's leading psychotherapists. In October 1943, he published his first study of prisoner behavior in the Nazi concentration camps, based largely on his own experiences in Dachau and Buchenwald. Arguing that the Nazis had instituted a highly complex camp regime designed to break the prisoners' will to resist their (the Nazis') directives, Bettelheim noted that the major effect of this was to produce changes in the prisoners' own psychological perceptions of themselves, such that the longer they remained incarcerated the more they came to identify with the goals of their persecutors, along the way regressing to a state of childlike helplessness and dependence. It was a highly controversial position, which he would be required to defend increasingly throughout succeeding decades. But as the first major attempt to analyze and explain the behavior of individuals living under the stresses imposed by life in the Nazi concentration camps, Bettelheim's work was nonetheless influential on a generation of younger scholars. Other Bettelheim theories were less so, such as his views on Jews who went passively to their deaths in the concentration camps, in ghettos, or at the hands of the *Einsatzgruppen* in which he basically argued that the Jews were suicidal or his suggestion that Anne Frank's family cooperated with the Nazi war machine by not resisting it. Never one to shy away from a fight, Bettelheim took on his critics vigorously, especially (though not exclusively) Colgate University English professor Terrence Des Pres (1939–1987), the latter primarily over the nature of survivorship. Despite his success, influence, and authority, throughout his life Bettelheim fell into deep depressions; during one such bout, on March 13, 1990, he committed suicide.

Beyond Borders. A motion picture released in 2003, focusing on the work of humanitarian aid workers during the 1980s and 1990s. The film locates its story in Ethiopia, Cambodia, and Chechnya and provides a dramatic perspective of the dangers and difficulties faced by aid workers in situations of war, genocide, and natural disasters. The movie stars U.S. actress Angelina Jolie (b. 1975) and British actor Clive Owen (b. 1964) and was directed by Martin Campbell (b. 1940). In the United States, it received an R rating for language and war-related violence, the latter of which is recreated with impressive effectiveness. Although the film was received suspiciously by critics, who responded negatively to what was perceived as a moralizing "issues movie," the passion for the cause it attempts to portray shines through. In fact, *Beyond Borders* can on one level be viewed

as Jolie's elegy for a world in danger: at the same time as the film's release, she published a book, *Notes from My Travels* (2003), based on her work in 2001–2002 as a United Nations Higher Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) Goodwill Ambassador. Despite a budget of US\$35 million, *Beyond Borders* was financially unsuccessful, reinforcing, in the view of some, that movies dealing with complex humanitarian problems are unwelcome at the box office.

Biafra, Genocide in. Biafra was a breakaway state formed out of the Eastern State of the Federal Republic of Nigeria in 1967. For those who were teenagers or adults during the crisis, the name Biafra conjures up images of babies with large staring eyes and bloated bodies, little sticklike limbs, and a helplessness preceding death which only starvation can bring. The Nigerian Civil War of 1967–1970, which was fought as a war of independence for the Biafrans and a war of national reunification for the Nigerians, was the first occasion in which scenes of mass starvation were brought home to a television-dominated West; resulting in millions throughout Europe, North America, and elsewhere being horrified by what they saw. Less apparent was the reality that lay behind this case of a brutal and bloody secessionist conflict; that is, in the Nigerian determination to defeat Biafran separatism, a deliberately designed genocidal policy of enforced famine was perpetrated against the population of the newly formed country. The conflict led to an eventual death toll of up to a million people, mostly of the largely Christian Igbo ethnic group. The Nigerian Federal Army, and the government that supported it, was a perpetrator of genocide through a premeditated and strictly enforced policy of starvation, as well as the military targeting of civilians. The Biafran state lasted only two and a half years, until its final military collapse in January of 1970. In the 1990s, discussion began to take place on the extent to which the countries of the West (particularly Britain) and the United Nations chose to turn a blind eye to events in Biafra and how Cold War concerns rather than humanitarian considerations clouded their judgment as they framed their policies toward the breakaway state.

Bibliographies of Genocide. The bibliographies available on genocide are extremely eclectic and are located in single articles, books, and CD-ROMs. They range from single bibliographies on particular acts of genocide (e.g., the Armenian genocide, the Holocaust, the fate of the Roma and Sinti during the Holocaust period, the Cambodian genocide) and/or specialized subjects (e.g., literature of the Holocaust, first-person accounts of genocide, and the prevention and intervention of genocide) to an entire bibliographical series (*Genocide: A Critical Bibliographic Review*) founded by Israel W. Charny (b. 1931) and edited by Charny and Samuel Totten (b. 1949).

Bikindi, Simon (b. 1954). A Rwandan singer and a propagandist for the extremist Hutu. He recorded songs with anti-Tutsi lyrics that were in turn broadcast repeatedly on *Radio Télévision Libre des Mille Collines* (RTLM). One of his most popular songs, "Bene Sebahinzi" (The Descendants of Sebahinzi), praised the significance and value of the 1959 Hutu revolution. When groups of extremist Hutu went out to search for Tutsi to kill during the 1994 Rwandan genocide, they often sang songs they had heard on RTLM, and Bikindi's were especially popular. Bikindi was indicted by the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR) for using music to help incite the genocide. He pleaded not guilty to six charges: conspiracy to commit genocide; genocide, or alternatively, complicity in genocide; direct and public incitement to commit genocide; murder as a crime against humanity; and persecution as a crime against humanity. The prosecutor trying the

case alleged not only that Bikindi helped to incite the genocide through his music but also that he took an active part in the mass murder of Tutsi and moderate Hutu and did so through the recruitment and training of *Interahamwe* members. As of this writing (February 2007), the trial is still ongoing.

Bilateral Aid. In common usage, the word *bilateral* means something that is of, on, or with two sides. In relation to the provision of international aid (as between states), the term refers to instances where aid is imparted from one country to another. This implies a relationship, if not of dominance, then at least of influence, by the donor state over the recipient. Such a notion is often expressed in the form of what is referred to as “tied aid,” whereby the donor benefits economically from its aid provision; an example could be where the donor state insists that the recipient purchase goods, services, or expertise from the donor in order to receive the aid being offered. In circumstances such as these, the economic instrument can be turned on and off like a tap, depending on the degree of control the donor wishes to exercise. When dealing with a poor or nondemocratic state as the recipient, bilateral aid donors sometimes find themselves supporting governments that oppress, exploit, or, in other ways, violate the human rights of their citizens for purposes of aggrandizement or profit, as they take advantage of aid donations intended for the population of their countries.

Birkenau. Also known as Auschwitz II, Birkenau was one of the three primary camps in the Auschwitz complex and was designed to “process” (mass murder) more than six thousand persons on a daily basis, especially Jews and Roma. It began its operations in October 1943. Over 1 million persons are estimated to have been murdered there in its four gas chambers and two crematoria. For a more complete understanding of this sub-camp, see the entry entitled “Auschwitz.”

Bisengimana, Paul (b. 1945). Paul Bisengimana was mayor of Gikoro commune in the prefecture of Kigali-rural prior to and during the 1994 Rwandan genocide. According to the International Criminal Tribunal’s (ICTR) indictment of Bisengimana, he, from late 1990 through July 1994, reportedly took part in the planning and execution of the genocide of the Tutsi in Gikoro. In doing so, he helped to train and distribute weapons to militias and other extremist Hutu, drew up lists of individuals to be murdered, and took part in carrying out the massacres. After pleading guilty to the charges lodged against him, the ICTR, on April 15, 2006, sentenced Bisengimana to fifteen years imprisonment.

Bitburg Cemetery. Site of a German military cemetery where both Wehrmacht (military) and Waffen-SS are buried. In 1985, U.S. president Ronald Reagan visited the site and created an international furor by doing so. Elie Wiesel, a Holocaust survivor and acclaimed author, responded directly to him, “I am convinced . . . that you were not aware of the presence of SS graves in the Bitburg cemetery. Of course you didn’t know. But now we are all aware. May I . . . implore you to do something else, to find another way, another site. That place, Mr. President, is not your place.” According to *The New York Times*, “President Reagan’s regret at having promised such a cemetery tribute was palpable. He walked through it with dignity but little reverence. He gave the cameras no emotional angles. All day long he talked of Hell and Nazi evil, to submerge the event. . . . Not even Mr. Reagan’s eloquent words before the mass graves of Bergen-Belsen, [though,] could erase the fact that his visit there was an afterthought, to atone for the inadvertent salute to those SS graves.” In a speech later that same afternoon at the Bitburg Air Force Base, where he was accompanied by German Chancellor Helmut Kohl, Reagan stated, “There

are over two thousand buried in Bitburg cemetery. Among them are forty-eight members of the SS—the crimes of the SS must rank among the most heinous in human history—but others buried there were simply soldiers in the German army.”

Bizimungu, Augustin (b. 1952). The former chief of staff of the Rwandan Armed Forces (*Forces Armées Rwandaises*, or FAR) at the time of the genocide in 1994, Bizimungu was born in Byumba in northern Rwanda on August 28, 1952, and was a career soldier. His climb through the Rwandan military was a steady one and was crowned by his promotion to the rank of major-general and chief of staff on the same day, April 16, 1994—ten days after the beginning of the genocide. An extremist Hutu, Bizimungu was reputedly one of a number of senior officers opposed to the Arusha peace accords signed between the government of Rwanda and the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF) in August 1993. Allegedly, his view was that any attack on Rwanda, for whatever reason, by the RPF would result in the extermination of the Tutsi population in his area of operations. Earlier, he worked closely in the supervision and training of members of the *Interahamwe* youth militia, a body established expressly for the purpose of persecuting the Tutsi. Throughout the genocide, from April to July 1994, Bizimungu was the leading military figure involved in negotiations with the United Nations Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR) and its force commander, Lieutenant-General Romeo Dallaire (b. 1946). With the victory of the RPF in July 1994, Bizimungu fled Rwanda. Ultimately, he was arrested in Luena, northeastern Angola, on August 2, 2002. Within three weeks he was transferred to the jurisdiction of the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR) in Arusha, Tanzania, and made his first court appearance. Charged with genocide, crimes against humanity, and war crimes, Bizimungu was also charged with additional crimes and command responsibility for crimes committed by his subordinates. The prosecution alleged that Bizimungu conspired with other army officers to plan the extermination of the Tutsi; but from the first, Bizimungu pleaded not guilty on all counts. Bizimungu’s trial, in which he is standing alongside of three other senior military officers accused on the same counts, is still (as of mid-2007) proceeding.

Black Africans, of Darfur. The term *black Africans* is the name by which non-Arab Africans in Darfur, Sudan, refer to themselves. It is also the way in which the government of Sudan (GOS) refers to the non-Arab African peoples of Darfur. The main black African groups attacked by GOS troops and the *Janjaweed* (Arab militia) from early 2003 through today (September 2007) were the Massaliet, Zaghawa, and Fur peoples. The attacks of the GOS and *Janjaweed* were carried out as a scorched earth policy that the United States government, among others, deemed to be genocidal in intent.

Black and Tans. The nickname given to a British military unit, the Royal Irish Constabulary Reserve Force, deployed to subdue the Irish independence movement during 1920 and 1921. Its primary focus was the suppression of the Irish nationalistic revolutionary movement Sinn Féin (Ourselves Alone) and its military arm, the Irish Republican Army (IRA). The force was recruited for the purpose of assisting the Royal Irish Constabulary (RIC) and comprised, for the most part, former soldiers who had recently been demobilized after World War I. By late 1921, it was a force nearly ten thousand strong. Their name came from the hastily assembled uniform that was issued to recruits: khaki trousers and surplus tunics and caps from the RIC (which were dark green) or British police (which were dark navy blue). The first of the “Tans,” as they rapidly became known, arrived in Britain on March 25, 1920, and, with another armed body of British

ex-military officers, the Auxiliary Division of the RIC—known colloquially as the “Auxies”—launched an intensive campaign of brutal counterinsurgency throughout Ireland. This took the form of besieging and burning villages and small towns, shooting civilians suspected of having links with the IRA, abduction, murder, and other random acts of violence and human rights abuse. On the night of December 11, 1920, large numbers of Black and Tans attacked the major city of Cork, in southern Ireland, sacked it, and put it to the torch. The central city area sustained significant damage from this action. Many additional atrocities were committed by the Auxiliaries and the RIC and were blamed on the Black and Tans, but this is not to exonerate the Tans themselves; they were as brutal an occupation force as any seen in other places during the twentieth century, and they carried out their reign of terror with the assent of the British authorities. Quite legitimately, the Black and Tans could be fitted into a category of state-sponsored terror. During their term in Ireland, this violent force was responsible for hundreds of civilian deaths, for large-scale destruction throughout many parts of Ireland, and for the deprivation of civil rights and normal justice mechanisms guaranteed to all British subjects. The existence and activities of this unit, raised and endorsed by a thoroughly democratic government such as that of Britain, is testament to the fragility of civil society in a time of stress and shows that no society is immune to harsh and draconian methods of repression when such methods are considered or deemed necessary.

Black Deeds of the Kremlin, The. Title of a two-volume work edited by S. O. Pidhainy (1907–1965), published between 1953 (Volume 1) and 1955 (Volume 2) by the Democratic Organization of Ukrainians Formerly Persecuted by the Soviet Regime. The second volume is devoted exclusively to the Soviet man-made Ukrainian terror-famine of 1932–1933 and contains hundreds of eyewitness accounts of conditions prevailing at that time. In many cases, those providing their testimonies used their initials rather than their full names for fear of reprisal that might take place against family members then still living under Soviet occupation. Some of those relating their accounts had been able to travel outside of Ukraine itself in their regular duties as technicians, skilled workers, and the like; their stories show no evidence of famine in Russia or other Soviet republics save nearby Byelorussia (now Belarus). During the Cold War, supporters of the Soviet Union routinely denounced *The Black Deeds of the Kremlin* as a capitalist-inspired forgery that had no basis in fact; their cause has been taken up more recently by genocide deniers (particularly on the Internet) who consider the publication to be nothing other than anti-communist propaganda. Others, by contrast, have looked to *The Black Deeds* in order to confirm their opposition toward communism, Jews, and the Soviet Union.

Black Legend. A frequently raised issue in discussions of the Roman Catholic Church and its past regarding apostates and heretics concerns the institution known as the Holy Office, commonly called the Inquisition. This had been established in the thirteenth century as a special ecclesiastical court to investigate heresy and to try heretics. Its membership comprised monks appointed by the pope or by local bishops, and it conducted its proceedings in secret—using torture to obtain “confessions” both from those who had been accused and, often, from those called as witnesses. Heretics adjudged guilty were sentenced to fasting and prayer; sometimes fines or imprisonment was added to this. The Church drew the line at executions, however, preferring instead to hand convicted heretics over to the “the secular arm,” that is, to the civilian authorities. The civilian authorities, in turn, were expected to punish heretics by burning them at the stake. On

occasion, local kings or lords anticipated the Inquisition by taking the task on themselves to suppress heresy and condemned heretics prior to the Inquisition's arrival. The relationship between the Inquisition, the civil authorities, and capital punishment was an intimate one, leading to the growth in imperial Spain of a belief that the Inquisition was responsible for all judicial and extrajudicial killings carried out in the name of the state. This was referred to as the "Black Legend," from the robes worn by the monks of the Inquisition. The Black Legend spread beyond Spain, giving rise to a reputation painting the Church as barbaric sadists whose clerics delighted in committing sexual crimes against women and young boys and whose bloodthirsty ways led directly to the deaths of thousands. The Black Legend was incorporated into accounts of Spanish ecclesiastical and lay cruelty in the New World and was even employed as an explanation for the mass extermination of the native populations there in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The Black Legend stirred up considerable debate over the centuries since then, particularly within the Catholic Church: supporters say it is wildly exaggerated, but critics of the Church consider it to be an accurate portrayal of the Church's brutality as it responded to major challenges to its authority during the period of the Reformation.

Blackbirding. Term applied in nineteenth-century Australia to describe the practice of kidnapping Melanesians to work in the sugarcane fields of Queensland as slave labor. It was generally reckoned that the work was too hard and the heat too debilitating for Europeans to undertake cane harvesting, so ships set forth to the islands north of Australia ostensibly to "recruit" workers who would be indentured for a specific period of time—after which they would be returned to the islands from which they originated. In reality, the situation was far from this labor relations ideal. Ships plied the waters around the New Hebrides, Solomon Islands, and Fiji searching for local men (and, less frequently, women) to whom they would sometimes offer contracts that were for the most part meaningless documents to those the whites referred to derisively as "Kanakas" (from the Polynesian word for "man"). In the last four decades of the nineteenth century, it has been calculated, more than eight hundred ships searched the South Pacific for Kanaka labor. Over 62,000 contracts were "arranged" with Melanesians, but, in many cases, young islanders were simply kidnapped, thrown into the holds of the ships, and transported by means reminiscent of the Middle Passage taking slaves from west Africa to the Americas. Whole islands were depopulated, either outright or piecemeal, so that the survivors were deprived of a male population from which to breed. Once in northern Australia, the Kanakas were put to work in slavlike conditions. Foremen watched over them from on horseback, often forcing them to work harder by means of whips. Harsh corporal punishment was common, but the Melanesians had no recourse to the law; by the terms of the contracts into which they had supposedly entered voluntarily, such punishments were permitted. Of course, the white farm owners and those directing the blackbirding trade were engaging in actions that were little different from outright slavery, but, given the fact that slavery had been abolished throughout the British Empire in 1833, the contract system had been devised as a legal cloak for their actions. By the late 1890s, the system had outlived its usefulness, as had the Kanakas their presence in Queensland. As the movement for a white Australia gathered momentum, a push came for the remnants of the Kanakas to be repatriated to the islands of the South Pacific. This opened up another element of white brutality, as people were often simply dumped on the first island ships' captains saw—all too frequently, not the place from which the workers had originated. Many more perished in

these foreign conditions. A small population of Melanesian descent remained in Australia, mostly in Queensland and northern New South Wales, where they live today—a minority within the minority black population of Australia.

Blaskic, Tihomir (b. 1960). A colonel in the army of the Bosnian Croats, and later a general in the regular Army of Croatia, who was convicted by the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY) in March 2000 in connection with a massacre in the Bosnian village of Ahmici, in which approximately one hundred Muslims were killed by Croat forces. In 1996 Blaskic was indicted by the ICTY for a variety of crimes committed by troops under his command. These included murder, attacks on noncombatants, the taking of civilians as hostages, racial and religious persecution, and destruction of property for nonmilitary reasons. Later, in 1996, he surrendered voluntarily to the court. His trial began in July 1997, and, in March 2000, his conviction was handed down. He was sentenced to forty-five years in prison. An appeal was launched immediately, on the ground that not all documentation had been forthcoming from the Croatian government regarding the chain of command. The former president of Croatia, Franjo Tudjman (1922–1999), had opposed cooperation with the ICTY and did little to assist defense attorneys who sought access to government archives. The appeal stipulated that Blaskic was not in charge of the forces who committed the war crimes for which he was convicted. A strong campaign for his release was waged in Croatia, and on July 29, 2004, it was successful. The appellate court of the ICTY reduced his sentence from forty-five years to nine years, and he was released on August 2, 2005.

Blood Libel. The accusation that Jews engaged in ritual murder of Christians for religiously prescribed reasons seems to have first emerged in England during the twelfth century. The story of the events in 1144, in which a twelve-year-old Christian boy from Norwich named William was allegedly tortured, crucified, and murdered during Passover week, was the first of many in which Christian children were said to have been ritually murdered by Jews at the time of Easter and/or Passover. The core of the accusation was that Jews murdered Christian children at Easter in emulation of the crucifixion of Jesus; over many centuries, widely spread folktales throughout Europe added that Jews also used the blood of these murdered children for their Passover rituals, most often through mixing the blood into matzo (the correct transliteration from the Heb. is *matzah*; the term matzo is an Ashkenazic rendering that is becoming increasingly archaic) dough so that the Jews would literally devour the Christian life force throughout the Passover festival. The libel of a Jewish quest for Christian blood—oftentimes focusing on infants or small children, at other times on virgin girls—became a central charge motivating peasant reprisals in the form of pogroms and other acts of persecution. Given the proximity of Easter and Passover, March and April became months in which anti-Jewish violence often peaked in European countries. As Christians observed the death of Jesus (at the hands of the Jews, as the Church taught) and his resurrection, stories that Jews were “still” engaging in horrific practices against the innocent stirred up intense antagonism toward them. (A practice emerged in some Jewish communities, as a result of these apocryphal stories, to abstain from drinking red wine at their Passover meals so as to avoid the impression that they were actually drinking blood.) In the modern era, blood libels took on an added dimension; although the influence of the religious struggle between Christians and Jews had begun to recede, racial antisemites built on the blood libel tradition in Europe in order to harass, kill, and uproot a Jewish presence in lands developing modern forms of

national identity and expression. The Austro-Hungarian, Russian, and Ottoman empires saw the most frequent expressions of the blood libel. Well-known examples of these included the Damascus blood libel of 1840, in which the murders of a Capuchin friar and his servant were blamed on Jews; and the Beilis affair in Russia in 1911, in which Mendel Beilis (1874–1934), the Jewish manager of a brick factory in Kiev, Ukraine, was accused of murdering a boy for ritual purposes. (After a trial and appeal process lasting two years, Beilis was acquitted.) Even into the twentieth century, successor states of the old central and eastern European empires experienced violence “justified” on account of ritual murder accusations.

“Blue Helmets” or “Blue Berets.” A colloquial term that refers to United Nations peacekeeping operations; the term is derived from the powder blue helmets or berets worn by the peacekeepers. It is a term used by the UN staff, as well as most scholars, in referring to both UN peacekeeping operations and the individuals deployed with them.

Blue Scarf. The Khmer Rouge leadership of Communist Kampuchea (1975–1979) reportedly issued a blue scarf to each cadre member from the country’s Eastern Zone whom they forcibly relocated to the northwest province of Pursat. The blue scarf marked them—and ostracized them—as “impure Khmers” who were destined to be murdered.

Body Bag Effect or Syndrome. In relation to the issue of genocide intervention, the body bag effect (syndrome) refers to the potential, and/or actual, number of casualties suffered by a nation’s troops and the impact this number has on the political will of a nation’s citizens and/or leaders to commit troops to a potential or ongoing intervention. Put another way, the body bag syndrome refers to the hypothesis that the support for military action “diminishes in proportion to the number of expected or real casualties” (Everts, 2003, p. 226).

Bonhoeffer, Dietrich (1906–1945). Dietrich Bonhoeffer, a conservative German Protestant pastor and theologian, was, early in his career, of a mind-set whereby Jews could realize their ultimate salvation only by their acceptance of Jesus Christ. Shortly after the Nazis came to power in 1933, however, he came to appreciate the inherent evils in National Socialism, and the failure of Christianity in its relationship with Judaism, and thus became one of the founders of what would later be called the “Confessing Church.” His opposition both to Nazism and to the attempted German Christian validation of it, as well as the ill treatment of German Jews, prompted him to reassess the relationship between church and synagogue. His 1933 essay, “The Church and the Jewish Question,” was an initial attempt to rethink the position of the Church and was a source of his uncompleted work on Christian ethics. His opposition to the collusion of the Protestant Evangelical Church with the government of Nazi Germany led to his temporary reassignment in the United Kingdom between 1933 and 1935, after which he returned to Germany to work with an opposition seminary that was, in 1938, shut down by the Nazis.

Later, Admiral Wilhelm Canaris (1887–1945) of the Wehrmacht Intelligence Service (*Abwehr*) recruited Bonhoeffer as a secret contact and liaison with foreign churches. By 1942, he was involved in resistance efforts that resulted in the successful smuggling of fifteen Jews to Switzerland, for which he was arrested and taken to Buchenwald concentration camp in 1943. His involvement in the July 1944 bomb plot against Adolf Hitler (1889–1945) led to his transfer to Flossenburg concentration camp, where he was hanged on April 9, 1945.

Among Bonhoeffer's more well-known writings were his smuggled-out *Letters from Prison* and *The Cost of Discipleship*. These and other writings continue to be regarded as playing an important role in Christian rethinking of the relationship with Judaism in the aftermath of the horrors of World War II and the Holocaust (Shoah). His student, Eberhard Bethge (1909–2000), later published the definitive biography of his teacher in 1977, titled *Dietrich Bonhoeffer: A Biography*. Unresolved is whether Bonhoeffer should be accorded the status of a "Righteous Gentile" by Yad Vashem, the State of Israel's Holocaust Memorial Authority, as a question continues to linger as to whether he was directly involved in the saving of Jewish lives. A recent (2004) assessment of Bonhoeffer is found in Stephen Haynes's book *The Bonhoeffer Phenomenon: Portrait of a Protestant Saint*.

Booh-Booh, Jacques-Roger (b. 1938). Special representative of the UN secretary-general in Rwanda (November 1993 to June 1994). In the aftermath of a series of murders of Tutsi in late February 2004, Booh-Booh reported to UN headquarters that there was no evidence that the killings had been "ethnically motivated." When genocide broke out in Rwanda in April 1994, Booh-Booh played down the seriousness of the killing by pooh-pooing its systematic nature as well as how widespread it was. Many in the international community voiced concern about just how impartial Booh-Booh really was for someone in his position. Not only was he a close friend of Rwandan president Juvenal Habyarimana (1937–1994), but he was also close with the leadership of the extremist Hutu-dominated MRNDD (*Mouvement Républicain National pour Démocratie et le Développement* or the Republican Movement for National Democracy and for Development) and associated with some who became the most notorious leaders of the 1994 Rwandan genocide, including Jean-Paul Bagosora (b. 1955).

Bophana, a Cambodian Tragedy. This 1996 film, which was produced by Rithy Panh, who, as a teenager, fled the Khmer Rouge takeover in Cambodia, portrays the true and tragic story of two young intellectuals, Bophana and her husband. Disgusted by the corruption of the Sihanouk regime, Bophana's husband joined the Khmer Rouge, the Communist underground movement. During their separation, the pair stayed in contact through the love letters they wrote one another and, eventually, they were reunited after the fall of Phnom Penh. Ultimately, however, they were denounced, arrested, tortured, and forced to make false confessions. In 1976 both of them were executed by the Khmer Rouge.

Bosnia-Herzegovina. Bosnia-Herzegovina was, and remains, a much-disputed region at the crossroad of empires, dating back to Roman times. The Romans, Byzantines, Ottomans, and Hapsburgs all sought to gain control of this strategic Balkan territory, and all left their mark, especially in the form of a multiethnic population consisting of Croats (Catholics), Serbs (Christian Orthodox), and Bosnians (Muslims). Under Josip Broz Tito (1892–1980), the region became the heartland of the former state of Yugoslavia's military industries, whose engineers and managers were largely drawn from the urban Muslim population, not from the more rural Croats and Serbs. During World War II, some Bosnian Muslims collaborated with the Croatian *Ustashe* in the formation of a Nazi puppet state called Greater Croatia. The memory of this was not lost on future generations of Serbs, especially when Yugoslavia began to disintegrate in the early 1990s. During the Tito decades, between 1945 and 1980, Bosnia's population became the most ethnically integrated and assimilated, via intermarriage and economic growth. This was not, however, enough to stem the tide of hostile ethno-nationalism that was revived following Tito's

death, especially when it was whipped up by Serbia's and Croatia's leaders, Slobodan Milosevic (1941–2006) and Franjo Tudjman (1922–1999). The war for the partition of Bosnia was fought so ferociously that it became a three-way war of atrocities and counter-atrocities, involving troops and militia led by Milosevic, Tudjman, and Bosnian president Alija Izetbegovic (1925–2003). Bosnia was hardest hit by this vicious warfare, resulting in the deaths of up to 250,000 Bosnian civilians and the worst massacres in Europe since the end of World War II (most notoriously, the Serb massacre of between seven thousand and eight thousand Bosnian Muslim men and boys at Srebrenica, in July 1995). The fighting lasted for three years, until, in November 1995, a settlement was negotiated through the U.S.-sponsored and UN-supported Dayton Agreement (November 21, 1995). In effect, this treaty, which was to be supervised by NATO, segmented Bosnia into three ethnic enclaves, while still referring to Bosnia as a unitary state. The fiction prevails to this day. Only a handful of the scores of thousands of refugees have returned to their original homes. Some observers optimistically look to a bright future for Bosnia; others see a renewal of ethnic violence between the two administrative regions of the country (a unified Muslim-Croat confederacy and a separate Serbian sector named Republika Srpska), especially when outside restraints (such as the UN-sanctioned NATO forces currently stationed in Bosnia) are removed. Much will depend on Bosnia's future integration into the European Union, though membership lies many years away. As Bosnia-Herzegovina struggles to recover from the physical destruction wrought by its disastrous experiences in the 1990s, its still-divided condition, and the emotional legacies that now prevail throughout the country, hope for a healthy future would seem to be a long way off, though the people themselves, possibly owing to these difficulties, are optimistic that the state can be viable and prosperous.

Bosnian Safe Areas. Various regions were declared “safe areas” by the United Nations during the ongoing conflict in the former Yugoslavia (1991–1999) in order to provide protection for civilian populations. Such safe areas, though, often came under attack—indeed, some were shelled mercilessly, while others were overrun and some even suffered genocidal massacres. Bosnian Serb troops were notorious for their vicious and repeated attacks on such areas, which included the expulsion of both Croats and Muslims and the indiscriminate bombing of towns and cities such as Sarajevo, Tuzla, and Gorazde. Genocidal ethnic cleansing of non-Serbian populations through forced population transfers became the norm rather than the exception, coupled with the physical destruction of both cultural sites (e.g., libraries) and religious sites (e.g., mosques). In various instances, Croatian military troops and Muslim rebels also carried out such attacks in Bihac and Banja-Luka, in both 1994 and 1995.

In May 1995, in response to Bosnian president Alija Izetbegovic's (1925–2003) declaration that he would not agree to extend a cease-fire beyond April 1995, along with the fact that the Muslim and Croat forces continued fighting their Serbian foes, Bosnian Serb forces captured 370 UN peacekeepers. Then, in July 1995, the UN-declared safe areas of Srebrenica and Zepa were overrun by Bosnian Serb forces. Subsequently, the Serb forces proceeded to commit genocidal massacres and ethnic cleansing.

Complicating the process was the Bosnian Serbs' continuous restriction of international human rights monitoring by such human rights groups as Human Rights Watch. The restrictions were primarily due to the fact that the Serbs did not want their practices of ethnic cleansing to be exposed to the international community.

Air strikes by NATO forces in response to increasing harassment of peacekeepers and others by Bosnian Serb forces, including continuing violent attacks on the safe areas, began at the end of August 1995 and increased in September 1995. Though peace negotiations were ultimately resumed toward the end of 1995, human rights abuses continued until President Slobodan Milosevic (1941–2006) was arrested on April 1, 2001, and turned over to the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY) on June 28th of that year. Milosevic was charged with violations of the laws and customs of war, crimes against humanity, grave breaches of the 1949 Geneva Conventions, complicity in genocide, and genocide.

Boutros-Ghali, Boutros (b. 1922). An Egyptian national, Boutros-Ghali was UN secretary-general from January 1, 1992, to December 31, 1997. Most notably, he was the architect and author of the UN's "Agenda for Peace" (1992), which, at the time, was considered to be one of the most comprehensive statements in the post–Cold War period vis-à-vis the role of the United Nations in peacekeeping operations. Ironically, he was also the secretary-general that oversaw the totally inadequate UN response to the events leading up to and culminating in the 1994 Rwandan genocide.

In 1995 Boutros-Ghali issued his "Supplement to An Agenda for Peace" in which he discussed the dramatic increase in UN peace operations since 1991, and made recommendations regarding changes needed in how the UN dealt with violent crises across the globe. Also, in 1995, when a reporter at a news conference asked Boutros-Ghali whether the July collapse of the "safe area" in Srebrenica (during which some seven thousand to eight thousand Muslim boys and men were slain by Serb forces, constituting the largest massacre in Europe in fifty years) was the UN's greatest failure in Bosnia, the secretary-general said: "No, I don't believe that this represents a failure. You have to see if the glass is half full or half empty. We are still offering assistance to the refugees . . . and we have been able to maintain the dispute within the borders of the former Yugoslavia."

Brahimi Report. Issued in August 1999, the *Brahimi Report* is based on a UN study of UN peacekeeping, which was conducted following the UN's inept response to the 1994 Rwandan genocide. Basically the report called for a complete overhaul of UN peacekeeping operations and made a series of recommendations for doing so. The report was named after Lakhdar Brahimi (b. 1934), the Algerian diplomat and UN official, who headed the commission that issued the report.

Brand, Joel (1906–1964). Born in Transylvania, Hungary, Joel Brand grew up and was educated in Germany, where he became a communist and was arrested in 1934 by the Nazis. After his release, he relocated to Budapest and became an ardent Zionist. He is most noted for playing a role in trying to save Hungarian Jews from deportation to Auschwitz at the hands of the Nazis in 1944. After Germany invaded Hungary in 1944, Brand was informed by SS Colonel Adolf Eichmann (1906–1962) that he (Eichmann) was prepared to release up to 1 million Jews in exchange for ten thousand trucks and vast quantities of tea, coffee, and soap to be supplied by the United States. The transaction was to be made using Brand as the intermediary, but the exchange was never consummated, much to Brand's frustration, because both the British government and the Jewish Agency in Palestine saw it as a ruse on Eichmann's part, who they believed had no intention whatsoever of bringing the deal to fruition. In May 1944, after his last meeting with Eichmann, Brand (together with fellow Jew Bandi Grosz, about whom nothing is known), supposedly representing SS Chief Heinrich Himmler (1900–1945) and other top SS officials,

left for Vienna and a secret meeting with U.S. intelligence officers, to negotiate a secret peace treaty with the Allies which was to take place in Istanbul, Turkey. Due to a series of unfortunate circumstances, Brand, who was using a false passport, was never given an entrance visa into Turkey. Along with representatives of the Jewish Agency, Brand proceeded to Aleppo, where he was arrested by British intelligence operatives. Prior to leaving Budapest, Eichmann had insisted upon Brand's return. Brand's unavoidable inability to do so proved disastrous both for the Aid and Rescue Committee, which he helped found, and for Hungarian Jewry in general. Knowing that his failure to return to Budapest spelled death for those Jews who remained in Hungary, he attempted to persuade Moshe Sharett (1894–1965) of the Jewish Agency, as well as British intelligence, to allow him to return. This effort was to no avail. Ultimately, Brand was transferred to Cairo, Egypt, where he went on a hunger strike. In the summer of 1944, British intelligence leaked details of Brand's mission to save the Hungarian Jews, thus ending whatever possibilities for its success remained. Brand was released by the British in October 1944 but was allowed to travel to only Palestine. Once there, he tried, without success, to contact Chaim Weizmann (1874–1952), then head of the World Zionist Organization, again to no avail. After the war, Brand remained bitterly contemptuous and condemnatory of the Jewish leadership of the period. He died in 1964 of cirrhosis of the liver brought about by his bouts of intense drinking. He was, in all probability, according to historian Yehuda Bauer of Hebrew University, the most maligned figure of the period, a Jew who attempted to help save his people but was denied the chance to do so.

Brazil, Genocide of Indigenous Peoples. Indigenous Brazilians, prior to the arrival of Europeans in the early sixteenth century, were divided into four main language groups—the Tupi-Gurani, the Ge, the Carib, and the Arawak. Most lived in temporary villages, inhabiting a broad region and moved nomadically in a cyclical fashion every few years. After the arrival of the Portuguese in 1500, colonial settlement saw the start of a process of expropriation of indigenous land. A favored land use was cultivation of sugar cane on sugar plantations, and indigenous labor was used for land clearance. Often, this land was simply occupied, and entire tribes were either pushed off or killed if they offered resistance (and, all too often, regardless of whether there was any resistance). For those captured and impressed into forced servitude, European diseases—particularly in the more closely settled environments of the plantations—took a fearsome toll on the previously unexposed indigenous populations. As Portuguese rule became more established across the entire country, and settlement patterns saw the building of cities and towns, regulations relating to the indigenous population sought to minimize harm and enhance protection. Opposition to this came from settlers and was reinforced by mixed messages as governments changed and Indians periodically rose in rebellion. This tended to mute the preferred tendency, which was to try to ensure that the Indians would be accorded decent treatment. At the back of the push to take care of the indigenous population was the Catholic Church, which was keen to convert as many of the natives as possible, rather than furthering their demise. Inter-marriage was encouraged, and the mixed-descent progeny of such unions were to be accepted rather than stigmatized. By the latter part of the twentieth century, such a perspective had to a large degree been forgotten. Development in all fields of endeavor had long been viewed as the ideal to which Brazil should be aspiring, and government ministers were often dogmatic in their statements that such development not be held up because Indians were standing in the way. Absorption and assimilation

were hence the ideal goals at which Indian policy should be aimed, not ethnic separate-ness. In the 1980s, road construction was seen as one way to achieve this; as a network of roads was built across the country, Indian communities were either dispersed or forcibly brought into the mainstream of Brazilian society. Where there was opposition, it was put down harshly. And road-building is just one example within a large array of efforts to dispossess the Indians of their land and way of life. Development destructive of indigenous lifestyles (and all too frequently, of lives) also came from oil interests, airport construction, plantation growth, and urban expansion. The best-known example of such measures designed to drag an indigenous people into the modern world concerns the Yanomami of the jungles of northern Brazil, whose engagement with Brazilian society began in only the 1980s. Within a very short space of time, charges of genocide had emerged. It is an engagement that continues.

Bringing Them Home. The title of an Australian report produced by the National Inquiry into the Separation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Children from Their Families. The inquiry was commissioned by the government of the Commonwealth of Australia in 1995 and undertaken by the Australian Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission under the direction of former High Court judge Sir Ronald Wilson (1922–2005). The report, handed down in 1997, concluded that the forcible removal of children of part-Aboriginal descent from their parents during the twentieth century, and their subsequent placement with white families with the intention of eventually “breeding out the color” after several generations, was a case of genocide in accordance with Article II (e) of the 1948 United Nations Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide. The report further concluded that this constituted a crime against humanity for which due reparation would have to be made to the so-called Stolen Generations. In its findings, the authors of the report asserted that anywhere between one in three and one in ten Aboriginal children were taken under the policy of forcible removal, numbering tens of thousands of children. *Bringing Them Home* provoked a storm of controversy in Australia, with the charge of genocide vehemently rejected by many who had previously viewed genocide only from the perspective of killing. Others agreed that removals had taken place but argued that the report was unfair in labeling the policy as genocide (with the negative connotations attached to the term) in view of the fact that those carrying it out were acting from good intentions that were in the best interests of the children. The upshot of the report was that, although it brought the fullest details of the forcible-removal policy into public view for the first time, no action was taken by the right-of-center government of Prime Minister John Howard (b. 1939) that was in office when the report was released.

Broad-Based Transitional Government (BBTG). A term given to a negotiated administration agreed to by former warring parties in conjunction with an arbitrating body at the conclusion of a conflict. Sometimes the term “of national unity” is added, reinforcing the “broad-based” dimension of such an administration. A BBTG is always intended to be temporary in nature and to serve as a bridge between a former government that has been defeated in external war, civil war, insurrection, coup d’état, or revolution and a new administration based on a multiparty democratic system. As a broad-based structure involving a number of political parties or factions, a BBTG is, in most cases, overseen by an occupation force from outside, usually (though not always) authorized by the United Nations. The intention is to nurse a country’s political and governmental

arrangements back to robust health or, if such health had never existed, to nurture its development. As a temporary compromise measure, the formation of a BBTG is, by definition, established on the basis of power sharing, with ministerial posts being allocated across the range of all parties participating in the effort. (The latter are, in most cases, determined by the victors of the conflict that led to the establishment of the BBTG in the first place, though, in a spirit of reconciliation, preconflict parties shorn of their radical elements may also be invited to join under controlled conditions.) A BBTG is, most frequently, established only at the conclusion of a conflict, as part of some sort of peace agreement, which is why third-party involvement in the form of an occupation or monitoring force is now the norm. The duration of the force's stay depends on the success of the BBTG in achieving its transitional objectives. Recent examples of states in which a BBTG has been either imposed or recommended include Bosnia-Herzegovina, Burundi, Cambodia, East Timor, and Rwanda.

Bryce, Viscount James (1838–1922). British intellectual, ambassador, and politician with an authoritative knowledge of Armenia and the Turkish genocide perpetrated from 1915 onward. Lord Bryce had a lengthy association with Armenia that began in the 1870s. At the time of the Hamidian Massacres in 1895, he wrote a seminal essay on the “Armenian Question,” which attracted widespread attention on both sides of the Atlantic. In 1904, he became active in the International Pro-Armenia Movement, an organization established to raise consciousness about the need to do something to assist the Armenians who had long suffered persecution under the sultan's rule. In 1907, in recognition of his professional work in Britain's Foreign Office, he was appointed British ambassador to the United States; later, in 1914, he was elevated to the Hague Tribunal. With the onset of World War I in 1914, Lord Bryce busied himself collecting evidence of enemy contraventions of international law, and, in 1915, the British government assigned him the task of gathering whatever evidence could be found on the mass murder of the Armenians. Through his contacts in the U.S. State Department, he was able to tap into American dispatches emanating from Constantinople, both formal and informal, and these, together with other documents, Bryce entrusted to a young historian, Arnold Toynbee (1889–1975), to edit into a government blue book, or official documentary collection. It was a devastating indictment of the deportation and extermination of the Armenian people at the hands of the Young Turk regime. Lord Bryce's collection was published as *The Treatment of Armenians in the Ottoman Empire, 1915–1916*, and was presented to the British parliament by the foreign secretary, Viscount Grey of Fallodon (1862–1933). Although by now elderly, Bryce spent the rest of his life in active pursuit of the ideals that came to be enshrined in the League of Nations, whose appearance in 1919 he embraced enthusiastically.

Buchenwald. A Nazi concentration camp located near Weimar, Thuringia, Germany, Buchenwald was established in 1937 to house male slave laborers for use in the armaments industry. Women were not imprisoned there until 1944. Its first commandant, from 1937 to 1941, was Karl Otto Koch (1897–1945), whose wife was Ilse Koch (1906–1967), the notorious “Bitch of Buchenwald,” known for her sadistic cruelty. Sometime during Koch's last year, medical experiments were also performed on prisoners. Both Koch and his wife were brought to trial by the Nazis on charges of corruption stemming from their theft of goods and diversion of camp monies. He was executed in April 1945, and she was given a four-year term, which was reduced to two, and later set free, only to be rearrested and

imprisoned by the Allies. It is estimated that as many as 250,000 prisoners were incarcerated during Buchenwald's period of operation (1937–1945), during which some sixty thousand were killed, including Soviet prisoners of war.

Among the many prisoners incarcerated in Buchenwald by the Nazis were Konrad Adenauer (1876–1967), the first chancellor of Germany after the war; French writers Jean Amery (1912–1978) and Robert Antelme (1917–1990); child psychologist Bruno Bettelheim (1903–1990); Protestant pastor Dietrich Bonhoeffer (1906–1945); French and American actor Robert Clary (b. 1926); 2002 Nobel Prize for Literature winner Imre Kertész (b. 1929); and 1986 Nobel Peace Prize winner Elie Wiesel (b. 1928).

The camp was liberated by U.S. forces on April 11, 1945. From 1945 to 1950, the camp was renamed “Special Camp 2” by Soviet occupation forces and used to house German prisoners, of whom over seven thousand died from conditions there, including overcrowding, diseases such as typhus and dysentery, lack of sanitation, and starvation.

Buddhists, Destruction of by Khmer Rouge. As part of its genocidal campaign, the Khmer Rouge purposely set out to destroy the country's Buddhist community and way of life. It is estimated that 80 percent of Cambodian citizens were Buddhists; as part of its destructive policies, the Khmer Rouge immediately murdered Buddhist religious leaders and destroyed Buddhist temples. It is also estimated that in 1975, at the beginning of the genocide, there were some seventy thousand Buddhist monks living in Cambodia, and less than four years later, in 1979, or the point at which the Khmer Rouge were routed by the Vietnamese, less than two thousand monks had survived. In September 1975, approximately five months after the outset of the genocide, the Kampuchean Communist Party (CPK), in stark testimony vis-à-vis their goals, issued a document that asserted, “The monks have disappeared . . . 90 to 95 percent [killed].”

Bund Deutscher Mädel (BdM; League of German Girls). The female division of the German youth movement during the Nazi regime from 1933 to 1945. This complemented the male Hitler Youth (*Hitlerjugend*), and, although an important socializing agency among young females, it nonetheless did not rank on an equal footing in the Nazi state with its male counterpart. The organization was formed in 1930 (prior to the Nazi accession to power) and was structured on parallel lines to the *Hitlerjugend*. Girls aged ten to fourteen years were enrolled in the *Jungmädel* and graduated at fifteen to the higher levels of the BdM. At age seventeen, the girls became eligible for entry to the *Glaube und Schönheit* (Faith and Beauty) organization, where they were taught domestic science and received advanced training in preparation for marriage. The BdM constantly taught that women in the Third Reich had but a singular function, the bearing and raising of children. In advance of marriage, they were required to serve a year of national labor service to the state. In line with the militaristic regimentation undertaken by the male organization, BdM girls were continually instructed in the areas of service to the state, physical fitness, comradeship, and the raising of families. As with the *Hitlerjugend*, the leader of the BdM was the high-ranking Nazi Baldur von Schirach (1907–1974).

Bund Report(s). In May 1942, and again in November 1942, Szmul Zygielbojm (1895–1943), a leading member of the Polish National Committee in London, received two reports from a group still active in Poland, The Jewish Labor Organization called the Bund, specifically detailing the ongoing annihilation of Polish Jewry from inside Poland. Zygielbojm's inability to enlist any support from either the Polish-Government-in-Exile, the Allies, or major Jewish organizations resulted in abject frustration, depression and,

ultimately, his suicide on May 12, 1943. Prior to killing himself, he wrote letters condemning all of the latter for their failure to act.

“**Burning Times, The.**” Euphemism employed by some scholars when referring to the period of witch persecutions in Europe between the fifteenth and eighteenth centuries. The spread of the witch craze at the end of the fifteenth and throughout the sixteenth century was in large part a response to two stimuli: a desire on the part of the Roman Catholic Church to reestablish its control in light of the Protestant Reformation; and an urgent need for the mass of the European population to explain a series of climatic changes that led to famine, crop damage, and livestock losses across certain parts of the continent. Women (and in some areas of northern Europe, significant numbers of men) were frequently accused of witchcraft, of being in league with the Devil, and of possessing secret conspiratorial knowledge designed to enslave humanity. For this, across the three centuries in question, at least one hundred thousand heresy and other trials were conducted, often at the direction of the Inquisition. Tens of thousands of innocent women were executed, many by burning at the stake, others by hanging or drowning.

Approximate numbers of those killed have fluctuated wildly over the years, from a high of 9 million posited in the 1970s to a more plausible recent figure of between forty thousand and sixty thousand (of whom perhaps a quarter were men). Though most of the killing took place in the sixteenth century, persecution, trials, and executions were still relatively common even up to the middle of the eighteenth century; by this time, however, public burning had diminished drastically as a preferred means of execution.

Burundi, Genocide in. Burundi, a small country in the Great Lakes region of central Africa, is generally regarded as the “twin” of its neighbor, Rwanda. Like Rwanda, Burundi has a population that is dominated by a large Hutu majority (85%), with a much smaller Tutsi minority. At the time of independence from Belgium in 1962, the Tutsi, who had been the traditional rulers before and during Belgian colonialism, retained their ascendancy—largely by force of arms and a tightly controlled bureaucracy. In 1965 legislative elections gave Hutu parties a resounding victory, winning twenty-three out of thirty-three seats in the National Assembly. This victory was overthrown, however, when the *mwaami* (king)—a Tutsi—appointed a Tutsi from the royal family as prime minister. Soon thereafter, on October 19, 1965, an attempted coup was suppressed ruthlessly, but this served only to intensify Hutu anger at their second-class status. Against this background, an uprising of Hutu in the southern provinces of Burundi broke out in April 1972. This was viewed as a final challenge for Hutu supremacy by many Tutsi leaders, in particular President Michel Micombero (1940–1983), an army officer who had been installed as the result of a military takeover in 1966. In what appears to have been a series of deliberate campaigns against specific categories of Hutu—for example, Hutu in government employ, intellectuals (which could include any Hutu with a university education, whether completed or in the process of completion, secondary school students, and teachers), and the Hutu middle and upper classes (the latter designation was based on wealth or Tutsi perceptions of wealth)—a series of massacres were carried out. Estimates of the number killed between April and October 1972 vary, but most settle at somewhere between 100,000 and 150,000. And the killing did not end there. Subsequent large-scale massacres of Hutu by Tutsi government forces took place in 1988, and massacres of Tutsi by Hutu forces occurred in 1993. Accompanying all these savage deaths was the wholesale exodus of scores of thousands of refugees to neighboring countries, leading to an intensifying destabilization of the region.

Bushnell, Prudence (b. 1946). A senior U.S. diplomat who took a prominent role in attempting to keep the Rwandan genocide of 1994 at the forefront of her government's attention while it was in progress. Born in Washington, D.C., herself the daughter of American diplomat Gerald Bushnell (1914–2005), Prudence Bushnell joined the U.S. Foreign Service in 1981 and served in Dakar (Senegal) and Mumbai (India) prior to entering the Bureau of African Affairs. Ultimately, she rose to the position of principal deputy assistant secretary of state. Prior to the Rwandan genocide, Bushnell was sent to Rwanda to try to impress upon President Juvenal Habyarimana (1937–1994) the importance of seeing the Arusha Accords implemented successfully, warning him that failure could cost Rwanda support from the United States in the future. Then, after the missile attack on the president's plane that took Habyarimana's life on April 6, 1994, Bushnell was the first U.S. official to warn—on the same day—of the likelihood of widespread violence if word got out that Habyarimana had been assassinated. During the crisis weeks that followed, Bushnell was the U.S. official most closely connected to developments in Rwanda. On numerous occasions, she spoke directly by phone to the chief of staff of the Rwandan Armed Forces (*Forces Armées Rwandaises*, or FAR), Major General Augustin Bizimungu (b. 1952), warning him that U.S. president Bill Clinton (b. 1946) was holding him personally responsible for the killings that were then taking place in Rwanda. On April 28, Bushnell rang the presumptive head of the interim Hutu Power government, Théoneste Bagosora (b. 1941), ordering him on behalf of the United States to stop the killing and to immediately arrange a cease-fire. Although this was clearly a case of foreign intervention in the domestic affairs of a sovereign state, Bushnell was unrepentant about exceeding her authority in this instance. Elsewhere, Bushnell planned to reduce the effectiveness of the Hutu killers by jamming their major anti-Tutsi propaganda arm, *Radio-Télévision Libre des Mille Collines* (RTLM), but permission to do this was denied on the grounds that it was both too expensive and contrary to international (as well as U.S.) law. Overall, Prudence Bushnell was the only high-ranking American official to keep attention focused on the killing in Rwanda. Although derided for this by many in the U.S. government in 1994, she has since been applauded for her efforts, both in and outside the corridors of government in the United States.

Butz, Arthur (b. 1945). Associate professor in the Department of Electrical and Computer Engineering at Northwestern University, in Illinois, Butz is the author of a notorious Holocaust-denial text, *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*, which was originally published by the Holocaust-denial Institute of Historical Review, Torrance, California, in 1976. This work remains one of the so-called classic works of anti-Holocaust literature. Because of his academic credentials (MS and PhD from the University of Minnesota), his book presents the appearance of a scholarly publication with copious footnotes and an extensive bibliography. Be that as it may, his work is accorded absolutely no scholarly credibility whatsoever. Butz is, thus, considered little more than a Nazi apologist and antisemite.

Bystanders. In relation to the act of genocide, the term *bystanders* refers to those who are cognizant of the perpetration of crimes against humanity and genocide but do nothing to halt such. In that regard, bystanders are neither the perpetrators of genocide, collaborators with the perpetrators, nor the victims of genocide. Individuals and organizations (e.g., churches, nongovernmental organizations on the ground, other—uninvolved—states) become bystanders for various reasons, not all of which can be cast in black-and-white terms. Some bystanders, for example, may harbor animus against the victim population but

BYSTANDERS

not necessarily be inclined to carry out harmful actions against them. Some may simply be apathetic to what is happening to “the other.” Still other individuals may fear for their lives or loved ones should there be repercussions for their speaking out against the genocide and/or attempting to halt it. There are many other reasons as to why individuals may choose not to speak out or act on the behalf of others; these reasons do not excuse their behavior, but they do help to explain individuals’ motives, decisions, and inaction.

C

Caedite eos. Novit enim Dominus qui sunt eius. See Amaury, Arnold.

Calling the Ghosts: A Story about Rape, War and Women. Produced in the 1996, this extremely powerful and Emmy Award-winning documentary is the first-person account of two women who became victims in a war (the 1992–1995 Bosnian war) where rape was used as a weapon. Jadranka Cigelj and Nusreta Sivac, childhood friends and lawyers, were imprisoned at the notorious Serb concentration camp of Omarska, where they, along with hundreds of other Muslim and Croat women interned therein, were systematically raped by their Serb overseers. Upon their release and as they fought to regain a modicum of stability in their lives, they undertook a Herculean effort to have rape tried as a major war crime by the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia.

Cambodian Documentation Commission (CDC). Based in New York City, the CDC was founded in 1982 by David Hawk, Dith Pran, Haing Ngor, Kassie Neou, Yang Sam, and Arn Chorn. All but Hawk were survivors of the Cambodian genocide. The CDC's focus is fourfold: to document the genocide that was perpetrated in Cambodia between 1975 and 1979; to seek accountability (through either an international or a domestic tribunal) for those responsible for planning and carrying out the genocide; to prevent the Khmer Rouge from returning to power; and to promote human rights in Cambodia. In an effort to carry out its mandate, CDC has worked along the following lines: presented petitions and appeals to states that are parties to the UN Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, member states of the United Nations, and Cambodian political leaders; presented testimony to the UN Commission on Human Rights as well as at U.S. congressional hearings; and produced translations of archives that document repression of the Cambodian people under the Khmer Rouge. Hawk, an indefatigable human rights activist, along with Hurst Hannum, also wrote "The Case against Democratic Kampuchea," a model legal brief for an Article IX complaint, and submitted it to the International Court of Justice.

Cambodian Genocide. Between April 1975 and January 1979, the communist Khmer Rouge, under the rule of Pol Pot (1925–1998), perpetrated a genocide in Cambodia that resulted in the deaths of an estimated 1.7 million (and perhaps up to 2 million) Cambodian citizens. The Khmer Rouge carried out a policy that aimed to totally erase all signs of French colonial rule and restore Cambodia to what it viewed as the pristine condition that prevailed before the foreigners had stamped their cultural traits on the land, its people, and

their society. For nearly four years, Cambodia was brutally eradicated of any evidence of “alien” ways. The primary targets were the cities, in particular the capital of Phnom Penh. The city’s population of nearly 2 million was uprooted and “resettled” in the countryside, so as to purge them of their exposure to “bourgeois” ways. The express purpose was to indoctrinate them to rural, traditional Khmer (or Cambodian) culture, ostensibly unspoiled by colonialism and capitalism—the purported twin enemies of the anticolonialist, communist, and monoethnic nationalist Khmer Rouge. Millions were forced to undergo “reeducation,” which included public confessions. Throughout the period, hundreds of thousands perished from exposure and lethal violence. The Khmer Rouge’s fanaticism led to executions of “enemies” that covered the full spectrum of society: intellectuals, artists, professionals, those who had traveled abroad, and those who spoke a foreign language. In short, all who embodied “foreignness”—that is, anticommunist or non-Khmer ideals—were systematically killed as having been too “contaminated” to participate in building the new society under Pol Pot’s rule. The Khmer Rouge was so committed to destroying the old society and creating a new one that it completely obliterated even the most fundamental of social forms, the family. It also included the destruction of such expressions of modernity as transportation, education, technology, administration, and governance. Henceforth, the national project was to be dedicated to serving *Angka*, the “Organization,” from which all was to emanate in the new Democratic Republic of Kampuchea. When the carnage was over, stopped by an invasion from Vietnam in January 1979, it is estimated that the equivalent of one in four Cambodians had been killed, worked, and/or starved to death. Among the dead, and targeted for extinction, were the non-Khmer minorities, including the Muslim Chams, ethnic Chinese and ethnic Vietnamese, and Buddhist monks. With the Vietnamese invasion, the Pol Pot government fell, and the Khmer Rouge fled into the jungles of western Cambodia. Since then, over the past thirty years or so, the country has struggled to reestablish itself as a stable political and economic entity, founded on democracy and the rule of law. Most disturbing, in this context, is that in all this time, the principal actors of the Cambodian genocide, who one by one have been dying off, have not been brought to justice, despite ongoing calls from Cambodians and foreign nongovernmental organizations for some form of accountability and redress to take place.

Cambodian Genocide Justice Act. This was an act the U.S. Congress passed in 1994, fifteen years after the toppling of the regime of Cambodia’s Khmer Rouge dictator Pol Pot (1925–1998) by Vietnamese forces. Between the end of the dictatorship and the passing of the U.S. act, no concrete steps (neither inside nor outside of Cambodia) had been taken to hold anyone accountable for the deaths of at least 1.7 million Cambodian citizens at the hands of the Khmer Rouge between 1975 and 1979. The purpose of the act was to establish a tribunal to deal with Khmer Rouge-era crimes against the Cambodian people. The campaign for such a tribunal came from various U.S.-based nongovernmental organizations working in Cambodia that had firsthand experience with many former victims of Pol Pot’s genocidal campaign. Before the legislation could be set in place, however, there had to be a proper body of evidence to justify indictments of the Khmer Rouge perpetrators of the Cambodian genocide. Spearheading the move was a U.S. specialist on Cambodian history and politics, Craig Etcheson (b. 1955). He and others managed to gain the ear of several sympathetic members of Congress, who, in turn, persuaded the government of U.S. president Bill Clinton (b. 1946) to appoint Charles Twining (b. 1940)—a former U.S.

ambassador to Cambodia—to coordinate efforts to bring about justice. The U.S. Congress passed the Cambodian Genocide Justice Act, allotting \$400,000 to the U.S. State Department's budget for the purpose of assembling evidence against the Khmer Rouge génocidaires. This led to the establishment of Yale University's Cambodian Genocide Program (CGP), under the supervision of Professor Ben Kiernan (b. 1953), in December 1994. Both he and Etcheson, and the team of researchers based at the CGP, have since gathered millions of documents incriminating both the leadership and the lower ranks of the Khmer Rouge for their perpetration of horrific crimes before, during, and after their four-year rule over the people of Cambodia.

Cambodian Genocide, the United States' Response to. The response of the United States to the Cambodian genocide (1975–1979) must be seen in the context of the Vietnam War (1962–1975). In the latter years of that conflict, the United States had to cope with North Vietnamese supplies being sent to the Vietcong via Cambodia. The United States' response—in order to disrupt the flow of men and matériel through what was, in reality, neutral territory—was one of heavy U.S. bombing of the jungle trails employed to smuggle these supplies. The air war over Cambodia strengthened the radical elements of Cambodia's Khmer Rouge, whose rise to power in 1975 coincided with the retreat of the United States from Vietnam.

The end of the Vietnam conflict, which the United States lost, coincided with the start of the genocidal killings in Cambodia. At the time, the United States was led by President Gerald Ford (1913–2007), an interim president following the resignation, in disgrace, of President Richard Nixon (1913–1994) in 1974. Politically, the Ford administration, following the Vietnam debacle, was not inclined to get involved in the crisis in Cambodia. In 1976 Jimmy Carter (b. 1924), a Democrat, was elected president of the United States, and he did not want to risk another Vietnam-style engagement in Cambodia. In fact, his administration's general tendency was to support the Khmer Rouge so as not to offend China, a staunch ally of Khmer Rouge leader Pol Pot's (1925–1998) regime. It is also true that many of the early accounts of the brutality by the Khmer Rouge in Democratic Kampuchea (the new name the Khmer Rouge gave Cambodia) were deemed “inconclusive accounts” and/or “unconfirmed reports.” Some, both inside and outside of the U.S. government, could simply not force themselves to believe the accuracy of the reports that they heard or read about. Essentially, the brutality described was seemingly all but unimaginable to them. But, then again, as Morton Abramowitz (b. 1933), an Asia specialist at the Pentagon at the time, said: “There could have been two genocides in Cambodia and nobody would have cared. . . . People just wanted to forget about the place. They wanted it off the radar.”

Later, Carter was also forced to choose between the Khmer Rouge regime and its former enemy—Communist Vietnam, a government backed by the United States' Cold War adversary, the Soviet Union. Thus, Carter, who entered office speaking of the significance of the universal protection of human rights, did not speak up about the Khmer Rouge-perpetrated killings—and this was despite the fact that ever-increasing evidence corroborated the truth of the Khmer Rouge's atrocities. Again, for many, if not most, the dark cloud of Vietnam hovered over U.S. foreign affairs matters, especially those that pertained to issues involving Southeast Asia. By the time Carter's term came to an end, his administration was bogged down by the Iranian crisis and the taking of U.S. diplomats as hostages. In short, by 1979, when Pol Pot's genocidal regime was

overthrown by Vietnam, the United States had done nothing to stem the tide of genocide in Cambodia.

In the aftermath of the Pol Pot years, none of the Khmer Rouge génocidaires were indicted, let alone convicted, in the absence of a tribunal.

Canada, Genocide in. In the nineteenth century, the indigenous peoples of Canada were, to a large degree, spared much of the violence committed against Native Americans in the United States. This is not to say that the First Nations, as they are termed in Canada, escaped persecution, dispossession, or measures introduced to weaken their position as European settlement took place. Indeed, the Beothuk of Newfoundland were completely destroyed (as a result of starvation, disease, and settler-perpetrated murder), and the situation in other parts of Maritime Canada were little better; large-scale population collapse was widespread among certain peoples, such as the Miqmaq. The first sweeping legislation covering First Nations peoples in nineteenth-century Canada came in 1850, with the passage of the Statute for Lower Canada in which the term *Indian* was first defined legally. In 1870, after Confederation, the Act to Encourage the Gradual Civilization of the Indian Tribes in the Province and to Amend the Laws Respecting Indians was passed. The act raised the issue of assimilation, by which male Indians could “enfranchise” by renouncing their First Nations status and living as Europeans did. Measures introduced to encourage or force assimilation included inducements of land, lump-sum payments of money, the taking of land, exposure to alcohol, debility caused by disease or starvation, destruction of religious and cultural practices, and the enforcement of government orders through police coercion. Although it cannot be argued successfully as a whole that Canadian governments engaged in genocide against the First Nations as policy, a great deal of cultural destruction took place over a lengthy period of time. In many parts of the country, racism still exists, and provincial policies sometimes threaten to disrupt further the lives of First Nations peoples. Nonetheless, this cannot be termed genocide—discriminatory and racist though it frequently has been.

Carlsson Report. This December 1999 report, which was chaired by former Swedish prime minister Ingvar Carlsson (b. 1934), is officially entitled “Report of the Independent Inquiry into the Actions of the United Nations during the 1994 Genocide in Rwanda.” In part, it addresses descriptions of key events associated with the genocide, including but not limited to the following: the Arusha Peace Agreement; the establishment of UNAMIR; the cable of January 11, 1994, sent by Lt. General Romeo Dallaire (b. 1946) titled “Request for Protection for Informant”; the shooting down of the Rwandan presidential plane on April 6, 1994; the outbreak of the genocide; and the withdrawal of Belgian troops shortly after the genocide began. It also comprised a lengthy list of conclusions, which cite the following failures, among others: UN headquarters’ reaction to the various warnings that mass murder was on the horizon; the inadequacy of UNAMIR’s mandates; the lack of political will on the part of the United Nations member states to adequately address the growing crisis in Rwanda in the early 1990s, as well as the outbreak of the genocide; and impediments to the flow of information between the UN departments and its field operations. Most important, with an eye to the future, fourteen strongly worded recommendations were included in the report: (1) an action plan to prevent genocide; (2) the need to improve the capacity of the UN to conduct peacekeeping operations; (3) the need for military preparation on the part of contributing member states to “prevent acts of genocide or gross violations of human rights wherever they may take place”;

(4) the need to improve the early-warning capacity of the UN; (5) the need to improve the protection of civilians; (6) the need to improve protection of UN personnel and staff; (7) the need to improve cooperation of UN personnel; (8)/(9) the need to improve the flow of information in both the United Nations system and the Security Council; (10) the need to improve the flow of information on human rights issues; (11) the need to improve the coordination of evacuation operations; (12) the need to readdress what membership in the Security Council means (this was particularly relevant in light of the fact that Rwanda itself was a member of the Security Council during the period of the genocide); (13) the need to support efforts to rebuild Rwanda; and (14) the need for the UN to acknowledge of its own responsibility (i.e., its failure) for not having done more to prevent or stop the genocide. The report concludes with a lengthy appendix titled “Chronology of Events (October 1993 to July 1994).”

Carnegie Commission on Preventing Deadly Violence. Established in 1994 by the Carnegie Corporation of New York, the express purpose of the Carnegie Commission on Preventing Deadly Violence is to address the various and dire threats to world peace of intergroup violence and to advance new ideas and methods vis-à-vis the prevention and resolution of deadly conflict. A key part of its mandate is to examine the principal causes of deadly ethnic, nationalist, and religious conflict within and between states and the circumstances that foster or deter their outbreak. “Taking a long-term, worldwide view of violent conflicts that are likely to emerge, the Commission seeks to determine the functional requirements of an effective system for preventing mass violence and to identify the ways in which such a system would be implemented.” The Commission has also undertaken an examination of the strengths and weaknesses of various international bodies in regard to conflict prevention and is considering ways in which international organizations could possibly contribute toward developing an effective international system of nonviolent problem solving. The Commission issues three basic types of publications: reports of the Commission, reports to the Commission, and discussion papers.

Carpet Bombing. See Area Bombing.

Carthage, Genocide in. Carthage was an ancient city-state in North Africa, the major protagonist of Rome during the Punic Wars of 264–241 BCE and 218–201 BCE. A third Punic War, lasting from 149 to 146 BCE, would see the final confrontation between the two Mediterranean powers. The bitter hatred existing between Rome and Carthage was at its most powerful during the Second Punic War, when the Carthaginian general Hannibal (c. 247–182 BCE) invaded Italy and threatened Rome itself, winning a crushing victory at Cannae (216 BCE). The war subsequently settled into a period of stalemate and small-scale guerrilla tactics, until, many years later, the Romans gathered their forces under the generalship of Scipio Aemilianus (185–129 BCE), invaded the city, and, in the spring of 146, conquered it after several days of savage street fighting. As the historian Polybius (c. 200–118 BCE) recorded, Scipio surveyed the burning ruins and wept as he reflected on the fate of great cities, fearing that the same destiny might one day befall Rome. He then ordered that the city be completely destroyed. Carthage was looted, stripped of anything that could be reused as building materials, and the soldiers of Rome went on a killing spree that saw the deaths of tens of thousands of people. Tens of thousands more were sold into slavery, and the city was razed. Earlier, during the Second Punic War, the Roman statesman Cato the Elder (234–149 BCE) had ended every speech in the Senate—regardless of the topic—with the words *Ceteram censeo Carthaginem esse*

delendam! (“I declare that Carthage must be destroyed!”). By 146 BCE, that rallying cry had become a reality. A story spread that the Romans even salted the earth around the city so as to ensure no possibility of a Carthaginian revival; although believed by many for generations, the story has not been proven beyond doubt. The destruction of Carthage, though a confirmed reality, has led to debates among historians regarding the charge of genocide. Although for many the city’s fate as a victim of genocide is obvious (especially given the fact that the survivors of the city were deliberately split up and dispersed throughout the empire so that all traces of a distinct Carthaginian identity would disappear after a few generations), for others the destruction of Carthage was a military issue in which the victims were casualties of war as practiced at that time—and not the targets of a genocide as it is understood today.

***Carthago delenda est!* (Latin, Carthage is destroyed!).** A Latin term frequently attributed, wrongly, to the Roman statesman Cato the Elder (234–149 BCE), in relation to the destruction by Rome of the Carthaginian Empire at the end of the Third Punic War (149–146 BCE). The bitterness created in Rome by the first two Punic Wars (264–241 BCE and 218–202 BCE) was so intense that Cato was moved, on every occasion in which he spoke to the Senate, to end with the words “*Ceteram censeo Carthaginem esse delendam!*” (I declare that Carthage must be destroyed!). Convinced that the security of Rome depended on the annihilation of Carthage, he used every opportunity to sound the tocsin about the Carthaginian threat and repeated his message whenever he could. By 146 BCE, his rallying cry had become a reality, as the Romans defeated Carthage, invaded the city, and put the population to the sword. Throughout the centuries, Cato’s message has been corrupted to read, “*Carthago delenda est,*” which translates as “Carthage is destroyed.” This, however, is an incorrect rendering of the original, as his entreaty was always intended to be a call to action, rather than a triumphant proclamation.

Catholic Church, and the Holocaust. There is, perhaps, no more complicated and contentious issue surrounding the Holocaust than the role of the Roman Catholic Church during the years associated with World War II (1939–1945); its role immediately preceding the war (1933–1939), paralleling Adolf Hitler’s rise to power; or its papal leadership, specifically Pope Pius XI (Achille Ratti, 1857–1939) and Pope Pius XII (Eugenio Pacelli, 1876–1958). Questions include the following: (1) How much or how little did the Church know about the attempted extermination of European Jewry? (2) What could the Church, including its leadership, have done with that knowledge? (3) How much or how little did the Church do to save Europe’s Jews? (4) How forcefully, both publicly and privately, did the popes address the fate of the Jews? (5) After World War II, did the Church play a significant role in aiding Nazis to escape punishment by arranging or assisting in their safe passage out of Europe? (6) What role did the historical religious-theological antisemitism of Christianity play in the decision-making process of the Church? These and other questions remain subject to continuous scrutiny and scholarly investigation; no definitive conclusions have thus far been reached. In 1933 the Vatican under Pius XI signed a concordat with Nazi Germany, supportive of the new regime and seemingly acknowledging its national emphases. The Catholic secretary of state at the time was Cardinal Pacelli, who would later become pope. Different in temperament from his predecessor, Pope Benedict XV (1914–1922), who, in 1938, said publicly, “Antisemitism is inadmissible. We are all spiritually Semites,” Pacelli was shy by nature, committed to the survival and protection of the institutional Roman Catholic Church, isolated from contact with both the

Italian Jewish community or the German Jewish community where he had served as Papal Nuncio (ambassador or emissary) during the 1920s. Ultimately, he saw the conflict from the Church's perspective as that between the godless communism of the East and the fascisms and democracies of the West. Thus, any number of the above-mentioned questions can be understood from this perspective. To complicate matters even further, during World War II itself, the hierarchy of the Church (priests, nuns, Monsignors, bishops, archbishops, cardinals, and laypeople, as well as churches, convents, and monasteries) did aid Jews, especially children, often at the expense of their own lives and the lives of their families. How much of this was done with the full support and acknowledgment of superiors, their ignorance of such activities, or their "blind eye" toward these rescue efforts is, equally, a fully unanswered question. In the aftermath of World War II, and the fuller revelations of the Holocaust, the Roman Catholic Church began an intense reevaluation of its attitude toward the Jews, primarily under Pope John XXIII (Angelo Roncalli, 1881–1963), resulting in the very welcome Declaration *Nostre Aetate* of 1965, beginning a thorough rapprochement with the Jewish community which continues to the present day.

Center for International Development and Conflict Management (CIDCM). The CIDCM, which is based at the University of Maryland in College Park, brings together faculty, students, researchers, and practitioners to investigate the relationships among economic, social, and political development and the conflicts that frequently arise from them. As part of its work, the CIDCM also conducts early-warning research. While its Minorities at Risk Project tracks and analyzes the status and political activities of some three hundred politically active communal groups throughout the world, its Global Event Data System identifies and codes conflictual and cooperative political events as reported in a variety of news sources.

Centre for Comparative Genocide Studies. See Australian Institute for Holocaust and Genocide Studies.

Century of Genocide. The phrase *century of genocide* was coined by genocide scholar Roger Smith (b. 1936) to describe the twentieth century in recognition of the fact that the century was plagued with one genocide after another (e.g., the 1904 genocide of the Hereros in Southwest Africa; the 1915–1923 Armenian genocide; the 1932–1933 Soviet man-made famine in Ukraine; the Holocaust [1933–1945]; the 1971 Bangladesh genocide; the Cambodian genocide [1975–1979], the Iraqi gassing of its northern Kurd population [1988]). Tellingly, he coined the term prior to the 1994 Rwandan genocide and the genocide perpetrated in the former Yugoslavia in the 1990s.

Century of Genocide: Critical Essays and Eyewitness Accounts. *Century of Genocide: Critical Essays and Eyewitness Accounts*, coedited by Samuel Totten, William S. Parsons, and Israel W. Charny (New York: Routledge, 2004), comprises essays on a wide range of genocides (thirteen in all), including but not limited to the following: the German genocide of the Hereros in Southwest Africa in 1904; the Ottoman Turk genocide of the Armenians between 1915 and 1923; the Soviet man-made famine in Ukraine in 1933; the Nazi-perpetrated Holocaust of Jews, Roma, and Sinti and the physically and mentally handicapped (1933–1945); the 1971 genocide in Bangladesh; the Indonesian-perpetrated genocide of the East Timorese (1975–1990s); the Khmer Rouge–perpetrated Cambodian genocide (1975–1979); the Iraqi gassing of its Kurd population in the north (1988); the 1994 Rwandan genocide; and genocide in the former Yugoslavia (early to mid-1990s). It concludes with a chapter on genocide in the Sudan at the turn of the century (from the

twentieth to the twenty-first) and an essay on the prevention and intervention of genocide. Each essay, written by a specialist on a specific genocide, is accompanied by first-person accounts of the particular genocide.

Cham People, Genocide of. The Chams are a Muslim people located in Indochina, the majority of whom live in Cambodia. Originally of Hindu and Buddhist extraction, they are the descendants of the Champa, a kingdom extant between the second century CE and the year 1720. During the seventeenth century, the Champa king converted to Islam, and soon thereafter the Chams became a Muslim people. (The exact date of when Islam first arrived in the region is unknown, though Muslim grave markers dating to the eleventh century CE have been located.) By the middle of the twentieth century, the Chams enjoyed a high birthrate, outpacing both the ethnic Vietnamese (also a minority) and the dominant Khmer majority. With the coming of communism under the Khmer Rouge regime of Pol Pot (1925–1998), the Chams were viewed as separatist nationalists possessed of a different identity to that of the Cambodians. For this, it was held, they had to be integrated forcefully into the Cambodian mainstream. The fact that they were Muslim merely aggravated relations between the state and the Cham minority, as Islam was seen as an alien, foreign, culture that had no place in the new communist order. Whereas ethnic nationalism was viewed as a bourgeois aberration, Islam was seen as an alien import that had to be excised along with other foreign elements, if Cambodia were to become a “healthy” nation as the Khmer Rouge claimed it had been in precolonial times. Given this, the Khmer Rouge became determined to expunge the Cham presence from revolutionary Cambodia. The government’s plan was to dislodge Chams from their villages and scatter them across the country in the hope of forcing assimilation by thinning their ranks. As the Chams resisted, Pol Pot tried intimidation, by killing village elders and prominent families. Finally, the regime opted for mass killing, which, in the end, led to massacres of entire Cham village populations. Were it not for the end of the Khmer Rouge regime in January 1979, the Chams may very well have been annihilated except for those few who collaborated with the government. As it was, at least half of the Cham population was killed during the Pol Pot years, the victims of a mentality that would not tolerate pluralism and actively sought to eliminate difference through violence and massive slaughter.

Chamberlain, Neville (1869–1940). Born into a political family (his father, Joseph Chamberlain [1836–1914], was a former cabinet minister under Queen Victoria [1819–1901], and his half brother Austen Chamberlain [1863–1937] was a chancellor of the exchequer), Neville Chamberlain was elected lord mayor of Birmingham in 1915 and a member of Parliament in 1918. He became postmaster general in 1922, minister of health that same year, and chancellor of the exchequer (finance minister) in 1923. In May 1937 he became prime minister of Great Britain. In September 1938, in Munich, he and Adolf Hitler (1889–1945) signed an agreement stating that their two nations would never go to war again. Upon his return to London, Chamberlain delivered his now-famous speech entitled “Peace in Our Time.”

Chamberlain was the most powerful of a group of British politicians and civil servants known to history as the appeasers, that is, those who preferred to back down in the face of what they considered to be Hitler’s legitimate claims. It was noted by some in Britain that Chamberlain’s visit to Munich was negligent in that, at the Munich meeting, he referred neither to Nazi human rights abuses against Jews nor to the city’s close proximity to the

Dachau concentration camp, just seven kilometers away. This was, however, never likely to happen: in the first place, because to do so would have been unseemly in light of diplomatic practice of the day; and second, because Chamberlain—a “closet” antisemite—would never have thought to do so.

With Germany’s invasion of Poland (with whom Great Britain already had a treaty of mutual defense assistance negotiated during Chamberlain’s tenure) on September 1, 1939, and the start of World War II, Chamberlain’s hand was forced. He declared war against Germany on September 3. As continuing criticism of his prosecution of the war mounted in light of Germany’s initial military successes, and his inability to restructure and form a government of national unity, Chamberlain resigned from office in May 1940 and was succeeded by Winston Churchill (1874–1965). Chamberlain died of bowel cancer later that same year, 1940.

Chap Teuv. *Chap teuv* is the Cambodian phrase for “taken away, never to be seen again.” In the context of the Khmer Rouge–perpetrated genocide (1975–1979), it referred to those individuals who disappeared abruptly, were taken somewhere—for no apparent reason—by the Khmer Rouge, and were never to return. Such disappearances served the purpose of instilling chilling fear in people of not following the exact orders they were given by the Khmer Rouge and/or doing something “wrong” or “incorrectly.”

Chapter Six and a Half. “Chapter six and a half” is an unofficial term used by military officials to refer to those peacekeeping missions that either result in or need to constitute (and thus allow for) actions somewhere between a Chapter VI (traditional peacekeeping) and a Chapter VII (peace enforcement) mission under the United Nations Charter. For example, several months prior to the outbreak of the 1994 Rwandan genocide, UN Force Commander Lt. General Romeo Dallaire (b. 1946) of the UN Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR) noted that

I knew that given the ethnic nature of the conflict, the presence of some who opposed the [Arusha peace] agreement and the potential for banditry or ethnic killings by demobilized soldiers, I needed to be able to confront such challenges with military force. Therefore, in the rules of engagement (ROE) that I promised for this mission (largely cribbed from the Cambodian rules), we inserted paragraph seventeen, which authorized us to use force up to and including the use of deadly force to prevent “crimes against humanity.” We were breaking new ground, though we didn’t really understand it at the time. We were moving toward what would later be called “Chapter six and a half,” a whole new approach to conflict resolution. (Quoted in Dallaire’s *Shake Hands with the Devil: The Failure of Humanity in Rwanda* [New York: Carroll & Graf Publishers, 2005, p. 72])

Chapter VI of the UN Charter. Chapter VI specifically reads as follows: “Pacific Settlement of Disputes.” Article 33 under Chapter VI states:

(1) The parties to any dispute, the continuance of which is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security, shall, first of all, seek a solution by negotiation, enquiry, mediation, conciliation, arbitration, judicial settlement, resort to regional agencies or arrangements, or other peaceful means of their own choice; and (2) the Security Council shall, when it deems necessary, call upon the parties to settle their dispute by such means.

In the recent past, the UN has placed Chapter VI missions in untenable situations (e.g., where full-blown war or genocide is under way—such as in Rwanda in 1994 and Darfur, Sudan, 2003 through today, late 2007). Due to their limited mandate under Chapter VI, missions were not able to provide the type of protection and/or undertake the

action needed to prevent the violence that was being perpetrated. What was needed in place of the Chapter VI mission was a Chapter VII (or peace enforcement) mission.

Chapter VII of the UN Charter. Chapter VII specifically reads as follows: “Action with Respect to Threats to the Peace, Breaches of the Peace, and Acts of Aggression.” Article 39 under Chapter VII states the following: “The [UN] Security Council shall determine the existence of any threat to the peace, breach of the peace, or act of aggression and shall make recommendations, or decide what measures shall be taken in accordance with Articles 41 and 42, to maintain or restore international peace and security.” Article 41 says: “The Security Council may decide what measures not involving the use of armed force are to be employed to give effect to its decisions, and it may call upon the Members of the United Nations to apply such measures. These may include complete or partial interruption of economic relations and of rail, sea, air, postal, telegraphic, radio, and other means of communication, and the severance of diplomatic relations.” Article 42 reads states that: “Should the Security Council consider that measures provided for in Article 41 would be inadequate or have proved to be inadequate, it may take such action by air, sea, or land forces as may be necessary to maintain or restore international peace and security. Such action may include demonstrations, blockade, and other operations by air, sea, or land forces of Members of the United Nations.”

What is essential is the need to determine if, in fact, massive human rights violations and/or armed internal conflicts can be considered threats to international peace and security and therefore justify the adoption of humanitarian resolutions by the Security Council.

Charny, Israel W. (b. 1931). Israel Charny, who was born and educated in the United States and then immigrated to Israel in the 1960s, is a noted psychologist and genocide scholar. In fact, Charny is considered by many to be one of the early pioneers of the field of genocide studies.

In 1982, Charny coplanned and coimplemented the first international conference on genocide, the “International Conference on the Holocaust and Genocide.” During the course of the planning phase, Charny became a cause célèbre of sorts when the Turkish government placed pressure on the Israeli government to prevent him from including a discussion of the Armenian genocide, which was perpetrated by Ottoman Turks between 1915 and 1923. Charny refused to capitulate even though he received threats both from the Israeli government and from his own academic institution, Tel Aviv University. Although some individuals chose not to attend the conference due to the uproar over the conference, most notable of whom was Holocaust survivor/author Elie Wiesel (b. 1928), the conference was a resounding success and basically set the stage for the development of the field of genocide studies.

Charny wrote an early and important book, *How Can We Commit the Unthinkable? Genocide: A Human Cancer* (1982), in which he not only examined the causes of genocide but also notably delineated his now famous effort to develop what he deemed the Genocide Early Warning System (GEWS). Following his founding of the Institute on the Holocaust and Genocide (Jerusalem, Israel), Charny undertook one innovative project after another in an attempt to attract attention to the fact of genocide and to draw together scholars from various fields to work collaboratively on genocide-related projects. Among some of the more notable efforts of Charny are the following: the development of the now acclaimed *Genocide: A Critical Bibliographic Series*; the editing and publication of the *Internet on the Holocaust and Genocide* (one of the first newsletters on the topic of

genocide); the creation and publication of the first encyclopedia on genocide (*Encyclopedia of Genocide* [Santa Barbara, CA: ABC CLIO Press, 1999]); cofounding the International Association of Genocide Scholars (IAGS); and creating and cofounding a scholarly journal, *Genocide Studies and Prevention: An International Journal* (University of Toronto Press). For IAGS, he served as vice president (2003–2005) and president (2005–2007).

Beginning in the early 1980s, Charny served with great verve and support as the mentor to a large group of then young genocide scholars, including Samuel Totten (b. 1949), the late Eric Markusen (1946–2007), and Yair Auron (b. 1945), among others.

Chelmno. The Polish name for the Nazi extermination camp known as “Kulmhof” in German. Chelmno was the first camp set up for extermination. It was a relatively isolated camp, fifty miles from Lodz; estimates of murder victims include more than two hundred and fifty thousand Jews and five thousand Roma. Chelmno was established at the end of 1941, and its primary method of killing was carbon monoxide asphyxiation from the motorized exhausts of large-capacity “killing wagons” (i.e., trucks); its secondary method of killing was execution by firing squad. The exterminations themselves took place at the *Schloss* or “castle,” with the crematoria and mass-grave site some two and one-half miles away. Its victims were initially brought to the central rail station and then transported either on a subtrack or directly by truck. Told, at first, they were being sent to a work camp, the inmates were ordered to undress and then taken to the supposed “washrooms” (i.e., the passageways attached to the gas vans). Fifty to seventy people were then forced into two smaller and one larger van. Approximately ten minutes later, all inside were dead. Closed from December 1942 until May 1944, Chelmno was permanently shut down by the Nazis in January of 1945 as Russian soldiers began to approach the area. Only fourteen of those who participated in the murderous work at Chelmno were ever brought to trial at war’s end: two were sentenced to death, three to imprisonment from seven to thirteen years, and the remaining eight to lighter sentences.

“Chemical Ali.” The nickname given to the cousin of former Iraqi leader Saddam Hussein (1937–2006), Lieutenant General and presidential adviser Ali Hassan al-Majid (b. 1941). The latter was captured by Allied forces after the invasion of Iraq on August 21, 2003. A member of Hussein’s inner circle, he was a member of the Revolutionary Command Council and Baath Party regional commander as well as the head of the Central Workers Bureau. From 1991 to 1995, he served as defense minister under Hussein, serving the previous year as interior minister. He earned his sobriquet because he was allegedly the figure most responsible for the use of chemical weapons as a “solution” to the Kurdish rebellion, which resulted in the murders of fifty thousand to one hundred thousand Kurds during the 1988 campaign against them. In the town of Halabja, for example, the Iraqi air force dropped chemical bombs that killed five thousand people and left ten thousand others seriously affected. On June 24, 2007, Ali Hassan al-Majid was sentenced to death for genocide and war crimes committed against Iraqi Kurds during the *Anfal* or “spoils of war” in which an estimated 180,000 Kurds were killed. (For a more detailed discussion, see al-Majid, Ali Hassan.)

Chetniks. In Serbo-Croatian, the word *četa* translates as “military unit.” One who is a member of such a unit, in colloquial usage, is thus a *četnik*, or, in English transliteration, a Chetnik. Traditionally, the Chetniks were a Serbian military force with close royalist and nationalist allegiances. Starting in the nineteenth century, when they were opposed to continued Ottoman Turkish rule over the Serb-speaking areas of the Balkans, the

Chetniks later became a major fighting force opposed to the Nazis during World War II. Their early successes were neutralized, however, when a split in the force saw half continuing to fight the Nazi occupation and half moving on to a different area of battle, fighting Yugoslav communist partisans. During World War II, Chetnik bands, in fighting for the old royal order, engaged in fierce battles with the Croatian *Ustashe* and communist partisans under the command of Josip Broz Tito (1892–1980). In the latter endeavor, they collaborated openly with the Nazis and the Italian Fascists. The fighting with the Croats had the added dimension of savage interethnic hostility. By 1946, the last Chetnik units, under the command of Dragoljub (“Draža”) Mihailovic (1893–1946), were captured, and the organization was suppressed. When Slobodan Milosevic (1941–2006) assumed office in Serbia in 1989, Chetnik groups made something of a comeback. Many Serb paramilitary units during the wars of Yugoslav disintegration (1991–1995) styled themselves after the fashion of the Chetniks of old, growing long hair and beards, which began as a symbol of grief over the state of Serbia—first, in being occupied by the Nazis, and then by the communists. After the reappearance of the Chetniks in the 1990s, verified accounts of massacre and war crimes identified them as facilitators of ethnic cleansing, particularly in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina. One of the most notorious of these self-styled new Chetniks was Zeljko Raznatovic (1952–2000), known as “Arkan,” whose paramilitary force, the Tigers, was responsible for numerous atrocities. Other Chetnik forces contributed to genocidal mass murder in Vukovar and Srebrenica (where another Chetnik unit, the Scorpions, committed a number of well-publicized murders). Within Serbia today, there have been attempts at rehabilitating the image of the Chetniks as loyal patriots fighting for the defense of their country, but their reputation for arbitrary violence, brutality, and murder has done little to foster a positive image outside of Serbia itself.

Chile. On September 11, 1973, the democratically elected socialist government of President Salvador Allende (1908–1973) was deposed from office in a military coup led by General Augusto Jose Ramon Pinochet Ugarte (1915–2006). The junta thereby established was to remain in power until Pinochet restored Chile to democracy in 1990, after which Patricio Aylwin (b. 1918) took office following national elections. (Pinochet retained his position under the new government as commander in chief of the armed forces and senator, which he relinquished when forced to do so only in 2002.) Under Pinochet’s rule, Chile became a military dictatorship. Immediately after he seized power, all left-wing political parties and movements were crushed by decree and by force. Freedom of speech, multiparty democracy, trade unions, and open courts of justice were all suppressed. Pinochet established an office called the DINA (*Dirección Nacional de Inteligencia*), or National Intelligence Directorate, which served as a secret police force. Tens of thousands believed by Pinochet to be threats to his new order were arrested and tortured; at least two thousand became *Desaparecidos*, “those who have disappeared,” their fate officially unknown, though almost certainly they were murdered. The junta justified both its existence and the need for a harsh and controlling regime on the perceived danger posed by communism against Chile. After the restoration of democracy in 1990, Pinochet kept a careful eye on the government that succeeded him, always with a veiled threat of himself making a comeback as dictator if the democratic system veered too far to the left. His influence collapsed in 1998 when he was arrested in London under an international arrest warrant issued by Spain charging him with the torture of some of its citizens in Chile and conspiring to commit torture and genocide. After a lengthy

appeals process, and then hearings regarding his extradition to Spain to stand trial, Pinochet was not extradited from Britain. On March 2, 2000, he returned to Chile. Within the country, a Truth and Reconciliation Commission was established to try to heal the rifts caused by the Pinochet years, and upon his return Pinochet himself was placed under house arrest pursuant to various charges.

China, Genocide in. China experienced significant episodes of genocidal destruction during the course of the twentieth century. It would be a mistake to think that its people have suffered only under communism, even though killing has predominated over the course of communist rule since 1949. Under the rule of warlords and the pre-1949 Nationalist government, millions were killed, both deliberately, for political reasons, and, as innocent victims, who were swept up in the course of the many wars and rebellions that beset China during the first half of the twentieth century. The precommunist atrocities visited upon the Chinese people were not only caused by internal upheaval, however; China's experience at the hands of its Japanese occupiers throughout the 1930s led to a low estimate of 4 million deaths, and possibly even up to 6 million. In 1937 the Japanese treatment of China's then capital city, Nanking (now Nanjing), became a paradigm for genocidal massacre, as the Japanese, in an orgy of murder, rape, torture, and looting, killed more than three hundred thousand of the city's residents. After the communist victory in October 1949, millions of Chinese citizens were killed as the party sought to develop its revolutionary platform and shape society according to the teachings of the party chairman, Mao Zedong (1893–1976). The Chinese communists employed brutal repression in order to terrorize the population into following the new ways. They executed all those who had represented the former Nationalist government or its ideals, those of whom the communists deemed to be counterrevolutionaries opposed to the revolution, and anyone else considered to be an “enemy” of the people. In the communist drive to institutionalize the revolution through schemes of social engineering such as the Great Leap Forward (1958–1962) and the Cultural Revolution (1966–1976) perhaps up to 30 million lost their lives owing to starvation and more political killing. Under communism, China has had a record of unrelenting state-imposed death on a genocidal scale, and to this should be added a clear-cut case of genocide against the people of Tibet, invaded by China in 1949, in which about one-quarter of the preinvasion population has been wiped out in order to make way for Han Chinese transmigrants. In addition there has been an ongoing and intensive campaign of ethnocide carried out by successive Chinese governments against the culture and religion of the Tibetans. More recently, Chinese communist attempts at suppressing the quasi-religious movement known as Falun Gong have also been considered by some to fit the 1948 UN Genocide Convention's criteria of what constitutes genocide.

Chittagong Hill Tracts, Genocide in. The Chittagong Hill Tracts (CHT) occupies a land area of 5,093 square miles (13,295 square kilometers), constituting some 10 percent of the total area of the country of Bangladesh. The land is hilly and covered with dense vegetation, in marked contrast to the rest of the low-lying country. The majority of the population of CHT, a people known as the Jummas, had been the target of massive human rights abuses since before the inception of the state in 1971, but increasingly so since Bangladesh's independence. In March 1972, M. N. Larma (d. 1983) formed a Jumma political party, Jana Samhati Samiti (JSS), to seek better living conditions for the Jummas; a military wing of the JSS, the Shanti Bahini, emerged soon thereafter. This intensified the persecution of the Jummas by the Bangladeshi authorities. In the name of “counterinsurgency,” Jummas have

often been detained and tortured by the army; thousands have been killed in combat and in executions, and many have also suffered rape and torture. Massacres have been frequent since 1980. Mass detention has taken place, and thousands have been placed in so-called cluster villages—effectively a form of concentration camp under the direct jurisdiction of the army. In addition to all this, it has been alleged that the state supports the forcible conversion of the Jummas (who include among their number Buddhists and Hindus) to Islam, together with the destruction of Jumma temples and shrines. One of the fundamental reasons for the persecution of the Jummas has been a desire on the part of the central authorities to force the Jummas off their land in order to make way for large-scale resettlement of Bangladeshis. Settlers have been able to take over land and even whole villages from the Jummas; it has been estimated that the settlers now make up nearly one-third of the total population of the CHT. Despite all this, on December 2, 1997, the JSS managed to sign a treaty with the Bangladeshi government, though this has failed to guarantee the necessary safeguards to the Jummas as it has not addressed the core issues of settler encroachment and the ongoing militarization of the region.

Chmielnicki, Bogdan (c. 1595–1657). Antisemitic Cossack Ukrainian nationalist leader, and rebel against Polish overlordship of Ukraine. In Ukrainian his name can be transliterated as “Bohdan Khmelnytsky,” whereas in Russian it becomes “Bogdan Khmel’nitski.” Reference to “Bogdan Chmielnicki” is thus a synthesis of the Ukrainian or Russian version of his first name and the Polish variation of his surname, and it is that combination that has most commonly entered general usage. Chmielnicki does not seem to have come from a Cossack background, though he embraced both the Cossack cause and Orthodox Christianity as he grew to maturity. Ultimately, he became leader of the Zaporozhian Cossacks and hetman, or supreme leader, of Ukraine. The Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, a vast state incorporating Ukraine among its domains, experienced a number of rebellions against its rule during the early seventeenth century, with the worst being led by Chmielnicki himself between 1648 and 1654. The attempt to overthrow Polish rule became a civil war between forces loyal to the Commonwealth and Chmielnicki’s Cossacks. The most obvious representatives of Polish rule in many parts of Ukraine were Jewish *Arendas*, leaseholders of estates, farmland, or mills, with hunting and fishing rights, who were given authority to collect taxes from the Ukrainian peasantry on behalf of the Polish aristocracy and crown. It was the Jewish *Arendas* who thus bore the full brunt of Cossack fury, and, as Chmielnicki’s Cossacks swept through Ukraine, widespread destruction of Jewish towns and farms became commonplace. Large-scale massacres of Jews occurred, with perhaps as many as one hundred thousand Jewish deaths during the uprising. At least three hundred Jewish communities were completely destroyed, as the Jews were deliberately targeted, first, because of their identification with Polish rule and, second, because of their Jewishness. In 1654, Chmielnicki’s Cossacks allied themselves with tsarist Russia, and the full weight of the combined Cossack and Russian forces became too great for the Commonwealth to hold back. By the Treaty of Pereyaslav (1654), Ukraine became a Russian territory.

The Chmielnicki massacres made a deep impression on the Jews of eastern Europe. The despair generated by the massacres led indirectly to a rise in the number of messianic pretenders over the course of the next hundred years—the most notable of whom, Shabbetai Zvi (1626–1676), failed to deliver the Jews from their desolation and cast them into a despondency that was relieved by only the appearance of the *Ba’al Shem Tov* (c. 1700–1760) in the eighteenth century.

Chmielnicki Pogroms. In 1648, mainly between May and November, Jews by the thousands were slaughtered by Ukrainian Cossacks under the leadership of Bogdan Chmielnicki (1595–1657) in the context of the larger peasant uprising against Polish rule, which would, ultimately, under his leadership, result in a realignment and unification with Russia. The savagery and violence with which Jews were slaughtered remains a “dark stain” in Jewish history, caught, as they were, in a political cross fire where antisemitism was already rampant. Although it is impossible to establish the actual numbers of Jewish dead as a result of these pogroms (massacres), Jewish chroniclers of the times put the toll as high as one hundred thousand with approximately three hundred Jewish communities destroyed, most noticeably the communities of Nemirov, Tulchin, Polonnoye, Bar, Narol, and Lvov. Two giants of modern Hebrew literature composed laments to mark the event: “Daughter of the Rabbi” by Saul Tchernichovski (1875–1943) and “The Burden of Nemirov” by Chaim Nahman Bialik (1873–1934).

Choeung Ek. Choeung Ek is the site of the best-known complex of mass graves in Cambodia, containing the bodies of tens of thousands of victims of the Khmer Rouge regime (1975–1979), under the communist dictatorship of Pol Pot (1925–1998). Choeung Ek is located about seventeen kilometers south of Phnom Penh and was a preferred dumping ground for those executed at the nearby Tuol Sleng prison, commanded by Khang Khak Iev (b. 1942), known as “Comrade Duch.” The image of Choeung Ek—of large burial mounds scattered over a broad landscape—has given rise to the term “the killing fields” as a way of describing all such places, and it was from this that a Hollywood movie, *The Killing Fields* (director, Roland Joffe, 1984), derived its title. Choeung Ek today is a memorial to the Cambodian genocide. The featured centerpiece of the memorial is a Buddhist stupa, a shrine containing some five thousand skulls of victims. Choeung Ek is a place of pilgrimage and quiet contemplation, and those of the current generation can visit the site as a way of learning valuable lessons about Cambodia’s past.

Christian X, King of Denmark (1870–1947). King Christian became the symbol of Danish resistance to Nazism in his occupied country when he himself refused to implement their anti-Jewish legislation, yet he was forced to leave his throne in August 1943. Many believe he served as the inspiration for his own people in their heroic rescue and successful efforts to save the vast majority of Danish Jews—approximately 7,500 Jewish Danes from a total Jewish population of nearly 8,000—from their ultimate extermination at the hands of the Nazis.

Contrary to popular belief, King Christian did not appear in public wearing a yellow star in support of the Jewish population of Denmark, though a legend quickly sprang up that he did. The legend was reinforced by novelist Leon Uris (1924–2003) in his 1958 novel, *Exodus*, and popularized in the film version of the novel in 1960 directed by Otto Preminger (1906–1986).

Churban. A Hebrew term best translated by the English word *destruction*. It is used mainly within the traditional religious Orthodox Jewish communities and references not one but three past tragedies: the destruction of the First Temple by the Babylonians in 586 BCE (Before the Common Era), the destruction of the Second Temple by the Romans in the year 70, and the Holocaust of 1933–1945. For the Orthodox (or traditional religious thinkers), the Holocaust is not seen as a uniquely distinctive event, but yet another in a series of tragedies, accepted as part of God’s divine plan, which limited humanity cannot fully understand or comprehend. Among the possible attempts at such

understanding, however, has been that of liberal rabbi Ignaz Maybaum (1897–1976) (the Holocaust as the sacrificial victimization of the Jewish people in preparation for the creative destruction of the old world and an ushering in of a new order); orthodox rabbi Menahem Hartom (the Holocaust as punishment for sin for a Jewish people living in exile); and orthodox rabbis Isaac Hutner (1906–1980) (the Holocaust as the burden of Jewish chosenness and the truth of Judaism’s religious claims), Menachem Mendel Schneersohn (1902–1994) (the Holocaust as punishment for the sin of assimilation), and Joel Teitelbaum (1887–1979) (the Holocaust as punishment for the “sin” of Zionism, i.e., forcing God’s hand prior to the messianic redemption).

CIA and Genocide. The U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) was formed in 1947 from a number of predecessor organizations that had been established during World War II. Its major tasks include providing accurate, comprehensive, and timely foreign intelligence to government departments on domestic security issues and conducting counterintelligence activities and other functions related to foreign intelligence and national security. The CIA is an independent arm of government, responsible to the president of the United States through the director of central intelligence. It is accountable to the people of the United States through the intelligence oversight committees of the U.S. Congress. Although the CIA is primarily engaged in intelligence gathering and ongoing research activities, it has frequently come under close scrutiny by critics around the world owing to its secrecy and reputation for covert actions involving intervention in the affairs of foreign governments. In fact, the CIA has been vilified and/or implicated in a very wide range of issues relating to genocide. These include allegations concerning both the nature of the hunt for Nazi war criminals after World War II and the provision of shelter to these criminals in order to employ their skills against communism during the Cold War; supporting genocidal regimes conducting counterinsurgency campaigns, such as in Guatemala in the 1970s and 1980s; and facilitating the overthrow of governments that have views or policies inimical to the United States, such as in Chile in 1973. From time to time, allegations have been made by journalists and other commentators that the CIA has engaged in covert operations that have led some U.S.-supported regimes to commit actions that could be deemed genocide (e.g., in Indonesia in 1965–1966, in East Timor after 1975, and in Guatemala in the 1980s). As with so many areas relating to genocide, there is a great need for care to be taken in ascribing responsibility for the development of specific events, and this is even more the case when considering an organization that conducts much of its work in an essentially secretive manner for reasons of national security.

Civil War. A state of civil war exists when competing factions, groups, or parties vie for power in physical confrontation within the same polity—usually, though not always, a state. By their nature, civil wars are highly destructive and deadly and can be accompanied by the commission of war crimes, atrocities, and, in recent times, genocide. In the civil conflicts that have taken place since the 1980s in Africa—for example, in Burundi, Rwanda, Congo, and Sudan—the loss of life has been enormously high. The same was true in the case of Biafra, the short-lived West African state that seceded from Nigeria between 1967 and 1970. Elsewhere—for example, in Russia between 1918 and 1921, China in the 1930s and 1940s, or in the former Yugoslavia between 1991 and 1995—civil war led to a massive number of deaths. One of the reasons for such mayhem, especially in the last quarter of the twentieth century and into the twenty-first century, lies in the fact that many of those doing the fighting have not been professional soldiers but irregulars, members of militia groups

who possess neither the training and behavioral restraints of professional soldiers nor an accompanying sense of military honor. Modern civil war has been the most frequent setting for genocide, as it remains today. This would appear to be an evolutionary phenomenon: earlier civil wars, such as in England (1642–1645 and 1648) and the United States (1861–1865), though bloody and destructive, were not accompanied by a genocidal level of violence (though France's revolutionary experience in the Vendée during the period 1793–1795 would tend to suggest that the establishment of clear rules around this is a task fraught with inconsistency). The aftermath of a destructive civil war can be just as traumatic for a state as the war itself, particularly if it has been accompanied by genocidal destruction, as postgenocide agendas are frequently difficult to achieve owing to the divisions—often reinforced or entrenched—wrought by the conflict.

Class. Social rank; a group sharing basically the same economic and social status; common status with others in a particular economic or social level of society; those who have approximately the same level of education, resources, wealth, and ability and/or opportunity to gain certain types of employment and obtain economic resources and power.

Classification of Genocides in Multiple Categories. According to the 1948 United Nations Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (UNCG), Article 2, “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: (a) causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group; (b) deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part; (c) forcibly transferring children of the group to another group; (d) imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group; and (e) killing members of the group.” The two main groups omitted from the above are political and social groups, which was the result of compromise between various states developing the convention in the post–World War II years, leading up to the final version of the UNCG resolved by the UN General Assembly. (Other groups not addressed, for example, include sexual and sexual preference groups.) Much scholarly debate has taken place since 1948 in an attempt to, paradoxically, both expand and limit the definition of genocide, all in an attempt to clarify what the world community understands by the term *genocide*.

“Clearing the Bush.” A euphemism used by extremist Hutu prior to and during the 1994 Rwandan genocide to denote the murdering of Tutsi and the destruction of their homes.

Clinton's Apology, Rwandan Genocide. In 1998, four years after the world community passively watched as 500,000 to 1 million Tutsi and moderate Hutu were slain in a hundred-day period, former U.S. president Bill Clinton flew to Rwanda and, never leaving the airport, offered a typical Clintonesque statement that presented a tortuously perverse sense of the facts as he offered an “apology” to the Rwandan people for the international community's lack of action during the course of the genocide. More specifically, he said: “We in the United States and the world community did not do as much as we could have and should have done to try to limit what occurred. It may seem strange to you here, but all over the world there were people like me sitting in offices, day after day, who did not fully appreciate the depth and the speed with which you were being engulfed by this unimaginable terror.” The truth, however, is that from the outset of the genocide, newspapers that Clinton, his staff, and his appointees must have read reported the mass killing that was taking place in Rwanda. For example, three days into the killing, “[an] April 9 front-page

Washington Post story quoted reports that the Rwandan employees of the major international relief agencies had been executed ‘in front of horrified expatriate staffers.’ On April 10, a *New York Times* front-page article quoted the Red Cross claim that ‘tens of thousands were dead, 8,000 in Kigali alone and that corpses were in the houses, in the streets, everywhere.’ The *Post*, the same day, led its front-page story with a description of ‘a pile of corpses six feet high’ outside the main hospital” (Power, 2002, p. 356). There were also, of course, the regular updates that any U.S. president receives on a daily basis from a variety of intelligence sources.

“**CNN Effect**” (also commonly referred to as “**CNN Factor**”). The “CNN effect” refers to the impact of the media (and particularly twenty-four-hour news covering all parts of the globe) to both inform and ostensibly influence public opinion about major conflicts and/or humanitarian disasters. It also refers to the debatable issue as to whether the CNN effect provides the public with the leverage to prod the international community to address and ameliorate, in some way, the conflict/disaster. The term itself refers to the first television station, CNN, to provide twenty-four-hour coverage of global events.

Coalition for an International Criminal Court (CICC). The CICC was formed by the more than one hundred nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) that were officially represented at the Rome Conference (June and July 1998), which was held to finalize the International Criminal Court Statute. Though the NGOs lacked the rights and privileges of the individual nations (some 162) represented at the conference (meaning that they had no vote and were not even allowed to observe the major informal negotiations that were taking place), their presence was significant in that they carefully followed the many and intense negotiations, provided technical expertise to national delegates, and wrote and distributed papers on major issues. Ultimately, the various NGOs worked together through the CICC in order to maximize their impact, reach, and effectiveness.

Coalition for International Justice (CIJ). CIJ, which had offices in Washington, D.C., and The Hague, was an international, nonprofit nongovernmental organization (NGO) that supported the international war crimes tribunals for Rwanda (ICTR) and the former Yugoslavia (ICTY) and justice initiatives in East Timor, Cambodia, and elsewhere. CIJ initiated and conducted advocacy and public education campaigns, targeting decision makers in Washington and other capitals, the media, and the public. Working with other NGOs in Washington and elsewhere, CIJ helped to focus and maximize the impact of individual and collective advocacy. In the field, CIJ provided practical assistance on legal, technical, and outreach matters to the tribunals and/or justice initiatives. During the summer of 2004, CIJ headed up the Darfur Atrocities Documentation Project, which collected evidence for the U.S. State Department in order to ascertain whether genocide had been perpetrated in Darfur, Sudan, against the Massaleit, Fur, and Zaghawa peoples. Using the outcomes of the analysis of the data, U.S. Secretary of State Colin Powell declared that genocide had been perpetrated by the government of Sudan and the *Janjaweed* (Arab militia). CIJ shut down in 2006, having completed the tasks it initially set out to do.

Coalition Pour la Défense de la République (CDR) (French, Coalition for the Defense of the Republic). A Rwandan political party established in February 1992. Composed of radical members of the *Mouvement Révolutionnaire Nationale pour le Développement* (MRND), the CDR has been described as “Rwanda’s version of the Ku Klux Klan” (i.e., racist, extremist, and hateful). The party was founded by three extreme anti-Tutsi

Hutu ideologues: a former member of the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF) who had defected, Jean Shyirambere Barahinura (b. 1956); Jean-Bosco Barayagwiza (b. 1950), who was a senior executive at *Radio-Télévision Libre des Mille Collines* (RTLM), Rwanda's anti-Tutsi hate radio station; and founder-owner of the radical newspaper *Kangura*, Hassan Ngeze (b. 1961). The latter two were later tried before the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda owing to their anti-Tutsi hate pronouncements through the media arms they controlled. The party was exclusively Hutu, to the extent that a person with even one Tutsi grandparent was denied membership. It was also extremely violent; a party militia movement, the *Impuzamugambi* (those with a single purpose), was established expressly for the purpose of harassing, assaulting, and, ultimately, murdering Tutsi wherever they could be found. The viciousness of this movement was acknowledged by many as being more extreme than that of its much larger partner-in-genocide, the *Interahamwe*. Initially supportive of Rwandan president Juvenal Habyarimana (1937–1994), CDR became an opposition party when it decided that he was too moderate. Ultimately, the CDR became fervently opposed to Habyarimana's rapprochement with the RPF during 1993 and early 1994 and was in the forefront of those undermining his authority after the signing of the Arusha Accords on August 4, 1993. In fact, the leaders of the CDR adamantly refused to sign, and thus abide by both the Arusha Peace Agreement and Statement of Ethics, and as a result were denied the right to join the transitional government composed of representatives of the three main factions: President Habyarimana's *Mouvement Révolutionnaire National pour le Développement* (MRND) and its allies, the internal opposition parties, and the RPF. Essentially, the CDR wanted no part in a multiethnic and multiparty democracy in Rwanda. Unsurprisingly, after Habyarimana's assassination on April 6, 1994, the CDR entered into a coalition with the MRND interim government that was formed to "deal" with the "emergency" that, it was claimed by Hutu extremists across the country, had been instigated by the Tutsi. Through the *Impuzamugambi*, the CDR became a major participant in the Rwandan tragedy, a criminal organization that played a key role in the fastest genocide in the twentieth century.

Coercive Diplomacy (also referred to as Coercive Inducement). Coercive diplomacy refers to the concept of diplomacy that places pressure on the leaders in a targeted state to rethink the costs and benefits of policies that have been deemed illegal or highly questionable by the international community. The concept of coercive diplomacy is predicated on a "carrots and sticks" approach to diplomacy or one that comprises a commixture of inducements for compliance as well as punitive measures for noncompliance. Such an approach assumes that a "targeted state" is more likely to comply with sanctions if it receives positive incentives as it proceeds along the road to full compliance. Ultimately, the approach of coercive diplomacy is to persuade versus using overwhelming force. It may make use of diverse means—including but not limited to politico-diplomatic, economic, and military—to bring about the desired behavior.

Cold War. Subsequent to World War II, the victorious Allies divided into two "armed camps" based on ideological, economic, and political differences, with the United States, Britain, and their allies (the so-called Western bloc) on one side and the Soviet Union and its allies (the so-called Eastern bloc) on the other. While the Western bloc espoused democracy and capitalism, the Eastern bloc practiced totalitarianism and socialism. The term *Cold War* was itself first used by U.S. presidential adviser Bernard Baruch (1870–1965) in 1947, its "coldness" referring to the lack of open military conflict. The

Cold War was a reality for over fifty years, up until the breakup of the Soviet Union in the early 1990s.

Periodically, tensions heated up—for example, the Korean War (1950–1953), the Vietnamese conflict (1962–1975), the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan (1979–1988)—but they never escalated into full-scale armed conflict between the two blocs. In various situations, one or the other, and sometimes both, used proxies to fight their battles against one another.

The Cold War was further fueled by mutual distrust and suspicion, coupled with aggressive intelligence-gathering activities; overt propaganda praising one's own position while deprecating the other's; and the race for space and military (particularly, nuclear) technological supremacy. At that time, the world was confronted by an enormous number of bewildering stresses and strains: economic boom and bust, decolonization and wars of liberation, social protest and sweeping calls for change. And, as each became a major nuclear power and developed ever more sophisticated nuclear weapons, the tension between the two nations grew, risking the gravest threat of all, mutually assured total nuclear destruction. Scholars of the Cold War tend to view it in three phases: 1947–1953, 1953–1962, and 1962–1991.

At the same time, both nations were embroiled in a fierce competition to sway other states to their policies, particularly in the Third World or those new nations that were spawned as a result of the end of colonialism. Throughout the Third World, the United States and the Soviet Union supported different states (by supplying the latter with weapons, training, and even manpower) in proxy wars.

The Cold War may also be perceived on an ideological level as a political conflict between the leaders of the two superpowers, the United States and Soviet Russia. That is to say, Presidents Harry S. Truman (1884–1972), Dwight D. Eisenhower (1890–1969), and John F. Kennedy (1917–1963) saw themselves in staunch opposition to the expansionist policies of Joseph Stalin (1878–1953) and Nikita Khrushchev (1894–1971). With the rise to Soviet leadership of Leonid Brezhnev (1907–1982), Mikhail Gorbachev (b. 1931), and Boris Yeltsin (1931–2007), an “East-West thaw” began to surface, a new openness began to set in, and capitalism began to assert itself in Russia coupled with the diminishing of the political and military stranglehold of the Communist Party, all of which led to the ultimate demise of the Soviet Union. Although such quasi-democratic policies remain in effect under the leadership of Vladimir Putin (b. 1952), a former KGB secret police official who became president of Russia in 1999, there are troubling hints of a creeping return to the right and a certain nostalgia, not yet widespread, for the so-called glory days of Soviet power and strength.

At the United Nations, the fact of the Cold War often resulted in the two superpowers waging their Cold War via their votes within the UN Security Council. One result was that there was often a stalemate in regard to taking action to stave off a potential genocidal situation or to staunch one that had broken out. Put another way, the objectives of those who had shaped the post-1945 agenda to reduce or prevent genocide became diluted at this time, as the major powers and the United Nations found that other issues (primarily their own survival) became more of a priority. In turning a blind eye here and there for the purpose of accommodating allies or potential allies, the great powers allowed dictatorial or authoritarian rulers literally to get away with mass murder on the domestic scene. The second half of the twentieth century, as

a result, began to appear as nothing other than a continual period of massacres and genocidal killing—in large wars, small wars, civil wars, and sometimes where there was no war at all. A number of these, such as in Biafra, Bangladesh, Burundi, Cambodia, and East Timor, stand out as models of what the world became during the period of the Cold War. Indeed, the Cold War was a period that had a devastating effect on post-1945 hopes that a new, nongenocidal regime could be created throughout the world. It showed with great clarity that the world's major players only paid lip service to their postwar commitment to “never again” stand by while genocide took place. With the breakup of the Soviet Union between 1989 and 1991, the Cold War came to an end. Although some believed that the world would be a safer place in the aftermath of the Cold War, they were quickly dispelled of that notion when both civil war and genocide quickly became regular features of the 1990s and early 2000s.

Collaborators. The term *collaborators* refers not to those individuals who are the primary perpetrators of a genocide but rather to those who willfully aid the perpetrators in one way or another—including providing political, economic, administrative, or military support to the perpetrator group and/or through such actions as spying on, reporting on, locating, and/or killing the “target” or victim population.

Collective Intervention. Collective intervention is the intrusion by more than one outside power (two or more countries or an intergovernmental organization such as the United Nations and a regional organization such as NATO) into a sovereign nation's so-called internal or territorial matters. The intrusion or intervention can take various forms, from the issuing of sanctions on the country (e.g., arms embargoes, trade embargoes, the freezing of financial assets overseas) to the insertion of peacekeeping troops and from the imposition of “no-fly zones” over part of the country to carrying out battle operations.

Collective Responsibility, Imposition of by Nazis. Once the Nazis were in control of various jurisdictions (e.g., towns, ghettos, villages, nations) throughout occupied Europe in the late 1930s and early to mid-1940s, they imposed severe restrictions and punishments against those who sought to resist. Acts of sabotage, military strikes by partisans, and the like against the Nazis oftentimes resulted in retaliatory deaths of disproportionate numbers of those who bore no direct responsibility for such acts. An example of such treatment occurred on June 10, 1942, when the Nazis razed the village of Lidice, killing most of the male population and deporting the women and children to concentration camps, as a reprisal for the assassination, just days before, of the Reich Protector of Bohemia, Reinhard Heydrich (1904–1942). The people of Lidice had nothing to do with the assassination but suffered the brunt of the Nazis' rage and retributive actions.

Collectivization. The term *collectivization* refers to

the process used by Soviet authorities prior to and during the 1932–33 Soviet man-made famine of Ukraine to consolidate individual peasant holdings into centralized collective farms, theoretically owned by the peasant-members, but actually controlled by the state. It constituted total collectivization of agriculture on the basis of the liquidation of the kulaks as a class . . . [The] peasants were forced to sign up voluntarily as members of the new collective farms, which seemed to many to be indistinguishable from the pre-emancipation serf states (U.S. Commission on the Ukraine Famine, 1988, p. 229).

As for the term *kulak*, it was officially used by Soviet officials “to refer to a rural capitalist who hired labor, a generic rural class enemy, or a member of the upper socio-economic

stratum of the village” (U.S. Commission on the Ukraine Famine, 1988, p. 230). During the 1932–1933 Soviet man-made famine in Ukraine, the term *kulak*, however, was used to refer to anyone, no matter how poor, that the Soviet officials wished to disenfranchise. In fact, if the “‘class enemy’ marked for ‘liquidation’ was too poor for the term *kulak* to be used, he would be disenfranchised as a subkulak” (U.S. Commission on the Ukraine Famine, 1988, p. 230).

Colonial Genocide. The process of colonization of a territory or nation by another, especially involving incursions of European states into the Americas, Asia, Africa, and Australasia, has often been characterized by violent confrontation, deliberate massacre, wholesale annihilation, and, in several instances, genocide. Many indigenous peoples in these continents have been completely, or almost completely, wiped out since the expansion of Europe began in the sixteenth century—among such, for example, were the Yuki of California, the Beothuk of Newfoundland, the Pallawah (indigenous peoples) of Tasmania, and the Hereros of Namibia. Most countries throughout the world today have been involved with or impacted by colonialism in way or another, either as Western imperialists or as First World or Third World actors who were the object of the imperialists’ incursions. It is vitally important, therefore, that care is taken when employing the term *genocide* relative to colonial expansion: each and every claim must be assessed individually and on its merits. In some instances, genocide might be unequivocal; in others, despite a sudden or enormous population collapse, an intent on the part of the colonizers for this to happen might not have been present. Often, populations declined as a result of diseases that arrived with the colonizers, but the deaths that occurred were not anticipated. Elsewhere, lethal diseases were deliberately introduced for the purpose of wiping out a population. In most cases, if we were to generalize (not an easy task over five centuries and spanning most of the globe), it could be said that colonial expansion saw attempts at clearing the land of indigenous populations (which could result in genocidal episodes); of forcibly assimilating the indigenous populations for racial, religious, or ethnic reasons; or of intimidating indigenous populations such that they would seek to retreat before the advance of the colonizers. It is through the need for terminological precision that many aggrieved former colonial populations today are dissatisfied with existing definitions of *genocide* and reject the term as a Western construct that excludes their national subjugation and attendant suffering.

Colonialism. A form of political control by one state over another, frequently characterized by the establishment of settler communities that can result in the displacement, absorption, or destruction of preexisting indigenous communities. Colonialism was largely responsible for reshaping the demographic composition of vast areas of the world’s surface from the sixteenth to the twentieth centuries, particularly in North and South America, southern Africa, and Australasia. On these continents, huge numbers of settlers from European states left their homelands to start new outgrowth communities or to reinforce those of their kin already there. In so doing, they took over the land (sometimes quite brutally) already occupied by indigenous populations. Genocidal massacres of the latter were not infrequent, and ongoing oppression or neglect has, in numerous cases, persisted up to the present day.

Colonialism, as it impacts upon indigenous populations, has also led to the suppression of local languages, religions, and folkways, as the settlers look for ways to consolidate their rule and ward off perceived threats to the physical expansion of their territory in the new land. Colonialism is different from imperialism (with which it is often confused), prima-

rily because in the latter case state control may exist without a physical presence (such as a permanent settler population) needing to be present. In both instances, however, the human cost can be devastating and long-lasting for the indigenous populations being taken over by the colonizing or imperialist power.

Command Responsibility. Command responsibility refers to the fact that a person who gives the order to commit war crimes, crimes against humanity, or genocide is as responsible as the person actually committing the crime(s). This principle applies both to military superiors (within regular and irregular armed forces) and to civilian authorities. A superior is, moreover, individually responsible for war crimes, crimes against humanity, and genocide committed by his or her subordinates if he or she (the superior) knew, or had information at the time which should have enabled him or her to conclude, that his or her subordinates were about to commit or were committing such an act and (the superior) neglected to take all feasible measures to prevent or repress the act. Military commanders, though, are not absolutely responsible for all offenses committed by their subordinates. Isolated offenses may be committed over which the commanding officer has no knowledge or control.

Commission for Historical Clarification. The Commission for Historical Clarification (more commonly referred to as the Truth Commission) is the United Nations–sponsored commission that was developed and implemented to provide a forum for the victims of the thirty-six-year Guatemalan conflict to tell their stories in order to finally break the curtain of silence that had smothered any discussion about the massacres perpetrated by the military and army-sponsored death squads throughout the 1980s and 1990s. In February 1999, the Truth Commission issued a report that concluded, in part, that

these massacres and the so-called scorched earth operations, as planned by the State, resulted in the complete extermination of many Mayan communities, along with their homes, cattle, crops and other elements essential to survival. The CEH registered 626 massacres attributable to these forces.

. . . The CEH concludes that the events referred to herein are grave violations of international human rights law whose precepts the Guatemalan State has been committed to respect since it approved the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the American Declaration of the Rights and Obligations of Man in 1948. The fundamental principles of human rights have achieved the category of international customary law.

The gravity of this conclusion is accentuated by the fact that some of these violations, especially arbitrary executions, forced disappearances and torture, were repeated throughout the entire internal armed confrontation, at some stages becoming systematic. This obliges the authorities of the Guatemalan State to accept historical responsibility for these violations before the Guatemalan people and the international community.

. . . The legal framework adopted by the CEH to analyse the possibility that acts of genocide were committed in Guatemala during the internal armed confrontation is the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, adopted by the United Nations General Assembly on 9 December 1948 and ratified by the Guatemalan State by Decree 704 on 30 November 1949.

Considering the series of criminal acts and human rights violations which occurred in the regions and periods indicated and which were analysed for the purpose of determining whether they constituted the crime of genocide, the CEH concludes that the reiteration of destructive acts, directed systematically against groups of the Mayan population, within which can be mentioned the elimination of leaders and criminal acts against minors who could not possibly have been military targets, demonstrates that the only common denominator for all the victims was the fact that they belonged to a specific ethnic group and makes it evident that these acts were committed “with intent to destroy, in whole or in part” these groups (Article II, first paragraph of the Convention).

Among acts aimed at the destruction of Mayan groups, identified by the Army as the enemy, “killings” deserve special mention (Article II.a of the Convention), the most significant of which were the massacres. The CEH has verified that in the four regions studied, between 1981 and 1983, agents of the State committed killings which were the most serious acts in a series of military operations directed against the non-combatant civilian population. In accordance with the testimonies and other elements of evidence collected, the CEH has established that, both regular and special Army forces, as well as Civil Patrols and military commissioners, participated in those killings characterised as massacres. In many cases, the survivors identified those responsible for directing these operations as being the commanders of the nearest municipal military outposts.

Committee of Jurists. In 1920 the Committee of Jurists, which was appointed by the League of Nations, proposed the establishment of an International Criminal Court “to try crimes constituting a breach of international public order or against the universal law of nations.” This suggestion by international lawyers was dismissed by professional diplomats of the day. The concept of an International Criminal Court (ICC) was revived at the end of the twentieth century and became a reality at the beginning of the twenty-first century. The ICC is based at The Hague.

Committee of Union and Progress (CUP). In Turkish, *Ittihad ve Terakki Cemiyeti*. This was a political movement formed in 1895 in the Ottoman Empire. From its Turkish name, members of the committee became known as *Ittihadists* (Unionists). The movement was dedicated to the radical development of a new Turkish nationalism that was effectively based on a model of racial exclusion that did not permit the possibility of an ethnically or religiously pluralistic state. The CUP was the most powerful of a loose coalition of Ottoman progressives known as the Young Turks, which seized power from Sultan Abdul Hamid II (1842–1918; reigned 1876–1909) in a coup d’état in 1908. Following the disastrous Balkan War of 1912, the CUP staged a coup of its own in 1913 in which it assumed complete power and began the process of modernizing the empire. With the onset of the Great War or World War I (which Turkey entered in 1914 on the side of Germany and Austria-Hungary), the CUP leaders saw an opportunity to unite the Turks of the empire by waging the military war and simultaneously engaging in a racial and religious conflict against the empire’s Christian population. The subsequent Armenian genocide (1915–1923) claimed the lives of up to 1.5 million Armenians and a further 350,000 Pontic Greeks and 275,000 Assyrians. The ancient Christian communities in Turkey were destroyed forever. With the Allied military defeat of the Ottoman Empire in October 1918, the leading Ittihadists either fled into exile or were arrested and put on trial by Allied-directed tribunals. With the exception of some minor officials of the CUP, almost all of the leadership escaped formal justice at the end of the war, though several—including Mehemet Talaat Pasha (1874–1921), Ismail Enver Bey (1881–1922), and Ahmed Djemal Pasha (1872–1922)—were assassinated by Armenians-in-exile soon after they (the former CUP leaders) had fled Turkey prior to its occupation by the allies. The death knell of the movement came in 1926, when a new republican nationalist government suppressed the last vestiges of the existing party structure and executed its leaders for treason.

Committee on Conscience (COC). The COC was conceptualized in the mid-1980s, at the same time that the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum (USHMM) was being planned. The COC began operation in 1999, as an arm of the USHMM, for the express purpose of alerting the national conscience, influencing policy makers, and stimulating worldwide action to confront and work to halt acts of genocide or related crimes

against humanity. In 2000, the COC issued a genocide warning in regard to a situation in Sudan, where, the committee asserted, “starvation was being used as a weapon of destruction,” which, in part, with other offenses, was “threatening the existence of entire groups.” In 2004, the COC declared that the plight of the black Africans of Darfur and the attacks being carried out against them by government of Sudan troops and the *Janjaweed* (Arab militia) constituted a genocide emergency.

Communism. A political ideology and economic system that advocates a society devoid of social classes, or differences based on wealth or possessions. The communist ideal sees the withering away of states, such that all people live in a harmonious world where national boundaries no longer exist. The most fundamental identifying feature of communism is its advocacy of worker (i.e., proletarian) control of the means of production, within an urban-industrialized social environment, and a forced repression of those who either stand in the way of the realization of such an ideal or come from a class seen as holding back those who seek it (most specifically, the industrial bourgeoisie, or middle class). Communism is thus an extreme form of the broader socialist movement. Although the term was first introduced by Karl Marx (1818–1883) and Friedrich Engels (1820–1885) in the aftermath of the failed 1848 revolutions in Europe in their pamphlet *The Communist Manifesto*, issued in 1848, it was the Russian revolutionary leader Vladimir Ilyich Ulyanov, known as Lenin (1870–1924), who gave the ideology its modern expression as an intolerant, repressive, and potentially (when not actually) genocidal political force in the modern world. Whereas in many states classical socialism evolved into social democracy, working within a democratic political structure, in others it took on a revolutionary form of communism, first in Russia (1917) and then in many other countries supported by a Russia reconstituted as the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR); after World War II (1939–1945), these nations included Poland, Hungary, Romania, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, and East Germany. Other states that were successful in imposing a more distinctive, indigenous but still totalitarian form of communist regime were Yugoslavia, Albania, North Korea, China, Cambodia, Vietnam, and Cuba, among others. In most cases, the revolutionary nature of communism saw the new regimes tear down existing socioeconomic structures using brutal, even exterminatory, methods.

Compassion Fatigue. Compassion fatigue (which is also referred to as donor fatigue) is a concept that some use to explain a lack of interest in or concern about humanitarian emergencies, including genocide. More specifically, it suggests that the international community, regional organizations, and/or individual states are hesitant, tentative, or unwilling to effectively address a conflict or humanitarian crisis. The tentativeness and/or unwillingness to provide such assistance is due to numerous factors, including but not limited to the sheer number of crises erupting across the globe; the endless, and ultimately overwhelming, expectation to address each and every crisis; along with the sense that not every single one can be addressed adequately and thus some sort of “triage” must be undertaken.

Conversely, both terms are also used to attempt to explain why individuals and/or nations over time seem to care less and provide less assistance when such emergencies crop up. The terms also suggest that donors may have become so overwhelmed by the ever-increasing humanitarian emergencies in the world and their concomitant needs that they either cut back their giving or cut out giving entirely.

Complementarity Principle. The complementarity principle refers to the notion that political leaders and military officers who perpetrate crimes that are universally

condemned as war crimes, crimes against humanity, or genocide must, upon capture, be tried for their crimes in a national court, and if they are not tried therein, no matter the reason is, then the defendant must be tried before an international court. Inherent in the complementarity principle is the notion of comity or the informal and voluntary recognition by courts of one jurisdiction of the laws and judicial decisions of another. Essentially, this means that the international community gives priority to national courts to respond to, for example, a case of genocide within its purview, but it also means that if the nation's justice system does not act, then the international system can step in and try the defendants.

Complex Humanitarian Emergency (CHE). CHE refers to a multidimensional conflict or crisis that involves, in one form or another, economic, political, and/or social destabilization. It often involves some combination of forced dispersal of people, intrastate violent conflict (if not outright war), and hunger (if not outright starvation).

“Comrade Duch” (b. 1942). Comrade Duch (sometimes spelled *Deuch*) was the revolutionary nickname of Khang Khék Iev, a communist leader of Cambodia during the regime of Pol Pot (1925–1998) and the Khmer Rouge, between 1975 and 1979. A teacher of mathematics, he joined the Communist Party of Kampuchea (CPK) in 1967; in 1970 he became a revolutionary fighter in the Khmer Rouge, opposing the rule of Cambodian military strongman Lon Nol (1913–1985). His immediate superior, Vorn Vet (c. 1934–1978), saw the potential for Khang/Duch to serve as a committed warden over political prisoners captured by the Khmer Rouge during the civil war (1970–1975). He was appointed as deputy head of the Santebal, the special branch of the security police, under the leadership of Son Sen (1930–1997), and later became head of the Santebal in his own right. Ultimately, Khang/Duch became commander of a number of prisons but is best known as the director of the notorious Tuol Sleng prison, code-named S-21, in Phnom Penh. Under his direction, Tuol Sleng became a byword for Khmer Rouge brutality; at least sixteen thousand prisoners were incarcerated there between 1975 and 1979, and all—save seven, who outlived the regime—perished by torture or execution. Comrade Duch's viciousness extended to party members considered to have been disloyal; to male and female civilians denounced by party cadres for not being supportive enough of the communist revolution; and even to small children, the family members of those already apprehended. After the fall of the Khmer Rouge government to invading Vietnamese forces in January 1979, Duch (who was the last high-ranking Khmer Rouge leader to leave Phnom Penh in the face of the invasion) made his way to Cambodia's western border region with Thailand and from there moved on to China. In Beijing he worked as a broadcaster with Radio China International. In 1991 he returned to Cambodia, and in 1995 he converted to Christianity. In 1999 he surrendered to Cambodian authorities in Phnom Penh, and he has been in detention ever since, awaiting trial.

Concentration Camps, Bosnian War. During the Bosnian War of 1992–1995, a network of what can only be described as concentration camps was established by the Bosnian Serbs. Their purpose was literally to concentrate in designated areas large numbers of Bosnian Muslims, in particular, but also Bosnian Croats. The camps varied in size and style: some were rudimentary, temporary affairs such as guarded warehouses, schools, or factories that had been pressed into service; others were more developed and ranged across a number of buildings surrounded by barbed wire, displaying what are now normally accepted characteristics of all such camps. The best-known camps, whose infamy and

notoriety became widespread throughout the region, were Omarska, Keraterm, Trnopolje, Partizan Sports Hall, Manjaca, Brcko-Luka, and Susica. There were many others. Several of the camp commandants were indicted by the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY) for genocide, crimes against humanity, and war crimes. The latter included Zeljko Meakic (b. 1964) from the Omarska camp; Dragan Nikolic (b. 1957), known as “Jenki,” from the Susica camp; and Simo Drljaca (b. 1947) and Milan Kovacevic (b. 1941), known as “Miko,” who were charged with having “planned, organized and implemented the creation of Omarska, Keraterm and Trnopolje” camps. Most of those held in the Serb concentration camps were civilians (though at Manjaca and Brcko, the latter were mixed in with military prisoners) who were subjected regularly to killings and torture (and frequently the two were combined). In camps set up specifically to house women, mass rape was the primary purpose behind their concentration in these locations. When the first news stories about these places were brought to a stunned world by trail-blazing Western journalists such as British *Guardian* reporter Ed Vulliamy and *New York Newsday* journalist Roy Gutman, analogies were made immediately with the Nazi camps of a previous era, particularly when newsreel footage and photographs were published showing starved, emaciated men—walking skeletons—staring back at the cameras from haunted eyes. The camps were not, however, extermination camps in the Nazi sense, as there was no intention on the Serbs’ part to annihilate every Bosnian Muslim or Croat. Nonetheless, at least ten thousand prisoners lost their lives in these camps, innumerable injuries were inflicted in various ways, and mass rape was both frequent and deliberately carried out for reasons that can be termed genocidal. Some of the camps had an informal status and were run by local militias, but most were staffed and operated by military and police personnel. The chain of command stretched back, through the army, to military commander Ratko Mladic (b. 1942) and the president of the Bosnian Serbs, Radovan Karadzic (b. 1945).

Concentration Camps, Holocaust. Penal institutions employed in German and German-occupied territories for the incarceration of real and perceived opponents of the Nazi regime (1933–1945). The Nazi concentration camp system began at the very start of the Third Reich with the establishment of Dachau, in March 1933, and many more followed in the ensuing months and years. In mid-1934, an Inspectorate of Concentration Camps was created to coordinate the diverse camps throughout the Reich, with Theodor Eicke (1892–1943) as first inspector. He selected Dachau as the model by which all concentration camps were to be run, resulting in many of the earlier, more haphazardly built camps (“Wilde-KZ”) being closed down. By early 1938, only three camps were operating: Dachau, Buchenwald, and Sachsenhausen. After the Anschluss (union) of Germany with Austria in March 1938, a camp in Austria, Mauthausen, was added. The onset of war in September 1939 saw the expansion of the concentration camp system to levels hitherto never before contemplated. Originally, the Nazis intended the concentration camp system to be a device for the suppression of political dissent. As the Third Reich expanded physically, the rationale for retention of the camps was broadened to include religious prisoners of conscience (Roman Catholic priests, Protestant clergy, Jehovah’s Witnesses); “racial” prisoners (Jews, Roma, and Sinti); “antisocial elements” (vagrants, itinerant merchants, and “work-shy individuals”); prisoners based on sexual preference (male homosexuals); foreign opponents of the Nazis (resistance fighters, political opponents); and prisoners of war (in particular, prisoners from the Soviet Union). In almost all cases, the

Nazis exploited the labor of their prisoners, often working them to death in conditions of utmost privation. In many of the camps, a separate compound for women was also built. In one case, an entire camp, Ravensbrück, exclusively housed women until almost the very end of the Third Reich.

Significantly, the concentration camp system underwent huge transformations over the twelve-year course of the Third Reich (1933–1945), until the camps were liberated by British, U.S., Canadian, and Soviet forces during 1944 and 1945. Literally millions had been incarcerated in the concentration camps, and hundreds of thousands (at least) had lost their lives at Nazi hands.

The image of the Nazi concentration camps has been confused in the popular consciousness by reference to the so-called *Vernichtungslager*, or extermination camps, created for the “Final Solution of the Jewish Question” (*Die Endlösung des Judenfrage*): Auschwitz-Birkenau, Lublin-Majdanek, Treblinka, Sobibor, Belzec, and Chelmno. It should be remembered, however, that the last four of these camps were not, strictly speaking, concentration camps in the accepted sense of the term, as they were not intended to house large numbers of people for any length of time: their sole purpose was factorylike annihilation, in which millions were murdered.

Concentration Camps, South African War. In October 1899 the British Empire found itself at war with the two Afrikaner republics of southern Africa, the South African Republic and the Orange Free State, known collectively as the Boer Republics. In December 1900 a strategy to win the war was introduced by the British military authorities. Henceforth, enemy sources of supply would be targeted along with the Boer forces themselves. As by this stage Boer towns had been captured, the only remaining foci of operations were Boer farmhouses and estates, which were often used as bases for the Boer guerrilla units. Responding to this situation, British Commander in Chief Lord Horatio Herbert Kitchener (1850–1916) ordered that Boer farms be destroyed and their inhabitants—for the most part women and children, owing to the fact that most men were then fighting in the field—be herded together and interned in what were termed “concentration camps.” These camps were an unmitigated humanitarian disaster from the first. Unsuitable locations, huge overcrowding, a thorough inadequacy of sanitary conditions and medical personnel, and unsatisfactory supply and poor quality of foodstuffs were just a few of the problems. These institutions were an amalgam of refugee and internment camps, but in concentrating together families from widely distant farms and towns they brought people into close contact who were often devoid of the necessary immunities from disease that urban living can promote. The upshot saw an unprecedented death rate. By the end of October 1901, it had risen to an average of 344 per 1,000 inmates across forty-six camps, though in some locations, at certain periods, it was nearly twice that number. At its height, the camp network confined 117,000 Boer women and children, but, by war’s end in 1902, some 27,000, mostly children, had died. Protests about this state of affairs were noisy in Britain and elsewhere, and efforts were made late in the war to alleviate the situation. The legacy of bitterness the camps created, however, lasts to this day, with some extremist Afrikaners (*Boerevolk*) claiming that the British actions were genocidal in that a projection of up to 3 million Afrikaners were not born in the century following the end of the South African War because of the population losses incurred by the concentration camps. It is also claimed that this was a deliberate policy on the part of the British government in order to depopulate the Afrikaner areas of South Africa and replace them with English

settlers. Though extreme and unfounded owing to the fact that the British strategy was military and not genocidal in intention, these allegations point to a deep and lasting existential anger that has not yet been reconciled.

Concordat (Latin, Agreement). Term used by the Roman Catholic Vatican and its papal leader for those treaties entered into with foreign governments. Prior to World War II, Pope Pius XI (1857–1939) signed one in 1929 with Italy under Benito Mussolini (1883–1945) and one in 1933 with Germany under Hitler (1889–1945). The purpose of these agreements was to guarantee the rights of their Roman Catholic citizens and the right of the Church itself to administer its own affairs and administrate its own properties. Neither the Nazis nor the Fascists upheld their end of these agreements as World War II began to drag on. Hitler's attack on Rome in 1943 and the unrealized plot to kidnap the incumbent pope, as well as Mussolini's own disregard for the papacy, are callous evidence of such disregard.

Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE). The OSCE, whose headquarters are located in Vienna, Austria, is the largest regional security organization in the world, with fifty-five participating states from Europe, Central Asia, and North America. It is active in early warning, conflict prevention, conflict management, and postconflict rehabilitation. The OSCE approach to security is comprehensive and cooperative: comprehensive in that it deals with a wide range of security-related issues, including arms control, preventive diplomacy, confidence- and security-building measures, human rights, democratization, election monitoring, and economic and environmental security; cooperative in the sense that all OSCE participating states have equal status, and decisions are based on consensus.

Confessional or Confessing Churches. Primarily organized by traditional Protestant clergy, these churches broke away from the German Protestant Evangelical Church because they refused—unlike the Evangelical Church itself—to accede to the primacy of the Nazi state over the Church and, equally, refused to accept the dominance of the racial laws instituted by the Nazis. In 1934 the Confessional Churches issued the Barmen Declaration, wherein they accused the state of bowing to idolatrous practices, yet they did not overtly condemn the antisemitic practices against the Jews. Among the more well-known leaders of the Confessing Church were Karl Barth, Dietrich Bonhoeffer, and Martin Niemöller. Throughout the Nazi period of political, military, economic, and social hegemony in Germany, the religious communities, of all denominations, found themselves increasingly disenfranchised, and their leadership cadres removed, oftentimes to the point of imprisonment and/or death.

Conflict Prevention Network (CPN). CPN provides the European Commission and the European Parliament with analyses and policy options vis-à-vis potential conflicts. CPN, which was established in January 1997, consists of a network of research institutes, nongovernmental organizations, and individual experts. Because CPN is part of the European Union's policy-making structure, its policy advice is confidential. However, CPN also organizes public seminars. It executes its task in cooperation with the *Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik* (SWP) in Ebenhausen, Germany.

Conflict Resolution and Genocide. Conflict resolution is a process whereby differences, disputes, disagreements, or conflicts are arbitrated in such a way that a settlement acceptable to all parties is arrived at. The ideal of those engaging in conflict resolution processes is to stop conflict before it leads to an escalation into physical engagement or, at worst,

combat. The process thus involves some form of negotiation (or, at the state-to-state level, diplomacy) via a mediating third party (or parties). In order for conflicting parties to engage in conflict resolution processes, both need to see that their goals can be realized without recourse to combat or physical confrontation. There must also be a willingness by the disputants to abide by the decisions rendered, including the acceptance of sanctions if appropriate. If conflict resolution is to be successful, the process must also take into account, as a first step, that each side is capable of renegotiating its relationship with the other in a peaceful manner. All too frequently in the past, ignoring this fundamental principle has been a major stumbling block to the attainment of conflict resolution (and hence, conflict avoidance). The International Court of Justice in The Hague, Netherlands, and the United Nations in New York (either the Security Council or General Assembly) are the most common venues for such deliberations.

In the specific case of genocide, however, the situation is complicated by the internal nature of the conflict and the unwillingness of sovereign nation-states to allow others, either individually or collectively, to intervene either prior to the actual genocide or early on in the mass killing. Thus, in order to bring the dominating power (i.e., government) and the victim group to the bargaining table, the United Nations and/or other regional organizations must bring to bear the spotlight of world opinion, economic or other sanctions, and limited military intervention, all in an attempt to speedily defuse a potentially escalating genocidal tragedy. In the cases of Bosnia (early to mid-1990s), Rwanda (early to mid-1990s), and Darfur, Sudan (2003 through today, 2007), such nonmilitary attempts at conflict resolution did not prove effective and, as a result, massive numbers of people were killed by the perpetrators.

Conquistadores (Spanish, conquerors). Term given to Spanish military adventurers and mercenaries who invaded and subdued large areas of Central and South America in the sixteenth century, overpowering indigenous nations and cultures in order to enrich themselves and the Spanish monarchy. The best known of the conquistadores were men such as Vasco Núñez de Balboa (1475–1519), Hernán Cortés (1485–1547), Francisco Pizarro (c. 1478–1541), Francisco de Orellana (c. 1511–1546), Francisco Vázquez de Coronado (1510–1554), and Fernando de Soto (c. 1496–1542). Military conquest of highly advanced peoples such as the Aztecs and the Incas was accompanied by massacre, physical destruction of native property (particularly livestock and crops), widespread use of terror, and, often, a resultant loss of the will to survive. The freebooting conquistadores were essentially hirelings of the Spanish king, equipped with commissions to conquer new territories, exploit their wealth, and enrich both the royal family and the entrepreneurs who backed them financially, back in Spain. While abroad and in the field, the conquistadores and their armies acted as a law unto themselves, suppressing all feelings of Christian humanity toward those they encountered. Wherever they went—and their range traversed thousands of miles throughout the Americas—they left carnage and slaughter in their wake, determined to maximize their opportunities for plunder and loot. Moreover, the conquistadores fought as religious fanatics in a holy war for the Roman Catholic Church, for which they sometimes received the blessing of priests in Spain and those based throughout the New World. The conquistadores were not agents of the Church, however; the priests and friars who often accompanied them did the work of converting the indigenous peoples conquered by the soldiers, but they could do so only after the military work of breaking the survivors' spirits had been completed. In short, the conquistadores

rampaged across the Americas, laying waste to all those they encountered, killing innocents by the tens and hundreds of thousands, and paving the road for subsequent conversion and colonization. Along the way, they enriched Spain to unsurpassed levels at the time, catapulting it into the first rank of European (and, through its overseas empire, world) powers.

Conspiracy. A made-for-television film jointly produced by the BBC and HBO in 2001. *Conspiracy* is a movie that dramatically brings to the screen the Wannsee Conference of January 20, 1942, in which leading Nazi bureaucrats and department heads in the Third Reich met to coordinate the details that put into practice the “Final Solution of the Jewish Question” (*Die Endlösung des Judenfrage*). Chaired by SS General Reinhard Heydrich (1904–1942), with minutes taken by SS Lieutenant Colonel Adolf Eichmann (1906–1962) and with many senior Nazis in attendance (such as Dr. Wilhelm Stuckart [1902–1952] and Dr. Roland Freisler [1893–1945], among others), the meeting revealed a plan for the complete industrialized mass murder of every Jew in Europe. *Conspiracy*, taking as its foundation the sole surviving record of the meeting, is an intimate movie in which nearly every scene takes place in the meeting room itself. The movie provides a psychological, cultural, and ideological profile of the Nazi thinking that contemplated the mass extermination of millions of people, and this is clearly the film’s greatest strength. The director, Frank Pierson (b. 1925), is positively clinical in permitting as little subjective emotion as possible to show through. His preferred strategy is to allow the words of the participants themselves to provoke the audience’s revulsion he seeks. As a penetrating snapshot into this definitive moment in the Nazi annihilation of the Jews of Europe, *Conspiracy* is an important work of cinematography. It won numerous awards, notably an Emmy for Kenneth Branagh (b. 1960) as Best Actor for his portrayal of Heydrich and a Golden Globe for Stanley Tucci (b. 1960) as Best Supporting Actor for his portrayal of Eichmann.

Contact Group. The Contact Group, which is composed of representatives from France, Germany, Russia, Italy, Great Britain, and the United States, was formed in April 1994. It was created when both the United States and Russia became major actors in the Bosnia peace-negotiating process, during which it was obvious that the previous efforts (beginning in late 1991) of the European Union (EU) and United Nations had not been effective.

The Contact Group met regularly in the 1990s, though informally (it had neither a secretariat nor staff personnel), to discuss its concerns and progress in peace-building efforts. It also addressed policies proffered by each nation regarding the Balkans and whether such efforts could be politically coordinated.

On July 24, 2006, representatives of various nations of the Contact Group met with the presidents of both Kosovo and Bosnia to discuss Kosovo’s future. A statement released on September 20, 2006, through the U.S. State Department, read as follows: “Ministers urge Kosovo’s provisional institutions of self-government and leaders of all of Kosovo’s communities to accelerate efforts to implement UN-endorsed standards, promote reconciliation and build trust among ethnic communities. . . . They renew their call on Belgrade to cease its obstruction of Kosovo Serb participation in the Kosovo’s instructions.” Continuing, the ministers stated that they “welcome efforts to prepare for the implementation of a settlement, including through a continued military presence to provide a safe and secure environment, and an international civilian presence to supervise implementation of and

ensure compliance with the settlement.” As of late 2007, the future of Kosovo remains unresolved.

Control Council Law No. 10. Appended to the Nuremberg Trials Final Report at the International Military Tribunal (IMT), which tried Nazi leaders and others for both war crimes and the waging of aggressive war at the conclusion of World War II, this document was entitled “Punishment of Persons Guilty of War Crimes, Crimes against Peace and against Humanity” and had as its stated purpose the following: “to establish a uniform legal basis in Germany for the prosecution of war criminals and other similar offenders other than those dealt with by the International Military Tribunal.” It consisted of five articles: (1) reaffirmation of the Moscow Declaration of October 30, 1943 (“Concerning Responsibility of Hitlerites for Committed Atrocities”), and the London Agreement of August 8, 1945 (“Concerning Prosecution and Punishment of Major War Criminals of European Axis”); (2) definition of “crimes against peace,” “war crimes,” “crimes against humanity,” and membership in criminal groups and organizations, and consequent punishments; (3) the responsibilities of the authorities in the various Zones of Occupation to bring such persons to trial; (4) the responsibilities of the authorities in the various Zones of Occupation regarding those residents in their zones whose crimes were committed outside of Germany; and (5) the necessity of speedy trials within a six-month period after incarceration of such persons. The document itself was signed in Berlin, Germany, on December 20, 1945, by representatives of the United States, Britain, France, and Soviet Russia.

Convention. The general term in international law for a formal written and legally binding international agreement vis-à-vis a specific matter of shared concern among states that creates legal obligations to which the actors/parties agree to adhere to and support. When used as a proper noun (*Convention*), the term is often used by genocide scholars to refer to the UN Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (UNCG), though in this regard *Convention* is generally used only after the complete title is first used.

Cordon Sanitaire. Cordon sanitaires are safe places established by regional organizations such as NATO or intergovernmental organizations such as the United Nations in order to provide sanctuary for civilians in areas of violent conflict. In certain cases, such places of safety work quite well (as in the case of the safe area established for the Kurds in northern Iraq following the Gulf War), but at other times they prove to be anything but safe and can result in an absolute disaster, particularly when they are not well guarded by troops with a strong mandate, as in the case of Srebrenica in July 1995 where an estimated seven thousand to eight thousand Muslim boys and men were rounded up and murdered by Serbian forces.

Cossacks, Genocide of. The Cossacks, a people from the area surrounding a broad expanse between the Don and Kuban rivers, first appeared as a settled and identifiable community in the sixteenth century. Owing to a generally held belief that the Cossacks were unswervingly loyal to the tsarist monarchy and the royal family, the Bolshevik regime of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin (1870–1924) saw the Cossack lands as a region likely to be conservative, even reactionary, and definitely opposed to the new government installed as a result of the Bolshevik Revolution of October 1917. To some extent, this was true in certain Cossack territories (though not in all), prompting the view in Bolshevik circles that the Cossacks would have to be physically suppressed or otherwise a threat

to the government would continue to exist in Russia's south. This was exacerbated by active Cossack support of the White Armies in the Russian Civil War. Resulting from the fall of the tsarist regime in February–March of 1917, the Cossacks had already lost both prestige and state protection; by December 1917 they were also classified by the Bolsheviks as *kulaks*, or wealthy peasants—and thus, as class enemies. On January 24, 1919, a secret resolution of the Bolshevik Party's Central Committee approved a program of “de-Cossackization”: “we must recognize as the only politically correct measure massive terror and a merciless fight against the rich Cossacks, who must be exterminated and physically disposed of, down to the last man.” Victims were to be selected in accordance with very broad, and often quite arbitrary, categories by Bolshevik police or other officials; in less than three months well over ten thousand individuals had been summarily executed. Rising up against this murderous policy, a Cossack army of thirty thousand men was formed and now joined the White Armies for their very survival. By February 1920 the Bolsheviks hit back in force. Tens of thousands of civilians lost their lives as Bolshevik divisions swept through the countryside burning villages, destroying houses, and gathering local inhabitants together in concentration camps. The so-called Red Terror, which the Bolsheviks applied throughout Russia, then hit the Cossacks especially hard, with a combination of scorched earth, starvation, collectivization, and “dekulakization” activities taking a huge toll. In short, the “de-Cossackization” campaigns of 1919 and 1920 claimed somewhere between three hundred thousand and five hundred thousand lives. The genocidal treatment meted out to the Cossacks—in part class-based, in part ethnic, and in part political—was an initial foretaste of what the rest of the country would experience under the Bolsheviks as they stabilized and centralized their rule and then began to remake society in accordance with their vision of the communist ideal.

Coughlin, Father Charles E. Roman (1891–1979). U.S. Roman Catholic priest from Little Flower Parish, Detroit, Michigan, notorious for his antisemitic invective throughout the 1930s and early 1940s. Dubbed “the radio priest” because of his weekly broadcasts of sermons on the radio (which he began as early as 1926), Coughlin was an early and enthusiastic supporter of U.S. president Franklin Delano Roosevelt (1882–1945) but turned against him when Roosevelt's sweeping reforms during the New Deal ostensibly went “too far.” Although Coughlin's major interest during the Depression years was economic rehabilitation and the amelioration of the conditions of unemployed Americans, his sermons increasingly adopted an antisemitic tone as the 1930s progressed. A populist, he inspired his listeners toward a hatred for Jews by attacking prominent Jewish figures and condemning Roosevelt for failing to drive “the money changers from the temple” and for “overstating” the extent to which Jews were being harassed in Germany. In 1936 he began publishing a weekly newspaper, *Social Justice*, in which he reprinted excerpts from the notorious antisemitic forgery *The Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion*. In 1938 he created an organization called the Christian Front, which won approving support from Irish Catholic Americans in considerable numbers. Christian Fronters, once the movement developed properly, were in the forefront of antisemitic activities in the United States and frequently conducted meetings at which Nazi and Fascist sympathizers were also present. Often such meetings would end with the Nazi salute. At such rallies, Christian Fronters were often called upon to “liquidate the Jews in America.” Above all this, Coughlin was lauded as the man of the moment, and he received support from diocese after diocese in New York, Boston, Chicago, and many other cities with large Irish and/or

Catholic populations. He was, at no time, publicly criticized by the archbishops in Brooklyn (which was a particularly influential diocese in the 1940s), Boston, or Chicago. At its height, Coughlin's radio program had a weekly listening audience of nearly 16 million, of whom 67 percent, in a poll, said they agreed strongly with his major claims. With the United States' entry into World War II, Coughlin was ordered by Attorney General Francis Biddle (1886–1968) to cease broadcasting, and he returned to his work as a parish priest in Detroit until his retirement and death in 1979.

Crimes against Humanity. A legal category within international law that identifies punishable offenses for gross violations of human rights, atrocities, and mass murder of noncombatant civilians. Such offenses are a relatively new category, largely the product of international human rights legislation enacted during the twentieth century. Often, crimes against humanity are bracketed alongside of war crimes, though they differ from war crimes in that they are not, for the most part, violations of the laws of war; indeed, crimes against humanity need not occur in wartime at all. A lengthy list of acts that can be considered as crimes against humanity include, but are not confined to, the following: murder, extermination, enslavement, deportation, imprisonment, torture, rape, and persecutions on political, racial, and religious grounds. Other inhumane acts not listed above can also be included, rendering crimes against humanity as an evolutionary category over which international (or, less likely, national) courts have some degree of discretion. There is no generally accepted definition of crimes against humanity, and, to date, no universal international legislation covering such crimes exists. Several groundbreaking initiatives have, however, placed the category of crimes against humanity in the forefront of major international humanitarian concern. For example, important case law precedents were created through the International Military Tribunal (IMT) at Nuremberg in 1946, when the category of crimes against humanity was actually listed as one of the four counts faced by the accused Nazi leaders. Since then, the category has been included in the articles establishing the International Criminal Tribunals for the Former Yugoslavia and Rwanda (ICTY and ICTR, respectively). On July 1, 2002, the International Criminal Court (ICC) was established at The Hague, and it incorporated a lengthy list of acts that were to be included as crimes against humanity. The category is, generally speaking, a useful one for covering acts that are not considered as genocide according to the UN Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (1948). Given that there is no universally recognized or binding definition of crimes against humanity, and that the term is therefore legally imprecise, heinous acts that cannot be prosecuted as genocide can be prosecuted as crimes against humanity. But the two categories are not interchangeable, and genocide is now usually considered to be a crime of greater magnitude.

Crimes of Universal Jurisdiction. Certain crimes—war crimes, crimes against humanity, and genocide—are considered *hostis humani generis* (an enemy of all mankind). In that regard, they are considered crimes of universal jurisdiction, which means that any nation has the right to try any perpetrator of such crimes, no matter where the crimes were committed.

Cromwell, Oliver (1599–1658). Lord Protector of England (1649–1658), parliamentarian, and military commander during and after the English Civil War (1642–1649). After the execution of King Charles I (1600–1649; reigned 1625–1649) on January 30, 1649, Cromwell turned the attention of Parliament to the ongoing and unresolved issue

of Ireland. An Irish rebellion against English rule had taken place in 1641, and since then the country had been ruled by Irish Catholic Confederates. In 1649, in the aftermath of Charles's execution, these same Irish Catholics entered into an alliance with English Royalists who had removed themselves to Ireland. In August 1649 Cromwell's Parliamentary forces, under his own command and that of his chief lieutenant, General Henry Ireton (1611–1651), invaded Ireland, with two major objectives in mind: defeating the Catholic and Royalist forces in the field and exacting lasting punishment against the Irish for the rebellion of 1641. Cromwell's invasion—in effect, a reconquest of Ireland—was accompanied by great brutality against both the military and civilian populations. Indeed, allegations in Ireland down to the present time have accused Cromwell's forces of engaging in war crimes and crimes against humanity, such that the invasion period is known informally in Ireland as *An Mallacht Cromail*, or “the curse of Cromwell.” Debate over Cromwell's impact on Ireland has been intense over the years, but a broad consensus has been reached which estimates that up to one-third of the preinvasion Irish population was destroyed through killing, hunger, disease, or expulsion under Cromwellian rule. Perhaps as many as half a million (and possibly more) Irish men and women lost their lives. The best known of many instances of unrelenting and total war against the Irish concerned the English siege of the port town of Drogheda, in September 1649. The siege itself was of short duration, Cromwell bringing overwhelming numbers to bear against the Irish—twelve thousand English troops against some three thousand defenders. Giving them the option of surrendering prior to assaulting the city (which was rejected), Cromwell, in accordance with the standard military practice of the day, issued an order to his troops that no quarter would henceforth be given once capture had been achieved. Almost all the defenders were massacred, as were any Catholic clergy that could be taken; many civilian townsfolk were also killed, prior to the town being looted and, in parts, put to the torch. Overall, the siege and fate of Drogheda became a byword for English brutality in Ireland, as it remains to this day. Cromwell remained lord protector—effectively, military dictator—of England until his death on September 3, 1658, having subjugated Ireland so thoroughly that it would take more than two and a half centuries for the country to be able to successfully regain its independence.

Cultural Genocide. A broad term that unavoidably overlaps other explanations for genocide. Even though the UN Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (1948) explicitly does not recognize a category of “cultural genocide”—thus rendering the term irrelevant in international law—cultural destruction can certainly take place that contributes to genocide as measured by other criteria. The term *culture*, broadly speaking, embraces such factors as language and literature, art, artifacts, and architectural monuments, as well as a common past—in short, all the concrete ingredients that help a group forge a collective identity. Were one to systematically destroy all or part of a group's cultural heritage, one could eventually weaken its group identity. Thus, the destruction of archives, libraries, and art galleries could seriously undermine a sense of a group's past. Similarly, loss of language could endanger a group's collective future. The targeting of ancient churches and libraries could easily weaken group morale and cause other psychological damage. Examples are many and diverse: U.S. Indian policy in the mid-nineteenth century, which forcibly transplanted whole nations from their ancestral lands; Nazis in Germany burning books by Jews in 1934 and synagogues in 1938; Stalin forbidding the use of the Ukrainian and Yiddish languages

and generally stamping out religious life throughout the USSR; the Khmer Rouge's utter obliteration of Cambodia's colonial past, together with all schools, temples, and religious practice; Bosnian Serbs consciously shelling the historic library of Sarajevo and destroying its precious collection of books and ancient manuscripts; and Croatians purposely destroying the ancient Turkish bridge in Mostar.

Cultural Revolution. The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, a mobilization of youth by Chinese Communist Party (CCP) Chairman Mao Zedong (1893–1976) designed to revitalize the Chinese revolution while rooting out those whom he considered to be a political threat, began in 1966. Various indications had led Mao to sense that China's revolutionary movement had begun to lose its vigor and that, as a result, some in the higher echelons were losing their confidence in his leadership. Mao's tactics to meet this twofold challenge were themselves dual in nature. First, he declared that the vitality of the revolution was ebbing because "counterrevolutionaries" and "bad elements" were "revising" communist doctrine and allowing capitalist influences to penetrate China; second, he cajoled his Red Guards—Chinese youth brought up on Mao's teachings, who were fanatically loyal to Mao himself—to denounce such elements and to purge them completely from the life of the country. This was the high tide (and the realization) of Mao's "personality cult," and for him it worked brilliantly. All over China, millions of Red Guards hastened to their task of renewing the revolution. Anything deemed to be "old" was disposed of. Denunciation of the "four olds"—old customs, old habits, old culture, and old thinking—paved the way for personal and physical destruction of limitless dimensions. Prominent figures, teachers, artists, and intellectuals of all sorts were publicly harangued, ridiculed, and shamed before mass crowds. Often, the latter were beaten, detained, and even executed. Hundreds of thousands of people, on the flimsiest of grounds, were sent to labor camps, where many died owing to maltreatment therein. At Mao's insistence, senior party leaders were dismissed and all state officials had to subject themselves to public "self-criticism" hearings in order to demonstrate their loyalty. Often such hearings descended into ritual humiliation sessions in which young Red Guards would go out of their way to abuse and degrade those who were "confessing" their crimes against the state. At one point, in many areas, it seemed as though Red Guard zealotry had gotten out of hand, as judicial processes were usurped, looting of whole villages (and even towns) became widespread, book burnings took place, normal policing was suspended and extensive killings occurred. Quite simply, Red Guard anarchy became the norm, with untold numbers killed and a new form of revolutionary terror unleashed upon the country. The Cultural Revolution began to subside only in the mid-1970s and was brought to an end with Mao Zedong's death in 1976.

Cultural Survival. Established in 1972, Cultural Survival's main goal is to help indigenous peoples and ethnic groups across the globe deal as equals in their relations with national and international societies. The Cultural Survival Center, the formal research arm of Cultural Survival, and the former Program on Nonviolent Sanctions were formally merged in January 1995 to consider the problems of dictatorship, war, terrorism, genocide, and oppression in the complex context of cultures and events that form the backdrop of many ongoing conflicts. The combined program is organized to address nonviolent alternatives for the preservation of all peoples and their cultures.

Culture of Impunity, Relationship to Genocide. Just after the founding of the United Nations and during the advent of the Cold War, a "culture of impunity" seemingly arose

in regard to holding perpetrators responsible for their commission of genocidal crimes and crimes against humanity. Who, for example, among the perpetrators of the Bangladeshi, Cambodian, and Kurdish genocides were ever held responsible? Even with the establishment of the International Criminal Court for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY) and the International Criminal Court for Rwanda (ICTR) and their numerous trials and convictions, many of the main fomenters of hate and perpetrators of genocidal actions in, for example, the former Yugoslavia are still free (e.g., Radovan Karadzic and Ratko Mladic, being two of the most noteworthy). It has taken the international community over twenty-five years to bring the Khmer Rouge (KR) to trial (trials might commence sometime in late 2007), and as a result many of the leaders of the KR have already died. Many in the international community hope that with the recent establishment of the International Criminal Court (ICC) the culture of impunity will slowly but surely dissolve. It is noteworthy that a major goal in establishing the ICC was to put an end to such impunity. In fact, the Rome Statute's preamble states, in part, that the international community is "determined to put an end to impunity for the perpetrators of these crimes" (meaning, in part, crimes against humanity and genocide).

CUSHRID Net. CUSHRID (an acronym for Canada-U.S. Human Rights Information and Documentation) Net was established in 1994 by Human Rights Information and Documentation Systems International (HURIDOCS), Amnesty International USA, Amnesty International Canada, and the American Association for the Advancement of Science (AAAS). The various purposes of the organization are as follows: facilitate the exchange of ideas and information between human rights organizations; establish uniform standards for human right documentation, information management, and information exchange; develop cooperative projects in the areas of documentation and information management to avoid duplication; provide training in various aspects of documentation and information management; and maintain contacts with information and documentation networks in other parts of the world.

Customary International Law. Customary international law refers to international laws that have evolved out of the constant and consistent practice of states and constitutes a set of conventions, patterns of behavior, and established norms considered binding on a community. Although such forms of conduct, rooted in customary routines, are not founded on legislation, they nevertheless can establish a basis for judicial decision making. In international law, the regulation of relations between states was, for many centuries, based on customary forms, some of which evolved from more formal treaties. The best known of these was the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648, which established and codified the modern states system that still prevails today. Yet, although customary laws in the international sphere can emerge out of previously negotiated treaties, it is just as accurate to say that often the opposite is also the case: formal international agreements, when contracted, are often based on long-held practices or restraints that have always prevailed but never been enacted. Thus, for example, atrocities such as crimes against humanity and genocide were not legislated in international law until the twentieth century, though the kinds of actions that are defined therein were traditionally not permitted in the relationships between nations (particularly in the Western tradition) as acceptable forms of conduct. The norms of customary international law thus derive their authority from their universal acceptance.

Formal international law, usually established through treaties or signed international conventions, differs from customary international law in that the former embodies specific

undertakings agreed to in an official prescribed context and binds the signatories into accepting clearly delineated liabilities or responsibilities.

Czechoslovakia and Ethnic Cleansing. At the end of World War II, the restored Czechoslovak government of Eduard Benes (1884–1948) instituted a policy of removing all Germans (with very few exceptions) from its Sudeten districts. As the Nazi armies retreated, the Czech militia and groups of communist cadres moved into German ethnic areas and attacked civilians in their homes and on the streets. Anti-German pogroms were perpetrated in which ethnic Germans were beaten, tortured, and/or shot. It quickly became clear that all of the 3 million Germans in Czechoslovakia would be forced to leave and transferred to German sovereign territory. During 1946 the Czech government established transit camps, often on the sites of former Nazi concentration camps, with the intention of facilitating the transfer of the Germans more systematically. According to Sudeten German sources, some 272,000 Germans, representing about 8 percent of the total German population in Czechoslovakia, died from harsh treatment, hunger, despair, and exposure during the course of the transfers, though this figure has been challenged by Czech and German historians (who claim the figure to have been much smaller). It has been estimated that during the second half of 1947 almost the entire Sudeten German population had been transferred to Germany, and the areas in which the Germans had lived—often for several hundred years—were reoccupied by Czechs. In what was a clear case of ethnic cleansing, Bohemia and Moravia were thoroughly Slavicized; the German ethnic presence, in the space of no more than two and a half years, was eliminated from Czech life forever. In a smaller-scale operation (though still involving hundreds of thousands of people), and at the same time, similar treatment was accorded Czechoslovakia's Hungarian population.

D

Dachau. The model for the concentration camp system used by the Nazis during World War II, Dachau was located near the town with the same name, about seven kilometers from Munich. It was established in 1933 and remained open until its prisoners were liberated in 1945. At its height, over two hundred thousand prisoners representing more than thirty countries were incarcerated there, of whom more than thirty thousand of them were murdered there or in its more than thirty subcamps that surrounded it. Medical experiments were also performed there, under the direction of Dr. Sigmund Rascher (1909–1945), including those involving high-altitude compression chambers, hypothermia, and injections of experimental medications. Its first commandant was Theodor Eicke (1892–1943), who developed the camp system itself and was later promoted to inspector-general of all concentration and death camps. Dachau was also the main camp for religious prisoners, including Pastor Martin Niemöller (1892–1984), and began to add women to its prison rolls in August 1944. Jehovah's Witnesses, homosexuals, Roman Catholic priests, so-called asocials (e.g., the Roma and Sinti or Gypsies, vagrants, beggars, alcoholics, the homeless), and criminals were also incarcerated there, but very few Jews. From the end of 1944 until its liberation by U.S. troops on April 29, 1945, more than fifteen thousand prisoners died from increasingly deteriorating conditions, including overcrowding and rampant disease such as typhus. In addition to Niemöller, its inmates included Bruno Bettelheim (1903–1990), Polish writer Tadeusz Borowski (1922–1951), and French writer Robert Antelme (1917–1990).

Daimler-Benz. A German manufacturer of automobiles whose management provided valuable assistance to the National Socialist (Nazi) party prior to Adolf Hitler's accession to office in January 1933. It reaped substantial financial rewards from its association with the Nazi government throughout the 1930s, and exploited captive labor forces in Nazi concentration camps and elsewhere after the outbreak of war in 1939. By 1934, as a result of business provided by Hitler, production at Daimler-Benz had more than doubled; in 1935 military manufacture accounted for 38 percent of production; by 1940 this had risen to 76 percent, and, in 1944, to 93 percent. Daimler-Benz was largely responsible for motorizing the German army and creating the new German air force in the years following Hitler's rise to power. Owing to the enormous growth of Daimler's output during the war years, manpower became a major problem, particularly as men were conscripted into the armed forces and women were brought into new roles within the German workforce.

Consequently, foreign workers were impressed to work in Daimler's factories (they numbered about one-third of all Daimler's workers by September 1942), as were concentration camp inmates. In early 1944 Governor Hans Frank (1900–1946), head of the Polish *Generalgouvernement* (the territorial unit in Poland, created by the Nazis on October 26, 1939, to which was added Eastern Galicia in the summer of 1941, following Nazi Germany's attack on the Soviet Union) visited one of the Daimler-Benz factories in his territory, describing it as "the model factory" of the *Generalgouvernement*. With the advance of the Allies through Germany in April and May 1945, Daimler-Benz premises were progressively occupied and closed down. The company was reconstituted and rehabilitated during the late 1940s and early 1950s.

Dallaire, Major General Romeo (b. 1946). Born in the Netherlands to a Canadian father and a Dutch mother, Dallaire grew up in Montreal, Canada. Prior to, during, and following the 1994 Rwandan genocide, Dallaire was the force commander of the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR) (October 1993–March 1996) peacekeeping force in Rwanda. UNAMIR's mandate was to keep the peace in Rwanda after the power-sharing agreement known as the Arusha Accords was signed. As part and parcel of keeping the peace, the UN peacekeepers were mandated to oversee the cease-fire arranged by the Arusha Accords (a set of five agreements signed by the Hutu-dominated government of Rwanda and the Rwandan Patriotic Front [RPF] in Arusha, Tanzania on August 4, 1993, it was intended that the Arusha Accords would end the civil war between the two parties and help to establish both demilitarization and demobilization in the area). What Dallaire was not informed of prior to his posting was that the extremist Hutu were intent on annihilating the Tutsi and had said as much in media broadcasts, newspaper articles, and declarations. In January 1994 a Hutu informant, reportedly a person of influence in the higher echelons of the Rwandan government, contacted Dallaire in order to inform him of the frantic effort by extremist Hutu to arm and train local militias in preparation for the decimation of the Tutsi. In a fax to the United Nations, which has been alternately referred to as "the Dallaire fax" and the "genocide fax," Dallaire asserted that the informant informed him that Hutu extremists "had been ordered to register all the Tutsi in Kigali" and that "he suspects it is for their extermination." Dallaire also informed the powers that be at the United Nations, that he, Dallaire, was planning an arms raid on the Hutu cache of weapons. The UN, however, cabled back ordering him not to carry out the raid out of fear of exacerbating the situation. As the crisis in Rwanda worsened, particularly in early 1994, Dallaire came to the conclusion that the constant stream of murders he and his soldiers were discovering and witnessing was not a result of warfare between the former combatants, but rather crimes against humanity by one group (Hutu) against another (Tutsi). Initially he referred to such killing as "ethnic cleansing." Dallaire continued to fire off one urgent message after another to UN headquarters in New York City requesting more forces, supplies and the broadening of his mandate (from a Chapter VI or peacekeeping mandate to a Chapter VII or peace enforcement mandate) in order to quell the violence perpetrated by the Hutu extremists, but it was to no avail as the UN Security Council would not countenance such a change. Ultimately, in late April (some two weeks after the genocide had actually begun), Dallaire came to the conclusion that what he was witnessing was, in fact, genocide, and reported such to the international press and the United Nations. The international community, though, failed to respond, and within one hundred days between five hundred thousand and 1 million Tutsi

and moderate Hutu were killed by the extremist Hutu government and its lackeys. What he and his fellow UN soldiers witnessed and lived through is described in excruciating detail in Dallaire's book, *Shake Hands with the Devil: The Failure of Humanity in Rwanda* (New York: Carroll and Graf, 2004). Today, Dallaire is a Canadian senator.

Darfur (Sudan), Genocide in. Beginning in 2003 Sudanese President Omar al-Bashir's (b. 1944) regime undertook a scorched earth campaign against the black Africans of Darfur in western Sudan. By mid-2007, the estimates of those who had been killed or perished due to genocide by attrition (i.e., due to a lack of water, starvation, or injuries) ranged from a low of 250,000 to over 400,000 individuals.

In the 1990s, Arabs and black Africans in the Darfur region began to clash over land and water use, primarily as a result of a severe drought and increasing desertification. Over time the clashes became increasingly violent (a result, in part, of the fact that outbreaks of violence in that region of Africa had resulted in a flood of weapons surging into the Darfur region). When the clashes were adjudicated by courts, the black Africans often found themselves being treated less fairly than the Arab population. Ultimately, and for many years (beginning in the early 1990s and continuing through the early 2000s), black Africans of Darfur complained bitterly that the Arabs in the region were given preferential treatment over black Africans by the Sudanese government. For example, black Africans asserted that while the Sudanese government taxed them, the government did little to nothing to enhance the infrastructure of Darfur (meaning, the development of road systems and the erection of schools). At the same time, they called for better treatment of black Africans at the hands of the police and court system.

When the black Africans felt that their complaints were falling on deaf ears, a rebel group, the Sudanese Liberation Army (SLA), formed and, in early 2003, it began carrying out attacks against government and military installations. Short-handed due to the war in the south, al-Bashir hired nomadic Arabs to join forces with government of Sudan (GOS) troops to fight the rebels. Instead of focusing their attacks solely on the rebels, the GOS and the Arab militia (referred to as the *Janjaweed*, or horsemen with guns and/or devils on horseback) carried out a scorched earth policy against all black Africans in the three state region of Darfur. In doing so, the GOS and *Janjaweed* indiscriminately killed men, women, and children, raped young girls and women, and, prior to burning down hundreds of villages, plundered what they could. Within a relatively short amount of time, hundreds of villages had been utterly destroyed by the GOS and *Janjaweed*, and hundreds of thousands of black Africans had fled, seeking sanctuary elsewhere. By late 2004, it was estimated that close to 2 million refugees had sought sanctuary in internally displaced camps within Sudan and almost two hundred thousand others had fled to refugee camps just over the border in Chad.

After conducting an investigation (the Atrocities Documentation Project [ADP]) during July and August of 2004 by carrying out a systematic series of over one thousand interviews of Sudanese refugees in Chad, the U.S. State Department reported, "Sixty-one percent of the respondents witnessed the killing of a family member, 16 percent said they had been raped or heard about a rape from a victim. About one third of the refugees heard racial epithets while under attack" (U.S. State Department, 2004, p. 1). In regard to the latter, the ADP found that during the attacks, GOS troops and *Janjaweed* jeered the black Africans, calling them "black slaves" and "slave dogs," both of which are highly derogatory terms in the

region. The perpetrators also repeatedly asserted that the black Africans were not true Sudanese and had no right to remain in Sudan. Based on the analysis of the data, U.S. secretary of state Colin Powell (b. 1937), declared, on September 4, 2004, that the killing in Sudan constituted genocide.

Subsequently, the U.S. referred the matter to the United Nations, hoping the UN would halt the mass killing. By this point in time, the UN Security Council had voted on numerous resolutions urging sanctions against the Sudanese government, but realpolitik hindered the Security Council in making any serious headway in confronting Sudan over the mass killing of the black Africans. More specifically, China, which has huge petroleum interests in Sudan, refused to vote in favor of any sanctions. Likewise, Russia, which has a huge arms deal and petroleum interests in Sudan, was against sanctioning Sudan. The United States took an on-again, off-again approach, calling for sanctions but then easing up due to the fact that the Sudanese governments agreed to join the U.S. in its so-called war against terrorism. And thus, as the United Nations dithered, tens and hundreds of thousands of people were brutally murdered, saw their villages and homes destroyed and their loved ones raped and murdered.

That said, the UN decided to carry out an investigation for the express purpose of ascertaining for itself whether, in fact, genocide had been or was being perpetrated in Darfur. Thus, in December 2004 and January 2005 the UN sent its own team (the UN Commission of Inquiry [COI]) of investigators into Darfur, the refugee camps in Chad, to Khartoum to meet with Sudanese leaders, and other parts of the region. Ultimately, the UN's report concluded that while it found that serious crimes of humanity had been perpetrated it did not find that the GOS and *Janjaweed* had committed genocide. Continuing, it stated that it did not rule out entirely that genocidal acts had been committed and said that the analysis of additional evidence in the future might come to such a conclusion.

Based on the COI's findings, the UN Security Council placed seventeen individuals from the Sudanese government on targeted sanctions. Five other individuals were listed as potential targets of sanctions, including al-Bashir. At one and the same time, the UN referred the matter to the International Criminal Court (ICC) in The Hague. In 2005 the ICC began an investigation into the atrocities committed by the GOS and *Janjaweed* in Darfur in order to collect evidence for potential trials against the perpetrators. As of August 2007 the killing, rapes of women and girls, and destruction of what few villages are left continues unabated, as do GOS and *Janjaweed* attacks on internally displaced camps in Sudan and the refugee camps in Chad. Although the UN Security Council has issued numerous condemnations over the years of the ongoing killing and destruction, it has also chosen to heed Omar al-Bashir's demands that no troops other than the African Union (AU) be allowed in the Darfur region. As a result, the seven thousand African Union troops, on a Chapter VI or peacekeeping mandate (which only allows for engaging in combat to protect their own safety but not that of the refugees) are forced to attempt the impossible—that is, to provide security for some 2.5 million black African refugees in an area roughly the size of France.

Because foreign oil companies and consortiums continue to infuse Sudan's economy with cash, al-Bashir continues to view both the United Nations and the World Bank with open disdain and hostility. Whether the pressure brought upon him and his government to stem the genocide by the international community, including neighboring African nation-states, will be successful, remains open to debate.

Dark Tourism. A term coined in 2000 by British academics John Lennon and Malcolm Foley, from Glasgow Caledonian University (Scotland). The term describes the growth and incidence of tourist interest in sites of death, disaster, and atrocity. Lennon and Foley hold that the way in which the tourism industry packages such sites is an expression, in part, of the circumstances of late modernity, in which death, disaster, and atrocity have become defining characteristics of the contemporary world. Lennon and Foley further argue that dark tourism is as much a product of the forces of modernity as the events to which tourists are drawn, and that it is thus an intrinsic aspect of the human experience in present-day society. Most frequently, visits to sites connected with death, such as battlefields, concentration or extermination camps, museums, jails, major crime scenes and places of pilgrimage show a developing fascination with the destructive tendencies of humanity as manifested in the last two centuries of human history, culminating in the vast number of genocides of the twentieth century.

Dayton Agreement. Also known as the Dayton Accords or the Dayton Settlement. The interim peace agreement, signed on November 21, 1995, brought to an end the genocidal violence in the war for control of Bosnia by Serbs, Croats, and Bosnian Muslims (or *Bosniaks*) that had been taking place since April 1992. The settlement took its name from the location of the signing, at the Wright-Patterson Air Force Base near Dayton, Ohio. As a summit meeting involving heads of states and other leading figures, the peace conference was officially hosted by the president of the United States, William Jefferson Clinton (b. 1946), though it was chaired by Clinton's principal Balkans negotiator, Richard Holbrooke (b. 1941). The major negotiators were Serbian president Slobodan Milosevic (1941–2006), Croatian president Franjo Tudjman (1922–1999), and Bosnian president Alija Izetbegovic (1925–2003). Other participants included senior military figures from the United States, the United Kingdom, France, and Germany. The main features of the Dayton Agreement were (1) to determine the political divisions of Bosnia-Herzegovina and establish secure and guaranteed internal and external borders; (2) to mandate a NATO-led armed force, codenamed IFOR (Implementation Force), for the purpose of overseeing and fulfilling the military elements of the disengagement process; and (3) to have the Agreement ratified in a general peace conference, at a later time and place to be determined. The subsequent full and final agreement took place in Paris, on December 14, 1995. This was again signed by Milosevic, Tudjman and Izetbegovic, but not they alone; in a pledge to safeguard the peace thus created, the Paris Protocol was also signed by Clinton, British prime minister John Major (b. 1943), French president Jacques Chirac (b. 1932), German chancellor Helmut Kohl (b. 1930), and Russian prime minister Viktor Chernomyrdin (b. 1938). A major criticism of the Dayton Agreement, even though it brought hostilities to an end, was that it rewarded Serb aggression and ethnic cleansing by allowing the ethnic Serb entity in Bosnia-Herzegovina, known as *Republika Srpska*, to retain formerly Muslim or Croat areas that had been taken forcibly during the war, and from which the previously existing population had been deported or killed.

Death Camps (German, *Vernichtungslager*). Six camps established by the Nazis in Poland for the express purpose of the extermination/annihilation of the Jews. The six camps were Treblinka, Sobibor, Belzec, Chelmno, Auschwitz-Birkenau, and Majdanek. The combined death toll of Jews in all the camps was approximately 3.5 million men, women, and children. Jews and others (e.g., Jehovah's Witnesses, Russian prisoners of war, homosexuals, Sinti, and Roma) were gassed, worked to death, shot, starved, tortured,

beaten to death, poisoned, and subjected to gruesome medical experiments of dubious scientific value. Those who were to be gassed were processed along an “assembly line of death.” The chambers themselves, the largest of which at Auschwitz could hold upwards of one thousand persons, were hermetically sealed. Once the victims were inside, Zyklon B crystals were poured down chutes and, upon contact with the air, became prussic acid. The victims, in their hunger for one more moment of life, clawed at each other, and, as a result of the abject fear and effects of the poison, urinated and defecated on themselves. Death usually resulted in under thirty minutes, after which the doors were opened by Jews (referred to as *Sonderkommandos* or “special commandos”) who were forced to extract the bodies and examine them for gold and other valuables, either hidden in various bodily orifices (anal and/or vaginal) or gold teeth. Any riches located on them were immediately extracted by the Jewish workers. The bodies were then carried to the crematoria for incineration, with the resultant ash either packaged as fertilizer for Germany’s agricultural industry, or otherwise disposed. In the last days of World War II the assembly lines broke down, and Allied liberators found the dead on the disembarking platforms, the clothing piled high and unsorted, the gas chambers with victims still inside, and the crematoria with the remains of the dead not yet fully reduced to ashes.

Death Squads. “Death squads” refers to the “security forces” of various governments whose express purpose—in the 1970s, 1980s, 1990s, and early 2000s—was to summarily execute “political enemies.” Tens of thousands of people (those suspected of opposing the government, those—such as journalists, church activists, trade unionists, and political activists—calling for reform by the government, and unarmed peasant farmers residing in places where the government was carrying out counter insurgency campaigns) were killed. In the 1970s and 1980s such death squads existed in numerous areas across the globe, particularly in countries located in Central America, South America, Asia, and Africa. In the 1990s and early 2000s such squads have been most prominent in certain countries in Africa, and parts of Asia.

Death Squads in Rwanda. In Kinyarwanda (the language of Rwanda), the *Interahamwe*, or “those who stand together,” were the largest militia group organized by the Hutu extremists, and are believed to have been primarily responsible for the majority of genocidal deaths occurring in that country in 1994. With the retaking of the capital Kigali by the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF), many *Interahamwe* fled to neighboring Zaire (Democratic Republic of Congo), Uganda, and Burundi, and, because they have never been officially disbanded as such, continue to stage raids back in Rwanda and other locales. Their exact numbers, military strength, and political status remain difficult to determine.

Declaration. a nonbinding international document that suggests the individual and collective intention of states to adhere to and honor the ideals delineated in such a joint promise/statement.

Declaration on Principles of International Law Concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation (1970). Those who argue that no legal right exists for carrying out unilateral humanitarian intervention point, in part, to the 1970 Declaration on Principles of International Law Concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation that states that “no State or group of states has the right to intervene, directly or indirectly, for any reason whatever, in the internal or external affairs of any other State.” Such individuals and groups also sight the 1965 Declaration on the Inadmissibility of Intervention, which basically declares that there are no legal grounds—or “reason(s) whatever”—for interven-

tion, and the 1987 Declaration on the Enhancement of the International Relations, which states that “no consideration of whatever nature may be invoked to warrant resorting to the threat or use of force in violation of the Charter.”

Declaration on the Enhancement of the International Relations (1987). Those who argue that no legal right exists for carrying out unilateral humanitarian intervention often point, in part, to the 1987 Declaration on the Enhancement of the International Relations, which states that “no consideration of whatever nature may be invoked to warrant resorting to the threat or use of force in violation of the Charter.” These same individuals and groups also point to the 1965 Declaration on the Inadmissibility of Intervention, which basically declares that there are no legal grounds—or “reason(s) whatever”—for intervention, and the 1970 Declaration on Principles of International Law Concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation, which confirms that “no State or group of states has the right to intervene, directly or indirectly, for any reason whatever, in the internal or external affairs of any other State.”

Declaration on the Inadmissibility of Intervention (1965). Those who argue that no legal right exists for carrying out unilateral humanitarian intervention frequently point to the 1965 Declaration on the Inadmissibility of Intervention, which basically declares that there are no legal grounds—or “reason(s) whatsoever”—for intervention. Such individuals and groups also sight the 1970 Declaration on Principles of International Law Concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation, which confirms that “no State or group of states has the right to intervene, directly or indirectly, for any reason whatever, in the internal or external affairs of any other State,” and the 1987 Declaration on the Enhancement of the International Relations, which states that “no consideration of whatever nature may be invoked to warrant resorting to the threat or use of force in violation of the Charter.”

Definition of Genocide, Chalk and Jonassohn's. Historian Frank Chalk (n.d.) and sociologist Curt Jonassohn (b. 1929) define genocide in the following way: “Genocide is a form of one-sided mass killing in which a state or other authority intends to destroy a group, as that group and membership in it are defined by the perpetrators” (cited in Charny, 1988, p. 23).

Definition of Genocide, Charny's. Psychologist and genocide scholar Israel W. Charny (b. 1931) proposed in the 1980s what he deemed a “humanistic” definition of genocide that is more inclusive than most, if not all, other definitions of genocide, and thus, less exclusive: “The wanton murder of human beings on the basis of any identity whatsoever they share—national, ethnic, racial, religious, political, geographical, ideological.” In providing a rationale for his definition, Charny asserted that “I reject out of hand that there can ever be any identity process that in itself will justify the murder of men, women, and children ‘because’ they are ‘anti’ some ‘ism’ or because their physical characteristics are high- or low-cheekboned, short- or long-eared” (Charny, 1988, p. 4).

Definition of Genocide, Dadrian's. In 1975, Vahakn Dadrian (b. 1926), an expert on the Ottoman-Turk perpetration of genocide against the Armenians (1915–1923), created the following definition of genocide: “Genocide is the successful attempt by a dominant group, vested with formal authority and/or with preponderant access to the overall resources of power, to reduce by coercion or lethal violence the number of a minority group whose ultimate extermination is held desirable and useful and whose respective vulnerability is a major factor in contributing to the decision for genocide.”

Definition of Genocide, Fein's. Sociologist and genocide scholar Helen Fein (b. 1934) developed what she referred to as “a new sociological definition” of genocide: “Genocide is sustained purposeful action by a perpetrator to physically destroy a collectivity directly or indirectly, through interdiction of the biological and social reproduction of group members, sustained regardless of the surrender or lack of threat offered by the victim” (Fein, 1990, p. 24).

Definition of Genocide, Horowitz's. Sociologist Irving Louis Horowitz (b. 1929) defines *genocide* as “a structural and systematic destruction of innocent people by a state bureaucratic apparatus” (Horowitz, 1989, p. 17).

Definition of Genocide, Lemkin's. Raphael Lemkin (1900–1950), the Polish international jurist who coined the term *genocide*, defined genocide in the following way:

Genocide does not necessarily mean the immediate destruction of a nation, except when accomplished by mass killings of all members of a nation. It is intended rather to signify a coordinated plan of different actions aiming at the destruction of essential foundations of the life of national groups, with the aim of the annihilation of the groups themselves. . . . [It may result in] the disintegration of the political and social institutions of culture, language, national feelings, religion, and the economic existence of national groups, and the destruction of the personal security, liberty, health, dignity, and even the lives of the individuals belonging to such groups (Lemkin, 1944, p. 79).

Definition of Genocide Used in the UN Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (UNCG). The term *genocide* was coined in 1944 by Raphael Lemkin (1900–1959), a Polish Jewish émigré and noted jurist, who taught law at Yale and Duke universities. To form the new term, Lemkin combined the Greek *genos* (race, tribe) and *cide* (killing). On December 9, 1948, after lengthy and heated debate and ample compromise, the United Nations adopted the UN Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (UNCG) and in doing so defined genocide in the following manner:

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: (a) Killing members of the group; (b) Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group; (c) Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part; (d) Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group; (e) Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group.

Degrees of Genocide. Ward Churchill (b. 1947), Professor of American Indian Studies with the Department of Ethnic Studies at the University of Colorado at Boulder, and author of *A Little Matter of Genocide: Holocaust and Denial in the Americas 1492 to the Present*, developed a schema in which he suggested that genocide be broken down into various “degrees,” just as murder is broken into first, second and third degrees. The degrees of genocide that he proposed are as follows:

(a) “*Genocide in the First Degree*, which consists of instances in which evidence of premeditated intent to commit genocide is present; (b) *Genocide in the Second Degree*, which consists of instances in which evidence of premeditation is absent, but in which it can be reasonably argued that the perpetrators(s) acted with reckless disregard for the probability that genocide would result from their actions; (c) *Genocide in the Third Degree*, which consists of instances in which genocide derives, however unintentionally, from other violations of international law engaged in by the perpetrators; and (d) *Genocide in the Fourth Degree*, which consists of instances in which neither evidence of premeditation nor other criminal behavior is present,

but in which the perpetrators(s) acted with depraved indifference to the possibility that genocide would result from their actions and therefore to effect adequate safeguard to prevent it. (italics in the original; Churchill, 1998, pp. 434–35)

Degrelle, Leon (1906–1994). A Belgian fascist leader during the 1930s and 1940s, in 1930 Leon Degrelle founded a Walloon political party, officially called *Christus Rex* (Christ the King), but known informally as the *Parti Rexiste*, or Rexist Party. Degrelle, who came from a devout Catholic family, was a strong advocate of law, order, monarchy, and racial purity. An antisemite, he saw Jews as a negative force in society, not capable of truly becoming members of a nation owing to their internationalist outlook and “cosmopolitanism.” He was, in addition, passionately anticommunist, antisocialist, and anti-bourgeois; he modeled his movement on that of Benito Mussolini (1883–1945), and carried himself in open emulation of his hero, Adolf Hitler (1889–1945)—who is alleged to have commented, when referring to Degrelle, “If I was ever to have had a son, I would wish for him to be like you.” As the party of fascist purity, Degrelle took the Rexist Party to the polls in February 1937, only to lose after all other political parties combined to defeat it. Only the onset of World War II, and the defeat of Belgium in May 1940, enabled Degrelle to attain political influence. In 1941 he established a regiment of Walloon volunteers for the German army (*Wehrmacht*), but this unit was transferred to the *Waffen-SS* (the “armed SS”), and sent to the Eastern Front to fight against the Soviet Union. Degrelle was promoted to the rank of *SS-Obersturmbannführer* (a rank approximating lieutenant colonel), and received a number of military decorations, including the *Ritterkreuz*, or Knight’s Cross. His unit, however, was ground to pieces on the Eastern Front, with only three of the original contingent of 850 still alive by the end of the war. In 1945 Degrelle fled to Denmark, then Norway, and finally to the Falangist Spain of General Francisco Franco (1892–1975), which gave him refuge for the rest of his life. Belgium tried him in absentia, found him guilty of treason, and sentenced him to death by firing squad. Successive Spanish governments, even after Franco, refused to extradite Degrelle, and he remained a free man. In a somewhat luxurious exile, he wrote and published actively, speaking out against communism and the Jews, and engaging in Holocaust denial (for which he was tried in a civil suit by a Holocaust survivor, and found guilty of bringing offence to the memory of the victims by a Spanish court). He died of a heart attack in Malaga in 1994, the last major Nazi-era leader from any of the European countries.

Dehumanization. In its most basic form, dehumanization—a psycho-social process—aims at redefining public perceptions of the person in question in such a way that society in general will no longer consider that person to be deserving of the same degree of decency, sympathy, empathy, or sensitivity given other human beings. In other words, the public identity of that person is transformed into something looked upon as lower in the local scheme of social types. The identity transformation process that takes place as a result of dehumanization can take many forms, and has been practiced in numerous settings. In the Nazi concentration camps between 1933 and 1945, for example, the SS systematically applied tactics of personal terror toward their prisoners, ritually degrading them until they no longer felt the dignity required to resist the Nazis’ brutal treatment. The nadir of a prisoner’s degradation came when he or she ceased resisting it, and allowed its effects to swamp him or her. At that moment it could be said that a person’s self-image had literally become dehumanized. Accounts abound of how

victims in genocidal environments see themselves no longer as human beings, but as “animals” or “objects.”

Assertions and slurs by one group against another are often used to suggest “the other” is less than human. This can be, and often is, accomplished in several ways: the use of demeaning language that suggests “the other” constitutes something dangerously unhealthy (e.g., a virus, diseased microbes, a parasite, a cancer), an animal (e.g., baboons, rats, dogs) and/or insects (e.g., leeches, cockroaches). For example, during the nineteenth century, Native Americans were frequently referred to as “savages,” heathens, and infidels by white citizens of the United States. During the Holocaust years (1933–1945), the Nazis frequently referred to Jews as germs, bacilli, cancer, vermin, parasites, and lice. Further, in the Nazi death camps the prisoners were referred to as so many *stücke* (“pieces”), rather than as human beings. (The Nazis, of course, went far beyond referring to Jews by negative names or names with negative connotations. They also systematically classified, collected, transported Jews as if they were cattle, exploited them for purpose of labor, conducted horrific experiments on them as if they were without feelings, killed them in an industrial manner, burned them, and used their remains as fertilizer.) During the 1994 Rwandan genocide, the Hutu commonly referred to the Tutsi as *Inyenzi* or cockroaches. During the genocide in Darfur, Sudan (2003 to present [late 2007]), the black Africans of Darfur have been referred to as “dogs” and “slave dogs.” In that region of the world dogs are seen as some of the lowliest creatures on earth and the term “slave” is the worst slur that can be used against another human being.

When one is considered as less than human and/or as dangerous to humanity, then, ostensibly, it is easier to mistreat, abuse, and exterminate “the other.” Indeed, from the perpetrators’ perspective the latter portrays the target/victim group as “not worthy of living.” This can be further reinforced by reference to victims no longer having names, but numbers (as happened in Auschwitz), or of having other trappings of their individual humanity taken away.

The process of dehumanization in a genocidal environment is not restricted only to the victims; both the perpetrators and the general public (where the two are not the same) will, in most cases, undergo some sort of psychological or behavioral modification regarding their image of the targeted population.

Dehumanization, then, is generally a necessary process in the preparation of a population that is going to commit genocide, as a person is transformed from being seen as equal in their humanity to one who is less than human. The process does not of itself cause genocide, but is certainly one of a number of steps on the road to it.

Deir ez Zor. Today the town of Deir ez Zor (population 133,000), located along the Euphrates River, is the capital of the Dayr az Zawr governorate in eastern Syria. The town was originally established by the Ottoman Empire in 1867. During the period of the Armenian genocide (1915–1923), tens of thousands of Armenians forced from their homes and villages were herded into the vast, burning desolation of Deir ez Zor. As they were forced into this wasteland, they were beaten, raped, and killed. Still others were herded into roughshod camps where they were starved to death, brutalized, and murdered. When they attempted to drink from the Euphrates they were slain. Still others jumped to their deaths as they sought freedom from the brutality meted out by Ottoman troops, Kurdish brigands, and others. It was also in the area of Deir ez Zor that certain groups of Bedouin chieftains and their tribal members reached out to the forlorn Armenian rem-

nant and offered them water, food, shelter, and protection from their abusers. To this day, bones of the Armenian victims can be found in the desert sands of Deir ez Zor. And to this day, the relatives of those Bedouins who reached out to help the Armenians are recognized for their altruism each year by the Armenian community of Syria, Lebanon, and those from further afield during the commemoration of the Armenian genocide.

Dekulakization. Applied to independent, landowning peasants (who were commonly referred to as kulaks) by the Bolsheviks, dekulakization referred to the stripping of economic power from such peasants. From the start of the Bolshevik regime in October–November 1917, the government of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin (1870–1924) signaled its intention to destroy the kulaks as a class and to replace their independent status with a collectivized, communist structure. Kulak populations in several parts of central Russia were reduced substantially in the years that followed, but it was only after December 1927 that a wholesale state program of kulak destruction was launched by Lenin’s successor, Josef Stalin (1879–1953). In the drive to collectivize agriculture, the independence of agricultural producers—even of smallholders who made a modest profit from their harvests—was to be totally destroyed. The systematic nature of this destruction was massive. The kulaks were targeted in two major campaigns: one in 1930, the other in 1931. These saw the rounding up of about 1.8 million kulaks, and, by the end of 1933 another four hundred thousand had been apprehended. The key aspect of the communist strategy was the resettlement of the kulaks; by removing them from the land and placing them on communal farms at a substantial distance from their original districts, a transformation could be effected both in agricultural practices and demography. Privation, cold, disease, and violent treatment by the communists during these forced population transfers produced a death toll in the hundreds of thousands, but at no time did this cause the government to waver from their dekulakization program, even when it caused a massive disruption in agricultural production. Perhaps up to 6 million peasants starved to death due to Stalin’s forced collectivization campaigns. By the middle of the 1930s the full collectivization of agriculture had taken place throughout the Soviet Union, and the rural peasantry was no longer identifiable in the form it had been just two decades earlier.

Del Ponte, Carla (b. 1947). An international criminal lawyer, best known for her role as chief prosecutor for the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY) and the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR). Born in Lugano, Switzerland, Del Ponte studied law in Bern, Geneva, and the United Kingdom. In 1981 she was appointed as a public prosecutor in Lugano, prosecuting cases of fraud, drug trafficking, arms dealing, terrorism, and espionage. She also pursued, and thus antagonized, the Italian mafia, which attempted to assassinate her in 1992. In 1994 Del Ponte became attorney general for Switzerland.

In 1999, Del Ponte was appointed chief prosecutor at the ICTY in The Hague, and the ICTR in Arusha, replacing Louise Arbour (b. 1947). In 2003 she was relieved of her responsibility as prosecutor for the ICTR, in order to focus exclusively on prosecutions involving the former Yugoslavia. Renowned for her intensity in pursuing justice, she does not favor one side or the other when bringing cases to the ICTY; it matters not whether an alleged criminal is Serb, Croatian, Bosnian, or Kosovar Albanian. (Because of her dogged determination and concern with the victims of such genocides and other illegal criminal activities, her detractors have labeled her “the whore,” “the new Gestapo,” “the unguided missile,” and “the personification of stubbornness.”) That said, the majority of

those against whom a case has been brought or is pending have been Serbs. Consequently, she has been condemned by many Serbs for having transformed the ICTY into an anti-Serb tribunal. Although Del Ponte has successfully prosecuted a number of high-profile cases at the ICTY, her three most important actions to date have not borne results. One of them, against former president Slobodan Milosevic (1941–2006), will never be resolved—while his trial was proceeding he died in custody before a determination of his guilt or innocence could be made. The other two cases—against Radovan Karadzic (b. 1945) and Ratko Mladic (b. 1942)—cannot currently proceed due to the fact that they have not yet been apprehended, though Del Ponte has been steadily building strong cases against both men in absentia. Carla Del Ponte’s standing at the ICTY has been an important one, sending a clear message to the perpetrators of grave human rights abuses that they will not be safe from prosecution during her term as chief prosecutor.

Democide. A concept coined by U.S. political scientist Rudolph J. Rummel (b. 1932) to designate the murder of any person, or group of people, by a government. This can include genocide, mass murder, or what Rummel refers to as “politicide,” that is, government-sponsored killings for political reasons. Rummel also considers any deaths caused through intentional governmental neglect or disregard for the lives of its citizens, with some kind of ultimate destructive objective in mind, as a case of democide. Capital punishment, civilian deaths in a war zone, and military deaths in combat are, though, excluded from his definition of democide.

As for mass killing Rummel has two kinds in mind. The first is the product of nuclear warfare, which entirely eliminates the distinction between combatant and civilian by the scope of the destructive violence it unleashes. The same can be said of the potential in chemical and biological weaponry. Any future war resorting to these weapons would claim untold millions of casualties. In this scenario democide has the potential of thoroughly disrupting urban and rural life to the point that the survivors would be left with no basic society and culture to salvage. It is destruction well beyond that wreaked by genocide or other forms of political, social and cultural devastation.

A second application of the term *democide* characterizes the massive collective destruction that took place throughout the twentieth century. Between 1900 and 2000 there was a quantum increase in what Rummel refers to as megadeaths by human hands. Colonial wars, World War I and World War II, civil wars, and revolutions collectively killed hundreds of millions, as if the human race were at war with itself. Although these events all had genocidal attributes they need not, in every situation, be considered genocide per se, but are more accurately transgenocidal, that is, something more than genocide. The 1994 Rwanda genocide had certain aspects of this phenomenon: not only were Tutsi targeted for annihilation, but so were moderate Hutu who belonged to the political opposition. Hence, democide considers the idea of “genocide plus”—genocide with an additional dimension to mass killing.

Democide, in Rummel’s view, is far less likely to occur in democratic states than in those that are authoritarian, totalitarian, or absolute. He argues strongly that political power and democide are intimately connected: the more absolute a regime, the greater its propensity for democide. Thus, he concludes that truly democratic regimes should be strongly encouraged and supported if democide is to be reduced (and, hopefully, eradicated).

Rummel’s work on democide and its consequences are spelled out in a series of books he wrote, including *Lethal Politics: Soviet Genocides and Mass Murders 1917–1987*; *China’s*

Bloody Century: Genocide and Mass Murder since 1900; Democide: Nazi Genocide and Mass Murder; Death by Government: Genocide and Mass Murder in the Twentieth Century; Statistics of Democide; and Power Kills.

Democracies. Such entities guarantee both civil and political rights for all citizens, provide for constitutional limitations on the power of the executive branch of government, have two or more legitimate and active parties that compete for influence in governmental affairs, and transfer governmental power between parties via constitutionally indicated means.

Democracy and Genocide. The notion of democracy as an effective force for deterring the emergence of genocidal situations has been most thoroughly developed by U.S. political scientist Rudolph J. Rummel (b. 1932). Rummel's hypothesis, cultivated over nearly four decades of research, is summarized in five essential points: (1) well-established democracies do not make war on, and rarely commit lesser violence against, each other; (2) the more two nations are democratic, the less likely it will be that war or lesser violence will occur between them; (3) the more democratic a nation, the less severe its overall foreign violence; (4) the more democratic a nation, the less likely it will have domestic collective violence; and (5) the more democratic a nation, the less will be its democide (murders committed by official agencies when acting under state instructions).

By confining his analysis to "well-established democracies," Rummel was able to dismiss regimes which are either: (a) simply those which refer to themselves as democracies by name, but are in fact dictatorships (e.g., the so-called communist "People's Democracies" of the Cold War era); or (b) polities that are yet in the process of becoming democratic, in which sectional aggression and violence still plays a part in the public culture of the state. The idea of "democratic peace," therefore, feeds directly into concepts concerning genocide prevention; put succinctly, the more democracies exist, the less likely both war and genocide are to occur.

Attractive as this theory is—and for many scholars, it is quite convincing—it has its detractors. Two basic arguments are posited by critics of the "democratic peace notion." The first is that democracies such as the United States, Canada, Australia, and others are founded on genocidal dispossession of indigenous populations. The second is that so-called first world nations, such as those previously mentioned (as well as many European states), have engaged (and still engage) in genocidal practices against other, less-developed nations. Two of the most notable critics along these lines are U.S. professor of linguistics Noam Chomsky (b. 1928) and British-based Australian journalist John Pilger (b. 1939), among many others, principally from the political left. What such critics miss, however, is the fact that the relationship in such instances is not between two democratic states, as the "democratic peace" idea requires in order to be effective. That said, as of the late 1990s and early 2000s, critics of this theory are no longer primarily from the left; others, many of whom could be deemed "moderates," have also called into question the validity of Rummel's arguments vis-à-vis the issue of democracy and genocide.

Democracy Promotion. *Democracy promotion* is a concept and term that became popular in the 1990s, as a result of U.S. efforts to link aid to failed states, and/or states emerging from authoritarian rule, with a move toward the establishment of democracy. Democracy promotion involves a combination of the following: institution building (e.g., the strengthening of judicial systems, the development of an effective legislature); the education of journalists to work in a free society; the establishment of a free press; the development

and implementation of election policies and actual elections; and the involvement of nongovernmental organizations in various human rights projects germane to various facets of society.

Democratic Kampuchea. Immediately upon its take-over of Cambodia in 1975, the revolutionary communist Khmer Rouge renamed the country Democratic Kampuchea. The use of the word “democratic” was both ironic and cynical, as there was nothing democratic about the ironclad, totalitarian state that eventually became infamous for its genocidal policies and “killing fields.”

Denazification. The term applied by the Allied victors (Great Britain, the United States, and the Soviet Union) to the eradication of Nazism in Germany as well as the punishment of those responsible for the implementation of National Socialism and its various agendas (e.g., waging aggressive war, and crimes against humanity).

The initial agreement regarding denazification took place between Franklin Roosevelt (USA), Winston Churchill (Great Britain), and Joseph Stalin (the Soviet Union) at a meeting in Yalta in the Crimea in February 1945, and later reaffirmed at Potsdam, Germany, in August of that same year. The Potsdam Agreement called for the removal from public office and other positions of responsibility those associated with National Socialism, though specific guidelines were not addressed at that time. Thus, each of the victorious Allies in their own zones of responsibility addressed the process differently. France, whose representatives played no significant role at either Yalta or Potsdam, was later brought into the discussion, and thus a fourth zone of occupation was created. In an attempt to standardize the process somewhat, several organizations were created, including the Allied Control Commission for Italy, the Allied Control Council, the Central Registry for War Criminals and Security Suspects, the Counter-Intelligence Corps, the Office of the Military Government of the United States, the United Nations War Crimes Commission, and the War Crimes Groups. According to the West German Government, by 1949 more than 3.5 million persons had undergone the process of denazification, including those who had been punished for their crimes. With a change in the international political climate, and the onset of the Cold War between East and West, enthusiasm for this agenda waned, as Germany herself, now a split nation (East Germany and West Germany) began its own rebuilding.

Deportations, in USSR. The communist regime in the Soviet Union of Josef Stalin (1879–1953) recognized early on that a distinctive sense of nationhood was a factor militating against the creation of a proletarian state. In the multiethnic Soviet Union, the existence of so many separate national groups posed a threat which Stalin could not ignore. As a way to constrain their aspirations, his dictatorial government introduced measures to exile entire national groups to the interior of the USSR. Deported to places vast distances from their historic homelands, disoriented and removed from familiar networks, the intention was that they would more readily be able to embrace the communist way of life, rather than one in which their (often) nascent nationalism could take hold. Accordingly, in 1937, Soviet Koreans were removed from the Far East to Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan; in 1941 and 1942 the Volga Germans and other *Volksdeutsche* (German communities living outside of Germany proper) were rounded up and sent to Kazakhstan and Siberia; in May 1942, Greeks living in the Crimea were deported to Uzbekistan; in late 1943 the Karachays and Kalmyks were sent to Siberia, Kazakhstan, and Kirghizia; and, at various times in 1944, the Chechens and Ingush, Balkars, Crimean Tartars, Meskhetian

Turks, Kurds, and Khemshils were deported to Kurdistan, Siberia, and Uzbekistan. Between 1937 and 1944 it is estimated that some 2 million people from fourteen distinct nationalities were deported because of their membership in these national groups. The conditions during and after the deportations were so bad that over four hundred thousand people (and probably more) lost their lives, which, in some cases, cut deeply into the population size of the smaller nations.

According to the 1948 United Nations Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, the deportations can be interpreted as a case of genocide in that the Soviet government inflicted conditions of life on the deported groups that were intended (where possible) to bring about their physical destruction in whole or in part—through harsh treatment involving murder, privation, disease, hunger, social dislocation, and exposure to the elements. The physical annihilation of individuals within the national groups was not Stalin's intention; rather, it was the destruction of the nationalities themselves that was his goal. It was only in the late 1980s and the 1990s, with the downfall of communism, that the process of repatriating many of the survivors and subsequent generations to their original homelands began to take place.

Der Stürmer (German, the Attacker). Weekly Nazi Party newspaper founded by Julius Streicher (1885–1946), the slogan of which was *Die Juden sind unser Unglück!* (The Jews are our misfortune). The focus of its content was on the Jews and their supposed “evil ways,” including the murder of Jesus Christ, the ritual blood murder of innocent children, the rape of young German girls, financial thievery, and political wheeling and dealing. Written in an easily readable format, the cartoons, which accompanied the articles and were drawn by Phillip Rupprecht (n.d.), depicted stereotypic distortions of Jewish males as ugly, overweight, bloated, thick-lipped, slovenly, hairy, and sexually perverted. The Jewish women portrayed in the cartoons were not any better. In 1933 twenty-five thousand copies a week were sold; by 1938 the number had risen to five hundred thousand.

Des Pres, Terrence (1939–1987). A U.S. professor of English, Des Pres was best known for his theories on the survival of concentration camp prisoners under the Nazis and Soviets. He was born in Illinois and raised in Missouri, and, for fifteen years prior to his early death at the age of forty-eight, he held the Crawshaw Chair in English Literature at Colgate University, Hamilton, New York. In 1976, Des Pres, an author, poet, and political activist, published *The Survivor: An Anatomy of Life in the Death Camps*. He examined the question of survival from the point of view of the survivors themselves by conducting an in-depth investigation into the accounts written by former concentration camp prisoners. Until this time, analysis of prisoner behavior had largely been dominated by the writings of psychologist (and former prisoner of Buchenwald and Dachau) Bruno Bettelheim (1903–1990), and those who agreed with him. Their view was that survival in the concentration camp was essentially a random occurrence, in which the actions of prisoners counted for little. Des Pres, to the contrary, held that prisoners struggled at every turn to find ways of staying alive in the camps, despite the conditions under which they were compelled to exist. His message was one of positive affirmation of the human spirit, regardless of the degradation and violence to which the prisoners were subjected on a daily basis. The book called into question the negative arguments of Bettelheim, though most of its content, dependent as it was on the rich documentation to be found in survivor accounts, contained little direct reference to Bettelheim himself. In the years that followed, acrimony between those advocating the two positions, as

personified in Des Pres and Bettelheim, dominated the discussion, but the debate breathed new life into questions about survivorship. Indeed, Des Pres was thus responsible for stimulating a major transformation in the nature of scholarship in this area, and, since the appearance of *The Survivor*, an entire literature addressing issues of survival in extremity—in which both Bettelheim and Des Pres are acknowledged—has emerged. Des Pres died suddenly in November 1987.

Desecration of the Host. In the Christian Mass (also referred to as the Eucharist, or Holy Communion), the central act of remembrance of Christ's sacrifice is the partaking of bread and wine that has been blessed, in accordance with the divine instruction issued in Matthew 26:26–28 (“do this in remembrance of me”). In Roman Catholic tradition, this consecration changes the bread and wine literally into the flesh and blood of Jesus Christ, through a process called transubstantiation. The consecrated bread (usually in the form of wafers) is commonly known as the Host (from the Old French *oiste*, derived from Latin *hostia*, a sacrificial victim). Since medieval times a false charge was often heard in Christian Europe that Jews broke into churches, stole pieces of the Host, and “tortured” the bread by sticking pins in it or stabbing it with knives. In this way, the Jews continued to kill Jesus, as Christian scripture had recorded in the story of the crucifixion (see, for example, Matthew 27:25), through the desecration of communion bread which became the living flesh of Christ. It was sometimes alleged that such bread began miraculously to “bleed” with the blood of Jesus, when stabbed by the Jews. When allegations like this were spread, violent attacks on Jewish communities would frequently take place. Often, allegations of Host desecration took place around Easter time, accompanied by blood libel accusations.

Desensitization. The psychosocial process whereby individuals are introduced gradually to the performance or acceptance of behaviors they would otherwise reject or be unaccustomed to performing. A process of desensitization can be initiated by a state authority or an individual authority figure, and involves a series of actions aimed at behavior modification. This can take place through assisting a person to confront an issue in which he or she will not usually be engaged, by exposing him or her to the least threatening elements of the issue, and building steadily toward more challenging elements—by which time the original behavior of the subject toward the issue in question will have become transformed sufficiently to ensure the subject's acceptance or compliance. Under normal circumstances, modifications to behavior brought about through the desensitization process require some measure of volunteerism on the part of the subject. In areas of genocide and other extreme behaviors, however, desensitization must take place in order for communities to become willing (or at least, acquiescent) participants in the destructive tasks demanded by their government. In a similar vein, desensitization rituals and activities are usually undertaken in the area of military training, particularly during the early transition period whereby a civilian is transformed into a soldier. In the vast majority of cases of genocide, state-driven desensitization programs take place well before the killing itself begins, so that the perpetrator population, incrementally, will be prepared to commit or permit later destruction of targeted victims.

Desk Killing. Term sometimes given to the process whereby bureaucrats administer policies of genocide that have been devised by politicians or military leaders. The most infamous desk killer was the Nazi civil servant Adolf Eichmann (1906–1962), who was given responsibility by his superior Reinhard Heydrich (1904–1942) for devising the

means and coordinating the process of deporting and transporting Jews to ghettos, labor camps and, ultimately, to the Nazi death camps situated in Poland. As policy is a response to a perceived administrative challenge, Eichmann threw himself into his work with enthusiasm and efficiency. He saw himself as an effective administrator, dealing with a major policy issue that had been entrusted for resolution to his care. That it involved the murder of millions of people was of little concern; the important thing for him, in his bureaucratic capacity, was to deal with the task assigned to him. Desk killers have typically addressed their tasks in a vein similar to Eichmann, regardless of their national or ideological background. They have been detached, deliberate, speedy, and highly focused on meeting their objectives, without succumbing to the temptation of human morality that might deflect their attention. It is because of their detachment that desk killers often fail to see the criminal nature of their work—but it is that work that facilitates modern genocide—the more so in highly developed states. In fact, it could be said that the more modern a society, the greater the reliance on desk killers in planning and carrying out policies of genocide.

Despotic Genocide. Despotic genocide, a category coined by sociologist and genocide scholar Helen Fein (b. 1934), constitutes a situation where the perpetrators annihilate those groups it considers to be opposed to its power and in opposition to its policies and goals. The Soviet Union's genocide of its people falls under this category (Fein, 1990, p. 86).

Despotism. A style of government in which an individual leader or small political clique rules with unlimited power over the whole population, who are reduced to little more than personal possessions, vassals, or slaves. Traditionally, despots held royal status, and thus often passed their authority from one generation to the next; royal despots were therefore an accepted part of Western tradition right down to the dawn of the democratic age at the end of the eighteenth century. Given the onset and advance of democracy after this, the arbitrary nature of despotic rule, particularly as it was understood to have occurred in non-Western societies, came to be associated with tyranny, or the cruel exercise of absolute rule. In such manner, some early Asian despots—for example, Genghis Khan (c. 1167–1227) and Amir Timur, or Tamerlane (1336–1405)—came to be recognized as models of brutal, bloodthirsty, and tyrannical despots.

Destruction Process of the Jews by the Nazis. In *The Destruction of the European Jews*, historian Raul Hilberg (b. 1926) argues that while the destruction process of the Jews may seem as if it was monolithic and/or impenetrable, it, in fact, “unfolded in a definite pattern. . . . The steps of the destruction process were introduced in the following order: At first, the concept of Jew was defined; then the expropriatory operations were inaugurated; third, the Jews were concentrated in ghettos; finally, the decision was made to annihilate European Jewry” (Hilberg, 1985, p. 53).

Developmental Genocide. Developmental genocide constitutes a situation in which the perpetrators push indigenous people off their land and/or systematically kill the members of the group for purposes of colonization or extraction of riches (e.g., wood, minerals, oils) from the land.

Diary of Anne Frank. Along with Elie Wiesel's (b. 1928) *Night*, the *Diary of Anne Frank* is the most internationally well-known and well-received book, addressing the reality of the Holocaust (or, Shoah) from the viewpoint of a young person's trauma. Born in 1929 in Germany, Anne Frank and her family—mother, father, and sister—went into hiding

in a “Secret Annex” in a factory in Amsterdam, Holland, to escape the Nazis. A talented writer, the years encompassed by her diary were 1942–1944, when she was ages thirteen to fifteen. In the diary, she records not only her thoughts, dreams, aspirations, and growing awareness of her own sexuality but also details of life in hiding, for this Jewish family and the others who would join them, along with the daily tensions among them. Though befriended by non-Jews, she, her family, and the other inhabitants were betrayed by a Dutch policeman and transported to Bergen-Belsen, where she died of typhus three months shy of her sixteenth birthday in 1945. The diary itself was retrieved after the war by her father, Otto Frank (1889–1980), the only member of the family to survive. The diary was edited by him, and subsequently published in numerous languages beginning in 1952. In the United States it was turned into a stage version, originally by Meyer Levin (1905–1981), and later into a movie starring Susan Strasberg (1938–1999), daughter of famed director Lee Strasberg (1901–1982); both versions provoked controversy, particularly over the universalization of her experiences versus the parochiality of her Jewish identity.

The *Diary* has become a standard in both middle school and high school language arts curricula in many nations around the globe. In the Netherlands itself, the *Diary* remains akin to a “book above reproach” (though a critical edition of the original manuscript was published there), and Anne herself has become something of an icon.

International Holocaust deniers continue to attack the authenticity of the diary, but to no avail. Objectively speaking, while acknowledging both its merit and popularity, the *Diary of Anne Frank* must not be equated with the whole of the Holocaust; it is a window of insight into one small part of the spectrum of the victims’ experiences, specifically, those who went into hiding but, tragically, did not survive.

Diary of Dawid Sierakowiak, The: Five Notebooks from the Łódź Ghetto. This is a remarkably detailed diary by a teenage Jew who lived, suffered, and died in the Łódź Ghetto. The diary describes the horrors faced by the ghettos’ hundred thousand-plus Jews—their endless struggle to obtain food, the physical and emotional pain of watching loved ones waste away and die, and the constant threats posed by starvation, disease, deportation, and death. It also provides unique insights into the mind and life of a single individual and his family, and the torment they lived through (including the fact that his father stole bread from his loved ones in order to attempt to stanch his own hunger). This document is invaluable in that it that relates new and important information about life and death within the Łódź Ghetto, including information about the underground resistance of ghetto youths. Ultimately, Dawid Sierakowiak (1924–1943) died of tuberculosis, exhaustion and starvation, the combination of which was known as the “ghetto disease.”

Dictatorship. An autocratic style of government in which a single leader or small cabal rules over a polity without restriction, or any form of redress on the part of those over whom they wield a seemingly absolute form of power. Dictatorship has a long history, and was an institutionalized office during the time of the Roman Republic (between the third and first century BCE). It has been argued in some quarters that the prototypes of the modern military dictator were England’s Oliver Cromwell (1599–1658) and France’s Napoleon Bonaparte (1769–1821). In modern times, dictators have characterized many of the most repressive and genocidal regimes, including, but not limited to: the governments of the Young Turks (1908–1918), Communist Russia/Union of Soviet Socialist

Republics (1918–1989), Nazi Germany (1933–1945), Fascist Italy (1922–1943), Communist China (1949 to the present), Cambodia under the Khmer Rouge (1975–1979), Rwanda under Hutu Power (1973–1994), and the Sudan (1993–currently). The dictators of these regimes were, respectively: the triumvirate of Mehemet Talaat Pasha (1874–1921), Ismail Enver Bey (1881–1922), and Ahmed Djemal Pasha (1872–1922); Vladimir Ilyich Lenin (1870–1924) and Josef Stalin (1879–1953); Adolf Hitler (1889–1945); Benito Mussolini (1883–1945); Mao Zedong (1893–1976); Pol Pot (1925–1998); Juvenal Habyarimana (1937–1994), and Omar Hasan Ahmad al-Bashir (b. 1944).

After the massive genocidal upheavals of World War II (1939–1945), dictatorial rule became common throughout Latin America, Asia, and especially postcolonial Africa (particularly since the 1960s). Such dictatorships, often located in the hands of individual military strongmen, rendered whole regions unstable, and allowed for the violent expression of radical ideologies based on ethnic, religious, and even tribal differences, with huge losses of life. The most notorious examples of such dictators have been: Milton Obote (1924–2005) of Uganda, Idi Amin (c. 1925–2003) of Uganda, Jean-Bedel Bokassa (1921–1996) of Central African Republic, Muammar al-Gaddafi (b. 1942) of Libya, Haile Mariam Mengistu (b. 1937) of Ethiopia, Robert Mugabe (b. 1924) of Zimbabwe, Charles Taylor (b. 1948) of Liberia, and the previously mentioned Omar Hasan Ahmad al-Bashir (b. 1944) of Sudan.

Dili Massacre. On November 12, 1991, a massacre took place at the Santa Cruz cemetery in Dili, East Timor. The perpetrators of the massacre were members of the much feared KOPASSUS, the Special Forces of the Indonesian military (the *Tentara Nasional Indonesia*, or TNI). The catalyst for the massacre was a funeral procession for an East Timorese student, Sebastião Gomes (1969–1991), who had been shot dead by Indonesian troops a few days earlier. Tensions were already at a flashpoint by the time of the funeral. A parliamentary delegation from Portugal had been due to arrive in East Timor to investigate allegations of human rights abuses, but when student groups supporting the resistance movement FRETILIN (*Frente Revolucionária do Timor-Leste Independente*, or “Revolutionary Front for an Independent East Timor”) threatened to turn the group’s arrival into a protest demonstration against Indonesian rule, the authorities grew wary and stepped up the military presence in the capital. As the funeral procession approached the Santa Cruz cemetery, some of the students took the opportunity to unfurl banners calling for independence, showing images of FRETILIN leader Jose Alexandre “Xanana” Gusmao (b. 1946). In the incendiary environment, this was the final justification the KOPASSUS forces needed to clamp down on the procession as an unauthorized political demonstration. As the procession entered the cemetery truckloads of troops appeared and shortly thereafter opened fire on the unarmed crowd. Although figures regarding the numbers killed and wounded in the ensuing violence vary depending on the source, the most commonly accepted numbers are 271 killed, 382 wounded, and a further 250 missing (those who ran away when the shooting began, or were taken into custody and never seen again). The massacre was witnessed and filmed by Western journalists, and, after being smuggled out of East Timor, broadcast around the world to the universal condemnation of Indonesia. The fact that KOPASSUS forces were at the cemetery on the day of the funeral, were heavily armed, and did not hesitate to open fire at an opportune moment, indicated the possibility that the action had been prepared in advance in order to

squelch even the slightest expressions of antiintegrationist agitation. The massacre at the Santa Cruz cemetery was a clear statement of the Indonesian government's determination to continue its repression of East Timor, and to maintain its ruthless control over the territory.

Dimensions: A Journal of Holocaust Studies. Established in 1984 by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, *Dimensions* was the successor to *Shoah*, founded by Rabbi Isaac ("Yitz") Greenberg of the National Jewish Resource, New York. The very title of *Dimensions* indicates its focus: exploring the subject of the Holocaust from as broad and varied a perspective as possible. *Dimensions* is now published online.

Dirección de Inteligencia Nacional (DINA). Following the 1973 right-wing military coup in Chile by General Augusto Pinochet (1915–2006), DINA (Chile's National Intelligence Directorate) coordinated the "disappearances" and killings which took place in Chile between 1973 and 1979. In the months immediately following the coup, thousands of individuals were murdered, and between 1973 and 1979, hundreds—primarily political activists, trade unionists, and peasants—"disappeared" following their arrest by the security forces of the army, air force, navy, and *carabineros* (uniformed police). All of the victims were considered to be "enemies" of the regime. In August 1977 the dictatorship closed DINA and replaced it with the *Central Nacional de Informaciones* (CNI), the euphemistic name of the Chilean secret police.

Direct Responsibility. A person may be held individually and directly responsible for graves breaches of the Geneva Conventions, violations of the laws or customs of war, crimes against humanity, and genocide, if he or she plans, instigates, orders, carries out, or otherwise aids and abets in the commission of any of the aforementioned acts.

Dirty War. In certain cases where authorities carry out arbitrary arrests, torture, executions, "disappearances," and/or sporadic massacres against particular groups of people, the actions are referred to as "dirty wars." The murderers can be, and often are, a mix of regular military forces, police personnel, paramilitary/militia units, death squads and/or vigilantes. Among some of the more infamous "dirty wars" in the latter half of the twentieth century were the extrajudicial killings of suspected supporters of guerrillas in Guatemala between 1960 and the mid-1990s, the murder of dissidents in Argentina from the late 1970s through the early 1980s, and the Russian effort to put down rebellion in Chechnya from the mid-1990s to the late 1990s.

Dirty War, Argentina. Known in Spanish by its direct translation (*La Guerra Sucia*), or more colloquially *El Proceso* (the process), the "Dirty War" took place between 1976 and 1983 when Argentina experienced a period of harsh military rule. It has been estimated that between eleven thousand and fifteen thousand people were killed during this time as a result of extrajudicial killings perpetrated by the military regime. One of the most notorious of the killers was naval captain Alfredo Astiz (b. 1951), who commanded a detention center in Buenos Aires—the *Escuela Mecánica de la Armada* (Navy Mechanics' School)—from which operated a murder squad known as Task Force 3.3.2. This squad was one of several operating from the Mechanics' School; overall, the college may have been responsible for half of all those killed during the Dirty War. The murders took place because the victims were known (or suspected) to be opponents of the regime. In most instances they were arrested, tortured, and then "disappeared"—the practice of detention without trial and murder without due process giving the victims their nickname of *Los Desaparecidos* ("the disappeared ones"). Often, as documented cases show, military heli-

copters would take the victims far out to sea where they would simply be dropped out, never to be seen again. In response, the mothers of those who were missing formed an association called *Las Madres de Plaza de Mayo* (The Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo). Their brave action in standing up to the junta by marching in protest each week, for a period of years, drew world attention to the disappearances. The Dirty War ended in 1983 with the downfall of the junta and Argentina's return to civilian rule. Since then, Argentina has established a Truth and Reconciliation process, and brought to trial some of those responsible for human rights violations during the Dirty War.

During the trial of one Miguel Etchecolatz, a former police officer of the Bonaerense provincial police who was ultimately found guilty of crimes against humanity, the Dirty War was deemed "genocide" by the Argentine court that was trying him.

Disappearances. The concept of "disappearances" refers to the fact that arrests of victims of political repression are often concealed by government officials in order to hide their treatment of the victims. The victims are said to "disappear" because their relatives and friends are unable to ascertain where they are being held and/or what has happened to them. In certain cases, the "disappeared" have been discovered rotting in a prison, while others have been found dead. Political killings and "disappearances" are frequently related. That is, many victims of extrajudicial murder are secretly kidnapped prior to being murdered, and thus the so-called act of "disappearance" attempts to hide or conceal the murder of the victim.

Los Desaparecidos (the disappeared) became a term frequently assigned to the events in Argentina between 1976 and 1983, when between eleven thousand and fifteen thousand people were killed in what has become known as the "Dirty War" (*La Guerra Sucia*), or more colloquially, *El Proceso* (The Process). The victims were referred to as *Los Desaparecidos*, because once arrested, they usually vanished without a trace, murdered by officers of the ruling military.

Discrimination. The act of making a distinction between individuals and/or groups based on criteria other than qualifications or achievements (that is, based on ethnic identity, gender, age, race, religion, nationality, disability, intelligence, political, or sexual orientation versus educational degrees or positions held), and, in turn, using such distinctions to prohibit such persons or individuals from realizing their maximum potential physically, intellectually, educationally, socially, or economically. Racism and anti-semitism are, perhaps, the two most well-known forms of discrimination, each with a long history of practice. Education at a very young age is considered to be a primary tool to successfully combat discrimination. Ultimately, however, countering discrimination in all arenas is most successful when it is backed up by the force of legislation and law which prohibit such practices, and, where appropriate, punishments include economic or other sanctions.

Discrimination, Protection from Under International Law. In addition to the "Universal Declaration of Human Rights" (1948), the United Nations has adopted two conventions and one additional declaration designed to reverse centuries of international discrimination against peoples. In 1960 the UN adopted the Convention against Discrimination in Education, entered into force in 1962, affirming that every person has the right to an education, and strongly urging its member states to correct whatever educational deficiencies exist in their educational systems at all levels. In 1979 it also adopted the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against

Women, which targeted political, economic, social, cultural, and civil discrimination, while also recognizing the unique status of women as child bearers and their consequent health-care needs, as well as their vulnerability to the crime of rape. In 1981 the United Nations proclaimed the Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Intolerance and of Discrimination Based on Religion or Belief. Declarations, of course, do not have the force of law with the consequence of punishment. Such conventions, no matter how noble, do not contain within themselves the means of redressing violations, thus leaving all four statements appropriate to a world-deliberative body without the teeth necessary for their implementation.

Disease and Genocide. When scholars speak of disease relative to genocide, they most commonly are referring to lethal diseases that have wrought significant harm to the population size or future size of a group. The great epidemics of history, such as smallpox, cholera, tuberculosis, influenza, leprosy, measles, and bubonic plague were frequently visited upon whole societies as highly infectious viral outbreaks for which there was no immediate cure, and in which hundreds of thousands, and even millions, died. Where the study of genocide is concerned, the most important issue relative to disease is how and to what degree these diseases are, or were, introduced into a population by a perpetrator with the intention of destroying that population. No global conclusions can be drawn regarding this issue, as circumstances have varied greatly throughout the world over the last six or seven centuries. In some situations there is no doubt that viral bacteria were released deliberately into a group with the intention of wiping them out. The vast majority of those who have died over the period in question, however, succumbed due to their vulnerability to the microbes that accompanied encroaching groups, especially immigrants from distant lands involved in imperialist or colonialist ventures. In North America (what is now Mexico and the United States), Australasia, and the Pacific, for instance, local populations from the sixteenth century onward had never before experienced European and Asian diseases, which were brought on ships arriving from Spain, France, Britain, Portugal, and elsewhere. Often, these diseases had wiped out large sections of local populations well before any of those from the encroaching nations had even begun their engagement with the native inhabitants. It is incumbent on all those who comment on this issue to be extremely careful in their use of language when considering it. There is certainly a relationship between disease and genocide, but how far that extends is a matter that can never be taken for granted, and must always be dealt with cautiously.

“Dispersion.” A euphemism employed in Queensland (Australia) during the mid- to late nineteenth century, covering a policy of shooting at Aborigines in the rural regions during the colonial settlement of the land with the intention of killing them. The euphemism allowed for the prospect of shooting in the direction of Aborigines so that they might take fright and run away; but, in reality, large numbers of Aborigines were killed deliberately. For the most part, “dispersals” were undertaken by troopers of the Queensland Native Mounted Police, a force comprised of Aborigines recruited from various parts of the colony and commanded by white officers. The policy of “dispersal” came under the spotlight in 1861, when a government Select Committee looked into the matter. It was openly acknowledged that “dispersing” equated with shooting at the Aborigines, and that deaths were frequently caused through indiscriminate hunting down of whole groups of Aborigines without any recognition of individual difference between groups—or even within groups. In testimony offered at the Select Committee, Lieutenant Frederick

Wheeler (d. 1886) stated that “I gave strict orders not to shoot any gins [i.e., Aboriginal women]. It is only sometimes, when it is dark, that a gin is mistaken for a black fellow.” Further, Wheeler testified that it was a general order that “wherever there are large assemblages of blacks, it is the duty of an officer to disperse them.” It was held that there was “no other way” to remove Aborigines from the path of European settlement than by shooting at them. As with many officers, Wheeler at all times acted “on my own discretion, and on my own responsibility,” though this had its negative side—in 1876 he was finally charged with the murder of a ten-year-old Aboriginal boy, was granted bail, and fled the country. Wheeler’s case is a good example of how the policy of “dispersal” worked in Queensland, and it is a testament to the “efficiency” of the policy that it was still employed as a strategy carried out by the Native Police as late as 1897. By the end of the process thousands had been gunned down and Queensland had been opened up for white pastoral settlement.

Displaced Persons. See Internally Displaced Persons; *also see* Refugees.

Distributive Justice. The concept of distributive justice is based around essential principles that call upon the state to ensure that material goods are allocated fairly across society, relative to demand. Such principles vary, dependent upon indices such as: the type of goods subject to distribution, the socioeconomic nature of those who are receiving the distribution, and the basis upon which the distribution takes place. Insofar as such distribution specifies how the economic productivity of a society is spread, a statement is being made about the values that underpin that society. It is also a means whereby dissatisfaction from deprived sectors can be alleviated, if not deflected altogether. Distributive justice is based upon notions of fairness. Executed effectively, it can make for a harmonious society. Among those who have addressed issues pertaining to distributive justice, the most prominent authors—coming from different perspectives on the issue—are John Rawls (b. 1921), who considers that by “goods” we can include a wide variety of both material and nonmaterial components, and Robert Nozick (1938–2002), who argued that through mixing one’s labors with those of others, one can help to create a world of shared outcomes. In this, he was building on the earlier theory of the seventeenth century English philosopher John Locke (1632–1704). In short, distributive justice is a philosophical theory focused on the easing of poverty—and thus on one of the factors, if not ameliorated, that can lead to the emergence of communal tension, violence, and social sectionalism.

Djema1, Ahmed (Pasha) (1872–1922). Military officer in the late Ottoman Empire, and one of the instigators of the Armenian genocide of 1915. A member of the Committee of Union and Progress (*Ittihad ve Terakki Cemiyeti*), Djema1 took a major part in the Young Turk revolt of 1908, played a leading hand in the Adana massacres of Armenians in 1909, and was appointed to the important post of Minister of the Navy in February 1914. With this he became a member of the Young Turk triumvirate consisting of himself, Mehemet Talaat (Pasha) (1874–1921), and Ismail Enver (Bey) (1881–1922). These three, in fact, ruled Ottoman Turkey as a dictatorship, in which the role of the Sultan was reduced to one of helpless impotence. Djema1 was employed by the regime as a “fixer,” who sorted out difficult problems of administration or security, which he was able to do with great success in Adana, Constantinople, and Syria (after the outbreak of World War I). In this latter role he organized the hanging of Arab dissenters, the persecution of Zionist settlers in Palestine, and the general terrorization of the population. As the Syrian Desert was the ultimate destination of Armenian deportees from all over the empire, it

was to Djemal that their final dispatch was entrusted, which he undertook with characteristic efficiency. The major killing sites of the Armenian genocide were all within his area of administration, thus installing him as one of its most important murderers. Like Enver and Talaat, Djemal was wanted for war crimes by the Allies at the time of the Turkish capitulation in 1918, and for his own safety he fled to a number of different havens, ending up in Afghanistan via Russia. In absentia, a tribunal sitting at Constantinople sentenced him to death. Ultimately, Djemal was assassinated in 1922 in Tbilisi, Georgia, by two Armenians who had been hunting him down.

Doctors' Trial. A group trial of twenty-three former Nazi SS physicians, medical scientists, and other Nazi functionaries was held in Nuremberg between December 1946 and August 1947. The defendants were accused of conspiring to commit war crimes and crimes against humanity, and of carrying them out through a range of lethal medical experiments and coldblooded murder during the period of the Third Reich. The experiments involved a wide range of tests gauging the effects of high altitude, freezing, mustard gas, sulfur gas, seawater, malaria, typhus, and incendiary bombs on human life. They also involved bone-muscle-nerve regeneration and bone transplantation, skeleton collection, as well as the "T-4," or euthanasia program. All defendants pleaded not guilty to the charges, with the defense arguing that medical experimentation was not a criminal act, owing to the fact that it was being carried out to save the lives of German soldiers. It was also argued, in defense of the euthanasia program, that those being killed—the chronically ill, the old, the disabled, and the weak—were euthanized out of pity and under a piece of legislation that legitimated the process under German law. In the sentences passed down, seven doctors were marked for execution, five received life imprisonment, and the others received sentences ranging from ten to twenty years. From this trial evolved the Nuremberg Code: a set of ten principles outlining the categories of medical experimentation that would henceforth be accepted as permissible. Part and parcel of the new code included the mandatory consent of the participants, a commitment to ensuring that the experimenters would do their utmost to avoid the possibility of harm or injury to the participants, an ability to interrupt or stop the experiments, and that there would be no lasting effects of the experiment upon the participants.

The Doctors' Trial is not to be confused with the International Military Tribunal that also sat at Nuremberg between 1945 and 1946.

Doctors without Borders. See *Médecins sans Frontières*.

Documenting Atrocities in Darfur. Published by the U.S. Department of State's Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor and Bureau of Intelligence and Research in September 2004, this document delineates and discusses the findings of the U.S. Government's Atrocities Documentation Project (ADP) in Chad, whose express purpose was to ascertain whether genocide had been perpetrated in Darfur against the black Africans by either government of Sudan troops and/or the *Janjaweed* (Arab militia). The report notes that the interviews revealed a consistent and widespread pattern of atrocities committed against non-Arab villagers in the Darfur region of western Sudan. The assessment was based on semistructured interviews with 1,136 randomly selected refugees in nineteen locations in eastern Chad. Most respondents said government forces, the *Janjaweed*, or a combination of the two had completely destroyed their villages. Sixty-one percent of the respondents witnessed the killing of a family member, while 16 percent said they had been

raped or heard about a rape from a victim. About one-third of the refugees heard racial epithets while under attack.

Based on these findings, U.S. secretary of state Colin Powell (b. 1937) declared the situation in Darfur to be a case of genocide. Both the ADP and the finding of genocide constituted major precedents: first, the interview project constituted the first time a sovereign state (the United States) conducted a genocide investigation into the actions of another sovereign state (Sudan), and the declaration of genocide constituted the first time a sovereign state accused another sovereign nation of having perpetrated genocide while the atrocities were being committed.

Domestic Genocides. Domestic genocide, a category of genocide distinguished by genocide scholar Leo Kuper (1908–1994), results from major cleavages within a society between class, ethnic, political, racial, or religious groups as a result of situations such as: overt racism, antisemitism, the desire to exterminate perceived or actual enemies, economic expansion, struggles for power, and/or a combination of the latter.

Donor Fatigue. See Compassion Fatigue.

Doubling. According to psychologist Robert Jay Lifton in his 1986 study *The Nazi Doctors: Medical Killing and the Psychology of Genocide* (chapter 19, “Doubling: The Faustian Bargain”), “The key to understanding how the Nazi doctors came to do the work of Auschwitz is the psychological principle I call ‘doubling’: the division of the self into two functioning wholes, so that a part-self acts as an entire self” (p. 418). Accordingly, doubling involves five (5) characteristics: (1) a dialectical relationship between the two part-selves over the issues of autonomy and connection; (2) an inclusive, coherent holistic base in Auschwitz itself; (3) a life and death nexus by which the part-self engaged in the killing-related acts understands itself to do so for survivalist and/or healing of the total self in such a place; (4) an avoidance of guilt; and (5) an unconscious or morally unaware dimension by which such acts could continually be perpetrated. Thus, for the doctors themselves, their rationalizations, seemingly, enabled them to realize such acts as consistent with their medical oaths and commitments, as well as to see them working for the greater and, therefore, common good, in ethically positive and scientifically justifiable ways. Additionally, the general and all-pervasive antisemitism of those who affirmed Nazism, including the doctors at Auschwitz, was also, part of this same elimination of a social, unclean disease (the Jews), which needed to be exterminated. By extension, Lifton’s insight into the psychology of those medical healers who participated in these acts of genocide has far broader and less confining implications, in that those outside the medical professions who participate in genocide may also experience these five characteristics and may understand their behavior as ethically sound, if not truly moral.

Draft Code of Offenses against the Peace and Security of Mankind. In the aftermath of the proceedings of the International Military Tribunal (IMT) at Nuremberg in 1945–1946, the International Law Commission (ILC) of the United Nations was charged (1947) with the responsibility of drafting a code dealing with offenses against the peace and security of humanity. The task of the ILC was not only to define aggression, but also to address the issue of criminal jurisdiction. A First Draft was distributed in 1950. The last draft, the Third Draft, was distributed in 1954. A further drafting of this code does not appear imminent, and little further action stemming from the earlier drafts is currently on the horizon. That said, some argue that the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY) and the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda

(ICTR), as well as the International Criminal Court (ICC), are the concretization of such a code.

Drina Corps. During the Bosnian War (1992–1995) the armed forces of Republika Srpska comprised two distinct segments: the Army of the Republika Srpska (VRS) and paramilitary units of the republic’s Ministry of the Interior. The commander in chief was the president of Republika Srpska, Radovan Karadzic (b. 1945); the commanding officer of the VRS was General Ratko Mladic (b. 1942). The VRS was in turn divided into six geographically based Corps, all of which were subordinate to General Mladic. These were the Drina Corps, the First Krajina Corps, the Second Krajina Corps, the Sarajevo-Romanija Corps, the Herzegovina Corps, and the East Bosnia Corps. The Drina Corps was formed on November 1, 1992. Its first commander was General Milenko Zivanovic (b. 1946), who was replaced on or about July 11, 1995 by General Radislav Krstic (b. 1948) though there is some dispute surrounding the date of the handover of command. The Drina Corps consisted of about fifteen thousand troops. Two of the thirteen brigades into which it was divided—the Bratunac Brigade and the Zvornik Brigade—featured significantly in the action for which the Drina Corps will principally be remembered: the Srebrenica massacre of July 1995. The Drina Corps was assisted in its murderous work by an irregular militia unit calling itself the Drina Wolves. The Drina Wolves, though, should not be confused with the Drina Corps itself, as they were distinct entities.

The massacre, and the Drina Corps’s role in it, was directly ordered by Mladic, who considered this appropriate in view of the fact that the entire Srebrenica region fell within the Drina Corps’s area of operations. Because of the indictment made against Krstic by the prosecutor of the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY), together with his subsequent trial, the Drina Corps itself came under a great deal of scrutiny from the United Nations and the ICTY. Although charges for the Srebrenica massacre have been leveled against specific individuals, no charges have thus far been made against General Zivanovic, under whose command the city of Srebrenica was occupied. Command of the Drina Corps had passed from him prior to the commencement of the genocidal massacre that took place in Srebrenica from July 11 onward. Krstic initially was found guilty of genocide, but on appeal, was found guilty of being an accomplice to genocide. His initial sentence of forty-six years’ imprisonment was reduced to thirty-five years. On December 20, 2004, he was transferred to a maximum-security prison in Britain to serve his sentence.

Drogheda, Siege of. See Cromwell, Oliver.

Drost, Pieter N. (n.d.). Drost, a Dutch law professor, wrote an early and important work, *The Crime of State* (Leyden: A. W. Sythoff, 1959), in which he assessed the strengths and weaknesses of the United Nations Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide. He was particularly scathing in regard to the fact that political and social groups were omitted from the UN’s definition of genocide.

Duch (Khang Khek Iev) (b. 1942). Duch is the name of the former interrogator of the Khmer Rouge’s Tuol Sleng prison, where innocent people were tortured to death or murdered outright. Along with Ta Mok (1926–2006), who was a senior Khmer Rouge official during the genocide, he is one of only two individuals ever arrested for the crimes of the Khmer Rouge. As of August 2007, Duch was incarcerated in a military prison in Phnom Penh.

Dunant, Henri (1828–1910). A Swiss banker, businessman, and humanitarian, founder of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), inspiration behind the

Geneva Convention (1864), and inaugural Nobel Peace Prize laureate (1901). A Calvinist Christian by upbringing, Dunant's humanitarian sensitivities were aroused at an early age over the issue of slavery, and he attempted to raise the consciousness of concerned Europeans through a wide-ranging series of lectures during the 1850s. Then, in 1859, he witnessed the Battle of Solferino (June 24) between the army of Austria and that of a combined Franco-Italian force. Shocked by the carnage—at least forty thousand casualties—Dunant was determined to do something to at least help the wounded, even if he could not stop the armies from fighting. The more he reflected on the matter, the more his thoughts became confirmed as to what needed to be done, and these were set down in a book he published in 1862, *Un Souvenir de Solferino (A Memoir of Solferino)*. Therein he set forth the idea that ultimately would see the birth of the ICRC and the first Geneva Convention of 1864, which produced an international treaty “for the amelioration of the condition of the wounded in armies in the field.” From that point onward Dunant's life was on a new course, and he began writing and lecturing on issues as diverse as disarmament, care of innocents in wartime, and the establishment of some sort of international arbitration mechanism to rule on disputes between states. Despite this energetic activity—or more likely, because of it—he lost control of his personal affairs, and he led a life of poverty until his death in 1910. When the first Nobel Prize for Peace was awarded, however, Dunant was not entirely forgotten. For his efforts, he was recognized through the Nobel Committee's sharing of the award between him, and the French economist and pacifist Frederic Passy (1822–1912). Not withstanding his extreme personal financial situation, Dunant donated his prize money to charity.

Dunera Boys. The Hired Military Transport (HMT) *Dunera* was a ship sent from Britain to Australia in 1940 for the purpose of removing enemy alien internees (Germans and Italians) from British areas vulnerable to Nazi attack, thereby helping to secure Britain from possible fifth columnist penetration. A ship displacing 12,615 tons, the *Dunera* carried a total of 2,732 internees, together with 141 guards and crew. The majority of those on board, though technically enemy aliens by virtue of their nationality as Germans, Austrians or Czechs, were, in actuality, Jewish refugees who had found sanctuary in Britain prior to the outbreak of war on September 3, 1939. The Australian government had agreed to house them and guard them in internment camps (at British expense), but not to permit them to be released in Australia. When the British government realized its mistake, it dispatched an officer, Major Julian David Layton (1904–1989) to Australia to arrange their compensation and repatriation to Britain. Those who did not wish to brave the perils of possible Nazi attack on the high seas could remain in Australia, but had to stay interned. All the internees were male, many were in their twenties, and some were as young as sixteen—hence the reference to them as “boys,” which continued for the next six decades, even as they aged.

The *Dunera* Boys were joined in internment by a second, smaller contingent of internees: German and Austrian Jewish refugee families evacuated from Singapore on the *Queen Mary* in September 1940, to escape the Japanese threat. Their Australian experience was, in many respects, identical to that of the *Dunera* Boys, except that they included women and small children. Ultimately, all those opting to stay in Australia were released.

Most of the “Boys” joined the Australian Army in a specially raised unit called the Eighth Employment Company. It was this military service that qualified them for permanent residency, then citizenship, at the war's end. Although the journey of the *Dunera* was

itself quite shocking—the guards, who had seen some of the hardest fighting around Dunkirk, believed the internees to be Nazi saboteurs and spies, and treated them with such brutality that the *Dunera* became known as a “floating concentration camp”—once the *Dunera* Boys arrived in Australia they were able to make new lives for themselves in the new country. Saved from the Nazis twice (first by leaving Germany, then by leaving blitz-ravaged Britain), the *Dunera* Boys of 1940 became the harbingers of the multicultural Australia that was to receive its kick start after the war. Many went on to become professors, company founders and directors, judges, senior public servants, and leading members of their professions.

Duranty, Walter (1884–1957). A U.S. journalist reporting from the Soviet Union before World War II. English by birth (born in Liverpool), he was controversially awarded the Pulitzer Prize in 1932 for a collection of accounts of life in the Soviet Union that he had written the previous year when he was the Moscow correspondent for *The New York Times*. Altogether, Duranty lived in Moscow for twelve years. In the early 1930s he was sending dispatches back to the United States on events in the Soviet Union. At the time it was the high point of Josef Stalin’s (1879–1953) epic reforms, involving extensive industrial expansion and the agricultural collectivization. Because the USSR was not recognized by the government of President Franklin Delano Roosevelt (1884–1945) until 1933, news from the Soviet Union was received with considerable curiosity by the public, who knew next to nothing about the country as a whole, or the Five year Plans (the centralization of all economic, agricultural, and industrial activity according to state-determined targets) in particular, let alone the lethal state violence which accompanied these programs. Ensnared in Moscow, Duranty had a sanitized view of what was taking place outside the capital. Most of his reports were enthusiastic in their praise of the Soviet goals to modernize Russia. His liberal optimism fired his admiration for which he was later honored with the Pulitzer Prize. Crucial to an assessment of Duranty’s reportage is what he omitted. It appeared as though he viewed the USSR through rose-tinted glasses: there is, for instance, no hint of the 1932–1933 Soviet man-made terror-famine that raged from the Ukraine to Kazakhstan in Soviet Central Asia. The death of millions caused as a result of this state-induced mass starvation is thus a shocking gap in Duranty’s portrait of the USSR. This omission helped cover up a major state crime that was genocidal in scope, and warped the true image of the USSR for many years after the death of Soviet dictator Josef Stalin (1879–1953).

Duranty, who returned to the United States during World War II, died in 1957. Several decades later, on account of his biased reporting, some critics sought the withdrawal of his Pulitzer Prize, owing to what they understood to have been his sycophancy and compliance with Soviet propaganda in the 1930s. The Pulitzer Prize committee did review the award, but in 2003 decided not to overturn the original decision—even though it recognized that Duranty’s journalism was of a lower standard.

Dutchbat. The unit name given to a 1,170-strong Dutch paratroop battalion that was deployed to Bosnia to help guard the “safe areas” declared by the United Nations on April 16, 1993. In reality, there were three Dutchbat units; the first and second (Dutchbat I and II) completed their six-month tours in Bosnia unremarkably—guarding UN convoys, negotiating between the warring parties, and so on. Dutchbat III, deployed in 1995, had an altogether different fate. Earlier Dutchbat units had been detailed to safeguard the city of Srebrenica, where the first troops—570 in number—had arrived on March 3, 1994. By

July 1995, Dutchbat III had a complement in Srebrenica of only about two hundred soldiers, nowhere near enough to hold off the advancing Bosnian Serb forces of General Ratko Mladic (b. 1942). As Mladic's troops closed in on Srebrenica, Dutchbat found itself cut off and confined to the vicinity of its compound at Potocari, about five kilometers from Srebrenica itself. In the ensuing Serb advance on the town, Dutchbat did not stop the evacuation of women and children, which was part and parcel of Mladic's "ethnic cleansing" process; did not stop the men of Srebrenica from breaking out of the enclave in the hope of reaching Muslim-controlled territory; did not meet the Serbs head-on to demand that they back away from the UN-protected "safe area"; did nothing to avoid the massacre of some seven thousand to eight thousand Bosnian Muslim men and boys at the hands of the Bosnian Serbs; and stood aside even as the Serbs overran their own (the Dutch) base at Potocari. During this time, the United Nations never provided the air support promised to protect the safe area, even when it was well-known that the safe area was under attack.

Dutchbat's failure at Srebrenica caused a national scandal in the Netherlands, later resulting in the resignation of the entire government in April 2002. Dutchbat, for its part, was withdrawn to Zagreb, Croatia, soon after the fall of Srebrenica, and was thereafter transferred back to Holland. The Dutchbat fiasco will henceforth always be associated with the greatest massacre on European soil since the end of World War II.

E

Early Warning System. Originally a term used by the armed services, it is now broadly used to refer to any type of process or program that monitors pertinent situations in order to collect, analyze, predict, and disseminate information for the express purpose of alerting governmental and intergovernmental organizations and officials, as well as the general public, about potential dangers ranging from natural disasters (e.g., extreme climate conditions such as hurricanes and droughts), to man-made disasters (e.g., ethnic conflict, major human rights violations, and genocide). Among some of the many early warning systems that have been developed over the years are: Global Environment Monitoring System (GEMS), UNESCO's International Tsunami Warning System (ITWS), the PIOOM Program (the Dutch acronym for Interdisciplinary Program of Research on Root Causes of Human Rights Violations), and the former United Nations' Office for Research and Collection of Information (ORCI), which collected and disseminated data on potential massive refugee movements and comparable emergencies. (*See Genocide Early Warning System.*)

East Timor, Genocide in. East Timor is an island nation situated in the Indonesian archipelago between Indonesia and Australia. For three centuries it was part of the Portuguese overseas empire, but in 1975, with Portugal's imperial retreat, one of the East Timorese national movements, FRETILIN, declared the territory independent. Within weeks, Indonesian military forces invaded, declared East Timor to be that country's twenty-seventh state, and began a systematic campaign of human rights abuses which resulted in the mass murder, starvation, and death by torture of up to two hundred thousand people, representing one-third of the preinvasion East Timorese population. For the next two decades the international response to this ongoing human rights disaster was one of indifference. Indonesia's neighbor Australia was especially keen not to antagonize the populous nation to its north, and was the first (and, for a long time, the only) country to recognize the *de jure* incorporation of East Timor into the body of Indonesia. United Nations resolutions calling on Indonesia to withdraw were ignored, and the United States, anxious lest a hard-line approach toward the annexation be seen by the Indonesians as a reason to look elsewhere for friends with which to side—such as the nonaligned nations—trod very softly on the issue. Only in 1999, after a long period of Indonesian oppression under the rule of President Mohamed Suharto (b. 1921), and an outbreak of genocidal violence after his downfall in 1998 (this time committed by Indonesian-backed militias and units of the Indonesian army), was East Timor freed as a result of Australian and UN military

intervention. In 2002 the first parliament, elected by universal suffrage and guaranteed by the United Nations, met in the capital of Dili. Under the name Timor Leste, the country was admitted to membership of the United Nations on September 27, 2002.

Eastern Zone (Kampuchea). An area in Kampuchea (Cambodia) where communist dictator Pol Pot (1925–1998) looked askance at the relative autonomy of the people residing there, and sent in Khmer Rouge troops in May 1978 to “purify” the zone. The “purification” resulted in massacres of the Khmer Rouge’s own cadre members, a much more brutal work schedule for those who were allowed to live and remain in the area, and the deportation of tens of thousands to provinces in the northwest.

Economic and Social Council, United Nations. Under Article 64 of the United Nations Charter, the Economic and Social Council has the mandate to “make recommendations for the purpose of promoting respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all.” It also has the power to develop draft conventions for submission to the General Assembly and to convene international conferences on matters related to human rights. Under Article 68 the Council “shall set up commissions in economic and social fields and for the protection of human rights.” The Council has the power to establish ad hoc committees to examine various human rights issues, and also has the mandate to appoint special rapporteurs to analyze and develop reports on matters related to human rights, including genocide. In order to facilitate and expedite work on matters related to human rights, the Council established the Commission on Human Rights and the Commission on the Status of Women. The Commission on Human Rights, in turn, established the Sub-commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities.

Economic Sanctions. Economic sanctions are imposed against a state by an international organization, regional organization or individual state in order to create hardship (and in some cases, to bring the “targeted” nation’s economy to a standstill) in order to induce capitulation to certain demands (e.g., to cease and desist from some aberrant behavior against its own people or others). Among the various types of economic sanctions that are available are: broad trade sanctions (e.g., preventing the targeted nation from selling or trading its main source of revenue such as oil), establishing a moratorium on exports, suspending trade agreements, preventing the transshipment of designated strategic goods to the targeted state, the imposition of fuel embargoes, and banning the import of equipment essential to operating industry and businesses key to running the targeted state’s economy.

Economically Motivated Genocide. A close examination of genocide reveals what might be called an economic factor, suggesting that the elimination of a group can, amongst other things, be linked to economic motives. In fact, systematic expropriation and looting is always a part of genocide.

Furthermore, in the ideology of genocide, a major component is the stereotype of the despised group—the “other.” Often, the targeted group is associated to some degree as the possessor of excess wealth, of ill-gained property, or of acquisition by stealth at the expense of the innocent poor. Time and again the “other” is demonized as the one who sucks out the economic life-blood of the dominant group. Given this, it is little wonder that acts of genocide are also often accompanied by extortion. The relationship between economic greed, theft, and genocide is a close one, and, although it is too much to say that economics alone causes genocide, it is nonetheless frequently one of a number of motives behind it.

Examples of economically motivated genocide abound. For example, the lethal assault on Armenians by Ottoman Turks between 1915 and 1923 freed large tracts of land once occupied by the indigenous Armenians. Throughout the nineteenth century in eastern Anatolia, the population of Kurds and Armenians outstripped the farming capacity of the land. The elimination of the Armenians was a way of easing this chronic land shortage and offers one reason why Kurds so eagerly participated in the ethnic cleansing of the territory inhabited by Armenians. The success of Armenian businesses in the Ottoman Empire, owing to their industriousness and initiative, also contributed to economically inspired jealousy. The Nazi regime of Germany, between 1933 and 1945, posited numerous reasons for the need to eliminate Jews from the life of the country. Obtaining the Jews' wealth (and their presumed wealth, which far outstripped reality) was a major (though usually unspoken) factor in the Nazis' brutal and, ultimately, genocidal actions. Jews were deprived of their factories, shops and employment, not only to impoverish them, but to enrich Germany. "Aryanization" was thus designed, on the one hand to reduce German Jews to penury, and, on the other to provide Germany with Jewish assets—capital, employment, property, and the like. Innumerable works of art were stolen from Jewish homes and subsequently acquired by German museums and prominent individuals. The Nazi trade in gold confiscated from Jews constitutes a classic case of widespread stealing in the context of the Holocaust.

Another common example of economic factors within the context of genocide is forced labor. For example, between 1939 and 1945 the Nazi state and its component parts used forced Jewish labor to enhance the war effort: Jews built roads, worked in ghetto factories, dug antitank ditches, and engaged in other forms of slave labor. They were hired out to private enterprise by the SS in their hundreds of thousands. Indeed, their forced contribution to the German war economy was significant. At the same time, the conditions of work were so stringent that labor frequently led to their death.

For all the reasons that can be given for the government of Sudan's suppression of its Christian population in the southern part of the country between the mid-1980s and the early 2000s, a major goal was control of the oil deposits located there. Without it the Muslim Arab northern region of Sudan would have remained an economic backwater. In Iraq the murderous assaults of Saddam Hussein's (1937–2006) regime on Kurds in the north and Shiites in the south were driven by a similar concern: access to and control of oil fields. In Rwanda the push against the Tutsi in the early 1990s (which culminated in the 1994 genocide) came partially from the claim that they owned too much land at the expense of the Hutu majority.

Eichmann, Adolf (1906–1962). Born in Solingen, in the Rhineland, Eichmann played a central role in the Holocaust. In the very early 1930s, he joined the Austrian Nazi Party, moved to Germany in 1934, and, in 1935, went to work for the Reich Security Main Office (RHSA) in Berlin. He initially worked on the problem of forced Jewish emigration and mass expulsion, but by 1939, with the start of World War II, he was appointed Head of the Jewish Section for the Gestapo. Having participated in the initial discussions of the "Final Solution to the Jewish Question," he was asked by Reinhard Heydrich (Head of the RHSA) to prepare for the Wannsee Conference of January 1941, where plans for the mass extermination of Jews throughout Nazi-occupied Europe were delineated. The focus of the Wannsee Conference, then, was not, as it is commonly misunderstood, held to plan or debate the merits of the idea of the extermination of the Jews and others, but, since it was a *fait accompli*, to delineate the plan of action.

Eichmann was then tasked with coordinating responsibilities regarding the round-up of Jews and their transportation to the various *Vernichtungslagers* (death camps). He personally took charge of the Hungarian deportations in 1944. After the war he, like many others, went into hiding and was able to make his way to Buenos Aires, Argentina, where he lived with his family and worked as a factory worker under the name Ricardo Klement. In 1960 he was captured by Israeli Security Service agents and taken to Israel for trial for “crimes against the Jewish people” (the only crime for which the punishment is death in Israeli law). Found guilty in 1961, he was hanged, his body cremated, and his ashes scattered at sea.

Eichmann in Jerusalem: A Report on the Banality of Evil. The title of a book published in 1963 by the German-Jewish political scientist philosopher Hannah Arendt. Prior to being published as a book, the report was published as a series of magazine articles in the *New Yorker*, the latter of which had sent Arendt to Jerusalem in 1961 to cover the trial. Argumentative and controversial, Arendt contended, as indicated by the subtitle, that Eichmann himself was merely a banal (read “normal”) cog in the bureaucratic machinery of National Socialism, whose own careerist orientation, coupled with his strict sense of following the orders of his superiors, led him to continually refine and perfect the “machinery of death”—and thus, was not necessarily one who was truly antisemitic. Her more negative assessments, however, were reserved for the various leadership groups in the Jewish communities under Nazi domination which attempted to help their people survive, but ultimately failed to do so. These leadership groups, she argued, placed self-serving, competing interests above the actual saving of Jewish lives. Had the opposite been more characteristic, she maintained, the actual number of deaths would have been less. Her book generated intense debate in Israel, among survivors worldwide, and helped generate a serious, scholarly reevaluation of the Nazi period of rule and those most involved, including Jews.

Eichmann Trial. Spirited out of Argentina in 1960, Adolf Eichmann was brought to Israel by Security Service agents to stand trial for “crimes against the Jewish people,” which carried with it the possibility of the death penalty. The trial began in April 1961 in the District Court in Jerusalem, under the jurisdiction of a three-judge panel headed by Israeli Supreme Court justice Moshe Landau (b. 1912). The chief prosecutor was Israel’s attorney general Gideon Hausner. Eichmann’s defense attorney was the German lawyer Dr. Robert Servatius (n.d.), who had previously defended a number of the Nazi elites at the International Military Tribunal, Nuremberg, Germany, 1945–1946.

The Eichmann trial lasted four months. More than one hundred witnesses were called to testify, and more than fifteen hundred documents became part of the court record. While not directly addressing the evidence presented, the defense argued that the trial itself was illegal because the State of Israel itself did not exist during the period of World War II, that the judges themselves as Jews and Israelis were prejudiced, that Eichmann himself was illegally kidnapped out of Argentina, that he was merely “following orders” (a plea rejected at Nuremberg), and the Israeli law charging him with his crimes was itself *ex post facto*. All these criticisms were rejected by the judges. Found guilty in December, both his appeal of the judges’ decision and his plea for clemency were turned down. He was executed by hanging in June 1961, his body cremated, and his ashes scattered at sea.

Eicke, Theodor (1892–1943). Nazi police leader, commander of the Death’s Head (*Totenkopf*) Division of the SS, and the prime mover behind the development of the Nazi

concentration camp system in Germany from 1933 onward. Eicke joined the National Socialist party in 1928, and in June 1933 was appointed the second Kommandant of the Dachau concentration camp. While there, he systematized the treatment, supervision, and punishment of the prisoners, and instilled a new esprit de corps into the SS guard organization. As Kommandant, he made Dachau a model for the other camps, instituting policies regarding discipline, camp organization and hierarchy, rituals concerning reception and orientation, and regulations concerning capital offenses. In mid-1934 an official body, the Inspectorate of Concentration Camps, was created to coordinate the diverse camps throughout the Third Reich and Eicke was selected by SS chief Heinrich Himmler (1900–1945) to serve as the inspector of concentration camps. Eicke's mandate was to oversee the entire concentration camp system and bring Dachau-style order to the varied systems of hit-or-miss administration, which until then had characterized the camp network. Immediately, he set about transforming the whole concentration camp edifice in accordance with the Dachau model. The treatment of prisoners became standardized, and clear delineations were made within the authority structure concerning the camps' direction and administration. Ultimately, Eicke's routine for Dachau became the archetype for camps all over Germany. Henceforth, for example, Kommandants could instruct their guards to be as imaginative as they liked in matters of prisoner discipline, provided it was imposed within a set of very stringent guidelines. The offenses capable of attracting severe punishment were many, with detailed rules set in place.

In 1939, with the outbreak of war, Eicke took a more active command of the SS *Totenkopf* Division and moved away from the Inspectorate of Concentration Camps. He was succeeded as Inspector by his second-in-command, Richard Glücks (1889–1945). Eicke's command of the *Totenkopf* saw the perpetration of numerous war crimes, particularly against a group of British soldiers in 1940, and later on the Russian front. Eicke died of injuries on February 26, 1943, shortly after being promoted to SS *Obergruppenführer*, or general, as the result of a plane crash during Operation Barbarossa.

Eight Stages of Genocide. While employed at the United States Department of State, Dr. Gregory Stanton (b. 1946), a cultural anthropologist, international lawyer, and genocide scholar, outlined in 1996 what he perceives as the eight stages of genocide: classification, symbolization, dehumanization, organization, polarization, preparation, extermination, and genocide. In an introductory comment to his outline of the stages, he writes: "Genocide is a process that develops in eight stages that are unpredictable but not inexorable. At each stage, preventive measures can stop it. The later stages must be preceded by the earlier stages, though earlier stages continue to operate throughout the process" in a nonlinear way. For an explanation of each stage, see <http://www.genocidewatch.org/8stages.htm>

Einsatzgruppen (German, "Special Action Groups," More Commonly Referred to as "Mobile Death Squads"). During World War II, the *Einsatzgruppen* accompanied the *Wehrmacht* (the German army) into Poland and others parts of eastern Europe, primarily the Soviet Union with "Operation Barbarossa." Their "special function" was to round up any Jews they encountered and exterminate them, murdering men, women, and children, usually after first having them dig large pits in forested ravine areas away from towns and villages, and removing their garments and other possible valuables (e.g., jewelry) so as not to damage such during the course of their murders. The hapless victims were then shot by machine guns and tumbled into the pits that were to serve as mass graves. After the first group had been murdered, each succeeding group was ordered to

lie down on top of the previous victims and then they were subsequently sprayed also with machine gun bullets. This murderous procedure was repeated until all Jews in their catchment area were dead. Given that the task of shooting women and children in cold blood was frequently psychologically troublesome to the SS (German, *Schutzstaffel*, “special forces”) who carried out these murders, mobile killing vans using carbon monoxide poisoning were eventually introduced, having been tested in a number of locations previously. They were used both to remove the intimacy of contact, and to sanitize the process. Although at times quite inefficient, in view of technical malfunctions and mechanical breakdowns, from an economic perspective such vans were cost-effective regarding the use of both men and matériel.

Divided into four groups, the *Einsatzgruppen*'s geographic areas of responsibilities were as follows: Group A, the largest, operated in the Baltic states of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia with a force of 1,000 men; Group B operated in Belorussia, and outside of Moscow with a force of 650 men; Group C operated in the Ukraine with a force of 700 men; and Group D operated in southern Ukraine, the Crimea, and Caucasia, with a force of 600 men. It is estimated that between 1941 and 1943 more than 1 million Jews and hundreds of thousands of non-Jewish Russians were murdered by the combined efforts of the *Einsatzgruppen*. Meticulous record keeping of the four groups themselves (three of the four group leaders had earned doctorates) provided a graphic record of their crimes.

After the war, only four of the original twenty-four leaders and subleaders brought to trial were actually executed for their crimes; the majority of those who participated as members of the four *Einsatzgruppen* were never brought to trial. Later, after the International Military Tribunal (IMT) at Nuremberg, Germany completed its work in 1945–1946, West Germany handed down an additional one hundred guilty verdicts, though no death sentences were carried out since West Germany had abolished capital punishment.

Electronic Jamming. In the case of genocide, “electronic jamming” refers to the ability and/or effort of an outside force (e.g., the international community) to prevent perpetrators from broadcasting (over television, radio or other electronic means) messages of hate and lies about its perceived enemies and/or orders and instructions to its group members to take part—in one way or another—in the genocidal process. The international community (both the United Nations and the United States) was roundly criticized for not “neutralizing” (i.e., preventing via “jamming”) the hate messages broadcast by *Radio-Télévision Libre des Mille Collines* (RTL) in Rwanda in 1994 in its (RTL's) effort to mobilize Hutu to ostracize, hunt down and kill Tutsi and moderate Hutu. Both the United Nations and the United States were well equipped to carry out such an operation, which could have been accomplished from an airborne platform such as the U.S. Air National Guard's Commando Solo airplane.

Eliticide. *Eliticide* refers to the killing of the leadership, the educated, and the clergy of a group. Eliticide often is committed at the outset of a genocide, and is perpetrated in order to deny a group those individuals who may be most capable of leading a resistance effort against the perpetrators. Concomitantly, it is used to instill fear in the citizenry of the targeted group and to engender an immense sense of loss. Over the course of the past century, for example, eliticide was carried out during the Armenian genocide perpetrated by the Ottoman Turks between 1915 and 1923, the Khmer Rouge genocide of their fellow Cambodians between 1975 and 1979, and in various towns across the former Yugoslavia in the 1990s. As for the latter, during the ethnic cleansing of a town or village,

a Serb who resided in the town would point out all the Muslims of stature (including lawyers, physicians, business leaders, the police chief, the mayor, among others). Upon being pointed out, such individuals were usually killed immediately by Serb soldiers.

Emergency Rescue Committee (ERC). A refugee-rescue organization formed in New York in 1940 to assist refugees displaced by World War II. The ERC was comprised of activists drawn largely from New York's literati of writers, intellectuals and artists, and received support from influential figures such as Eleanor Roosevelt (1884–1962), wife of Franklin Delano Roosevelt (1882–1945), the president of the United States. The Committee was particularly concerned with the fate of refugees in Vichy France, as they were in the precarious position of living under the threat of deportation to Nazi Germany at a moment's notice. As the U.S. government's policy toward refugees, and particularly Jewish refugees, was at that time restrictive, the ERC saw its role as one of assisting them to find safe havens—places which might include the United States, though not exclusively. The ERC's representative in Marseille, Varian Fry (1917–1976), was charged by the ERC to compile lists of those in greatest need and to attempt to procure visas for their departure through the Vichy French government. Fry's work took on a frenzied air as he attempted to save as many people as possible. He visited the offices of the Vichy authorities daily, purchased visas from the allocations of foreign consuls in Marseille, and, when all options seemed exhausted, smuggled refugees across the border into neutral Spain. For this latter activity, and for not carrying a valid passport himself, Fry was arrested by the Vichy police and deported to the United States in 1941. With this, the ERC's operations in France ceased. During the thirteen months of his ERC tour in Marseille, Fry's efforts saw the salvation of four thousand refugees, including many intellectuals and artists such as: Marc Chagall (1887–1985), Hannah Arendt (1906–1975), Pablo Casals (1876–1973), and Max Ernst (1891–1976). In 1942, the ERC joined with another American body, the International Relief Association, to form the International Rescue Committee, which is still active in refugee relief activities to this day.

Enabling Act. Passed by the German *Reichstag* (Parliament) on March 23, 1933, immediately after Hitler came to power, and based on a provision of the Weimar Constitution, this act “enabled” the Reich chancellor to operate under autocratic decree where the security of the state was at stake. Using the pretext of a fire of highly suspicious origin at the Reichstag on February 27, 1933, Hitler used the Enabling Act to squelch opposition, consolidate power, and reject any legislation not proposed by the Nazis themselves. This Act virtually opened the way to future legislation directed against all future or perceived “enemies” of the Nazi state.

Enclosures. The Tudor period in England (1485–1603) was a time of great religious, social, and political ferment, but few changes had such a profound and lasting impact on the fabric of society than the enclosing of public common land behind fences, with a concomitant amalgamation of small farms into larger estates. The processes begun at this time saw tenants not only thrown off land that had been farmed for generations, but these same tenants deprived of employment and sustenance. The enclosure acts that were passed in the sixteenth century were to increase in number over the next two centuries. Seventy were passed for the benefit of landed aristocrats between 1700 and 1760; in the first thirty years of the reign of King George III (1738–1820), whose reign began in 1760, an astonishing 1,355 more enclosure acts were passed. It has been estimated that the number of acres transferred in the eighteenth century from poor farmers and tenants to prosperous

and influential landlords was at least 3 million. The extent and nature of the enclosures brought untold hardships to the dispossessed tenant farmers, converting thousands of independent smallholders into dependent agricultural laborers, and thousands more into slum-dwellers and factory-fodder in the burgeoning industrial centers that were then in the process of revolutionizing English society forever. Although the enclosure movement remodeled the English agricultural population into a landless agricultural and industrial proletariat, its main effect with regard to genocide was, as identified by Holocaust scholar Richard L. Rubenstein (b. 1924), the creation of a “surplus” population that had been rendered vulnerable by legal means. The precedent the enclosure acts created is thus vitally important in the overall history of genocide, even though the acts were not themselves genocidal in nature.

Encyclopedia of Genocide. The brainchild of Israel W. Charny (b. 1931), psychologist and genocide scholar, this encyclopedia was published in 1999 by ABC-CLIO Publishers. Coedited by Rouben Adalian (b. 1951), Steven L. Jacobs (b. 1947), Eric Markusen (1947–2007), and Samuel Totten (b. 1949), this two-volume work includes entries on a wide range of issues critical to understanding the issue of genocide.

Encyclopedia of Genocide and Crimes Against Humanity. Published in 2004 by Macmillan Reference USA and edited by Dianah L. Shelton, Howard Adelman, Frank Chalk, Alexandre Kiss, and William A. Schabas, this three-volume reference work provides a comprehensive and detailed examination of a wide array of issues germane to genocide and crimes against humanity. In doing so, it highlights and examines the myriad of issues behind the crimes.

Encyclopedia of the Holocaust. Published in 1990, this massive work (1,905 pages) remains the standard comprehensive encyclopedia on the Holocaust. It “seeks to provide, insofar as its format allows, the widest possible scope of information” on the Holocaust. With nearly one thousand entries, its editors (which includes, as its chief editor, the noted Holocaust scholar and survivor of the Warsaw Ghetto revolt Israel Gutman) aim “to make knowledge that was previously available mainly to scholars accessible to the educated public at large” (xvii). For specialist and nonspecialist alike, at all educational levels, from high school through college and university on to graduate school, there remains to this point in time (2007) no comparable set of volumes that address this human tragedy.

Ennals, Martin (1927–1991). Ennals, a passionate defender of international human rights, was the first secretary-general of Amnesty International (AI), and the prime mover and shaker in the establishment of numerous other human rights-based organizations. Included among the latter are International Alert, HURIDOCS, SOS Torture (which became the World Organization Against Torture), and Defence for Children International. Ennals was instrumental in moving AI from an organization that focused on documenting human rights to one that campaigned for the protection of each individual’s human rights across the globe. During the course of his leadership with AI, AI’s first campaign against torture was undertaken (1973). It was also during Ennals’ tenure as secretary-general that AI was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize (1977). Along with Leo Kuper (1908–1994), Luis Kutner (1908–1993), and others, Ennals was instrumental in establishing International Alert (IA), whose express purpose was to focus on the intervention of conflict that had the potential of exploding into genocide.

Enver, Ismail (Bey) (1881–1922). Military officer in the late Ottoman Empire, leader of the Young Turk (CUP) coup d’état of January 13, 1914, and one of the chief instigators

of the Armenian genocide of 1915. A man of obscure background (it is believed that he was the son of a railway porter), he was able to rise in the revolutionary ferment of Young Turk politics to become minister of finance and eventually minister of war, to marry into the royal family, and, ultimately, to become one of the three most powerful men in the Ottoman Empire. As minister of war Enver began the process of transforming the Armenians into a vulnerable population by drafting all Armenian men into the army and then ordering them to be disarmed and transformed into labor units. This served to render them defenseless when the army turned on and massacred them in large numbers. Deprived of their men, the Armenian women, children, and elderly became much easier targets in the unfolding genocide. Enver also helped to organize mobile killing units called the Special Organization (in Turkish, *Teskilati Mahsusa*), whose squads were tasked with the singular function of killing Armenians in large numbers. (In this, they prefigured the *Einsatzgruppen* of the Nazis during World War II.) Enver formed one part of a political triumvirate ruling the Ottoman Empire, alongside of Mehemet Talaat (Pasha; 1874–1921) and Ahmed Djemal (Pasha; 1874–1922). At the end of World War I, as a man much sought-after by the Allies for trial, he fled to Germany to escape prosecution for war crimes. In absentia, a tribunal sitting at Constantinople sentenced him to death. Enver moved from Germany to Russia in 1920 to assist the Bolsheviks in achieving their revolution, changed sides, and was killed commanding Muslim troops rebelling against Soviet rule in central Asia in 1922.

Epithets. Perpetrators of genocide often refer to the victim group(s) by derogatory terms that suggest that the members of the target group are less than human and/or traitors. For example, during the 1904 German-perpetrated genocide of the Hereros, the Germans, both the colonial settlers and the perpetrators of the genocide, regularly referred to the Hereros as “baboons.” Not only was the average German said to have looked down upon the Hereros as being on the same level as primates, but that the Germans treated the Hereros as inferior. In fact, the Germans espoused and believed that the Hereros only had a right to exist as long as they were useful to the whites. The Kaiser shared such negative attitudes of the Hereros and went so far as to declare that “Christian precepts were not applicable to heathens and savages” (quoted in Bridgman and Worley, 2004, p. 30). During the Armenian genocide (1915–1923), the Ottoman Turks repeatedly referred to the Armenians as *gâvurs* or infidels. It was simply another way of indicating that they were considered worthless by the Turks. During the Holocaust the Nazis referred to Jews, in part, as vermin, lice, parasites, and infections. The use of such terms was used to reinforce and inculcate the perverted notion that Jews were inferior, less than human (*Untermenschen*), and “life unworthy of life.” Inferring that the Jews were less than human lent “credence” to the Nazis’ exterminatory plans and actions against the Jews. Between 1975 and 1979, during the Khmer Rouge–perpetrated Cambodian genocide, the Khmer Rouge, atheists who detested all religions, denounced Buddhist monks in the country as “leeches” and “bloodsuckers.” Prior to and during the 1994 Rwandan genocide, extremist Hutu who attacked and killed an estimated five hundred thousand to 1 million Tutsi and moderate Hutu over a hundred-day period, referred to the Tutsi as *Inyenzi* (or cockroaches”), inciting the Hutu to kill such “vermin.” *Inyenzi* was a common term used by Radio Television Mille Collines, the Hutu extremist radio station. For example, during one broadcast, the following transmission/warning/threat was made: “You cockroaches must know you are made of flesh! We won’t let you kill! We will kill you!” During the first genocide of the

twenty-first century, government of Sudan troops and their *Janjaweed* (Arab militia) allies, regularly referred to their victims, the black Africans of Darfur, as “slaves,” “slave dogs,” and “Nuba,” all of which are considered nasty slurs in the region.

Erdemovic, Drazen (b. 1971). Drazen Erdemovic, a Croat born in Tuzla, had a mixed record of military service prior to becoming the first convicted war criminal in an international tribunal since the end of World War II. When the Bosnian War broke out in April 1992, he joined the Bosnian Army and then deserted because of a dispute over a food ration. He moved to the HVO, the Croatian Army, but was arrested for illegal activities, escaped, and made his way to Bosnian Serb lines where he enlisted in the VRS, the Army of Republika Srpska. Erdemovic’s unit, the Tenth Sabotage Detachment, saw close-quarter action in the Serb assault on the eastern Bosnian city of Srebrenica in July 1995. On July 16, where his unit was located on a farm in Pilica, north of the city, he and his fellow soldiers met a convoy of buses arriving from Srebrenica filled with Bosnian Muslim men and boys—civilians all—who had surrendered earlier to the Serb occupiers. Erdemovic’s unit led them away in groups of ten, and executed them in a controlled orgy of mass killing. By the end of the process, some 1,200 Bosnian Muslims had been murdered.

On March 30, 1996, Serbian president Slobodan Milosevic (1941–2006) surrendered Erdemovic to the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY), ostensibly to provide evidence against other top-ranking Bosnian Serb leaders. Erdemovic was indicted on May 29, 1996, and appeared in court two days later. He pleaded guilty to the two counts for which he had been indicted, war crimes and crimes against humanity, and, on November 29, 1996, he was sentenced to ten years’ imprisonment. More specifically, during the course of the trial, he confessed to having murdered more than seventy civilian men himself near Srebrenica in July 1995. Ultimately, he pleaded guilty to crimes against humanity for his part in the massacre of some seven thousand Muslim boys and men after the safe area of Srebrenica was captured by the Serbs. During the course of his plea, Erdemovic asserted that “I had to do this. If I had refused, I would have been killed together with the victims. When I refused, they told me, ‘If you are sorry for them, line up with them and we will kill you too.’”

On appeal—based on the assertion that his original guilty plea was not properly informed—his original ten-year sentence was reduced to five years’ imprisonment, and the prosecutor withdrew the count of crimes against humanity. During his appeal he claimed mitigating circumstances, namely his young age when the crimes took place, his remorse, his subordinate status as a private soldier, and the fact that, as a Bosnian Croat, he had been told by his Serb officers that if he did not kill Muslims he would himself be killed. He was transferred to Norway in March 1998 to serve out his sentence. Erdemovic was the first of the accused appearing before the ICTY to plead guilty to the crimes alleged against him, and the first against whom the ICTY handed down a sentence.

Escape from Sobibor. A 1987 made-for-television movie directed by Jack Gold (b. 1930), and starring Alan Arkin (b. 1934), Joanna Pakula (b. 1957), and Rutger Hauer (b. 1944). *Escape from Sobibor* tells the story of the uprising at the Sobibor death camp on October 14, 1943, when over six hundred Jewish inmates, led by Leon Feldhandler (1910–1945) and Alexander Pechersky (1909–1996), broke out of the camp. The escape threatened to ruin the Nazi modus operandi and thereby forced the permanent closure of the gassing facilities that had claimed the lives of at least 250,000 Jews since May 1942. More specifically, the Nazis feared the escapees would make their annihilatory

plans public knowledge, thus undermining the subterfuge surrounding the killing at Sobibor. That is, they feared that people might henceforth know what was happening there, and thus resist when the trains arrived at the ramp.

The screenplay of *Escape from Sobibor* was adapted from a closely researched study of the same name written by a non-Jewish author from the United States, Richard Rashke (b. 1934), in 1982. Much of Rashke's work, in turn, was assisted by survivors of the camp and the uprising. Three of them—Thomas “Toivi” Blatt (b. 1927), Stanislaw “Shlomo” Szmajzner (1927–1989) and Ester Terner Raab (b. 1922)—worked as technical consultants on the film. *Escape from Sobibor*, which was filmed on the outskirts of Belgrade, Yugoslavia, garnered two Golden Globe Awards in the United States for Best Made-for-Television Motion Picture and Best Supporting Actor (Rutger Hauer, in the role of Alexander Pechersky). Alan Arkin received a Golden Globe nomination for Best Actor for his portrayal of Leon Feldhandler.

Ethiopia, Genocide in. On September 12, 1974, a military coup took place in Ethiopia, bringing to power a group of military officers calling themselves the Provisional Military Administrative Council, or PMAC. The constitution was suspended, parliament was dissolved, and a socialist course for Ethiopia's future was declared. In 1977, Lieutenant-Colonel Mengistu Haile Mariam (b. 1937) became head of the PMAC, and began to divert the socialist objective into one of stronger military rule. Thousands of political opponents were murdered in a countrywide purge, while private property was confiscated by the state, and military spending was greatly increased at the expense of social programs of all kinds. From 1984 onward, the Mengistu regime conducted a policy of forced relocation of hundreds of thousands of Ethiopian peasant families from barren or near-barren areas to parts of the country with greater fertility. By the end of 1984, about seven hundred thousand people had been forcibly relocated. Although the idea might have been a worthy one (particularly in a country prone to periodic famines), the means employed to effect the population transfers were brutal. At least one hundred thousand people, according to most estimates, perished. Ironically, starvation was a major cause of the deaths; little in the way of resettlement assistance was provided, and those moved were often simply dumped down in regions where no preparatory work had been undertaken. For those “resettled” in temporary camps, conditions were possibly even worse. These camps were run like prisons, and when camp populations complained, they were often attacked by government troops. Underlying the period of the political “red terror” of the late 1970s, and then of the resettlement campaigns of the mid-1980s, was also an ethnic struggle between the ruling regime and separatists in the provinces of Tigray and Eritrea. Movements in these provinces engaged in bitter fighting with the government, resulting in many more deaths caused on grounds of ethnic identity. In 1991, Mengistu was overthrown by a group called the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front, a coalition of rebel organizations led by Tigrayans. Since 1994, a series of trials involving Mengistu-era military and political leaders have taken place, some of the latter of whom have faced charges of genocide under Article 281 (Genocide) of the Ethiopian Penal Code of 1957. Mengistu himself, in exile in Zimbabwe, has escaped justice, though he has been tried in absentia and sentenced to death.

New allegations of genocide against a minority people in Ethiopia, the Anuak, surfaced in late 2003, indicating that ethnic strife is far from over despite the change in government in the 1990s and its avowed commitment to a democratic future for all Ethiopians.

Ethnic Cleansing. In a January 1993 report, a UN Commission of Experts, which was established by the UN Security Council, defined “ethnic cleansing” as “rendering an area ethnically homogenous by using force or intimidation to remove persons of given groups from the area.” *Ethnic cleansing*, in fact, is a term that reaches back to at least World War II. During the latter period of World War II, the Nazi-backed Croats used the term to refer to their brutal actions against the Serbs. The Nazis, themselves, also used the term *Säuberung* to denote the “cleansing” of the Jews from countries, towns, and territories. The term *ethnic cleansing* gained wide use during the 1990s to explain actions carried out in the former Yugoslavia, during which various sides in the four wars purposely and systematically forced entire groups of people from their homes, village, towns, and land in an effort to “cleanse” the area of rival ethnic and/or religious groups. Ethnic cleansing in the former Yugoslavia was undertaken via various means, including but not limited to: arbitrary arrest and detention, vile mistreatment of both civilian prisoners and prisoners of war, attacks on hospitals, extrajudicial executions, military attacks or the threat of attacks against civilians and civilian centers, murder, mass murder, rape and others types of sexual assault, torture, the ransacking of homes, and the utter destruction of property, including religious and cultural edifices (e.g., mosques, libraries, and monuments). Article 49 of the Fourth Geneva Convention of 1949 expressly forbids “individual or mass forcible transfers, as well as deportation of protected persons from occupied territory to the territory of the Occupying Power or to that of any other country.” It also stipulates that only the security of the civil population or “imperative military reasons” may serve as justification for the evacuation of civilians in occupied territory.

Ethnic Cleansing, Undertaken in the Former Yugoslavia. Like *genocide*, the term *ethnic cleansing* is relatively new, but what it describes is centuries old. The phrase in relation to the former Yugoslavia was originally introduced by reporters covering the Yugoslav wars of disintegration between 1991 and 1995. At first, the term was employed to describe the violence aimed at uprooting Serbian minorities from Croatia, in particular from territories inside historic Croatia such as Krajina and Slavonia. It quickly was expanded to denote any attempt throughout Yugoslavia to force minorities off their lands. Strangely, and euphemistically, ethnic cleansing then became a substitute for genocide in popular discourse, as mass killings proliferated throughout the former Yugoslavia. The many offensives to drive out minority populations intensified with the formation of paramilitary units. Although the end goal was the “liberation” of land from its “alien” inhabitants, greater and greater emphasis was placed on killing as a means of ensuring that those displaced would never return. In other words, mass killings and, in certain cases, genocide, presented themselves as the most efficient way of ridding an area of an unwanted minority. Typically, the policy of ethnic cleansing would begin with the harassment of local citizens of an unwanted group, who would be terrorized and intimidated, often in fear for their lives, to leave their homes. Such terror often included a combination of torture, rape, beatings, mutilation, and extended to the murder of others as an example to the wider population. Sometimes, wholesale murder of much larger numbers was undertaken. Lethal violence as terror, for example, typified the Croatian tactic to expel Serbs from Krajina in August 1995, as it did the Serbs’ efforts to evict Kosovars during 1998 and 1999. Once an area had been “cleansed” of its unwanted population, the perpetrators moved in their own people, which altered the character of the region as though the original owners had never existed; in this way, the perpetrators laid claim to the region as of

right, with no one able to claim preexisting title through prior occupation. Genocidal violence characterized the Bosnian Serb tactics to destroy the entire Muslim population in Srebrenica and other UN-designated “safe areas.” The act of ethnic cleansing in this case is reminiscent of the Nazi-backed Croats’ use of the term to describe their brutal treatment of the Serbs during World War II, as well as Nazi declarations during World War II that a city or a region had been made “free” of Jews (*Judenfrei*). The term also echoes the Soviet destruction of a segment of the political strata, the so-called *Chistka* (cleaning, or purge). The psychological implications are the same: ridding society of what is proclaimed to be an “unhygienic” element that must be removed, by mass killings if necessary. In the case of the various parts of Yugoslavia, all of them contained minorities that were unwanted by one group or another. In the desire by zealous nationalists to achieve ethnically homogenous states, ethnic cleansing became a “logical” solution.

Ethnic Conflict. Ethnic conflict can develop in two ways. One is horizontal, as a dispute between two minorities in the same state, for example, Jews and Ukrainians in Imperial Russia in the nineteenth century, or Roma and Hungarians in twentieth century Romania. The second dynamic is vertical, between a minority and a dominant majority, for example, the various Native American peoples and the United States government and its policies favoring the majority of settlers wishing to obtain Indian land during the nineteenth century. Either or both of these categories are present today in a majority of the world’s nations, though in most cases such conflict does not spill over into lethal violence. More prevalent are conflicts in many postcolonial states, whose populations are composed of dozens of ethnic groups, for example, Nigeria, Indonesia, India, Papua New Guinea, and Sri Lanka. In all such situations, small and large ethnic populations live precariously side by side. For historical, religious, economic, social, or other reasons, they can be distinctly hostile to each other. Coexistence is a fragile commodity depending on the policies and strengths of the central authorities. Where it is strong, peace prevails; where it is weak, conflict erupts into violence which can easily assume genocidal proportions. In question is the viability of multiethnic or multireligious countries emerging from what are often artificial states created through colonial pasts that did not take into account preexisting differences. The future of such countries depends, at least to a large extent, on the global economy. Poverty intensifies interethnic conflict as food and jobs become scarce, while the competition for dwindling resources is a sure guarantee that differences are amplified where civic culture has not been firmly established. In an environment where regions have become destabilized, economic development has been repressed, and communities have been dispersed in conditions of unmitigated misery, the seeds are sown for future outbreaks of ethnic conflict, even as the current one is being played out. Ultimately, this can lead to genocidal conflict between ethnic groups.

Ethnicity. a group that defines itself and/or is defined by others as being of a common descent and sharing a common culture.

Ethnocentrism. Sociological term describing a range of theories in which one’s own race or ethnic group is regarded as more important than (according to a variety of indices) and/or superior to all others. It also involves the propensity to judge other cultures against one’s own.

Derived from the Greek *ethnos* (nation), the term finds expression particularly in ideologies that have at base a racial conception of the world (e.g., German Nazism) or a focus on the nation (e.g., local fascisms, especially in Europe, the Americas, and parts of Asia).

Ethnocentric thinking of necessity strives to be inclusive, embracing all members of a specific ethnic group, wherever they may be, to the exclusion of all others; it is highly selective as to what alien influences are permitted entry into the private universe of the in-group; and it is quick to reject those who stand out from perceived group norms. The potential for genocidal outbreaks is thus to be found within ethnocentric ideologies; in situations where those advocating such ideologies attain political office, people finding themselves outside of a specific group are at danger of being marginalized and transformed into a highly vulnerable population

Ethnocide. *Ethnocide* refers to the destruction of a culture without the killing of its population. The term was first introduced by Raphael Lemkin (1900–1959) in a footnote to chapter 9 of his book *Axis Rule in Occupied Europe* (1944). The destruction to which the term refers can involve, for example, such matters as the overt destruction, inadvertent loss, or disintegration of a group’s way of life, political and social institutions of culture, language, religion and other customs and traditions, and/or economic existence. Lemkin, himself, understood ethnocide to include both physical and cultural destruction.

Ethnopolitical Conflict. Conflicts that result from grievances held between ethnic groups, usually at an intrastate level. Such conflicts typically involve an ethnic or national minority making demands against a state government, or a government imposing its will on, or purposely neglecting, a minority. Ethnopolitical conflicts have proliferated over the past century and a half, and civilian populations have invariably been the primary targets of groups on both sides of the ethnopolitical divide. This has resulted in widespread violence, intense psychological and physical damage to communities, displacement of populations, and, all too frequently, full-scale civil war resulting in large numbers of deliberately inflicted deaths, massacres, and, in some cases the introduction of genocidal policies by government forces and/or militias operating as government proxies (e.g., Burundi, Rwanda, former Yugoslavia, northern Iraq, Darfur).

Eugenics, Nazi Belief in (German, *Rassenhygiene*). The term *eugenics* was first used at the end of the nineteenth century, and understood to mean the improvement of the human species through selective breeding and the “weeding out” or elimination of those hereditary factors which “diminished” the species. Embraced enthusiastically at the time by biologists, anthropologists, social scientists, and others, nowhere was this more apparent than in Germany. Although the term and concept were originally applied to such issues as paternity, inbreeding, criminal behavior, and the birth of mental and physical defectives, when the Nazis assumed power in 1933 they applied them to so-called racial categories of distinction, specifically aimed at Jews and Roma. Using a variety of techniques, such as visual identification and anatomical measurements, Nazi scientists were able to “prove” the “inferiority” of so-called non-Aryan peoples to their satisfaction, and thus lay the groundwork for the latter’s ultimate extermination.

Euphemisms. Used by perpetrators of genocide to mask their murderous activities. During the Armenian genocide (1915–1923), for example, the word *deportations* was used by Ottoman Turk authorities as a “password” indicating their secret intent to “destroy” the Armenian population by force marching them into vast deserts until they died from starvation, dehydration, or attacks by Turk and Kurd brigands. During the Soviet man-made famine in the Ukraine (1933), Soviet officials purposely did not report the huge numbers of deaths, which are now estimated to have been between 3 million and 8 million, that resulted from the famine, as it would have been considered “anti-Soviet.” Thus, physicians

and others used such euphemisms such as “vitamin or protein deficiency,” “heart failure,” or “exhaustion of the organism” to describe deaths resulting from what were genocidal actions. During the Holocaust (1933–1945), the Nazis used a host of euphemisms to cover the true intent of their plans and actions. Among some of the many were: “protective custody” (used during the early period of the Nazi regime in place of arbitrary arrest and incarceration in concentration camps); “euthanasia” (to refer to the systematic murder of Germans deemed insane or suffering from mental or physical handicaps); “refractory therapy cases” (to refer to disabled people targeted for killing); “showers” (instead of gas chambers); and “negative population policies,” “actions” (or *aktionen* in the German), “cleansing,” “executive measures,” “liquidation,” “resettlements,” “special treatment,” among others (all in place of murder and killing). During the Cambodian genocide (1975–1979), the Khmer Rouge used the term *khchatkhchay os roling*, a term for sociological dissolution which translates to “scatter them out of sight” or “scatter them to the last one,” to refer to those groups of people it considered anathema to its “new” society. Essentially, the term referred to the physical destruction of their enemies. During the 1988 Iraqi genocide of the Kurds in northern Iraq (also known as the Anfal), the Iraqi government used the following euphemisms in internal documents to describe what was taking place: “special attacks” and “special ammunition” when referring to chemical warfare. In Rwanda, among the euphemisms used in place of “killing” during the 1994 genocide were: *umuganda*, or “collective work”; “bush clearing” (the order to “chop up men”); and “pulling out the roots of the bad weeds” which referred to the slaughter of children and women.

European Network of Genocide Scholars (ENOGS). Established in January 2005 at a foundational meeting in Berlin, Germany, ENOGS’ express purpose is to foster scholarly exchange between individuals and institutions worldwide. Membership is open to researchers from all academic disciplines working on genocide and mass violence from within and outside Europe. Its focus is historical and comparative. At its inaugural meeting, ENOGS’ became the official sponsor of the *Journal of Genocide Research*, and a new editorial team was established to reflect such.

European Platform for Conflict Prevention and Transformation. The European Platform for Conflict Prevention and Transformation is a network of approximately 150 key European organizations working in the field of the prevention and/or resolution of violent conflicts in the international arena. Its mission is to facilitate the exchange of information and strategies among participating organizations, as well as “to stimulate co-operation and synergy.”

Euthanasia Program of Nazis. Although *euthanasia* literally means “mercy killing,” a more accurate term reflecting the intent of the Nazis is *lebensunwertest Leben* or “life unworthy of life.” The euthanasia program of the Nazis, initially involved the elimination of German mental and physical “defectives” in the period prior to the start of World War II, and was understood by many to be a “pilot project” for the ultimate goal of the elimination of the Jews. The handicapped were seen as detrimental to both the physical and spiritual well-being of the new Nazi state—not to mention the depletion of economic resources—and the concept of *Volksgemeinschaft* (“folk community”). Estimates of those Germans in mental facilities and hospitals who were murdered by doctors and nurses via lethal injections and gassings exceeded 350,000. Upon their deaths their bodies were immediately cremated and letters were sent to their families indicating a heart attack as the cause of death and need for cremation (the latter ostensibly due to the threat

of disease). The program was commonly referred to as “T4” which was the abbreviated version of its address at the Reich Chancellery offices, situated at Tiergartenstrasse 4.

As families of those institutionalized began to protest to their religious leaders, both Catholic bishops and Protestant clergy expressed such concern to the Nazi leadership. In response, the Nazi leadership brought the initial phase to a reported end, but—in reality—never completely ceased its murders of these victims. Indeed, the murder of the physically and mentally handicapped continued apace right through 1944.

Evian Conference. In March of 1938 President Franklin Delano Roosevelt of the United States invited thirty European and Latin American nations, as well as Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa, to meet and consider the resettlement of Jewish refugees from Germany and Austria. Some nations refused to attend such a meeting, while others sent low-level bureaucrats with little or no authority to act. Ultimately, in July of 1938, approximately two hundred persons, including newspaper reporters, met at Evian, France, to discuss the issue. At the end of the nine-day meeting, no resolution had been reached. Great Britain refused to even allow the entrance of Jewish refugees into Palestine to become part of the discussion. With the exception of the Dominican Republic, no other nation agreed to accept refugees into its country. Thus, the conference itself has been viewed, with hindsight, as little more than a public relations ploy for the United States in its own relationship with a concerned Jewish constituency with a modicum of non-Jewish support. More perversely, it affirmed for Hitler and the Nazis the unwillingness of Western democracies to extend themselves on behalf of the Jews.

Excremental Assault. Phrase and concept developed by Colgate University professor of English, Terrence Des Pres (1939–1987) in 1975 in order to help explain the debasements to which prisoners in the Nazi concentration camps and Soviet gulags (widespread network of forced labor and prison camps in the Soviet Union) were subjected as a means of reducing their sense of self-worth. In supporting his use of this concept, Des Pres argued that prisoners were systematically denied the use of toilets, except at certain times of the day; denied facilities to keep clean; fed a diet in which diarrhea was commonplace; and surrounded by diseases also resulting in diarrhea. The prisoners were, under such circumstances, literally assaulted by their own excrement, in what were very often rituals of degradation that had been carefully thought-out by the guards in advance. A deliberate policy which aimed at the complete humiliation and debasement of the prisoners often led them to so revile themselves that they gave up wanting to live. This spiritual and physical destruction, especially in the Nazi camps during World War II, became an end in itself—particularly as the SS guards were able to compare their superior status and clean clothes with the ragged, starving, and filthy prisoners under their unchallengeable rule. It also served the purpose of dehumanizing the prisoners in the eyes of the SS, making the task of extermination easier and less unpalatable. The phrase and concept of “excremental assault,” therefore, serves a twofold purpose: to destroy the inner souls and self-esteem of those forced to endure it, and to elevate the status of the guards in their own eyes, while reducing any misgivings they may have had regarding their treatment and the destruction of those whom they saw living in their own filth. For Des Pres, the calculated nature of this strategy only served to make the horrendous situation even more morally appalling and cruel.

Expulsion. “Expulsion” refers to the removal of a lawful resident from the territory of a State by government authorities. Under Article 32 of the 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees, national security and public order are the only grounds permitted

for the expulsion of a refugee. The Convention states that the decision to expel an individual must be fair and just, and the individual must be allowed a “reasonable amount of time” to seek entrance to another State. The act of “ethnic cleansing” (which was carried out throughout the former Yugoslavia in the 1990s and in Darfur, Sudan between 2003 and today, August 2007) was, and is, in clear violation of Article 32 of the 1951 Convention.

Expulsions and Genocide. Expulsion of a population from a specified country or region can serve both as a genocide avoidance device and, depending on the circumstances, an opportunity to engage in genocide. A vast number of examples abound for each. For example, in the United States in the 1830s, the so-called Five Civilized Tribes were expelled by the the U.S. government from their homelands in the southeastern United States and relocated to “homes” in the Indian Territory that was to become known as Oklahoma. An argument can be made that if the Indians were not expelled from their own territory, they would have been annihilated by white encroachment; hence, the argument runs, they were expelled for their own good. Along the way, though, in what has become known as the Trail of Tears, the Indian nations lost large numbers (through disease, cold, and hunger) that numbered close to one-quarter of their total population.

Other expulsions were motivated by less “altruistic” ambitions, and were simply land grabs in which the existing population was considered superfluous and thus “had to be” removed. The best known and most recent examples of this occurred in the former Yugoslavia between 1992 and 1995 (against Bosnian Muslims) and in 1999 (against Kosovar Albanians). It was this form of expulsion—forcing whole populations, in the hundreds of thousands, out of the areas in question—that, when accompanied by killing, became known as ethnic cleansing. Although a relatively new term (it was used during World War II), the practice is an old one.

Yet another form of expulsion, religious removal, has its most famous examples occurring in the Middle Ages. Jews were expelled in toto from England (1290), France (1306), Hungary (1349), France again (1394), Spain (1492) and Portugal (1497). The avowed reason for these expulsions was invariably that the Jews, viewed as guilty of deicide, were incompatible with life in a Christian Europe. More accurately, however, underlying this was a desire to confiscate Jewish wealth or deflect antigovernment criticism (often for quite unrelated reasons such as domestic or court politics, or to redirect public attention away from unpalatable internal policies) by finding a vulnerable scapegoat. Expulsion, in short, can be based on a number of different premises, and, while it need not in all cases seek the destruction of the group as such, as a practice it nonetheless seeks to achieve the group’s disappearance from a specific location, through their forced removal to another location.

Extrajudicial Killings. This term, used by Amnesty International (AI), among certain other human rights organizations, refers to those political killings perpetrated by a government’s army personnel, police officers, other regular security forces, and/or government-sanctioned assassins and “death squads.” The term *extrajudicial* refers to the fact that the killings are carried out outside any legal or judicial process. It is not uncommon for such murders to be carried out on orders from the highest level of government. In many cases, government authorities purposely neglect to conduct investigations into the murders and/or they “condone” the murders by failing to take actions that would prevent further killings. It is not unusual for governments to attempt to hide the fact that they have ordered, committed or condoned such murders. Government officials also frequently deny

that such murders have taken place, assert that opposition forces are responsible for such casualties, or argue that they resulted from battles with government forces. AI defines extrajudicial killings (also frequently referred to as “political killings”) as: “unlawful and deliberate killings of persons by reason of their real or imputed political beliefs or activities, religion, other conscientiously held beliefs, ethnic origin, sex, colour or language, and carried out by order of a government or with its complicity” (Amnesty International, 1983, p. 5).

Ezhov, Nikolai (1895–1940). Nikolai Ezhov was the head of the main Soviet state security agency, the NKVD (*Narodnyi Komissariat Vnutrennikh Del*, or People’s Commissariat for Internal Affairs), between September 1936 and November 1938, and thus the chief of Josef Stalin’s (1879–1953) system of repression throughout the most intensive years of the period known as the “Great Terror.” Ezhov became a member of the Bolshevik Party in April 1917, and, during the Russian Civil War of 1919–1921 was a political commissar in the Red Army. Elevated to the position of People’s Commissar of Internal Affairs (and hence, commander of the NKVD) by Stalin, Ezhov was seen by Stalin every day in a constant briefing about the state of the purges then taking place under Ezhov’s direction. During the period of what became known as the *Ezhovshchina* (colloquially, the “Ezhov era”), perhaps up to seven hundred thousand extrajudicial state murders took place, the result of 1.5 million arrests on NKVD orders. For some time afterward, discussion ranged over the extent to which Ezhov operated independently or as Stalin’s puppet, but an issue such as this was as much a victim of Cold War considerations as of any serious quest for the truth. The fact is that in the summer of 1938, Ezhov fell from Stalin’s favor, and a new favorite, Lavrenti Beria (1899–1953), was appointed by Stalin as Ezhov’s assistant. By November 1938 Ezhov had been dismissed as head of the NKVD, and Beria had taken over as People’s Commissar of Internal Affairs. On Beria’s order, Ezhov was arrested on April 10, 1939, tortured, tried secretly, and executed on February 4, 1940. At the Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in October 1956, in which the crimes of the Stalin period were condemned, Party Chairman Nikita Khrushchev (1894–1971) denounced Ezhov as a criminal and drug addict who deserved his fate. It was only after 1987 that a full state investigation of the *Ezhovshchina* was made, and several more years before scholars began working on Soviet files sufficiently to bring to public attention the record of Ezhov’s crimes.

F

Facing History and Ourselves. Founded in 1976 by William S. Parsons (b. 1945) and Margot Stern Strom (b. 1948), Facing and History and Ourselves is an acclaimed educational program, offering an interdisciplinary approach to citizenship education that connects the history of the Holocaust and other cases of genocide to the moral questions young people face. Its mission is to engage students in civic education—an education that encourages the skills, promotes the values, and fosters the ideals—needed to sustain a democratic society. Facing History “provides middle and high school educators with tools for teaching history and ethics, and for helping their students learn to combat prejudice with compassion, indifference with participation, and myth and misinformation with knowledge.”

Failed State. A nation in which its various bodies (e.g., legislative, judicial, and/or military) are either in disarray or have crumbled, and chaos has ensued to such a point that there is no clear sign as to whether or not there is even a governing body. The cause of such failure can result from a wide array of factors, including (but not limited to): violent conflict between the government and one or more actors, an attempt at secession by an actor, economic chaos, civil war, and genocide.

FALANTIL. An irregular military organization that for twenty-five years waged a guerrilla war in East Timor against the occupying Indonesians. The name is an acronym of the force’s formal Portuguese title, *Forças Armadas de Libertação Nacional de Timor-Leste*, or National Liberation Forces of an Independent East Timor. FALANTIL was formed in 1975 as an armed wing of the leftist East Timorese political movement known as FRETILIN (*Frente Revolucionária do Timor-Leste Independente*). Its leader, until his capture by the Indonesians in 1992, was Jose Alexandre “Xanana” Gusmao (b. 1946), who was later (in May 2002) to become the first president of an independent Timor-Leste. FALANTIL’s struggle to free East Timor from Indonesian rule began on the day of the Indonesian invasion, December 7, 1975. In the first few days following the invasion, two thousand citizens in the capital of Dili were killed and, by the end of 1975, twenty thousand Indonesian troops had occupied the small country. This number rose to thirty-five thousand by April 1976. Confronting the Indonesian army were up to twenty thousand well-armed FALANTIL fighters, who put up a solid guerrilla defense for the next three years, until the last formal outpost of resistance, at Mount Matebian, fell in November 1978. After this, FALANTIL numbers declined, and only the most ardent and seasoned

members fled into the mountain regions of East Timor to continue the resistance. FALANTIL reemerged into the open on August 20, 1999, a day designated as FALANTIL Day, when Indonesia was relaxing its hold on East Timor prior to the referendum on independence that took place ten days later. Eighteen thousand people turned out to honor the fighters who had kept the dream of freedom alive. After full independence, on May 19, 2002, the FALANTIL organization formed the backbone of the new Timor-Leste army, though the nascent state faced numerous problems in transforming what had been a rebel guerrilla force into a national military establishment.

Famine. A period of extreme scarcity resulting in widespread starvation and, frequently, accompanying death. When famines occur owing to natural disaster, societies, since ancient times, have responded in one of two ways: either they foresaw scarcity and planned for it (stockpiling reserves and riding out the worst of the famine until circumstances improved), or, more typically, they experienced devastating periods of mass starvation and death, sometimes accompanied by pestilence and disease that often resulted in population collapses. Just as in nature, famine can also occur with catastrophic results when deliberately planned and executed by a government over part of its own population, or the population of a country with which it is at war. Examples abound of such government-induced starvation, from the long-term besieging of walled cities in ancient and premodern times (wherein starvation would set in as food would be prevented from entering cities), to the killing of buffalo herds in the Great Plains of the United States in the nineteenth century, to the killing off of crops through the use of defoliants in Biafra in the 1960s, to the salting of arable land by the Romans at Carthage after 146 BCE. In other instances, perpetrators have destroyed populations more deliberately through the withholding of food, or changing the means of its distribution such that a victim population is deprived of food it normally would have counted on for survival. The key issue to be decided in such cases such is how far the perpetrator's intention is to use famine for the purpose of destroying the victim population as such, or how far its intention is to destroy the victim population's will to resist, or to force resettlement, or otherwise bring about an alteration in the behavior of the victim group. Some instances are clear cut. In Ukraine in the early 1930s, the twin Soviet aims of destroying Ukrainian national identity and redistributing Ukrainian food from the country to the cities had a devastating effect, resulting in the deliberate deaths of millions. Another is that of the Nazis who purposely reduced the daily rations of Jews in the ghettos during the Holocaust, knowing full well that the victims would die of starvation. Intent is thus the most vital determinant of whether a famine situation is genocidal, the more so as regimes throughout history have taken advantage of food shortages in order to "solve" domestic problems involving unwanted populations. Thus, while famine can be an unfortunate result of an act of nature, it can also be deliberately conceived and executed, either to destroy a population, or (more commonly) to address a "problem." Then again, it can be a halfway measure between the two. In assessing famine and genocide, every instance must be measured on a case-by-case basis.

Farben, I. G. German petrochemical conglomerate which, during the Second World War, beginning in 1941, attempted to operate the *Bunawerke* (rubber plant) at Auschwitz-Monowitz concentration camp in Poland with slave labor in the manufacture of synthetic rubber and fuels needed to further the Nazi war effort. Ironically, the production efforts came to practically naught due to the continuous Allied bombing raids and the physical

deterioration of the workers themselves. Brought to trial at the end of World War II, most of I. G. Farben's leadership escaped punishment; those who went to prison were all released by 1951. Compensation was paid to Jewish prisoners, whereas none was made to non-Jewish prisoners.

Fascism. A political movement born out of the intellectual ferment following World War I, which was strongest in Europe, but had numerous variants in other parts of the world. Fascism reached its peak in the two decades prior to 1945, though it has prevailed as an important force in many countries since then. Fascism can be characterized as a movement that defines itself more by what it stands against rather than what it stands for; hence, during the period between the 1920s and 1940s, it was anticommunist, antiliberal, anti-Marxist and antiindividualist. Fascism's only goal was the strengthening of the state over the liberalizing forces that could weaken it, and as a result fascists advocated a strong central government (depending on local variants, even a one-party state or a dictatorship), mass obedience, a party army, suppression of trade unions and civil liberties groups, a culture of youth glorification, and a rigorous repression of dissent. Groups adhering to fascism attained political office in a number of European countries before 1945, notably Italy, Portugal, and Spain. It had an impact (sometimes powerfully) on local politics in France, Austria, Britain, Hungary, Romania, and elsewhere; and fascist movements or parties also appeared in most other Western democratic countries. Fascism is a right-wing ideology, but it is not conservative; in its purest form, it can be socially and economically radical, even revolutionary, while always invoking the ideals of a lost "golden age" as something to which the modern nation should seek to return. By manipulating the organs of the mass media, education, and popular culture to the greater glory of the state, fascism offers many people an emotional anchor at a time of increasing social alienation and fragmentation. Its potential as a genocidal force, however, lay in its tendency toward dictatorship, its inclusivity of all members of the nation, its utter rejection of those perceived not to fit into it, its glorification of the military, and its rejection of individualism and humanitarian values in favor of the sanctification and elevation of the state.

Faurisson, Robert (b. 1929). According to numerous Holocaust denialist publications and web sites, Robert Faurisson is presently Europe's leading "scholar" of the Holocaust denial movement. From 1974 to 1990 he was a professor of literature at the University of Lyon, France, but was dismissed because of his denial of the Holocaust. He has extensive publications that both question and deny the historical veracity of much of the Holocaust, including the gas chambers at Auschwitz. He has been subject to physical attack for his views which, he claims, are the result of those who disagree with him. He continues to write and lecture in English; much of his work has been published in the pseudo-scholarly *Journal of Historical Review*, published by the Institute of Historical Review, Newport Beach, California.

Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY). The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY) was the name taken in 1992 by Serbia and Montenegro, two of the six former Yugoslavian republics, following the dissolution of Yugoslavia. The FRY was known by that name between 1992 and 2003, at which point the country changed its name to the Republic of Serbia and Montenegro.

Financial Sanctions. Financial sanctions are applied against countries by either the international community (e.g., the United Nations), regional organizations (e.g., the European Union), or individual states for what is perceived as egregious behavior by an individual state. The most common types of financial sanctions are those that freeze gov-

ernment funds held in financial institutions outside the targeted nation's direct control. The UN system does not have the legal authority to target individual leaders and their personal assets, but regional organizations (the European Union) and individual nations can and have done such. Some scholars have noted the UN system is weakened by its lack of capacity to freeze the assets of individuals and that the impact of UN financial sanctions will be limited until it is allowed to do so.

In 1999, the Second Interlaken Seminar on Targeting United Nations Financial Sanctions was hosted by the Swiss Federal Office for Foreign Economic Affairs, in cooperation with the United Nations Secretariat. This seminar resulted in the 2001 text "Targeted Financial Sanctions: A Manual for Design and Implementation," which addressed both designing United Nations Security Council resolutions on targeted financial sanctions, and implementing targeted financial sanctions at the national level. Such continuing uses of financial sanctions require the resolve of the international community for their implementation. As is the case with arms sales and the worldwide demand for oil products, individual reluctance on the part of one or more nation-states lessens the effectiveness of such a tool.

Sanctions of all types have been controversial. Some of the many criticisms are that the sanctions have had too many loopholes, various nations ostensibly supporting sanctions have—for whatever reasons—secretly undermined the sanctions effort, and in many cases the sanctions have ended up hurting innocent citizens within the targeted nation, while having little or no impact on the regime itself.

Most scholars studying the use of sanctions have called for the development and implementation of more sophisticated measures. They have also insisted that sanctions must be constantly monitored and adjusted as situations change. Finally, they have noted that a "carrot and stick" approach is generally more effective than a "stick approach."

First Nations. A term describing indigenous populations in many of the lands of recent (1500–1900) European settlement, particularly Canada, the United States, Australia, New Zealand, Argentina, Brazil, and Chile (to name but a few). The term originated in Canada in the 1980s, and, despite the absence of a formal definition, has quasi-legal status in that country. It is most frequently employed in Canada (though the term is growing in popularity in the United States, where the term *Native American* has for many years been the more accepted appellation). The term First Nations is also used by international nongovernmental organizations (INGOs) and by some intergovernmental organizations (IGOs). Because indigenous peoples often refer to themselves according to their own nomenclature, *First Nations* is often used as a blanket term of convenience in some jurisdictions, by both indigenous organizations and government agencies.

First-Person Accounts of Genocide. First-person accounts of genocide in one form or another (e.g., individual written transcripts, books, sound recordings, videotapes) document the thoughts, words, and stories of those individuals (e.g., victims, survivors, journalists, nongovernmental personnel, military personnel) who have witnessed some aspect of a genocide. Among the most valuable documents are contemporaneous documents (e.g., diaries and letters) and the transcripts of the trials of perpetrators (where lawyers have been able to cross-examine witnesses in an attempt to get at the truth). The largest collection of first-person accounts that exist documents the period of the Holocaust (1933–1945). A vast majority of the latter are housed in the archives at Yad Vashem, the Holocaust Martyrs' and Heroes' Remembrance Authority (Jerusalem, Israel) and the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum (Washington, D.C.). Relatively large collections of first-person

accounts also exist that document the Ottoman Turk-perpetrated Armenian genocide (1915–1923), the Soviet man-made famine in Ukraine (1933), and the Khmer Rouge-perpetrated genocide (1975–1979). Many fewer first-person accounts exist that document the 1971 Bangladesh genocide, the 1994 Rwandan genocide, and the genocide perpetrated in the former Yugoslavia in the 1990s. Due to the trials being conducted by the International Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY) and the International Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR), it is safe to assume that over time many more first-person accounts shall be available regarding the 1994 Rwandan genocide and the genocide(s) perpetrated in the former Yugoslavia. Investigators, nongovernmental human rights organizations, and scholars are currently in the process of conducting interviews and oral histories with the black Africans of Darfur who have been under a genocidal attack since 2003 at the hands of government of Sudan troops and the *Janjaweed* (Arab militia).

Foca, Rape Camp. The city of Foca, located on the Drina River east of the city of Visegrad, in far eastern Bosnia, was a major trading center during medieval times on the overland route between Dubrovnik and Constantinople. In 1992, Serbian and Montenegrin militants, in an attempt to “ethnically cleanse” Foca of its Muslim inhabitants, established both rape camps and killing centers there while, at the same time, systematically setting out to destroy any and all evidence of Bosnian Muslim culture (e.g., libraries containing ancient manuscripts, sixteenth- and seventeenth-century mosques, and changing the names of streets with historic Muslim connections) and renaming the city “Srbinje.”

Following revelations of the rape camps’ existence by U.S. journalist Roy Gutman and British journalist Ed Vulliamy in the summer of 1992, world opinion was alerted to the abhorrent actions of the Serbs. Mass sexual violence henceforth became firmly placed on the human rights agenda of international nongovernmental organizations such as Human Rights Watch, after which advocacy of prosecutions against the perpetrators of such acts was increasingly called for.

Among those brought to trial for war crimes related to the destruction of the city, the killings, and the mass rapes were Dragan Gagovic, Gojko Jankovic, Janko Janjic, Radomir Kovac, Zoran Vukovic, Dragan Zelenovic, Dragoljub Kunarac, and Radovan Stankovic. Others yet to face trial include Savo Todovic, Milorad Krnojelac, and Mitar Rasevic, all of them Serbian leaders in Foca.

A mass grave was also found in Foca close to the destroyed Aladza Mosque (built in 1551), containing the bodies of hundreds of victims of Bosnian Serb militias. In October 2004 an attempt to erect a memorial plaque commemorating the rape of the Muslim women of Foca by representatives of the Association of Women-Victims of War from Sarajevo was stopped by the town’s inhabitants.

The year 2003 saw the beginning of the process of returning property (e.g., homes and land) to the victims.

Food Insecurity. The term *food insecurity* refers to those situations where people living in certain regions of the world or states are not sure if there will be enough food to provide life-sustaining sustenance for them and their fellow citizens. Food insecurity is frequently found in nations and regions of the world where the economy depends on agriculture, but the means to make the farmland productive is absent. Increasingly, drought and/or desertification is exacerbating this problem, which many directly relate to global warming. Food insecurity frequently results in instability and is a major root of conflict.

Forces Armées Rwandaises (FAR). The national army of Rwanda up to July 1994. The FAR was a composite army, comprised of two forces: the *Armée Rwandaise* (AR), whose responsibility was national security, and the *Gendarmerie Nationale* (GN), which was responsible for maintaining public order throughout the country. Although a composite army, the FAR did not have a unified command structure; its authority derived directly from the minister of defense, and the commander of the FAR was the president of Rwanda (until April 6, 1994, this was President Juvenal Habyarimana, 1937–1994). The FAR included a number of different units, including the Presidential guard, Habyarimana's personal bodyguard. Officers and troops of the FAR were integrally involved in the genocide of Rwanda's Tutsi population (and moderate Hutu who objected to the killing and/or attempted to protect Tutsis), and many of its members were held as alleged génocidaires by the Tutsi-led Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF) government that came into power after the end of the genocide in July 1994, or were indicted by the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR) based in Arusha, Tanzania. Of those who were not arrested and/or imprisoned after the genocide, many fled to the Democratic Republic of Congo (formerly Zaire) in order to escape prosecution or (as they feared) revenge from the RPF. The FAR is not to be confused with the current army of Rwanda, which is the reconstituted RPF, which is now known as the Rwandan Defense Forces (RDF).

Forensic Inquiry and Genocide. According to the American Board of Forensic Anthropology, forensic anthropology is the application of the science of physical anthropology to both the legal process and humanitarian agendas primarily involving the identification of skeletal and other human remains, to determine such characteristics as age, gender, identity, evidence of crimes committed, and other traumas. The genocides and genocidal massacres of the 1990s saw attempts after the fact to assess the scale of the killing, plot the distribution of killing sites, and evaluate the means whereby the victims lost their lives. Indeed, in places such as Cambodia, Guatemala, Rwanda, Bosnia, and Kosovo (to name but a few of many), teams of forensic scientists, lawyers, historians, anthropologists, and archaeologists have pooled their skills in order to locate, investigate and chronicle scenes of genocidal crime. Their findings have provided evidence so that legal proceedings can be brought against those indicted for war crimes, crimes against humanity, and genocide. It also provides surviving family members with the remains of their missing loved ones for whom they can perform a proper burial. As a result, forensic inquiry has taken center stage in the investigation of genocidal activity. The work itself involves the study of osteology (or bones) to make both observations and determinations. For example, the Guatemalan Forensic Anthropology Team (GFAT), founded in 1991, investigated the massacres in Tunaja and Río Negro, and estimated the genocidal loses at more than one hundred thousand persons.

Forensic inquiry at genocide sites is an expensive undertaking, and, when not underwritten by international agencies, research teams often rely on charity in order to do this important work. Activities in forensic inquiry range widely. These include, but are not limited to, the following: locating crime scenes; managing crime scenes and laboratory apparatus; excavating crime scenes; analyzing remains, both human and artifact; soil analysis; gathering of witness statements; and recreating crime scene circumstances. Although police forensics is now highly developed in civilian environments in advanced societies, genocide forensics is still developing and requires immense international effort and support in order to achieve the kind of results necessary to be recognized as part of

the ongoing campaign to prevent and punish the crime of genocide. Bodies such as the International Forensic Centre of Excellence for the Investigation of Genocide, based at the University of Bournemouth in the United Kingdom, are vitally important organizations in this area of genocide studies, and engage in hands-on endeavors to supplement the ad hoc work of governments and international agencies.

As previously mentioned, the efforts along these lines also serve an important humanitarian purpose in locating the remains of victims whom surviving family members can then bid farewell in an appropriate manner. In this way, an attempt to aid in the psychological healing and closure among both victim families and nation-states, thereby aiding in the necessary acts of reconciliation and rebuilding, can be made.

“Forgotten Genocide.” A term often previously applied to the genocide of the Armenian population at the hands of the Young Turk regime between 1915 and 1923. Its “forgotten” appellation was due largely to two factors: first, the ongoing denial by successive Turkish governments, continuing to the present day, that a genocide ever took place; and second, because the Armenian genocide, although claiming up to 1.5 million lives, was eclipsed in both numbers killed and general awareness by the Holocaust of the European Jews between 1933 and 1945. Serious scholarship undertaken on the Armenian genocide since the mid-1980s has seen to it that the term *forgotten* has fallen into disuse.

Forty Days of Musa Dagh, The. The title of a novel published in 1933 by Czech-born Jewish writer Franz Werfel (1890–1945), celebrating the stand made by six Armenian villagers at the foot of Musa Dagh (Turkish, Mount Moses; in Armenian, Musa Ler) between July and September 1915. The book is a fictionalized account of a true story, in which the villagers banded together to defend themselves from the Turkish army, which had besieged their mountain retreat. With their backs to the sea, and no possibility of reinforcement or the siege being lifted, the defenders of Musa Dagh had but one hope—rescue. This could only come from the sea, and only in the form of Allied warships. When contact was made with a passing ship from the French navy, deputized Armenian youth leaders swam out to explain the desperate plight of the people on the mountain. Summoning naval assistance, five warships eventually arrived on the scene to rescue the Armenians. Under Turkish fire, more than four thousand men, women, and children were rescued and disembarked at the nearest Allied landing point, Port Said (Egypt). They remained in refugee camps there until the Turkish defeat in World War I in 1918, and then returned home. This inspirational story inspired Franz Werfel to write his novel, which became a best seller. Translated into eighteen languages, it was slated to be produced as a movie by Metro Golden Mayer (MGM) Studios in the United States. However, as part of the ongoing campaign of post-Ottoman Turkish governments to deny the Armenian genocide, pressure was brought to bear on MGM Studios via an intervention by the Turkish embassy in the United States through the U.S. State Department, and the movie project was dropped indefinitely. Despite this turn of events, copies of the book continued to be published and circulated widely, often as a source of encouragement to those suffering persecution. For example, the book was read by many Jews suffering under the Nazis during World War II and was viewed as an allegory of their own situation in the Nazi-established ghettos, and what they might do about it. It was also an inspiration for Jews in Palestine—in particular the followers of Zionist leader Ze’ev Jabotinsky (1880–1940)—while fighting for a state of their own prior to the establishment of Israel in 1948.

Forum on Early Warning and Early Response (FEWER). Following a 1996 international study of the events that led up to and culminated in the 1994 genocide in Rwanda (in which it was revealed that the United Nations and many governments had received ample warning of the impending violence), a group of twenty-six international non-governmental organizations, academics, UN agencies, and governments involved in conflict research, policy development, and activism joined together to form the Forum on Early Warning and Early Response (FEWER). FEWER is a multisectoral and multidisciplinary network, spanning Asia, Africa, North and South America, and Eurasia.

Frank, Anne. See *Diary of Anne Frank*.

FRETILIN. An East Timorese resistance movement founded in September 1974 for the purpose of securing independence from Portuguese colonial rule. It grew out of an earlier body, a political party named the *Associação Social Democrática Timorense* (ASDT), which was a broad-based, anticolonial association with nationalist leanings. FRETILIN, the *Frente Revolucionária do Timor-Leste Independente* (Revolutionary Front for an Independent East Timor), had a strong radical socialist foundation, and differed from the ASDT in that it sought immediate independence and claimed to speak on behalf of all East Timorese people. By December 1974 it had developed nationwide programs in education, social welfare, health, agriculture, literacy, and the like. FRETILIN ran into opposition from a rival party, the UDT (*União Democrática Timorense*, the Timorese Democratic Union), which was less radical and called for a more progressive and multi-stage timeline for independence that would be slanted toward a federation model with Portugal. On August 11, 1975, the UDT staged a coup; for three weeks civil war raged throughout East Timor, as forces of the UDT battled with a hastily formed armed wing of FRETILIN, called FALANTIL (*Forças Armadas de Libertação Nacional de Timor-Leste*, National Liberation Forces of an Independent East Timor). Between fifteen hundred and three thousand people were killed at this time. On November 28, 1975, FRETILIN declared East Timor independent, naming it the Democratic Republic of East Timor. Nine days later the country was invaded by Indonesia. In the first few days of the invasion, two thousand citizens of the capital of Dili were killed. Subsequently, Indonesia began a systematic campaign of human rights abuses which resulted in the mass murder, starvation, and death by torture of up to two hundred thousand people—one-third of the preinvasion East Timorese population. In 1996, largely as a result of his efforts to free East Timor from Indonesian rule, FRETILIN leader Jose Ramos Horta (b. 1949) shared the Nobel Peace Prize with East Timorese religious leader Bishop Carlos Felipe Ximenes Belo (b. 1948). Since the departure of the Indonesians and the independence of East Timor, FRETILIN's contributions to the country have been mixed. In elections in 2001—East Timor's first—FRETILIN won only 57 percent of the popular vote, but obtained fifty-five out of eighty-eight seats in the new legislature. Independence showed that, in its transition from being a liberation movement to a political party, the public expected more than FRETILIN could offer, particularly as peacetime issues of poverty and unemployment proved difficult for the party to alleviate.

Frontline: Ghosts of Rwanda. *Frontline*, the highly respected U.S.-based television news show, produced this two-hour documentary on the tenth anniversary of the 1994 Rwandan genocide. It includes interviews with key government officials and diplomats, and eyewitness accounts of the genocide from those who experienced it firsthand. It also shows then U.S. president Bill Clinton's (b. 1946) brief visit to the Kigali airport, which

he never leaves, where he apologizes for not responding to the genocide, without ever using the words “I’m sorry.” Furthermore, it includes a U.S. State Department official who talked—during the actual course of the genocide—in terms of “genocide-like acts,” but refused to call the situation in Rwanda a genocide, announcing, instead, that the State Department was reviewing the appropriateness of using the term in relation to the situation unfolding there. Significantly, *Frontline* examines and discusses various failures by the international community (including the United Nations) to prevent and halt the genocide before extremist Hutu murdered between five hundred thousand and 1 million Tutsi and moderate Hutu in one hundred days.

Fry, Varian Mackey (1917–1976). U.S. citizen who rescued Jews during the Holocaust. Born in New York City, Fry attended Harvard University, where he studied classics. He began his working life as a photographer, but, in 1940, went to Marseille, France, as a representative of an American refugee-rescue organization called the Emergency Rescue Committee. While there, he worked hard to secure passports and visas that would enable refugees to emigrate from Vichy France and reach safety. Fry had no previous experience with the kind of underground activities that would be required to obtain the necessary papers—often forgeries had to be made—but, by the end of his mission, he had saved approximately four thousand people from the hands of the Nazis. Many of these were prominent intellectuals, artists, and musicians, including Marc Chagall (1887–1985), Hannah Arendt (1906–1975), Pablo Casals (1876–1973), Heinrich Mann (1871–1950), and Max Ernst (1891–1976). When his resources for procuring visas dried up, he smuggled refugees from Marseille to nearby Spain, across the Pyrenees. For this, and because he himself did not have a valid passport, Fry was arrested by the Vichy police and deported back to the United States, via Spain, in September 1941. Upon his return to the United States he was reprimanded by the U.S. State Department for his illegal activities, and was given no recognition for his outstanding humanitarian rescue activities. He lived out the next thirty-five years of his life in obscurity, and without appreciation. In 1991—nearly a quarter of a century after his death—Fry received his first official recognition within the United States, from the United States Holocaust Memorial Council. Then, in 1996, he was named by Yad Vashem in Israel as one of the “Righteous Among the Nations” (*Chasidei Ummot Ha-Olam*). To date, he is the only U.S. citizen to be named a Righteous Gentile. For his work in saving thousands, Fry’s name is frequently mentioned alongside other major rescuers during the Holocaust, such as Oskar Schindler (1908–1974) and Raoul Wallenberg (1912–1947?).

FRY. See Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

Functionalism. The argument of some scholars—for example, German historians Hans Mommsen (b. 1930) and Martin Broszat (1926–1989), and U.S.-based historian Christopher Browning (b. 1944)—that the Holocaust was not the result of a planned, carefully organized, and orchestrated agenda of Adolf Hitler (1889–1945) because of his overwhelming antisemitism, but, rather, an evolving and sometimes chaotic program of death and destruction, which only began to assert itself after the invasion of Soviet Russia in June 1941 (“Operation Barbarosa”); prior to this, antisemitic activities were undertaken by low-level bureaucrats in a somewhat haphazard and inefficient manner. Thus, functionalists view the Nazi hierarchy as one of competing vested interests and power centers with Hitler not in control. Functionalists also argue that the initial goal of ridding Germany of its Jews, that of compulsory Jewish emigration, had

proven unsuccessful, and that, as a consequence, a new and more radical (and more permanent) “solution” to the problem had to be found.

***Funktionshäftlinge* (German, Prisoner-Functionaries).** Concentration camp prisoners incarcerated within the German National Socialist (Nazi) state between 1933 and 1945, who were elevated to positions of authority by the Inspectorate of Concentration Camps to counter the lack of personnel available for administrative purposes. This system was devised in the prewar period. In return for serving as administrative agents for the Nazi police authorities in the camps, the “prisoner-functionaries” (*Funktionshäftlinge*) received more food, had better living conditions, and performed less work than other prisoners, this being mainly restricted to a supervisory role. These “administrative prisoners” were called *Ältester* (elders, or seniors), of which the main figure was the *Lagerältester*—the most senior prisoner in the camp. In each barrack there was a *Blockältester*; in each room, a *Stubenältester*. These latter were, in turn, assisted by a number of *Stubendienst* workers, who acted as room orderlies. In each block was a *Blockschreiber*, a prisoner who acted as a kind of registrar for the barracks and reported to an SS officer in the SS Administrative Department. There were, in addition, other administrative positions, such as the prisoner-doctors (*Haftlingärzt*), camp barbers (*Lagerfriseur*), gatekeepers who operated the gates between compounds (*Torwächter*), and interpreters (*Dolmetscher*). Prisoner-functionaries were utterly dependent on the SS for everything. They, like any other prisoner, could be punished for the slightest infraction of the rules. They had to do exactly as they were told, nothing more and nothing less. They were sandwiched in the middle of camp society; while enforcing SS structures and discipline on those below them, they were never to forget that they were still prisoners of the SS. They could be (and often were) killed by common prisoners as traitors; they could also be killed by the SS on a whim. By creating a prisoner elite, the SS established a system that divided the prisoners in order to rule them. In doing so, they reaped enormous benefits, as they were able to control the inmates with the minimum number of guards required by the Nazi authorities.

G

Gacaca. An indigenous form of local justice in Rwanda that was adapted in the late 1990s and implemented in the early 2000s to try alleged perpetrators of the 1994 Rwandan genocide. The term *gacaca* (pronounced *ga-cha-cha*) is derived from the Kinyarwanda word *guacaca*, meaning “grass”; hence, *gacaca* literally means “justice on the grass.” This is explained through the practice of the session taking place, during the precolonial period, out in the open, frequently on the grass, in the literal sense.

In the aftermath of the 1994 Rwandan genocide, approximately 130,000 alleged génocidaires (French, those who commit genocide) were incarcerated in Rwandan prisons across the country. Various parties estimated that if regular courts tried the cases it would take between sixty and two hundred years to try all the defendants. That was true not only due to the large number of defendants incarcerated in the horrifically overcrowded, filthy and disease-ridden prisons, but to the fact that during the course of the genocide the judicial system of Rwanda had been decimated as most of the prosecutors, defense attorneys, and judges had been killed. Of equal concern was the fact that many of those imprisoned were likely to be innocent. There was also the enormous cost of feeding, clothing, and guarding such an overwhelming number of prisoners, and the fact that such a cost would tax Rwanda’s already overwhelmed social system. Ultimately, Rwandan authorities decided to adapt and implement a traditional precolonial system of conflict resolution called *gacaca*. Traditionally, the *gacaca* system was used in villages all across Rwanda to settle family disputes, disputes among neighbors, and conflicts over land, trade, and so forth. The local *gacaca* would meet in the village and a group of elders would make a decision based on the merits of each person’s argument.

Significantly, the goals of the new *gacaca* system are many; indeed, *gacaca* has not been put in place solely for the purpose of punishing the guilty, but as a way for the victims to tell their stories, to allow the victims to discover how and where their family members and friends had been killed and/or were buried, to allow perpetrators to confess and ask for forgiveness; and to help bring about reconciliation of the nation’s peoples (perpetrators and victims/survivors alike). Initially, attendance at the *gacacas* was voluntary, but when many people failed to attend them, the government made it mandatory for all individuals eighteen years of age and older to attend. The rationale was that *gacacas* are to constitute a participatory type of justice in which the hearings are conducted by, in front of, and for the local people in the very area where the crimes were alleged to have taken place. In each

city, town, and village, *gacacas* are held on a special day of the week during which all government offices (with the exception of the police), businesses, and schools close down from 8 a.m. to 1 p.m., so that all individuals can attend and have no excuse to avoid doing so. *Gacacas* are led by “persons of integrity,” or those individuals who have been selected by the local people based on their (the person of integrity’s) honesty. He or she, of course, cannot have taken part in the genocide in any way whatsoever. The persons of integrity were provided with the rudiments of state law through a number of government-run workshops, though in most areas these have been short in duration, and restricted to a single session.

Neither the perpetrators nor the victims are represented by lawyers, but each is allowed to speak. The persons of integrity are allowed to ask questions of each participant and, if need be, to adjourn a hearing in order to obtain additional information or to call in additional witnesses. All alleged perpetrators—except for those who planned the genocide and/or were major actors in carrying out of the genocide (Category One Prisoners)—are allowed to be tried by *gacacas*. (Category One prisoners are tried in the national courts in Rwanda and the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR) in Arusha, Tanzania.) Those perpetrators who confess their crimes in public at *gacaca* hearings and ask for forgiveness in a genuine way can have their sentences cut in half. Those who do not confess or are not genuine in asking forgiveness are sent back to prison to complete their full sentence. If it is discovered that an individual has failed to provide a full confession, he or she can, and usually is, given a lengthier sentence than was originally imposed. Significantly, where charges directly relating to the genocide are concerned, *gacaca* courts may only impose custodial sentences, not capital punishment, which is a sentence that can only be reached and enforced by the government within its “classical” or regular court system.

Ultimately, then, the main purposes of the *gacaca* courts are: (1) the reconstruction and recounting of what actually took place during the genocide (who, what, where and how); (2) providing victims with the opportunity to see the perpetrators who harmed and killed their love ones be held accountable for their crimes, thus ending a culture of impunity; (3) speeding up the process of hearing the cases of the alleged perpetrators; (4) freeing the innocent from prison; (5) removing the burden on the national system of courts and thus allowing them to concentrate on trying the planners and leaders of the genocide; and (6) working toward the reconciliation of all Rwandans.

Gacaca is not without its flaws and critics. Some believe that allowing perpetrators to have their sentences cut in half for confessing and asking for forgiveness is unconscionable in light of their crimes. Some believe that the perpetrators will ask for forgiveness whether they are contrite or not. Some have commented that even those who are not guilty of taking part in the genocide, but have been accused of doing so, will falsely admit guilt in order to get out of prison faster than they would have normally. Still others are concerned by the lack of education of the “persons of integrity,” as well as a their lack of adequate training for the job they have to perform. And the list goes on. Still, *gacaca* is an innovation implemented by the Rwandan government in an ostensible attempt to be as fair as possible, to as many people as possible, within Rwandan society and to bring about reconciliation in the still fractured land where some five hundred thousand to 1 million Tutsi and moderate Hutu were killed in a hundred-day period.

***Gacaca* Law.** In March 2001, the Rwandan government adopted the *Gacaca* Law, which provided the Rwandan people with the opportunity to take part in and to use a system of participatory justice—a revised form of a precolonial traditional community

conflict resolution system—in which alleged suspects of genocide would be tried. Under the *Gacaca* Law, the locally run *gacacas* can try all alleged perpetrators of genocide, except for those who are suspected of having planned and directed the genocide (i.e., Category One prisoners). These were to be tried in national, or traditional, courts within Rwanda, or at the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR) in Arusha, Tanzania. The *Gacaca* Law includes a provision that those suspects who confess (with the exception of Category One prisoners who are subject to the death penalty) and ask for forgiveness (in a genuine versus an insincere manner) can have his or her sentence reduced by half.

Gacaca: Living Together Again in Rwanda? This film (which was supported by a grant from the Soros Documentary Fund of the Open Society Institute and produced with the assistance of the Sundance Documentary Fund) provides an overview of the *gacaca* process (local tribunals led by “persons of integrity”) in which alleged genocide suspects of the 1994 Rwandan genocide are tried in the villages where the alleged crimes took place. The film includes “the intertwining stories of survivors and prisoners, and their visions of the future.”

Galbraith, Peter (b. 1950). A senior U.S. diplomat who has held eminent positions in the United States government and the United Nations. The son of noted economist John Kenneth Galbraith (1908–2006), in the 1980s Peter Galbraith was a senior adviser to the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee, and, from an early date, his attention was directed toward the Near East (in particular, Turkey and Iraq). In September 1988 he traveled, with another colleague on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, to the Turkey/Iraq border, where thousands of Iraqi Kurds had fled from mustard, cyanide, and nerve gas attacks (most commonly referred to as the al-Anfal Campaign) launched against them by the government of Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein (1937–2006). Interviewing a large number of survivors of these assaults, Galbraith drew the conclusion that the Iraqi campaign was systematic, state-driven, and genocidal in nature. Documentation was collected on forty-nine chemical weapons attacks on Kurdish villagers. Upon his return to Washington, D.C., Galbraith unsuccessfully urged the U.S. government to place sanctions on Iraq. Still, he and others (including journalists with the *Washington Post* and the *New York Times*) had alerted the powers that be in Washington of the Iraqi/Kurdish situation, thus priming the U.S. government to listen more acutely and respond more proactively when the Iraqis carried out further attacks against the Kurds in 1991.

Galbraith’s initial report was circulated through the halls of the U.S. Congress and the White House, while he sought every opportunity to keep U.S. attention focused on the murderous policies of the Iraqi government. His work seemed to have yielded results when the U.S. Senate passed a resolution imposing comprehensive sanctions against Iraq later in 1988, though sustained opposition to the proposal from the U.S. House of Representatives and the State Department saw the proposition collapse before the year was out.

Later, in the aftermath of the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait in 1990 and the defeat of Saddam Hussein’s forces by U.S.-led United Nations forces in 1991, the Kurds of northern Iraq (along with the Shiites in the south) rose up against the regime. In response, the Iraqi military machine—crushed by the allied forces, but still sufficiently intact to be able to destroy insurgents and civilians—turned against the Kurds. The ensuing carnage—which included aerial bombing and chemical attacks—saw thousands killed, in a deadly revisitation of the al-Anfal campaign of just a few years earlier. The attacks resulted in an esti-

mated fifty thousand to one hundred thousand deaths. The Kurds, themselves, claim that about one hundred eighty-two thousand people were killed. To a large degree the international community, already war-weary after the short war that led to the liberation of Kuwait, appeared to turn its back on the Kurds. More specifically, while the United States had encouraged the Kurds to rise up against Iraq, the United States failed to support the Kurds when the Iraqi government began to carry out a scorched earth policy against the rebels. Fearing that the uprisings would destabilize the area, the United States even refused to provide the rebels with the Iraqi weapons captured during the Gulf War. Only after the Kurds had suffered devastating losses did the U.S. deign it reasonable to establish safe areas and no-fly zones over those areas where the Kurds were huddled.

In May 1992 Galbraith was instrumental in the transfer of some fourteen tons of documents to the United States regarding the Iraqi repression of the Kurds, including the gassing of the Kurds in northern Iraq in the late 1980s. Ultimately, the documents were housed in the U.S. National Archives in Washington, D.C.

Later still, now as U.S. ambassador to Croatia (1993–1998) during the Clinton administration (1993–2002), Galbraith was actively involved in helping to negotiate the peace settlements involving Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina. He made a point of being outspoken over a host of issues relating to the violent conflict in the former Yugoslavia, refusing to let them fall by the wayside. More specifically, in a meeting with Mate Boban (1940–1997), a Bosnian Croat leader, Galbraith broached the issue of war crimes being perpetrated in a Croat prison camp, as well as the shelling of civilian targets in Mostar. Though Boban initially denied both charges, the very next day he immediately released some seven hundred prisoners. Galbraith then went on the BBC and claimed that Boban was possibly responsible for war crimes. The interview with Galbraith was rebroadcast in Croatia, and shortly thereafter conditions in various prison camps suddenly improved in significant ways—including a change in the leadership of some camps and the release of some of the innocent people from the camps.

Between January 2000 and August 2001, Galbraith served as a senior official in the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET), and later as a Cabinet Minister in the first transitional government in that country. Since leaving the diplomatic service, he has been a professor at Harvard University and the National War College in Washington, D.C. He is generally credited with being the diplomat who kept the U.S. Government's attention focused on the plight of the Kurds, at a time when other concerns—notably, the end of the Cold War—were distracting U.S. policy from humanitarian issues.

Galen, Bishop Clemens August Graf von (1878–1946). Cardinal-archbishop of Muenster, Germany during the period of the Third Reich. He began his career in the Catholic Church in 1904 as bishop's chaplain in Muenster, was ordained as a priest in 1919, and became archbishop of Muenster in 1933. He was an outspoken opponent of Nazi racial doctrine, and set himself up as a key opponent of Nazi ideologue Alfred Rosenberg (1893–1946). As a Catholic religious leader, his creed prevented him from condoning the Nazi euthanasia program, in which people with incurable diseases, mental illness, or disabilities were killed in accordance with state policy. In a public denunciation of the program in 1941, he ran afoul of the Nazi authorities and was subject to virtual house arrest until the end of the war in 1945. In 1944 after the attempted assassination of Adolf Hitler (1889–1945) in the so-called July Plot, von Galen was arrested by the Gestapo and

incarcerated in the Sachsenhausen concentration camp. Although von Galen was not part of the plot, the Gestapo used the opportunity presented in the aftermath of the coup attempt to clean up its area of administration by striking at those considered to be dissenters. It was thus claimed that Von Galen had associated with those who were behind the plot. Ultimately, he was released by the Allies in April 1945. In February 1946 he was consecrated a cardinal by Pope Pius XII (1876–1958), and celebrated mass in both Westphalia and Muenster to enthusiastic crowds. A year later he died.

Gas Chambers. The use of the gas chambers was the preferred Nazi method of large scale extermination and annihilation of concentration and death camp prisoners, primarily Jews—but also, to a great extent, Roma and Sinti—in fixed building installations, usually disguised as “showers” (German, *Brausebad*), for the supposed purpose of “delousing” the inmates. Although some of the death camps (e.g., Belzec, Sobibor, Treblinka) continued to use carbon monoxide, the term *gas chamber* is usually associated with camps such as Auschwitz and Stutthof that used the insecticide Zyklon B (hydrogen cyanide, *giftgas*), which was more efficient and more economical, psychologically less stressful for the perpetrators, required fewer personnel, and allowed for more physical distancing from the victim, thus “protecting” the perpetrators from viewing the horrific sight of people scratching and clawing for air as their bodies contorted into frightening shapes and their bodies excreted fluids. A crystalline substance, Zyklon B rapidly became a noxious gas upon contact with oxygen, filling the lungs of those confined. Death for all took place within forty-five minutes. By 1941, gas chamber installations were in use in various concentration and death camps throughout occupied Poland. The Erfurt, Germany, engineering firm of J. A. Topf & Sons won the competition for the construction of the gas chambers at Auschwitz, which would become the primary center for the murders of Jews and others by this method. No final count of those who died in this manner has ever been agreed upon, but is believed to be upwards of 1 million persons.

Gas Vans. Mobile killing units, usually large trucks equipped with sealed chambers into which the victims were forced and then asphyxiated by carbon monoxide poisoning. This method of mass death used by the Nazis ultimately proved unreliable due to frequent equipment breakdowns, the relatively few numbers of victims who could be murdered, and the psychologically negative effect upon the killers upon opening the doors, due to the stench of the victims and the physical disfigurement of the corpses. It was also seen as a waste of gasoline, a precious resource in Nazi Germany. The first gas vans were used in occupied Poland in 1940; the victims were Poles with severe mental retardation and other psychological afflictions.

It is believed that approximately seven hundred thousand victims met their end in such gas vans, half in the area of the Soviet Union by the *Einsatzgruppen* during “Operation Barbarosa,” and half in the area surrounding Chelmno extermination camp, the majority of whom, in both cases, were Jews.

Gendercide. The systematic killing of persons solely because of their gender, either male or female, though gendercide is more often applied to the fate of females than males, as it often refers to the rape and other types of sexual assault and brutalization against targeted female populations.

The term was first used by Mary Ann Warren in her 1985 book *Gendercide: The Implications of Sex Selection*, and was later used by genocide scholar Adam Jones in his research, made even better known through his Web site www.gendercidewatch.com

Gendercide Watch. An international organization based in Canada, Gendercide is a project of the Gender Issues Education Foundation (GIEF), a registered charitable foundation based in Edmonton, Alberta. Gendercide Watch reports that it “seeks to confront acts of gender-selective mass killing (of ordinary men and women) around the world. It also works to raise awareness, conduct research, and produce educational resources on gendercide.” It maintains a Web site (<http://www.gendercide.org>), which constitutes its major means of outreach and public education.

Gender-Related Persecution. Any unjust act or practice that targets or impacts a particular gender.

General Assembly. See United Nations General Assembly.

Generalgouvernement (French, absorbed into; German, General Government). When the Germans invaded Poland in September 1939, they divided the country into three parts: the western third was annexed to the Third Reich; the eastern third was controlled by the Soviet Union; and the central third became known as the *Generalgouvernement*. The *Generalgouvernement* was a semi-independent unit, which the Nazis used as the location for holding, working to death, and exterminating those they considered “unworthy of living.” The *Generalgouvernement* comprised five districts: Krakow, Lublin, Radom, Galicia, and Warsaw. In these districts were to be found most of Poland’s Jews, and in time the *Generalgouvernement* was utilized as a collection point for Jews deported from all over Europe, often prior to transshipment to the death camps in Poland. It was comprised of approximately 12 million people, 1.5 million of whom were Jews.

Given its location and function, the *Generalgouvernement* was an integral part of the Nazis’ “Final Solution of the Jewish Question”; it not only allowed for the concentration of Jews in a specific locale, it was also geographically close to the extermination apparatus—the death camps—set up by the Nazis. Several of the larger and more important ghettos were situated in the *Generalgouvernement*, notably Warsaw, Krakow, and Lublin; Lodz, Lwow, and Bialystok were outside its borders, but nearby. It was anticipated that the *Generalgouvernement* would serve as a reservoir of Jews for forced labor and extermination, but that over time it (along with the rest of Europe) would be emptied of Jews in the final realization of the Nazis’ genocidal ambitions.

Following the German attack on the Soviet Union during the summer of 1941, the Nazis added Eastern Galicia to the *Generalgouvernement*, which increased the population by some 3 to 4 million people.

Geneva Conventions. A series of four international treaties, signed in Geneva, Switzerland, in 1864, 1906, 1929 and 1949. Three additional protocols to the 1949 treaty were signed in 1949, 1977, and 2005. Collectively, these conventions establish the humanitarian standards by which nations engaged in war should behave toward the individuals caught up in it, whether as combatants or as civilians. The first of these conventions was the brainchild of Swiss banker Henri Dunant (1828–1910), who witnessed the Battle of Solferino between the army of Austria and a combined Franco-Italian force on June 24, 1859. Shocked by the carnage—at least forty thousand casualties—he was determined to do something to at least help the wounded, even if he could not stop the armies from fighting. His efforts ultimately led to the establishment of the International Committee of the Red Cross, which has since been closely aligned with the conventions that followed. In Geneva, Switzerland, in August 1864, the representatives of sixteen countries met and drew up a treaty (or convention) “for the amelioration of the condition of the wounded in

armies in the field.” It was the first such treaty of its kind. In the conventions that came after this, the initial principles were broadened, by agreement with the signatory nations and those who had acceded since 1864: the convention of 1906 extended the principles to war at sea, the convention of 1929 concerned the ethical treatment of prisoners of war (who would be granted certain rights with regard to basic care), and involved set rules applicable to all signatory states; in the aftermath of the horrors of World War II, the 1949 convention addressed issues related to the treatment of civilians, both in enemy hands and under enemy control (the difference was an important one to those framing the treaty). The two protocols of 1977 clarified certain issues stemming from the 1949 convention, and considered differences between victims of international armed conflicts and those of non-international armed conflicts. All the conventions of the twentieth century served to build an infrastructure for the new discipline of international humanitarian law, including the Hague conventions (1899 and 1907), together with a slew of such treaties initiated through the United Nations from 1948 onward (one of which was the United Nations Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide 1948).

Geneva Treaty. See Geneva Conventions.

Genghis Khan (c. 1167–1227). Mongol chief (approximating both king and emperor) of the twelfth century, whose conquered domains spread from China, through central and western Asia, and into Russia and eastern Europe. His first considerable extension of power from his base in Mongolia was westward; certain larger groups of people (e.g., the Kirghiris and Uighurs) were not so much conquered, as induced to join with him. He then moved into China and, by 1214, had taken Yanjing (later known as Beijing). In 1218 his huge (and ever-expanding) army crossed the Pamir Mountains and swept into Turkestan. The army was well armed and probably included guns and gunpowder for siege work. Famous cities such as Kashgar, Bokhara, and Samarkand all fell in a short period of time. Thereafter, little held him back; the Mongols swept westward to the Caspian Sea and southward as far as Lahore in modern-day Pakistan. By the time his empire appeared on the shores of the Black Sea, a panic set in at Constantinople, at that time still embroiled in the turmoil of the Crusades. Ultimately, the city held out against him and his hordes. In 1227, in the midst of a triumphant career, Genghis Khan died. His empire reached from the Pacific almost to the borders of Poland, and was still expanding. The major characteristic of the empire, in fact, was constant expansion. Like all nomad-founded empires, that of Genghis Khan was founded purely as a military and administrative structure, providing a framework for daily exchange and law—rather than being established on state or government lines. Given this, Genghis Khan’s approach to conquest was frequently brutal and extremely bloody. In reducing a besieged city, for example, he would first offer it the chance to surrender; if refusal followed, he would bide his time, attack at an opportune moment, and, upon gaining control of the city, slaughter all its inhabitants (sometimes numbering in the tens of thousands) as a warning to the next city along the road. The empire was of massive physical size, but built on an unmitigated brutality that cost the lives of many hundreds of thousands over the twenty-some years of his rule.

Génocidaire. French term for an individual who takes part in perpetrating genocide.

Genocidal Massacre. A term introduced by noted political scientist and genocide scholar Leo Kuper (1908–1994) in his seminal work *Genocide: Its Political Use in the Twentieth Century* (1981). Noting that the annihilation of a section of a group in a localized

massacre (e.g., in the wiping out of a whole village of men, women, and children) contains some of the elements of a genocide, Kuper sought to find a way to give such massacres their proper place within a model of genocide, while recognizing that such events did not, by themselves, constitute genocide. Kuper found the notion of genocidal massacre particularly helpful in this respect. He also found the concept and term useful in describing colonial situations, as the large number of massacres accompanying colonial acquisition pointed clearly to an affinity between colonialism and genocide. Although even an aggregation of genocidal massacres did not necessarily connote a policy of genocide, the motives that underlay such massacres were, in their time-and-place, motivated by a genocidal intent. For Kuper, therefore, the genocidal massacre, while not equal to genocide, was a device for explaining the many examples of destruction that took place during territorial acquisition, maintenance, and decolonization.

Genocidal Rape. *Genocidal rape* is a relatively new term that has entered the vocabulary of genocide studies. Generally, the term genocidal rape is used to suggest the use of mass rape by perpetrators as a weapon against the group they perceive as enemies. In that regard, genocidal rape, itself is largely used as a way to degrade, demoralize, and humiliate both the female victims and their families (not to mention fellow community members and members of their ethnic, religious, national group), as well as to cause physical trauma to the female victims. It has also been used as a means of forced impregnation, particularly in societies where the defiling of women often results in their becoming pariahs, not only in the larger society, but also within their immediate families. Furthermore, it has been used as a means to create “bastards,” who not only do not know their fathers who brought them into the world by an act of violence, but are often unwanted by their mothers. Such rape is more a crime of violence than sexuality, both culturally and historically, and made all the more complicated in both Judaic and Islamic communities, which tend to regard the women who have been raped not only unfortunate victims, but blemished religiously and shunned communally.

Although rape is not specifically referred to in the United Nations Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (UNCG), both sections b (“Causing serious bodily or emotional harm to members of the group”) and d (“Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part”) are germane to the act and violence of rape. The rationales for the latter assertions are obvious in regard to section b, but less so in regard to section d. As for section d, in many situations across the globe women who have been forcibly impregnated by another group—particularly when the perpetrator group is perceived as “outsiders,” enemies, or “infidels”—may result in a woman being forsaken by her own community, and thus not able, even if she so desired, to bear children of her own ethnic group in the future.

In many instances in the near past, mass rape has been used as a tool to carry out warfare, “ethnic cleansing,” and genocide. Mass rapes, for example, were perpetrated during the 1971 Bangladesh genocide, the 1994 Rwandan genocide, by Serbs in the 1990s in so-called rape camps against Muslim women in the former Yugoslavia, and by government of Sudan troops and the *Janjaweed* (Arab militia) throughout the course of the genocide in Darfur, Sudan (2003 through today, late 2007).

There is evidence that one of the key purposes of at least some of the abuse in the Serbian “rape camps” in the former Yugoslavia was impregnation. In fact, in certain cases women were

detained until their fetus was so far along that abortion was not an option. Among the epithets screamed at the woman by their attackers were “Death to all Turkish sperm” and “You are going to bear little Serbs.” Some legal scholars have argued that it is forced impregnation, not rape itself, that constitutes genocide. Others argue that the very act of mass rape that results in females becoming pariahs within their communities, and thus, as mentioned above, unable to bear offspring of their own ethnic group, constitutes genocide.

Genocidal Societies. Coined by the noted sociologist Irving Louis Horowitz (b. 1929), genocidal societies are those in which the state takes the lives of groups of people who it perceives as deviant or dissident.

Genocide: A Critical Bibliographical Series. Created by psychologist and genocide scholar Israel W. Charny (b. 1931), the purpose of *Genocide: A Critical Bibliographical Series* was to publish books composed of critical essays on key issues germane to various facets of genocide, and to provide an accompanying annotated bibliography of major works on the topic addressed in each essay. To date (September 2007) seven volumes have been published.

Among the many topics addressed in the first volume (1988) are the history and sociology of genocidal killings, the Armenian genocide, the Holocaust, genocide in the USSR, the Cambodian genocide, other selected cases of genocide and genocidal massacres, the psychology of genocidal destructiveness, and the literature, art and film of genocide. In the second volume (1991), authors addressed the following: denials of the Holocaust and the Armenian genocide, law and genocide, educating about the Holocaust and genocide, genocide and total war, first-person accounts of genocide, and the language of extermination in genocide. Volume three comprised essays on such topics as democracy and the prevention of genocide, religion and genocide, documentation of the Armenian genocide in German and Austrian sources, genocide in Afghanistan, genocide of the Kurds, the East Timor Genocide, the fate of the Gypsies in the Holocaust, and non-governmental organizations working on the issue of genocide. The focus of the fourth volume (1997), which was coedited by Robert Krell and Marc Sherman, was medical and psychological effects of the concentration camps on Holocaust survivors.

In 2001 Samuel Totten succeeded Israel Charny as managing editor of the series. The first volume Totten edited, volume five, was titled *Genocide at the Millennium* (2004), which included essays and accompanying annotations on: The 1994 Rwandan genocide, genocide in the former Yugoslavia, international law and genocide, the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY) and the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR), the establishment of the International Criminal Court (ICC), nongovernmental organizations and the issue of genocide, and the United Nations and genocide. Volume six, *The Prevention and Intervention of Genocide* (2008) included essays on past and current efforts vis-à-vis the prevention and intervention of genocide in Iraq, Rwanda, the former Yugoslavia, and Darfur, Sudan; the development of genocide early-warning systems; the efficacy of sanctions; the role of the UN in prevention and intervention efforts; and the concept of an antigencide regime. Volume seven, *Women and Genocide* (2008), focuses on the plight and fate of women during the course of various genocides (e.g., the Armenian genocide, the Holocaust, the Bangladesh genocide, the 1994 Rwandan genocide, genocide in the former Yugoslavia, the Darfur genocide); international laws germane to such issues as “genocidal rape”; and problems and concerns women face during the postgenocidal period.

Among the many genocide scholars who have contributed essays to the series over the years are: Howard Adelman, Alex Alvarez, Paul R. Bartrop, Israel W. Charny, Vahakn Dadrian, James Dunn, Barbara Harff, Herbert Hirsch, Richard Hovannisian, Curt Jonasohn, Leo Kuper, James Mace, Eric Markusen, Martin Mennecke, Rubina Peroomian, Rudolph J. Rummel, William Schabas, Roger Smith, Greg Stanton, and Samuel Totten.

Genocide and Politicide Project. Based at the University of Maryland-College Park, this project is directed by political scientists Barbara Harff (b. 1942), professor emerita at the U.S. Naval Academy, Annapolis. Its foundation is a data base that includes information on a broad range of genocide and politicides perpetrated between 1955 and 2002—some fifty in all, which have engulfed the lives of at least 12 million and as many as 22 million noncombatants, more than all of the victims of internal and international wars since 1945. The Web site of the Genocide and Politicide Project notes that the following questions cum guidelines were used to help distinguish cases of genocide and politicide from other kinds of killings that generally occur during civil conflicts: “(1) Is there complicity by the state (or, in the case of civil war, either of the contending authorities) in actions undertaken that endanger human life?; (2) Is there evidence, even if circumstantial, of intent on the part of authorities to isolate or single out group members for mistreatment?; (3) Are victims members of an identifiable group?; (4) Are there policies and practices that cause prolonged mass suffering; and (5) Do the actions committed pose a threat to the survival of the group?”

Genocide by Attrition. A phrase that refers to the deliberate denial of adequate water, foodstuffs, and medical attention to a specific group of people by a perpetrator for the express purpose of contributing to the targeted group’s demise. This phrase/concept was employed by various genocide scholars to explain a large part of the deaths of black Africans in Darfur, Sudan, who have been attacked, raped, killed, and run off their land by Government of Sudan (GOS) troops and the *Janjaweed* (Arab militia) between 2003 and today (late 2007). The deaths attributed to genocide by attrition are those that resulted from starvation, dehydration, lack of medical care, and similar debilitating, and often deadly conditions. In carrying out death and destruction, the GOS and *Janjaweed* stole the foodstuffs of the black Africans, poisoned their wells by tossing dead animal carcasses and dead human bodies into the wells, and chased the survivors into the wilds of the desolate mountains and deserts of Darfur. The GOS and *Janjaweed* have also purposely prevented foodstuffs, medicine and other supplies crucial to survival from entering many internally displaced camps where the black Africans have sought sanctuary, thus increasing the death toll.

Genocide, Causes of. As with all social sciences, establishing causality is not a scientific endeavor. Only with hindsight is some kind of connection visible between an event and what transpired beforehand. The best one can do is to determine antecedents and circumstances that point toward the event under consideration. This is no less true when analyzing the origins of a particular genocide. Whether one can ultimately arrive at a common denominator of causes true for all genocides remains dubious. Most frequently (though not always), genocides take place in times of war. Of course, there has to be a prevailing ideology (or at least a mood or attitude) that demonizes a target group for elimination. Times of extreme economic stress can contribute to the outbreak of mass violence. Genocidal violence is more likely to erupt where there is an absence of democracy at home and international disinterest. Another condition that may encourage genocidal thought and action is a radical imbalance of power between the *génocidaires* and the

victims; in this environment, an unrestrained state can hurl itself against a defenseless citizenry. Clearly, factors such as these do not automatically lead to genocide. Genocide, like all other human events, is not inevitable before the fact. To take but one example, rabid antisemitism or racism, coupled to a severe economic crisis, need not necessarily lead to genocide, even though racial antisemitism did in the specific instance of Germany between 1933 and 1945. There is no *sine qua non* without which genocide cannot take place. The “trigger” factor will always vary from case to case. Thus, racism against African-Americans in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in the United States did not lead to genocide; on the contrary, it evolved away from mass violence and led to the civil rights movement in the context of a democratic society. Similarly, incipient antisemitism under Josef Stalin’s (1879–1950) totalitarian rule in the Soviet Union was brutal but not genocidal, whereas in Germany, as previously noted, it did assume genocidal proportions between 1933 and 1945 under the Nazi dictatorship of Adolf Hitler (1889–1945).

Nevertheless, for all the uncertainty about what brings about genocide, and the unreliability of projecting present circumstances into the future, those who seek to anticipate and predict genocidal crises will find knowledge of the background of past genocides useful. Causality in the strictest sense may not exist, but that does not mean that awareness of how a crisis evolved cannot serve as an index of dangers lying ahead. Though causality in the mechanical and philosophic senses does not apply in human history, an informal causality does operate in the affairs of humans. There are connections linking one event to another, not deterministically, but operatively. Thus, for example, the missile attack and subsequent crash of the airplane of President Juvenal Habyarimana (1937–1994) of Rwanda on April 6, 1994, served as a trigger for genocide, but it need not have done so. Indeed, something else altogether could have sparked the genocide against the Tutsi. The will to genocide in Rwanda in 1994 was already present. Without that will, no amount of additional stimuli would have set Rwanda aflame. Thus one genocide’s cause is not necessarily another’s. Each case of genocide is its own discrete example, with its own set of “causes” and “triggers.”

Genocide, Classification in Multiple Categories. One of the major problems associated with applying the term *genocide* to an event or cluster of events relates not only to how it may be defined, but also to which groups are to be included within a definition. As a tool for assisting in the analysis of these important conceptual issues, some scholars have developed structures whereby genocides can be classified and categorized. U.S. genocide scholar Helen Fein (b. 1934), for instance, has concluded that four overall categories of genocide can be discerned: developmental genocide (where perpetrators clear an area of its inhabitants prior to colonization); despotic genocide (where destruction happens so as to clear the way for new regimes to come to power); retributive genocide (where peoples are targeted for reasons based around social dominance and struggle); and ideological genocide (where a population is defined doctrinally as undeserving of life). Other scholars have also sought to broaden the range of categories, such as Eric Markusen (1946–2007) and David Kopf, who add war-related deaths to genocide, or, in the case of R. J. Rummel, find ways of gathering together all instances of massacre, area bombing, state-directed killing of large numbers of people, or mass destruction caused by other agencies or individuals. Locating such actions within a taxonomy of genocide can be useful, but only if an acceptable definition has also been agreed to. And herein lies a problem: grouping genocides for the purpose of plotting, predicting, or planning is a worthwhile task only if scholars can first agree on precisely what it is they are studying. And other

than the 1948 United Nations Genocide Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, which many scholars and jurists regard as inadequate owing to its narrowness, there are no other universally accepted definitions of genocide prevailing today. Grouping examples of mass killing and human rights violations together within a matrix of genocide may be a means to break the impasse, but it has only a limited value in law. Even though conceptually it provides assistance to scholars, classification can only be applied narrowly by lawyers and courts.

Genocide Convention Implementation Act of 1988. The Genocide Convention Implementation Act of 1988, which was named the “Proxmire Act” in honor of Senator William Proxmire (1915–2005), who had arduously lobbied for the ratification of the UN Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (UNCG), was the title of the U.S. law that made genocide a crime that was punishable in the United States by life imprisonment and fines of up to 1 million U.S. dollars. Although passage of the Genocide Convention Implementation Act of 1988 was hailed as a milestone, many saw it as “tainted,” for certain senators insisted that a reservation be attached to the ratification. The reservation basically stated that before the United States could be called before the International Court of Justice (ICJ), the president of the United States would have to consent to the court’s jurisdiction. That reservation resulted in the United States being the only country in the world that would decide whether or not it would appear before the World Court.

It is also noteworthy that the U.S. Senate did not ratify the “U.S. version of the genocide treaty” until February 11, 1986, some thirty-eight years after the UN General Assembly unanimously voted on passage of the law. Equally noteworthy is the fact that ninety-seven nations had ratified the UNCG ahead of the United States. Ultimately, it took another two years before the United States’ ratification became formal law, for incessant wrangling continued over the implementation legislation that became the “Genocide Convention Implementation Act of 1988.”

Genocide, Denial of. Denial of a genocide having taken place (even in the far past, such as the Ottoman Turk genocide of the Armenians and the Nazi extermination of the Jews, Roma and Sinti, and physically and mentally handicapped) is a frequent occurrence. Genocide is first and foremost a crime, and those who commit it, or those supporting the perpetrators’ actions, are often eager to seek exoneration by denying that charges of genocide have any veracity. Denial activities have often taken place via the printed word, though most recently this has extended to the Internet and lectures and speeches to receptive (or potentially receptive) audiences.

The motives of genocide deniers are not based on serious or objective scholarship, but rather on political, racist, or bigoted foundations. Often deception is employed in order to “convince” those without deep knowledge that the “accepted version” of history is in fact wrong. Genocide denial is thus not a part of the legitimate quest for understanding in which scholars engage, as denialist activities do not rework or revise, based on new evidence, the endeavors of earlier researchers. Their method, instead, is to deny the very reality of the phenomena to which earlier scholars have directed their attention, or to skew the facts. Concomitantly, genocide denial is frequently an attempt—sometimes made quite crudely—to discredit the victims of genocides by saying their experiences did not take place.

Given the latter, deniers frequently proceed from the belief—often held with passionate conviction—that they are struggling against a massive conspiracy being waged by

those alleging the existence of a genocide (two such examples are past and present Turkish governments' reaction to the Armenians' effort to focus attention on the Ottoman Turk genocide of their Armenian ancestors [1915–1923], and neo-Nazi and other Holocaust deniers' repeated claim that world Jewry is attempting to manipulate the world by continued reference to the Holocaust, either for economic gain or political and military support of the state of Israel). Deniers frequently maintain their denialism in spite of all evidence the contrary. Further, they promote the very racism or victimization upon which the historical phenomena (which they say never happened) was based, while “denouncing” a massive “conspiracy” that aims to defraud the world.

Genocide, During Early Modern Period. In the era between the Middle Ages and the modern period, a number of genocidal episodes occurred that were a departure from those of the Ancient World and the upheavals of the great migrations during the first millennium of Christianity. Genocides such as that experienced in the early thirteenth century by the Cathars (or Albigensians) of southern France, which were based on a desire by the Church to uproot what it perceived to be heresy, showed that western Europe had moved far down the road toward becoming a persecuting society established on notions of religious intolerance—a frightening portent of things to come in the modern age. The development of such attitudes, exemplified in a European belief in the undesirability of “the Other,” ultimately became internalized as part of European society. It was bolstered by a streamlining of administration as systems of bureaucracy advanced, via the centralization of power as expressed through the feudal system, and through the slow but steady growth of capitalism. Another form of genocidal intolerance came in the form of the two centuries-long Witch Craze of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and in the occurrence of widespread religious persecutions, such as that committed against the Huguenots of France in the sixteenth century, and that in Poland and Ukraine committed against the Jews by the forces of Bogdan Chmielnicki (1595–1657) in the middle of the seventeenth century. Religious persecution resulting in mass death was a constant throughout the early modern period, some of the most terrible examples taking place during the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648). Some areas in the lands that were later to comprise Germany were even depopulated at this time by as much as ninety per cent. In short, the early modern period was an important era of transition in the history of genocide, as human destruction became less a matter of ancillary devastation accompanying territorial conquest, and more an issue of targeted killing on the grounds of what both victim and perpetrator peoples thought or believed. After 1789, ideology would serve increasingly as a determinant as to why genocidal violence happens.

Genocide Early Warning System. A generic term that refers to a process or program whose express purpose is to monitor violent conflict in order to collect, analyze, predict, and disseminate information in order to alert key agencies, organizations, and authorities about a potential genocide. Individual scholars (e.g., Israel W. Charny, Barbara Harff, Helen Fein, and Franklin Littell) have developed theoretical and conceptual models and/or components germane to the development of a genocide early warning system, and over the past decade and a half (1993 to 2007) such organizations as the United Nations, the United States, and the Canadian government have been involved, to one extent or another, in the conception of genocide early warning systems. At this point in time (August 2007), a theoretically sound, well-developed, well-funded, and fully operational genocide early warning system is not a reality.

Genocide Education. Genocide education at the secondary, college, and university levels encompasses all aspects of genocide, including, but not limited to: genocide theory (e.g., definitions of genocide, preconditions of genocide, typologies of genocide); a general history of genocide; specific cases of genocide (e.g., the Ottoman Turk-perpetrated genocide of the Armenians; the Soviet man-made famine in Ukraine; the Khmer Rouge—perpetrated Cambodian genocide of 1975–1979; the Iraqi gassing of its Kurd population in the north in 1988; the 1994 Rwandan genocide; the Darfur genocide in the early 2000s of black Sudanese by Sudanese government troops and Arab militia); comparative genocide (e.g., the Armenian genocide and the Holocaust); the prevention and intervention of genocide, et al.

Four notable works have been published on genocide education: *The Sociology of the Holocaust and Genocide: A Teaching and Learning Guide*, edited and compiled by Jack Nusan Porter and Steve Hoffman (Washington, DC: American Sociological Association, 1999); *Teaching about Genocide: A Guidebook for College and University Teachers—Critical Essays, Syllabi and Assignments*, edited by Joyce Freedman-Apsel and Helen Fein (New York: Institute for the Study of Genocide, 1992); *Teaching about Genocide: An Interdisciplinary Guidebook with Syllabi for Colleague and University Teachers* (second edition), edited by Joyce Apsel and Helen Fein (Washington, DC: American Sociological Association, 2002); and *Teaching about Genocide: Issues, Approaches, Resources*, edited by Samuel Totten (Greenwich, CT: Information Age Publishing, 2004).

"Genocide Fax," January 1994. On January 10, 1994, Lieutenant General Romeo Dallaire (b. 1946), the Canadian Force Commander of UNAMIR (the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda), received intelligence that an extremist Hutu codenamed "Jean-Pierre," was prepared to disclose information regarding a planned genocide of Tutsi. "Jean-Pierre" had been an officer in Rwanda's Presidential Guard, but had left in order to become one of the key men in the *Interahamwe* militia. Upon closer inquiries, it transpired that Jean-Pierre had much to say. He described in detail how the *Interahamwe* were trained, by whom, and where; he added that the militia was in a state of permanent readiness sufficient to kill one thousand Tutsi in the capital, Kigali, within twenty minutes of receiving an order to commence the genocide. As a sign of his goodwill and reliability, Jean-Pierre offered to reveal the location of a large stockpile of weapons somewhere in central Kigali. Dallaire, realizing that these arms had to be confiscated, decided to order an arms raid, and faxed the UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations in New York, headed at that time by Kofi Annan (b. 1938), for authorization. The cable outlined in detail the revelations made by Jean-Pierre. It has frequently been put, with some justification, that, if the authorization had been given, Dallaire's efforts certainly could have forestalled—and perhaps even stopped—the possibility of the genocide that was to break out on April 6, 1994. Dallaire's fax was responded to negatively, however, by those at UN headquarters. More specifically, he was informed (cum ordered) that under no circumstances was he authorized to conduct arms raids. In turn, he was taken to task for suggesting that he exceed his Chapter VI peacekeeping mandate and he was ordered to turn over Jean-Pierre's revelations to the president of Rwanda, Juvenal Habyarimana (1937–1994)—the very man whose anti-Tutsi cause the *Interahamwe* was enforcing. The UN's Department of Peacekeeping Operations, together with the office of the then secretary-general Boutros Boutros-Ghali (b. 1922), decided that legality and process were more important, on this occasion, than action; not only this, but they were concerned for the image of the UN in light of an earlier failed arms raid that took

place with heavy loss of life in Mogadishu, Somalia in October 1993. Dallaire adamantly protested the decision, but the UN would not budge—with catastrophic consequences. The “genocide fax” of January 10, 1994 represents a missed opportunity on the UN’s part to nip the nascent génocidaires actions in the bud; it was a mistake whose price was the Rwanda genocide three months later in which between five hundred thousand and 1 million Tutsi and moderate Hutu were murdered in one hundred days.

Genocide Forum, The. *The Genocide Forum*, a bimonthly newsletter founded in 1993, was a publication of the Center for the Study of Ethnonationalism located on the campus of the City College of New York. *The Genocide Forum* was intended to serve as a convenient vehicle of exchange to discuss critical issues of common interest to students of Holocaust and Genocide Studies. The founder and editor of *The Genocide Forum* was Professor Henry R. Huttenbach (b. 1931).

Genocide, History of. Genocide is a crime that has been committed throughout the ages. Indeed, every century of recorded history has been marred by genocidal acts. It was not until the twentieth century, though, that this particular act was given the name *genocide*. It is thus a relatively new name for a very old practice. The term was originally coined in 1944 by Raphael Lemkin (1900–1959), a Polish-Jewish jurist who lost most members of his family in the Holocaust. His coinage of the term was accepted and absorbed by the United Nations in order to describe the intentional destruction, in whole or in part, of a specific group of people, in its 1948 Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide.

Genocide as a human activity has taken many forms in the past. The Hebrew Bible contains many passages that refer to mass destruction of a kind which would, today, be identified as genocide. Likewise, the annals of other ancient peoples recount genocidal episodes in great detail, the Greeks and the Romans foremost among them. In central Asia, during the Middle Ages, the Mongols and Turks swept through the deserts and steppes, killing hundreds of thousands along the way. In Europe, as theological differences developed within Christianity, those deviating from the Roman Catholic Church were put to the sword, the gallows, the stake, and the block, and, as Europe extended its physical limits to include the Americas during the sixteenth century, entire areas were depopulated in an explosion of violence and pestilence. Colonial expansion in succeeding centuries saw the destruction of millions on all continents. Such destruction, on a genocidal scale, reached its zenith during the twentieth century, which has become known to many as the “Century of Genocide.” Murderous acts of the most intense kind were perpetrated in every decade on at least four different continents (Africa, Asia, Europe and South America), and genocide without killing took place on one other (Australia). Among some of the many genocides perpetrated in the twentieth century were: the German-perpetrated genocide of the Herero in South-West Africa in 1904; the Ottoman Turk genocide of the Armenians, Assyrians, and Pontic Greeks between 1915–1923; the Holocaust (1933–1945); the Bangladesh genocide (1971); the Khmer Rouge–perpetrated genocide in Democratic Kampuchea (Cambodia) between 1975 and 1979; the Iraqi genocide of the Kurds of northern Iraq in 1988; the 1994 Rwandan genocide of Tutsi and moderate Hutu at the hands of extremist Hutu; and the Bosnian Muslim genocide at the hands of Bosnian Serb and Federal Republic of Yugoslavia forces between 1992 and 1995. There were also the almost totally unrecognized genocides of many indigenous peoples across the globe.

The history of genocide has shown that outbreaks of massive destruction have been increasing, but concomitant with this development has been an upsurge in international legislation designed to confront such outbreaks. The establishment of the International Criminal Court in 2002 might be viewed as the ultimate expression, thus far, of the nations of the world to do something effective to outlaw genocide in the future.

Genocide, Misuse of the Concept/Term. Ever since the concept/term *genocide* was first coined by Raphael Lemkin (1900–1959) in 1944, there have been constant disputes within academe over how the concept and term should be, once and for all, defined and interpreted. Although these disputes have been vigorous and, at times, even acrimonious, they have still led to substantial and significant misuse of the term at all levels. Without really appreciating its sophistication, both with regard to international law and international scholarship, many (e.g., some scholars, journalists, activists for various causes, repressed peoples) have added meanings to the word genocide that it was never intended to have. For some, genocide equates directly with war, with language extinction, with colonialist occupation, or with population collapse caused through natural famine or disease. Some argue a case for “accidental” genocide, where a population’s numbers are reduced despite the best efforts of others to stop such reduction. Elsewhere, genocide has been misapplied when conflated into other examples of inhumanity or gross human rights violation, such as slavery or political incarceration.

The popularization and misuse of the term genocide has extended into the realms of education and journalism, whereby anyone’s definition or understanding of the term is seemingly as legitimate as anyone else’s. Departing from universally recognized appreciations of genocide, such as that embodied in the 1948 UN Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (UNCG), leads to conceptual confusion, and muddies the waters in an area requiring clarity and precision. Thus, for example, in international law there is no such thing as “cultural genocide,” as the UNCG does not include cultural groups among those considered as targets for genocide. Yet the notion of “cultural genocide” has become one of those ideas which—though not acknowledged within international law—has been interpreted as a legitimate category.

On a different note, the use of the term/concept genocide has been banalized in a variety of ways. More specifically, all of the following issues/concerns have, at one time or another, been referred to as genocide: “race-mixing” (the integration of blacks and non-blacks); the practice of birth control and abortions among third world peoples; sterilizations and so-called Mississippi appendectomies (tubal ligations and hysterectomies); the closing of synagogues in the Soviet Union; a lack of support by U.S. president Reagan for research on AIDS; the adoption of black children by whites; the U.S. government’s drug policy (which purportedly allowed the rampant sale of drugs in the inner cities of the United States), and the rate of abortions in the United States. And in one case, sports hunting was deemed “duck genocide.”

Genocide Studies and Prevention: An International Journal (GSP). GSP is the official journal of the International Association of Genocide Scholars (IAGS). It publishes scholarly articles and reviews on all aspects of genocide, and welcomes in particular comparative analyses and articles on prevention and intervention of genocide. GSP is an interdisciplinary, peer-reviewed journal that provides a forum for scholarly discourse for researchers, practitioners, governmental policy makers, educators, and students. The brainchild of Israel W. Charny, GSP was cofounded by the IAGS, and the International

Institute for Genocide and Human Rights Studies (a division of the Zoryan Institute). GSP is published by the University of Toronto Press. The inaugural coeditors of GPS were Alex Alvarez, Herbert Hirsch, Eric Markusen, and Samuel Totten.

Genocide, Theories of. The enormous range and variety of outbreaks that have been termed genocide throughout history have led to a multiplicity of theories attempting to explain it as a human phenomenon. From the time the word was first coined in 1944 by Raphael Lemkin (1900–1959), the scholarly study of genocide has emerged. For many, theorizing about the nature of genocide has become a major intellectual activity; for others, doing so is irrelevant other than to acknowledge that genocide is a crime (for some, “the crime of crimes”), and that as such little theorizing is needed beyond the legislation that has established its criminality (i.e., the United Nations Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide 1948). Although the development of different theories about genocide can take place through the employment of a number of approaches—historical, social, political, psychological, economic, environmental, religious, ideological, military, cultural, and so on—invariably a great deal of genocide theory proceeds from (and all too often, gets bogged down by) discussions relating to definitional matters. Where Lemkin’s original conception began with the statement that “By ‘genocide’ we mean the destruction of a nation or ethnic group,” many others have built their discussions around definitions that diverge from this. Some, such as Pieter N. Drost (1959), Frank Chalk and Curt Jonassohn (1990), and Israel Charny (1991) focus on genocide as killing, whereas others, such as Helen Fein (1990) and Irving Louis Horowitz (1976) look at structural issues within the perpetrator state that make a destructive project (regardless of type) possible. Henry Huttenbach (1988) considers “any act that puts the very existence of a group in jeopardy” to be (at least potentially) a genocidal act. Other forms of destruction that do not fit comfortably into these broad theories of genocide have generated even newer terms, proceeding from the approach pioneered by Lemkin: hence, in addition to genocide there now exists such terms and concepts as ethnocide, politicicide, democide, omnicide, gendecide, libricide, and autogenocide. Although these notions are often useful in creating models to help approach specific issues, it could be argued that a full appreciation of genocide in all its guises has yet to be exhausted. The establishment of workable theoretical models in order to do so, it can be argued, is just as much a legitimate task today as it was when Lemkin himself first reflected upon the phenomenon of mass human destruction.

Genocide Watch. Genocide Watch, which is based in Washington, D.C., was organized in 1998 to coordinate the International Campaign to End Genocide, a coalition of human rights, legal, religious, and civil society organizations. The International Campaign was launched by ten organizations at The Hague Appeal for Peace in 1999. Genocide Watch maintains the campaign’s Web site, fund-raising, monthly news digest, and sponsors its own training programs and conferences. It also proposes genocide alerts to the campaign’s members and acts on them with other groups who join in Crisis Groups to lobby governments and international organizations to take action to prevent and stop genocide. Genocide Watch is concerned with all forms of mass murder, not only killing that is legally defined as genocide. It also has an education arm, “Prevent Genocide International.”

Geno/Politicicide. A term/concept, which was coined and developed by Professor Barbara Harff (b. 1942) of the United States Naval Academy, that refers to “the promotion,

execution and/or implied consent of sustained policies by governing elites or their agents—or in the case of civil war, either of the contending authorities—that result in the deaths of a substantial portion of a communal and/or politicized communal group” (Harff, 1992, p. 29).

Gerombolan Pengacau Keamanan (GPK). This term literally means “security disrupting gangs,” which is the term that the Indonesian military used in the 1990s to refer to any criminal activity involving violence, including FRETILIN (*Frente Revolucionária do Timor-Leste Independente*, or Revolutionary Front for an Independent East Timor), a socialist-based, anticolonial group with nationalist leanings.

Gestapo. The *Geheime Staatspolizei* or “Secret State Police” was established by Hermann Goering (1893–1946) in April 1933 to combat those opposed to Nazism. From 1934 until his death by assassination in 1942, the Gestapo was commanded by Reinhard Heydrich (1904–1942), but was already part of the Reich Security Main Office by 1939. In early 1934 a “Jewish section,” led by Adolf Eichman (1906–1962), was established as Section IVB.4, for the purpose of coordinating the rounding up and transferring of Jews to both concentration and death camps. Section I was responsible for organizational and financial matters, Section II with a variety of “enemies of the Reich” (e.g., communists, social democrats, trade unionists), and Section III with counterintelligence activities.

Through the use of torture, terror, and intimidation tactics, as well as so-called protective custody (*schutzhaft*, a code word for torture and imprisonment), the Gestapo became the primary instrument of anti-Jewish activity and repression of others throughout Germany. The Gestapo also had the power to send persons to detention and extermination camps. Furthermore, Gestapo units were part of each headquarters detachments in the occupied areas in Poland, eastern Europe, and later, the Soviet Union. At the International Military Tribunal (IMT), held at Nuremberg between 1945 and 1946, the Gestapo was formally declared a criminal organization and disbanded. Most of those responsible for its activities—the actual torturers and death camp guards—were never brought to trial. Göring, himself, committed suicide before his death sentence was carried out.

Glücks, Richard (1889–1945). Nazi police leader. Glücks was second-in-command to Theodor Eicke (1892–1943) as Inspector of Concentration Camps, an office Glücks took up in November 1939 after Eicke’s transfer to a combat command. Born in Düsseldorf, Glücks joined the Nazi party after its ascent to office, and rose in a relatively quick period to become Eicke’s aide.

Under Glücks, the Nazi concentration camp network expanded considerably, which was necessitated by German conquests during World War II. In February 1940, Glücks reported to the head of the SS, Heinrich Himmler (1900–1945), that a site had been found for a new camp close by the Polish town of Oswiecim, which in German translated to Auschwitz. By May 1940, upon his orders, the first Kommandant of the Auschwitz concentration camp, Rudolf Franz Hoess (1900–1947), commenced building what would become the largest of all the concentration camps, and a byword for the Holocaust. Glücks introduced a number of new measures to the concentration camps under his direction, including the use of forced foreign labor, and facilities for medical experiments on camp inmates. The full details of his ultimate fate are unclear, though it is believed he committed suicide in Italy in May 1945 to avoid trial at the hands of the Allies.

Goals of Anti-Jewish Administrators through the Ages. In his magisterial three-volume work entitled *The Destruction of the Jews*, historian Raul Hilberg (b.1926) observes that

the Nazi destruction process did not come out of a void; it was the culmination of a cyclical trend. We have observed the trend on the three successive goals of anti-Jewish administrators. The missionaries of Christianity had said in effect: You have no right to live among us as Jews. The secular rulers who followed had proclaimed: You have no right to live among us. The German Nazis at last decreed: You have no right to live. (Hilberg, 1985, p. 9)

Goebbels, (Paul) Joseph (1897–1945). Holder of a doctorate in literature and philosophy with the intention of becoming a writer, Goebbels joined the Nazi Party in 1924, and, by 1933 Hitler appointed him German Minister of Public Enlightenment and Propaganda because of his talents in this area. A virulent antisemite, among Goebbels's goals was the physical removal of all Jews, not only from Berlin, but from all of Germany, and a campaign for German support for the euthanasia campaign. He also hoped to “Nazify” German art and culture by removing so-called foreign elements (read Jewish), and in 1933 orchestrated the now notorious book burning in Berlin. The primary architect of the infamous *Kristallnacht* of November 1938, the initial destruction of Jewish lives and property, he would, by 1944, be placed in charge of the mobilization of the German people's war efforts. Rather than submitting to capture by either the Russians or the Allies, he and his wife Magda committed suicide in the Fuhrer's bunker after first poisoning their six children.

Goldstone, Richard (b. 1938). For many years in the 1990s and early 2000s, Goldstone served as a justice with the Constitutional Court of South Africa. From August 1994 to September 1996, he also served as the chief prosecutor of the UN International Criminal Tribunals for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY) and Rwanda (ICTR). He was selected, in part, for the latter position on the basis of his global reputation for his sterling work, while directing a South African Commission of Inquiry that disclosed police violence and abuse against black citizens of South Africa during South Africa's apartheid years.

Golkar. An Indonesian political party. Its name is derived from *Sekretariat Bersama Golongan Karya*, or Joint Secretariat of Functional Groups. The party evolved as an army-backed alliance of nearly one hundred anticommunist groups and organizations in the early 1960s, but it was ineffective so long as Indonesia was ruled by its left-leaning first president, Ahmed Sukarno (1901–1970). After a military takeover of power led by Mohamed Suharto (b. 1921) in 1966, Golkar was reorganized by General Ali Murtopo (1923–1984), head of the army's Special Operations Service (OPSUS) and Suharto's political protégé. The party henceforth became the established party of government, and remained so for more than three decades. Electoral successes in 1971, 1977, 1982, and 1987 saw Suharto's rule entrenched. Between 1971 and 1988, Suharto was unopposed in presidential elections, and Golkar came more and more to resemble a personal political front organization designed to enable him to retain office. Evolving into a mass mobilizing party loyal to Suharto, in some senses it moved away from being the political arm of the Indonesian military alone, though Suharto's ongoing support of the military in most areas tended to blur the distinctions. Yet, as the party leadership tried to distance itself from the army, the military chiefs became increasingly wary of the direction the party was heading, and in the final years of Suharto's rule before his departure in 1998, it was unclear

whether or not Golkar would develop into a legitimate party independent of the army. With Suharto's exit as president, and a succession of subsequent presidents that followed until a full and free presidential election in 2004, Golkar's power base was first challenged and then toppled. Although still a leading opposition presence, Golkar—the party that retained Suharto in office for more than thirty years, oversaw the invasion of East Timor in 1975, permitted war to be waged internally against the people of Aceh and Papua, and collaborated with the army to hold the population of Indonesia in what was effectively a police state—has now lost much of the influence (and all of the political power) it once possessed.

Gorazde. A city in eastern Bosnia situated on the Drina River, Gorazde was designated a United Nations “safe area” in 1993. During the Bosnian War (1992–1995) the city was besieged by Army of Republika Srpska (VRS) forces, which were aided by paramilitary and militia units. In April 1994 some 150 peacekeepers, part of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) troops helping to safeguard the city, were taken hostage by the Serbs in the hope that this would deter NATO air strikes against Serb positions. The previous week Serb gunners had assaulted the city using heavy weapons taken from the Srebrenica front, causing an enormous amount of damage to urban housing and the city center. NATO delivered an ultimatum to the Serbs on April 22, threatening air strikes unless they pulled back by three kilometers, immediately halted their attacks, and opened the city to all UN forces and relief convoys. The Serbs complied, though whether the NATO actions would have actually followed any noncompliance by the Serbs is open to debate. The UNPROFOR commander, Lieutenant General Sir Michael Rose (b. 1940), and the UN special representative of the secretary-general, Yasushi Akashi (b. 1931), neither of whom evinced the same level of concern about Serb actions as did the NATO forces on the ground, worked hard behind the scenes to prevent further NATO air strikes, and put substantial pressure on the UNPROFOR contributing states not to commit their forces to action against the Serbs. In the end, Gorazde held out as a result of NATO threats and an active local Bosnian Muslim defense. Despite extensive destruction by continued shelling and sniping from Serb positions throughout the remainder of the war, during which Gorazde continued to be besieged, the city did not fall. It was to become the only Muslim town in eastern Bosnia not to be “ethnically cleansed” by the Serbs. Gorazde's role in the annals of international peacekeeping will be assured by another observation: it signaled a parting of the ways between a UN approach that was reluctant to intervene and a NATO approach that was prepared to take action in order to stop Serb aggression. The divide would be played out more fully in March 1999, when NATO went to war with Serbia over the prospect of a genocide taking place in Kosovo.

Göring, Hermann (1893–1946). Born in Bavaria to a wealthy family, Göring distinguished himself as an ace fighter pilot during World War I, and joined the Nazi Party in 1922. In 1933 Hitler appointed him Prime Minister of Prussia and Minister for Police (which gave him authority for the establishment of draconian measures against political opponents), and his designated successor at the start of World War II, September 1939. By 1935 he was also in charge of both German economic policy, and, after 1938, focused increasing attention on so-called Jewish problems. With the failure of the German air force (*Luftwaffe*) against Britain in the years 1940–1941, and its inability to stop the bombing of Germany, his relationship with Hitler began to sour; by 1945 he had been stripped of all power and dismissed from the Nazi Party. Sentenced to death by the International Military

Tribunal at Nuremberg, Germany, he cheated the hangman's noose by poisoning himself in his cell on October 15, 1946.

Gosh, Salah Abdallah (n.d.). A major-general in the Sudanese army, Gosh is director of Mukhabarat, Sudan's intelligence agency. He has been accused by various human rights organizations (including Human Rights Watch) of being the mastermind of the scorched-earth attacks on the black Africans of Darfur by Government of Sudan (GOS) troops and the *Janjaweed* (Arab militia). Gosh is suspected of having overseen the recruitment of the *Janjaweed* militia, coordinated the genocidal actions carried out by the GOS and the *Janjaweed*, and condoned interference with humanitarian aid workers in the Darfur region (the latter of which included threats of violence, acts of violence, and the theft of supplies intended for the black Africans who had been forced from their villages into desolate internally displaced camps [2003 through today, September 2007]).

In May 2005, the United States Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) flew Gosh from Sudan to the United States in a private plane in order to meet with top CIA officials. When a journalist with the *Los Angeles Times* found out about the secret meeting and made the news public, the outcry that followed was met with a statement from the U.S. government that Gosh and his Sudanese counterparts were supplying the United States with important and valuable assistance in the "war on terror" (an effort that the Administration of U.S. president George W. Bush (b. 1946) had undertaken in the aftermath of the terrorist attacks on the United States on September 11, 2001). More specifically, it was asserted that Gosh's agency helped the CIA to question al Qaeda suspects residing in Sudan, dismantled terrorist cells within Sudan, and jailed foreign militants traveling through Sudan on their way to fight in the ongoing war in Iraq (the latter of which, instigated by the United States invasion of Iraq, saw the fall of the regime of Saddam Hussein [1937–2006]). One official, U.S. Representative Donald M. Payne (b. 1934) (D-NJ), was so outraged that Gosh had been flown to the United States by the CIA that he asserted that bringing Gosh "to visit Washington at this time [when Sudan was perpetuating genocide] is tantamount to inviting the head of the Nazi SS at the height of the Holocaust." Notably, Gosh was one of seventeen Sudanese individuals that a UN panel of experts cited as being most responsible for inciting the crisis in Darfur (2003 through today, September 2007), impeding the peace process, and perpetrating war crimes. His name, along with the others, has been submitted to the UN Security Council's sanctions committee. It is also reported that the International Criminal Court, which is investigating the atrocities perpetrated in Darfur, has Gosh's name on their list as one whose actions are under scrutiny.

Grave Breaches of the Geneva Conventions and Protocols I and II. "Grave breaches" refer to major violations of international humanitarian law which may be punished by any state on the basis of universal jurisdiction. Under all four Geneva Conventions, grave breaches prohibit, inter alia, willful killing, torture, rape, or inhuman treatment of protected persons, willfully causing great suffering or serious injury to body or health, and extensive destruction and appropriation of property not justified by military necessity, and carried out unlawfully and wantonly.

Great Dictator, The. One of the classics of cinema history, *The Great Dictator* is a 1940 motion picture produced, directed, written by, and starring Charlie (later Sir Charles) Chaplin (1889–1977). A satire on German Nazism and Italian Fascism, the movie was the first comedy to poke fun at Adolf Hitler (1889–1945) and Benito Mussolini (1883–1945), and by so doing to draw attention to the brutal antisemitism being

experienced by Germany's Jews under the Third Reich. Told through thinly veiled code language—Adolf Hitler as “Adenoid Hynkel,” Benito Mussolini as “Benzino Napaloni,” Der Führer as “The Phooey,” Hermann Göring as “Marshal Herring,” and so forth—the movie was an enormous gamble for Chaplin, who not only bankrolled its production using his own money, but departed from his career-defining silent movie technique in order to make this his first “talkie.” Not only that, it was the first time his signature character, the Tramp—in this case known simply as “a Jewish Barber”—spoke dialogue from a prepared script. The film was well received by U.S. audiences, and was undoubtedly Chaplin's most successful film commercially. Critics were more qualified in their acclaim, some pointing out that Hollywood should refrain from foreign political comment at a time of U.S. isolationism. Others saw Chaplin's comedic portrayal of anti-Jewish persecution as unacceptable bad taste; Chaplin himself was later to write that if in 1940 he had known the full extent of Nazi antisemitic measures (something that could not even be guessed at in 1940) he would never have made the film. However, Chaplin, who was not Jewish, was determined to make Hitler an object of ridicule and he did so in the most effective way he could—through his comic art. *The Great Dictator* was nominated for a number of Academy Awards, including Best Picture, Best Actor (Chaplin), and Best Supporting Actor (Jack Oakie, in his role of Benzino Napaloni). The movie has been selected for permanent inclusion in the U.S. National Film Registry.

Great Purges. A succession of major purges of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union took place at the direction of Josef Stalin (1879–1953), principally between 1934 and 1938. During this period, Stalin's secret police, the NKVD, eliminated hundreds of thousands of opponents, or presumed opponents, of Stalin, cloaked in the necessity to rid the party of dissenters, supposed class traitors or revolutionary “backsliders.” The pretext for all the killing was the murder in December 1934 of Sergei Kirov (1886–1934), party secretary for Leningrad. Major trials took place in January 1935, August 1936, January 1937, and March 1938, during which Stalin effectively removed the senior echelons of the Communist Party and the armed forces. It is uncertain whether those executed were killed because of their disloyalty, in Stalin's search for a scapegoat, or to appease Stalin's sense of political paranoia. Apart from the public trials, it has been estimated that at least half a million people were killed owing to lesser prosecutions resulting from denunciation and petty or personal reasons. Over 6 million were sent to Soviet concentration camps, where unknown numbers perished.

With regard to genocide, such enormous destruction presents a paradox; when the 1948 United Nations Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide was originally drafted, the Soviet Union argued successfully against including “political groups” as one of the specific groups protected under the UNCG. The reason, though unstated at the time, is that the leaders of the USSR feared they would be held responsible, under the UNCG, for the past and ongoing persecution of such groups.

Be that as it may, the deaths during the period of the Great Purges must be accounted for in some way. At present, they can best be described as crimes against humanity committed by a regime that was brutal, paranoid, and more concerned about power than the people over whom it ruled. This period established the gulag (a widespread network of forced labor and prison camps in the Soviet Union) as a major characteristic of Soviet society throughout a large part of the twentieth century.

Great Terror, The. The name given to a period of massive turmoil and political violence in the USSR between 1934 and 1938, during which the Soviet secret police, the

NKVD, murdered hundreds of thousands of people alleged to be opponents of the Soviet State. These killings, accompanying what became known as the Great Purges, took place on the order of Soviet dictator Josef Stalin (1879–1953). Ostensibly a strategy to “purify” the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the terror unleashed throughout the Soviet Union was little other than a reinforcement of the communist stranglehold on total power, after which ordinary Soviet citizens did not dare offer dissent for fear of their lives.

The murder in December 1934 of Sergei Kirov (1886–1934), party secretary for Leningrad, was used as a pretext for initiating a campaign of terror throughout the Soviet Union. The first wave of trials took place in January 1935. A number of close allies of Stalin, among them Gregori Zinoviev (1883–1936) and Lev Kamenev (1883–1936), were tried secretly and given long prison sentences. (Both were later executed after a second trial.) The terror continued through 1937; Karl Radek (1885–1939) and Marshal Mikhail Tukhachevsky (1893–1937) were shot on Stalin’s orders, along with many others, while in 1938 it became the fate of such party notables as Nikolai Bukharin (1888–1938), Alexei Rykov (1881–1938), and Genrikh Yagoda (1891–1938). The year 1938 was the last year of the Great Terror period, yet those arrested throughout its four-year term and placed in forced labor camps—not unlike the concentration camps of the Nazis—numbered about 6 million by the end of 1937. Many of these would never be released. The period of the Great Terror saw the executions of perhaps half a million Soviet citizens, with millions more arrested, incarcerated, or with lives otherwise ruined by constant ill-treatment. No one could feel safe; many, indeed, lived in constant fear of denunciation. The Soviet police state built an apparatus of public terror to stop any threats to Stalin before they became too powerful, which was implemented throughout the Soviet Union in a series of ongoing raids, denunciations and investigations. The result was a population weakened by fear, an army crippled by the removal of most of its senior leadership, and a Communist party cowed into meek acquiescence of every one of Stalin’s whims. Only after Stalin’s death in 1953 was there even a modicum of relaxation for a country that had spent the best part of two decades living permanently on edge.

Grotius, Hugo (1583–1645). Huig de Groot, whose name was Latinized as Hugo Grotius, was a Dutch jurist and philosopher, best known for his contributions to the establishment of a codified system of international law. In fact, he has become known as the “Father of International Law.”

A child prodigy born in Delft, Holland, he began studying at the University of Leiden at the age of eleven, and had earned a doctorate from the University of Orleans (France) at the age of fifteen. He began practicing law at the age of sixteen.

A firm believer in natural rights (i.e., that which is right is right in and of itself, and not dependent upon any external power or authority), his fame rests upon his 1625 work *On the Law of War and Peace* (a compilation and commentary on such laws, conventions, and injunctions as had by that stage evolved concerning the ways in which warfare was regulated), in which he argues, first, that all law may be divided into divine law and human law. He argued that disputes may be settled by negotiation, compromise, or, as the last resort, combat. The goal, however, is the preservation of rights and peace.

Grotius’s ideas were firmly grounded in a strong Christian belief, and, given the time frame within which he worked, predated the establishment of the modern states system which resulted from the Treaty of Westphalia of 1648. Consequently, while Grotius had a conception of statecraft that was, in many respects, different to that which came later

in the seventeenth century (and still prevails today), his ideas nonetheless presaged many that were to be embodied in the later document. Grotius identified the existence of an international society in which rulers and states (who may often be one and the same) are part of a broad community, bound together by an understanding that common rules of interstate behavior exist and are applicable to all. Although enforcement mechanisms to ensure that all comply with this understanding had not yet been well formed during Grotius's time—indeed, owing to the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648) and the Eighty Years' War (1566–1648) between Spain and the Netherlands it seemed as though the international system might be in a state of near collapse—there were enough people who agreed with Grotius for his ideas to stand. The broad notion of an international community was even incorporated into the assumptions that underlay the Treaty of Westphalia itself.

Overall, it can be said that Hugo Grotius was a pioneer of international law (and thus, vicariously, of human rights law), from whom much of the political philosophy conditioning the behavior of states in the modern world derives.

Guatemala, Genocide in. Throughout the late 1970s, 1980s, and early 1990s, Guatemalan government death squads and government-supported militias killed an estimated one hundred thousand to one hundred forty thousand people, primarily impoverished Mayans residing in tiny rural villages. The latter were victims of terror, extrajudicial killings, massacres, and, ultimately, genocide.

Fearful of a leftist takeover, as well as the violent actions of leftist guerrillas, the Guatemalan government under the command of Efraín Ríos Montt (b. 1926), a former army general who assumed power in a 1982 *coup d'état*, undertook a vicious campaign which ravaged entire villages. While leftist guerrillas fought and carried out an ongoing insurgency against the government, the slaughter by government forces was in one sense indiscriminate in that it attacked civilian villages and the civilians themselves (men, women, children), but in another it was not indiscriminate at all for it was aimed at those of Mayan descent who eked out an impoverished existence in the highlands where the insurgency was being carried out. For many in the government, the slaughter was an ongoing attempt (which was first undertaken in the 1960s) to quell the desire by the *campesinos* (Spanish, poor farmers) to scratch out more than a meager subsistence. That said, governmental violence in Guatemala against the poor had its origins in the 1950s. More specifically, looking askance at the democratically elected government of Jacobo Arbenz Guzmán (1913–1971), the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) organized a coup that overthrew Arbenz and replaced him with a right-wing government. Since Arbenz favored radical land reform and was viewed with suspicion by U.S.-owned banana companies based in Guatemala, he became *persona non grata* (as far as the U.S. government was concerned).

The height of military counter-insurgency efforts was carried out in the early 1980s by government forces and paramilitary patrols. In one five-year period (1978–1983) it is estimated that almost one-third of Guatemala's eighty-five thousand Ixil Mayan Indians were wiped out.

In March 1994, the Guatemala government and leftists guerrillas signed a human rights accord. In late December 1996 a peace treaty was signed by the leftists and the government. Part and parcel of the peace agreement was to be the implementation of earlier agreements to establish social equality via economic and agrarian reforms, the protection of human rights, and the establishment of a "Truth Commission" to investigate the atrocities that had been perpetrated over the years. It was also supposed to result in the resettlement of refugees,

the recognition of Indian rights, reform election laws, the disarmament and demobilization of rebels, and an assessment about the future of the Guatemalan military. A National Reconciliation Law was also ratified and took effect in December 1996 that protected soldiers and guerrillas from arrest. Human rights activists roundly criticized the law, asserting that the vagueness of its language could prevent prosecution of those accused of atrocities. And, in fact, in late 1996 the Guatemalan government issued a blanket amnesty for those involved in many crimes, but it was to exclude those involved in torture, genocide, and forced disappearance. Up through early 2007, prosecutions of the guilty have been rare and prosecutors seem particularly reluctant to challenge the military.

Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement. Presented to the Commission on Human Rights by the representative of the secretary-general for internally displaced persons in April 1998, the Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement spell out basic standards vis-à-vis the protection of internally displaced persons. Concomitantly, these principles, which are based on international humanitarian law and human rights instruments (though they do not constitute a binding agreement or instrument), are to serve as an international standard to assist governments, international humanitarian organizations, and development groups to assist and provide protection for internally displaced persons (IDPs). Basically, the principles identify the rights and guarantees germane to the protection of internally displaced people in regard to all aspects of displacement. More specifically, the Principles provide protection “against arbitrary displacement, offer a basis for protection and assistance during displacement, and set forth guarantees for safe return, resettlement, and reintegration.”

Gulag. Acronym for the Russian term *Glavnoe Upravlenie Lagerei*, or “main camp administration” (of corrective labor camps). During the period of the Soviet Union (1917–1991), the gulags, as all individual forced labor and prison camps (as well as complexes of camps) became known, fell directly under the control of the Soviet secret police forces—consecutively, the Cheka (*V'cheka Vserossiiskaia Chrezvychainaia komissia po borbe s kontrrevoliutsiei i sabotazhem*, or All-Russian Extraordinary Commission for Fighting Counterrevolution and Sabotage), the GPU (*Gosudarstvennoe Politicheskoye Upravlenie*, or State Political Directorate), OGPU (*Ob'edinennoe Gosudarstvennoe Politicheskoye Upravleni*, or All-Union State Political Directorate), NKVD (*Narondyi Komissariat Vnutrennikh Del*, or People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs), MVD (*Ministestko Vnutrennikh Del*, or Ministry of Internal Affairs), and KGB (*Komitet Gosudarstvennoye Bezopasnosti*, or Committee of State Security).

The system of gulags spread the length and breadth of the USSR, and was a deliberately contrived device initiated and promoted for the purpose of terrorizing the Soviet population into political, social, and economic submissiveness. Although forerunners of the gulag system existed in tsarist times, the gulag itself was essentially a Bolshevik creation that emerged soon after the Russian Revolution and communist takeover of October–November 1917. Evidence exists that the first of the gulags was established with the authority (if not at the initiative) of the Bolshevik leader Vladimir Ilyich Lenin (1870–1924). The system reached its zenith, however, under Lenin's successor Josef Stalin (1879–1953). Although perhaps best known as political counterparts to the Nazi concentration camps during the 1930s, the gulag structure continued to grow during the 1940s and early 1950s, coincidental with Stalin's rule of the Soviet Union. It was an immense penal network, and during the period of Soviet rule comprised no fewer than

476 camp complexes. Overall, these complexes comprised thousands of individual camps, encompassing millions of prisoners who had been arrested for a wide variety of reasons—political, social, economic, racial, religious and national, as well as common crimes. It is uncertain how many prisoners lost their lives during their incarceration in the gulag; some as a result of outright murder, others by brutality, starvation, freezing, overwork, debility, and despair. A figure of 2.7 million deaths has been arrived at, but this is an estimate, at best—and this says nothing for the millions more who suffered permanent disability as a result of their years-long ordeal. The gulag, as it had been administered by the KGB, ceased to be with Stalin’s death in 1953; but it was only in the late 1980s that the camps themselves, now transformed into labor camps for anti-Soviet prisoners, began to be dismantled altogether.

Gulag Archipelago, The. Title of a trilogy written by Soviet dissident author Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn (b. 1918), published in English between 1973 and 1978. Solzhenitsyn’s trilogy took its name from the gulag, a Russian acronym for *Glavnoe Upravlenie Lagerei*, meaning “main camp administration” (of corrective labor camps). The gulag drew together the massive network of labor camps that were scattered thickly throughout the USSR, like islands of terror forming an archipelago in a broader Soviet firmament. Essentially a critique of the communist state and how it worked in the USSR under Josef Stalin (1879–1953) and his successors, *The Gulag Archipelago* is recognized as a masterpiece, though it has been criticized by some for its negativism about the achievements of the Soviet social, economic, and political experiment. A counter-argument is that he had much about which to be critical. In the camps themselves, for example, untold millions lost their lives—whether through the brutality of the guards, the extreme harshness of the Russian and Siberian winters, malnutrition, disease, and, often, violence at the hands of other prisoners in a Hobbesian war of all against all. Solzhenitsyn’s work, therefore, is a powerful attempt at bringing to a wider reading public a full appreciation of what it was like to live in the Soviet terror state, a state that devoured its own people through the creation of a system that institutionalized violence for the purpose of maintaining and legitimizing the ongoing revolution required by the Stalinist interpretation of communist ideology. For writing *The Gulag Archipelago*, Solzhenitsyn was arrested, charged with treason, stripped of his citizenship, and deported from the Soviet Union. Earlier, in 1970, he had been awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature; in 1994, after Perestroika had liberalized the USSR and communism had collapsed, all charges were dropped. His citizenship was restored, and he returned to Russia.

Gusmao, Xanana (b. 1946). Jose Alexandre “Xanana” Gusmao was born in a small village in the Manaututo region of East Timor, then a Portuguese colony. He was educated in a Catholic high school prior to attending Jesuit seminaries, and after graduation he worked as a member of the colonial civil service in the Department of Forestry and Agriculture. In 1974, when East Timor’s continued status as a Portuguese colony seemed to be about to end, he joined the *Associação Social Democrática Timorense* (ASDT), which was a broad-based, anticolonial association with nationalist leanings. In September 1974 the ASDT transformed itself into a more radical (and socialist) movement, the *Frente Revolucionária do Timor-Leste Independente*, or FRETILIN. Gusmao was elevated to the movement’s Central Committee. With the invasion of East Timor by Indonesia on December 7, 1975, Gusmao became a member of FRETILIN’s armed wing, the *Forças Armadas de Libertação Nacional de Timor-Leste*, or FALANTIL, that was fighting a guerrilla war against

the Indonesians. As a high profile leader of the East Timorese resistance movement, the Indonesian military sought Gusmao's capture as a matter of urgency—which it was able to do only in November 1992. In May 1993 Gusmao was tried, convicted and sentenced to life imprisonment in Jakarta. His incarceration attracted worldwide attention, and he was visited in jail by many leading dignitaries from around the world. (One of these, former South African president Nelson Mandela [b. 1918], likened Gusmao's situation with his own when he was a prisoner of the apartheid regime at the Robben Island jail near Cape Town.) In 1999, with the opening up of possibilities for East Timor's independence via a referendum, Gusmao was released. As the *de facto* leader of the nation, he stood for, and was elected, the first president of the sovereign Republic of Timor-Leste on May 20, 2002.

H

Habyarimana, Juvenal (1937–1994). President of Rwanda from 1973 until his assassination on April 6, 1994. A Hutu, Habyarimana had been an army officer in the Rwandan military forces (*Forces Armées Rwandaises*, or FAR), rising to the rank of major general. In this capacity he also served as defense minister in the government of his cousin, Gregoire Kayibanda (1924–1976), whom he overthrew in a military coup on July 5, 1973. In the years that followed, the quality of life for most Rwandans improved: there was political stability and the economy improved to unprecedented levels. This “golden age” came at a price, however. Every Rwandan citizen, including babies and the elderly, had to be a member of his political party (the only one permitted), the *Mouvement Révolutionnaire National pour le Développement*, or MRND. This was a party of Hutu exclusivism, and, through it, Habyarimana was able to build what was, in essence, an apartheid-like state in which the Tutsi minority was discriminated against at an official level. The late 1980s saw an economic downturn, however, which destabilized Habyarimana’s regime. Although army control ensured that he still held the country in an iron grip, forced budget cuts in 1989—accompanied by a drought in 1988–1989 and a plea for financial assistance to the World Bank—saw domestic pressure brought to bear on Habyarimana to start a slow process towards the liberalization of the political system in Rwanda. An invasion of the country from Uganda in 1990–1991 by rebel Tutsi émigrés known as the Rwandan Patriotic Front, who desired to return to Rwanda from forced exile and demanded a voice in the running of the country, forced Habyarimana to open armistice negotiations, which took on a more formal character when located to Arusha, Tanzania, and carried out under international supervision. Some consider that Habyarimana purposely allowed these negotiations to drag on in order to buy time and thereby reinforce his regime’s position at home, the more so as Hutu extremist elements were becoming increasingly frustrated at Habyarimana’s “capitulation” to the rebel forces by even entering into negotiations with them in the first place. On April 6, 1994, while returning to Kigali from one of the negotiation rounds in Arusha, Habyarimana’s plane, carrying Habyarimana as well as the president of Burundi, Cyprien Ntaryamira (1955–1994), was shot down by two missiles fired from just outside the Kigali airport perimeter. All on board the Falcon 50 jet were killed. Within hours, as if the assassination had sounded a tocsin to the Hutu extremists in Rwanda, the killing of all Tutsi began.

Controversy has swirled around the issue as to who was behind the shooting down of Habyarimana's plane. A French investigation team blamed Tutsi Rwandan Patriotic Front leader—and later president of Rwanda—Paul Kagame. Others, including Kagame, however, have argued it was Hutu extremists.

Hademar. The name of a location in Germany where thousands of people with physical or psychological handicaps, or incurable diseases, were murdered in the Nazi “euthanasia program” between 1941 and 1945. It is estimated that approximately eleven thousand victims were killed at Hademar. Part hospital, part sanatorium, the center had originally been established in 1901 and was extended and refurbished in 1933 as the State Psychiatric Center. Hademar can be likened to the Austrian Hartheim Castle, the center of the Nazi euthanasia program, in which thirty thousand people were killed. Hademar was also utilized for the murder of others: between 1944 and 1945 it was used in order to kill slave laborers who were unable to keep working because of illness or debility, and at other times it was used for the purpose of murdering Allied nationals. Hademar has become a byword for bureaucratic murder masked as medical “improvement” in the name of perverted science. Many of the doctors involved in the killing at Hademar were transferred to the Nazi death camps during World War II, the better to practice their lethal skills: these included Drs. Ernst Baumhardt, Guenther Hennecke, Friedrich Berner, and Hans-Bobo Gorgass.

Hague Conventions. Two conferences relating to issues concerning the conduct of nations at war took place at The Hague, Netherlands, in 1899 and 1907. At these conferences, a basic principle was established formally, namely, that individuals had rights that should be respected as members of the international community. It was recognized at the 1899 conference that alternatives to war should be sought prior to conflict taking place, well in advance of antagonism developing into war. These alternatives could include, it was suggested, such devices as disarmament and international arbitration. The 1907 conference addressed issues that dealt with the laws and customs of war on land. Both the 1899 and 1907 conferences had at base a need to try to diminish the evils of war by revising, where possible, its general laws and customs. The 1907 conference established a series of prohibitions over the behavior of nations engaged in war, with the broad intention of making warfare more humane and respecting the rights of individuals. These included, inter alia, prohibitions on attacking undefended towns or villages, using poison or other weapons that cause “superfluous” injuries, willfully destroying religious or cultural institutions, mistreating civilians in occupied territory, using poison gas in warfare, and violating a nation's neutrality. The 1899 and 1907 Hague Conventions were signed by twenty-six countries, each of which effectively agreed to restrain its behavior in wartime by enshrining a set of actions that were henceforth to be classed as war crimes. The signatories refrained from embracing the notion of an international court, however, preferring to retreat behind well-established principles relating to the absolute sovereignty of nations. A criticism of the Hague Conventions is that nothing was established in the way of an enforcement mechanism for states contravening the laws proscribed by the treaties. The Hague Conventions codified the actions that could be considered war crimes, and although they failed to prevent the outbreak of war in 1914, they retained their attraction as an ideal to which states should aspire and were invoked in discussions throughout World War I and its aftermath.

Hama. A city in central Syria, the location of a genocidal massacre in February 1982. Hama, a city entrenched as a bastion of traditional, landed power and Sunni Muslim

fundamentalism, was a long-term opponent of Syria's secular Baathist state. At the beginning of 1982, it had an estimated population of about three hundred thousand people. At the time, relations between the city and the government of President Hafiz al-Asad (1930–2000) were poor. The religious opponents of Asad, the Muslim Brotherhood, directed by charismatic leader Abu Bakr, found themselves besieged by government forces in Hama in February 1982. Bakr gave the order for his forces to break out of the city, thus giving way to a general uprising and *jihad* (holy war) against Asad's rule. Muslim Brotherhood forces held the city for about ten days, during which time they killed the governor and several hundred other city officials. Twelve thousand government troops assaulted Brethren strongholds with artillery and tanks; helicopters attacked the city, conducting sweeps and placing soldiers in strategic areas. Hama was shelled for three consecutive weeks, destroying much of the city. Upon their entry into what was left of the city, government troops then engaged in an orgy of pillage. Up to thirty thousand townsfolk, representing one-tenth of the population, were killed in the campaign. The central issues were twofold: first, to strengthen Asad's rule in a region known for its opposition; and second, to remove the Sunni fundamentalist influence over Syrian life. The government saw that Hama would have to be a last-ditch battle for the future of the country, in which only one side could win. Moreover, as the major supporters of the government were from the minority Alawite sect (a breakaway sect from Shiism, known for their own rigidly doctrinaire approach to Islam), the struggle also assumed the form of an internal religious faction fight for dominance. Given this, it could be said that a case of genocide could be made, under the 1948 UN Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, for what transpired in Hama on the grounds of Asad's determination to destroy Hama's population for religious reasons, though it was as much a political struggle, or even a rivalry between urban and rural lifestyles, that got out of hand. Hama became a symbol throughout the Middle East for brutal repression by the modern state, and, in serving as an object lesson, it coerced the Muslim Brotherhood and gave the secular state a new lease on life in Syria.

Hamidian Massacres. A series of major massacres committed by the Ottoman government under the direction of Sultan Abdul Hamid II (1842–1918; reigned 1876–1909) against the Armenian community of the Ottoman Empire between 1894 and 1896. The massacres were perpetrated in mid-1894 in the region of Sasun, in southern Armenia; they spread throughout 1895 and showed that the Sultan's government had intensified the nature of anti-Armenian persecution in a dramatic way. The main explanation for the massacres lay in the Sultan's desire to staunch the growth of Armenian nationalism and any calls for reform that could give the Armenians a greater say in imperial affairs. The massacres were thus genocidal in effect (particularly in certain regions of Armenia), but were not genocidal in intent—the preference being to intimidate and terrorize the Armenian population rather than destroy it. Estimates of those killed range widely, from anywhere between one hundred thousand and three hundred thousand, with tens of thousands more maimed or homeless. Most of those killed were men; the killings took place in open areas, in full sight of the community. Vast numbers of Armenians fled the country, and thousands of others were forcibly converted to Islam. In view of the ferocity of the massacres, Abdul Hamid II was nicknamed the “Red Sultan,” or “Bloody Abdul,” and the massacres were named for him as a way of distinguishing these actions from the later (and much more extensive) genocide of 1915–1923.

Hamitic Hypothesis. The “Hamitic Hypothesis” refers to an explicit racial ideology *cum* “scientific” notion that “white Africans” (as Europeans, based on their colonialist perspectives, referred to so-called civilized or enlightened African tribal communities), from the northeast part of the continent, brought civilization to the rest of the “primitive” continent of Africa. The Tutsi of Rwanda were touted as an example of such a superior race. The latter, according to this “scientific” notion, were born to rule, intellectually superior to all others, and graced with high morals. The Hutu of Rwanda, by comparison, were said to be ignorant, of low morals, and better suited to back-breaking work versus serving as leaders in society.

Heart of Darkness. *Heart of Darkness* is the highly acclaimed novella written in 1899 and published in 1902 by Polish-born author Joseph Conrad, born Josef Teodor Konrad Korzeniowski (1857–1924). The story takes the form of a narrative told by a character named Marlow, who travels down the Congo River longing to meet and talk with the central character, a legendary figure (within the narrative) named Kurtz. Conrad uses the story of Kurtz, the wealth he has accumulated through ivory, and the exploitation of Africans among whom he has enormous power, as a metaphor for European colonialism and misuse of “the dark continent.”

Heart of Darkness was based on Conrad’s command of a Congo River steamboat for four months, during which time he was able to witness at first hand the savagery of Belgian rule over the Congo. During the 1890s, the entire region served as the private possession of Belgian king Leopold II (1835–1909; reigned 1865–1909), who used it for the sole purpose of wealth creation at the expense of the lives of the local people. Millions died—or, at the least, were horribly mutilated—in the quest for sheer profit. Although *Heart of Darkness*, as a novel, is rich in literary devices that may be interpreted on several levels, its major contribution upon its publication lay in the shock value it provided its readers, many of whom became opponents of King Leopold’s regime in the Congo as a result of having read the book.

Two lines attributed to Kurtz—“Exterminate all the brutes!”, in the conclusion of a report written by Kurtz to the International Society for the Suppression of Savage Customs; and his dying words, “The horror! The horror!”—have provided generations with material to speculate as to how deeply Conrad felt about the brutality he had himself witnessed and what he was attempting to wipe out. The novel was highly successful in influencing opinion, and Conrad became one of the major intellectual forces resulting in the Belgian government assuming direct control of the Congo from King Leopold in 1908. Although such agitation had begun a couple of years before the appearance of *Heart of Darkness* it was Conrad’s contribution that brought the issue before readers of fictional literature, to great effect.

Heavy Weapons Exclusion Zones. In wartime, an area where either the United Nations, a regional force such as NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization), or a coalition of nations demarcate an area where no heavy weapons are allowed to exist, let alone operate. During the Bosnian War (1992–1995), heavy weapons exclusion zones were declared from time to time as a means of protecting UN-declared safe areas. These varied in size, though on average they operated in a radius of about twenty kilometers from the center of the city being defended. When Bosnian Serb forces attacked the cities in question—for example, at Gorazde in April 1994, or Sarajevo in August 1994, among others—NATO aircraft received authorization to bomb Serb positions with the intention

of driving their heavy weapons capacity away from the cities and closing down the Serbs' ability to so aggress. In enforcing the heavy weapons exclusion zones, NATO developed what became known as Operation Deny Flight, a system of providing close air support for UN troops on the ground, and as a mechanism for heavy weapons exclusion. The concept received a major setback in the aftermath of the fall of the UN "safe area" Srebrenica in mid-July 1995, though air strikes against Serb positions continued to take place until the end of the war was in sight, late in October 1995.

Hegemonial Genocide. A classification of genocide identified by U.S. political scientists Barbara Harff and Ted Robert Gurr in 1988. In Harff and Gurr's taxonomy, genocide can be categorized into two types: hegemonial and xenophobic. A hegemonial genocide—Harff and Gurr's elementary type—is one involving mass murders of specific ethnic, religious, or national groups (and presumably racial groups, though this category is not itemized) that have been forced to submit to a central authority. This could be for reasons of state building or during a period of national expansion; implied within this is the notion that government ("a central authority") is the driving force behind genocidal destruction.

In contradistinction, xenophobic genocide bases itself upon the innate differences between human beings and groups, and, by promoting such differences, encourages fear of the other, potentially leading to genocidal acts.

Hegemony. A term that refers to the domination of a region or the world by a single state. It also refers to the overwhelming power of a single state within the international system.

Heidegger, Martin (1889–1976). Pioneering German philosopher in the fields of phenomenology (the study of human experience) and ontology (the study of human existence), Heidegger was born in southwest Germany and originally had intended to join the Jesuit priesthood. For possible health and other reasons, however, he redirected his energies at Freiburg University from theology to philosophy, receiving his doctorate in 1913. His fame as a philosopher rests, primarily, on his masterwork *Sein und Zeit* (*Being and Time*), wherein he attempted to understand the very meaning of human existence both generally and concretely as activity, despite its inherent limitations.

World War I saw him briefly serving in the army twice, but both times he was discharged for health reasons. In 1923 he was able to secure an academic position at Marburg University. He returned to Freiburg as its rector in 1933, the same year he joined the Nazi Party. During that initial period, he seems to have been a supporter of national socialism, and, in pursuit of Nazi aims, dismissed the Jewish faculty at Freiburg. Though he resigned his position one year later and took no further active political role, controversy continues to surround his seemingly pro-Nazi sympathies, based largely upon his inaugural address as rector ("The Self-Affirmation of the German University"), which stressed the involvement and cooperation of higher education in support of Nazi political and military aims. With Germany's defeat in World War II, he was forbidden to teach from 1945 through 1949 because of his initial involvement with and support of national socialism; after 1949, having completed the Allied program of "denazification," he was then cleared to resume his teaching career.

Even after World War II, he never formally renounced national socialism, its genocidal antisemitism, or his own involvement.

Ironically, for one affiliated with the Nazi party, he was, for a brief time, the lover of his Jewish student, Hannah Arendt (1906–1975), whose own philosophical ideas regarding

the role of government were similar to his own. Arendt, herself, never condemned him for his involvements during the years of World War II.

Heng Samrin (b. 1934). Cambodian political leader, best known for his postgenocide activities after the downfall of communist dictator Pol Pot (1925–1998) in 1979. Originally a member of Pol Pot's Khmer Rouge, in which he became a political commissar and divisional commander in the Eastern Zone, Heng defected to communist Vietnam in 1978, where he was groomed as an alternative leader to Pol Pot. From there, he led an anti-Khmer Rouge rebellion, supported by the Vietnamese government. When the Pol Pot regime was deposed, owing to the Vietnamese military intervention in January 1979, Heng oversaw the creation of a new puppet government in his role as Chairman of the Council of State. In December 1981 he became general secretary of the Central Committee of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party (KPRP). Effectively, he co-ruled the country alongside of another former Khmer Rouge leader, now moderate communist politician, Hun Sen (b. 1952). From 1985, when Hun Sen became prime minister, Heng Samrin's influence declined, and, in 1991, when the KPRP reorganized itself and changed its name to the Cambodian People's Party (CPP), he was dropped as general secretary. When Cambodian king Norodom Sihanouk (b. 1922) was restored to the throne in 1993, Heng relinquished his position as head of state. The king granted him the honorific title of *Samdech* (His Excellency), and he was appointed as honorary secretary of the CPP.

Herero People, Genocide of. The German invasion of the Herero people in the colonial possession of South-West Africa (now Namibia) can be termed the first true instance of genocide in the twentieth century. In late 1903, Herero leaders learned of a proposal the Germans were considering that would see the construction of a railway line through Herero territory and the consequent concentration of Herero in reservations. In response, in January 1904, the Herero rebelled with the intention of driving the Germans out of Hereroland. At this time, according to the best estimates, the Herero numbered some eighty thousand. After the German counterattack, reinforcement, and a widespread campaign of annihilation and displacement, which forced huge numbers of Herero of both sexes and all ages into the Omaheke Desert, tens of thousands perished. The situation was exacerbated by the policy of German general Lothar von Trotha (1848–1920), who ordered that all waterholes be located and poisoned in advance of the arrival of those Herero who survived the desert. It has been estimated that some 80 percent of the Herero people perished in the genocide, together with 50 percent of the related Nama population. By 1911, when a count was made of the surviving Herero, only about fifteen thousand could be found. The vast majority of the rest had been killed, either directly or indirectly, by German forces over the preceding half-dozen years, though the majority of the killing had taken place between 1904 and 1905.

Heydrich, Reinhard (1904–1942). Reich Protector of Bohemia and Moravia, assassinated by Czech partisans in Prague. Born in Halle, Germany, and an early supporter of the Nazi Party, by 1936, he was the head of both the Secret State Police (*Gestapo*) and the Security Service (SD), which provided him with the power to unleash his antisemitic hatred. With the outbreak of World War II in September 1939, Heydrich was responsible for the ghettoization of the Jews in Poland, their establishment of self-governing councils (*Judenräte*), and, after the invasion of the Soviet Union in June 1941, the work of the *Einsatzgruppen* (Special Action Squads). In January 1942 he convened

the Wannsee Conference to address the plans for the “Final Solution to the Jewish Question.” In retaliation for his assassination, six months later the German army (*Wehrmacht*) surrounded the Czech village of Lidice, burned it to the ground, and slaughtered all of its male inhabitants.

Highland Clearances. In the long struggle to clarify the relationship between England and Scotland after the Act of Union on May 1, 1707, the Scots found themselves increasingly subjected to English overlordship as if in a quasi-colonial status. Under the rule of the Hanoverian dynasty, a movement grew within Scotland for a return of the Scottish Stuart royal house, and those known as Jacobites (from the Latin *Jacobus*, for James, the last Stuart king) staged a number of rebellions from 1715 onwards. The most impressive of these took place in 1745–1746 and, after some success, culminated in the Battle of Culloden on April 16, 1746. This battle was the final death-knell of Jacobite hopes for seeing a Stuart take his place on the restored throne of Scotland. The embers of the rising were stamped out with brutal ferocity. King George II’s (1683–1760; reigned 1727–1760) son, William, Duke of Cumberland (1721–1765), made Culloden the start of a period of the most intense repression throughout the Highlands. Jacobites who fled the scene were hunted down; scores were hanged, beheaded, or exiled. Harsh measures were taken to prevent further outbreaks and to establish more settled conditions throughout the country. The clan system was destroyed, as clan chiefs became transformed into a more European-style aristocracy. In the century that followed, Scotland’s cities were modernized and developed, and began to benefit from (and participate in) Britain’s industrial revolution. In the Highlands, however, few benefits accrued. The establishment of industry foundered, let alone prospered, and the soil was too poor to sustain even the existing population. As the population expanded, it placed intolerable pressure on fixed agricultural patterns. The new landlords in the decades after Culloden, many of whom were either English transplants or absentee Lowland Scots, found it more profitable to transform their holdings into large sheep-runs. Tenant farmers, in the process of being remodeled from a peasantry deriving from the Middle Ages, were evicted from their wretched smallholdings. Scores of thousands left the Highlands forever. At least thirty thousand had emigrated to North America prior to the American Revolution, while more relocated to the Lowlands, where many wound up as lowly factory workers. Although it does not fit directly into the category of genocide, the fate of the Highland Scots during these so-called clearances was nonetheless a tragic illustration of the confrontation that can take place between a backward, tribal society and a progressive, industrializing state in which a people is forever transformed—even destroyed—and replaced by a new way of life.

Himmler, Heinrich (1900–1945). Born in Munich and originally destined for the Jesuit priesthood, Himmler studied agriculture and economics and worked as a salesman and chicken farmer, joining the Nazi Party in the early 1920s. In 1939 Hitler appointed him police president of Munich and overall head of the political police in Bavaria, with authority to reorganize both the SS (*Schutzstaffel*, “Protective Squadron” responsible for internal German security) and the SD (*Sicherheitsdienst*, “Security Service,” the intelligence arm of the SS). It was Himmler who organized the first concentration camp in Germany at Dachau in 1933 and was the primary architect of *Kristallnacht* (the unprovoked antisemitic attack on Jewish businesses, synagogues, and persons of the Jewish faith) in November 1938. His racist views, his commitment to “racial purity,” and

his belief in occult forces enabled Himmler to become the principal instigator of the extermination *cum* annihilation of the Jews, with overall responsibility and implementation for the concentration and death camp system and the so-called medical experiments conducted therein. As World War II was drawing to a close, Himmler foresaw Germany's eventual defeat and attempted to negotiate with the Allies. Captured by the Allies, Himmler committed suicide on May 23, 1945, before he could be put on trial at the International Military Tribunal at Nuremberg, Germany.

Historical Revisionism vs. "Historical Revisionism." It is the legitimate work of historical scholars to amass data, examine evidence, and construct theories to explain what they have uncovered. Furthermore, as additional material is uncovered and presented, and as other scholars participate in the conversation, the original theories may, of necessity, be modified or revised. The process is ongoing, and, thus, the term *historical revisionism* may best be used to describe such intellectual work whereby earlier explanations are revised in the light of new evidence or reworked theoretical approaches. This approach/process is to be distinguished, however, from the self-designated and totally inaccurate use of the term (thus the placement of quote marks around it) by those who, in effect, deny the overwhelming evidence of the Holocaust because of their hatred of Jews and/or Judaism, the State of Israel and Zionism, or their need to "rehabilitate" Hitler and national socialism, and even present-day Germany. Instead of "revisionists," the term *Holocaust deniers* may be a more appropriate description for those advocating such an approach. The various "revisionist" claims include the following: the Holocaust, as such, never happened; if the Holocaust did happen, the numbers of Jewish deaths resulting from it are highly exaggerated (not even close to the 5.8 million historians cite as having been murdered) and that most of the deaths were due to the war, not an extermination process; Nazi dictator Adolf Hitler (1889–1945) knew nothing of the fact of the Holocaust; the wartime concentration camps, where disease was, at times, rampant, had been established for the Jews' own protection against the wrath of the German people; the documentation of the Holocaust is both faulty (e.g., memoirs and diaries) and fraudulent or doctored. All of the latter arguments are false, and legitimate historians have accumulated the evidence that proves the falsity of such.

Today, those who choose to ally themselves with this so-called revisionist movement (which is, as noted above, a denialist movement, as its adherents seek to deny the veracity of the Holocaust rather than legitimately examine new findings and evidence) hold their own conferences, present lectures, publish books and articles, establish Web sites, and attempt to legitimize their views on both college campuses (e.g., using newspapers to "call for free and open debates/discussions on the Holocaust") and in the public arena. In 1978, a group calling itself The Institute for Historical Review was established in California; its pseudo-scholarly publication is entitled *The Journal of Historical Review*, following up on the work of Willis Carto (b. 1926) and his Liberty Lobby and its publishing house, The Noon-tide Press. The so-called father of historical revisionism is the late Frenchman Paul Rassinier (1906–1967), who was himself a prisoner in Buchenwald concentration camp, but who, after the war, argued that the overall number of Jews murdered was far less than the number usually cited. Among the names associated with this movement are Arthur Butz (b. 1933) and Bradley Smith (b. 1930) (United States); Robert Faurisson (b. 1929) (France); David Irving (b. 1938) (Great Britain); and Ernst Zündel (b. 1939) (Canada).

The use of the Internet has greatly exacerbated the problems posed by such fraudulent scholarship—the slick and sophisticated sites themselves as well as their easy

accessibility by students and others naïve and unsuspecting of their true nature. The language the deniers use is not, as one might imagine, shrill but quasi-academic in tone. As a result, the tone and tenor of the words used may lead unsuspecting readers to believe that they are reading the words of historians, thus sucking the unsuspecting reader into a web of obfuscations, distortions, and falsifications. Although Jewish and other concerned organizations have attempted to address these Web sites, shutting them down has not appeared to be successful.

Hitler, Adolf (1889–1945). Born in Braunau am Inn, Austria, Hitler was the son of a government customs official and a mother who later died of cancer. Wanting to be an artistic painter, he moved to Vienna in 1907, where he lived in a low-class apartment house, and applied to the Academy of Arts School of Painting, from which he was rejected because of what was adjudged to be the ordinariness of his work. Moving to Munich in 1913, he enlisted in the German Army, saw action in World War I, served in Belgium and France, and was wounded in a mustard gas attack. After his discharge, he returned to Munich and later joined the renamed *Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei* (National Socialist German Workers Party; NSDAP; Nazi), where his oratorical and administrative gifts were put to use. In 1923, Hitler and his followers attempted to seize power but were unsuccessful, and he was sentenced to prison in Landsberg for five years, along with his secretary Rudolf Hess (1894–1987). It was here that Hitler would write his autobiography and political manifesto *Mein Kampf* (*My Struggle*, or *My Fight*). The first volume was published in 1925 and the second volume in 1926. (A third book, published posthumously in 1961, and given the title *Hitler's Second Book*, seemingly spells out Hitler's antisemitism in the context of his racial views, particularly as it applies to his perspective of the conflict of world civilization.)

Released from prison in 1924, Hitler reorganized the Nazi Party, drew about him men such as Joseph Goebbels (1897–1945) and Heinrich Himmler (1900–1945), and began the development and implementation of a serious political agenda. By 1927 the Nazi Party had become the largest political party in a fragmented and fractured Weimar Germany. In 1933, Hitler successfully outmaneuvered the aging war hero General Paul von Hindenburg (1847–1934) to become chancellor of Germany, leaving the presidency for von Hindenburg. Upon Hindenburg's death, Hitler became dictator of Germany by pushing through the Enabling Act of March 23, 1933, which enabled Hitler as chancellor and members of his cabinet to enact laws without consulting the Reichstag (German parliament). Continuing to arrogate power to himself, his Nazi Party, and those of the Party who now occupied increasingly governmental positions, part and parcel of that consolidation process was the evolving antisemitism that specifically dislodged Jews from their former positions in government, universities, businesses, and industries. (Jews were never central players in the military though they did participate in fighting on Germany's side during World War I.)

After having already rearmed the German military in direct violation of the Versailles Treaty of World War I, and having annexed Austria and Czechoslovakia as part of the vision of a "Greater Germany," Hitler launched World War II on September 1, 1939. At the outset, his troops were remarkably successful with their *blitzkrieg* (lightning war). But then, during the fateful winter of 1941–1942, "Operation Barbarossa," the Nazi attack against their supposed ally Soviet Russia, stalled after enormous initial success in the warmer months. This failed military campaign, however, did little to lessen Hitler's

antisemitic agenda of initial forced immigration and later extermination/annihilation of Europe's Jews or the continued fighting. After he overcame a nearly successful assassination attempt in 1944, it had become increasingly apparent even to Hitler that the war was going badly. On April 30, 1945, as the Russians were advancing on Berlin, Hitler married his mistress Eva Braun (1912–1945), and on May 1 the two of them committed suicide in the Führer's bunker, with explicit instructions for their bodies to be burned. (Enough evidence has now been released by the Russians to conclude that Soviet troops arrived prior to total incineration and the bodies were taken back to the Soviet Union, autopsied, and their bones preserved.)

Hitler Youth (German, *Hitlerjugend*). The male division of the German youth movement during the Nazi regime from 1933 to 1945. Although it complemented the female League of German Girls (*Bund Deutscher Mädel*), it formed a more important element of Nazi society due to the strict military regimentation it demanded and the socialization it fostered for boys into Nazi ways of thinking and behaving. Given that the encouragement of youth was viewed as the way to the future, the Nazis placed a priority on integrating all youth activities into the structure of the new German Order, and, by 1935, the Hitler Youth movement was a huge institution embracing nearly 60 percent of all German male children. From the ages of ten to fourteen, boys belonged to the Hitler Youth's junior organization, the *Jungvolk*, and, at age fourteen, they were compulsorily enrolled in the Hitler Youth, where they remained until age eighteen. The organization indoctrinated its members with the full range of Nazi ideologies and developed a cult of physical fitness, service to the state, and militarism. The leader of the movement from the very start of the Third Reich until 1943 was Baldur von Schirach (1907–1974), who was convicted at Nuremberg for his antisemitic activities and sentenced to twenty years' imprisonment.

Hoess, Rudolf Franz (1900–1947). Commandant of the Nazi concentration camp at Auschwitz, Hoess was born in Baden-Baden to a middle-class Catholic family. In 1922 he joined the German Nazi Party, and, in 1934, he became a member of the SS. Between 1934 and 1938 he worked as a guard at the Dachau concentration camp in Germany, where he learned about camp administration from Theodor Eicke (1892–1943). In 1938 Hoess was promoted to the rank of captain and transferred to the Sachsenhausen concentration camp; and then, in May 1940, he received his first posting as Commandant when ordered to establish a new camp at Auschwitz. His initial order was to build a transit camp capable of accommodating ten thousand prisoners at Auschwitz, using the existing complex of buildings that had originally been a Polish army barracks. After employing prisoners from other camps as slave labor to build the camp, Hoess saw Auschwitz receive its first permanent inmates on July 14, 1940.

Ultimately, at Auschwitz, Hoess was given the responsibility of carrying out the Nazi "Final Solution of the Jewish Question" through the industrial mass murder of Jews sent from across Europe. He oversaw the installation of gas chambers at Auschwitz and the use of the prussic acid gas Zyklon B for the purpose of killing Jews more "efficiently." Highly commended by the senior Nazi hierarchy, in 1945, he was appointed as deputy to Richard Glücks (1889–1945), the inspector of concentration camps for the Third Reich. In 1945, Hoess was arrested by U.S. troops and transferred to Polish jurisdiction. While awaiting trial in 1946, Hoess wrote his autobiography (published in English in 1960 as *Commandant of Auschwitz: The Autobiography of Rudolf Hoess*), in which he showed himself to be a

devoted husband and father, dedicated employee, diligent administrator, and sensitive individual—even though his actions showed him to be an efficient mass murderer. The Polish court sentenced him to death on March 29, 1947, and he was hanged on April 16 of the same year.

Holbrooke, Richard (b. 1941). One of the more important U.S. diplomats and negotiators of the late twentieth century, Richard Holbrooke has engaged in a diverse range of activities in a career spanning four decades. After graduating from Brown University in 1962, Holbrooke entered the United States Foreign Service. From 1962 until 1969, he was involved in U.S. diplomatic work in Vietnam and, between 1967 and 1969, was part of the American delegation to the Paris Peace Talks. In 1977 he became assistant secretary of state for East Asian and Pacific Affairs in the government of U.S. president Jimmy Carter (b. 1924), where he remained until 1981. In 1993 he was appointed U.S. ambassador to Germany—a position in which he stayed for only a short time, prior to his further appointment as U.S. assistant secretary of state for European and Canadian affairs in 1994. (In accepting this position, he became the only person up to that point in time to hold the position of assistant director in two regional offices of the State Department.) In 1995, while in this latter role, Holbrooke oversaw the U.S. involvement in bringing about the peace settlement that ended the Bosnian War, resulting in, respectively, the signing of the Dayton Agreement on November 21, 1995, and the Paris Protocol on December 14, 1995. These agreements, though bringing peace, were controversial in that they appeared to reward the Bosnian Serbs territorially for having engaged in ethnic cleansing. Because of this, Holbrooke—seen by many as being the major architect of the settlement—was criticized in some quarters. In 1998 and 1999 he was U.S. president Bill Clinton's (b. 1946) special envoy with responsibility for the direction of U.S. policy toward the Kosovo-Serbia quandary. By March 1999, after numerous visits to Belgrade and one-on-one negotiations with Serbian president Slobodan Milosevic (1941–2006), it was Holbrooke who conveyed the final offer of peace to the recalcitrant Serbian leader. The Kosovo Intervention, between March and June 1999, precipitated the ethnic cleansing of the Kosovar Albanians by Milosevic, but almost certainly stopped a major genocidal outbreak. In the aftermath of the Kosovo Intervention, Holbrooke became the U.S. ambassador to the United Nations (1999–2001), after which he retreated from a life of public service and entered the private sector.

Holiday Inn Sarajevo. The Holiday Inn Sarajevo, a hotel belonging to the Intercontinental Hotels group, was built for the 1984 XIV Winter Olympic games held in that city, which was then part of Yugoslavia. It is a modern ten-story structure, incorporating conference rooms, shops, restaurants, and bars, while also housing corporate offices of other firms. During the siege of Sarajevo between 1992 and 1995, the Holiday Inn acted as a central location for journalists from the international news agencies covering the siege and the Bosnian War generally. Numerous international aid organizations and elements of the United Nations were also based there. The Holiday Inn stands on Zmaja od Bosne Street, right across from the former Bosnian parliament building—an edifice that was bombed mercilessly during the siege and remains a blackened shell. The Holiday Inn itself frequently came under sniper fire during the siege, as Bosnian Serb forces targeted the hotel as part of the broader campaign to reduce the city to ruins. It was from the Holiday Inn that the first shots of the war were fired in the spring of 1992, when Serb

paramilitaries shot into a mass demonstration of Bosnians rallying prior to democratic elections. The first casualty of the war, and the siege, was a young nurse named Suada Dilberovic (1968–1992). The role of the Holiday Inn Sarajevo during the war was celebrated in the 1997 motion picture *Welcome to Sarajevo* (directed by Michael Winterbottom and produced by Graham Broadbent and Damian Jones), providing a representative snapshot of what life was like for the journalists who based themselves there throughout the siege. The hotel has now been fully restored and again forms an important part of the Sarajevo landscape.

Hollerith Machine. Purportedly, this was the first punch-card counting mechanism. It was developed by Herman Hollerith (1860–1929), a German-American who worked for the U.S. Census Office in the late nineteenth century. The Hollerith machine was first used to conduct the U.S. census in 1890. Later, Hollerith started his own company, which was bought out by a company that eventually became known as International Business Machines (IBM). A German company, Deutsche Hollerith Maschinen Gesellschaft, of which IBM controlled 90 percent, developed a more sophisticated and faster Hollerith machine, one that was able to process huge quantities of data in a very short span of time. Historians are not sure whether the Hollerith was used to develop deportation lists of Jews in Germany, but it is known that in many concentration camps the Gestapo's political arm used the machine to process the records of those incarcerated therein.

Holocaust. The English-language term that has been most closely identified with the nearly successful attempt by the Nazis of Germany under Adolf Hitler (1889–1945) and their allied minions during the period of World War II (1939–1945) to exterminate the Jews of Europe. Final estimates of their destructive methods center on the figure of 5.8 million Jews, with 1 million of those being children under the age of twelve and an additional one-half million between the ages of twelve and eighteen. As a word, it is derived from the Greek *holokauston* and understood to be a Hebrew biblical reference to any sacrifice totally consumed by fire; for example, I Samuel 7:9 references “a burnt offering to God,” the Hebrew term for which is *olah*. Said to be first used by Nobel Laureate and author Elie Wiesel (b. 1928) as a solo word reference to the Jewish tragedy, the term continues to be problematic because of its religious and theological associations (the vast majority of Jews and Christians do not affirm that the deaths of so many were intended as offerings to God).

Equally problematic in English is the linking of the word with both Jews and Nazis to describe the event—one continues to find writers using the expression *Jewish Holocaust* as well as those who use the term *Nazi Holocaust*.

Historically, Jews themselves have identified their various tragic historical experiences by the use of the Hebrew word *churban* or “catastrophe,” Hebrew as a language having no capital letters as such. Though first used already in 1940 to describe the horrendous situation of Jews in Europe, the increasingly preferred term is *sho'ah* in Hebrew, also meaning “catastrophe” and rendered as *Shoah* (with or without an apostrophe) in English as “catastrophe.” Regardless of which term is used, however, it must also be noted that such an attempt at a descriptive and meaningful term does not address the tragedy of the Roma peoples, who have their own term *Porrjamos* or “devouring,” as well as others who suffered under the Nazis (male homosexuals, Jehovah's Witnesses, so-called asocials, Christian dissidents, political opponents, and others).

In the 1980s and 1990s the term *Holocaust* also began to be used by various scholars (e.g., historian Sybil Milton) and organizations (e.g., the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum) to describe the Nazis' attempt to exterminate other groups, specifically, the Roma and Sinti and the mentally and physically handicapped.

Holocaust Analogy. As the former Yugoslavia began to splinter in the early 1990s and degenerate into war, ethnic cleansing, and genocide, various individuals began to use the destruction and horror of the Holocaust as a "tape measure" of sorts in order to support their positions for or against outside intervention. Thus, for example, a producer with the British Independent Television News (ITN) asserted the following about photographs of prisoners at a camp named Trnopolje: "After viewing their [the cameramen's] ten tapes, I advised that the image that would wake the world was of skeletal men behind barbed wire. . . . They sparked thought of Auschwitz and Belsen" (cited in Power, 2002, p. 276). An editorial in the *New York Times* editorial asserted, "The chilling reports from Bosnia evokes this century's greatest nightmare, Hitler's genocide against Jews, Gypsies and Slavs" (*New York Times*, 1992, p. A18). An editorial in the *Chicago Tribune* posed the following question: "Are Nazi-era death camps being reprised in the Balkans? Unthinkable, you say? Think again . . . The ghost of World War II genocide is abroad in Bosnia" (*Chicago Tribune*, 1992, p. 24). On the other hand, U.S. secretary of state Warren Christopher (b. 1925), a member of the Clinton administration (1994–2000), made the following comment on May 19, 1993, to the U.S. House Foreign Affairs Committee: "There are atrocities on all sides. As I said in my statement, the most—perhaps the most serious recent fighting has been between the Croats and the Muslims. . . . You'll find indications of atrocities by all three of the major parties against each other. The level of hatred is just incredible. So you know, it's somewhat different than the Holocaust. It's been easy to analogize this to the Holocaust, but I never heard of any genocide by the Jews against the German people" (quoted in Power, 2001, p. 308).

The Holocaust analogy was also used to compare and contrast nations' reactions to the deportations and killing by Nazi Germany and the ethnic cleansing and killings taking place in Bosnia. For example, berating the leaders of those nations that capitulated to the perpetrators' demands, *Time* magazine scorchingly said, "The ghastly images in newspapers and on television screens conjured up another discomfiting memory, the world sitting by, eager for peace at any price, as Adolf Hitler marched into Austria, [and] carved up Czechoslovakia" (quoted in Power, 2002, p. 278). The *New York Times* columnist Anthony Lewis (1992) went so far as calling President George H.W. Bush (b. 1924) (1988–1992) a "veritable Neville Chamberlain" (p. A19).

Holocaust and Genocide Studies: An International Journal. Launched in 1986 and originally published by Pergamon Press of Oxford and New York, in association with both the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Washington, D.C., and Yad Vashem, the Holocaust Martyrs' and Heroes' Remembrance Authority, Jerusalem, Israel, it remains the primary journal for those at work in Holocaust studies. Although initially almost totally focused upon the Holocaust itself, it has seen its work broadening somewhat to include work on genocide, in both articles and reviews. According to its first editor, Yehuda Bauer, *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* was to "be interdisciplinary and addressed to a variety of constituencies—students, survivors, teachers, academics, and those seriously interested in the subject itself." Currently, *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* is published

by Oxford University Press and is associated solely with the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. Its current editor is historian Richard Breitman of American University, Washington, D.C.

Holocaust Denial. See Historical Revisionism vs. “Historical Revisionism.”

Holocaust, United States’ Response to. The response of the United States to the devastating brutalization and annihilation of almost 6 million Jews and more than 5 million others during World War II under the hegemonic leadership of Adolf Hitler and the Nazis of Germany and their allied minions may best be characterized as one of ambivalence and too little, too late. Prior to World War II, as the United States was still recovering from its own economic Great Depression (1929–1933) and there was a strong sense of isolationism on the part of both governmental leadership and populace, antisemitism was a fact of life in the United States, though far from a dominating one. A generalized reluctance to admit foreigners, and resistance and inhospitality to the world’s immigrants, ironically in a country originally founded as a so-called safe haven from oppression, became the foundation upon which the U.S. State Department and others were able to thwart refugees seeking asylum on these shores.

Prior to the United States’ entry into World War II, its involvement in such conferences as that held at Evian, France, addressing the refugee question, resulted in little or no practical benefit for the Jewish refugees of Germany and Austria trying to extricate themselves from the Nazis’ grasp. (Even the Bermuda Conference of 1943 did not appreciatively change America’s refugee policies.)

With the United States’ commitment to defeating the Nazis and Japan, the latter following the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, Hawaii, priority was given to a speedy end to the conflict rather than to addressing the plight of the victims directly. For example, the request to bomb the rail lines leading to the Auschwitz death camp in southeastern Poland remains, even today, a controversial question, as does the refusal of the United States to enter into negotiations with Adolf Eichmann (1906–1962), who was willing to sell the Jews of Hungary late in the war, with funds to be raised by American Jews.

Only in 1944, under pressure both inside and outside his government, did then U.S. President Franklin Delano Roosevelt (1882–1945) call into being the War Refugee Board, which ultimately was responsible for the saving of two hundred thousand victims.

Horizontal Inequality. Horizontal inequality, a major underlying cause of conflict, refers to the inequality that exists amongst groups. There are three major types of horizontal inequality: economic, political, and social. Although each can result in jealousy and conflict, the three are often interwoven and have a tendency to either induce and/or reinforce the others in areas hard-hit by a lack of jobs, food, political input, and/or opportunities to better oneself as a result of being a member of a specific group. The most explosive situations involving horizontal inequality are states verging on collapse and/or those that have collapsed.

Hostis Humani Generis (Latin, “an offense against all mankind”). This term is often used to provide an explanation of the rationale for universal jurisdiction, the latter of which indicates that a state is willing to have any defendant, including its own citizens, tried under foreign trial procedures due to the fact that the nature of the crime is so serious as to constitute a crime *hostis humani generis*. Genocide is one crime to which the concept of *hostis humani generis* is applicable.

Hotel des Mille Collines. The Hotel des Mille Collines is located in Kigali, Rwanda. It was established by, and for many years belonged to, the SABENA group (controlled by SABENA Airlines, the Belgian national carrier), until SABENA was bought by Swissair. The Mille Collines is a modern and elegant five-story structure, incorporating conference rooms, restaurants, bars, an elegant pool area, and 112 guest rooms. During the Rwandan Genocide in 1994, the Hotel des Mille Collines stood as an island of refuge for many “internationals” (individuals from countries outside of Africa) and a select few Tutsi, the latter of whom were threatened with extermination. This resulted largely on the initiative of the hotel manager, a Hutu named Paul Rusesabagina (b. 1954). For eleven weeks, the hotel was a place of refuge for no fewer than 1,268 people from Hutu militias bent on their destruction. Throughout the genocide, the hotel, in a garden setting at the intersection of the Avenue de la République and the Avenue de l’Armée, in central Kigali, was protected by UNAMIR (the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda) under the command of General Romeo Dallaire (b. 1946), though the force was at all times inadequate and far too small to have defended the hotel should the besiegers have pressed home their attack. The hotel’s story became the subject of an award-winning Hollywood motion picture on the genocide, *Hotel Rwanda* (director/writer/producer, Terry George, United Artists, 2004). The Mille Collines has now been fully restored and continues to take guests, its place as one of the premier hotels in Rwanda reinstated.

Hotel Rwanda. *Hotel Rwanda* is a harrowing feature film about the 1994 Rwandan genocide. While relating the story of the genocide, it focuses on the true story of hotel manager Paul Rusesabagina (b. 1954) (played by actor Don Cheadle [b. 1964]), who managed to save 1,268 lives while all around him tens of thousands of Tutsi were being brutally murdered by Hutu. The film focuses on both the horrific specifics of the “machete genocide” as well as the passivity of the international community as the genocide unfolded before its very eyes. Remarkably, some of the very victims of the genocide—including Tutsi women who had been raped—play themselves, where they are crowded into a holding pen like animals, just as they were in real life. However, like most feature films based on a true person/story, this one takes certain liberty with the truth and thus fictionalizes aspects in order to “fill out the story.” Initially, Rusesabagina is depicted as a wily businessman as he ardently works to maintain the sense that his hotel in central Kigali (the capital of Rwanda), Hotel des Mille Collines, is a lap of luxury untainted by surrounding events. Continuing on in this way as long as possible, he simply focuses on the needs and desires of his wealthy clientele, while keeping a blind eye to the reality of the killing just outside the doors of the hotel. Despite the fact that his friends and neighbors are facing slaughter, Rusesabagina (a Hutu) is out to save only his wife (a Tutsi) and their children. Ultimately, however, as his home becomes surrounded by violence, he chooses to move his family and friends into the hotel. As he gets increasingly desperate, he begins making urgent pleas over the phone for help from foreign governments but all fail to intervene. As the killing increases in intensity and the Europeans flee Rwanda, Rusesabagina begins purchasing the safety of his Tutsi neighbors and obtains a modicum of protection from the raging mobs by bribing military officers with the hotel’s cash, liquor, and other goods.

Although the movie was touted by viewers as captivating and thought-provoking, it was also criticized by scholars and others for not providing contextual details: Why do the

Hutu hate the Tutsi to the extent that they do? What are the roots of the conflict? What are the politics behind the conflict and killing?

Lieutenant Colonel Romeo Dallaire (b. 1946), the UN commander of the peacekeeping force with the limited and inadequate mandate in Rwanda during the 1994 genocide, also complained that the writers portray his decisions and actions—shown through the character played by Nick Nolte (b. 1941)—inaccurately. Finally, many in postgenocide Rwanda have complained that Rusesabagina was not as altruistic as Hollywood has portrayed him. Indeed, they say that it provides a romanticized and inaccurate picture of Rusesabagina's actions. More specifically, it has been said, for example, that he actually charged Tutsi to remove water from the swimming pool to drink, cook their food, and wash themselves and their clothes.

Huguenots. A Protestant sect in France, whose Christian practices were based on the teachings of the French exile John Calvin (1509–1564). Basing himself in Switzerland for most of his career after breaking with the Church of Rome (also known as the Roman Catholic Church), Calvin believed in the doctrine of predestination, according to which every individual's salvation or damnation was predestined by God—but also according to which, in spite of this, it was humanity's duty to practice virtue and goodness for its own sake. Calvin's teachings appealed to a small but influential number of the French population; the lower nobility, some merchants and businessmen, and other members of the middle stratum of the French elites conformed to his approach openly, and, at its peak, perhaps from 20 to 30 percent of the total French population embraced Calvinism. The Huguenots, as the French Calvinists were called, also carried political weight in French society, as it was the moneyed and those with financial interests who were on the whole attracted to this new sect. The wider their appeal spread, the greater was the extent of Catholic alarm at this movement, which effectively broke with the Catholic Church on matters of ritual, dogma, and theology. Anti-Huguenot feelings spilled over into massive violence on the night of St. Bartholomew's Eve, August 24, 1572, when a massacre of Huguenots took place in Paris at the instigation of Queen Catherine de Medici (1519–1589), the mother of King Charles IX (reigned 1560–1574). Over the next few weeks, the massacres spread to the provinces, and it is estimated that anywhere between a low of three thousand and a high of ten thousand people lost their lives as a result. The St. Bartholomew's Day Massacres and the great emigration that followed did not destroy Protestantism in France, but it dealt it such a blow that by 1598 the Church felt confident enough to grant a guarantee of religious toleration, the Edict of Nantes. The liberal measures thereby conceded were not to last, however; in 1685 King Louis XIV (reigned 1643–1715), a fervent supporter of traditional Catholicism, revoked the Edict, reversing a policy that for nearly a century had made France a leading country in the practice of religious toleration. Henceforth, the Catholic Church would rule in all matters spiritual, and Protestantism would remain a minority (and barely condoned) religion in France. The tolerant and free-thinking Huguenot approach to social interaction played a role during the Nazi Holocaust in the 1940s, when villagers in the small Huguenot community of Le Chambon-sur-Lignon shielded up to five thousand Jewish children, saving them from certain death.

Human Destructiveness. The 1948 United Nations Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide embodies the notion of destructiveness in its

very definition (“with intent to destroy . . .”). Such destructiveness is a psychological process in which human cruelty and physical devastation are important characteristics. There is a variation of opinion regarding the reasons behind human destructiveness, ranging from those who consider it to be the result of social or psychological frustrations—that is, a learned behavior in response to an external stimulus—to those who hold that violence and destructiveness is innate in all humans and that there are few predictable reasons to explain when or why it emerges. Moreover, the fact as to why aggressive behaviors have so often resulted in ferocious brutality is itself a subject of debate, particularly among psychologists who study abnormal behavior. What is clear is that in situations of civil disturbance, war, and genocide, the historical record has shown that the restraining influences of societal morality or religious values take second place to the more powerful (and more deeply located) forms of brutality, violence, and irrationality. There is no definitive position regarding the essential foundations of human destructiveness, but there is no doubt that the ongoing study of human behavior by behavioral scientists, psychologists, psychiatrists, and sociologists is necessary if modern society is to work towards developing an appropriate set of strategies for arresting the violence that has had such a devastating effect on humanity.

Human Rights. Human rights, which are set out in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) (1948), are those inalienable rights to which all individuals and groups of people, everywhere and without distinction, are entitled. Such rights include the following: the right to life, liberty, and security; the right to be recognized as a person before the law; the right to equality before the law; the right to freedom of movement and residence within the borders of each state; the right to leave any country, including [one’s] own, and to return to [one’s] country; the right to seek and to enjoy in other countries asylum from persecution; the right to freedom of thought, conscience, and religion; the right to freedom of opinion and expression; the right not to be held in slavery; the right not to be tortured; and the right not to be subjected to arbitrary arrest, detention, or exile.

Human Rights Internet (HRI). Founded in 1976 by Laurie Wiesberg and Harry Scobie, Human Rights Internet (HRI) specializes in the exchange of information within the worldwide human rights community. HRI is dedicated to the empowerment of human rights activists and organizations, and to the education of governmental and intergovernmental agencies and officials and other actors in the public and private sphere, on human rights issues and the role of civil society. Based in Ottawa, Canada, HRI communicates by phone, fax, mail, and the Internet with more than five thousand organizations and individuals around the world working for the advancement of human rights. HRI’s objectives are as follows: facilitating the application of new technology toward the furtherance of human rights through transferring knowledge and expertise, particularly to nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) and other civil society organizations; producing and providing access to human rights databases and a comprehensive documentation center; carrying out human rights research and disseminating the results to concerned institutions and activities; producing human rights resources, including the *Human Rights Tribune*, annual publications, and directories in digital, hard copy, and microfiche formatting and making them available to NGOs and international institutions; fostering networking and cooperation among NGOs, as well as other civil society organizations, to integrate human rights with social and sustainable development issues; and supporting the roles of NGOs in the promotion of civil

society and assisting governmental and intergovernmental organizations in the application of good governance practices and the projection of human rights through technical assistance.

Human Rights Law. Human Rights Law constitutes the following: (1) the collective body of customary international laws; (2) human rights conventions, treaties, and other instruments; and (3) national law that recognizes, honors, and protects human rights. More specifically, it refers to those laws that consider and deem all individuals of the human family, *Homo sapiens*, as having basic cultural, social, civil, political, and economic rights. They are rights each and every individual is entitled to due to the simple but profound fact that they are human. Human rights law, which some have referred to as “the conscience of mankind” [*sic*], is a direct result of the UN Declaration of Human Rights, which was ratified on December 10, 1948.

Human Rights Watch (HRW). Human Rights Watch, the largest human rights organization based in the United States, is dedicated to protecting the human rights of people across the globe. HRW is based in New York but has offices in various overseas locations. HRW was founded in 1978 as Helsinki Watch, with the express purpose to monitor compliance of Soviet bloc countries with the human rights provisions of the Helsinki Accords. In the 1980s, Americas Watch was established for the purpose of focusing on human rights abuses in Latin America. Eventually the organization expanded to other regions of the globe, and ultimately, in 1988, all the “Watch” committees were collectively placed under the umbrella of “Human Rights Watch.”

Human Rights Watch promotes itself as one that “stands with victims and activists to prevent discrimination, to uphold political freedom, to protect people from inhumane conduct in wartime, and to bring offenders to justice.” Its main activity is the investigation of human rights violations throughout the world.

Researchers with HRW conduct fact-finding investigations into human rights abuses in all parts of the world. The organization exposes such violations in published reports and in meetings with officials at the United Nations, the European Union, and various capitals across the globe. It publishes an annual state-of-the-world report, naming states that abuse human rights and holding them accountable before the bar of world opinion.

In crisis situations in which egregious violations of human rights are being committed, Human Rights Watch may call for the withdrawal of military and economic support from governments.

HRW reports that it was among the first to call for an international war crimes tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia, ICTY). Once the ICTY was established, HRW worked extensively with the ICTY’s investigators and prosecutors, and six of the seven counts on which the tribunal finally indicted Yugoslav president Slobodan Milosevic (1941–2006) in 1999 were cases that HRW had documented in Kosovo. HRW also provided extensive evidence to the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR) of human rights abuses during the 1994 genocide in Rwanda. HRW also was involved in the legal action against former Chilean dictator Augusto Pinochet (1915–2006) in London and helped to support the principle that former heads of state can be held accountable for heinous human rights crimes. Finally, HRW led a global campaign to push for the ratification of the treaty of a permanent International Criminal Court (ICC) to prosecute those accused of war crimes, crimes against humanity, and genocide.

Humanitarian Action. A concept that refers to a wide array of activities to assist nations and groups that are embroiled in a humanitarian crisis of some sort. Among such activities are development projects; diplomatic efforts; the establishment of safe areas, safe havens, and no fly zones; provision of emergency relief supplies and other types of assistance; and/or implementation of peace enforcement, peacekeeping, peace-building efforts, and other such actions.

Humanitarian Assistance. Nonmilitary assistance in times of genocidal and other conflicts may include food, water, clothing, shelter, medicines, fuel, hospital equipment, and so on, and the appropriate personnel to deliver much-needed supplies and to maintain and support such delivery systems. Among the difficulties of rendering humanitarian assistance are working with corrupt governments and/or opposition forces in delivering such material; gauging the efficiency and/or effectiveness of such work in terms of those receiving such aid; political bickering and infighting among those various groups involved in the delivery of such aid; questions of accountability; the always-present and larger question of neutrality on the part of humanitarian organizations (e.g., UN, ICRC); economic chaos in areas where the vast influx of aid workers changes the face of the political landscape; religious, political, and other agendas on the part of both combatants and aid workers; the vast sums of monies required to purchase such aid and transport it where necessary; the misuse of such aid for political agendas on the part of both combatants and countries involved in delivering the aid; postconflict continuation of humanitarian assistance; and the like. In regard to the issue of genocide, there is the larger question of whether or not military intervention itself is ultimately a form of humanitarian assistance—that is, does bringing such atrocities to a speedy conclusion constitute the first step in supplying aid to the victims?

Humanitarian Intervention. As with many terms used by social scientists, the term *humanitarian intervention* is often defined in different ways by different scholars and policy officials, depending on their world outlook and respective positions/offices. Some define humanitarian intervention as the use of outside military force within the borders of another sovereign nation against the latter's will in order to protect a portion of the state's population from inhumane treatment. Others define humanitarian intervention as an action by an outside agency in the "internal" political affairs of a state with military force against the will of the government of the state for the express purpose of halting gross human rights infractions by the said state. Still others have defined humanitarian intervention as a way of raising the cost of a government's committing gross human rights violations/atrocities and as a means to halt such from being perpetrated.

Discussions and decisions surrounding such intervention, especially in regard to gross violations of human rights, have, of late (the mid-1990s to 2007), largely focused on the conditions that need to be evident in order to override the sovereignty of the state where the violations are being committed. More specifically, the concept of "the responsibility to protect" has become popular in some circles (but, as might be surmised, disparaged in others). Basically, "the responsibility to protect" is the concept that sovereign states have a distinct responsibility to protect their own citizens from conflicts and violent actions carried out by groups and/or governmental entities, and if and when sovereign states are either unwilling or unable to do so, that responsibility must be held up by the international community or constituent parts of it.

Hussein, Saddam (1937–2006). Saddam Hussein was dictator of Iraq from 1979 until 2003. He was born near Tikrit and received his law degree from the University of Baghdad in 1971. While still a university student, Hussein joined the revolutionary Baath party and gained a name for himself in the aftermath of the overthrow of the Iraqi monarchy in 1958, when he took part in a plot to assassinate a top Iraqi official. Upon discovery of the conspiracy, Hussein fled Iraq. Following a Baath coup d'état in 1963, Hussein returned to Iraq and again became involved in Baath party politics. However, with a few short months, the Baath party was overthrown and Hussein was subsequently imprisoned. He remained in prison until the Baath party carried out another coup in July 1968 and regained power. Within five years, in 1976, he rose to the rank of general in the Iraqi Armed Forces. Through great cunning, Hussein managed to gain a spot on the ruling Revolutionary Command Council. Ultimately, he became Iraq's president in 1979 (and as soon as he gained power, he had his opponents put to death), adding the title of prime minister in 1994.

Always bellicose, he embroiled Iraq in a war in 1980 with Iran that lasted for close to ten years and that resulted in a bloodbath for both states. Hussein precipitated the war by having his troops carry out a surprise attack on Iran in an effort to capture the Shatt al-Arab waterway leading to the Gulf. He believed a victory would make him a superpower within the region. During this protracted war (1980–1988), in which millions were killed, he is said to have authorized the use of poison gas against the Kurds, both those who allied themselves with Iran and those who did not, brutally repressing the latter, a now-recognized genocide and one of the strongest charges against him during his trial, conviction, death sentence, and execution. The genocide of the Kurds resulted in the deaths of between fifty thousand and one hundred eighty thousand men, women, and children. Over one thousand Kurdish villages were also totally destroyed.

Also, in response to a rebellion in the south, he had entire towns burned to the ground and drained a huge area of precious swampland that was inhabited by the Ma'dan people, known also as the Marsh Arabs, virtually wiping out their habitat and way of life. The latter, too, constituted genocide.

Throughout his dictatorship, Hussein was ruthless in his treatment of those he suspected of a lack of loyalty and/or those who constituted a threat to his rule. He and his two sons (Uday Saddam Hussein al-Tikriti [1964–2003] and Qusay Saddam Hussein al-Tikriti [1966–2003]), who were equally ruthless and brutal, controlled every aspect of Iraqi life through the constant threat of torture and death. Hussein was so feared by his own people that no one dared mention his name in public unless they were praising him. He, on the other hand, was so paranoid about being assassinated that he reportedly had numerous look-alikes dress up as him and make appearances in his stead. Always suspicious of anyone but his closest advisors, he brooked no opposition and dealt with any and all factions with swift and brutal retribution.

Constantly suspected of harboring a desire as well as the means to develop weapons of mass destruction (nuclear, biological, chemical), Hussein came under intense pressure in 2002 by U.S. president George W. Bush (b. 1946) to allow international weapons inspectors to search Iraq for the materials to develop such weapons. Though no weapons of mass destruction were ever found, Hussein played enough of a cat-and-mouse game with the international community to make the latter even more suspicious of his intent and actions. Following the terrorist attack on the United States by Al Qaeda on September 11, 2001,

the Bush Administration began a campaign to convince the world that Hussein was not only hiding weapons of mass destruction but also harboring members of Al Qaeda on Iraqi soil. Utterly convinced of the danger posed by Hussein and his regime, Bush, in March 2003, led the United States, Great Britain, Australia, and several other states in the invasion of Iraq to overthrow Saddam.

Shortly after the invasion Hussein's two sons were killed, but he disappeared. Months later, on December 13, 2003, U.S. forces discovered and captured Hussein hiding in a small underground bunker on a farm north of Baghdad, near the town of his birthplace, Tikrit.

In late 2005, Hussein, along with his stepbrother Sabawi Ibrahim al-Hassan (n.d.) and other members of his regime, was put on trial by an Iraqi special tribunal for the alleged murder of 148 Shiite Muslim boys and men in the town of Dujail in 1982 following an alleged assassination attempt on Hussein. On November 5, 2006, Hussein was convicted and sentenced to death by hanging for crimes against humanity. Hussein appealed the conviction and sentence, but on December 26, 2006, Iraq's highest court rejected his appeal and stated that the former dictator was to hang within thirty days. Saddam Hussein was duly executed on December 30, 2006. Hussein was scheduled for a second trial charging him with genocide and other crimes for his gassing of Iraqi Kurds in northern Iraq, but since that trial was adjourned until January 8, 2007, only his codefendants shall be tried for those crimes.

Hutu. An ethnic group inhabiting the Great Lakes region of central Africa, particularly in Burundi and Rwanda. The Hutu form a numerical majority in the region, significantly larger than their neighbors, the Tutsi. Hutu number between 12 and 13 million, composing about 90 percent of the population of Rwanda (the percentage was less than this prior to the 1994 Rwandan genocide perpetrated by extremist Hutu against the Tutsi and moderate Hutu) and 85 percent of the population of Burundi.

It has been estimated that a Hutu presence first appeared in the region around the first century CE. Traditionally, Hutu life was founded on a clan basis in which small kingdoms prevailed, but, after the arrival of the Tutsi sometime in the fifteenth century, a feudal system was established in which the Hutu were reduced to vassal status and were ruled over by a Tutsi aristocracy headed by a *mwaami* (king). The fundamental division between Hutu and Tutsi was, therefore, based more on a form of class difference than on ethnicity, particularly as a great deal of intermarriage took place; despite this, Hutu are generally of a smaller stature than Tutsi. The language spoken by both peoples is Kinyarwanda. Although the relationship between the Hutu and their neighbors prior to the 1950s had been essentially one based on hierarchy and dominance—the Hutu, a farming people, were exploited by a tithe system as well as other feudal disadvantages imposed by the Tutsi, a wealthier, cattle-raising community—Hutu-Tutsi relationships were, for the most part, peaceful. The divisions between Hutu and Tutsi were reinforced under the colonial rule of Belgium after 1919. The Belgians actually added to the privileged position of the Tutsi by granting them the right to run the country as proxies for the colonial administration. Moreover, as hereditary cattle owners (and thus the main possessors of wealth in Rwandan society), the Tutsi saw themselves as socially elevated compared to the Hutu. This only served to exacerbate the divisions and animosity prevailing in the country. This notwithstanding, Hutu dissatisfaction, where it existed, was expressed non-violently. After Rwanda's and Burundi's independence from Belgium in the early 1960s, however, frequent Hutu persecutions of Tutsi took place in Rwanda, while the Tutsi elite

committed large-scale massacres of Hutu in Burundi. The relationship between the Hutu and Tutsi is inextricably intertwined within the Great Lakes region: since 1994 there have been renewed efforts at reconciliation and the establishment of a harmonious future. Owing to the existence of radical elements among certain sectors of the Hutu population in both countries, however, such efforts have been slow in making lasting progress.

Hutu Power. A virulent Hutu-supremacist philosophy. In 1957 Hutu leaders in Rwanda published a Hutu manifesto espousing the virtues of the Hutu and denigrating the Tutsi. In the 1990s, *Kangura*, Rwanda's "hate-newspaper," which maligned the Tutsi in every way possible, published the "Hutu Ten Commandments." The "commandants" were nothing more than yet another way to malign the Tutsi and warn Hutu that any friendliness or kindness shown Tutsi was frowned upon and would be considered traitorous.

In 1991, the term *Hutu Power*, which conveyed the absolute supremacy of the Hutu over the Tutsi in all matters of life (political, social, economic, and religious), was coined. Not content with words, extremist Hutu formed groups such as the *Interahamwe* (Hutu youth militias), which translates to "those who stand together" and/or "those who attack together." These groups were indoctrinated with Hutu power beliefs and in the process were filled with the poison of hatred for all Tutsi and moderate Hutu. Ultimately, those espousing Hutu power were behind the planning and execution of the 1994 Rwandan genocide that resulted in the mass murder of between five hundred thousand and 1 million people in one hundred days (April–July).

Hutu Ten Commandments. A catalog of ten admonitory instructions that were to be followed by Hutu in order to destroy Tutsi influence over Rwandan society and guarantee Hutu hegemony. Published by Hassan Ngeze (b. 1961) in issue number 6 of the extremist Hutu screed *Kangura*, in December 1990, the "Ten Commandments of the Hutu" were written by Hutu extremists. The "Ten Commandments" could, in many respects, have been adapted directly out of the Nazi Nuremberg Laws. The Hutu Ten Commandants were as follows:

1. Every Hutu male should know that Tutsi women, wherever they may be, work for the interest of their Tutsi ethnic group. As a result, a Hutu who marries a Tutsi woman, befriends a Tutsi woman, or employs a Tutsi woman as a secretary or concubine shall be considered a traitor.
2. Every Hutu should know that our daughters are more suitable and conscientious in their role as woman, wife, and mother. Are they not beautiful, good secretaries, and more honest?
3. Hutu women, be vigilant, and try to bring your husbands, brothers, and sons back to reason.
4. Every Hutu should know that all Tutsi are dishonest in their business dealings. They are only seeking the supremacy of their own ethnic group. Any Hutu who engages in business dealings or partnerships with the Tutsi is a traitor.
5. All strategic positions—political, administrative, economic, military, and security—should be entrusted to the Hutu.
6. The education sector should be majority Hutu.
7. The Rwandan armed forces must be exclusively Hutu.
8. The Hutu should stop having mercy on the Tutsi.

9. Hutu, wherever they may be, must have unity and solidarity and be concerned about the fate of their Hutu brothers.
10. The 1959 revolution, the 1961 revolution, and the Hutu ideology must be taught to Hutu at all levels. Every Hutu must spread this ideology widely. Any Hutu who persecutes his brother Hutu for having read, spread, and taught this ideology is a traitor.

I

I Will Bear Witness: A Diary of the Nazi Years—1933–1941 and *I Will Bear Witness: A Diary of the Nazi Years—1942–1945* by Victor Klemperer. *I Will Bear Witness* (two volumes) (New York: Random House, 1998 and 1999, respectively) by Victor Klemperer (1881–1960), a German Jewish classics professor married to an “Aryan” woman, is one of the most detailed diaries produced during the course of the Nazi reign of terror. It includes with one revelatory observation/fact after another in regard to the Nazis’ declarations and actions, both in Germany and in the “East”; the ever-increasing suffocation he experienced as a Jew in Germany; and the reactions of family members, friends, neighbors, and a whole host of bystanders to the events of the day in Germany and beyond.

IAGS. See International Association of Genocide Scholars.

ICMP. See International Commission on Missing Persons.

ICRC. See International Committee of the Red Cross.

Identity Cards, Rwanda. Under Belgian colonial rule in Rwanda, identity cards bearing an individual’s ethnic group—Hutu, Tutsi, or Twa—were introduced in 1933. Not only the ethnic background, but also the bearer’s place of residence was recorded on these cards—and, over and above that, the name of the person on the card could not relocate to another address without approval from the colonial authorities. After Rwanda’s independence in 1961, the identity cards were retained as a means of “positive discrimination” in favor of the Hutu majority. This was a complete turnaround from the previous Belgian policy, which had been to elevate the Tutsi minority to positions of social, political, and economic hegemony.

During the 1994 genocide in Rwanda, the identity cards became literally a death warrant for their Tutsi bearers, though this was not new; for the previous three decades (ever since 1959), but especially since the ascent to power of the regime of Juvenal Habyarimana (1937–1994) in 1973, Tutsi had been continually segregated, persecuted and, on occasion, massacred on account of their group identity, which was clearly delineated on their identity cards. It can be argued that the existence of the cards was an important factor hastening the speed and spread of the genocide, as the entire population had been conditioned for generations to carry them and produce them when required to do so. Thus, when the extremist Hutu demanded to see an individual’s identity card and the latter was identified as a Tutsi on the card, he/she was almost

automatically killed—sometimes after the females were raped and brutalized and the men beaten. The soldiers generally shot and killed those Tutsi they caught, whereas the *Interahamwe* killed their victims with machetes.

By singling out the victims as different from the killers on the basis of an official ethnic designation, the cards also enabled the Hutu to distance themselves psychologically from the Tutsi, further facilitating the murder process.

Ideological Genocide. Helen Fein (b. 1934), a sociologist and genocide scholar, coined the term *ideological genocide* and defines it as “a particular ideology, myth, or an articulated social goal which enjoins or justifies the destruction of the victims” (Fein, 1990, p. 27). Continuing, Fein (1990) states, “Besides the above, religious traditions of contempt and collective defamation, stereotypes, and derogatory metaphor [all suggest] the victim is inferior, sub-human (animals, insects, germs, viruses) or super human (Satanic, omnipotent), and outside the universe of obligation of the perpetrators” (p. 27). According to Fein, three “classic” cases of “ideological genocide” were the Ottoman Turk genocide of the Armenians (1915–1923), the Nazi-perpetrated Holocaust against the Jews, Gypsies, and mentally and physically handicapped (1933–1945), and the Khmer Rouge–perpetrated genocide against the Cambodian people (1975–1979).

Mass killings along the lines of genocide are often motivated doctrinally. Extermination is justified by absolutist ideas. The most convenient way of creating an out-group is to establish hard and fast categories setting off completely one group from another as implacable foes. The most common ways of constructing such polarized relationships are through the invocation of nation, race, clan, ethnicity, and religion. Religion is one of the oldest devices with which to establish an unbridgeable gulf within and between populations. The medieval crusading centuries unleashed unremitting violence, with Catholics against Orthodox, and Christians against Jews and Muslims; in turn, the Protestant Reformation brought on near-genocidal wars between Catholics and Protestants. In the name of faith, merciless wars of extermination were fought. Nationalism introduced a new collectivity, the nation. Across the nineteenth century, earlier forms of identity hardened into modern nationalism, which established specific criteria that excluded those lacking the prerequisites for inclusion within the group. Over the decades, such nationalism became increasingly intolerant, forcibly rejecting national minorities. By the time of World War I (1914–1918), states waged wars against their minorities who were considered inassimilable. Class lay at the heart of Marxism; indeed, class struggle was the central dynamic in the Marxist dialectical understanding of social progress. With the rise of the Soviet Union, its leaders—most notably, Josef Stalin (1879–1953)—used class definitions as a guideline for aggressive domestic policies. Thus, for instance, in the Ukraine, when it came to uprooting the peasantry from their ancestral lands, unprecedented state violence was applied, especially as the peasants forcefully resisted the government. After four or five years of confrontation, millions had lost their lives. Peasants who refused to comply were labeled as “kulaks,” promoters of private ownership, bearers of “bourgeois” values, and, thus, as enemies of the working class. In order to defeat the peasants, the Soviet state employed genocidal means, including the man-made terror-famine of 1932–1933 in Ukraine, which claimed, at a minimum, over four and a half million lives. Race has proven to be another ideological tool with which to classify populations, as was the case in Germany’s Third Reich between 1933 and 1945. Nazism set up a vertical

hierarchy of “races.” At the top were the Aryans, the most pure of the races; on the lowest rung of the ladder were the Jews, who were dubbed nonhuman, the antirace. As the so-called master race, it was the Aryans’ duty to extirpate Jews from the population, resulting in the “Final Solution of the Jewish Problem” (*Die Endlösung des Judenfrage*). Jewish identity was determined biologically, with a hierarchy ranking Jews from full Jews in the first generation to quarter-Jews if they possessed a single Jewish grandparent. According to the Nazi scheme, eventually all categories of Jews had to be eliminated in order to safeguard the Aryan race. In this case, racial ideology was used as a device with which to eventually justify genocidal behavior.

Ieng Sary (b. c.1924). Ieng Sary (real name Kim Trang) was born in Tra Vinh province, in southwestern Vietnam. His friendship with Saloth Sar (1922–1998)—who changed his name to Pol Pot as a revolutionary *nom de guerre*—had deep roots. They first met when they were school students at the Lycée Sisowath in Phnom Penh, and they both later received a government scholarship to study in France. It was in France that they first encountered the ideology of communism, which they were to import to their native Cambodia upon their return. Ieng Sary’s wife, Ieng Thirith (b. c.1922), was the sister of Pol Pot’s wife, Khieu Ponnary (1920–2003).

Upon his return to Indo-China, Ieng Sary, like Pol Pot, became a schoolmaster, teaching history and geography. Instrumental in the opening phases of the struggle of the Khmer Rouge, he transferred himself to Kompong Cham, in northeastern Cambodia, and took up a revolutionary life in the jungle. Ieng Sary became a leading figure in the Communist Party of Kampuchea (CPK) in 1971, when he represented the Khmer Rouge in China. In 1972 he became the commander in chief of Khmer Rouge forces in the northeast. As the exiled monarch of Cambodia, Prince Norodom Sihanouk (b. 1922), traveled the world seeking support against the military dictatorship of U.S.-backed strongman Lon Nol (1913–1985), Ieng Sary would often accompany him. The experience he gained on these trips enabled him to claim the position of foreign minister after the Khmer Rouge took power in April 1975; in this capacity, he also served as deputy prime minister under Pol Pot.

When Phnom Penh fell to invading Vietnamese forces in January 1979, Ieng Sary fled to Thailand. From there, he became recognized by the United Nations as the accredited representative of the Democratic Republic of Kampuchea in exile. After 1982, he lost political influence within the Khmer Rouge, and, in 1996, he left the party altogether. An aging ex-revolutionary in declining health, he emerged from exile and returned to a life of affluence in Phnom Penh, to live out his days surrounded by barbed wire and security guards.

IFOR. A multinational military force sanctioned and established in Bosnia by the United Nations for the purpose of overseeing implementation of the military aspects of the Dayton Peace Accords of December 1995. IFOR took its name from the simplest of premises: it was, quite literally, an implementation force. Its tasks were fourfold: to bring about an end to hostilities between all warring parties in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and to oversee the maintenance of the peace; to separate the armed forces of Bosnia-Herzegovina and Republika Srpska, the two entities of the new Bosnia; to supervise and facilitate the transfer of territories awarded to the two entities under the Dayton agreement; and physically to remove the military hardware of the warring parties’ armed forces into approved storage arsenals. Advance units of IFOR were deployed as early as six days after the signing of the Dayton

agreement on December 14, 1995, and at its height it grew to a maximum complement of sixty thousand personnel. All its objectives were achieved by June 1996. As an implementation force, IFOR's intended duration was always viewed as temporary, and the success of its mission proved this to be the case. By the end of 1996, IFOR was replaced by a new UN-approved mandate, SFOR (Stabilization Force), which was to continue IFOR's work and extend its scope to incorporate the next stage of the peace-building process—most importantly, preserving the security environment that had been created by IFOR. Such was IFOR's success that SFOR's complement could be reduced by stages; by 2001 it was down to twenty thousand, only a third of what it had been five years earlier.

Igbo People, Genocide of. The Igbo people, formerly known as the Ibo, are a large ethnic group concentrated in southeast Nigeria. The Igbo can trace their presence in the region back to the ninth century CE. After Nigeria's independence from British colonial rule in 1960, thousands of Igbo migrated to the Muslim-dominated north of the country in search of work, where they lived in communities that were strictly segregated from the Muslim majority. In early 1966, the Igbo were held responsible—falsely—by the federal government of Nigeria, led by military dictator General Yakubu Gowon (b. 1934), for the murder of several military officials. The false accusations resulted in murderous riots aimed directly at the Igbo. Violence escalated throughout the year and the deaths rose from hundreds to thousands, provoking a wholesale flight of Igbo from the north back to their traditional home in the southeast. This, in turn, led to calls for an Igbo secession movement, in large measure because the central government seemed unable to curb anti-Igbo violence. Encouraging the Igbo in their belief that a viable breakaway state could be established in Nigeria's Eastern State was the knowledge that large reserves of high-grade oil lay beneath it. In May 1967, the Eastern State finally seceded and, under the leadership of Lieutenant Colonel Chukwuemeka Odumegwu Ojukwu (b. 1933), created an Igbo majority state called Biafra. Immediately, the Nigerian Federal Army invaded the breakaway state, with the intention of dragging it back into the Federation. The civil war that ensued, from the summer of 1967 onward, escalated rapidly. One of the weapons employed by the government of Nigeria—and acknowledged openly by ministers and military figures alike—was to cut off food supplies to the civilian population of Biafra. Igbo leaders, both in Biafra and abroad, labeled the killings as genocide, and appeals were made to the UN to recognize Biafra and to intervene so as to save the population. It was the first time the charge of genocide was made in the international environment since the term was codified into international law in 1948. The UN turned down the Igbo request to be heard on the ground that UN membership was limited to recognized states and that Biafra had not yet achieved such recognition. The Nigerian civil war was dubbed a domestic matter and, therefore, outside the scope of the UN. The war lasted from June 1967 until the sudden collapse of Biafran resistance in January 1970 and took a terrible toll on the Igbo people. The fate of Biafra saw the death of up to a million people, mostly Igbo (including vast numbers of children), and the effects did not end with the military collapse. Civilian infrastructure—roads, bridges, schools, hospitals, towns, homes—had been utterly destroyed throughout Nigeria's southeast. The Eastern State was split into a number of smaller administrative districts, and control was placed in the hands of non-Igbo. Large numbers of the Igbo intellectual and economic elite, who should otherwise have been looked on as a natural leadership for a country under stress, left in fear of their lives, forming an émigré diaspora in Europe, North America, and various African countries.

In large measure, the Biafran genocide and the Nigerian Civil War have effectively been written out of history, overshadowed by events such as the Vietnam War, the various Middle East conflicts, the end of the Cold War, and the genocidal outbreaks of the last two decades in Iraq, Rwanda, Bosnia-Herzegovina, East Timor, and Darfur.

Imperialism. A political and economic philosophy whereby a powerful state extends its control, directly or indirectly, over another (quantifiably weaker) state or territory. Such extension of control can take place in many different ways—through physical conquest, through market penetration and economic domination, through colonial invasion and settlement, and through an offer of “protection” from other imperialist powers—in return for which the weaker state will grant certain specified “concessions” that will incrementally strip it of its autonomy. The term gained popular currency after the middle of the nineteenth century, when the so-called Age of Imperialism saw the extension of European (which later included U.S. and Japanese) rule over most of Asia, almost all of Africa and the Pacific, and other parts of the world (with the exception of Latin America, which was nonetheless largely controlled by the imperialist states economically). Although the Age of Imperialism saw huge colonial population movements from Europe to many lands of recent European settlement such as the United States, Canada, Australia, South Africa, New Zealand, Argentina, and Chile, often this colonialism was accompanied by significant violations of human rights against the indigenous populations that had already been living in the conquered territories. Often, this led to massive population collapse—sometimes through the introduction (deliberate or not) of diseases for which the indigenous populations had no immunity; sometimes through premeditated policies of genocidal killing; and sometimes, in spite of the colonial government’s preferences, through settler depredations (e.g., raping the women, pillaging, destroying abodes). In the quest to maximize exploitative economic profits, imperialist governments on occasion brutalized colonial populations (through forced starvation and/or by subjugating them to a slave-like existence) in order to induce them to work harder and give up more and more land. Again, these violations of human rights led to population loss that their descendants and some scholars today refer to as being genocidal in character. Ultimately, imperialism’s expansion of European political, cultural, economic, and military hegemony throughout the world was bought at an enormous human cost whose effects are still being felt today.

Implementation Force (IFOR). The NATO-led multinational force that was mandated by the UN to uphold and enforce the Dayton Peace Accords of November 1995, the purpose of which was to bring peace to Bosnia and Herzegovina owing to the intentional and civil wars that raged between 1992 and 1995 as a result of the dissolution of the former Yugoslavia. IFOR, an undertaking codenamed Operation Joint Endeavor, existed under a one-year mandate operational between December 20, 1995, and December 20, 1996.

Implementation Force for Bosnia-Herzegovina. See Implementation Force (IFOR).

Impuzamugambi (Kinyarwanda, “those with a single purpose”). A Hutu militia movement comprising youth and run by the political party *Coalition pour la défense de la république* (CDR). The youth were recruited, trained, armed, and led by Rwandese Governmental Forces. Formed in 1992, it was most active during the Rwandan genocide between April and July 1994.

Essentially, the *Impuzamugambi* constituted an armed wing of CDR, the latter of which was a Hutu extremist party dominated by a fanatically anti-Tutsi agenda. One of the CDR’s leaders, Hassan Ngeze (b. 1961), was also the publisher of the anti-Tutsi

newspaper *Kangura*. Jean-Bosco Barayagwiza (b. 1950), another CDR leader, was also closely involved in running the *Impuzamugambi*. Both were later tried and found guilty of genocide and crimes against humanity by the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR).

The *Impuzamugambi* is often overlooked by commentators of the Rwandan genocide, primarily because its smaller numerical size saw its actions engulfed by the larger and more visible *Interahamwe*, the militia wing of the *Mouvement Révolutionnaire Nationale pour la Developpement* (MRND), led by Jerry Robert Kajuga (b. 1960). The two militia groups worked closely with each other throughout the genocide, though the members of each remained conscious of their separate political identities. Responsible for uncounted scores of thousands of deaths, members of the *Impuzamugambi* fled before the advance of the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF) forces in May and June 1994, with most seeking refuge across the border in the Democratic Republic of Congo. Individual *Impuzamugambi* members have been apprehended and tried in *gacaca* courts, although, like many *Interahamwe* killers, most have managed to reconstruct their postgenocide lives with impunity.

In Rwanda We Say: The Family That Does Not Speak Dies. A fifty-four-minute documentary produced in 2004 in Rwanda, *In Rwanda We Say* focuses on the release of a genocide suspect following a *gacaca* hearing (the adaptation of a traditional, village-based mediation process to try alleged suspects of the 1994 Rwandan genocide), “tracking the effect of his return on a tiny hillside hamlet (where he had formerly lived and where the atrocities had been committed). While the government’s message of a ‘united Rwandan family’ permeates the language of the community, the imposed coexistence brings forth varying emotions, from numb acceptance to repressed rage.” When the film was produced, already close to sixteen thousand genocide suspects had been released across the country due to having confessed to their crimes and having served the maximum sentence the *gacaca* tribunals would eventually impose.

In the Beginning Was the Ghetto: Notebooks from Łódź. A highly acclaimed diary about life in the Łódź Ghetto by Oskar Rosenfeld (1884–1944). A Prague intellectual, Rosenfeld provides a detailed view of the harrowing misery experienced by those imprisoned in the Łódź Ghetto from February 1942 to July 1944. In doing so, he speaks of the gnawing hunger, the diseases that swept through the ghetto, the debilitating forced labor imposed on the weak and infirm, the degrading circumstances of life and death, and the ever-present threat of deportation. But he goes beyond that and also speaks about the Herculean efforts by the Jews to retain their sense of self and dignity by carrying on, as best they could, with their cultural, religious, and social lives. Upon liquidation of the Łódź Ghetto, Rosenfeld and over seventy thousand remaining Jews were deported to Auschwitz, where he was murdered.

Incentives, and Diplomatic Practice. Incentives, often referred to as “carrots” (as in “carrots and sticks”), are positive economic and/or political inducements to bring about cooperation from a state that is perceived to be belligerent and/or in contravention of international law or mores. Incentives are offered to an actor in the hope that the latter will be more cooperative and open to changing its behavior, or they (incentives) may be offered on the condition that the recipient responds or acts in a manner specified by the party offering the carrot. Among some of the many positive inducements are the promise or actual granting of debt relief, foreign aid, subsidies vis-à-vis exports or imports, tariff reductions, most-favored-nation status, and/or the lifting of sanctions.

Indian Removal Act, 1830. In 1830 U.S. president Andrew Jackson (1767–1845) signed the Indian Removal Act, a law ordering the compulsory relocation of Native American peoples living east of the Mississippi River to a designated territory to the west. These peoples were known as the “Five Civilized Tribes,” comprising the Cherokee, Choctaw, Creek, Chickasaw, and Seminole nations. These nations had adapted to certain European ways by taking that which most suited their quality of life while at the same time retaining their sovereign integrity and folkways. After the passage of the Indian Removal Act, however, these nations were forced to cede their lands to the United States and move to other territories many hundreds of miles away. Of the individual treaties signed following the Indian Removal Act, the first was between the United States and the Choctaw nation at Dancing Rabbit Creek, in 1830. Between 1831 and 1834, most members of the Choctaw nation were forced westward at the point of federal bayonets and in appalling conditions; because federal expenses for removal were inadequate, there were shortages of food, unsatisfactory means of transportation, and little in the way of warm clothing or blankets. At least a quarter of the Choctaw nation died before they reached the new Indian Territory in modern-day Oklahoma. A similar fate befell the other nations. In the case of the Creeks, an experience resembling civil war broke out between supporters and opponents of removal. The Chickasaw people were also removed, but, unlike the Creeks, their experience before and during the journey was less traumatic—owing to their closer proximity to the new Indian Territory, just under a quarter of the population died of exposure and disease as the trek proceeded—but they perished in large numbers after their arrival owing to disease.

For as long as they were able, the Seminoles managed to resist removal and during the Seminole Wars (1835–1842) made U.S. troops pay a heavy price for their invasion of the Seminole nation. Nonetheless, several thousand were eventually transferred to Indian Territory. The Cherokees, the most numerous of the Five Civilized Tribes, did all they could to avoid deportation, arguing their case in the highest U.S. tribunals, including the U.S. Senate and the Supreme Court. Still, as a result of the Treaty of New Echota (December 29, 1835), which ceded all Cherokee territory to the United States and prepared the grounds for removal, they too were forced to leave by 1839. Approximately one-quarter of the Cherokees perished between 1838 and 1839, in what became known as the “Trail of Tears.” The term now stands for the forced removal and suffering of the Five Civilized Tribes, generally—during which time tens of thousands of people died as a direct result of U.S. government actions and failures to act.

INDICT Campaign. A British campaign established in late 1996, seeking, as its major aim, the creation of an ad hoc international criminal tribunal for Iraq similar to those established by the UN in the aftermath of the Yugoslav wars of secession (1991–1995) and the 1994 Rwandan genocide. INDICT was set in motion by the House of Commons (it was joined later by the U.S. Senate) in order to bring Iraqi officials to trial following the first Gulf War of 1991. It remained dependent upon voluntary donations until it received financial backing from the U.S. Congress in December 1998, through passage of the Iraq Liberation Act. Saddam Hussein’s (1937–2006) dictatorial regime in Iraq had used poison gas against the Kurds in the north and had brutally killed thousands of Shiite Arabs (the Ma’dan people) in the south for having rebelled against him. In the intervening years, no attempts had been attempted to render him accountable, except for a long succession of failed efforts made by the nongovernmental humanitarian organization Human

Rights Watch. Meanwhile, UN tribunals were being established for Bosnia and Rwanda (the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia and the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda, respectively). In both these instances, new successor regimes had begun turning some of the indicted criminals over to these tribunals. Until he was deposed in 2003 as a result of the U.S.-led invasion, Saddam Hussein lay beyond the reach of international law, though INDICT explored a number of legal avenues designed to impede the functioning of his government. The INDICT campaign was backed by U.S. president Bill Clinton (b. 1946). Three former British prime ministers, Baroness Margaret Thatcher (b. 1925), Sir John Major (b. 1943), and Tony Blair (b. 1953), also lent support to the campaign. With the capture of Saddam Hussein on December 13, 2003, and the ongoing trial of him and several members of his former Baath Party, many of the objectives of the INDICT campaign could be said to have been met, though its ambitions for a truly international court were stymied owing to the decision to make the trial a wholly Iraqi affair (though under international supervision). Ultimately, in late 2006, Saddam Hussein was found guilty of crimes against humanity for ordering the 1982 murder of 148 Shiite men and boys as a reprisal for an assassination attempt against him. He was hanged on December 30, 2006.

Indigenous Groups and Genocide. Owing to European colonization of the Americas, Africa, Asia, and the Pacific, many situations arose in which local peoples found themselves vulnerable to exploitation and genocide. Colonization itself was often deliberately genocidal, with untold millions of people across half a millennium losing their lives through outright murder or the imposition of conditions calculated to destroy their capacity to continue functioning as members of identifiable groups. Colonization by itself, though, was not the only force affecting indigenous peoples in a genocidal manner: decolonization no less than colonization has been responsible for massive destruction. Furthermore, not all indigenous peoples in postcolonial societies have experienced genocidal forms of destruction, though many have. Still others have found themselves at risk of destruction through a creeping violation of their human rights. Often, especially in the aftermath of colonial control and the postcolonial succession period, indigenous peoples have suffered not only genocidal forms of physical destruction, but existential threats to their culture, belief systems, habitation, languages, and identity.

The scope and extent of indigenous groups facing genocide is broad and ranges from non-Western tribal peoples in central and South America, West Papua, India, Burma, and many parts of Africa, to more settled peoples such as the Kurds, the Maya, and the Acehnese. To a certain extent, the experiences of indigenous peoples in the past have sensitized many in the First World to the need to take especial care to see that genocidal forms of destruction are not visited upon those in a colonized environment again. As a result, a push for human rights recognition has developed in many places, deliberately drawing attention to the plight of indigenous people so as to safeguard their position in the face of the expansionist tendencies of modern society that could otherwise see a reduction in the status of indigenous lives. For many, the fate of indigenous populations is a “front-line” issue in the struggle to create a genocide-free world.

Indigenous Peoples. Indigenous peoples, who are sometimes referred to as “First Nations” or “Fourth World” peoples, are those who are aboriginal or native to the countries in which they live. Although there is no single definition acceptable universally, it could be said that indigenous peoples are those who have a historical connection with a

given region or territory and who inhabit (or have inhabited) that region or territory and have retained, at least in part, a cultural, linguistic, or social association with it. Additionally, indigenous peoples are those who identify themselves as such and are recognized by others as indigenous. The term *indigenous* is controversial, as an argument can be put that everyone is indigenous to somewhere; with this in mind, some argue that it is thus inappropriate to single out as indigenous only those aboriginal peoples who have been subjected to colonialism.

Precise estimates for the total population of indigenous peoples composing the “Fourth World” are difficult to determine, though at the beginning of the twenty-first century, it has been estimated that they make up approximately six percent of the world’s population, a figure of about 300 to 350 million people. They are located all across the globe. Many indigenous peoples, whose lands are considered to be traditional lands of indigenous occupation, have suffered greatly at the hands of foreign colonizers or their successors. Often their land has been stolen from them; their culture has been wiped out (or nearly wiped out); and they have been forced to lead an impoverished life that has led to early death. Issues of concern to indigenous peoples around the world today include land rights, linguistic and cultural preservation, autonomy, environmental degradation, poverty, incarceration rates, health, exploitation of natural resources in traditional lands, and racial, ethnic, or cultural discrimination in all fields.

Individual Responsibility, Concept of. The concept of “individual responsibility” was one of the most significant aspects of the post–World War II trials (e.g., Nuremberg and others conducted to try the perpetrators of crimes committed during World War II). In other words, defendants such as those who planned, oversaw, and/or carried out crimes against humanity, crimes against peace, and/or war crimes (at the time, genocide was not included as a crime under international law) were not allowed to claim—as part of their defense—that they were simply following “superior orders.” Furthermore, no longer were alleged perpetrators allowed to assert that their actions had constituted “acts of state” and have it accepted as a statement of defense. Also, no longer were alleged perpetrators, including national leaders, allowed to claim “sovereign immunity” as a defense. The rejection of this so-called Nuremberg defense (as it came to be known) has become enshrined in judicial practice ever since and is now a given in war crimes, crimes against humanity, and genocide prosecutions.

Indonesia and Genocide. In the last third of the twentieth century, Indonesia perpetrated genocide both inside and outside its own country under its first two presidents. The Indonesian government was never universally condemned by world public opinion, nor have its leaders and perpetrators been brought to justice for their crimes.

Between late October 1965 and March 1966, approximately half a million members of the PKI (*Partai Komunis Indonesia*, Indonesian Communist Party) were murdered by the Indonesian military, and perhaps an equal number supportive of the aims of the party were also killed in a direct confrontation between the United States–backed Indonesian military and Indonesia’s first president, left-leaning Ahmed Sukarno (1901–1970). There is ample evidence that the United States may have supplied the Indonesian military forces with actual names of both communist party members and supporters. (Though political parties were specifically excluded from the 1948 United Nations Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, there is no doubt whatsoever that Indonesia’s intent to destroy all members and supporters of this one group constitutes genocide in the broader understanding of the term.)

In December 1975, under President Mohamed Suharto (b. 1921), Indonesia's military forces invaded the former Portuguese colony of East Timor and annexed it in a brutal show of force. Between 1975 and 1999, when East Timor finally gained its independence, the Indonesian military murdered approximately one-third of the tiny territory's population.

In 2006, citizens of the Indonesian province of West Papua (formerly known as Irian Jaya), which has been under Indonesian control since 1969, began fleeing to Australia, claiming massive human rights abuses (including politically inspired deaths) by the Indonesian military. However, as of this writing (mid-2007), it is too early to assess whether this is a genocidal campaign against the native Papuans and thus a return to Indonesia's earlier genocidal practices.

There are numerous and complex reasons why Indonesia has not yet been condemned, including but not limited to the following: its friendship with the West within the earlier Cold War environment; its population as the largest non-Arab Muslim constituency in the world (and thus a supposed bulwark in the new, as of 2001, so-called war on terror); more recently, its perception within the global environment as a bastion of democracy in Asia; and its continuing denial of genocide.

Indonesia, Mass Killing of Suspected Communists. On October 1, 1965, six senior Indonesian generals were kidnapped and murdered by junior officers. The Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) was blamed for this act, which was portrayed by the military and its leading spokesman, Major General Mohamed Suharto (b. 1921), as an attempted coup d'état designed to entrench the power of left-leaning President Ahmed Sukarno (1901–1970). Suharto led a successful counter coup, resulting in widespread reprisals against the communists—even though the role of the PKI in the coup attempt, at the time and since, was unclear. On October 16, 1965, Sukarno appointed Suharto as minister for the army and army commander in chief, after which General Suharto ordered his forces to destroy the PKI and the threat it allegedly represented. In the months that followed, an unprecedented explosion of violence swept the country as PKI members (many of whom were, coincidentally, ethnically Chinese) were rounded up, tortured, and executed. Families of suspected communists were also targeted by the military, military-endorsed militias, and even civilian mobs. Estimates of the number killed varies widely; most accounts put the number at about half a million, though some have speculated that it was as high as 2 million. Hundreds of thousands more were imprisoned without trial, often for periods of twenty years or longer.

Under Suharto the military forces were purged of what were viewed as pro-Sukarno elements, and Sukarno's power base effectively collapsed. On March 11, 1966, Suharto assumed supreme authority throughout the country, displacing Sukarno, and introduced what became known soon afterward as the New Order (*Orde Baru*). The next day, the PKI was officially banned, PKI members of parliament were purged, the press was gagged, and trade unions were forbidden. The upshot of what became known as "The Year of Living Dangerously" was that, between 1966 and 1998, Indonesia was basically ruled as an authoritarian quasi-democracy, with one president, one ruling party, and few elections. The country became increasingly militarized, and the military forces received a permanent place in the running of the country. Suharto's rule possibly saved Indonesia from going communist (the certainty of this will never be truly known); but, by doing so, the Indonesian people suffered over thirty years of repression, censorship, and state-sanctioned violence.

Inducements, as Part of a Sanctions Policy. In regard to the implementation of sanctions, inducements (or inducement sanctions) refer to the introduction or use of positive incentives for the express purpose of enhancing the likelihood of compliance by the party being sanctioned. The use of inducements are also based on the notion that a sanctions policy solely composed of a series of extremely heavy and punitive pressures can become counterproductive in that the sanctioned state may end up perceiving the sanctions as unfair and dismiss them out of hand; on the other hand, if incentives are added to the approach, it may increase the likelihood of compliance. Put another way, the stick-and-carrot approach is predicated on the notion that what the “stick” is unable to achieve alone, the addition of the “carrots” will (i.e., tempt the targeted nation to capitulate).

Part and parcel of inducements can, and often does, involve the following: (1) the suspension of sanctions for renewable periods (e.g., every ninety-day period an assessment is made to ascertain if the targeted state is in compliance; and, if it is, the suspension of certain sanctions are renewed, but if it is not then the sanction(s) that have been suspended are reinstated); (2) the easing of certain sanctions (e.g., allowing the targeted state to either export or import a higher volume of goods than previously allowed); and (3) receiving financial benefits for compliance.

Some scholars and policymakers look askance at inducements, asserting that they provide a poor and potentially dangerous example to other states in that inducements may come to be perceived by some as a way of obtaining favors for not engaging in unlawful actions.

Inkotanyi (Kinyarwarda, “warrior,” or colloquially, “fierce fighter”). A self-descriptive name used by soldiers of the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF) beginning with its formation in 1990. During the Rwandan genocide of 1994, it came to be applied to the RPF by the Hutu Power regime, always employed in a derogatory fashion. Its use by the Hutu was such as to describe the RPF as a bunch of rebellious traitors. The name originally was derived from that given to warriors serving in the army of nineteenth-century Rwandan Mwaami (King) Kigeri IV Rwabugeri (who reigned from 1853 to 1895).

Inquisition. A term traditionally associated with the Roman Catholic Church to describe a specially convened ecclesiastical institution for the purpose of rooting out, suppressing, and combating heresy (i.e., falsity in belief, doctrine, and/or practice). The term is usually associated with the Middle Ages. Although inquisitions took place throughout Christian Europe during this period, especially Italy and France, Spain is the country that has been most closely identified with “The Inquisition,” particularly as regards the case of those called the *marranos* (pigs), Jewish converts to Catholicism who were perceived as insincere. Begun during the royal reign of King Ferdinand (1452–1516) and Queen Isabella (1451–1504), Pope Sixtus IV (1414–1484) granted them permission to establish such an inquisition; its judges were appointed by them in 1480. Father Tomás Torquemada (1420–1498) was the true organizer and, thus, named the Grand Inquisitor of Spain. Under his authority, both “false” Jewish and Muslim converts were rooted out, sentenced, and put to death. The actual number of such victims cannot be fully established.

Institute for the Study of Genocide (ISG). Founded in 1988 by Dr. Helen Fein (b. 1934), a sociologist and genocide scholar, the Institute for the Study of Genocide is an independent nonprofit education corporation founded to promote and disseminate

scholarship and policy analyses on the causes, consequences, and prevention of genocide. As part of its effort, the institute hosts conferences on various aspects of genocide, issues working papers, and publishes (semiannually) *The ISG Newsletter*.

Institute of Turkish Studies (ITS). An institute founded in Washington, D.C., in 1982, established by a grant from the government of the Republic of Turkey. It advertises itself as a nonprofit educational foundation devoted solely to supporting and encouraging the development of Turkish Studies in American higher education. It is based at Georgetown University, Washington. Its founding director, Heath Lowry (b. 1942), established the Institute in Washington, D.C. so as to provide researchers with the opportunity to avail themselves of research and travel monies provided by the Turkish government. In attempting to promote Turkish Studies, the ITS has lobbied U.S. government officials and submitted articles to newspapers and journals with the intention of painting Turkey in the best possible light, along the way utilizing its position, as a respectable-sounding research institute in the national capital, to deny the excesses of the Armenian Genocide.

Institute on the Holocaust and Genocide (Jerusalem). The Institute on the Holocaust and Genocide was founded in 1979 by Israel W. Charny (b. 1931), Shamai Davidson (1926–1986), and Elie Wiesel (b. 1928). The Institute was one of the first to link the two concepts of Holocaust and genocide, and one of *the*, if not *the*, first devoted to genocide scholarship. Among some of the many projects undertaken by the Institute are the convening of the International Conference on the Holocaust and Genocide in Tel Aviv (1982); the development and publication of the series titled *Genocide: A Critical Bibliographic Review* (1988–); the development and publication of *The Encyclopedia of Genocide* (1999); and the cofounding of *Genocide Studies and Prevention: An International Journal* (2006), the latter of which is published by the University of Toronto Press.

Integrated Network for Societal Conflict Research (INSCR) Program. Based at the Center for International Development and Conflict Management (CIDCM), University of Maryland, College Park, INSCR was founded in 1998 as an organizational framework to better integrate and coordinate quantitative research initiatives investigating various aspects of complex societal conflicts and as a network platform for establishing closer contact and collaboration with similar research enterprises in other locations around the world. The INSCR program builds upon the research foundations developed by Ted Robert Gurr including the Polity, Minorities at Risk, and State Failure research projects.

Intentionalists. Those scholars who argue that the Holocaust, the genocide of the Jews, was primarily centered in the person of Adolf Hitler, his antisemitism, and his commitment to bringing to realization a world free of Jews (German, *Judenrein*) are commonly referred to as “intentionalists” (i.e., those who adhere to the intentionalist theory). Critical to their understanding are Hitler’s many public speeches vilifying the Jews and promising them harm, as well as his own “masterwork” *Mein Kampf*. (It must be noted, however, that no actual document signed directly by Hitler ordering the physical destruction of the Jews has ever been discovered, and such a document, most probably, was never written.) Most famous of these was his speech of January 30, 1939, to the German Reichstag, where he publicly affirmed that if “international Jewry” (a fallacious notion to which Hitler and many other Nazi antisemites referred to throughout the period of the Third Reich) would be the cause of yet another world war—the inference that “Jewry” had caused World War I was a fraudulent claim that Hitler and the

Nazis used as propaganda to instill hate and dissension—"then the result would not be the Bolshevization of the earth and with it the victory of Jewry, it will be the annihilation of the Jewish race in Europe." The intentionalists also argue that with the invasion of the Soviet Union in June 1941 (Operation Barbarossa) and the Wannsee Conference of January 1942, Hitler was able to mobilize the Nazi effort to carry out his long-sought agenda.

Intentionalists'/Functionalists' Debate. Primarily a debate among historians, which has now subsided somewhat, based on two schools of thought in regard to whether the Nazi annihilation of the Jews was an early and overt plan of the Nazis based on the thinking and aim of Hitler himself or whether the "Final Solution" was a policy that evolved slowly over time. The so-called intentionalists (a term first coined by historian Christopher Browning [b. 1944]) have argued that Hitler's own vision, consistent with his ongoing antisemitism, was part of a strategic plan from the very beginning of his drive for political power and dominance. The intentionalists rely on Hitler's writings (including *Mein Kampf*) and numerous public statements and speeches in which his hatred and contempt for Jews is abundantly clear. One of the clearest and most well-known examples of the latter is found in a speech Hitler made on January 20, 1939, during which he asserted the following: "If the international Jewish financiers outside Europe should succeed in plunging the nations once more into a world war, then the result will not be the bolshevization of the earth, and thus the victory of Jewry, but the annihilation of the Jewish race in Europe." The so-called functionalists, on the other hand, see the Nazi leadership and administrative apparatus as one of competing vested interests, at times chaotic and self-serving, and often working at cross purposes, with Hitler standing "above the fray" and entering into it only when necessary, more as an arbiter than a leader. Although the functionalists, too, agree upon the importance of Hitler's public antisemitism and his desire to "do away with the Jews," they argue that his own lack of specific and concrete ideas left such work to his underlings, and thus the annihilation of European Jewry was more the result of historical circumstance than directives from the top. The lack of actual documentation from the Führer himself only adds to the difficulty of assigning one approach primacy over the other.

Intentionality. Ever since the genesis of the development of the UN Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (UNCG), there has been heated and constant argument as to how investigative bodies and courts should assess the intent of alleged perpetrators of genocide, especially when there is no record (paper, audio, video, etc.) indicating such and/or no witnesses who can or will attest to hearing of plans to carry out such a crime. Over the years, international law specialists, genocide scholars, and others have argued that, in reality, "intent" can be inferred from the various criminal acts themselves. In other words, if a perpetrator singles out a specific group of people and undertakes actions seemingly to destroy them, in whole or in part, then intent can and should be inferred from the act itself. (For a more in-depth discussion of this issue, see William A. Schabas's *Genocide in International Law*, Cambridge University Press, 2000.)

Interahamwe (Kinyarwanda, variously, "those who stick together," "those who work together," and "those who attack together"). The *Interahamwe* was an extremist Hutu paramilitary unit that was fundamental to the Rwandan genocide of 1994 and was the most important of the anti-Tutsi militias prevailing throughout the country. The

movement's genesis could be found in a number of junior soccer clubs, one of which, the *Loisirs* (Leisure) club, was coached by one Robert "Jerry" Kajuga (b. 1960). Under his direction, the *Interahamwe* was transformed from a youth organization when it was founded in 1990, to a radical Hutu killing machine. Originally trained by the French at the request of the government of Rwandan president Juvenal Habyarimana (1937–1994), the *Interahamwe* formed the shock troops of the Hutu war of extermination against the Tutsi. The *Interahamwe* was the most radical of the many factions opposed to the Arusha peace process of 1992, in which Habyarimana found himself negotiating with the émigré Tutsi organization known as the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF). In the pregenocide years of 1992–1994, the *Interahamwe* engaged in lethal street fights hoping to upset the social order. Their source of weapons was funneled to them through the army, allowing them to engage in daily murder sprees employing machetes and other implements. To keep the *Interahamwe* in check, there were periodic purges of the most extreme members, who wished to proceed at a pace faster than that preferred by their political leaders. When the call for action finally came after Habyarimana's assassination on April 6, 1994, none were more bloodthirsty than the *Interahamwe*. From April 6 forward, *Interahamwe* killing units were left to their own devices; they knew their instructions and required no further prompting. Only one word describes them: merciless. The other killing factions such as the *Impuzamugambi*, another anti-Tutsi extremist militia that worked closely with the *Interahamwe*, were also brutal. Right up to the end of the genocide, all members and cells of the *Interahamwe* were carefully monitored by Joseph Nzirorera (b. 1950), the secretary-general of the *Mouvement Révolutionnaire National pour le Développement* (MRND, the National Revolutionary Movement for Development), even though the day-to-day affairs of the *Interahamwe* were coordinated by its vice president, Georges Rutaganda (b. 1958). The *Interahamwe* forcefully recruited peasants in order to encompass as much of the population as possible within the genocidal project; in this way, genocide became civic virtue, of sorts, to be practiced by all. When the killing ceased, many of the *Interahamwe* members managed to escape to eastern Congo. What is most significant about the existence of the *Interahamwe* is that it demonstrated that the genocide was far from spontaneous; indeed, it was a carefully planned campaign of extermination that had its executioners prepared and waiting to go into action long before the trigger on the night of April 6, 1994.

INTERFET. An initiative by the Australian government of prime minister John Howard (b. 1939) to reestablish a peaceful regime in East Timor after the failure of the United Nations Security Council's own mandated peacekeeping operation, UNAMET (United Nations Mission in East Timor), to curb militia and other violence prior to and during the territory's referendum on independence from Indonesia in September 1999. INTERFET (International Force in East Timor), the largest single deployment without reinforcement of Australian combat troops since the Second World War, was commanded by Lieutenant General Peter Cosgrove (b. 1947), subsequently the head of the Australian Defence Force. It was a multilateral force involving twenty-two countries in all. The deployment was successful in establishing peace and security through a credible and deterrent presence in all parts of East Timor, including the West Timor enclave of Oecussi. INTERFET's tasks included reconstruction activities following the widespread militia-generated destruction accompanying the referendum, assistance with administration, policing and law and order functions, and detection and investigation into allegations of

human rights violations. As a UN Security Council–backed mission, INTERFET was equipped with a Chapter VII mandate (a peace enforcement mandate versus a softer peacekeeping mandate), signaling the determination of the UN on this occasion to prevent the large-scale abuses that had characterized other situations requiring UN intervention in the 1990s (e.g., in Rwanda in 1994 and Srebrenica in 1995, to mention but two). INTERFET remained active in East Timor until February 2000, when its operations gave way to the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor, or UNTAET. The purpose of this latter body was to administer the territory and exercise legislative and executive authority during the transition period leading up to East Timor’s independence on May 20, 2002.

Intergovernmental Organizations (IGOs). Intergovernmental organizations are multistate institutions formed by treaties or other formal agreements. Such organizations share perceived and actual interests (be they political, economic, social, or otherwise). IGOs serve as a conduit for dialogue between states, a source of information gathering and dissemination for its membership, and a means for establishing guidelines to which the states are expected to adhere. IGOs serve a wide variety of other functions as well, including but not limited to those that are economic, humanitarian, social, and security in nature. The most notable IGO is the United Nations. Other examples of IGOs are the African Union (AU), the Association of South East Asian States (ASEAN), the European Union (EU), the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), the Organization of American States (OAS), and the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE).

Internal Displacement. The involuntary movement of individuals and groups of people inside their own country. Such displacement is the result of various situations, including but not limited to threats of mass violence, outbreaks of mass violence, systematic massacres, and/or the threat and/or reality of genocide.

Internal Refugees (also referred to as internally displaced persons [IDPs] or displaced persons). This term, like its counterpart, internally displaced persons (IDPs), refers to those who are fleeing armed conflict or internal strife and/or persecution (or the fear of persecution) but have not crossed an internationally recognized state border and are thus still residing within the territory of their own country.

Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) (also referred to as internal refugees or displaced persons). See Internal Refugees.

International Alert (IA). In 1985, International Alert—a standing International Forum on Ethnic Conflict, Genocide and Human Rights (IA)—was established by a group of experts concerned with the need to anticipate, predict, and prevent genocide and other mass killings. IA basically has two main aims: First, the organization is concerned with conflict resolution and conflict avoidance (conflicts of interest between ethnic or other groups within recognized states that have already resulted in violence or are likely to do so unless solutions or accommodations are found) in accordance with international standards. In that regard IA aims at promoting internal peace and conciliation through dialogue. Second, as its name implies, it works to “alert” international opinion to situations of ethnic violence which are assuming genocidal proportions.

International Association of Genocide Scholars (IAGS). A global, interdisciplinary, nonpartisan organization that seeks to further research and teaching about the nature, causes,

and consequences of genocide and to advance policy studies on genocide prevention. Founded in 1994, IAGS meets biennially in a conference format to consider comparative research, new directions in scholarship, case studies, the links between genocide and massive human rights violations, and prevention and punishment of genocide. Since being established, conferences have taken place at (or under the auspices of) the College of William and Mary (Williamsburg, Virginia), Concordia University (Montreal, Canada), the University of Wisconsin-Madison, the University of Minnesota (Minneapolis), the National University of Ireland (Galway), Florida Atlantic University (Boca Raton, Florida), and the University of Sarajevo (Bosnia-Herzegovina). The aim of IAGS conferences is to focus more intensively on questions of genocide than is possible in the existing two-hour format of most conferences and to draw colleagues from different disciplines into an interdisciplinary conversation. In addition to the biennial IAGS conferences, the association has also published scholarly works under its own imprint. *Genocide Studies and Prevention: An International Journal* is the official organ of the IAGS. The association has affiliate relationships with other like-minded organizations such as the Institute for the Study of Genocide (New York) and the Institute on the Holocaust and Genocide (Jerusalem, Israel). Membership in the IAGS is open to scholars, graduate students, and other interested persons worldwide.

International Bill of Rights. The International Bill of Rights, developed and established under the auspices of the United Nations, is composed of three seminal parts: The Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948, and two international covenants adopted by the General Assembly in 1966—one on economic, social, and cultural rights and the other on civil and political rights (and the means of implementation that are part and parcel of the “Optional Protocol” to the Covenant on Civil and Political Rights).

International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty (ICISS). In response to a challenge from UN secretary-general Kofi Annan (b. 1938), Canada’s prime minister Jean Chrétien (b. 1934) announced the establishment of the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty during the United Nations Millennium Summit in September 2000. The mandate of the commission was to encourage and undertake a comprehensive global debate on the relationship between intervention and state sovereignty, with an attempt at “reconciling the international community’s responsibility to act in the face of massive violations of humanitarian norms while respecting the sovereign rights of states.”

The ICISS was given the mandate to examine, analyze, and debate a wide array of questions related to a host of legal, moral, political, and operational issues vis-à-vis the question as to when, if ever, states can legitimately, collectively or individually, carry out coercive—and, in particular, military—action against another state for the express purpose of protecting people at risk in that state. The latter, then, constitutes the so-called right of humanitarian intervention. An international research team conducted extensive research in order to collect, examine, and present the latest and best thinking on the issues of intervention and sovereignty and the relationship between the two. Ultimately, the report’s primary theme became “The Responsibility to Protect,” the concept that sovereign states have a distinct responsibility to protect their own citizens from conflicts and violent actions carried out by groups and/or governmental entities, and if and when sovereign states are either unwilling or unable to do so, that responsibility must be upheld by the international community or constituent parts of it.

The ICISS issued a final report entitled *The Responsibility to Protect*, which was a result of the aforementioned research, consultations with various bodies from around the world, and deliberations by the commission's members. On December 18, 2001, the report was formally presented to Secretary-General Kofi Annan and the member states of the United Nations.

International Commission on Missing Persons (ICMP). ICMP is an intergovernmental organization (IGO) established in France in 1996. Its fundamental purpose has been to locate the whereabouts or the fate of those missing as a result of the wars accompanying the disintegration of the former Yugoslavia, namely, Slovenia and Croatia, in 1991, Bosnia-Herzegovina between 1992 and 1995, Kosovo in 1998–1999, and the crisis in the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM) in 2001. A good deal of ICMP's work is in the area of forensic identification of bodies located at mass gravesites where massacres have taken place, particularly in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Its Exhumations and Examination (E & E) program undertakes the tasks of detecting these sites, recovery and anthropological examination of human remains, and the use of scientific methods in order to compile a snapshot of how the victims were killed. The Identification Coordination Division takes responsibility for the collection of DNA samples from the relatives of those who are missing and passes these on to the ICMP's laboratories for cross-matching with data collected by the E & E researchers. The ICMP is also heavily involved in tracing those who are missing on account of war and genocide in the region but whose fate is unknown; it thus acts as an investigative unit tracking down the missing, and reuniting families. ICMP's activities, beyond those for which it is mandated, are many and include consciousness-raising about missing persons, empowerment of those searching for their relatives, establishment of missing persons search networks, and representation of the interests of families to governments, other IGOs, and nongovernmental organizations (NGOs). The head office of the ICMP is located in Sarajevo, with other offices situated throughout several of the other countries of former Yugoslavia.

International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC). An international humanitarian organization established in Geneva, Switzerland, in 1863, by Henri Dunant (1828–1910), a Swiss businessman who had witnessed at first hand the terrible carnage caused to soldiers of both sides in the Franco-Austrian Battle of Solferino (1859). In 1864, at Dunant's urging, the Swiss government convened a sixteen-nation international committee for the purpose of establishing a set of universal norms that would allow for humane treatment of both the wounded in battle and prisoners of war. This was the first of several Geneva conventions. The ICRC works alongside of the Red Cross and Red Crescent societies that exist in individual countries. ICRC delegates are usually permitted access to all sides of a dispute because of the respect most nation-states have for the ICRC's fidelity to a key principle that has guided all ICRC operations since its establishment—the principle of absolute neutrality and confidentiality. Throughout its history, the ICRC has acted as a silent witness to some of the worst excesses of state and nonstate behavior, never deviating from the aforementioned core principles. The position it advocates by way of justification for its silence is a straightforward one: if the ICRC were to speak out publicly about what it has witnessed after having been allowed access to prisons, detention centers, concentration camps and the like, violators of human rights norms could simply refuse ICRC delegates continued access—in which case, prisoners and other populations at risk would be denied the succor that the ICRC can bring to such situations. Where it is given access,

the ICRC's neutrality enables it to do much good for those unable (for various reasons) to provide for their own basic needs, and, with this in mind, ICRC delegates are often extremely reluctant to leave a dangerous area, even after their continued presence has become a liability. Sometimes delegates are killed, either in crossfire or deliberately. But to bear arms, even for self-defense, is anathema to the ICRC, as it sees this as compromising its neutrality. The ICRC's ability to see to its core tasks—monitoring of prisoner conditions, carrying messages between prisoners and their families, advocating more humane conditions, providing food and other “comforts” for prisoners, delivering emergency aid to victims of armed conflicts, among others—has enabled it to achieve admiration unsurpassed among humanitarian aid agencies. Yet its policy of confidentiality has come under increasing criticism in the face of genocide, and many around the world are of the opinion that perpetrators of genocide must not be greeted with silence.

International Court of Justice (ICJ). Based at The Hague in the Netherlands, the ICJ is the principal judicial organ of the United Nations. It began its work in 1946 and replaced the Permanent Court of International Justice, which had operated since 1922. Its primary responsibilities are twofold: (1) to decide legal disputes according to the principles of international law of those nation-states that both submit their requests and agree to abide by the decisions rendered, and (2) to give advisory opinions to duly recognized international agencies and organs when invited to do so. It is composed of fifteen justices, each of whom is elected by the UN General Assembly and the UN Security Council for nine-year terms. No more than one judge can be elected from any one nation-state.

The court's services are available to all states that are parties to its statute, which include all members of the United Nations and Switzerland. The only parties allowed to have cases heard at the ICJ are states; in other words, it does not hear cases involving private individuals, other bodies/entities, or international organizations. The court's jurisdiction applies to all disputes, issues, and questions that member states refer to it, as well as any and all matters provided for in the United Nations Charter, international conventions, and international treaties. Thus, for example, it can, and has, heard cases on all of the following: territorial sovereignty, noninterference in the internal affairs of nation-states, diplomatic relations, hostage-taking, asylum, nationality issues, land frontiers and maritime boundaries, and rights of passage. It has also offered advisory opinions on such questions as judgments rendered by international administrative tribunals, status of human rights rapporteurs, and the legality of the threat of nuclear weapons. Based on its statute, the ICJ decides disputes by adhering to and applying the following: international conventions establishing rules expressly recognized by the contesting states, international custom based on general practice accepted as law, the general principals of law recognized by nations, and judicial decisions.

International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR). Adopted by the United Nations in 1966, the ICCPR entered into force as international law ten years later (1976). The ICCPR recognizes “the inherent dignity and the inalienable rights of all members of the human family” as “the foundation of freedom, justice, and peace in the world” and the obligation of the member states of the United Nations to promote such. Its mandate allows it to address a host of concerns, including: the right of self-determination; discrimination based upon “race, color, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status”; the inherent right to life; torture, cruel, inhuman, or degrading treatment or punishment; slavery; access to the legal system;

freedom of movement and residence; freedom of expression and opinion; peaceful assembly and association; and the centrality of family and marriage.

Unfortunately, the reality of the contemporary political world, including both the United Nations itself and the signatory nations to the ICCPR, is that, despite the force of international law, the ICCPR has little, if any, impact on the general international improvement of human rights, most especially in totalitarian nation-states under dictatorial regimes. The latter is true due to the fact that such nation-states more often than not ignore pleas from international human rights organizations and the international community to halt their egregious human rights violations and figure that in the long run they can do as they wish as few will effectively challenge their actions, let alone their rule.

International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights (ICESCR). Similar to the United Nations International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, the ICESCR was adopted in 1966 and affirmed in international law in 1976. It, too, recognizes “the inherent dignity and inalienable rights of all members of the human family” as “the foundation of freedom, justice, and peace in the world,” but directs its focus on the three areas of economics, social, and cultural rights. It affirms the rights of workers to receive a fair wage for their work; the right to establish unions; the right of families, especially mothers and children, to protection; the right of all human beings to an adequate standard of living regarding food, clothing, and shelter; freedom from hunger; the right to both physical and mental health; the importance of access to education; and the rights of persons to access their cultural heritage and derive benefit from scientific achievements. Signatory nations are expected, at the invitation of the secretary-general of the United Nations, to submit reports to the Economic and Social Council of their present achievements and future goals.

International Covenant on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (ICEAFRD). Adopted by the United Nations in 1965, the ICEAFRD entered into the force of international law in 1969. The ICEAFRD resolves “to adopt all necessary measures for speedily eliminating racial discrimination in all its forms and manifestations, and to prevent and combat racist doctrines and practices in order to promote understanding between races and to build an international community free from all forms of racial segregation and racial discrimination.” Signatory parties are, therefore, expected to practice no forms of racial discrimination, to encourage other nation-states to eliminate such discrimination, to condemn such where it exists, and to educate their own constituencies about discrimination and ways to eliminate such.

International Criminal Court (ICC). The idea for the establishment of an international criminal court reaches back into the nineteenth century when Gustav Moynier (1826–1910), one of the cofounders of the International Committee of the Red Cross, suggested the need for such a court to uphold the Geneva Convention of 1864. From that point onward, the idea for such a court was raised many times (e.g., during the course of the Versailles Peace Conference of 1919, by the Committee of Jurists in 1920 under the auspices of the League of Nations, several times during World War II, and in the post–World War II years), but to no avail. It was not until the late 1980s and early to mid-1990s that actual headway was made in establishing such a court, “helped” along no doubt by the genocidal atrocities that were being perpetrated, first, in the former Yugoslavia, and then in Rwanda in 1994.

The International Criminal Court (ICC) was established officially on July 17, 1998, by the United Nations after sixty member nations became parties to the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court.

According to its mandate, the ICC is an independent judiciary charged with responsibility to try persons accused of genocide, crimes against humanity, and war crimes. Although critical concerns have surfaced regarding political biases of Court members, issues regarding legal due process, potential interference with national processes of reconciliation, and jurisdictional questions, they have thus far not prevented its work.

As of mid-2007, 104 nations have become signatories to the document. As for the United States, it wavered back and forth, time and again, in favor of and then against the establishment of the ICC. A major objection voiced by its leaders and military personnel was that the way the ICC was worded would leave U.S. officials and military personnel open to possibly being charged with war crimes and/or crimes against humanity, if not genocide, even though it might be engaged in a humanitarian effort that involved combat. Thus, in 1998 the United States voted against the Rome Statute (the treaty establishing the International Criminal Court). It was only one of seven nations to do so, the other six being China, Israel, Iraq, Libya, Qatar, and Yemen.

Then, on December 31, 2000, U.S. president Bill Clinton signed the treaty, basically agreeing to support the creation of the ICC. But then, on May 6, 2002, U.S. president George W. Bush's administration basically "unsigned" the agreement by withdrawing the United States' signature from the treaty. In November 2002, in an attempt to explain the latter move by the Bush Administration (as well as the administration's continued opposition to signing the treaty), John R. Bolton, undersecretary for arms control and international security, made the following comments:

The problems inherent in the ICC are more than abstract legal issues—they are matters that touch directly on our national security and our national interests.

For a number of reasons, the United States decided that the ICC had unacceptable consequences for our national sovereignty. Specifically, the ICC is an organization whose precepts go against fundamental American notions of sovereignty, checks and balances, and national independence. It is an agreement that is harmful to the national interests of the United States, and harmful to our presence abroad.

U.S. military forces and civilian personnel and private citizens are currently active in peacekeeping and humanitarian missions in almost one hundred countries at any given time. It is essential that we remain steadfast in preserving the independence and flexibility that America needs to defend our national interests around the world. As President Bush said, "The United States cooperates with many other nations to keep the peace, but we will not submit American troops to prosecutors and judges whose jurisdiction we do not accept. . . . Every person who serves under the American flag will answer to his or her own superiors and to military law, not to the rulings of an unaccountable International Criminal Court."

Numerous human rights activists, international lawyers, and others within and outside of the United States have countered the U.S. government's current position but to no avail.

According to the ICC's Web site (under the heading "The States Parties to the Rome Statute"), as of January 2007, the following nations were some of the many that had not yet become signatories to the ICC: China, Egypt, Guatemala, Iraq, Israel, Libya, North Korea, Russia, Sudan, Syria, the United States, Yemen.

Among some of the key investigations already under way by the ICC are the crisis situations in Uganda, the Congo, and Sudan.

International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR). The ICTR was established by the United Nations Security Council on November 9, 1994, and is located in Arusha, Tanzania. The ICTR's first trial began in January 1997, with the case of former journalist Hassan Ngeze (b. 1962). Generally speaking, progress in securing judicial verdicts has been slow. The tribunal has handed down judgments on less than forty accused since its inception. This is not to say, however, that these have been minor: the first successful prosecution in an international court, specifically for the crime of genocide, came from the ICTR in 1998. This concerned the former mayor of the Rwandan village of Taba, Jean-Paul Akayesu (b. 1953). The judgment on this occasion extended genocide case-law, ruling that rape could henceforth be considered within a general legal framework of crimes against humanity and genocide. Other precedents established by the ICTR emerged in the trial of former Rwandan prime minister Jean Kambanda (b. 1955). Kambanda, who pleaded guilty to the crime of genocide (and was the first accused to do so in any international setting), was the first head of government to be convicted for this crime.

The ICTR comprises a tribunal of eminent judges from a wide range of countries and is truly international in scope. It possesses an open and transparent appeals procedure. By its Security Council mandate, the ICTR is currently scheduled to have completed all of its major investigations by the end of 2008 and will be wound up in toto by the end of 2010.

International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY). The ICTY is an international court pertaining to the wars accompanying the dissolution of the former Yugoslavia between 1991 and 1999. In response to the extreme violence inflicted on civilians, the United Nations Security Council resolved to establish a special *ad hoc* court to try those charged with three types of offences, namely, grave breaches of those sections of the 1949 Geneva Conventions relating to war crimes, crimes against humanity, and genocide. The crime of genocide was introduced because of the specific kind of mass killings of ethnic groups that took place during these wars in concentration camps, in rape camps, through the mass murder of civilians, and through the brutal practices associated with forced deportations and "ethnic cleansing." The accused being tried by the ICTY come from all four of the major ethnicities involved in the war: Serbs, Croats, Bosnian Muslims, and Kosovar Albanians. The accused from each ethnic group, it is alleged by court indictments, had engaged in some kind of genocidal violence in their quest for territory and their determination to expel en masse inhabitants of a rival ethnicity—a process that is commonly referred to as ethnic cleansing. By far the majority of those indicted, however, were Serbs, both from Serbia and from the ethnic Serb entity in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Republika Srpska.

The ICTY was established by the United Nations Security Council by UNSC Resolution 827 on May 25, 1993. It is located in The Hague, Netherlands. Its purpose is to render justice to the victims, to deter further crimes, and to contribute to the restoration of peace by holding accountable those found responsible for serious violations of international humanitarian law. The tribunal's judges and officials are drawn from a pool of prominent international jurists.

At the outset, the ICTY suffered setbacks, both budgetary and administrative: costs outpaced the income of the court; reviewing evidence in preparation for each trial proved time-consuming; and each trial got bogged down in repeated postponements or recesses. Most troublesome was the process of locating and detaining the indicted themselves, whose arrests frequently depended on the cooperation of the governments of Bosnia-Herzegovina,

Croatia, and Serbia, the latter of which shielded not only its own nationals but also those from Republika Srpska. The court has no marshals with the power to arrest in these countries, meaning that some indicted are still living in hiding or are living in the open, out of reach of the tribunal.

Despite these obstacles, the court has managed to try suspected criminals from all combatant nationalities and to convict both high- and low-ranking criminals, particularly those associated with the war in Bosnia. Its most notable indictment and trial to date was that of Slobodan Milosevic (1941–2006), the former president of Serbia. He was the first head of state ever accused and tried for genocide, an unprecedented step in judicial history. (The trial did not conclude with a verdict, however, as Milosevic died of a heart attack while in custody during the trial.)

It is anticipated that the ICTY will have completed the trial process of all those indicted by the end of 2008, with all appeals completed by the end of 2010. This might, however, be extended should currently pending warrants be met by the arrest of leading indictees yet to be apprehended, such as Radovan Karadzic (b. 1945) and Ratko Mladic (b. 1942).

International Crisis Group (ICG). The International Crisis Group (or, in colloquial usage, Crisis Group) is an international nongovernmental organization committed to strengthening the capacity of the international community to anticipate, understand, and act to prevent violent conflict. The ICG is, in the first place, an information-gathering body that sends investigators to the world's trouble-spots whenever there appears to be a threat of large-scale violence on a group, communal, or interstate level. The investigators gather information from a wide range of sources and assess local conditions. Based on the data submitted, ICG generates situation reports and analyses that it forwards to political leaders in the affected countries, to other world leaders, and to international organizations deemed to have an interest in the matter at hand. Its reports are also, generally, made available over the organization's Web site (<http://www.crisisweb.org>).

ICG was founded in 1994 by three men with substantial experience in global affairs: Mark Malloch Brown (b. 1953), Morton Abramowitz (b. 1933), and Fred Cuny (b. 1944), all of whom were major figures in the area of disaster relief and international statecraft. Today, ICG employs nearly 120 staff members on five different continents. Its current chief executive is the former Australian foreign minister, Gareth Evans (b. 1944); its cochairmen are the former European commissioner for external relations, Christopher Patten (b. 1944), and former U.S. ambassador Thomas Pickering (b. 1931).

Besides its headquarters in Brussels, Crisis Group has major offices in Washington, D.C., New York, London, and Moscow, plus fourteen other offices throughout the world.

International Force in East Timor. *See* INTERFET.

International Humanitarian Law (IHL). IHL is the body of law, principles, and regulations that pertains to and governs situations of international or noninternational armed conflict. The heart of international humanitarian law is the four Geneva Conventions (August 12, 1949), and their two Additional Protocols (June 8, 1977). Every single state across the globe is a party to the Geneva Conventions of 1949.

International Intergovernmental Organizations (INGOs). International intergovernmental organizations (INGOs) are composed of members who are either nonstate organizations or individuals. The focus and work of INGOs is eclectic: cultural, economic, political, professional, and religious, among others. Among some of the most noted

INGOs are Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch, and the International Red Cross. Many such organizations have a profound impact on both national and international politics.

International Law. A body of laws, rules, or legal principles generally based on custom, treaties, and conventions, and legislation that pertain to and govern relations among states. Such laws are generally accepted as binding in relations between states and nations.

International Military Tribunal (IMT). Known colloquially as the “Nuremberg Trials,” the victorious Allies (France, Great Britain, the Soviet Union, and the United States) in World War II convened this tribunal from October 1945 through October 1946, in Nuremberg, Germany, to try twenty-two leaders of the Nazi hierarchy as well as six Nazi organizations (the Nazi Party, the Gestapo, the SA, SD, the Reich Cabinet, and the Army General Staff). Ultimately, Nuremberg was chosen because of its infamous association with the Nazi racial laws of 1935. Each of the Allies provided two judges for the IMT.

Under Article 6 of its charter, the individual charges included the following: (1) crimes against peace, (2) war crimes, and (3) crimes against humanity. The organizational charges included the following: (1) commitment to wage a war of aggression, (2) violation of commonly accepted rules of warfare, and (3) participation in criminal organizations. Most significantly, the IMT rejected as a defense position that of “following orders” from above, emphasizing, instead, the principle of individual responsibility.

Twelve of the defendants were sentenced to death: Herman Göring (Luftwaffe commander), Joachim von Ribbentrop (foreign minister), Wilhelm Keitel (army chief of staff), Ernst Kaltenbrunner (chief of the security police), Alfred Rosenberg (minister of the Eastern Occupied Territories), Hans Frank (governor-general of Poland), Julius Streicher (editor and publisher of *Der Stürmer*), Fritz Sauckel (plenipotentiary-general for labor mobilization), Alfred Jodl (army chief of operations), Martin Bormann (Hitler’s deputy, in absentia), Arthur Seyss-Inquart (governor of the Netherlands), and Wilhelm Frick (minister of the interior). Göring committed suicide before he could be hanged.

Sentenced to life imprisonment were Rudolf Hess (Hitler’s deputy; who committed suicide in 1987), Walter Funk (president, Bank of Germany, who was released in 1957), and Erich Raeder (naval commander; who was released in 1955).

Sentenced to various length prison terms were Albert Speer (armaments minister; served twenty years), Konstantin Freiherr von Neurath (governor of Bohemia and Moravia, served eight years and was released in 1954), Karl Dönitz (navy commander, served ten years and was released in 1956), and Baldur von Schirach (leader of the Hitler Youth, served twenty years).

Acquitted were Fritz von Papen (ambassador to Austria and Turkey), Hjalmar Schacht (minister of economics), and Hans Fritzsche (head of broadcasting).

Heinrich Himmler (head of the SS) committed suicide in May 1945. Also indicted was Robert Ley (leader of the German Labor Front), but he committed suicide prior to the start of the trials.

The IMT was not without controversy; indeed, some—not only Germans, but some jurists as well—saw it as an example of “victors’ justice,” according to which the victorious Allies were exacting vengeance on a defeated enemy and masking it as *justice*. With its stress on both individual responsibility in times of war and the legality of war itself (self-defense against aggression), however, the IMT set the stage for not only the United

Nations Convention for the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (1948) but also the later International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY) and the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR) in the 1990s.

The IMT's massive record, including both documents and testimonies, remains a fruitful source for much scholarly investigation.

International Network on Holocaust and Genocide. Published under the auspices of the Centre for Comparative Genocide Studies and the leadership of Professor Colin Tatz, Macquarie University, New South Wales, Australia, this newsletter was published eighteen times between the years 1993 and 2001. Over the years it addressed such topics as "Holocaust versus Genocide" (2001); "Genocide in Australia" (2000); "Kosovo" (1999); "Cambodia" (1997); "Denial" (1996); "Memory and Policy: America's Response to the Challenge of the Armenian Genocide" (1996), and other important topics. With the shift of the center from Macquarie University to the Shalom Institute in the year 2000 and the creation of an independent educational entity titled The Australian Institute for Holocaust and Genocide Studies, this newsletter as such ceased publication and was replaced by individual volumes of articles (e.g., *Genocide Perspectives I & II*).

International Panel of Eminent Personalities (IPEP). An independent inquiry established by the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Kofi Annan (b. 1938), with support from the United Nations Security Council, to establish the facts related to the response of the United Nations to the 1994 genocide in Rwanda (April–July) and to make recommendations to the secretary-general on this issue. The inquiry was carried out by Mr. Ingvar Carlsson (b. 1934; former prime minister of Sweden), Professor Han Sung Joo (b. 1940; former foreign minister of the Republic of Korea) and Lieutenant General Rufus Kupolati (ret.; b. ? –died 2005) of Nigeria. The report of the panel was released on December 15, 1999. Basically, the independent inquiry found that the response of the United Nations before and during the course of the 1994 Rwanda genocide failed in numerous and fundamental ways. More specifically, it asserted that the failure of the United Nations to first prevent and then halt the genocide "lies with a number of different actors," in particular the secretary-general, the secretariat, the Secretariat Council, UNAMIR, and the broader members of the United Nations.

International Workgroup for Indigenous Affairs (IWGIA). IWGIA, which was founded in 1968 by human rights activists and anthropologists, is an independent, international organization that supports indigenous peoples in their struggle against oppression. IWGIA publishes the IWGIA Documents Series and the *IWGIA Bulletin* (English) (each of which is published four times annually), and the *IWGIA Yearbook*. IWGIA's main office is in Copenhagen, Denmark. It has additional offices in Göteborg, Sweden; Lund, Sweden; Zurich, Switzerland; and Paris, France.

Internet on the Holocaust and Genocide. The *Internet on the Holocaust and Genocide*, the first international newsletter to join the two subjects of the "Holocaust" and "genocide" and to "serve as a bridge between different peoples and between different professions concerned with genocide," was founded by Israel W. Charny (b. 1931) in 1985. For ten years (1985–1995), it was published under the auspices of the Institute on the Holocaust and Genocide. Its target audience was the then nascent community of scholars, professionals, institutes, nongovernmental, and governmental and international agencies involved in the effort to understand, intervene in, and prevent genocide. Fifty-six issues in toto of the newsletter were published. Among its many special issues

were “The United Nations Report on Genocide” by Ben Whitaker; “Genocides and Politicides Since 1945: Evidence and Anticipation” by Barbara Harff and Ted Robert Gurr; “Power Kills, Absolute Power Kills Absolutely” (which compared the history of totalitarian and democratic countries in committing genocide) by R. J. Rummel; “Denial of the Holocaust, Genocide and Contemporary Massacres” edited by Israel W. Charny; and “Educating about Genocide” edited by Samuel Totten.

Inyenzi (Kinyarwanda, “cockroaches”). Monarchist Tutsi in exile who periodically carried out guerrilla-like raids into Rwanda in the 1960s referred to themselves as *inyenzi*, or cockroaches, as a way of denoting their furtive movements, toughness, and resilience. Eventually, *inyenzi* became an epithet used by Hutu to denigrate those same Tutsi guerrillas.

In the 1990s the term was reintroduced by Hutu Power ideologues to describe members of the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF) fighters (primarily composed of exiled Tutsi). Ultimately, both prior to and during the 1994 genocide, all Tutsi came to be referred to as *inyenzi* as a way to dehumanize them.

Radio Télévision Libre des Mille Collines (RTLM), the government radio station that broadcast extremist Hutu propaganda often sent out the following message: “The *inyenzi* have always been Tutsi. We will exterminate them. One can identify them because they are of one race. You can identify them by their height and their small nose. When you see that small nose, break it.”

Iraq Genocide of Kurds in Northern Iraq. *See* Anfal.

Iraq Special Tribunal for Crimes Against Humanity (IST). Also known in some circles as the Supreme Iraqi Criminal Tribunal, or SICT, this is an *ad hoc* court of law established by the Iraqi Governing Council in Iraq in December 2003, for the purpose of bringing to justice Iraqis accused of war crimes, crimes against humanity (including torture, assassination, extra-judicial executions, forcible relocation of residents, and the use of chemical weapons), and genocide under the regime of Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein (1937–2006). Pursuant to Iraqi Law Number 10 of 2005, the Tribunal has three main purposes: adjudication, investigation, and prosecution. Each of the three functions was undertaken by a separate body of prosecutors or judges. The IST’s jurisdiction is framed within the period between July 17, 1968 and May 1, 2003 (the date on which the United States declared the end of its war, “Operation Iraqi Freedom,” to overthrow the regime of Saddam Hussein). These dates correspond to the period of rule by the Ba’ath, a secular Arab nationalist political party.

The tribunal’s most important cases have been the trials of Saddam Hussein, his cousin Ali Hassan al-Majid (b. 1941, known in the Western world by the nickname “Chemical Ali”), former vice-president in the Hussein regime Taha Yassin Ramadan Al-Jizrawi (1938–2007), former deputy prime minister Tariq Aziz (b. 1936), and eight other leading members of the former dictatorship. The fact that this court is specifically Iraqi, and not an international tribunal, is significant; it provides local ownership over the process of justice and, it is hoped, will be an important institution in the process of rebuilding Iraq after decades of brutal dictatorship, corruption, war, and genocide. This notwithstanding, concern has arisen among international lawyers and human rights activists that the trials have not been as objective as they could and should have been, and thus have resulted in what has been deemed “victor’s justice.”

On November 5, 2006, the court found Saddam Hussein guilty of crimes against humanity in ordering the deaths of 148 Shi’ite villagers in the town of Dujail in 1982. It

sentenced him to death by hanging, and the sentence was carried out on December 30, 2006. Numerous commentators, including genocide scholars, have noted that the quick execution of Saddam extinguished the possibility of trying him on charges of genocide, and thus the international community lost a golden opportunity of furthering international law vis-à-vis the issue of genocide.

Irish Conquest, 1649. See Cromwell, Oliver.

Irredentism. A term used in international relations, the word *irredentism* signifies the desire and intent of a nation to annex territory of another nation-state on the grounds that the population resident in the second nation-state is related to the population in the first by nationality, language, ethnicity, race, or shared historical experience. The classic example would be that of Nazi Germany's *anschluss* (German, "union") of Austria in 1938 and its annexation of the Sudetenland of Czechoslovakia that same year. The German term *lebensraum* (German, literally "living room" or "living space") is a reasonably proximate synonym for the Italian *irredenta*. The term itself is believed to have been derived from the Italian *Italia irredenta* (Italian, "unredeemed Italy"), referring to disputed territory between itself and the Austro-Hungarian empire in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

A popular and politically volatile way to make such claims involves the use of the word *greater* by both governmental and political leaders (e.g., Greater Germany, Greater Italy). A number of nation-states have enshrined such concepts within their constitutional documents—for example, Argentina (Article III, Section 1); People's Republic of China (Preamble & Article 4); Comoros (Article 1); and the Republic of Ireland (Article 2 and Article 3). The recent genocide in Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Kosovo all bear witness to the tragic consequences of this idea.

Irving, David (b. 1938). David Irving is perhaps the most well-known denier of the Holocaust, primarily because of his voluminous publications dealing with the Second World War. Having lived and worked in Germany as a steelworker in the Ruhr Valley, and fluent in German, Irving has neither the training nor the credentials to be taken seriously by the scholarly community of historians. His initial academic work on World War II involved a prodigious amount of research and, although criticized for certain inaccuracies, overall was deemed a reasonable attempt at serious scholarship. Later works by Irving on Adolf Hitler (1889–1945) and Hitler's role as the leader of Germany during World War II, although again the products of prodigious research, have been seriously criticized for selectively using partial quotations and drawing highly specious conclusions. By 1988, coincident with the trial of Canadian Holocaust-denier Ernst Zündel (b. 1939) on charges of denying the fact of the Holocaust (a crime in Canada), Irving was fully ensconced within the Holocaust-denial movement, the result of what he maintained was an honest and serious reconsideration of the accepted evidence and the conclusions mainstream historians had drawn from it. However, his reputation as a legitimate historian within the academy was being called into question as a result of mounting and continuing criticisms not only of his work but also of his appearances before Holocaust denial groups (e.g., the Institute for Historical Review in the United States), as well as his contacts with neo-Nazis in Germany.

In 1996 Irving filed a libel suit in Britain against U.S. scholar Deborah Lipstadt (b. 1947) of Emory University, Atlanta, Georgia, for her comments about him in her 1993 book *Denying the Holocaust: The Growing Assault on Truth and Memory*. In the same suit, he sued Lipstadt's British publisher Penguin Books, Ltd. In May 2000, Judge Charles Gray

rendered his verdict, dismissing the suit and labeling Irving both an antisemite and a Holocaust-denier. Irving was ordered to pay legal fees in excess of nearly 2 million British pounds (U.S. \$3.8 million). In 2001 he was denied a request for a new trial by an appeals court. He continues, however, to write and lecture about World War II and his denialist version of the events associated with the Holocaust, questioning such matters as the numbers of Jewish victims, the usage of the gas chambers at Auschwitz death camp in Poland, and related topics. He also maintains his own Web site to promote both himself and his publications.

In Austria in 2006, Irving was sentenced to three years imprisonment for denying the Holocaust by a Viennese court but was released by the end of year and stated that his position had hardened during this latest incarceration.

“**Israel.**” Compulsory middle name that the Nazis required all male Jews to adopt in Germany. The designation was made law under the “Second Decree Supplementing the Law Regarding the Change of Family Names and First Names,” passed on August 17, 1938. The law became operational as from January 1, 1939. Henceforward, all Jewish males were required to add the name into their passports and other official documents, and to all identity cards. In like manner, Jewish females were forced to add the name “Sarah” to their own.

Ittihad ve Terakki Jemeyeti. See Committee of Union and Progress.

Izetbegovic, Alija (1925–2003). President of Bosnia-Herzegovina between 1990 and 1996, a period traversing the last days of communist rule in united Yugoslavia and the establishment of the independent Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Izetbegovic was born in Bosanski Samac, a town in northern Bosnia. During World War II he was a member of a Bosnian Islamic organization called *Mladi Muslimani*, or Young Muslims. The latter organization was a party of Islamic renewal, but the aftermath of the war saw the imposition of the communist regime of Josip Broz Tito (1892–1980), which suppressed ethnic and religious distinctiveness. Izetbegovic was arrested in 1946 for political reasons related to his advocacy of Muslim separateness in a state that was at that time being transformed into a communist dictatorship, and jailed for three years. Upon his release, he began to work tirelessly for Muslim rights within the Yugoslav state. In 1970 he published a manifesto titled *The Islamic Declaration*, which again reinforced his Islamic fidelity. His opponents would later look at this work as an affirmation of his fundamentalism—and thus, by extension, of Islamic extremism. Although Tito died in 1980, the repression of religious and ethnic separateness continued, and Izetbegovic, along with others, was again imprisoned, this time sentenced to fourteen years in 1983. He was pardoned, after a drawn-out appeals process, in 1988. By then, Izetbegovic had become the de facto leader of Bosnia’s Muslims. In 1989, he was instrumental in establishing the Stranka Demokratske Akcije (SDA), or Party of Democratic Action; while this was not specifically a Muslim party, it was nonetheless a party that attracted the largest following among Muslims.

As Yugoslavia began to unravel through the early 1990s, Izetbegovic looked inwardly to shore up Bosnia’s rights against those of Serbia in the rapidly changing environment. In mid-February 1992 he arranged a referendum on Bosnia’s independence; on February 29, 1992, he declared Bosnia’s independence from Serb-dominated Yugoslavia (in a situation where minority populations might well suffer reprisals as the Serbs resisted the fragmentation of the state), to take effect on April 7. The day before this, however, Bosnian Serb

and Yugoslav forces crossed into Bosnia with the intention of bringing the new country back into the federation. For the next three years, Izetbegovic strove hard to retain Bosnia's territorial integrity in the face of invasion, ethnic cleansing, and genocide, fighting three and sometimes four enemies at once. He consistently promoted the idea of a multiethnic Bosnia (an ideal that has become Izetbegovic's major legacy through to today), but waging war to guarantee Bosnia's survival was at no stage something he could achieve without foreign intervention and a negotiated settlement. Peace finally came only at the end of 1995, when Izetbegovic signed the Dayton Peace Agreement (November 21, 1995) and the Paris Protocol (December 14, 1995) alongside other regional and world leaders. Remaining in power until October 2000, Izetbegovic died three years later, recognized as the father of Bosnian independence. He is buried in Sarajevo.

J

“J.” Tenth letter of the alphabet; stamped on all German passports and other official documents from October 1938 onward during the period of the Third Reich, whereby the bearer was identified as a Jew according to Nazi legislation. The idea for a *J* stamp came from the Swiss government in negotiations with the Nazis, and the stamping of the letter *J* on the passports of German Jews thus served the purpose of assisting restrictive immigration policies and regulating the entry of Jewish refugees into countries bordering Germany.

Jackson, Robert H. (1892–1954). Born in Pennsylvania, Jackson, after attending classes for only one year at Albany Law School (New York) and apprenticing himself to a lawyer, spent forty-two years in Frewsburg, New York, practicing his chosen profession. In 1934, President Franklin Delano Roosevelt (1882–1945) invited him to become general counsel for the Internal Revenue Service. He went on to become U.S. solicitor general, U.S. attorney general, and a U.S. Supreme Court justice. He was the primary author of the London Charter, which created the legal basis for Nuremberg. In 1945, while serving as a justice at the U.S. Supreme Court, Jackson was asked by U.S. president Harry S. Truman (1884–1972) to serve as the chief U.S. prosecutor at the International Military Tribunal, Nuremberg, Germany, where twenty-four high-ranking Nazis were about to be tried on four counts: (1) conspiracy to wage aggressive war; (2) waging aggressive war, or “crimes against peace”; (3) war crimes; and (4) crimes against humanity.

Jackson’s role in the Nuremberg Trials was crucial. He was seen as a tireless and energetic man of conscience, committed to the rule of law and the development of the principles under which the trials were framed, specifically, crimes against humanity and the rejection of orders above morality.

Responding to those critics who opposed the trials, both Allies and Germans, and the accusation of the application of so-called victor’s justice (German, *Siegerjustiz*), Jackson responded, “We must make clear to the Germans that the wrong for which their fallen leaders are on trial is not that they lost the war, but that they started it.”

Jackson wrote two books about the trials: *The Case Against the Nazi War Criminals* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1946) and *The Nürnberg Case* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1947).

Upon the completion of the tribunal (October 1945–October 1946), Jackson returned to the Supreme Court for eight more years, participating in the now-famous 1954 desegregation decision *Brown v. Board of Education*. Shortly thereafter, in 1954, he suffered a

fatal heart attack. His body was interred in the Maple Grove Cemetery in Frewsburg, New York, beneath a simple headstone on which was inscribed, “He kept the ancient landmarks and built the new.”

Janjaweed. An Arabic composite of *jinn* (spirit/ghost) and *jawad* (horse) that was traditionally used to describe wild outlaws that run amok. In the early 2000s it was the appellation given to the “Arab” militiamen who carried out genocidal attacks (early 2003 to the present or late 2007), in conjunction with government of Sudan (GOS) troops, against the black African population of Darfur, Sudan. In Darfur, *Janjaweed* colloquially translates to “evil horseman,” “horsemen with guns on horseback,” and/or “devils on horseback.”

The *Janjaweed* generally attack, along with the GOS, the villages of black Sudanese on camel and/or horseback (and, to a lesser extent, as passengers in Sudanese army vehicles). The initial attacks (meaning in 2003) carried out by the GOS troops and the *Janjaweed* were in retaliation for attacks on the government by black Sudanese rebels who were incensed over the poor treatment black Sudanese citizens received at the hands of the Sudanese government. However, instead of solely attacking the rebels’ strongholds, the GOS and *Janjaweed* have systematically and ruthlessly attacked village after village of common citizens and noncombatants. In the course of the attacks, tens of thousands of black Africans have been killed, village after village has been burnt to the ground, women and girls have been raped, and over 2 million people are now internal refugees. Several hundred thousand more have sought refuge in refugee camps in Chad.

On September 9, 2004, the U.S. government accused the GOS and *Janjaweed* of having committed genocide against the black Africans (particularly those members of the Massaliet, Fur, and Zaghawa tribes).

Jasenovac. A location in central Croatia and the site of a notorious concentration camp during World War II. It was not a Nazi concentration camp, but was instead established by the *Ustashe*, a radical Croatian right-wing nationalist movement. The *Ustashe* controlled wartime Croatia as a puppet government under the presidency of Ante Pavelic (1889–1959). The Jasenovac concentration camp, which was set up in August 1941, was headed by Miroslav Filipovic (1915–1946), also known as Miroslav Majstorovic. Over time, Jasenovac grew to become a complex of five subcamps and three smaller compounds, including a camp for children at Sisak and a notorious camp for women at Stara Gradiska, east of the main Jasenovac complex. Generally speaking, Jasenovac was a camp in which the *Ustashe* confined scores of thousands of victims, mainly Serbs, Jews, and Roma.

Jewish Question. For Adolf Hitler (1889–1945), other Nazis and their allies, two thousand or more years of hateful rhetoric, texts, and behaviors convinced them that the Jews were, indeed, the enemies of all civilization, responsible at its core for all of its ills, racial parasites, and a cancer on the body politic that must be destroyed. The battles between them were elevated to “cosmic contests”, and the annihilation and extermination of the Jews—men, women, and children—as the only possible outcome. Perceiving the issue as a “question” thus necessitated answers and solutions to a solvable problem.

“The Final Solution to the Jewish Question” (German, *Die Endlösung der Judenfrage*) became the Nazi coded expression, or euphemism, for the murderous plan to eliminate the

Jews of Europe. Early on, Hitler's own antisemitic agenda was made fully manifest in his 1925 political autobiography *Mein Kampf*.

Upon assuming the chancellorship of Germany in 1933, beginning with the infamous Nuremberg Racial Laws of 1935, and aided by theories of eugenics (i.e., the improvement of the species), social Darwinism (i.e., survival of the fittest) and post-Enlightenment thinking vis-à-vis the progress and scientific perfectibility of the human person, the Nazis turned to the sciences and their practitioners (legal, medical, biological, physical, chemical) for such answers. From early experiments in the mass killing of his own people (the so-called T-4 or euthanasia program of mental and physical defectives), followed by the now infamous Wannsee Conference of January 1942 (where plans of the annihilation of the Jews were delineated), the program of the extermination/annihilation of the Jews, after unsuccessful attempts as large-scale emigration, evolved through the use of extermination squads (*Einsatzgruppen*) and mobile gas vans into the ultimate gas chambers and crematoria of the death camps that were located in Poland.

By the end of the war nearly 6 million Jewish women, men, and children (1 million younger than twelve years of age; one-half million between the ages of twelve and eighteen) had been murdered, along with others, including Roma, Poles, political dissidents, Russian prisoners of war. Nation-states had been conquered and subjugated by the Nazis who, in turn, essentially made them *Judenrein* or "Jew free." For the Nazis and their collaborators, the "Jewish Question" had been successfully answered by the murder of the Jews.

Journal of Genocide Research (JGR). JGR (founded in 1999 by Henry Huttenbach [1931], a historian based in the United States) was the first journal to promote an interdisciplinary and comparative approach to the study of genocide. In early 2000 it became the official journal of the European Network (ENOGS) of Genocide Scholars (later renamed the International Network of Genocide Scholars [INOGS]).

Journey to Darfur, A. A documentary that actor George Clooney (b. 1961) and his father, journalist Nick Clooney (b. 1934), filmed during their visit to the Chad-Sudan border in 2006, where hundreds of thousands of refugees had fled from the ongoing genocide in Darfur, Sudan, when government of Sudan troops and *Janjaweed* (Arab militia) carried out a scorched earth policy of burning down villages and raping and killing the black Africans of Darfur. The documentary was initially broadcast on January 15, 2007, on American Life TV Network in the United States.

Jud Süß (German, a colloquial term that, euphemistically, approximates "suspect Jew"). Novel written in Germany by Jewish author Lion Feuchtwanger (1884–1958) in 1925, and translated into English as *Power*. Feuchtwanger, whose writings had been suppressed during World War I because of what was held to be their revolutionary content, became one of the earliest critics of Hitler and the Nazis and was subsequently forced into exile in London by the Nazis in 1934. In *Jud Süß*, he chronicled the story of a powerful ghetto businessman, Oppenheimer, who believes himself to be a Jew. His ruthless business practices result in the betrayal of an innocent girl; for this, he is arrested and sentenced to death, the victim of anti-Jewish laws. Rather than declare his non-Jewish identity, which he discovers through a set of letters given to him by his mother revealing that his father was in fact a Christian nobleman, he dies on the gallows, with dignity and honor, as a "Jew."

Feuchtwanger intended the book to be an attack against antisemitism, an allegory of German society during his own day. It was, however, transformed by the Nazis into a

viciously antisemitic movie in 1940. It was directed by Veit Harlan (1899–1964) and starred Werner Krauss (1884–1959) in the title role. The plot was twisted to make Oppenheimer a real Jew portrayed according to Nazi stereotypes: greasy hair, hooked nose, unscrupulous, bearded, cowardly, and a rapist. At his arrest and execution, he is seen as screaming and unmanly; by contrast, his executioners appear to be upright, solid citizens. After Oppenheimer's execution, the rest of the Jews of the city are driven into exile. As a piece of propaganda cinema, the movie had a powerful effect on its audiences, helping to prepare the German public for further atrocities against Jews. Many viewed it as though it were a documentary and were driven to acts of violence against Jews in the street after having seen it.

Tellingly, Heinrich Himmler (1900–1945), the head of the SS, ordered all members of the various official bodies under his command to see the movie; this extended to local police and concentration camp guards. Its effectiveness as a propaganda tool was thus not limited to the general public, as it was used to achieve specific dehumanizing goals regarding the perceived racial enemy and to whip up violence against that enemy.

Veit Harlan was later tried for crimes against humanity by the Allies at Nuremberg, but his case was dismissed due to a lack of direct evidence implicating him in the destruction of the Jews.

Judenfrei (German, literally, “free of Jews”). A term used by Nazi leaders responsible for Germany's anti-Jewish measures during World War II, employed for the purpose of indicating that a successful liquidation of a Jewish area had taken place. The term was often employed alongside of (or synonymously with) the word *Judenrein* (clean of Jews) by SS (*Schutzstaffel*, or “Security Police”) leaders such as Heinrich Himmler (1900–1945), among many others.

Judenrat (German, “Jewish council”). Among the more controversial issues surrounding the fate of the Jewish victims of the Second World War/Holocaust remains the role of the Judenrat, the “Jewish self-governing councils” that existed in many of the larger and a number of the smaller Jewish ghettos under the Nazis. Though the tradition of Jewish self-governance is historically well-grounded, and many of those who served on the Judenrat found themselves in the horrendously ambivalent position of serving their Nazi masters at the same time as trying to act as a buffer between their overlords and their fellow Jews, doing what little they could to attempt to save a dying people, many have argued strongly that the Judenrat complicitly aided in their own demise. That argument becomes problematic in that their options were limited, their own activities tended to be more cautiously conservative and secretive, and some among their collective leadership were prone to corruption and self-serving ends, all, ultimately, in an effort to prolong life.

The first of these councils was already established in Poland in the fall of 1939, within a few short weeks of the start of World War II (September 1, 1939) under the following mandate: “Jewish population centers 10,000 persons and under led by twelve-person councils; over 10,000 persons twenty-four person councils.” While the elections of the twelve-person council were to be an internal matter, the Nazi leadership had to approve such persons. Once established and overseen, their focused activities were directed primarily to organizational-administrative matters (data and census collection), economic and production matters (factory and workshop production and labor quotas), and social service delivery systems (healthcare, welfare agencies, food allocations, residence permits). From their (Jewish) perspective, many of these leaders truly believed that by

establishing their economic worth and value to the Nazis, they would be allowed to maintain their communities, even under such severe and repressive conditions. However, with the beginnings of the mass deportations in 1942, the tide began increasingly to turn against the Jews, and questions of refusal or compliance began to surface as the real agenda of death became more and more known. According to the article titled *Judenräte* in the *Encyclopedia of the Holocaust* (Gutman, 1990, p. 766), the patterns of behavior of the various *Judenräte* fell into four categories: refusal, acquiescence, resignation, and compliance. Thus, any truly accurate historical assessment of these councils must take into consideration: the geographical location of the ghetto communities; the actual resources available; the different behavioral patterns of the Judenrat, Jewish populations, and Nazi officials; and the specific years of activity under analyses.

Judenrein (German, literally “Jew free,” i.e., free of Jews). German term used to describe a geographic location where Jews had been physically eliminated, through emigration, deportation, or murder. Later understood as the ultimate goal of the entire Nazi program of extermination/annihilation—a Europe free of Jews. (See also Jewish Question.)

Jus ad Bellum (Latin, “laws for going to war”). *Jus ad bellum* is the international law dealing with the decision to go to war, in which self-defense is considered the sole legitimate reason for declaring war.

Jus Cogens (Latin, “compelling law”). *Jus cogens* refers to a normative law that may not be violated by any state. *Jus cogens* norms thus refer to those principles of international law that are so fundamental that no state can ignore them or opt out of abiding by them. A classic example of a *jus cogens* norm is that no nation, legally or morally, can refuse to abide by the principles forbidding such abhorrent crimes as genocide. *Jus cogens*, though, is honored more in theory than in practice; nation-states have, at times, closed a blind eye to acts of genocide practiced by others.

Jus in Bello (Latin, “laws during the waging of war”). *Jus in bello* is the humanitarian law dealing with the conduct of war. It demands that states at war must make a clear distinction between noncombatants and combatants and must take into consideration proportionality in carrying out the war.

Just War Theory. This doctrine, embracing the notion that under some circumstances the waging of war is a just act, can be traced to Biblical times. The ancient Israelites went to war in the name of their god, the Lord of the Universe; early Christians overcame their pacifism by fighting in the name of the crucified Jesus, when, in 313 CE, Emperor Constantine (272–337 CE) thought he saw a cross in the shape of a sword on which was inscribed the words “In this sign thou shalt triumph.” Several centuries later, St. Thomas Aquinas (c. 1225–1274) refined the notion of a just war, following the campaigns of the crusaders against the Muslims in the quest to recapture Jerusalem. In turn, Islamic theologians coined their own rationale for a morally condoned war, the *Hegira*, dying in the name of the Prophet Mohammed (c. 570–623 CE). In early modern times, wars pursued by absolute monarchs were automatically justified by the doctrine of the Divine Right of Kings, according to which God’s will flows through the sovereign. More recently, nationalism has contributed to the notion of a legitimate war, one that is in the interest of the state; in this, the doctrine of *realpolitik* is invoked to justify military action. By this logic, an aggressive war is *ipso facto* a war in the defense of the nation. The just war idea is thus grounded firmly within considerations of moral philosophy and stands outside that of such normally accepted rationales

governing statecraft as would be explained by political realists, who see the world in terms of *realpolitik*.

According to international law, interventionist action to stop genocide is condoned by the UN Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide. All signatories are obliged to act if genocide, once identified officially, is taking place. In such circumstances, military intervention is justified and supersedes the traditional rights of sovereignty accorded by the modern states system established at the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648. The concept of a just war has gradually transformed into a newer category, that of “humanitarian intervention.” Just war theory, for the most part, approaches issues of war and intervention from the twin perspectives of *jus ad bellum* (under what circumstances it is right to go to war) and *jus in bello* (what may be done in order to wage war). Again, while the reality of conducting wars for justice seems to be both a contradiction and fairly recent, the roots of discussions regarding it go deep. Noteworthy in this regard was the Dutch philosopher Hugo Grotius (1583–1645), whose 1625 work *De iure belli ac pacis* (*On the laws of war and peace*) codified the rules by which a just war could be fought and outlined the rights of those taking part. His was a very early foundational document in what would emerge in the twentieth century as a burgeoning literature of human rights.

K

Kagame, Paul (b. 1957). Paul Kagame first became president of Rwanda in March 2000 and was elected in a landslide on August 25, 2003. A Tutsi, Kagame was born in Gitarama in 1957 and as a child became a refugee as his family fled to Uganda in the face of Hutu attacks on Tutsi in his home country. In 1985, as a young, English-speaking Tutsi refugee burning to return to Rwanda, he and his friend Fred Rwigyema (1957–1990), established the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF), a political organization with an armed wing named the Rwandan Patriotic Army (RPA). The RPA comprised mostly Tutsi who had fought in Uganda with the National Resistance Army (NRA) in the overthrow of President Idi Amin (1928–2003) in 1979. In 1986, Kagame became head of NRA military intelligence, and actively participated in the 1990 invasion of Rwanda. In 1990 it was strong enough to launch an invasion of Rwanda from Uganda, supported by Ugandan president Yoweri Museveni (b. 1944). Rwigyema was killed during the invasion, which failed after a French-led intervention force stopped its advance after an appeal for help from Rwandan president Juvenal Habyarimana (1937–1994). After Rwigyema's death, Kagame became the commander of the RPF, which continued to carry out raids on Rwanda throughout the early 1990s. Kagame's role in negotiations with the Habyarimana regime throughout the 1990s was important, and certainly contributed to the signing of the Arusha Accords, a peace settlement between the RPF and the Rwandan government. He, in fact, took part in the signing of the Arshua Accords as he signed them on the behalf of the RPF on August 4, 1993. Habyarimana's assassination on April 6, 1994, however, destroyed any possibility that these accords would be implemented. (One accusation after another has been made in regard to who ordered the plane shot down, as well as who actually carried out the action. Hutu have accused Tutsi, Tutsi have accused Hutu, and even some Tutsi have accused other Tutsi. To date, evidence has not been located to definitively prove who was behind the downing of the plane.) With the subsequent start of the Rwandan genocide as a result of Habyarimana's death, the RPF again invaded Rwanda and, on this occasion, was successful in beating back the Rwandan National Army (the FAR) and the anti-Tutsi militias such as *Interahamwe* and *Impuzamugambi*. By the end of May 1994, the RPF had taken over much of the country, though UN general Roméo Dallaire (b. 1946) was also critical of Kagame for not increasing his military strikes during the genocide itself.

In July its forces occupied the capital, Kigali. It was a brilliant and timely victory, and resulted in the RPF becoming the government. Kagame became vice president and minister

of defense in a new administration led by Pasteur Bizimungu (b. 1950). After a period of political infighting and Bizimungu's resignation and later imprisonment, Kagame became president in March 2000 and was overwhelmingly reelected in August of 2003.

Especially since his electoral victory in 2003, Kagame's presidency has been devoted to issues of postgenocide justice and reconciliation. He remains a strong critic of the UN and France for their failures during the genocide, and, although a Tutsi himself, prefers to downplay this identity in favor of his Rwandanness.

Kaganovich, Lazar Moiseevich (1893–1991). Kaganovich was an Old Bolshevik from Ukraine and served as Soviet dictator Joseph Stalin's (1879–1953) chief lieutenant. Kaganovich served twice as first secretary of the Communist Party of Ukraine (1925–1927 and 1947). During the period of the Soviet man-made famine in Ukraine (which constituted genocide) in 1933, he served as secretary of the All-Union Central Committee section on agriculture and also headed, in November 1932, a special mission to the North Caucasus. According to Soviet historians who published their works in the 1960s, Kaganovich personally oversaw the deportation of Cossack settlers in the rural areas of the North Caucasus in 1932. Eventually, he was removed from power in 1957 for opposing Soviet dictator Nikita Khrushchev (1894–1971).

Kajuga, (Jerry) Robert (b. 1960). The founder and national president of the Rwandan youth militia known as *Interahamwe* ("those who stick together" and "those who attack together"). The movement's genesis could be found in a number of junior soccer clubs, one of which, the *Loisirs* (leisure) club, Kajuga coached. Kajuga's father was a highly respected Episcopal priest of Hutu background who had married a Tutsi woman. Kajuga was thus the child of a mixed marriage.

Under Kajuga's direction, *Interahamwe* was transformed from a youth organization when it was founded in 1990, into a radical Hutu killing machine as the anti-Tutsi campaign of hatred fostered by Rwandan president Juvenal Habyarimana (1937–1994) intensified throughout 1992 and 1993. After Habyarimana was killed in a plane crash as the result of a missile attack on April 6, 1994, it was *Interahamwe* that took the lead in the massacre of Tutsi throughout the country. Kajuga justified the role of the organization of which he was national president on the grounds that Rwanda's Tutsi were waging a concerted offensive, through the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF), to destroy the Hutu. A fanatic of the most extreme caliber, Kajuga was active throughout the genocide not only in running the *Interahamwe* but also in his close personal association with the various Hutu Power cliques directing the genocide and with Rwanda's interim (Hutu) government. As the forces closed in and put the *Interahamwe* to flight, Kajuga fled along with many thousands of his militia members. It is possible that he might have slipped into Zaire, but his true fate remains unknown.

Kambanda, Jean (b. 1955). An extremist Hutu in the *Mouvement démocratique républicain* (Democratic Republican Movement), Jean Kambanda was sworn in on April 9, 1994, as prime minister of the interim Rwandan government that was set in place after President Juvenal Habyarimana (1937–1994) and Prime Minister Agathe Uwilingiyimana (1953–1994) had been assassinated. (Habyarimana's death was the catalyst for the start of the genocide; Uwilingiyimana, a Hutu moderate, was one of its first victims.) Kambanda remained prime minister throughout the period of the genocide until the victory of the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF) army defeated the forces of the interim government on July 19, 1994.

Throughout his term as prime minister, he directed government policy with regard to the Hutu genocide of Rwanda's Tutsi population by broadcasting messages of hate on *Radio-Télévision Libre des Mille Collines* (RTLM) and inciting Hutu to kill Tutsi and urging Hutu to construct roadblocks throughout Rwanda in order to prevent Tutsi from fleeing the country. He also provided weapons and ammunition to Hutu militia and others for the express purpose of having the latter murder Tutsi. Furthermore, he reportedly traveled throughout the country for the express purpose of inciting the genocide and directing the killing process. As the head of government, he also contributed indirectly to the killing by failing—or rather, refusing—to condemn militia groups such as the *Interahamwe* (an extremist Hutu youth group that became the lead killers during the 1994 Rwandan genocide) when they broke the law by killing Tutsi and destroying property in vast quantities.

After the RPF victory, Kambanda fled Rwanda. He was arrested in Nairobi, Kenya, on July 18, 1997, and transferred immediately to the jurisdiction of the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR) in Arusha, Tanzania. He was arraigned on a variety of charges (including inciting massacres, ordering the establishment of roadblocks for the purpose of rounding up Tutsi, and distributing weapons for the express purpose of carrying out the genocide) and pleaded guilty, on May 1, 1998, on all counts (genocide, conspiracy to commit genocide, direct and public incitement to commit genocide, complicity in genocide, and two counts of crimes against humanity) by the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR).

Ultimately, on September 4, 1998, he was found guilty of genocide and crimes against humanity and was sentenced to life imprisonment (the maximum penalty that can be imposed by the ICTR). He, however, withdrew his confession and appealed his conviction on the ground that his legal counsel had misrepresented him. Controversy surrounded the appointment of Kambanda's counsel, who was chosen by the ICTY Registrar from a limited list which excluded French and Canadian Francophone lawyers, and forced Kambanda to defend himself for four months. This led to allegations that Kambanda was subjected to a "show trial." Kambanda's appeal was dismissed on October 19, 2000, and the original verdict was upheld on all counts. He is currently serving his sentence in the Bamako Central Prison, Bamako, Mali.

The trial of Kambanda was noteworthy on numerous fronts. First, it was the first time a head of state admitted in a court proceeding direct participation in a genocide. It also constituted the first time a head of government pleaded to guilty to genocide. His sentence also constituted only the second time since the adoption of the United Nations Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide that someone was found guilty of genocide. His conviction, though, constituted the first time a head of government was found guilty of genocide.

Kangura. An anti-Tutsi popular newspaper (sometimes also referred to as a magazine) in Rwanda prior to the 1994 genocide. Its first issue appeared in May 1990, and its last in February 1994—two months before the Rwandan genocide began. This periodical became an instrument in the preparation of the Hutu population of Rwanda for the genocide of the Tutsi population that took place during the one hundred days that followed April 6, 1994. *Kangura*, which in Kinyarwanda translates as "Wake them up," was published by Hassan Ngeze (b. 1961), a Muslim of Hutu ethnicity. Ngeze, who was later prosecuted by the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR) and convicted for facilitating genocide, always asserted that he was a businessman and entrepreneur rather

than a Hutu Power ideologue, but the pages of *Kangura* constantly showed him to be much more than what he claimed to be. Perhaps the most infamous piece he published in *Kangura* was a catalog of ten admonitory instructions that were to be followed by every Hutu in order to destroy Tutsi influence in Rwandan society, and guarantee Hutu hegemony. These “Hutu Ten Commandments,” as they were called, could in many respects have been adapted directly out of the Nazi Nuremberg Laws, and their repetition through the pages of *Kangura* served as an important means in the ongoing conditioning of the Hutu against the Tutsi of Rwanda. Elsewhere, *Kangura* published material which referred constantly to Tutsi as *Inyenzi* (cockroaches) and drove home the message that these *Inyenzi* (including those from outside, the *Inkotanyi*, or rebels, from the Rwandan Patriotic Front) were about to enslave all the Hutu and/or exterminate them. The required response, it put rhetorically (and frequently), was to preempt the Tutsi, protect themselves, and wipe out the Tutsi attackers. Prior to ceasing publication, *Kangura* also published the names of Hutu deemed to be politically suspect—with the insinuation that they should suffer the same fate as the Tutsi—and exhorted all other Hutu to take all measures to ensure that they would predominate now and into the future. Editorials and articles also attacked the United Nations Assistance Mission in Rwanda (UNAMIR) by making a variety of vicious and defamatory claims.

Employing sensationalism at every turn, and with a readership many times greater than its circulation figures suggested, *Kangura* was an important agent in developing a consciousness for genocide, notwithstanding that it had ceased publication by the time the genocide actually began. By then, *Kangura*—along with the other purveyor of hate messages, the radio station *Radio-Télévision Libre des Mille Collines* (RTLM)—had done its job, and the idea of Tutsi annihilation was firmly implanted on the Hutu worldview.

Kapos (Latin, *capo* for “head of”). Within the Nazi concentration camp system, discipline and punishment over the prisoners could not have operated without the compliance (sometimes willing, sometimes not) of inmates who acted in a correctional role. The individuals who carried out such roles were known as Kapos. The Kapo was an inmate appointed by the SS to serve as the foreman of a labor detachment. Kapos were chosen amongst the prison population, regardless of the type of crime (e.g., murder, assault and battery, robbery) for which they were incarcerated.

The Kapos are mainly remembered as fearsome and harsh, renowned for their brutality and frequent sadism. It is worth noting that Jews served as Kapos over other Jews, and some were vicious in their treatment of their fellow prisoners. No task set by the SS—beating a fellow prisoner mercilessly, selecting prisoners arbitrarily for hazardous work details, distributing food to SS “favorites” (thereby discriminating against others, and in doing so placing their lives in jeopardy)—was worth too much if it meant the continuation of the incumbent’s position. Indeed, not only did Kapos wield a brutal form of immediate power over their fellow prisoners, but they also received enormous benefits from their positions. They usually had more to eat than those over whom they had authority, and their food was often of a higher quality. The Kapos supervised the common prisoners at work while doing little work themselves. They had more time to sleep than the others and could requisition any item from the prisoners. In the blocks, which were mostly overcrowded after 1939, the Kapos often had their own rooms, sometimes single beds of their own, and at times even lockers for their personal property. They were allowed facilities to wash regularly, to change their linen, and, in at least one recorded instance, even to

change their underwear. Concessions like these were worth too much to lose, and the natural instinct was to try to keep them.

There was the added factor that if an SS order went unheeded, or was not satisfactorily completed, the functionary could lose much more than just his position. This made the Kapos just that more vicious, and thus detested by their fellow prisoners. Kapos could be (and often were) killed by the common prisoners as traitors, and could equally be killed by the SS owing to their status as detested enemies of the Third Reich.

In February 1944, SS head Heinrich Himmler (1900–1945) issued an official order preventing Jews from serving as Kapos. He did so in order to bring Nazi ideology into alignment with acceptable practice; that is, that no Jews should ever be placed in a position of authority over a non-Jew, even someone who was a prisoner of the Nazis and therefore not normally deserving the same treatment as one who was a respected citizen. The Nazi world view could not accept Jews “ruling” over non-Jews, no matter what.

Karadzic, Radovan (b. 1945). Bosnian Serb leader. Born in Montenegro, Karadzic's father had been a Serb patriot and anticommunist who fought against Josip Broz Tito's (1892–1980) partisans during World War II. A psychiatrist by training and a poet by inclination, Radovan Karadzic made himself the leading proponent of Bosnia's Serbs. As a poet he is said to have come under the influence of Dobrica Cosic (b. 1921), a Serb nationalist writer. It was Cosic, in fact, who convinced Karadzic to enter the world of politics.

In 1990, he was a founder of a pro-Serbian nationalist party, the Srpska Demokratska Stranka (SDS), or Serbian Democratic Party. His express goal in founding such was the establishment of a Greater Serbia. In 1991, much like Hitler threatened the Jews in 1939, he warned that Bosnia's Muslim population would “disappear from the face of the Earth” if it chose to “opt for war” by establishing an independent Bosnia-Herzegovina. At a later point in time, he asserted that “Muslims are the most threatened . . . not only in the physical sense . . . rather, this is also the beginning of the end of their existence as a nation.”

In the aftermath of the Bosnian declaration of independence from Yugoslavia on April 6, 1992, Karadzic declared the Serbian-peopled sections of the country independent, as Republika Srpska, or the Serbian Republic. Backed by Serbia's Slobodan Milosevic (1941–2006), between 1992 and 1995 Karadzic then waged a murderous war against the Muslims of Bosnia-Herzegovina. It was Karadzic who orchestrated the three-year-long siege of Bosnia's capital city, Sarajevo. Day after day, he ordered a barrage of artillery to rain on the defenseless city. From his headquarters in Pale, in the mountains overlooking Sarajevo, Karadzic ordered the systematic destruction of historic Muslim targets such as the National Library, not to mention the killing of unarmed civilians congregated in open-air markets. His most egregious crime was the offensive he ordered in 1995 against the six so-called safe areas under UN protection (Sarajevo, Tuzla, Gorazde, Srebrenica, Zepa, and Bihac). In the worst of these, and in full view, Karadzic's senior military officer, General Ratko Mladic (b. 1942) fell on the city of Srebrenica. Systematically, militias and troops from the Army of Republika Srpska (the VRS), the Bosnian Serb army, captured as many men and boys between the ages of ten and sixty-five as they could find, led them out of the city, and killed them in the surrounding hills, burying them in mass graves. The women and children of Srebrenica were sent outside the borders of Republika Srpska. This was one of the most blatant acts of genocide, in the context of the Yugoslav wars, for which Milosevic was held accountable indirectly, and in which Karadzic was the primary executor. Karadzic has yet to be tried. The International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY) has

indicted him as a war criminal, and called for his immediate arrest and trial. So far, he has found safe haven in the Serbian-controlled territories in Bosnia; to many Bosnian Serbs, he remains a hero, and no one has dared apprehend him for fear of retribution. NATO troops supervising the peace settlement in Bosnia, lacking the inclination to go after him, have been totally ineffectual in making an arrest.

Karamira, Froduald (1947–1998). Radical Rwandan politician prior to and during the 1994 Rwandan genocide. Born in Mushubati, central Rwanda, Karamira's mixed ethnic ancestry could have seen him claim either Tutsi or Hutu ethnicity; starting with the former, he switched to the latter as he grew older. Entering Hutu society provided him with opportunities to advance himself politically and economically, and by the late 1980s he was the owner of several properties in downtown Kigali. A highly placed member of the ruling Mouvement Démocratique Républicain (MDR) party, in July 1993 Karamira engineered a split in the party. More specifically, Karamira's perspective was that the MDR was not sufficiently pro-Hutu and that any form of negotiation with the rebel opposition Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF) was an intolerable ethnic betrayal. The newly formed MDR-Power, with Karamira as vice president, espoused a radical Hutu Power ideology, and, after April 6, 1994, it participated actively in the genocide of Rwanda's Tutsi and moderate Hutu. Prior to this, on October 23, 1993, Karamira made a highly inflammatory speech in which he called on the Hutu to rise up and "take the necessary measures" to target "the enemy amongst us." When the genocide began, Karamira became a member of Rwanda's interim government, and broadcast frequently on *Radio-Télévision Libre des Mille Collines*, the rabidly anti-Tutsi private radio station. His messages were hate-filled incitements to commit mass murder. It has been alleged that he was personally responsible for hundreds of murders, and directly answerable for the deaths of at least thirteen Tutsi members of his own family. As the rebel forces of the RPF closed in on the interim government in June and July 1994, Karamira fled. In June 1996 he was arrested in Mumbai, India, and extradited, via Addis Ababa, to Rwanda. On January 13, 1997, his trial for crimes against humanity, murder, conspiracy, and genocide began in a Special Trial Chamber in Kigali; and on February 14, 1997, he was found guilty and sentenced to death. Appeals were rejected on September 12, 1997, and he was executed by firing squad in a public exhibition at the Nyamirambo Stadium, Kigali, on April 24, 1998, along with a number of other convicted génocidaires.

Karski, Jan (1914–2000). Underground name for the Polish non-Jew, Jan Koziński, who smuggled himself into the Warsaw Ghetto and the Belzec death camp to mentally record the details of the plight of the Jews and then smuggled the information out to the West to give firsthand testimonial evidence of their fate. Arriving in London in 1942, he was able to present his information both to the Polish government-in-exile and to British prime minister Winston Churchill, later traveling to the United States to present his findings to then president Franklin D. Roosevelt. His 1944 book *The Story of the Secret State* detailed his own experiences, that of the Polish underground, and the plight of the Jews as then understood. After the war, he remained in the United States, ultimately becoming a professor of diplomacy and political science at Georgetown University in Washington, D.C. In 1982, Yad Vashem, Israel's Holocaust Memorial Authority, named him a "Righteous Gentile" (the latter is the term used to describe non-Jews who risked their own lives trying to save Jews during the Holocaust years).

Ka-Tzetnik 135633. The pseudonym of writer and poet Yehiel Dinur (1917–2001). The pseudonym was derived from the German slang “KZ” (*konzentrationslager*, “concentration camp”); the number was his Auschwitz registration number.

Dinur was born in Poland and active in the Orthodox Jewish community of Sosnowiec. In 1931, he published his first book of poems in Yiddish. After having survived two years in Auschwitz, he emigrated to Palestine in 1945 and settled in Tel Aviv, later testifying at the trial of Adolf Eichmann in 1961, where he dramatically collapsed. A writer of considerable talent, he saw his “mission” as telling the story of what happened in the Holocaust on behalf of those who did not survive. Among his more well known works are *House of Dolls* (1956), *Star of Ashes* (1967), and *Shiviti: A Vision* (1989). His books have been translated into more than twenty languages.

Ke Pauk (1933–2002). Ke Pauk, a longtime warlord in Cambodia, was the military commander and deputy of the Northern Zone under the Khmer Rouge’s totalitarian and genocidal rule of Kampuchea (1975–1979). He was considered by many to be one of the most murderous of the Khmer Rouge leaders. He was a member of the Khmer Rouge’s standing committee and the military commander who was possibly most responsible for the mass purges carried out by the Khmer Rouge. He died in February 2002 of natural causes, not having spent a single day in prison for his crimes.

Kemal, Ismail (Bey) (1844–1919). An official in the Ottoman Turkish regime during the anti-Armenian persecutions of 1894–1896, and then in the Young Turk regime from 1909 onward. Ismail Kemal had a long career as an anti-Christian administrator, and the main focus of his activities centered on the destruction of Armenian aspirations, and, ultimately, lives. Among his major genocidal acts was organizing and overseeing the massacre of Armenians at Yozgat, in northwestern Turkey, in 1915. On April 12, 1919, after an Allied-convened trial in Constantinople, he was hanged in public. He was the first person in history to be executed for having been found guilty on the charge of “crimes against humanity.”

Kenney, George (b. 1958). George Kenney (b. 1958), an acting Yugoslav desk officer within the U.S. State Department, resigned, on August 25, 1992, in protest over what he considered the Bush administration’s (1988–1992) totally inadequate response to the crisis in the former Yugoslavia. A front-page article in the *Washington Post* quoted the following from his letter of resignation: “I can no longer in clear conscience support the Administration’s ineffective, indeed counterproductive, handling of the Yugoslav crisis. . . . I am therefore resigning in order to help develop a stronger public consensus that the U.S. must act immediately to stop the genocide.”

Khang Khhek Iev. See Comrade Duch.

Khieu Samphan (b. 1931). Born into an elite family in Svay Rieng province, Cambodia, Khieu Samphan was a Khmer Rouge killer possessed of great longevity, and, as such, an important figure in Cambodian political life during the second half of the twentieth century.

Like many other bright young Cambodians during the period of French colonialism, Khieu won a government scholarship to study in France during the 1950s, leading, in his case, to a doctoral degree in political economics. While studying, he was drawn to left-wing student politics, becoming a founder and secretary-general of the Khmer Students’ Union. His connections with other Cambodian students Saloth Sar (1925–1998), who later took the name Pol Pot, and Ieng Sary (b. c.1931), helped forge a radical relationship that would come to fruition in the most devastating way in the 1970s. (Through marriage,

Khieu also became the brother-in-law of both Pol Pot and Ieng Sary.) Upon his return from Paris in 1959, Khieu became a professor of economics at the University of Phnom Penh, and founded a left-wing newspaper, *L'Observateur*. In 1962 and 1964 he was elected to the National Assembly and served in the cabinet of Prince Norodom Sihanouk (b. 1922). He achieved an envied reputation for his efficiency and incorruptibility in government. With the overthrow of Sihanouk's government by military strongman Lon Nol (1913–1985) in 1970, Khieu fled to the jungle along with Pol Pot and the other members of the Khmer Rouge. There, in 1973, the Khmer Rouge joined with Sihanouk in order to create a united front against Lon Nol and his American backers. This union, known as the *Gouvernement Royal d'Union Nationale du Kampuchéa* (GRUNK), or Cambodian Royal Government of National Unity, became the alternative government, though it was never recognized formally outside of Cambodia and possessed no authority other than in the areas it controlled by force. Khieu Samphan served in a variety of roles in the GRUNK, including deputy prime minister, minister of defense, and commander in chief of the Khmer People's National Liberation Armed Forces (despite not having any military experience). After the Khmer Rouge victory in the civil war against Lon Nol's government in April 1975, Khieu became president of the State Presidium of Democratic Kampuchea, a position translating to head of state. He remained in that position until December 1978, when Vietnamese forces invaded the country and the Khmer Rouge regime fled in disarray into the jungles of western and northwestern Cambodia. Khieu Samphan was evacuated through Beijing, and played a leading diplomatic role on behalf of the Communist Party of Kampuchea (CPK). He became the public face of the former regime at the United Nations and in world capitals and, in 1985, succeeded Pol Pot as titular head of the CPK. He represented the Khmer Rouge in Paris in October 1991 at the signing of the Peace Agreement relating to the organization and conduct of free and fair elections in the postgenocide, post-Vietnamese occupation of Cambodia and became the senior Khmer Rouge representative on the Supreme National Council established to guide Cambodia to a peaceful future. This was not to last, however, as political differences saw the breakup of the harmony all had looked for in Paris.

Continuing governmental instability, coupled with both internal and external military action between 1980 and 1992, eventually resulted in the imposition of a United Nations elections supervisory authority in 1993. Subsequently, in July 1994, Samphan fled Phnom Penh with several thousand loyal troops. Returning to the Khmer Rouge-controlled regions of Cambodia, he was named prime minister in a Khmer Rouge-proclaimed provisional government. Ultimately, though, in December 1998, Khieu Samphan defected to the Cambodian government of Hun Sen (b. 1952), alongside Pol Pot's deputy, Nuon Chea (b. c.1923). Upon his defection, he apologized for the killings and then abruptly said that the Cambodian people should "let bygones be bygones." Undoubtedly because he chose to defect to the government, unlike some of the other Khmer Rouge leaders, he was not imprisoned or even put under house arrest but was warmly welcomed by the government and allowed to live free in the semiautonomous region run by Ieng Sary, another former Khmer Rouge leader/killer. That said, it is still possible that he could be brought to trial should the current effort to establish a tribunal in Cambodia to try former perpetrators of the genocide comes to fruition. In February 2004 he released a short book in French, Khmer, and English entitled *The Recent History of Cambodia and My Successive Positions*, which many regard as both self-serving and a sanitized version of historical events.

“Khmer Noir.” A pejorative term used in 1993 and 1994 by conservative French government and military opponents when referring to the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF). Use of the term was intended to project onto the RPF the stigma of Cambodia’s murderous Khmer Rouge of the 1970s and 1980s. The RPF was thereby vilified as a terrorist body bent on mass murder, specifically, of Rwanda’s Hutu population. Reference to the RPF as a “Khmer Noir” was highly disparaging and was used essentially for propaganda reasons by those in France supporting the Hutu Power regime. It showed little understanding of the fundamental differences between Cambodia’s Khmer Rouge and the RPF and at no time could be said to carry any credibility. The irony to be found in the use of this term lay in the fact that the actions of the very Hutu killers the French conservative establishment was supporting most resembled Cambodia’s Khmer Rouge’s genocidal actions.

Khmer Rouge. Cambodia’s extremist communist party army before and during the Cambodian civil war of 1970–1975, and then the primary coercive instrument of the rule of dictator Pol Pot (1925–1998) under the regime of the Communist Party of Democratic Kampuchea between 1975 and 1979. Leaders of the Khmer Rouge, apart from Pol Pot, included Nuon Chea (b. 1923), Ieng Sary (b. c. 1924), Ta Mok (1926–2006), Khieu Samphan (b. 1931), and Son Sen (1930–1997).

The Khmer Rouge (KR), or “Red Khmers” (i.e., Red Cambodians), was originally a term of ridicule coined by Cambodian king Norodom Sihanouk (b. 1922) to describe his left-wing political enemies, and the term stuck. Most commonly recognized as the merciless body responsible for the Cambodian genocide during Pol Pot’s rule, KR cadres were the principal bearers of Pol Pot’s communist ideology, and were the ones who brutally imposed his rule throughout the country in order to achieve his ambition of returning Cambodia to “Year Zero.” It was the Khmer Rouge that carried out the radical policy of clearing the cities and forcibly removing their inhabitants into the countryside; of establishing communal farms and abolishing private property, family structures, and all Western-influenced trappings of Cambodian society; and of imposing a murderous reign of terror throughout the country, in which at least 1.7 million (and possibly up to 2 million) people died through starvation and deliberate murder in what became known as Cambodia’s “killing fields.”

The entire fabric of communist Kampuchea was dominated by the Khmer Rouge, and the country was characterized by mass murder, intimidation, exploitation, torture, oppression, and a total disregard for human life. In 1997, Cambodia established a Khmer Rouge Trial Task Force that would lay the groundwork for legal procedures to be brought against such Khmer Rouge leaders as were still alive. Progress proved slow, however, and it was only in May 2006 that a judicial bench was established to try Khmer Rouge suspects charged with crimes against humanity and genocide. Trials are expected to begin sometime in 2007 or 2008.

Kielce Pogrom. In the aftermath of the Holocaust and the liberation of the Jews from Nazi captivity, many of those who had survived returned to their home towns searching for loved ones and/or in the quest to reestablish their lives. About two hundred of these returned to the city of Kielce, in southern Poland. They arrived at a time that was not favorable for Jews. Many Poles were opposed to a Jewish return, and a deep-seated antisemitic tradition, dating from well before World War II, did not create welcoming conditions for them. Some, if not many, Poles also feared they would have to surrender their illegal possession of Jewish property and homesites that they had acquired upon the deportation and/or arrest of the Jews. Furthermore, Jews were increasingly seen as agents

for the occupying Soviet troops and the Polish communists who had been installed in Warsaw on orders from Moscow. An extremist right-wing group, *Narodowe Sily Zbrojne* (National Defense Force), was even known to have pulled returning Jews off trains and murdered them. Across Poland, it was estimated that up to four hundred Jews were murdered between February and September 1946.

On July 4, 1946, a nine-year-old Polish boy, Henryk Blaszczyk, was reported missing in Kielce. His father accused returning Jews of kidnapping his son, and the townsfolk, emulating anti-Jewish pogroms from earlier times, began to clamor for the destruction of the entire Jewish community. A blood libel was invoked that the Jews had wanted the boy's blood for ritual purposes. Marching into the Jewish quarter—which was already largely depopulated because of the losses of the Holocaust—the mob, which comprised townsfolk of all ages, went on a violent rampage. Synagogues and homes were burned, and the Jewish Community Center was besieged. Police assisted in luring Jews out of their hiding places, only to hand them over to the mob. Ransacking the Jewish district lasted throughout the day and well into the night. At the Jewish Community Center, the panic-stricken pleas of the community leaders over the phone to the local bishop, and other nearby figures of authority, fell on deaf ears. By the time the mob's frenzy had abated, forty-two Jews, most of them survivors of Nazi concentration and death camps, had been murdered. About fifty others were injured, some seriously. As for Henryk Blaszczyk, the boy whose disappearance had initiated the pogrom, it was later discovered that his father had earlier sent the boy away to the next town in order to support the prearranged kidnapping story. The Kielce Pogrom was a tragic addendum to the Nazi Holocaust, and a signal to Jews throughout Europe that Poland was no longer a country in which they could feel safe.

Kigali Memorial Centre. The Kigali Memorial Centre, which was opened on the tenth anniversary (April 2004) of the 1994 Rwandan genocide, is located on a hillside where over two hundred fifty thousand people are buried. The Museum at the Centre, which was created by a joint partnership of the Kigali City Council and the British-based Aegis Trust, contains three permanent exhibitions: one of the Rwandan genocide, one of other genocides perpetrated in the twentieth century, and one that provides unique insights into the mass killing of young, innocent children at the hands of the perpetrators. Included within the Centre's complex are The Education Centre, Memorial Gardens, and National Documentation Centre of the Genocide.

“Kill Them All. God Will Know His Own!” See Amaury, Arnold.

Killing Fields, The. A term coined to refer to both the mass killing perpetrated by the Khmer Rouge in Cambodia between 1975 and 1979 and the location of the mass graves of those killed during that genocidal period. The killings and graves were and are, respectively, located in virtually every region of the country, evidence of the genocidal character of the Khmer Rouge's policy of a total eradication of all those (outside of the most senior echelons of the Communist Party of Kampuchea) who had been influenced by foreign ideas, education, and customs. The goal was to reconstruct an authentic Khmer society and culture, literally from the roots up. Aerial photography has helped locate many of the main mass gravesites, the best known of which is to be found at Choeng Ek, about seventeen kilometers south of the capital of Phnom Penh. Most bodies at that location have been disinterred as a way of determining the totality of the victimization that took place during the genocide. Estimates overall consider that up to 2 million people—one-quarter of the population—were killed and buried. Although the term *killing fields* is

most commonly applied to the murder sites of Cambodia, it has entered general parlance more widely in recent times. Hence, reference is known to have been made to the killing fields of Ukraine, Bosnia, Iraq, East Timor, Rwanda, and Sudan in contemporary scholarship.

Killing Fields, The. *The Killing Fields* is a major feature film about the story of one man caught up in the genocide perpetrated by the Khmer Rouge in Cambodia (1975–1979). It tells the story of one Dith Pran (b. 1942), who had served as an assistant to noted *New York Times* journalist Sydney H. Schanberg (b. 1934), and who, with Schanberg, chose to remain in the capital city of Phnom Penh as it was being overrun by the Khmer Rouge on April 17, 1975. Ultimately, Schanberg was allowed to leave Democratic Kampuchea (which the Khmer Rouge rebels had renamed Cambodia), but Pran was forced out into the countryside with millions of other Cambodian citizens, where the Khmer Rouge worked and starved them to death and/or murdered them at will. It is estimated that between 1 and 2 million of Cambodia's 6 to 7 million perished during the rule of the Khmer Rouge.

Kim Il-sung (1912–1994). Communist dictator of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) from its establishment in 1948 until his death in 1994. Under his absolute rule, vast numbers of people were killed by deliberate action for purely political reasons. After fighting for the Soviet Union during World War II (rising to the rank of captain), and with long-standing connections in the Chinese Communist Party, Kim was appointed prime minister of the DPRK upon its independence. On June 25, 1950, with the authorization of the Soviets and Chinese, Kim launched an invasion of the Republic of South Korea, whose president at that time was Syngman Rhee (1875–1965). In the resultant Korean War (1950–1953), hundreds of thousands of people on both sides were killed and millions were displaced. It is next to impossible to calculate how many murders were committed in Kim's name or on his orders, but it is known, for example, that prisoners of war were murdered in their tens of thousands. After the war, Kim tightened his control of the country by purging his party and establishing a vast ring of political labor camps—the North Korean gulag—throughout the country. Millions were mobilized into huge economic infrastructure projects (road making, dam construction, bridge building, irrigation drainage, and the like), during which scores of thousands died as a result of exposure, starvation, and overwork. As Kim developed a “personality cult” around himself, more people were murdered by the state as dissenters, more were sent to the gulag, and more died of starvation and overwork as major projects were created in the “Great Leader's” honor. When, in the 1960s, Kim launched the DPRK on a policy of *juche*, or “self-reliance,” the country slid further into despair owing to a massive reduction in what few economic relationships remained after two decades of war, centralized economic control, and repression. The future, by 1980, was one of unmitigated gloom. But this would be for Kim's successor—his son, Kim Jong Il (b. 1942)—to have to deal with. On July 8, 1994, Kim Il-sung died of a heart attack. U.S. political scientist R. J. Rummel (b. 1932), attempting to provide some sort of estimate of the number of killed under Kim's rule, has calculated figures of “perhaps from 710,000 to slightly under 3,500,000 . . . with a mid-estimate of almost 1,600,000” (<http://www.hawaii.edu/powerkills/SOD.CHAP10.HTM>). Per head of population, this places Kim Il-sung in the forefront of mass killers during the twentieth century.

Kishinev Pogrom. In April 1903, the most notorious pogrom in early twentieth century Russia took place in the city of Kishinev, the capital of Bessarabia, in Russia's

south. It is estimated that some fifty thousand Jews lived in the city (nearly half of the overall population), and, although they had previously experienced some degree of antisemitism, the pogroms that had beset Russian Jewish communities since 1881 had so far bypassed by Kishinev's Jews. On the night of April 6–7, 1903, however, the situation in Kishinev took a turn for the worse, prompted largely by the antisemitic rabble-rousing of P. A. Krushevan (1860–1909), the editor of the reactionary local newspaper *Bessarabets*. On that night, and in another pogrom on April 19–20, fifty-one Jews were killed on the spot, and eight more died subsequently. Eighty-six were seriously wounded or raped, and another five hundred received lesser injuries. More than fifteen hundred Jewish-owned properties (homes and businesses) were destroyed outright or otherwise damaged. Although there was a measure of Jewish self-defense, it was ultimately ineffectual owing to the intervention of the Russian military on the side of the pogromists.

The horror of the Kishinev pogrom was reported throughout Russia and the rest of the world. The most influential Russian thinker and writer of the age, Leo Tolstoy (1828–1910), saw Kishinev as an issue worthy of tsarist condemnation. The man who would later be dubbed the poet laureate of the Jewish people, Chaim Nachman Bialik (1873–1934), wrote one of his most famous poems on the pogrom (“On the Slaughter”) after he had gone to the city to investigate for himself what had happened there. The leader of the Zionist movement, Theodor Herzl (1860–1904), traveled to Russia a few months after the pogrom to try to convince the minister of the interior, Vyacheslav Konstantinovich von Plehve (1846–1904), to relax restrictions against Jews trying to develop the Zionist movement seeking a homeland in Palestine. In western Europe and the United States, the Kishinev pogrom turned the spotlight directly onto the conduct of the tsar's government and held it up as the kind of regime that could not be trusted to look after its own people.

The death of those at Kishinev inaugurated the new twentieth century as one in which Jews throughout Russia (and Europe) would suffer as no other Jewish community had ever before suffered; but the irony is that the outrage expressed by democratic nations in 1903 was not to be carried very far forward when persecution of Jews intensified to proportions hitherto unforeseen during the period of the Holocaust years (1933–1945).

Klemperer, Victor (1881–1960). See *I Will Bear Witness: A Diary of the Nazi Years—1933–1941* and *I Will Bear Witness: A Diary of the Nazi Years—1942–1945* by Victor Klemperer.

KOLAKOPS. KOLAKOPS is an acronym for the Indonesian military unit Komando Pelaksanaan Operasi TNI, or Operations Implementation Command for the TNI (Indonesian armed forces). Essentially responsible for counter-insurgency activities, KOLAKOPS units were established during Indonesia's rule over East Timor (particularly between 1989 and 1993), and continued to be used in Indonesia's long-running war for the control of its breakaway province of Aceh during 2001. In most cases, they are under the command of senior officers of the TNI or KOPASSUS, the much feared Special Forces. The fact that KOLAKOPS commands are specially created and sit outside of regular military command structures gives them wide discretionary powers not normally found in the Indonesian military's rules of engagement; consequently, abuses of civilians, torture of prisoners, and even massacres of local folk can and do take place under KOLAKOPS administrations with impunity. (An example of the latter took place in November 1991, when mourners at the Santa Cruz cemetery in Dili, East Timor, were

fired upon by KOPASSUS troops, with substantial loss of life.) KOLAKOPS commands have not been established in all areas where Indonesia has experienced civil or separatist strife (e.g., in Papua), but their presence in specific conflicts has indicated a special determination on the part of the military to deal with such conflicts with a vigor not usual in regular commands of the TNI.

Kosovo Force (KFOR). The international force especially formed and headed up by NATO to enforce a diplomatic settlement/agreement in Kosovo between warring Kosovar Albanians and Serbs in the late 1990s.

Kosovo Intervention, and Allegations of a Serb-perpetrated Genocide. In the aftermath of Serbia's failed wars to retain Slovenia and Croatia, and the drawn-out and bloody conflict in Bosnia-Herzegovina between 1992 and 1995 (resulting in a quarter of a million deaths), it was hoped by many that Serbia's nationalist regime, led by Slobodan Milosevic (1941–2006), would rejoin the world of peaceable nations. In March 1998, however, violence once more erupted, this time in Serbia itself—or, more specifically, in its southern province of Kosovo. The long-term ethnic and religious animosity between minority Serbs and majority Kosovar Albanians in the province led to the establishment of a self-defense organization, the Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA), that engaged in terrorist activities in order to attract international attention to their cause and at the same time intimidate Serbs in the province to leave Kosovo. Serbian responses took a military form, with widespread killings of Kosovar civilians taking place—particularly, though not exclusively, in areas well-known as KLA strongholds such as the Drenica Valley. Increasingly, the United States and its European allies saw a need to intervene before this state-initiated killing got totally out of hand: the result was the decision by NATO, after many serious attempts at negotiation, to commence military action against Serbia in March 1999. The hope was that this would coerce Milosevic into halting the attacks against the Kosovars, but the opposite took place: rather than succumbing, Milosevic took the chance afforded by NATO's intervention to attempt to “ethnically cleanse” Kosovo of Albanians. During Serbia's war with NATO, 1.3 million Kosovars were forcibly driven from their homes, and eight hundred thousand were physically expelled from Kosovo. Thousands were killed, raped, and maimed in the process. It is from these actions that accusations of genocide have their roots.

Kosovo Intervention, Serb Claims of Genocide. Accusations of genocide committed by NATO during its military intervention into Kosovo for the purpose of stopping the ethnic cleansing being perpetrated against the province's Kosovar Albanian population by the Serbian regime of Slobodan Milosevic (1941–2006), during the spring of 1999. Such accusations emerged both during and after the conflict. This was one of a number of tactics employed by the Serbian government of Slobodan Milosevic (1941–2006) to discredit NATO's war effort and turn world opinion against NATO. During the conflict, Serbian authorities in Belgrade and abroad claimed that NATO had carried out war crimes against civilians, in particular through the use of cluster bombs against civilian targets and attacks on facilities with dual civilian and military usages—for instance, the state-run Serb television headquarters in Belgrade. In another example, there was evidence of use being made of depleted uranium weapons by NATO aircraft, though this was not considered to be a war crime under existing international laws of war. The NATO campaign did cause serious damage to the environment, and questions were certainly raised in international arenas regarding NATO's selection of bombing targets, particularly

later in the war. More importantly for Serb claims of genocide was the targeting of urban concentrations, with the attendant civilian deaths caused by direct military action. Estimates of the number killed vary; Serb sources calculated anywhere between twelve hundred and five thousand civilian deaths, whereas a Human Rights Watch report from February 2000 concluded that about five hundred civilians died. Although such deaths are of course a tragedy, there is no evidence to show that they were caused by a NATO policy of genocide—though in some instances specific incidents could come very close to a definition of war crimes (and, perhaps, of crimes against humanity). The Serb claim of genocide was for the most part an element of a broader anti-NATO propaganda campaign waged during the conflict.

Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA). The Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA), or, in Albanian, *Ushtria Çlirimtare e Kosovës* (UÇK), was a paramilitary body composed of Kosovar Albanians during the 1990s. Though labeled a terrorist organization by the Serbs, it functioned more as a guerrilla or insurgent army, and, in 1998, was estimated to have a membership of almost twenty thousand troops, including former Yugoslavian military, and mercenaries, from such countries as Albania, Saudi Arabia, Yemen, and Afghanistan. Ideologically committed to a separatist nationalist outlook, the KLA found some of its adherents comfortable in the fascist camp, whereas others favored a more communist line; politically, however, the KLA continued to suffer from a lack of both leadership and unity. Their military modus vivendi, however, was always and increasingly violent. Their announced intention was to unite all Albanians into a greater Albania, including independence for Kosovo itself. Founded in Macedonia in 1992, the KLA was an underground movement organized by Kosovar Albanian militants, which began carrying out armed attacks against Serbian police in 1995. The KLA was, at first, comprised of several hundred radical Kosovar secessionists who opposed the more moderate majority, led by their prime minister-in-waiting, Ibrahim Rugova (1944–2006), whose preference throughout the 1990s was to seek compromise with Serbian president Slobodan Milosevic (1941–2006) in order to avoid violence. Following the bloody events in Bosnia between 1992 and 1995, the KLA rejected this as utopian. Receiving arms smuggled from Albania, the KLA launched its own campaign of reprisals, prompting Milosevic, in March 1999, to set in motion what became known in the West as “Operation Horseshoe,” a campaign in which Serbian military and paramilitary forces were sent into Kosovo to initiate another round of ethnic cleansing. Within days, nearly 1 million Kosovars fled their homes, crossing into Macedonia and Albania. The attack was halted by NATO bombings of Serb positions, first in Kosovo and then in Serbia itself, between March and June 1999. The aftermath, in which Milosevic surrendered the province, saw the insertion of UN peace-keeping troops, allowing the refugees to return. In 1999, after the fall of Milosevic, the KLA was supposed to be demilitarized, but this was never fully accomplished. Indeed, under the cover of the UN, the KLA then waged a war of its own, seeking to expel Serbs, Roma, and non-Albanian Muslims from Kosovo. Repeated calls from the UN troops for the KLA to disarm and disband were defiantly ignored. Instead, the KLA continued to “cleanse” Kosovo of its ethnic minorities. To date, few Serbian refugees have managed to return. Many who have stayed live in fear for their lives; ethnic killings by the KLA are frequent and carried out with impunity, as KFOR (Kosovo Force), the NATO led and UN-authorized international peace-enforcement force responsible for establishing and maintaining security in the province, has often shown itself unable to curb the killing.

Since the KLA's formation, the militants have won the support of a clear majority of the Kosovar Albanians. The former moderates seem to have lost popularity. Politically, those sympathetic to the KLA cause have gained commanding social and political posts. The KLA is now the de facto army of Kosovo, poised to make independence a reality before foreign troops leave.

Kristallnacht (German, "Night of the Broken Glass"). *Kristallnacht* refers to the far from spontaneous Nazi pogrom carried out in Germany and Austria on the night of November 9–10, 1938 (and into the day of November 10), against Jewish stores and synagogues in retaliation for the fatal wounding of the third secretary of the German embassy in Paris, Ernst vom Rath (1909–1938), by sixteen-year-old Hershel Grynszpan (1921–1943?), whose parents and sister, originally from Poland, were relocated across the border where they were forced to live in destitute and squalid conditions. There is ample evidence that proves that the attacks themselves were carefully orchestrated by the Nazis (including Josef Goebbels [1897–1945], minister of propaganda), with the apparent consent of German dictator Adolf Hitler (1889–1945) and with the collusion of the police. The term *Kristallnacht* itself is an invented one, and does not appear anywhere in official Nazi documents.

According to a report by the SS (in German, *Schutzstaffeln*, or "protective unit," Hitler's private body guard that was notorious for its vicious treatment of the Nazis' perceived enemies) report, more than thirty thousand Jews were arrested (many of them later released), eight hundred fifteen shops and twenty-nine department stores owned by Jews destroyed, many more than two hundred sixty synagogues and cemeteries vandalized, and ninety-one Jews killed outright (with many others in the concentration camps themselves). It has also been estimated that more than seven thousand five hundred Jewish-owned businesses were vandalized overall. The actual cost of the damages inflicted was more than 25 million Reichmarks, for which the Jews themselves were held liable, as well as a fine of more than 1 billion Reichmarks as "reparations." Western outrage at these events, particularly the United States, did not appear to have any appreciable effect upon the Nazi agenda of forced takeover of Jewish businesses, the speeding up of Jewish emigration, or the increasing violence against, and incarceration of Jews. These events are now understood to have paved the way for the near-successful annihilation of European Jewry in the years that followed.

Kristof, Nicholas D. (b. 1959). A political scientist, author, and a columnist for *The New York Times*. Kristof traveled to Darfur, Sudan, during the period of the genocide there (2003–2007) and wrote one article after another about the genocidal actions of Government of Sudan (GOS) troops and the *Janjaweed* (Arab militia), the plight and fate of the black African victims, and the inaction by the international community to halt the genocide. For the powerful series of articles he wrote on Darfur, Kristof won his second Pulitzer Prize (the first was for his and his wife's coverage of the Tiananmen Square Massacre in China in 1989). In awarding the 2006 Pulitzer to Kristof, the Pulitzer Committee noted that it was "for his graphic, deeply reported columns that, at personal risk, focused attention on genocide in Darfur and that gave voice to the voiceless in other parts of the world."

Krstic, Radislav (b. 1948). Radislav Krstic was born in Vlasenica, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and became a career soldier. After the secession of Bosnia from Yugoslavia on April 6, 1992, he was appointed chief of staff and deputy commander of the Drina Corps, one of six

geographically based corps in the Army of Republika Srpska (VRS), under the command of General Milenko Zivanovic (b. 1946). In this role, Krstic was closely involved in the Bosnian Serb attacks on the city of Srebrenica, a United Nations–protected “safe area,” in July 1995. Sometime between July 11 and July 13—there is disagreement as to when the transfer of command took place—Krstic was placed in command of the Drina Corps, at the height of the Serb assault. By this stage, Srebrenica was in the process of being “ethnically cleansed” in line with the declared policy of VRS commander general Ratko Mladic (b. 1942). On July 12 and 13, women, children, and the elderly, then sheltering in the UN base at Potocari, about five kilometers from Srebrenica, were put onto buses and deported en masse to Bosnian lines far from Srebrenica; such men as had not yet fled the city were separated from the women, children, and the elderly, loaded on buses and trucks, taken out into the hills surrounding the city, and slaughtered. Ultimately, troops under Krstic’s command murdered between seven thousand and eight thousand Muslim men and boys, which is now regarded as Europe’s worst atrocity since the Holocaust of World War II. When the Srebrenica operation began, Krstic was in charge of planning and executing the campaign, under Zivanovic and Mladic, and it was for the crimes committed during this campaign that Krstic was indicted by the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY) on October 30, 1998.

Through November 1998, Krstic led an open life in Republika Srpska, being promoted to the rank of general major and placed in command of the Fifth Corps of the VRS in April 1998. On December 2, 1998, however, he was arrested by soldiers of the United Nations Stabilization Force for Bosnia-Herzegovina (SFOR), and was transferred for trial to The Hague the next day, where he was charged with genocide, crimes against humanity, and war crimes. On August 2, 2001, Krstic was found guilty on all counts and sentenced to forty-six years’ imprisonment, but, on appeal, his sentence was reduced to thirty-five years as the appeals court found that he was an accomplice to the crimes he had committed and not their instigator. He was transferred to the United Kingdom on December 20, 2004, where he is currently serving his sentence.

Kulak. Traditionally, the use of the word *kulak* in the Soviet Union referred to those peasants who were relatively well off economically. Officially, it was used by Soviet officials to refer to “a rural capitalist who hired labor,’ a ‘generic rural class enemy,’ or a member of the upper socio-economic stratum of the village” (Commission on the Ukraine Famine, 1988, p. 230). During the 1932–1933 Soviet man-made famine in Ukraine, *kulak*, however, was used by Soviet officials to refer to anyone, no matter how poor, that they (the officials) wanted to disenfranchise in the Ukraine. In fact, if the “class enemy’ marked for ‘liquidation’ was too poor for the term *kulak* to be used, he would be disenfranchised as a *subkulak*” (Commission on the Ukraine Famine, 1988, p. 230).

The Soviets had multiple goals in carrying out the famine, but three of the major ones were: (1) the forced collectivization of agriculture on the basis of the liquidation of the *kulaks* as a class; (2) the destruction of the Ukrainian nation as a political factor and social organization; and (3) a move toward rapid industrialization.

Ultimately, those who were starved to death during the man-made famine included anyone residing in the Ukraine (no matter how impoverished they were) who appeared in any way, shape, or form to resist the forced collectivization of agricultural.

Kuper, Leo (1908–1994). Considered one of the doyens of genocide studies, Kuper, a South African sociologist and lawyer who last taught at the University of California at

Los Angeles (UCLA), was the author of two early and influential works on genocide: *Genocide: Its Political Use in the Twentieth Century* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1981) and *The Prevention of Genocide* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1985).

Kurdish Genocide in Northern Iraq. The Kurdish population of Iraq in the mid-1980s numbered some 4 million, or about 22 percent of the overall Iraqi people. For much of the rule of Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein (1937–2006), the Kurds, a non-Arab Muslim people, were discriminated against and, at different times, subjected to policies of ethnic cleansing and genocide. In March 1988, Iraqi aircraft bombed the Kurdish city of Halabja with chemical weapons, the most dramatic (though not the only) instance of many uses of such weapons in the first phase of the Iraqi campaign against the Kurds which had begun the previous year. A series of offensives were launched against Kurdish guerrillas fighting alongside Iranian troops as part of the wider Iran-Iraq conflict (1980–1988), and entire villages were leveled. Men were separated from women and children, with the latter concentrated in internment camps. It was later estimated that some one hundred thousand men had been killed, and buried in mass graves far to the south; at least four thousand Kurdish villages were destroyed, and with them much of the fabric of Kurdish society in the areas targeted by the Iraqi military.

Kurdish Genocide in Northern Iraq, U.S. Response to. Well aware of the genocidal (*Al-Anfal*) campaign (1986–1989) waged against the Kurds in northern Iraq by Iraqi president Saddam Hussein (1937–2006), the U.S. government of President Ronald Reagan (1911–2004) chose not to condemn Hussein's policy for fear of alienating him and placing the continued supply of Middle East oil in jeopardy. Concomitantly, during the Iran-Iraq War between 1980 and 1988, Washington took the position that those fighting the ayatollahs in Iran were to be supported, and this meant Saddam Hussein's Iraq—the same government that was persecuting, gassing, and slaughtering the Kurds living in the north of the country. The Kurds' situation was not helped by the fact that they were themselves siding with Iran in its war with Iraq.

Proposals in the U.S. Congress for the imposition of economic sanctions against the Iraqis were effectively killed off by the White House, supported behind closed doors by influential lobby groups from big business interests. The most common response by the United States to allegations of genocide by Iraq was for the United States to announce that a fact-finding mission or investigative team was being put together to inquire into the allegations. The United States' policies were thus dictated by *realpolitik* concerns, not by humanitarianism in the face of genocide and gross violations of human rights.

Kutner, Luis (1908–1993). A lawyer and author, Kutner was a cofounder of the noted human rights organization Amnesty International (1961), and was a strong advocate of World Habeas Corpus, an international tribunal established to resolve conflict between nations. Among his most noted writings are *World Habeas Corpus: A Proposal for an International Court of Habeas Corpus and the United Nations Writ of Habeas Corpus* (Chicago, IL: World Freedom Press, 1958), and *World Habeas Corpus* (Dobbs Ferry, NY: Oceana Publications, 1962).

L

Land of Wandering Souls. This 1999 film, which was produced by Rithy Panh, who, as a teenager, fled the Khmer Rouge takeover in Cambodia, is about a group of survivors of the Cambodian genocide (1975–1979). It depicts some Cambodian families digging trenches amid “human minefields” (the wasted and the dead) in order to lay a fiber-optic cable network from east to west. In doing so, the group not only travels across the countryside but retraces their history.

Language and Genocide. The language and syntax employed by those engaging in genocide ranges from the use of extremely blunt language to deceptive euphemisms. In some cases, it is the combination of the two. For example, the Nazi phrase “The Final Solution of the Jewish Question” (*Die Endlösung des Judenfrage*) embodies both elements.

The finality of genocide is often expressed in absolutes: *annihilate*, *eradicate*, *destroy*. Such words convey the violence of physical destruction associated with genocide. In contrast, *deportations*, *resettlement*, *special treatment*, and *shower* have all served as euphemisms for killing.

Most, if not all, genocides use a vocabulary to depict the hated target, the one to be obliterated. For example, *subhuman*, *cockroach*, *microbes*, *dogs*, *pigs*, *cancer*, *virus*, *life-unworthy-of-life*, and *excrement* were used by various perpetrators of genocide in the twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. Although some of the latter terms depict a target that is less than human, others depict something that is dangerous and harmful to humanity and needs to be removed for the sake of humanity’s safety.

The language of genocide is always an egregious exaggeration of reality and fantasy, and the genocidal mind expresses itself in apocalyptic terms and in polarized terms such as “us versus them.” Indeed, it sees the world in terms of rival races, nations, religions, and classes. In the language of genocide, there is also often an element of pornography, with references to perversity as a means of further demonizing the stereotyping of the hate-object—the easier to justify carrying out extreme measures.

Ultimately, the language of genocide serves as a prelude to physical violence; it is its precursor, resorting to words that rationalize and exhort a population into accepting that turning to violent means is legitimate. Given its two faces of extremism and euphemism, the language of genocide can and does veer from the brutal to the benign, from the cruel and the threatening to the seemingly condescending. Its practitioners are adept at both, creating an atmosphere of profound uncertainty, insecurity, and isolation in the ranks of the victims.

Last Days of the Jerusalem of Lithuania: Chronicles from the Vilna Ghetto and the Camps, 1929–1944. Written by Herman Kruk (1897–1944), *The Last Days of the*

Jerusalem of Lithuania: Chronicles from the Vilna Ghetto and the Camps, 1929–1944, is an extremely informative and valuable diary that constitutes one of the major sources available on the life and death of the Jews of Vilna during the Holocaust. An acute observer, Kruk writes about the problems and dilemmas faced by the ghetto's leadership, the efforts of the resistance movement, and the Vilna Jews' incredible efforts to maintain a strong cultural, ideological, and social life in the midst of degradation, despair, and death. The journal covers the period of the ghetto from September 7, 1941, through its liquidation in July 14, 1943. It also chronicles the collapse of Poland (September 1939–June 1941), the destruction of Jewish Vilna (June 22, 1941–September 6, 1941), and life in various camps in Estonia (August 1943 and September 1944). Kruk wrote his final diary entry on September 17, 1944, just before he and other inmates were shot to death.

Last Just Man, The. This 2001 documentary focuses on the life and thoughts of Canadian lieutenant general Romeo Dallaire (b. 1946), the man who was in charge of the UN peace-keeping mission in Rwanda prior to, during, and following the 1994 genocide when some five hundred thousand to 1 million Tutsi and moderate Hutu were killed in one hundred days. *The Last Just Man* portrays Dallaire as a haunted man who continues, years after the horrific genocide that he witnessed up close, to question whether he could have done more to attempt to halt the genocide. Making use of interview footage and scenes from Rwanda, the film does a good job of recapturing the turmoil—political, civil, and emotional—of the 1994 Rwandan genocide and the harrowing impact it has had on Dallaire as a man.

Laval, Pierre (1883–1945). Four-time prime minister of France (1931–1932, 1932; 1935–1936, and 1942–1944), Pierre Laval last served under the pro-German, antisemitic, and collaborationist Vichy government of Field Marshal Philippe Pétain (1856–1951), first as vice premier and then as prime minister, for which, after World War II, he would be tried as a traitor to France and executed. During his fourth term in office, he suffered an assassination attempt, having been shot four times while reviewing troops in Paris.

Originally opposed to Nazi Germany during its early years, Laval unsuccessfully attempted to enter into an alliance with the Italy of dictator Benito Mussolini (1883–1945) to strengthen his own political power. With the German occupation of France (1940), however, his allegiance turned, and he wholeheartedly supported Vichy France's pro-Nazi and antisemitic positions. In fact, he is credited with designing and implementing the antisemitic policies of the Vichy government, including the roundup and transport of French Jews to the death camps in Poland. At the end of World War II, he fled to Spain, was extradited to Austria, and was turned over to U.S. troops, who handed him over to the French for trial and execution.

Law for the Protection of German Blood and German Honor (German, *Gesetz zum Schutz des deutschen Blutes und der deutschen Ehre*). Adopted unanimously on September 15, 1935 (out of the Nazis' concern for "safeguarding" the "purity" of "German blood")—the same day the *Reichstag* (German parliament) unanimously adopted the Nuremberg Laws on Citizenship and Race (the so-called *Reichsbürgergesetz*)—the Law for the Protection of German Blood and German Honor consisted of the following seven sections: (1) marriages between Jews and German nationals or those of "kindred blood" were forbidden; (2) relations outside of marriage between Jews and German nationals or those of kindred blood were also forbidden; (3) female German nationals or those of kindred blood under the age of forty-five could no longer be employed in Jewish households; (4) Jews were henceforth forbidden to hoist the German and Reich flags or "present the colors of the Reich," though they could present "the Jewish colors"; (5) punishment for violations of sec-

tions [1] and [2] were to be imprisonment with hard labor; violations of sections [3] and [4] were imprisonment of one year and monetary fines; (6) implementation and supplementation of this law was the responsibility of the Reich minister of the interior; and (7) the law was to take effect on September 16, 1935, with the exception of section [3] which was to become effective on January 1, 1936. The law was signed into effect at the Nuremberg Party Rally of Freedom by Führer and Reich Chancellor Adolf Hitler (1889–1945); Reich Minister of the Interior Wilhelm Frick (1877–1946); Reich Minister of Justice Dr. Franz Goertner; and Deputy of the Führer Rudolf Hess (1894–1987). (For the purpose of this and other Nazi legislation and related activities, a “Jew” was defined as someone with least three Jewish grandparents. This was the Nazi definition.)

Law for the Restoration of the Professional Civil Service (German, *Gesetz zur Wiederherstellung des Berufsbeamtentums*). This was one of the earliest, most significant, and devastating anti-Jewish laws passed by Nazi Germany (April 7, 1933). It mandated that “civil servants of non-Aryan descent must retire.” It also meant that Jews could no longer be employed as teachers in schools, professors in universities, or judges in the court system. As a favor to President Paul von Hindenburg (1847–1934), those Jews who had served as frontline soldiers in World War I were exempt from this anti-Jewish law (but this was to be short-lived).

The law was passed by the Nazi-controlled government of Germany, barely two months after Adolf Hitler (1889–1945) took office. The law itself was originally written by Interior Minister Wilhelm Frick (1877–1946), who was later executed for war crimes by the Allies at Nuremberg. Upon von Hindenburg’s death in 1934, the law was amended to include all Jews yet remaining in governmental positions.

Relatively brief, consisting of only seven sections, divided into four parts, the antisemitic heart of the legislation was Part 3, Section 1, which stated: “Civil servants who are not of Aryan descent are to be retired; if they are honorary officials, they are to be dismissed from their official office.” (As originally written, Section 2 stated the following: “Section 1 does not apply to civil servants in office from August 1, 1914, who fought at the Front for the German Reich or its Allies in the World War, or whose fathers or sons fell in the World War.”)

Lawyers Committee for Human Rights. The Lawyers Committee for Human Rights, which has offices in New York City and Washington, D.C., works in the United States and abroad in an effort to create a secure and humane world by advancing justice, human dignity, and respect for the rule of law. It supports human rights activists who fight for basic freedoms and peaceful change at the local level; protects refugees in flight from persecution and repression; and helps to build a strong international system of justice and accountability for the worst human rights crimes.

Le Chambon-sur-Lignon. Le Chambon-sur-Lignon is the Huguenot Protestant village in southern France which sheltered and saved between three thousand and five thousand Jews during the Nazi period, 1941–1944, under the direction of its pastor André Trocmé (1901–1971). The heroism of the villagers and their leader have acquired international fame as a result of Phillip Hallie’s (1979) book *Lest Innocent Blood Be Shed: The Story of Le Chambon and How Goodness Happened There*, and Jewish survivor Pierre Sauvage’s (who was born in the village) 1989 documentary film *Weapons of the Spirit*. Many of the inhabitants, including the Pastor Trocmé, have been designated “Righteous Gentiles” (i.e., the phrase for non-Jews who risked their lives saving Jews during the Holocaust) by Yad Vashem, Israel’s Holocaust Memorial Authority.

League of Nations, and Intervention. The League of Nations was formally established in 1919, a direct consequence of World War I (1914–1918) and the failure of international diplomacy to maintain the peace. In its attempts at creating a new order for the world based on open diplomacy, fairness, and the rule of law, the League adopted a procedure based on dialogue, conferencing, and negotiation rather than multilateral intervention in order to reduce the risk of conflict. The principle of nonintervention was rooted in a preexisting belief in the inviolability of the state, as guaranteed by the Treaty of Westphalia (1648). The League, so closely bound up in the post–World War I peace settlements, found itself a prisoner of the very structures it was attempting to control—*realpolitik*, a states system, secret diplomacy, and the impunity of states acting contrary to the common international good. The League was only ever as powerful as the resolve of its member states, and none were at any stage prepared to surrender any portion of their sovereignty in favor of an international ideal that had never before been tried. The key doctrine determining the League’s attitude toward global security was thus an extension of the old idea of collective security, only now it was on a much bigger scale than had ever been the case in the past. In this sense, the League was not as revolutionary as many initially hoped it would be; but its novelty lay in the fact that it was the first attempt of its kind, and, as such, it did not act as much more than an experimental undertaking in an untried area of international cooperation. Given this, such notions as multilateral intervention for the purpose of peace making, peace enforcement, or peacekeeping were neither suggested nor tried under the League of Nations. It took the failure of that body, a second world war, and a new international organization—the United Nations—to realize the necessity of cutting through the structures that had so impeded the League’s ability to act.

Lebensborn (German, “Fountain of Life”). The Nazi program of selective breeding of its population to produce a superior or “master” race. Without benefit of marriage, German women who met stringent physical standards were urged to produce children with SS men who met the same standards of height, weight, blond hair, blue eyes, and athleticism. Upon conception, these women were sent to special maternity homes where they were cared for until the birth of their children. The program, however, did not prove successful, and, in 1942, the term *Lebensborn* became a code term for the kidnapping of Polish and other children who met these idealized characteristics and were placed in German families. After the war, many of the actual records of such births and kidnappings were lost; thus, no actual numbers in either category can be accurately assessed.

Lebensraum (German, “Living Room,” or “Living Space”). A cornerstone of Nazi foreign policy was the belief of the inherent “right” of the so-called master race to appropriate whatever lands needed, primarily to the East, for the settlement, survival, and growth of its population. Not only the lands themselves but their populations were viewed as resources to be exploited. The concept itself preceded the rise of Adolf Hitler (1889–1945) and the Nazis and was already taught in German universities in the early 1920s, one possible adumbration of the political implications of social Darwinism. Hitler himself advocated such in his book *Mein Kampf*, with his argument of Germany’s “moral right” to acquire such lands and resources. Thus, the annexation of Austria, the takeover of the Sudetenland in Czechoslovakia, Poland, and parts of the Soviet Union may all be assessed from this understanding.

Lemkin, Raphael (1900–1959). Polish Jewish refugee, lawyer, and legal scholar, Lemkin was born in rural village of Bezwodene and is best remembered as the individual who coined the word *genocide* and who served as the motivating force behind the (1948) United Nations

Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (UNCG). It was Lemkin's enormous energy and resolve, and his personal commitment, above all else, that ultimately led to the passage of the UNCG. Indefatigable in his efforts, he wrote and rewrote drafts of legislation, cornered ambassadors and officials in the halls of power, and undertook voluminous correspondence encouraging individuals of note (e.g., governmental and religious officials) to support the development and ratification of the UNCG.

Lemkin studied law at the universities of Lvov, Poland, and Heidelberg, Germany, becoming, in 1927, Secretary to the War Court of Appeals. From 1929 to 1935 he served as Secretary of the Committee on the Codification of the Laws of the Polish Republic while maintaining a private legal practice. After the beginning of World War II and the invasion of Poland in 1939, he served briefly in the Polish underground, traveled to the United States in 1941, where he first taught law at Duke University and later at Yale University. Lemkin also served as adviser to the U.S. War Department, U.S. Board of Economic Warfare, and United States Supreme Court Justice Robert H. Jackson (1892–1954) in the latter's capacity as chief U.S. prosecutor at the International Military Tribunal, Nuremberg, Germany, 1945–1946.

Lemkin's (1944) magnum opus, *Axis Rule in Occupied Europe: Laws of Occupation, Analysis of Government, Proposals for Redress*, clearly spelled out his concerns with genocide (Chapter 9), though the origin of his thinking arose in his childhood and was part of his overall orientation already in the 1930s.

He died in 1959, unable to get his adopted country, the United States, to ratify the Genocide Convention.

A lengthy excerpt of Lemkin's unpublished autobiography, *Totally Unofficial Man*, has been published in Samuel Totten and Steven Leonard Jacobs's (Eds.) *Pioneers of Genocide Studies* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 2002, pp. 365–399).

Lenin, Vladimir Ilyich Ulyanov (1870–1924). Russian revolutionary, leader of the Bolshevik Party, and first premier of the Soviet Union. The son of a senior school inspector (which qualified him for one of the categories of hereditary nobility based on service), Vladimir Ilyich Ulyanov took the name “Lenin” as a revolutionary *nom de guerre*. In light of the terror he was to unleash in Russia, the name is not a little ironic in that it is based on the Russian root of *Lena*, the name of a peaceful Russian river in Siberia that he discovered while living in exile.

Lenin qualified for a career in law, but, by 1894, had become a full-time revolutionary, inspired by communist ideals. Arrested in late 1895 by the tsarist secret police, he was exiled to Siberia between 1896 and 1899 and then lived in self-imposed overseas exile for two periods, 1899–1905 and 1907–1917. As a revolutionary, Lenin made ends meet by lecturing, through party donations, and as editor of his party's newspaper, *Iskra* (*The Spark*). He returned to Russia for two years owing to the 1905 revolution but left again upon realizing that the *Duma* (parliament) did not fit his model of a true revolutionary body. When Russia collapsed into constitutional democratic revolution in February–March 1917, Lenin returned from exile in Switzerland as a result of a deal struck with the Germans: if he managed to attain power in Russia, he would extract it from the war against Germany. The coup d'état of the Bolshevik Party against the Provisional Government of Russia in October–November 1917 was exclusively Lenin's brainchild and achievement.

As a revolutionary leader Lenin quickly adopted totalitarian methods in order, first, to secure the Bolshevik Party's dominance throughout Russia and, second, to stave off the possibility of counterrevolution. He instituted a police state (and created a new secret police

force in order to achieve it, the *Cheka*) and suppressed all dissent ruthlessly. It was under Lenin's rule that the system of political concentration camps known as the gulag was established, and he initiated genocide against a Russian minority population known for their support of the tsar, the Cossacks. Under his reign of terror, millions of Russian and Soviet citizens died in the name of the Bolshevik Revolution. There is evidence that Lenin knew much of the extent of the destruction his party and its ideals had wrought, but this was not something that concerned him; for Lenin, the end—revolutionary success and the maintenance of the Soviet regime—justified whatever means were necessary to achieve it. The events his government set in motion by way of precedent enabled his successor Josef Stalin (1879–1953) to take the revolution to new and horrific levels of destruction.

Leopold II, King of the Belgians (1835–1909). Louis Philippe Marie Victor Saxe-Coburg, king of the Belgians, reigned from 1865 until his death in 1909. In 1876 he engaged an Anglo-American explorer and journalist, Henry Morton Stanley (1841–1904), to penetrate the interior of the Congo basin region of central Africa, having first established an International Association for the Exploration and Civilization of the Congo—a front for what can otherwise be referred to as a land grab. The subsequent creation of the Congo Free State, assented to by the European powers at the Berlin Conference of 1884–1885, enabled Leopold to transform the region into his personal empire. In the drive to exploit the Congo's resources, Leopold authorized all measures to be taken against the population in order to ensure maximum generation of wealth. Slave labor, floggings, mass mutilation for the most trivial of offenses, depopulation of whole districts in favor of land cultivation; anything was permissible. In minerals, in ivory harvesting, but above all in the manufacture of rubber, Leopold's agents spread throughout the country sowing devastation, mayhem, and death on a massive scale. Although all this contributed to Leopold's personal fortune, it also damned him in the view of international opinion once the worst excesses of his regime were exposed by critics from around the world. The first revelations came from an Englishman, Edward Dene Morel (1873–1924), but it was the investigative work of British diplomat Sir Roger Casement (1864–1916)—later to be hanged for his alleged role in Ireland's 1916 uprising—that mobilized world opinion against Leopold. Other critics included Joseph Conrad (1857–1924), Sir Arthur Conan Doyle (1859–1930), Mark Twain (1835–1910), and Booker T. Washington (1856–1915).

The world outcry was sufficient to force the Belgian government to take control of Leopold's Congo Free State in 1908. Under direct Belgian rule the worst excesses of Leopold's rule were slowly reduced, though little was done to develop the country for the Africans themselves. Even at the beginning of the independence movement, in the late 1950s, Leopold II's legacy still haunted the Congo—a legacy of massive death and devastation the country is still yet to surmount.

Lepsius, Johannes (1858–1926). Born in Potsdam, Germany, Lepsius was an evangelical Protestant clergyman who, in 1895, established the *Deutsche* (German) Orient Mission to run orphanages for Armenian children who had survived the Ottoman Turk-perpetrated massacres of 1894–1896. The following year he published his *Armenians and Europe*, wherein he detailed the atrocities committed under Sultan Abdul Hamid II (1876–1909). With the privately published *The Condition of the Armenian People in Turkey* in 1916, after the Ottoman Turk genocide of the Armenians (1915–1923) had begun, Lepsius fled from Germany to Holland, where he continued his activities. There, he published his *Germany and Armenia 1914–1918*, documenting German complicity in the genocide.

In Berlin, in 1921, he testified at the trial of Soghomon Tehlirian (1897–1960), the acquitted assassin of Talaat Pasha (1879–1921), Turkey’s former minister of the interior, and one of the triumvirate responsible for the genocide. He died in Italy in 1926 and is, today, much regarded by the worldwide Armenian community as a true “righteous hero.”

Lewis, Bernard (b. 1916). Professor emeritus at Princeton University, in the Department of Near Eastern Studies. Born in Britain, Lewis has had a long-standing reputation throughout the world as a knowledgeable and highly influential scholar of Middle Eastern history. In 1962, in his book *The Emergence of Modern Turkey*, Lewis described the events of the Armenian genocide as “the terrible Holocaust . . . when a million and a half Armenians vanished.” Over time, however, his views did an about-face, such that he began downplaying the fact of the genocide of late Ottoman history to the extent of actually denying a genocide took place at all. In June 1995, Lewis was found guilty, in a French court, for statements he made denying the Armenian genocide. In a civil case in which he was charged with causing damage to another party owing to his failure to address his responsibilities as a scholar, the court found him negligent of recognizing the truth of the issues he was discussing regarding the Armenian genocide. He was ordered to pay a fine of 10,000 francs for punitive damages (i.e., damages by way of “punishment” for offensive conduct) and court costs, and one franc to each of the two plaintiff parties to indicate that while the parties presented their cases successfully, they only deserved a symbolic amount of damages. Although the decision provoked a series of mixed reactions in U.S. and French newspapers (where *Le Monde* was forced by the court to report the decision, given that it was that paper that had originally published Lewis’s denial statements) regarding academic freedom and historical controversy, the decision was nonetheless an acceptance by a French court that the Armenian genocide was a judicial fact, and that as such it was not to be challenged for political or ideological reasons.

Libya, Genocide in. In January 1929, the Italian North African colonies of Tripolitania and Cyrenaica (now Libya) were united under the control of a fascist governor, General Pietro Badoglio (1871–1956). The imposition of close military rule over the colony by committed fascists, ready to obey the will of Italian dictator Benito Mussolini (1883–1945), met with resistance from Libya’s Arab population. Some Arabs had already been resisting Italian rule, based on both religious and nationalistic grounds; now, a wider assault on Italian colonialism developed. In response, between 1929 and 1932, a policy of what some have since described as genocide was inaugurated by Mussolini’s regime against the Libyans. The main perpetrators of the brutal suppression of the Libyan uprising were Badoglio, General Rodolfo Graziani (1882–1955), General Luigi Federzoni (1878–1967), and Mussolini himself. The acts undertaken included the gassing of villages, bombing of civilian areas from the air, and the introduction of concentration camps throughout the colony. These latter, at their maximum, incarcerated up to one hundred thousand people (men, women and children), at least half of whom died from violent treatment, neglect, disease and malnutrition. Overall, up to a hundred thousand people may have died throughout the colony during the fascist campaign. Contemporary Italian press reports, approved by the fascist censors, referred to the process as *cleansing*. Behavior such as that exhibited by Mussolini’s regime in Libya (and also later, after Italy’s 1935 invasion of Ethiopia) affirms the genocidal (and extremely violent) tendencies to be found within the ideology of fascism—tendencies that were to be further realized in the early 1940s through the actions of the German variant of Italian fascism, Nazism, in its campaigns against Jews, Roma and Sinti, Poles, and other peoples.

Lidice. A Czech town located in Bohemia, not far from Prague. The town was selected as the target of a reprisal against the Czech people (and to serve as a warning by example) for the assassination of Germany's Reich Protector of Bohemia and Moravia, Reinhard Heydrich (1904–1942), in early June 1942. On June 10, the Nazis targeted Lidice as the location that would suffer the full wrath of their vengeance for Heydrich's death, basing their decision on the erroneous belief that the inhabitants had helped the assassins. German security police began by surrounding the village and blocking all avenues of escape. The entire population was rounded up, and all males over fifteen years of age were imprisoned in a barn. They were shot the next day. Another nineteen men, who had been outside the village at work in a mine, and seven women previously undetected, were sent by the Nazis to Prague, where they were also shot. The rest of the women of Lidice were transferred to concentration camp at Ravensbrück, where about a quarter of them died before the liberation of the camp in 1945. The village's children were taken to a concentration camp in Lodz; a few, considered to be assimilable into German families as "Aryans" (the ideal German racial model), were sent on to Germany. The fate of the rest of the children is uncertain, though it is possible that they may have been sent to other Nazi extermination camps in Poland. Overall, estimates converge on a figure of some 340 people from Lidice who were murdered by the Nazis in this massacre, with 192 men, 60 women, and possibly up to 88 children slain. After destroying the people, the Nazis then moved in on the village itself, which was systematically destroyed and its name removed from all maps and official documents, as though it had never existed. The martyrdom of Lidice became a byword for Nazi savagery (even during the most savage war in history), its fate known around the world within a relatively short period.

Lieber, Dr. Franz (Francis) (1798–1872). A German American jurist and academic and author of the Lieber Code, a seminal statement regarding the behavior of soldiers in wartime. Migrating from Prussia to Boston (via a stay in Britain) in 1827, Lieber became a professor of history, economics, and political science in South Carolina, before moving to Columbia University, in New York, in 1856. During the American Civil War (1861–1865), Lieber's allegiance was to the Union (his son, however, fought for the Confederacy and was killed at the Battle of Williamsburg in 1862). At the request of U.S. President Abraham Lincoln (1809–1865), Lieber prepared a set of guidelines in 1863 entitled *Instructions for the Government of Armies of the United States in the Field*; it was published as General Order No. 100 and nicknamed the Lieber Code or Lieber Instructions. The document was divided into ten sections: behavior in a time of martial law; protection of civilians, civilian property, and punishment to transgressions; deserters, prisoners of war, hostages, and war booty; partisans; spies and traitors; truces and exchange of prisoners; parole of former rebel troops; the conditions of any armistice, and respect for human life; assassination and murder of soldiers or citizens in hostile territory; and the status of individuals engaged in a state of civil war against the government.

The Lieber Code was the first important foundational document in respect of U.S. military ethics, declaring that people in enemy or occupied territories were entitled to humane treatment. It addressed issues relating to the ethical entitlements of the combatants on both sides of a conflict, and was, therefore, a momentous harbinger of the 1864 Geneva Conventions (which were subsequently amended over the next century-and-a-half), and the Hague Conventions of 1899 and 1907. The Lieber Code, modified to suit local conditions, was later adopted by military establishments in other states. After the

Civil War, Lieber became a principal archivist working on the captured papers of the Confederacy, and ended his career in a diplomatic capacity on behalf of the United States.

Life is Beautiful. An Italian-made movie made about the Holocaust, *Life is Beautiful* (in Italian, *La Vita è Bella*) was the brainchild of actor-director Roberto Benigni (b. 1952). The film was produced in 1997 and focuses on an Italian Jew in the 1930s, Guido Orefice, who falls in love with and marries a non-Jewish woman, Dora (played in the film by Benigni's real-life wife, Nicoletta Braschi (b. 1960), to great effect). After the Nazis have occupied Italy and imposed the full weight of German antisemitic legislation, Guido and his infant son, as "racial" Jews, are sent to a concentration camp. At her request, Dora is permitted to join them. In order to maintain his child's morale—in effect, in order to give him the will to live—Guido convinces his son that everything that is happening to them is actually part of a big game, in which the winner of the first prize wins an army tank. In a tribute to the other great comedy about the Nazi persecution of the Jews from 1940, Charles Chaplin's (1889–1977) *The Great Dictator*, Benigni gave his character Guido the same concentration camp prisoner number as that on the uniform of Chaplin's character, the Jewish Barber. The popular and critical acclaim for *Life is Beautiful* was little short of phenomenal. It won the Grand Jury Prize at Cannes, and Oscars for Best Foreign Film, Best Actor (Benigni), and Best Original Dramatic Score for the music of Nicola Piovani (b. 1946). Although it is not a "Holocaust movie" in the strict sense of historical fiction or documentary, *Life is Beautiful* is nonetheless an important movie that extends the boundaries of cinema about the Holocaust into areas of fantasy and fable.

"Life Unworthy of Life" (German, *Lebensunwertes Leben*). German Nazi term for those afflicted with hereditary illnesses, including the mentally ill, who were perceived as a political and economic burden to German society and worthy of "euthanasia." The July 1933 Law for the Prevention of Offspring with Hereditary Diseases was passed by the Reichstag, establishing euthanasia centers to carry out the deaths—via medical means—of those labeled "unworthy of life." Actual killing centers were established at Brandenburg, Grafenek, Hartheim, and Sonnenstein. Between two hundred thousand and two hundred seventy-five thousand were murdered. Another three hundred thousand to four hundred thousand German nationals were sterilized under this program. The "T-4" program was the code name for the implementation of the "euthanasia" program, its headquarters being located at Tiergartenstrasse 4. *Lebensunwertes Leben*, itself, was first used in a 1920 book by German jurist Karl Binding and German psychiatrist Alfred Hoche, *The Permission to Destroy Life Unworthy of Life*.

Linguicide. Linguicide refers to any act or series of acts committed with the intent to destroy, in any way whatsoever, or to prevent, the natural development of a language or dialect.

Lon Nol (1913–1985). Cambodian military general and politician, who, in March 1970, overthrew the rule of Prince Norodom Sihanouk (b. 1922), in a U.S.-backed coup d'état. This event was to lead directly to the Cambodian civil war of 1970–1975 and to the victory of communist dictator Pol Pot (1925–1998) and his murderous Khmer Rouge movement.

Lon Nol was born in Prey Veng province, and received a standard French colonial education. He became a civil servant, rising to provincial governor, and, under Sihanouk, became, over time, Cambodian chief of police, chief of the general staff of the Cambodian military forces, minister of defense, and prime minister on two occasions (1966–1967 and 1969) prior to his coup. Following the coup, he abolished the monarchy and declared Cambodia a republic, with himself as president. His new regime was closely aligned with the

West, and among his first acts was a demand for the evacuation of all North Vietnamese and Vietcong forces from Cambodian sovereign territory, and the closure of all access points (by land and sea) supplying communist Vietnam. These actions escalated Cold War violence in Cambodia, and drew the United States more deeply into Cambodian events—at a time when the war in Vietnam was raging. If the U.S. intention was to set Lon Nol up as a bulwark against communism, it was a strategy that failed. In 1971 he suffered a debilitating stroke, and, in the aftermath of his slow recovery (during which he retained office), he proved an incompetent and inconclusive leader. Lon Nol's rule saw a massive U.S. bombing campaign against Vietnamese bases in eastern Cambodia, which drove large numbers of Cambodians into the arms of the anti-Western, anti-U.S. Khmer Rouge. As the civil war intensified, Lon Nol's regime showed itself to be riddled with corruption, and he was himself revealed as a poor military leader. By the spring of 1975, Khmer Rouge forces had conquered all of Cambodia save its capital, Phnom Penh. On April 1, 1975, Lon Nol resigned as president (having insisted that an inducement of US\$1 million be placed in his name in a secure American bank account), and he was evacuated from the capital by U.S. forces. Just over two weeks later, on April 17, 1975, Khmer Rouge forces entered Phnom Penh, and the nightmare years of the Cambodian genocide (1975–1979) began immediately. Lon Nol settled at first in Hawaii, but, in 1979, moved to California, where he died in 1985.

London Charter (also known as the London Agreement, the London Accord, and London Charter Conference). On August 8, 1945, the Allied signatories (the United States, France, Great Britain, and the Soviet Union) signed the London Agreement that established the Charter of the International Military Tribunal (IMT). The IMT was the tribunal that was established to carry out “the just and prompt trial and punishment of the major war criminals of the European Axis”—that is, those leaders of the Nazis who were alleged to have perpetrated crimes against peace (i.e., the waging of aggressive war), war crimes (i.e., violations of universally accepted standards of military conduct), and crimes against humanity (i.e., violations of standards regarding civilians) during the course of World War II.

The IMT consisted of the following major provisions: (1) the Tribunal was to consist of four members (and four alternates), one from each of the signatories; (2) all members of the Tribunal must be present to constitute a quorum, with one to be elected president; (3) the crimes and punishments were to be crimes against peace, war crimes, and crimes against humanity; (4) neither holding a position as a head of state or government official nor following superior orders was to be considered as alleviating responsibility; (5) procedures shall follow standard legal and courtroom methods as commonly understood; (6) the Tribunal itself as well as both prosecutors and defense counsels were to, also, follow accepted legal and courtroom procedures; and (7) judgment and sentencing were the responsibility of the Tribunal.

The implementation of the IMT (October 1945 to October 1946) constituted a legal breakthrough in international law, though not without its critics (e.g., accusations of “victors’ justice”), and later paved the way for the establishment of the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda, the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia, and the International Criminal Court.

Lost Boys of Sudan. A feature-length documentary film made in the United States in 2003. The “lost boys” featured herein are two Sudanese refugees, Peter Nyarol Dut and Santino Majok Chuor, members of the Dinka people of southern Sudan. They were both orphaned owing to the Sudanese civil war (1983–2005) during which the Arab Muslim-dominated government in Khartoum waged war against the black African Christian and animist peoples

of Southern Sudan. Peter and Santino are but two of some twenty thousand orphans left by the war, and the film traces their experiences as they struggle through desert and savannah, braving militia incursions, to reach a camp for refugee children in Kenya. Some of these orphans, who became known as “lost boys” to a watching world, were chosen for resettlement in the United States, and this film shows how its subjects go about the process of integrating into contemporary North American society—a world away, both literally and psychologically, from what they had left. *Lost Boys of Sudan* is therefore a film that deals with both genocide and the postgenocide legacy and the impact of such on two young men growing to maturity. Produced and directed by Megan Mylan and John Shenk, who also functioned as sound recordist and cinematographer, respectively, *Lost Boys of Sudan* has been critically acclaimed and has won a number of film and human rights awards in the United States.

Lowry, Heath W. (b. 1942). Atatürk professor of Ottoman and Modern Turkish Studies at Princeton University since 1993 and a leading defender of the Turkish position regarding the Armenian genocide of 1915. Lowry’s chair at Princeton was originally funded by the Turkish government, following his directorship of the Institute of Turkish Studies (ITS) at Georgetown University, Washington, D.C. Between 1994 and 1997 Lowry was chairman of the Department of Near Eastern Studies at Princeton, where he came under constant criticism for his ongoing denial of the Armenian genocide. Lowry’s activities as director of the ITS at Georgetown and as a professor at Princeton placed him at the forefront of Armenian genocide deniers. Among other activities, he vigorously discredited the memoirs of former American ambassador to Constantinople during the genocide, Henry Morgenthau, Sr. (1856–1946), claiming that they are unreliable and nothing more than wartime propaganda. In 1995, Lowry was exposed as one prepared to suppress intellectual inquiry, when he was found to have ghostwritten (in 1990) a memorandum for the Turkish ambassador to the United States in response to a reference to the Armenian genocide by Robert Jay Lifton (b. 1926) in his book *The Nazi Doctors* (1986). The ambassador’s letter to Lifton (drafted by Lowry) both denied the Armenian genocide and discredited Lifton’s scholarship for having referred to it. When news broke of Lowry’s connection with the Turkish ambassador (and through him, with the Turkish government), his credentials as an objective scholar were reduced almost to zero; in fact, he was seen as little more than a propagandist for the government in Ankara. In 1997, after two years of intense criticism over his denial of the Armenian genocide, Lowry stepped down as chairman of Princeton’s Department of Ottoman and Near Eastern Studies. Ultimately, the scandal over Lowry’s ongoing denial activities and his lobbying on behalf of the Turkish government seemed to have backfired. It called into question the integrity of Turkish-funded academic chairs and programs and provided those seeking to develop a broader public consciousness of the genocide with inspiration.

Lublin-Majdanek. A concentration and death camp in Poland, Lublin-Majdanek was initially constructed primarily by two thousand Soviet prisoners of war (supplemented by approximately one hundred fifty of the three hundred Jews rounded up in the town of Lublin) in October 1941 as a labor facility. One hundred and forty-four barracks for inmates were built, including some especially for children. In 1942, the camp population was increased with the arrival of more than seven thousand Jews from Slovakia, and more than ten thousand Jews from both the Treblinka death camp and the Warsaw Ghetto. That same year, more than twenty-five thousand Jews were transferred from the death camp Belzec. In the spring of 1943, after the unsuccessful revolt by the remaining Jews of the Warsaw

Ghetto, between eighteen thousand and twenty-two thousand survivors were sent to Lublin-Majdanek. Beginning in October 1943, Zyklon B gas (cyanide) as well as carbon monoxide (CO) began to be used on prisoners in the gas chambers. Earlier that year, six sub-camps (Budzyn, Trawniki, Poniatowa, Krasnik, Pulawy, and Lupowa) were subsumed under its administration. During this same period, Lublin-Majdanek was also used as a major clothing storage depot for goods from Belzec, Sobibor, and Treblinka. Beginning on November 3, 1943, the Nazis shot and killed eighteen thousand Jews in the forest surrounding the town after first forcing them to dig the mass graves for their burial. Eight thousand from the camp itself and the remaining ten thousand housed in the town from other camps made up this number. Both its first Kommandant, Karl Otto Koch (1897–1945), and its second Kommandant, Hermann Florstedt (1895–1945), were executed by the Nazis for their corrupt activities while in charge of the camp; the remaining three commanders (Max Kroegel, Martin Wiess, and Arthur Liebenschel) were all tried and executed after World War II—Kroegel by the British, Wiess by the Americans, and Leibenschel by the Poles. It has now been estimated that somewhere between seventy-four thousand and ninety thousand Jews were transported to this camp, close to sixty thousand of whom were Polish Jews. Jews and others died there as a result of the horrid conditions as slave laborers (e.g., beatings and starvation) or being sent to the gas chambers. The camp was liberated by Soviet troops on July 24, 1944. The actual number of camp victims continues to be difficult to determine, ranging from 1.5 million according to Soviet figures, to the more modest seventy-eight thousand according to the current historian in charge of the records, Tomasz Kranz, to Holocaust scholar Raul Hilberg's estimate of fifty thousand.

Lukic, Milan (b. 1967). Milan Lukic was born in the Bosnian town of Foca. A Serb, during the Bosnian War of 1992–1995 he organized a militia group known as the White Eagles, which operated in and around the town of Visegrad, located on the Drina River. As White Eagles commander, Lukic is alleged to have been responsible for overseeing the “ethnic cleansing” of the Muslim population of Visegrad, in which its citizens were imprisoned, tortured, assaulted, raped, mutilated, deported, and murdered. These activities took place throughout the summer of 1992, until such time as the prewar Muslim population of Visegrad—some fourteen thousand in all—had been removed from the town altogether. This became the first instance of what became known as “ethnic cleansing” in Bosnia.

In August 1998, the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY) charged Lukic with eleven counts of crimes against humanity, and, in September 2003, a Serbian court sentenced him in absentia to twenty years' imprisonment on a different set of charges relating to mass murder of Bosnian Muslims during the Bosnian War. Although he seemingly lived quite openly in Republika Srpska from 1998 onward, attempts to arrest him and bring him before a court were continually stymied. Be that as it may, he held a number of informal negotiations with ICTY officers, and on April 9, 2005, he offered to go to The Hague voluntarily once his superiors had also gone. (It is generally assumed that these would include Bosnian Serb military commander Ratko Mladic (b. 1942) and Republika Srpska president Radovan Karadzic (b. 1945), both of whom remain at large through this writing, September 2007.) Then, on August 8, 2005, Lukic was arrested in Buenos Aires, Argentina. He appeared before a judge the following day, as extradition orders were being cut to have him transferred to The Hague for trial. In 2001, the original indictment against Lukic was amended to include war crimes as well as crimes against humanity, as ICTY negotiators uncovered more evidence against him. At the time of writing, Lukic's judicial fate remains pending.

M

Macedonia. The name of a region and state located on the Balkan Peninsula. It has been, and remains, a much disputed area. In Ancient Greek times, Macedonia's King Philip (382 BCE–336 BCE) conquered several Greek city-states. Philip's son, Alexander (356 BCE–323 BCE), was the founder of a mighty Greek empire that reached from Egypt, to Central Asia, to northern India. Ever since then, Greeks—especially in the modern era—have appropriated the name as part of their national heritage. After achieving their independence in 1829, Greek nationalists claimed a region called Macedonia, and fought over the course of the next century to possess it in a series of conflicts with the Ottoman Empire. With the attainment of independence by other nearby countries that were also breaking out of the Ottoman Empire during the nineteenth century, counterclaims to the region were made. Both Serbs and Bulgarians, for example, regarded the region as being rightfully theirs, with language, religion, and history all used as rationales to back up their respective irredentist arguments. The crisis came to a head in 1913 in the Second Balkan War, whose results were neutralized because of World War I (1914–1918) and the peace treaties that followed the war (Neuilly, Saint-Germain, and Versailles), in 1919. Out of the diplomatic dealings came the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, which in 1929 changed its name to Yugoslavia. This creation met Serb demands for a southern region, which they called Macedonia. During the rule of Josip Broz Tito (1892–1980), between 1944 and 1980, Yugoslav Macedonia became a constituent republic of the Yugoslav Federation. As the federation was breaking apart in 1991, Macedonia, in September of that year, took the opportunity to break loose. This immediately triggered a major protest by Greece, by then an influential NATO and European Union member, as it would not recognize the new state unless it formally and explicitly distanced itself from the name “Macedonia” and instead called itself “the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia,” or FYROM. In 1999, as the Serbian government of Slobodan Milosevic (1941–2006) carried out a policy of forced expulsions of Kosovar Albanians in the face of NATO attacks designed to stop their (the Albanians’) persecution, an estimated three hundred sixty thousand crossed into Macedonia as refugees. This placed an almost intolerable strain on the already needy country’s resources, as well as threatened to upset the delicate balance between the various groups in the multi-ethnic state. It was fortunate for Macedonia that the war lasted only until the summer of 1999; the refugees returned to Kosovo soon thereafter, when the possibility of them remaining could have had severe

consequences for the country's future. As things stood, enough damage had been done to incite Albanian nationalists in both Albania and Macedonia, and in the spring of 2001 they took up arms against the Macedonian central government. Although military action took place, peace was restored through the intervention of a NATO force, which imposed a cease-fire on both sides. Today, Macedonia is a fully independent country, but one with problems founded on its ethno-demographic mix. Its population is composed of a Slavic, Orthodox majority, and a very active minority of Islamic Macedonian Albanians. Some of the latter have sought unification with Albania, periodically threatening to harm the state unless they are granted equal civil rights, political representation, and cultural autonomy, including a university. Since 2001, further violence has been minimal, in part because of concessions by the Slavic majority. The fear of violent ethnic conflict remains, however. Albania, Serbia, Bulgaria, and Greece have all looked nervously at developments in Macedonia, which is recognized as a potentially combustible state if the ethnic boundaries shift in the future.

“Machete Genocide.” The 1994 Rwandan genocide, in which extremist Hutu murdered between five hundred thousand and 1 million Tutsi and moderate Hutu in one hundred days between April and July of that year, has often been referred to as “the machete genocide,” because a large part of the mass killings was done with the tens of thousands of new machetes that the Habyrimana government had recently purchased from China.

MacKenzie, Lewis (b. 1940). Canadian general who served as chief of staff to the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) in Bosnia-Herzegovina in 1992. His early military career had seen him deployed to such locations as Gaza, Cyprus, and Saigon (now Ho Chi Minh City), as well as operations in Central America. His role in Bosnia, which began prior to the start of the Bosnian War on April 6, 1992, was an important one in that it established much in the way of what would become standard UN procedure over the next three years. Notably, it was MacKenzie who instituted the cardinal principle of UNPROFOR neutrality, a principle that appeared reasonable on paper but, in reality, discriminated against the Bosnian Muslims by virtue of their being outnumbered and out-gunned in an unequal combat situation foisted on them by the rebellion of the Bosnian Serbs and invasion from the army of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. The latter situation attracted controversy from many critics around the world, particularly as it became clear that UNPROFOR under MacKenzie's command was enjoying a very close relationship with the Serbs that appeared to be something less than impartial—even extending to MacKenzie making statements opposing Western intervention into the war. In 1993 MacKenzie retired from the Canadian army, many said prematurely, and began a public lecture career. It was in his role as a lecturer that he engaged in what many viewed as his most contentious act, a two-day paid speaking tour in Washington, D.C., on behalf of the Serbian-American lobby group, SerbNet. MacKenzie set down his version of his story in a memoir, *Peacekeeper: The Road to Sarajevo*, published the same year he retired.

Ma'dan People. See Marsh Arabs.

Maharero, Samuel (1856–1923). Samuel Maharero was recognized by the German colonial authorities as the paramount chief of the Herero people of German South-West Africa (now Namibia). Samuel (as he was generally known) was educated in German Lutheran missionary schools, and became literate to a competent level. In late 1903, he was one of a number of Herero leaders who learned of a proposal being considered by

German colonial authorities regarding the construction of a railway line through Herero territory, accompanied by the concentration of all Herero in reservations. On January 12, 1904, Samuel led a rebellion against German rule in Hereroland. So far as can be ascertained, the Herero people at this time numbered about eighty thousand. The first assault against the German settlers, directed by Samuel, saw the death of up to a hundred German men; subsequent attacks killed hundreds more. (Samuel issued orders that women and children were to be spared.) The German authorities' response was one of counterattack, the bringing in of reinforcements, and, ultimately, a widespread campaign of annihilation in which Herero were shot, displaced, and forced into the Omaheke Desert, where tens of thousands perished. Part and parcel of the attack involved orders, issued by German general Lothar von Trotha (1848–1920), that all waterholes be located and poisoned. All in all, some 80 percent of the Herero people perished in the genocide, together with 50 percent of the related Nama population. Samuel was driven into the desert with the rest of his people, and, though the Germans made it a special mission to locate him, they were unable to do so before he reached sanctuary in British Bechuanaland (now Botswana). He remained there throughout World War I, ultimately seeing the fall of German rule in his homeland. He died in exile in 1923, the acknowledged leader of the first victim population to suffer genocide in the twentieth century.

Majdanek. See Lublin-Majdanek.

***Malleus Maleficarum* (Latin, *The Witches' Hammer*).** A book published in Germany between 1485 and 1487 (accounts of the exact date vary) by Catholic Inquisition authorities. Written by Heinrich Kramer (1430?–1505) and Jakob Sprenger (1436–1495), it is regarded as a handbook for witch hunters. The spread of the witch craze at the end of the fifteenth century and throughout the sixteenth century can, perhaps, be attributed to the theories of conspiracy and presumed evil which were expounded in this volume, particularly in a Germany that was wrestling with the challenge to Catholic doctrine wrought by the advance of Lutheranism.

The last two decades of the fifteenth century saw the start of a noticeable change in Europe's climate, with wild extremes in weather resulting in famine in some areas, crop damage in others, and a decrease in livestock numbers in yet others. As Europeans sought desperately to find reasons to account for these developments, witches, who had in earlier times been viewed as folk healers, wise women, and (on occasion) nontraditional religious leaders, were henceforth accused of being in league with the Devil. It was this relationship, it was believed, that brought about the human suffering and physical destruction pervading European society. The authors of *Malleus Maleficarum* had two basic purposes in writing the book: (1) to help reestablish the authority of the Catholic Church in the areas that had been "tainted" by Protestantism; and (2) to see that the perpetrators who threatened change were punished, thus making an example of them so that others would not be tempted to follow their purportedly diabolical ways. An egregiously misogynistic work that simultaneously damned women and invested them with malevolent power, the *Malleus* was widely distributed owing to the recently invented printing press. As a result of its extensive reach, it was enormously influential; the upshot saw tens of thousands of innocent women executed as witches over a three hundred year period, and scores of thousands of trials. *Malleus Maleficarum* can thus be classified as a work of particularly destructive power, which targeted a specific group for punishment and death—notwithstanding that witches possessed of the power alleged by their accusers did not exist.

Man in the Glass Booth, The. A highly acclaimed motion picture made in 1975, based on a stage play of the same name written by Robert Shaw (1927–1978). The screenplay was adapted by Edward Anhalt (1914–2000), for which he received a Golden Globe nomination. The movie, directed by Arthur Hiller (b. 1923), tells the story of a wealthy Jewish New York business mogul named Arthur Goldman, who is a thoroughly paranoid character living behind a high level personal security system, surrounded by guards in an impregnable penthouse apartment. Captured by Israeli agents, Goldman is put on trial for having committed heinous war crimes during World War II; it is revealed that he is not actually Arthur Goldman—a Jewish prisoner who was killed during the Holocaust—but in fact SS Colonel Adolf Dorff, a notorious Nazi mass murderer. The trial takes place in a highly secure courtroom, with Goldman/Dorff restrained in a bulletproof glass booth. The drama of both the play and the movie was directly inspired by the capture and trial of SS Lieutenant Colonel Adolf Eichmann (1906–1962) in 1960–1961, and helped educate a new generation of theater- and moviegoers who had grown to maturity not knowing about the horrors of the Holocaust. For his portrayal of Goldman/Dorff, the Austrian-born Swiss actor Maximilian Schell (b. 1930) was nominated for a 1976 Academy Award and a 1976 Golden Globe Award in the category of best actor.

Mandate, of a United Nations Mission. *Mandate* refers to the goals, objectives, parameters (or authority) and terms of a United Nations mission involving military troops. The latter must be approved via a resolution by the UN Security Council. Among some of the many issues that mandates generally cover are: the tasks to be carried out by the force, organization of the force or mission, the size of the force or mission, the naming of the force commander, financial and logistical matters, and the naming of a UN official who shall oversee the mission.

Mandates, and United Nations Peacekeeping Operations. In the 1990s and early 2000s, the UN Security Council had a propensity for providing UN peacekeepers with inadequate mandates—and in certain cases (most tellingly in Rwanda in 1994 and in Srebrenica in 1995) the results were catastrophic. The crux of this situation has possibly been best expressed in a report entitled *The Fall of Srebrenica: Report of the Secretary General [Kofi Annan] Pursuant to General Assembly Resolution 53/35 (1998)*: “[There is a critical need] to clarify and to improve the capacity of the United Nations to respond to various forms of conflict. I have in mind such issues as the gulf between mandate and means; the inadequacy of symbolic deterrence in the face of a systematic campaign of violence; the pervasive ambivalence within the United Nations regarding the role of force in the pursuit of peace; an institutional ideology of impartiality even when confronted with attempted genocide; and a range of doctrinal and institutional issues that go to the heart of the United Nation’s ability to keep the peace and help protect civilian populations from armed conflict” (p. 12).

***Mandi Laut* (Indonesian, Literally “Gone for a Swim”).** A euphemism used by Indonesian soldiers to refer to those East Timorese who “disappeared” (mid-1970s into the 1980s). More specifically, the term referred to those people who had been taken prisoner and were flown by helicopter out to sea and then dumped with weights bound to their legs and feet to die a watery death.

Mao Zedong (also known as Mao Tse-Tung; 1893–1976). Born into a relatively prosperous peasant family in Hunan Province on December 26, 1893, Mao Zedong studied to become a teacher, but instead became a university library assistant in

Peking. At the university he came under the influence of two professors, Marxists, who were later to found the Chinese Communist Party in 1919. One year later, while principal of the school in Changsha, he founded his own branch of the Chinese Communist Party, later becoming the general party secretary for the Hunan Province, and, in 1921, was one of only twelve delegates to the “First Congress.”

Between the years 1920 and 1935, Mao was intimately involved in both the political and military struggles with General Chiang Kai-shek (1887–1975) and the Kuomintang (KMT). Developing his own theories of the potential of his fellow peasants for revolutionary activity, he and his followers engaged in a violent confrontation with nationalist Chinese leader Chiang Kai-shek from 1927 through 1934. During 1934–1935, Mao took part in the legendary “Long March,” (the purpose of which was to evade Chiang’s Nationalist military forces). The latter resulted in the deaths of more than seventy-five thousand soldiers and party officials.

By 1943 Mao had become the chairman of the Communist Party and was thereafter always referred to by the sobriquet “Chairman Mao.” Though the alliance between Chiang’s and Mao’s forces against their common enemy was a tenuous one during World War II, the defeat of the Japanese was their first priority.

Open civil war erupted between them after World War II in 1946. By 1949, after a continuously bloody civil war, Mao had essentially defeated the nationalists (Chiang had retreated to the island of Formosa—now Taiwan), and the People’s Republic of China was officially declared on October 1, 1949. Three years later, in 1950, he allied his nation with the Soviet Union becoming, in the process, a major regional power. Once in power, Mao and the Communist Party brooked no dissent whatsoever. Estimates of those killed for opposition in the early years stand at 3 million or higher.

On the domestic front, Mao’s two major initiatives—the “Great Leap Forward” in the 1950s, and the Cultural Revolution of the 1960s—both led to massive repression and the deaths of many Chinese. As for the Great Leap Forward, it was designed to address the growing population and the need for increasing technological mastery, but proved to be of only limited success. In regard to the infamous Cultural Revolution, it sought to bring dissidents (e.g., “bourgeois professors, bureaucrats, and industrialists”) into Communist thinking through “reeducation,” but if such were not possible, those labeled dissidents were executed. Paralleling these difficulties was Mao’s and the Chinese’s growing separation from Soviet Russia, and their desire to become the Asian superpower.

Mao died on September 9, 1976, at the age of eighty-two. As a world leader he ruled over the most populous nation in the world authoritatively and dictatorially, only momentarily losing his position in the late 1950s and early 1960s, but regaining his hold, with the support of the Red Army, his long-standing power base. His defeat of the Nationalist Chinese under Chiang Kai-shek enabled him to translate his vision and program of social reform into reality for more than a billion people.

Any assessments of his leadership must take into consideration not only the size of the population of the country itself—more than 1 billion people—but the state of its initial preindustrialization prior to his assuming the chairmanship of the Communist Party, his ruthless genocidal destruction of those who opposed his regime, his military tactics against the KMT, his own Marxist-Leninist philosophy, his shaky relationship with Soviet Russia, and his relative isolation from other countries. That said, the ruthlessness under which his

program of transformation was carried out, and the suppression of any form of dissidence, mark him as among the world's most brutal dictators.

Marr, Wilhelm (1819–1904). Nineteenth-century German journalist whose anti-semitic writings served as a forerunner to those of the Nazis. Marr was the first to use the term *antisemitism* in a clear and sustained manner, particularly through the popularity of his pamphlet *The Victory of Judaism over Germanism*. His major assertion was that the Jews would always be unassimilable because they persisted in retaining their identity as Jews; they could not be absorbed into a larger community, nor did they seek to do so—regardless of how assimilated they appeared on the surface. Other claims made by Marr were that the Jews were responsible for financial manipulation (and the consequent ruin of Christian economies), and that they were disproportionately powerful in the media and in the German bureaucracy. Marr viewed the future as being decided through a struggle between *Deutschentum* (Germanism) and *Judentum* (Judaism)—a fight to the death that would see only the victor remaining. In this thinking, he was very close to that later adopted by Adolf Hitler (1889–1945), rendering Marr as an influential precursor of the later Nazi movement in Germany.

Marsh Arabs (Ma'dan People). A people living in southern Iraq, to the immediate north of the city of Basra. The Marsh Arabs, or, more accurately, the Ma'dan people, number about five hundred thousand, and have dwelt in the region of the Tigris and Euphrates wetlands for five thousand years. Irrigation and flood protection have always been vital to their way of life, and over a very long period they developed a water-based social and economic system that was perfectly attuned to their environment. In the aftermath of the first Gulf War (1991), the Ma'dan rose against the dictatorial regime of Saddam Hussein (1937–2006), encouraged by his defeat and by inspirational words from U.S. president George H. W. Bush (b. 1924). In response, Saddam crushed the Ma'dan mercilessly, the full weight of what was left of his military forces turned against them. Their punishment for revolt, unsupported in their resistance from any external source, was to be ruthlessly dispersed from their traditional lands, and for the marshes to be drained through a program of water rerouting via dams and newly cut channels. In an area the size of Wales, the extent of reed cover was reduced by more than 90 percent. Estimates by aid agencies are that more than half of the Ma'dan people fled to Iran as refugees, whereas others were dispersed internally within Iraq. The most frequent conclusions drawn by international humanitarian organizations are that the Iraqi government of Saddam Hussein was attempting to destroy the Ma'dan as a group through killing, the deprivation of their way of life, and the ruination of their physical environment. An additional reason which underlay the destruction of the Ma'dan can be found in the fact that they practice Islam according to Shiite doctrine, in a country where the majority of Muslims are Sunni. Traditional animosity between the two strands of Islam was exacerbated by a perception among the Iraqi leadership that the Shiite Ma'dan were maintaining religious links with Iran's Shiite government—and that this posed a security risk in a time of war. With the end of Saddam Hussein's regime owing to the second Gulf War in 2003, there is a possibility that the marshlands might be restored in part, but this will be a lengthy process that might not be successful given the enormous damage that has already been done to the region.

Mass Graves. In the context of genocide, mass graves refer to those locations where scores, if not hundreds, of bodies are buried *en masse*. Mass graves are the most convenient,

though, in the long run, impractical means by which to dispose of a large number of bodies that have been killed as a result of massacres and genocide. Other means have been tried, such as throwing bodies into rivers (as happened to Armenians and the Tutsi) or cremation (as used by the Nazis). The former was too public and incriminating; the latter turned out to be too slow, particularly when the Nazi killing of Jews reached its apogee in 1944. The speediest means of disposing of a large number of bodies remains mass burial, which can serve to hide or cover up war crimes and genocide. All over eastern Europe, the Nazis had victims dig their own mass graves on the assumption that they would never be found. Only when the tide of war shifted in favor of the Soviet Union (USSR), in 1943, did the Germans think of digging up the half-decomposed bodies and cremating them. The process proved too slow, however, and had to be abandoned. In Bosnia, in the 1990s, there were dozens of mass graves dug by all combatant groups in order to hide incriminating evidence. When these were located by aerial photography, many mass graves were opened and the bodies reinterred elsewhere, only to be rediscovered through additional surveillance by satellites. (The Serbs were particularly adept at creating mass graves and then relocating the bodies elsewhere during the Bosnian War of 1992–1995.) This reinterment has led to major problems of victim identification, as body parts have often been mixed together, rendering DNA recognition extremely difficult and slow.

Generally speaking, mass graves can have mixed success as a means of concealing genocide. Sometimes, vegetation can grow over them quickly, making them difficult to detect. The longer they are left, the greater the likelihood they may never be found. On the other hand, when sites are located, the evidence they contain—usually more than the bodies of the victims alone—can be used to bring the perpetrators to justice. This is more likely, however, when the mass graves are found relatively soon after the events they are trying to hide. Mass graves can be the best source of evidence to determine the site of a massacre, and even whether genocide has actually taken place. This, however, requires the best that modern science can provide, such as forensic archaeologists and photographic experts, who can read and interpret satellite images.

Mass Killing. Both an unspecified number of deaths, and cumulative death by a series of large-scale killings. Defining mass killing is a matter of perception and emphasis. However, more often than not, *mass* is a substitute for *massacre*. The term conjures up thoughts of group killing. Thus, for example, the term *massacre* can apply to the eradication of an entire village, such as My Lai as by U.S. troops during the Vietnam War or during the civil wars in the 1980s and 1990s in Central America, where killing squads went from village to village wreaking death as a way of instilling terror in the survivors. In both instances, mass killing took place. If mass killing is perpetrated with the intent to destroy in whole or in part a specific group of people protected under the UN Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (UNCG), then it constitutes genocide—which was the case in the mass murder of the Mayans in Guatemala in the 1980s and early 1990s. It is important to note that while in the popular consciousness, mass killing is almost always viewed as the most obvious expression of genocide, the UNCG recognizes killing members of a targeted group as only one of five different ways in which genocide can take place.

Mass Rape. Mass rape refers to those situations where systematic rape of women during a violent conflict (including genocide) is used as a way to terrorize, viciously harm, and stigmatize individual women. It is also used as means to create fear and terror and to stigmatize women as a group, their families, and the groups of which they are members.

Rape committed during genocidal periods is a common occurrence. Even a short list of some of the many instances where rape occurred during genocide perpetrated in the twentieth and early twenty-first centuries provides a sense of its pervasiveness. For example, during the course of the 1904 German-perpetrated genocide of the Hereros, German soldiers regularly raped (and gang-raped) young Herero women before either killing them or leaving them to die in the desert of thirst, starvation, and wounds.

During the Ottoman Turk genocide of the Armenians (1915–1923), Armenian girls and young women were often sold in public auctions. Many of the girls and women who became pregnant as a result of being raped were so distraught and shamed by giving birth out of wedlock as a result of such abuse that they chose to not return to Armenian society following the war, and instead remained with their Muslim owners/captors cum families.

It is estimated that two hundred thousand Bengali women were raped by Pakistani soldiers during the 1971 Bangladesh genocide. In fact, systematic and organized rape was used as a special weapon of war by the Pakistan army. Women and girls were raped in front of their family members both to terrorize and “inflict racial slander.” Girls and women were also kidnapped and gang-raped in special camps run by the army. Ultimately, many of the rape victims were killed, whereas many others committed suicide.

During the outset of the Indonesian genocide in East Timor in 1975, Indonesian troops engaged in an orgy of rape and torture. The rape of massive numbers of women by Indonesian troops continued over a four period as Indonesia solidified its occupation of East Timor.

There is ample evidence that each side in the conflict that arose out of the dissolution of the former Yugoslavia in the 1990s raped women. Some Serb battalions gang-raped Muslim women in public for the express purpose of terrorizing the Muslim populace and as a tool of “ethnic cleansing.” Rape camps were also established and run by Serb police during this same period.

Over the course of the one hundred days of the 1994 Rwandan genocide, thousands of Tutsi girls and women were raped by marauding Hutu extremists. Often times the females were viciously raped prior to being killed. Those girls and women who survived often gave birth to what are often referred to as “rape babies,” many of whom have been abandoned by their mothers due to the ongoing pain and shame the women carry with them.

Between 2003 and today (September 2007), thousands of black African females (from girls as young as eight years old to women in their 50s) were raped by government of Sudan (GOS) soldiers and *Janjaweed* (Arab militia). The females were often attacked and raped in front of their families and as often as not gang-raped. Some females were carried off to serve as concubines for the GOS and *Janjaweed*.

In many cases as enumerated above, rape was (and often is) used as a tool of cultural humiliation to destroy the social harmony of Muslim societies in particular. Raped women, according to Koranic law, are stigmatized and shamed, and, if children are born as a result of such assaults, the children themselves are equally stigmatized.

Mass Rape as a Crime Against Humanity. In February 2001, the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY) convicted three Bosnian Serb men (Dragoljub Kunarac, Radomir Kovac, and Zoran Vukovic) for gang-raping Muslim women who were detained during the course of the war. It was the first time an international court had defined and found “sexual enslavement” to constitute a crime against humanity.

Mauthausen-Gusen. Nazi concentration camp in Austria near the city of Linz. Mauthausen was established on August 8, 1938, having been constructed by prisoners from the Dachau concentration camp, and was liberated on May 5, 1945, by U.S. troops.

It is estimated that its death toll reached one hundred fifty thousand dead in the main camp and, possibly, more than that number in the fifty-nine subcamps which it administered. (By the war's end, an additional list of forty-two camps was included in Mauthausen's overall administration, covering most of Austria, and making it the largest network in the system.) Mauthausen itself was to be originally a "Class III" slave-labor camp for incorrigibles and other "asocials" (e.g., beggars, alcoholics, prostitutes), though, in reality, the goal was *Vernichtung durch arbeit* (extermination through work), specifically in the nearby granite quarries where the work was horrendously brutal.

The importance of these camps to the Nazi war effort ought not be minimized: pistols and other munitions, airplane and V-2 rocket parts, batteries, medicines, and vehicle parts were all produced by the prisoners. After the initial Allied strategic bombing campaigns of 1940, several large tunnels were built in the hills surrounding the camp to continue factory production work. Prisoners were also exploited on farms, road construction and residential housing projects, even archaeological sites. In addition to work, prisoners were murdered as a result of beatings, freezing after being doused with cold water and left outside, medical experiments, hangings, drowning, and fence electrocution. The sick, too, were left out in the open without medicines, food, or water. By January 1945, the main camp alone housed more than eighty-five thousand prisoners.

The Kommandant of the camp from 1939 to 1945, Franz Ziereis (1904–1946), died after being captured from wounds suffered while trying to escape. His body was later hung by the inmates of the camp.

McCarthy, Justin A. (b. 1945). Professor of history at the University of Louisville (Kentucky) and a leading proponent of the view that the Turkish genocide of the Armenians (1915–1923) did not take place. McCarthy was a student of Stanford Shaw (b. 1930) at the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA), where the latter convinced McCarthy of the lie that the genocide was not a fact.

Among McCarthy's key positions are the following: the Armenian population was largely killed by Russians who invaded Turkey during the Great War; cholera and typhus killed many more Armenians than were killed as a result of military actions by Turkish troops; large numbers of Armenians fled the war with the Russians as they departed Turkey to the north and were not deported by the Ottoman Turks; and that, in sum, Armenian losses were the result of interethnic disputes and civil war and not the result of deportations and massacres.

Moreover, McCarthy disputes the numbers involved, arguing that the prewar Armenian population of the Ottoman Empire was much less than many assert, and by doing so he states that the number of losses suffered by the Armenians is thus much lower than generally claimed. McCarthy's preference has also been to use the term *relocation* rather than *deportation* in regard to the fate of the Armenians, as this renders the Turkish measures more legitimate—particularly in view of the so-called disloyalty of those Armenians who resisted being murdered by the Turks in places such as Van and Musa Dagh. He has also held that many more Turks were killed in Armenian districts than were the Armenians themselves.

McCloskey, Frank (1939–2003). U.S. congressman Frank McCloskey (Indiana-D) argued vociferously during the Bosnia crisis in the 1990s that the U.S. government and the Clinton administration (1992–2000) should use the term *genocide* to describe what was occurring in Bosnia. Moreover, he personally traveled to Bosnia close to a dozen times (the first time in November 1992), and each time he spoke with eyewitnesses, collected data, and returned to Capitol Hill where he beseeched his colleagues in Congress to act to stanch the brutality, the rapes, the killing, and the genocide. Most of his colleagues ignored his pleadings; one (Ron Dellums, a Democrat from California) even called him a warmonger, and after a while many simply avoided him. A good number of his colleagues seemed to think that for a situation to be deemed genocide it had to be in the realm of the Holocaust. “I had to show people there was nothing in the genocide connection that says a crime has to hit Nazi proportions to count as genocide,” said McCloskey (quoted in Power, 2002, p. 300). Beginning in April 1993, McCloskey “began the first of a memorable series of exchanges with [U.S. Secretary of State Warren] Christopher on the use of what became known as the ‘g-word’” (Power, 2002, p. 300). Despite Christopher’s wavering and own obfuscation of what was truly happening in the former Yugoslavia, McCloskey was relentless and would not let him off the hook. Indeed, he continued to badger Warren about the Clinton administration’s position on Bosnia and to decry its lack of action to halt the killing. McCloskey, in fact, went so far as to write an editorial for the *New York Times* that called for Christopher’s resignation. McCloskey also persisted in raising the issue with his colleagues, and in some fifteen hearings he broached the issue of U.S. policy in Bosnia. In essence, he kept the issue alive, thus denying his colleagues the easy out of claiming that they had not realized the extent of the horror in Bosnia.

McMillan, Angus (1810–1865). Early British settler of the Gippsland region of the Port Phillip District (later the state of Victoria) in southeastern Australia. Debate exists over whether McMillan was, in fact, the first settler; it was only in 1839 that the earliest white explorers arrived in the region, but, by 1840, McMillan had established not only his own pastoral run, Bushy Park, but also another on behalf of his employer, the Macalister family at Boisdale.

In June 1843, McMillan—who already had a reputation for harsh treatment of the local Aboriginal people, the Kurnai—led a posse comprised of cattle owners, stockmen, and other whites in the vicinity against a group of Aborigines whom they held responsible for the death of a young settler, Ronald Macalister. The posse, which McMillan dubbed “the Highland Brigade,” numbered about twenty. Prior to setting out, McMillan warned the party that their mission had to be carried out in utmost secrecy. A blood oath was sworn never to divulge the truth of the acts they were about to commit. No doubt the taking of the oath was a result of the fact that it was well known that in December 1838 seven white men had been hanged for the murder of twenty-eight Aborigines at Myall Creek in New South Wales. Setting out from McMillan’s Bushy Park property, the posse found a large group of Kurnai camped beside a waterhole on Warrigal Creek. Within twenty minutes, the camp was surrounded, and, on a signal from McMillan, the men opened fire from all directions. Aborigines were shot in the camp, as they ran, after they had jumped into the waterhole, and when they put their heads up for breath. The water ran red with blood. In less than half an hour, the massacre at Warrigal Creek was complete; by all subsequent accounts, up to one hundred fifty were murdered, making Warri-

gal Creek the biggest known single massacre of Aborigines in Australian history. In the weeks that followed, more Aborigines were killed, possibly reaching as high as 450.

McMillan, the “scourge of the Kurnai,” won Gippsland for white settlement through violence and mass murder, and by the late 1850s the number of Aborigines had been slashed, by one estimate, to under a hundred (from a precontact population of about three thousand). After this, McMillan was hailed as a hero and respected father figure in the colony. Appointed a justice of the peace and elected to the Victorian Legislative Assembly, he later became—ironically—an official state Protector of Aborigines. In his honor, a federal electoral district was named after McMillan, as it remains to this day.

Mechanisms of Genocide. Although ideology provides the intellectual foundation and motivation for genocide, other instruments also facilitate its implementation. The most important of these, in the modern world, is bureaucracy. It is the *sine qua non* for committing genocide. Bureaucracy identifies the victims, concentrates them physically, and activates the institutions that make extermination possible. Bureaucracy also harnesses the media—in particular, the press, radio, and television—to mobilize the population through the use of propaganda. A third mechanism of genocide relates to those doing the killing: murder squads such as the Government of Sudan troops and the *Janjaweed* (Arab militia) in Sudan (2003 to present), the *Interahamwe* in Rwanda (1994), and the *Einsatzgruppen* of Nazi Germany (late 1930s and early 1940s). Finally, there are the various means of killing employed by the *génocidaires*: death marches (the Armenian genocide of 1915–1923 and the Nazi Holocaust); starvation (the Soviet man-made famine in Ukraine); machine-gunning (the Nazi Holocaust, and the Serb-perpetrated massacre of Bosnian Muslims at Srebrenica in 1995); poison gas administered in mobile trucks or stationery gas chambers (the Nazi genocide of Jews, Roma/Sinti, and the mentally and physically handicapped); working people to death (the Nazi Holocaust, and the Khmer Rouge regime in Cambodia between 1975 and 1979); and machetes (the extremist Hutu-perpetrated genocide of the Tutsi in Rwanda in 1994). The wide range of instruments and methods points to the great variety of mass killing, ranging from the primitive or preindustrial (Rwanda) to the more sophisticated or industrial-scientific (Germany).

What this suggests is that genocide can be committed regardless of the complexity or simplicity of a society. The preconditions for genocide do not embrace modernity per se, as is often falsely argued, but certain elements of it—notably, a compliant bureaucracy, which organizes the key players in the crime. Bureaucracy is the primary mechanism for those committing genocide, an instrument that depersonalizes the victims by reducing them to stereotypes and numbers. This transforms the genocidal violence into a task devoid of human consideration, so that whether the killing is by gas or machete no longer matters. Former neighbors can become transformed into either *génocidaires* or victims, totally estranged from one another.

Médecins Sans Frontières (MSF) (French, Doctors without Borders). A French nongovernmental organization that specializes in providing “on-the-ground” medical assistance during periods of humanitarian crises (including violent conflict where crimes against humanity and genocide are being perpetrated). Founded in France in December 1971, its initial aim was to deliver medical assistance at a faster rate than had been accomplished in the past to populations suffering from social, political, and natural catastrophes. It aimed to do so by being less deterred by the existence of national borders than had aid

agencies in the past. (A classic example of the latter was the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), from which MSF had split.)

The main aspects of MSF's ethos are independence, impartiality, and a spirit of volunteerism. Unlike the ICRC, MSF is prepared to speak out publicly about what it sees when providing aid in dangerous or unstable political climates, and this departure from neutrality has not won it many friends in dictatorial or authoritarian regimes. MSF operatives have been kidnapped, assaulted, and killed in the field, and in 1989 a missile destroyed an airplane flown by MSF's sister organization *Avions sans Frontières* (Fliers without Borders) while it carried MSF doctors on board. Be that as it may, MSF has become a major player in the provision of medical assistance in humanitarian (including genocidal) situations, and was in the forefront of aid agencies during such crises as those in Bosnia (the 1990s), Rwanda (1994), and Darfur, Sudan (2003–present).

MSF was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1999 for its work in the provision of medical aid, refugee relief, and other elements of humanitarian work. Although not able to stop genocidal outbreaks or apprehend those responsible for committing genocide, *Médecins sans Frontières* is one of the world's most forthright and intrepid reactive aid agencies, and it has become a vital adjunct to the efforts of governments and intergovernmental organizations in the work of humanitarian relief.

Media, Inciting Genocide. Although many perpetrators throughout the twentieth century used the media in various ways to incite hatred, disdain, and contempt of the “victim or target group,” some also actually used it to incite genocide. Early on during the Holocaust, before the killing process even began, the Nazis used the modern press to publish despicable lies and propaganda about Jews. Particularly hateful in this regard was the crude antisemitic tabloid *Der Stürmer*.

In 1972, during the genocide of the Hutu by the Tutsi in Burundi, government radio broadcasts urged the population to “hunt down pythons in the grass,” which was understood as an order by the Tutsi populace to kill all educated Hutu, including the youngest of school-age children.

Prior to the 1994 Rwandan genocide, a Hutu supremacist, Hassan Ngeze (b. 1957), published a newspaper entitled *Kangura* (*Wake Them Up*), which printed lists of prominent Tutsi and Hutu who had allegedly “infiltrated” public institutions. The newspaper also called on the government and the masses to implement what he referred to as “self-defense” efforts. His newspaper also published “The Hutu Ten Commandments,” one of which stated the following: “Hutu must stop having mercy on the Tutsi.” Also, prior to and during the genocidal period, the state-owned radio station in Rwanda (*Radio-Télévision Libre des Mille Collines*) broadcast hate messages aimed at the Tutsi and propaganda to induce hatred among Hutu for the Tutsi. Broadcasts were also used to incite Hutu to carry out the killing process. Such statements as “You cockroaches must know you are made of flesh. We won't let you kill. We will kill you” were common at the time, as were commands that beseeched the Hutu population to kill every last Tutsi in the nation, urging listeners “not to take pity on women and children.” The radio broadcasts were also used to sustain the murder process by broadcasting the names of victims and their locations and cajoling listeners to carry out the “work” (e.g., genocide).

In the 1990s RTS TV (Serbian Television), the official Serbian government-run television station, broadcast propaganda during the crisis in the former Yugoslavia. In doing so, RTS TV issued broadsides in favor of its position and against its opponents and

produced programs that claimed certain Serbian-perpetrated massacres had been staged either by the Western media or by ethnic Albanian “terrorists.”

Media Trial, Rwanda. A trial of three Rwandan media executives by the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR) in the aftermath of the 1994 genocide in Rwanda. The three defendants—Jean Bosco Barayagwiza (b. 1950), Ferdinand Nahimana (b. 1950), and Hassan Ngeze (b. 1961)—were each indicted individually for different offences, but their trial was conducted as a joint prosecution owing to the interrelationships between the three men and the similarities of their actions. Barayagwiza, for instance, was a prominent member of the extremist *Coalition pour la Défense de la République* (CDR) party and a founder and leading director of the anti-Tutsi radio station *Radio-Télévision Libre des Mille Collines* (RTLM); Nahimana, instrumental in the establishment of RTLM, was also a senior executive of the radio station and was largely responsible for its anti-Tutsi propaganda programming; and Ngeze, who founded the pro-Hutu, anti-Tutsi newspaper *Kangura*, was a major shareholder in RTLM and a cofounder, with Barayagwiza and Jean Shyirambere Barahinura (b. 1956), of the CDR. Indictments against the accused included conspiracy to commit genocide, incitement to commit genocide, complicity in genocide, and crimes against humanity.

The trial, which began in October 2000, was a landmark in the developing case-law of international prosecutions for genocide, as it argued successfully against the principle of an absolute right of freedom of expression in cases of incitement to gross human rights violations. The judge presiding at the ICTR trial, Judge Navanethem Pillay (b. 1941), announcing the trial verdict on December 9, 2003, stated that the media outlets controlled by the three men were directly responsible for the deaths of many thousands of the genocide victims. Indeed, it was argued that RTLM’s message to kill all of Rwanda’s Tutsi was unambiguous, and was acted upon across the country throughout the duration of the genocide. *Kangura*, which had ceased publication in February 1994, did not play a role in the genocide while it was in progress (April–July 1994), but the ICTR found it responsible for creating a climate so disposed toward genocide that the idea of Tutsi annihilation was firmly implanted on the Hutu worldview long before the killing actually began.

All three defendants were found guilty by the ICTR. Nahimana and Ngeze were sentenced to life imprisonment, and Barayagwiza was given a sentence of thirty-five years, which was reduced to twenty-seven on account of time served. (It was argued successfully that his rights had been violated during his early detention in Cameroon in 1996 and in the years following.) Appeals on behalf of all three men are continuing, and may take several years to be determined.

Mein Kampf. Adolf Hitler’s (1889–1945) autobiographical account and plan for German military, governmental, and societal revitalization and European conquest, best translated as either “my fight” or “my struggle.” The book was written with the collaboration of his secretary Rudolf Hess (1894–1987) while both were prisoners in Landsberg Prison after the unsuccessful November Putsch in Munich. The first volume was published in 1925 and the second volume in 1926; they were later combined into one volume and translated into sixteen languages. By the close of the war, some 10 million copies were in print.

Throughout this rambling text, Hitler blames the Jews for all of the world’s and Western civilization’s ills, but most especially for Germany’s defeat in World War I, and, thus, advocates their (the Jews’) riddance—all the while manipulating the autobiographical data

through omissions and falsifications for political ends. It basically presents Hitler's philosophy in three thematic areas: (1) the superiority of the German people and the Aryan "race," and thus the latter's right to conquest; (2) his agenda for world domination, including the right to move eastward into Soviet Russia; and (3) the Jews as the root cause, both historically and contemporarily, of all that is wrong with civilization and what must be done to correct the problem. (The text does, however, stop short of openly calling for mass annihilation/extermination of the Jews, though gassing is mentioned.)

The text also spells out his political agenda of initial alliances with Italy and Britain, war with France, conquest of Poland, and expansion into lands occupied by Soviet Russia.

Scholars remain somewhat divided whether *Mein Kampf* was to be understood as merely propaganda or, truly, a statement of his political philosophy. The autobiographical material presented has long been deemed inaccurate, designed to manipulate his readers into believing that his philosophy grew out of his personal experiences.

Méndez, Juan E. (b. 1944). The first special adviser on the prevention of genocide to the UN secretary-general. Méndez, an Argentinian, served as a lawyer for Argentine political prisoners in the 1970s before Argentina's military junta jailed him twice for his activities. During his incarceration, Amnesty International, the noted international human rights organization, adopted him as a "Prisoner of Conscience." Following his release from prison, Méndez moved to the United States, where he worked for Human Rights Watch for fifteen years, specializing in Western Hemisphere issues. Later he served with other nongovernmental organizations and also taught law at the University of Notre Dame in South Bend, Indiana. At the University of Notre Dame he also served as the director of the Center for Civil and Human Rights. Prior to his move to the United Nations, Méndez served as president of the International Centre for Transitional Justice, a nongovernmental organization (NGO) that helps countries emerging from conflict or misrule hold human rights violators accountable for their crimes. On July 12, 2004, UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan (b. 1938) named Méndez as his first Special Adviser on the Prevention of Genocide. Méndez's main responsibility is to act as an early warning mechanism for the secretary-general and the Security Council vis-à-vis potential situations that could develop into genocide, and to make recommendations to the Council about how the UN can prevent such events. Based on the genocidal actions against the black Africans of Darfur (2003 through today, late 2007) by Government of Sudan troops and the *Janjaweed* (Arab militia) and the lack of an adequate international response, some have mused whether there is any point in even having a UN Special Adviser on the Prevention of Genocide.

Mengele, Josef (1911–1979). A German physician and SS officer in the Nazi concentration camp Auschwitz-Birkenau. He is best known as one of the SS doctors who supervised the selection of arriving transports of prisoners into Auschwitz, determining who was to be killed and who was to become a slave laborer; and, for performing human experiments of doubtful scientific value on camp inmates (for this, Mengele became known in the camp as "the Angel of Death").

Mengele was born in Bavaria. At the University of Munich he earned a doctorate (PhD) in Anthropology, and, in 1938, a second doctorate (MD) in medicine. He applied for Nazi party membership in 1937, and in 1938 joined the SS. In 1940, he was sent to serve in the reserve medical corps, following which he served with a Waffen-SS unit on the Russian front, where he was wounded in action. On May 24, 1943, Mengele became

medical officer of Auschwitz-Birkenau's so-called Gypsy camp. In August 1944 this camp was liquidated and all its inmates gassed, and subsequently he became chief medical officer of the main hospital at Auschwitz-Birkenau. From this time onward, he would meet incoming prisoners, determining who would be retained for work and who would be sent to the gas chambers immediately.

For Mengele, Auschwitz was an opportunity to pursue spurious research on heredity, using inmates for human experimentation. He was particularly interested in twins, in physical abnormalities such as dwarfism, in attempting to change eye color by injecting chemicals into childrens' eyes, in amputation of limbs, and in other brutal "surgeries." Most of the victims died, due to either the experiments or later infections. Undoubtedly, Mengele's experiments were of dubious scientific value, even though his so-called scientific findings have been listed in the prestigious digest of medical journal articles, *Index Medicus*. Mengele evaded capture after World War II, and escaped to Latin America using forged Red Cross documents. He lived in Argentina until 1959, and, just as war crimes investigator Simon Wiesenthal (1908–2005) was closing in on him, he once more evaded capture and moved to Paraguay and then to Brazil. It was in the latter country, in 1979, that he drowned in an accident. Although for some time there was doubt that Mengele had actually died, his remains were tested using DNA forensic techniques, and his identity was confirmed in 1985.

Mens Rea (Latin, Guilty Mind). *Mens rea* refers to the mental element of a crime. The *mens rea* or mental element of genocide has two components: knowledge and intent. *Knowledge* means that there is an awareness that a circumstance exists or a consequence will occur in the ordinary course of events. As for the issue of *intent*, a person has intent where: in relation to conduct, that person means to engage in the conduct; in relation to a consequence, to cause that consequence; or, he or she is aware that it will occur in the ordinary course of events.

Mentally and Physically Handicapped, Treatment of by Nazi Germany. In the Nazi conception of racial purity, mentally retarded, physically handicapped, or emotionally disturbed Germans were not considered to be desirable members of the racial community for the purposes of breeding. In October 1939, Adolf Hitler (1889–1945) authorized the chief medical officers of the Reich to institute measures that would put to death those considered to be *lebensunwertes Leben* (life unworthy of life). The order was retrospective to September 1, 1939, in order to make it appear as though required by the exigencies of war.

Six killing centers were established, all of which were located in the prewar Old Reich: Hartheim Castle, Sonnenstein, Grafenek, Bernberg, Hademar, and Brandenburg. Hiding behind a facade of medical respectability, those carrying out the killings were members of the SS. The murders were a graduated combination of starvation, lethal injections, and gassing; some of the doctors supervising or performing these extrajudicial killings became experts in the technology of mass murder, and were later employed as specialists in the Nazi death camps. Ultimately, the so-called euthanasia program resulted in the murder of approximately seventy thousand Germans before the efforts of Christian clergy, through both public opinion and private negotiations, obliged the Nazi authorities to ostensibly end the program on August 24, 1944. That is, the Nazis verbally acquiesced to cease the killing but in reality continued to carry out the program throughout the period of the war, right up to early spring 1945.

The attitude of the Roman Catholic church hierarchy throughout Germany (and extending as far as the Vatican) vis-à-vis the treatment of the mentally and physically handicapped may be contrasted with its silence in the face of the Nazi annihilation of the Jews at the same time.

Métis People. An indigenous people of Canada, primarily located in the western regions of the country. Descended from the mixture of both First Nations (e.g., Cree, Ojibway, and Assiniboine) and European settlers (primarily French but also English), the experience of the Métis after 1885 is most aptly described as a case of ethnocide. The figures of those killed in direct military confrontations with British and Canadian troops, culminating in the Red River Resistance of 1870 and the North-West Rebellion of 1885, numbered but few; but Canada's treatment of the Métis from the late nineteenth century onward saw the attempted destruction of the distinctive identity of the people using nongenocidal means, its outcome predetermined and its impact devastating for the targeted population. The historical experience of the Métis up to the second half of the nineteenth century had bred into them a sense of separateness according to which they were neither First Nations nor European, but rather an amalgam of both—a New People, as they saw themselves. As Canada expanded westward, and first British, then Canadian, military might conquered the Métis in battle in the quest to expropriate Métis land, the Métis were forced to defend themselves against dispossession, dispersal, and military occupation. Neither the Métis nor the Canadians sought to embrace each other into the nation-building process; the Métis were committed to a sense of their own distinctive peoplehood, were uncommitted to confederation with Canada, and were thoroughly alienated from a Canadian national ethos. The Canadians, for their part, discouraged the maintenance of a separate Métis identity and adopted measures intended to diminish it. Although many federal and provincial measures were enacted throughout the twentieth century in respect of Métis welfare, education, health, and social position, little was done to safeguard or recognize their distinctiveness as a founding people of Canadian Confederation. It was not until 1982 that the Métis Nation was acknowledged as an Aboriginal People of Canada, though by then a great deal of damage to Métis distinctiveness had already been done, with the ongoing nonrecognition of Métis identity across more than a century leaving a legacy of alienation between Métis and non-Métis in Canada.

Mfecane (Zulu, "The Crushing"). A euphemism for a period of massive depopulation in the eastern region of South Africa, especially during the second and third decades of the nineteenth century. In the Sesotho language, the terms *difaqane* and *lifanqane* are employed to describe the events of that period. As the Zulu nation consolidated and grew under the dynamic and ruthless leadership of Shaka (c. 1787–1828), the smaller neighboring clans were frequently destroyed in battle or in the aftermath of conquest. A large belt of territory encircling what was henceforth transformed into the Zulu heartland became largely devoid of population, serving the dual purposes of creating a buffer to counter Shaka's external threats, and physically destroying his immediate neighbors who might form coalitions against him. It would appear that Shaka's strategy of destruction was deliberate and well thought out. By the end of the worst features of the killing, it is estimated that at least 1 million—and possibly up to 2 million—Bantu members of the tribal groups of eastern Natal had perished. Owing to this huge program of depopulation, the traditional clan and tribal structures that had previously characterized the region were swept away forever.

Micombero, Michel (1940–1983). President of the central African state of Burundi between 1966 and 1976. A Tutsi, Micombero came from southern Burundi, and was educated

in local Catholic schools. In 1960 he joined the Belgian colonial army, and was sent to Brussels for officer training. In 1962 he returned to Burundi (with a commission as captain), and took up a position in the armed forces of what had become an independent state. He joined the ruling party (dominated by the Tutsi elite), the National Progress and Unity Party (UPRONA), and quickly rose to become secretary of state for defense in 1963. In mid-1966 he conspired with others in arranging for a palace coup that saw the Crown Prince, Charles Ntare V Ndizeye (1947–1972; reigned 1966), take the throne from *Mwaami* (King) Mwambutsa IV (1912–1977; reigned 1915–1966). Micombero then formed a new government, with himself as prime minister. Later in 1966, he declared Burundi a republic, and placed himself at its head as president. At that point the country began to descend into disorder. Ethnic hostility between Hutu and Tutsi appeared more overtly than hitherto, and regional factionalism between Tutsi politicians and other members of the elite began to divide the government. Micombero adopted harsh measures to bring the country to heel, and a number of public sector purges stamped him as someone to be feared. Hutu hopes looked to the now-exiled ex-king Ntare to return and overthrow Micombero's ruthless domination of the country; he did return, but was killed soon thereafter in government custody. Ultimately, Micombero was unchallenged in the measures he adopted to suppress Hutu defiance, and, in 1972, he instituted a series of deliberately targeted campaigns that can only be described as genocide. Anywhere between one hundred thousand and one hundred fifty thousand were murdered, especially those Hutu with any sort of a higher education. By November 1976 some members of the army, anxious to restore order to Burundi (without necessarily seeking to come to the aid of the Hutu), staged a coup d'état led by the chief of staff, Jean-Baptiste Bagaza (b. 1946). After a period of imprisonment in the capital, Bujumbura, Micombero was exiled. He died of heart failure in Somalia in 1983.

Middle Ages and Genocide. The premodern period saw numerous cases of what may be termed genocide, or genocidal episodes. These embraced a variety of locations and situations. As the Mongols under Genghis Khan (c. 1167–1227) swept through central Asia and eastern Europe during the thirteenth century, they brought havoc and destruction on a massive scale. This was done as deliberate policy; the more brutal the Mongols were, the more their reputation for violence spread. This, in turn, made it easier to conquer new territories and cities. Later, Genghis Khan's student in cruelty, Amir Tamir (1336–1405), who is also known as Tamerlane, took the killing to new levels, building small mountains from the skulls of his thousands of victims.

By this stage, Europe had moved far down the road toward becoming a persecuting society established on notions of religious intolerance, a frightening portent of things to come at the dawn of the modern age. An example of what may be termed a premodern genocide was the persecution and eradication in the early thirteenth century of the Cathars (or Albigensians) of France, who were accused by the Church of heresy. In its drive to wipe out all traces of dissent, the French Church fell upon the free-thinking people of the Languedoc region, destroying them utterly. Their example introduced the issue of doctrine to the modern understanding of genocide.

The story of the Cathars actually fits into a broader historical experience, the Crusades, a series of military campaigns that set out from Europe to rescue Jerusalem from the hands of the Muslim Arabs, beginning at the end of the eleventh century. Over the next two centuries, the Crusaders killed and killed and killed; no one can estimate how many deaths there were, but the populations of entire cities were butchered, areas of

countryside laid waste, and populations along the way wiped out, as the Crusaders marched onward to Jerusalem, cutting down anyone they suspected of being a non-Christian. Scores of thousands of Jews were killed, even before the Crusaders left their own countries for the Holy Land.

The Middle Ages, overall, represents a time of transition in the history of genocide. Although some perpetrators engaged in the practice of mass murder, forcible relocation, or wholesale destruction for the purpose of building an empire or removing physical threats, on other occasions people were persecuted or killed for reasons of religious dogma, a clear portent for a future when ideology would come to dominate human activities.

Milgram, Stanley (1933–1984). A noted psychologist who taught at Yale University, Stanley Milgram earned his PhD from Harvard University. He is most well-known for his disturbing and pioneering research as reflected in his 1974 book *Obedience to Authority*.

Milgram's research and reporting vis-à-vis his experiment related to "obedience to authority" was an attempt to explain how and why ordinary persons could engage in certain behaviors that they knew would cause harm, if not death, to fellow human beings. The genesis of his experiment was his attempt to understand how the atrocities associated with the Holocaust could be carried out by "the average person." The experiment was as follows: A person/subject was invited to sit at a console with a series of dials indicating the levels of voltage available for the experiment as a form of punishment (the dials themselves were unconnected). The experimenter (graduate students who wore white smocks such as those worn by physicians) would urge the subject to continuously increase the voltage from an initial 15 to a high of 450 in response to incorrect answers. As the levels increased, the "victim" would cry out, urge the person to stop, and the experimenter would counter by urging continuation. What Milgram discovered was that approximately 60 to 65 percent of his test subjects would continue to administer pain right through to the "fatal" level of 450 volts. Once the experiment was concluded, Milgram interviewed his subjects as to their thoughts about what had taken place. He found parallels between the perception of the test subjects and the Nazi perpetrators who perceived themselves as small cogs in a larger machine in which they simply followed the orders of a higher-up. The latter, of course, was the very defense denied the defendants being tried by the International Military Tribunal at Nuremberg, Germany, at the close of the war. The implications of his research regarding the psychological makeup of the individual, the ease of merging into social or group psychology, and the educational solutions out of such willingness to engage in such behaviors are still much debated today.

Military Occupation. This term applies to those situations whereby the military of one belligerent nation-state occupies territory belonging to another belligerent nation-state during a period of hostilities up to and including their cessation. As early as 1907, the question arose as to what was considered legally proper behavior during the period of occupation. The Hague Convention of October 18, 1907, in Section III, established the foundation for answering the latter question, declaring it the responsibility of the occupying power to "to restore, as far as possible, public order and safety, while respecting, unless absolutely prevented, the laws in force in the country." The Fourth Geneva Convention of 1949 expanded these requirements, focusing on the prohibition of the denial of basic human rights of those under military occupation, and, in Article 48, dealing with the forced movement of subject peoples into and/or out of such occupied territories. Theoretically, all such occupied territory is to be returned to its original owner

upon the cessation of hostilities, but, in reality, such territory has often been used as bargaining chips in peace negotiations.

Militias. Militias are generally understood to refer to a wide array of groups with a broad set of goals that have one main characteristic in common: they are armed factions that use violence to attain their goals and objectives. Although militias often constitute de facto forces in those nations in which they fight, generally they are looked upon as illegitimate entities—and that is despite the “legitimacy” they may be accorded by a nation’s political or military leaders. In certain cases, *militia* is a term that has been applied to paramilitary groups and/or private armies within a nation. In still other cases, the term has been used to refer to guerrillas, revolutionary armies, and insurgents.

Two classic examples of militias involved in genocidal activities perpetrated in the 1990s and early 2000s were the *Interahamwe*, the Hutu extremists who carried out much of the killing during the 1994 Rwandan genocide and who were closely associated with the regime of Rwandan president Juvenal Habyrimana, and the *Janjaweed* in Darfur, Sudan, who operated hand in hand with the Government of Sudan troops in genocidal attacks on black Sudanese tribal groups (the Masaleit, Fur, and Zaghawa), respectively.

Milosevic, Slobodan (1941–2006). President of Serbia (1980–1997) and, subsequently, president of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY) (1997–2000).

After 1989, Milosevic underwent an ideological about-face from the views he had espoused earlier in his career, remaking himself from a communist functionary into a radical Serbian ethnonationalist. In this he was not alone; others, in all the communist states, underwent a similar metamorphosis. To a large extent, this was due to two major reasons: one, the death of Tito (1892–1990), the longtime leader of Yugoslavia who had kept ethnonationalism in check, left a power vacuum in Yugoslavia; and two, Milosevic and others saw ethnonationalism as an opportunity to gain and solidify their power base.

Milosevic was born in 1941 in Pozarevac, Serbia, the son of Montenegrin parents. Upon completion of a law degree at the University of Belgrade in 1964, he entered politics while still a student. By 1987 he had become a leading political figure within Serbia, emerging as a zealous promoter of a Greater Serbia, a long time aspiration of some Serbian nationalists—an aspiration which was also, simultaneously, long feared by many non-Serbs in Yugoslavia. It was in 1989 that Milosevic, then a Communist *apparatchik*, gave a rousing speech to an angry group of Serbs in Pristina, who were protesting what they deemed were the unfair policies by the Albanians, who comprised the majority in Pristina, that he would never allow anyone to hurt them (the Serbs). Both he and his speech became famous overnight and ended up serving as a rallying cry of sorts for Serbs all over Yugoslavia. Thus, Milosevic’s first order of business was to stem the rising tide of Kosovar Albanian nationalism, which he did from 1989 onward, through the imposition of harsh rule, the abandonment of any hopes of a return to Kosovar autonomy, and a stronger police presence in the province. In 1990 Milosevic became president of Serbia. Following the collapse of communist rule, and the push by Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Macedonia to leave the Yugoslav federation in 1991–1992, Milosevic’s rule began to appear more and more as one that was determined to keep the country together under Serbian domination. In April 1992, following Bosnia’s declaration of independence and the violence that erupted throughout the former Yugoslavia, Milosevic promised to protect Serbs from “Islamic fundamentalism” and “Croatian genocide.” Toward that end, Milosevic encouraged Serbian minorities in Croatia and Bosnia to “free”

themselves from “foreign”—that is, Croatian and Bosnian Muslim—rule. To make their defense possible, Milosevic provided the “threatened” Serbian minorities within those two newly independent states with weapons, inciting them to wage ethnic war. The result saw the practice of ethnic cleansing introduced throughout the Balkans, with the Bosnian Muslims ultimately suffering genocide at the hands of the Serbs. In July 1995, Serb troops took over Srebrenica and Potocari and, as Dutchbat (the Dutch Battalion whose mandate, under the auspices of the UN, was to protect the so-called safe area of Srebrenica) looked on haplessly, some seven thousand to eight thousand Muslim boys and men were taken out into the woods and murdered. The genocide was “the largest massacre in Europe since the Holocaust.”

In 1997 Milosevic became president of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY). Over the years, Milosevic was the prime mover of the violent dissolution of Yugoslavia along ethnic lines. He came close to achieving his goal of a Greater Serbia, and might have done so had it not been for two major interventions from the outside by the international community. The first was the peace settlement bringing an end to the Bosnian War of 1992–1995, the Dayton Agreement (November 21, 1995). As a result of the Dayton Agreement, the fighting in Bosnia was ended through the introduction of NATO troops, whose task was to supervise the disengagement of the belligerent parties and monitor the resulting peace. Despite this, the new map of Bosnia incorporated many of the military gains won through force of arms by Serbian militias and regular forces. Although it was certainly a victory of sorts for Milosevic, it stopped short of giving him total mastery over Bosnia, which remained independent. The second foreign intervention preventing his creation of Greater Serbia was the agreement made in Rambouillet, France, on February 23, 1999, to resolve the crisis over Kosovo. Milosevic’s refusal to cease violence against the Kosovar Albanian population led to the intense and controversial NATO bombing between March and June 1999. As NATO bombed, the Serbs carried out a massive campaign of “ethnic cleansing” in Kosovo. Milosevic was forced to surrender, desist from ordering attacks against the Kosovars, and evacuate all military, paramilitary, and police forces from the area. In the end, Milosevic, though not his countrymen, considered the battle a victory. The defeat in Kosovo eventually led to his political downfall in October 2000.

In 2000, Milosevic called for elections in September 2000, but lost the election to opposition leader Vojislav Kostunica (b. 1944). Milosevic, though, refused to acknowledge the fact of his loss, and that resulted in huge rallies of protest against Milosevic. Fed up with Milosevic and his policies, the people—numbering in the hundreds of thousands—went on strike and, ultimately, in their anger and frustration, set fire to both the parliament and the state television station.

On June 28, 2001, the newly elected government of Vojislav Kostunica, after some hesitation, turned Milosevic over to the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY) in The Hague, which had, on May 21, 1999, indicted Milosevic for alleged war crimes in Kosovo. Soon the charges against him were recast to include genocide in Bosnia and war crimes in Croatia. When his trial began on February 12, 2002, he refused to recognize the legitimacy of the tribunal, and chose to represent himself rather than accept court-appointed counsel. The trial was controversial from the beginning, with Milosevic still enjoying a high level of support within Serbia and the Serb areas of Bosnia known as Republika Srpska. Other critics voiced concerns about the extent to

which he was likely to receive a fair trial from the ICTY, equated with a “victors’ court,” so soon after the intervention in Kosovo. Although the trial nonetheless proceeded, Milosevic’s health began to deteriorate, as a result of high blood pressure and associated complications. On March 11, 2006, he died of a heart attack, in jail. His body was returned to his birthplace at Pozarevac, and buried in a public ceremony attended by thousands of Serbian nationalists.

Minorities at Risk Project. Based at the Center for International Development and Conflict Management (CIDCM). Established by scholar Ted Robert Gurr in 1985 at the University of Maryland, College Park, this project monitors and analyzes the status and conflicts of close to three hundred politically active communal groups in all countries with a current population of at least five hundred thousand. The project is designed to provide information in a standardized format that contributes to comparative research and to the understanding of conflicts involving specific groups. The project is also part of a larger effort to develop a diagnostic model for monitoring an early warning of potential and emerging conflict situations. According to Gurr, it is the first research effort into communal conflict that builds on information and data collected on virtually all of the minority groups in the world—versus being predicated on a single or small set of cases studies.

Minority. All nation-states have subgroups different from their majorities in terms of racial, religious, cultural, ethnic, or linguistic identity, and are thus understood to be minorities. Depending on their governmental structures (democratic versus totalitarian dictatorship) and/or historical circumstances (Aboriginal versus immigrant populations), certain subgroups fare better than others. The type and amount of attention a nation-state devotes to its minority populations may very well be an index to its overall internal stability and peace. However, oftentimes, in politically turbulent environments, a given minority is often falsely perceived as the root of a nation’s ills (e.g., the Armenians in Turkey at the beginning of the twentieth century, the Jews in Germany after World War I), and those either already in power or striving for power attempt to persuade the majority that the destruction of a particular minority will alleviate all internal problems. Enshrined in most of the constitutional documents of the vast majority of nation-states are provisions which attempt to safeguard the rights of minorities, but then there is the issue as to whether such provisions are addressed in reality.

At the international level, the United Nations has addressed the rights of minorities in many of its declarations and conventions—for example, the United Nations Charter (1945), the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948), the Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989), and the Declaration on the Rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious, and Linguistic Minorities (1992). Among the provisions of this last Declaration are the responsibilities of nation-states to protect the existence of their minorities and their identities, and the right of such groups to enjoy their own cultures, participate in national decisions which directly affect them, and maintain contact with their own groups beyond national borders. Adherence to the provisions contained within these and similar international documents by all nation-states, whether members of the United Nations or not, would go a long way toward ensuring the safety, security, and survival of minority groups.

Mischlinge (German, Literally “Hybrid” but Understood in the Nazi Context to Mean Something Like “Mongrel,” “Half-Breed,” or “Mixed Breed”). Once the Nazis were in power, the Nazi agenda during the Third Reich (1933–1945) would, ultimately, evolve to

the extermination of the Jews. The initial step was that of definition, and the infamous Nuremberg Racial Laws of 1935 was the legal attempt to clarify who was, in fact, a Jew, who was not (a so-called Aryan), and who fell in-between, in line with the Nazi obsession with “racial purity.” Thus, persons with four Jewish grandparents were “full Jews.” Persons with three Jewish grandparents were “three-quarter Jews.” Persons with two Jewish grandparents were considered Mischlinge of the First Degree, provided they were not identified with the Jewish religion and not married to Jewish spouses; and persons with only one Jewish grandparent were Mischlinge of the Second Degree. In 1935, such persons in the latter two categories were said to number anywhere between one hundred thousand and three hundred fifty thousand. Mischlinge were not permitted to join the SS, nor were they permitted to advance in the officer ranks of the *Wehrmacht* (Germany’s military). For the most part, Mischlinge of the First Degree were classified as Jews; those of the Second Degree absorbed into German society, albeit with restrictions and discriminations.

Mission Mandate. See Mandate, of a United Nations Mission; and see Mandates, and United Nations Peacekeeping Operations.

Mit Brennender Sorge (German, With Burning Anxiety). Alternative title of the papal encyclical *On the Condition of the Church in Germany* issued by Pope Pius XI (Achille Ratti, 1857–1939; reigned 1922–1939) on March 14, 1937. In the manner of such encyclicals, the opening words (*Mit Brennender Sorge*) formed its shortened name. Given the specificity of its country focus and the audience for whom it was intended, the encyclical was published in German rather than the usual Latin. In view of a lack of any further statements of condemnation of Nazi actions from the Vatican, this document became the greatest papal reproach of National Socialist Germany throughout the duration of the Third Reich (1933–1945). It was not, however, a condemnation of Nazi racial or antisemitic policies, but essentially a document that focused on Hitler’s nonobservance of Germany’s concordat with the Vatican (July 20, 1933), particularly issues involving Catholic education—a tactic that would enable Pius to criticize Hitler without entering the sphere of politics, which he had long ago rejected as an area into which he would venture. As a censure of Hitler, the encyclical had little direct impact; but thousands of copies were smuggled into Germany, where it was disseminated widely. Although *Mit Brennender Sorge* did not deal with Nazi racial practices, a second pastoral letter, *Humani Generis Unitas (The Unity of the Human Race)*, a direct denunciation of racism and Nazi anti-semitism, was prepared a year after *Mit Brennender Sorge*, but never published—after which the Vatican, under Pius XI’s successor, Pius XII (Eugenio Pacelli, 1876–1958; reigned 1939–1958), retreated into a period of self-imposed silence on the matter of the Jews and the Nazi regime.

Mladic, Ratko (b. 1942). Ratko Mladic was the commanding officer of the Army of Republika Srpska (VRS) throughout the Bosnian War of 1992–1995. A Serb, he was born in Kalinovik, in southern Bosnia, becoming a career soldier in the Yugoslav National Army (JNA), in which he was rapidly promoted in rank as the Yugoslav Federation disintegrated. In June 1991 he was appointed as a Corps commander fighting in Croatia, and on May 10, 1992, he became commander of the 2nd Military District Headquarters of the JNA, stationed in Sarajevo. Two days later, with the creation of the VRS, Mladic was appointed its overall commander, second only to President Radovan Karadzic (b. 1945), who held the position of commander in chief. The crimes committed by the Bosnian Serb military while Mladic was in charge were many, and, as commanding officer, he was held

by international prosecutors to bear command responsibility. On July 24, 1995, Mladic was indicted by the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY) for genocide, crimes against humanity, and war crimes. He was held to be personally responsible for the attacks on UN-designated safe areas, culminating in the capture of Srebrenica and the subsequent massacre of at least eight thousand of its Muslim male citizens in July 1995. Indeed, Mladic is held by many to have been the military architect of the Bosnian genocide, and, as such, its greatest mass killer. Despite this, and in defiance of the ICTY indictment against him, Mladic continued to live quite openly following the end of the Bosnian War (December 1995). He even retained his post as VRS commander until December 1996, and functioned fully in that capacity. Without any fear of arrest, he was often seen on the streets of the many towns he visited in an official capacity, attended football matches, dined openly in restaurants, and was observed in a number of overseas locations. With the arrest of former Serbian president Slobodan Milosevic (1941–2006) in 2001, Mladic began to fear that his days of open impunity could be drawing to a close, and he went into hiding. As of late 2007, he was still at large.

Modernity and Genocide. The onset of modernity has been a common theme in scholars' attempts to understand the reasons for genocide. Initially, this discussion focused on the tragedy of the Holocaust (1933–1945). It was argued that some Europeans' radical rejection of the Jews emanated from a failure to adjust to a fast-changing world. A great emphasis was also placed on the post–World War I crises that shook Germany, as it was argued that Germans could not fathom how their powerful country had lost the war; only conspiracy theories seemed a logical answer. Germany, it was felt, had been betrayed and undermined by sinister new forces: atheistic socialists, Jews, republicans, and capitalists, among others. Hence, the attitude was that these forces were responsible for all that was wrong at the time: the economic disasters of 1923 and 1929; the destabilizing, though aborted, communist revolutions in Berlin and Bavaria; the plight of small shopkeepers; the crippling labor strikes; the chronic unemployment; and, above all, the insidious influence of the arts and the subversive ideas of new scientific disciplines such as psychoanalysis. All threatened the stable world that had once been: bourgeois comfort (*Gemütlichkeit*), Christianity, thrift, industry, conservatism, respect for authority, and the like. Out of the confusion came “answers”: the troublemakers were viewed as the Bolsheviks, the liberals, the avant-garde artists, abstractionism in the arts, and sexual immorality. Above all else, though, the fault was laid on the Jews and their “rootless cosmopolitanism.” Some argued that the Jews embodied everything that threatened traditional Germany. Jews—Franz Kafka (1883–1924), Arnold Schoenberg (1874–1951), Albert Einstein (1879–1955), Sigmund Freud (1856–1939), and so on—generated ideas that overthrew the old order. The Nazis asserted that if there was to be a return to a healthy German society and state, then the Jews (and those who followed their thinking) would have to be expunged, culturally and physically. The war against the Jews was to be a war over the soul of the German (Aryan) race. Hence, in time, the “Final Solution of the Jewish Question” (*Die Endlösung des Judenfrage*) emerged as the only way to rid Germany of its domestic and international foes. Genocide was a logical conclusion for this paranoid mindset. Whether this scenario, in whole or part, can be applied to other incidents of genocide is questionable. Discussion over whether the onset of a genocide scenario can be ascribed to an extreme reaction to sociopolitical change has yet to be resolved. Aspects of such a reaction no doubt can be applied to the analysis of other

genocides, but a problem holding back a definitive judgment on the matter is the vagueness of the concept of modernity—which, because of different conditions prevailing across states, time, and peoples, makes the task of the scholar (in this regard) an extremely difficult one.

Mogadishu. The capital, and largest city, of Somalia. In the early 1990s, a crisis struck Somalia, as central government control broke down throughout the country. Feuding tribes, led by contending warlords, brought on near anarchy. Rebel forces entered Mogadishu in 1990, and in January 1991, the president, Mohammed Said Barre (1919–1995), resigned and fled into exile. Rival claimants to the presidency stepped forward, and fighting commenced almost immediately. Many parts of Mogadishu were destroyed, and tens of thousands of casualties were inflicted throughout the country. Extreme food shortages resulted, prompting the international community to intervene in Mogadishu in December 1992 with a UN-sanctioned mission code-named Operation Restore Hope. Among those sent to Mogadishu was a contingent of U.S. Army Rangers and Delta special forces. Instead of restoring civil order, the peacekeepers met strong resistance from the warlords and their militias, in particular Mohammed Farah Aideed (1934–1996). The U.S. troops were ambushed by the militia, resulting in the deaths of eighteen U.S. soldiers, seventy-three wounded, and the kidnapping of the pilot of a Black Hawk helicopter. Newscasts around the world showed the members of the militia dragging the naked, dead body of a U.S. Ranger through the streets of Mogadishu. Following close on the debacle, U.S. president William Jefferson Clinton (b. 1946) decided to withdraw the U.S. forces from Somalia.

Memories of the Mogadishu events were to have serious repercussions in the case of the Rwandan crisis a year later, both prior to and after April 6, 1994 (the latter being the day the Rwandan genocide began). As news of the Hutu-perpetrated killing of the Tutsi reached the White House in Washington, D.C., pressure increased to intervene, but Clinton hesitated, fearing another debacle along the lines of what had happened in Mogadishu the year before. Following the lead of the United States, the rest of the world largely stood by as well—and as a result, between five hundred thousand and 1 million people ended up being murdered in just one hundred days.

In Mogadishu itself, the two major factions reached a peace agreement of sorts in January 1994, though fighting never completely ended—and it recommenced in earnest in the spring of 1995. To this day, Mogadishu remains in a state of conflict and chaos.

Mogadishu Line. The metaphoric term coined by General Sir Michael Rose (b. 1940), Commander of the United Nations Protection Force for Bosnia, to describe the situation whereby UN peacekeepers become directly involved in a local conflict, as was the case in Somalia in the early 1990s, between government military and rebel forces. Violation of this “line” is thus at the heart of the United Nations’ perception of its own military role as “observers,” “neutrals,” or “peacekeepers,” whose task is to intervene only in cases of uprising, armed conflict, or genocide. The most tragic expression, however, of its own failure to “cross this line” is the case of Rwanda in the early 1990s where Lieutenant General Romeo Dallaire’s (b. 1946), commander of the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR), request submitted to UN Headquarters for an additional five thousand troops to prevent what he truly believed would become a genocide was denied for internal political and bureaucratic reasons. Ultimately, between five hundred thousand and 1 million Tutsi and moderate Hutu were slain in one hundred days between April and July 1994.

Molotov, Vyacheslav Mikhailovich (1890–1987). An Old Bolshevik of Russian nationality. During the course of the Soviet man-made famine in Ukraine (1932–1933), Molotov served as USSR prime minister (1931–1939). He made frequent trips to the Ukraine during the man-made famine, primarily to “solve” problems that had cropped up as a result of the famine. He later served as USSR foreign minister during which he signed the notorious Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact, which resulted in the USSR becoming Adolf Hitler’s (1889–1945) ally. Molotov was later accused of having been responsible for creating the “death lists” during the Great Terror (1937–1938). In 1957 he was removed from power for opposing then premier Nikita Khrushchev (1894–1971).

Monowitz. The German name for the slave labor camp (several miles distant from the primary camp at Auschwitz) operated by the German industrial conglomerate I. G. Farben, beginning in 1943. Monowitz went by several other names as well, including Auschwitz III and “Bunawerke.” It was referred to under the collective name of Auschwitz due to the fact that the vast region of subcamps and smaller factories employing slave labor in this location were administered through the Auschwitz complex. It was referred to as the “Bunawerke” or the “Rubber Factory” because Monowitz primarily produced synthetic rubber.

It is estimated that at any given time more than ten thousand laborers, primarily men, staffed this location, the majority of whom died as a result of inhumane work conditions, mistreatment, starvation and malnutrition, and executions. Both Nobel laureate and author Elie Wiesel (b. 1928) and Italian chemist-author Primo Levi (1919–1987) worked at Monowitz.

Subjected to Allied bombing raids because of its importance to the German-Nazi war effort, Monowitz was liberated by the Soviet Red Army on January 27, 1945.

Montreal Centre for Genocide Studies (MIGS). Founded in 1986 by Professor Frank Chalk (history) and Professor Curt Jonassohn (sociology), MIGS is based at Concordia University, Montreal, Canada. MIGS’ primary focus is the examination of the phenomenon of genocide from both comparative and historical perspectives. It conducts its work through lectures, teaching, research, and the dissemination of the work of its own researchers and other scholars through its “Occasional Papers” series. MIGS also maintains an active website.

Morgenthau, Henry, Sr. (1856–1946). U.S. ambassador to the Ottoman Empire, 1913–1916. Morgenthau was a successful lawyer and businessman in the late-nineteenth-century American milieu that was to see it (the United States) catapult to prominence in the twentieth century. When his longtime friend Woodrow Wilson (1856–1924) became President of the United States in 1912, Morgenthau had hoped that a Cabinet post might come his way. Wilson had other ideas. Wilson believed that Morgenthau, a Jew, could be of service as United States Ambassador in Constantinople, from where he could oversee developments in the Holy Land. The Ottoman Empire had for several decades been a pariah in the eyes of many in the United States for the manner in which it treated its Christian minorities, and someone, with what Wilson felt to be an outlook that was both religiously neutral but culturally sympathetic to the American Christian position, would be an advantage in Turkey. When the Ottoman Empire entered the Great War on the side of the Central Powers (Germany and Austria-Hungary) in 1914, however, Morgenthau found himself not commenting on developments in the Holy Land, but reporting on the situation regarding the genocide that had been unleashed

upon the Armenians by the Young Turk government. His consuls in the provinces collected (and sometimes witnessed) horrifying particulars regarding Turkish actions, which they relayed to Morgenthau for onward transmission. As a result, the dispatches Morgenthau sent back to Washington provided a constant flow of detailed information about the unfolding genocide, often related in the most graphic language. Morgenthau's own dealings with the Young Turk leaders, in particular Mehemet Talaat Pasha (1874–1921), left no room for doubt that the total annihilation of the Armenians was the ultimate goal. His descriptions vividly exposed, in no-nonsense language, the nature and extent of Turkish measures against the Armenians, as well as his negotiations conducted with the Turkish leaders. The experience left Morgenthau exhausted and dispirited, and he returned to the United States in 1916. In 1918, with State Department approval, he published a memoir of his ambassadorship, *Ambassador Morgenthau's Story*, which brought to a wide reading audience the devastation wrought by the Turks on the Armenian people during 1915–1916.

Moriore People, Genocide of. The Moriore were a Polynesian people related to (and by most accounts, descended from) the Maori of New Zealand. It has been concluded that the Moriore left New Zealand some time after the Maori colonization of the country around 1000 CE; best estimates calculate a date of about 1500 CE. The Moriore migrated to the Chatham Islands group, to the southeast of New Zealand. Colder than the New Zealand mainland owing to their southern location, the Chathams are also less fertile and have a shorter growing season. Consequently, Moriore culture and folkways devolved from settled Maori agriculture to a hunter-gatherer lifestyle. The precariousness of the Moriore's situation also saw a greater reliance placed on group behavior than in the society from which they sprung, and, as a result, the Moriore were fundamentally a pacifist society that had renounced war or major violence as a means of resolving disputes. It is estimated that, at the time of first European contact in 1791, the Moriore numbered about two thousand altogether.

Various forms of exposure to Europeans followed. Sealers and whalers came and went, sometimes bringing with them Maori from New Zealand; seeing potential in the Chathams, some of these Maori convinced others of the need to take over the islands for their own use. On November 19, 1835, a ship named the *Lord Rodney* arrived in the Chathams from New Zealand; on board were five hundred or so heavily armed Maori warriors. About two weeks later, a second shipload, with another four hundred warriors, joined them. They immediately began to *takahi* (to walk the land), killing any Moriore they encountered. The Moriore response, after a hastily convened assembly of chiefs, was to offer friendship and peace to the Maori. At this stage they outnumbered the Maori by a ratio of 2:1, and, if war had been part of Moriore culture, they could have been successful in driving the invaders out. It was not to be. The Maori slaughtered the Moriore, enslaved them, and, according to contemporary reports, cannibalized them. One of the invaders, in an oft-quoted statement, commented: "We took possession in accordance with our customs and we caught all the people. Not one escaped. Some ran away from us, these we killed, and others we killed, but what of that? It was in accordance with our custom." From the original population of about two thousand, only 101 Moriore were still alive by 1862. Tame Horomona Rehe, known by his anglicized name as Tommy Solomon (1884–1933), believed to have been the last full-blooded Moriore, died in 1933. The ultimate fate of the Moriore, whose full-blooded population was completely wiped out as a

result of colonization, is comparable with the other indigenous peoples during the nineteenth century, particularly the Pallawah of Tasmania and the Beothuks of Newfoundland.

Mortal Storm, The. A major Hollywood motion picture made in 1940. *The Mortal Storm*, based on a novel of the same name by British author Phyllis Bottome (1884–1963), was directed by Frank Borzage (1893–1962), and starred Margaret Sullavan (1911–1960), James Stewart (1908–1997), and Robert Young (1907–1998). The focus of the film rests on the character of Martin Breitner (played by Stewart), a German who refuses to support Nazism. He falls in love with a Jewish woman named Freya Roth (played by Sullavan), to the condemnation of those around him in the small university town in the Bavarian Alps where the movie is set. Basically, *The Mortal Storm* shows how the Nazi ascent to power overturns the peace of the town, and its depiction of its subject is a commanding indictment of Nazism—indeed, one of the few effective anti-Nazi statements made by Hollywood prior to the entry of the United States into World War II in December 1941. (The other film to stand out, in this regard, was Charlie Chaplin’s [1889–1977] *The Great Dictator* [1940], though it was a satirical comedy, far removed from the drama of *The Mortal Storm*.) Yet even here, the filmmakers stopped short of realistic condemnation: Germany is not mentioned by name in the movie (other than a single reference at the very beginning), nor is the word *Nazi*. The designation *Jew*, to describe the very people being persecuted, is not heard at any point in *The Mortal Storm*. It is implied that Freya Roth is Jewish, but only the term *non-Aryan* is employed. The movie was a success critically and commercially but was proscribed in Germany. The Nazi government, having threatened MGM studios not to proceed with making the film, banned all MGM movies after the release of *The Mortal Storm*; this ban was not lifted until after World War II.

Moscow Declaration (Formally Entitled “Declaration of the Four Nations on Security”). An Allied statement signed on October 30, 1943 (and issued on November 1, 1943), by the governments of Britain, the USSR, and the United States. The Moscow Declaration was a warning to the authorities in Nazi Germany that those responsible for, or participating in, atrocities, massacres, or executions would, upon being apprehended, be returned for trial to the countries in which they had committed their crimes.

The Declaration was a highly influential document in the development of the international law of war, as it placed the punishment of crimes committed in wartime as a war aim. It was not, however, a Declaration made specifically in order to punish those responsible for the mass murder of European Jewry by the Nazis and their collaborators, nor did it refer to the racial base that underlay many of the crimes in question.

The Declaration was the basis for the Four-Power Agreement of August 8, 1945 (consisting of the earlier three powers, plus France), by which the International Military Tribunal was to be established to try alleged war criminals at Nuremberg, and was the declared principle in law upon which the Tribunal asserted its legitimacy.

Mouvement Démocratique Républicain (MDR) (French, Democratic Republican Movement). A Rwandan political party with a pro-Hutu bias. First established at the time of Rwanda’s transition to democracy in the last days of Belgian colonial rule in 1959, the party was initially referred to as the MDR-Parmehutu. It was the major party when Rwanda became a republic in 1962, but was abolished along with other political parties after a coup d’état saw the imposition of military rule by President Juvenal Habyarimana (1937–1994) in 1975.

When Habyarimana reestablished a multiparty political order in 1991, the MDR made a comeback. Given the party pluralism fostered by the changed political climate, the new MDR was at first much more moderate than the original incarnation, and it made an accommodation with the new arrangements by entering into an uneasy—if antagonistic—arrangement with the Tutsi-dominated Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF). The MDR constituted the major opposition party to the Habyarimana regime (MRND).

In July 1993, the MDR split over the question of how radical (or moderate) it should be. The extremists, led by Froduald Karamira (1947–1998), championed an intense form of Hutu Power ideology, and called themselves MDR-Power. The latter participated eagerly in the genocide, with many taking an equally active role both in the extremist political party and the *Interahamwe* youth militia. It was therefore MDR-Power, rather than the mainstream MDR, that was most closely associated with the genocide—a fact that is sometimes overlooked by observers reflecting on what happened in 1994. Indeed, the mainstream MDR, led by Agathe Uwilingiyimana (1953–1994) and Faustin Twagiramungu (b. 1945), remained true to the idea of party plurality, and many members paid for this with their lives during the genocide, including Uwilingiyimana. Uwilingiyimana served as the prime minister of the interim government in Rwanda prior to the genocide (April 7, 1993, to April 7, 1994) and was ultimately murdered at the outset of the genocide by extremist Hutu.

Jean Kambanda (b. 1955), a Hutu extremist, became the interim prime minister of Rwanda at the outset of the Rwandan genocide in April 1994. He was later found guilty of committing genocide by the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR). He is currently serving a life sentence in prison.

After July 1994, with the end of the genocide, the MDR was welcomed by the Rwandan Patriotic Front into the new political system. It has since progressed toward a more inclusive structure, changing some of its policies and symbols to reflect an integrated Rwandan (rather than simply Hutu) perspective. Even some Tutsi have become members of the party, and Tutsi parliamentarians have been elected representing the MDR. Despite this—or because of it—the party remains factionalized, its history acting as a brake on its ability to become a truly national party appealing to all sectors of Rwandan society.

Mouvement Révolutionnaire National Pour le Développement (MRND). The MRND, or National Revolutionary Movement for Development, was established by Major General Juvénal Habyarimana (1937–1994) as a new and sole political party for Rwanda in 1975. Henceforth, Rwanda was to become a one-party state. Habyarimana's goals for the MRND were, as he saw it, to promote the advancement of the Hutu people, through the fostering of peace, unity, and national development. As a political movement, it was organized as a grassroots party, in cells arranged at the village level. These cells were, in turn, organized at a regional and then at a national level. The party featured both elected and appointed officials and was to a large degree Habyarimana's personal creation.

Subsequently, Habyarimana imposed a quota on how many Tutsi could be employed in public service jobs and educational institutions, purged Tutsi from the universities, and refused to consider the issue of the return of exiled Tutsi to Rwanda (who had fled as a result of violent attacks against them by the Hutu beginning in 1959).

The party changed its name to *Mouvement républicain pour la démocratie et le développement* (National Revolutionary Movement for Democracy and Development) in 1993,

when it became the party of the extremist Hutu. Many of the leaders of the MRNDD were the main planners and organizers of the 1994 Rwandan genocide in which the extremist Hutu and their collaborators killed between five hundred thousand and 1 million Tutsi and moderate Hutu in a hundred-day period. The MRNDD was the ruling party in Rwanda during Habyarimana's presidency, right through to his assassination in April 1994, when his airplane was blown from the sky as he returned to Kigali from a regional meeting about a host of issues, including reconciliation in Burundi and the creation of transitional institutions in Rwanda per the agreement set out in the Arusha Accords.

Moynier, Gustav (1826–1910). In 1870, Moynier, one of the cofounders of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), proposed an international court to enforce the Geneva Convention of 1864, whose focus was the treatment of wounded soldiers.

The proposal, which was rejected by most of the international lawyers of the period, was an early predecessor to International Criminal Court (ICC) that would only come into existence more than a century later. More specifically, it was only in 1998 that the international community met in Rome, Italy (from June 15 through July 17) to finalize a draft statute for the establishment of the ICC. The ICC entered into force on July 1, 2002, once sixty states had ratified it and became signatories to the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court.

Mozambique, Genocide in. The African country of Mozambique had been part of the Portuguese colonial empire until its independence in 1974. The independence movement was led by a left-wing “liberation” force, FRELIMO (*Frente de Libertação de Moçambique*). In 1976, an anticommunist opposition movement, RENAMO (*Resistência Nacional Moçambicana*) was founded with the help of the Rhodesian government of Ian Smith (b. 1919). It was initially a military body, not a political one; its main activities involved disrupting communications, acting as a thorn in the side of the FRELIMO government, and serving in a support role to Rhodesian forces engaged in operations against anti-Smith guerrillas. From 1986, with the end of the Rhodesian war, RENAMO was increasingly based inside Mozambique itself, with a simple (though deadly) political strategy: in destroying physically as much of the government's infrastructure as possible throughout the countryside, people might be persuaded to lose faith in the government's ability to look after them, move back to a subsistence life in the bush, and thereby delegitimize the collectivist state toward which FRELIMO had been heading. Though simple in conception, in reality RENAMO's strategy led to a brutal reign of terror in which men and women were massacred, mass rapes against women were carried out, and young men and boys were pressed into service for RENAMO at the threat of their lives if they did not comply. The overall result saw massive destruction and loss of life throughout the country. By 1990, up to one hundred thousand people had been killed, and some 4 million—a full third of the total population—had been forced to leave their homes as internal refugees. Tens of thousands more fled to neighboring countries, as government authority in large sectors of Mozambique was eliminated. Given this, hostility between FRELIMO and RENAMO was intense and deep-seated, though a cease-fire in what had effectively become a civil war was negotiated and signed in Rome in October 1992. Since that time Mozambique's transition to a state of lasting peace has progressed slowly but steadily, with a gradual reintegration of former RENAMO-controlled areas taking place. RENAMO still exercises informal control over a number of districts in the countryside, though its destructive propensities have been tempered largely through time and its progressive

transformation into a movement of the political mainstream, operating within legitimate state structures.

Multilateral Aid. In common usage, the word *multilateral* means something having several sides, suggesting at least three or more. (A figure of two would render the matter in question as *bilateral*.) In relation to the provision of international aid (as between states), the term refers to instances where organizations reliant upon the input of many countries provide aid to other countries, often in situations requiring emergency assistance. Such international aid organizations sometimes operate as integral parts of large bodies; examples would include, for instance, the World Health Organization of the United Nations, or national Red Cross Societies in their relationship to the International Committee of the Red Cross. Multilateral aid is less open to abuse than bilateral aid; owing to its collective composition, relationships are more open and thus scrutinized more carefully for potential cases of corruption, domination, or exploitation by one of the parties over the aid recipient. When administered effectively, multilateral aid can therefore be a force for good in the development or restoration of countries suffering from hardship, war, pestilence, or civil strife.

Multilateralism. Multilateralism is the international concept of multiple countries working together and in concert vis-à-vis a given issue. Organizations such as the United Nations are multilaterally oriented and generally attempt to involve their members in multilateral decisions and actions. At the same time, whereas many of the more powerful and/or larger countries in the world often act unilaterally, those countries that are not as powerful often act multilaterally in order to combine their efforts to gain one type of advantage or another, based on a joint aggregation of their combined power.

The realities of both World War I and World War II literally saw the defeat of aggressor-nations only as the result of cooperation among nation-states, and the United Nations—the successor to the League of Nations—is intended to be the supreme example of multilateral cooperation, and the obligation of nation-states to engage in those behaviors important to the world community. In practical terms, however, global cooperation has proven far more difficult than its theoretical understanding, and that is true for nation-states continue to put their own self-interests first and often to the detriment of other nation-states (e.g., refusal to participate as signatories to international treaties and conventions, taking the position that doing so places their own citizenry at risk, the very argument which delayed United States ratification of the United Nations Convention on the Punishment and Prevention of the Crime of Genocide from its initial passage in 1948 until U.S. ratification in 1988). Issues such as global warming, fishing rights, aviation practices, land mines, arms controls, nuclear test bans, violations of human rights, and the like have all proven contentious as individual nation-states continue to thwart efforts at international agreements. Compounding these difficulties have been nation-states seemingly agreeing internationally while covertly continuing to engage in otherwise detrimental behaviors (e.g., the imposition of various types of sanctions, nuclear testing). The emergence of the United States as the sole remaining superpower, the demise of the Soviet Union, the awakening of Communist China, the political birth of the European Union, and the momentary crisis of international terrorism all are situations whereby nation-state survival and success are directly tied to global cooperation and multilateralism.

Multiple Genocide. A term employed to describe the targeting of a number of victim groups simultaneously during the course of a genocide. It has been concluded by some

psychologists that once the psychological limit or awe surrounding the killing of large numbers of human beings has been broken it is easier to kill again. It is the first genocide that is the hardest for regimes to condition their populations into committing, just as it is for a regime itself to get to that position. Once there, however, both governments and peoples can make the jump from killing one population to targeting and killing another.

In the Third Reich, the Nazis began their murderous reign of terror by targeting the mentally and physically handicapped in the infamous T-4 or “euthanasia” campaign. In fairly quick succession, the Nazis went on to begin their mass killing of Jews and then the Roma. Although the Nazis sought to murder Jews in toto, they also committed genocide against the physically and mentally handicapped and the Roma and Sinti and carried out huge massacres of Poles, Russians, and Soviet prisoners of war, among others.

Similarly, the Khmer Rouge in Democratic Kampuchea between 1975 and 1979 was able to murder, at the same time, Buddhist monks, Muslim Chams, educated and middle-class Cambodians, members of the Communist Party of Kampuchea, ethnic Vietnamese and Chinese, and members of the Cambodian national group living along the eastern border region.

Yet another example is that while targeting all Tutsi during the Rwandan genocide of 1994, the Hutu killers also murdered any Hutu of goodwill and moderate political views, or those who tried to shield the Tutsi from harm.

Through reference to these examples, it can be seen that those committing genocides can develop a disposition for murderous destruction beyond their initial brief, once they realize they are capable of carrying out acts they might otherwise not normally have considered possible.

Mussolini, Benito (1883–1945). Fascist dictator of Italy between 1922 and 1943, and ally of Germany’s Nazi dictator Adolf Hitler (1889–1945). As the founder of the ideology of fascism, and the world’s first fascist ruler, Mussolini was a role model for Hitler and many others of similar ideological leanings, in particular Antonio Salazar (1899–1970) of Portugal, and Francisco Franco (1892–1975) of Spain. Choosing journalism as a profession (after having been a school teacher), Mussolini’s political stance was initially directed towards socialism. He moved away from left-wing politics as a result of Italy’s participation in World War I after 1915, and in February 1919 he formed a new, right-wing movement, the *Fasci Italiani di Combattimento*. Its followers, known as *fascisti*, were formed into armed squads (“Blackshirts”), and dedicated to the principle of violent confrontation with anyone on the left, especially, socialists and communists. It was through Blackshirt violence and intimidation that Mussolini was ultimately to subvert democratic principles in Italy, and to not only achieve political office, but also to transform the country into a single-party totalitarian dictatorship. His title as fascist ruler—ostensibly prime minister—was *Il Duce*, or, simply, “the Leader”.

Mussolini was an advocate of an extreme form of aggressive nationalism, and he sought to extend Italy’s power beyond its own borders. He ruthlessly crushed local opposition to Italian rule in Libya (resulting in at least one hundred thousand deaths), and in 1935 his troops invaded the African country of Ethiopia, in an unprovoked aggression that would eventually lead to hundreds of thousands more deaths. The conquest of Ethiopia was accompanied by atrocities including the bombing of towns and cities from the air, the use of chemical weapons (phosgene and mustard gas), and indiscriminate slaughter. Italy’s active military intervention on the side of General Francisco Franco in the Spanish Civil

War between 1936 and 1939, and its rapid conquest of Albania in 1939, were further statements of Mussolini's aggressiveness in international relations. His dream was to make the Mediterranean region into what he referred to as *mare nostrum* ("our sea"). In order to accomplish this, he arranged a military alliance with Hitler in 1939 (the "Pact of Steel"); earlier, in the name of fascist solidarity with Nazi Germany, Mussolini's government passed a number of antisemitic laws, whereby Jews were dismissed from government employment and forbidden from marrying non-Jewish Italians. On June 10, 1940, Italy entered World War II alongside of Germany. As the fortunes of war went from initial success to a succession of defeats, Mussolini was deposed as *Duce* by the Fascist Grand Council in mid-1943. Although he attempted a political comeback with Hitler's help, he was captured by nonfascist partisans at the end of World War II, and on April 28, 1945, he was shot to death. His body, along with those of his mistress and several other fascists, was hung upside down on a meathook in a town square in Milan.

Myth of the Twentieth Century (German, Der Mythos des XX Jahrhunderts). Title of a book, published in 1930, outlining the major tenets of what was to become Nazi philosophy. Written by Alfred Rosenberg (1893–1946), Reich minister for the Occupied Eastern Territories from July 1941, it complemented Adolf Hitler's (1889–1945) *Mein Kampf* (1924). The book influenced the language, ambitions, and utopian rallying cries of the National Socialist movement, proposing a theory of racism, society, and history that would come to characterize Nazism throughout the period of the Third Reich. Rosenberg was a key Nazi theoretician and ideologist, though much of his writing is ponderous and convoluted. Nonetheless, the book impressed Adolf Hitler greatly, and he rewarded Rosenberg by elevation to the inner circle of the Nazi cabinet during World War II.

In *The Myth of the Twentieth Century*, Rosenberg mixed a combination of art, music, sociology, and politics in order to develop a theory that simultaneously exalted the spirit of Germanism, demeaned the continued existence of the Jews in the modern world, and offered utter contempt for the Roman Catholic Church as a faith that had for two thousand years kept civilization in its thrall as a force working against the Nordic ideal. *The Myth of the Twentieth Century* was also a viciously antisemitic work that outlined all the essential characteristics of the Nazi paradigm of the Jew, a figure who was base, parasitic, and destructive of Nordic culture.

Rosenberg operated according to an ideology of the nobility of blood; through this, *The Myth of the Twentieth Century* was able to convey the image of the innateness of racial superiority and inferiority. Rosenberg said little, however, that was truly original; much of the work was simply a revisiting of themes that had been explored earlier in the writings of authors such as Arthur Comte de Gobineau (1816–1882) and Houston Stewart Chamberlain (1855–1927). Despite this, millions of Germans accepted what Rosenberg had to say as authoritative and the last word of the race issue. In fact, sales of the book during the Third Reich were second to only *Mein Kampf*.

N

***Nacht und Nebel* (German, Night and Fog).** A decree issued on December 7, 1941, by German Führer Adolf Hitler (1889–1945) on the behalf of the Nazi regime (1933–1945). According to the *Nacht und Nebel* order, people suspected of “endangering German security” through underground or politically threatening activities were to be arrested, and made to “disappear,” as if into the night or fog.

Essentially the decree was prompted as a result of anti-German resistance, particularly in occupied France. The implementation of the order was placed in the hands of General (later Field Marshal) Wilhelm Keitel (1882–1946), and assigned to the SD (*Sicherheitsdienst*, or Security Service), the intelligence branch of the SS. Although those taken into custody as *Nacht und Nebel* prisoners were not the victims of immediate execution, many nonetheless died later, either as a result of overwork, starvation, disease, ill-treatment, or, in the concentration camps, of gassing or other forms of killing. While in the camps, prisoners were forced to wear uniforms with the designation *NN* on their backs. It is not known how many prisoners lost their lives as a result of the *Nacht und Nebel* decree, so complete was the secrecy surrounding their arrest and subsequent murder. They literally disappeared, with no trace remaining of their capture or subsequent destiny.

Nahimana, Ferdinand (b. 1950). A Rwandan, a former history professor, and propagandist for the radical Hutu cause against the Tutsi minority, prior to and during the Rwandan genocide of 1994. Nahimana taught at the National University of Rwanda, and developed a number of theories concerning the racial origins of the Rwandan population—theories he was later to popularize when promoting the cause of ethnic Hutu superiority over the Rwandan airwaves.

In late 1990 Nahimana became director of the Rwandan National Information Office (ORINFOR). As director of ORINFOR, he served as the overseer of the state-owned Radio Rwanda, newspapers, and all other media-related activities. After being dismissed from his post in February 1992, Nahimana and some colleagues—most of whom were members of the then ruling party, MRND—established the first approved private radio station in Rwanda, *Radio-Télévision Libre des Mille Collines* (RTL). As a founder and senior executive of the anti-Tutsi radio station RTL, Nahimana was largely responsible for the propagandistic content of the station’s programming; in this capacity, he thus performed a vital role as an anti-Tutsi ideologue. He was, in fact, said to have been the “intellectual inspiration” for the 1994 Rwandan genocide in that he was alleged to have written a PhD thesis and various articles that served as the ideological basis for the 1994 Rwandan genocide.

Soon after the genocide began, in April 1994, Nahimana left Rwanda for Burundi, and in the aftermath of the takeover of Rwanda by the Tutsi-led Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF), he fled to Cameroon. In July 1996, Nahimana was formally indicted by the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR) on four counts: conspiracy to commit genocide; direct and public incitement to commit genocide; complicity in genocide; and crimes against humanity. Transferred to the jurisdiction of the ICTR in Arusha, Tanzania, Nahimana's trial was consolidated into that of two other anti-Tutsi propagandists, Jean-Bosco Barayagwiza (b. 1950) and Hassan Ngeze (b. 1961). Collectively known as the "Media Trial," the three were held responsible for creating a climate that implanted the idea of Tutsi annihilation onto the Hutu worldview long before the genocidal killing actually began. All three defendants were found guilty of complicity to commit genocide and crimes against humanity by the ICTR, in a decision handed down in December 2003. Ferdinand Nahimana was sentenced to life imprisonment.

Nama People, Genocide of. The Nama are an African people inhabiting the southern part of modern day Namibia. During the revolt by the neighboring Herero people against German colonial rule between 1904 and 1907—resulting in a campaign of genocide against the Herero by the German colonial administration—the Nama joined in the rebellion, with devastating results. Following the military defeat of the Herero, the German army, commanded by Lieutenant General Lothar von Trotha (1848–1920), turned its attention to quelling the Nama. On April 22, 1905, von Trotha issued orders, in unequivocal terms, that the Nama should surrender or face immediate extermination if found at large in German-controlled areas. In short measure, over half the Nama—about ten thousand—were killed. Of those remaining, most were captured and confined in what the Germans referred to officially as *Konzentrationslager*, or concentration camps. There were five main "camps" throughout South-West Africa: at Wihdhoek, Okahandja, and Swakopmund, which were all built in 1904; and at Karibib and Luderitz, which were established in 1905. Conditions in the camps were appalling; an official report in 1908 identified a mortality rate of well over 40 percent across the camp system. Although this mainly impacted Herero who were incarcerated in the concentration camps, many of the Nama succumbed as well. From the appalling carnage wrought on the Nama population, survival and slow recovery into the twentieth century took place, resulting in an approximate overall Nama population today of about eighty thousand.

Nanking Massacre. The Nanking Massacre, commonly known as "The Rape of Nanking," was a major war crime committed by Japanese military forces in the city of Nanking (now Nanjing), then the capital of China, on and after December 13, 1937. The massacre took place over a six-week period that did not end until the early part of February 1938. At this time, the Japanese army committed widespread atrocities, ranging from mass murder and rape, to looting and arson. It is estimated that perhaps as much as two-thirds of the city was destroyed during the Japanese assault. After World War II, the International Military Tribunal for the Far East (IMTFE) concluded that anywhere between 20,000 and 80,000 women and girls (from small children to elderly women) were raped. Such rapes were often performed in the open. A large number were premeditated, as Japanese troops made thorough searches from house to house for young girls; in this way, many women were taken captive and gang raped. Once the act of rape had taken place, the women were often then immediately killed. In related instances, women were sometimes forced into military prostitution as so-called "comfort women." Beyond these atrocities, Japanese troops also searched the city for Chinese soldiers in hiding. Of those captured, many were machine-gunned; oth-

ers, it was claimed by eyewitnesses, were used for live bayonet practice, while decapitation was also a popular method of killing among the Japanese troops. Additional, more drastic, means of murder were also reported, including burning, live burial, and being beaten to death. Women (when not raped and murdered) and children were also killed in vast numbers. The figure given most frequently as the total number of killed is 300,000. This figure takes into account those killed in the city, as well as Chinese citizens murdered in the districts surrounding Nanking. As with many other instances of genocide and genocidal massacre, a climate of denial has emerged among some Japanese defenders of their military involvement in the war with China, such that they even maintain that the massacre at Nanking never happened. Successive Japanese governments, however, have recognized that it did occur. Outside of the government, public opinion with regard to the massacre is still uncertain. The event continues to be a point of contention and controversy in Sino-Japanese relations, the more so as some Japanese school textbooks that play down or deny the massacre are still being released and used in the classroom.

National Socialism. A political movement founded in Germany and intimately connected to Adolf Hitler (1889–1945), which attained office in January 1933. To a large degree, it began as a movement inspired by the growth of European fascism (particularly its Italian variant under Benito Mussolini (1883–1945), who was seen for some time as Hitler’s political mentor), but National Socialist ideology outstripped fascism when it incorporated a powerful and uncompromising strain of antisemitism into its philosophy, together with a racial conception of how the world operated. Like fascism, its essential beliefs were grounded in a vigorous opposition to alternative ideologies, particularly Marxism, socialism, liberalism, and individualism. Hitler’s philosophy called for an unyielding obedience of the people to the state, which was the transmitted will of the *Volk* (people), or national essence. Hitler, as leader (*Führer*) of the National Socialist party, was the embodiment of the state and bearer of the will of the Volk. The major goals of the National Socialist state were physical expansion in accordance with the principle of racial unification and contiguity, eradication of the nation’s racial and political enemies (as defined by the *Führer*), and a militaristic regimentation of society in every respect. German National Socialism was effectively a destructive force; through harnessing the power of the advanced industrial state to an ideology predicated on military power, expansion, and social engineering, National Socialism rapidly showed itself to be bellicose, dangerous, harmful, and a paradigm of sorts for other genocidal political movements.

Nationalism. A term that stems from the French Revolutionary era (1789–1815). It embraces the notion that a group of people united legally or by common cultural bonds comprises a nation with the right to self-determination. Nationalism initially was the quest for nationhood (in which people sharing a common descent, language, and/or history inhabit a territory guaranteed by defined borders) and the subsequent pursuit of statehood (in which a politically defined community, such as a nation, is governed by a united and recognized power structure accepted by its inhabitants as legitimate). As the idea of a French nation took hold after the fall of the monarchy in 1789, other ethnic groups began to discover and pursue their own distinct collective identity, claiming the right to their own independence. In general, there evolved two kinds of nation: first, that composed of a common civic identity regardless of cultural and racial limits; and second, that made up of persons with similar physical characteristics such as shape of nose, height and body shape, texture of hair, skin pigmentation, and bone structure, and/or ethnic features such as language, religion, history, and customs. The latter came to be known as *völkish* nationalism. It tended to be exclusive, rejecting from

its ranks people with other cultural characteristics. Throughout the nineteenth century in Europe, as peoples developed a national consciousness, some also became hostile toward minorities in their midst. By the end of the nineteenth century, an ever-increasing number of nations broke out of the grip of the Habsburg, Ottoman, and Russian empires, forging territorial claims that included minorities. Though the 1919 Treaty of Versailles, in the aftermath of World War I, tried to find peaceful and constitutional solutions to the problem of minorities, the twentieth century failed to provide security for minority peoples. In 1922, Turkey and Greece exchanged (amid much suffering and sorrow) their respective Turk and Greek minorities in order to draw together all members of the national group into a unified whole, along the lines of racial homogeneity; between 1915 and 1923 Turkey committed genocide against its Armenian minority; between 1941 and 1945 Nazi Germany killed off European Jewry in the name of racial purity; the independence of India and Pakistan in 1947 saw massive population transfers take place across the new borders, again, with huge loss of life and human rights violations; the Tutsi-dominated government in Burundi launched a wave of genocidal massacres against the country's Hutu in 1991; in 1994, Hutu killed their Tutsi neighbors en masse in Rwanda; in Bosnia-Herzegovina between 1992 and 1995, Serbs and Croats engaged in an ethnic war in their quest for ethnically pure territories (which saw a third population, the Bosnian Muslims, or Bosniaks, the additional target of both Serbs and Croats at different times); and in Kosovo, in 1998–1999, the Serbs engaged in ethnic cleansing on a scale that saw nearly a million Kosovar Albanians forced to leave their homes. Thus did radical *völkish* nationalism contribute to genocide, a dynamic which has been brought into the twenty-first century as Government of Sudan (GOS) troops and the *Janjaweed* (Arab militias) have been trying since 2003 to eliminate the black Africans of Darfur from Sudanese soil. Violence in the name of ethnic homogeneity continues to manifest itself as the most lucid expression of nationalistic zeal.

Nation-building. In relation to the issue of genocide, nation-building refers to the effort of the international community—generally the United Nations (along with regional organizations)—to assist a nation in the aftermath of genocide to rebuild its infrastructure in any number of ways (e.g., establishing and maintaining peace, including the establishment of fair and just policing units; developing a justice system; helping to create democratic rule and conducting fair elections; assisting in the development of economic viability and stability; and the resettling of refugees).

Nation-state. The concept of the nation-state remains a category and concept critically important for those concerned with genocidally related issues. The 1648 Treaty of Westphalia (“Peace Treaty between the Holy Roman Empire and the King of France and Their Respective Allies”), which affirmed the territorial and political sovereignty and integrity of the nation-state, remains foundational both to civilization and international law. The invasion of one nation-state by another or group of nation-states, regardless of reason (e.g., land expansion, economics and resources, genocide), remains among the root causes of wars of offense, defense, aggression, and the like. Even after genocide has been formally determined—for example, the case of Bosnia-Serbia-Croatia, as well as Rwanda, both in the 1990s—issues of state sovereignty and territorial integrity give pause for either unilateral action on the part of individual states or multinational action on the part of the United Nations. Questions of international law and treaty obligations compound the complexities in the desire or effort to stop such acknowledged genocidal activities.

Some hope that the proceedings of the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY), the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR), and judicial hearings expected to begin in Cambodia sometime in 2007 or 2008, may, ultimately, signal to the world community that crimes against persons and groups supersede the concept of the nation-state by the international community, and thus merit intervention to halt them.

Native Americans, Genocide of. The genocide of the indigenous peoples of North, Central, and South America represents the greatest and most extensive human catastrophes in history. The pace and magnitude of the destruction varied from region to region over the years, but it can be safely concluded that, in the two-and-a-half centuries following Christopher Columbus' (1451–1506) “discovery” of the Americas in 1492, probably 95 percent of the pre-Columbian population was wiped out—by disease as well as by deliberate policy on the part of the Spanish, the French, and the English and, ultimately, by the locally born heirs of those colonizing nations. Overall, this was a horrific case (or, rather, series of cases) of mass human destruction, in which tens of millions of people lost their lives. And the destruction did not stop once most of the people had died or been killed; the United States' policies of population removal, dispossession of lands, forced assimilation, and confinement to “reservations” meant that in a vast number of cases even the survivors were denied the opportunity to retain a sense of peoplehood. The bases of the destruction were many, and varied from place to place. The quest for land, religious conversion, the development of concepts of racial inferiority and superiority, displacement and population transfer undertaken in the pursuit of “progress” on the frontiers of European or American settlement—all of these had their place in the devastation of the Native Americans, in both North and South America. Individual murders, occasional massacres, and wholesale annihilation in long-term campaigns facilitated violent destruction, but from time to time the deliberate infection of Native Americans with virulent diseases was also embarked upon, as were measures to enforce starvation in certain areas. That a genocide of specific Native American groups took place is beyond doubt; however, this must be tempered by the qualification that not all destruction or population collapse occurred as the result of a deliberate intent on the part of the European settlers to achieve such ends. On those occasions where intent can be detected, a case for genocide may or may not be made, but the disintegration of the Native American world, in both North and South America, was not a monolithic event and must, therefore, be examined carefully and thoroughly, with an eye to the particularity of each people, region, and time period—without preconceived opinions.

NATO. The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) is an alliance of twenty-six states from North America and Europe committed to fulfilling the goals of the North Atlantic Treaty signed on April 4, 1949, in Washington, D.C. It was established as a Cold War measure in order to contain communist expansion.

The primary features of the North Atlantic Treaty, which serves as NATO's constitution, are to be found in Article 1, regarding the settlement of international disputes peacefully, and refraining from force wherever possible; Article 2, regarding the development of peace and friendly international relations by strengthening the free institutions of states; and Articles 3–5, regarding the principle of collective security, whereby an attack on one member state is to be considered an attack on all, with responses sanctioned through the UN Security Council. The structure of NATO permits the accession of previously unaffiliated states as members, a procedure that has occurred on

a number of occasions since 1949. The current membership comprises Belgium, Bulgaria, Canada, the Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Iceland, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia, Spain, Turkey, the United Kingdom, and the United States. The organization is headquartered in Brussels, Belgium.

NATO's central objectives have undergone a transformation since the end of the Cold War (which basically took place between 1989 and 1991), as the breakdown of bipolar international politics has given way to renewed hopes for the creation of a lasting peaceful order in the North Atlantic region. With this in mind, NATO waged a successful, though controversial, military intervention against Serbia between March and May 1999, for the purpose of stopping ethnic cleansing and other violations of human rights in Serbia's southern province of Kosovo.

NATO is the largest and most powerful military alliance in the history of the world. Despite its actions in Kosovo, NATO is not an alliance which has as its primary intention the intervention in, or stopping of, genocidal outbreaks; rather, its focus is on the maintenance of a peaceful Europe.

NATO and the Kosovo Intervention. Between March 24 and June 9, 1999, Operation Allied Force, a massive air campaign conducted by NATO to counteract Serbian military actions being undertaken against the civilian population of the province of Kosovo, flew thousands of sorties, including 12,500 missions in which bombs or missiles were fired. The campaign provoked intense controversy, principally because NATO's intervention in Kosovo was not supported by a United Nations Security Council resolution; the intervention was, in reality, an act of aggressive war by the greatest military alliance in the world against a sovereign country, Serbian-dominated Yugoslavia. Some Serbs, and Serb supporters in other countries, claimed that NATO was actually conducting a campaign of genocide against the Serb people, a claim that is insupportable at any level.

Of greater interest in considering the relationship between NATO and genocide is the fundamental justification offered for the intervention. For NATO and its supporters, the intervention was a major moral statement that Europeans, at least, would not tolerate a repetition of what had happened in Bosnia-Herzegovina between 1992 and 1995—that is, virtually watch, but take no action, as genocide was perpetrated. Essentially, then, NATO's actions bespoke the fact that in this instance (in Kosovo) genocide would not be tolerated and would be stopped militarily by a concerted effort on the part of the very nations that had looked on in the past as genocide was being perpetrated and done little or nothing.

Be that as it may, another criticism of the NATO intervention stems from the fact that as soon as the NATO bombing began, Yugoslav president, Slobodan Milosevic (1941–2006) took the opportunity this presented to practice “ethnic cleansing” against the Kosovar Albanian population of the province. An estimated eight hundred thousand Kosovars (and possibly more) were expelled entirely from Kosovo. The criticism was thus leveled at NATO for initiating the bombing campaign in the first place, as the forced expulsion (so the argument ran) would not have occurred without it. (NATO was also criticized for not including ground troops in the attack, as it was believed by many that ground troops could have prevented the ethnic cleansing from being carried out, whereas planes flying overhead could not do so.) Such an argument overlooks the fact that Serb actions prior to March 24, 1999, had long been pointing toward the possibility of an ethnic cleansing campaign against the Kosovar Albanian population—the primary motiva-

tion for NATO intervention all along. On May 27, 1999, while the bombing campaign was in progress, the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia indicted Slobodan Milosevic for crimes against humanity in Kosovo, which was yet another spur for NATO. In short, despite partisan criticisms to the contrary, all evidence points toward the conclusion that NATO's intervention in Kosovo in 1999 was designed to preempt genocide and, in so doing, to save Kosovo from what Bosnia had suffered four years earlier.

Nazi Ideology. Among the primary components comprising Nazi ideology, stemming from Adolf Hitler's world view prior to his ascent to power, are the following: (1) anti-semitism, simply defined as hatred of Jews and Judaism, thereby blaming Jews for all of the ills of Western and world civilization for which the solution would, ultimately, be their removal from the world scene; (2) social Darwinism and eugenics, the adaptation of British biologist and naturalist Charles Darwin's evolutionary thinking onto the plane of history by understanding civilization as the "battleground" for the survival of the fittest and most adaptable, coupled with a process of selective breeding of the human species; (3) *der Volk und Lebensraum*, the mythical understanding of the German people (*Volk*) and its inherent right to incorporate into itself those populations that are truly Germanic (i.e., Aryan) and obtain the land required for their growth, expansion, and creation of the unique community; (4) *Volksgemeinschaft* (the almost mythic allegiance to community inherent in being a German Aryan). This "right" to the land is also part of this Nazi concept of (5) *Blut und Boden* (blood and soil), that is, the relationship the "true" German has with German soil. These ideas cannot be divorced from an understanding of (6) racism, which also viewed the world in terms of superior and inferior human groups (i.e., Germans-Aryans vs. Poles, Slavs, Jews, Roma), the latter to either serve the former and/or be destroyed. In Hitler himself, the various threads become entangled in the superior moral principle of his leadership; an example of this is (7) *der Führerprinzip*, by which *good* is now redefined as obedience to Hitler's will and *bad* as opposition to it. Lastly, given the above ideas, the engine that enabled the Nazis to implement their designs was that of (8) war, which was understood as a legitimate activity of societies, states, and individuals.

Nazim, Dr. Mehemed (1865–1926). One of the chief ideologues of the Young Turk party in the Ottoman Empire between 1909 and 1919, and a leading member of the inner executive of its radical wing. Nazim, as one of those who precipitated the Young Turk revolt of 1908, served as an *éminence grise* within the party, and acquired a strong power base as one of the key supporters of Mehemet Talaat Pasha (1874–1921), the minister of the interior during the Young Turk regime and the key figure responsible for the Armenian genocide. A passionate Turkish nationalist, Nazim was in the forefront of Turkifying the Empire through forced assimilation, expulsion or, where necessary, the killing of non-Turkish elements of the population. Nazim's greatest acrimony was reserved for the Armenians. In February 1915—two months before the Armenian genocide broke out—he declared that a new pogrom should take place against the Armenians which would "produce total annihilation," in which it would be "essential that no Armenian survives." One of the positions for which Nazim subsequently became infamous, which he asserted in a Young Turk Central Committee meeting, was that Armenian children should not be spared but rather should be killed along with adults, lest they grow up seeking revenge against the Turks.

Nazim fled to Germany at the end of the war, was indicted by a postwar Allied tribunal, and was sentenced to death in absentia. Later, upon his return to Turkey, he was

arrested and tried before a court established by the Nationalist leader of the new Turkish Republic, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk (1881–1938), sitting in Ankara. Nazim was accused of plotting Atatürk's assassination; subsequently, he was condemned to death and hanged on the same day that the verdict was handed down, August 26, 1926.

Neo-Nazism. In the aftermath of World War II, the term *neo-Nazism* refers to persons and groups initially identified with those criminal organizations outlawed by the International Military Tribunal (IMT) at Nuremberg at the conclusion of the trials in 1946 (SA, SS, *Hitlerjugend*), as well as those individuals and groups created in the postwar period but whose agendas, styles of behavior, insignias, clothing, and so forth, resemble those of the original Nazis. They often sport (on their clothes, on their skin in the form of tattoos, on signs and flags) the Nazi swastika and are often inclined to salute, such as the Nazis did themselves, with their right arm straight out in front of them. They are frequently aggressive, mean-spirited, foul-mouthed, racist and antisemitic.

Outlawed in Germany itself, neo-Nazi groups are found in just about every Western country, including the United States. Among their continuing enemies are Jews, blacks, Sinti, and Roma peoples, homosexuals, and refugees. Their repugnant behaviors include beatings, rapes, murders, firebombings, synagogue and mosque desecrations, and public rallies that decry the existence of their self-selected enemies.

With the advent of the Internet and the World Wide Web, such groups continue to reach increasingly wider audiences but also enable law enforcement and other groups to monitor their activities and public presences. Neo-Nazism has, also, spawned a whole music industry of rock bands, albums, CDs, and so on, whose lyrics profess their messages but whose “sounds” are every bit as contemporary as any other on the contemporary music scene. Computer software games where the object is to destroy targeted groups continue to flourish as part of the international underground economy.

Never Again International. Never Again International (NAI) is a global network comprising students and other young people committed to learning about the causes and effects of genocide. It was founded in 2001 at the Institute for International Mediation and Conflict Resolution at The Hague, when five students in attendance decided to initiate a movement that would try to ensure that the oft-quoted cry of “Never again” would become a reality for future generations. They were motivated by their horror at the failure of the international community to prevent, or bring to an early end, the Rwanda Genocide of 1994. Since that first gathering, NAI has grown into a worldwide network (with members from, for example, Rwanda, Burundi, the Democratic Republic of Congo, the United Kingdom, China, and Canada) that generates ideas and action for peace, connecting young people through the medium of the Internet. Online conversations, seminars, and meetings take place, bringing together experts on genocide and interested youth—both those who have experienced genocide and those who have not. In addition, NAI members collaborate globally and locally on projects that help to build critical modes of thinking about genocide and educating (the wider community, particularly youth) about the causes of genocide and how it can be prevented.

Neville, Auber Octavius (1875–1954). Australian civil servant. Born in England, Neville migrated to Perth, Western Australia, in 1897 and by 1915 had risen to the position of chief protector of Aborigines. Notwithstanding this role of guardian, Neville was inspired by the ideas found in social Darwinism and eugenics and thus devised a plan for the complete disappearance of Aborigines of mixed Aboriginal-European descent. This

plan, based around what he termed “biological absorption,” involved a two-part methodology. First, Neville planned to remove all children of mixed descent from their native familial environment and send them to government-run institutions. Then, once there, the removed children would be systematically alienated from all their Aboriginal ties, cultural traits, and language, the better to enable them to grow up devoid of any knowledge of their Aboriginality. Neville’s plan would bear fruit, he anticipated, when, upon maturity, the children would marry white partners, and, over time, “breed out the color.” Neville proceeded from his reading of Western Australia’s Aborigines Act 1905, which gave the Chief Protector of Aborigines complete control over the lives of so-called half-caste children up to the age of sixteen. Life in the government-run institutions and mission-run homes—where the children were bereft of family support—ensured that these children, who had been forcibly removed from their families with the stated aim by Neville’s administration of “breeding out the color,” would find their identity as Aborigines destroyed in the process. Neville’s major concern at all times related to Aborigines of mixed descent, not those who were “full-bloods.” Neville believed that full-blooded Aborigines would die out as a people soon enough owing to more than a century of white neglect, but half-castes presented a major demographic problem that only the most rigorous application of forcible removal, being raised in a white environment, and “breeding out the color” could arrest. Neville looked at the idea of total biological absorption with a focus on the future. His intentions were long-term, and his words at the Initial Conference of Commonwealth and State Aboriginal Authorities, held in Canberra in April 1937, summed up what he saw as Australia’s dilemma: “are we to have a population of 1 million blacks in the Commonwealth, or are we to merge them into our white community and eventually forget that there ever were any Aborigines in Australia?” Resolution of this dilemma, for Neville, was the institution of a genocidal policy of forced removal along the lines directly articulated in Article 2 (e) of the 1948 United Nations Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (UNCG): and his policy was still in operation even after Australia had signed, and then ratified, the UNCG in 1948 and 1949.

“New People,” Cambodia (Khmer, *Bracheachon Tmey*). A term given to urban dwellers who had been recently conquered by the rabid communist rebels, the Khmer Rouge, on and immediately after the fall of the capital of Cambodia, Phnom Penh, on April 17, 1975. The “new people” comprised both city folk and peasant refugees who had fled to the cities before the advance of the Khmer Rouge in the countryside.

Upon being transferred out of the cities in a mass movement of forced relocation, the “new people” (who were also referred to as “1975 people” and “the April 17 category”) suffered innumerable hardships at the hands of the Khmer Rouge. Their treatment was conditioned by two basic motives: first, they were, according to the Khmer Rouge, “corrupted” by urban cum Western style-living, and thus had to be “reeducated” into pure Khmer communist ideals or die; and, second, their status as the last group to be brought under Khmer Rouge rule meant that the speed with which this transformation had to occur was greatly intensified over the experience of other groups who already had experience of living under the Khmer Rouge. “New people” were systematically discriminated against within the Khmer Rouge state, frequently receiving less food (and of poorer quality) than others, and possessing fewer rights than those who had lived under Khmer Rouge rule during the earlier civil war, who were designated as “old people.” Because of this, in a state in which the lives

of all were devalued to something much less than acceptable for basic humanity, those of the “new people” were most vulnerable. The result saw many hundreds of thousands killed and starved or worked to death because of their socio-geographical origin.

News Media. The news media—newspapers, radio, television, and the internet—plays an increasingly crucial role in the reporting and publicizing of human rights crises, including genocide. Advances in technology, particularly through journalists’ use of satellites for the purpose of getting a story out to their editors, have enabled an immediacy of reportage previously unimagined. Other advances, for example in photojournalism, have forced governments and policy makers to take careful note of how the public’s perceptions are shaped by the images they see and the stories they read. In many situations, political leaders are forced to respond rapidly to an emerging crisis, often based simply on the persuasive power of the media over public opinion.

Often, both governments and humanitarian agencies look to the press to provide assistance in getting their message across to the public. Despite this, the news media are often confronted with serious moral dilemmas when reporting on genocide and other instances of massive human rights violations. Editors, for example, are placed in the position of having to decide whether a story or image is too graphic for their readership. A decision not to run statements from various individuals, or certain photos, could potentially downplay a story’s importance, or hold back the reporting of a story altogether. Conversely, too great a focus on an atrocity, war, or genocide could leave a public weary of such information and/or images, and result in what has been termed “compassion fatigue.” Either this or poor, incomplete, or biased reporting could serve the purpose of misinforming a public, resulting in deficient knowledge and an inability to recognize the importance or tragedy of a situation. The media’s roles and responsibilities in reporting on genocidal outbreaks are many, complex, and serious; while such reports can be an important weapon in combating genocide, they can also act as a negative force. The issue is one of getting the balance right.

Ngeze, Hassan (b. 1961). A Rwandan journalist responsible for writing, publishing, broadcasting, and spreading anti-Tutsi propaganda prior to the Rwandan genocide of 1994. Born in Rubavu commune, in the Gisenyi district, Ngeze is an Islamic Hutu. In 1990 he founded *Kangura* (Wake Them up), an anti-Tutsi, pro-Hutu newspaper. Its first issue appeared in May 1990 and its last in February 1994—two months before the start of the 1994 Rwandan genocide. It became a primary instrument in the preparation of the Hutu population of Rwanda for the genocide of the Tutsi population that took place during the one hundred days that followed April 6, 1994.

Ngeze has always asserted that he was a businessman and entrepreneur rather than a Hutu Power ideologue/supremacist, but the pages of *Kangura* constantly showed him to be much more than what he claimed to be. Perhaps the most infamous piece he published in *Kangura* was a catalog of ten admonitory instructions—the “Hutu Ten Commandments”—that were to be followed by every Hutu in order to destroy Tutsi influence in Rwandan society, and guarantee Hutu hegemony. Their repetition through the pages of *Kangura* served as an important means in the ongoing conditioning of the Hutu against the Tutsi of Rwanda.

Kangura also published material that referred constantly to Tutsi as *Inyenzi* (Kinyarwanda for “cockroaches”) and drove home the message that these *Inyenzi* (including those from outside, the *Inkotanyi*, or rebels, from the Rwandan Patriotic Front) were about to enslave all the Hutu and/or exterminate them. The answer to this “problem,” it put rhetorically (and frequently), was to wipe out the Tutsi. Prior to ceasing publication, *Kangura* also pub-

lished the names of Hutu deemed to be politically suspect—with the insinuation that they should suffer the same fate as the Tutsi—and exhorted “true” Hutu to take all measures to ensure that they would predominate immediately and well into the future. Employing sensationalism at every turn, and with a readership many times greater than its circulation figures suggested, *Kangura* was a crucial agent in developing a consciousness for genocide, notwithstanding, as previously mentioned, that it had ceased publication by the time the genocide actually began.

Ngeze was also a cofounder, with Jean-Bosco Barayagwiza (b. 1950) and Jean Shyirambere Barahinura (b. 1956), of the extremist *Coalition pour la Défense de la République* (CDR) party and in 1993 became a founder and leading director of the anti-Tutsi radio station *Radio-Télévision Libre des Mille Collines* (RTLM).

In June 1994, Ngeze fled Rwanda in advance of the opposition Rwandan Patriotic Front forces. He was arrested in Mombasa, Kenya, on July 18, 1997, and transferred to the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR) in Arusha, Tanzania. His trial was consolidated into that of two other anti-Tutsi propagandists, Barayagwiza and Ferdinand Nahimana (b. 1950), and collectively became known as the “Media Trial.” The three were found responsible for creating a climate that implanted the idea of Tutsi annihilation onto the Hutu worldview long before the killing actually began. All three defendants were found guilty in December 2003. Hassan Ngeze was sentenced to life imprisonment.

Niemöller, Martin (1892–1984). Born in Lippstadt, Westphalia, Germany, the son of a Protestant pastor, Niemöller was a submariner and decorated German naval officer during World War I. Ordained in 1924, he served as the pastor of the Evangelical Protestant Church in 1924 in the Berlin suburb of Dahlem, where his fame drew crowds to hear his sermons. Originally a supporter of Hitler’s and the Nazis’ agenda, which promised to pull Germany out of the economic and social chaos that engulfed Germany in the 1920s, by 1934 he had established the Pastors’ Emergency League to combat increasing discrimination against Christians of Jewish descent in employment and education. The plight of “unconverted Jews,” though, was ostensibly not of much, if any, interest or concern to Niemöller. In 1937 he became head of the “Confessing Church,” a group of Protestant pastors opposed to Nazi demands that the State, rather than God and Christ, demanded their first allegiance. Again, the plight of Jews (other than those who had converted to Christianity) ostensibly did not merit protest by Niemöller’s group. Due to his opposition to the Third Reich, he was to spend seven years (1937–1944) in various concentration camps, including Sachsenhausen and Dachau. At war’s end, he was among the primary authors of the (1945) “Stuttgart Confession of Guilt,” which directly addressed the issue of collective German guilt for Nazi crimes. He was later to become a pacifist, opposing both German reunification and nuclear weapons. He died in 1984.

Night and Fog. See *Nacht und Nebel*.

No-Fly Zones. The term *no-fly zone* refers to a piece of land/area/territory that is specially marked off limits to any type of aircraft owned or operated by actors identified as enemies, foes, or antagonists to those being protected under the umbrella of the no-fly zone area. Generally, the international community (UN) or a regional force (e.g., North Atlantic Treaty Organization) declares and establishes no-fly zones. Such zones prevent bombings, strafing, and/or the transporting of troops and materiel to a war zone or a designated safe area.

In the early 1990s, NATO established no-fly zones over the so-called safe areas in the former Yugoslavia (various locations protected by the United Nations Protection Force in Former Yugoslavia (UNPROFOR) in the contested territories of the former Yugoslavia) in response to Serb attacks on the Muslim populations residing therein.

Nongovernmental Organizations (NGOs). An NGO is, as the name suggests, an organization independent of any government—national or international—that addresses and works on an issue of its choice. Among some of the hundreds of issues NGOs work on germane to the issue of genocide are: the protection of international human rights; conflict resolution among hostile groups in a state; the prevention of genocide; the intervention and prevention of genocide; the protection of internally displaced peoples; the protection of refugees; and hunger and starvation.

Nonintervention. A concept that springs from the doctrine that one state’s sovereignty may not be violated by another in any circumstance. It stems from the Treaty of Westphalia (1648), by which states would henceforth agree not to interfere in the domestic affairs of other states. With the Treaty of Westphalia, nonintervention became the most sacrosanct and unbreakable of rules in international affairs, and as such it took (and, in theory, takes) no cognizance of how a state treats (or mistreats) its population. More specifically, the essence of state sovereignty rests firmly on the fundamental principle that how a state controls its population is its own affair, and that, in view of this, no other state may intervene in its internal arrangements. To do so is regarded, in international law, as state-to-state aggression and is to be condemned. Thus, with the Treaty of Westphalia a clear differentiation was made between the national and the international.

After World War II, there was much soul-searching about the rectitude of this principle of international conduct, but no discussions were strong enough to lead to the revocation or modification of the absolute nature of the doctrine of state sovereignty. During the Cold War years, the United States and the Soviet Union engaged in considerable criticism of each other’s “suppression” and “exploitation” of their minority populations, though nothing was done actively other than rhetorical denunciations and propaganda. There was at no stage physical intervention in the “internal affairs” of the one by the other.

During this same period, whenever one state or a human rights organization (e.g., Amnesty International) did criticize a state for its ill treatment of a specific group of individuals, the state being criticized often declared the matter to be a case of “internal affairs” that was no one else’s business but its own. Over time, though, the pressure applied by international human rights organizations, which made ample use of the many new human rights documents and declarations that had come into existence with the advent of the United Nations in 1948, began to slowly pare away at the notion of so-called internal affairs when it came to the vile mistreatment of human beings anywhere for any reason. Further cracks in the nonintervention stance was the intervention to assist the Kurds of Northern Iraq in 1991, when NATO forces imposed a “no-fly zone” against the Iraqi military that was about to carry out a mission against the Kurds, who, years earlier, they (the Iraqi regime of Saddam Hussein) had already committed genocide against. But then, in 1994, the international community reverted to its old ways and virtually sat by and watched as the Rwandan genocide unfolded before its very eyes.

That said, while Rwanda became mired in genocide, there was some movement by the international community in response to the Yugoslav crisis, first in Bosnia (1992–1995), and then in Kosovo (1998–1999). Once the violence or feared violence was adjudged to be genocidal in scope, the international community began to contemplate military inter-

vention as a humanitarian act. As the crisis deepened in Kosovo, and Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic's (1941–2006) Kosovo campaign led to the expulsion of almost 1 million Kosovar Albanian refugees, NATO leaders came to a consensus that military action was imperative. Hence, the bombing of Belgrade and other locations between March and June 1999 was designed to force Milosevic to abandon his genocidal policy. The decision to intervene was an unprecedented break with all previous international action under the Westphalian states system. This new rationale for intervening, which stemmed from humanitarian motives, would increasingly receive support provided it had United Nations sanction under Chapter VII of the UN Charter. The 1999 Kosovo Intervention by NATO, which did not have such a sanction, was justified by Western leaders such as U.S. president William Jefferson Clinton (b. 1946) and British prime minister Tony Blair (b. 1953) on the grounds of sheer human necessity.

As to why the international community sat by and watched as 500,000 to one million Tutsi and moderate Hutu were slain in one hundred days by extremist Hutu but reacted with military might in the former Yugoslavia has resulted in great debate among scholars and policy analysts. Some claim it was because NATO's responsibility is to ensure peace in Europe, but not Africa, and thus it stepped into the breach in the former Yugoslavia. Others have asserted that the choice to act in the former Yugoslavia but not in Rwanda was due to the fact that none of the great powers in the West had important interests or assets in Rwanda. Still others have reflected on the fact that the United States, for example, was still wary of becoming involved in violent conflicts in Africa due to having been embarrassed by the relatively recent fiasco in Somalia in which numerous U.S. troops were killed, a U.S. helicopter was shot down, and a U.S. soldier was dragged through the streets of Mogadishu. And, finally, some said they believed it was due to racism: the people in danger in the former Yugoslavia were white, whereas the victims in Rwanda were black.

All that said, a recently developed concept in international relations, "the responsibility to protect," began evolving in the late 1990s and early 2000s. Its aim was (and is) to provide a legal and ethical basis for humanitarian intervention, whereby intervention can take place, preferably with United Nations sanction, in order to prevent or stop genocide and/or other massive human rights violations. According to the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty (ICISS), this can be broken down into three parts: the responsibility to prevent; the responsibility to react; and the responsibility to rebuild. The principle of nonintervention thus having been cracked, precedents now exist for further actions to save humanity in peril—though, it must be said, the tendency will undoubtedly remain strong for nonintervention to remain the norm in international affairs, and for its opposite to be invoked only in rare cases of the most extreme kind (and sometimes, as in the case of Darfur, Sudan, since 2003, not even then).

Non-Refoulement. This concept, which is at the heart (and constitutes the key principle) of refugee law, prohibits States from sending refugees back to the countries or territories from which they have fled out of a fear for their lives (i.e., a threat to their lives and/or a deprivation of their basic freedom[s]). The principle of non-refoulement is considered a part of customary international law; this, in turn, means that it is binding on all states, whether or not the states are parties to the Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees (1951).

North Atlantic Treaty Organization. See NATO

Nostre Aetate (Latin, In Our Time). This "Declaration on the Relation of the Church to Non-Christian Religions" was proclaimed by Pope Paul VI (1897–1978) on October

28, 1965. At the heart of the document itself is the notion that “the Catholic Church rejects nothing that is true and holy in these religions” and specifically references Hinduism, Buddhism, and Islam. However, at the center of this declaration is the position of the Roman Catholic Church vis-à-vis the Jewish People:

The salvation of the Church is mysteriously foreshadowed by the chosen people’s exodus from the land of bondage. The Church, therefore, cannot forget that she received the revelation of the Old Testament through the people with whom God in His inexpressible mercy concluded the Ancient Covenant. . . . God holds the Jews most dear for the sake of their Fathers; He does not repent of the gifts He makes or of the calls He issues—such is the witness of the Apostle [Rom. 11:28–29]. . . . True, the Jewish authorities and those who followed their lead pressed for the death of Christ [John 19:6]; still what happened in His passion cannot be charged against all the Jews, without distinction, then alive, nor against the Jews of today. Although the Church is the new people of God, the Jews should not be presented as rejected or accursed by God, as if this followed from the Holy Scriptures. . . . Furthermore, in her rejection of every persecution against any man, the Church, mindful of the patrimony she shared with the Jews and moved not by political reasons but by the Gospels’ spiritual love, decries hatred, persecutions, displays of anti-Semitism, directed against Jews at any time and by anyone.

Momentously historic and not without controversy within the Vatican itself prior to its inception, *Nostre Aetate*, in its rejection of both historic and contemporary primary Jewish responsibility for the death of the Christ and its rejection of antisemitism, signaled a new openness and beginning to Catholic-Jewish dialogue worldwide and, by extension, dialogue with other Christian, primarily Protestant, denominations which continues today around the globe.

Nuba. A collective term for the peoples who inhabit the Nuba Mountains in Sudan. Composed of many different ethnic and linguistic groups (in fact, it is estimated that among the Nuba there are more than fifty languages spoken), the Nuba number between 1 and 2 million persons. Beginning in the 1980s, the government of Sudan began a policy of liquidation of the Nuba peoples which culminated in war, which only ended in January 2005. Rationales for this genocide include the fact that the Nuba were not Arabs and not Muslims, their land had economic value, and the Sudanese government desired to create a nation-state composed of only like-minded and ethnically similar persons, excluding black Africans in the process.

Like many who are not Muslims in Sudan, the Nuba lead largely disenfranchised lives. While the government and others use what they wish in the territory resided in by the Nuba, the latter are treated as second class-citizens or worse when it comes their treatment at the hands of the government (be it the justice system, the educational system, or any other for that matter). The Nuba are also looked askance by the government in Khartoum for their tolerance to religious diversity. African Rights, a noted human rights organization in Africa, has asserted that “The central theme of Nuba history is the tension between political incorporation into the state of Sudan and the maintenance of local identity.”

In 2000, at the outset of a London-based campaign on the behalf of the Nuba, Suleiman Rahal, author of *The Right to be Nuba*, said that the Sudanese government was “bombing the Nuba back to the Stone Age . . . [And] now they are trying to starve us into submission.”

Nuon Chea (b. c.1923). Nuon Chea was the deputy general secretary of the Communist Party of Kampuchea (CPK) before and during the 1975–1979 dictatorship of Pol Pot (1925–1998) and the Khmer Rouge. His given name was Long Bunruot, but he took the name Nuon Chea as a revolutionary *nom de guerre*. Within the CPK, he was known as Brother Number Two—the immediate deputy to Brother Number One, Pol Pot. As a young man he studied law at Thammasat University, in Bangkok, Thailand, and ulti-

mately became a member of the Communist Party of Thailand. In 1949 he joined a Cambodian pro-independence group whom the French colonial authorities dubbed the “Khmers Viet Minh,” from the fact that they worked alongside of the Vietnamese pro-independence campaigners seeking a wholesale French departure from all of Indo-China.

Throughout the 1950s Nuon Chea worked clandestinely as a communist revolutionary in Cambodia, linking up with Pol Pot and sharing Pol Pot’s aim of creating a communist republic.

In 1960, Nuon Chea was appointed deputy secretary of the CPK. With the CPK takeover of power in Cambodia in April 1975, owing to victory in the long-running civil war between the government and the communists, Nuon Chea became prime minister for a short time in 1976, only to hand that position over to Pol Pot in October that year. As Pol Pot’s deputy, Nuon Chea played an indispensable role in developing the program of the CPK—policies which, as implemented by the Khmer Rouge between 1975 and 1979, would cost at least 1.7 million (and up to 2 million) lives. Between 1976 and 1979, Nuon Chea was president of the Standing Committee of the National Assembly of Democratic Kampuchea, and he remained deputy secretary of the CPK Central Committee (as he had been since 1960). With the collapse of the Khmer Rouge regime in January 1979, Nuon Chea fled to the western jungles with the remnants of the party. On December 29, 1998, he surrendered to the democratic successor regime of Prime Minister Hun Sen (b. 1952), along with another leading Khmer Rouge figure, Khieu Samphan (b. 1931). Nuon Chea has spent the period of his retirement living freely in Pailin, in northwestern Cambodia—regretting the loss of life that took place during the Khmer Rouge period while at the same time denying that there were any murderous policies pursued at his direction.

As Cambodia and the international community make the final preparations to move forward with plans to try the last remnant of those Khmer Rouge leaders still living, Nuon Chea is likely to be at the top of the list in regard to facing charges of genocide and crimes against humanity. In fact, a 2001 document entitled *Seven Candidates for Prosecution: Accountability for the Crimes of the Khmer Rouge* states the following: “The files . . . suggest that Nuon Chea may have played at least as important a role in dealing with ‘confessions’ as Pol Pot, and perhaps a more important role.”

Nuremberg Code. A major human rights document dealing with the ethics of medical experimentation. It emerged out of the so-called Doctors’ Trial, a trial of twenty-three former SS physicians, medical scientists, and Nazi functionaries held in Nuremberg between December 1946 and August 1947. At the end of the trial, the U.S. judges on the tribunal composed a code of behavior intended to ensure that lethal experiments and outright murder would never again be employed for the sake of furthering medical knowledge. The code includes a set of ten principles outlining the categories of medical experimentation that would henceforth be accepted as permissible: these included the mandatory consent of the participants, a commitment to ensuring that the experiment would minimize the possibility of harm or injury to the participants, a willingness and capacity on the part of the experimenters to interrupt or stop the experiment, and that there would be no lasting effects of the experiment upon the participants. The Nuremberg Code is thus a definitive document regarding scientific and medical ethics, and as such it is in the first rank of post–World War II human rights statements.

Nuremberg Laws. The Nuremberg Laws actually constitute two constitutional laws issued by a special session of the Reichstag, German Parliament, on September 15, 1935,

at the annual Nazi Party Rally (named the “Party Rally of Freedom”) in Nuremberg, Germany, both of which were designed to further exclude Jews from all manner of public life. The first, the Reich Citizenship Law, stated that only Germans or those related by blood could be citizens of Germany, thus excluding Jews from citizenship. Jews were excluded because they were understood by Nazi ideologues as constituting a different strand of humanity with different physical characteristics and different blood composition. This, then, was a way for the Nazis to further define those they considered to be Aryans, Jews, and *Mischlinge* (persons of mixed racial stock). The second, the Laws for the Protection of German Blood and Honor, prohibited Jews from marriage with other Germans, extra-marital affairs, the employment of German female domestic servants under forty-five years of age in Jewish households, and the raising of the German flag by Jews.

Ultimately, the aforementioned laws paved the way for even further exclusion of Jews and the expansion of additional antisemitic activities, including the infamous *Kristallnacht* of November 1938 (which saw major physical damage to Jewish businesses and synagogues, physical attacks, imprisonment, and murder of Jews) and the Holocaust itself.

Nuremberg Principles. In 1946, the International Law Commission (ILC) was established by the United Nations, and in that year the ILC created the Nuremberg Principles. In December 1946, under the action of the United Nations General Assembly, the Nuremberg Principles were officially made part of international law.

The essential implication of the Nuremberg Principles is that every person is responsible for his or her own actions, and that, as a result, no one stands above international law. The defense of “following superior orders,” which is what many of the Nazi defendants attempted to use as their defense during the trials conducted by the International Military Tribunal (IMT) at Nuremberg during 1945 and 1946, is nullified by these principles. The Nuremberg Principles were first recognized in the Charter of the International Military Tribunal that convened in the German city of Nuremberg at the end of World War II, and it was according to these that the indicted Nazi war criminals were tried and, where the court found appropriate, punished.

The list of seven principles, in summary form, is as follows: (1) any person who commits a crime under international law is responsible for the act, and liable to punishment; (2) where there is no set punishment for the act committed, it does not negate its criminality; (3) being a head of state or a government official does not absolve a person from the responsibility of having committed a criminal act, if the act committed is criminal within international law; (4) “following superior orders” is not a valid or legitimate defense, provided a moral choice was available to the person committing the criminal act; (5) a fair trial should be made available as a matter of right to anyone accused of committing a crime under international law; (6) the crimes for which a person may be indicted are (a) crimes against peace; (b) war crimes; and (c) crimes against humanity; and (7) complicity in the commission of any of the above-mentioned crimes is itself considered a criminal act under international law.

The Nuremberg Principles have been incorporated into a number of multilateral treaties, most notably that which established the International Criminal Court, a United Nations Security Council initiative established in 2002 for the purpose of creating a universal judicial regime for punishing war crimes, crimes against humanity, and genocide.

Nuremberg Trials. At the end of World War II (between October 18, 1945, and October 1, 1946), an international military tribunal (IMT), based in the German city of Nuremberg,

at the Palace of Justice, sat for the purpose of trying twenty-two major Nazis, accused under any of four counts: Crimes Against Peace; War Crimes; Crimes Against Humanity; and (the chief indictment) Conspiring to Commit any of the foregoing in a “Common Plan.”

The trials were to set the tone for all subsequent war crimes trials down to the present day. The major emphasis of the IMT lay in a concern to bring to justice those who had upset the international order by waging aggressive war, not those who had exclusively committed crimes against humanity.

Nuremberg should be seen as more than simply a trial sitting in judgment on the Holocaust. Nothing was seen in the first instance as being more criminal than the foisting of aggressive war upon a world which had previously been clearly committed to avoiding it.

That having been said, in the popular awareness since the trials, there has been a perception that the Nuremberg Trials were actually a judgment on the Holocaust, owing to the shocking revelations and film footage that came to light in evidence. Although the perpetration of the Holocaust itself was not on trial, revelations about the horrors of the mass murder served to confirm for people living in the Allied countries why the struggle against the Nazis had been too important to lose.

When the Tribunal (composed of two judges each from Britain, France, the United States, and the Soviet Union) handed down its decisions, there were few surprises. Six of the accused were found guilty on all four counts, and sentenced to hang; another six were similarly sentenced after having been found guilty of some of the counts. Seven were given prison terms of various lengths, and three were acquitted.

Twelve subsequent trials were held between 1946 and 1949. These trials considered the fates of the SS as a criminal organization, Nazi physicians who had conducted medical experiments on prisoners, Kommandants of Nazi concentration camps, leaders of major business enterprises that had collaborated in one way or another with the Nazi regime, and the like. One hundred seventy-seven persons were convicted of various criminal acts, and, likewise, sentenced either to death or prison terms.

The Charter of the Nuremberg Trials was unprecedented in international law, and a vital step on the road to a universal antigenocide, anti-crimes against humanity, and antiwar crimes regime that would be binding upon all. This would see its crowning moment (to date) in 2002, with the institution of the International Criminal Court (ICC) in The Hague.

Nuremberg Tribunal Charter. At the February 1945 Yalta Conference, a wartime summit between the leaders of the Allied Powers fighting Nazi Germany, Winston Churchill (1874–1965) of Great Britain, Joseph Stalin (1879–1953) of the Soviet Union, and Franklin Delano Roosevelt (1882–1945) of the United States, laid out the procedures of denazification that would be carried out at the conclusion of World War II, and also established the basis for the trials of Germany’s Nazi leadership. A second conference, in Potsdam, Germany, was held on August 8, 1945, during which the four powers of France, Great Britain, Soviet Union, and the United States signed the London Charter Agreement, at which they determined those charges that could be made against the Nazi leadership for their actions during the course of World War II. The charges included crimes against peace, war crimes, and crimes against humanity. It was this agreement, the London Charter Agreement, which, ultimately, became the basis for the International Military Tribunal (IMT) to be held at Nuremberg, Germany, from October 18, 1945, until October 1, 1946.

O

Obote, Milton (1924–2005). Former prime minister, then president, of Uganda. In 1955, when Uganda was ruled as a colonial protectorate by Britain, Obote founded the Uganda National Congress (UNC). As Britain engaged in the process of decolonization, he was elected to the colonial assembly (1958), but, a year later, his party split. Obote became the leader of one of the successor parties to the UNC, the Uganda People's Congress. In 1961 he was elected prime minister of Uganda (he assumed office in 1962), and, at independence in 1963, he remained in this position. His coalition colleague, Sir Edward Mutesa (Mutesa II, king of Buganda, 1924–1969; reigned 1939–1966), became titular head of state as president. This changed in 1966, as Obote launched a successful coup in order to become undisputed president.

From 1966 to 1971 Obote subjected the country to a tight authoritarian rule. At the time of the coup, hundreds of opposition supporters (and those suspected of backing them) were killed, as Obote suspended the constitution. Thousands of others were imprisoned or forced into exile. Freedom of expression, freedom of assembly, and other democratic freedoms were suppressed. The one area over which Obote could not achieve supremacy was the military. In anticipation that his protégé General Idi Amin (c. 1925–2003) would remain a compliant partner in the scheme of things, Obote misjudged the level of support he actually possessed, and, in 1971, his government was overthrown by Amin while Obote was out of the country on state business. Amin's own reign of terror was much harsher than that of Obote, but, in some ways, the former president had laid the groundwork for it through his own authoritarian style. When Amin was ousted in 1979, Obote—who had always maintained that he was the legitimate president of Uganda—was reinstated in 1980. This led to a very destructive period of civil war, including the commission of genocidal acts against the Baganda people in the Luwero Triangle region, an area opposed to the reinstallation of Obote as president, and the military imposition of rule by the Uganda National Liberation Army.

Perhaps up to three hundred thousand people, targeted for ethnic and tribal reasons, lost their lives. In 1985 Obote was finally overthrown, and a slow period of transition—from police state, to military, to civilian, rule—began. Obote fled into a self-imposed exile into Tanzania.

Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR). Established in 1993 by the UN General Assembly, the OHCHR is the major body

within the UN that has primary responsibility for United Nations human rights-related activities. More specifically, the OHCHR has been charged with the task of protecting and promoting all human rights for every person in every country, without regard for race, ethnicity, religion, sex, sexual orientation, age, political viewpoint, social class, or physical or intellectual difference. OHCHR aims to ensure the practical implementation of universally recognized human rights norms. It was established by UN General Assembly Resolution 48/141 of December 20, 1993, and on September 15, 1997, it merged with the UN's Center for Human Rights in order to assume its current form. Its work is guided by the United Nations Charter, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and additional human rights instruments pursuant to such goals.

The OHCHR comprises three main branches: (1) the Research and Right to Development Branch (which develops and oversees the implementation of strategies for the realization of the right to development); (2) the Activities and Programme Branch (which provides (a) technical assistance to countries; (b) support to such fact finding bodies as Special Rapporteurs and Working Groups that conduct research into alleged human rights violations; and (c) support and training for human rights field activities); and (3) the Support Service Branch (which supports UN human rights bodies such as the Commission on Human Rights). In conjunction with the above, the OHCHR conducts research at the request of the UN General Assembly and other policy-making bodies within the UN and works hand-in-hand with governments and international, regional, and nongovernmental organizations to promote and protect human rights. The OHCHR also acts as the secretariat for all meetings involving United Nations human rights bodies.

Throughout the 1990s and early 2000s OHCHR established a number of field presences for the purpose of assessing human rights firsthand in countries or regimes of concern. Although OHCHR cannot by itself arrest the development of tendencies that could lead to a genocidal environment, its existence serves as one of a number of important international initiatives which, when working together, can help to deflect the energies of those who would otherwise seek to achieve criminal ends.

Ogilvie, Albert George (1890–1939), Premier of the Australian state of Tasmania between 1934 and 1939, and rescuer of Jews from Nazi Germany prior to World War II. Ogilvie was born in Hobart, Tasmania, on March 16, 1890, and educated at one of Australia's more prestigious Catholic colleges, St. Patrick's, Ballarat, and the University of Tasmania, where he graduated in law. Admitted to the Bar in 1914, he soon developed a reputation as a successful barrister defending criminal cases. He was elected to the Tasmanian Parliament in 1919 as the Labor member for the seat of Franklin (and was the youngest member of the House), and, in 1928, became leader of the Labor Party. He led the party into government at an election in 1934, and, as premier, moved quickly into action in order to implement the many plans he had for the future of his state. A highly energetic and domineering leader, Ogilvie was determined to modernize Tasmania, expand the population, and improve the state's infrastructure. In 1935 he undertook a trip to Europe to see at first hand how other countries were dealing with the effects of the Depression. Among his travels, he visited the Soviet Union, Fascist Italy, and Nazi Germany, and was shocked by the antisemitism he witnessed in the latter country. Upon his return to Australia, he was driven to help Jews who applied to his state for refuge—even though, as a state premier, he had no say over federal immigration policy, at a time when Canberra was applying policies that sought to restrict Jewish refugee admissions.

Ogilvie pleaded with his federal colleagues to allow Jews to enter Tasmania, working from the premise that as an island state it would be easy to restrict Jewish entry from the mainland, if that was the federal preference. He put forth proposals for block Jewish settlement on Tasmania’s offshore King Island, and went to great lengths to oversee the progress of individual applications from refugee applicants. For the most part, his entreaties did not soften the position of the federal immigration authorities in Canberra. On June 10, 1939, Ogilvie collapsed and died of a heart attack in Melbourne. It has been suggested that the pressure under which he had been working on behalf of Jewish refugees was a contributing factor to his death. Ogilvie was arguably the only executive office-bearer in Australia in the 1930s to advocate refugee entry in spite of existing regulations or policy considerations.

“Old People,” Cambodia. A term given to those who had lived in Khmer Rouge-controlled areas in Cambodia prior to the Khmer Rouge’s capture of the capital city, Phnom Penh, on April 18, 1975. Designated as “old people” (*bracheachon chas*) or “base people” (*bracheachon mouladthan*), owing to their status as the preconquest population, they had been purged of those individuals unacceptable to Khmer Rouge ideology and collectivized along communist lines prior to the Khmer Rouge victory in all of Cambodia; consequently, their way of life did not undergo the same violent and radical series of changes as that of the so-called new people (*bracheachon tmei*), those vanquished after April 18, 1975. This is not to suggest that their lot was an easy one, but to some degree it can be concluded that the “old people” were for the most part slightly better equipped to survive the communist assault on humanity, in relative terms, than the “new people” were.

Ultimately, the totalitarian state of the Khmer Rouge imposed a murderous reign of terror throughout the country, in which at least 1.7 million (and possibly up to 2 million) people died through starvation and deliberate murder.

Omarska Concentration Camp. A notorious and brutally run Serb-controlled prison camp in the 1990s in the Prijedor province of northwestern Bosnia. Situated in an iron ore mine, the prisoners—Bosnian Muslims and Croats—were beaten to death, subjected to sexual mutilation, and summarily executed.

Omnicide. Philosopher John Somerville (1905–1994) coined the concept/term *omnicide* in 1979 for the purpose of conveying the unprecedented and widespread destruction and mass death capable of being perpetrated by the use of nuclear weapons. The term was formed from the Greek word *omni*, meaning “all,” and the Latin word *cide*, meaning “to kill.”

One-sided Killing. Also known as “asymmetrical killing,” this is generally what happens in a genocidal conflict. It refers to the power disparity between the genocidaires, those armed with the weapons and institutions of the state, and their victims, who are for the most part unarmed and helpless victims. Exceptions occur if the victims are able to mount some resistance, however limited in scope that might be. Examples of such genocidal killing, among others, include the following: the Ottoman Turk genocide of the Armenians (1915–1923); the genocide of the Pontic Greeks and Assyrians between 1914–1915 and 1923; the Nazis’ Holocaust of the Jews between 1933 and 1945; and the Hutu genocide of the Tutsi in Rwanda during 1994.

Only in the case of ethnic conflict does one occasionally find instances of two-or-more-sided killings on a genocidal scale, as was the case in the Yugoslav wars of dissolution, particularly in the case of Bosnia (1992–1995) and Kosovo (1998–1999). In instances

such as these, if a measure of power distribution prevails, the killing rarely reaches the heights of genocide and remains within the domain of genocidal massacre or ethnic cleansing, even though the radical intention of genocide remains.

Operasi Keamanan (Indonesian, Operation Final Cleansing). A tactic used by the Indonesian troops during one of its innumerable military operations to confront the FRETILIN groups of East Timor in the late 1970s, in which it used noncombatants to track down members of the FRETILIN militia. Indonesian troops forced East Timorese males as young as eight years old and as old as fifty from the local villages and resettlement camps to tramp ahead of them in a straight line as they searched for members of FRETILIN. Once the FRETILIN militia members were located, they basically had no choice but to surrender or fight by shooting at their own people. Operasi Keamanan continued on for about a year, and some estimate that up to ten thousand people were killed as a result of the operation. Indonesian troops continued to use this same tactic off and on in its battle with FRETILIN.

Operation Allied Force. On March 24, 1998, NATO forces initiated Operation Allied Force air strikes in an attempt to compel Serbian president Slobodan Milosevic (1941–2006) to cease ethnic cleansing in Kosovo, including the displacement of more than three hundred thousand persons in that war zone, and pull Serbian forces out of that province. In speaking of Operation Allied Force, William S. Cohen, U.S. secretary of defense, issued the following statement to the U.S. Senate Armed Services Committee on April 15, 1999: “Our military objective is to degrade and damage the military and security structure that President Milosevic [Yugoslav president] has used to depopulate and destroy the Albanian majority in Kosovo.”

Seventy-eight days later, on June 10, 1999, the operation ceased after Milosevic agreed to NATO’s terms the previous week, on June 3. Nineteen nations participated in the strikes: Belgium, Canada, the Czech Republic, Denmark, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Iceland, Italy, Luxembourg, The Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Spain, Turkey, the United Kingdom, and the United States. In terms of military deployment, 277 aircraft comprising 192 fighters and bombers, sixty-three support aircraft, nineteen reconnaissance aircraft, and three helicopters were used. Among the significant results of this military operation were the coming together of NATO allies, including the United States, even when issues of territorial and nation-state sovereignty were not directly affected.

Operation Barbarossa. Code name for the German invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, along a 2,900-kilometer front from the Baltic to the Black Sea. It was the greatest frontal advance in military history. The German forces numbered 3.2 million men in 151 divisions, with 3,350 tanks, and 1,945 planes. Accompanying the German forces were those of their allies: there were forty thousand Italian troops, and eighteen Finnish, fourteen Romanian, and two Hungarian divisions. With this attack on the USSR, Adolf Hitler (1889–1945) overturned the policy he had initiated a year and ten months before when he signed a pact of nonaggression with the Soviet Union (August 29, 1939). Hitler’s invasion of the Soviet Union was accompanied by a proclamation in which he reinforced his oft-proclaimed role of Savior of Europe against Bolshevism.

Operation Barbarossa lasted for several weeks, after which most of its major military objectives had been achieved. Where they had not, Hitler had to devise new campaigns while simultaneously confronting Soviet counteroffensives. Prior to Barbarossa, on June 6, 1941, Hitler issued his *Kommissarbefehl* (commissar order), in which he directed

that any Soviet cadres and political leaders captured be summarily executed. By extension, within the Nazi conception of communism, this included all Jews, as they were viewed as the chief disseminators of Bolshevik ideology. Accordingly, special mobile killing squads, the *Einsatzgruppen*, were established to accompany the combat troops of the German army close behind in the weeks following Barbarossa. As they came upon the villages, the *Einsatzgruppen* rounded up all the Jews living therein, lined them up in specially dug ditches, and machine-gunned them down.

Operation Condor. The name given to a joint campaign conducted by the intelligence and security services of Argentina, Chile, Brazil, Bolivia, Paraguay, Uruguay, Peru, and Ecuador during the second half of the 1970s. The objective of Operation Condor was to establish a network that would hunt down and assassinate left-wing opponents of the authoritarian (and often military) regimes of these countries, not only within South America but also within Europe and North America. The Condor conspiracy, so far as can be ascertained, was founded in secret at a joint meeting of intelligence officers in Chile on November 25, 1975. The intention was to establish an anticommunist front that would eliminate the possibility of so-called subversion through the destruction of “internal enemies.” A coordinating office of the clandestine operation was established in Santiago at Chile’s Directorate of National Intelligence, or DINA, which served as the headquarters of the Chilean security police. One of Operation Condor’s strategies, targeted assassination, saw the 1976 murder in Washington, D.C., of former Chilean foreign minister Orlando Letelier (1932–1976) and his assistant Ronni Moffit (1951–1976), a U.S. citizen. Many other such murders of high-ranking members of former left-wing governments, political opponents, and outspoken expatriates took place as well. Operation Condor was responsible for murder, torture, “disappearances,” targeted abductions, and extrajudicial cross-border transfers. Speculation exists regarding the relationship between Operation Condor and the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), theories speculating as to how far the United States was prepared to assist the South Americans in their Cold War efforts not to allow communism to establish a foothold on the continent. Declassified U.S. documents appear to confirm that such a link—if not outright assistance—existed. Throughout the 1990s and early 2000s a number of revelations were made in South American truth commissions and the trials of former military personnel that uncovered details about Operation Condor and also demonstrated how extensive its links were, not only in the Western hemisphere but throughout the world.

Operation Deliberate Force. As it was officially termed, Operation Deliberate Force was the two-week long (August 29 through September 14, 1995) NATO air strike against Serbian military targets in response to the July 1995 Serb shelling of Sarajevo. More than three thousand five hundred air sorties took place and more than a thousand bombs were dropped on forty-eight targeted complexes and 338 individual targets within those complexes, including heavy weapons, command and control areas, military support facilities, and communications installations. The NATO nations involved were France, Germany, Italy, Netherlands, Spain, Turkey, United Kingdom, and the United States. Subsequently, the Serbs ceased their military operations and genocidal activities, the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia was established, and Serbian president Slobodan Milosevic (1941–2006) was, ultimately, brought to trial in The

Hague, along with other military and civilian leaders. In contradistinction to the 1994 genocide in Rwanda, this example firmly demonstrates what multilateral military action can do to bring about the cessation not only of offensive military activity but genocidal activity as well.

Operation Deny Flight. In the Bosnian war of 1992–1995, NATO military planners developed a scheme in order to enforce the United Nations-declared heavy weapons exclusion zones. The strategy was two-pronged: first, to provide close air support for UN troops on the ground; and second, as a mechanism to compel the exclusion of Serb heavy weapons surrounding UN-proclaimed safe zones. The concept received a major setback in the aftermath of the fall of Srebrenica in July 1995 (during which some seven thousand to eight thousand Muslim boys and men were rounded up and murdered by Serbian forces), though air strikes against Serb positions continued to take place until the end of the war was in sight, late in October 1995.

Operation Encirclement and Annihilation. An Indonesian military operation carried out in 1977 that involved the saturation bombing and defoliation of mountainous areas in East Timor where East Timorese had sought sanctuary from the marauding troops that had destroyed their villages, burned their crops, and murdered their loved ones and fellow community members. The operation was horrifically successful in that the constant bombing, which filled the air with frightening sounds, left huge craters in the ground, and left the rivers red with blood and filled with dead bodies.

Operation Horseshoe. The name given by the German government of Chancellor Gerhard Schröder (b. 1944) to an alleged plan by the government of Serbia to expel the entire Muslim population from its southern territory of Kosovo, in March 1999. The details of the alleged operation were announced by the German foreign minister, Josef Martin (“Joschka”) Fischer (b. 1948) on April 6, 1999. According to this announcement, Serbian president Slobodan Milosevic (1941–2006) had told Fischer in early March that he had a plan to finish off the Kosovar Albanians within a week; later, a briefing by German defense minister Rudolf Scharping (b. 1947) showed that the Serbian military forces and police were already positioning themselves to surround Kosovo, employing a horseshoe-shaped strategy. Elsewhere, the news media in Britain, the United States, and other NATO countries corroborated allegations of such a plan, London’s *Times* going so far as to suggest that Operation Horseshoe was a preconceived maneuver that had been known by the CIA for some time. On the understanding that Operation Horseshoe was an active policy, NATO pointed to a systematic program of ethnic cleansing in Kosovo, in which a clear statement of intent existed that led all the way to the top of the Serbian government. As soon as the first allegations were made, however, they were immediately denied in Belgrade. Milosevic claimed that the whole thing was a fabrication, and, subsequently, Serbian officials—when not refuting the plan outright—argued that a strategy named Horseshoe did exist but that it applied to an altogether different course of action that had nothing to do with Serbian considerations regarding Kosovo. To this day, the term remains a controversial one, still eliciting denials from Serbia. There is no doubt, however, that in its time, during the spring of 1999, the ongoing affirmation of Operation Horseshoe’s existence provided NATO with a public justification for its military campaign in Kosovo and Serbia. The intervention was thus portrayed as a measure to stop an ethnic cleansing campaign that was then proceeding according to a set plan and employing a definite strategy.

Operation Menu. A covert United States military operation in early 1969, authorized by U.S. president Richard M. Nixon (1913–1994) and U.S. Special Assistant for National Security Affairs Henry Kissinger (b. 1923). Operation Menu took the form of secret B-52 bombing raids on Vietnamese communist bases in Cambodia. The air raids were code-named Breakfast, Lunch, Snack, Dinner, Dessert, and Supper. In the first phase of the air campaign, which lasted for about fourteen months, U.S. bombers flew 3,875 sorties; by the end of the bombing, in 1973, the U.S. Air Force had dropped 539,129 tons of explosives on Cambodia, more than all the bombs dropped on Japan in World War II. The U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) estimated that some seven hundred thousand people were killed by the bombing; other sources estimated that it could have reached a million or more. Eastern Cambodia, the site of the most concentrated U.S. bombing, was said to have seen its population drop by 25 percent by 1973, mostly as a result of bombing, refugee evacuation, and deaths though bomb-induced crop failure and famine.

Operation Menu had another impact beyond the deaths it caused: it led to the destabilization of Cambodia, the installation of U.S.-backed military dictator Lon Nol (1913–1985), and his eventual defeat at the hands of the Khmer Rouge—which had been boosted in its support by many Cambodians in reaction to the bombing campaign. In a tragic and ironic downward spiral, the very ideology the United States had sought to wipe out through Operation Menu actually came to fruition in Cambodia in part because of it, leading to the Khmer Rouge—perpetrated genocide and massive demographic and cultural destruction that followed in the years 1975–1979.

Operation Nemesis. Name given to a Boston-based Armenian conspiracy created at the Ninth Congress of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation in 1919. Its objective was the assassination of the Young Turk leaders involved in targeting the Armenians for genocide in 1915. Operation Nemesis delineated detailed plans on how to avenge those who had committed the genocide and escaped justice. The conspirators were determined to exact vengeance against those responsible for the deaths of their families. Most of the conspirators in Operation Nemesis were survivors. It must be understood that those involved with Operation Nemesis are not the only ones who carried out revenge killings against the Young Turk leaders and lesser officials who had been involved in the killing of Armenians during the genocide. Other survivors of the Armenian genocide acted on their own or in collusion with others, none of whom were affiliated with Operation Nemesis.

The most celebrated assassination was that of the former Young Turk minister of the interior, Mehemet Talaat Pasha (1874–1921), and it was carried out under the auspices of Operation Nemesis. Talaat, along with other Young Turk leaders, had escaped to Germany after the collapse of Turkey in 1918, but an Armenian Revolutionary Federation member, Soghomon Tehlirian (1896–1960), tracked him down and murdered him on a Berlin street in March 1921. Upon his arrest, Tehlirian was far from popular among the German people for his action, but, during his trial, a substantial body of evidence about the Armenian genocide was introduced which served to temper German anger at the assassination. Ultimately, he was acquitted on the grounds of a temporary loss of his reason owing to his experiences at the hands of Talaat's genocidal government.

Those associated with Operation Nemesis ultimately found many of the Young Turk perpetrators in other parts of Europe and central Asia and meted out their own form of retribution.

Operation Provide Comfort. Encouraged by U.S. president George H. W. Bush's (b. 1924) statement in the aftermath of the Gulf War (January 17, 1991, to February 27, 1991) that the Iraqis should take matters into their own hands and depose Saddam Hussein (1937–2006), the Kurds of northern Iraq, who had already suffered genocide at the hands of the Iraqi dictatorship in 1988, began an uprising in early March. After the Kurds successfully took control of almost all of Kurdistan, Saddam's forces began to crush the rebellion. Fearing another genocidal assault, a million-plus Kurds fled their homes. Despite Iraq's scorched earth policies against the Kurds (e.g., blowing up and bulldozing villages so that the Kurds had nothing to return to), the U.S. maintained a hands-off approach. It was not until the Turkish government began decrying the fact that it was being overwhelmed by Kurdish refugees and U.S. Secretary of State James Baker actually viewed the horrific state of affairs along the Turkish-Iraqi border that the United States was moved to complement Operation Provide Comfort. In cooperation with its allies, the United States helped to establish a "safe haven" for northern Iraqi Kurds, who were at the mercy of Saddam Hussein's armed forces. The operation involved the establishment of relief camps in Iraq (north of the thirty-sixth parallel in northern Iraq) and flyovers by U.S., British, and French aircraft. Of Operation Provide Comfort, it has been said: "Provide Comfort was perhaps the most promising indicator of what the post-Cold War world might bring in the way of genocide prevention. . . . This marked an unprecedented intervention in the internal affairs of a state for humanitarian reasons. Thanks to the allied effort, the Iraqi Kurds were able to return home and, with the protection of NATO jets overhead, govern themselves" (Power, 2002, p. 241).

Operation Reinhard Death Camps (German, *Aktion Reinhard*). Code name for the planned Nazi extermination of more than 2 million Jewish Poles between 1941 and 1942, and into 1943. The operation was named in honor of the Nazi SS leader Reinhard Heydrich (1904–1942), who had been assassinated by Czech partisans in May 1941. Heydrich was second in importance to Heinrich Himmler (1900–1945) in the Nazi SS organization. Nicknamed "The Blond Beast" by the Nazis and "Hangman Heydrich" by others, Heydrich was the leading planner of Hitler's Final Solution.

Three death camps were constructed for the purpose of carrying out the extermination process: Belzec, Sobibor, and Treblinka. Himmler assigned a leading SS officer in the Polish occupied territories, Odilo Globocnik (1904–1945), to oversee the entire program. The actual tasks included planning, construction, and operation of the death camps, deportation and transportation to the camps, extermination, and confiscation of possessions and valuables. By its end, in November 1943, more than 2 million Jews had been murdered.

Operation Support Hope. Operation Support Hope is considered to have been one of the largest humanitarian relief efforts in history. It was initiated by U.S. President Bill Clinton (b. 1946) in response to the massive refugee problem triggered by the Rwandan genocide of April–July 1994, which saw up to 2 million (mainly) Hutu refugees fleeing from Rwanda into Democratic Republic of Congo (formerly Zaire), Tanzania, and Burundi. Operation Support Hope was announced by Clinton on July 22, 1994. By July 24, U.S. military personnel had been deployed to Goma (Zaire), Kigali (Rwanda), and Entebbe (Uganda), in order to establish the necessary infrastructure that would be required to dispense the immense amounts of aid that Operation Support Hope would shortly be supplying. In the days that followed, the U.S. Air Force flew more than twelve

hundred air sorties into the area, in conjunction with the United Nations, providing water, food, and other relief and humanitarian supplies. The success of Operation Support Hope could be measured quantitatively; within a month of being set in motion, the daily death rate at the immense refugee camp at Goma, Zaire, as a result of malnutrition, starvation, and thirst, had been reduced to less than five hundred per day. Despite this, however, it must be noted that Operation Support Hope was not carried out in order to halt the genocide. Rather, it came after the genocide, when Western countries could appear as good global citizens without having had to get their hands dirty through intervening in stopping the killing while it was taking place. Further, by assisting those in the refugee camps—many of which served as a refuge for the very Hutu killers who had carried out the genocide—Support Hope failed to assist in any way to locate the perpetrators or help in bringing them to justice. Indeed, the Hutu killers frequently used the refugee camps as bases from which to continue their anti-Tutsi activities, launching raids back into Rwanda to either kill witnesses to their activities during the months of April-July 1994, or to “encourage” (i.e., to force) Hutu still living in Rwanda to continue the killing process. The irony of Operation Support Hope lies in the fact that by its very existence it showed what the countries of the world were prepared to do—help the survivors and the killers, after the fact—rather than what they should have done, that is, stop the genocide while it was taking place.

Operation Turquoise. As the 1994 Rwandan genocide was being perpetrated by extremist Hutu against Tutsi and moderate Hutu, the United Nations Security Council passed Resolution 918 of May 1994, which called for the strengthening of the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR) via the deployment of troops under a Chapter VII mandate. The French government, which had until then done little worthwhile in the way of intervention, took up Resolution 918 and offered to deploy troops. Subsequently, under UN Security Council Resolution 929, dated July 22, 1994, Operation Turquoise was set in motion, with an initial deployment of two thousand five hundred French troops and approximately five hundred others, mostly from African nations, along with one hundred armored personnel carriers, ten helicopters, four fighter bombers, and two reconnaissance planes. These troops set up a block of so-called safe areas in the southwest of Rwanda, claiming that this was the best way to prevent vast numbers of refugees moving into northern Zaire (now the Democratic Republic of Congo) while at the same time safeguarding the refugees’ lives. The area under its jurisdiction became known as the “Turquoise Zone” and comprised approximately 20 percent of the country.

Much speculative comment has been made regarding the ulterior motives of the French in establishing such “safe areas” where they did, given that nearly all of those who fled to them were Hutu rather than Tutsi, and that among the Hutu were substantial numbers of genocidal killers. It has also been suggested that France decided to defend these Hutu from the advance of the army of the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF), an organization that was largely English-speaking but operating in a Francophone country. An important consequence of Operation Turquoise was that the Hutu were not disarmed satisfactorily by the French troops. Extremist Hutu still possessing arms were able to operate effectively within the so-called safe zone; indeed, they continued the killing of any Tutsi they could find, unhindered by any fears of being caught by the RPF. French troops did step in between Hutu killers and Tutsi victims whenever contact was obvious, but such occurrences were infrequent. Operation Turquoise troops were gradually withdrawn throughout August 1994, as

troops from a reconstituted UNAMIR moved to occupy the whole country, though concerns remained in Rwanda that the “RPF-free zone” where the French had been would be used as a base for further extremist Hutu initiatives.

Controversy continues to swirl around Operation Turquoise due to the fact that many in Rwanda believe the French had allied themselves with the Hutu population responsible for the genocide in Rwanda, and, in so doing, conflicted with the work of the United Nations Assistance Mission in Rwanda (UNAMIR). As late as 2007, the Rwandan government was looking into these accusations, which have yet to be resolved.

Optimal Genocide. Classification of genocide identified by U.S.-Armenian genocide scholar Vahakn Dadrian (b. 1926) in 1975. In Dadrian’s taxonomy, genocide is categorized into five types: cultural, latent, retributive, utilitarian, and optimal. “Optimal genocide” is where the perpetrator intends the total destruction of a targeted group according to a systematic plan; all members of the group are, by the perpetrator’s determination, to be eradicated.

“Ordinary Men.” This phrase is taken from the title of Christopher Browning’s (b. 1944) 1992 book *Ordinary Men: Reserve Police Battalion 101 and the Final Solution in Poland* and refers specifically to the very ordinariness of the five hundred middle-aged, lower- and lower-middle class family men from Hamburg, Germany, drafted into the so-called Order Police and who were active in murdering the eighteen hundred Jews of Józefów, Poland, and the surrounding area in July 1942 and beyond. Estimates of their *overall* involvement in such death-related activities run as high as thirty-eight thousand, with commensurate transportation responsibilities in the hundreds of thousands. Why did the majority of these nonmilitary combatants engage in this genocidal behavior when others in their unit, perhaps 10 to 20 percent, did not (and did not suffer punishments because of their refusal) remains, even today, deeply troubling and deeply disturbing. Though Browning presents a variety of hypotheses regarding the motivation behind their behavior—wartime brutalization, racism, segmentation and routinization of task, special selection of perpetrators, careerism, obedience to authority and orders, deference to that same authority, ideological indoctrination, conformity, quasi-military status, and a sense of elitism (perhaps for many for the first time)—he also asserts, reasonably, that no one explanation provides either the answer or the key insight. That the men themselves, after being interviewed (more than four hundred interviews were conducted), could not themselves explain their own behavior remains equally troubling and reveals quite starkly how little we continue to understand about the psychological totality and capacity of the human person to engage in horrific behaviors and/or to rationalize such activity.

Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE). The OSCE is the largest regional security organization in the world with fifty-five participating states from Europe, Central Asia, and North America. It is active in early warning, conflict prevention, crisis management, and postconflict rehabilitation.

The OSCE reports that its approach to security is comprehensive and cooperative: comprehensive in dealing with a wide range of security-related issues, including arms control, preventive diplomacy, confidence- and security-building measures, human rights, democratization, election monitoring and economic and environmental security; cooperative in the sense that all OSCE participating states have equal status, and decisions are based on consensus. The OSCE headquarters are located in Vienna, Austria. The Organization also has offices and institutions in Copenhagen, Geneva, The Hague, Prague, and Warsaw.

Organization of African Unity (OAU). The Organization of African Unity was established in May 1963, emerging from earlier Pan-Africanist movements dating from before the “winds of change” that saw large numbers of former European colonies and protectorates in Africa achieve their independence. The OAU underwent a further reconstitution in 2002, replaced by a new version calling itself the African Union.

The purpose of the OAU, as set out in its Charter, included principles such as the encouragement of unity and solidarity among African states; the defense of African sovereignty, territorial integrity, and independence; the eradication of all forms of colonialism in Africa; and the promotion of international cooperation within the context of the United Nations Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

In addition to hosting several conferences and summits over a number of years, it also engaged in several initiatives in furtherance of its goals of economic development, social development, and political unity. Among these, for example, are the “African Charter on Human and People’s Rights” (Nairobi, 1981) and the “Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management, and Resolution” (1993).

The unity of the African nations was literally binding upon all member states, to such an extent that sometimes the OAU was characterized more by its inaction in the face of regional crises than it was of definite action. As an instrument of conflict management for the continent, the OAU’s preference was to engage in dialogue and negotiation, rather than physical intervention. Thus, it managed to broker cease-fires in certain international disputes but could not intervene in issues requiring a military presence or action independent of that called for by the United Nations. For this, the OAU was often accused of standing by while politically driven humanitarian disasters beset the continent. The most striking instance of this occurred in 1994, regarding the genocide in Rwanda. Although the OAU had been heavily involved in conciliation negotiations between the Rwandan government of President Juvenal Habyarimana (1937–1994) and leaders of the rebel Rwandan Patriotic Front for a period of years prior to the genocide, it could do little more than establish contact with both sides after the genocide began—and then, simply in the hope of bringing them to the conference table. Given the UN Security Council’s reluctance to get involved in stopping the killing in Rwanda, there was never any likelihood that the OAU would do anything on its own initiative; even after the OAU secretary-general was able to obtain an immediate commitment to deploy six thousand troops to Rwanda, it took five months before any of them arrived—and that was nearly three months after the worst of the killing had passed. In the aftermath of the slaughter, the OAU resumed its arbitration role for the continent and worked closely with the new Rwandan government, United Nations bodies, and nongovernmental agencies to try to assist in bringing about a more stable environment. The OAU’s overall record in relation to genocide prevention, amelioration, or cessation left a great deal to be desired throughout its history.

Oric, Naser (b. 1967). Commander of Bosnian Muslim forces in and around the city of Srebrenica between 1992 and 1995. Oric was born on March 3, 1967, in the town of Potocari, about five kilometers from Srebrenica itself. During his period of national service with the Yugoslav National Army (JNA), he was promoted to the rank of corporal. Upon finishing his period of service, he joined the police force, and saw service in special actions in 1990 in Kosovo. In late 1991, he was made police chief at Potocari. When Bosnia-Herzegovina declared its independence in April 1992, and was invaded by the

JNA, Oric, as a trained Bosnian soldier, became commander of local security in Potocari; soon, he was given the task of organizing the defenses of Srebrenica, then of the entire region covering several municipalities. In 1994, he was promoted to the rank of brigadier general. Oric conducted a very active defense of the territory he was protecting from Serb attacks, during which it is alleged that he authorized numerous raids into nearby Serb villages in which the troops under his command engaged in acts of destruction, pillage, torture, imprisonment, and murder. Long after the end of the war, in April 2003, Oric was arrested, and transferred to The Hague for trial at the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY). In October 2004 he appeared before the judges at the ICTY in what was a clear case of command responsibility, and was charged with war crimes. He was the first Bosnian Muslim to be charged with such crimes committed in the Srebrenica area, and public opinion was widely split between those who saw him as a heroic defender of his people and those who considered him to be a major war criminal. There were also those who supported his defense of the city but condemned him as a criminal and war profiteer who made a fortune on the black market in Srebrenica. A Serb allegation was that the Srebrenica massacre of July 1995, carried out by units of the Army of Republika Srpska's Drina Corps—all of which were comprised of local men—took place as a revenge measure against Oric's alleged ransacking of the Serb areas in the region. In 2006, the ICTY found Oric guilty on some of the charges in the indictment, but not others (he was acquitted of direct involvement in the murder of prisoners, but found guilty of negligence in that he did not exercise sufficient command responsibility over the actions of the men under his command). Ultimately, he was sentenced to two years in prison. Given that Oric had by this stage already been incarcerated on remand by the ICTY for over three years, the court ordered that time already served would suffice for his sentence. He was released soon thereafter, and returned to a hero's welcome in Sarajevo on July 1, 2006, from whence he traveled to his home in Tuzla.

“Other Victims” of the Third Reich. Although the Nazi regime (1933–1945) set out to exterminate every single Jew in Europe and beyond, the range of those whom the Nazis targeted for persecution and/or destruction—and the two terms are not always mutually exclusive—was extremely wide. Significantly, not all groups who were ill-treated by the Nazis were targeted for genocidal destruction, and the degree of victimization varied considerably from group to group. Among the other groups that were targeted for destruction were the physically and mentally handicapped and the Roma and Sinti (also known as the Gypsies).

Among those who suffered horrific treatment and were killed and/or died (from a lack of adequate food, overwork in horrendous conditions, and disease from living in unsanitary conditions) were Soviet prisoners of war (who were deprived the rights accorded prisoners of war [POWs] under the Geneva Conventions), the Poles, and other Slavs.

The Jehovah's Witnesses, on the other hand, could obtain their release from incarceration, for example, upon signing a declaration that they would recognize the authority of the state above their church. By far, the vast majority chose not to sign such a declaration and suffered accordingly. The Soviet prisoners of war, on the other hand, could hope for neither release nor even a modicum of decent treatment. By the end of the war, more than 3.3 million of them had lost their lives. Another 3 million—Poles—died as a result of brutal Nazi occupation policies and a serious attempt by the Nazis to dismantle the Polish state.

Other groups targeted by the Nazis included political dissidents, trade unionists operating outside of Nazi-imposed structures, and dissenting clergy. Repressive Nazi measures even extended into the realm of sexuality, and between 1933 and 1944 well over fifty thousand male German homosexuals were arrested; fifteen thousand of them were incarcerated in concentration camps, and 75 percent of these lost their lives. Be that as it may, homosexuals were not targeted for absolute destruction as the Jews, Roma/Sinti, and mentally and physically handicapped were. Also, it is worth noting that lesbians, for the most part, were not arrested and incarcerated.

It is a “testament” to the ferocity of the Nazi regime that members of groups that were imprisoned or in other ways persecuted were often killed in the process.

Ottoman Empire. The Ottoman Empire was an extensive domain that at its height occupied parts of the three continents of Asia, Europe, and Africa and existed between approximately 1300 and 1923. The rulers of the empire were Turkish, headed by a sultan from the family of Osman (hence, Osmanli or Ottoman). Although the empire comprised people from a variety of religious backgrounds, the state religion was Islam, and the sultan ruled as caliph, a position of deep religious significance. The empire was also highly multiethnic, comprising Turks, Arabs, Kurds, Armenians, Slavs, Greeks, and Jews, among many others. It reached its peak in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, but a succession of wars saw it lose territory thereafter. Despite this, even by the end of the nineteenth century its domains were extensive: in Europe, it stretched across the Balkan peninsula from the Adriatic to the Black Sea, including Albania, Macedonia, Thrace, and Constantinople; in Asia, it reached from the Aegean Sea to the Persian Gulf, and from the Black to the Red Seas; in Africa, it owned Tripolitania and Cyrenaica; and it possessed most of the Aegean islands (notably Crete). Suzerainty was claimed over Bosnia and Herzegovina (administered by Austria-Hungary), Bulgaria (nominally independent under a prince of its own), Cyprus (occupied by Britain) and Egypt (effectively independent since 1866). The breadth of the empire by the end of the nineteenth century was not a true indication of its strength as a power, however. For over a century its declining energy led to it becoming outstripped by more vigorous countries, and it had become one of the least powerful of the great powers—if indeed it could still be considered “great” at all. In many respects, the Ottoman Empire remained exceptionally backward, particularly in regard to economic, industrial, agricultural, and military indices. Its confrontation with modernity, combined with a centuries-long succession of military losses and an often brutal suppression of ethnic and religious minorities, led to the buildup of frustrations among the Ottoman elites that provided a fertile ground for the growth of political extremism as the nineteenth century gave way to the twentieth. This would find its ultimate expression in the massacre and genocide of Armenians, Assyrians, and Pontic Greeks during the first quarter of the new century.

P

Pacification. In relation to the 1994 Rwandan genocide (when extremist Hutu killed some five hundred thousand to 1 million Tutsi and moderate Hutu between April and July 1994), the words *pacify* and *pacification* were used in directives to local Hutu leaders throughout Rwanda by the interim government. The two words (pacify and pacification) were euphemisms and synonyms for the mass killing of the Tutsi.

Pallawah People. *See* Tasmanian Aborigines.

Paraguay. *See* Aché.

Partisans, Jewish. Since the early postbiblical period, with the destruction of the Second Temple in Jerusalem by the Roman occupiers in the year 70 CE, the pervasive myth, in the minds of both Jews and non-Jews, has been the overwhelming lack of military response in times of tragic and near destruction of Jewish communities. This idea found its contemporary voice in the idea that Jews during the Holocaust were led to their deaths “like sheep to the slaughter.” Such a description is simply inaccurate. With regard to World War II, in fact, it is estimated that Jewish partisans consistently fought against the Nazis and their allies, and numbered somewhere between twenty thousand and thirty thousand such persons, both men and women. The fighters themselves were mostly young people, from their late teens to about twenty-five years of age, although some as young as nine years old also bore arms.

Their military operations were essentially sabotage and guerrilla tactics rather than direct confrontation, due to the relatively small size of their numbers in any given location and their limited amounts of military *matériel* (armaments), further complicated by an already hostile antisemitic environment and lack of supplies (i.e., foodstuffs, medicine adequate clothing). Among the most notable of the partisan groups was that associated with the Bielski Brothers—Tuvia (1906–1997), Asael (1908–1945), Zus (b. 1912), and Aharon (n.d.)—in Eastern Poland and Byelorussia, who also cared for as many as twelve hundred nonmilitary combatants, women and children, too young, too old, and/or too sick to fight.

There were also the young fighters of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising of April 1943, who defied the Nazi murderers for six weeks before their defeat—but became, in the process, the symbol of Jewish resistance to Nazi tyranny.

Pavelic, Ante (1889–1959). Pavelic was a founding member of the fascist movement *Utashe* in Croatia during the 1920s and the *Poglavnik* (leader) of the Nazi puppet

Independent State of Croatia during World War II. Among his sobriquets was “Butcher of the Balkans.” (He has also been referred to as the “Croatian Attila the Hun.”) Born in the small village of Bradina, southwest of Sarajevo, he later moved to Zagreb to study and receive his law degree from the University of Zagreb. As a young man he was already involved in rightist extremist activities; in 1927, for example, he defended Macedonian terrorists at their trial in Skopje. That same year he was elected to the Zagreb City Council, founding the *Utasje* two years later. After the successful German invasion of Yugoslavia, he returned from Italy, where he had fled in 1934 because of his involvement in the assassination of King Alexander I of Yugoslavia (1888–1934) and French Foreign Minister Louis Barthou (1862–1934) in Marseilles, France, and became leader of the Independent State of Croatia. He was directly responsible for organizing and implementing a campaign of genocidal terror and brutality, said to be unrivalled even by the Nazis themselves, against Jews, Serbs, Roma, Sinti, and communists. It is estimated that those murdered under his regime numbered between three hundred thousand and 1 million. At the end of World War II, Pavelic fled first to Austria and later to Rome, where he was hidden by members of the Roman Catholic Church, which ultimately aided his departure to Argentina. There he became a security advisor to its fascist leader Juan Peron (1895–1974) until an assassination attempt in 1957 led him to flee to Spain. He died in Madrid two years later of complications from his wounds.

Peace Enforcement. Peace enforcement comes into play when certain aspects of a UN peacekeeping effort become unenforceable (which often results from a hostile environment). In such cases, a peacekeeping mandate is enlarged to peace enforcement (also sometimes referred to as “robust peacekeeping”), and military force is applied in order to compel or force individuals, groups, militia, and state military forces to comply with UN Security Council resolutions. Among some of the many operations undertaken by a peace enforcement mission are stanching the recurrence of warfare, providing protection for the delivery of humanitarian aid, guarding “safe areas,” and disarming belligerents. Some have claimed that the very concept of “peace enforcement” is a contradiction in terms, an oxymoron, for peace and military force are polar opposites. Some have argued that when a peacekeeping mission moves to one of peace enforcement, “core elements of traditional peacekeeping”—the peacekeepers’ neutral role in the conflict, the nonuse of force, and the consent of the belligerent parties to allow outside involvement—fall by the wayside. Others argue that many of the great failures of the recent past by the United Nations to prevent crimes against humanity and/or genocide have been due to the fact that it has tried to force a Chapter VI (peacekeeping mission) into a situation (generally violent) that requires a Chapter VII (peace enforcement) mandate. As the cliché now has it, “When there is no peace to keep, there is no point in deploying a peacekeeping mission,” what is called for instead is the imposition of a peace enforcement (Chapter VII) mandate.

Peace Maintenance. In 1995 Jarat Chopra, a research associate and lecturer in international law at the Thomas J. Watson Jr. Institute for International Studies at Brown University (Providence, Rhode Island), coined the term *peace maintenance*. Ultimately, Chopra defined the term “peace maintenance” as follows: “a comprehensive political strategy for pulling together all forms of intervention and assistance that may be required when state institutions fail (or risk failing) and the ‘warlord syndrome’ emerges.” The actual feasibility of putting the latter into effect has met with great skepticism by numerous actors in the field. Be that as it may, the field of peace operations is

in desperate need of an overhaul to make it more effective, and such concepts as peace maintenance may lend themselves to eventually devising something that is both practical and effective.

Peace Operations. This is an umbrella term that includes a wide array of efforts to bring about and maintain peace in an area of conflict. Included under the umbrella are such operations as peacekeeping, peacemaking, peace enforcement, and peace-building.

Peace-building. Peace-building involves various actions to attempt to prevent the renewal of conflict. It also involves the development and implementation of structures and practices that attempt to strengthen and solidify peace agreements and accords. In reality, then, there are two main types of peace-building efforts: preventive peace-building and postconflict peace-building. Preventive peace-building consists of a wide array of long-term activities (e.g., developmental, institutional, and political) that attempt to address systemic issues of conflict. Postconflict peace-building aims to prevent reeruption of conflict by consolidating the peace process for the long term. Among the many activities used within one or the other types (and sometimes both) of the aforementioned peace-building efforts are military and security (e.g., disarmament, demobilization, and destruction of weapons), humanitarian (e.g., repatriation of refugees, assisting refugees with getting resettled, providing for clean water and adequate food in areas that have been destroyed by the conflict), political action (e.g., institution-building such as establishing strong court systems, undertaking constitutional reforms, planning and holding elections), human rights (e.g., human rights monitoring and the investigation of the deprivation of human rights), and economic and social measures (e.g., rebuilding the destroyed infrastructure, and planning and implementing economic development).

Peacekeeping. Peacekeeping generally constitutes the use of international military personnel in largely noncombatant roles, such as monitoring cease-fires and peace agreements. Peacekeeping missions with the United Nations are assigned a Chapter VI mandate, which means the peacekeeping troops can carry weapons but they are to be used solely for self-defense. The United Nations defines peacekeeping in the following manner: “A peacekeeping operation has come to be defined as an operation involving military personnel, but without enforcement powers, undertaken by the United Nations to help maintain or restore international peace and security in areas of conflict.”

Peacemaking. Peacemaking refers to the use of diplomatic efforts to encourage, persuade, urge, and prod hostile parties engaged in a conflict to end their hostilities and to negotiate a peaceful settlement of the dispute. Two of the many options available to diplomats engaged in peacemaking efforts are mediation and preventive diplomacy.

PeaceWatch. A newsletter, *PeaceWatch* is published six times a year by the United States Institute of Peace (USIP), an independent, nonpartisan federal institution created by the U.S. Congress to promote the peaceful resolution of international conflicts. Each issue of the newsletter addresses a wide range of issues, including but not limited to: USIP programs (talks, seminars, publishing projects), peace initiatives undertaken by the U.S. government and/or USIP, research projects sponsored by USIP, preventive diplomacy missions, ongoing conflicts (including the causes and possible methods/approaches for ameliorating the conflicts), and postconflict societies and efforts to rebuild them.

Pearson International Peacekeeping Training Center (Formerly Called the Lester P. Pearson International Peacekeeping Center). The center is named in honor of Nobel

Peace Prize winner Lester B. Pearson (1897–1972), a longtime diplomat, a former prime minister of Canada, and the individual who led the effort to establish a peacekeeping force—the first UN Emergency Force—during the Suez Canal crisis. The Pearson Center is recognized as an innovator in the field. Established in 1994 by the government of Canada, it is a division of the Canadian Institute of Strategic Studies.

People of Integrity (Kinyarwandan, *Inyangamugayo*). *People of integrity* is the term used to describe those community-elected judges heading up *gacaca* courts all across Rwanda of alleged perpetrators of the 1994 Rwandan genocide. The *Inyangamugayo* (“uncorrupted” or “people of integrity”) are those individuals who their fellow community members view as trustworthy, honest, and fair—and whose hands are not stained by taking part in the genocide.

The *gacaca* courts are nonadversarial hearings based on precolonial village assemblies, in which the most respected members of the village (“people of integrity”) arbitrated judgments. In the aftermath of the 1994 genocide, an adaptation of the traditional *gacaca*, introduced in 2001, was intended to both speed up prosecutions and hold the hearings in the exact places where the crimes were committed, thus allowing all of the members of the local population to attend and take part in the judicial process.

The “people of integrity” are tasked with collecting information about the accused, collecting the names and opening cases on the newly accused, calling and hearing the *gacaca* cases in their locale, and making decisions, based on the evidence collected and testimony heard, as to whether an individual deserves to be freed, to be sent or returned to prison, or to have his/her prison term reduced.

Permanent Five. See P-5.

Personnel Continuities. A phrase referring to a perpetrator group’s use of either the same personnel in carrying out different genocides or the lessons learned in one genocide by a perpetrator group and put to use in another genocide by the same perpetrator group. A classic example of this concept put into practice is that of the Germans who perpetrated the Herero genocide in 1904, the Germans’ involvement in various ways in the Ottoman Turk genocide of the Armenians between 1915 and 1923, and the German’s perpetration of the Holocaust (1933–1945).

P-5. The five permanent members (the United States, France, Great Britain, Russia, and China) of the UN Security Council.

The original permanent members of the United Nations (the United States, Great Britain, France, the Soviet Union [USSR], and the Republic of China) were among the victorious nations of World War II. In 1971, the People’s Republic of China was given the Republic of China’s seat in the United Nations via a UN General Assembly Resolution. Upon the dissolution of the Soviet Union in 1991, the Russian Federation was given the seat of the Soviet Union.

The significance of being a permanent member of the Security Council is due to two major facts: first, each permanent member state—and only each permanent member state—has veto powers, which can be used to void any resolution. A single veto outweighs the majority vote. Technically, the vote does not constitute a veto but rather a nay vote; in reality, though, the nay vote is a veto and automatically “kills” any resolution; second, the Security Council constitutes the most powerful organ of the United Nations and has the vitally significant mandate of maintaining peace and security between nations. Unlike other organs of the United Nations, which only make recommendations

to member governments, the Security Council has the power to make decisions that member governments must carry out under the UN Charter.

Pianist, The. A major motion picture produced in 2002, starring Adrien Brody (b. 1973) and directed by Polish/French filmmaker Roman Polanski (b. 1933). *The Pianist* is the true story of a Polish Jewish pianist of renown, Wladyslaw Szpilman (1911–2000), and his quest for survival during the Holocaust. The film was based on Szpilman’s memoir of the same name, published in English in 1999 and subsequently adapted for the screen by Ronald Harwood (b. 1934). Much of the film concerns Szpilman’s life in the Warsaw Ghetto and afterward, and in this it is reminiscent of other ghetto-related movies such as *Schindler’s List* (1994), which was, in part, about the Krakow Ghetto, and *Uprising* (2001), which was about the Warsaw Ghetto. What makes *The Pianist* unique within the genre, however, is the degree to which Polanski sought to recreate the physical environment of the Warsaw Ghetto as accurately as possible. In order to achieve this, filming took place at a number of sites in central and eastern Europe, with many scenes filmed in and around Warsaw itself.

The Pianist was a phenomenal success both critically and commercially. It won three Academy Awards, for Best Actor (Brody), Best Director (Polanski), and Best Screenplay Adaptation (Harwood); two BAFTA (British Academy of Film and Television) Awards (UK), for Best Film and Best Director; the Palm d’Or at Cannes; and a raft of other awards and nominations around the world. *The Pianist* brought the Holocaust to the screen for a new generation of moviegoers in the twenty-first century.

Pinochet, Augusto, Case Against. In October 1998, General Augusto Pinochet (1915–2006), former dictator of Chile (1973–1990), was arrested in London on charges of “crimes of genocide and terrorism that include murder.” His arrest was initiated by a Spanish judge, Baltasar Garzón (b. 1955), who issued an international warrant for Pinochet’s arrest. The initial warrant demanded Pinochet’s extradition to Spain for the torture and murder of Spanish citizens. Ultimately, seventy-eight people of various nationalities who were kidnapped in Chile and ultimately “disappeared” between 1976 and 1983 were added to the warrant. It is estimated that some three thousand people were both murdered and “disappeared” during this period.

Just twelve days after Pinochet’s arrest, the British High Court overturned the Spanish arrest warrant on which the British police had acted. The court ruled that Pinochet could not be prosecuted for crimes committed during his rule, and the British court did not have the jurisdiction to arrest a non-British citizen for crimes committed in another nation. At the same time, though, the judges ordered Pinochet to remain in custody until prosecutors had an opportunity to appeal the ruling. In late March 1999, the Law Lords, a seven-member panel in Britain’s House of Lords, found that Pinochet “does not enjoy immunity from prosecution for human rights crimes committed under his regime.” In their 6–1 decision, the Law Lords did concur, though, with Pinochet’s lawyers that the former dictator could not be prosecuted for crimes allegedly committed prior to 1988 (which was the point in time when Britain signed the International Convention Against Torture). The result of that decision was that while Pinochet, as a former chief of state, “is immune from prosecution for the thousands of terrible abuses he allegedly directed before Britain signed the international treaty against torture in 1988, he still can be prosecuted under that treaty in any signatory country” for abuses perpetrated after that date. Because Spain constituted such a signatory, there was speculation that Pinochet would be extradited to

Spain to stand trial. On April 14, 1999, Jack Straw, the British Home Secretary, made the decision to authorize extradition proceedings. Ultimately, though, Pinochet was freed from custody and returned to Chile due to the fact that he “was too ill to stand trial.” In January 2001, a Chilean judge, Juan Guzman, issued an indictment of Pinochet on human rights charges. The case, though, did not go forward, because Pinochet was declared too ill to go through a trial. On November 25, 2006, the day of Pinochet’s ninety-first birthday, he issued a statement in which he said he took “full political responsibility” for the actions of his government. Less than a month later (and a week after having a heart attack), Pinochet died on December 20, 2006.

Pioneers of Genocide Studies. This volume, edited by Samuel Totten and Steven Leonard Jacobs and published by Transaction Publishers in 2001, comprises twenty-five essays in which scholars who virtually founded the field of genocide studies relate the genesis and evolution of their interest(s) and work in the field. It also includes the first published version of Raphael Lemkin’s autobiography and a biographical essay about the late Leo Kuper by Professor Israel W. Charny.

PIOOM Foundation (Dutch Acronym for Interdisciplinary Research Program on Root Causes of Human Rights Violations). PIOOM is an independent, nonpartisan research organization based at Leiden University in the Netherlands. Although PIOOM does not itself campaign for human rights observance, it aims to support nongovernmental organizations (e.g., Amnesty International) and intergovernmental organizations (e.g., the United Nations) by undertaking research that enables them to combat human rights violations more effectively. Two questions central to PIOOM’s research are as follows: (1) What causal factors enable gross human rights violations (facilitating factors) and what factors disable gross human rights violations (inhibiting factors)? and (2) What is an optimal strategy for intergovernmental and nongovernmental human rights organizations and agencies to counter contemporary human rights violations and to prevent future violations?

PIOOM’s research program helps identify root causes of gross human rights violations on the level of the state system, the level of social institutions (e.g., the military), and the level of the individual in a group context. In light of the fact that domestic political conflict can polarize peaceful societies and lead to political tensions, serious disputes, low-intensity conflict, and full-scale civil war, PIOOM also monitors signals that can serve as early warnings of conflict escalation. One instrument used for this purpose is PIOOM’s Manual for Assessing Country Performance, a research tool that monitors conflicts and the observance or violation of twelve fundamental human rights. On the basis of statistical indicators and expert assessments, PIOOM seeks to forecast political and humanitarian crises that might require preventive diplomacy and humanitarian aid.

Pius XI (1857–1939). Born Achille Ratti in Desio, Italy, the son of a silk manufacturer, Ratti took the name Pius XI and served as pope from 1922 until his death in 1939. Among his prior offices were papal nuncio to Poland in 1919 and archbishop of Milan in 1921. Also known as a scholar, his work primarily dealt with paleography.

Throughout his pontificate, Ratti spoke out against racism, antisemitism, unwarranted persecutions, totalitarianism, and excessive nationalism. Responsible for both the Concordat with Italy (which established Vatican City as an independent state and coexistence between the Roman Catholic Church and fascism) in 1929, and the Concordat with Germany (which forged an accommodation between the Church and Nazism, guaranteeing Catholic rights in Nazi Germany) in 1933, he later condemned Nazism.

More specifically, on March 14, 1937, he issued the papal encyclical *Mit brennender Sorge* (*With Burning Anxiety*)—"Encyclical of Pope Pius XI on the Church and the German Reich to the Venerable Brethren the Archbishops and Bishops of Germany and Other Ordinaries in Peace and Communion with the Apostolic See"—in which he condemned the Nazis' excesses but made no explicit mention of the Jews. Five days later, on March 19, 1937, he issued a further encyclical, *Divini Redemptoris* (*On Atheistic Communism*), wherein he condemned persecutions in Russia, Spain, and Mexico. Some have suggested he was at work on a second encyclical specifically addressing the fate of the Jews at the time of his death, but no such document has ever been unearthed.

Pius XII (1876–1958). Born in Rome, Eugenio Pacelli served as pope from March 2, 1939, until his death in 1958. Prior to his election, he was Vatican assistant secretary of state in 1911, pro-secretary of state in 1912, secretary of the congregation for extraordinary ecclesiastical affairs in 1914, and archbishop of Sardes in 1917. Consecrated a cardinal in 1929, he served as the papal nuncio to Germany and was both negotiator and signer of the Concordat (which guaranteed noninterference in Germany's political decisions in exchange for the protection of the Church) with Adolf Hitler (1889–1945) and the Nazis on July 20, 1933. Intensely opposed to communism, theologically conservative, and something of a Germanophile, controversy continues to surround his pontificate regarding his lack of public condemnation of the Nazi assault and genocide of the Jews. Those who continue to defend him argue that the actions of the Vatican during World War II to give comfort and succor to Jews, much of it in secret, were all done with his knowledge, and, had he chosen to speak out, their fate would have been even worse. Those who attack him for his public silence argue that such a failure to speak out, given his position as the acknowledged moral voice of the (Western) world's conscience, could have lessened the tragedy, because a worse fate for Jews other than what took place cannot be imagined. Complicating these issues is an all-too-simplistic misunderstanding by his detractors that his own concern for survival and preservation of the Roman Catholic Church—as well as Roman Catholics themselves in all theaters of war on both sides—was, at all times, paramount. After World War II, historians, including Church historians, acknowledge that there were those among Vatican officials, as well as other priestly representatives, who aided former Nazis to escape to safety. Full disclosure of all Vatican archives regarding the activities of Pius XII remains an additionally contentious issue; a committee of Jewish and Catholic scholars examining some of the many records was disbanded without success in 2004 when requests for additional materials met with resistance.

Plavsic, Biljana (b. 1930). A former university professor of biology at the University of Sarajevo, Plavsic served as President of Republika Srpska from 1996 to 1998. Indicted for war crimes by the International Criminal Tribunal for Yugoslavia in 2001, she was charged with two counts of genocide, five counts of crimes against humanity, and one count of violations of the laws or customs of war. In 2002, in exchange for the prosecutors dropping all other charges, the self-styled "Serbian Iron Lady" entered a guilty plea to one count of crimes against humanity, and, as of 2003, is serving her eleven-year sentence at Hinesberg Women's Prison in Sweden.

Pogrom (Russian, from *Grom*, "Thunder"; also, *Pogrimit*, "to Smash or Destroy"). A term usually associated with mob attacks against Jewish communities especially in Tsarist Russia before 1917, though embracing numerous additional anti-Jewish persecutions in other countries up to relatively recent times. The term became common when

describing anti-Jewish riots in the Russian Empire that had been organized by (or at least arranged with some form of assistance from) local authorities. During much of the twentieth century, the term implied any attack on Jews regardless of the degree of official input and irrespective of whether or not the attack was spontaneous or planned. The destruction wrought by pogroms varied from situation to situation and could involve murder, rape, pillage, physical assault, and wanton or random destruction. The relationship of pogroms to genocide is thus a close one; pogroms could lead to genocidal massacres, or, when not going as far as this, could nonetheless promote the physical and psychological preconditions in the minds of the perpetrators to be disposed to taking the extra step toward genocide if ever the conditions should “call” for it.

Pol Pot (1925–1998). Cambodian communist leader and titular head of Democratic Kampuchea (the name given by communists to Cambodia) between 1975 and 1979. Born Saloth Sar to a well-to-do family in Kompong Thum province, he was educated in the French colonial education system and qualified for a scholarship that led to advanced study in Paris. While in France between 1949 and 1953, he developed into a Cambodian nationalist and gravitated toward the one movement that could offer a broad appeal to the mass of the working people: the Communist Party. In 1951 he joined a communist cell for Cambodians in the colonial wing of the French communist party called the *Cercle Marxiste*. From this base, and after a great deal of underground activity, he and his supporters, called the Khmer Rouge (“Red Khmers,” or Red Cambodians), finally took control of the communist movement, back in Cambodia, in 1966. Pol Pot located his activities in the jungle, from whence he created a communist ideology based on returning Cambodia to an idealized, pristine peasant society (referred to as Year Zero) in which the “corruption” of modern life was eliminated.

Pol Pot’s rise to power must be fixed squarely within the Cold War environment of the 1960s and 1970s, and particularly the Vietnam War. Taking advantage of the weakness of the U.S.-backed government of Lon Nol (1913–1985) and the political vacillation of King Norodom Sihanouk (b. 1922), Pol Pot and the Khmer Rouge waged an effective guerrilla war that saw him defeat the forces of the old regime and assume power on April 17, 1975. He and his fellow Khmer Rouge leaders immediately set about implementing his policies for creating his new, “perfect,” society. He began by emptying the cities of all their inhabitants and driving them into the countryside, where the Khmer Rouge set them to work at slave labor. Those deemed to be “class enemies”—city dwellers, Buddhist monks, those with soft hands, ethnic and religious minorities—were ruthlessly cut out of Cambodian society. Out of a total population of something over 7 million, the Pol Pot years saw a death toll of somewhere between 1.7 million and 2 million, easily a quarter of the population. Only invasion by the armed forces of Vietnam, in January 1979, brought Pol Pot’s horrific rule to an end. Retreating to the jungles from which his Khmer Rouge had originated, Pol Pot regrouped sufficiently to be able to keep up a vigorous resistance to the Vietnamese occupation (and later, the transitional Cambodian government that followed it) for several years. Political differences within the Khmer Rouge old guard, however, saw an increasingly paranoid Pol Pot order the execution of one of his most loyal supporters, Son Sen (1930–1997). For this, the Khmer Rouge rebelled against him, deposed him, and put him on trial. He was sentenced to house arrest for life and died—having never faced an independent trial before his fellow Cambodians, let alone an international tribunal—on April 15, 1998.

Poland, Ethnic Cleansing in. At the end of World War II, the physical boundaries of Poland shifted westward, as a trade-off for the incorporation of Poland's eastern territories into the Soviet Union owing to the Potsdam Agreement negotiated in July–August 1945. Accordingly, Poland would occupy German territory to the west, and the Soviet Union, in turn, would receive Polish lands in the east. Within the newly occupied lands to the west were large numbers of ethnic Germans, including such German-speaking cities as Stettin and Danzig, and it was decided by the reconstituted Polish Government of National Unity that all Germans living in the new areas would have to be expelled in favor of ethnic homogeneity for the future of the Polish state. In some areas, the Germans left more or less voluntarily; in others, they left under Polish pressure; in yet others, expulsion was accompanied by murder, rapine, violence, and property destruction. Given the often haphazard nature of the expulsions, it is unclear how many Germans died while being deported or in advance of it, though one estimate ranges between half a million and 1 million. Much of the destruction took place haphazardly and through informal gangs or mobs of Polish peasants; the police and civilian Polish authorities were weak and ineffective at this time and generally unwilling to interfere in any case. Just as the Czechs had done in similar expulsions of Sudeten Germans from the Czech lands, the Poles temporarily imprisoned the Germans in transit camps that were often former Nazi concentration camps. By the end of 1947, at the latest, most of western Poland had been cleared of a German presence, in an obvious case of ethnic cleansing. The Poles launched a similar campaign, though smaller numerically, against Ukrainians in south-eastern Poland; over four hundred eighty thousand Ukrainians from Poland were dispersed to other parts of the country, or to Ukraine itself, by 1947. The ambition was to decrease the multiethnicity that had characterized Polish society before 1939; to a large degree, the homogeneity that followed was a direct result of the ethnic cleansing practiced after 1945.

Polish National Council. The Polish Government-in-Exile was originally set up in France after Poland's defeat by Germany in 1939, but relocated to Great Britain in 1940, where it remained until the end of World War II. Of its thirty-nine representative members, two were Jews. Among the council's goals, in addition to the liberation of its occupied country, was that of forging alliances with other Allied nations and governments-in-exile and pressuring the Allies to draw up a punishment plan for the Nazi hierarchy. In December 1942, as the revelations of the Nazis' extermination of Jews became more and more known, and at the urging of its Jewish representatives, a memorandum was issued calling upon Germany to desist from its murderous actions and urging Allied retaliation. Throughout the war, the Polish Government-in-Exile was a primary source of information regarding the fate of the largest Jewish community in Europe under Nazi hegemony. In 1944 it appointed a Council for the Rescue of the Jewish Population of Poland.

Political Groups, and the UN Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (UNCG). The decision to exclude "political groups" from those groups protected under the UNCG was a result of political wrangling at its worst. Tellingly, on December 11, 1946, the UN General Assembly passed an initial resolution (96–1) in which it agreed to use the following definition of genocide in the UNCG: "Genocide is a denial of the right of existence of entire human groups, as homicide is the denial of the right to life of individual human beings. . . . Many instances of such crimes of genocide have occurred, when racial, religious, political, and other groups have been destroyed entirely or in part"

(UN Economic and Social Council, 1948, p. 721). Shortly thereafter, however, a brouhaha erupted when the Soviet Union and Poland, among others, began to vehemently argue against the inclusion of political groups in the definition. The Soviets argued that the inclusion of political groups would not conform “with the scientific definition of genocide and would, in practice, distort the perspective in which the crimes should be viewed and impair the efficacy of the Convention” (UN Economic and Social Council, 1948, p. 721). The Soviet Union, it was surmised, feared being held accountable for its past actions against political opponents and others whose politics were considered suspect by Stalin and his cronies, and thus wanted political groups “airbrushed” out of the UNCG. Adding to the argument, the Poles asserted that “the inclusion of provisions relating to political groups, which because of their mutability and lack of distinguishing characteristics did not lend themselves to definition, would weaken and blur the whole Convention” (U.S. Economic and Social Council, 1948, p. 712). Another argument put forth against the inclusion of political groups was that unlike national, racial, or religious groups, membership in political groups was voluntary. However, in a later session, the French argued that “whereas in the past crimes of genocide had been committed on racial or religious grounds, it was clear that in the future they would be committed mainly on political grounds” (UN Economic and Social Council, 1948, p. 723). Ultimately, political groups did not make it into the final definition of genocide used in the UNCG and thus, to this day, because of backroom compromises, political groups are not protected, per se, under the UNCG.

Political Killings. This term, used by Amnesty International (the renowned international human rights organization) and certain other human rights groups, refers to the deliberate murder of a political opponent, dissident, or perceived political enemy by a government’s army personnel, police force, other regular security force, or special units that function outside normal circumstances (e.g., government-sanctioned assassins and “death squads”). The killings are often committed outside any legal or judicial process. It is not uncommon, though, for such murders to be carried out on the orders from the highest levels of government.

In many cases, government authorities purposely neglect to conduct investigations into the murders and/or “condone” the murders by failing to take actions that would prevent further killings. Government officials also frequently deny that such murders have even taken place, asserting that opposition forces are responsible for such casualties. When governments do admit the fact of the killings, they often argue that they resulted from unlawful attacks on governmental bodies in which government troops were simply defending the state’s interests.

Amnesty International, itself, defines “political killings” as “unlawful and deliberate killings of persons by reason of their real or imputed political beliefs or activities, religion, other conscientiously held beliefs, ethnic origin, sex, color, or language, and carried out by order of a government or with its complicity” (Amnesty International, 1983, p. 5).

Political Realism. See Realism.

Political Section. In 1933, during the period of the 1932–1933 Soviet man-made famine in Ukraine, Soviet officials established “political sections” on state farms to oversee all work in agriculture and to purge class enemies from the collective farms (Commission on the Ukraine Famine, 1988, p. 231).

Politicide. This term/concept, which was coined and developed by Dr. Barbara Harff (b. 1942), a professor of political science at the U.S. Naval Academy, refers to those

groups that are victimized primarily because of their political opposition to a particular regime. It was a term coined, in part at least, due to the fact that political groups are not specifically protected under the current definition of genocide found in the UN Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide.

Pontic Greeks, Genocide of. *The Pontic* (sometimes *Pontian*) *Greek genocide* is the term applied to the massacres and deportations perpetrated against ethnic Greeks living in the Ottoman Empire at the hands of the Young Turk government between 1914 and 1923. The name of this people derives from the Greek word *pontus*, meaning “sea coast,” and refers to the Greek population that had lived on the south-eastern coast of the Black Sea, that is, in northern Turkey, for three millennia. In a campaign reminiscent of the Armenian genocide that was being perpetrated at roughly the same time, the Pontic Greeks suffered innumerable cruelties at the hands of the Turks. An estimated three hundred fifty-three thousand Pontic Greeks died, many on forced marches through Anatolia and the Syrian Desert just like the Armenians. Those who survived were exiled from Turkey. The largest surviving Greek community, centered in the city of Smyrna (Izmir), was literally pushed into the sea in 1922, with the city razed and thousands killed by the advancing Turkish Nationalist army. The destruction of the Pontic Greeks, and the forcible deportation that followed, had but a single planned outcome: the removal of all Greeks from Turkey. It was a successful campaign in that it destroyed this ancient Greek community forever, creating a diaspora that is never likely to be reestablished in its ancestral homeland. In another parallel with the Armenian situation, successive Turkish governments have denied that the Pontic genocide ever occurred; the most frequent official explanations given are that the Greeks died as casualties of war, by famine brought about by the Russian invasion of northern Turkey, or as a result of civil disturbances.

Population Collapse. A term employed to explain massive losses that may or may not have been caused through genocide. The collapse of a population occurs when a previously viable group is reduced to such a degree that the usual characteristics of a society—reproduction, habitation, and sustenance—fall to such a level that remaining members of that society are incapable of undertaking or acquiring, respectively, even these fundamentals. In some cases, starvation might be the root cause of population loss; in others, it might be disease; in still others, it might be an insufficient birthrate, perhaps exacerbated by either (or both) of the former concerns. Although starvation, disease, and a low birthrate could themselves be the product of genocidal developments, particularly in the case of indigenous societies being assailed by foreign colonization, sometimes populations collapse when no genocidal impulse is present. Some European populations, for example, underwent a population collapse due to the Black Death in the fourteenth century; yet this was caused by disease rather than a genocidal project. In the study of genocide it is of vital importance that the causes of population collapse are studied, because the decline of population numbers is not always attributable to genocide alone.

Populations at Risk. This term refers to any group of people who are either facing imminent danger to their lives or are already victims of such situations as ethnic cleansing, massacres, a series of massacres, genocide, loss of land, famine, starvation.

Porrajmos. *Porrajmos* is the Romani term for the experience of the Sinti, Roma, and Lalleri (colloquial terms for “Gypsies”) people under the Nazis. The Roma and Sinti were targeted for extermination by the Nazis and perished in the tens of thousands as a result of mass murder and horrific treatment in concentration and death camps. A quarter of a

million Gypsies were killed, and proportionately they suffered losses greater than any other group of victims except the Jews.

Potocari. Potocari is a small industrial town about five kilometers north of the Bosnian city of Srebrenica. During the Bosnian War of 1992–1995, the United Nations, on April 16, 1993, decreed the establishment of six so-called safe areas in Muslim territory that it guaranteed to protect from Bosnian Serb attacks. Srebrenica was one of these, and it was the Dutch army that was given the task of providing the garrison. Codenamed Dutchbat (short for “Dutch Battalion”), the Netherlands troops set up their base in an abandoned factory at Potocari. In July 1995, Serb units of the Drina Corps led first by General Milenko Zivanovic (b. 1946), then by General Radislav Krstic (b. 1945), under the overall command of General Ratko Mladic (b. 1942), advanced on the Srebrenica safe area with the full intention of conquering the town for Republika Srpska. Between twenty thousand and twenty-five thousand refugees fled before the Serb assault, nearly all heading for the Dutchbat base at Potocari, where they sought sanctuary and protection. In what is now generally recognized as a classic symbol of the United Nations’ ineffectiveness throughout the entire Bosnian conflict, the Dutchbat troops (out-manned and out-gunned) at Potocari stood by helplessly as the Serbs moved in, evacuated the women and children in a convoy of buses, and systematically rounded up and hunted down the Muslim males (some seven thousand to eight thousand boys and men) and murdered them in what became the biggest single massacre on European soil since the Holocaust.

Today, Potocari is the site of a large memorial and cemetery for those victims of the massacre who have been identified and reinterred. The memorial is situated immediately opposite the former Dutchbat base, now a complex of mostly abandoned buildings.

Potsdam Conference. Between July 17 and August 2, 1945, the Allied leaders—President Harry S. Truman (1884–1972) of the United States, Premier Josef Stalin (1878–1953) of the Soviet Union, and Prime Minister Winston Churchill (1874–1965) of Great Britain—met at Potsdam, Germany, near Berlin, to discuss a wide variety of post–World War II issues, often without agreement, among which was the establishment of the International Military Tribunal (IMT) to try the Nazi leadership for war crimes. This conference was a continuation and resolution of work previously done at their meeting at Yalta. Also discussed were strategies for the continuing war with Japan, including a declarative call for “unconditional surrender.”

The “Protocol of the Proceedings” or “Potsdam Declaration,” as it has come to be called, contained the following sections: (1) Establishment of a Council of Foreign Ministers (to include China and France); (2) The Principles to Govern the Treatment of Germany in the Final Control Period—Political Principles; Economic Principles; (3) Reparations from Germany; (4) Disposal of the German Navy and Merchant Marine; (5) City of Koenigsberg and the Adjacent Area; (6) War Crimes; (7) Austria; (8) Poland—Declaration; Western Frontier of Poland; (9) Conclusion of Peace Treaties and Admission to the United Nations Organization; (10) Territorial Trusteeship; (11) Revised Allied Control Commission Procedure in Rumania, Bulgaria, and Hungary; (12) Orderly Transfer of German Populations; (13) Oil Equipment in Romania; (14) Iran; (15) The International Zone of Tangier; (16) The Black Sea Straits; (17) International Inland Waterways; (18) European Inland Transport Conference; (19) Directives to Military Commanders on Allied Control Council for Germany; and (20) Use of Allied Property for Satellite Reparations or War Trophies.

Essentially, the Potsdam Declaration was an agenda both for the dismantling of the German nation-state as it existed under the Nazis, including both punishments and reparations, and the reconstruction of postwar Germany under, at least initially, Allied control. Disagreements among the Allies themselves—including France, which had not been an original signatory to this agreement—made its full implementation both difficult and problematic, and resulted in its continuous modification.

Powell Doctrine. A U.S. doctrine enunciated in the 1990s regarding the use of overwhelming U.S. force in military conflicts. Key tenets of the doctrine included the need to provide the military services with a clear mission and with all the resources needed to carry out the mission in an effective and successful fashion. Equally significant was the tenet that overwhelming force should be used once the nation had embarked upon a war, but as soon as victory was achieved there should be a disengagement of force. A concomitant of the latter was that there was a serious risk in remaining as an occupation force for too long after the military triumph.

The Powell Doctrine arose out of the first Gulf War (1991), during the administration of U.S. president George H. W. Bush (b. 1924). At the time, General Colin Powell (b. 1937) was chairman of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff (1989–1993). When Iraq invaded and occupied Kuwait on August 2, 1990, the United States faced a major policy decision as to how to respond. At issue were several factors, most importantly, whether to evict Iraqi forces and restore Kuwaiti independence or to end the occupation of Kuwait and continue on to Baghdad and overthrow the government of President Saddam Hussein (1937–2006). The debate that ensued split Bush's key advisers, partly because they realized the final decision would be crucial to the direction taken by U.S. foreign policy in the Near East well into the future. During the course of the debate, General Powell expressed his view that the U.S. military response should be limited to freeing Kuwait, thus avoiding a protracted war in Iraq. It was clear that Powell feared another Vietnam-style commitment, a war that Powell had experienced and from which he had drawn several important lessons. One was to avoid at all costs an unpopular war at home and not to engage in a potentially unwinnable conflict (as in Vietnam), which could leave public opinion in the United States disgruntled. In light of these considerations, Powell argued for a short war, with victory achieved through the use of overwhelming power. President Bush opted in favor of Powell's logic. This determined the subsequent tactics and strategy of the Gulf War, namely, the speedy eviction of the invaders from Kuwait, without an ensuing pursuit of the Iraqi army across the border into Iraq itself. The doctrine of overwhelming force enunciated by Powell at this time was expressed very clearly in a comment he made about the U.S. tactics against the Iraqi military machine: "First we're going to cut it off, then we're going to kill it."

In an attempt to stave off demands for the U.S. military to take action in Bosnia in 1992, Powell asserted, "If force is used imprecisely or out of frustration rather than clear analysis, the situation can be made worse. We should always be skeptical when so-called experts suggest that all a particular crisis calls for is a little surgical bombing or a limited attack. When the 'surgery' is over and the desired result is not obtained, a new set of experts then comes forward with talk of just a little escalation—more bombs, more men and women, more force. History has not been kind to this approach to war-making. In fact, this approach has been tragic." And thus, the United States hemmed and hawed and wavered its way through the crisis in the former Yugoslavia, acting like anything but a superpower.

The wavering of the U.S. in the former Yugoslavia was not the only unfortunate consequence of the Powell Doctrine. In leaving Saddam Hussein in power, he was able to take brutal vengeance against his domestic opponents, the Ma'dan Shiites (the "Marsh Arabs") in the south and the Iraqi Kurds in the north. He fought ferociously against both, using genocidal means. Against the Kurds he used poison gas, killing countless thousands; and against the Ma'dan he destroyed their natural habitat, the rich swamp lands of the southeast, by draining the swamp of its massive waterways. This left a bitter aftertaste in the United States and led to a call to unseat Hussein as soon as possible, which meant another war in opposition to the Powell Doctrine. In 2003 the U.S. invaded Iraq in a second Gulf War, occupied it, and captured Saddam Hussein in Baghdad. Powell was less than enthusiastic about this conflict, as it did not sit comfortably with the Powell Doctrine's corollary: namely, that it ran the risk of a Vietnam-style scenario that might sap American will and thus deprive it of the overwhelming victory that would enable a rapid withdrawal after the key objectives had been achieved. The disaster that resulted from the occupation of Iraq by U.S. troops (which continued well into 2007) basically corroborated the aforementioned tenets of the Powell Doctrine.

Preconditions of Genocide. There is no single set of preconditions that always and definitely leads to the perpetration of genocide. If there were, then the prevention of genocide would not be the tortuously complex task that it remains. Among some of the many conditions that may contribute to and/or facilitate genocide are a radical racial ideology; an ideology of antisemitism or racial antisemitism; cleavages in society that are related to ethnic, racial, or religious conflicts; extreme nationalism; a group targeted as an "outsider," and thus treated with prejudice and discrimination; strong territorial ambitions by the perpetrator group; a struggle over economic inequality; retaliation against a perpetrator for having committed genocide against its group; struggles for autonomy; response to attempts by another group to secede from the state; colonization; tribal conflict; struggles for power; and consolidation of despotic power. Although none of these conditions will necessarily always lead to genocide, one or more of them may combine in a unique and dangerous fashion to create a genocidal climate.

Prejudice. Prejudice is the act of making a premature judgment of another human being and/or community or group based on factors ultimately deemed irrelevant to performance, capacity, and/or capabilities. (Reverse prejudice, like reverse discrimination, is the opposite: reacting positively to an individual or group for the very same reasons.) Essential to such prejudicial behavior is acceptance of common or stereotypical mythic understandings (e.g., Jews are financially astute and controlling, blacks are intellectually inferior, Mexicans are lazy, etc.), coupled with what seems to be a human propensity for the scapegoating of other persons or groups rather than confrontation with one's own failure—which is, itself, a form of psychological self- or collective-defense. Prejudicial behavior is thus unreasonable, unjust, and intolerant, and, seemingly, quite difficult to overcome. An individual's or a group's sense of history and historical experience, sometimes quite justified, also plays a role in contemporary prejudice (e.g., because Group A successfully behaved prejudicially toward Group B in the past, descendants of both continue to manifest similar behaviors in the present).

Psychologists argue that prejudice is learned behavior and must be taught, and can, therefore, be "untaught," and that certain "personality types" are more prone to prejudice than others (e.g., rigid, authoritarian, poor self-image, aggressive, untrusting, overly simplistic

thinkers, either-or moralizing, ethnocentric). When coupled with governmental, economic, military, and/or social power, prejudice, discrimination, and racism can escalate into violence, mass murder, massacres, and, ultimately, genocide, though predicting early on whether such a group in power will engage in any of these behaviors has proven extremely difficult—if not impossible. Seemingly, the only possible counter to prejudice is that of interactive education between different persons and groups supported by nation-state structures committed to peaceful interactions among its citizenry.

Presidential Decision Directive 25 (PDD-25). Made public on May 3, 1994, PDD-25 was the formal peacekeeping doctrine developed by the U.S. administration (1994–2000) of President Bill Clinton (b. 1946) in the wake of a catastrophic firefight (October 3–4, 1993) involving U.S. forces during a peacekeeping operation in Somalia. During the latter, U.S. Army Rangers and Delta special forces were attempting to track down Mohammed Farah Aideed (1934–1996), the leader of the Somali National Movement (SNM) and its militia—the latter of which had recently killed twenty-four Pakistani UN peacekeepers deployed in Somalia. However, instead of capturing their prey, the U.S. troops were caught in a deadly ambush. Ultimately, eighteen U.S. soldiers were killed, seventy-three were wounded, and a Black Hawk helicopter pilot was kidnapped. This debacle ignited a congressional effort to limit U.S. participation in UN peacekeeping missions. In reality, PDD-25 basically comprises a list of reasons as to why the United States should avoid involvement in UN peacekeeping missions.

PDD-25 listed sixteen conditions that U.S. decision-makers were to consider as they weighed whether the United States should support and/or become involved in UN peacekeeping activities. Seven conditions were germane to any situation in which the United States cast votes at the UN Security Council in regard to peace operations conducted by non-U.S. military personnel. Six even more restrictive conditions were to be taken into consideration should U.S. military personnel be involved in UN peacekeeping missions. Three conditions dealt with any situation in which it was likely that U.S. military personnel would have to engage in actual combat. Ultimately, PDD-25 specified that any involvement by the United States in UN peacekeeping operations had to advance U.S. interests, be essential for the success of the peacekeeping mission, and have the support of both the U.S. Congress and the citizens of the United States. Furthermore, it specified that the risk of fatalities had to be “acceptable” and that an “exit strategy” had to be clearly delineated.

Presidential Guard. The Rwandan Presidential Guard, a unit of the Rwandan Government Forces, basically constituted the “praetorian guard” of Hutu President Juvenal Habyarimana (1937–1994). Although members of the Rwandan National Army (the FAR), Presidential Guard soldiers were nonetheless a force with a different agenda from the regular Rwandan troops. Answerable directly to President Habyarimana (and his successors), their task was essentially just as much one of regime security as it was of national defense. It was composed of extremist Hutu who were fiercely loyal to Habyarimana. The Presidential Guard was highly trained, well equipped, and generally recognized as both highly arrogant and aggressive. With the death of their president, the Presidential Guard was a potent weapon ready to be unleashed in the president’s name, and, during the ensuing genocide, was a key player among the murderers. More specifically, during the Rwandan genocide of April–July 1994, the Presidential Guard aided, armed, and reinforced the killing militias, particularly the *Interahamwe* (“those who stand together” and “those who

attack together”) and the *Impuzamugambi* (“those with a single purpose”)—both of which were groups dedicated to the singular aim of killing all Tutsi and any Hutu who disagreed with that aim.

At the beginning of the genocide, a retired officer with extremist Hutu leanings, Colonel Theoneste Bagosora (b. 1941), took command of the elite units of the army (including the Presidential Guard) and gave the order to kill all opposition politicians (most of whom were Hutu, and thus considered to be traitors by the extremist Hutu) throughout the country. On his orders, ten Belgian peacekeepers, part of a larger contingent sent to Rwanda to aid in the evacuation of Europeans from the capital, Kigali, were kidnapped and mutilated; their deaths precipitated the departure of Belgian troops from Rwanda altogether and weakened the resolve of the UN Security Council to intervene directly in the crisis.

Prevent International News Monitor. This online “news monitor” is a major component of Genocide Watch, an organization based in Washington, D.C. The “news monitor” tracks current news on genocide and items related to past and present ethnic, national, racial, and religious violence. Its detailed reports and updates are based on and culled from articles and reports issued by international human rights organizations (e.g., Human Rights Watch and Amnesty International); news services (e.g., All-Africa Global Media, Associated Press, Al Jazeera, British Broadcasting Network, Interfax News Agency [Russia], Radio Free Europe, Reuters, United Press International); major newspapers (*The New York Times*, the *Washington Post*); various nongovernmental organizations (e.g., International Committee of the Red Cross, International Crisis Group); and UN organizations (e.g., UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs).

Prevention of Genocide. Any action that would lead to an effort to stanch a potential act of genocide from being committed would fall under the heading of “prevention.” Such actions may involve any of the following, among others: conflict resolution efforts; any type of mediation efforts to bring the parties in conflict to the table in order to attempt to ameliorate the conflict; preventive diplomacy efforts; the placing of sanctions on a potential perpetrator as a warning signal and form of pressure that it should cease and desist from its hostile declarations (which may hint at genocidal intentions) and/or those actions that could degenerate into genocide; radio/television jamming that cuts off broadcasts that verge, in any way, on inciting a population to carry out genocide; the signing of peace agreements by the parties engaged in a conflict; the insertion of peace-enforcement troops in an area to prevent attacks by the potential perpetrators; the establishment of effective safe havens (as in Iraq in 1991) where targeted populations can seek refugee and security; the establishment of no-fly zones over an area that potential perpetrators would need to cross in order to reach the target population; and outright combat by outside forces to prevent genocide from being carried out. Contingent on the situation, some of these actions may well evolve along the prevention/intervention spectrum into fully committed interventionist action. Indeed, because no one is capable of predicting whether a conflict is going to erupt into genocide, any attempts to prevent a genocide from taking place constitute a preventive action, and that is true no matter how much it might seem to be an interventionist action.

Preventive Deployment. A term used by the United Nations to denote the deployment of peacekeepers for the purpose of attempting to stave off a probable conflict. Put another way, preventive deployment aims at providing a “thin blue line” to help attempt

to contain a conflict. Through mid-2007, the United Nations has used preventive deployment in only two specific cases: The UN missions in the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia from 1992 through 1999, and in the Central African Republic in 1998.

Preventive Diplomacy. Preventive diplomacy refers to three specific actions: (1) actions taken to prevent disputes from arising, (2) actions taken to attempt to resolve disputes before they escalate into conflicts, and (3) actions attempting to limit the spread of conflicts after they have broken out. Efforts undertaken to implement preventive diplomacy may include conciliation, mediation, and/or negotiation.

Preventive Disarmament. Preventive disarmament efforts by the United Nations attempt to reduce the number of small arms/weapons in conflict-prone regions. This involves demobilizing combat forces (official military personnel and members of militias and irregular groups) as well as collecting and destroying the latter's weapons. Preventive disarmament is often implemented as part and parcel of a comprehensive peace agreement.

Private Military Companies (PMCs). Private military companies are those privately owned firms that hire personnel, form forces, and offer services traditionally provided by a nation's military. Such companies offer a wide array of services, including but not limited to combat operations for states and regional organizations, security and protection for humanitarian NGO operations in areas of conflict, security for private companies/groups in areas of conflict, and demining efforts. The use of such services increased enormously in the 1990s as violent conflicts erupted around the globe and various nations' militaries were inadequate for the task(s) at hand. Some of the many reasons for the latter include the following: (1) following the Cold War, states that once were under the protective wing of one of the two superpowers (the United States or the Soviet Union) crumbled and felt the need to seek the assistance of outsiders such as private military companies; (2) certain Western nations down-sized their militaries following the end of the Cold War, and thus when conflicts broke out in their states or regions, they sought help from private military companies; and (3) various corporations and states involved in petroleum, minerals, and other related industries in areas of conflict hired private military companies to provide security and protection when local military and/or police forces were not up to the task.

Some see the ever-increasing use of private military companies as a positive development, whereas others see it as a negative development. Those who see it as positive believe that such companies are capable of ending violent conflicts more quickly and efficiently (while still adhering to rules of international law) than some ragtag armies that now exist in third world countries. Those who perceive the trend as negative see such companies as constituting a new wave of mercenaries (and all that accrue to such) simply cloaked in a new, and euphemistic, name.

Project Paperclip. The code name given to a joint British-American operation toward the end of World War II in which groups of special agents were parachuted behind German lines with the objective of seizing Germany's top scientists and technologists and transporting them back to Allied countries. The roundup was intended to fulfill what some had referred to as "intellectual reparations," whereby German scientific figures would be required to work for the Allies as a way of expunging the German academic world's contribution to the Third Reich's criminal activities.

The Allied agents dropped behind enemy lines tracked down specific scientists, and as an inducement for the scientists' cooperation the scientists' families were sometimes

taken into Allied custody as well. The success of Project Paperclip can be measured in two ways. Firstly, a total of 642 German scientists and technologists was able to provide the Allies, upon detailed interrogation, with considerable intelligence regarding the latest developments in armaments, gases, biological and chemical warfare, and missile technology. Secondly, the scientists were in various ways persuaded to help advance the defense programs being generated by the Allies (particularly the Americans) in order to fight the Cold War. Their employment by the United States, moreover, ensured that their expertise was denied to the Soviet Union, which was itself trying to skim the cream of German technical expertise at the end of the war.

From the perspective of the Holocaust, the acquisition of these scientists and technicians was a critical issue. It meant that these people, many of whom were in the forefront of medical experiments on human subjects in the Nazi concentration camps or had, in some cases, assisted in the design and functioning of the death machinery at places such as Auschwitz, were “laundered” of war crimes charges or had their sentences reduced substantially. The need of the Allies for advanced technical expertise during the Cold War superseded any qualms about wartime accountability for war crimes or crimes against humanity—in this case, an instance of justice being sacrificed for what was deemed to be a higher cause in the confrontation with the Soviet Union. Understandably, some, if not many, saw that as a dubious proposition.

Propaganda. In general, the use of various communicative means and media to promote a given ideological agenda, often at the expense of one group over another. Propaganda has been and continues to be conveyed via books and newspaper journalism, art, cultural events, theatre, films, radio, and television, and, today, the Internet. In the aforementioned context, the government, rather than business/industry, education, or the military, is the primary purveyor of propaganda, though these other institutions are also part of the active process of indoctrination. The use of these tools is often both manipulative and grossly deceitful.

Propaganda, and Genocide. Propaganda may be defined as an organized or deliberate action or set of actions undertaken for the purpose of disseminating a doctrine or particular point of view. This has a multifarious range of applications, from wartime to peacetime, from government to corporations, from religious to secular.

Where genocide is concerned, what can be termed *hate propaganda* plays an important role in (1) alienating a target population from those who would be (or are) its persecutors, (2) providing justification to the general population for the “necessary” persecution of the target population, (3) modeling the means such persecution should employ, and (4) serving as a bolster for the government (or other authority) undertaking and directing the persecution. Propaganda thus acts to legitimize aggression and persecution. For the most part, propaganda is disseminated through the major media arms—radio, television, print media of all kinds, film, and, now, the Internet—as well as through word of mouth and via public speeches. A propagandist’s central ambition is to persuade others to share the propagandist’s view about the target group; as a result, simplified messages shorn of any possibility of debate or further discussion are the preferred device for convincing the greatest number of people as to the veracity of the propagandist’s claims. Genocides that have been especially driven by propaganda include the Holocaust, those by the former Yugoslavia, and Rwanda.

Throughout the period of the Third Reich, the entire Nazi state apparatus was employed as a propaganda device against all of Nazism’s enemies, but most importantly—

and incessantly—the Jews. Principal among the Nazi propagandists were Julius Streicher (1885–1946), whose newspaper *Der Stürmer* was required reading for all “good” Germans under the Third Reich, and Paul Josef Goebbels (1897–1945), the Reich Minister for Propaganda and Public Enlightenment. Indeed, Goebbels did his utmost to present to the German public, and later to both occupied and Allied citizenries, the so-called evils of Jewry.

In the 1990s, Rwandan radio was dramatically used to perpetrate genocide and direct the killers to specific locations of the victims, as well as provide continuous inflammation of the tensions between Hutu and Tutsi. Radio was the most important propaganda arm, expressed through *Radio-Télévision Libre des Mille Collines* (RTL), nicknamed “Hutu Power radio.” This radio station pumped out an unceasing torrent of anti-Tutsi invective and instructed the listening audience on how the *Inyenzi* (“cockroaches,” the slur used to describe Tutsi) should be killed by all good citizens. Prior to the genocide itself, RTL was complemented by a print equivalent, the daily newspaper *Kangura*.

In short, propaganda is an integral weapon in the arsenal of genocidal regimes, and in its effect on recipient populations can be as deadly as the killing instruments employed to take lives directly.

Propaganda, and Serb State-run Television. Throughout the 1990s, Serbian President and, later, President of Yugoslavia, Slobodan Milosevic (1941–2006) used Serb state-run television programming as a tool for disseminating propaganda, both in favor of his decisions and actions and against those he considered enemies. The state-run television programming was even used as a tool for recruiting men into Zeljko Raznatovic’s (1952–2000) Arkan’s Tigers, the infamous paramilitary group controlled by Milosevic, by touting Arkan’s and his men’s actions.

Prosecute Now! *Prosecute Now!* is a report that was issued by Human Rights Watch/Helsinki Watch in the summer of 1993 in response to the fact that a full eight months after the UN Security Council had called for the establishment of an international criminal tribunal to investigate and prosecute alleged perpetrators of crimes committed in the Balkan conflict, little had been done to create such a tribunal. Human Rights Watch (HRW) also noted that not a single case file had been created and not a single defendant had yet been named. In its twenty-five-page report, HRW/Helsinki highlighted eight cases (out of hundreds, HRW noted) that it had documented of major abuses perpetrated in the former Yugoslavia by some twenty-nine individuals. In the report, the names of the alleged offenders were noted, the crimes they allegedly committed were outlined, and the international laws that were broken were delineated. Additionally, a summary of each case was provided, along with a detailed discussion of the sort of evidence HRW/Helsinki Watch could provide to potential prosecutors. Among the cases, five charged Serbs, two charged Croats, and one charged Muslims. Among the alleged crimes were summary execution, gang rape, and genocide. Included in the evidence was testimony from Physicians for Human Rights (a noted nongovernmental organization) concerning two hundred dead bodies—the result of a mass execution—it had located at a grave site.

Prosper, Pierre-Richard (b. 1963). In July 2001, Pierre-Richard Prosper was appointed to the office of U.S. ambassador-at-large, Office of War Crimes Issues. In this capacity, he served as chief of that office, advising the U.S. secretary of state on all matters relating to violations of international humanitarian law as they were committed around the world.

Such violations included genocide, crimes against humanity, and war crimes. Prosper's position was by presidential appointment, with senate confirmation.

An attorney born in Denver, Colorado, Prosper is the son of two medical doctors who were refugees from Haiti. Ambassador Prosper was raised in New York State and educated at Boston College and Pepperdine University Law School. A career lawyer in public service in both the state of California and federally, Prosper attracted attention between 1996 and 1998 as a war crimes prosecutor at the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR) in Arusha, Tanzania. There, he successfully prosecuted the former mayor of the town of Taba, Jean-Paul Akayesu (b. 1953), resulting in the first ever conviction in any courtroom specifically for the crime of genocide. An important part of the judgment saw the further development of genocide case law, as the three trial judges—Laity Kama (1939–2001) from Senegal, presiding; Navanethem Pillay (b. 1941) from South Africa; and Lennart Aspergren (b. 1931) from Sweden—ruled that rape could henceforth be considered within a general legal definition of genocide and crimes against humanity.

During the summer of 2004, again in his capacity as Ambassador for War Crimes Issues, Prosper joined U.S. Secretary of State Colin Powell in the analysis of the data collected by the U.S. State Department's Atrocities Documentation Project (ADP). The latter sent twenty-four investigators from around the world to the refugee camps in Chad for the express purpose of interviewing black African refugees about what they had witnessed and experienced in Darfur, Sudan, prior to, during, and following attacks by Government of Sudan (GOS) troops and their Arab militia (*Janjaweed*) partners. Upon analysis of the data collected by the ADP and lengthy discussions about the legal ramifications of the findings, Prosper and Powell concluded that the GOS and *Janjaweed* had perpetrated genocide and possibly were still doing so. The ADP resulted in four notable firsts in international relations: (1) it was the first official investigation by a sovereign nation of an ongoing case of mass violence for the express purpose of ascertaining whether or not the violence amounted to genocide; (2) Secretary of State Colin Powell's declaration was the first time that one government formally accused another government of an ongoing genocide; (3) Secretary Powell invoked for the first time ever (by any government) Chapter VII of the UN Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide to take action "appropriate for the prevention and suppression of acts of genocide," and (4) as a direct result of the United States' declaration of genocide, the United Nations conducted its own investigation and then forwarded its findings and those of the ADP to the International Criminal Court at The Hague.

In October 2005, Prosper resigned his position in order to run for the Republican nomination for attorney general of California in the 2006 primaries. He withdrew his candidacy in February 2006 and did not proceed with his campaign.

Protocols of the Elders of Zion. The *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* is a classic nineteenth-century Russian forgery, based on an unrelated earlier French satire (published in Belgium) written around the time of the Dreyfus Trials in France in the 1890s, purported to be the secret meeting minutes of a group of rabbis conspiring to take over the world. Translated into French, German, English, Russian, Italian, and Arabic, as well as other languages, and now made available over the Internet by various hate-groups, it continues to be a mainstay of antisemitic individuals and organizations (despite its being declared a forgery already in 1921 in England, in 1934 in South Africa, and in 1934 and 1935 in Switzerland).

In the 1920s, the *Protocols* were published in Henry Ford's (1864–1947) newspaper the *Dearborn Independent* and later reissued in book form as *The International Jew*. Extensive use was made of the *Protocols* by the Nazis (e.g., references appear in the writing of Adolf Hitler [1889–1945], Alfred Rosenberg [1893–1946], and Julius Streicher's [1885–1946] propagandistic and antisemitic screed, *Der Stürmer*).

Proxmire, William (1915–2005). William Proxmire, a citizen of the United States, served in the U.S. Senate from 1957 to 1989. During his tenure as a U.S. senator, Proxmire reportedly gave 3,211 speeches on the floor of the Senate calling for the U.S. Senate's ratification of the UN Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (UNCG). His first speech was delivered on January 11, 1967, and his last in early 1986. Each speech was unique, focusing variously on the historical context that led to the drafting of the treaty, the treaty's provisions, its negotiating history, and contemporaneous events germane to the treaty. Finally, on February 19, 1986, the Senate ratified the UNCG by a vote of 86–11. Following the vote, Proxmire made the observation that “without constant prodding he doubted that the Senate would have ever turned to the Genocide Convention.”

Public Support Syndrome. Coined by John Shattuck (n.d.), former U.S. assistant secretary of state for democracy, human rights and labor, “public support syndrome” refers to the following: “Strong public support [for intervention in a human rights crisis] is unlikely until the president has stimulated it by cogently explaining that the redefinition of U.S. national interests include[s] the prevention of human rights and humanitarian disasters that might destabilize the world. This is a catch-22 situation, because the lack of presidential leadership and lack of public support tend to cancel each other out” (Shattuck, 1996, p. 174).

Purification, Metaphors of. One of the most frequently given reasons for regimes carrying out acts of genocide is that of the “need” to “purify” or “cleanse” the state of those whom it deems to be an alien intrusion. The Nazis, for example, projected an image of Germany as a white, clean, virginal maiden, pure of thought and of deed; ranged against her was her mortal enemy, the dirty, verminous Jew, at the feet of whom could be laid all the ills of the world. The symbolism of the virgin being raped by this lecherous personification of evil was promoted throughout Germany and formed a crucial element of Nazi ideology. National degradation, the Nazis asserted, would surely follow from personal degradation, and this must not be allowed to happen. Hence, the Jews were depicted wherever possible in the most negative terms, whether it was in newsreels or movies showing carefully selected figures who conformed to the cartoon stereotype of “the Jew” (dirty, long-nosed, greedy) or through metaphors taken from the animal world—such as rats, lice, mongrel dogs, maggots, germs, and so on.

The Nazis aimed to “purify” Germany in other ways as well, notably through the T-4 campaign in which compulsory euthanasia was carried out in order to rid Germany of those who were incurably ill or who had psychological disorders or physical handicaps. Such people, who were referred to as *lebensundwertes lebens* (life unworthy of life), were classed as “useless eaters” who had to be killed in order to “purify” the physical German body.

Nazi racial theory, rooted in mystical images of the purity of the blood, had its precedents in an earlier genocide, that of the Armenians at the hands of the Young Turks. Here, a Turkish ideologue, Dr. Mehemed Rashid (1873–1919), promoted the notion of Armenians as “microbes” dangerous to the Turkish body, who must be destroyed if the nation was to live.

All metaphors of purification—and they extend far beyond the examples of the Nazis and the Young Turks (in Rwanda, for example, Hutu had long referred to Tutsi as *inyenzi*, or “cockroaches”)—seek the total removal of the “impurity” from their land, whether by outright killing or removal in other ways. The culmination of this ideal revealed itself again in the early 1990s with the popularization of a euphemism, “ethnic cleansing,” by the then president of Serbia, Slobodan Milosevic (1941–2006), who used it dually as a term of division and unification—a term of division in order to single out all those who were non-Serbs, and thus, in his view, constituted the Serbs’ filthy, impure enemies (especially Croats and Muslims), and as a term of unification to pull all of the Serbs together against their mutual enemies. The term was used extensively by the media in the former Yugoslavia and might have originated some time before then as part of a military strategy called “cleansing the field,” in which enemies would be totally wiped out so that advancing military forces could take absolute control of a conquered area. The term seems to have been picked up internationally in 1992.

The notion of “cleansing” a land of a population says a great deal not only about how those being “cleansed” are viewed, but also about the perceived need for the action in the first place: it is also a justification for genocide and must always be viewed as such.

Q

Quisling, Vidkun (1887–1945). Norwegian fascist politician, Quisling was minister president of his Nazi-occupied country from February 1942 through 1945. After the war, he was tried as a traitor by the Norwegian government and executed. His surname has since become equated in the popular mind with the word *traitor* or *collaborator*. Originally a soldier and military academy graduate with the rank of major, he worked in the Soviet Union in the 1920s to help alleviate the plight of its peoples due to famine, later serving as defense minister of Norway from 1931 to 1933. In May 1933, he cofounded the fascist National Unity Party, becoming its *Fører* (“leader,” or *Führer*), earning for himself the title “the Hitler of Norway” by his followers. With the German invasion of Norway in 1940, Quisling announced a coup d’état but was only kept in power by the Germans who named him to the post of minister president in 1942, where he remained until his arrest on May 9, 1945, by the Norwegian government. Among the charges against him were the coup d’état itself, his encouragement of his fellow countrymen to serve in the Norwegian SS, his participation in the deportation of Jews, and his involvement in the execution of Norwegian patriots.

Quo Vadis. *Quo Vadis* is a novel about the Roman emperor Nero’s appalling treatment of the early Christians between the years 54 and 68. Written by the Polish Nobel Prize Laureate of Literature Henryk Sienkiewicz (1846–1916) and published in Poland, it was read by Raphael Lemkin (1900–1959) sometime during his teenage years. So shocked was Lemkin at what he read that, according to his own testimony, he went to his mother with the query, “Why didn’t the police help?” She is said to have responded, “What do you expect from the police?” This first encounter with such horrific treatment of people by conquerors, dictators, leaders of nations, and others led Lemkin to undertake a thorough study of other similar events in history, which led, ultimately, to his long-standing preoccupation with the destruction of peoples and cultures, his coinage of the term “genocide,” and his post–World War II commitment to seeing the development and implementation of the UN Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide.

R

Racak Massacre. On January 8, 1999, a carefully planned operation carried out by the Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA) ambushed and killed three Serbian policemen; another was murdered two days later. In response, on January 15, Serb police and army detachments attacked the village of Racak, in southwestern Kosovo. Army artillery had already hit the town in the days leading up to the assault, and with the advance into Racak a large number of men and boys—at least forty-five—were butchered by the Serb forces. One was a twelve-year-old boy; two were women; one of the men was decapitated. U.S. ambassador William Walker (b. 1935), the head of the UN Kosovo Verification Mission monitoring Serb progress toward an easing of conditions for Kosovar Albanians, immediately condemned the massacre as the work of Serbs and declared the victims to be innocent civilians. Largely based on Walker's assessment, but confirmed by other eyewitness accounts collected by journalists who came upon the scene soon thereafter, world leaders quickly came to the conclusion that the unstable and dangerous situation existing in Kosovo before the Racak massacre had to be addressed and ameliorated immediately. U.S. Secretary of State Madeleine Albright (b. 1937) realized that from that point onward any attempts at negotiation with the Serbs had to be backed by a credible threat of force and that the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) had to be the major vehicle for enforcing it. The Racak massacre can thus be seen as either the final straw testing Western resolve with regard to Kosovo, or the start of a new initiative that would soon lead to war between NATO and the federal republic of Yugoslavia. In all likelihood, it was probably both. Soon afterward, Albright managed to convince other NATO leaders to convene a conference of Serbs, Kosovar Albanians, and NATO leaders at Rambouillet, outside of Paris, by which a settlement could be negotiated under the threat either of NATO bombing if the Serbs refused to sign or of an abandonment of Kosovo if the KLA refused to sign. After lengthy negotiations, the KLA did sign; the Serbs did not. As a result, on March 24, 1999, NATO began a bombing campaign that would lead to the Serb military withdrawal from Kosovo and end in utter defeat for Yugoslavia.

Racak had another important role to play: by being in effect the catalyst for war, its unfortunate major ramification was an attempt at ethnic cleansing throughout the province by Serb forces acting on the orders of Yugoslav president Slobodan Milosevic (1941–2006), masked by the cover of war after March 24, 1999. During this time, NATO forces attacked targets in Kosovo in order to stop the ethnic cleansing of the

Kosovar Albanian population being conducted by Milosevic's forces. The stated goal of this NATO operation (a humanitarian intervention that, in reality, was a full-scale war that was not sanctioned by the United Nations) was "Serbs out, peacekeepers in, refugees back."

Ironically, because NATO did not wish to place troops on the ground and instead chose to conduct the war from the air, it allowed the Serbs to continue their ethnic cleansing of the province. More specifically, the Serbs redoubled their efforts to cleanse the area of Kosovar Albanians and within a week of the start of the war an estimated three hundred thousand Kosovar Albanians either were chased from their villages and homes or fled out of fear of being killed. Thus, although NATO's bombing likely prevented genocide from being perpetrated, within a month's time an estimated eight hundred thousand Albanians had been forced out of Kosovo.

Racial Antisemitism. Racial antisemitism is a pseudoscientific biological determinant that assesses both persons and communities in terms of physical characteristics as being central to their identities, and in which physical identity is automatically and definitively reflected in social, political, economic, religious, military, and other behavioral activities. Such false thinking was applied with both energy and genocidal intensity on the part of the Nazis and their collaborators against the Jews.

In reality, racial antisemitism is a transposition of the British naturalist Charles Darwin's (1809–1882) theories of biological evolution onto the plane of history, which its proponents believe is a battleground where the "survival of the fittest" is to be taken literally; that is, those who are the strongest and most worthy survive, and those who are not strong enough do not survive (i.e., German "Aryans" versus Jews). As such, these so-called racial characteristics, which can never be changed, became the pseudointellectual underpinnings for Hitler's and others' rationales for the extermination of European Jewry. Theoretical support for these false conclusions can be found in Frenchman Comte Joseph-Arthur de Gobineau's (1816–1882) *Essay on the Inequality of Human Races* (1850), German Wilhelm Marr's (1819–1904) *The Victory of Judaism over Germanism* (1867), and the British Germanophile Houston Stewart Chamberlain's (1855–1927) *Foundations of the Nineteenth Century* (1899). Paralleling the development of this racial antisemitic ideology was the rise, in both Europe and the United States, of the so-called science of eugenics, whereby members of the scientific, intellectual, and lay communities vigorously discussed and debated ways to improve the human species and wholeheartedly supported either the termination or prevention of the births of those perceived as either unwanted, liable to be a burden to the larger community, or apt to do criminal, economic, or other damage to society. The Nazi Nuremberg Racial Laws of 1935 defining Jews, Aryans, and *Mischlinge* ("half-breeds") became the concrete convergence of both racial antisemitism and eugenic thinking and legally enabled the Nazis to proceed with their agenda of annihilation.

Racial Hygiene (German, *Rassenhygiene*). Designation introduced and developed in 1894 by German medical doctor Alfred Ploetz (1860–1940) and adopted by many others in the early part of the twentieth century. It was a concept that had at its base the notion of eugenics, the branch of knowledge dealing with the production of genetically superior human beings through improvements in their inherited qualities. Some translated this into proposals calling for the compulsory sterilization of physically and psychologically "inferior" humans; others called for additional measures designed to control the breeding

of those with criminal tendencies, with incurable diseases (or even those that were curable but perceived as an aberration, such as venereal disease), or with social abnormalities such as chronic alcoholism.

The fear of a degeneration to the German “race” should such “maladies” go unchecked became a crucial element of Nazi ideology, and was attractive to the racial thinking that dominated the National Socialist worldview, to such a degree that sterilization and, later, compulsory euthanasia became state policy for the purpose of ensuring the health and virility of the German people in the future.

Racial State. The development of a racial state (or a state based on racial preferences in which the purest “race” would rule) was a fundamental aspiration of the Nazi regime in Germany, proceeding from the worldview articulated by Adolf Hitler (1889–1945) in his book *Mein Kampf* (1924). In this view, the world was inhabited by three different types of people: culture-founders (typified by the Nazi ideal, the “Aryan”, who was the most supreme form of humanity according to every index of qualitative measurement), culture-bearers (e.g., Latin Europeans and Japanese—peoples who could not create civilizations, but could ape those established by the culture-founders), and culture-destroyers (Slavs, Africans, most Asians, but primarily the Jews, who were such inferior examples of humanity as to be barely recognizable as humans at all). In the racial state that was to be established under Nazi rule, inferior races would have to be utterly destroyed in order to safeguard the purity of the “Aryan race.” Furthermore, it was to be a state in which there was to be no possibility at all of blood admixture through intermarriage or cross-breeding. In order to achieve this state, the Nazis built a powerful bureaucracy to oversee specific legislation named The Law for the Protection of German Blood and German Honor (September 1935), promulgated at Nuremberg in 1935, the purpose of which was to destroy the foundations upon which Jewish communal life rested throughout Germany. Upon this legislative base it was intended that the racial state would be constructed.

Racism. Racism is the false philosophy that bases its assessment of individuals and groups upon physical characteristics to determine the superiority or inferiority of human beings. Put another way, racism is the prejudicial and false understanding and belief that racial and/or biological characteristics (e.g., skin pigmentation, facial features, bone structures, hair textures) are the primary determinant of human abilities and capacities, and that the human species is unequally divided between superior and inferior racial groupings based upon these physical attributes. Commitment to such a view and perspective has resulted, both historically and contemporarily, in active and overt forms of discrimination legislatively, politically, militarily, socially, economically, educationally, and religiously; indeed, in all arenas of human behavior. In certain cases, it has resulted in the genocide of those groups viewed both as inferior and as threats to the dominate majority.

The mid-1800s publication of Arthur Comte de Gobineau’s (1816–1882) *Essay on the Inequality of Human Races* is often said to be the genesis of modern racism, turning what may have been a scientific concern with the physical differences among peoples and nations in the academic discipline of anthropology, into a cultural-political divide even while maintaining the veneer of scientific respectability. Such distinctions were used by, among others, the United States in its subjugation of both African-Americans and Native Americans, Australians in their treatment of Aborigines, and the Nazis in their racial anti-semitic agenda against the Jews. Indeed, among the most perverse uses of racism was that employed by Adolf Hitler (1889–1945) and the Nazis prior to and during World War II,

which saw them classify themselves as members of an elitist “Aryan” (superior) racial community and Jews as non-Aryans (inferior) and perpetrate against the Jews the genocidal crime referred to today as the Holocaust or *Shoah*.

Even in the aftermath of the Holocaust and the genocides at the end of the twentieth century and into the twenty-first (e.g., in Darfur, Sudan), racism continues to exert its pull on individuals, groups, and nations.

In 1965, the United Nations adopted the “International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination.” Whether the human species can ultimately be freed from discriminating against itself based upon observable physical differences remains an open-ended question.

Radio B-92. Based in Belgrade, Radio B-92 served as an alternative and counterweight to the Serbian propaganda that was broadcast over Serb-controlled radio and television stations throughout the crisis in the former Yugoslavia in the 1990s. During the wars of Yugoslav succession (1991–1995) and the Kosovo intervention (1999), Radio B-92 issued broadcasts against local and extreme nationalism. In addition to broadcasting over the radio, Radio B-92 produced a series of documentaries and various visual arts–related projects that raised critical questions about the limited perspective of nation, race, and gender propagated by Slobodan Milosevic’s (1941–2006) regime. Radio B-92 also single-handedly created a television program to fight and counter official Serb propaganda spewed over Serbian television. In 1999, during the Kosovo intervention, the Serb government shut down Radio B-92, but instead of caving into the draconian measures of the state, the station went underground and continued to broadcast its counter messages to the Serb populace. In the post-Milosevic era (beginning in 2000), Radio B-92 created programs that satirized Slobodan Milosevic and his cronies and their atavistic actions. B-92, which now runs its own television station, also broadcasts the ongoing hearings at the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY), in which those alleged to have committed war crimes, crimes against humanity, and/or genocide in the former Yugoslavia have been (and continue to be) tried. In 2003, Radio B-92 also produced a ten-part series based on the book *Good People in a Time of Evil* by Svetlana Broz (English translation; New York: Other Press, 2004), which presents moving stories as to how civilians of different ethnicities reached out to one another during the Bosnian war.

Radio Jamming. See Electronic Jamming; see Radio Jamming, Rwandan Genocide.

Radio Jamming, Rwandan Genocide. Debates exist over the degree to which the jamming of radio waves could have served to stem the genocide in Rwanda during the spring of 1994. There is little doubt that Rwandan extremist radio broadcasts were instrumental in stimulating and sustaining the genocide, and this was particularly true of *Radio-Télévision Libre des Mille Collines* (RTLM). Recommendations were made during the genocide, especially in the United States, that measures be taken to stop such broadcasts, but others argued against such. The United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR) force commander in Kigali, Lieutenant General Romeo Dallaire (b. 1946), pleaded with the United Nations along these lines but to no avail. Three possibilities were ultimately given serious consideration by U.S. authorities: key transmitters in Rwanda could be destroyed; so-called counter-broadcasts could be made in order to negate the messages from Rwandan radio; and powerful airwave technology could be employed to jam the radio stations’ programs. The latter objective would have most likely been achieved through the deployment of the U.S. Air National Guard’s Command Solo aircraft. All these initiatives were rejected, the last on

the grounds of cost and logistics, though vague questions of international law were also raised. An argument was even put forth that the U.S. commitment to freedom of speech (via the First Amendment of the U.S. Constitution) would render radio jamming against the Rwandan killers a contravention of the U.S. Constitution. Also, a moral issue arose regarding the potential charge of hypocrisy at the United States jamming a foreign radio network while complaining about U.S. radio being jammed by other countries. Ultimately, radio jamming technology was not tried as a strategy to help stop the killing in Rwanda, thus resulting in another instance of an untried policy option that could have possibly saved lives. The only options given any chance of working were those requiring military intervention—something the United States, and seemingly, the United Nations, was never prepared to countenance.

Radio-Télévision Libre des Mille Collines (RTLM). RTLM was an independent radio station in Rwanda that broadcast from July 8, 1993, until it was shut down by the advance of the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF) troops on Rwanda's capital city, Kigali, on July 3, 1994. It kept broadcasting illicitly until July 31, employing mobile transmitters. It became a primary instrument in the preparation and execution of the genocide of the Tutsi population and moderate Hutu that was perpetrated during the one hundred days that followed April 6, 1994. RTLM, whose initial letters translate from the French for "Thousand Hills Free Radio and Television," was established as Rwanda's first nongovernmental radio station through the *Akazu*, the clique of family members and friends of Rwandan president Juvenal Habyarimana (1937–1994). A Belgian journalist, Georges Ruggiu (b. 1957), was hired as a leading presenter on RTLM, which had a greater degree of freedom in spreading its anti-Tutsi message than did the state broadcaster, Radio Rwanda. Ultimately, RTLM was considered to be a radio version of the rabidly anti-Tutsi newspaper *Kangura*, a paper edited by Hassan Ngeze (b. 1961), who became a shareholder and correspondent with RTLM.

Months prior to the outbreak of violence in April 1994, RTLM was broadcasting a carefully prepared daily regimen aimed at demonizing the Tutsi minority before its Hutu audience. Day by day the rhetoric escalated as a vocabulary of genocide was introduced, and verbal and mental images of Tutsi as "cockroaches" (*Inyenzi*) intensified the emotional content of the hate programs broadcast. Virtually every home in Rwanda had a radio, allowing radicals both in and outside the government to reach into every corner of the land and inflame the Hutu against their Tutsi neighbors and moderate Hutu. The campaign lay at the heart of the wide grassroots response to the call to participate in the orgy of violence that engulfed the country.

The total absence of any counterpropaganda added to the effectiveness of the RTLM media broadcasts. Some states within the international community, particularly the United States, contemplated destroying the central antenna of RTLM or jamming the radio broadcasts, but nothing concrete came out of the high-level discussions that ruled on such initiatives. A major concern of those arguing this case was that jamming any radio station, regardless of its message, was tantamount to a suppression of freedom of speech. Not even the breaking news of renewed massacres altered the minds of policy strategists in the West. The voices of hatred broadcast uninterruptedly throughout the three months of genocide, fueling the frenzied killing by broadcasting to a nationwide audience the location of Tutsi and Tutsi sympathizers, with the command that all the Tutsi be murdered immediately.

The major leaders of RTLM were tracked down in the aftermath of the genocide and indicted and tried before the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR) on charges of genocide and crimes against humanity. They were sentenced to long terms of imprisonment.

Rambouillet Accords. Named for the chateau in the town in France where they were signed on February 23, 1999, the Rambouillet Accords resulted from a series of negotiations involving delegates from the United States, several European NATO countries (e.g., Britain, France, Germany), and Russia, Yugoslavia, and representatives of Kosovar Albanian groups (in particular, the Kosovo Liberation Army). The meeting took place under the shadow of NATO threats of military action against the actors involved in the conflict, the Serbians and the Kosovar Albanians.

The three-year interim agreement arranged at Rambouillet for Kosovo addressed the issues of a constitution, free and open elections, legal and legislative authority, democratic self-government, security, and a mechanism for final settlement between Serbia and the Kosovar Albanians. On the question of democratic self-government, it addressed such concerns as: health care; education; economic development; legislative, executive, and judicial branches of government and their protection; and national community institutions. On the question of security, it addressed the removal of Yugoslav troops from Kosovo, the deployment of international troops instead of the Kosovo Liberation Army, local law enforcement, and federal security. It was agreed that final settlement issues would be addressed at the conclusion of this interim agreement. The eight-chapter text of the accord was divided along the following lines: Framework; (1) Constitution, (2) Police and Civil Public Security, (3) Conduct and Supervision of Elections, (4a) Economic Issues, (4b) Humanitarian Assistance, (5) Implementation I, (6) Ombudsman, (7) Implementation II and Appendices, and (8) Amendment, Comprehensive Assessment, and Final Clauses.

Rambouillet Conference. A series of negotiations involving delegates from the United States, several European NATO countries including Britain, France, and Germany, together with Russia, Yugoslavia and representatives of Kosovar Albanian groups, took place in the chateau at Rambouillet, near Paris, between February 6 and March 19, 1999. The meeting took place under the shadow of NATO threats of military action in the event of an agreement not being made, but the very fact of getting everyone to a conference table was, at first, held to be a positive step. The intention was to hammer out a settlement that would be acceptable to all parties and would avoid the possibility of more bloodshed in the internal conflict that, until then, had been taking place—with much loss of life—between Serbs and Kosovar Albanians. The negotiations focused, in spite of the initial optimism, around a set of points that were ultimately unacceptable to one or other of the parties. The Kosovar Albanian delegates—who were disadvantaged by the fact that the groups they represented were still in the field fighting and out of regular contact with Paris—were absolutely unwilling to negotiate on anything that did not have an independent Kosovo as its end. The Serbs would not countenance the possibility of Kosovar autonomy (and even less, independence), nor would they accept any international interference in Yugoslavia's internal affairs. Both sides wanted their way, but neither was prepared to allow their negotiating position to be held as being responsible for the failure of the talks. Breaking through the impasse seemed impossible, until U.S. Secretary of State Madeleine Albright (b. 1937) provided both sides with a single option: in response to a

set of demands presented by NATO, if one party agreed but the other did not, NATO would support the party in agreement. Thus, if the Serbs agreed but the Kosovars did not, NATO would withdraw its support of them (the Kosovars) and walk away, allowing the Serbs full rein to do as they pleased. If the Kosovars agreed but the Serbs did not, NATO would commence military operations against Serbs in order physically to remove their forces from Kosovo. The latter scenario prevailed, precipitating NATO action that began six days after the talks broke down, on March 25, 1999. The attacks ended seventy-seven days later, after the Serb government of Slobodan Milosevic (1941–2006) capitulated to NATO demands.

Rape Camps, Former Yugoslavia. At various points during the ongoing conflict in the former Yugoslavia in the 1990s, Serbian forces committed mass rape of Muslim and Croat women in detention centers and concentration camps. (Groups of women were also enslaved in “ethnically-cleansed” schools, homes, restaurants and other places that served as unofficial brothels for the Serbian fighters.) Both refugee women and those who survived such camps commonly referred to the camps as “rape camps.” In the camps and other locations, Serb forces systematically raped women during interrogation as part of the torture process to which the women were subjected and, in many cases, to intentionally impregnate the women. The express purpose of both the rape and the impregnation was to cause the women and their families humiliation and disgrace and to “dilute” the Muslim blood of the victims and their bastard children. Serbian rapists are reported to have spat out such epithets such as “Death to all Turkish sperm” and “You should only bear Serbs.” In 2001, the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY) found three Bosnian Serb men (Dragoljub Kunarac, Radomir Kovac, and Zoran Vukovic) guilty of gang-raping Muslim women. The conviction was precedent setting in that it was the first time that an international court deemed “sexual enslavement” to constitute a crime against humanity and prosecuted the case accordingly.

Rape Warfare, Former Yugoslavia. In the context of the Bosnian war of 1992–1995, a succession of Serb-run “rape camps” appeared, particularly in 1992 and 1993. Mass rape has long been associated with war, explained away as “collateral damage” or “spoils of war,” but that was not the case in the former Yugoslavia where institutionalized mass rape was committed in Bosnia for two essential reasons: (1) The mass rape added to the climate of fear in order to induce the process of forced mass departure of Bosnian Muslims from towns and villages throughout Bosnia and Herzegovina. It put all females and their families on notice that if they did not leave they could be subject to rape. (2) The institutionalization of rape introduced the act of rape as an instrument of genocide. Bosnian Muslim women of childbearing age were systematically gang-raped, and not simply to terrorize them. In fact, they were subjected to repeated rape in order to destroy their ethnic identity; that is, the Serbs knew that by having been raped, the females would be socially ostracized upon their return to their own communities. As a result, the young women would likely never marry, and those already married would be divorced. Ultimately, then, the Serbs knew full well that the rape of the females permanently stigmatized them. In the process, the women were made into pariahs and forced to the very fringes of society. Were they to become pregnant—an objective of the rapes, in many cases—the women would be doubly “tainted” upon returning home. Children born of the rape would be perceived as of mixed ethnicity and not as members of the community into which they were born. Thus, the central idea behind the mass rapes was to weaken the fabric of the Muslim eth-

nic group. In that sense, mass rape as practiced in the camps was part of a genocidal campaign. And not only this, for by rendering raped Muslim women as “untouchables” and unfit for marriage within Bosnian society, the Serbs were also reducing the available pool of women from whom the next generation of Muslims would be born. Thus, while increasing the number of Serb children, the rapes were actually reducing the number of Muslim children in the future. Rape warfare practiced with such attention to rationale and execution could, under no circumstances, be classified as an addendum to war; indeed, it was a policy.

Rapid Action Force. A genocide rapid action force is, in theory, a special force that would be trained and on-call especially for those situations that appear to be moving toward crimes against humanity and/or genocide. Some scholars have recommended that such a force be composed of volunteer troops under direct UN command, and thus not at the beck and call of individual states.

Currently, no rapid action force, whose express purpose is the prevention or intervention of genocide, exists. However, numerous scholars (e.g., political scientists, international relations specialists, and those in the field of genocide studies) and practitioners (e.g., with the United Nations, nongovernmental organizations dealing with human rights atrocities, and military analysts) have put forth ideas in regard to the development of such a force and have addressed such wide-ranging issues as its constituent components, possible oversight bodies, cost, size, funding, how such a force would be manned, its' command structure, when and how it would be deployed, and so on.

In his *Agenda for Peace* (1992), UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali (b. 1922) suggested the need for “peace enforcement units” (not antigencide forces or a rapid action force, per se) that would be more heavily armed than regular peacekeeping forces, for the purpose of monitoring and enforcing cease-fires and/or peace agreements.

In 1994 Hans van Mierlo (b. 1931), the Dutch minister of foreign affairs, advanced the proposition of having the United Nations establish a UN legion, or full-time professional military force—which he referred to as a “fire brigade.” The purpose, he told the UN General Assembly, would be to rapidly deploy a force in order to prevent, or at least minimize, genocidal tragedies as that which befell Rwanda in 1994.

The Commission on Global Governance put forth the idea of establishing a ten-thousand-person UN volunteer force that would be available to intervene in a timely and effective manner in the earliest stages of a conflict.

Later in the decade, Brian Urquhart (b. 1919), the former Undersecretary-General of the United Nations, called for a permanent UN volunteer military force of some five thousand UN volunteers.

There are numerous prototypes of rapid action forces already in existence (some of which were created and disbanded once their tasks had been completed, and none of which had the special purpose of the prevention and intervention of genocide), and the successes and weaknesses of the latter will need to be examined prior to devising such a force for the express purpose of the prevention and intervention of genocide. One such rapid reaction force was established in May 1995, in response to the Bosnian Serb attack on the Bosnian city of Tuzla, a UN-declared “safe area” in which hundreds of UN peacekeepers were taken hostage. At the time, French president Jacques Chirac (b. 1932) suggested the need for the creation and insertion of a rapid reaction force (RRF) to protect the UN peacekeepers and to end the siege of Sarajevo. A RRF, Chirac argued, would be

composed of a well-armed group of troops that were at the ready to react rapidly, with strength and effectiveness to counter attacks against UNPROFOR. As Ivo Daalder (2000), a senior fellow in foreign policy studies at the Brookings Institution, notes, “In a rare demonstration of allied policy cohesion and a clear indication that those concerned with the Balkans were desperate for a different policy direction, Chirac’s proposal was endorsed by the Contact group on May 30, by NATO on June 3, and by the UN Security Council on June 16. The ten-thousand-strong RRF consisting of French, British, and Dutch troops [was] deployed by early July. . . . [T]he RRF’s deployment served the important purpose of bolstering UNPROFOR at a time when many in the United States and Europe feared that the UN would decide to withdraw the peacekeepers” (p. 45).

To date (2007), neither the United Nations nor individual states have welcomed or supported the idea of a professional, all-volunteer rapid action force. Not only do the latter prefer organizing and deploying such a force on a need-by-need basis, but some of the larger and more powerful member states are ostensibly worried that the United Nations might accrue too much power, which would allow it to be more autonomous in regard to responding in a timely and effective manner to crisis situations.

Rassenkampf (German, “Racial Fight,” or “Racial Struggle”). *Rassenkampf* is the Nazi conception that all human life constituted an ongoing confrontation for supremacy between competing races of people. In the Nazi understanding, this struggle was both typified by and expressed at its most extreme by a conflict between the “Aryan race” and the Jewish “race”—a conflict forced, the Nazis asserted continually, by the Jews for the purpose of subverting what the Nazis considered to be a perfect world order in which the Aryans should (by virtue of their superiority) rightly predominate. According to Nazi beliefs, the *rassenkampf* was relentless and had to be fought until the death of one of the two parties. Resolution of the struggle, in the Nazi worldview, would see either an ideal future for the world under the unchallenged rule of the Aryans or a hopeless future dominated by the forces of darkness unleashed by the so-called satanic Jew. For the Nazis, the race struggle, of necessity, had to be genocidal in scope; neither compromise nor mercy would ever be possible if the required victory was to be achieved.

Rassenschande (German, “Race Shame,” or “Racial Defilement”). Nazi term for any act of a sexual nature between a Jew and a non-Jew (in the Nazi conception, an “Aryan”), even those who were intermarried. Under the Nuremberg Laws of 1935 various relationships between Jews and non-Jews were proscribed, and sexual relations were banned. It was the Nazis’ understanding of such that it would pollute, and thereby weaken, the “purity” of the Aryan race, especially if children resulted from the sexual liaison. This ruling also applied to sexual contact between German Aryans and Slavs.

By February 1944 such sexual contact was made a capital offence. The totality of Nazi rule was thus such that even this most intimate of human impulses was severely regulated on grounds of race.

Rasseverrat (German, “Racial Treason”). A term that was used earlier than *rassenschande* by the Nazis, but with the same meaning: the perceived illicit sexual relationship between Jews and German “Aryans.” Such “bedroom legislation” on the part of the Nazis, as reflected in the Nuremberg Racial Laws of September 1935, is a clear indicator of how seriously the Nazis perceived the racial construct of “the Jews” as the enemy of the Third Reich.

Rassinier, Paul (1906–1967). Perceived by those in the Holocaust denialist movement and community as the “Father of Holocaust Revisionism.” A member of the French Resis-

tance during World War II, Rassinier was arrested by the Gestapo and spent time both in Buchenwald and Dora concentration camps (1943–1945). Prior to that he was a professor of history and geography at Belfort in northeastern France. Back in France, he was later elected to the National Assembly, though his health prevented him from returning to full-time teaching. Subsequently, he began to devote himself to research and writing such works as *The Holocaust Story and The Lies of Ulysses: A Study of the Nazi Concentration Camps and the Alleged Extermination of European Jewry* (1950), and *The Drama of the European Jews* (1964). Rassinier did not attempt to state that “the Holocaust never happened” nor that what transpired in the death camps, including his own experiences, was other than horrific. Rather, his work questioned what he presumed to be the presumed agenda of the Nazis (i.e., the total annihilation of European Jewry) and what, to his mind, were the highly exaggerated figures of Jewish (and other) murders. His works, originally written in French, have been translated into English and continually published by Holocaust denialist publishers.

Raznatovic, Zeljko. See Arkan.

Realism. Also known as “political realism” (and, frequently, by its German rendition, *Realpolitik*), this is a philosophy of international relations that asserts that states will always act only within their own self-interest: they are neither moral nor immoral; rather, they are amoral. They do not have friends; they have interests, and will thus not put themselves on the line by involving themselves in the affairs of peoples at risk elsewhere. With this in mind, realists argue that they see the world as it is, rather than as it should be, and that no amount of public opinion, moralizing, or appeals from other nations can be allowed to detract from this fundamental truth of how the world system operates.

Realism is also based on the notion of the “sanctity” of sovereign states. Basically, those who adhere to realism perceive international politics as both competitive and, frequently, strewn with conflict for power and security among states. They believe that because there is no single entity capable of satisfactorily resolving disputes, states must provide for their own security; as a result, military might is the most important means to ensuring such security and power. In light of the fact that realists are tentative about what other nations are likely to do in their own self-interest, they believe that individual states have no choice but to have an ongoing concern with the issue of power. Furthermore, because they believe that a state’s survival and its national interests are of the utmost importance, they eschew traditional conceptions of morality when making foreign policy decisions.

Proceeding from the 1648 Treaty of Westphalia, which established the modern states system, political realism is predicated on the idea that all sovereign states must be free to act within their own borders as they see fit, without interference from outside; any such interference is considered an infringement of sovereignty and is thus a major impediment to the smooth functioning of the international states system. Given this, states look to their own affairs, often ignoring internal developments in others. Moreover—and this is perhaps the most crucial element of political realism—according to realist thought it is frequently outside of a state’s national interest to interfere in the internal affairs of another state, particularly if such interference involves a purely humanitarian issue of no direct interest to the state doing the interfering. This becomes a major issue if there is a possibility that armed conflict will ensue, as every state that goes to war must reckon on the possibility of its own defeat, something that clearly runs against the very *raison d’être* of the states system.

Realpolitik. Politics based on practical and material factors rather than on theoretical or ethical objectives. The term relates to a situation in which states act on concerns other

than a moral imperative and where the pragmatic and perceived needs of the state (or national political expediency takes precedence over those of international law, justice, or morality.

Reeves, Eric. A Smith College professor of English, Reeves served as a key source of information on the evolving situation in Darfur, Sudan, during the years 2003 through 2007 for journalists, scholars, and others. His interest stemmed from his earlier and indefatigable research and activist work about the long civil war in southern Sudan that resulted in well over 1 million (and, by some accounts, closer to 2 million) deaths between 1983 and 2005.

By collecting information from numerous sources via telephone and interviews with people in the know (relief workers, diplomats, reporters, and others who had returned from Darfur and the refugee camps in Chad), correspondence via email, searches on the Internet and clandestine trips to Darfur, and then analyzing it all, he kept the world apprised about the unfolding genocide in Darfur. Susannah Sirkin, deputy director of Physicians for Human Rights, has said, "As a one-man nongovernmental organization, he has done more than any other individual or group I know of to keep the crisis in Darfur on the agenda of political leaders and the public." Between his reports on southern Sudan and Darfur, it is estimated that Reeves has also published hundreds of lengthy essays. On Darfur alone, he produced a five-thousand-word analysis each week (<http://www.sudanreeves.org>). He disseminated his analysis on a weekly blog that was, reportedly, read by hundreds of scholars and policymakers involved with Sudan. Beginning in December 2003 he began declaring on his blog, as well as in his opinion pieces to various newspapers, that what was taking place in Darfur was genocide. His influence was such that the U.S. Congress had him testify several times between 2004 and 2007. Reeves was so committed to his work that he took unpaid sabbaticals to work on Sudan-related issues, refinanced his house to make ends meet, and continued to work ceaselessly despite being diagnosed with leukemia in 2004 and having to go through brutal and exhausting treatments.

In 2007 Reeves's book, *A Long Day's Dying: Critical Moments in the Darfur Genocide*, was published by The Key Publishing House in Toronto, Ontario, Canada.

Refoulement (French, "Forcing Back"). A policy that refers to the return of a person to a country or territory that he or she has left due to the fear of being harmed in some grievous manner and where he or she may be at risk of being persecuted upon return. *Refoulement* is a violation of the principle of non-refoulement and thus constitutes an infraction or breach of customary international law and refugee law.

Refoulement, Swiss Policy During the Holocaust. A policy introduced in Switzerland in 1938 as a way of ensuring that Jewish refugees fleeing Nazi Germany without satisfactory financial means or documentation were returned to Germany upon arrival in Switzerland or kept from entering in the first place. The stimulus for the change in what had previously been a more liberal Swiss policy was the Nazi/German *Anschluss* (union) with Austria in March 1938, which resulted in thousands of Jews seeking sanctuary in Switzerland.

The motives behind the Swiss policy were several: Switzerland's fear of being swamped with refugees; antisemitism in certain sections of the Swiss government and the bureaucracy; and concerns about German counter-measures, even aggression, should Switzerland be seen to be adopting a pro-Jewish (read anti-Nazi) policy.

Refoulement resulted in a Swiss policy that was highly restrictive: only families with children under sixteen or adults over sixty were to be allowed entry into Switzerland. By October 1938, the policy was radically revised in the form of a new regulation to the passport laws of Germany and Switzerland; upon Switzerland's suggestion, the Nazi government agreed to stamp all Jewish passports with the letter "J" as an indication of the bearer's Jewish status. This greatly simplified the job of Swiss border guards assigned the task of identifying Jews and turning them back. The Swiss imposed even more stringent regulations in February 1939, reducing further the number of Jews allowed into Switzerland. All in all, Switzerland accepted about two hundred thousand refugees during World War II, a little over 10 percent of whom were Jews. Many thousands more passed through the country in transit to somewhere else, and, among these, too, were Jews. Due to the policy, at least ten thousand Jews were turned away from Switzerland, the vast majority of whom lost their lives at the hands of the Nazis. Recognizing the discriminatory injustice of the policy, in 1995 the president of Switzerland, Kaspar Villiger (b. 1941), officially apologized to the Jewish people for the actions of his predecessors over half a century earlier.

Refugee. The 1951 UN Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees defines a refugee as "any person who, owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable, or owing to such fear is unwilling, to avail himself of the protection of that country." Ultimately, this definition was expanded by two regional instruments, the "1969 Organization of African Unity (OAU) Convention Governing the Specific Aspects of Refugee Problems in Africa" and the "1984 Cartagena Declaration on Refugees." Both instruments expanded the definition by adding the phrase, "those fleeing from conflict." Additionally, the Cartagena Declaration added the phrase, "those fleeing from massive human rights violations." Over time, the definition of "refugee" has also been expanded from those who solely flee across a border or leave their own country to those who flee a conflict by leaving their current place of residence and seek safety in another part of their own country. These individuals are commonly referred to as "internal refugees" or "internally displaced persons" (IDPs).

Religion and Genocide. Examples abound of the relationship between religion and genocide. Among some of the many examples are the following: the centuries-long role of the Roman Catholic and later Protestant churches in disparaging, ostracizing, and discriminating against Jews, which ultimately influenced the skewed and treacherous thinking and beliefs of the Nazis and thus contributed, in its own inimitable way, to the Holocaust/*Shoah*; the Ottoman Turk (composed of both Muslims and modernizers) genocide of its Armenian population, who were Christians; the role of the Catholic Church in the 1994 Rwandan genocide (in which some of the bishops, priests, and nuns of the Roman Catholic Church participated as active perpetrators); and the Serbian Orthodox Church's role during the Bosnian genocide of 1992–1995.

Among the world's great monotheistic religious traditions—Judaism, Christianity, Islam—manifestations of genocide present themselves not only institutionally but theologically as well. For example, by the exclusivist nature of their sacred texts (Torah, the New Testament, the Quran), their self-perception of their own religious traditions as superior and others as inferior helps to create climates and cultures where certain groups have been deemed worthy of support and approval, whereas others have, in certain and various cases, been deemed unworthy of life.

Historically, institutional religions have been (and continue to be) conservative and concerned with maintaining the status quo and preserving their own belief systems and thus, at times, find themselves in collusion with those forces perpetrating a genocide. An excellent example of this is in South America (e.g., Guatemala, Argentina), where at various times during the twentieth century the Roman Catholic Church allied itself with the governments in power and therefore saw the poorest populations subject to military brutality, death, and disappearances.

All of the following are potential factors in the propagation of genocide: the use of so-called “divine mandates” to sanction and rationalize genocidal behavior; the use of sacred texts that propagate “insider-outsider” tensions; and the all-too-common involvement of religious leadership in governmental and military collusions for economic and political reasons.

Because this area of research is still in its relative infancy in the overall field of “genocide studies,” only continued work will result in a more complete understanding of how religion played out in past genocides, those “religious factors” that contribute to genocide, and the type of concrete and positive steps that can be taken by religious communities to either bring to conclusion genocides that have already begun or prevent such from happening. Religious work, of course, also involves healing and reconciliation after tragedies such as genocide, and here, too, religious communities may have much to contribute by bringing together victims and perpetrators, creating environments where such work can begin, and using the power of sanctuary-related activities (e.g., prayer, worship) to further that healing.

Repatriation. The action of returning refugees to their countries of origin.

Report of the International Commission of Inquiry on Darfur to the United Nations Secretary-General. This report presents the findings of the first investigation into an ongoing conflict conducted by the United Nations for the express purpose of ascertaining whether genocide had been perpetrated or not. The commission’s inquiry was basically a follow-up to the U.S. Darfur Atrocities Documentation Project, which involved the analysis of 1,136 randomly selected interviews with Black Sudanese in the refugee camps of Chad and the subsequent finding by the U.S. government that Government of Sudan (GOS) troops and the *Janjaweed* (Arab militia) had committed genocide. The UN investigation was conducted in Sudan (including Darfur and Khartoum), Chad, and adjacent countries over the course of December 2004 and January 2005. In late January the commission declared that genocide had not been perpetrated. Instead, it found that the GOS and *Janjaweed* were responsible for serious violations of international human rights and humanitarian law, amounting to crimes against humanity. Among the acts the GOS and *Janjaweed* were alleged to have committed, according to the UN report, were the killing of civilians, torture, enforced disappearances, destruction of villages, rape and other forms of sexual violence, pillaging, and forced displacement throughout Darfur. The commissioners went on to say that “the crucial element of genocidal intent appears to be missing, at least as far as the central Government authorities are concerned. Generally speaking, the policy of attacking, killing and forcibly displacing members of some tribes does not evince a specific intent to annihilate, in whole or in part, a group distinguished on racial, ethnic, national or religious grounds. Rather, it would seem that those who planned and organized attacks on villages pursued the intent to drive the victims from their homes, primarily for purposes of counter-insurgency warfare. The Commission does recognize that in some

instances individuals, including Government officials, may commit acts with genocidal intent. Whether this was the case in Darfur, however, is a determinant that only a competent court can make on a case by case basis.”

Republika Srpska. Republika Srpska (Serbian for Republic of Srpska, or Serb Republic) is one of two political entities composing the state of Bosnia-Herzegovina. (The other is the Muslim-Croat Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, or BiH.) This arrangement was brought into formal effect at the Dayton Peace Accords, signed in Dayton, Ohio, on December 14, 1995. It was not, however, instrumental in creating Republika Srpska. As the former state of Yugoslavia began to disintegrate in 1991, an Assembly of Bosnian Serbs was established on October 24 of that year, claiming to speak on behalf of the Serbian population of Bosnia-Herzegovina. In early November 1991, a plebiscite was conducted among the Bosnian Serbs on the question of whether they wished to remain in Yugoslavia or join with the Bosnian Muslims and Croats in an independent Bosnia. The vote resulted in the decision not to join with the others in independence. On January 9, 1992, the Bosnian Serb Assembly proclaimed the Serbian Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina; on February 28 it voted to remain part of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. When Bosnia-Herzegovina declared itself an independent state on April 6, 1992, the Serbian Republic seceded the next day, becoming known to all thereafter simply as Republika Srpska. Backed by the full weight of what was left of Yugoslavia (essentially Serbia and Montenegro, including the powerful JNA, or Yugoslav National Army), the state expanded its borders through conquest and the practice of “ethnic cleansing” of Muslims and Croats from regions that were then added to Republika Srpska for the purpose of enhancing contiguity. The president of the republic, Radovan Karadzic (b. 1945), originally from Montenegro, set up a capital in Pale, just outside Sarajevo, and appointed Bosnian Serb general Ratko Mladic (b. 1942) to the overall command of Republika Srpska forces. The crimes committed in their names and that of the republic will forever be remembered for their viciousness and inhumanity. The tragedy is that in the West’s desperation to end the war—seemingly, at any price—Republika Srpska was actually rewarded at Dayton with territorial acquisitions bought with the blood of its victims. Republika Srpska still exists, with Banja Luka now its de facto capital city. The republic has a government, president, parliament, and all the other trappings of full independence. It is not, however, recognized internationally by any other state save Serbia-Montenegro and does not have membership in the United Nations. It is, in reality, a fully autonomous republic within the state of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Rescuers during the Holocaust. The rescue of Jews (and others) during the Holocaust is an enormously complicated discussion. Victims of the Nazis were variously rescued by nations (even some that were initially reluctant and resistant to doing so), organizations, religious groups, partisans, underground networks, individuals, and even antisemitic persons. The overwhelming majority of those who rescued Jews were non-Jews, and such activities cannot be separated from the larger scenarios of both military responses and resistance efforts.

The psychological and spiritual motivations of those who engaged in such behaviors, as well as their specific circumstances and geographic locales, must, likewise, be taken into consideration. Why some chose to rescue those in need (and, often at the expense of their very lives and the lives of their families) while others did not is complex. Oskar Schindler (1908–1974), for example, saved more than a thousand Jews in Poland, yet

profited economically from his business dealings with the Nazis, behaved immorally, and treated his wife with disdain. Sempo Sugihara (1890–1976), the Japanese consul in Lithuania, defied the orders of his superiors to save Jews, yet suffered disgrace and humiliation upon his return home for doing so. Raoul Wallenberg (1912–1947?) of Sweden rescued thousands of Hungarian Jews by issuing false documents, but he mysteriously and horrifically disappeared into the Soviet prison system at war's end.

Nation-states such as the United States, Britain, and Canada, while publicly proclaiming their willingness to allow in large numbers of fleeing Jewish refugees during the war, were also guilty of preventing Jews from arriving safely in their countries. This was due, in large part, to isolationist policies by politicians, bureaucratic obstacles (difficulty and length of paperwork, necessity of sponsorship), and active antisemites in key governmental positions (e.g., in the U.S. State Department) aggressively thwarting efforts to let refugees in.

Given the enormous numbers of murdered Jews in the Holocaust, somewhere close to 6 million men, women, and children, a fair and reasonable assessment is that far too many individuals did far too little to save Jewish lives during this tragic period.

Reserve Police Battalion 101. A Nazi mobile killing unit that operated mainly around Lublin in Galicia following the success of the German army (*Wehrmacht*) military campaigns in 1943 and 1944. Battalion 101 was composed mainly of approximately 450 seemingly ordinary men, primarily from Hamburg, Germany, some too old or ill-conditioned for frontline service, but who proved all too ready and willing to murder and deport the Jews in their catchment area in 1942. These men were responsible for the murders of thirty-nine thousand Jews and the deportations to Treblinka death camp of forty-four thousand more. Their story is the subject of an important 1993 book by American historian Christopher Browning (b. 1944), published under the self-explanatory title of *Ordinary Men*.

Resettlement. When refugee experts use this term, it refers to the movement of refugees from the country in which they sought refuge to another state that has agreed to allow them to enter. Generally, the refugees will be granted asylum or some form of long-term residency rights where they have a fair to good chance of becoming naturalized citizens.

Alternatively, the term *resettlement* can refer to the establishment of a new and safe area of residence within the refugees' own state for internally displaced peoples (IDPs).

For genocide scholars, the term often has a different meaning altogether. For example, "resettlement" was a euphemism that the Nazis used for the so-called "deportation" of people—frequently to overcrowded and squalor-ridden ghettos, slave labor camps, and concentration and death camps. For example, beginning with Jews from Greater Germany in September 1941 and continuing with Jews from Western Europe beginning in late April/early May 1942, the Nazis "resettled" (meaning, forced upon the threat of death) millions of Jews from their homes in countries all across Europe to ghettos and concentration, work, and death camps in Poland. The Nazis used the term *umsiedlerzüge* or "resettlement trains" as a euphemism for the trains that ran around the clock delivering Jews from *Grossdeutsch* (German, "Greater Germany") and Nazi-occupied Europe to the death camps in Poland.

The term *resettlement* had previously been used, within a genocidal context, by the Young Turks between 1915 and 1923 (and especially during 1915–1916), during the forced evacuations of Armenians from their own districts within the Ottoman Empire to places such as the Syrian desert, where they perished (due to outright murder, beatings, a lack of water, and extremely harsh conditions) in the hundreds of thousands.

Resettlement Country. A country that provides the opportunity for the permanent settlement of refugees. More specifically, it refers to a nation other than the country of origin of the refugee and/or other than the country in which the refugee status was first recognized or in which permanent residence was initially sought.

Resistance Movements During the Holocaust. Both Jews and non-Jews, as well as nation-states and governments under Nazi hegemony, engaged in resistance efforts throughout World War II, though the agendas of each were significantly different.

For non-Jews, the task was to overthrow the oppressors and restore their nations to pre-Nazi sovereignty. For Jews, in a world that permitted them few opportunities for escape or freedom, resistance efforts were primarily directed to punishment of the enemy by inflicting as much death and destruction as possible and meeting their own death with dignity. Jews were disadvantaged, however, because of the hostility of the surrounding populations and their reluctance to aid Jews.

In the ghettos, concentration camps, and death camps, resistance frequently meant sabotage (e.g., destruction of property, theft of goods), in addition to open and armed rebellion. The most well-known rebellion was that of the Warsaw Ghetto uprising, which began April 19 and ended May 16, 1943, and which saw the ghetto defenders unsuccessfully attempt to stave off the total obliteration of the Jewish population therein. Auschwitz, the largest death camp in the Nazi system, also saw an outbreak of violence that destroyed one of the crematoria.

Jews and non-Jews alike participated in both partisan and underground movements throughout the war. All too often, though, Jews were not at first accepted in such units; and even after being allowed to join, experienced additional antisemitism at the hands of those opposed to the Nazis. There were, in addition, cases of Jewish partisans fighting the Nazis in independent units. Most famous among these units was that of the Bielski Brothers in Byelorussia between 1941 and 1944. In addition to engaging the Nazis in battle, they also saved over a thousand of their fellow Jews.

Although no exact figures are ascertainable—there is no full count of locales where acts of resistance took place—it is false to conclude that, as a people, Jews went willingly to their deaths “like lambs to the slaughter” as the too-often repeated phrase would have it.

Another dimension of resistance, one that has increasingly been appreciated in recent years and is most fittingly associated with the Jewish religious tradition, is that of the ancient concept of martyrdom or spiritual resistance, known in Hebrew as *al kiddushat Ha-Shem*—that is, those who die “for the sanctification of God’s Holy Name,” meaning those Jewish persons who surrender their lives with dignity as befits those created, according to Genesis, “in God’s image,” rather than debase, demean, or disgrace themselves in the presence of the enemy. Countless Jewish religious men, women, and children went to their deaths with prayers on their lips and/or in their hearts, and are viewed by Jewish religious communities today as *Kedoshim*, or “Holy Martyred Ones.”

Retributive Genocide. “Retributive genocide” refers to those situations in which genocide is perpetrated in an effort “to eliminate a real or potential threat” (Fein, 1990, p. 88). Retributive genocide has been carried out following decolonization of a two-tier system of domination (Burundi, Rwanda).

The term “retributive genocide” has also been used to describe those situations in which one state has imposed its rule over another and used extremely harsh measures, including mass murder, such as in the case of East Timor by Indonesia (1975–1999).

The term has also been used in conjunction with events associated with the disintegration of the former Yugoslavia, between 1991 and 1999. More specifically, its use referred to incidents during the Serb-Croat war of 1991 and that which transpired during the Kosovo conflict in 1998–1999. During the Croatian war of secession, Croatia, under the leadership of President Franjo Tudjman (1922–1999), set out to expel its large Serbian minority, located largely in Krajina and Slavonia. In turn, the Serbs, in their quest for a Greater Serbia, engaged in a similar policy, first in Bosnia by forcibly expelling minorities, including Croats. Commonly referred to as “ethnic cleansing,” this policy of mass expulsion from ancestral territories characterized the actions of both combatants. As one group engaged in such behavior, so did the other, setting in motion a dynamic of lethal action followed by an equally lethal reaction.

The second example, that of Kosovo, relates to hostilities between Serbia and its Kosovar Albanian minority in the former autonomous territory of Kosovo, a status unilaterally abrogated by President Slobodan Milosevic (1941–2006). In order to accommodate Serbian refugees driven out of Bosnia, Milosevic began to resettle them in southern Kosovo along the border with Albania, to act both as a buffer zone and as a means to overcome the ethno-demographic imbalance of the Serbian minority in the province—where the Serb-to-Albanian ratio was 1:9. As a solution, Milosevic inaugurated a war of terror to drive as many Albanians out of Kosovo as possible and to suppress their armed secessionists, the Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA). The Serbian army and paramilitary troops invaded Kosovo in 1998, and in response (and after months of negotiation), NATO forces intervened militarily in order to stop the Serbian rampage being carried out across Kosovo. Between March and June 1999, Serb actions saw the expulsion of up to 1 million Kosovars, representing over half the population of the territory. The NATO intervention ultimately brought Milosevic’s campaign of massive displacement, murder, and ethnic cleansing to a halt, allowing the refugees to return under the protection of UN-sanctioned peacekeepers. Almost as soon as the Kosovar Albanians had returned, the KLA attacked the Serbian minority of approximately two hundred thousand and drove large numbers of them out of their homes and villages.

Revolution and Genocide. By redefining what the political community will be in the postrevolutionary environment, revolutionaries cast certain groups (ethnic, occupational, sexual preference) or classes (feudal, middle, working) into the role of enemies of the new society. When such groups are then linked to real or potential foreign enemies, the possibility of them becoming targeted for repression—or even genocide—is heightened. Genocide scholar Robert Melson (b. 1937) has written extensively about how revolution and war have served, in various situations, as key factors in creating contexts that lend themselves to the creation of genocidal policies in order to create a new society. His most important work in this regard, *Revolution and Genocide: On the Origins of the Armenian Genocide and the Holocaust* (1992), highlights a number of ways in which revolutionary situations have led to international or civil conflict and subsequently degenerated into genocide. For Melson, several notable cases from history show that, in a revolutionary situation, war or internal conflict “proved decisive for enabling ideological motivations to be translated into policies of genocide.” These were the Armenian genocide (1915–1923), the Soviet man-made terror-famine in the Ukraine (1932–1933), the Holocaust (1933–1945), and the Cambodian genocide (1975–1979).

“Rhineland Bastards” (German, *Rheinlandbastarde*). Designation given in Germany’s Third Reich during the 1930s to the children of mixed liaisons (rarely marriages) between German women and Allied soldiers from French Africa who were stationed in the Rhineland as occupation forces between 1920 and 1930. It was estimated that there were some 500 such mixed-descent offspring. As German citizens, there was at first no legal basis for launching discriminatory measures against these children; the 1933 Sterilization Law, for example, did not consider race as a reason for compulsory sterilization. However, in 1937, the so-called “Rhineland Bastards” were secretly sterilized by the Gestapo. It has been suggested that the order to proceed with this action came from Nazi dictator Adolf Hitler (1889–1945) himself, as he was just as concerned about interracial cross breeding between so-called Aryans and Africans as he was between Aryans and Jews.

Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact. Named for its two primary signatories, German foreign minister Joachim von Ribbentrop (1893–1946) and Soviet foreign minister Vyacheslav Molotov (1890–1986), the Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact has also been referred to as the “Hitler-Stalin Pact,” the “German-Soviet Nonaggression Pact,” and the “Nazi-Soviet Pact.” Its actual name was the Treaty of Nonaggression between Germany and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and was signed in Moscow on August 23, 1939. The pact lasted up to June 22, 1941, when, during Operation Barbarossa, Germany invaded the Soviet Union.

Included in the pact was a “secret understanding” regarding the fates of Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, and Romania. This “understanding” permitted the Soviet Union and Germany to divide these sovereign nation-states into so-called “spheres of influence,” and they were later invaded by one or the other or both Germany and the USSR. One week after the pact was signed, Germany invaded Poland (September 1, 1939), igniting World War II.

Riegner, Gerhard (1912–2001). Swiss representative of the World Jewish Congress and author of the now-famous Riegner Telegram (or Riegner Cable) of August 29, 1942, which, for the first time, alerted Western leaders to the Nazi agenda of Jewish extermination. It read as follows: “Have received through Foreign Office following message from Riegner Geneva [Stop] Have alarming report that in Führer’s Headquarters plan discussed and under consideration all Jews in countries occupied or controlled Germany number 3-1/2 to 4 million should after deportation and concentration in East at one blow exterminated to resolve once and for all Jewish question in Europe. [Stop] Action reported planned for Autumn methods under discussion including prussic acid [Stop] We transmit information with all necessary reservation as exactitude cannot be confirmed [Stop] Informant stated to have close connexions (sic) with highest German authorities and his reports generally reliable [Stop] Inform and consult NewYork (sic) [Stop] Foreign Office as (sic) no information bearing on or confirming story.” The communication was sent to Rabbi Stephen S. Wise (1874–1979) in the United States and Samuel Silverman (1895–1968), a British member of parliament. The informant, discovered decades later, was German businessman Eduard Schulte (1891–1966), whose own information was both accurate and inaccurate. Wise’s obligation was to transmit this cable to the U.S. State Department for confirmation and later public awareness. After much governmental bickering, Wise was finally given the approval to make the contents of the cable known to the American Jewish communal leadership on November 24 of that same year. Similar governmental and bureaucratic objections were made by the British Foreign Office in

regard to providing knowledge of the telegram to the British Jewish community. Though the information was now public, World War II would not end until three years later, during which time millions of Jews and others were to meet their tragic fate at the hands of the Nazis.

Righteous Among the Nations. The term used to designate those non-Jews who risked their lives, and at times the lives of their families, to save Jews during the Holocaust. The term is taken from the *Talmud*: “The righteous of all nations have a share in the world to come.” Since the early 1960s, Yad Vashem, Israel’s Holocaust Memorial Authority in Jerusalem, has honored such persons by the planting of a tree with a plaque, the casting of a medal, and the presentation of a certificate. The criteria by which such persons can be so honored are based on the following: (1) actual incident of rescue, (2) carried out at personal risk, and (3) no gain or benefit, financial or other, received. As of 2007, more than 21,000 such individuals have been so honored.

Righteous Gentile. Although the term *righteous gentile* had been used rabbinically as early as the tenth century CE to designate those Christians who, by their merit, are as eligible as any member of the House of Israel to enter the Kingdom of Heaven, it has come more readily to mean non-Jews who risked their lives to save Jewish lives during the Nazi Holocaust (1933–1945).

Among the many actions righteous gentiles carried out were supplying false documents; providing food, clothing, and shelter; guiding Jews to places of safety; and actually providing places for the Jews to hide. These “righteous among the nations” (Hebrew, *Hasidei umot haolam*) have—by a 1953 act of Israel’s Knesset (Parliament)—been continuously honored at Yad Vashem in Jerusalem, Israel’s Holocaust Memorial Authority, for their actions. After an exhaustive investigation process, if a person’s actions during the Holocaust are deemed to be sufficiently worthy of elevation to Righteous Gentile status, either the honoree or his or her heirs are invited to Jerusalem to receive the award of a plaque from Yad Vashem and to plant a carob tree in the Garden of the Righteous in permanent commemoration of the act for which they are being acknowledged. Although recognized Righteous Gentiles acted from a wide variety of motives, they share in common the distinction that they all saved Jews from the mortal fate intended by the Nazis.

All manner of persons have thus been recognized: from Raoul Wallenberg (1912–1947?) of the Swedish Delegation in Budapest, Hungary; to the Japanese representative Sempo Sugihara (1900–1986); to the French village of Le Chambon under its Huguenot pastor André Trocmé (1901–1971); to the German businessman Oskar Schindler (1908–1974); to Miep Gies (b. 1909), who aided the family of Anne Frank (1929–1945). By the year 2007, over 21,000 men and women had been acknowledged. More than five thousand had come from Poland, four thousand from the Netherlands, sixteen hundred from France, and one thousand each from Ukraine and Belgium. Others ranged from several hundred to (in the case of a number of countries) one.

Professor Nechama Tec (b. 1931), of Stamford University in Connecticut, has suggested six common characteristics of these righteous rescuers: (1) individuality or separateness from their social environment; (2) independence or self-reliance; (3) a commitment to helping the needy; (4) a modest self-appraisal of their extraordinary actions; (5) unplanned initial engagement in Jewish rescue; and (6) universalistic perceptions of Jews as human beings in dire need of assistance.

Ringelblum's Archive. During the period the Warsaw Ghetto was under Nazi domination in Poland, Jewish historian and educator Emanuel Ringelblum (1900–1944) trained a group of colleagues and others to secretly record the daily events of life in the Warsaw Ghetto for posterity under the name *Oneg Shabbat* (Hebrew, “Joy of the Sabbath”). Begun in November 1939, this massive collection of historical data, hidden primarily in tin boxes and metal milk cans, continued until Ringelblum's murder in March 1944.

Efforts were continuously made to transmit information obtained by Ringelblum and his colleagues to the Allies, for example, knowledge of the Chelmno death camp. After the war, between 1946 and 1950, much but not all of this material was retrieved and continues to be a major resource for scholars and others regarding the reality of life and death in the Warsaw ghetto, which has most closely been identified with resistance to the Nazis, where the Jewish inhabitants held off their enemies for six weeks following the Nazis' attack on Passover, April 1943. The material itself consists of more than six thousand documents, maps, pictures, memorabilia, testimonials, analyses, reports, and research on a wide array of issues (e.g., smuggling, relationships with the Poles, starvation, the underground economy). Today, much of this material is housed in the Jewish Historical Institute in Warsaw, Poland.

Risk Assessments. *Risk assessments*, a term and concept that scholar Ted Gurr used in his Minorities at Risk project, refers to the identification of situations in which the conditions for a particular kind of conflict are present. Gurr stressed the point that risk assessments are not predictions in the sense that is usually meant by such terms as *forecast* and *early warning*, because risks are assessed on the basis of background and intervening conditions—the conditions that establish the potential for conflict. Whether or not risks are realized depends on whether “(1) the preconditions remain unchanged as well as on (2) accelerating or triggering events. Early warnings, by contrast, are derived from monitoring the flow of political events, with special attention to actions that are likely to precipitate the onset of conflict in high-risk situations. Risk assessments provide the context. Early warnings are interpretations that the outbreak of conflict in a high-risk situation is likely and imminent” (Gurr and Marshall, 2000, pp. 222–223).

Risk Factors. In his study of the causes of conflict, scholar Ted Robert Gurr found that five factors influence whether “communal groups” will undertake political action (e.g., protest or rebellion): (1) salience of group identity (e.g., the extent of persistent protest or rebellion during the previous decade, economic and political discrimination, and cultural restrictions); (2) group incentives for collective action (which could involve lost autonomy, government repression, or increased political restrictions); (3) group capacity for collective action (e.g., territorial concentration, group organization, increases in support for conventional and for militant ethnopolitical organizations); (4) domestic opportunities (which include such factors as democratic, autocratic, and incoherent polities as well as the stability or instability of a regime); and (5) international opportunities (which may be contingent on support from kindred groups, support from foreign states, international political support, etc.).

Ritter, Dr. Robert (1901–1950). German psychiatrist whose interest in the relationship between heredity and criminality led him into major research during the Nazi regime (1933–1945) concerning the Roma, Lalleri, and Sinti people (often referred to, sometimes disparagingly, as “Gypsies”). His research served as a justification for the Nazis to isolate and then annihilate the Roma and Sinti. In 1936 the Nazis established the Racial

Hygiene and Population Biology Research Unit with Ritter at its head, and in 1937 he began systematically to interview all Gypsies in Germany. This necessitated visiting all Gypsy communities and, later, concentration camps where they were incarcerated. Based on his research, he concluded that 90 percent of Sinti, Roma, and Lalleri were of mixed descent and therefore dangerous to German society. Ritter developed a descent index—not unlike that applied to Jews in Nazi Germany—when constituting Gypsy genealogy in order to determine *mischlinge* (mixed-descent) status. Convinced that a vast majority of the racial admixture of the Roma and Sinti rendered them psychologically predisposed toward criminality, his arguments to the Nazi authorities provided a strong racial justification for at first sterilization, then outright extermination. Ritter retained his academic position at the University of Tübingen (where he taught criminal biology) through the end of the Nazi period and into 1946. In 1947 he joined the Frankfurt Health Office as a pediatrician. Efforts to find ways in which charges could be laid against him for his Nazi activities were eventually abandoned. In 1950 he unexpectedly committed suicide.

Roadblocks, Rwandan Genocide. It has been estimated by a UN inquiry that within two hours of Rwandan president Juvenal Habyarimana's (1937–1994) assassination on April 6, 1994, roadblocks had been erected in many parts of the capital city, Kigali. These roadblocks stopped the traffic flow, at which point occupants of cars, trucks, and buses were required to present their identity cards to the extremist Hutu militias manning the roadblocks. If the identity card showed the bearer as a Tutsi, immediate and summary execution by machetes, clubs, or (less frequently) gunfire would generally follow. The roadblocks also enabled the Hutu killers to identify those who were termed “moderate” Hutu or those who did not buy into extremist Hutu philosophy and/or were known to be opposed to the killers' murderous aims.

The roadblocks were often of the most rudimentary kind: tires (burning or not); planks of timber laid between supports such as logs or oil drums; rocks, stones, or bricks strewn across a specific point in the road; in fact, anything that could induce drivers to stop their vehicle could be counted as a roadblock. Furthermore, many roadblocks ended up being “built” by piling the dead bodies of the Tutsis and moderate Hutus in the middle of the road. Ultimately, as the genocide spread, the use of roadblocks became a key element of the Hutu campaign of mass murder, and they were employed in cities and towns throughout the country. The building of roadblocks thus played an important part in the implementation of Hutu ambitions for the annihilation of the Tutsi, and it appears that the construction of such roadblocks had been carefully planned and coordinated some time before the actual outbreak of the genocide.

Role of Physicians During the Holocaust. Among the more heinous aspects of the Holocaust was the prominent role played by healers—physicians and nurses—in the death camps themselves, where all manner of medical experimentation was forced upon unwilling subjects, including children, under the guise of pseudo-scientific research (1) to aid the German military efforts (e.g., high-altitude and deep-saltwater experiments, those dealing with survival and rescue, and the treatment of wounds), and (2) to destroy supposedly “inferior” persons (e.g., sterilization experiments with chemicals and x-rays). Among the most notorious of such doctors was Josef Mengele (1911–1978), the “Angel of Death,” whose particular experiments involved both twins and dwarfs, and included the injection of dyes, other chemicals, drugs and various vaccines, daily blood analysis after such injections, and surgeries without anesthetic (particularly upon pregnant women).

Numerous persons were put to death so that autopsies could be performed and/or their skulls and skeletons could be sent to Berlin for analysis at the Anatomical Institute.

In 1946, a doctors' trial was held in Nuremberg, Germany, where twenty-three medical persons were charged with crimes. Sixteen of the twenty doctors were found guilty; seven were executed, nine were given prison terms, and seven were acquitted. No other medical persons were ever brought to trial.

Roma and Sinti During the Third Reich. Between 1933 and 1945, the Roma and Sinti people (often referred to, sometimes pejoratively, as “Gypsies”) were subjected to round ups, detention, sterilization, and death by the Nazi regime of Germany. For the Nazis, the Sinti and Roma were an essentially criminal admixture of an inferior genetic type crossbred with the worst criminal elements, and for this fundamental reason they represented a threat to the so-called biological purity of the German “Aryan” race. Measures in Germany against the Roma and Sinti predated the ascent to office of the Nazis, but these intensified significantly within months of the Nazi takeover. In July 1933, the Law for the Protection of Offspring with Hereditary Defects saw the forced sterilization of a large number of Sinti and Roma, and as a result of the Law Against Dangerous Habitual Criminals of November 1933, many more were arrested as “asocials” and imprisoned in concentration camps. “Asocials,” as a rule, included people labeled as prostitutes, alcoholics, and others of unsavory background. Other measures against the Sinti and Roma were introduced throughout the 1930s, and in 1938, after the Nazi annexation of Austria, the Lalleri, a kindred people to the Roma and Sinti, came under the previous “anti-gypsy” enactments. The more brutal elements of their treatment were, for a short time, eased by an order of SS leader Heinrich Himmler (1900–1945), and direct persecution, for the time being, stopped. Yet such measures were not lasting, as a reconsideration of their status by the Reich Security Main Office, based directly on Nazi racial ideology, saw the Roma and Sinti slated for extermination on Himmler’s direct order.

After the outbreak of war in September 1939, the Sinti and Roma came under intensified persecution—on the grounds of security. Those in Germany were deported to Poland in their tens of thousands, and later those from Poland and other occupied countries were sent to concentration and extermination camps such as Majdanek, Chelmno, and Treblinka. Sinti and Roma were also deported to ghettos throughout Poland during the war years. In late 1942, Himmler ordered that all Sinti and Roma be deported to Auschwitz-Birkenau, where they were set aside in a special “gypsy camp” (*Zigeunerlager*). Most sent there did not live to see the liberation, as they were killed by gassing, disease and epidemics (e.g., typhus, smallpox, and dysentery), debility, or hard labor. Ultimately, in May 1944, to address the problems created by the epidemics, the Nazis decided to liquidate the camp, which meant the mass murder of all the Sinti and Roma therein. Overall, the number of Sinti, Roma, and Lalleri whose lives were lost during the *Porrajmos* (Romani for “The Devouring”)—the whole period of the anti-Romani persecution by the Third Reich—is difficult to determine. So far as scholars can estimate, the number lies anywhere between a quarter and a half a million. Exact figures or percentages cannot be ascertained owing to the haphazard manner of the Nazi killings; the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum (Washington, D.C.) estimates that the Nazis and their allies killed between 25 and 50 percent of all European Roma and Sinti.

Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court. The Rome Statute is an international agreement that was signed in Rome, Italy, on July 17, 1998, under the auspices of

the UN General Assembly, authorizing “the establishment of an international criminal court.” It had taken half a century of constant effort for human rights law to arrive at this point. In General Assembly Resolution 260 of December 9, 1948, the United Nations adopted the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (UNCG), and Article IV of the UNCG referred to the establishment of “such an international penal tribunal as may have jurisdiction” for the purpose of trying cases of genocide, but no such universal tribunal existed until the Rome Statute authorized the creation of one.

Various explanatory and preparatory committees met throughout the 1990s to establish the form such a court would take and to draft the proposals on which the states attending the formal establishment of the court would vote. At its fifty-second session, the General Assembly decided that a “Diplomatic Conference of Plenipotentiaries on the Establishment of an International Criminal Court” would take place in Rome between June 15 and 17, 1998. During the conference, it was agreed that the key crimes the court would address would be genocide, crimes against humanity, and war crimes. The crime of international aggression was considered but shelved. With the adoption of the Rome Statute, it was decided that the International Criminal Court (ICC) would become operational after sixty of the signatory states had ratified their accession within their home legislatures: this was achieved in April 2002.

There were numerous holdouts, but the one that garnered the most attention and criticism was the United States, which had not been one of the original signatories to the Rome Statute and only acceded to the ICC under certain conditions advantageous to the retention of U.S. sovereignty in situations where U.S. citizens are accused of crimes within the ICC’s jurisdiction.

Roosevelt, Eleanor (1884–1962), and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Eleanor Roosevelt, wife and widow of U.S. President Franklin Delano Roosevelt (1882–1945), regarded her work on the UN Human Rights Commission (to which she was appointed in 1946, becoming its chairperson in 1947) and her leading role in the passage of the (1948) Universal Declaration of Human Rights as her greatest accomplishment. Submitting the latter to the General Assembly of the United Nations, she remarked as follows: “We stand today at the threshold of a great event both in the life of the United Nations and in the life of mankind. This declaration will become the Magna Carta for all men everywhere. We hope its proclamation by the General Assembly will be an event comparable to the proclamation of 1789 (of the French Declaration of the Rights of Man), the adoption of the Bill of Rights by the people of the U.S., and the adoption of comparable declarations at different times in other countries.”

Roosevelt, Franklin Delano (1882–1945). Historians remain divided with regard to U.S. president Franklin Delano Roosevelt’s reactions and actions in response to reports of the Nazi extermination of the Jews. In the main, however, it is the consensus that he could have done much more than he did, including taking a more proactive versus reactive stance. At one and the same time, it is important to recognize the fact that he faced Herculean problems associated with winning World War II, had to deal with the adverse impact of the Great Depression, was faced with a propensity for U.S. isolationism within international affairs (along with the national reluctance and hesitancy to admit foreign immigrants to the United States), and had serious health problems. All of the latter combined to place Jewish concerns off center stage in his considerations. In fact,

even the American Jewish community, which was extremely supportive of Roosevelt and his liberal social and economic policies, was reticent to forcefully articulate its concerns. Some have even questioned exactly how much information Roosevelt truly had about the horrors associated with the Holocaust—even after being briefed by Jan Karski (1914–2000), the Polish courier and representative who had been inside the Warsaw Ghetto—and how much he internalized and understood the situation even before the outbreak of the European war in September 1939. This is particularly so in light of the fact that when he recalled his ambassador to Germany in late 1938, shortly after the Nazi anti-Jewish pogrom known as the *Kristallnacht*, he instructed his consular and embassy offices to do whatever was legally permissible to aid Jewish refugees (rather than become embroiled in international legal issues). As the war progressed, conferences (e.g., the Evian Conference of 1938) were held and agencies (e.g., the War Refugee Board) were established by various government agencies (e.g., the U.S. State Department) for the purpose of discussing the plight of German Jewry. All were answerable directly to him, but all proceeded without a sense of haste, despite the fact that innocent people continued to suffer mass murder at the hands of the Nazis and their collaborators. Ultimately, the United States did not open its doors to the widest number of those who could have been saved, nor use its prestige to encourage its allies to do so.

Rose, Sir Michael (b. 1940). British army officer, and the force commander of the UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR) in Bosnia-Herzegovina between January 17, 1994, and February 25, 1995. Commissioned as an officer of the Coldstream Guards in 1964, he spent much of his time with the Special Air Service Regiment in various military teaching roles and administratively as a senior officer. He saw action in the Falklands War in 1982, after tours of duty in Northern Ireland. As force commander of UNPROFOR, General Rose was in charge of a force of nearly forty thousand military personnel, nearly one thousand civilian police, and over four hundred other civilian and locally recruited staff; altogether, UNPROFOR was drawn from thirty-seven different countries. Rose had a reputation for being a tough commander who was prepared to execute UNPROFOR's brief robustly in the face of the difficulties posed by a UN mandate that did not permit the use of interventionist deadly force in a situation where three separate armies and a large number of uncontrollable paramilitary groups waged war against each other. He was criticized, however, for what his detractors considered to be simultaneously an appeasement of the Serbs and an attitude of bullying toward the Bosnian Muslims. Rose resented such accusations, arguing rather for the need for impartiality and even-handedness within the framework of a stout resistance to any diminution of UNPROFOR's authority from any side. The critical counter-argument was that Rose was little more than an agent of the great powers whose preference was not to take sides, a stance which gave succor and advantage to the Serbs over the legitimate interests of the Muslims. Debates over this matter continue to this day. Rose set down his position in his memoir, *Fighting for Peace: Bosnia 1994* (London, 1994). He retired from the British army in September 1997 and commenced an active post-army life of teaching and writing.

Rosenberg, Alfred (1893–1946). Major Nazi ideologue prior to and during the period of the Third Reich (1933–1945). Born in Tallinn (Estonia), Rosenberg received training in architecture in Moscow but fled the Russian Revolution of 1917, and by 1920 had not only made his way to Germany but had joined the German Workers' Party (*Deutscharbeiterpartei*), the forerunner of the National Socialist (or Nazi) Party. In 1921, he became

editor of the party newspaper, the *Völkischer Beobachter*, and by 1925 had written his major work *Der Mythos des XX Jahrhunderts* (*The Myth of the Twentieth Century*)—which, when it was finally published in 1930, became the Nazi bible alongside of Adolf Hitler's (1889–1945) *Mein Kampf*. With the accession to power of the Nazis in 1933, Rosenberg was placed at the head of a body called the Foreign Policy Office, which worked outside of normal foreign policy structures as an informal (and largely unaccountable) service engaged in behind-the-scenes intrigues. Most notable among these initiatives was a visit to Britain in 1933, in which he attempted to reassure British leaders informally that the new Nazi government in Germany did not pose a threat to Britain. He also sought to establish links between Germany and the British Dominions, through their representatives in London. In 1934, he was given responsibility for training all Nazi Party members in National Socialist ideology. After Operation Barbarossa (the German invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941), Rosenberg was appointed Reich minister for the Occupied Eastern Territories by Hitler, in which role he promoted the forced Germanization (e.g., through the imposition of German administrative measures and the introduction of the German language) of the eastern peoples in a regime that saw brutalization and mass murder on a wide scale. He introduced slave labor and undertook the extermination of the Jews in the areas under his jurisdiction. Where the Jews were not killed, he advocated their deportation. Rosenberg also offered up the proposal for a “reservation” of Jews to be created at Lublin, in eastern Poland, and was an advocate of the Madagascar Plan, whereby all of Europe's Jews would be forcibly transferred to that island. It was primarily for his racial theorizing and antisemitic thoughts and the influence they had on Adolf Hitler and his circle that Rosenberg was among the most infamous during the Third Reich. His notoriety in these areas, together with his conduct as Reich minister for the Occupied Eastern Territories, landed him in the top bracket of accused Nazi war criminals at the Nuremberg Trials. He was found guilty on all four counts and hanged on October 16, 1946.

RTS TV or Serbian Television. The RTS was the official Serbian government-run television station throughout the 1990s during the course of the conflict in the former Yugoslavia. It served up propaganda in favor of its position and against its opponent. In doing so, it included programs that claimed certain Serbian-perpetrated massacres had either been staged by the Western media or by ethnic Albanian “terrorists.”

Rubanda Nyamwinshi. A Kinyarwanda phrase, which came to be understood colloquially in pregenocide Rwanda as a political philosophy of sorts that meant “the Hutu majority.” Following the so-called social revolution of 1959 (in which the Hutu majority revolted against, overthrew the Tutsi monarchy and carried out massacres of Tutsi, precipitating a mass exodus of Tutsi into exile), adherence to this “philosophy” resulted in a situation that circumvented the fundamental tenets of democracy. That is, from that point forward, Tutsi were treated as second-class citizens by the government, schools, and fellow citizens who were Hutu.

Ruggiu, Georges (b. 1957). A Belgian of Italian descent, Ruggiu, a journalist and radio broadcaster, was instrumental in presenting anti-Tutsi programs prior to and during the Rwandan genocide in 1994. Born in Verviers, Belgium, Ruggiu had previously worked as a state civil servant in Belgium's social security department, but in 1993 he moved to Rwanda, in part because of boredom in Belgium and in part because of the prospect of work through an acquaintance, Ferdinand Nahimana (b. 1950)—one of the founders of the private anti-Tutsi radio station, *Radio-Télévision Libre des Mille Collines* (RTLM). With no

previous experience in the media, Ruggiu began work as a journalist with RTLM on January 6, 1994. Between then and the following July, Ruggiu was based in the capital of Rwanda, Kigali, writing, producing, and broadcasting programs that defamed Tutsi and incited Hutu to attack and kill Tutsi and any Hutu who stood against the call to kill. After the collapse of the radical Hutu regime in July 1994 and its flight before the forces of the Rwandan Patriotic Front, Ruggiu fled the country—first to refugee camps in Zaire, then to Tanzania, and finally to Kenya. In Kenya, he converted to Islam, adopted the name Omar, and joined a Somali Muslim community in Mombasa. He was indicted by the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR) on two counts of incitement to commit genocide, complicity in genocide, and incitement to commit crimes against humanity. In part, the indictment against him stated that from January to July 1994, RTLM was used to spread the ideology and aims of extremist Hutu in Rwanda and that Ruggiu played a key part in fostering this.

Arrested in Mombasa in July 1997, he was transferred for trial to Arusha shortly thereafter. In October 1997, Ruggiu pleaded not guilty but changed his plea in May 2000, stating, “I want to confirm that it was indeed a genocide and that unfortunately I participated in it.” During the sentencing phase of the trial, Chief Prosecutor Carla Del Ponte (b. 1947) commented that Ruggiu “had knowingly put himself at the service of the authors of the genocide” and that his radio broadcasts contained “messages with instructions.” She also noted that “He associated with the top architects of the genocide and thus made himself a coauthor.” Finally, she asserted that if he had been given a full trial and been found guilty, he would have faced the ICTR’s maximum sentence of life imprisonment. Ultimately, Ruggiu received a reduced sentence due to the fact that he had pleaded guilty, did not hold an official position, had no previous convictions, and had agreed to cooperate with the prosecution. On June 1, 2000, he was sentenced to twelve years’ imprisonment on each of the charges, to be served concurrently.

Ruggiu was the third defendant to plead guilty at the ICTR, the first two being former prime minister Jean Kambanda (b. 1955) and former militia leader Omar Serushago (b. 1961).

Rugova, Ibrahim (1944–2006). First president of Kosovo, appointed by the Kosovo Assembly on March 4, 2002. Rugova was born in Cerrçë, Kosovo, at the time of the Italian fascist occupation of the region during World War II. An outstanding student, he graduated first from the University of Pristina, then undertook a doctoral degree at the University of Paris, which he received in 1984. In December 1989, Rugova was one of a number of Kosovars who opposed the harsh rule of Serbian president Slobodan Milosevic (1941–2006); together, they established a dissident organization called the Democratic League of Kosovo, or *Lidhja Demokratike e Kosovës* (LDK). This organization attracted hundreds of thousands of followers throughout Kosovo, and Rugova became the movement’s acknowledged leader. At a time when Milosevic was engaging in ruthless military tactics against secessionists in Slovenia, Croatia, and Bosnia-Herzegovina, Rugova distinguished himself through the advocacy of passive resistance strategies and an unremitting call for the independence of Kosovo from Serbia. Although Milosevic met this challenge with increasingly repressive measures, he did not ban the LDK, preferring to keep it in the open and not drive it underground. This enabled Rugova to act more and more as a legitimate head of a legitimate government in Kosovo, notwithstanding that the LDK did not possess any official standing within or outside of Yugoslavia. Yet Rugova’s

strategy of passive resistance was opposed by many radical Kosovars, who considered the current state of turmoil in Serbia to be the best chance for Kosovo to break away from the Yugoslav Federation. In this context, an armed military resistance force, the Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA), was formed in 1997 and began targeting Serbian police and military installations (and individuals). The Serbian response, in an ever-escalating environment, was to clamp down brutally on all forms of Kosovar life and expression, ultimately resulting, in the spring of 1999, in a full-scale intervention by NATO for the purpose of stopping what had in a short time descended into a Serb-driven policy of ethnic cleansing against the Kosovar Albanians. In the negotiations leading up to the intervention, Rugova was largely overlooked in the process, with NATO preferring to deal with the KLA's political leader, Hashim Thaçi (b. 1968). Yet Rugova recovered from this political setback sufficiently for him to lead the LDK to victory in the first UN-sponsored elections in Kosovo in October 2000. As president, beginning in 2002, Rugova maintained his earlier pressure for an independent Kosovo but did not live to see where his campaign might end. A long-time chain smoker, he died of lung cancer on January 21, 2006.

Rules of Engagement. A term given to a set of orders announced by a competent military authority that sets limits over the behavior of the armed forces under its command. Such limits embrace the extent to which these forces will initiate and/or prosecute engagement in combat with other forces they may encounter. Rules of engagement (RoE) usually deal with four main issues: (1) when military force may be used; (2) where military force may be used; (3) against whom military force may be used; and (4) how military force may be used in order to achieve desired ends, as spelled out from higher authority. In accordance with these general rules, RoE may be introduced in order to enable military forces to move from general regulations to more specific operational directives. Rules of engagement have been the subject of large variations across different countries and cultures over time, but, for the most part, they focus on the nature of soldierly conduct: RoE spell out what a soldier may and may not do in a frontline situation on his or her own initiative—and what a soldier is obliged to do or may refuse to do when required to act under orders. Rules of engagement thus provide a legal framework governing the behavior of military forces in the field, frequently in their relationship to a civilian population. When RoE are ignored, abused, or misconstrued, whether deliberately or inadvertently, human rights abuses can, and often do, follow. In situations where RoE are too tightly drawn, moreover, conflict escalations can take place owing to military forces lacking sufficient flexibility. The creation of satisfactory RoE is a very precise activity in modern military establishments and is taken seriously by defense ministries (with the exception of those in rogue states) around the world.

Rummel, Rudolph J. (b. 1932). Professor emeritus of political science at the University of Hawaii at Manoa, Rummel, a U.S. citizen, concentrated his research on the study of war, genocide, and mass murder. He coined the term and concept *democide*, “the murder of any person or people by a government. Included under the umbrella of democide are actions such as genocide, politicide, and mass murder.”

Rusesabagina, Paul (b. 1954). A controversial figure who managed the luxury resort property known as the Hotel Mille Collines, prior to and during the course of the 1994 Rwandan genocide. Rusesabagina was born in Murama-Gitarama in the Central-South of Rwanda on June 15, 1954. A Hutu, his parents pursued the traditional agrarian vocation of many rural Hutu as farmers. Rusesabagina was educated at a local Seventh Day Adventist

Missionary School in Gitwe and spent three years as a theology student in Cameroon. Ultimately, he entered the hospitality industry, studying in Kenya and Switzerland, before being appointed first as the assistant general manager, in Kigali, of the Hotel Mille Collines, a luxury property owned by the Belgian airline SABENA, then as general manager of the nearby Hotel Diplomates. On April 12, 1994, Rusesabagina returned to the Mille Collines as general manager. In the eleven weeks that followed—that is, the duration of the genocide—Rusesabagina managed to shelter 1,268 people, mostly Tutsi, from the Hutu militias bent on their destruction. His main, if not his sole, means of accomplishing this feat was through the power of negotiation; this, and the hotel's well-supplied wine cellar, which was attractive to those besieging the hotel and its occupants.

Although Rusesabagina has been treated as a hero in Europe and the United States, there are many in Rwanda who question the validity of the many accolades he has received. There are those who assert that while he treated “internationals” (those from Europe and other countries abroad) with deference and great care, he, for example, charged Rwandans to take water from the hotel's pool to use for cooking and washing. Many Rwandans also claim that he has capitalized on his fame by charging \$20,000 a talk about his experiences.

For his efforts, Rusesabagina has been referred to by some as “the Oskar Schindler of Rwanda.” After the genocide he remained in Kigali running the Hotel Mille Collines for another two years, before moving to Belgium after he received death threats. In 2000, he was awarded the Immortal Chaplains Foundation (Minnesota) Prize for Humanity and was also a recipient of the U.S. Presidential Medal of Freedom. In 2005, a National Civil Rights Museum Freedom Award was bestowed upon him for his actions during the Rwandan genocide. He later became the subject of the first major Hollywood motion picture on the genocide, *Hotel Rwanda* (director/writer/producer, Terry George, United Artists, 2004). Rusesabagina now lives in Belgium and is a businessman who owns a transport company shipping goods within Europe and Africa.

Russell Tribunals. In 1967, two sessions of an International War Crimes Tribunal were held to address what its proponents believed were war crimes committed by the United States against its military and governmental adversaries in Vietnam. The first session was held from May 2 to May 10, 1967, in Stockholm, Sweden; the second session was held from November 20 to December 1, 1967, in Roskilde (Copenhagen), Denmark. Scholar and peace activist Bertrand Russell (1872–1970), honorary president of the tribunal, convened both; and French philosopher/novelist/playwright Jean-Paul Sartre (1905–1980), executive president, gave the inaugural statement. The aims of the tribunal were to address five previously agreed upon questions: (1) Has the U.S. Government (and the Governments of Australia, New Zealand, and South Korea) committed acts of aggression according to international law?; (2) Has the American army made use of or experimented with new weapons or weapons forbidden by the laws of war?; (3) Has there been bombardment of targets of a purely civilian character, for example, hospitals, schools, sanatoria, dams, and so forth, and on what scale has this occurred?; (4) Have Vietnamese prisoners been subjected to inhuman treatment forbidden by the laws of war and, in particular, to torture or mutilation? Have there been unjustified reprisals against the civilian population, in particular, execution of hostages?; and (5) Have forced labor camps been created, has there been deportation of the population or other acts tending to the extermination of the population and which can be characterized juridically as acts of genocide?

With regard to each of the questions, the unanimous answer of the tribunal was Yes. Although the verdict(s) were brought to the bar of international public opinion, they carried no legal standing whatsoever and thus did not materially affect either the U.S. military or political activities or the ultimate outcome of the conflict itself. (Note: The United States, under then president Richard M. Nixon [1913–1994], never formally declared war against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, and thus the long-term and deadly engagement was deemed by the U.S. Congress and the White House a “conflict,” not a war.)

Rutaganda, Georges Anderson Nderbumwe (b. 1958). Rutaganda was born in the Masango commune, Gitarama prefecture, in Rwanda. A Hutu, Rutaganda was an agricultural engineer and businessman engaged in the importation of foodstuffs and other commodities (e.g., alcoholic and nonalcoholic drinks) into Rwanda prior to the genocide that began in 1994.

Rutaganda was a leading member of the *Interahamwe* militia in Rwanda before and during the genocide. An active member of Rwanda’s ruling political party, the *Mouvement Révolutionnaire Nationale pour le Développement*, or MRND, Rutaganda was an anti-Tutsi militant who also was a shareholder in the Hutu Power radio propaganda arm, *Radio-Télévision Libre des Mille Collines* (RTLM). During the genocide, Rutaganda was second vice president of the *Interahamwe* and as such was instrumental in directing, encouraging, and participating in the killing of vast numbers of Tutsi and any Hutu who opposed this murderous activity.

Ultimately, he was a leading figure among those indicted by the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR) in the aftermath of the genocide. Having fled in the face of the advancing troops of the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF) in July 1994, Rutaganda was apprehended in Lusaka, Zambia, in October 1995, and tried before the ICTR. Specifically, his alleged crimes included the distribution of guns and other weapons to the *Interahamwe*, ordering and participating in the deaths of eighteen Tutsi at a roadblock near his office, ordering and participating in the slaughter of men, women, and children at the *École Technique Officielle* in Kicuckiro commune after the withdrawal of Belgian UN forces and directing the forcible transfer of the survivors, and the secretive burial of bodies to conceal such crimes. In a split-decision, the judges convicted him in 1999 of three counts of genocide, crimes against humanity, and extermination of civilians, but acquitted him of five other counts of crimes against humanity and war crimes. Rutaganda was sentenced to life imprisonment. His conviction constituted the first time that an accused had been found guilty for war crimes by the ICTR.

Rutaganda appealed his conviction, but although the appeals chamber altered Trial Chamber One’s judgment, it ultimately convicted him again on a variety of charges and confirmed his life sentence. On May 26, 2003, the five ICTR judges of the Appeal Chamber unanimously found Rutaganda guilty on four counts: genocide, crimes against humanity (extermination), and two counts of murder related to war crimes (violations of Article 3 common to the Geneva Conventions).

Rwandan Armed Forces (*Forces Armées Rwandaises, or FAR*). FAR was the national army of Rwanda up to July 1994. By July 1994, the Tutsi-led Rwandan Patriotic Front had defeated the Hutu-dominated government, which had crumbled in the aftermath of the Rwandan genocide, but not until after the extremist Hutu had murdered between five hundred thousand and one million Tutsi and moderate Hutu. It is now common knowledge

that FAR soldiers played a major part in the Rwanda genocide, and many of its leaders have been indicted by the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR). Many of the common soldiers who were with FAR in the early to mid-1990s are now ensconced in the Congo, from which they periodically carry out border raids against Rwanda.

Rwandan Genocide. A genocide committed against Tutsi and liberal democratic (“moderate”) Hutu by the extremist Hutu Power regime of the *Mouvement Révolutionnaire Nationale pour le Développement* (National Revolutionary Movement for Development, or MRND), in the central African country of Rwanda between April and July 1994. Though the actual genocide lasted a mere one hundred days, the three murderous months had a long background tracing back to the German and Belgian colonial period (1880s to 1961), when Hutu and Tutsi were identified as distinctly different peoples. The Tutsi were accorded a higher social status than the majority Hutu, who were perceived as belonging to a lower socio-economic order. The end of colonial rule overturned this ranking of peoples, with the Hutu claiming majority rights politically. This triggered periodic outbursts of escalating violence in 1959, 1962, and 1973. In the early 1990s, extensive and somewhat transparent plans were laid to carry out a campaign of extermination of the Tutsi and their Hutu political allies. The blueprint included an intense propaganda campaign broadcast over *Radio-Télévision Libre des Mille Collines* (RTLM) and the organization of killing units, the *Interahamwe* and the *Impuzamugambi* militias, together with the ethnic politicization of the Rwandan armed forces. The proverbial last straw was the assassination of President Juvenal Habyarimana (1937–1994) on April 6, 1994, after an airplane in which he was traveling was shot down by a missile attack as it approached Kigali airport. There has been intense debate regarding who was responsible for this attack: some argue that the missiles were fired by radical Hutu enraged by Habyarimana’s willingness to negotiate with rebels from the Tutsi-led Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF) and his agreement to forge ahead with the Arusha Accords; others state that it was a Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF) attack on the president. The truth may never be known. What is certain, however, is that the death of Habyarimana acted as a tocsin for radical Hutu across the country to commence the long-planned operation to completely eliminate the Tutsi population of Rwanda.

A major feature of the killings was the manner in which they took place. Most victims were butchered by handheld agricultural tools, particularly machetes, as well as nail-studded clubs which had only one possible function. Moreover, the government exhorted every Hutu to kill Tutsi, wherever they could be found. As mass murder thus became a civic virtue, neighbor killed neighbor and even family members killed each other (where there were Tutsi or moderate Hutu in the family). What was striking was the efficiency of the *génocidaires*; there was little improvisation and not much room for doubt that this was a bona fide case of genocide. It also became clear early on that only outside intervention could stop the process of genocidal killing, but such help never materialized. Among the bystanders unwilling to intervene was the UN Security Council. It failed totally to prevent the genocide or to stop the killing once it had begun. Over and above that, the Security Council actually reduced by nine-tenths the small peacekeeping force already in Rwanda, UNAMIR (United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda) under the command of Canadian general Romeo Dallaire (b. 1946). The United Nations also oversaw the evacuation of all foreigners from the country, within days of the outset of the genocide. Were it not for the intervention of the RPF, the genocide might have been total.

Only the eventual return of the refugees from Uganda and elsewhere enabled a reconstituted Rwandan Tutsi population to be established. Up to 90 percent of the pregenocide Tutsi population—by some accounts, numbering 1 million, by others, between five hundred thousand to eight hundred thousand—were slaughtered. The biggest postgenocide problem has been the issue of justice and reconciliation. The former is of crisis proportions; too many Hutu were involved in the killings to bring to trial in traditional or “classical” courts, as they are referred to in Rwanda. Although a symbolic handful of senior officials have been indicted and convicted at the UN-sponsored International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR), the vast majority have been facing hearings in the context of a local village assembly, a form of justice known as *gacaca*. More senior officials who are not being tried by the ICTR are being tried in the national courts of Rwanda.

Rwandan Genocide, Churches' Role. Particularly difficult and problematic has been assessing the role of the churches—primarily but not exclusively Roman Catholic and Seventh-Day Adventist—as complicit players in the 1994 Rwandan genocide (specifically, the participation of priests, ministers, bishops, and nuns in the actual activity of slaughter). Already in 1959, a “Hutu Manifesto” was published with the support of the Roman Catholic Church, and in 1957 the “Party of Movement for the Emancipation of the Hutu” (PARMEHUTU) was established under the guidance of the Church. That said, it is imperative to appreciate that the Roman Catholic Missionary “White Fathers” from Belgium came to Rwanda in the late 1880s, developed a theory of the so-called “Hamitic” origin of the people (i.e., that the Tutsi were literally descendants of the son of Noah, Ham, in the Hebrew Bible, and were thus of “superior,” “Egyptian” origin, rather than from sub-Saharan Africa). The Church itself thus played a major role in fomenting identity division between Hutu and Tutsi, and, in the process, became the dominant religious voice in Rwanda with a religious leadership closely allied with governmental leadership and the fostering of a racist divisive ideology. That some in its religious hierarchy were intimately involved in the actual killings in 1994 and have been brought to trial by the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda, including both priests and nuns, and convicted, is significant in evaluating the role of political allegiance superior to that of religious commitment. Although the Church itself under Pope John Paul II (1920–2005) did affirm the Rwandan massacres as a genocide, it argued that those within who participated did so without either Church support or sanction, and to date (2007) no official statement comparable to that of “We Remember” with regard to Jews and the Holocaust has been issued.

Rwandan Genocide, French Response. The French response to Rwanda's genocide of April–July 1994 was to a large degree conditioned by the long-standing friendly relationship that had previously existed between French president François Mitterand (1916–1996) and Rwandan president Juvenal Habyarimana (1937–1994). Through a special, secret consultative body located within the French president's administrative domain, the so-called Africa Cell (*Cellule Africaine*), President Mitterand was able to keep a close eye on the Francophone countries of Africa, providing economic and military assistance when they required it and thus helping to ensure the predominance of the French language (and thereby French influence) in these states. Habyarimana's Rwanda had long been one of those with close links to France, notwithstanding the fact that Rwanda had been a Belgian, not a French, colony prior to independence in 1962. It was through the Africa Cell, headed up by Mitterand's son Jean-Christophe (b. 1947), that

French military advisers, technical experts, and large amounts of military equipment arrived in Rwanda throughout the 1990s. These same advisers then trained Habyarimana's personal guard detachment, the Presidential Guard, while the Rwandan army grew from about nine thousand men in October 1990 to nearly thirty thousand before the next year was out. Such an investment in, and commitment to the future of, a single, small French-speaking country indicated the degree to which France was prepared to go to ensure that the country in question remained within the French sphere of influence. The French government even provided a luxury executive jet airplane, a Falcon 50, as a gift for Habyarimana's personal use. It was this same airplane that was shot down on the night of April 6, 1994, by a person or persons whose identity remains unknown—the trigger for the genocide of Rwanda's Tutsi population that followed over the next one hundred days.

Throughout the 1994 genocide, France continued to support the interim government following Habyarimana's death—the same interim government that carried out the genocide. It was only toward the end of the killing, in mid-June 1994, that the French government—seeing the quick and effective advance of the English-speaking Rwandan Tutsi rebel force, the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF), over the Rwandan government forces, thus halting the genocide in those areas it took over—decided, with UN support, to intervene in Rwanda's internal affairs by establishing a “safe area” in the south of the country. This action, known as Operation Turquoise, came too late to save most of the Tutsi victims of the genocide but just in time to enable many of the Hutu killers to claim refuge within the “safe area.” The French forces, in turn, denied the RPF access to the “safe area,” enabling many of the Hutu *génocidaires* to escape justice with impunity.

In December 2006, Rwandan president Paul Kagame (b. 1957) denounced France's role in supporting the *génocidaires* of 1994, following a French inquiry that had concluded that Kagame himself was responsible for Habyarimana's assassination, which sparked the genocide (a claim that Kagame continues to vehemently deny). By 2007, relations between France and Rwanda remained at an all-time low. Rwanda officially became Anglophone that year and applied to join the British Commonwealth, further reinforcing a rift that is now a gaping chasm between the two states.

Rwandan Genocide, U.S. Response. The United States' response to the Rwandan genocide of 1994 was predicated, to a large extent, on the disastrous UN-sponsored U.S. peacekeeping intervention in Somalia, Operation Restore Hope, between December 1992 and May 1993. After a firefight in Mogadishu in October 1993, between the forces of Somali warlord Mohammed Farah Aideed (1934–1996) and U.S. Marines, in which battle deaths occurred on both sides (and which resulted in dead U.S. soldiers being dragged through the streets of Mogadishu by mobs and the incident being televised across the globe), U.S. president William Jefferson Clinton (b. 1946) withdrew all U.S. forces from Somalia. It was a politically humiliating experience for the Clinton Administration, and memories of the Mogadishu events were to have serious repercussions during the Rwandan crisis a year later, on and after April 6, 1994. As news of the killings of Tutsi by Hutu reached Washington, D.C., pressure increased to intervene, but Clinton hesitated, fearing another debacle along the lines of what had happened in Mogadishu the year before. U.S. noninvolvement in the Rwanda genocide was thus a decision taken largely on account of the Mogadishu affair in 1993. This had even deeper roots, though, grounded in U.S. memories of the Vietnam War, in which the United States had suffered a humiliating defeat at a great cost in U.S. lives.

To be sure, the U.S. public was also reluctant to commit troops to events that did not present a direct security threat to the United States. Clinton was fully aware of all these determinants when he decided against any U.S. entanglements in the interior of the African continent. His military advisers warned of entrapments and of no-exit policies. This helps to explain Clinton's order during 1994 not to officially or publicly categorize the massacres in Rwanda as genocide, which would have obligated the United States to intervene.

Beyond this, U.S. reluctance to intervene extended to such issues as a refusal to jam anti-Tutsi Hutu radio broadcasts, which called on Hutu to kill their Tutsi neighbors; refusal to condemn the Hutu Power regime that had a seat on the UN Security Council; and prevarication over the dispatch of military *materiel* to the reinforced UN task force, UNAMIR II, that was being assembled while the genocide was taking place.

Rwandan Government Forces (RGF). The RGF was the Hutu-controlled Rwandan government army, which was largely composed of Hutu and was integrally involved in the 1994 Rwandan genocide.

Rwandan Patriotic Army (RPA). The RPA was the military arm of the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF), the Tutsi political movement and military force that was composed of rebel troops based in Uganda. The make-up of the RPA were those Tutsi who fled Rwanda in 1959, the early 1960s, and the early 1970s (and/or were born in exile) and escaped to Uganda in order to avoid Hutu violence. Throughout the early 1990s they attacked Rwanda in an attempt to gain a toehold in the country from which they had been exiled. The RPF was founded in 1985 in Uganda, at which time the RPA became its military arm. A great number of Tutsi in exile from Rwanda had helped in 1985 to overthrow the Ugandan dictatorship of Milton Obote (1924–2005) and expected to reap benefits within Uganda for such assistance but to their dismay found themselves being treated as outsiders. Exacerbating the matter, Ugandans also looked askance at having so many Tutsi in the new Ugandan army. As a result of the distrust, many Rwandan soldiers left the Ugandan army and joined the RPF and RPA.

Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF). The RPF was founded in Uganda in 1985 by Tutsi refugees from Rwanda who participated in the overthrow of Ugandan president Milton Obote (1924–2005) as members of the Ugandan army. Resented by the local population, many of them left the army to join the RPF, whose own agenda was to share political power with the Hutu-led government back in Rwanda. Between 1990 and 1994, the RPF was primarily a military force of five thousand men, whose original three commanders—Fred Rwigyema (1957–1990), Peter Bayingana (b. ?–1990), and Chris Bunyenyezi (b. ?–1990)—were killed. With the arrival of Paul Kagame (b. 1957), the RPF reorganized itself and by 1992 had twelve thousand troops; by 1994, the number had increased to twenty-five thousand soldiers.

On August 8, 1992, the RPF signed the Arusha Accords, along with the Rwandan Government Forces (RGF). Between the years 1990 and 1993, and as late as 1994, however, there was a great deal of evidence that the extremist Hutu were carrying out one deadly attack after another on Tutsi across the country. Beginning in the early 1990s, the RPF began carrying out raids in Rwanda in order to force the hand of President Juvenal Habyarimana's (1937–1994) government to allow the Tutsi in exile to return to Rwanda and to share in its governance. Such attacks resulted in the deaths of civilians and extremist Hutu and government soldiers. Claims have also been made that individual soldiers and platoons carried out sporadic massacres.

Shortly after the assassination in a plane crash of President Habyarimana in April 1994, the genocide in Rwanda began in earnest and the RPF launched an all-out military offensive against the government and its troops. By August 1994, the RPF was in complete control of the country and dislodged the extremist Hutu from power and halted the mass killing perpetrated by them. Six years later (March 2000), its leader, Paul Kagame, was installed as president. Once in power, in the aftermath of the genocide, the RPF and Kagame began a nationalist initiative, arguing that in the “new Rwanda” there are neither Hutu, Tutsi, nor Twa; there are only Rwandans. As a result of the latter, it is now frowned on for anyone in Rwanda to refer to himself or others as anything but a fellow Rwandan.

S

Safe Areas. Safe areas are locations cordoned off where conflict is either imminent or under way between two or more groups and where a targeted population, usually civilians, is offered protection from the aggressors. Generally, safe areas have been established by the United Nations or interventionists such as NATO, or individual states who, with an interest in trying to quell the conflict, establish peace in the area, or protect a certain group of people from harm.

In 1992 the Muslim population of Bosnia-Herzegovina came under fierce attack from Serb militias, and as a result the United Nations established six protective zones or so-called safe areas where the Muslim civilian inhabitants and Muslim civilians from other parts of the war-torn country could live in relative safety. More specifically, between April and May 1993, Srebrenica, Sarajevo, Tuzla, Zepa, Gorazde, and Bihac were all declared safe areas as a result of UN resolutions, all of which were to be overseen and guarded by the UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR).

Despite residing in the safe areas, the Muslims still found themselves under attack as the Serbian militias shelled the safe areas repeatedly. To make matters worse, Serbian forces occasionally, and seemingly at will, held UNPROFOR troops hostage as the latter attempted to provide security for the Muslim people.

The most egregious breach of the safe areas took place on July 11, 1995, when Serb forces attacked the safe area of Srebrenica and slaughtered some seven thousand to eight thousand Muslim boys and men in the single-largest massacre in Europe since the Holocaust. The Dutch peacekeepers of UNPROFOR were outmanned and out-armed and believed they had little choice but to acquiesce to the Serbs' demand that they be allowed to "cleanse" the area of Muslims.

Safe Havens, Northern Iraq. Safe havens are designated areas established to protect a group of people from persecution and violence. The term *safe haven* first came into common usage internationally in 1991 when the United Nations established areas in Northern Iraq where military action was not allowed to take place. The genesis of these safe havens was a result of a renewed and violent conflict in 1991 between Iraq and its Kurdish population in the north. It was a conflict that had simmered on and off over several decades but flared up following Iraq's defeat in the Gulf War of 1991. Still seething over the fact that Iraqi forces had carried out massive attacks against them, wiping out approximately one thousand villages and killing both civilians and military personnel

with chemical as well as traditional weapons (commonly referred to as the al-Anfal campaign), the Kurds reengaged in battle with the Iraqi government. The Iraqis reacted with such fierceness that close to 2 million Kurds sought refuge elsewhere. A great number of Kurds were also killed by the Iraqis. It was then that the international community moved in to provide humanitarian assistance to the Kurds and, at the same time, establish numerous “safe havens” north of the thirty-sixth parallel in northern Iraq. More specifically, on April 5, 1991, the UN Security Council implemented Operation Provide Comfort in order to protect Iraqi Kurds. The operation involved establishing six safe havens for the Kurds in Northern Iraq, as well as the imposition of an air free zone and the dropping of foodstuffs and clothing. The safe havens were protected by the UN Guards Contingent in Iraq (UNGCI). It involved some twenty-one thousand Allied troops on the ground, and U.S., British, and French planes. Reportedly, the term *safe havens* was used “so as not to impugn Iraq’s territorial rights over the region” (Ramsbotham and Woodhouse, 1999, p. 217). Recognized as an unprecedented intervention in the internal affairs of a state for humanitarian reasons, some saw it as harbinger of more positive efforts to come in the way of genocide prevention.

St. James Palace Declaration. The St. James Palace Declaration (so named because its signing took place in London at the Court of St. James) was issued on January 13, 1942, following an agreement that day made by the major Allied governments, in consultation with the governments in exile of the nine Nazi-occupied countries (Belgium, Czechoslovakia, France, Greece, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Poland, and Yugoslavia), that the Axis Powers would be prosecuted at war’s end for the war crimes and violations of the Hague and Geneva treaties they had perpetrated.

Ironically, no mention was made specifically of the Nazi crimes against the Jews, nor was any mention made of the “Final Solution.”

Sanctions. Sanctions are those actions that serve as a means to compel states to comply with the will of the international community. Sanctions may be imposed by a regional organization (e.g., African Union) or an intergovernmental organization (e.g., the United Nations) in an attempt to curtail one or more type of actions deemed to pose some sort of danger to its own population, its neighbor’s population, and/or is in violation of international law. For example, sanctions can be and have been implemented in order to punish states for violating treaties; to counter or reverse territorial aggression; to restore or establish a democratic government; to push for disarmament; to halt, promote, and/or establish human rights; and to deter and punish acts of genocide.

Sanctions can be imposed unilaterally, bilaterally, regionally or under the auspices of the UN Security Council. Sanctions range in type from economic sanctions to arms embargoes, and from oil embargoes to suspension of international flights. There is an ongoing debate over the efficacy of sanctions, the humanitarian impact of sanctions (e.g., the deleterious effect[s] on the general populace whose government is being sanctioned); the value of an incremental versus rapid imposition of sanctions; and the value of a combination carrot-and-stick approach to the imposition of sanctions.

Sanctions Assistance Missions (SAMs). Sanctions assistance missions are the complex network of multinational monitoring and enforcement systems that were implemented in the course of applying sanctions to the former Yugoslavia in the early 1990s. The SAMs were developed and implemented by the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe and the European Union.

Sand Creek Massacre. A genocidal massacre of Cheyenne and Arapaho Indian peoples took place in Colorado on November 29, 1864, when the Third Colorado Volunteer Cavalry Regiment, under the command of Colonel John Chivington (1821–1894), led an attack against a Cheyenne village at Sand Creek. The Third Colorado Volunteers had signed on as Indian fighters, and under Chivington's orders they had rounded up small groups of Cheyenne and Arapaho for the purpose of killing them later. Surrounding the Indian camp before dawn on the morning of November 29, the Third Colorado's assault group, comprising some seven hundred men and four howitzers, took their intended targets by complete surprise. Cheyenne Chief Black Kettle (d. 1868) pleaded with his people to keep calm, and hoisted both an American flag and a white flag of truce above his quarters. It was to no avail. As the Cheyenne realized what was happening, the troops opened fire. The ensuing massacre was so horrific that some of Chivington's own men would later turn against him for allowing such abhorrent acts to take place. The soldiers were indiscriminate in their killing: men and women were scalped, pregnant women were ripped open, children were clubbed to death, and bodies were mutilated. No prisoners were taken, as this was intended to be a total annihilation. Any who did surrender were killed immediately, with the massacre continuing for five miles beyond the Sand Creek campsite. When Chivington and the Third Colorado returned to Denver, they exhibited more than a hundred scalps, the gruesome booty of a death toll that may have numbered up to two hundred—of whom two-thirds were women and children, and nine were chiefs.

The massacre at Sand Creek was committed by perpetrators whose actions were not only explicit, but eagerly advertised with malice before the event and triumph after it. Moreover, it was committed by a military force raised by the government of the Colorado Territory for the express purpose of killing every Cheyenne whom it could track down. Chivington's orders came from the governor of Colorado, John Evans (1814–1897), and these were endorsed by a popular clamor throughout the territory. Sand Creek was clearly a genocidal massacre undertaken as part of a larger campaign of genocide against the Cheyenne and Arapaho, in which the objective was that none would remain alive. It was, in its purest form, an act committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national (or ethnic, or racial) group, through the deliberate policy of killing its members.

Santa Cruz Massacre. See Dili Massacre.

Santebal. Santebal is a contraction of two Khmer words, *santisuk* (security) and *norkorbal* (police). It was the name given to the much-feared special branch of the security forces of the Khmer Rouge, during the rule of communist dictator Pol Pot (1925–1998) in Kampuchea (1975–1979). It was the Santebal that was responsible for internal security during the years 1975–1979, and, most notoriously, for running the Khmer Rouge prison in Phnom Penh, Tuol Sleng (known by its code name, S-21, or Security Complex number 21). This was the most important of a network of such camps that were spread throughout the Democratic Republic of Kampuchea, in which tens of thousands (at least) were killed by the Santebal. The force formed an integral part of Khmer Rouge operations prior to its assumption of power in April 1975; indeed, as early as 1971, in the areas then under its control, the Khmer Rouge employed the Santebal to assist in developing the administrative arrangements that would later be applied throughout the country. Its leader was Son Sen (1930–1997), Pol Pot's indispensable lieutenant; directly below Son Sen was Khang Khék Lev (b. 1942), also known as “Comrade Duch,” who was appointed as the chief of Tuol

Sleng. Nearly a quarter of a million Santebal documents were located after the fall of the Khmer Rouge in 1979, providing important insights into the ideals and operations of the regime before and during its period in power.

“Sarah.” Compulsory middle name required to be adopted by all female Jews in Germany midway into the Nazi reign (1933–1945). The designation was made law under the Second Decree Supplementing the Law Regarding the Change of Family Names and First Names, dated August 17, 1938. The law became operational as from January 1, 1939. Henceforth, all Jewish females were required to add the name to their passports, identity cards, and all other official documents. In like manner, Jewish males were forced to add the name “Israel” to their own.

Sartre, Jean-Paul (1905–1980). Born in Paris, Sartre received his doctorate in philosophy and took up a life of writing and teaching. He was captured by the Nazis in 1940 while serving as an army meteorologist, and ended up a prisoner of war for one year before returning to his teaching position, during which he began taking part in French resistance activities against the German occupation. Following the conclusion of World War II, he devoted himself to his writings and rejected the 1964 Nobel Prize for Literature as too bourgeois. Philosophically, he may be regarded as the prime exponent of existentialism, a philosophy that focuses on the radical freedom that characterizes the human condition and all that that entails. It is a philosophy that claims that the meaning of life is not established before one’s existence, and that one has to create the meaning oneself. At one and the same time, he took an active part in various social and political struggles. Ever the rebel, robust and full of energy, Sartre allied himself politically with the left, including his support for French student radicalism in the late 1960s and 1970s. In addition to his philosophical and other writings (*Being and Nothingness*, *Anti-Semite and Jew*, *On Genocide*, *The Transcendence of the Ego*, *Existentialism and Human Emotions*), he is also remembered for his plays *The Flies* (an antiauthoritarian play that the Germans allowed him to produce, being unaware of Sartre’s underground activities) and *No Exit*, as well as his novel, *Nausea*. Most relevant to the question of genocide are his involvement with the Russell Tribunals and his writings on both antisemitism and genocide.

Satellite Images of Genocide. In an age of advanced electronic communications, the use of space satellites for the purpose of preventing, locating, or tracking genocide is a development that can play an important role in the future. Even now, satellites are used in a variety of ways: to monitor crisis situations, such as where ethnic conflicts lead to large-scale refugee flows or the displacement of vast numbers of civilians; to pinpoint the location of mass graves, identifying the difference between standard forms of agricultural activity and the random compacting of land as gravesites; to identify massacre sites prior to the burial of bodies, often in faraway places out of the public gaze; to identify landforms that have been deliberately contaminated for the purpose of rendering them uninhabitable; and to monitor compliance with international agreements in areas of human rights and other situations involving the well-being of people. Satellite images, obviously, can be used in numerous ways for the safeguarding of human rights and have a role to play in both genocide prevention and genocide detection.

That said, there are certain factors that can make satellite imagery prohibitive for governments (and even more, for private organizations). The first of these is cost; not only is it expensive to send a satellite into space, it is also expensive to rent time for satellite usage. Second, satellite images can be difficult to interpret, given that they are images

taken from tens of thousands of feet up and from a vertical perspective. Third, although satellite images capture specific moments on camera, they cannot provide a context for these images or explain why the objects or events they are recording have happened. These difficulties aside, satellite imagery is likely to become a tool employed increasingly in the future in the attempt to create a genocide-free world, particularly as the technology becomes ever more sophisticated and accessible.

Save Darfur Coalition. The express purpose of this organization is to raise public awareness about the ongoing genocide in Darfur (beginning in 2003 and ongoing throughout 2007) and (in the words of the coalition's mission statement) "to mobilize a unified response to the atrocities that threaten the lives of 2 million plus people in the Darfur region." It is an alliance of over 170 diverse faith-based, advocacy, and humanitarian international groups (e.g., Amnesty International; International Crisis Group; Society for Threatened People); national organizations (American Federation of Teachers, AFL-CIO, Anti-Defamation League, Armenian National Committee of America, Council on American-Islamic Relations, the Episcopal Church (USA), National Black Church Initiative, STAND: A Student Anti-Genocide Coalition, Pax Christi USA, National Council for Churches of Christ in the USA, Physicians for Human Rights, Canadian Jewish Congress); and regional groups (All Saints Church in Pasadena, Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace and Justice, Washington Buddhist Peace Fellowship). The coalition reports that its member organizations represent 130 million people of all ages, races, religions, and political affiliations united together to help the people of Darfur.

Schanberg, Sydney H. (b. 1934). Sydney Schanberg, a *New York Times* correspondent, and his Cambodian assistant, Dith Pran (b. 1942), remained in Cambodia following its takeover by the Khmer Rouge in April 1975, and thus both witnessed the fall of the capital city of Phnom Penh. Schanberg was ultimately allowed to cross the border to freedom, but Pran was forced into the Cambodian countryside, which, in part, became the Khmer Rouge's infamous "killing fields" between 1975 and 1979. It is estimated that between 1 and 2 million of Cambodia's 6 to 7 million perished during the rule of the Khmer Rouge. Schanberg's and Pran's stories—as well as that of the genocide itself—were related in the feature film entitled *The Killings Fields*.

Scheffer, David. A U.S. citizen and lawyer, from 1993 to 1996 Scheffer was senior adviser and counsel to the U.S. Permanent Representative to the United Nations. A long-time advisor to Madeline Albright (b. 1937) (who served as U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations and then as Secretary of State in the U.S. Clinton presidential administration), Scheffer was appointed to the new post of U.S. Ambassador at Large for War Crimes Issues and served in that position from 1997 through 2001. From 1999 to 2001 he headed the Atrocities Prevention Inter-agency Working Group of the U.S. government. Currently, Scheffer is the Mayer, Brown, Rowe & Maw/Robert A. Helman Professor of Law and Director of the Center for International Human Rights at the Northwestern University School of Law.

Schindler, Oskar (1908–1974). Born in Zwittau, Austria-Hungary, to Catholic parents, Schindler is remembered as the Sudeten German who saved more than one thousand Jews from extermination in his enamelware and munitions factories in Poland and later Bohemia-Moravia. Always an opportunist, as well as a womanizer, Schindler failed at various businesses in his early years, later joining the Nazi Party in 1939, even though

he was not a German national, and working for the *Abwehr* (German military intelligence). In 1939, after the German invasion of Poland, Schindler purchased a factory in Krakow, southeastern Poland, near the Auschwitz-Birkenau death camp, from its Jewish owner Nathan Wurzel, at a substantially reduced price in accord with Nazi “aryanization” policies, which enabled him to engage Jewish slave labor at extremely exploitative rates (payable to the SS) with the assistance of his Jewish accountant Itzhak Stern (1901–1969). Schindler went to great lengths to ensure the survival of “his Jews,” or *Schindlerjuden*, as they came to be called. With the Soviet advance in 1944, he transferred eleven hundred of his laborers to a new factory in Brenec-Brünnlitz, which was liberated by the Russians on May 8, 1945.

After the war, Schindler and his wife went to Argentina where he again failed in business, returning to Germany in 1958, and repeating his pattern of business bankruptcy. He and his wife were sustained economically during those years by various Jewish organizations in gratitude for his lifesaving work. He died in Germany on October 9, 1974, and was later reinterred on Mount Zion in Jerusalem. In 1963 he was honored by Israel’s Holocaust Memorial Authority, Yad Vashem, as a “Righteous Gentile.” Australian novelist Thomas Keneally’s (b. 1935) book *Schindler’s Ark* (1982) was later adapted for the movie screen in 1993 by Steven Spielberg (b. 1946) and renamed *Schindler’s List*, winning an Academy Award for Best Picture. Controversy continues to surround Oskar Schindler as a man of contradiction whose motives may have been suspect (e.g., money, power), but whose deeds were life-affirming.

***Schindler’s List*.** Directed by Steven Spielberg (b. 1946) in 1993, winning a Best Picture award from the American Academy of Motion Pictures and Sciences and starring Liam Neeson (b. 1952), Ben Kingsley (b. 1943), and Ralph Fiennes (b. 1962), this major commercial film was based on the 1982 novel *Schindler’s Ark* by Australian writer Thomas Keneally (b. 1935). *Schindler’s List* tells the dramatic story of (real-life) Sudeten-German businessman and Nazi Oskar Schindler (1908–1974), adulterer, morally corrupt, “games player,” opportunist, and profiteer, who operated a slave labor factory (that produced enamelware cookery for military use) and, in the process, saved more than eleven hundred Jews (*Schindlerjuden*, or “Schindler Jews”).

The style of the film in the manner of an actual black-and-white documentary (with the exception of its opening and closing sequences), along with its superb acting and an outstanding musical score composed by John Williams (b. 1932), made this three-hour-long epic an award-winner and a favorite among moviegoers. Like Gerald Green’s (1922–2006) problematic television drama in the late 1970s titled *Holocaust*, *Schindler’s List* engendered controversy, additional historical research, Jewish-Christian dialogues, and served to place an immense refocusing by the U.S. public on the Holocaust.

Scholl, Hans (1918–1943) and **Sophie** (1921–1943). Brother and sister who were at the forefront of organizing a resistance movement within Germany against the Nazi regime during World War II. The movement, known as the *Weisse Rose* (White Rose), was largely centered at the University of Munich, where the Scholls were students. With a group of friends and their professor, Dr. Kurt Huber (1893–1943), the Scholls published and distributed a series of numbered handbills that campaigned for the overthrow of Nazism and the revival of a new Germany dedicated to the pursuit of goodness and founded on the purest of Christian values. In mid-February 1943, the White Rose arranged a small anti-Nazi demonstration in Munich, their ideals inspiring them to more

and more acts of daring, such as a run through the buildings of the university during which leaflets condemning the Nazis were scattered liberally in the hallways. Shortly after this, the Scholls, Huber, and a small number of others were denounced, identified, and arrested by the Gestapo. They were placed on trial before the People's Court (*Volksgericht*). The Scholls were both executed by beheading on February 22, 1943—Huber suffered the same fate on July 13, 1943—and in death they became a spur to other anti-Nazi groups as well as the political left throughout Germany after 1945.

Schreibtischtater (German, Colloquially, “Desk Murderer”). A term used by some historians and commentators in recent times to refer to those bureaucrats, primarily in the Berlin offices of the SS, who maintained the paper flow of documents with regard to the Nazis' mass murder of European Jewry. Such documents would have related to personnel and resource allocations, contracts, transportation schedules, and so on. Such persons, however, were never instrumentally involved in the actual execution/extermination process themselves, never experienced the events, and, more often than not, never even visited the sites of the various killing centers.

Scorpions. A volunteer militia force composed of Bosnian Serbs, most active during the Bosnian War of 1992–1995. The Scorpions began their operations during the siege and destruction of the Croatian city of Vukovar during the fall of 1991, led by two brothers: Slobodan “Boca” Medic (b. 1967) and Aleksandr “Gulja” Medic (n.d.). The group was originally composed of ethnic Serbs from eastern Slavonia, in Croatia. It took its name from their preferred weapon, a Czech-made handgun effective in close-range combat and often used for the purpose of executions. Militia groups such as the Scorpions—and there were several hundred operating with the Serb forces during the Bosnian war—were employed by the official military authorities for the purpose of spreading terror and causing mayhem among the local populations upon which they preyed. The Scorpions ranged widely throughout the war, first in Croatia, then in western Bosnia, and finally in eastern Bosnia, where they were involved in the Srebrenica massacre of some seven thousand to eight thousand Muslim boys and men in July 1995.

In May 2005 the head of Belgrade's Humanitarian Law Centre, Natasa Kandic (b. 1946), made public a videotape she had uncovered of Scorpion members executing six young Muslim men from Srebrenica. On June 1, 2005, the video was shown in The Hague at the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY) during the trial of former Serbian president Slobodan Milosevic (1941–2006); later that month it was aired on Serb television. Immediately after the broadcast, several members of the former Scorpions were arrested in Serbia, and the recently televised crime was denounced across the Serbian political establishment. (This did not, however, stop many others, in both Serbia-Montenegro and Republika Srpska, from denying the video's authenticity and claiming that it was a Bosnian Muslim forgery.) The Scorpions also committed atrocities and mass murders in Kosovo in 1999.

The disavowal of the Scorpions unit by the Serbian prime minister, Vojislav Kostunica (b. 1944), is an indication of post-Milosevic Serbia's enthusiasm to distance itself from the dark days of the 1990s. This became particularly obvious when it was revealed that the Scorpions continued their deadly work after the Dayton Peace Accords in late 1995, which ended the Bosnian conflict.

Tellingly, it was Natasa Kandic who was responsible for bringing one of the Scorpion members to trial within Serbia for committing war crimes during the NATO campaign of

March–May of that year. With little left to maintain their cohesion as a unit, the Scorpions faded into obscurity and were disbanded by 2000.

SD (German, *Sicherheitsdienst*, “Security/Intelligence Service”). The SD was established by Heinrich Himmler (1900–1945) in 1931, prior to Adolf Hitler’s (1889–1945) assumption of power in January 1933. Its primary task was the management of a vast internal spy network against racial (read Jews) and other enemies of the Nazi state. As an intelligence service, it was to assist the Gestapo (secret state police) in its work by gathering such information, but by 1936 it saw itself as the main agency tasked with the removal of Germany’s Jews from public, government, and civil life. Though at times bureaucratically at odds with the Gestapo, many of its members were also members of the Gestapo. As Nazi Germany’s anti-Jewish agenda began to expand, many SD members also served operationally in the *Einsatzgruppen* (the mobile killing squads following on the heels of the *Wehrmacht* [German military] and responsible for murdering Jews in both Poland and Soviet Russia).

Its actions inside Nazi Germany, in addition to those of terror and physical abuse and murder, were confiscation of property, ongoing harassment, forced relocations, and deportations already beginning prior to the attacks on Jewish shops and synagogues in November 1938 (an event known as *Kristallnacht*, the “Night of Broken Glass”).

At the International Military Tribunal (IMT) held in Nuremberg, Germany, by the Allies in 1945 and 1946, the SD was declared a “criminal organization” and disbanded. The majority of its members were never brought to trial or prosecuted for their activities.

Secondary Graves. In the attempt to conceal genocidal crimes and massacres, perpetrators sometimes remove bodies and body parts from massacre sites and/or mass graves into which the victims have been summarily interred and relocate them to other graves some distance away. (This can be compared and contrasted with the Nazi practice, during World War II, of exhuming bodies from mass graves and burning them.)

The best-known instance of the use of secondary mass graves in recent times concerns the massacre at the Bosnian town of Srebrenica in July 1995. As investigatory units such as the International Commission on Missing Persons (ICMP) began the task of exhuming mass graves and attempting to identify the victims soon after the end of the Bosnian War in December 1995, they found that body parts in many of the mass graves had been mixed up in order to make DNA recognition difficult (where not impossible). In numerous cases, it was found that bulldozers had been used to move remains to new sites; on occasion, parts of the same body were found in two, or even three, different locations. Given the dismemberment and general rough treatment consistent with these body relocations, remains were often severely damaged, adding further to the difficulty of identification. Generally speaking, the transference of bodies and body parts from a primary mass grave to a secondary one is a deliberate act by the perpetrators of mass murder or genocide for the express purpose of attempting to avoid criminal prosecution at such tribunals as the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY), in The Hague. It is a clear admission of conspiracy, of concealment, and of guilt.

Serbian Memorandum (also referred to as *Memorandum 1986: The Greater Serbian Ideology*). Issued in Belgrade on September 24, 1986, by the Serbian Academy of Arts and Sciences, the Serbian Memorandum constituted a fiery Serbian nationalist critique of the Yugoslav system that asserted Yugoslavia faced a sweeping political, economic, cultural, and moral crisis, and that Serbia was feeling the brunt of the crisis for it was being put

upon and being dealt with unfairly by other Yugoslav republics. More specifically, it argued that “the long-term lagging behind of Serbia’s economic development, unregulated legal relations with Yugoslavia and the provinces, as well as the genocide in Kosovo have all appeared on the political scene with a combined force that is making the situation tense if not explosive.” The memorandum demanded that action be taken immediately to ameliorate the problems, and in doing so, observed, “an objective examination of the situation in Yugoslavia suggests that the present crisis might well culminate in social upheavals with unforeseeable consequences, not even precluding such a catastrophic outcome as the break-up of the Yugoslav state.” Ultimately, the memorandum called for “the establishment of the full national integrity of the Serbian people, regardless of which republic or province it inhabits.” In effect, the memorandum, more or less, constituted a “call to arms” to ameliorate the crisis it spelled out. Among the Serbs, the memorandum became widely accepted as “gospel.” In effect, the memorandum laid the groundwork for a great deal of the ideological basis for the genocide in Bosnia that was to take place between 1992 and 1995.

Serbian Television. See RTS.

Sèvres, Treaty of. The Treaty of Sèvres, which was signed at Sèvres, near Paris, on August 10, 1920, by the governments of the Allied Powers (principally Britain, France, and Italy) and the Ottoman Empire, constituted the last of the peace treaties signed in the immediate post-World War I period—and the only one to be challenged successfully and subsequently revised. (It was superseded by the Treaty of Lausanne, July 24, 1923.) The major features of the treaty included the following: the Arab state of Hejaz, to the east of the Red Sea, would become independent; Armenia would become a free Christian republic, guaranteed by the international community; Palestine, Mesopotamia, the Transjordan, Lebanon, and Syria would be stripped from the empire and handed over to Britain (in the case of the first three) and France (in the case of the last two) as mandated territories; Cilicia would become a French “sphere of influence”; southern Anatolia around the port city of Adalia would become an Italian “sphere of influence”; Smyrna, Thrace, Adrianople, the Gallipoli peninsula, and Turkey’s Aegean islands would be annexed to Greece; and the Straits would become internationalized. It was a crushing treaty, which the sultan Mohammed VI (1861–1926; reigned 1918–1922) was forced to sign. Its impact was profound, in that a Turkish nationalist uprising then underway in the east of the country was soon to spread throughout Turkey, resulting in the overthrow of the monarchy, thus forcing the abovementioned treaty revision at Lausanne. Along the way, the nationalists, led by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk (1881–1938), would seek to destroy the Christian presence in Turkey, drive out any remaining Armenians and all Greeks in the country, and create an ethnically pure Turkey. It is too much to say that all this can be put down to the Treaty of Sèvres; but by inflicting such a harsh peace on the sultan, dividing up the country, and not taking into account Turkish demands for national self-determination, the Allies alienated and angered those Turks with whom negotiation may have been possible. The result saw a reaction that was genocidal in scope.

Shake Hands with the Devil: The Journey of Romeo Dallaire. This 2004 documentary portrays the story of Canadian lieutenant general Romeo Dallaire (b. 1946) and his command of the UN peacekeeping mission in Rwanda (formally entitled the UN Assistance Mission for Rwanda or UNAMIR) during the 1994 Rwandan genocide. In the film, which is narrated by Dallaire as he returns to Rwanda where between five hundred thousand and

one million Tutsi and moderate Hutu were slaughtered in one hundred days by Hutu extremists and their followers, viewers are presented with the general's point of view in regard to what he witnessed, experienced, and felt as the atrocities gained in momentum and the UN Security Council would not broaden his mission's mandate (from a Chapter VI to a Chapter VII mandate), which was needed if he was going to attempt to halt the mass killing.

Shanawdithit (c. 1803–1829). Beothuk woman generally regarded as the last of her people. In 1823, after the Beothuk population of Newfoundland had almost become extinct owing to disease, starvation, and ongoing settler depredations, Shanawdithit was one of three Beothuk women (a mother and two daughters) who surrendered themselves to one William Cull, who passed them on to John Peyton Jr., who, in turn, arranged for their transfer to the city of St John's. After five years of living with the Peyton household outside of St John's, Shanawdithit—now alone, her mother and sister having died—was moved back to St John's at the behest of "Boeothuck Institution," a small but influential organization established in 1827 for the purpose of establishing friendly relations with the Beothuk (should any still be alive). While in St. John's, Shanawdithit made numerous drawings of the Beothuk lifestyle, explained Beothuk folkways and engaged in traditional Beothuk handicrafts, thereby providing a treasure trove of information about this otherwise elusive people whose ways were little-known beforehand. Shanawdithit succumbed in June 1829 to tuberculosis, the disease that had been the major cause of death for the last Beothuks throughout the preceding decade. Close examination of the fate of the Beothuk people indicates that, although Shanawdithit was almost certainly the last Beothuk, it was not as a result of genocide that the Beothuks became extinct. Although many were murdered by settler encroachment, other factors such as a collapse in the availability of food sources, disease, and a withdrawal of the Beothuk from contact with the whites were responsible for the Beothuks' demise. All scholarship concludes that it is extremely unlikely that remaining Beothuk before 1827 interbred with either whites or other indigenous peoples (e.g., the Miqmaq or the native peoples of Labrador), so the possibility of mixed-descent Beothuk is next to nil. The most plausible conclusion to be drawn about Shanawdithit is that she was, in all likelihood, the last Beothuk—a tragic conclusion to be drawn about an ancient people.

Shaw, Stanford (b. 1930). Professor of history at the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA), who published influential arguments denying the veracity of accounts relating to the Armenian genocide. His essential position was that the Armenian population formed an anti-Turkish alliance with the Russian government during World War I and that, as a result, the Turks were fully within their rights to take whatever means were necessary to defend Turkey from a Russian invasion. For Shaw, to believe that the Armenians were victims of genocide was unacceptable, as in his opinion it was in fact the Armenians who initially attacked the Turks. For their part, he has argued, the Turks of the late Ottoman period did what they could to protect and safeguard the lives of the Armenian population, endeavoring to ensure that they had sufficient food, water, and shelter as they were—out of military necessity—being deported to less vulnerable parts of the Ottoman Empire. Once at their final destinations, they were to be resettled into new homes provided by the Turkish government. Shaw's authority was widely felt after two of his students, Heath Lowry (b. 1942) and Justin McCarthy (b. 1945), took up his arguments when they also entered academia and further entrenched the "no genocide" position.

“**Sheep to the Slaughter.**” Among the enduring myths of World War II and the Holocaust is one putting forth the view that the overwhelming majority of Nazi Germany’s Jewish victims went to their deaths in the ghettos and extermination camps “like sheep the slaughter,” that is, as easy targets and even easier victims of the military might and brutality of Nazism. Serious scholarly investigation paints a far different picture. To be sure, the vast majority of Germany’s Jews were middle-class citizens with no military experience capable of responding to the onslaught of Nazi brutality. However, once rounded up and transported, Jews did engage in sabotage efforts in every death camp; escapes occurred from both ghettos and camps; and, where they were able to do so, Jews formed or joined partisan units and “learned on the job.”

In Poland, which possessed the largest Jewish community in the world prior to the Second World War, the majority of Jews were middle class to lower middle class, devoutly religious and, like their German counterparts, ill-equipped to respond militarily to the various crises they faced. However, it is estimated that somewhere between 20,000 and 30,000 Jews were members of partisan units engaged in fighting the Nazis throughout Eastern Europe. Among the most well-known instances of Jewish resistance were the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising of April 1943, and the unsuccessful escapes from Treblinka and Sobibor death camps, also in 1943.

The situation of Jewish deaths at the hands of the Nazis is complicated by the fact that one million of the victims were noncombatant women, and half a million were children under the age of fifteen. Rounding up Jews in family clusters was the Nazis’ preferred method of apprehension, which served to counter any initial attempts at a violent Jewish response. Additionally, if Jews were successful in escaping into the surrounding countryside from their villages, ghettos, and the death camps, the local populations they encountered were themselves frequently antisemites, and they often turned the Jews over to the Nazis for reward. (The process of escape and survival was made even more difficult by the fact that once the Nazis occupied a particular geographic locale, they let it be known that anyone harboring Jews would be guilty of a crime, the punishment for which was death, not only of the individual, but for family members as well.)

The phrase itself has usually been attributed to Lithuanian Jewish resistance leader and poet Abba Kovner (1918–1987), but this is inaccurate. The first American president, George Washington (1732–1799), used the phrase in a speech in 1783 when addressing and rallying his troops. The actual phrase comes from the book of Psalms in the Hebrew Bible, chapter 44:22 (“Yet for your sake we face death all day long; we are considered as sheep to be slaughtered”).

Shoah (Hebrew for “Catastrophe,” “Destruction,” or “Devastation”). An increasingly preferred term among scholars, many Jews, and even educators for the systematic murder of the Jews of Europe at the hands of the Nazis and their allies during War World II. *Shoah* is generally preferred over the term *Holocaust*, the latter of which has its roots in the biblical text of the Hebrew Bible and indicates a totally consumable offering to God by fire. As many have argued, there was nothing about the Holocaust that constituted an offering to God. The word *Shoah* first appeared in a booklet in 1940 by the United Aid Committee for the Jews of Poland in Jerusalem, Palestine, entitled *Sho’at Yehudei Polin* (*The Catastrophe of the Jews of Poland*) and accurately described what was taking place there according to eye-witness accounts. Biblically, however, the term appears in Isaiah 10:3, referring to the day of reckoning and ruin that will come upon ancient Israel for its own corruptions. So, it too is far from

the perfect descriptor for the all-out genocidal assault on the Jewish people by the Nazi regime and its collaborators. Still, as mentioned previously, more and more have come to prefer *Shoah* over the use of the word *Holocaust*.

Shoah. The nine-hour documentary epic film, eleven years in the making, by French filmmaker Claude Lanzmann (b. 1925), detailing the realities of the Holocaust/*Shoah* on ordinary Poles, Jewish survivors, and Germans. This documentary presents history from the perspective of those who participated in it: its perpetrators, its victims, its bystanders, and its willing accomplices. Essentially, it is one long series of interviews and conversations between the filmmaker and those he films, sometimes with a hidden camera. It is not, however, a film whose centerpiece is the graphic horror of what transpired. As an example of *cinema vérité*, it is a powerful visual experience of the ordinariness of those who participated in one of the greatest evils of the twentieth century or what political philosopher and German-Jewish émigré Hannah Arendt (1906–1975) referred to as their “banality.”

Sihanouk, Norodom (b. 1922). Prince, then king, of Cambodia for two terms, as well as leader with other titles from 1941 until his retirement from public office in October 2004. A political chameleon, Sihanouk’s career was a remarkable one by any standards. He served two terms as king, two terms as sovereign prince, one as president, two terms as prime minister, and one term—during the years of the Khmer Rouge dictatorship (1975–1978) under the communist leader Pol Pot (1925–1998)—in a world of political limbo as the symbolic head of state without a formal title.

Sihanouk first ascended the throne in 1941, while still a teenager, and oversaw Cambodia’s independence from French colonial rule in late 1953. While trying to keep Cambodia aloof from the destructiveness of the war in neighboring Vietnam during the 1960s, Sihanouk unwisely charted a course of playing the United States off against the People’s Republic of China, at the same time holding to a position that was avowedly neutralist. It did not work; in March 1970, sections of the Cambodian military, led by General Lon Nol (1913–1985) and backed by the United States, took over the country in a coup d’état and deposed Sihanouk. The ex-king fled to China and found the communist leader Mao Zedong (1893–1976) an accommodating host willing to help him (Sihanouk) regain his throne under the principle of confronting U.S. influence in the Asian region. Under the communist regime of Pol Pot, Sihanouk became the titular head of state after the Khmer Rouge ouster of Lon Nol’s government. In 1976 Sihanouk was again forced out of office; once more he fled to China and, for a time, to North Korea. With the expulsion of the Khmer Rouge regime by invading Vietnamese forces in 1978, Sihanouk found himself in a quandary: he had previously been deposed by the Khmer Rouge, yet their departure before the might of the communist Vietnamese offered no possibility of a restoration to the throne for Sihanouk. Moreover, the Vietnamese were foreign invaders of his country. Ultimately—at arm’s length—Sihanouk reestablished relations with the Khmer Rouge, now reduced to controlling the jungle regions of northern and western Cambodia, in an attempt to expel the Vietnamese. When the Vietnamese finally withdrew in 1989, leaving behind a pro-Vietnamese government, Sihanouk made efforts to come in from the cold in order to work on a multiparty future for Cambodia. On October 23, 1991, at a peace conference in Paris attended by representatives of eighteen countries, four major Cambodian political parties, and the United Nations, a comprehensive settlement was signed giving the United Nations full authority to supervise a ceasefire and to prepare the country for free and fair elections. Sihanouk became king again in 1991 and

retired, through abdication, in October 2004. One of his sons, Norodom Sihamoni (b. 1953), a former ballet dancer and teacher, was appointed by a nine-member throne council to succeed Sihanouk.

Simon Wiesenthal Center. Established in 1977, the Simon Wiesenthal Center “is an international Jewish human rights organization dedicated to preserving the memory of the Holocaust by fostering tolerance and understanding through community involvement, educational outreach and social action. The Center confronts important contemporary issues including racism, antisemitism, terrorism, and genocide. . . . Other issues the Center deals with include: the prosecution of Nazi war criminals; Holocaust and tolerance education; Middle East Affairs; and extremist groups, neo-Nazism, and hate on the Internet. The Center is accredited as an NGO (non-governmental organization) at the United Nations and UNESCO. . . . The Center is headquartered in Los Angeles, California, and maintains offices in New York, Toronto, Canada.”

Site 2 Around the Borders. This 1989 documentary, which was produced by Rithy Panh, who, as a teenager, fled the Khmer Rouge takeover in Cambodia and sought sanctuary in refugee camps in Thailand, focuses on Yim Om, a woman who fled from Democratic Kampuchea (the name the Khmer Rouge gave Cambodia after its takeover in 1975) and settled in “Site 2,” along the Thai/Cambodian border, after having moved from camp to camp.

Slave Labor During the Third Reich. Though the term “forced labor” is favored by many scholars, the term *slave labor* has been used to describe three classes of laborers under the Nazis: (1) so-called foreign workers (German, *Fremdarbeiter*), (2) deported workers from the Eastern territories (German, *Ostarbeiter*), and (3) Jewish workers in the concentration and death camps. All three classes of workers were essential to the success of the German war economy. By 1939, one hundred seventy thousand workers had been brought onto German soil from Austria, Moravia, and Bohemia, as well as three hundred forty thousand Polish workers. It has been estimated that by the end of 1944 more than seven million foreigners were working in Germany. Those from the East (Poles and Russians) fared far worse than those from the West, being perceived by the Nazis as racial inferiors, while the Jews of Poland and Russia suffering the most of all. With regard to the last group, by 1942 it was already decided, as a matter of policy, that the physical annihilation of the Jews could also be achieved through work (German, *Vernichtung durch Arbeit*). As the system expanded, non-Jews—Czechs, Poles, Russians, Ukrainians, and Roma (“Gypsies”)—were also included. Those now warehoused in the concentration and death camps, truly slave laborers, worked until death in industries and workshops under contracts signed between the SS and the larger German industrial and pharmaceutical conglomerates (in particular, firms such as Degesch, J. A. Topf & Sons, I. G. Farben, Krupp, and Bayer). It has also been estimated that by 1945, at a minimum, more than a quarter of a million slave laborers died at work or during the forced marches as the war itself, now lost, was coming to its end. At the International Military Tribunal (IMT) held at Nuremberg, Germany, in 1945 and 1946, Fritz Saukel (1894–1946), Adolf Hitler’s (1889–1945) labor minister plenipotentiary, was found guilty, sentenced to death, and hanged on October 1, 1946. Albert Speer (1905–1981), Hitler’s armaments minister and architect, was also found guilty, but was sentenced to only twenty years in prison. Many of the heads of the largest corporations served minimal prison time and were restored to positions of authority and responsibility as the focus of postwar and Cold War concerns shifted, and post-Nazi West Germany was viewed as an ally in the ideological battle for world supremacy against Soviet

Russia and thus necessitated a rapid reindustrialization under the Marshall Plan, the U.S. program of rebuilding Europe to act as a bulwark against Soviet expansionism.

Slavery and Genocide. A slave is a person who is the legal property of another party (who could be an individual, a family, a corporation or the state), in which the relationship is unequal and established on a principle of total obedience to total authority. Slavery almost always implies severe manual labor, for little or no reward on the part of the slave laborer. Slavery has a history dating back to ancient times, and slaves have routinely been taken as a spoil of war. Sometimes, men would be separated from women after the conquest of a city or territory, and both sexes would be sent on as slaves to separate destinations. Although this could have the effect of destroying the basis for family or group identity, the reasons behind such separation and slavery were less likely due to ideology than for pragmatic reasons such as a need for labor or to generate wealth through selling the slaves as property. According to one author, M. I. Finley, despite the existence of slaves throughout the ages, there have only been five instances where we can genuinely speak of a slave society: classical Greece and classical Rome; the Confederate States of America between 1861 and 1865 (and the decades preceding this, while these states still formed part of the United States); various colonial islands in the Caribbean; and colonial, then independent, Brazil. In such situations, where both the ownership of slaves and the slave system itself required that slaves stay alive, a genocidal impulse was suppressed on the part of the slave owners in favor of profit maximization. This should not suggest, however, that the operation of slave societies passed without massive brutality and death (to say nothing of the violation of individual natural and human rights). Indeed, the initial capturing of slaves has almost always been accompanied by killing (sometimes, such as on the Middle Passage between Africa and the Americas, on an enormous scale). As a rule, only those who survived capture and transport were transformed into slaves—and the latter constituted a minority of all who were captured.

In the twentieth century, slavery took on a new guise, within an overall global environment, as brutal regimes transformed local occupied populations (e.g., the Congolese at the hands of the Belgians), various minority populations (e.g., Jews under Hitler's Nazis), some dominant populations (e.g., the Cambodians under Pol Pot's Khmer Rouge), and populations isolated for political reasons (e.g., in the Soviet Union during the period between the 1930s and 1960s) into slave communities.

Despite all international efforts to the contrary, illegal slavery still exists, most notably in several north African countries located in the Sahara and in some Middle Eastern states.

Smart Sanctions. "Smart sanctions" (also referred to as targeted sanctions) are those sanctions that are developed and imposed with the aim of being more precise and selective than general sanctions (e.g., those that are so comprehensive in scope that they result in unintended and harmful consequences to either the most vulnerable population within the country being sanctioned and/or those actors within the country that are in line with international norms). The efficacy of smart sanctions is still being debated, and theorists and practitioners are continuing to work on ways to make a sanctions regime more effective (e.g., "smarter").

Smith, Bradley (b. 1930). Bradley Smith, a California-based Holocaust denier, is best known for his founding of CODOH (Committee for Open Debate on the Holocaust). According to the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, for more than four decades Smith has served as the "chief propagandist and outreach director" of the denialist movement, successfully placing paid advertisements in college and university newspapers that seemingly

encourage debate about the historical legitimacy and veracity of the Holocaust. In addition to his Web site, he has also published *Break His Bones: The Private Life of a Holocaust Revisionist*, *The Revisionist*, and *Revisionist Letters*. The tenor of his agenda may be gleaned from his comments about the aim of his Web site: “to promote intellectual freedom with regard to this one historical event, which in turn will promote intellectual freedom toward all historical events (thus all other issues). We have chosen to concentrate on the gas chamber stories and war crimes because they are emblematic of the allegedly [sic] unique monstrosity of the Germans before and during World War II.” Some, if not most, might conclude that what he purports to be the truth is, in fact, a web of false claims, distortions, and outright lies.

Sniper Alley. The nickname given to a stretch of road in Sarajevo, the capital city of Bosnia-Herzegovina, during the Bosnian War of 1992–1995. In reality, it is one long arterial road that officially undergoes a name change as it gets closer to the city, from Bulevar Mese Selimovica to Zmaj od Bosne, just prior to entering the central business district where once more it changes to the Oblala Kulina Bana. “Sniper Alley” is thus the major approach road from Sarajevo’s western industrial suburbs to the city center. During the siege of Sarajevo, long sections of the road were an easy target for Bosnian Serb snipers in the hills surrounding the city, which resulted in hundreds being killed as they attempted to traverse the vulnerable sections of the road/city. As one of the primary “no-go” areas leading to downtown, Sniper Alley was a road on which drivers were strongly discouraged to travel. If a journey absolutely had to be made, drivers were encouraged to speed, dodge, weave, and do anything else they could do to avoid being hit by gunfire. It was most certainly not a place for pedestrians, even though many found no alternative but to use the thoroughfare in going about their daily business. Sniper Alley became symbolic of the siege of Sarajevo, littered with burnt-out and shot-out wrecks of motor vehicles and with makeshift barriers of all kinds from which pedestrians would run from one to another seeking cover. There are proposals that Sniper Alley will at some time in the future undergo a beautification process that will restore its dignity as a major thoroughfare while paying respect to all those who lost their lives along its precincts during the siege.

Sobibór. Nazi death camp near the town of Vlodawa in eastern Poland. It is estimated that more than a quarter of a million persons were murdered in Sobibór after it began gassing operations in May 1942, opening its doors three months earlier in March 1942. Its victims were primarily Polish Jews, but Czech, Slovakian, German, Austrian, French, Lithuanian, and Dutch Jews were murdered there as well. The bodies of the victims were “processed” (i.e., removed from the gas chambers, examined for valuables, and buried in mass graves) by Jewish *sonderkommandos* (German, “special commandos”). Sobibór is best remembered, however, for its successful revolt by Jewish prisoners in October 1943, in which eleven SS and a number of Ukrainian guards were killed. Three hundred prisoners escaped, though only fifty survived World War II. After the revolt, in October 1943, SS Chief Heinrich Himmler (1900–1945) ordered the camp dismantled and had it converted into a farm. The *Kommandant* of the camp, Franz Stangl (1908–1971), first fled after the war to Syria and then to Brazil but, from there, was returned to Germany to serve a life sentence. He died in prison in Düsseldorf.

Social Darwinism. A pseudoscientific philosophical and scientific view of human interaction supposedly based on Charles Darwin’s (1809–1982) theory of animal or biological evolution set out in his book *On the Origin of Species* (1859) and based on the thought of English philosopher Herbert Spencer (1820–1903).

Darwin's scientific concept of evolution centered on long, gradual development from a lower to a higher form of life, in which the stronger always prevailed over the weaker in the ongoing quest for species survival. Theorists of human behavior, identifying parallels in the way human societies operated, developed, over time, a theory of social Darwinism, in which societies also evolved from weaker to stronger positions, via a process in which the fittest survived and the weaker fell away. Spencer, being one such theorist, suggested that Darwin's concept of the "survival of the fittest" could also be applied to the human species, and that the arena of history itself was where the conflict took place among human communities.

Commensurate with the discussion of "races" in anthropological and other circles in Europe during the same period, groups of people were thus classified into different races based upon physical (and other) characteristics, and then categorized along a spectrum ranging from superior to inferior status (e.g., white Protestants being "superior;" Jews and blacks being "inferior"). Paralleling these discussions were those regarding the so-called improvement of the human species in both European and U.S. contexts and the rise of the eugenics movements on both continents. Taking part in such discussions were such figures as Sir Francis Galton (1822–1911), the "Father of Eugenics," and German physician Ernest Haeckel (1834–1919).

The most perverse twentieth century use of this thinking was the thought and work of Adolf Hitler (1889–1945) and the Nazis, who viewed themselves as representative of the superior "Aryan" race and who perceived their biological enemies as being "International Jewry," those—the Nazis asserted—responsible for all of civilization's ills and who must be destroyed *in toto*. Hitler based his racial doctrines firmly on social Darwinist notions of natural selection, the victory of the strong over the weak, the impartiality of nature (and hence the irrelevance of humanitarian concerns), and the naturalness of physical struggle (translated, in a political sense, into war). From such thoughts, which he held to be unalterable givens of human existence, Hitler (and others in the National Socialist movement such as Alfred Rosenberg [1893–1946] and Heinrich Himmler [1900–1945], who shared his thinking and took it into new directions), built a theory that had the singular outcome of genocide. For Hitler, race hierarchy was the factor that determined the strength and weakness of nations, and only the strong could survive. This was why the Jews—whom Hitler identified as being the evil antithesis of the Aryan ideal—had to be eliminated from the world community. Every one of Hitler's racist thoughts that became translated into policies or action stemmed from this core belief in the social Darwinist doctrine of the innate superiority or inferiority of nations and led directly to the Holocaust of European Jewry at the hands of the Nazis.

Social Engineering. Not all genocidal projects aim simply for the removal of a group from the broader body of the nation, even though by definition this is what genocide comprises. In some cases, perpetrator regimes employ genocidal means in order to reorder society according to a defined scheme whereby the removal of the marked group will, according the perpetrators' logic, "improve" what remains. This planned rearrangement can be referred to as social engineering. Examples abound. The Nazis sought to make a "better" society through the elimination of those they considered "impure" (e.g., racial "enemies" such as Jews, Slavs, and Roma) or a drain on the resources of the nation (e.g., the so-called useless mouths, such as those with physical or psychological disabilities, or those with incurable diseases). In Democratic Kampuchea (Cambodia) between 1975 and 1979, perhaps the most radical attempt to reorder society ever seen took place when Pol

Pot's (1925–1998) Khmer Rouge destroyed the fabric of precommunist Cambodian life at every level, right down to the abolition of the family unit, oversaw the forced desertion of towns and cities, and purposely abandoned the fruits of modernity for a return to a pre-modern, primitive, communist socioeconomic lifestyle. Another form of social engineering that had a genocidal outcome was the attempt by Joseph Stalin's (1879–1953) Soviet Union to force industrialization upon the Soviet Union in the 1930s. During a period of intense social upheaval, Stalin purposely deprived Ukraine, parts of Belarus, and Kazakhstan of the food that their own farmers had grown, engineering a famine that had the dual purpose of feeding the cities—and hence, the revolution—while at the same time destroying the foundations of Ukrainian nationalist separatism. For even deeper ideological reasons, China under Mao Zedong (1893–1976), in the 1950s and 1960s, attempted to create a new form of agrarian communist society devoid of much of the structure required to keep a twentieth-century administration operative; the result saw millions lose their lives in what was essentially a massive social experiment.

Various aspects of social engineering might, in some circumstances, look good in theory, but when applied to the reality of actual populations they invariably fail, with massive loss of life, to achieve their potential owing to its artificiality and disregard of the particular differences and aspirations held by individual men and women.

Socialism. A political, economic, and social philosophy closely connected with the rise of the modern industrial state. Throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries the term assumed a wide variety of meanings, though certain essential principles remained constant throughout. Socialists generally hold that existing forms of wealth distribution are unjust, providing more to the few than they actually need or can use at the expense of the many who live in conditions of privation and, all too frequently, starvation. In order to redress the imbalance, socialists campaign for less (or no) private ownership of the means of production (and of the resources needed for production), and for such ownership to be held in common. The goods thereby produced, together with any wealth they generate, are to be distributed to all according to their need. Although this is a social and economic philosophy advocating significant restructuring of existing forms of communal and exchange relationships, socialism also requires a major transformation of prevailing political configurations. It was Karl Marx (1818–1883), the “Father of Modern Socialism,” and his colleague Friedrich Engels (1820–1895), who made the connection between these three strands of human civilization. In *The Communist Manifesto* (1848), they outlined the basic principles of socialist theory as they saw it. In viewing all of human development as the history of class struggle through an ongoing quest to control the means of production, Marx and Engels offered the growing industrial working class a vision of how society must inevitably progress unless that same working class rises up, overthrows the existing order, and recreates society according to a wholly new, socialist model. Since then, a plethora of differing interpretations of socialism have emerged, some of which, such as communism, have achieved power in a number of states. In the name of socialism—or at least, their interpretation of it—communist/socialist leaders and governments have torn down existing socio-economic structures in brutal, even exterminatory, ways, the better to build the new socialist utopia. Such regimes include (but are not restricted to) those of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin (1870–1924) and Joseph Stalin (1879–1953) in the Soviet Union, Mao Zedong (1893–1976) in China, Kim Il-sung (1912–1994) in North Korea, and, most dramatically, Pol Pot (1928–1998) in Democratic Kampuchea (Cambodia).

Soldier Blue. A stereotype-breaking motion picture made in 1970, *Soldier Blue* has been described as a “revisionist western” in which the usually heroic U.S. cavalry on the frontier is shown in a far more contemptible light. Directed by Ralph Nelson (1916–1987), it is a fictionalized treatment of the events leading up to and culminating in the Sand Creek Massacre in Colorado on November 29, 1864. In this massacre, the Third Colorado Volunteer Cavalry Regiment, under the command of Colonel John Chivington (1821–1894), led an attack against a Cheyenne village at Sand Creek. The attack resulted in a death toll of at least two hundred Cheyenne victims, of whom two-thirds were women and children. Starring Candice Bergen (b. 1946), Peter Strauss (b. 1947), and Donald Pleasence (1919–1995), the movie is a stinging indictment of white American expansion into Native American lands during the nineteenth century and presents, in graphic terms, the filmmakers’ view that this was accompanied by merciless genocide. The iconoclastic movie was controversial owing to its disparagement of the near sanctification of the “Manifest Destiny” argument in the United States; but it was equally controversial for its explicit depictions of genocidal violence, including the rape of women and the savage murder of children. Further controversy resulted from the message the movie was sending at a time when U.S. soldiers were fighting an unpopular war in Vietnam and while the country was still reeling over Lieutenant William L. Calley, Jr.’s (b. 1943) role in overseeing a massacre of Vietnamese civilians at My Lai on March 16, 1968. *Soldier Blue*, within the context of the Vietnam War, was thus a movie that held up a mirror to U.S. society and showed that genocidal massacre was not only possible but had already happened on U.S. soil in the past.

Somalia Factor. On October 3, 1993, while engaged in an attempt to track down members of Mohammed Farah Aidied’s (1934–1996) militia who had killed twenty-four Pakistani UN peacekeepers who were deployed in Somalia in an attempt to keep the peace, U.S. Army Rangers and Delta special forces were ambushed by the militia. Eighteen U.S. soldiers were killed, seventy-three were wounded, and the pilot of a Black Hawk helicopter was kidnapped. Newscasts around the world showed the members of the militia dragging the naked, dead body of a U.S. Ranger through the streets of Mogadishu. Both the attack and the brutal aftermath caused such great consternation among U.S. citizens and politicians that it impacted future U.S. foreign policy decisions. More specifically, U.S. foreign policymakers became extremely tentative about deploying any U.S. troops in violent conflicts far from home in which the U.S. ostensibly had little to no real “interests.” Ultimately, due in large part to this “Somalia factor,” U.S. president Bill Clinton (b. 1946) and his administration consciously decided not to attempt to prevent, let alone attempt to halt, the 1994 Rwandan genocide that took the lives of between five hundred thousand and one million Tutsi and moderate Hutu in one hundred days during April, May, June, and July 1994.

Sometimes in April. A made-for-television movie about the Rwandan genocide of 1994, produced by Home Box Office (HBO) in 2005. The events in *Sometimes in April* focus on the true story of two Hutu: Honoré Butera, an anti-Tutsi broadcaster with the Hutu Power radio station *Radio-Télévision Libre des Mille Collines* (RTL), and his brother, Augustin Muganza, a captain in the Rwandan Armed Forces. Augustin, who is married to a Tutsi woman and has two sons, is on a Hutu death list because of his known liberal views and because of his choice of a wife. At the end of the genocide, Honoré has been arrested and is awaiting trial at the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda

(ICTR) in Arusha, Tanzania. The film was directed by Haiti-born filmmaker Raoul Peck (b. 1953) and stars Idris Elba (b. 1972) as Augustin and Oris Erhuero (b. 1968) as Honoré. A Belgian-born Rwandan Tutsi actress, Carole Karemera (b. 1975), plays the role of Augustin's wife, Jeanne. A number of plot lines weave through the movie, including one in which U.S. actress Debra Winger (b. 1955) portrays U.S. Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Africa Prudence Bushnell (b. 1946), who agonizes over the inaction of U.S. policy toward Rwanda despite her constant pleas. One of the features of *Sometimes in April* is that it was filmed entirely on location in Rwanda.

Son Sen (1930–1997). Cambodian communist leader before and during the rule of the Khmer Rouge, under the dictatorship of Pol Pot (1925–1998). Son Sen was born into an ethnic Cambodian community in southern Vietnam and educated in the Cambodian capital, Phnom Penh. Like many of the founders of Cambodian communism, Son Sen was then sent by the French colonial authorities to Paris for advanced education, and while there he became a member of the *Cercle Marxiste*, the so-called Marxist Circle, which had Pol Pot at its center. On his return to Cambodia, Son Sen became director of studies at the National Teaching Institute and, clandestinely, a founding member of the Communist Party of Cambodia (later to be reamed the Communist Party of Kampuchea, or CPK). In 1963, he became a member of the Central Committee of the CPK and was forced to flee the capital when King Norodom Sihanouk's (b. 1922) antisubversion police were about to arrest him. He was CPK secretary for the Northeastern Zone during 1970–1971, and was then appointed chief of staff of Khmer Rouge forces. Beginning in August 1975, Son Sen was deputy prime minister and minister of defense in Pol Pot's Khmer Rouge government. In the latter capacity, Son Sen oversaw the Santebal, the Khmer Rouge's notorious secret police force. He and the deputy prime minister for the economy, Vorn Vet (c. 1934–1978), were thus responsible for the appointment of Khang Khek Iev (b. 1944), known as “Comrade Duch,” to the position of director of Tuol Sleng, the main Santebal prison in Phnom Penh. It was Duch, acting on orders from Son Sen and Vorn Vet, who was responsible for the death of thousands of people at the prison. After the downfall of the Khmer Rouge regime in January 1979, Son Sen remained a leader of the regime in exile. In the eyes of many, he was one of Pol Pot's most loyal supporters. A member of the Supreme National Council (SNC), established in Phnom Penh as Cambodia moved toward a political settlement between the Vietnamese, the Khmer Rouge, and Royalist supporters (as a transitional successor government was brokered in the early 1990s), Son Sen was believed to have been previously nominated by Pol Pot to be his successor. When the Khmer Rouge withdrew from the SNC in 1993, however, Pol Pot made Son Sen into his scapegoat for attempting to negotiate an unapproved peace settlement with the Cambodian government. On Pol Pot's orders, Son Sen was murdered as a traitor near Kbal Ansoang in 1997—just one year before Pol Pot's own death due to natural causes.

Sonderkommando (German, “Special Commandos”). Originally an SS term for a unit assigned special tasks, primarily killing Jews, the term later came to mean those Jewish prisoners in the Nazi death camps assigned to work in both the gas chambers and the crematoria. The prisoners would help the victims with the removal of their clothing and shave their hair (primarily the women), while the latter *Sonderkommandos* would remove the bodies from the gas chambers to the crematoria after first extracting gold teeth and inspect all bodily orifices for hidden coins and jewels. The life of these prisoners themselves was relatively short, as they themselves would become candidates for death after

approximately three months as a way for the Nazis to ensure the secrecy of this work. In October 1944, the *Sonderkommando* at Auschwitz-Birkenau staged a revolt and, in the process, successfully destroyed one of the crematoria. Almost all those who participated in this revolt were caught and executed.

Southern Sudan, Genocide in. Sudan is physically the largest country in Africa. From 1983 onward, the country experienced civil war, famine, disease, massive destruction, and genocide in its southern regions. The civil war and the attendant genocide perpetrated by the Islamist regime in Khartoum against the Christian and animist peoples of the south led to the death of upward of 2.5 million people. This catastrophic situation has placed Sudan near the top of the list of post-1945 death statistics for single-country conflicts. The roots of the conflict are deep, but the antagonism of the northern part of the country toward the south was reinforced in 1983 when President Jaafar el-Nimeiry (b. 1930) rescinded the autonomy that had previously been granted the south in 1972; henceforth, the north ruled by direct control, with the southern deliberative chamber divested of even its most basic powers. Resource management became a wholly northern concern. Islamic Shariah law was introduced and applied to the Christian south. In frustration and anger, southern troops serving in the Sudanese army mutinied—a mutiny precipitated by an order that they be relocated to the north. The southern soldiers took to the bush and reformed themselves as the Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA), led by U.S.-educated agricultural economist, Dr. John Garang (1945–2005). The SPLA had a political arm, the Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM).

Following a coup d'état in 1985, a new government was installed in Khartoum under a northern radical Islamizer, Omar Hassan Ahmad al-Bashir (b. 1945). He shared power with the civilian leader of the National Islamic Front, Dr. Hasan al-Turabi (b. 1932). Together, they transformed Sudan into an even more fundamentalist Islamic society and intensified the war against the south. Although some explanations for the massive number of deaths focus on the destructive nature of the civil war—and it was certainly a conflict in which little quarter was given—there is nonetheless enough circumstantial evidence to be able to lay a charge of genocide at the feet of the Bashir government. For all sorts of reasons, however, there was little public attention at the international level directed toward the crisis in southern Sudan. The tragedy is that, throughout the entire period, Bashir's government went out of its way to destroy populations through killing, displacement, expulsion, starvation, and other means, frequently against unarmed civilians. On January 9, 2005, a peace settlement was reached between the SPLA and the Sudanese government. Within months (July 20, 2005), John Garang, who had, as a result of the peace process, been named vice president of Sudan, lost his life in a helicopter crash, the circumstances of which have not been fully determined.

Sovereignty. Sovereignty—or absolute autonomy or freedom from external control—has been the guiding principle of international relations and a key attribute of statehood since the Peace of Westphalia in 1648. Put another way, sovereignty is understood to be that governing power of any independent state to construct itself under its recognized leadership in any way it deems appropriate. Among its powers are those of military defense, civil order, taxation, punishment, waging war, entering into treaties, education of citizenry, and so on.

Ultimately, and until fairly recently, sovereignty was understood to mean that there was sovereign equality among states, nonintervention in domestic jurisdiction was sacrosanct,

and sovereign immunity was guaranteed. Succinctly stated, that meant that within its borders, a state ruled supreme and that what it did within its own borders basically constituted “internal affairs.” Time, circumstances, and a changing worldview have, in certain respects, slowly eroded the “sanctity” of sovereignty. Put another way, the traditional understanding of the concept of sovereignty is being rethought by various scholars (including, but not limited, various political scientists and specialists in international law and/or on humanitarian intervention), as is the actual practice of sovereignty. That is not to say that sovereignty is not still firmly in place, for it is; but, it is to say, that it is both in flux and experiencing change. Certainly, from a normative viewpoint—through the human rights movement of the latter half of the twentieth century, along with the Nuremberg Trials, the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY), the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR), and the establishment of the International Criminal Court (ICC)—absolute sovereignty has been weakened, particularly as it applies to a state’s perpetration of crimes against humanity and/or genocide.

Species Consciousness. In Chapter 9, “A Species Mentality,” of their 1990 study *The Genocidal Mentality: Nazi Holocaust and Nuclear Threat*, scholars Robert Jay Lifton (b. 1926) and Eric Markusen (1946–2007) understand this phrase to mean “full consciousness of ourselves as members of the human species, a species now under threat of extinction” (p. 259), and suggest that such an awareness, though not precise, holds the potential to serve as a counter or “moral equivalent” (p. 255), psychologically, to the genocidal mentality. More specifically, they argue that by drawing upon the insights of various religious and philosophical traditions, it is indeed possible to develop such a conscious awareness of our humanity, and that, having developed such, primarily through educational means and drawing upon our own innate psychological resources, such an awareness could very well serve as an antidote to the thinking and awareness of those intent on global genocidal destruction.

Srebrenica, Dutch Peacekeepers. As part of the UN commitment to the defense of civilians during the Bosnian War of 1992–1995, the Bosnian city of Srebrenica was declared a “safe area” on April 16, 1993. In late January 1994, the first units of a 1,170-strong Dutch paratroop battalion (codenamed Dutchbat) were deployed to Bosnia, and on March 3, some 570 of their number entered Srebrenica to relieve a much smaller Canadian detachment. In the sixteen months that followed, Dutchbat experienced a wide range of challenging situations, including military deaths in combat conditions; the capture of some of its soldiers and their subsequent abuse as the Bosnian Serb forces used the Dutch as human shields; and being overrun in Srebrenica in July 1995 by Bosnian Serb forces led by General Ratko Mladic (b. 1942) without a shot being fired. Ultimately, Dutchbat failed to defend the population of Srebrenica during which some seven to eight thousand civilian Muslim men and boys were murdered after the fall of the city. In the national soul-searching that followed, Netherlands’ citizens were distressed when it became known that the night before the final Serb assault on Srebrenica, the Dutchbat commander, Lieutenant Colonel Tom Karremans (b. 1949), had drunk a toast with General Mladic—a toast, it was said, in honor of Mladic’s victory. (Karremans later explained that it was only a glass of water, but by then, courtesy of Serb photographers filming the exchange, the damage had been done.) The fall of Srebrenica, and the mass murder of its citizens by the thousands, was seen as a matter of national shame in Holland.

In 1996, the Dutch government of Prime Minister Wim Kok (b. 1938) commissioned an official inquiry into the actions of the peacekeepers; the resulting report, produced by

the Netherlands Institute for War Documentation (NIOD), was issued on April 10, 2002. Six days later the entire Dutch government resigned. The government's resignation was followed immediately afterward by the army chief of staff, Adriaan ("Ad") van Baal (b. 1947). All in all, the role of the Dutch peacekeepers at Srebrenica was, at the least, ineffectual; at most, it was criminal in its complicity with the Bosnian Serbs. What it pointed to most clearly was the danger to be found in UN security operations that were not sufficiently supported at every level. Arguments have been made that Dutchbat's mandate was not clear enough, and the troops were not properly trained or equipped for the tasks they were required to undertake. They were, in short, sent on a mission to keep the peace where there was no peace to keep.

Srebrenica Massacre. In 1995, Srebrenica, a city in Bosnia, became the scene of the greatest massacre on European soil since the Holocaust.

In the spring of 1993, the United Nations declared Srebrenica a "safe area," along with five other Bosnian Muslim cities (Bihac, Gorazde, Sarajevo, Tuzla, and Zepa) then under siege at the hands of the Bosnian Serbs. As a city under siege, Srebrenica found itself constantly suffering privation, as the Serb army tested the resolve of the UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR) troops guarding the city by blocking UN aid convoys. In holding out against the Serb attacks—in much the same way that Sarajevo, the capital city, did—Srebrenica became a symbol of Bosnian Muslim resistance throughout the Bosnian war. That abruptly changed, however, on July 6, 1995. Inadvertently encouraged by UN equivocation over whether or not to maintain the safe areas initiative, Bosnian Serb general Ratko Mladic (b. 1942) led a ten-day campaign to take over Srebrenica in an effort to ultimately subject it to "ethnic cleansing." As the Serb campaign got underway, thousands of Srebrenica's men and boys fled the city in order to reach Muslim fighters beyond the hills, presumably hoping to lead them back to defend the city. The women, children, and elderly were, for the most part, loaded onto Serb-chartered buses and evacuated. Upon taking the city and overrunning the UNPROFOR base at nearby Potocari, where the members of the Dutch peacekeepers had been sheltering thousands of Bosnian Muslims, Mladic's men began hunting down the Muslim men who were then struggling through Serb-controlled lines. Capturing them in small groups, the Serbs concentrated them in larger numbers in fields, sportsgrounds, schools, and factories, where they were slaughtered in their thousands. It is impossible to arrive at anything but an approximation of the number killed, as many mass graves are yet to be located and population figures from before the fall of the city are imprecise owing to the large number of uncounted refugees who had earlier flooded into the city. Best estimates have fluctuated between seven and eight thousand killed. Srebrenica has subsequently become a symbol of the brutality of the Serb war against Bosnia's Muslims, as well as of the United Nations' failure to stand up to genocide—especially given the fact that the "safe zone" created by the United Nations was not defended but simply allowed to be taken over by the Serbs.

Srebrenica Resignation, Dutch Government. On April 16, 2002, the Dutch government of long-serving prime minister Wim Kok (b. 1938) resigned after an emergency cabinet meeting that had been called to discuss the ramifications of an official report regarding the actions of Netherlands peacekeepers in the Bosnian town of Srebrenica in July 1995. The report, conducted under official auspices by the Netherlands Institute for War Documentation and released on April 10, 2002, had found that both the Dutch government and the United Nations shared responsibility for the Serb massacre of approximately

seven and a half thousand Bosnian Muslim men and boys in the Srebrenica enclave—a UN-declared “safe area” in which the safety of the inhabitants had supposedly been guaranteed. The report laid primary responsibility for the massacre at the feet of Bosnian Serb general Ratko Mladic (b. 1942), but it was also clearly condemnatory of the Dutch government for committing troops to protect the enclave with insufficient logistical or numerical means to see the job through. In shame for its shortcomings, though denying any responsibility for the actual killing, the Dutch government resigned en masse six days after the report’s release. Immediately afterward, the army chief of staff, General Adriaan (“Ad”) van Baal (b. 1947), also resigned. Prime Minister Kok’s announcement of the resignation of the entire Dutch government was unanticipated and refocused the spotlight back onto the Srebrenica massacre at a time when many were beginning to prefer to move on. By resigning, Kok made a gesture that would henceforth be the benchmark of what representative accountability in the face of failed humanitarian intervention really means. Only time will tell whether the example of the Dutch government is likely to be emulated by others when confronted with failure in peacekeeping; to date, the actions of Wim Kok and his cabinet remain a singular event.

SS (*Schutzstaffel*) (German, Literally “Defense Squad” or “Protection Squad”). The SS was established in 1923 as a specialized unit of fifty men to specifically serve as Nazi leader Adolf Hitler’s (1889–1945) personal bodyguard. After the failed *putsch* of November 11, 1923 (Hitler’s unsuccessful attempt to take over the government of Bavaria), the SS was banned, but was later reconstituted under the leadership of Heinrich Himmler (1900–1945) as a racially elitist unit in 1929 (essentially, it was a new organization, and thus exempt from prosecution for its former activities); the inspiration for the new reincarnation of the unit may have come from his own Roman Catholic upbringing in the Church and his admiration for the military strength and obedience of the Jesuit order. In its creation, Himmler conceived of a paramilitary organization composed of persons of high moral caliber, honesty, decency, commitment to the Nazi vision and agenda, and a thoroughly antisemitic orientation.

The SS’s infamous black uniform and *Totenkopf* or “Death’s Head” insignias were introduced in 1932. The SS’s motto was “Loyalty is My Honor.” By 1933, it was a force of more than two hundred thousand men. Under Himmler’s organizational guidance, it continued to usurp other policing powers and place them under his jurisdiction, develop the Nazis’ concentration camp and death camp system, and create its own armed constituencies that also included the staffing of the camps. Prior to the planning and implementation of death camps specifically charged with the extermination of the Jews and other “undesirables” and “antisocials”—the so-called Final Solution—the infamous *Einsatzgruppen* or “mobile killing squads” were also part of the SS. Thus, those primarily responsible for the murders of vast numbers of European Jews in territory overrun by the Nazis and the various slave labor, concentration, and death camps came from the ranks of the SS.

After the war, at the International Military Tribunal (IMT) at Nuremberg, like other organizations in the panoply of the Third Reich’s bureaucracy, the SS was formally declared a criminal organization and disbanded. The IMT also charged the SS for such crimes as “the persecution and extermination of Jews, brutalities and killings in concentration camps, excesses under the administration of occupied territories, the administration of the slave labor program, and the mistreatment and murder of prisoners of war.”

Himmler himself committed suicide in 1945, thus escaping prosecution at the IMT. The overwhelming majority of SS members were never brought to trial.

SS St. Louis. German luxury cruise ship. On May 13, 1939, the *St. Louis* set sail from Hamburg carrying 937 German Jews who were seeking refuge abroad. The ship was bound for Havana, Cuba, and it had been arranged for the Jews on board to have visas that would allow them to land temporarily while they were obtaining permanent residence elsewhere. Upon arrival in Cuban waters, however, the president of Cuba, Federico Laredo Bru (1875–1950), refused the ship permission to dock or for the passengers to land. In an attempt at making profit from the refugees' plight, Bru demanded a payment of 500,000 U.S. dollars as an entry fee. Ultimately, only twenty-two Jews were permitted to land. Seven hundred of the refugees possessed U.S. immigration quota numbers that would see them eligible for entry to the United States some three years hence; in desperation, the ship left Cuba bound for Florida, in the hope that the refugees might negotiate an early entry with the U.S. authorities. The government of U.S. president Franklin Delano Roosevelt (1882–1945) was adamant, however, that there would be no early admissions, no landing of refugees, and no docking of the *St. Louis*. The U.S. Coast Guard was ordered to intercept the ship and ensure that it did not enter U.S. territorial waters. Jewish organizations, in particular the Joint Distribution Committee, negotiated furiously for the refugees' admission to any country in the Americas; besides Cuba and the United States, attempts were made to land the passengers in Colombia, Chile, Paraguay, and Argentina, but to no avail. The ship, with little to no alternative, was ordered by its German owners to return to Europe. It docked at Antwerp, Belgium, on June 17, 1939, and most of the Jews on board were accepted for temporary refuge by Britain, Belgium, France, and the Netherlands. Most of those taken into Britain survived the war, but fewer than 250 in total of those accepted by the European countries lived to see the liberation in 1945, as they were ultimately rounded up and transported to ghettos, slave labor camps, or death camps. The story of the *St. Louis* has become symbolic of the failure of the countries of the Americas to assist the Jews of Nazi Germany in their hour of need, a symbol brought into even starker relief by the legitimacy of the documentation for entry possessed by the refugees.

SS-Totenkopfverbände (German, “SS Death’s Head Formations”). The name given to specially trained units of concentration camp guards in Nazi Germany. These units were formed out of earlier, ad hoc detachments established soon after the first concentration camps appeared in 1933. These early units went under a variety of names: *Wachmannschaft* (guard unit), *Wachsturm* (guard company), *Wachtruppe* (guard troops), and *Wachverbände* (guard formations). The *SS-Totenkopfverbände*, or SS-TV, were formed in April 1934 by the first inspector of concentration camps, Theodor Eicke (1892–1943). The essential rationale for establishment of the SS-TV was to provide a trained body of guards able to administer the very precise regulations that pertained to discipline in the concentration camps. Eicke’s system, basing itself on the “model camp” at Dachau, Bavaria, that had been established in 1933, developed a body of guards who acted with strict adherence to discipline and harshness—and, increasingly, brutality—toward their prisoners. By the beginning of World War II in 1939, the SS-TV numbered twenty-four thousand members; by 1945 it had increased to forty thousand. Much of this increase was due to the fact that in 1939 the SS-TV had been formed into a combat division, the *SS-Panzerdivision-Totenkopf*. This, in turn, became one of the foundation units of the *Waffen* (armed) SS, the military wing of the SS. It was the SS leader Heinrich Himmler (1900–1945) who gave the official name “death’s head” to the SS-TV, when, on March 29, 1936, he addressed its members as such and approved the use

of the skull-and-crossbones insignia. As soldiers, the death's head units were notorious for their toughness and cruelty in the field, just as they had been as guards. At the war's end, the SS-TV was declared by the Allies to be a criminal organization, and its members, when located, were put on trial for war crimes and crimes against humanity.

Stabilization Force (SFOR). The second stage of the Implementation Force (IFOR) to implement the Dayton Peace Accords, the latter of which was aimed at bringing peace to the former Yugoslavia after years of bitter fighting and the perpetration of ethnic cleansing, crimes against humanity, and genocide.

Stalin, Joseph (1879–1953). Communist dictator of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) between 1928 and his death in 1953. He was born Josef Vissarionovich Dzhugashvili, in Gori, Georgia, then part of the Tsarist Russian Empire. Drawn to rebellion against authority from a young age, he joined Russia's Social Democratic Party in 1901 and aligned himself with the Bolshevik faction of Vladimir Ilyich Ulyanov, known as Lenin (1870–1924). He participated in the October Revolution of 1917 and became general secretary of the Party's Central Committee. From this position, he was able to maneuver himself into the position of successor to Lenin upon the latter's death in 1924. By 1928, after disposing of his more prominent political rivals, Stalin (the name derives from his revolutionary nom de guerre, meaning "Man of Steel") effectively became sole ruler of the Soviet Union. In implementing Lenin's plans for a communist society in a single state, Stalin introduced a program of forced grain confiscations in the Soviet Union's rural areas (particularly the Ukraine and Kazakhstan), followed by the collectivization of peasant farms into communist cooperatives, which took the lives of millions through harsh treatment, terror, and man-made starvation. This process, known as "dekulakization," typified the nature of Stalin's rule. Then, in the later 1930s, Stalin instituted a series of political purges of the Communist Party, which opened the way for a terror campaign against all perceived enemies; during these "great purges," hundreds of thousands more were killed. Just prior to the Soviet Union entering World War II, and then during the war itself, Stalin ordered the wholesale removal of entire national and ethnic groups of Soviet citizens from their ancestral homelands and forced relocation to other territories far away. Groups such as the Volga Germans, ethnic Greeks, Kalmyks, Chechens and Ingush, Balkars, Crimean Tatars, and others—fourteen different nationalities, in all—were deported because of their membership in these national groups. Perhaps up to half a million lost their lives in the process. In addition, throughout World War II and beyond, Stalin showed himself to be an entrenched and committed antisemite who cared little for the finer details of intercultural or religious harmony if it did not suit his purposes. Stalin's rule was characterized by brutality, reinforced by a ruthless secret police and a vast network of concentration camps known as the gulag. In his name, millions of people were killed, through deliberate famines, political persecution, torture, mass executions, deportations of entire national groups, and mass arrests for unstated reasons. Hundreds of thousands suffered through extremely long sentences of imprisonment in the gulag, where they experienced brutally harsh living and working conditions. Although it has proven difficult to estimate the number who lost their lives directly as a result of Stalin's rule, U.S. genocide scholar Rudolph J. Rummel (b. 1932) has assembled data leading him to conclude that up to 54 million lost their lives directly as a result of Stalin's rule over the USSR. Only Stalin's death, on March 5, 1953, brought the mass murders and repression to an end.

Stalin-Roosevelt-Churchill Declaration. Meeting in Teheran, Iran, in November 1943, the Allied leaders of the Soviet Union, the United States, and Britain agreed to accept nothing less than the full and unconditional surrender of the Nazis. They also agreed that the only way they would enter into negotiations with the Nazis was together rather than separately. At the time of this declaration, evidence of the Nazi annihilation of the Jews was certainly known to them, but specific evidence of the gas chambers and other atrocities was omitted from all former announcements and written texts because the evidence of such, seemingly, could not be confirmed.

STAND (A Student Anti-Genocide Coalition). Originally named “Students Taking Action Now: Darfur,” STAND is a university and secondary school coalition based in the United States that serves as an umbrella organization for student groups active in promoting awareness about and advocating for an end to the genocide in Darfur, Sudan that began in 2003. It provides assistance to student groups in high schools and colleges in developing their own grassroots efforts on the behalf of Darfur and antigencide activism. Over 600 college, university, and high school STAND chapters exist across the United States and around the world. Each STAND chapter is organized and established independently by students at their respective institutions. Part and parcel of its efforts is to create a permanent antigencide student movement.

Stangl, Franz (1908–1971). Nazi extermination camp *Kommandant*. Born in Austria on March 26, 1908, Stangl’s original profession was as a weaver. In 1931, he became a police officer and soon thereafter joined the then-illegal Austrian Nazi party; by 1940, Stangl had become the superintendent at Hartheim Castle, where he oversaw the mass murder of physically and mentally handicapped people under the auspices of the T-4 or euthanasia program. In 1942, Stangl was transferred to the new death camp at Sobibor as *Kommandant*. During his term at Sobibor, between March and September 1942, Stangl’s approach to the mass annihilation of Jewish prisoners won him admiration in Berlin. As a consequence, he was moved on to the death camp at Treblinka, where he served as its *Kommandant* from September 1942 through the camp’s closure in August 1943. While at Treblinka, Stangl was responsible for the system that would see the murder of most of Treblinka’s eight hundred seventy thousand Jewish victims. After Germany’s defeat in 1945, Stangl went into hiding, was identified and interned in Austria, then escaped to Syria with the assistance of Nazi sympathizers in the Vatican such as Bishop Alois Hudal (1885–1963). In 1951 Stangl was spirited into Brazil, where he lived until he was tracked down by Nazi-hunter Simon Wiesenthal (1908–2005) and extradited to Germany in 1967. In 1970, following a trial, Franz Stangl was sentenced to life imprisonment. In prison, British journalist Gitta Sereny (b. 1923) conducted some seventy hours of interviews with him, attempting to penetrate to the core of his consciousness vis-à-vis his role as a mass murderer. Her study of Stangl based on these (and other) interviews was published in 1974 as *Into that Darkness: An Examination of Conscience*. The day after Sereny completed the last of her interviews with him, June 28, 1971, Stangl suffered a heart attack and died. Throughout his trial he claimed that his conscience was clear; this he reaffirmed in his last interview with Sereny, adding that he “never intentionally hurt anyone . . . But I was there [and] in reality I share the guilt” (p. 364).

Stanley, Henry Morton (1841–1904). The preferred name of explorer and journalist John Rowlands. Born at Denbigh, Wales, Rowlands arrived in New Orleans, Louisiana, at the age of seventeen and took the name by which he was to be known for the rest of his

life. During the American Civil War (1861–1865), he fought on the Confederate side until he was captured, upon which he changed sides. After the war, he became a journalist, working for the *New York Herald* on a number of overseas assignments. One of these was a journey of exploration into central Africa to find the Scottish missionary Dr. David Livingstone (1813–1873), a feat he accomplished on November 10, 1871, with the now famous words, “Dr. Livingstone, I presume?” In subsequent journeys, Stanley traced the course of the Congo River from its source to the sea, prior to accepting an assignment from Belgium’s King Leopold II (1835–1909; reigned 1865–1909) to lead a further expedition deep into the region of the Congo basin. There, on behalf of Leopold, Stanley was instrumental in organizing what became known as the Congo Free State, a private domain in the name of the Belgian king. Stanley’s expeditions into central Africa were accompanied by widespread violence against local populations and served the purpose of paving the way for the even more callous and brutal rule of Leopold’s agents over the next three decades, during which millions died in the Belgian quest to extract as much rubber, ivory, and precious gems as possible from the territory. Stanley’s own perspective on race issues leaves little room for doubt that he concurred with the harshest forms of treatment for Africans who stood in the way of European development. Further exploration by Stanley after his Congo adventures saw Britain take possession of Uganda by 1890. In later life, Stanley moved back to Britain. He entered Parliament in 1895 and was recognized for his various efforts and accomplishments through the conferring of a knighthood on him by Queen Victoria (1819–1901; reigned 1837–1901) in 1899.

State Commission for the Free Transfer of the Civilian Population. The euphemistic name of a program run by Major Vojkan Djurkovic (b. 1947), a subordinate of Zeljko Raznatovic (1952–2000), who was widely known by the nom de guerre “Arkan”, whose express purpose was the complete and utter expulsion of all non-Serbs from the Bijeljina area in Bosnia in the 1990s.

State Failure Task Force. This project was initially established as part of an unclassified study that was commissioned by the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency’s Directorate of Intelligence in response to a request from senior U.S. policy makers to design and carry out a data-driven study on the correlates of state failure since the mid-1950s, using open source information. The study was conducted by an interdisciplinary task force led by academic experts, including data collection and management specialists and analytic methods professionals from Science Applications International Corporation (SAIC). None of the information contained in the database (“Internal Wars and Failures of Governance, 1955–2002”) of this project or in its Web site, associated data resources, or Task Force Reports is based on intelligence reporting or classified material. The types of events included in the analyses under the general rubric of “state failure events” (i.e., the State Failure Problem Set) are revolutionary wars, ethnic wars, adverse regime changes, and genocides and politicides. The State Failure Web site includes access to all State Failure Task Forces reports, databases of all variables used in reported State Failure models, a data dictionary of variables and data sources included in the Task Force global data set, and other supporting information.

Stereotyping. Stereotyping, like prejudice and discrimination, is the act of characterizing the members of a group or individuals within that group based upon a preconceived set of mental images about physical (e.g., racial, sexual, gender) or other characteristics (e.g., religious, educational, social, political), and basing behavioral responses based upon

those assumptions. Part of the act of stereotyping involves making value-judgments about the worth of that group or individuals, either positively or negatively. Further, sociologically understood, because groups tend to perpetuate not only myths about themselves but myths about others, the latter usually based on misinformation and overgeneralization, stereotyping has a long history and may in fact be ultimately based upon the normal psychological human activity of categorizing. Although such stereotyping may, in fact, have some initial truth to those assessments (e.g., minority groups tend to prefer closer associations with each other than with the larger society), when such is practiced by the dominant group, the results are usually negative toward the minority. Countering stereotypical prejudice and discrimination usually involves both education and interaction in a nonthreatening and oftentimes social environment. However, when two or more groups perceive the other(s) as potentially or realistically threatening, violent behaviors are not uncommon, ranging from vandalism and cultural desecrations to murder and genocide.

Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI). SIPRI conducts “research on questions of conflict and cooperation of importance for international peace and security, with the aim of contributing to an understanding of the conditions for peaceful solutions of international conflict and for a stable peace.” In 2002, SIPRI launched a new project entitled “Early Warning Indicators for Preventive Policy.” The project combines a monthly expert survey about incipient and ongoing conflicts, along with selected statistical data sets and Internet technology. SIPRI officials comment that “Processing survey and statistical data using well-designed statistical indexing databases [allows for] the creation of indicators that reflect negative national and regional, social, political and economic developments.” The results of the latter are available on the Internet in the form of country-specified and regional reports. The project is funded by the Swedish Ministry of Foreign Affairs and involves regional partners and organizations. In 2003 SIPRI published a working paper entitled “Working Paper # 1: Early Warning Indicators for Preventive Policy: A New Approach in Early Warning Research.”

“Stolen Generations.” Australian term applied to people of part-Aboriginal descent who, as children, were removed permanently (and frequently, forcibly) from their parents and placed with non-Aboriginal families with the intention that they would grow to maturity as white children and marry white partners, the hope being that over a period of time all traces of Aboriginality would be “bred out.” The policy, which was set in place by state and federal governments from the 1930s onward, was to last in various forms until the 1970s. It decimated at least two generations of Aborigines of mixed descent. Some of these children were taken at birth, others at various ages during their childhood; they would most often first be placed in children’s homes or orphanages, prior to being adopted by white families. It is suspected that cases of physical and/or sexual abuse were common.

The policy of forced child removal was prompted by a belief widespread in many areas of the Australian bureaucracy in the early part of the twentieth century that while the full-blooded Aboriginal population was destined to die out completely as a result of the previous century of white neglect, disease, despair and malnutrition, those of mixed descent could well present a major “problem” in the future (meaning, those of mixed descent were likely to increase in number of the next century) if permitted to grow in numbers to hundreds of thousands or even a million. A “colored” population was anathema to the advocates of the removal policy, which is why the notion of “breeding out the color” through a policy of “biological absorption” was put into effect. Restricting breeding opportunities

among people of mixed descent with each other thus became the preferred approach to dealing with the issue; the best way to achieve this, it was felt, was to physically separate mixed descent Aborigines from each other, expose them only to white options for their future lives, and ultimately, so the policy ran, “to breed out the color.”

A 1997 Commonwealth report on the issue of the “Stolen Generations” undertaken by the Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission in Sydney, entitled *Bringing Them Home*, concluded tentatively that anywhere between one in three and one in ten Aboriginal children were taken between the beginning of the twentieth century and the 1960s and 1970s, when the policy came to an end. Although this is admittedly a huge variation, at the least it can be said that tens of thousands of children were removed under the policy. It was a procedure that fits clearly under Article 2 (e) of the 1948 UN Genocide Convention, and, in view of this, a charge of genocide can be sustained relatively easily. For the “Stolen Generations,” and for many in the Aboriginal community generally, a legacy of the most intense hurt and bitterness remains in the relationship between Aborigines and non-Aborigines as a result of the policy of forcible child removal. This was an act of a democratic state betraying its citizens because of their color and background.

Streicher, Julius (1885–1946). Among the most rabid of antisemites, Julius Streicher was born in Bavaria, distinguished himself during World War I on the front lines, became an elementary school teacher (later dismissed for “inappropriate behavior”), and was one of the founders of the German Socialist Party, which later united with the National Socialist German Workers Party (NSDAP or Nazi Party). After Adolf Hitler’s (1889–1945) ascent to power in 1933, Streicher was elected to the German Reichstag (Parliament) to represent the Nazi Party and rose to become a general in the SA (Storm Troopers). Between 1928 and 1940, he also served as the Gauleiter of Franconia. Streicher was also one of the authors of the infamous Nuremberg Racial Laws of 1935. He is, however, best known for his founding, editing, ownership, and publishing of *Der Stürmer* (*The Attacker*), the weekly Nazi Party newspaper filled with graphically violent, obscene, and pornographic stories about “Jewish perfidy.” By 1939 he was forbidden—due to a Victorian sense of public morality in Germany—to issue any public statements because of the vulgar nature of his attacks, which were expressed in graphic cartoons and overtly sexual language and innuendo. By 1940, after an investigation into his questionable business and personal practices by Hermann Goering (1893–1946), he was stripped of his rank and other offices.

Convicted of crimes against humanity at the International Military Tribunal (IMT) at Nuremberg, Streicher was hanged on October 16, 1946. His last words were reported as “Heil Hitler” and “Purimfest,” an allusion to the Book of Esther in the Hebrew Bible where the enemy of the Jews, the prime minister of Persia, Haman, was also hanged on the gallows.

S21: The Khmer Rouge Killing Machine. This 2003 documentary, which was produced by Rithy Panh, who, as a teenager, fled the Khmer Rouge takeover in Cambodia, focuses on the Khmer Rouge’s center of interrogation, torture, and murder, Tuol Sleng, also known as “Special Prison Number 21,” or S21. It is estimated that between 1974 and 1979 approximately twenty thousand people were imprisoned, interrogated, tortured, and then executed in S21, which was located in the heart of the city of Phnom Penh. Only seven individuals are said to have survived their incarceration in S21, and when this film was made only three were still living. For three years, Rithy Panh met with the survivors

as well as those who tortured them, and ultimately convinced all of them that they should meet and tell their side of the story in the very same place, the former S21, which is now a genocide museum. This film, which relates the aforementioned process and meeting, was the recipient of the International Human Rights Film Award.

Supplement to the Agenda for Peace. On January 3, 1995, UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros Ghali (b. 1922) submitted his “Report of the Secretary-General on the Work of the Organization” formally entitled “Supplement to an Agenda for Peace: Position Paper of the Secretary-General on the Occasion of the Fiftieth Anniversary of the United Nations,” which was officially adopted by the General Assembly on September 15, 1997. Designed to strengthen the United Nations’ role as the premier international peacekeeping body, its 105 points covered such topics as preventive diplomacy and peace-making (26–32), peacekeeping (33–46), postconflict peace-building (47–56), disarmament (57–65), sanctions (66–76), enforcement (77–80), and financial resources (97–101). Among the specific points addressed were fact-finding missions, early warning and mediation systems, troop (both military and police) deployment, negotiation and arbitration, and judicial settlement. As a continually evolving world body, the United Nations continues to slowly implement many of Boutros-Ghali’s suggestions, despite very real and evident setbacks of resolve over such events as the genocides in both the former Yugoslavia and Rwanda.

Survival International (SI). Established in 1969, SI is a worldwide movement to support tribal peoples. It stands for tribal peoples’ right to decide their own future and helps them to protect their lands, environment, and way of life. Through research, field missions, publications, media outreach, and a grassroots membership, SI works across the globe to support tribal peoples as they exercise their right to self-determination. It specifically campaigns for “justice and an end to genocide.” In order to organize and target action, it has established an Urgent Action Bulletin Letter Writing Network. Urgent Action Bulletins, which are sent to all members of SI, report on recent and serious abuses of tribal peoples’ rights. The bulletins invite members to take action by writing to those in power. SI also publishes a newsletter entitled *Survival International*.

Survivor Testimony. A specific genre of memoir literature, produced by survivors of genocides or massacres, in which they recount their experiences. Testimonial accounts, by virtue of their special status as first-hand narratives by people who lived through the barbarities of an extreme situation, are the primary link to a genocidal event as viewed from the survivors’ perspective.

An argument can be put that there is merit in every survivor account, even those that at first glance would seem to be of little use to the historian of genocide. That said, survivor testimonies can present problems of reliability on several counts: they are written after the fact and, being written for publication, they have been subjected to some sort of editorial process. Such considerations alert scholars to a type of account that perhaps needs to be read differently from other forms of historical documentation. Survivors relate their stories in order to convey the essence of what they went through to their audience. In this sense, their accounts are subjectively true; they might not be accurate in every detail, but they are what their writers recall as having been the case, and are useful to scholars less for the fine details that would be accepted in a courtroom as they are for conveying the textures, smells, sights, and contours of a person’s experience.

T

Ta Mok (c. 1926–2006). Mok, or Ta Mok (“Grandfather Mok”), was a leading Cambodian revolutionary leader with the Khmer Rouge before, during, and after the dictatorship of Pol Pot (1925–1998) between 1975 and 1979. Little is known of his personal background, but he is believed to have come from a well-to-do family in Takeo province. As a boy he entered the Buddhist monkhood, but left it at the age of about sixteen.

A Cambodian nationalist from a young age, he was opposed to both French and Japanese colonialism and fought against the forces of each in the 1930s and 1940s. In the mid-1960s he joined the Communist Party of Kampuchea (CPK) and changed his name from Chhit Choeun to his revolutionary *nom de guerre* Mok. The honorific “Ta,” meaning “old man” or, more colloquially, “grandfather,” was added later in life. By the late 1960s Mok had risen to the position of general in the Khmer Rouge and was a member of the Standing Committee of the CPK’s Central Committee. During heavy fighting between Khmer Rouge forces and government troops of military dictator Lon Nol (1913–1985) in the civil war that raged between 1970 and 1975, Ta Mok was seriously wounded. He lost a leg, which was replaced by a wooden limb. Appointed party secretary in the southwestern region of the country after Pol Pot came to power, Ta Mok became notorious for the brutal manner in which he conducted party purges; in some circles, he was nicknamed “the Butcher” for the violence accompanying his party purges. He was also responsible for a number of larger massacres both before the Khmer Rouge assumption of power and after it.

When the regime fell in January 1979, Ta Mok became vice-chairman of the Supreme Commission of the National Army of Democratic Kampuchea, the Khmer Rouge forces-in-exile. He thus remained a powerful figure, controlling what was in reality a military domain along Cambodia’s northern border with Thailand, centered in Anlong Veng. In 1997 he split with Pol Pot and named himself supreme commander of the Khmer Rouge forces. He arrested Pol Pot, jailed him, and oversaw his mock trial. Throughout this time, Ta Mok’s Khmer Rouge forces were in constant combat with government troops, and in 1998 his stronghold at Anlong Veng was captured. Driven deeper into the jungle, he remained the last high-ranking Khmer Rouge leader still at large until apprehended by Thai troops in 1999.

Mok, together with another notorious Khmer Rouge killer known as “Comrade Duch,” (b. 1942), the former chief interrogator of the Khmer Rouge’s Tuol Sleng prison, were ultimately incarcerated in a military prison in Phnom Penh. Neither man, though, did hard

time. Mok was reportedly the only prisoner in Cambodia to have his own private toilet, and Duch's cell had air-conditioning.

While numerous proposals were initiated for putting Ta Mok on trial for crimes against humanity and genocide, he was, in fact, never tried for the crimes he committed. He remained in custody, awaiting his fate, and died in solitary confinement of natural causes.

Tadic, Dusan (b. 1955). Tadic, who was a local Bosnian political leader, was the first person to be indicted by the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY). His trial began in May 1996 and concluded in November 1997. Tadic more or less fell into the hands of the ICTY in that he was originally arrested by German authorities in Munich in February 1994 after he was identified as a war criminal by refugees from Bosnia-Herzegovina. German authorities indicted him for genocide, but before the case could be tried in Germany, the ICTY asked to have Tadic transferred to The Hague to stand trial there. At the ICTY, Tadic was charged with 132 counts involving crimes against humanity, grave breaches of the 1949 Geneva Conventions, and violations of the laws and customs of war. He was tried for the alleged persecution of the Muslim population of the Prijedor area of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the deportation of civilians to the Keraterm, Omarska, and Trnopolje concentration camps. Among the crimes committed at the camps were rape, beatings, and killings of civilians, both inside and outside the Omarska camp. Ultimately, Tadic was found guilty on eleven counts, including grave breaches of the 1949 Geneva Conventions, violations of laws or customs of war, and crimes against humanity. Tadic was sentenced to twenty years in prison.

Talaat, Mehemet (Pasha) (1874–1921). A major Turkish figure in the Armenian genocide of 1915 in that he served as its principal advocate and protagonist. A telegrapher by training and of peasant origin (which he exploited in order to project himself as one of the people), Talaat became one of the most influential politicians of the Ottoman Empire following (and as a result of) the Young Turk revolt of 1908. He was, in fact, a member of a triumvirate, with Ismail Enver Bey (1881–1922) and Ahmed Djemal Pasha (1872–1922), that effectively ruled the empire from the beginning of 1914 onward. Talaat was appointed to the position of minister of the interior, for which his talents for negotiation and persuasion were suited admirably. Talaat was an extreme nationalist who saw virtue and necessity in a homogeneous Turkey established on purely ethnic lines. As minister for the interior, it was he who assumed responsibility for designing the genocide of the Armenians, which he did via bureaucratic planning throughout the provinces, utilizing the telegraph for the smooth transmission of instructions and generally adopting a modern, coordinated approach that contrasted starkly with the earlier expressions of mob violence that had characterized anti-Armenian persecutions prior to 1915. As the genocide spread, Talaat's position became even stronger, and in February 1917 he was appointed to the position of grand vizier—a position he resigned just before Turkey's final defeat in World War I. As did his fellow-triumvirs Enver and Djemal, Talaat fled to Germany at the end of the war, escaping the charges for war crimes the Allies were casting in his direction. Tried in absentia, he was condemned to death by an Allied tribunal, but Germany refused to extradite him. He was to lose his life in any case, as an Armenian in Germany, Soghomon Tehlirian (1896–1961), assassinated him on a street in Berlin on March 15, 1921—the highest-ranking perpetrator of a genocide to be killed (by fair means or foul) prior to the post-World War II trials of Nazi leaders a generation later. Tehlirian, arrested by the Berlin police, was tried for murder on June 2–3, 1921 and was

acquitted. The jury was sympathetic to Tehlirian's position, shocked at the revelations regarding the Armenian genocide, and considered him justified (if extreme) in his killing of Talaat.

Tamerlane. See Timur, Amir.

Tasmanian Aborigines. The indigenous peoples of the island of Tasmania, known locally as the Pallawah, are of a different (and largely unknown) background to those of the Aborigines on mainland Australia. Europeans had been visiting the island since 1642, when Dutch seaman Abel Tasman (1603–c. 1659) first sighted land south of the Australian continent. He named the island Van Diemen's Land after the governor of Batavia (now Jakarta, Indonesia). In 1803, a convict colony was established near modern-day Hobart, after which Aboriginal life was never to be the same: with the convicts came sealers and whalers, pastoralists and town-dwellers—indeed, the full range of early nineteenth century British society descended on the indigenous inhabitants like a tidal wave. As the settlers established their sheep runs across the island, the Aborigines were faced with few options: to fight back against these encroachments on their traditional lands or to “come in” to the white settlements and place themselves under white guardianship. A third option, to withdraw from contact with the British and retreat inland, was taken up by some, though doing so put these Aborigines in conflict with other tribal Aborigines upon whose territory they had encroached. Frustrated both by settlers' land claims and exclusion by the settlers from participating in white society, full-scale conflict erupted between the Aborigines and the whites in 1829 and lasted until 1831, with the Aborigines waging a guerrilla campaign that was so successful that, at one point, Hobart Town seemed to be in danger of evacuation. The so-called Black War was to claim many lives on both sides. In late 1830, in order to bring the violence to an end, 2,200 white men, including five hundred troops, formed a line called the Black Line, a reference to those they intended to capture, and marched across the island in an effort to capture as many Aborigines as possible. It was a dismal and expensive failure.

By the late 1830s a new initiative was introduced: British conciliation with the Aborigines, with the intention of persuading them to “come in” voluntarily. By 1835 most had done so. The government had earlier established a mission station and settlement on nearby Flinders Island, Wybalenna, where the remnant of the Tasmanian Aborigines—some 123 out of an estimated four thousand at the time of first contact in 1803—were housed. Within sight of the Tasmanian mainland, but separated by distance in space and time from the free lives they once enjoyed, the devastated population expired steadily, some by disease, others from despair. In 1869, the last full-blooded male Aborigine, Lannae, died; in 1876, the last female, Truggernanna, died. Although a well-sized population of mixed-descent Aborigines with a healthy Aboriginal identity is still extant today, there is no evidence that any full-blooded Tasmanian Aborigines survived in Tasmania after the death of Truggernanna.

Tattoo. An indelible pattern, picture, symbol, or word marked by the insertion of pigments or ink into skin through puncturing with needle points. In regard to the issue of genocide, during Germany's Third Reich (1933–1945), tattoos were used in two ways. As a matter of pride and for reasons of administration, the Nazi SS required that all of its personnel be tattooed with their service numbers under their left armpit. Some included the SS symbol with their number. The other main way in which the Nazis employed tattoos was in identifying prisoners at the Auschwitz concentration camp during World War

II. A prisoner's registration number, corresponding to the number allocated to them in the Nazis' file-card system, would usually be tattooed on the left forearm.

In the Buchenwald concentration camp between 1939 and 1944, the wife of the Kommandant, Frau Ilse Koch (1906–1967), made a hobby out of collecting lampshades, book covers, and gloves manufactured out of the skin of dead prisoners; from time to time, she issued orders that inmates with exotic or picturesque tattoos be killed so their skin could be stripped from them and prepared as leather. Arrested and tried a number of times after the war, she committed suicide in prison in 1967.

Technology and Genocide. Modern technology (over and above conventional weapons) has played a unique and insidious role in various genocides perpetrated over the past one hundred years. From the Turkish-perpetrated Armenian genocide between 1915 and 1923 through the Rwandan genocide of 1994 and the genocide perpetrated in the former Yugoslavia in the 1990s, perpetrators of genocide have used technology to assist them in the planning and/or implementation of their murderous actions. During the Armenian genocide, the Ottoman Turks used their telegraph and railroad systems to carry out their genocide of the Armenians. The telegraph was used to send messages back and forth between the main government and its officials in the field carrying out the deportations and killings. Furthermore, in certain instances, the Armenians were deported from their homes via the railway network.

The Nazis' use of technology for mass murder during the Holocaust was not only "innovative" but systematic and thorough. In 1939, for example, the German government conducted a census using a data-processing machine (Hollerith) in which the census cards of all Jews were marked with the letter "J." While it is not known whether the Hollerith machine was used to develop deportation lists, the census data was used by the Nazis to keep track of the prisoners entering and leaving concentration camps. As for the killing process during the Holocaust, it advanced from lining victims up between ditches and shooting them, to the development of gas vans in order to expedite and facilitate the murder process, to the development of gas chambers. Dissatisfied with the inefficiency and horror induced by the use of the gas vans (it was a slow and cumbersome process that allowed for only a small number of people to be killed at a time, and it was also a gruesome job for the Nazis to pull the dead from the vans), the Nazis developed gas chambers and crematoria to carry out an assembly-like "production" of death. Their railroad system also played a major part in transporting victims from all across Europe to the ghettos, concentration camps, and death camps in the East.

During the 1972 genocide of the Hutu by the Tutsi in Burundi, government radio broadcasts encouraged the population to "hunt down pythons in the grass." That order was interpreted by Tutsi in the interior as a license to kill all educated Hutu.

From 1987 through 1988, the Iraqi government used chemical weapons to commit genocide against part of its Kurdish population. In all, approximately one hundred thousand died.

During the Rwanda genocide in 1994, at which time Hutu extremists and their followers massacred between five hundred thousand and one million Tutsi and moderate Hutu in one hundred days, the mass media (print and broadcast) was used to incite the masses against the Tutsi and to both initiate and sustain the murder process. The radio broadcasts went so far as to mention potential victims by name and state where they could be located.

During the "ethnic cleansing" and genocidal actions against the ethnic Albanians in Kosovo in 1999, the Serbian government made wide use of its control of the media in the

former Yugoslavia to prevent any dissemination of information about the mass killing then being undertaken. The state media (including television) was also used to demonize the Serbs' enemies.

Tehlirian, Soghomon (1896–1960). A survivor of the Armenian genocide of 1915 and assassin of its mastermind, Mehemet Talaat Pasha (1874–1921). Tehlirian was born in Pakarj, near Erzingan in western Turkey. His entire family was brutally wiped out in the genocide. He witnessed the rape of his two sisters and the beheading of his brother, and saw his parents die on a death march through Erzerum in 1915. He survived only by chance, left for dead by Turkish soldiers as he lay on a pile of wounded and dead bodies. Ultimately, he made his way to Constantinople. In 1920, he left Constantinople for the United States, where he was briefed by the Central Committee of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation (ARF). After the ARF's Ninth Congress, held in Boston in 1919, an action code-named Operation Nemesis was set in motion. Its objective was the assassination of those Young Turk leaders who, having been involved in the targeting of Armenians during the genocide, had escaped after World War I. It was known that Talaat, along with other Young Turk leaders, had escaped to Germany after the collapse of Turkey. Tehlirian returned to Europe, arriving in Berlin on December 3, 1920, with the singular aim of locating Talaat and killing him. On March 15, after a team of ARF operatives had found Talaat's house on Hardenberg Strasse, Charlottenburg, Tehlirian shot him in the head with a single round. Tehlirian's assassination of Talaat, which took place in daylight, led to his immediate arrest by the German police. He was far from popular with the German public for his action, but at his trial on June 2–3, 1921, a welter of evidence about the Armenian genocide and a large number of witnesses to the genocide (including the Reverend Dr. Johannes Lepsius (1858–1926), possibly the most famous foreign critic of the Turkish treatment of the Armenians during the final years of the Ottoman Empire) were introduced by the German defense lawyers. The trial's revelations served not only to temper German anger at the assassination, but convinced the judges that Tehlirian could not be held responsible for his actions in assassinating Talaat. He was acquitted on the grounds of a temporary loss of reason owing to his experiences during the genocide, and released. Tehlirian subsequently became a hero of the Armenian people and lived in numerous communities throughout the Armenian diaspora. He died in 1960.

Temporary Protection. A mechanism developed by states to provide temporary protection to persons arriving en masse from violent conflicts who do not have the paperwork for formal entrance to the state (e.g., a visa) or any official documents attesting to who they are as a person.

Temporary protection, for example, was provided by some western European states to individuals fleeing the conflict that engulfed the former Yugoslavia in the early 1990s. Temporary protection was also provided by some African countries (e.g., the Congo) bordering Rwanda in the wake of the 1994 Rwandan genocide. In the latter case, though, many perpetrators of the genocide became mixed in with legitimate refugees and created chaotic and dangerous conditions by taking control of the temporary places of sanctuary.

T-4. Shortened form for *Tiergartenstrasse 4*. The name was taken from the street address Tiergartenstrasse 4, the location of the Reich Chancellery in Berlin. Not only was Tiergartenstrasse 4 (or T-4) where the Nazi program of euthanasia was initially undertaken by the Nazis against their own German people—that is, those physically

and mentally handicapped—but T-4 also served as the code name for that specific program of Nazi mass murder.

A colloquial term the Nazis used to signify, and underscore, the express purpose of the T-4 program was *Lebensunwertes Leben* (life unworthy of life). The phrase referred to the Nazis' belief that the lives of certain people were inferior and useless, and needed to be done away with. The first killings that took place were those of children with severe disabilities, and from August 1939 forward, the German Ministry of the Interior required all medical personnel to report any cases of newly born children who had severe physical or mental disabilities. Such killing eventually engulfed virtually anyone with a handicap of the kind described as “chronic.”

Officially, the killings of T-4 began to be carried out in October 1939 (in a law backdated to September 1, 1939), and continued through 1945. The chief of chancellery business, Philipp Bouhler (1899–1945), and Adolf Hitler's (1889–1945) personal physician in 1939, Dr. Rudolf Brandt (1909–1947), were charged with putting the so-called euthanasia program into operation, and they both planned and carried out their tasks from their offices on Tiergartenstrasse 4. Eventually, a total of six killing centers carried out the killings, all of which were administered by physicians. Among these were leading German doctors such as Hermann Pfannmüller (1886–1961), Alfred Ploetz (1860–1940), and Horst Schumann (1906–1981).

On August 3, 1941, Catholic Bishop Clemens von Galen (1878–1946) gave a sermon in Münster Cathedral in which he called the Nazi euthanasia program “plain murder.” As a senior Catholic cleric, it would have been an unpopular move for the Nazis to have reacted negatively to von Galen's sermon at this time, and thus he was not punished.

Von Galen's sermon, along with extensive public outcries from the Protestant and Catholic Churches, from families affected by the T-4 Program, and even from rank-and-file members of the Nazi Party itself, resulted in Hitler suspending the program on August 23, 1941. The suspension of the program, though, was in word only. That is, while the government stated it had halted the program, the euthanasia of victims continued, but in a much more covert and secret fashion.

Scholars generally agree that this program was a “pilot program” of sorts for the extermination and annihilation of the Jews, which would commence in all earnestness with the outbreak of the World War II on September 1, 1939. Estimates of those either murdered or sterilized range from approximately 200,000 to over 400,000.

Theory (General) of Genocide. In 1984 Helen Fein (b. 1934), a sociologist and genocide scholar, proposed the following “general theory of all genocides”:

The calculated murder of a segment or all of a group defined outside of the universe of the perpetrator by a government, elite, staff or crowd representing the perpetrator in response to a crisis or opportunity perceived to be caused or impeded by the victim. Crises and opportunities may be a result of war, challenges to the structure of domination, the threat of internal breakdown or social revolution and economic development. . . . Motives may be ideological, economic, and/or political. . . . Genocides, as are other murders, may be premeditated or an ad hoc response to a problem or opportunity. (Quoted in Fein, 1990, p. 37)

As the field of genocide studies has grown over the years, other theories of genocide have proliferated, and that tendency is bound to continue as researchers and others continue to wrestle with the causes, motives, and actions of *génocidaires*.

Theresienstadt (Czech, *Terezín*). Between 1941 and 1945, under the Nazi regime in occupied Czechoslovakia, Theresienstadt was a combination of ghetto and concentration camp for Jews. Located in northern Bohemia about thirty-five miles from Prague, it had previously been a military fortress established by Austrian empress Maria Theresa (1717–1780; reigned 1740–1780), from whom it derived its name. In November 1941 the site was reestablished as a ghetto and received the transfer of several thousand Jewish prisoners who had been held at a separate Gestapo compound a short distance away.

Theresienstadt had a reputation for being a privileged or humane concentration camp, and Jews transported there from Germany or Prague—mostly Jewish war veterans, elderly men and women, and Jews married to Aryans—were treated very differently from those sent to other camps. Theresienstadt became known as a model camp, in the sense of connoting the ideal. In 1942, the character of Theresienstadt changed when the head of the Reich Security Main Office, Reinhard Heydrich (1904–1942), ordered that henceforth the camp was to be utilized as a transit camp for Jews being sent to the extermination camps further east. Over one hundred forty thousand prisoners from across Europe were ultimately to pass through Theresienstadt, and of these ninety thousand were transferred to their death. Tens of thousands of others died at Theresienstadt itself. The children were hit especially hard; of approximately fifteen thousand children who passed through the camp, it is estimated that only about one hundred survived until the end of the war. Despite all this death, the camp's reputation as a humane institution remained unblemished to the outside world. The International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) sent delegates to Theresienstadt a number of times to investigate conditions, the most well-known being in June 1944. The delegates reported favorably on what they had seen: clean streets, well-stocked provisions in shop-front establishments, and smartly dressed inmates who appeared to be gainfully employed. What they had witnessed, though, was all a mask to the real situation. The Nazis had forced the prisoners to build, paint, and clean portions of the camp so that the camp would appear pristine; thus, what the ICRC representatives witnessed was nothing more than a façade (in certain cases, literally). By the time the report was issued, however, the Jews on whom it was based had already been sent to their deaths in Auschwitz. Theresienstadt was one of the last Nazi camps to be liberated. On May 3, 1945, the remaining Nazi guards handed administration of the camp over to the ICRC; the camp was liberated militarily by Soviet forces five days later, on May 8, over a week after the suicide of Nazi dictator Adolf Hitler (1889–1945).

Third Reich (German, *Das Dritte Reich*). Term given to the state established by Adolf Hitler (1889–1945) and the German Nazi Party between 1933 and 1945. In the German language, the term *Reich* translates to the English word “empire”; hence, the Third Reich was Germany's Third Empire, following the Holy Roman Empire, which was shattered by Napoleon Bonaparte (1769–1821), and the Second Empire (1871–1918), which had been fashioned by Otto von Bismarck (1815–1898) and lost through the reckless rule of Kaiser (Emperor) Wilhelm II (1859–1941; reigned 1888–1918). Hitler's third empire was intended to survive for a thousand years, the product of a rigorous physical expansionist policy, a strong militarized society, and an ethnically pure state. It was in pursuit of this final objective that the Third Reich became a regime that defined itself as genocidal in its aims as well as in its execution of those aims. The Nazi pursuit of racial perfection through the mass extermination of every Jew on which it could lay its hands was seemingly the clearest statement that Nazism made about itself and the state it had established.

Third World. Those countries that are considered the undeveloped nations of the world. Generally, they are the countries that have the lowest levels of education among their citizens, the lowest gross national product, the highest mortality rates at birth, the lowest life expectancy rates, and the lowest levels of industrial and technological advancement. Many are the nations that lived under colonial domination for centuries and were left bereft when the colonial powers finally pulled out, either the result of being forced out by the local population or due to the ever-increasing pressure by the international community, which looked askance at colonialism.

Thousanders. *Thousanders* is a term used by Soviet officials in the late 1920s and early 1930s. The term usually referred to the so-called Twenty-Five Thousanders, although there were also the Ten Thousanders and One Hundred Thousanders. “The Twenty-Five Thousanders were recruited among urban workers of several years seniority who volunteered for permanent work in the countryside as part of a Union-wide campaign in 1929. Their initial task was to carry out the ‘total collectivization of agriculture on the basis of the liquidation of the kulaks as a class,’ but many later became collective farm chairmen or board members or were assigned to work in the Machine Tractor Stations [organizations that owned the factory machinery used to work the land but also functioned as a basic instrument of control by the urban-based regime over the countryside]. About 7,000 of the roughly 27,000 Twenty-Five Thousanders selected from the far greater pool of volunteers were from Ukraine. No more than 10,000 at most were ever assigned to Ukraine. Upon arrival in a given village they had absolute authority over all village inhabitants and institutions. In 1933, their function was assumed by a new institution, the Political Section. They were not, as many Ukrainians mistakenly believed, an army of 25,000 sent from Russia to Ukraine” (Commission on the Ukraine Famine, 1988, p. 231).

Tibet. In July 1949, after the communist takeover of China, the communists invaded Tibet, claiming it as part of greater China and pressuring it to sign a document entitled “17 Point Agreement for the Peaceful Liberation of Tibet” in 1951. What in fact took place was neither liberation nor peaceful. Indeed, the so-called liberation was an out-and-out forced takeover at the barrel of a gun. Ultimately, over the course of the next half-century, both the people of Tibet and their religiocultural Buddhist way of life have been subject to genocide (Buddhism was condemned by the Chinese communists as something of a “foreign culture” to be eliminated). It is presently (2007) estimated that at least 2 million Tibetans have died as a result of the ongoing Chinese incursion, the result of either military conflict, famine, or ill-treatment in prison camps.

In the late 1950s, more than one hundred thousand Tibetans survived the arduous trek over the Himalayan Mountains to reach India. The present Dalai Lama (b. 1935), the acknowledged religious and political leader of Tibet who fled secretly in 1959, lives today in India and remains active in seeking freedom for his country before the bar of world opinion and the United Nations. In 1989 he received the Nobel Peace Prize for his efforts at reconciliation between his small country and China. Only in recent years has the question of Tibet received world attention, largely due to the work of the Dalai Lama and the International Campaign for Tibet. Be that as it may, Tibet remains under Chinese domination with increasing numbers of Chinese (including manufacturers and various business enterprises that are bound to have an adverse impact on both the geography and culture of Tibet) being encouraged by the government in Beijing to relocate to Tibet in search of

better economic conditions. As of this writing, the situation remains among the world's longest-lasting genocides.

Timur, Amir (1336–1405). Amir Timur (known variously as Timur Lenk or Timur-i lang in Persian, or “Timur the Lame” [hence Tamerlane in its English corruption]) was a nomadic Turkish prince who, for reasons of politics and prestige, arranged for his genealogy to show a family relationship to the Mongol Genghis Khan (c. 1167–1227). The Turkic empire Timur created was heavily influenced by Mongol traditions in both its structure and its ferocious expansionist methods. Timur's rule was characterized by an unceasing accent on military activity and foreign conquest in such places as Syria, Anatolia, and northern India. Timur's conquests were accompanied by genocidal massacres in the towns and cities he occupied. In one such city, Bhatnir, he ordered the annihilation of everyone who had not been killed during the battle for possession of the town; as was his custom, he made a pyramid of the heads of his victims. In this case, the number of skulls numbered upward of ten thousand. Gruesome mountains such as this appeared throughout his domain, marking Timur as an irrepressibly cruel despot whose brutality appeared to know no bounds. Among other genocidal acts, he also strove to destroy the identity of those he conquered by splitting up communities, sending women and children to various parts of his empire to serve as slaves and impressing the men to serve in his armies. Timur's reputation for blood lust and unnecessary cruelty saw his name become a byword for extreme destructiveness that has lasted to the present day. In his wake, he left mass death, devastated communities, destroyed farmland, famine, disease, and terrorized populations.

Tiso, Monsignor Jozef (1887–1947). A Roman Catholic priest who was the pro-Nazi president of the Nazi puppet state of Slovakia between 1939 and 1945. He had previously been a member of the parliament of Czechoslovakia, minister for health, and lastly minister for Slovak affairs in the Czechoslovakian government. A member of the Slovak People's Party led by antisemitic nationalist leader Father Andrej Hlinka (1864–1938), Tiso effectively became leader after Hlinka's death, and in 1939, after Germany brutally subjugated Czechoslovakia and reorganized the country, Tiso renamed the party in honor of its deceased founder. Tiso served as the first prime minister, then president, of the independent Slovak republic. Following the vogue of right-wing authoritarian leaders in Europe at the time, he styled himself *Vodca*, or “leader.” One of Tiso's chief tasks, in view of the party's slogan of “Slovakia for the Slovaks,” was the introduction of Nazi-like antisemitic legislation that would rid the country of its Jewish population. The Jewish Code introduced in 1940—the anti-Jewish legislation that formed the base of all that was to follow—saw to it that Jews would have to wear the Star of David in public, were excluded from Slovak schools and universities, and were denied state employment. Existing Jewish property was expropriated, and Jews were forbidden from buying new real estate. Ultimately, in March 1942, Jews were deported from Slovakia, some 75 percent perishing at the hands of the Nazis at Auschwitz. Slovak public opinion, together with a personal appeal from Pope Pius XII (1876–1958; reigned 1939–1958), forced Tiso's hand in October 1942, when he declared that the deportations were to stop. By then, however, an inordinate amount of damage had already been done to the Jewish population of Slovakia. When Germany invaded Slovakia in order to forestall the Soviet advance in 1944, deportations recommenced, and the remaining Jewish population was further reduced. By now, there was little Tiso could do to stop the antisemitic measures or, indeed, to help save

Slovakia from invasion by the Red Army. Deposed as leader by an uprising of anti-Nazi Slovak nationalists, he was arrested by U.S. forces and extradited to the control of the Czechoslovakian government-in-exile in 1945. On April 15, 1947, the Narodny Sud (the People's Court) sentenced him to death, and—despite protests throughout Slovakia—he was hanged three days later.

Tito, Josip Broz (1892–1980). Josip Broz, known as Tito, was the undisputed leader and key political figure in Yugoslavia between the end of World War II and his death in 1980. Born in the town of Kumrovec, in the Croatian region of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, Josip Broz was the son of a Croat father and Slovenian mother. During World War I (1914–1918), he was captured by the Russians, spent time in a Russian prisoner of war camp, joined the Russian communist party, participated in the October Revolution of 1917, and fought with the Red Army during the Russian Civil War (1918–1921). In 1936 he returned to Yugoslavia, and in 1937 became secretary of the Yugoslav Communist Party. By this stage he had adopted his revolutionary *nom de guerre*, Tito. (There are differing interpretations as to why he chose this as his nickname. One is that Tito is a Croatian variant on the Latin name Titus, which was in common usage in the Zagorje region where he was born. Another has it that Broz would use the technique of pointing at someone when issuing orders and say—in Serbo-Croatian—*ti* (you), *to* (that), indicating who was to carry out which task.)

Within days of the German invasion of Yugoslavia in April 1941, Tito led the Communist Party in an active resistance against the Nazi occupation, commanding an army that quickly became known as the Partisans. This force, under Tito's military command, was the only body that unified all national groups in Yugoslavia against German Nazi and Italian fascist rule. At the same time, he fought the Serbian nationalist guerrillas—the Chetniks—and the Croatian guerrillas—the Ustashe—over the political future of postwar Yugoslavia. Although he was a Croat, Tito's communists did not recognize ethnic separatism. Largely owing to the effectiveness of his unified approach to resisting the Nazis, the Partisans played the most crucial role of all in liberating Yugoslavia.

Thanks to his strong leadership, Tito's communists, in winning the peace, transformed prewar monarchic Yugoslavia into a postwar communist state. Determined to maintain Yugoslavia's independence in the face of Soviet expansion through the acquisition of territory and the creation of puppet regimes, Tito kept his distance from Moscow, preferring to seek—and maintain—a rapprochement with the democratic West. This gave Tito a certain measure of freedom in both his international relations and in the management of his domestic affairs.

As an effective dictator, he ruled Yugoslavia with an iron hand, reliant on a powerful military, a highly centralized party structure, and an all-pervasive secret police. He brooked no ethnic politics or expressions of separatism. He cleverly kept a balance between each rival ethnic group, always stressing the primacy of an individual and distinctive Yugoslav identity. Nevertheless, because of economic disparities between the various regions of Yugoslavia, ethnic rivalries and conflicts were never far from the surface. It seemed inevitable that they would appear again after Tito's passing in 1980.

His death, in fact, opened a major void, and the nature of his rule had left no nominated successor to replace him. Instead, the country was ruled by a council of ministers from each of the six autonomous republics: Croatia, Serbia, Slovenia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Macedonia, and Montenegro. Under this decentralized system,

Tito's Yugoslavia rapidly began to unravel. Within a decade, all the old animosities had resurfaced, and after 1989, with the collapse of the other communist regimes throughout eastern Europe, Tito's state began to disintegrate. Slovenia, Croatia, and Macedonia seceded in 1991, and Bosnia-Herzegovina in 1992. With the rise of ethnonationalism (which defines a nation in terms of ethnicity, raising the issue of shared biological descent, in which membership of the national in-group is hereditary), Tito's careful attempts to create a distinctive Yugoslav identity within a communist framework came to a violent end, as genocidal violence broke out in Croatia, Serbia, and Bosnia between 1991 and 1995 and in Kosovo in 1998–1999, as ethnic armies fought bitterly for territory and expelled ethnic minorities with genocidal ferocity. It was a tragic end to Tito's program to fuse together a society of competing national aspirations into a unitary state founded on interethnic coexistence.

Topf, J. A., and Sons. This engineering firm was founded in 1878 in Erfurt, Germany, to address the ever-increasing industrial need for enclosed firings containment, including crematoria. In 1935, the firm was taken over by the sons of the founder, Ludwig and Ernst-Wolfgang. By the early 1940s, the firm already held hundreds of patents and employed a workforce of more than one hundred technicians. Entering into a contract with the Nazi SS for exhaust systems for the gas chambers at Auschwitz, the firm subsequently won contracts for the construction of large-scale crematoria at Auschwitz, Dachau, and other extermination camps. At the close of World War II, the brothers and other leaders were arrested by the Soviets, though Ernst-Wolfgang was able to resurrect the firm in Wiesbaden, where it existed from 1951 until 1963.

Torgsin. *Torgsin* were a chain of Soviet state-owned stores, which were initially situated in major cities and exclusively used for trade with foreigners. However, during the Soviet man-made famine in Ukraine (1932–1933), such stores were established in provincial cities and large towns within the Soviet Union (USSR). *Torgsin* did not accept or use Soviet currency, only precious metals and convertible foreign currencies (known as *valuta*). *Torgsin* stores carried supplies and food that were either not available in the USSR or of much better quality than that generally available. *Torgsin* were also established in the West as the only legal entity for transferring foreign funds to Soviet citizens. During the Soviet man-made famine in Ukraine, both individuals and organizations were allowed to purchase *valuta* certificates for individual Soviet citizens that could then be redeemed by the latter at a *torgsin* store.

Total Genocide. The concept of *total genocide* can be understood in two ways: (1) that a people has been totally wiped out physically; and (2) that the intentions of the *génocidaires* were or are absolute, namely, that their goal went or goes well beyond mass killing and includes the destruction of all prior evidence of a group's existence. Thus, total destruction means removing all evidence of the past and present, and erasure of all memory to ensure nonexistence in the future. While the former is possible, the latter is unlikely to be fully achieved, though it has been attempted, for example, by the Nazis in Germany (1933–1945) and the Khmer Rouge in Cambodia (1975–1979).

Total genocide rests on the idea of totalism, the complete eradication of a group as if it had never existed. This takes place when the object of the genocide is perceived as the embodiment of evil. The victim group is viewed as the highest degree of demonization, synonymous with the devil, and, as such, having no right to life and possessing no redeeming feature to justify even a symbolic memory.

Total War. This term implies a totalistic mentality. In premodern times, it could mean many things: taking no prisoners in a combat situation, selling all captives (whether prisoners of war or civilians) into slavery, putting the entire population of a besieged city to the sword, and so on.

In modern times, total war has also come to mean the waging of war on a civilian population, bombing of open cities, causing famine by blockading food supplies, and the like. It has also meant using all means possible to destroy the enemy: examples could include chemical and/or gas warfare, atomic warfare, and the resort to other kinds of weapons of mass destruction. Another expression of total war relates to mobilization, as with the belligerent countries of the two world wars (World War I, 1914–1918; World War II, 1939–1945). Here, the entire fabric of the nation's economic, industrial, agricultural, and military strength was coordinated and dedicated to the single aim of winning the war. Examples of such countries during World War II, for example, included Germany, Britain, the Soviet Union, Australia, the United States, and Japan. No deviation was possible or permitted, and peacetime modes of existence were surrendered to the sole purpose of waging war victoriously.

There is yet another kind of total warfare, the one waged by states against targeted elements of the civilian population, namely, genocide. The totalistic mentality that once drove modern warfare against a conventional enemy has been transferred to waging genocide against civilians. In this sense, compromise is impossible in the quest for total victory, that is, for the utter defeat of the enemy. This leads to using the most radical means of destruction available. An example is Italian dictator Benito Mussolini's (1883–1945) colonial war against the Empire of Abyssinia in 1935. Despite the enemy's obvious military weakness, fascist Italy used poison gas. The same phenomenon can be found in Saddam Hussein's (1937–2006) indiscriminate use of lethal gas in his war with Iran between 1980 and 1988, and in his internal wars against the Kurds in the late 1980s and against the Ma'dan people in the early 1990s. Sufficient examples abound to demonstrate the interconnection between total war and outright genocide. Two classic examples are the Young Turk genocide against the Armenians between 1915 and 1923 and the Nazi Holocaust against the Jews, especially between 1941 and 1945. One could argue that the military totalistic mentality is a *sine qua non* for genocide.

Totalitarianism. A system of government in which no political or personal opposition is permitted; thus, by definition, it constitutes a system that demands total subservience on the part of individuals and institutions to the state. All modern totalitarian states are composed of at least some of the following characteristics: a single-party state dominated by a single leader or a small clique; a weapons monopoly; a monopoly over the means of disseminating information in any form, public or private; a unifying ideology; an economic system that is either centrally directed or in which the state plays a dominant role; and a police presence that has permanently entrenched extraordinary powers of arrest and the capacity to employ violence in order to uphold the authority of the central authorities. Totalitarian states can be located on both sides of the political divide. For example, Nazi Germany (1933–1945), Chile (1973 through the 1980s), the Soviet Union (1917–1991), Argentina (mid-1970s and 1980s), the People's Republic of China (1949 to the present day), and Kampuchea (1975–1979), are all examples of totalitarian states. There have been many others, of course, throughout the twentieth century and there are many today in the twenty-first century. With barely any exceptions, genocides in the modern world have been committed by totalitarian regimes.

Totally Unofficial Man. *Totally Unofficial Man* is the title of the autobiography of Raphael Lemkin (1900–1959), the man who coined the term *genocide* and who was the motivating force behind the 1948 UN Convention on the Punishment and the Prevention of the Crime of Genocide (UNCG). The actual text of the autobiography, which numbers more than 300 pages, appears in Lemkin's papers in both printed and hand-written editions, and details his earliest beginnings in his birthplace, Bezwodene, Poland; his education at the universities of Lwow, Poland, and Heidelberg, Germany; his early career as a Polish lawyer and secretary to the Warsaw Court of Appeals; his growing recognition of the need for international law to outlaw the crime of what would later be called genocide; his brief participation in the Polish underground after the start of World War II and his separation from his family (later murdered by the Nazis); his round-about escape from Poland; his seeking refuge in the United States, where he taught law at Duke University, the University of North Carolina, and Yale University; his service to the United States, his adopted country, including assisting Justice Robert H. Jackson (1892–1954) at the International Military Tribunal at Nuremberg, Germany, at war's end; and his tireless efforts on behalf of the development and ratification of the UNCG. A lengthy abstract of this as yet fully unpublished text appears in the book *Pioneers of Genocide Studies*, edited by Samuel Totten and Steven Leonard Jacobs (2002).

Trade Sanctions. Trade sanctions are restrictions placed upon any nation-state, primarily in cases where human rights and other violations have occurred (e.g., environmental abuse, terrorism, nuclear and other weapons proliferation), as a means of bringing to conclusion such violations. As early as 432 BCE, the Athenians imposed such restrictions on Megara, which, in turn, appealed to Sparta for aid, and the result was the Peloponnesian War (431–404 BCE). During World War II, after the United States entered the war in December 1941 in response to the Japanese attack on the Pearl Harbor Naval Base in Hawaii, similar sanctions were imposed against Japan. The United States, historically and contemporarily, continues to be an outspoken advocate of such sanctions, which are often controversial and perceived as either unfair (both by the nation being sanctioned as well as others) and/or not as effective as they could or should be.

In conjunction with other political and military restrictions and sanctions, advocates of such methods affirm the effectiveness of such policy/action short of all-out military confrontation. Oppositional counter-arguments to the use of trade sanctions include the following: (1) real damage is done to the country's population rather than to its leadership, which the sanctions are aimed at; (2) such a tactic may result in strengthening a nation-state's self-sufficiency and/or the continuation of the practices looked askance at by the sanctioner; (3) economic engagement is ultimately more effective than disengagement; and (4) effective trade sanctioning requires multilateral commitment which has, historically, not been the case (i.e., failure to obtain certain commodities from one nation-state has not resulted in failure by the targeted state to obtain those same commodities from other nation-states).

Trading with the Enemy Act. An act of the U.S. Congress that expressly forbids trade between U.S. companies or individuals during a period of war between the United States and an enemy country. The law was passed on October 6, 1917, after the entry of the United States into the war with Germany earlier that year. The Trading with the Enemy Act was passed to prohibit business transactions between United States and German firms.

On December 13, 1941, U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt (1882–1945) amended the meaning of the act in such a way as to permit a measure of discretion to the secretary of the treasury in deciding what could and could not be considered to be trading under the terms of the act. This led to abuses of the discretionary power by those whom the secretary during World War II, Henry J. Morgenthau, Jr. (1891–1967), deputized to act in his name. Among the firms alleged to have derived benefit from this while the war was in progress were Standard Oil, the Ford Motor Company, and the International Telephone and Telegraph (ITT) Corporation. Furthermore, the Union Banking Corporation was seized by the U.S. government in October 1942 on the grounds that it was a front organization for Nazism. Vesting Order 248, signed by the U.S. Alien Property Custodian, records the seizure of the company, which took place on October 20, 1942. All of Union Banking's assets were subsequently liquidated. This development has, in recent times, attracted attention owing to the fact that one of the bank's directors and leading shareholders, Prescott Bush (1895–1972), was the father of U.S. president George H.W. Bush (b. 1924) and grandfather of U.S. president George W. Bush (b. 1946).

During World War II, disregard of the Trading with the Enemy Act permitted U.S. companies to continue engaging in business with Nazi Germany, its allies, and occupied areas, supplying the means for aiding the Nazi war machine through licensing agreements and the exchange of information. In at least one case, business dealings even related to the future of gold bars that had been made from dental work, wedding rings, and jewelry looted from Jews sent to Nazi death camps. This gold was held in Swiss banks.

Ultimately, the Trading with the Enemy Act, which had motives stemming from patriotism and financial security during one world conflict, was abused for reasons of personal or company profit during a second war; and those losing out were most frequently the victims of Nazi genocide.

Trail of Tears. This was a term generally given to the process of forcible deportation of certain Native American peoples in the 1830s and 1840s from their ancestral lands east of the Mississippi River to territories further west. In 1830, U.S. President Andrew Jackson (1767–1845) signed the Indian Removal Act, a piece of legislation designed to remove the entire population of the so-called Five Civilized Tribes of the American southeast: the Cherokee, Chickasaw, Creek, Choctaw, and Seminole peoples. Although these nations had adapted to Euro-American ways through the use of an agriculturally based economy, the establishment of towns, representative democracy, and (in the case of the Cherokee) a written alphabet, their efforts to find an accommodation with the whites had come to little owing to the value of their land to an expanding United States that gobbled up such land with little to no concern for those who had lived on and used it for centuries prior to the whites' arrival.

By the Indian Removal Act—which the U.S. Supreme Court found to be invalid—Jackson ordered military forces to evict the Indian nations from their territories throughout the 1830s. All of the evictions were characterized by hardship. Federal funds for the removal campaigns were unsatisfactory, leading to a woeful lack of food, warm blankets, and the means to transport the people to what would be their new homes in the Oklahoma Territory, many hundreds of miles away. For the Choctaws, at least a quarter of the population died en route. The Creeks suffered a debilitating civil war over the issue of whether or not to resist the demands of the U.S. government; of those electing to undergo the perilous journey, over one-fifth died of disease and exposure to the harsh

weather and conditions. The Seminoles resisted powerfully in a war lasting from 1835 until 1842, with substantial loss of life in a military struggle that also claimed many U.S. soldiers; ultimately, however, several thousand Seminoles were relocated to the west. The Chickasaws had less distance to travel but suffered heavy losses after arrival in the new territory owing to disease and starvation. The Cherokee, who gave the name *Trail of Tears* to their forced marches from North Carolina and Georgia to the west, suffered dreadfully from hunger, privation, exposure, and brutal treatment at the hands of the U.S. troops sent to oversee their relocation march. At least a quarter of the Cherokee population died before they reached the new Indian territory. The forced removal of Indian peoples from the old northeast soon thereafter completed the process of depopulating the then United States of its Native American population; from the mid-1840s onward, it has been estimated that there were fewer than two thousand remaining Native Americans in the eastern United States.

Transaction Publishers. Transaction Publishers, founded and directed by Irving Louis Horowitz (b. 1929), a noted sociologist and author of a major work on genocide (*Taking Lives: Genocide and State Power*), is a major publisher of works on various aspects of genocide. Among the genocide scholars who have had work published by Transaction are Howard Adelman, Yair Auron, Israel W. Charny, Vahakn Dadrian, Richard Hovannisian, Irving Louis Horowitz, Ben Kiernan, and Samuel Totten.

Travel Sanctions. Travel sanctions imposed against a regime by an international organization, a regional organization, or an individual state generally involves restrictions on the travel of specific or “targeted” individuals (such as key members of the nation’s government) and restrictions on air travel to and from a targeted state. Such sanctions may also include imposing restrictions on providing key services (e.g., aviation services) and trade in spare parts essential to international travel to the targeted state. The imposition of such sanctions can potentially result in both economic hardships as well as a sense of isolation from the international community.

Treatment of the Armenians in the Ottoman Empire, 1915–1916, The: Documents Presented to Viscount Grey of Fallodon, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. A collection of original documents relating to the Armenian genocide. In 1915, the British government assigned Viscount James Bryce (1838–1922), a senior member of the British Foreign Office and former British ambassador to the United States, the task of gathering whatever could be found on the developing Armenian genocide. Through his contacts in the U.S. State Department, Bryce was able to tap into U.S. dispatches emanating from Constantinople. These included formal memoranda, reports from U.S. consuls located around the country, and eyewitness accounts. Together with other documents collected from a variety of additional sources (including British sources, notwithstanding that Britain was in a state of war with the Ottoman Empire), Bryce was able to assemble a vast array of material. Having entrusted a young British historian, Arnold Toynbee (1889–1975), with the job of editing these documents into an acceptable (and accessible) format, Bryce’s finished project took the form of a government blue book, or official documentary collection. The result was a devastating indictment of the deportation and extermination of the Armenian people at the hands of the Young Turk regime. The Blue Book was published as *The Treatment of Armenians in the Ottoman Empire, 1915–1916*, and was presented to the British Parliament by the Foreign Secretary, Viscount Grey of Fallodon (1862–1933). Once presented to Parliament it became a set of documents

guiding British policy concerning the Armenian genocide and served as the foundation for later Allied indictments, for war crimes and crimes against humanity, against the leaders of the Turkish government.

Treaty. A formal agreement, generally between states, that establishes binding legal obligations between the signatory parties. Treaties are an example of one type of international law.

Treblinka. Nazi death camp located northeast of Warsaw in Poland. Somewhere between 1 million and 1.4 million persons were murdered there between July 1942 and October 1943, a death toll second only to Auschwitz-Birkenau. Treblinka I was to be a forced-labor camp and Treblinka II was to be the extermination/death camp site. In August 1943, however, Treblinka was the site of a prisoner revolt; 1,500 prisoners attacked their SS and Ukrainian guards, though only forty prisoners are known to have survived the fight. During its remaining two months, additional murders and the evacuation of the remaining prisoners, between 300 and 700 persons, to camps further to the west were speeded up prior to the camp's dismantling. The site was overrun by Soviet troops in July 1944. Its Kommandant, Kurt Franz (1914–1998), survived both war and prison, dying in Düsseldorf in 1998.

Trigger. Triggers are those events or incidents that may precipitate a major crisis, such as genocide. Among some of the many types of triggers are assassinations, attempted and actual coups, declared states of emergency, and external interventions. An example of a trigger leading to genocide was the missile attack on the airplane of Rwandan president Juvenal Habyarimana (1937–1994) on April 6, 1994—resulting in Habyarimana's assassination. This was a clear trigger leading to the Rwandan genocide, which broke out within hours of the plane being downed.

Genocide, of course, is the result of numerous and varied causes that, over time, combine in unique ways and lead to the destruction of one group by another. Although such destruction can have very deep roots, it is the trigger—a single event or series of events—that sets the genocide in motion and brings to the fore all the preconditions that have been developing over a much longer period.

Triumph of the Spirit. A motion picture produced in 1989, based on the life of a Greek-Jewish boxer named Salomo Arouch (b. 1923), who was a victim of the Nazis and who was incarcerated at Auschwitz-Birkenau death camp between 1943 and 1945. Arouch, who hailed from the city of Salonika, had represented Greece at the Berlin Olympics in 1936, and was Balkans middleweight champion prior to World War II. On March 15, 1943, with the Nazi assault on the Salonika ghetto, he and his family were deported to Auschwitz. Upon learning Arouch's identity, SS guards in the camp arranged biweekly boxing matches involving Jewish and Roma inmates: the winner would receive an additional food ration; the loser would be consigned to the gas chamber at Birkenau. Arouch was reputed to have fought in no fewer than 200 such bouts. *Triumph of the Spirit*, directed by Robert M. Young (b. 1924), starred Willem Dafoe (b. 1955) in the role of Arouch. A controversy regarding the movie arose soon after its release, when another Greek-Jewish survivor of the Auschwitz boxing matches, Jacko Razon (b. 1924), claimed that the film actually told his story, not that of Arouch. Nothing came of the controversy, however, and the film, which was shot on location at the Auschwitz site itself, was met with critical and popular acclaim.

Trocme, André (1910–1971). Pastor of the French Protestant (Huguenot) Church in the village of Le Chambon-sur-Lignon during World War II. Trocme urged his people and

community to save (by hiding) the Jews who came to their village and to aid them in their escape from both the Nazis and the Vichy French authorities because it was “the Christian thing to do.” Credited with saving more than five thousand Jews, Trocme was later honored by Yad Vashem in Jerusalem, Israel’s Holocaust Memorial Authority, as a Righteous Gentile. The full story was later told by Philip Hallie in the book *Lest Innocent Blood Be Shed* (1979) and by Pierre Sauvage in the film *Weapons of the Spirit* (1989).

Truce, The. An Italian-produced motion picture, filmed in English-language dialogue, recounting the post-Holocaust return of Italian Jew Primo Levi (1919–1987), from his liberation at the Auschwitz-Birkenau extermination camp to his home in Italy. The movie covers a period of nine months, during which Levi, played by actor John Turturro (b. 1957), is shunted around eastern Europe under the direction of Soviet liberation troops. Given the multinational composition of the prisoner body, Levi experiences his trials and tribulations along with other Italians, Poles, Greeks, Russians, and—the always present—German soldiers who had been forced to surrender to the Red Army. The movie was directed by veteran Italian filmmaker Francesco Rosi (b. 1922) and released in the United States through Miramax Films in 1996. *The Truce*, based on Levi’s 1963 memoir (*La Tregua*), is a movie proceeding from an uncommon scenario, namely, a postgenocidal situation. That is, while many (perhaps most) Holocaust- and genocide-related movies deal with events surrounding the period of the killing, *The Truce* is unique in addressing the multitude of issues facing survivors upon their liberation. For this reason, it stands alone within its genre.

Truggernanna (c. 1812–1876). Tasmanian Aboriginal woman of the Bruny Island people, widely (though erroneously) labeled “the last Tasmanian.” For well over a century, it was generally accepted in Australian popular lore that Truggernanna (often referred to as Truganini) was the sole remaining Tasmanian Aborigine and that, with her death in 1876, the entire Tasmanian Aboriginal population—a people with different racial characteristics from those on mainland Australia—had been exterminated in the first and most complete “total” genocide in history. The nonsense of this myth has since been demonstrated on numerous occasions, but the story of “the last Tasmanian” has very deep roots that are often still being fed today. Despite the persistence of a Tasmanian Aboriginal population down to the present time, however, it is true that Truggernanna was probably the last *full-blooded* Aborigine in Tasmania. This fact alone represents a massive population collapse, caused largely through warfare with encroaching British settlers, through diseases, and, after the concentration of the remaining tribal members on Tasmania’s Flinders Island between 1833 and 1847, a deep and ardent longing for their lost homeland and way of life that caused them simply to pine away. This population collapse was as complete as any that had taken place elsewhere, and probably more than most. The extent to which this can be described as genocide, however, has been hotly debated in Australian scholarship, with positions both for and against being argued with increasing vehemence in the years following the centenary of Truggernanna’s death.

Tudjman, Franjo (1922–1999). President of Croatia between 1990 and 1999 and the leader who proclaimed the independence of Croatia from the Yugoslav Federation in 1991. Tudjman was born in Veliko Trgovisce, in northern Croatia. A member of the partisan forces of Josip Broz Tito (1892–1980) during World War II, Tudjman became a communist and, during the Cold War, a general in the Yugoslav National Army. In 1971 he was sentenced to two years’ imprisonment for seeking a more autonomous status for

Croatia within Yugoslavia. Ultimately, he served only nine months. Later, in 1981, a similar situation occurred; this time, he served only eleven months of a three-year sentence.

In the aftermath of Tito's death in 1980, Tudjman, an unabashed Croatian nationalist, voiced his chauvinism more and more openly, increasingly seeking to assert greater autonomy (though stopping short of calling for independence outright). He was, however, at the forefront of those advocating secession by 1991, as Croatia joined Slovenia in its call for an exit from the federal state. Fending off Serbian military efforts to thwart Croatian self-determination by heading up a bloody and destructive war for independence, Tudjman emerged as a public hero throughout Croatia. Having won independence and now claiming a mandate, Tudjman then led Croatian forces into Bosnia-Herzegovina in 1992 in a quest to achieve the Greater Croatia that had been mapped out half a century earlier by the occupying Germans. This, at first, brought him into conflict with Slobodan Milosevic (1941–2006), the president of Serbia, and his (Milosevic's) ambitions for a Greater Serbia in Bosnia. Eventually, they agreed to partition Bosnia and expel the Muslims by means of ethnic cleansing.

The Dayton Agreement of November 21, 1995, and the Paris Protocol of December 14, 1995, blocked this dream, though the Croatian part of Bosnia is now effectively an extension of Croatia. Throughout his tenure as the president of independent Croatia, Tudjman tried to revive radical ethnic nationalism by frequent references to Croatia's *Ustashe* past during World War II, when the Germans permitted a larger Croatia, including much of Bosnia. Though he claimed not to be a fascist, many of his actions pertaining to national issues made him appear as one: in addition to his ethnonationalist ideas and policies, he also harbored a violent antisemitism. (A 1988 book by Tudjman, for instance, asserted that nine hundred thousand, not 6 million, Jews died in the Holocaust—a historical episode that was, in his view, greatly exaggerated.) While he was still alive, Tudjman was never indicted by the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY) for war crimes, though documentary evidence uncovered later demonstrated his complicity in planning and authorizing ethnic cleansing against Serbs and Bosnian Muslims in Croat areas. Since his death, Croatian political life has moved closer to the political center, and the type of state created by Tudjman has been largely reformed, modernized, and brought into the mainstream of European life.

Tuol Sleng. Tuol Sleng was a Khmer Rouge prison in Phnom Penh, Cambodia. Originally a high school, in 1975 it was converted by the Khmer Rouge into a prison. It became, in fact, the main interrogation center of the Khmer Rouge's *génocidaires*, code-named S-21 (Security Complex number 21) by the Santebal, the Khmer Rouge's feared secret police. Between 1975 and the fall of the Khmer Rouge in 1979, at least sixteen thousand victims were incarcerated in Tuol Sleng prison (so far as can be ascertained, only seven victims came out alive, having outlasted the regime), "interrogated"—that is, tortured—and executed, mostly on trumped up charges of having supported (in one capacity or another) the enemies of the Khmer Rouge's communist revolution. Indeed, most of the victims were innocent, regardless of the "confessions" they made that were extracted under inhuman treatment.

Significantly, those who ran the prison—in particular, the prison director, Khang Khek Iev, known as "Comrade Duch" (b. 1942)—explicitly designed it to serve as a source of terror, a symbol of the government's omnipotence. Its functionaries were not especially interested in the innocence or guilt of their victims, but in expeditiously processing a

never-ending stream of prisoners. Each victim fed the machinery of the ongoing purge ostensibly necessary for achieving the goals of the revolution.

Tuol Sleng operated a prison routine that was highly regimented and cruel. All prisoners—including children who were incarcerated there—were photographed as they arrived at the prison and imprisoned in single, small cells. They were manacled and frequently shackled to walls, floors, or iron beds. Beatings were frequent; torture was the norm. Prisoners were not expected to subsist in their cells for long; after making a “confession”—whether genuine or not, nearly all prisoners owned up to something, just to stop the torture—most were executed, either at the prison or at nearby Choeung Ek, where they were buried in one vast “killing field.”

After the defeat of Pol Pot’s (1925–1998) Khmer Rouge forces at the hands of the invading Vietnamese in 1979, mounds of skulls, documents, and photographs of the prisoners were found at Tuol Sleng. Steadily since then, other records have been added to the collection, making Tuol Sleng a major archival site for the Cambodian genocide and a testament to the four years of genocidal terror perpetrated by the Khmer Rouge. Now a permanent museum about the genocide, it also serves as a place of pilgrimage that families of the victims visit throughout the year and a major site of Cambodian genocide commemoration.

Tutsi. An ethnic group inhabiting the Great Lakes region of central Africa, particularly in Burundi, Rwanda, and eastern Congo. The Tutsi are a minority group across the region, much smaller in number than the numerically predominant Hutu. Despite this discrepancy, the Tutsi have dominated the region politically, socially, and economically since their arrival in the general vicinity sometime during the fifteenth century. The Tutsi were for a long time considered a Hamitic people with a Semitic admixture, though this is now disputed in some quarters; furthermore, it is not certain whether their origin was in Sudan or Ethiopia.

Upon establishing hegemony over the other peoples of the region, the Tutsi built an order that placed them at the head of society in terms of wealth (based on cattle-raising), an aristocracy, and, at its head, a king (*mwaami*). Over time, there was a considerable amount of intermarriage between the Tutsi and Hutu. The language spoken by both peoples is Kinyarwanda. While the relationship between Tutsi and their neighbors prior to the 1950s had been essentially one based on feudal hierarchy and dominance, Tutsi-Hutu connections were for the most part peaceful. Beginning in 1959 (the year of the Hutu Revolution), though, frequent Hutu persecutions of Tutsi took place in Rwanda and resulted in a mass exodus of Tutsi from Rwanda out of fear for their lives, while the Tutsi elite committed large-scale massacres and genocide (1972) of Hutu in Burundi. Estimates consider that up to 80 percent (and perhaps higher) of all Tutsi living in Rwanda in April 1994 were killed in the genocide that followed through until July of that year. In Burundi, the Tutsi regime held the Hutu in subjugation, leading to Hutu rebellions in 1972 and 1988. In 1993, a Burundian Hutu politician, Melchior Ndadaye (1953–1993), was elected as Burundi’s first Hutu president, but his effort at solving the nation’s racial problems led to antagonism from Burundi’s Tutsi-dominated armed forces. In October 1993 Burundi experienced an attempted coup d’état, and Ndadaye was assassinated. This sparked another round of racially motivated mass killing between Tutsi and Hutu, just months before the much bigger Rwandan genocide broke out in April 1994.

The relationship between the Tutsi and the Hutu is inextricably intertwined across the Great Lakes region. Since 1994 there have been renewed efforts at reconciliation and the establishment of a harmonious future.

Tuzla. A city of approximately one hundred thousand people, dominating a wider municipal area nearly double that number, Tuzla is situated in the central zone of north-eastern Bosnia. It is the third-largest urban area of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the site of a massacre on May 25, 1995, in which seventy-two people were killed by shelling from Bosnian Serb forces. May 25 was traditionally the Day of Youth in the former Yugoslavia, and it is noteworthy that almost all those killed were between eighteen and twenty-five years of age. Nearly 250 were wounded, some very severely. Tuzla had previously been designated as a UN safe area, though this did little to stop the Serbs in their assault on the city. After an impassioned address to the UN Security Council by the mayor of Tuzla, Selim Beslagic (b. 1942), steps were taken by the UN Protection Force, UNPROFOR, to strengthen the defenses around Tuzla, though the city's position was stretched to the limit as refugees from other UN-protected safe areas such as Srebrenica flooded in. Ultimately, Tuzla's population swelled to nearly a quarter of a million. In the aftermath of the war, Tuzla began the process of reconstruction within the Muslim-Croat administered region of Bosnia-Herzegovina and is now once more a prosperous city.

Twa. An ethnic group in Rwanda that constituted about 1 percent of the entire population before the 1994 genocide in which extremist Hutu killed between five hundred thousand and 1 million Tutsi and moderate Hutu in a one hundred-day period between April and July of that year. Originally, Twa were nomadic hunters and gatherers who resided primarily in forests, but over time, especially in the latter half of the twentieth century, they began to live and work among the Hutu and Tutsi, largely working as servants and laborers. Small in stature, and sometimes referred to by the disparaging term of *pygmy*, prior to the colonial period Twa were largely isolated from the Hutu and Tutsi in that both of the latter looked down upon the Twa and looked askance at any relationships involving Twa.

As far as the 1994 genocide is concerned, little information exists beyond the fact that some Twa were murdered and some Twa were murderers.

Typologies of Genocide. Typologies of genocide basically provide a system, or categories, for classifying different types of actual cases of genocide. Numerous typologies of genocide have been developed by scholars in various fields, and herein only a sampling is highlighted. One of the earliest typologies was developed by Hervé Savon in his book *Du Cannibalisme au Génocide* (1972): genocides of substitution, genocides of devastation, and genocides of elimination.

Sociologist Helen Fein's (b. 1934) typology consists of the following: (1) developmental, where the perpetrator intentionally or unintentionally destroys groups of people who stand in the way of the economic exploitation of land, wood, water, oil, and other resources; (2) despotic, which are aimed at eliminating real or potential groups of opposition, as in a new, highly polarized, multiethnic state; (3) ideological, which involves cases of genocide against groups perceived and targeted as enemies by the state and/or the state's desire to destroy victim groups that are perceived, portrayed, and treated as the embodiment of evil; and (4) retributive, where the perpetrator sets out to destroy, in whole or part, its perceived enemies.

As for sociologist Leo Kuper (1908–1994), his initial typology consisted of the following: (1) genocides carried out to settle ethnic, racial, and religious differences; (2) genocides carried out to terrorize a people conquered by a colonizing empire; and (3) genocides perpetrated to carry out a political ideology. Ultimately, Kuper revised the latter and divided categories of

genocide into two main groups: domestic genocides arising on the basis of internal divisions within a society and genocides arising in the course of international warfare. The four types of domestic genocide Kuper delineated are as follows: (1) genocides against indigenous peoples; (2) genocides against hostage groups; (3) genocide in the aftermath of decolonization of a two-tier structure of domination; and (4) genocide during a period of conflict against and/or between ethnic or racial or religious groups for power or secession, greater autonomy, or more equality.

Vahakn Dadrian (b. 1922), an expert on the Ottoman-perpetrated genocide of the Armenians (1915–1923), created a five-part typology of genocide comprising the following: (1) cultural—forced assimilation; (2) latent—unintended casualties; (3) retributive—punishment of minority; (4) utilitarian—for control over resources; and (5) optimal—deliberate extermination.

Political scientist Roger Smith's (b. 1936) typology of genocide consists of the following: (1) ideological genocide; (2) monopolistic genocide; (3) institutional genocide; (4) retributive genocide; and (5) utilitarian genocide, which is similar to those that were carried out during colonial expansion and in an effort to obtain resources of one kind or another.

As the field of genocide studies matures, new scholars to the field are likely to question the validity of some of the aforementioned typologies or at least certain components of some of the typologies. Along with that, it is to be expected that new typologies will be created, and their validity will be placed under close scrutiny and hotly debated.

U

Ukrainian Pogrom of Jews. On the day before Christmas, 1918, a large armed group of Ukrainian peasants broke into the Jewish colony of Trudoliubovka and slaughtered many of the inhabitants, marking the beginning of a series of attacks against Jews. It has been estimated that anywhere between thirty-five thousand and fifty thousand Jews were killed during the period 1919 to 1929, during which time Ukrainian Nationalist leader Simon Petlura (1879–1926) ruled over independent Ukraine. Prior to this, the Germans (who were in Ukraine to prevent the Russians from allying themselves with Britain and France during the course of World War I) had frowned on the Ukrainians' aggressive behavior and restrained their atavistic actions. However, following the German's pullout of 1918 in order to return to the front, the Ukrainians continued their attacks against the Jews.

The Ukrainian attacks on Jews continued up to and throughout World War II, which were unlawful under the Soviet regime but were impromptu localized affairs usually carried out under the cover of darkness. Prior to World War II, more than eight hundred attacks against Jews were carried out throughout the region. During the war itself, many Ukrainians allied themselves with the Nazis, and even served in some of the death camps and extermination centers. Post-war efforts to construct a new relationship between Jews and Ukrainians, given the bad history of the past, have been largely unsuccessful.

UNAMIR. See United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda.

Unilateral. An action undertaken by a single nation that impacts, in one way or another, the sovereign power of another state. Such action refers to those actions taken either with the imprimatur of the international community or without the formal support of the international community.

Uniqueness of Holocaust Argument/Debate. The ongoing argument/debate over the uniqueness or nonuniqueness of the Holocaust continues to be an extremely sensitive and complicated one among both the scholarly academic community and the community of survivors, primarily Jews, and their descendants. Subsuming the Holocaust under the broader framework of genocide, argue its proponents, erases its Jewish centrality and relativizes the Nazi attempt at global extermination of the Jews. Not so, argue those who see the Holocaust in the broader context of genocide as a historical phenomenon, each example of which is unique unto itself, but each of which shares certain commonalities with others (e.g. state-sponsorship, dehumanization of the victim population, large-scale brutalization and mass murder). At one end of the spectrum is Professor Steven Katz of Boston University arguing

that the Holocaust is, in fact, the only true example of genocide, versus Professor David Stannard of the University of Hawaii, who regards Katz's position as immoral. Stannard goes even further and argues that those who maintain the Holocaust's uniqueness do so for self-serving and Jewish political ends. The middle position has been articulated by, among others, Professor Vahakn Dadrian, retired from the State University of New York, Geneseo, who sees striking parallels between the Holocaust and the Armenian genocide with the exceptions of numbers and the type of technology used during the killing process. Judaic Studies scholar Professor Peter Haas, of Case Western Reserve University, also suggests that if the Holocaust is truly unique, a *sui generis* event, then, in point of fact, there are no lessons whatsoever to be learned from it. And so the debate continues among those who articulate its uniqueness and those who oppose such an argument. A more maintainable position, as suggested above, is to argue for the ultimate uniqueness of all historical events, none of which are repeated exactly in their entirety, as well as to recognize that the Holocaust against the Jews during the period of World War II has become the "yardstick" by which, at least initially, scholars and others continue to examine other cases of genocide and which has led to the growing field of genocide studies.

United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR). The UN Assistance Mission for Rwanda (October 1993–March 1996) was the UN peacekeeping operation established by Security Council Resolution 872 to help implement the Arusha Peace Accords, the latter of which was signed by various parties (the Rwandan Patriotic Front [RPF] and the Government of Rwanda) on August 4, 1993. UNAMIR's mandate was, in part, to monitor the cease-fire agreement (the two factions had been engaged in combat off and on since October 1990); establish and expand the demilitarized zone and demobilization procedures; provide security for the Rwandan capital city of Kigali; monitor the security situation during the final period of the transitional government's mandate leading up to elections; and assist in the coordination of humanitarian assistance activities in conjunction with relief operations.

In actuality, UNAMIR's mandate and strength were revised on a number of occasions throughout the duration of its operation, mostly as a result of the genocide in Rwanda between April and July 1994. After the start of the genocide in April 1994, UNAMIR attempted to broker a cease-fire between the RPF and various extremist Hutu forces but to no avail, acting as an intermediary between the killers and the victims and assisting in humanitarian activities. With this change, however (as a result of Security Council Resolution 912), the number of troops composing UNAMIR was reduced from 2,548 to two hundred seventy. As the killing intensified, the United Nations altered the mandate of UNAMIR once again, and under Security Council Resolution 918 of May 17, 1994, it imposed an arms embargo against Rwanda, called for urgent international action, and increased UNAMIR's strength to 5,500 troops. (Despite this, it took nearly six months before member states of the United Nations donated troops.)

UNAMIR was on a Chapter VI (or traditional peacekeeping) mandate that was untenable in light of the circumstances, which was exacerbated by the fact that the force was undermanned, under-resourced, and provided with poorly equipped and poorly trained troops from a variety of small and impoverished nations. Despite UNAMIR's force commander Major-General Romeo Dallaire's (b. 1946) repeated pleas to the United Nations for a stronger mandate (Chapter VII or a peace enforcement

mandate) and more troops and arms that would have allowed the force to engage the *génocidaires* in combat, the United Nations retained its totally inadequate Chapter VI mandate and refused to provide him with additional troops. As a result, he and his troops were more or less forced to observe, up-close, the unfolding of the horror of the genocide.

In one of his last cables to UN headquarters toward the end of the genocide, Dallaire was scathing about the UN's failure to upgrade UNAMIR's mandate at the time it was most needed to save lives. Summing up, Dallaire wrote that the international community and UN member states, with only a few exceptions, "have done nothing substantive to help the situation." Debate has since raged about how effective UNAMIR could have been with a more wide-ranging mandate and the capacity to use force to end the genocide in Rwanda. In the absence of clear-cut answers, such debate is likely to continue far into the future.

With the capture of Kigali by rebel Rwandan Patriotic Front troops in mid-July 1994, UNAMIR resumed its efforts to ensure security and stability and support humanitarian assistance and refugee relief. At the request of the new, postgenocide Rwandan government of Paul Kagame (b. 1957), UNAMIR was withdrawn in March 1996.

United Nations Bureau for Crisis Prevention and Recovery (BCPR). The BCPR assists the UN Development Programme country offices to establish and provide a quick and effective response for justice and security sector reform, small arms reduction, disarmament and demobilization, mine deactivation, conflict prevention and peace-building, and recovery. BCPR promotes linkages between UN peace and security and development objectives, and enhances a government's technical and national capacity to manage crisis and postconflict situations. BCPR supports the UN Secretary-General's agenda in conflict prevention through building capacities of governments and civil societies to analyze potential risk factors that could give rise to violent conflict and through developing strategies to address structural root causes.

United Nations Charter. The UN Charter is the "constituting instrument" of the United Nations, and as such it delineates the rights and obligations of member states and sets out the organs and procedures of the United Nations. In doing so, it discusses, among other issues, the following: official languages of the United Nations; makeup of the UN's membership; the function and power(s) of the General Assembly, Security Council, and the Economic and Social Council; the jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice; the role of the secretariat and secretary-general; budget issues; and peacekeeping operations. An international treaty, the charter codifies the major principles of international relations—from the sovereign equality of states to the prohibition on the use of force in international relations.

United Nations Chronicle. An official journal of the United Nations, *The UN Chronicle* is a quarterly that covers a wide range of major political and social issues, including but not limited to human rights, peacekeeping operations, economic and social problems, political news, and international conferences on issues germane to the work of the United Nations.

United Nations Commission of Inquiry on Darfur. Following a declaration on September 9, 2004, by the United States that Government of Sudan troops and the *Janjaweed* (an Arab militia) had perpetrated genocide (and was possibly still doing so) in Darfur, Sudan, against the black African population, the U.S. government referred the

matter to the UN Security Council. The UN Security Council, in turn, established the UN Commission of Inquiry on Darfur and sent a team of investigators to Darfur and Sudan's capital, Khartoum, as well as such adjacent states as Chad, in an attempt to ascertain whether genocide had, in fact, been committed and/or was still in the process of being perpetrated. Following a two-month investigation (December 2004 and January 2005), the United Nations declared in late January 2005 that while it had found that serious and ongoing crimes against humanity had been committed by the GOS and *Janjaweed*, it had not found that genocide had been perpetrated. The Security Council then referred the matter to the International Criminal Court (ICC), upon which the ICC began an investigation into the atrocities for the express purpose of bringing the alleged perpetrators to trial.

United Nations Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (UNCG). In 1946, following in the path of ardent lobbying by jurist Raphael Lemkin, the UN General Assembly passed a resolution affirming that genocide was a crime under international law. It called for UN member states to undertake an international effort to prevent and punish the crime. It also requested the UN Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) to prepare a draft convention on the prevention and punishment of the crime of genocide for submission to the General Assembly. On December 11, 1946, the UN General Assembly passed this initial resolution regarding the definition of genocide:

Genocide is the denial of the right of existence of entire human groups, as homicide is the denial of the right to life of individual human beings. . . . Many instances of such crimes of genocide have occurred, when racial, religious, political, and other groups have been destroyed entirely or in part . . .

The General Assembly Therefore Affirms that genocide is a crime under international law which the civilized world condemns, for the commission of which principals and accomplices—whether private individuals, public officials or statesmen, and whether the crime is committed on religious, racial, political or any other groups—are punishable (United Nations, 1978, pp. 607).

Ultimately, the definition that would be used in the UNCG went through numerous drafts and resulted in what many scholars now refer to as a “compromise convention.” As a result, the UN's definition is, at one and the same time, exceedingly broad and extremely narrow. In regard to the former, it includes acts that are not lethal to a group. As for being extremely narrow, it neglects to include both political and social groups under its protection, both of which were intended to be included until certain nations, including the Soviet Union and the United States, argued against their inclusion for political reasons.

Finally, in 1948 the convention was presented to the UN General Assembly. In Article II of the convention, “genocide” is defined as those acts “committed with the intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial, or religious groups, as such.”

It is not surprising that over the past fifty years many scholars (e.g., Israel W. Charny, Irving Louis Horowitz, Helen Fein) have proposed alternative definitions of genocide. Among some of the many changes that have been suggested are as follows: the inclusion of social and political groups; altering the actions that would be included under the rubric of genocide; and dropping, altering, or clarifying the meaning of “intent.” Be that as it may, all internationally recognized courts continue to use the definition of genocide as delineated in the UNCG.

United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO). The DPKO, under the direction of the under-secretary-general for peacekeeping operations, is the operational arm for all UN peacekeeping efforts. In that capacity, the DPKO is responsible for the planning, preparation, direction, conduct, monitoring, and management of such operations. Included among its many duties is conducting analyses of emergency policy questions and conducting contingency planning for potential operations. Among the many types of missions it is responsible for planning, implementing, and overseeing are peacekeeping, peace enforcement, peacemaking, and peace-building.

United Nations–European Union, Negotiation Process in Bosnia. When Bosnia-Herzegovina declared its independence from Yugoslavia on April 6, 1992, the immediate preference of the international community was one of noninvolvement and a cessation of all arms sales to the warring parties. It was generally anticipated, however, that the European Union (EU) would use its regional influence to act as a broker between Yugoslavia and Bosnia at least to stop the fighting and get them to the negotiating table. This was not to be. It quickly became apparent that there was little in the way of a unified European position on Bosnia, and that, as a consequence, greater effort would be required by international organizations more broadly defined. As a result, various diplomatic missions were established to negotiate with the parties—particularly with Bosnian Serbs and the government of Yugoslavia—in an effort to establish a basis for peace. Cyrus Vance (1917–2002), the former U.S. Secretary of State in the Carter administration, and Lord David Owen (b. 1938), a former leader of the British Labour Party, were selected as joint chairmen of a joint UN (Vance) and EU (Owen) negotiating process that was intended to convince the warring parties to try to reach a settlement. While Vance and Owen visited all parts of Bosnia and Yugoslavia, talking to leaders, hearing various positions, and taking proposals back and forth, little of real value was achieved. A peace plan of sorts was hammered out in January 1993, but it was rejected by both the United States and the Bosnian Serbs. Still, the “peace process” ground on, with Vance and Owen struggling to find ways to break the deadlock. After Vance’s departure from the scene and his replacement by Norway’s Thorvald Stoltenberg (b. 1931), little changed, though in March 1994, another proposal was put forth, but it too was defeated. It took a great length of time before commentators and politicians on both sides of the Atlantic drew the conclusion that the UN-EU negotiating process served only to give Yugoslav dictator Slobodan Milosevic (1941–2006) time to procrastinate while expanding his holdings in Bosnia. More specifically, it took until the summer of 1995, with Serb attacks on UN safe havens, for the UN-EU to threaten the physical action needed to stop Serb aggression. A “peace process” arrived at through negotiations proved to be a failure on this occasion in light of Serbia’s unwillingness to listen to the language of diplomacy.

United Nations General Assembly. The General Assembly is the primary representative body of the United Nations in that it is composed of all member states and is the main arena for political debate. Each member state of the General Assembly is entitled to one vote in the deliberation of assembly matters, and all decisions are to be decided by a two-thirds majority.

Under the UN Charter, a primary role of the General Assembly is to deliberate upon the broad principles of international peace and security, including principles governing disarmament. The assembly is authorized to discuss any questions relating to the maintenance of international peace and security and to make recommendations with regard to

any such questions. Given the structure of the United Nations overall, such recommendations are, for the most part, passed to the Security Council for further deliberation and action. Other functions of the General Assembly, *inter alia*, include the promotion of international cooperation in politics and the development of international law.

Under Article 13 of the UN Charter, one of the major functions of the General Assembly is to conduct studies and make recommendations for, in part, the purpose of “promoting . . . and assisting in the realization of human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion.” To a large extent, agenda items of the General Assembly related to human rights are a result of those that arise from recommendations by the Economic and Social Council or as a result of earlier decisions made by the General Assembly regarding human rights issues. The General Assembly also deals with human rights issues that have been referred to it by the other major organs of the United Nations, by member states, and by the UN Secretary-General.

In the broad area of genocide, the most important contribution made by the General Assembly was the passage of the UN Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (UNCG) in 1948. Other actions in which the General Assembly has been involved have included upholding genocide-related Security Council resolutions *vis-à-vis* cases of genocide, as well as its own condemnation of genocidal acts between 1948 and the present day.

On December 2, 1998, the General Assembly reaffirmed the significance of the UNCG by adopting a resolution on its fiftieth anniversary. The assembly invited governments and the international community to continue to review and assess the progress made in the implementation of the Convention since its adoption, and to identify obstacles and the way they can be overcome—both through measures at the national level and through enhanced international cooperation. While statements such as this have a vital role to play in affirming the UN’s interest and commitment to the prevention of genocide, the role of the General Assembly is not to be confused with that of the Security Council; indeed, it is only the latter body that can authorize the intervention of peace operation forces for purposes of genocide prevention and intervention, designate what the mandate of such forces can be, and establish intergovernmental trials such as those existing for the former Yugoslavia (the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia) and Rwanda (the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda). The General Assembly has an interest in all these issues and matters but cannot initiate them or adjudicate as to their effectiveness.

United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). The UNHCR was established by the UN General Assembly in 1950. It followed an attempt by the UN’s predecessor, the League of Nations, to provide protection and assistance to refugees in the 1920s and 1930s. The rise of Nazism in Germany in 1933 led to the emergence of a major refugee problem, which only compounded earlier difficulties concerning refugees from Armenia, Russia, and, during the period 1936–1939, from the Spanish Civil War. World War II provided the impetus for a revision of all existing refugee programs, leading ultimately to the creation of UNHCR. At first, it was given a limited mandate that was to last only three years. Its task at that time was to help resettle the remaining European refugees left homeless by the war and subsequent border changes. As the Cold War intensified and refugee flows spiraled out of control, the UN General Assembly extended the UNHCR’s tenure and terms of reference.

Today, UNHCR is one of the world's primary humanitarian aid agencies, extending help to more than 20 million refugees in 120 countries. As a humanitarian, nonpolitical organization, UNHCR has twin aims: to protect refugees in all respects, and to assist them to return to their original countries or to start anew in a country of permanent refuge. Given this, UNHCR is concerned with issues pertaining to the maintenance of human rights, an area it considers to be part of its mandate. It therefore seeks ways to guarantee a refugee's legal protection and entitlements, in line with the conventions to which countries have attached themselves and in conjunction with other UN agencies.

UNHCR has worked actively in assisting refugees in many of the world's trouble-spots: in the Balkans since 1991, in Rwanda in the aftermath of the 1994 genocide, and in East Timor and Cambodia for years on end, to name several. Many other peoples at risk, such as those who have been internally displaced, also come under UNHCR's umbrella. The agency realizes, however, that it cannot solve all the problems of refugee relief by itself, and consequently it has entered into close agreements with other humanitarian agencies, such as the International Committee of the Red Cross, the International Organization for Migration, and some five hundred other nongovernmental agencies. The UNHCR is based in Geneva, Switzerland.

United Nations Peace Forces (UNPF). Established in April 1995, this was the umbrella term for the three distinct UN peacekeeping missions in Bosnia, Croatia, and Macedonia following the massive violence that wracked the former Yugoslavia in the 1990s.

United Nations Peacekeeping Operations. All UN peacekeeping operations are established by the UN Security Council and directed by the UN Secretary-General (usually through a special representative of the secretary-general). The force commander or the chief military observer is responsible for all military and on-the-ground aspects of the operation.

Peacekeeping operations take many shapes and forms, depending on the geopolitical and sociopolitical circumstances, as well as the situation on the ground. Among some of the many tasks that peacekeepers undertake are implementation of comprehensive peace settlements, maintenance of cease-fires and separation of forces, preventive deployment, and protection of humanitarian operations. Some operations may be carried out by military observer missions (which are composed of unarmed officers whose job is generally to monitor an agreement or a cease-fire), while others are handled by peacekeeping forces on a Chapter VI mandate (in which case the troops have weapons but are mandated to use them for self-defense purposes only) or a Chapter VII mandate (in which case the troops can engage in battle, if need be, with the combatants).

Since the United Nations does not have its own military force, it must depend on member states to provide, on a voluntary basis, the personnel and equipment needed for all operations. Each member state works out an agreement with the United Nations in regard to how many soldiers it will provide, the length of their tour of duty, the type of equipment that will be provided, et al. While individual peacekeepers continue to wear their own nation's military uniform, they are identified as UN peacekeepers by a blue helmet, beret, or badge.

Over the past decade and a half or so (1990–2007), numerous problems have arisen in regard to UN peacekeeping operations. Many of the problems were directly related to the fact that the United Nations does not have its own army and that participation by

member states in such operations is always negotiable. For example, during the 1994 Rwandan genocide, while many nations refused to send troops to take part in the UN peacekeeping operation, many of those that did send troops sent poorly trained and inexperienced soldiers with equipment that was either in a bad state of repair or with no spare parts with which to repair equipment in the case of equipment malfunction. As a result, an already small peacekeeping force under a weak mandate (Chapter VI) was even more handicapped than it already was.

United Nations Protected Sites in Rwanda. These were areas that the UN Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR) established in Rwanda during the period of the 1994 Rwandan genocide for people who were targeted for extermination by the extremist Hutu. Among such places were the Amahoro Stadium, the Belgian camp at the Dom Bosco school, the Hotel des Mille Collines, the King Faisal hospital, and the Meridien Hotel.

United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR). Established in February 1992 as a result of UN Security Council Resolution 743, and headquartered in Zagreb, Croatia, UNPROFOR was initially established in Croatia to ensure demilitarization of designated areas. The UN mandate was broadened (in regard to geographical areas such as Bosnia-Herzegovina and Macedonia, as well as various types of activities to be carried out) from time to time while the conflict unfolded, with UNPROFOR given responsibility for such things as monitoring conflict situations as they arose; controlling the borders; demilitarizing certain areas (by mutual negotiation with the parties involved); protecting the Sarajevo airport (Security Council Resolution 758); monitoring “no fly zones”; providing and safeguarding humanitarian aid; protecting civilian refugees; and, ultimately, protecting the six UN-designated “safe areas” (Bihac, Gorazde, Sarajevo, Srebrenica, Tuzla, and Zepa). UNPROFOR was also responsible, with NATO support, for ensuring that agreements entered into with the parties would be respected; on occasion, UNPROFOR commanders called in NATO air strikes and other types of deadly force for the purpose of compelling compliance. Ultimately, it was also responsible for monitoring cease-fire agreements.

At its maximum strength, UNPROFOR deployed nearly forty thousand military personnel, nearly one thousand civilian police, and over four thousand other civilian and locally recruited staff; overall, its total foreign complement was drawn from thirty-seven different countries. Some 320 UNPROFOR personnel lost their lives during the course of UNPROFOR’s work.

UNPROFOR was frequently criticized for its inability (taken by many as an unwillingness) to do more to protect lives throughout the Bosnian War of 1992–1995. (The oft-quoted joke that the UN Protection Force’s mandate was to “protect ourselves and nobody else” was, for many, an accurate statement of the force’s inadequacy.) The fall of Srebrenica in July 1995, with its attendant massacre of up to eight thousand muslim men and boys, represented the nadir of UNPROFOR’s mandate in Bosnia, from which the force’s already battered reputation never recovered.

United Nations Rapid Reaction Force, Proposal for. In 1993 the United Nations proposed the creation of a UN rapid reaction force (RRF), which would basically serve as a standing UN multinational military force to handle UN peace operations. The proposal died a quick death when the United States, reacting to the visceral and negative response to the idea by U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff General Colin Powell and the Pentagon, pulled its initial support. Powell and others at the Pentagon were adamantly against fighting in any and all conflicts that the UN Security Council chose to address.

United Nations Security Council. The highest and most powerful deliberative body in the United Nations. It is the branch most closely identified with the peacekeeping and peace-making functions of UN operations. It has the authority to make decisions that are binding on member states, and in this it differs from other UN organizations, which can only make recommendations.

The Security Council consists of five permanent members (United States, United Kingdom, France, Russia, and China, which are often referred to as the P-5), and ten other, temporary members, who change periodically and who are elected from within designated global regions (Latin America, Asia, Western Europe, Eastern Europe, and Africa; there is, in addition, an Arab delegate, who is elected alternately from the Asian or African cohort). The temporary members are elected for a period of two years.

When a conflict threatens to erupt, or when an actual conflict has broken out, the Security Council has various means at its disposal, including the following: negotiate a peaceful end to the conflict; serve as a mediator in an attempt to bring the conflict to a close; issue sanctions against the perpetrators(s); request that the UN Secretary-General conduct an investigation into the conflict and provide it (the Security Council) with a report; broker a cease-fire agreement; issue a mandate for a mission to oversee a cease-fire and/or peace agreement; or, in the case of a hot conflict, send in a military force to quell the fighting and/or enforce the peace. For any major UN Security Council motion to pass, it must muster nine votes—and all five permanent members must be in favor of the motion. The five permanent members possess a power of veto on Security Council votes; thus, if a permanent member vetoes a decision, the resolution will lapse, owing to a Security Council rule that all votes must be unanimous among the permanent members in order for them to become operational.

The composition of the permanent membership reflects the politics of the post–World War II world order, but over time there have been some changes: the Republic of China’s seat is now occupied by the People’s Republic of China, and the Russian Federation has replaced that of the USSR.

In the decades since 1945, the Council has advocated for or condemned the policies of various member nations. Sometimes such resolutions passed and sometimes they did not. Frequently, though, those that did not pass came as a result of *realpolitik*. More specifically, until 1989, a veto reflected Cold War agendas. That is, the Soviet Union, one of the two superpowers, often blocked the desires/resolutions of the United States, the other superpower, and vice versa. Since then, the Council has undergone new constellations and alliances, many in response to U.S. global power since the collapse of the USSR in 1991.

The main role of the Security Council is to maintain peace and security between nations. Its primary means of doing this is to be found in Chapter VI of the UN Charter, which deals with the peaceful settlement of disputes, and Chapter VII, which covers the prospect of armed intervention in order to stop aggression or defend the victims of attack. Resolving the tension between Chapter VI and Chapter VII mandates has been the cause of much criticism of the Security Council over the past two decades, as a number of peacekeeping initiatives, such as those in Somalia (1992–1993) and Rwanda (1993–1994), have resulted in fiascos that have not saved lives or brought peace.

With regard to genocide, the Council has often been less than useful. Genuine accusations of genocide have fallen on deaf ears; thus, the case of Biafra between 1967 and

1970 was ignored, as were the crises of East Timor (1975–1999), Southern Sudan (1983–2005), Rwanda (1994), and Darfur, Sudan (2003– ongoing through today or late 2007). The wars of Yugoslav disintegration between 1991 and 1995 were an exception; the United Nations ultimately acknowledged that genocidal violence was taking place in Bosnia and sought ways to bring the conflict there to an end. Still, the effort was far from perfect and most illustrative of that was the July 1995 genocide perpetrated in Srebrenica (a so-called “safe area,” where refugees were promised they would be safe from attacks) in which Serb troops killed between seven thousand and eight thousand Muslim boys and men.

The Council, with the General Assembly, also established ad hoc tribunals for both Bosnia and Rwanda (the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia and the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda, respectively). Each court received UN support, and each was mandated to try charges of genocide and other crimes (such as war crimes and crimes against humanity). Both courts, through fits and starts, found persons guilty of genocide, crimes against humanity, and war crimes.

The Security Council’s attention is now increasingly focused on the new permanent tribunal, the International Criminal Court (ICC), one of whose crimes entrusted to it is genocide. The ICC enjoys considerable autonomy, with the power to indict, try, convict, and sentence. Still, the ICC will need to rely on member nations themselves to turn over alleged perpetrators of human rights atrocities and, if the latter fails, then it will need to resort to calling on the UN Security Council to have UN troops capture such suspects. Both of the latter situations are never surefire, and thus the ICC may only prove as strong and reliable as the UN Security Council.

Unfortunately, the Security Council is a long way from being politically fair and balanced, as its members continue to reflect deep-seated biases and prejudices in the pursuit of their own national interests rather than pursuing the internationalist goals that underpin the essential rationale of the United Nations.

United Nations Security Council Resolution 827. This resolution established the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY). In doing so, the UN Security Council stated that the ICTY was established for “the sole purpose of prosecuting persons responsible for serious violations of international humanitarian law committed in the territory of the former Yugoslavia between 1 January 1991 and a date to be determined by the [UN] Security Council upon the restoration of peace . . .”

The UN Security Council Resolutions 1503 (August 2004) and 1534 (March 2004) “endorsed the completion strategy of the ICTY, intended to ensure a phased and coordinated completion of the Tribunal’s historic mission by the end of 2010. Under this strategy, the ICTY will concentrate on the prosecution and trials of the most senior leaders while referring a small of cases involving intermediate and lower-rank accused to national courts.”

United Nations Security Council Resolution 995. This resolution established the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR). In doing so, the UN Security Council stated that the ICTR was established “for the prosecution of persons responsible for genocide and other serious violations of international humanitarian law committed in the territory of Rwanda between 1 January 1994 and 31 December 1994. It may also deal with the prosecution of Rwandan citizens responsible for genocide and other such violations of international law committed in the territory of neighbouring states during the same period.”

United Nations Special Advisor on the Prevention of Genocide. On July 12, 2004, UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan (b. 1938) informed the UN Security Council that he had chosen a human rights advocate, lawyer, and former political prisoner from Argentina, Juan E. Méndez (b. 1944), as his first Special Advisor on the Prevention of Genocide. Méndez had been president of the International Centre for Transitional Justice, a nongovernmental organization (NGO) that helps countries emerging from conflict or misrule to hold human rights violators accountable for their crimes.

The express role of the adviser is to act as an early warning mechanism for the Secretary-General and the Security Council vis-à-vis potential situations that could develop into genocide and to make recommendations to the Security Council about how the United Nations can prevent such events. Méndez's appointment follows an earlier pledge by Annan, as the tenth anniversary of the 1994 Rwandan genocide approached, to designate an official to collect data and monitor any serious violations of human rights or international law that have a racial or ethnic dimension and could lead to genocide.

On May 29, 2007, UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon appointed Francis Deng of Sudan as the new Special Advisor for the Prevention of Genocide and Mass Atrocities, thus succeeding Juan Méndez. Previously, Deng had served as the Director of the Sudan Peace Support Project based at the United States Institute of Peace in Washington, D.C. He was also a research professor of international politics, law, and society at Johns Hopkins University Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies. Between 1992 and 2004, Deng served as Representative of the UN Secretary-General on Internally Displaced Persons.

United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC). UNTAC was a military force established by the UN Security Council on February 28, 1992. The authority was created for the purpose of ensuring the implementation of the so-called Paris Agreements, formally called the Agreements on the Comprehensive Political Settlement of the Cambodia Conflict, signed on October 23, 1991. UNTAC was assigned the responsibility of promoting and safeguarding human rights in Cambodia, maintaining law and order, organizing and conducting free and fair elections, and overseeing the repatriation and resettlement of refugees and displaced persons (of which there were some four hundred thousand), and heading up the overall administrative structure for the country. Notably missing from UNTAC's mandate was anything in regard to bringing the Khmer Rouge to justice for the genocide and other crimes against humanity they had perpetrated between 1975 and 1979.

According to the agreements, the Supreme National Council of Cambodia (SNC) was reorganized as the legitimate government as the country moved towards a recovery of its sovereignty after the departure of the occupying Vietnamese and the administration they had imposed on the country in the wake of the genocidal regime of the Khmer Rouge (1975–1978). The SNC delegated to the United Nations such powers as were necessary to guarantee that the agreements—which had been negotiated over several years, amid ongoing factional violence—would be honored by all parties. UNTAC was the body authorized to oversee this process.

The special representative of the secretary-general, and head of mission, was Yasushi Akashi (b. 1931) of Japan and the force commander was Lieutenant-General John Sanderson (b. 1940) of Australia. At its peak, UNTAC had a strength of some twenty-two thousand civilian and military personnel, from thirty-two countries.

The day its mandate came to an end, September 24, 1993, the Cambodian head of state, King Norodom Sihanouk (b. 1922), promulgated a new constitutional monarchy (passed by the Constituent Assembly with a vote of 113 for, five against, with two abstentions), the Kingdom of Cambodia, as a sovereign nonaligned state.

United Nations Voluntary Military Force. Originally proposed by the first Secretary-General of the United Nations, Trygve Lie (1896–1968), in response to the 1948 Arab-Israel War, the UN Voluntary Military Force was to be a small guard force, recruited by him and placed at the disposal of the Security Council with the full backing of the United Nations itself. Its purpose was to put an end to fighting among factions and shore up truce agreements.

The idea, on a broader scale, actually was part of the original charter, specifically Article 43, which called for member nations to make available military forces on a proportional basis, but the idea was shelved as a result of the Cold War between the United States and the former Soviet Union.

In response to the tragedy in Bosnia in 1993, Sir Brian Urquart (b. 1919) of Great Britain, former Undersecretary at the United Nations, wrote, “The capacity to deploy credible and effective peace enforcement units, at short notice and at an early stage in a crisis, and with the strength and moral support of the world community behind them, would be a major step in [resolving potential violent conflicts]. Clearly, a timely intervention by a relatively small but highly trained force, willing and authorized to take combat risks and representing the will of the international community, could make a decisive difference in the early stages of a crisis.” Urquart sees such a fighting force coming under the direct leadership of the secretary-general and the support of nations and filling “a very important gap in the armory of the Security Council, giving it the ability to back up preventive diplomacy with a measure of immediate peace enforcement.”

Despite the financial costs involved, issues of recruitment, training, and organizational structures, coupled with the reluctance of nation-states to commit themselves to conflict involvement having no direct bearing on their own immediate geographies or economic or other interests, the idea of a UN Voluntary Military Force remains an intriguing possibility for addressing genocide at its earliest and most vulnerable stages.

UN Whitaker Report on Genocide, The. “The Whitaker Report,” which is subtitled “Revised and Updated Report on the Question of the Prevention and Punishment of the Crimes of Genocide,” was written by special rapporteur Ben Whitaker (b. 1934). Whitaker was given “the mandate to revise, as a whole, and update the study on the question of the prevention and punishment of the crimes of genocide.” Upon completion, the report was submitted to the UN Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities, Commission on Human Rights of the UN Economic and Social Council in Geneva in July 1985.

The report is composed of the following parts: Part I—Historical Survey; Part II—The Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (UNCG) (in which Whitaker, in part, analyzes the UNCG, particularly such thorny issues as the extent of destruction of a group; the groups protected [and not protected] under the UNCG; the issue of intent; acts subject to punishment; enforcement of the UNCG; and the question of time limitation, among others); Part III—Future Progress: Possible Ways Forward (herein Whitaker discusses such issues as the need for and specific ways to

prevent genocide, the need for the development of an effective genocide early warning system, the need to establish an international body to deal with genocide, and the need to establish an International Human Rights Tribunal or court); and Part IV—List of Recommendations.

Two of the many notable aspects of this report are as follows: (1) Whitaker suggests the need to expand the definition of genocide to include groups (e.g., political and social groups) that were left out of the UNCG due to political bargaining and compromises; and (2) Whitaker acknowledges, as earlier UN reports on genocide neglected to do, that the Armenians were, in fact, subjected to genocide by the Ottoman Turks early in the twentieth century.

United States Army School of the Americas (SOA). The main purpose of the U.S. Army School of the Americas (SOA), which was founded in Panama in 1946, was to befriend and tutor members of the Latin American military and train them in the value of democratic civilian control. However, the SOA quickly became a tool of U.S. Cold War policy in that it provided training for some sixty thousand soldiers and police officers for the express purpose of combating and interrogating leftist guerrillas. Ultimately, the SOA became notorious for the dictators and human rights violators that graduated from its halls.

The SOA was forced to relocate in 1984 to Fort Benning (Georgia) when Panamanian President Jorge Illueca evicted it, calling it “the biggest base for destabilization in Latin America.” Then, in the early 1990s, it was made public that the school’s training manuals advocated the use of “neutralizing” insurgents, torture, and blackmail.

The U.S. Congress closed the SOA down December 12, 2000. It subsequently reopened as the Western Hemisphere Institute for Security Cooperation, in order to provide professional education opportunities for military and law enforcement personnel, as well as civilians, from nations throughout the Western hemisphere. It has an extensive human rights focus and was created for the express purpose of creating a culture of respect for human rights within the armed forces, police personnel, and governmental and non-governmental organizations within the hemisphere.

United States Cambodian Genocide Justice Act. This 1994 act of the U.S. Congress expressed the U.S. government’s commitment to pursuing justice for the crimes committed by the Khmer Rouge during the period of the Cambodian genocide (1975–1979). More specifically, the act describes the purpose and activities of an Office of Cambodian Genocide Investigation in the following manner: “to support . . . efforts to bring to justice members of the Khmer Rouge for their crimes against humanity committed in Cambodia between April 17, 1975, and January 7, 1979, including (1) to investigate crimes against humanity committed by national Khmer Rouge leaders during that period; (2) to provide the people of Cambodia with access to documents, records, and other evidence held by the Office as a result of such an investigation; and (3) to submit relevant data to a national or international penal trial that may be convened to formally hear and judge the genocide acts committed by the Khmer Rouge.”

As a result of this act, the Cambodian Genocide Program (CGP) was established and housed at Yale University. The basic charge of the CGP is to carry out the three aforementioned goals set by the Cambodian Genocide Justice Act.

United States Commission on the Ukraine Famine. The purpose of the Commission on the Ukraine Famine, as defined by its enabling legislation by the U.S. Congress, was

“to conduct a study of the 1932–1933 Ukrainian Famine in order to expand the world’s knowledge of the famine and provide the American public with a better understanding of the Soviet system by revealing the Soviet role” in it. The duties of the commission, as mandated by federal law, were to “(1) study the Famine by gathering all available information about the Famine, analyzing its causes and consequences, and studying the reaction of the free world to the Famine; (2) provide interim reports to Congress; (3) provide information about the Famine to Congress, the executive branch, educational institutions, libraries, the news media, and the general public; (4) submit a final report to Congress on or before April 23, 1988; and (5) to terminate 60 days thereafter.”

United States Committee for Refugees and Immigrants. The U.S. Committee for Refugees and Immigrants, a nongovernmental organization, defends the rights of all uprooted people regardless of their nationality, race, religion, ideology, or social group. Its work is guided by the following principles: (1) refugees have basic human rights; (2) most fundamentally, no persons with a well-founded fear of persecution should be forcibly returned (refouled) to his or her homeland; (3) asylum seekers have the right to a fair and impartial hearing to determine their refugee status; and (4) all uprooted victims of human conflict, regardless of whether they cross a border, have the right to humane treatment, as well as adequate protection and assistance.

Based on its work with refugees, the U.S. Committee for Refugees and Immigrants has published several collections of first-person accounts by refugees who survived genocide.

United States Holocaust Memorial Museum (USHMM). Founded in 1993 and located on the Capitol Mall in Washington, D.C., the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum (USHMM) is dedicated to presenting the history of the persecution and murder of 6 million Jews and millions of other victims as a result of Nazi tyranny from 1933 to 1945. The museum is composed of the three-floor permanent exhibition, which tells the story of the Holocaust through artifacts, photographs, films, and eyewitness testimony. It also contains the U.S. Holocaust Research Institute, one of the world’s major research centers on the Holocaust, a library, an oral history department, and an education department, among other departments and divisions. Its Center for Advanced Holocaust Studies, which supports scholarship and publications in the field of Holocaust studies, promotes the growth of Holocaust studies at U.S. universities, seeks to foster relationships between U.S.-based and international scholars, and initiates programs to ensure the ongoing training of future generations of scholars specializing in the study of the Holocaust. In association with Oxford University Press, the center publishes the scholarly journal *Holocaust and Genocide Studies*.

A significant department/arm of the USHMM is the Committee on Conscience (COC). The COC’s mandate is “to alert the national conscience, influence policy makers, and stimulate worldwide action to confront and work to halt acts of genocide or related crimes against humanity. In carrying out its mandate, the Committee uses a wide range of actions, including public programs and activities, temporary exhibitions and public or private communication with policy makers. It seeks to work whenever possible with other governmental and non-governmental organizations.”

United States Institute of Peace. Founded in 1985, the Washington, D.C.–based U.S. Institute of Peace is an independent, nonpartisan federal institution created by Congress to promote research, education, and training on the prevention, management, and resolution of international conflicts.

United States Presidential Leadership Syndrome. Coined by John Shattuck (n.d.), a former U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor, the “[U.S.] presidential leadership syndrome” constitutes a situation where “the president is not likely to take the politically risky step of intervening in a humanitarian crisis—especially if loss of life of U.S. forces is possible—unless there is strong public support for intervention” (Shattuck, 1996, p. 174). Many other nations are likely subjects to a similar syndrome, be it “presidential,” or “prime ministerial.”

Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR). This historic document was adopted and proclaimed by a vote of the UN General Assembly on December 10, 1948 (Resolution 217 A [III]), and consists of a preamble arguing for “the inherent dignity and equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family” as the “foundation of freedom, justice, and peace in the world” and the “common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations.” The UDHR constitutes the first of five declarations, covenants, and protocols included under the larger heading of The International Bill of Human Rights. The UDHR comprises thirty articles that delineate basic civil, cultural, economic, political, and social rights that are the “birthright” of all human beings everywhere. Put another way, it delineates those human rights that are considered by the international community to be the inalienable and fundamental rights and freedoms that all human beings are born with and that should be honored without fail. Among the rights delineated in the UDHR are life, liberty, and security of person; recognition everywhere as a person before the law; the freedom of thought, conscience, and religion; and the freedom of opinion and expression. Certain articles also specify what each individual should not be subjected to, including, for example, slavery or servitude; torture or cruel, inhumane, or degrading treatment or punishment; or arbitrary arrest, detention, or exile. Examples of specific rights are as follows: Article I states that “All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood.” Article II states, in part, that “Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth, or other status.” And Article 3 simply but profoundly states, “Everyone has the right to life, liberty, and security of person.”

Those nations that signed the declaration were urged in the document itself to publicize and display its passage and educate their citizenry “in schools and other educational institutions.”

Along with the “UN Covenant on Civil and Political Rights” (1966; ratified 1976), “UN Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights” (1966; not yet ratified), “UN Convention on the Punishment and Prevention of the Crime of Genocide” (1948), and the “UN Convention Against Torture” (1985; not yet ratified), the “Universal Declaration of Human Rights” constitutes the foundation for international human rights legislation, too often honored more in theory than in actual practice even by the various signatory nations.

Universal Jurisdiction. This legal concept maintains that any state can hold perpetrators of genocide accountable regardless of whether the crime was committed in that state or against that state’s nationals as long as the state has written legislation criminalizing genocide in its domestic law.

UNPROFOR. See United Nations Protection Force.

UNTAC. See United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia.

Untermenschen (German, “Subhuman Beings”). The general term used by the Nazi regime (1933–1945) for non-Aryan peoples. While originally applied to Slavs, the term also came to be used for Jews, Sinti-Roma (“Gypsies”), Poles, and Russians. Such persons were held to be of little or no worth to society and thus easily “expended” (exterminated).

Uprising. A motion picture about the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising of April–May 1943, made in 2001. Produced and directed by U.S. filmmaker Jon Avnet (b. 1949), the film has an all-star cast including Leelee Sobieski (b. 1983), Hank Azaria (b. 1964), David Schwimmer (b. 1966), Jon Voight (b. 1938), and Donald Sutherland (b. 1935). Nearly three hours in length, *Uprising* is a fictional recreation of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising of April 1943 and was originally a made-for-television movie. Though the story of the uprising itself has been the subject of many factual works (and some fictional works such as Leon Uris’ [1924–2003] novel *Mila 18*), *Uprising* is the first American film to dramatize the events.

Uprising explores the background to the Warsaw Ghetto revolt, the resistance leadership, and the heroism of the revolt itself. The style adopted by Avnet is semidocumentary in format, telling the story in a linear fashion through the eyes of the main historical characters involved: Adam Czerniakow (1880–1942), Mordechai Anielewicz (1919–1942), Yitzhak Zuckerman (1915–1981), and SS Major General Jürgen Stroop (1895–1952), among others. *Uprising* won or was nominated for numerous awards, including Emmys and Golden Globes.

The film, as many reviewers have noted, pays particular care to portray the plight of the Jews with exceptional accuracy, but tends to overly positively portray the plight of the Poles under the Nazis.

USSR, Genocide in. Deliberate state violence perpetrated by successive governments of the USSR (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics; also referred to, in its shortened form, as the Soviet Union) against its citizens between 1917 and 1989 led to a staggeringly large number of deaths—from an unlikely low estimate of about 28 million, to an equally unlikely high figure of nearly 127 million. Scholar of genocide and state violence R. J. Rummel (b. 1932), whose approximation has increasingly been accepted as the best estimate, has settled on about 62 million Soviet-induced deaths overall, of whom nearly 54.8 million were citizens and 7 million were foreigners. The enormity of these figures is compounded by the fact that the vast majority of those killed were targeted, directly or indirectly, for political reasons. In some instances, whole regions were depopulated because those living there were deemed to be class enemies of communism; in other instances, groups were targeted because they were national groups whose expressed preference was not to live under Soviet or Russian rule. Furthermore, not only declared political enemies of the ruling clique were targeted, but their families, acquaintances, and even those whom they barely knew were also liquidated. In short, the communist regime of the Soviet Union was probably one of the most murderous in history, in which victims came from all social strata, ethnic groups, political affiliations, religious traditions, cultural connections, and nationalities.

Soviet genocidal actions took place in a variety of environments. For example, in Ukraine in the early 1930s, around 6.5 million died as a result of enforced, man-made

famine, the means employed by the communists to ensure Ukrainian compliance with the Soviet regime. In the period of the Great Purges, between 1934 and 1938, hundreds of thousands were simply executed on Soviet dictator Joseph Stalin's (1879–1953) orders. Still others—such as those from the Caucasus and elsewhere—perished in untold numbers during the 1940s owing to forcible transfers of entire national populations from one part of the Soviet Union to another.

A vast network of labor camps, spread from one end of the USSR to the other, operated with extreme cruelty in conditions of mind-numbing cold and resulted in mass death. The Soviet way of mass death was less concentrated and more arbitrary than that of other regimes such as National Socialist (Nazi) Germany, but—possibly because of this—it was far more destructive in human lives and in the general terror it inflicted.

Ustashe. In Serbo-Croatian, the word *Ustashe* is a plural of *Ustasha*—an insurgent who participates in an *Ustanak*, or uprising. The Ustashe was a radical Croatian right-wing national movement that formed in the early 1930s.

With the disintegration of the Austro-Hungarian Empire in 1918, the dream of radical Croat nationalists for an independent Greater Croatia was frustrated by the major powers, who coerced Croatia into a new multiethnic state, the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes—which was renamed Yugoslavia in 1929. By way of response, the *Ustashe* was formed. It employed terrorist means in order to achieve its radical nationalist ambitions of an independent state, but, in its first few years, it enjoyed little support. Its greatest success took place when it re-emerged during World War II, at a time during which Yugoslavia was under German, Italian, and Hungarian occupation. The war provided another opportunity to try to establish an independent Croatia, this time under German auspices. The eventual Croatian puppet state thereby created included most of Bosnia and the entire Dalmatian coast, as well as historic Croatia. The new state was ruled by a dictator, Ante Pavelic (1889–1959), and the *Ustashe*, which many likened to a fascist organization, came into its own. During the war years, from 1941 onward, Greater Croatia under the *Ustashe* became a genocidal dictatorship: its members, with the backing of the Catholic Church, suppressed all other political factions and sought to exterminate minorities such as the Serbs, the Jews, and the Roma (Gypsies). To accomplish this, the Ustashe government constructed a network of concentration camps, the largest of which was Jasenovac, a veritable death camp about sixty miles south of the Croatian capital, Zagreb. This camp soon became as notorious in the Balkans as Auschwitz was in Nazi-occupied Poland. By the end of the war, the *Ustashe* were responsible for the deaths of more than five hundred thousand Serbs, twenty thousand Roma, most of the country's Jews, and untold thousands of political opponents.

At the end of the war, many of the *Ustashe* leaders were able to flee to safety in places like Spain and Argentina. Pavelic himself fled to Argentina, where he reorganized the *Ustashe* in exile. He was, however, wounded in an assassination attempt in Madrid in 1957, and he died two years later from his injuries.

With the end of World War II, all parts of Yugoslavia were reincorporated into a single state, much to the distress of the radical Croat nationalists, who now found themselves under a communist regime led by Josip Broz Tito (1892–1980). Tito, himself a Croat, was determined to rid Yugoslavia of ethnic politics and did so through the power he wielded. Prior to his death in 1980, all signs of ethnopolitics were suppressed by the state. These were to reappear with a vengeance soon after this, however, when communism was being

challenged throughout eastern Europe. As the situation became more fluid, Croatian nationalism reasserted itself more and more forcefully under the leadership of Franjo Tudjman (1922–1999). Tudjman, an authoritarian leader, used *Ustashe* symbols and rhetoric to whip up enthusiasm for Croatian independence and, if possible, for the long-held dream of a Greater Croatia. This, in part, explains his on-again, off-again collaboration with Serbian dictator Slobodan Milosevic (1941–2006) to divide up Bosnia. After Tudjman’s death in 1999, free elections ousted the *Ustashe* sympathizers, especially those who favored the genocidal policy of ethnic cleansing.

Utilitarian Genocide. The notion of *utilitarian genocide* literally suggests that genocide is contemplated and executed to serve a specific end, a purpose that legitimizes the act. It suggests that in the eyes of the *génocidaires*, committing genocide is justified because it serves a social objective, whether in the name of “race,” clan, or some other goal such as the conquest of territory (as with the Nazi pursuit of strategic Lebensraum or the expansion of “living space”). It could be argued that all instances of genocide include an element of utilitarianism. If that is the case, then genocide in the name of a blueprint becomes fully comprehensible and, therefore, rational. It is far from being an irrational phenomenon, but rather an act that can be described and fully understood if perceived through the eyes of its architects and perpetrators. Though genocide may be classified as a crime and immoral, it is not purposeless. It is an extreme act based on a radical intention within reach of analysis and reasonable interpretation. In that regard, then, genocide is not, as some have argued, incomprehensible, beyond the rational, or indescribable. Such assertions as the latter are, for the most part, emotive (if, perhaps, typical) responses on the part of observers repelled by the magnitude of the crime and its moral implications. Indeed, such a response is predictable, but inaccurate. Genocide, like any other human event, lies within the range of the human mind. Its explicit purpose allows for no other conclusion. Generally, *génocidaires* are not madmen or psychopaths, but rather orderly thinking persons with a vision and a plan of action. What is disturbing is the fanaticism with which genocide is envisioned, pursued and carried out.

Utopian Genocide. Various perpetrators of genocide have set out to establish what in their minds was a utopia (or, the perfect world). The creation of a perfect world or even something that approximates a perfect world is impossible, which is mirrored in the meaning of “utopia”—nowhere. It takes a megalomaniac, or at least someone verging on megalomania, to believe that he/she is capable of creating a utopian society, and, unfortunately, there have been a fair number of dictators and perpetrators of genocide who have, to one extent or another, verged on being megalomaniacs: Hitler (1889–1945), Stalin (1879–1953), Mao (1893–1976), and Pol Pot (1925–1998), to name but four. Different perpetrators of genocide who have striven to create utopias have adhered to radically different philosophies, and their brutal and deadly actions have followed from their philosophies and goals. Hitler set out to create a world populated by the so-called perfect race, and thus in his mind he had to kill off those he considered less than perfect, less than human; Stalin and Mao strove to create the perfect communist state, no matter what it took or how many were killed in the process; and Pol Pot strove to create a pure Khmer and totally self-sufficient agrarian society. Just as all of the aforementioned efforts resulted in the killing of millions of people, all such utopian efforts, ultimately, were—in many and varied ways—also dismal failures.

Uwilingiyimana, Agathe (1953–1994). Rwanda's first woman prime minister, she served from July 18, 1993, to April 7, 1994. She became prime minister at a critical juncture in Rwanda's history, when a rapprochement was being attempted by the Hutu-dominated government of Juvenal Habyarimana (1937–1994) and the Tutsi-run Rwandan Patriotic Front. It was during the period when it was hoped by many, though certainly not all, that as a result of the signing of the Arusha Accords peace and stability would finally come to Rwanda and it would be one in which both Hutu and Tutsi were welcome and treated fairly. Following the shooting down of Habyarimana's plane, the mass murder of the Tutsi and moderate Hutu by the extremist Hutu began. At the very outbreak of genocide, on April 7, UNAMIR (UN Assistance Mission for Rwanda) force commander Romeo Dallaire (b. 1946) ordered Belgian soldiers with UNAMIR to protect Uwilingiyimana, but the Belgians were taken hostage (and ultimately killed). Later, the same day, Uwilingiyimana (a moderate Hutu who was decried as a Tutsi sympathizer by the extremist Hutus) and her husband were shot and killed at their home by Hutu extremists who were members of the Presidential Guard.

V

Van Anraat, Frans (b. 1942). A Dutch businessman and engineer who was tried and found guilty of complicity in war crimes in connection with the campaign by Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein (1937–2006) to use chemical weapons during the Iran-Iraq War (1980–1988) and the 1988 al-Anfal campaign against Iraq’s Kurdish population in northern Iraq.

In the mid-1980s, van Anraat’s chemical company, FCA Contractor, was a major supplier of the raw materials needed to make mustard gas and nerve gas, both of which Hussein used as weapons of war and genocide. Arrested at U.S. insistence (and then, for some unknown reason, released) in Italy in 1989, van Anraat moved to Iraq to live under Saddam Hussein’s protection. When the Iraqi dictator’s regime fell in 2003, van Anraat relocated to his native Netherlands, where he was arrested by Dutch police in his Amsterdam home in December 2004. He appeared for a pretrial hearing in a Dutch court on March 19, 2005, and on December 23, 2005, was sentenced to fifteen years’ imprisonment for complicity in war crimes. He was acquitted on a charge of complicity in genocide.

Of particular interest *vis-à-vis* this case—aside from its intrinsic value—is that van Anraat was arrested by Dutch police and tried in a Dutch court, The Hague District Court, which assumed jurisdiction in this instance. Van Anraat’s sentence was the maximum that the court could impose. The other point of interest in this case is that the court determined that genocide, measured under the terms of the UN Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide 1948 (UNCG), had taken place against the Kurds and could be “legally and convincingly proven.” Following the terms of the UNCG closely, though, the court stated it could not find sufficient evidence of van Anraat’s knowledge of the genocidal intent of the Iraqi government. In August 2006, the Netherlands prosecutor’s office began an appeal against the dismissal of van Anraat’s charge of complicity in genocide. The appeal was running through 2007.

Vance-Owen Peace Plan. A peace initiative negotiated during the Bosnian War (1992–1995) in January 1993. It refers to the diplomatic efforts by two negotiators—one from the United States, the other from Britain—to bring the three-way war in Bosnia to a peaceful end. By the time Cyrus Vance (1917–2002) and Lord David Owen (b. 1938) arrived on the scene, Bosnia was a battleground of three rival ethnic groups: the Catholic Croats, the Orthodox Serbs, and the Muslim Bosniaks. On occasion, Serbs and Croats collaborated to divide Bosnia among themselves by evicting the Bosniaks. Sometimes, depending on the fortunes of war, Croats fought alongside Bosniaks to prevent the Serbs

from conquering too much land at their mutual expense. Vance and Owen were entrusted with the task of preparing a map of Bosnia with internal borders acceptable to all three warring parties. Since the military fronts fluctuated from day-to-day, it was initially impossible to arrive at a consensus. Vance and Owen were supposed to draw up lines in which no land was obtained by military conquest, with the principle that all refugees could return to their homes. It was a hopeless task. In all, they produced over thirty maps, all of them a compromise. Each reflected land obtained by conquest, and it was understood that the right of return was merely a theoretical gesture that was politically impossible to enact. The final Vance-Owen map proposed dividing Bosnia-Herzegovina into ten semi-autonomous cantons: three for each of the ethnic groups, and a separate one for the capital, Sarajevo. This would, they proposed, preserve Bosnia's unity and distinctive multiethnic character. The plan, supported by the United Nations, was rejected by the United States, because it rewarded the Bosnian Serbs by allowing them to keep much of the land they had taken by force, and by the Bosnian Serbs, because it did not give them enough of the land they coveted. On June 18, 1993, Lord Owen declared the plan dead. The significance of the Vance-Owen Peace Plan was that it was the last international initiative to favor a united Bosnia based on a shared civic consciousness. Henceforth, schemes put forward to try to bring peace concentrated on separating the warring parties through some form of partition.

Vendean Massacres. The Vendée, a region in western France, rose in rebellion against the regicidal and anti-Catholic French Revolution in 1793. It was the most extensive counterrevolutionary challenge to the newly proclaimed republic, and its final, brutal suppression from February 1794 onward was accompanied by forced population removal and wholesale physical destruction of farms, houses, crops, forests, and villages, together with massive slaughter of the Vendean civil population. Earlier, the republican forces, reconstituted as the official army of the French nation, had been compelled to wage an increasingly bitter civil war with the Vendean rebels, in which a series of major defeats for the government saw an intensification of the pacification techniques required to put down the rebellion. The Vendée's population had therefore already suffered a great deal at the hands of the government forces, even prior to the final assault led by the republican general Louis Marie Turreau de Garambouvill (1756–1816). This took the form of twelve armed columns, called the *colonnes infernales* (effectively equating with what, at a later time, would become known as “storm troopers”), which rampaged through the Vendée by a number of routes, raping, murdering, burning, and destroying as they went. The people of the Vendée, subjected to the most vicious of counterrevolutionary measures, were eventually overcome by the spring of 1796. Scores of thousands had been killed; numbers range anywhere from forty thousand to two hundred fifty thousand, though an authoritative figure of about one hundred twenty thousand, representing 15 percent of the population, is increasingly accepted today. The extent of the destruction was so great that in 1794 the revolutionary authorities even decreed that the region should be renamed, from the department of the Vendée to the department of the Vengé, or, in English, “revenged.” Such was the impact of the Republican measures against the Vendée that it took half a century for the region to recover from its experience during the French Revolution and a full century before French civic nationalism became internalized throughout the Vendée.

Vernichtung (German, “Extermination”). This German term for *extermination* was used in various ways to describe Nazi actions, primarily against Jews: *vernichtung durch*

arbeit (destruction through work), *vernichtungsanstalt* (extermination facility), *vernichtungskommando* (extermination or death squads), and *vernichtungslager* (death camp).

Vernichtungslager (German, “Extermination Camp”). The German term for the extermination/annihilation killing centers, primarily in occupied Poland, wherein the majority of Europe’s Jews (and others such as the Roma), men, women, and children, were murdered by the Nazis and their collaborators during World War II via gassings (the use of the insecticide Zyklon B), beatings, torture, starvation, and other forms of brutalization, all as part of the “Final Solution to the Jewish Problem.” The main centers of death were Auschwitz-Birkenau (where 1.5 million Jews were murdered), Belzec (six hundred thousand Jews), Chelmno (three hundred twenty thousand Jews), Majdanek (three hundred sixty thousand Jews), Sobibor (two hundred fifty thousand Jews), and Treblinka (eight hundred seventy thousand Jews). Overall, it is estimated that more than 3.5 million Jews were murdered in these locations, many upon their immediate arrival, others only after nearly (and in many cases, literally) being worked to death, and still others as the result of diseases such as typhus and dysentery.

Versailles Peace Conference on War Crimes. A commission of inquiry, which was established under the auspices of the Versailles Peace Conference of 1919, that proposed the establishment of an ad hoc international criminal tribunal that would adjudicate alleged war crimes. The peace conference, however, never acted upon the proposal.

Versailles Treaty. Signed by German foreign minister Herman Muller (1876–1931) and German minister for transport Johannes Bell (1868–1949) after World War I on June 28, 1919, in the Hall of Mirrors at the Versailles Palace, near Paris, and by the victorious allies of France (Georges Clemenceau [1841–1929]), Great Britain (David Lloyd George [1863–1945]), and the United States (Woodrow Wilson [1856–1924]). The document was referred to by Adolf Hitler (1889–1945) as the *Versailler Diktat* (or “Dictated [Peace] of Versailles”), and was referenced by him as one of the primary arguments for revenge against Jews, communists, socialists, and others who not only, according to his way of thinking, contributed to Germany’s defeat, but were primarily responsible for its continuing devastation. More specifically, he perceived the strict terms of the Versailles Treaty as totally unfair and unreasonable and as constricting Germany socially, politically, economically, and militarily.

The French were determined to bring Germany to its knees, the British publicly so but privately hesitant, and the Americans reluctant to do so. According to the terms of the Treaty of Versailles, Germany was to (1) surrender Alsace-Lorraine; Eupen and Malmedy; Northern Schleswig; Holstein; West Prussia, Posen, and Upper Silesia; the Saar, Danzig, and Memel; (2) reduce its standing army to only one hundred thousand men, down from its wartime capacity numbering in the millions; (3) admit to full responsibility for World War I (Clause 231, the so-called “War Guilt Clause”); and (4) pay reparations in the amount of £6.6 billion British (approximately \$12 billion in current U.S. dollars), an amount beyond Germany’s ability to pay. Other clauses included returning to Russia all lands taken from it, reduction of Germany’s navy to only six battleships and no submarines, the total dismantlement of the German air force, and no allegiance with Austria. German reactions were not wholly unexpected, with many feeling the punishment devastatingly disproportionate, having themselves lost more than 2 million men during the course of World War I.

Vichy France. With the fall of France in June 1940, France was divided into two regions: an unoccupied zone (central and southern) and an occupied zone (northern and

western). In the occupied zone, the civilian administration was under the control of World War I hero Marshal General Henri Philippe Pétain (1886–1951), and his second-in-command, Pierre Laval (1883–1945). From then on, and increasingly until France’s liberation in 1944, the Vichy government initiated procedures and aided in the roundup of French Jewry (a population of approximately three hundred fifty thousand; about one-half of whom were foreign-born) and their transport to the East, where they were eventually exterminated. Seventy thousand Jews were sent directly to Auschwitz-Birkenau where they were murdered, usually upon arrival. Eighty thousand others perished inside France itself.

Laws passed already in the summer of 1941, one year after the takeover of France, redefined Jewish participation in French society and paved the way for the appropriation of Jewish assets. In 1995, French president Jacques Chirac (b. 1932) finally acknowledged Vichy France’s complicity in the Holocaust on the occasion of the fifty-third anniversary of the round-up of thirteen thousand French Jews, including four thousand children, and their temporary incarceration in the Drancy sports stadium outside Paris in 1942.

Victor’s Justice (German, *Siegerjustiz*). Victor’s justice is that concept whereby those nation-states successful in war bring to trial their enemies, which they have the legal right to do. (This concept was most prominently called into question at the conclusion of World War II in the case of the International Military Tribunal (IMT) held at Nuremberg, Germany in 1945 and 1946, when the Allies tried both the Nazis and their collaborators as war criminals.) In this concept, the victors are critiqued as applying different standards in their judgment than they would if judging the actions of their own forces, thus potentially opening themselves up to charges of injustice and prejudicial sentencing.

In the case of Nuremberg specifically, judges, prosecutors, and defense attorneys went to great lengths to ensure that the Nazi defendants and their counsels had full access to all evidentiary materials. All judges were required to always be physically present. Death sentences required unanimous agreement rather than majority vote.

Today, such institutions as the International Criminal Court (ICC) in The Hague, the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY), and the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR) are perceived by the world community as operating according to principles of fair and equitable justice—though both Serb and Hutu recipients of their sentencing processes often perceive the latter two institutions, respectively, as cases of victor’s justice.

Vietnam Analogy (also referred to as *The Vietnam Syndrome*). Generally speaking, this “analogy” or “syndrome” refers to the tentativeness, if not outright resistance, by the U.S. military and certain U.S. presidents and their cabinet members, to allow the U.S. military to intervene in violent conflicts abroad (including those in which crimes against humanity and/or genocide are being perpetrated) out of fear the end result might be a quagmire from which it would be difficult to disengage and likely result in the loss of life of U.S. personnel.

More specifically, due to the fear of ending up in a quagmire in Bosnia should it commit troops to help ameliorate the conflict and ongoing warfare in the former Yugoslavia, various members of U.S. president George Herbert Walker Bush’s (b. 1924) administration began referring to the situation as “Vietnam-like.” What they were alluding to is the entanglement the U.S. government found itself in Vietnam for well over a decade (1961–1975), during the course of an undeclared war (the U.S. Congress had not officially declared war with North Vietnam) that the United States would eventually lose.

Fearing a communist takeover of all of southeast Asia as one nation after another fell to communist insurgents (the so-called domino theory), the U.S. troops first served as so-called advisers to the South Vietnamese government in the latter's battle with the North Vietnamese, and later took on a full combat role in which fifty-eight thousand U.S. military personnel would eventually be killed. U.S. troops not only faced an enemy well-versed in guerrilla warfare, but one that was tenacious in its efforts and thoroughly dedicated to its cause of overthrowing what it perceived as a corrupt regime (South Vietnam) in order to replace it with a communist state. No matter what tactical efforts the U.S. government tried, no matter how many bombs and napalm it dropped on the enemy and the jungles where the war was fought, and no matter how many U.S. soldiers were thrown into the fray, Vietnam was a quagmire from which the United States could not seem to free itself. Finally, in 1975, knowing full well that if it did not pull out of Vietnam, the war (which was highly unpopular among many U.S. citizens) would continue on for years, the United States unceremoniously left South Vietnam to its own devices and in the lurch. Swiftly thereafter, the war came to an end with the North Vietnamese the victors.

The "Vietnam analogy" was one that was truly believed by some to be germane to the situation in the former Yugoslavia in the 1990s. Others, though, used it for political purposes. As Power (2002) notes, "The one word bogey 'Vietnam' became the ubiquitous shorthand for all that could go wrong in the Balkans if the United States became militarily engaged. For some, the war in Vietnam offered a cause for genuine concern, as they feared any operation that lacked strong public support, implicated no 'vital interests,' and occurred on mountainous terrain. But many opponents of intervention proffered the Vietnam analogy less because they saw a likeness between the two scenarios than because they knew of no argument more likely to chill public enthusiasm for intervention" (p. 284).

Vietnam Intervention in Cambodia. The violent and genocidal nature of the Khmer Rouge regime in Democratic Kampuchea (Cambodia) between 1975 and 1979 caused considerable unease among the country's neighbors, none more so than Vietnam. Ethnic Vietnamese within Cambodia were among the minorities targeted for destruction by the Khmer Rouge throughout its rule, and in September 1977, Khmer Rouge troops had even made an incursion into Vietnam itself, where they massacred 300 local civilians. This was the worst of a number of border attacks, a situation that was kept secret by both sides for several months. At the beginning of 1978, however, the situation escalated suddenly when six Vietnamese divisions attacked Cambodia. The assault was repelled, but a year later, in January 1979, a more determined Vietnamese offensive saw the capture of Phnom Penh and the creation within a month of a pro-Vietnamese regime. Pol Pot (1925–1998), the leader of the Khmer Rouge, was forced to take the remnants of his forces deep into the jungles of western Cambodia, near the Thai border, where they reestablished their communist regime at a more local level. Subsequently, his forces were supported by Thailand and (as they had been for several years) China, and were a threat to the new Vietnamese-backed Cambodian communist government. But, by this stage, the Khmer Rouge had lost the support of the bulk of the Cambodian people. Indeed, it was dissent within the Communist Party of Kampuchea, followed by dreadful and widespread retributive party purges costing the lives of thousands, that provided the Vietnamese with fertile ground to intervene in Cambodia in the first place. The Vietnamese intervention, and the destruction of the Pol Pot regime it facilitated, saw an end to the Khmer Rouge's

attempt to remodel society through destruction and genocide. All over the country, the traumatized survivors began to return home in an effort to rebuild their shattered lives. The fact that the new regime installed by the Vietnamese, the People's Republic of Kampuchea, was communist was of less consequence than the fact that it was not genocidal, destructive, or (its ideological statements to the contrary) revolutionary.

Contrary to the belief of some, the Vietnamese did not, then, remove the Khmer Rouge in order to halt the Khmer Rouge–perpetrated genocide. Rather, Vietnam unilaterally invaded Democratic Kampuchea for its own strategic reasons. Still, the invasion freed the Cambodian people from the Khmer Rouge, which had, by that time, been responsible for the deaths of some 1 to 2 million people by forced labor under horrific conditions, starvation, unattended illnesses, murder, and mass executions. The invasion resulted in an occupation that lasted into the early 1990s.

Vietnam Intervention in Cambodia, United States' Response. The downfall of Cambodia's Khmer Rouge regime (1975–1979) at the hands of the invading Vietnamese in 1979 saw the end of Khmer Rouge dictator Pol Pot's (1925–1998) genocidal revolution, but Vietnam's intervention was viewed as problematic by the United States. While most U.S. politicians were glad that the slaughter had stopped, there were mixed emotions over the fact that it was Vietnam that had been successful in deposing Pol Pot. The United States in 1979 was still reeling over its own disastrous war with Vietnam, a conflict that had lasted from 1961 until 1975, taken the lives of 58,132 U.S. servicemen, created deep and divisive divisions within U.S. society, and destroyed the ambitions of two U.S. presidents, Lyndon Baines Johnson (1908–1973) and Richard Milhous Nixon (1913–1994).

With the Vietnamese victory in Cambodia, the incumbent U.S. president, Jimmy Carter (b. 1924), saw himself forced to choose between the genocidal Khmer Rouge regime or the former enemy, communist Vietnam—a government backed by the U.S.'s Cold War adversary, the Soviet Union. Moreover, an argument was put in some circles that the Vietnamese intervention was nothing short of an expansionist takeover, and this, within a context of the “Domino Theory” (which asserted that once one nation in southeast Asia fell to the communists, the fall of others would come in quick succession). Adding to the considerations weighing against approval of the Vietnamese action was an American infatuation with China, which it viewed as a counterweight within the communist world to the domination of the Soviet Union. Taken together, there was little support for the Vietnamese within the corridors of power in Washington, D.C. As a result, the Carter administration decided to back the Khmer Rouge, calling upon Vietnam to withdraw its forces from Cambodia. The United States was supported in this by China (the main backer of Pol Pot and Vietnam's longest-standing adversary), Australia, the Philippines, Indonesia, and several other countries. The response of the U.S. government to the ouster of Pol Pot and his genocidal Khmer Rouge regime by the Vietnamese, in short, became symbolic of Cold War power politics. It represents a moral low-point for the U.S. government, while at the same time a diplomatic success within the context of the struggle with the Soviet Union, as it reinforced the resolve of the anti-Soviet bloc in southeast Asia.

Visegrad. A town in eastern Bosnia, located on the Drina River. Visegrad was one of the first major locations to be severely attacked by Bosnian Serb forces during the Bosnian War of 1992–1995. The Muslim population of the town, numbering about fourteen thousand at the beginning of the war, was systematically assaulted by Serbian militia

groups with the intention of forcing their removal. Principal among these was a unit known as the White Eagles, commanded by Milan Lukic (b. 1967), which carried out a rash of attacks against the Muslim population, including torture, rape, mutilation, forced labor, deportation, and mass murder. Many within the Muslim community were also falsely imprisoned. These acts took place in the spring and summer of 1992, and thus constitute one of the earliest examples of what came to be known as “ethnic cleansing.” It took a long time before the full story of the fate of Visegrad became known to the wider world, owing to the extent and unexpected nature of the destruction. Correspondents were taken by surprise by what happened, and the closure of the city by the conquering Serb authorities made news extremely difficult to gather. It was only after a long period of research in 1996 that *British Guardian* journalist Ed Vulliamy was able to expose the story to a wide Western audience of what happened at Visegrad. By this stage, however, additional atrocities in 1995, at places like Gorazde and Srebrenica, accompanied by a general war-weariness, had forced an early atrocity like Visegrad into the background of Western consciousness: a casualty of the accumulation of war crimes and crimes against humanity over the course of the Bosnian War.

Voices from the Lake. Produced in 2003, this is reportedly the first feature-length documentary film on the Armenian genocide. It focuses on the day-to-day series of events taking place in Kharpert-Mezreh, one among tens of hundreds of towns and villages of the former Ottoman Empire in 1915 where genocide was perpetrated by the Ottoman Turks against its Armenian population. Eyewitness accounts of U.S. and European officials, missionaries, educators, and Armenian survivors are interwoven throughout. Also included are previously censored reports, classified documents, and diaries that had been hidden.

Volk (German, “The People”). The concept of *Volk* constitutes the almost-mystical understanding of the Nazis (and others) of the ties that bound the German people as a separate and distinct entity from others, best expressed by the German expression *Blut und Boden* (blood and soil), but equally reflecting a sense of both racial purity (Aryanization) and a uniquely distinctive Germanic culture. The term *Volk*, itself, first surfaced in the nineteenth century among German romantics as a self-description of the nation-state as an organic living entity. Once adapted, it was able to provide an ideological foundation for the Nazi-inspired and Nazi-driven “Final Solution to the Jewish Problem,” and, thus, the elimination of those “undesirables” who could never be part of the German people.

Von Trotha, Adrian Dietrich Lothar (1848–1920). The German commander-in-chief of military forces in South-West Africa, 1904–1907, Lothar von Trotha replaced the governor, Major Theodor Leutwein (1849–1921), who was recalled to Berlin after the beginning of the Herero uprising against German rule. Lieutenant-General von Trotha had a single aim in mind for his tenure as commander in chief: to destroy utterly the Herero people while at the same time crushing their rebellion and intimidating other local peoples into not following the Herero example. Under von Trotha’s command, his ten-thousand-strong army advanced into Hereroland on three fronts, pushing the Herero toward the desert, while blocking opportunities of escape. On October 2, 1904, he issued an order calling for the Hereros’ extermination: in the three years that followed, the Herero uprising had not only been put down, but the Herero people had also effectively been destroyed as a viable population.

Prior to the uprising, by best accounts, the Herero population had numbered around eighty thousand; after it, no more than about fifteen thousand were alive. The Herero

had been killed by military action, by starvation and thirst, by disease, and by overwork in German-run labor camps. Evidence exists of medical experiments having been carried out on the Herero and of sexual crimes having been committed against Herero women. Other local peoples, particularly the Nama, also suffered under von Trotha's rule, with over half the population destroyed in 1905 alone. Von Trotha was indeed successful in meeting the terms of his orders to put down uprisings and dissent in South-West Africa, but his means of doing so generated criticism both within Germany and outside of it. In 1907 his orders were cancelled, a gesture robbed of much of its meaning owing to his ferocious success in having already put down the rebellions. He was recalled to Germany and in 1910 was made a full general in the German infantry. He died on March 31, 1920, in Bonn—his place in history guaranteed as the first twentieth century perpetrator of what would later come to be deemed genocide.

Vorn Vet (c. 1934–1978). A leader of Cambodia's communist Khmer Rouge government under Pol Pot (1925–1998) between 1975 and his death (as the result of a purge) in 1978. Penh Thuok, who took the revolutionary name Suok Thuok between 1970 and 1975 and then resumed his earlier revolutionary name of Vorn Vet in 1976, was the son of peasant farmers from Siem Reap province. In 1952 he passed his senior high school examination and moved to Phnom Penh, just in time for Cambodia's independence from France the following year. In 1954 he joined the communist cause of Pol Pot, becoming a member of the Communist Party of Kampuchea (CPK) in December 1954. While not much is known about the next few years of his life, it is possible that he worked for the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) in a double agent capacity, while still retaining his membership of the CPK and moving up its hierarchy. As a party official, Vorn engaged in a number of activities, including pacifying newly conquered territories and bringing them into the Khmer Rouge style of communist administration, and generally serving as one of the bureaucratic mainstays of the CPK. From 1963 onward, he was head of the Phnom Penh CPK, and from 1971 onward he served as CPK secretary for the special zone in which Phnom Penh was situated. In April 1976 he became deputy prime minister for the economy.

Most importantly, within the history of the Cambodian genocide, was the appointment by Vorn and the Khmer Rouge minister of defense, Son Sen (1927–1997), of Khang Khek Iev, also known as “Comrade Duch” (b. 1942), to the position of head of the Santebal—the special branch of the security police. It was Duch, acting on orders from Vorn Vet and Son Sen, who was responsible for running the notorious Tuol Sleng prison in Phnom Penh, in which many thousands of Cambodians suspected of being antirevolutionary were killed. Yet for all Vorn Vet's success as a revolutionary organizer in the CPK, for reasons that were as inexplicable then as they are now, in early November 1978, Vorn was arrested on the order of Pol Pot and sent to Tuol Sleng as part of a party purge that saw the arrest of other long-serving communists. The ostensible reason for the purge was that Vorn and the others were plotting a coup, though there was little in the way of proof for this charge. Vorn Vet was killed in Tuol Sleng in December 1978, the victim of his jailer—and protégé—Khang Khek Iev, “Comrade Duch.”

Vrba, Rudolf (1924–2006). Born Walter Rosenberg in Slovakia, Vrba is best known for having escaped the Nazi-operated Auschwitz death camp with Alfred Wetzler (1918–1988) and giving his testimony to the Allies in April 1944. Public acknowledgment of his testimony was delayed, however, and, in the ensuing time, more than four

hundred thousand Hungarian Jews who had been deported to Auschwitz beginning in May 1944 were murdered. Vrba remained bitterly convinced that more could have been done to save them had the Allies chosen to do so, a controversy that was to surround him until his death, and, even today, continues to be debated by scholars of the period.

Experiencing antisemitism at an early age, Vrba attempted to flee his hometown in 1941, only to be arrested and later, in June 1942, deported to Majdanek, and two weeks later to Auschwitz. His “work” in both Auschwitz I and Auschwitz II-Birkenau involved, initially, digging up the bodies of corpses and arranging for their transport to the incinerators, and later sorting out the possessions of those who had been selected for the gas chambers or work details. Vrba, who was said to have possessed a photographic memory, recorded in his mind all that he had witnessed and experienced. Escaping together with Wetzler on April 7, 1944, the two made their way to the Slovak Jewish Council (German, *Judenrat*) in Zilina and presented their report and evidence. It was then copied and given to Rudolf Kastner (1906–1957), head of the Zionist Aid and Rescue Committee in Bratislava (whom Vrba later publicly condemned for his “failures” to give the report the widest public airing), and from him to a member of the Hungarian Foreign Ministry as well as a representative of the Vatican. It is now known that both the British and U.S. governments had copies of the report by June 15, 1944. On that day, BBC Radio broadcast part of it; and on June 20 parts were also published by *The New York Times*. In September 1944, Vrba, now using the false papers that gave him his new name, joined the Czech Army and joined the fight against the Nazis. Following World War II, having now legally changed his name, he received the Medal for Bravery, Order of Slovak National Insurrection, and Order of Meritorious Fighter. He moved to Prague in 1945, later earning his doctorate in chemistry and biochemistry. Although initially supportive of the Czech Communist Party, but again experiencing antisemitism, Vrba defected to Israel in 1958, moving to England in 1960. He published his memoir *Escape from Auschwitz: I Cannot Forgive* in 1963, after it first appeared as a series of newspaper installments, around the time of the trial of Adolf Eichmann (1908–1962) in Jerusalem. In 1967, he moved to Canada and became an associate professor of biochemistry at the University of Vancouver, British Columbia. He died of cancer in Vancouver on March 27, 2006. Israeli scholar Ruth Linn of Haifa University, in her book *Escaping Auschwitz: A Culture of Forgetting* (New York: Cornell University Press, 2004), has charged that Israeli historians have erased Vrba’s testimony from its Holocaust narrative, thus creating a “culture of forgetting.”

Vukovar. A Croatian town on the Danube in the northeastern region of the former Yugoslavia, adjacent to the Serbian territory of Vojvodina. Vukovar was the scene of a destructive siege of World War II–style proportions between September and November 1991. From early August, the city center had been subjected to sporadic bombing from Croatian Serb paramilitaries and elements of the JNA (the Yugoslav National Army), but this intensified into a full-scale siege during September. By this stage, the town’s original population of fifty thousand had declined to about fifteen thousand, as people fled before an anticipated Serb assault. In the carnage that followed, Vukovar was reduced to rubble as Serb artillery and aircraft shelled and bombed, respectively, the town incessantly. The town’s defense, undertaken by Croatian National Guardsmen, was brave and stubborn, though it was ultimately overwhelmed by the Serb onslaught. On November 19, 1991—the last day of the siege—the Vukovar hospital, which had acted as a place of refuge for many of the townsfolk, surrendered to the Serbs in the hope that those sheltering there would

be evacuated. Instead, about 400 of them—the wounded, the sick, the hospital staff, among others—were removed by the Serb forces. Many were killed outright, others over time as a result of beatings and inhumane treatment. All across the broader area surrounding Vukovar, mass graves were located in later years testifying to a terrible massacre (or series of massacres) having taken place there.

Generally speaking, Vukovar was possibly the most thoroughly devastated town in any of the wars in the former Yugoslavia between 1991 and 1995. When the first prime minister of the Republic of Croatia, Stipe Mesic (b. 1934), described the town as “Croatia’s Stalingrad,” he might just as well have been describing the level of destruction as the heroism of the siege.

After the Dayton peace accords of late 1995, the region was placed under UN administration; two years later, Vukovar and its hinterland were formally reunited with Croatia. Though large parts of it had been subjected to “ethnic cleansing” at the hands of the Serbs, Vukovar remained—and remains to this day—a Croatian town.

W

Waldheim, Kurt (1918–2007). Kurt Waldheim was born in Austria to a devout Catholic family. He went to law school with the idea of becoming a diplomat, but in the aftermath of the *Anschluss* (the annexation of Austria to Nazi Germany on March 13, 1938), Waldheim chose to join the Nazi Students' Association and an SA (or Storm Troopers) cavalry unit. He was drafted into the *Wehrmacht* (the German regular army) and took part in the invasion of the Sudetenland in 1938, as well as in campaigns in France and the Soviet Union. After being wounded in Russia in late 1941, he served in the Balkans, first in Yugoslavia as an ordnance officer at the time of the Kozara offensive against Yugoslav partisans, during which a massacre was perpetrated, and then in Greece as an intelligence officer during the period when Greek Jews were being deported to the death camps.

In the post–World War II years, he served as a diplomat for Austria, including foreign minister from 1968 to 1970. After an unsuccessful run for the presidency of Austria, he was named Secretary-General of the United Nations. He served as UN Secretary-General for a decade, from 1972 to 1982. Following his term as secretary-general, he ran for president of Austria again and was elected on August 6, 1986. In April 1987, though, the U.S. Justice Department put Waldheim on its “Watch List,” where he was listed as a suspected war criminal. In July 1987, Waldheim asked the Austrian government to appoint an international commission of historians to examine the facts regarding his service in the military. Ultimately, “the commission handed its unanimous report to the Austrian government on February 8, 1988. It concluded the Waldheim, although not personally responsible for, or involved in murder or the issuing of orders for murder, knew of such unlawful activities. He was also close to persons who issued and carried out atrocities, but did not to try to disrupt them. Moreover, his passivity actually facilitated the carrying out of atrocity in several instances” (Wallach, 1995, p. 1588).

Wallenberg, Raoul (1912–1947?). Swedish diplomat of World War II, who voluntarily had himself sent to Budapest, Hungary in 1944, at the behest of the World Jewish Congress and the American War Refugee Board, to save Jews. Once in Hungary, he established safe houses under the protectorate of the Swedish legation and issued life-saving passes (*Schutz-pass*), thus protecting those Jews who received them. Among those saved were current U.S. congressman Tom Lantos (b. 1928) of California and his wife Annette.

Wallenberg is said to have thus saved more than thirty thousand Jews through his creative manipulation of the Nazi occupiers, only to be captured, hauled off, and imprisoned by the

Soviets upon their liberation of Hungary in 1945. The actual location(s) of his imprisonment as well as the date of his death remain sources of debate. To this day, the Soviets insist that Wallenberg died of a heart attack in 1947. Although admitting custody of him, they never gave any reasons for his imprisonment. Indeed, the Soviets obfuscated and vacillated on the Wallenberg story at every turn. That is, first they offered one story as to his fate, and then another, and yet another, to the point where no one outside of the Soviet Union ever knew definitively what happened to this man who so selflessly gave of himself, only to disappear into the maw of the Soviet dictatorship.

For his efforts, and without his knowledge, Wallenberg was made an honorary citizen of the United States and designated a “Righteous Gentile” by Yad Vashem, Israel’s Holocaust Memorial Authority. Furthermore, in his honor, the location and mailing address of the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, D.C., is Raoul Wallenberg Place.

Wannsee Conference. Held on January 20, 1942, in a formerly Jewish-owned villa in the Berlin lakeside suburb of Wannsee, a group of high-ranking Nazi officials met to discuss the coordination and implementation of the “Final Solution of the Jewish Problem,” the coded phrase for the eventual annihilation/extermination of all 11 million European Jews. The decision to annihilate all European Jews (including those in Great Britain) having already been made, the purpose of the meeting was to further discuss and resolve questions regarding the execution of those directives.

The organizer of the meeting was Reich security chief Reinhard Heydrich (1904–1942), who addressed the gathering and who would later be assassinated by Czech partisans (June 4, 1942). The invitational list included those various state secretaries whose bureaucratic departments would later become fully involved in the murder of Europe’s Jews, and thus marked the now-official coordination of those efforts. Eight of the fifteen participants had PhD degrees, and all were cognizant of the mass killing already being carried out throughout areas under Nazi control. The secretary for the meeting was SS Lt. Colonel Adolf Eichmann (1906–1962), who was head of the Gestapo Department IV B4 for Jewish Affairs within the Reich Main Security Office (RSHA). Ultimately, he was responsible for handling many of the practical responsibilities of the Final Solution (e.g., keeping the railroad tracks in good repair, coordinating train schedules to the death camps, maintaining enough fuel for the trains, etc.).

The meeting itself was intended to move the process of death forward and beyond the work already being accomplished in Poland and Russia by the *Einsatzgruppen*, or “Mobile Killing Squads.” Among the discussion items, at least according to the minutes taken, was the use of mobile gas killing vans and large-scale stationary gas chambers. The entire meeting lasted ninety minutes. Based on Eichmann’s testimony, the attendees were quite jovial, the liquor flowed freely, and the sweet cakes were delicious.

Heydrich’s opening speech reviewed the exterminatory measures already in existence, noted that forced captivity coupled with slave labor was to be only temporary, and later closed the meeting with a call for cooperation among all ministries present. When it came time to discuss the pragmatics of this genocidal death and destruction, the conversation became serious and various methods were discussed as to strengths and weaknesses. Eichmann was tasked with the responsibility of drawing up the protocols that resulted from the meeting, which were edited by Heydrich himself. Thirty copies were made, and all officials present were instructed to destroy them after they had been read. After the war, only one such “official copy” was discovered and remains today in the official German archives.

Following the meeting, several of the participants remained to socialize and enjoy the fellowship and food and drink provided. Even Heydrich himself toasted the successful outcome of the meeting with a glass of cognac.

Within a relatively short amount of time, construction plans for what would eventually become the system of death camps went forward in earnest; Auschwitz-Birkenau was already being constructed prior to the meeting. Again, the purpose of the meeting was not to discuss whether or not to implement the “Final Solution,” but rather to discuss the various and best ways of achieving the objectives of a Europe to be *Judenrein* (Jew-free).

War and Genocide. Although it is a generalization—for many people the notion of *genocide* equates with *war*—the first thing that comes to mind when one thinks about war is the idea of killing on a vast scale. Many suggest that genocidal devastation can surface only during periods of war. While such a generalization is understandable, it is simplistic and incorrect.

First, it is a simple fact that while all wars are extremely destructive, not all wars have taken on a genocidal character. Be that as it may, there can be little doubt that war contains within it the potential for a genocidal regime to realize its aims in that war, which can provide the cover for *génocidaires* to carry out their genocidal actions. This was true of the Ottoman Turk genocide of the Armenians between 1915 and 1923, the Nazis’ genocide of the Jews and Roma during World War II, and the Serbs’ genocide of the Muslim males at Srebrenica in July 1995. That said, war does not have to be present for a genocide to occur. The latter was true, for example, in the cases of the genocide of the Ukrainian people during the Soviet man-made famine in Ukraine in 1933 and the genocide of the Aché by the Paraguayan government in the 1960s and early 1970s. The upshot of this is that every case of war and genocide must be considered individually.

War Crimes. A legal category within international law that identifies punishable offenses for violations of the laws of war. Such laws have been evolving for many centuries and received an early codification in the work of the Dutch philosopher Hugo Grotius (1583–1645), particularly his 1625 book *De iure belli ac pacis* (*On the Laws of War and Peace*). To a substantial degree, the laws of war underwent something of a revolution from the late nineteenth century onward, beginning with the first Geneva Convention in 1864 (and subsequent Geneva treaties in 1906, 1929, and 1949, with three protocols in 1949, 1977, and 2005). Other important international legislation pertaining to war crimes includes the two Hague Conventions of 1899 and 1907; the Kellogg-Briand Pact of 1928; and an array of multilateral agreements, treaties, and conventions passed by the League of Nations and the United Nations. War crimes as a legal concept have further been refined through the development of important case law precedents: first, through the International Military Tribunals at Nuremberg and Tokyo in the aftermath of World War II; and second, through the ad hoc courts established to hear cases vis-à-vis the conflicts in the former Yugoslavia between 1991 and 1999 (the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia, the ICTY) and the genocide in Rwanda in 1994 (the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda, the ICTR). On July 1, 2002, the International Criminal Court (ICC) went into force. Sitting in The Hague, its role is to prosecute war crimes, crimes against humanity, and genocide. Though the ICC did not possess any retrospective jurisdiction when it was established, it is generally held throughout the world that this court represents the best hope for the prosecution of crimes against humanity, war crimes, and genocide in the future, and for

creating a culture that will reject such crimes as an option available to states, armies, and individuals.

Warsaw Ghetto Uprising. On the first evening of the Jewish holy season of Passover, April 19, 1943, the Nazis, under the command of General Jürgen Stroop (1895–1951), attempted to destroy the Warsaw Ghetto and its Jewish inhabitants as a next-day birthday present to Nazi dictator Adolf Hitler (1889–1945). By the time of the planned invasion, only between fifty-five thousand and sixty thousand Jews remained in the ghetto. The vast majority of the previous inhabitants of the ghetto, approximately three hundred thousand, had already been transported to their deaths in the East, mainly to the Treblinka death camp. Much to the Nazis' surprise, the residents had gotten wind of this military initiative (German, *Aktion*), and a resistance effort organized by the Jewish Fighting Organization (ZOB), composed largely of Zionist young people and headed by Mordecai Anielewicz (1919–1943), prepared to meet the invaders with a Herculean guerrilla effort of only about 500 inexperienced fighters, along with another 250 fighters attached to a separate group, the Jewish Military Union (ZZW).

The battle, beginning on April 19, lasted until May 16, a tortuous four weeks, when the command bunker at Mila 18 was finally destroyed and the ZOB leadership, including Anielewicz, killed. (In a communiqué on April 23 to another leader of the resistance movement, Yitzhak Zuckerman [1915–1981], who was outside the ghetto, Anielewicz wrote, "My life's dream has been realized: I have lived to see Jewish defense in the ghetto in all its greatness and glory.")

Prior to this final confrontation, because the Nazis were largely unsuccessful in directly killing the resisters, they (the Nazis) resorted to the somewhat unusual technique of burning the houses in the ghetto street by street and block by block. On May 16, General Stroop reported: "The Jewish Quarter of Warsaw is no more! More than 56,000 Jewish bandits have been captured."

A leather-bound scrapbook consisting of German memoranda and pictures of the devastation was later presented directly to Heinrich Himmler (1900–1945), General Friedrich Krupp, and General Stroop himself. Though not materially affecting either the outcome of World War II itself or the planned Nazi "Final Solution" against the Jews, the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising remains the major symbol of Jewish resistance to Nazi tyranny. In 1948, the noted Israel sculptor Nathan Rapoport (1911–1987) unveiled the Ghetto Uprising Monument in Warsaw, with a smaller version placed at Yad Vashem, Israel's Holocaust Memorial Authority in Jerusalem, Israel.

Wegner, Armin T. (1886–1978). Armin Wegner was born on October 16, 1886, into an old Prussian family in the town of Elberfeld/Rhineland (Wuppertal), Germany. A German pacifist, he enlisted in the German army in 1914 as an officer in the medical corps. In 1914–1915 he was stationed in Poland and was awarded an Iron Cross for bravery when tending to wounded soldiers under enemy fire.

In April 1915, he was transferred to the Ottoman Empire as part of the German commitment to their Turkish ally. On his first period of extended leave, between July and August 1915, he took the opportunity of investigating the rumors he had heard about wholesale killings of Armenians throughout the Empire, and he traveled extensively looking for ways to chronicle what he saw. Contravening orders from both his German superiors and his Ottoman hosts not to divulge publicly the things he witnessed, Wegner collected both written and visual evidence (including documents, photographs, and

letters—not to mention his own notes) of the deportations and killings of the Armenians. His photographic collection captured a vast array of images documenting the Armenian genocide, and the archive thereby created remains to this day a major resource confirming the genocide's reality.

Owing to the illegality of his activities, Wegner was forced to send his material back to Germany clandestinely, which he did with the assistance of foreign diplomats still in the Ottoman Empire. Upon being discovered engaging in this exposure of the genocide, Wegner was transferred first to Baghdad and then, after contracting a debilitating illness, back to Germany.

After World War I he devoted himself to exposing the truth about the Armenian genocide, and in 1919 published an "Open Letter to President Wilson," in the *Berliner Tageblatt* in advance of the 1918–1919 Paris Peace Conference (which culminated in the signing of the Treaty of Versailles on June 28, 1919, and formally concluded hostilities at the end of World War I), protesting the atrocities committed by the Ottoman Turks, and appealing for the creation of an Armenian nation-state that had been promised in U.S. President Woodrow Wilson's (1856–1924) "Fourteen Points." Wegner also continued to protest the atrocities still being committed against the Armenians and tried to draw general attention to their ongoing plight.

In the 1920s Wegner saw success as a writer, but never relented in his quest for human rights and the protection of minorities. Soon after the ascent to office of Adolf Hitler (1889–1945) in Germany, Wegner's was one of the first voices to protest the Nazis' treatment of the Jews—the only major non-Jewish writer to do so. In fact, on April 1, 1933, Wegner publicly protested the organized boycott by the Nazis against the Jews by writing another open letter, this time to Hitler himself. Arrested by the Gestapo, he was imprisoned and shifted to seven different concentration camps before escaping and fleeing to Italy, where he remained until his death in Rome in 1978.

In 1967 he was awarded the honor of "Righteous Among the Nations" (that is, a Righteous Gentile) by the State of Israel, and a year later the Order of St. Gregory the Illuminator was awarded by the Catholicos of All Armenians. His ashes were finally laid to rest in 1996, when Armenia honored him with a state funeral and interment near the eternal flame of the Armenian Genocide Monument in Yerevan.

On his tombstone are the Latin words of Pope Gregory VII (1020–1085): "I loved justice and hated injustice. Therefore I die in exile."

Wehrmacht. The official name of the German armed forces prior to and during World War II. By 1939 it consisted of seventy-five divisions comprising approximately twenty-four thousand officers and 2.7 million personnel. Already by 1938, the *Wehrmacht* was a thoroughly "nazified" military, and the argument that both officers and soldiers were bystanders or opposed to Nazi atrocities does not ring true given both the high standards of military honor and professionalism that had always characterized the Armed Forces High Command (OKW) and the Army High Command (OKH).

The failed plot to assassinate Adolf Hitler (1889–1945) in July 1944 was not the result of opposition to his genocidal policies, but rather to his failed military leadership. Those who were involved and apprehended were subsequently killed.

After World War II, as more and more data came to light (albeit not uniformly), evidence showed a consistent pattern of active complicity between the *Wehrmacht* and the *Einsatzgruppen* (the Nazis' mobile killing units) in their path of destruction, not only in

Russia, but throughout the occupied territories (and especially Poland), including the murder of civilians, prisoners of war, and the murder and kidnapping of children.

Western, Jon. Jon Western is a professor of international relations at Mount Holyoke College and the Five Colleges in Massachusetts. Prior to his current position, he spent four years as a Balkans and East European specialist with the U.S. State Department, where he contributed to the initial development of the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY).

In a 1993 interview with a *New York Times* reporter, Western spoke about his increasing dissatisfaction with U.S. policy with regard to the Balkans in the face of mounting evidence of increasing genocidal activity therein. Later still, he resigned his position in protest of the policy the U.S. government continued to pursue. Only after his and others' resignations did the international community respond—and even then, not with total effectiveness—to what were increasingly being deemed genocidal actions at the hands of the Serbs.

Westphalia, Treaty of. Signed in October 1648 between the emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, Ferdinand III (1608–1657; reigned 1637–1657) and Cardinal Jules Mazarin (1602–1661), representing the infant King Louis XIV of France (1638–1715; reigned 1643–1715), and their respective allies, in the towns of Münster and Osnabrück. The Treaty of Westphalia effectively ended the Thirty Years' War, which had begun in 1618. As a result of the treaty and the four years of deliberations that preceded it, Switzerland became independent of Austria and the Netherlands became independent of Spain. The German states retained their autonomy, as did other nations, and a Roman Catholic reconquest of all Europe was now a thing of the past. Additionally, and with far-reaching modern implications, the sovereignty of individual nation-states (and territories under their jurisdiction) was now affirmed, the most important principle of which saw that no state may intervene in the affairs of another state unless invited to do so; noncompliance with this would indicate that an act of war had been committed. The implications of this were profound; at its most basic, it signaled that the internal affairs of states were sacrosanct and that rulers could treat their subjects or citizens in any manner they desired, without fear of intervention by external actors.

Today, the Treaty of Westphalia raises anew the question of whether or not nation-states, either individually or collectively (under the leadership of the United Nations, for example, or any other confederation), can invade another nation-state suspected of either pregenocidal behavior or a state actually in the midst of actively perpetrating genocide. This question remains unresolved in the international arena, though evidence of such an invasion, led by NATO (but without the imprimatur of the UN) was clearly evident in the case of Kosovo in 1999, but totally absent in the case of Rwanda in 1994.

White Arm Bands. In Bosnia in the mid-1990s, Serb paramilitary forces forced Muslims to wear white arm bands in order to distinguish them from their neighbors. It was a method, much like the badges the Nazis forced the Jews to wear, of singling the Muslims out, as well as being a way of humiliating them. The practice varied from place to place and was employed at different times in different locations.

White Rose (German, *Die Weisse Rose*). The name chosen by a group of anti-Nazi students organized mainly at the University of Munich in late 1942 and early 1943 as a symbol of purity and innocence in the face of evil. Its leading members included Professor Kurt Huber (1893–1943), Hans Scholl (1918–1943), Sophie Scholl (1921–1943), Willi Graf (1918–1943), Alexander Schmorell (1917–1943), and Christoph Probst (1919–1943).

The movement’s major form of protest involved the composition and distribution of anti-Nazi leaflets campaigning for the overthrow of Nazism and the revival of a new Germany dedicated to the pursuit of goodness and founded upon Christian values. Several of the male students involved in the movement had already undergone military service in Russia and were thoroughly disillusioned by what they had seen while there. In mid-February 1943, the White Rose arranged a small anti-Nazi demonstration, after which members were moved to acts of daring such as running through the halls of the University of Munich tossing, from the balconies, leaflets decrying the Nazis and their actions. Shortly after this, the Scholls were reported to the Gestapo by a building superintendent. They and their compatriots were arrested and brought before the People’s Court (*Volksgericht*). The Scholls, Dr. Huber, Probst, Graf, and Schmorell were all beheaded, while other White Rose members were sentenced to various terms of imprisonment.

An alternative name for the White Rose, used by some, was the *Scholl Kreis* (Scholl Circle). After the defeat of the Nazis, the story of the White Rose spread and became an inspiration to free-thinking peoples everywhere.

“Who Remembers the Armenians?” This statement attributed to German Nazi leader Adolf Hitler (1889–1945), was in all probability made on August 22, 1939, in a speech to his military chiefs and commanding field generals at his mountain retreat, the Berghof, at Berchtesgaden. Exhorting his officers of the need to be brutal and merciless in the campaign that was about to begin against Poland, Hitler is reported to have said, “I have issued the command—I’ll have anybody who utters one word of criticism executed by a firing squad—that our war aim does not consist in reaching certain lines, but in the physical destruction of the enemy. Accordingly, I have placed my Death’s Head formations in readiness—for the present only in the East—with orders to exterminate without mercy, men, women, and children of the Polish-speaking race. Only thus shall we gain the living space [*Lebensraum*] that we need. Who, after all, speaks today of the annihilation of the Armenians?” (*Wer redet heute noch von der Vernichtung der Armenier?*)

Recognizing that a new Turkish state had been created following the Ottoman Turks’ destruction of the Armenians, Hitler noted that Germany could do the same because “the world believes only in success” (*Die Welt glaubt nur an den Erfolg*). A much-quoted statement, its veracity has for several decades been rigorously challenged by anti-Armenian Turks and their supporters, who claim that it is a forgery prepared by Pulitzer Prize–winning U.S. journalist Louis P. Lochner (1887–1975). Lochner had asserted that he had obtained the document in which the statement was made through diplomatic sources, and it has been shown that he transmitted it to the British ambassador in Berlin, Sir Neville Henderson (1882–1942), on August 25, 1939. It is important to recognize that Hitler was speaking about the Poles when addressing his generals; often, well-meaning but erroneous commentators and teachers make the claim that Hitler presaged the Nazi Holocaust of the Jews by reference to the genocide of the Armenians, but a close reading of the document shows this to be incorrect.

Hitler’s frequently quoted question is used by scholars today to indicate the dangers inherent in forgetfulness, as well as in a lack of concern when genocide is perpetrated anywhere against any group. In other words, the question posed by Hitler is used to underscore the critical need not only for the remembrance and study of past genocides, but for holding perpetrators responsible for their horrific acts and the development of a global conscience with regard to the need to prevent genocide from being perpetrated.

Wiesel, Elie (b. 1928). A Holocaust survivor born in Sighet, Hungary, Elie (born Eliezer) Wiesel is a world-renowned author, thinker, and speaker who is best known for his work raising awareness of the Holocaust and its meaning for contemporary society. His most famous work, the semi-autobiographical *Night* (1958), is considered by many to be one of the most powerful short works of literature written about the Holocaust. The book powerfully encapsulates Wiesel's fundamental message to future generations: "Never forget."

Wiesel survived imprisonment during the Holocaust at Auschwitz, Buna, Buchenwald, and Gleiwitz, as well as a death march at the end of World War II. After liberation, he moved to Paris, where he began a new life as a journalist for a Yiddish newspaper. During the 1950s, he moved to New York, and in 1963 he became a U.S. citizen. Among his many activities, he has held the position of Andrew Mellon Professor of Humanities at Boston University. Wiesel's literary efforts and his indefatigable work to focus attention on the significance of the Holocaust received recognition from the U.S. government in 1978, when he was appointed chair of the U.S. Presidential Commission on the Holocaust established by U.S. President Jimmy Carter (b. 1924), which in 1980 was renamed the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council. In further acknowledgment of his contribution to the betterment of society, Wiesel was awarded the U.S. Congressional Gold Medal of Freedom in 1985 and was elected to the American Academy of Arts and Letters in 1996. Wiesel has been credited with giving the word "*Holocaust*" its existing currency, though his preference is for it to be used less in order to avoid it becoming banalized, and for the subject in general to be treated with far more respect than it has been thus far.

For over four decades Wiesel has been an imposing voice in speaking out against injustice and genocide around the world, notably with regard to apartheid in South Africa, the "disappearances" in Argentina, the punitive treatment of dissidents in the Soviet Union, Serb actions in Bosnia-Herzegovina, the treatment of the Kurds in northern Iraq at the hands of Saddam Hussein (1937–2006), and the murder and rape of black Africans in Darfur at the hands of the government of Sudan. For his earlier efforts along these lines, he was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1986.

Wiesel, Elie, and the Bosnian Genocide. In November 1992, concerned about the continuous reports about mass killing emanating from the former Yugoslavia, Elie Wiesel (b. 1928), survivor of the Holocaust/*Shoah*, Nobel Peace Prize recipient, and committed human rights activist, traveled to Belgrade, Sarajevo, Banja Luka, and the Manjaca concentration camp. Upon his return to the United States, he urged U.S. Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger (b. 1930), serving in the administration of President George H. W. Bush (b. 1924), of the moral necessity of speaking out against the genocide that was occurring. Wiesel, however, was unsuccessful in his attempt to move the Bush administration (1988–1992) to action.

Eighteen months later, on April 22, 1993, at the opening of the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, D.C., Wiesel further urged then President Bill Clinton (b. 1946) on the necessity of addressing the Bosnian genocide. Again, Wiesel was unsuccessful.

Wiesenthal, Simon (1908–2005). Originally trained as an architect, and following his four and one-half year incarceration in five Nazi death camps and seven Nazi concentration camps, Wiesenthal gained an international reputation as a "Nazi hunter" due to the thoroughness of the documentation amassed by his Vienna Documentation Center.

He was born in Buczacz, Ukrainian Galicia, studied in Vienna and Prague, apprenticed in Soviet Russia, and later was denied his diploma in architecture from the Lwów University of Technology due to its antisemitic restrictions. He began his career in architecture by designing villas for wealthy Polish Jews, however, and practiced his skills for three years (1936–1939) until the German invasion of Poland on September 1, 1939. Surviving the initial wave of deportations, Wiesenthal and his wife Cyla worked in a factory, but were later captured by the Nazis in 1941. Ultimately, he and his wife lost eighty-nine members of their family in the Holocaust.

Wiesenthal's efforts were important in the Israeli capture of Adolf Eichmann (1908–1962) and his subsequent trial and conviction in Jerusalem in 1962. His indefatigable efforts also led to the capture, arrest, and conviction of numerous other Nazis in the latter half of the twentieth century, including Franz Stangl (1914–1998), commandant of both Sobibór and Treblinka death camps, in 1967. In 1977, in a tribute to his efforts, the Simon Wiesenthal Center was opened in Los Angeles, California, as a museum of tolerance to educate about the Holocaust, monitor antisemitism, and participate in bringing Nazi criminals to justice. Wiesenthal's wife died in 2005, aged 95, and Wiesenthal in 2006, aged 96.

In 1967 Wiesenthal published his memoirs, *The Murderers Among Us*, which was later turned into a movie. Among the awards he received during his lifetime were the Dutch Freedom Medal, the Luxembourg Freedom Medal, the U.S. Congressional Gold Medal, and the French Legion of Honor.

Wilde-KZ (German, “Wild Concentration Camps”). Abbreviation for the longer German term *Wilde-Konzentrationslager*, alluding to unauthorized places of incarceration established in Germany by local Nazis in the earliest stages of the Third Reich. These camps frequently operated without any apparent system or direction. There was little in the way of planning or procedure. Often, the very location of these places was impromptu. For example, Dachau was a former gunpowder factory, Oranienburg was originally a brewery (and later a foundry), and Börgermoor and Esterwegen were initially simply rows of barracks set down on open expanses of marshy heathland. Elsewhere, prisoners had to build their own habitations and begin their camp life living in tents. The *Wilde-KZ* were rapidly established, highly improvised affairs. Little regard was paid to administration, discipline, or utilization. Some were run by SS officers; many were staffed by SA men, often locals, who knew or were known by those they were guarding. The essential function of these camps was to gag political opposition to the new Nazi government of Germany (which was appointed to office on January 30, 1933), and generally to intimidate the wider population through the camps' reputation for arbitrary brutality. Only with a more coordinated approach to political incarceration, through the establishment of the Inspectorate of Concentration Camps in mid-1934 under Theodor Eicke (1892–1943), did the *Wilde-KZ* give way to a unified form of administration, discipline, and ethos. Most of the *Wilde-KZs* had closed down by the spring of 1934.

Wise, Stephen Samuel (1879–1949). American Reform rabbi, Zionist, and communal leader, Rabbi Wise founded the New York Federation of Zionists in 1897, the Free Synagogue in New York City in 1907, the American Jewish Congress in 1915, the Jewish Institute of Religion in 1922, and the World Jewish Congress in 1936. A stentorian orator, he spoke out on the social causes of his day, often times clashing with the then-governor of New York, Franklin Delano Roosevelt (1882–1945). His opposition ceased after Roosevelt was elected president of the United States in 1932.

At the start of World War II, Wise found himself the acknowledged, if unofficial, leader of a divided and fragmented American Jewish community. As more and more information about the fate of the Jews under the Nazi regime (1933–1945) became known, Wise continued to appeal to Roosevelt, if somewhat quietly, for action on behalf of the beleaguered Jews, all the while realizing that the U.S.'s entry into the war itself made such public appeals and protests difficult. In 1943, Wise organized the "Stop Hitler Now" demonstration at Madison Square Garden, New York. Though celebratory of the birth of the State of Israel in 1948, he remained disillusioned over the fate of European Jewry and the realization of both the enormity of the losses and the lack of effort by the United States and the rest of the international community to do more to save the victims.

Hindsight analyses by scholars of his role during this period have, more often than not, been critical of his willingness to remain quiet at the behest of Roosevelt, rather than making his knowledge public both within and outside of the Jewish community. Given the U.S.'s isolationist and antisemitic climate and tone prior to its 1941 entry into World War II, this assessment remains open to debate.

"Work." The word *work* and the phrase *to continue to work* were euphemisms used by the extremist Hutu (including members of the Hutu-run government during the genocide of April–July 1994, as well as the extremist radio station, *Radio-Télévision Libre des Mille Collines*, RTLM), which meant *to kill Tutsi*. During the 1959 Hutu revolution, the term *work* was also used to mean *to kill Tutsi*.

World Genocide Tribunal. Proposed (but never established) by Luis Kutner (1908–1993) and Ernest Katin (n.d.), the intended goals of the World Genocide Tribunal were to take measures to prevent genocide, to conduct investigations into cases of potential and actual genocide, to assess responsibility for the perpetration of genocide, and to try perpetrators of genocide. The authors also called for the World Genocide Tribunal to be vested with the power and authority to issue writs of prohibition for the purpose of "order actions" that could possibly result in helping to halt an ongoing genocide.

Wounded Knee. At Wounded Knee Creek, South Dakota, on December 29, 1890, a massacre of Sioux took place at the hands of the U.S. Seventh Cavalry. The massacre, which popular wisdom has preferred to label a battle, was the final confrontation in the three-century relationship between Native Americans and expansionist whites on what they referred to as "the frontier." By 1890, the remnants of the Native American peoples of the Great Plains were but a shadow of their previously energetic and populous selves. In desperation, many took heart from the messianic "ghost dance" cult, with its promises of a reversion to the old ways in a new world. By December 28, a large group of Sioux numbering about 350, and led by a sick and elderly Chief Big Foot (c. 1825–1890), found themselves at Pine Ridge, but were ordered by the Seventh Cavalry to camp at nearby Wounded Knee Creek. The Seventh Cavalry, still smoldering from their defeat and the death of their commander General George Armstrong Custer (1839–1876) at the Battle of Little Bighorn in 1876, saw this as an opportunity to settle accounts. On December 29, 1890, the soldiers disarmed the Sioux men, and then conducted a thorough search of the campsite for any additional weapons. The idea was possibly to disarm the Indians and then escort them to a railroad line in Nebraska, from whence they would be removed from the area of military activity. In the tense environment, violence began as one of the Sioux objected to his rifle being taken away. The Sioux fighters, buoyed by the idea of an invincibility that would be transmitted to them through their Ghost Dancing and the "ghost shirts" they wore, began to fight the soldiers. The ensuing struggle was so one-sided

WOUNDED KNEE

that the term *battle* is hardly appropriate. The Sioux were cut down mercilessly. Four Hotchkiss guns surrounding the camp opened fire, scything through their victims like chaff. Less than an hour later, the fighting and killing had ended. Almost two-thirds of Big Foot's people were casualties—at least 200 dead and wounded were counted, though many others were not accounted for. Army casualties were twenty-five dead, and thirty-nine wounded. The “battle” of Wounded Knee was a massacre of men, women, and children, and the last major action of its kind in the course of westward expansion for European Americans. It is thus a watershed event; henceforward, institutional discrimination would be the means employed in the process to maintain white supremacy, and a second-class status for Native Americans.

X

Xenophobia. Like prejudice (e.g., racism, antisemitism), discrimination, and stereotyping, xenophobia is based upon a false perception of the other—either individuals or groups—and psychologically results in fear or heightened anxiety, and therefore intense dislike of others, their specific group behaviors, and/or the unknown itself. Xenophobia may be racial, religious, cultural, social, educational, or political, this last category most often expressed by asserting that “the foreigners” are “aliens” who pose an ongoing threat to both the society and its governmental stability. Actual exposure to the object group of xenophobic dislike may or may not be linked to actual experience (e.g., hatred of Jews and/or blacks by those who have never actually encountered such persons). Such fear, animosity, and hate can, and often is, learned as a result of inculcation at home, among like group members, church, or other organizations/settings. As have been the actual realities with other forms of prejudice and discrimination, when the xenophobic group finds itself in a position of power, be it governmental, military, social, or economic, and the perceived threat is escalated, behaviors may range from mild forms of discrimination (e.g., exclusion of others in social or educational settings) to desecrations and vandalism of the other group’s buildings, to violent abuse of the other group members, to murder, to genocide.

Xenophobic Genocide. Xenophobic genocide stems from the perception by a genocidal regime that a designated out-group (e.g., a particular group of people that is perceived as dangerous and/or worthless) is totally alien, and hence needs to be dealt with as an implacable foe. It is, by definition, an exaggerated fear largely based more on fantasy than on fact. The fear can originate from many quarters, such as religion, ethnicity, or “race.” At the heart of xenophobia lies a deep suspicion of the foreigner, the alien, the real or imagined enemy. It is also a common phenomenon in the context of extreme nationalism.

A variety of factors can create the sense of an impregnable wall between groups. Language can be a factor, as can economic rivalry and cultural customs, traditions, and mores, though none of these are necessarily accountable for a xenophobic stance as the latter is often the result of a commixture of motives, including the distant and/or recent history of the two groups’ interactions.

Xenophobia can, and often has, played a role vis-à-vis genocide. Xenophobia is ever-present in an extreme climate of intolerance of the “different,” of others who threaten to “invade” and “infiltrate” one’s society and undermine one’s culture, which is perceived as “pure” and “holy”—a heritage to be defended from its enemies. As such, this state of mind

justifies declaring and waging total war until the danger from outside has been fully destroyed. The greater the threat from the perceived enemy, the greater the concomitant violence to defeat that enemy. Xenophobia, as such, does not automatically lead to genocide as it is a common thread in many cultures. What is crucial in regard to its role vis-à-vis genocide is the degree of the phobia—that is, when it develops sufficiently to “warrant” a genocidal struggle. Psychological insecurity on the part of the *génocidaires* has much to do with the radicalization of the perceived or imagined fear. Propaganda also helps drive this into a tempest of fantasized terror, which, in turn, can trigger genocidal killing.

Y

Yad Vashem. Yad Vashem (Israel's Holocaust Martyrs' and Heroes' Remembrance Authority), established in 1953 and based on a hill in western Jerusalem, is the Israeli national agency charged with educating, through documentation and publication, its citizenry and others the world over about the tragic events of the Holocaust (referred to in Israel, and throughout the Jewish world, as the *Shoah*). More specifically, among Yad Vashem's stated tasks are: (1) to commemorate the Jews murdered by the Nazis, (2) to commemorate the destroyed communities, (3) to acknowledge the heroism of the fighters, (4) to acknowledge the non-Jews ("Righteous Among the Nations") who risked their lives to save Jews, (5) to establish appropriate projects of memorialization, (6) to do appropriate research to tell both the story of the victims and the heroes as well as the lessons to be learned, and (7) to represent the State of Israel where like-minded projects are involved.

Its name is taken from a verse of the prophet Isaiah in the Hebrew Bible (56:5): "I will give them, in my house and in my walls, a monument and a name (*yad vashem*), better than sons and daughters; I will give them an everlasting name that shall never be effaced." Included on its grounds are the Hall of Remembrance with its eternally lit flame; a museum and permanent exhibit; the Hall of Records; the Valley of Destroyed Jewish Communities; the Garden of the Righteous; a library and archives of more than 50 million pages of testimony, eighty thousand volumes, and 4,500 periodicals; and, most especially and impressively, its Children's Memorial to the 1.5 million children who perished, where the names, ages, and birthplaces are continually recited.

Among Yad Vashem's important activities are the publishing of *Yad Vashem Studies* (which has been published annually since 1957, and includes much of the latest research on various aspects of the Holocaust); record books of Jewish communities; a multivolume *Comprehensive History of the Holocaust*; and primary responsibility for the development, revision and publication of the *Encyclopedia of the Holocaust*. Throughout the year, it also hosts numerous conferences on a wide array of issues related to the Holocaust, which are attended by scholars and educators from across the globe. Its International School for Holocaust Studies, with its primary emphasis on teacher training and curriculum development, offers programs for primary and secondary teachers as well as college and university professors.

Yale University Genocide Studies Program. The Genocide Studies Program (GSP), a world-renowned center for the study of the Cambodian genocide, is located

at Yale University in New Haven, Connecticut, in the United States. It is a multidisciplinary program that conducts research and sponsors seminars and conferences on a wide variety of themes relating to the study of genocide. The GSP was formally established at the Yale Center for International and Area Studies in January 1998, having grown out of the earlier Cambodian Genocide Program (CGP) that had been established in December 1994. The director of the GSP, and of the CGP before it, is the Australian-born historian Ben Kiernan (b. 1953). Numerous monographs, working papers, and books have emerged from both programs over the years. The GSP hosts a lecture series each semester on various themes associated with genocide, and many of these lectures have since been published. A large number of genocide scholars have been affiliated with the GSP, either as faculty from within the Yale University establishment or from outside as visiting fellows, doctoral candidates, or guest lecturers. The CGP, which is housed within the GSP, maintains an important Cambodian Geographic Database, which is arguably the most extensive and thorough repository of detailed geographic, topographic, and demographic data on the Cambodian genocide outside of Cambodia itself.

Yalta Conference. From February 4 to February 12, 1945, the Allied leaders—President Franklin D. Roosevelt (1882–1945) of the United States, Premier Joseph Stalin (1878–1953) of the Soviet Union, and Prime Minister Winston Churchill (1874–1965) of Great Britain—met at the Imperial Palace at Yalta in the Crimea to initially plan for the dismemberment, disarmament, demilitarization, and “denazification” of Germany and the establishment of what would become the International Military Tribunal (IMT) to try the Nazi leadership for war crimes at the conclusion of World War II. It was a continuation of a series of meetings that had already begun at Casablanca in January 1943. As outlined, the “Protocols” for the meeting contained the following provisions: (1) World Organization; (2) Declaration of Liberated Europe; (3) Dismemberment of Germany; (4) Zone of Occupation for the French and Control Council for Germany; (5) Reparations; (6) Major War Criminals; (7) Poland; (8) Yugoslavia; (9) Italo-Yugoslav Frontier—Italo-Austrian Frontier; (10) Yugoslav-Bulgarian Relations; (11) Southeastern Europe; (12) Iran; (13) Meetings of the Three Foreign Secretaries; and (14) The Montreaux Convention and the Straits; and the Agreement Regarding Japan. Concerned with the increasing military success of the Soviets and looking toward the future, both Roosevelt and Churchill tried to restrict the influence of the Russians. Many scholars continue to believe the actual start of the Cold War began at Yalta.

Yanomami People. A large indigenous people native to northwestern Brazil and part of Venezuela. Prior to the 1980s, the Yanomami had little contact with outsiders, though their presence was known to some in both countries before their “discovery.” One of the major stimuli behind the advance of a Westernized presence into the Yanomami lands was the discovery of gold in the mid-1980s. As a result of this, thousands of miners flooded into the territory in a movement reminiscent of the gold rushes of the nineteenth century in Australia, the United States, and South Africa, causing degradation of the land and displacement of the local people. In response, the Brazilian government established regulations governing Yanomami territory more formally in 1992, though indications were that, in the years following, Yanomami rights were still not always respected over every issue. Certainly, they were not respected by the miners.

A people numbering approximately nineteen thousand, the Yanomami were, anthropologists believe, one of the last indigenous groups in the western hemisphere to be exposed to the outside world, and they were little prepared for the assault of modernity as transmitted by the miners. At least two thousand people—over 10 percent of the original population at the time of contact—lost their lives through introduced diseases, massacres, or by individual killings. In 1993 the Brazilian attorney-general, Aristides Junqueira, referred to the killing of the Yanomami as genocide. At that stage, though, the Brazilian government was still unable to assert sufficient control to be able to stop miners entering the territory. Moreover, many Brazilians deny that anything like the violence alleged to have been visited upon the Yanomami has actually taken place, and an ongoing campaign from business enterprises in Brazil has attempted to maintain a mining presence in the region. In the late 1990s, the Brazilian government began a new initiative intended to protect the Yanomami, but, by then, so much damage had been done that a return to the situation as it had been prior to the 1980s seemed impossible. Many foresaw a bleak future for the Yanomami as the century turned, and their situation has still, today, not yet been positively resolved.

Year Zero. Produced in Cambodia in September 1979 for Britain's Associated Television, this film presents gruesome evidence of the genocidal acts committed between 1975 and 1979 by the Khmer Rouge who slaughtered between 1 million and 2 million fellow Cambodians. The title, *Year Zero*, refers to the Khmer Rouge's assertion that they were creating an entirely new society (changing Cambodia to Kampuchea and turning it into a communistic agrarian society), and thus starting over from scratch.

Year Zero, Concept of. In 1975, following the Khmer Rouge's overthrow of the Cambodian government, Pol Pot (1925–1998), the leader of the Khmer Rouge, declared that Kampuchea (the new name the Khmer Rouge gave Cambodia) marked the “Year Zero,” signaling that more than two thousand years of Cambodian history had come to an end. Wanting to create a totally new Cambodia (one that was agrarian, totally self-sufficient, and adhered to the dictates of the Communist Party of Kampuchea), Pol Pot and his cronies set out to totally destroy Cambodia's past by wiping out its cities, destroying all aspects of religious life (which included their mass murder of Buddhist monks), dissembling families, forcing all its people to work with their hands (mostly in the fields to raise food), and killing off those that were suspected of being intellectuals, educated, or tied in anyway to the leadership of the fallen Cambodian regime. Eventually, the Khmer Rouge leadership began turning on its own members, carrying out vicious, large-scale, and deadly purges.

Yellow Star or Badge. In 1215, Pope Innocent III (1161–1216) decreed that the Jews under his sovereignty were to wear a yellow star on their outer garments to distinguish them from the rest of the citizenry. In Germany in 1937, Jewish prisoners were forced, through legislation passed by the Nazi regime (1933–1945), to wear a yellow triangle pointed down; and by 1941 the yellow star was the standard emblem for all Jews over the age of six years throughout the Greater Reich. Humiliating by its very wearing, the yellow color, then as now, was associated with cowardice. On a daily basis, those forced to wear the yellow star were jeered at, called names, and physically attacked. If caught outside without the star prominently placed on their outer garments, Jews were subject to beatings, imprisonment, and worse.

Though variations existed from country to country under Nazi hegemony (sometimes the star alone, sometimes with the word *Jude* (German, “Jew”) or with other localized variations, such as, for example, *Jood* (Dutch, “Jew”) or *Juif* (French, “Jew”), it was the wearing of the star itself that had the devastating psychological effect.

In the Nazi concentration camp universe, various types of prisoners were forced to wear distinguishing colored patches, sewn onto their prison uniforms: These ranged from pink triangles (homosexuals); green triangles (common and/or habitual criminals); black triangles (“asocials,” under which the Roma and Sinti or Gypsies were often placed as were alcoholics, prostitutes, and vagrants); red triangles (political prisoners); purple patches or badges (Jehovah’s Witnesses), and so on. Where a prisoner had the added “distinction” of also being Jewish, an inverted yellow triangle would be superimposed onto the pink, red, or green triangle, forming the shape of a Star of David. Inside death camps such as Auschwitz and Majdanek, visible badges of separation and identification were also in use, though these two camps were exceptions within the death camp environment; generally speaking, there was little differentiation among prisoners in the death camps, as there was no intention on the part of the Nazis that these camps would house prisoners long enough for a detailed administrative system controlling the lives of prisoners to come into play.

Yugoslav People’s Army (JNA). Ultimately, the JNA served as the agent for Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic’s (1941–2006) undermining of the other Yugoslav republics in the 1990s as the former Yugoslavia unraveled and degenerated into warfare among its constituent parts. One of the JNA’s first “actions” was the perpetration of the November 1991 Ovcara massacre. Weapons from JNA depots were regularly delivered by Milosevic’s henchmen to Serb minority leaders in Croatia and Bosnia. Ultimately, the so-called defense of Yugoslavia was, for all intents and purposes, “nationalized” as it became a Serb nationalist cause.

Yugoslavia. The Kingdom of Yugoslavia was created as a direct result of the Versailles Treaty of June 28, 1919, which brought World War I to an end and created a number of new states based on the principle of national self-determination. Essentially, Yugoslavia was composed of parts of the Habsburg Empire, along with the kingdom of Serbia and the principality of Montenegro. At first called the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, the kingdom also included other relatively large minorities, including Albanians, Hungarians, Jews, and Roma. Systematic conflicts and chronic economic problems led to political instability and resulted in a Serbian-dominated royal dictatorship in the early 1930s, which quickly collapsed in the wake of Nazi Germany’s invasion and occupation (1941–1945).

During World War II, both resistance to the Nazis and a consequent brutal repression by the Croat collaborators of the Nazis occasionally led to genocidal violence. Germans rounded up Jews and Roma for extermination at Auschwitz, and *Ustashe* (Croatian fascists) incarcerated Serbs, Jews, and Roma, killing them in a network of concentration camps (the most notorious of which was the Jasenovac camp, located some sixty miles southeast of Croatia’s capital city, Zagreb). In turn, the leader of the communist resistance, Josip Broz (1892–1980), who took the revolutionary name Tito, systematically imprisoned or killed all secessionists, of whatever ethnic identity.

It was Tito who reconstituted postwar Yugoslavia by keeping a tight grip on the restive multiethnic population until his death in 1980. By the time communism

collapsed throughout eastern Europe between 1989 and 1991, secessionist ethnonationalists began once more to rear their heads throughout the Balkan region. Slovenia, Croatia, and Macedonia were the first to secede from the federation in 1991. Serbia's response was to intensify its attempts to retain a "Greater Serbia" out of what remained. Croatia also aimed at a Greater Croatia. Both had their eyes on Bosnia-Herzegovina; indeed, both sought to achieve their own homogeneous state, and the latter effort resulted in mass killing and the expulsion of minorities. For three years (1992–1995), unrestrained violence raged in the territory of what had been Yugoslavia. It did not cease until much-disputed UN, U.S., and NATO interventions. In many cases, there were no interventions, the Serb massacre of between seven thousand and eight thousand Muslim men and boys at Srebrenica constituting the most blatant example.

Later, ethnic cleansing led to additional clashes in Kosovo in 1998–1999, where 2 million Albanian Muslims struggled for autonomy and eventual independence. Macedonia also experienced ethnic violence when, in the spring of 2001, Albanian nationalists took up arms against the Macedonian government.

To date (late 2007), ethnically motivated violence has decreased substantially, largely due to international supervision and a considerable military presence from outside. What used to be Yugoslavia is now a pastiche of mini-states, not yet fully at peace. It is unlikely that the region will reconstitute itself except under the umbrella of the European Union, which may or may not be enough to contain smoldering ethnic hatreds. Renewed conflict is by no means unlikely.

Yuki People, Genocide of. The Yuki were an indigenous people of the Coast Range Mountains region of northern California, centered around the Eel River. Their lifestyle, prior to the arrival of white Americans, was a prosperous one based on hunting, fishing, and gathering the bounty of the rich forests within which they lived. A people numbering between ten and twelve thousand at the time of first contact with the whites, the Yuki population collapsed steadily in the three decades after the late 1850s. Early encounters between Yuki and whites did not suggest this fate. Although relations after the early 1830s were uneven, there was no reason to suspect that the Yuki would meet the horrific fate that so many other Native American peoples had earlier experienced. Increasing contact between the Yuki and incoming white settlers, however, led to clashes, usually over property in the form of the settlers' livestock. Accusations from the settlers, sometimes proven, at other times not, were that the Yuki were either stealing the settlers' cattle or killing it for food. For this, in reprisal, Yuki were often killed indiscriminately, as a warning to others. Eventually, settler violence toward the Yuki became exterminatory: according to one unnamed settler, testifying before an official inquiry, posses went looking for Yuki "two or three times a week" in order to kill, "on an average, fifty or sixty Indians on a trip, and take some prisoners." The prisoners would be taken to a reservation that had been established at Round Valley, though its status as a Federal Indian Reserve did nothing to stop settler depredations: sometimes the killing went on at Round Valley itself. A unit of local volunteers calling themselves the Eel River Rangers, under the command of Captain Walter Jarboe, was formed exclusively for the purpose of killing Yuki. Over the six-month duration of the unit's existence, the number of Yuki, regardless of age or sex, was reduced substantially owing directly to Jarboe's campaign of slaughter. By 1860, it has

been estimated, only a few hundred Yuki remained, split between the reservation and the district nearby: this, from a possible population of twelve thousand less than a decade before. Within thirty years, this number had fallen to about two hundred; by 1900, to about one hundred. The genocide of the Yuki was one of the fastest and most complete of any of those committed against Native Americans and took the form both of settler murder and deliberate colonial policy.

Z

Zepa. A small town in eastern Bosnia, Zepa was designated a UN “safe area” in 1993. With a population of only about fifteen thousand, Zepa was one of the smallest of the safe areas, though its size was to some degree offset by its natural advantage of being located on high ground that could be well defended. Given its isolation, however, a credible defense was always an unlikely proposition. When Bosnian Serb forces led by General Ratko Mladic (b. 1942) turned their attention to the conquest of Zepa about a week after they had conquered Srebrenica in July 1995, a strong resistance was put up by the town’s defenders, led by Colonel Avdo Palic (1958–1995?). Palic refused to surrender his forces, or the town, until he had an agreement from Mladic concerning a safe evacuation for Zepa’s inhabitants. (Speculation exists that Palic had received news regarding the fate of the citizens of Srebrenica, where the Serbs had murdered between seven thousand and eight thousand Muslim boys and men, and was desperate to avoid a repetition in Zepa of what had happened there.) The seventy-nine Ukrainian troops of the UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR) stationed in Zepa were powerless to influence developments in any direction. The evacuation of women and children was negotiated between Mladic and representatives from the UN, and this began around July 21, 1995. It took several days to complete, and saw a large number conveyed to Sarajevo. There was no similar agreement to evacuate the men of Zepa. On July 25, the Serbs entered the town. By this time, Zepa’s defenders had already left for the nearby hills either to regroup in defensive formations or to make their way to Muslim-controlled areas on foot. Unlike at Srebrenica earlier, there was no accompanying slaughter of Muslim men by the victorious Serb forces. On July 28, Colonel Palic went to the UNPROFOR compound to negotiate directly with Mladic over the evacuation of the remaining three thousand inhabitants of Zepa, then in hiding in the hills surrounding the town. He was seized by Mladic’s troops and has not been seen in public since. Most accounts by Serb eyewitnesses suggest Palic was murdered on Mladic’s orders. The fall of Zepa was accompanied by a statement from Mladic that seems to have characterized the entire episode. Addressing the town’s inhabitants on one of the buses evacuating them to Muslim territory, he said, “No Allah, no UN, no NATO can save you. Only me.” Soon after this, the town was put to the torch.

Zivanovic, Milenko (b. 1946). Milenko Zivanovic was the first commanding officer of the Drina Corps, one of six geographically based corps in the Army of Republika Srpska (VRS) during the Bosnian War of 1992–1995. The Drina Corps was formed on November 1,

1992, with Zivanovic in command from the beginning. A career officer in the Yugoslav National Army (JNA) prior to the disintegration of Yugoslavia, Zivanovic was born in Ratkovici, in the municipality of Srebrenica, in eastern Bosnia, on May 30, 1946. The Drina Corps was recruited from within this general area and was given responsibility for operations there during the war. On July 6, 1995, Zivanovic was ordered by VRS commanding general Ratko Mladic (b. 1942) to transfer units of the Drina Corps in the vicinity of Srebrenica, which at that time was sheltering thousands of Muslim refugees under the protection of the United Nations. While a Serb military assault against the city was taking place, personally supervised by Mladic himself during a ten-day campaign that resulted in the biggest genocidal massacre in Europe (the murder of between seven thousand and eight thousand Muslim men and boys) since World War II, Zivanovic was replaced as commanding officer of the Drina Corps at the order of the president of Republika Srpska, Radovan Karadzic (b. 1941). He was replaced by General Radislav Krstic (b. 1948) on or about July 11 or 13, just prior to the perpetration of the majority of the murders, though there is some controversy surrounding the date of the command handover. In view of this, accusations have surfaced from time to time that Zivanovic might have been responsible, in part, for the Serb advance against Srebrenica, which resulted in the genocidal massacre that followed. Krstic was subsequently arrested, tried, and convicted by the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY), based in The Hague. Zivanovic was never indicted by the ICTY and now lives in retirement in Serbia.

Zlata's Diary: A Child's Life in Sarajevo. Written by a young girl (Zlata Filipovic) who resided in Sarajevo with her family during the Serb siege in the early 1990s, this diary (published in the United States by Viking in 1994) provides a powerful account of what she, her family, and neighbors lived through during the siege.

Zoryan Institute for Contemporary Armenian Research and Documentation. The Zoryan Institute is an international scholarly center based in Toronto, Canada, that is devoted to the documentation, study, and dissemination of information related to the life of the Armenian people in the recent past and the present, and within the context of larger world affairs. With regard to its efforts in the field of genocide studies, the Zoryan Institute has several goals: to honor the memory of all victims of genocide; to promote international human rights and justice through education and awareness; to understand the immense impact genocide has had on the Armenian people; to understand the causes of genocide through the study of history, sociology, and other disciplines, by taking a comparative and interdisciplinary approach; to be able to define and predict the conditions by which genocide occurs; and to be able to prevent future genocide. The Zoryan Institute hosts an annual summer seminar on genocide for undergraduates and graduate students from across the globe. The Zoryan Institute was also the co-founder (with the International Association of Genocide Scholars) and sponsor of *Genocide Studies and Prevention: An International Journal* (University of Toronto Press).

Zündel, Ernst (b. 1939). A self-professed Holocaust revisionist, Zündel was born in Germany, and made his way to Montreal, Canada, in 1958, where he initially earned his living as a commercial artist, photographer, and retoucher. Sometime thereafter, he established, clandestinely, his publishing house Samizdat Publishers, producing such titles as his own, *The Hitler We Loved and Why*, Arthur Butz's *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*, Austin App's *The Six Million Swindle*, and Richard Harwood's *The Greatest Fraud in History*. From 1981 to 1983 Canadian postal authorities suspended his mailing privi-

leges, and in 1985 he was first brought to trial for disseminating “false news” under Section 177 of the Criminal Code of Canada. Found guilty, he was sentenced to fifteen months in jail and three years probation. Ever the showman, Zündel would arrive at his trial dressed in a bullet-proof vest and blue hard hat emblazoned with the logo “Freedom of Speech.” In 1987 his conviction was overturned and a new trial was granted. He was, again, convicted and sentenced to a nine-month jail term. In 1990, he arrived at the Toronto jail dressed in a “concentration camp costume” with the words “Political Prisoner Ernst Zündel.” In 1992 the Supreme Court of Canada struck down the “false news” law, thus nullifying his conviction. In 1994, Zündel applied for Canadian citizenship for the second time, having previously been rejected in 1966. His application was, again, rejected. In 2001, he left Canada for the United States and settled in Pigeon Forge, Tennessee. He also got married to his second wife and manager of his Web site, Ingrid Rimland. In 2003, he was arrested by the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service for violation of U.S. law, and was extradited to Canada where, in 2005, he was convicted for publicly denying the Holocaust. He was then extradited to Germany, where he remains in Mannheim Prison for the same crime. (Note: In Germany, Holocaust denial is a more serious crime and punished with lengthier terms of confinement than in other countries.)

Zur Vernichtung durch Arbeit (German, “Destruction Through Work”). On September 18, 1942, Reich Minister of Justice Otto Thierack (1889–1946) signed an agreement with SS General Heinrich Himmler (1900–1945) stating that all Jews currently imprisoned, and some non-Jews as well, could be transferred to SS control and subsequently worked to death. Such would, indeed, become the standard operating procedure in all of the extermination camps under SS control. The agreement was opposed by the *Wehrmacht*, who wanted to make good use of slave labor.

Zurug. *Zurug*, which basically means “darkness,” is an Arab term used as a derogatory term to refer to black Africans in the Darfur region of western Sudan. The term suggests an inferior status, inherent biological inferiority, or a slave past. Put bluntly, it is the equivalent of the use of “nigger” in Western society.

Zygielbojm, Szmul Artur (1895–1943). Born in Borowice, Lublin, Zygielbojm joined the Polish Bund (General Jewish Labor Union), becoming increasingly active in its work, and eventually serving on its central committee. By 1938 he was elected to the Lodz (Poland) City Council. (Lodz was the second-largest city in Poland.) Immediately after the outbreak of World War II and Poland’s defeat, Zygielbojm was arrested by the Germans. Subsequently, he was released but realizing he was in danger of being rearrested, Zygielbojm fled to Belgium in December 1939. From there, he fled to France, later New York, and in 1942 went to London as a member of the National Council of the Polish government-in-exile. A fervent Polish nationalist and outspoken anti-Zionist (i.e., those opposed to the recreation of a Jewish national home in Palestine), he redirected his energies toward saving Polish Jewry as an ever-increasing amount of information was gathered regarding their extermination at the hands of the Nazis. That same year (1942), he made one public speech after another on BBC radio regarding the fate of Polish Jews. On May 12, 1943, when word of the liquidation of the Warsaw Ghetto and the deaths of its inhabitants (including his wife and sixteen-year-old son) reached Zygielbojm, he committed suicide. In his letters to the president and prime minister of Poland, he wrote, “I cannot keep quiet, I cannot live, while the remnants of the Jewish people in Poland who sent me

here, are being destroyed. . . . May my death be a resounding cry of protest, against the indifference with which the world looks at the destruction of the Jewish world, looks on and does nothing to stop it. . . . I hope my death will shock those who have been indifferent, shock them into action in this very moment, which may be the last moment for the remnants of Polish Jewry.” Tragically, his death did not alter the course of the war or the fate of the Jews in any way whatsoever.

Bibliography

Antisemitism

- Abramson, Henry. *Prayer for the Government: Jews & Ukrainians*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999.
- Almog, Shmuel, ed. *Antisemitism through the Ages*. Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1988.
- Almog, Shmuel. *Nationalism and Antisemitism in Modern Europe, 1815–1945*. Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1990.
- Baron, Salo W. *The Russian Jew under Tsars and Soviets* (2nd ed.). New York: Macmillan, 1976.
- Carmichael, Joel. *The Satanizing of the Jews: Origin and Development of Mystical Anti-Semitism*. New York: Fromm, 1992.
- Dinnerstein, Leonard. *Antisemitism in America*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1994.
- Graml, Hermann. *Antisemitism in the Third Reich*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1992.
- Grosser, Paul E., and Edwin G. Halperin. *Anti-Semitism: The Causes and Effects of a Prejudice*. Secaucus, NJ: Citadel Press, 1979.
- Heer, Friedrich. *God's First Love: Christians and Jews over Two Thousand Years*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1970.
- Jacobs, Steven Leonard, and Mark Weitzman. *Dismantling the Big Lie: The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*. Hoboken, NJ: KTAV Publishing House, 2003.
- Levkov, Ilya, ed. *Bitburg and Beyond: Encounters in American, German, and Jewish History*. New York: Shapolsky Publishers, 1987.
- Levy, Richard S., ed. *Antisemitism in the Modern World: An Anthology of Texts*. Lexington, MA: D.C. Heath, 1991.
- Lindemann, Albert S. *The Jew Accused: Three Anti-Semitic Affairs (Dreyfus, Beilis, Frank), 1894–1915*. Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press, 1991.
- Lindemann, Albert S. *Esau's Tears: Modern Anti-Semitism and the Rise of the Jews*. Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press, 1997.
- Litvinov, Barnet. *The Burning Bush: Antisemitism and World History*. London: Collins, 1988.
- Maccoby, Hyam. *A Pariah People: The Anthropology of Antisemitism*. London: Constable, 1996.
- Massing, Paul W. *Rehearsal for Destruction: A Study of Political Anti-Semitism in Imperial Germany*. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1949.
- Rogger, Hans. *Jewish Policies and Right-Wing Politics in Imperial Russia*. London: Macmillan, 1986.
- Sartre, Jean-Paul. *Anti-Semite and Jew: An Exploration of the Etiology of Hate*. New York: Schocken Books, 1995.

Armenian Genocide

- Adalian, Rouben P. "The Armenian Genocide." In *Century of Genocide: Critical Essays and Eyewitness Accounts*, edited by Samuel Totten, William S. Parsons, and Israel W. Charny, 52–90. New York: Routledge, 2004.
- Balakian, Peter. *The Burning Tigris: The Armenian Genocide and America's Response*. New York: HarperCollins, 2003.

- Bloxham, Donald. *The Great Game of Genocide: Imperialism, Nationalism, and the Destruction of the Ottoman Armenians*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.
- Dadrian, Vahakn. "A Typology of Genocide." *International Review of Modern Sociology*, 5 (1975): 210–12.
- Dadrian, Vahakn. "The Structural Functional Components of Genocide: A Victimological Approach to the Armenian Case." In *Victimology*, edited by I. Drapkin and E. Viano. Lexington, MA: Heath, 1974.
- Dadrian, Vahakn N. *The History of the Armenian Genocide: Ethnic Conflict from the Balkans to the Caucasus*. Providence, RI: Berghahn Books, 1995.
- Graber, G. S. *Caravans to Oblivion: The Armenian Genocide, 1915*. New York: John Wiley, 1996.
- Hovannisian, Richard G., ed. *The Armenian Genocide in Perspective*. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction, 1986.
- Hovannisian, Richard G., ed. *Remembrance and Denial: The Case of the Armenian Genocide*. Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press, 1999.
- Melson, Robert F. *Revolution and Genocide: On the Origins of the Armenian Genocide and the Holocaust*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992.
- Morgenthau, Henry. *Ambassador Morgenthau's Story*. New York: Doubleday, Page and Co, 1918.
- Peterson, Merrill D. *Starving Armenians: America and the Armenian Genocide, 1915–1930 and After*. Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press, 2004.
- Power, Samantha. *A Problem from Hell: America and the Age of Genocide*. New York: Basic Books, 2002.
- Winter, Jay, ed. *America and the Armenian Genocide of 1915*. Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

Australia

- Bartrop, Paul R. "The Holocaust, the Aborigines, and the Bureaucracy of Destruction: An Australian Dimension of Genocide." *Journal of Genocide Research*, 3(1) (2001): 75–87.
- Bartrop, Paul R. "Incompatible with Security: Enemy Alien Internees from Singapore in Australia, 1940–45." *Journal of the Australian Jewish Historical Society*, 12(1) (1993): 149–169.
- Bartrop, Paul R. "The Premier as Advocate: A.G. Ogilvie, Tasmania, and the Refugee Crisis, 1938–39." *Tasmanian Historical Research Society Papers and Proceedings*, 15(2) (1988): 49–57.
- Bartrop, Paul R. "Punitive Expeditions and Massacres: Gippsland, Colorado, and the Question of Genocide." In *Genocide and Settler Society: Frontier Violence and Stolen Indigenous Children in Australian History*, edited by A. Dirk Moses, 194–214. New York: Berghahn, 2004.
- Bird, Carmel, ed. *The Stolen Children: Their Stories*. Sydney, New South Wales: Random House, 1998.
- Chambers, Blagden. *Black and White: The Story of a Massacre and Its Aftermath*. Melbourne, Victoria: Methuen, 1988.
- Commonwealth of Australia. *Bringing Them Home: Report on the National Inquiry into the Separation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Children from Their Families*. Sydney, New South Wales: Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission, 1997.
- Elder, Bruce. *Blood on the Wattle: Massacres and Maltreatment of Australian Aborigines since 1788*. Sydney, New South Wales: Child and Associates, 1988.
- Gardner, P. D. *Gippsland Massacres: The Destruction of the Kurnai Tribes*. Esnay, Victoria: Ngarak Press, 1993.
- Gardner, P. D. *Our Founding Murdering Father: Angus McMillan and the Kurnai Tribe of Gippsland, 1839–1865*. Esnay, Victoria: Ngarak Press, 1990.
- Haebich, Anna. *For Their Own Good: Aborigines and Government in the Southwest of Western Australia, 1900–1940*. Nedlands: University of Western Australia Press, 1998.
- Haebich, Anna, and Ann Delroy. *The Stolen Generations: Separation of Aboriginal Children from Their Families*. Perth: Western Australian Museum, 1999.
- Jacobs, Pat. *Mister Neville: A Biography*. Fremantle, WA: Fremantle Arts Centre Press, 1990.
- Loos, Noel. *Invasion and Resistance: Aboriginal-European Relations on the North Queensland Frontier, 1861–1897*. Canberra, ACT: Australian National University Press, 1982.
- McConnochie, Keith, David Hollinsworth, and Jan Pettman. *Race and Racism in Australia*. Sydney, New South Wales: Social Science Publishers, 1998.

- Moore, Clive. "Used and Abused: The Melanesian Labour Trade." In *A Most Valuable Acquisition: A People's History of Australia since 1788*, edited by Verity Burgmann and Jenny Lee, 154–169. Ringwood, Victoria: McPhee Gribble, 1990.
- Moses, A. Dirk, ed. *Genocide and Settler Society: Frontier Violence and Stolen Indigenous Children in Australian History*. New York: Berghahn, 2004.
- Reynolds, Henry. *Fate of a Free People*. Ringwood, Victoria: Penguin Books, 1995.
- Reynolds, Henry. *An Indelible Stain? The Question of Genocide in Australia's History*. Ringwood, Victoria: Viking, 2001.
- Rosser, Bill. *Up Rode the Troopers: The Black Police in Queensland*. St Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 2001.
- Ryan, Lyndall. *The Aboriginal Tasmanians*. St Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 1981.
- Tatz, Colin. *Genocide in Australia*. Canberra, ACT: Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies, 1999.

Baha'is

- Bigelow, Katherine R. "A Campaign to Deter Genocide: The Baha'i Experience." In *Genocide Watch*, edited by Helen Fein, 189–196. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1992.

Biafra

- Forsyth, Frederick. *The Making of an African Legend: The Biafra Story*. Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1977.

Bystanders

- Milgram, Stanley. *Obedience to Authority*. New York: HarperCollins, 1974.
- Morse, Arthur. *While Six Million Died: A Chronicle of American Apathy*. New York: Overlook Press, 1985.

Cambodian Genocide

- Cook, Susan E., ed. *Genocide in Cambodia and Rwanda: New Perspectives*. New Brunswick, CO: Transaction, 2006.
- Hinton, Alexander Laban. *Why Did They Kill? Cambodia in the Shadow of Genocide*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005.
- Kiernan, Ben. "The Cambodian Genocide—1975–1979." In *Century of Genocide: Critical Essays and Eyewitness Accounts*, edited by Samuel Totten, William S. Parsons, and Israel W. Charny, 338–373. New York: Routledge, 2004.
- Kiernan, Ben. *The Pol Pot Regime: Race, Power, and Genocide in Cambodia under the Khmer Rouge, 1975–79*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1996.
- Jackson, Karl D., ed. *Cambodia, 1975–1978: Rendezvous with Death*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1989.
- Maguire, Peter. *Facing Death in Cambodia*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2005.
- Power, Samantha. *A Problem from Hell: America and the Age of Genocide*. New York: Basic Books, 2002.
- Pran, Dith. *Children of Cambodia's Killing Fields: Memoirs by Survivors*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1997.
- Short, Philip. *Pol Pot: The History of a Nightmare*. London: John Murray, 2004.

Crimes against Humanity

- Amnesty International. *Political Killings by Governments: An AI Report*. London: Author, 1983.
- Osiel, Mark J. *Mass Atrocity, Ordinary Evil, and Hannah Arendt: Criminal Consciousness in Argentina's Dirty War*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2001.
- Rotberg, Robert I., and Thomas G. Weiss, eds. *From Massacres to Genocide: The Media, Public Policy, and Humanitarian Crises*. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution/Cambridge, MA: World Peace Foundation, 1996.
- Woolf, Stefan. *Ethnic Conflict: A Global Perspective*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006.

Crimes against Humanity and Genocide of Indigenous Groups

- Berger, Thomas R. *A Long and Terrible Shadow: White Values, Native Rights in the Americas, 1492–1992*. Vancouver, BC: Douglas and McIntyre, 1991.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Cocker, Mark. *Rivers of Blood, Rivers of Gold: Europe's Conflict with Tribal Peoples*. London: Jonathan Cape, 1998.
- Cook, David Noble. *Born to Die: Disease and New World Conquest, 1492–1650*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.
- Conrad, Joseph. *Heart of Darkness*. London: Dent, 1902.
- Hitchcock, Robert, and Alan Osborn, eds. *Endangered Peoples of Africa and the Middle East: Struggles to Survive and Thrive*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2002.
- Hochschild, Adam. *King Leopold's Ghost*. New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1999.
- Morris, Donald R. *The Washing of the Spears: A History of the Rise and Fall of the Zulu Nation under Shaka and Its Fall in the Zulu War of 1879*. London: Jonathan Cape, 1965.
- Morrison, R. Bruce, and C. Roderick Wilson, eds. *Native Peoples: The Canadian Experience* (2nd ed.). Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1995.
- Moses, A. Dirk, ed. *Genocide and Settler Society: Frontier Violence and Stolen Indigenous Children in Australian History*. New York: Berghahn Books, 2004.
- Totten, Samuel, William S. Parsons, and Israel W. Charny, eds. *Century of Genocide: Critical Essays and Eyewitness Accounts*. New York: Garland Publishers, 1997.
- Watts, Sheldon. *Epidemics and History: Disease, Power and Imperialism*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1997.

Democide

- Rummel, R. J. *Death by Government*. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction, 1994.
- Rummel, R. J. *Power Kills: Democracy as a Method of Nonviolence*. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction, 1997.

Democracies and Warfare

- Weart, Spencer R. *Never at War: Why Democracies Will Not Fight One Another*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1998.

Educating about Genocide

- Lennon, John, and Malcolm Foley. *Dark Tourism*. London: Continuum, 2000.
- Totten, Samuel, ed. *Teaching about Genocide: Issues, Approaches, and Resources*. Greenwich, CT: Information Age Publishers, 2004.

Ethnic Cleansing

- Bell-Fialkoff, Andrew. *Ethnic Cleansing*. New York: St Martin's Press, 1996.
- Mann, Michael. *The Dark Side of Democracy: Explaining Ethnic Cleansing*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.
- Naimark, Norman M. *Fires of Hatred: Ethnic Cleansing in Twentieth-Century Europe*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001.
- Pohl, J. Otto. *Ethnic Cleansing in the USSR, 1937–1949*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1999.
- Woolf, Stefan. *Ethnic Conflict: A Global Perspective*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006.

Ethnic Cleansing, Crimes against Humanity, and Genocide in the Soviet Union

- Applebaum, Anne. *Gulag: A History of the Soviet Camps*. London: Allen Lane, 2003.
- Conquest, Robert. *The Great Terror: Stalin's Purge of the Thirties*. London: Macmillan, 1968.
- Conquest, Robert. *The Harvest of Sorrow: Soviet Collectivization and the Terror-Famine*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1986.
- Conquest, Robert. *Kolyma: The Arctic Death Camps*. New York: Viking, 1978.
- Conquest, Robert. *The Nation Killers*. London: Macmillan, 1970.
- Courtois, Stéphane, Nicolas Werth, et al. *The Black Book of Communism: Crimes, Terror, Repression*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999.
- Jansen, Marc, and Nikita Petrov. *Stalin's Loyal Executioner: People's Commissar Nikolai Ezhov, 1895–1940*. Washington, DC: Hoover Institution Press, 2002.
- Khlevniuk, Oleg V. *The History of the Gulag: From Collectivization to the Great Terror*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2004.
- Pipes, Richard. *Russia under the Bolshevik Regime*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1994.
- Pohl, J. Otto. *Ethnic Cleansing in the USSR, 1937–1949*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1999.

Fascism

- Allardyce, Gilbert, ed. *The Place of Fascism in European History*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1971.
- Eatwell, Roger. *Fascism, A History*. New York: Allen Lane, The Penguin Press, 1995.
- Kedward, H. R. *Fascism in Western Europe, 1900–45*. New York: New York University Press, 1971.
- Turner, Henry A., ed. *Reappraisals of Fascism*. New York: New Viewpoints, 1975.

Genocide in Bangladesh

- Jahan, Rounaq. "Genocide in Bangladesh." In *Century of Genocide: Critical Essays and Eyewitness Accounts*, edited by Samuel Totten, William S. Parsons, and Israel W. Charny, 294–319. New York: Routledge, 2004.

Genocide in Burundi

- Lemarchand, Rene. *Burundi: Ethnic Conflict and Genocide*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press/Washington, DC: Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 1994.
- Lemarchand, Rene. "The Burundi Genocide." In *Century of Genocide: Critical Essays and Eyewitness Accounts*, edited by Samuel Totten, William S. Parsons, and Israel W. Charny, 320–337. New York: Routledge, 2004.

Genocide in China

- Rummel, R. J. *China's Bloody Century: Genocide and Mass Murder since 1900*. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction, 1991.

Genocide in Darfur

- Flint, Julie, and De Waal. *Darfur: A Short History of a Long War*. New York: Zed Books, 2005.
- Genocide Studies and Prevention: An International Journal. Special Issue on Darfur. *Genocide Studies and Prevention: An International Journal*, 1(1), 2006.
- Prunier, Gerard. *Darfur: The Ambiguous Genocide*. London: Hurst, 2005.
- Totten, Samuel (2006). "The U.S. Investigation into the Darfur Crisis and the U.S. Government's Determination of Genocide." *Genocide Studies and Prevention: An International Journal*, Summer, 1(1) (2006): 57–77.
- Totten, Samuel, and Eric Markusen, eds. *Genocide in Darfur: Investigating Atrocities in the Sudan*. New York: Routledge, 2006.
- Totten, Samuel, and Eric Markusen. "The U.S. Government Darfur Genocide Investigation." *Journal of Genocide Research*, 7(2) (2005): 279–90.
- United States Department of State. *Documenting Atrocities in Darfur*. Washington, DC: U.S. State Department's Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor and Bureau of Intelligence and Research, 2004.

Genocide in East Timor

- Aubrey, Jim, ed. *Free East Timor: Australia's Culpability in East Timor's Genocide*. Sydney, New South Wales: Random House Australia, 1998.
- Carey, Peter, and G. Carter Bentley, eds. *East Timor at the Crossroads: The Forging of a Nation*. London: Cassell, 1995.
- Dunn, James. "Genocide in East Timor," In *Century of Genocide: Critical Essays and Eyewitness Accounts*, edited by Samuel Totten, William S. Parsons, and Israel W. Charny, 262–293. New York: Routledge, 2004.
- Gunn, Geoffrey C. *East Timor and the United Nations: The Case for Intervention*. Lawrenceville, NJ: Red Sea Press, 1997.
- Hainsworth, Paul, and Stephen McCloskey, eds. *The East Timor Question: The Struggle for Independence from Indonesia*. London: I.B. Tauris, 2000.
- Nevins, Joseph. *A Not-So-Distant Horror: Mass Violence in East Timor*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2005.
- Tanter, Richard, Mark Selden, and Stephen R. Shalom, eds. *Bitter Flowers, Sweet Flowers: East Timor, Indonesia, and the World Community*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2001.

Genocide in Indonesia

- Challis, Roland. *Shadow of a Revolution: Indonesia and the Generals*. Stroud, Gloucestershire: Sutton Publishing, 2001.
- Colombijn, Freek, and J. Thomas Lindblad, eds. *Roots of Violence in Indonesia: Contemporary Violence in Historical Perspective*. Leiden: KITLV Press, 2002.
- Cribb, Robert. "The Indonesian Massacres." In *Century of Genocide: Critical Essays and Eyewitness Accounts*, edited by Samuel Totten, William S. Parsons, and Israel W. Charny, 234–260. New York: Routledge, 2004.
- Kingsbury, Damien. *The Politics of Indonesia* (2nd ed.). Melbourne, Victoria: Oxford University Press, 2002.

Genocide in Southern Sudan

- Burr, Millard. *Working Document II: Quantifying Genocide in Southern Sudan and the Nuba Mountains, 1983–1998*. Washington, DC: U.S. Committee for Refugees, 1998.
- Kulusika, Simon E. *Southern Sudan: Political and Economic Power Dilemmas and Options*. London: Minerva, 1998.
- Peterson, Scott. *Me Against My Brother: At War in Somalia, Sudan, and Rwanda. A Journalist Reports from the Battlefields of Africa*. New York: Routledge, 2000.

Genocide in the Former Yugoslavia

- Allen, Beverly. *Rape Warfare: The Hidden Genocide in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996.
- Anastasijevic, Dejan. "The Trial of the Scorpions." *Bosnia Report*, Nos. 45–46, 2005. <http://www.bosnia.org.uk/bosrep>.
- Anzulovic, Branimir. *Heavenly Serbia: From Myth to Genocide*. New York: New York University Press, 1991.
- Chicago Tribune*, "What Goes On in Bosnia's Camps?" August 6, 1992, Sec. 1, 24.
- Cigar, Norman. *Genocide in Bosnia: The Policy of "Ethnic Cleansing"*. College Station: Texas A & M University Press, 1995.
- Cigar, Norman, and Paul Williams. *Indictment at The Hague: The Milosevic Regime and Crimes of the Balkan Wars*. New York: New York University Press, 2002.
- Columbus, Frank, ed. *Kosovo-Serbia: A Just War?* Commack, NY: Nova Science Publishers, 1999.
- Cushman, Thomas, and Stjepan G. Mestovic, eds. *This Time We Knew: Western Responses to Genocide in Bosnia*. New York: New York University Press, 1996.
- Daalder, Ivo H. *Getting to Dayton: The Making of America's Bosnia Policy*. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, 2000.
- Daalder, Ivo, and Michael E. O'Hanlon. *Winning Ugly: NATO's War to Save Kosovo*. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, 2000.
- Everts, Philip. "Innocence Lost: The Netherlands and the Yugoslav Conflict." In *International Public Opinion and the Bosnia Crisis*, edited by Richard Sobel and Eric Shiraev, 219–248. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2003.
- Judah, Tim. "Serbia Struggles to Face the Truth about Srebrenica." *Crimes of War Project*, June 17, 2005. <http://www.crimesofwar.org/news-srebrenica2.html>.
- Gow, James. *Triumph of the Lack of Will: International Diplomacy and the Yugoslav War*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1997.
- Gutman, Roy. *A Witness to Genocide: The 1993 Pulitzer Prize-Winning Dispatches on the "Ethnic Cleansing" of Bosnia*. New York: Macmillan, 1993.
- Holbrooke, Richard. *To End a War*. New York: Modern Library, 1999.
- Honig, Jan Willem, and Norbert Both. *Srebrenica, Record of a War Crime*. New York: Penguin Books, 1997.
- Kaufman, Joyce P. *NATO and the Former Yugoslavia: Crisis, Conflict, and the Atlantic Alliance*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2002.
- Koff, Clea. *The Bone Woman: A Forensic Anthropologist's Search for Truth in the Mass Graves of Rwanda, Bosnia, Croatia, and Kosovo*. New York: Random House, 2005.
- Neuffer, Elizabeth. *The Key to My Neighbor's House: Seeking Justice in Bosnia and Rwanda*. New York: Picador USA, 2001.

- New York Times*, "Milosevic Isn't Hitler, But . . .," August 4, 1992, A18.
- Off, Carole. *The Lion, the Fox and the Eagle: A Story of Generals and Justice in Rwanda and Yugoslavia*. Toronto: Random House Canada, 2000.
- Power, Samantha. *A Problem from Hell: America and the Age of Genocide*. New York: Basic Books, 2002.
- Rogel, Carole. *The Breakup of Yugoslavia and the War in Bosnia*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1998.
- Rohde, David. *Endgame: The Betrayal and Fall of Srebrenica, Europe's Worst Massacre since World War II*. New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 1997.
- Sells, Michael. *The Bridge Betrayed: Religion and Genocide in Bosnia*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996.
- Sharp, Jane M. O. *Honest Broker or Perfidious Albion? British Policy in Former Yugoslavia*. London: Institute for Public Policy Research, 1997.
- Silber, Laura, and Allan L. Little. *The Death of Yugoslavia*. London: Penguin Books, 1995.
- Simms, Brendan. *Unfinest Hour: Britain and the Destruction of Bosnia*. London: Allen Lane The Penguin Press, 2001.
- Stiglmeier, Alexandra, ed. *Mass Rape: The War against Women in Bosnia-Herzegovina*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1994.
- Stover, Eric, and Gilles Peress. *The Graves: Srebrenica and Vukovar*. Zurich: Scalo, 1998.

Genocide of Kurds in Iraq

- Leezenberg, Michel. "The Anfal Operations in Iraqi Kurdistan." In *Century of Genocide: Critical Essays and Eyewitness Accounts*, edited by Samuel Totten, William S. Parsons, and Israel W. Charny, 374–393. New York: Routledge, 2004.
- Power, Samantha. *A Problem from Hell: America and the Age of Genocide*. New York: Basic Books, 2002.
- Tucker, Mike. *Hell Is Over: Voices of the Kurds after Saddam*. Guildford, CT: Lyons Press, 2004.

Genocide of the Hereros

- Bridgman, Jon M. *The Revolt of the Hereros*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981.
- Bridgman, Jon M., and Leslie J. Worley. "Genocide of the Hereros." In *Century of Genocide: Critical Essays and Eyewitness Accounts*, edited by Samuel Totten, William S. Parsons, and Israel W. Charny, 14–51. New York: Routledge, 2004.

Genocide: Theory, Research, Cases

- Alvarez, Alex. *Governments, Citizens, and Genocide: A Comparative and Interdisciplinary Approach*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2001.
- Campbell, Kenneth J. *Genocide and the Global Village*. New York: Palgrave, 2001.
- Charny, Israel W. "The Study of Genocide." In *Genocide: A Critical Bibliographic Review*, edited by Israel W. Charny, 1–19. New York: Facts on File, 1988.
- Fein, Helen. "Genocide: A Sociological Perspective." In *Current Sociology*, 38(1), 1990.
- Fein, Helen, ed. *Genocide Watch*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1992.
- Frey, Robert S., ed.. *The Genocidal Temptation: Auschwitz, Hiroshima, Rwanda, and Beyond*. Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 2004.
- Harff, Barbara. "Recognizing Genocides and Politicides." In *Genocide Watch*, edited by Helen Fein, 27–41. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1992.
- Harff, Barbara, and Ted Robert Gurr. "Toward Empirical Theory of Genocides and Politicides: Identification and Measurement of Cases since 1945." *International Studies Quarterly*, 32 (1988): 359–371.
- Hirsch, Herbert. *Genocide and the Politics of Memory: Studying Death to Preserve Life*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1995.
- Jonassohn, Curt, with Karin Solveig Bjornson. *Genocide and Gross Human Rights Violations in Comparative Perspective*. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction, 1998.
- Kuper, Leo. *Genocide: Its Political Use in the Twentieth Century*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1981.
- Lemkin, Raphael. *Axis Rule in Occupied Europe: Laws of Occupation, Analysis of Government, Proposals for Redress*. Washington, DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1944.

- Lifton, Robert Jay, and Eric Markusen. *The Genocidal Mentality: Nazi Holocaust and Nuclear Threat*. New York: Basic Books, 1990.
- Milgram, Stanley. *Obedience to Authority*. New York: HarperCollins, 1974.
- Palmer, Alison. *Colonial Genocide*. Adelaide: Crawford House, 2000.
- Rosenbaum, Alan S., ed. *Is the Holocaust Unique? Perspectives on Comparative Genocide*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2000.
- Rotberg, Robert I., and Thomas G. Weiss, eds. *From Massacres to Genocide: The Media, Public Policy, and Humanitarian Crises*. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution/Cambridge, MA: World Peace Foundation, 1996.
- Tatz, Colin. *With Intent to Destroy: Reflecting on Genocide*. London: Verso, 2003.
- Totten, Samuel, and Steven Leonard Jacobs, eds. *Pioneers of Genocide Studies*. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 2002.
- Totten, Samuel, Parsons, William S., and Charny, Israel (Eds.) *Century of Genocide: Critical Essays and Eyewitness Accounts*. Second Edition. New York: Routledge, 2004
- History of Crimes against Humanity and/or Genocide**
- Bartrop, Paul R., and Samuel Totten. "The History of Genocide: An Overview." In *Teaching about Genocide: Issues, Approaches, and Resources*, edited by Samuel Totten, 23–55. Greenwich, CT: Information Age Publishing, 2004.
- Campbell, Kenneth J. *Genocide and the Global Village*. New York: Palgrave, 2001.
- Chalk, Frank, and Kurt Jonassohn. *The History and Sociology of Genocide*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1990.
- Glover, Jonathan. *Humanity: A Moral History of the Twentieth Century*. London: Jonathan Cape, 1999.
- Jones, Adam, ed. *Genocide, War Crimes and the West: History and Complicity*. London: Zed Books, 2004.
- Lemkin, Raphael. *Axis Rule in Occupied Europe: Laws of Occupation, Analysis of Government, Proposals for Redress*. Washington, DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1994.
- Levene, Mark, and Penny Roberts, eds. *The Massacre in History*. New York: Berghahn, 1999.
- McNamara, Robert, and James G. Blight. *Wilson's Ghost: Reducing the Risk of Conflict, Killing, and Catastrophe in the 21st Century*. New York: Public Affairs, 2001.
- Neier, Aryeh. *War Crimes: Brutality, Genocide, Terror, and the Struggle for Justice*. New York: Times Books, 1998.
- O'Shea, Stephen. *The Perfect Heresy: The Revolutionary Life and Death of the Medieval Cathars*. London: Profile Books, 2000.
- Power, Samantha. *A Problem from Hell: America and the Age of Genocide*. New York: Basic Books, 2002.
- Totten, Samuel, William S. Parsons, and Israel W. Charny, eds. *Century of Genocide: Critical Essays and Eyewitness Accounts*. New York: Routledge, 2004.
- Watts, Sheldon. *Epidemics and History: Disease, Power and Imperialism*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1997.
- Holocaust**
- Allen, Michael Thad. *The Business of Genocide: The SS, Slave Labor, and the Concentration Camps*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2002.
- Almog, Shmuel. *Nationalism and Antisemitism in Modern Europe, 1815–1945*. Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1990.
- Almog, Shmuel, ed. *Antisemitism through the Ages*. Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1988.
- Arendt, Hannah. *Eichmann in Jerusalem: A Report on the Banality of Evil*. New York: Viking, 1963.
- Bartrop, Paul R. "Bruno Bettelheim and the Extreme Situation: The Debate over Prisoner Behaviour in the Nazi Concentration Camps (1943–1976)." *Menorah: Australian Journal of Jewish Studies*, 3(2) (1989): 32–47.
- Bartrop, Paul R. "Nuremberg, Fifty Years On: What Was on Trial?" In *Europe: Retrospects and Prospects*, edited by John Perkins and Jurgen Tampke, 55–64. Manly East, New South Wales: Southern Highlands Publishers, 1996.
- Bartrop, Paul R. *Surviving the Camps: Unity in Adversity during the Holocaust*. Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 2000.

- Bartrop, Paul R. "The Holocaust, the Aborigines, and the Bureaucracy of Destruction: An Australian Dimension of Genocide." *Journal of Genocide Research*, 3(1) (2001): 75–87.
- Bartrop, Paul R., with Gabrielle Eisen, eds. *The Dunera Affair: A Documentary Resource Book*. Melbourne, New South Wales: Schwartz and Wilkinson, 1990.
- Bellon, Bernard P. *Mercedes in Peace and War: German Automobile Workers, 1903–1945*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1990.
- Berenbaum, Michael, ed. *A Mosaic of Victims: Non-Jews Persecuted and Murdered by the Nazis*. New York: New York University Press, 1990.
- Berenbaum, Michael. *The World Must Know: The History of the Holocaust as Told in the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum*. Boston, MA: Little, Brown and Company, 1993.
- Bower, Tom. *The Pledge Betrayed: America and Britain and the Denazification of Postwar Germany*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1982.
- Bracher, Karl Dietrich. *The German Dictatorship: The Origins, Structure, and Effects of National Socialism*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1971.
- Browning, Christopher. *Ordinary Men: Reserve Police Battalion 101 and the Final Solution in Poland*. New York: Harper and Row, 1993.
- Browning, Christopher R. *Nazi Policy, Jewish Workers, German Killers*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.
- Cecil, Robert. *Hitler's Decision to Invade Russia, 1941*. London: Davis-Poynter, 1975.
- Deak, Istvan, Jan T. Gross, and Tony Judt, eds. *The Politics of Retribution in Europe: World War II and Its Aftermath*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000.
- Des Pres, Terrence. *The Survivor: An Anatomy of Life in the Death Camps*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1976.
- Des Pres, Terrence. *Writing into the World: Essays, 1973–1987*. New York: Viking, 1991.
- Eaglestone, Robert. *Postmodernism and Holocaust Denial*. Duxford, Cambridge: Icon Books, 2001.
- Eatwell, Roger. *Fascism, A History*. New York: Allen Lane, The Penguin Press, 1995.
- Edelheit, Abraham J., and Hershel Edelheit. *History of the Holocaust: A Handbook and Dictionary*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1994.
- Epstein, Eric Joseph, and Philip Rosen. *Dictionary of the Holocaust: Biography, Geography, and Terminology*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1997.
- Favez, Jean-Claude. *The Red Cross and the Holocaust*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.
- Fischel, Jack R. *The Holocaust*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1998.
- Gilbert, Martin. *The Righteous*. New York: Henry Holt, 2003.
- Glass, James M. *Life Unworthy of Life: Racial Phobia and Mass Murder in Hitler's Germany*. New York: Basic Books, 1997.
- Graber, G. S. *History of the SS*. London: Robert Hale, 1978.
- Graml, Hermann. *Antisemitism in the Third Reich*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1992.
- Grosser, Paul E., and Edwin G. Halperin. *Anti-Semitism: The Causes and Effects of a Prejudice*. Secaucus, NJ: Citadel Press, 1979.
- Gutman, Israel, ed. *Encyclopedia of the Holocaust*. New York: Macmillan Publishing, 1990.
- Haas, Peter. *Morality after Auschwitz: The Radical Challenge of the Nazi Ethic*. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1988.
- Haesler, Alfred A. (1969). *The Lifeboat Is Full: Switzerland and the Refugees, 1933–1945*. New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1969.
- Hallie, Philip. *Lest Innocent Blood Be Shed: The Story of Le Chambon and How Goodness Happened There*. New York: Harper and Row, 1979.
- Hartman, Geoffrey H., ed. *Bitburg in Moral and Political Perspective*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986.
- Haynes, Stephen. *The Bonhoeffer Phenomenon: Portraits of a Protestant Saint*. Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 2004.
- Hellman, Peter. *Avenue of the Righteous*. London: J.M. Dent, 1981.
- Higham, Charles. *Trading with the Enemy: An Exposé of the Nazi-American Money Plot, 1933–1949*. London: Robert Hale, 1983.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Hilberg, Raul. *The Destruction of the European Jews*. New York: Holmes & Meier, 1985.
- Jens, Inge, ed. *At the Heart of the White Rose: Letters and Diaries of Hans and Sophie Scholl*. New York: Harper and Row, 1987.
- Katz, Steven T. *The Holocaust in Historical Context*. Volume 1. *The Holocaust and Mass Death before the Modern Age*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1994.
- Krausnick, Helmut, Hans Buchheim, Martin Broszat, and Hans-Adolf Jacobsen. *Anatomy of the SS State*. London: Collins, 1968.
- Kurlansky, Mark. *A Chosen Few: The Resurrection of European Jewry*. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley, 1995.
- Langerbein, Helmut. *Hitler's Death Squads: The Logic of Mass Murder*. College Station: Texas A & M University Press, 2003.
- Laqueur, Walter, ed. *The Holocaust Encyclopedia*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2001.
- Lasby, Clarence G. *Project Paperclip: German Scientists and the Cold War*. New York: Scribner, 1975.
- Levkov, Ilya, ed. *Bitburg and Beyond: Encounters in American, German, and Jewish History*. New York: Shapolsky Publishers, 1987.
- Lifton, Robert Jay. *The Nazi Doctors: Medical Killing and the Psychology of Genocide*. New York: Basic Books, 1986.
- Lifton, Robert Jay, and Eric Markusen. *The Genocidal Mentality: Nazi Holocaust and Nuclear Threat*. New York: Basic Books, 1990.
- Lozowick, Yaacov. *Hitler's Bureaucrats: The Nazi Security Police and the Banality of Evil*. New York: Continuum, 2003.
- Marcus, Paul. *Autonomy in the Extreme Situation: Bruno Bettelheim, the Nazi Concentration Camps and the Mass Society*. Westport, CT: Praeger, 1999.
- Marino, Andy. *American Pimpemel: The Man Who Saved the Artists on Hitler's Death List*. London: Random House, 1999.
- Markusen, Eric, and David Kopf. *The Holocaust and Strategic Bombing: Genocide and Total War in the Twentieth Century*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1995.
- Marrus, Michael. *The Holocaust in History*. Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1987.
- Marrus, Michael. *The Unwanted: European Refugees in the Twentieth Century*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1985.
- Massing, Paul W. *Rehearsal for Destruction: A Study of Political Anti-Semitism in Imperial Germany*. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1949.
- Melson, Robert F. *Revolution and Genocide: On the Origins of the Armenian Genocide and the Holocaust*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1992.
- Michael, Robert, and Doerr, Karin. *Nazi Deutsch/Nazi German: An English Lexicon of the Language of the Third Reich*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2002.
- Miller, Richard Lawrence. *Nazi Justiz: Law of the Holocaust*. Westport, CT: Praeger, 1995.
- Morse, Arthur. *While Six Million Died: A Chronicle of American Apathy*. New York: Overlook Press, 1985.
- Niewyk, Donald. "Holocaust: Genocide of the Jews." In *Century of Genocide: Critical Essays and Eyewitness Accounts*, edited by Samuel Totten, William S. Parsons, and Israel W. Charny, 126–159. New York: Routledge, 2004.
- Niewyk, Donald, and Francis Nicosia. *The Columbia Guide to the Holocaust*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2000.
- Passelecq, Georges, and Bernard Suchecky. *The Hidden Encyclical of Pius XI*. New York: Harcourt Brace, 1997.
- Patterson, David, Alan L. Berger, and Sarita Cargas, eds. *Encyclopedia of Holocaust Literature*. Westport, CT: Oryx Press, 2002.
- Pearl, Cyril. *The Dunera Scandal: Deported by Mistake*. Sydney, New South Wales: Angus and Robertson, 1983.
- Pois, Robert, ed. *Alfred Rosenberg: Selected Writings*. London: Jonath and Cape, 1970.
- Poliakov, Leon. *The Aryan Myth: A History of Racist and Nationalist Ideas in Europe*. New York: Basic Books, 1974.
- Power, Samantha. *A Problem from Hell: America and the Age of Genocide*. New York: Basic Books, 2002.

- Proctor, Robert N. *Racial Hygiene: Medicine under the Nazis*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1988.
- Reitlinger, Gerald. *The SS: Alibi of a Nation*. London: William Heinemann, 1956.
- Rozett, Robert, and Shmuel Spector. *Encyclopedia of the Holocaust*. New York: Macmillan, 2000.
- Sabrin, B. F., ed. *Alliance for Murder: The Nazi-Ukrainian Partnership in Genocide*. New York: DeCapo Press, 1991.
- Sereny, Gitta. *Into That Darkness: An Examination of Conscience*. London: Andre Deutsch, 1974.
- Snyder, Louis L. *Encyclopedia of the Third Reich*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1976.
- Sofsky, Wolfgang. *The Order of Terror: The Concentration Camp*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1997.
- Sutton, Nina. *Bettelheim: A Life and a Legacy*. New York: Basic Books, 1996.
- Tec, Nehama. *When Light Pierced the Darkness: Christian Rescuers of Jews in Nazi-Occupied Poland*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1986.
- Thomas, Gordon, and Max Morgan-Witts. *Voyage of the Damned*. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1974.
- Troper, Harold, and Morton Weinfeld. *Old Wounds: Jews, Ukrainians, and the Hunt for Nazi War Criminals in Canada*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1989.
- Turner, Henry A., ed. *Nazism and the Third Reich*. New York: Quadrangle Books, 1972.
- Vital, David. *A People Apart: The Jews in Europe, 1789–1939*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999.
- Wallach, Jehuda L. "Waldheim, Kurt." In *Encyclopedia of the Holocaust*, edited by Israel Gutman, 1587–88. New York: Macmillan, 1995.
- Watt, D. C. "Introduction." In Adolf Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, xi–xii. London: Hutchinson, 1969.
- Wyman, David S. *The Abandonment of the Jews: America and the Holocaust: 1941–1945*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1984.

Human Aggression/Human Destructiveness

- Storr, Anthony. *Human Aggression*. New York: Scribner, 1968.
- Storr, Anthony. *Human Destructiveness*. New York: William Morrow, 1972.

Human Rights Issues

- Amnesty International. *Political Killings by Governments: An AI Report*. London: Author, 1983.
- Bell-Fialkoff, Andrew. *Ethnic Cleansing*. New York: St Martin's Press, 1996.
- Berger, Thomas R. *A Long and Terrible Shadow: White Values, Native Rights in the Americas, 1492–1992*. Vancouver, British Columbia: Douglas and McIntyre, 1991.
- Cocker, Mark. *Rivers of Blood, Rivers of Gold: Europe's Conflict with Tribal Peoples*. London: Jonathan Cape, 1998.
- Cook, David Noble. *Born to Die: Disease and New World Conquest, 1492–1650*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.
- Finley, M. I. *Ancient Slavery and Modern Ideology*. London: Chatto and Windus, 1980.
- Gurr, Ted R. *Minorities at Risk*. Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace Press, 1998.
- Gurr, Ted, and Monty G. Marshall (2000). "The Analytic Basis of Risk Assessments." In *Peoples versus States: Minorities at Risk in the New Century*, edited by Ted Robert Gurr, 295–309. Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace Press, 2000.
- Hitchcock, Robert, and Alan Osborn, eds. *Endangered Peoples of Africa and the Middle East: Struggles to Survive and Thrive*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2002.
- Jonassohn, Curt, with Karin Solveig Bjornson. *Genocide and Gross Human Rights Violations in Comparative Perspective*. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction, 1998.
- Mann, Michael. *The Dark Side of Democracy: Explaining Ethnic Cleansing*. Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press, 2005.
- Naimark, Norman M. *Fires of Hatred: Ethnic Cleansing in Twentieth-Century Europe*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001.
- Osiel, Mark J. *Mass Atrocity, Ordinary Evil, and Hannah Arendt: Criminal Consciousness in Argentina's Dirty War*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2001.
- Pohl, J. Otto. *Ethnic Cleansing in the USSR, 1937–1949*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1999.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Shattuck, John. "Human Rights and Humanitarian Crises: Policy-Making and the Media." In *From Massacres to Genocide: The Media, Public Policy, and Humanitarian Crises*, edited by Robert T. Rotberg and Thomas G. Weiss, 169–175. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution, 1996.
- Shattuck, John. *Freedom on Fire: Human Rights Wars and America's Response*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003.
- Woolf, Stefan. *Ethnic Conflict: A Global Perspective*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006.

Humanitarian Law

- Bouchet-Saulnier, Françoise. *The Practical Guide to Humanitarian Law*. Lanham, MS: Rowman and Littlefield, 2002.
- Byers, Michael. *War Law: International Law and Armed Conflict*. London: Atlantic Books, 2005.
- Kewley, Gretchen. *Humanitarian Law in Armed Conflicts*. Melbourne, Victoria: Australian Red Cross, 1993.
- Schabas, William A. *Genocide in International Law: The Crime of Crimes*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.
- Totten, Samuel, comp. *The Prevention and Intervention of Genocide: An Annotated Bibliography*. New York: Routledge, 2007.

Intervention

- Cortright, David, and George A. Lopez. *The Sanctions Decade: Assessing UN Strategies in the 1990s*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2000.
- Daniel, Donald C. F., Bradd C. Hayes, and Chantel de Jonge Oudraat. *Coercive Inducement and the Containment of International Crises*. Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace Press, 1999.
- DiPrizio, Robert C. *Armed Humanitarians: US Interventions from Northern Iraq to Kosovo*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002.
- Hamburg, David A. *No More Killing Fields: Preventing Deadly Conflict*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2002.
- Gunn, Geoffrey C. *East Timor and the United Nations: The Case for Intervention*. Lawrenceville, NJ: Red Sea Press, 1997.
- Krasner, Stephen D. *Sovereignty: Organized Hypocrisy*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1999.
- Kuperman, Alan J. *The Limits of Humanitarian Intervention: Genocide in Rwanda*. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, 2001.
- Lyons, Gene, and Michael Mastanduno, eds. *Beyond Westphalia? State Sovereignty and International Intervention*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995.
- Mills, Nicolaus, and Kira Brunner, eds. *The New Killing Fields: Massacre and the Politics of Intervention*. New York: Basic Books, 2002.
- Moore, Jonathan, ed.. *Hard Choices: Moral Dilemmas in Humanitarian Intervention*. Lanham, MD: Roman & Littlefield, 1998.
- Rotberg, Robert I., and Thomas G. Weiss, eds. *From Massacres to Genocide: The Media, Public Policy, and Humanitarian Crises*. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution/Cambridge, MA: World Peace Foundation, 1996.
- Schabas, William A. *Genocide in International Law: The Crime of Crimes*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.
- Totten, Samuel. "The Intervention and Prevention of Genocide: Where There Is the Political Will, There Is a Way." In *Century of Genocide: Critical Essays and Eyewitness Accounts*, edited by Samuel Totten, William S. Parsons, and Israel W. Charny, 469–490. New York: Routledge, 2004.
- Totten, Samuel, comp. *The Prevention and Intervention of Genocide: An Annotated Bibliography*. New York: Routledge, 2007.
- Vogt, Margaret. "The Organization of African Unity (OAU) and Conflict Management in Africa." n.d. <http://www.ploughshares.ca/content.BUILD%20PEACE>.

Kosovo

- Bacevich, Andrew J., and Eliot A. Cohen, eds. *War and Kosovo: Politics and Strategy in a Global Age*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2001.

- Buckley, Mary, and Sally N. Cummings, eds. *Kosovo: Perceptions of War and Its Aftermath*. London: Continuum, 2001.
- Columbus, Frank, ed. *Kosovo-Serbia: A Just War?* Commack, NY: Nova Science Publishers, 1999.
- Jokic, Aleksandar, ed. *Lessons of Kosovo: The Dangers of Humanitarian Intervention*. Toronto: Broadview Press, 2003.
- Judah, Tim. *Kosovo: War and Revenge*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2000.
- Koff, Clea. *The Bone Woman: A Forensic Anthropologist's Search for Truth in the Mass Graves of Rwanda, Bosnia, Croatia, and Kosovo*. New York: Random House, 2005.
- Latawski, Paul, and Martin A. Smith. *The Kosovo Crisis and the Evolution of Post-Cold War European Security*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003.
- Power, Samantha. *A Problem from Hell: America and the Age of Genocide*. New York: Basic Books, 2002.
- Weymouth, Tony, and Stanley Henig, eds. *The Kosovo Crisis: The Last American War in Europe?* London: Reuters, 2001.

League of Nations

- Walters, F. P. *A History of the League of Nations*. London: Oxford University Press, 1960.
- Zimmern, Alfred. *The League of Nations and the Rule of Law, 1918–1935*. London: Macmillan, 1939.

Minorities at Risk

- Gurr, Ted R. *Minorities at Risk*. Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace Press, 1998.
- Gurr, Ted, and Monty G. Marshall. "The Analytic Basis of Risk Assessments." In *Peoples Versus States: Minorities at Risk in the New Century*, edited by Ted Robert Gurr, 295–309. Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace Press, 2000.

Nanking Massacre

- Chang, Iris. *The Rape of Nanking: The Forgotten Holocaust of World War II*. New York: Basic Books, 1997.

Native Americans/Canadian First Nations

- Anderson, William L., ed. *Cherokee Removal: Before and After*. Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1991.
- Bartrop, Paul R. "Punitive Expeditions and Massacres: Gippsland, Colorado, and the Question of Genocide." In *Genocide and Settler Society: Frontier Violence and Stolen Indigenous Children in Australian History*, edited by A. Dirk Moses, 194–214. New York: Berghahn, 2004.
- Berger, Thomas R. *A Long and Terrible Shadow: White Values, Native Rights in the Americas, 1492–1992*. Vancouver, BC: Douglas and McIntyre, 1991.
- Bushnell, O. A. *The Gifts of Civilization: Germs and Genocide in Hawai'i*. Honolulu, HI: University of Hawaii Press, 1993.
- Debo, Angie. *A History of the Indians of the United States*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1970.
- DeRosier, Arthur H. Jr. *The Removal of the Choctaw Indians*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1970.
- Ehle, John. *Trail of Tears: The Rise and Fall of the Cherokee Nations*. New York: Anchor Books, 1988.
- Foreman, Grant. *Indian Removal: The Emigration of the Five Civilized Tribes of Indians*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1953.
- Garfield, Seth. *Indigenous Struggle at the Heart of Brazil: State Policy, Frontier Expansion, and the Xavante Indians, 1937–1988*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2001.
- Gump, James O. *The Dust Rose Like Smoke: The Subjugation of the Zulu and the Sioux*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1994.
- Jacobs, Wilbur R. *Dispossessing the American Indian: Indians and Whites on the Colonial Frontier*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1972.
- Jennings, Francis. *The Founders of America: How Indians Discovered the Land, Pioneered in It, and Created Great Classical Civilizations; How They Were Plunged into a Dark Age by Invasion and Conquest; and How They Are Reviving*. New York: Norton, 1993.
- Marshall, Ingeborg. *A History and Ethnography of the Beothuk*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1996.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Miller, J. R. *Skyscrapers Hide the Heavens: A History of Indian-White Relations in Canada*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991.
- Pastore, Ralph T. *Shanawdithit's People: The Archaeology of the Beothuks*. St John's, Nova Scotia: Atlantic Archaeology Ltd., 1992.
- Peterson, Jacqueline, and Jennifer S. H. Brown. *The New Peoples: Being and Becoming Métis in North America*. Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1985.
- Remini, Robert V. *Andrew Jackson and His Indian Wars*. New York: Viking Penguin, 2001.
- Sealey, D. Bruce, and Anotoine S. Lussier. *The Metis: Canada's Forgotten People*. Winnipeg, Manitoba: Pemmican Publications, 1975.
- Stannard, David. *American Holocaust: The Conquest of the New World*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1992.
- Thornton, Russell. *American Indian Holocaust and Survival: A Population History since 1492*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1987.
- Thornton, Russell. *The Cherokees: A Population History*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1990.
- Urban, Greg, and Joel Sherzer, eds. *Nation-States and Indians in Latin America*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1992.
- Utley, Robert M., and Wilcomb E. Washburn. *Indian Wars*. Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin, 1977.
- Wallace, Anthony F. C. *The Long, Bitter Trail: Andrew Jackson and the Indians*. New York: Hill and Wang, 1993.
- Wilson, James. *The Earth Shall Weep: A History of Native America*. London: Picador, 1998.
- Wooster, Robert. *The Military and United States Indian Policy, 1865–1903*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1988.

Peacekeeping

- Fleitz, Frederick H. Jr. *Peacekeeping Fiascoes of the 1990s: Causes, Solutions, and U.S. Interests*. Westport, CT: Praeger, 2002.
- Meisler, Stanley. *United Nations: The First Fifty Years*. New York: Atlantic Monthly Press, 1995.
- Rotberg, Robert I., and Thomas G. Weiss, eds. *From Massacres to Genocide: The Media, Public Policy, and Humanitarian Crises*. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution/Cambridge, MA: World Peace Foundation, 1996.
- Schnabel, Albrecht, and Ramesh Thakur. "From an Agenda for Peace to the Brahimi Report: Towards a New Era of UN Peace Operations?" In *United Nations Peacekeeping Operations: Ad Hoc Missions, Permanent Engagement*, edited by Ramesh Thakur and Albrecht Schnabel, 238–255. New York: United Nations Press, 2001.
- Totten, Samuel, comp. *The Prevention and Intervention of Genocide: An Annotated Bibliography*. New York: Routledge, 2007.

Political Killings

- Amnesty International. *Political Killings by Governments: An AI Report*. London: Author, 1983.
- Milgram, Stanley. *Obedience to Authority*. New York: HarperCollins, 1974.

Pontic Greek Genocide

- Halo, Thea. *Not Even My Name*. New York: Angel Hat Press, 2000.

Prevention

- Hamburg, David A. *No More Killing Fields: Preventing Deadly Conflict*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2002.
- Hirsch, Herbert. *Anti-Genocide: Building a Movement to Prevent Genocide*. Westport, CT: Praeger, 2002.
- Rotberg, Robert I., and Thomas G. Weiss, eds. *From Massacres to Genocide: The Media, Public Policy, and Humanitarian Crises*. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution/Cambridge, MA: World Peace Foundation, 1996.
- Schabas, William A. *Genocide in International Law: The Crime of Crimes*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.
- Totten, Samuel, comp. *The Prevention and Intervention of Genocide: An Annotated Bibliography*. New York: Routledge, 2007.

Vogt, Margaret. "The Organization of African Unity (OAU) and Conflict Management in Africa." N.d. <http://www.ploughshares.ca/content.BUILD%20PEACE>.

Prosecutions/Tribunals/Courts/Trials

- Ball, Howard. *Prosecuting War Crimes and Genocide: The Twentieth Century Experience*. Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 1999.
- Bartrop, Paul R. "Nuremberg, Fifty Years On: What was on Trial?" In *Europe: Retrospects and Prospects*, edited by John Perkins and Jurgen Tampke, 55–64. Manly East, New South Wales: Southern Highlands Publishers, 1996.
- Bass, Gary Jonathan. *Stay the Hand of Vengeance: The Politics of War Crimes Tribunals*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000.
- Cigar, Norman, and Paul Williams. *Indictment at The Hague: The Milosevic Regime and Crimes of the Balkan Wars*. New York: New York University Press, 2000.
- Duffet, John, ed. *Against the Crime of Silence: Proceedings of the International War Crimes Tribunal*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1968.
- Fleischaker, Samuel. *A Short History of Distributive Justice*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2005.
- Sartre, Jean-Paul. *On Genocide and a Summary of the Evidence and Judgments of the International War Crimes Tribunal*. Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 1968.
- Schabas, William A. *Genocide in International Law: The Crime of Crimes*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

Rape and Genocide

- Allen, Beverly. *Rape Warfare: The Hidden Genocide in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996.
- Stiglmyer, Alexandra, ed. *Mass Rape: The War against Women in Bosnia-Herzegovina*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1994.

Reacting to Humanitarian Emergencies

- Berry, Nicholas O. *War and the Red Cross: The Unspoken Mission*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997.
- Klugman, Jeni. *Social and Economic Policies to Prevent Complex Humanitarian Emergencies: Lessons from Experience*. Helsinki: United Nations University World Institute for Development Economics Research, 1999.
- Moeller, Susan D. *Compassion Fatigue: How the Media Sell Disease, Famine, War and Death*. New York: Routledge, 1999.
- Moorehead, Caroline. *Dunant's Dream: War, Switzerland and the History of the Red Cross*. London: HarperCollins, 1998.
- Reiff, David. *A Bed for the Night: Humanitarianism in Crisis*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 2002.
- Taylor, John. *Body Horror: Photojournalism, Catastrophe and War*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998.

Realpolitik

- Maogoto, Jackson Nyamuya. *War Crimes and Realpolitik: International Justice from World War I to the 21st Century*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 2004.

Reference Works: Encyclopedias/Dictionaries/Handbooks/Annotated Bibliographies

- Cashmore, Ellis. *Dictionary of Race and Ethnic Relations*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1984.
- Charny, Israel (Editor in Chief) (1999). *Encyclopedia of Genocide* (2 Volumes). Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 1999.
- Edelheit, Abraham J., and Hershel Edelheit. *History of the Holocaust: A Handbook and Dictionary*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1994.
- Epstein, Eric Joseph, and Philip Rosen. *Dictionary of the Holocaust: Biography, Geography, and Terminology*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1977.
- Evans, Graham, and Jeffrey Newnham. *The Penguin Dictionary of International Relations*. London: Penguin Books, 1998.

- Freeman, Michael. *Atlas of Nazi Germany: A Political, Economic, and Social Anatomy of the Third Reich* (2nd ed.). London: Longman, 1995.
- Gutman, Israel, ed. *Encyclopedia of the Holocaust*. New York: Macmillan Publishing, 1990.
- Laqueur, Walter, ed. *The Holocaust Encyclopedia*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2001.
- Michael, Robert, and Karin Doerr. *Nazi Deutsch/Nazi German: An English Lexicon of the Language of the Third Reich*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2002.
- Niewyk, Donald, and Francis Nicosia. *The Columbia Guide to the Holocaust*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2000.
- Patterson, David, Alan L. Berger, and Sarita Cargas, ed. *Encyclopedia of Holocaust Literature*. Westport, CT: Oryx Press, 2002.
- Reber, Arthur J., and Emily Reber. *Penguin Dictionary of Psychology* (3rd ed.). London: Penguin Books, 2002.
- Roth, Cecil, ed. *Encyclopedia Judaica*. Jerusalem: Keter Publishing House Ltd., 1972.
- Rozett, Robert, and Shmuel Spector. *Encyclopedia of the Holocaust*. New York: Macmillan, 2000.
- Shelton, Dinah L. ed. *Encyclopedia of Genocide and Crimes Against Humanity* (3 Volumes). Detroit, MI: Thomson Gale, 2005.
- Snyder, Louis L. *Encyclopedia of the Third Reich*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1976.
- Squire, Larry R., ed. *Encyclopedia of Learning and Memory*. London: Macmillan, 1992.
- Totten, Samuel, comp., ed. *First-Person Accounts of Genocidal Acts Committed in the Twentieth Century: An Annotated Bibliography*. Greenwood Publishers, 1991.
- Totten, Samuel, comp. *The Prevention and Intervention of Genocide: An Annotated Bibliography*. New York: Routledge, 2007.

Refugees and Genocide

- Kushner, Tony, and Katharine Knox, eds. *Refugees in an Age of Genocide: Global, National and Local Perspectives during the Twentieth Century*. London: Frank Cass, 1999.

Religion and Genocide

- Glick, Leonard B. "Religion and Genocide." In *The Widening Circle of Genocide*, edited by Israel W. Charny, 43–74. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 1994.
- Kuper, Leo. "Theological Warrants for Genocide: Judaism, Islam, and Christianity." *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 2(3) (1990): 351–379.
- Sells, Michael. *The Bridge Betrayed: Religion and Genocide in Bosnia*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1996.

Rwandan Genocide (1994)

- Adelman, Howard, and Astri Suhrke, eds. *The Path of a Genocide: The Rwanda Crisis from Uganda to Zaire*. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 1999.
- Barnett, Michael. *Eyewitness to a Genocide: The United Nations and Rwanda*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2002.
- Berry, John A., and Carol Pott Berry, eds. *Genocide in Rwanda: A Collective Memory*. Washington, DC: Howard University Press, 1999.
- Cook, Susan E., ed. *Genocide in Cambodia and Rwanda: New Perspectives*. New Brunswick, CO: Transaction, 2006.
- Dallaire, Romeo, with Brent Beardsley. *Shake Hands with the Devil: The Failure of Humanity in Rwanda*. Toronto: Random House Canada, 2003.
- Des Forges, Alison. *Leave None to Tell the Story: Genocide Rwanda*. New York: Human Rights Watch, 1999.
- Koff, Clea. *The Bone Woman: A Forensic Anthropologist's Search for Truth in the Mass Graves of Rwanda, Bosnia, Croatia, and Kosovo*. New York: Random House, 2005.
- Lemarchand, Rene. "The Rwandan Genocide." In *Century of Genocide: Critical Essays and Eyewitness Accounts*, edited by Samuel Totten, William S. Parsons, and Israel W. Charny, 394–412. New York: Routledge, 2004.
- Mamdani, Mahmood. *When Victims Become Killers: Colonialism, Nativism, and the Genocide in Rwanda*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2001.

- Melvorn, Linda. *A People Betrayed: The Role of the West in Rwanda's Genocide*. London: Zed Books, 2002.
- Melvorn, Linda. *Conspiracy to Murder: The Rwandan Genocide*. London: Verso, 2004.
- Neuffer, Elizabeth. *The Key to My Neighbor's House: Seeking Justice in Bosnia and Rwanda*. New York: Picador USA, 2001.
- Off, Carole. *The Lion, the Fox and the Eagle: A Story of Generals and Justice in Rwanda and Yugoslavia*. Toronto: Random House Canada, 2000.
- Peterson, Scott. *Me against My Brother: At War in Somalia, Sudan, and Rwanda. A Journalist Reports from the Battlefields of Africa*. New York: Routledge, 2000.
- Power, Samantha. *A Problem from Hell: America and the Age of Genocide*. New York: Basic Books, 2002.
- Prunier, Gerard. *The Rwanda Crisis: History of a Genocide*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1995.
- Rusesabagina, Paul. *An Ordinary Man: An Autobiography*. New York: Viking, 2006.
- Temple-Raston, Dina. *Justice on the Grass: Three Rwandan Journalists, Their Trial for War Crimes, and a Nation's Quest for Redemption*. New York: Free Press, 2005.

Sanctions

- Cortright, David, and George A. Lopez. *The Sanctions Decade: Assessing UN Strategies in the 1990s*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2000.
- Totten, Samuel, comp. *The Prevention and Intervention of Genocide: An Annotated Bibliography*. New York: Routledge, 2007.

Slavery

- Finley, M. I. *Ancient Slavery and Modern Ideology*. London: Chatto and Windus, 1980.

Sovereignty

- Lyons, Gene, and Michael Mastanduno, eds. *Beyond Westphalia? State Sovereignty and International Intervention*. Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995.

Soviet Man-Made Famine in Ukraine

- Conquest, Robert. *The Harvest of Sorrow: Soviet Collectivization and the Terror-Famine*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1986.
- Mace, James. "Soviet Manmade Famine in Ukraine." In *Century of Genocide: Critical Essays and Eyewitness Accounts*, edited by Samuel Totten, William S. Parsons, and Israel W. Charny, 92–124. New York: Routledge, 2004.
- United States Commission on the Ukraine Famine. *Investigation of the Ukraine Famine, 1932–1933. Report to Congress*. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1988.

Srebrenica

- Honig, Jan Willem, and Norbert Both. *Srebrenica, Record of a War Crime*. New York: Penguin Books, 1997.
- Judah, Tim. "Serbia Struggles to Face the Truth about Srebrenica," *Crimes of War Project*, June 17, 2005. <http://www.crimesofwar.org/news-srebrenica2.html>.
- Rohde, David. *Endgame: The Betrayal and Fall of Srebrenica, Europe's Worst Massacre since World War II*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1997.
- Stover, Eric, and Gilles Peress. *The Graves: Srebrenica and Vukovar*. Zurich: Scalo, 1998.

Testimony/First-Person Accounts

- Bartrop, Paul R. *Surviving the Camps: Unity in Adversity during the Holocaust*. Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 2002.
- Felman, Shoshana, and Dori Laub. *Testimony: Crises of Witnessing in Literature, Psychoanalysis, and History*. New York: Routledge, 1992.
- Totten, Samuel, comp., ed. *First-Person Accounts of Genocidal Acts in the Twentieth Century: An Annotated Bibliography*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Publishers, 1991.

Totalitarianism

- Arendt, Hannah. *The Origins of Totalitarianism* (3rd ed.). London: Allen and Unwin, 1967.
- Radel, J. Lucien. *Roots of Totalitarianism: The Ideological Sources of Fascism, National Socialism, and Communism*. New York: Crane, Russak and Co., 1975.
- Schapiro, Leonard. *Totalitarianism*. London: Pall Mall, 1972.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

United Nations

- Gunn, Geoffrey C. *East Timor and the United Nations: The Case for Intervention*. Lawrenceville, NJ: Red Sea Press, 1997.
- Meisler, Stanley. *United Nations: The First Fifty Years*. New York: Atlantic Monthly Press, 1995.
- Rotberg, Robert I., and Thomas G. Weiss, eds. *From Massacres to Genocide: The Media, Public Policy, and Humanitarian Crises*. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution/Cambridge, MA: World Peace Foundation, 1996.
- Schnabel, Albrecht, and Ramesh Thakur. "From an Agenda for Peace to the Brahimi Report: Towards a New Era of UN Peace Operations?" In *United Nations Peacekeeping Operations: Ad Hoc Missions, Permanent Engagement*, edited by Ramesh Thakur and Albrecht Schnabel, 238–255. New York: United Nations Press, 2001.
- Taylor, Paul, and A. J. R. Groom, eds. *The United Nations at the Millennium*. London: Continuum, 2000.
- Totten, Samuel, comp. *The Prevention and Intervention of Genocide: An Annotated Bibliography*. New York: Routledge, 2007.

War and Genocide

- Bartrop, Paul R. "The Relationship between War and Genocide in the Twentieth Century: A Consideration." *Journal of Genocide Research*, 4(4) (2002): 519–32.
- Ignatieff, Michael. *The Warrior's Honor: Ethnic War and the Modern Conscience*. New York: Metropolitan Books, 1997.
- Markusen, Eric, and David Kopf. *The Holocaust and Strategic Bombing: Genocide and Total War in the Twentieth Century*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1995.

War Crimes

- Gutman, Roy, and David Rieff, eds. *Crimes of War: What the Public Should Know*. New York: Norton, 1999.
- Johnson, James Turner. *Morality and Contemporary Warfare*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1999.
- Kalshoven, Frits. *Constraints on the Waging of War*. Geneva: International Committee for the Red Cross, 1991.

Warfare

- Gutman, Roy, and David Rieff, eds. *Crimes of War: What the Public Should Know*. New York: Norton, 1999.
- Ignatieff, Michael. *The Warrior's Honor: Ethnic War and the Modern Conscience*. New York: Metropolitan Books, 1997.
- Johnson, James Turner. *Morality and Contemporary Warfare*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1999.
- Kalshoven, Frits. *Constraints on the Waging of War*. Geneva: International Committee for the Red Cross, 1991.

Web Sites Consulted

- www.africa-union.org
- www.aihgs.com/newccgs
- www.amnesty.org
- www.armenian-genocide.org
- www.asean.org
- www.chgs.unm.edu
- www.cidcm.umd
- www.crimesofwar.org
- www.crisisgroup.org
- www.diis.dk
- www.doctorswithoutborders.org
- www.endgenocide.org
- www.gendercide.org
- www.genocidewatch.org
- www.hawaii.edu/powerkills

www.hrw.org
www.ic-mp.org
www.icttr.org
www.icty.org
www.inforce.org.uk
www.isg-iags.org
www.msf.org
www.nato.int
www.physiciansforhumanrights.org
www.preventgenocide.org
www.un.org
www.unhcr.ch
www.ushmm.org
www.yale.edu/cgp
www.zorayaninstitute.org

Index

- Abdul Hamid II, Sultan: Ottoman Empire, **1**;
Adana massacres and, **3**; the Armenia
Question and, **23**
- ABiH. *See* Bosnia and Herzegovina, army of
- Aboriginal people: in Australia, **274–75**; Stolen
Generations (Australia), **51**, **411–12**
- Absolute sovereignty; weakened in twentieth cen-
tury, **404**
- Absolutism, **1**; democide and, **106**
- Accelerator, **2**
- Accountability and genocide, **405–6**
- Aché, **2**; Paraguayan complicity in genocide
against, **2**
- Actors, international relations, **2**; defined, **2**; non-
governmental entities as, **2**
- Acts of genocide, **28**; absorption and assimilation,
50; Armenian genocide, **40**; Armenian
people, deportation and extermination of,
52; Babi Yar, **32**; *Bahutu Manifesto* justified,
34; Biafra, **444**; Bosnia, **444**; “breeding out
the color,” **29**; at Buchenwald, **52–53**;
Cambodian genocide, **40**, **53**; Darfur,
Sudan, **444**; development, **51**; East Timor,
444; enforced famine, **40**; ethnic cleansing,
48; European diseases, **50**; extermination,
38; extermination of the Tutsi population,
42; genocide of the Tutsi in Gikoro, **41**;
Hamidian Massacres (1895), **52**;
Holocaust, **40**; Hutu versus Tutsi, in Burun-
di **54**; intent is the critical component, **38**,
42; killed, **50**; killings carried out in the
name of the state, **44**; massacre of Ahmici,
45; mass extermination, **37**, **44**; murder, **43**;
music to incite genocide, **40**; 1959 Hutu
revolution, **40**; 1994 Rwandan genocide,
40, **41**, **49**, **441**; outbreeding, **51**; plan the
extermination of the Tutsi, **42**; “process”
(mass murder), **41**; Racak massacre,
350–51; Roma and Sinti during the Holo-
caust, **40**; Rwanda, **444**; scorched earth
policy, **42**; Serb massacre of Bosnian Mus-
lim men and boys at Srebrenica in July
1995, **48**; shooting civilians, **43**; slavery, **44**;
Soviet man-made Ukrainian terror-famine
of 1932–1933, **43**; Srebrenica, **444**; state-
sponsored terror, **43**; “Stolen Generations,”
29; turn a blind eye, **40**; Tutsi, genocide of
1994, **32**, **42**; Tutsi versus Hutu, in Burun-
di, **54**; worst massacres in Europe since the
end of World War II, **48**; Yugoslav, **444**
- Acts of persecution associated with genocide: coer-
cion, **35**; displacement from homes, **34**; ex-
treme acts of terror, **35**; rape policy against
Bangladeshi women and girls, **34**; women
and girls, rape of, **35**
- Adana, **3**; massacre of Armenians in, **3**; Turkey and
massacres in, **23**
- Administrative measures, **3**
- Advisory Committee on Genocide Prevention, **3**
- Aegis Trust for the Prevention of Genocide, **3**
- Afghanistan; genocide in, **3–4**; mujahideen, **4**; So-
viet occupation of, **3–4**
- African Union (AU), **4**, **324**; right of intervention
(Article 4), **4–5**
- African Union, Constitutive Act. *See* African Union
(AU), right of intervention (Article 4)
- “Agenda for Peace” (United Nations), **5**, **49**; rapid
action force proposed, **357**
- Agriculture: dekulakization under Bolsheviks, **105**
- Akashi, Yasushi, **5**, **445**; Bosnian war, UN impar-
tiality and, **5**; Srebrenica massacre and, **5–6**
- Akayesu, Jean-Paul, **6**; genocide trial of, **6**
- Akazu, **7**
- Aktion(en), **7**
- Aktion Reinhard. *See* Final Solution, Aktion Rein-
hard
- Al Anfal campaign. *See* Anfal campaign (Iraq)
- Al-Bashir, Omar Hassan Ahmed (Sudan), **8**,
402–3; Darfur, scorched-earth campaign,
8–9, **97–98**; Islamic policies of, **8**
- Albigensian Crusade, **9**. *See also* Crusades; Cathars
- Albright, Madeleine: and impasse at Rambouillet
Conference, **355–56**; Scheffer, David, advi-
sor to, **388**

- Allied Force (NATO), **10**. *See also* NATO, bombing of Kosovo (1999)
- Al-Majid, Ali Hassan (Iraq), **10**; Anfal campaign, involvement in, **10**; Kurds and, **67**; trial of, **10**
- AMAR Appeal, **10–11**
- Amaury, Arnold, **11**
- Ambassador Morgenthau's Story* (memoir), **11**, **290**
- American Association for the Advancement of Science (AAAS), **93**
- American Declaration of the Rights and Obligations of Man, **79**
- Amin, Idi (Uganda), **12**, **314**; death squads under, **11**; state-sponsored rape and torture under, **11**
- Amnesty, **12**
- Amnesty International (AI), **12–13**, **37**, **336**; International Intergovernmental Organizations (INGOs), **223–24**; cofounder Luis Kutner, **252**
- Amnesty International, Canada, **93**
- Amnesty International, USA, **93**
- Anfal campaign (Iraq), **8**, **13–14**
- “Angel of Death, the.” *See* Megele, Josef
- Angkar Loeu (political party), **14**
- Angkar's eight-point agenda, **14**
- Annan, Kofi (UN), **14**, **445**
- Anschluss, **14**; Bettelheim, Bruno, and, **39**
- Antecedents to the Holocaust, **14**
- Anticolonialism, **30**
- Anti-Holocaust literature: Butz, Arthur, and, **55**
- Anti-Jewish laws. *See* Law for the Protection of German Blood and German Honor; Law for the Restoration of the Professional Civil Service
- Antiquity, genocide during, **15**
- Antisemitism, **15**; anti-Zionism and, **16**; Christian Front, **89**; Christianity and, **15–16**; Coughlin, Father Charles E. Roman, **89–90**; economic factors contributing to, **16**; Enlightenment and, **16**; and false myths, **16**; goals of anti-Jewish administrators, **170**; Holocaust and, **16**; Marr, Wilhelm, **270**; of Mussolini, Benito, **295–96**; origins of, **15**; Ukraine, **70**, **71**; in United States, **89–90**, **192**
- “Antisocial elements,” **83**
- Arabism, **16**
- Arabs: genocide in Libya, **259**
- Arapahoe, **386**
- Ararat* (film), **16–17**
- Arbour, Louise, **17**
- Area bombing, **17**; as a form of genocide, **17**; declared a war crime, **18**; defined, **17**; examples of, **17**; Geneva Convention's prohibition of, **18**
- Argentina; Dirty War, **18**, **114–115**; disappearances in, **18**; political prisoners and Méndez, Juan El, **278**
- Arierparagraph, **18**
- Arkan, **18**
- Arkan's Tigers (militia), **18**; Raznatovic, Zeljko, and, **68**
- Armageddon, **18–19**; Bar Kochba revolt and, **19**; Christian religious traditions and, **19**; destruction of Jerusalem and, **19**
- Armenia, **440**
- Armenia Atrocities Committee, **19**. *See also* Armenian genocide
- Armenia Genocide Institute-Museum, **21**
- Armenian genocide, **19–20**; Armenian massacres, **326**; *Ambassador Morgenthau's Story* (memoir), **11**; assassination of Mehemet Talaat Pasha, **320**; British response to, **20**; Deir ez Zor, **104–5**; denial of, **21**, **259**, **263**; Djemal, Ahmed (Pasha), **117–18**; documenting, **20**, **467–68**; economically motivated, **126**; efforts to prosecute perpetrators of, **20**, **22**; eliticide, **129–30**; Enver, Ismail (Bey) and, **131–32**; films and videos about, **19**; “Forgotten Genocide,” **148**; German participation in, **330–31**; ideology of, **303–4**; institute-museum, **21**; the League of Nations and, **22**; and mass rape, **271–72**; modern technology and, **20**; Morgenthau, Henry, Sr. and, **22**; Operation Nemesis, **320**; precursors of, **3**; principal in, Mehemet (Pasha) Talaat, **415–16**; purification, metaphors of, **347**; Shaw, Stanford, **393**; *Treatment of the Armenians in the Ottoman Empire, 1915–1916*, **The**, **428–29**; Turkish physicians, role of, in, **21–22**; United States' response to, **22**; *Voices from the Lake*, **460**; and Wegner, Armin T., **467–68**; World War I and, **19–20**; the Young Turks and, **19**; *See also* *Ararat* (film)
- Armenian massacres, **23**; Turkey and, **23**; the Young Turks and, **23**
- Armenian Question, the, **23**
- Armenians, **484**; study of, **484**
- Armenia: The Betrayed* (BBC video), **19**
- Arms embargo, **23–24**; the UN Charter and, **23**; the UN Security Council and, **23**
- Arrests; dirty war, **114**
- Article 13 of the UN Charter, **440**
- Artists; and Khmer Rouge, **58**
- Arusha Accords (Rwanda), **24**, **42**, **96**, **382**
- Aryan, **24**; Nazi use of term, **24**; origin of term, **24**; creation of racial state of, **352**; *See also* Aryan Myth
- Aryan Myth, **24–25**
- ASEAN (Association of Southeast Asian Nations). *See* Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN)
- Asmussen, Hans, **36**
- Asocials, Nazis' designation as, **25**
- Asphyxiation: carbon monoxide, **67**; Kulmhof, **67**
- Assassinations. *See* Murders
- Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN)
- Assyrian genocide, **25–26**; death marches during, **26**; similarities with Armenian genocide, **26**; Turkish denial of, **26**; as victims of anti-Christian persecution, **26**
- Asylum, **26**
- Atatürk, Mustafa Kemal, **26–27**, **392**; Armenian genocide and, **26–27**; Young Turks and, **26**, **27**
- Atrocities, **90**
- Atrocities Documentation Project (ADP), **27**; crimes against humanity, not genocide, **28**; first in-

- vestigation of ongoing violence, 27;
Markusen, Dr. Eric, 28; noted genocide
scholars on the, 28; Totten, Dr. Samuel, 28;
types of atrocities, 27
- Attrition, genocide by, in Darfur, 97
- Auschwitz-Birkenau, 28; Auschwitz I, 28; Auschwitz
II, or Birkenau, 28; Auschwitz III, or
Monowitz (Polish *Monowice*); escapee Rudolf
Vrba, 461–62; Farben, I. G., 143–44; and
Hoess, Rudolf Franz 188–89; liberation of
(January 27, 1945), 28; slave-labor operation,
28, 143–44; and tattoos, 416–17
- Auschwitz I, 28
- Auschwitz II, or Birkenau; activities concentrated in, 28
- Auschwitz III, or Monowitz (Polish *Monowice*). *See*
also Monowitz; slave-labor operation, 28
- Australia, 44; architect of genocide, 304–5; *Bringing
Them Home* report, 51; dispersion, 116–17;
Dunera boys, 121–22; genocide in, 28; last
full-blooded aborigine, Truggermann, 430;
and Neville, Auber Octavius, 304–5; Stolen
Generations in, 51, 411–12
- Australian Human Rights and Equal Opportunity
Commission, 51
- Australian Institute for Holocaust and Genocide
Studies (AIHGS), 29; Centre for Compara-
tive Genocide Studies, 29
- Austria; anchluss, 14
- Authoritarianism, 29; degrees of, 29; democide and,
106; governmental intrusions upon their
lives, 29; need not be synonymous with dic-
tatorship, 29; personal liberties controlled by
the state, 29; rigid forms of authority and an
expectation, 29
- Autocracy, 29–30; individual has no recourse nor re-
dress, 30; single ruler invested with supreme
political power, 29
- Autogenocide, 30
- Autonomy of ethnic minorities, 30
- AVEGA-AGAHOZO (*Association des Veuves du Génocide*;
Association of Genocide Widows), 30
- Awami League, 31
- Awlad Al-Beled*, 31; Arabas living in Sudan, 31; “the
true Sudanese,” 31
- Axis Rule in Occupied Europe* (Lemkin), 31
- Babi Yar, 32
- Back to Ararat* (documentary, 1993), 32
- Bagosora, Jean-Paul, 47
- Bagosora, Théoneste, 32–33, 342
- Baha’is in Iran, 33
- Bahutu Manifesto*, 33–34; Kayibanda, Gregoire, 33;
Perraudin, André, 34
- Balkans, 441; deportation from USSR, 108
- Baltic states. *See* *Einsatzgruppen*
- “Banality of Evil,” 34
- Bangladesh genocide of 1971, 34; Bangladesh genocide,
U.S. response, 35; impunity for perpetrators of
genocide, 93; India intervention in, 35;
massacres in, 70; and mass rape, 271–72; mur-
der of 3 million people, 34; quarter of a million
Bangladeshi women and girls raped, 34
- Bangladesh National Party (BNP), 31
- Ban Ki-Moon, 445
- Barayagwiza, Jean-Bosco, 35; anti-Tutsi media exec-
utive, 35; arrested in Cameroon on March
27, 1996, 35; “Media Trial,” 36; and *Radio-
Télévision Libre des Mille Collines* (RTLM), 35
- Barmen Declaration of the Confessional Church, 36
- Barth, Karl, 36
- Bassiouni, M. Cherif, 37
- BBTG. *See* Broad-Based Transitional Government, 37
- Beatings: Armenian genocide (1915–1923) and, 104;
in Polish death camps, 99–100
- Beilis affair (Russia, 1911), 46
- Beilis, Mendel, 46
- Belorussia. *See* *Einsatzgruppen*
- Belzec, 37
- Beneson, Peter, 37
- Beothuk people, 38, 60
- Bergen-Belsen, 41
- Bermuda Conference, 38
- Bettelheim, Bruno, 39; survival in concentration
camps, theories of, 109–10
- Beyond Borders* (film), 39
- Biafra, genocide in, 40, 205–6
- Bibliographies of genocide, 40
- Bikindi, Simon, 40
- Bilateral aid, 41
- Biological weapons: democide and, 106
- Birkenau, 41. *See also* Auschwitz-Birkenau
- Bisengimana, Paul, 41
- Bitburg Cemetery, 41–42
- Bizimungu, Augustin, 42; Bushnell, Prudence, and, 55
- Black Africans, of Sudan, 42, 485; derogatory term
used by Arabs for, 485. *See* Zurug; non-Arab
Africans in Darfur, Sudan, 42; scorched
earth policy against, 97
- Black and Tans (British Royal Irish Constabulary Re-
serve Force), 42–43
- Blackbirding, 44–45; kidnapping Melanesians to
work slave labor, 44
- Black Deeds of the Kremlin, The* (Pidhainy), 43
- Black Legend, 43; robes worn by the monks of the
Inquisition, 44
- Blackshirts: and Mussolini, Benito, 295–96
- “Black War.” *See* Tasmanian Aborigines
- Blaskic, Tihomir, 45
- Blood Libel, 45–46
- “Blue Helmets” or “Blue Berets,” 46
- Blue scarf, 46
- Body bag effect or syndrome, 46
- Boer War; concentration camps in, 84–85. *See also*
Concentration camps; South African War
- Bolsheviks, 88, 257–58
- Bonaparte, Napoleon, 112
- Bonhoeffer, Dietrich, 46–47
- The Bonhoeffer Phenomenon: Portrait of a Protestant
Saint* (Haynes), 47
- Booh-Booh, Jacques-Roger, 47

- Bophana, a Cambodian Tragedy* (film), 47
- Bosnia-Herzegovina, 47–48, 442; army of, 2; concentration camps, Bosnian War, 82–83; contact group, 87–88; Dayton Agreement (Dayton Accords) and, 99, 363; *Dutchbat* (Dutch paratroop battalion), 122–23; first Muslim town attacked: Visegrad, 459–60; Foca, rape camp, 146; Gorazde, 171; Holiday Inn Sarajevo, 189–90; irredentism, 277; Krstic, Radislav, 250–51; massacre in Srebrenica, 484; Milosevic, Slobodan, 48, 283–85; non-intervention, international community, 308–9; Operation Deny Flight, 319; Poto-cari, 338; Republika Srpska, enemy of, 99, 333, 363; *Tuzla*, 433; Wiesel, Elie and the Bosnian genocide, 471; Zepa, 483
- Bosnian Muslims, 324; white arm bands, 470
- Bosnian safe areas, 48; Srebrenica, 48, 49, 251, 405; Zepa, 48
- Bosnian Serbs: cultural genocide by, 91–92; Karadzic, Radovan, 240; Scorpions, volunteer militia, 390–91; Sniper Alley, 398; Serbian Democratic party founder, 240–41; Srebrenica massacre, 405; Tadic, Dusan, 415
- Bosnian War; failed Vance-Owen Peace Plan, 454–55; Sniper Alley, 398
- Boutros-Ghali, Boutros (UN secretary-general), 49; “Agenda for Peace,” 5
- Brahimi, Lakhdar, 49
- Brahimi Report*, 49
- Brand, Joel, 49–50
- Brazil: genocide of indigenous peoples in, 50; the Yanomami people in, 478–79
- Bringing Them Home* (National Inquiry into the Separation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Children from Their Families), 29
- Broad-Based Transitional Government (BBTG), 51–52
- Browning, Christopher, and intentionalists, 214
- Bryce, Viscount James, 52
- Buchenwald, 52–53, 83; famous people held in, 53; Koch, Ilse (“Bitch of Buchenwald”), 52; Koch, Karl Otto (first commandant), 52; prisoners in, 53
- Buddhists; destruction of, by Khmer-Rouge, 53
- Bund (Jewish Labor Organization): reports by, 53–54
- Bund Deutscher Mädel* (BdM; League of German Girls), 53
- Burning Times, The, 54
- Burundi: genocide in, 54; Hutu versus Tutsi in, 54, 199–200; Tutsi, 432
- Bushnell, Prudence, 55
- Butcher of the Balkans, 328
- Butz, Arthur, 55
- Byelorussia (now Belarus), 43
- Bystanders, 55–56
- Caedite eos. Novit enim Dominus qui sunt eius.* See Amaury, Arnold
- Calling the Ghosts: A Story about Rape, War and Women*, 57
- Cambodia, 39, 441; Angkar Loeu (political party) and, 14; Angkar’s eight-point agenda, 14; Cambodian Documentation Commission (CDC), 57; Cham people, genocide of, 64; *Chap Teuw*, 65; “class enemies,” 334; “Comrade Duch,” 82; coup by Lon Nol, 261; cultural genocide in, 91–92; Democratic Republic of Kampuchea, 108; documentation of genocide in, 478; impunity for Khmer Rouge, 93; impunity for Pol Pot, 93; Ke Pauk, 242; Khieu Samphan, 242–43; Khmer Rouge and, 57–58, 64, 108; *Killing Fields, The*, and, 71; *Killing Fields, The*, 246; Kingdom of, 446; *Land of Wandering Souls*, 252; Marxist Circle, 402; mass graves in, 71; *Old People*, Cambodia, 316; Pol Pot and, 14, 57, 64; postgenocide, 184; Sihanouk, Norodom, 394–95; social engineering, 399; and slavery, 397; study of genocide in, 477–78; Tuol Sleng prison, 82, 386, 431–32; United States Cambodian Genocide Justice Act, 447; United States’ response, described, 59–60; U.S. bombing in (Operation Menu), 320; Vietnam intervention in, 458–59; and Yale University Genocide Studies Program, 477–78; *Year Zero*, 479; *Year Zero*, concept of, 479
- Cambodian Documentation Commission (CDC), 57
- Cambodian Genocide Justice Act, 58–59
- Cambodian genocide, the United States’ response to, 59–60
- Canada: genocide in, 60; First Nations and, 60; Métis People, 280
- Canada-U.S. Human Rights Information and Documentation. See CUSHRID Net
- Canaris, Admiral Wilhelm, 46
- Carbon monoxide asphyxiation, 67, 264
- Carlsson report*, 60–61
- Carnegie Commission on Preventing Deadly Violence, 61
- Carnegie Endowment for International Peace in Washington, D.C., 31
- Carpet bombing. See Area bombing
- Carthage: Cato the Elder’s statement, 61–62; genocide in, 61; Rome, 61; Scipio, 61
- Carthago delenda est!* (Latin, Carthage is destroyed!), 62; Cato the Elder, 62
- Cathars. See Albigensian Crusade
- Catholic Church, and the Holocaust, 62–63
- CDC. See Cambodian Documentation Commission (CDC)
- CEH. See Truth Commission
- Center for International Development and Conflict Management (CIDCM), 63, 285
- Central Africa Republic; preventive deployment, 342–43
- Centre for Comparative Genocide Studies. See Australian Institute for Holocaust and Genocide Studies (AIHGS)
- Century of genocide, 63; *Century of Genocide: Critical Essays and Eyewitness Accounts*, 63–64; coined by Smith, Roger, 63

- Century of Genocide: Critical Essays and Eyewitness Accounts* (Totten and Charny), **63–64**
- Chad, **27**; *Janjaweed* attacks on refugee camps in, **98**
- Chad-Sudan border, **27**
- Chairman Mao. *See* Mao Zedong
- Chalk, Frank, **101**
- Chamberlain, Neville, **64–65**
- Cham people, genocide of, **64**
- Chapter VI of the UN Charter, **65–66**; limits of, **65–66**
- Chapter six and a half, **65**; and Dallaire, Lieutenant-General Romeo, **65**; *Shake Hands with the Devil: The Failure of Humanity in Rwanda*, **65**
- Chapter VII of the UN Charter, **66**
- Chap Teuw*, **65**
- Charny, Israel W., **40**, **66–67**, **213**; Auron, Yair and, **67**; definition of genocide, **101**; *Encyclopedia of Genocide*, **131**; *How Can We Commit the Unthinkable? Genocide: A Human Cancer*, **66**; “International Conference on the Holocaust and Genocide,” **66**; internet and, **66–67**; *Internet on the Holocaust and Genocide*, **225–26**; *Genocide: A Critical Bibliographical Series*, **160**; Markusen, Eric and, **67**; publications of, **66–67**; Totten, Samuel and, **67**
- Chechens: deportation from USSR, **108**
- Chechnya, **39**; dirty war, **114**
- Chelmno. *See* Kulmhof
- “Chemical Ali,” **67**. *See also* al-Majid, Ali Hassan (Iraq)
- Chemical weapons: Anfal campaign (Iraq), **10**, **13**; and democide, **106**; mustard gas, **296**; phosgene gas, **296**; prussic acid, **100**; Iraq’s supplied by Frans Van Anraat, **454**; use of, **198**; Zyklon B, **100**
- CHE. *See* Complex Humanitarian Emergency (CHE)
- Chetniks, **67–68**; Bosnia-Herzegovina, in, **68**; Croatia, in, **68**; opposed to Nazi Germany, **67–68**; Raznatovic, Zeljko, **68**; Serbia, **67–68**
- Cheyenne, **386**
- Chiang Kai-Shek: and Mao Zedong, **268–70**
- Chile, **68–69**; *Desaparecidos* (those who have disappeared), **68**; *Dirección de Inteligencia Nacional* (DINA), **114**; Pinochet Ugarte, General Augusto Jose Ramon, **68–69**
- China: communism in, **69**; cultural genocide in, **92**; Cultural Revolution, **69**, **92**, **269**; genocide in, **69**; Gong, Falun, and, **69**; Great Leap Forward, **69**, **269**; Nanking massacre, **69**, **298**; social engineering, **399**; starvation in, **69**; Tibet, and, **69**, **421–22**; Zedong, Mao, **69**, **268–70**
- Chittagong Hill Tracts, genocide in, **69–70**; Bangladesh, in, **69–70**; Jummas, of, **69–70**
- Chmielnicki, Bogdan, **70**, **71**; Ukraine, **70**
- Chmielnicki Pogroms, **71**
- Choeung Ek, **71**; Cambodia, in, **71**; and *Killing Fields*, *The*, **71**
- Chomsky, Noam, **107**
- Chopra, Jarat, **329**
- Christian Front, **89**
- Christianity, **46**
- Christians: discrimination against, by Muslims, **361–62**; libel of Jews, **110**; in Turkey, **80**
- Christian X, King of Denmark, **71**; Germany, Nazi and, **71**; in novel, *Exodus* (Uris), **71**
- Churban, **71–72**. *See also* Holocaust (Shoah); as part of God’s divine plan, **71**
- Churchill, Ward, **102–3**
- CIA. *See* U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA)
- CICC. *See* Coalition for an International Criminal Court (CICC)
- Civil war, **72–73**; aftermath of, **73**; in China, **269**; genocide and, **72–73**; *Lost Boys of Sudan*, **262–63**; in Sudan, **262–63**
- Class, **73**
- Classification of Genocides in Multiple Categories, **73**
- “Clearing the Bush,” **73**
- Clinton’s apology, Rwandan genocide, **73–74**
- “CNN Effect” (also commonly referred to as “CNN Factor”), **74**
- Coalition for an International Criminal Court (CICC), **74**; nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), **74**
- Coalition for International Justice (CIJ), **74**; Darfur Atrocities Documentation Project, **74**; former Yugoslavia, the, **74**; nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), **74**; Rwanda, **74**; Sudan, **74**; U.S. State Department, **74**
- Coalition Pour la Défense de la République* (CDR) (French, Coalition for the Defense of the Republic), **35**, **74–75**; anti-Tutsi, **74**; Hutu, **74–75**
- COC. *See* Committee on Conscience (COC)
- Coercive diplomacy (also referred to as coercive inducement), **75**
- Cold, dekulakization and, **105**
- Cold War, **43**, **75–77**; beginning at Yalta Conference, **478**; coined by Baruch, Bernard, **75**; Communism, **75**; demise of the Soviet Union and, **76**; Eastern bloc, **75**; great powers in, **76**; hope of safer world after, **77**; mass murder allowed, **76**; proxies to fight their battles in, **76**; total nuclear destruction, threatened, **76**; Western bloc, **75**
- Colin Tatz, **29**
- Collaborators, **77**
- Collective intervention, **77**; “no-fly zones,” **77**; peacekeeping, **77**; sanctions, **77**
- Collective responsibility, imposition of by the Nazis, **77**; Germany, Nazi, **77**; reprisal, **77**
- Collectivization, **77–78**; and Bolsheviks, **89**; defined, **77**; *kulak*, **77–78**
- Colonial genocide, **78**; Beothuks of Newfoundland and, **78**; Hereros of Namibia and, **78**, **184**; massacre of indigenous people, **78**; Nama people, genocide of, **298**; Pallawahs of Tasmania and, **78**; Tasmanian Aborigines, **416**; Yukis of California and, **78**
- Colonialism, **78**; destruction of preexisting indigenous communities, **78**; indigenous groups and genocide, **209**

- Commandant of Auschwitz: The Autobiography of Rudolf Hoess*, 188–89
- Command Responsibility, **79**; of civilian authorities, 79; of military superiors, 79
- Commission for Historical Clarification (*Comisión para el Esclarecimiento Histórico (CEH)*), **79–80**. *See also* Truth Commission
- Commission of Inquiry (COI), 28
- Committee of Jurists, **80**
- Committee of Union and Progress (CUP), **80**
- Committee on Conscience (COC), **80–81**; genocide warning in Sudan, 80
- Communism, **81**; China, in, 69; Cold War, **75–77**; party of Kampuchea, **244**; Lenin, 81; modern, intolerant form, 81
- Compassion fatigue, **81**
- Complementarity Principle, **81–82**
- Complex Humanitarian Emergency (CHE), **82**
- “Comrade Duch,” **82**, 386, 402; Tuol Sleng prison, 82; Vorn Vet and **461**
- Concentration camps, Bosnian War, **82–83**; killing and torture in, 83; mass rape in, 83, 356–57; for Muslims and Croats, 82–83; Omarska, **316**
- Concentration camps, Holocaust, **83–84**; “antisocial elements,” 83; Auschwitz, 49, 99–100; Belzec, 84, 99–100, 241; Bergen-Belsen, 41; Birkenau, **41**, 84, 99–100; Buchenwald, 39, 46, **52–53**, 83; Chelmno, 84, 99–100; counting prisoners in, 190; Dachau, 39, 83, **95**; dehumanization and, **103–4**; Final Solution of the Jewish Question, 84; Flossenburg, 46; foreign opponents of the Nazis, 83; Glücks, Richard, and, **169**; impromptu, 472; Italian, 259; at Jasenovac, **231**; Kapos, **239**; Kulmhof, 67; Lublin-Majdanek, 84, **263–64**; male homosexuals, 83; Majdanek, 99–100; Mauthausen-Gusen, 83, **273**; in Poland, 99–100; prisoner-functionaries, 151; prisoners of war, 83; prussic acid (Zyklon B), use of, in, 188, 264; “racial” prisoners, 83; Ravensbrück, 84; religious prisoners of conscience, 83; Sachsenhausen, 83; and slave labor, **395**; Sobibor, 84, 99–100; *SS-Totenkopfverbände* guards in, **407–8**; theories of survival in, 109–10; Treblinka, 84, 99–100; *Vernichtungslager*, **99–100**; *Wilde-KZ*, **472**; “work shy individuals,” 83
- Concentration camps, Namibia, 298
- Concentration camps, South African War, **84–85**
- Concordat* (Latin, agreement), **85**
- Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), **85**, 385
- “Confessing Church,” 307
- Confessional or Confessing Churches, 46, **85**
- Conflict avoidance, 216
- Conflict Prevention Network (CPN), **85**
- Conflict resolution and genocide, **85–86**;
International Court of Justice (ICJ), 86; mediation, 86; United Nations, 86
- Congo: Belgian rule of, 182; and Leopold II, King of the Belgians, **258**
- Conquistadores* (Spanish, conquerors), **86–87**
- Conspiracy, **87**
- Contact Group, **87–88**; Bosnia peace-negotiating process, 87–88
- Control Council Law No. 10, **88**; for the prosecution of Nazi war criminals, 88
- Convention, **88**
- Convention for the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, 31; political groups and, **335**
- Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, 79; call for ratification, 347
- Cordon Sanitaire*, **88**
- Cossacks: Bolsheviks, 88; genocide of, **88–89**; and Lenin, Vladimir Ilyich Ulyanov, **257–58**; in Ukraine, 70
- Coughlin, Father Charles E. Roman, **89–90**
- CPN. *See* Conflict Prevention Network (CPN)
- Crimean Tartars: deportation from USSR, 108
- Crimes against Humanity, **90**. *See also* Mass rape as a crime against humanity; atrocities, 90; and Cromwell, Oliver, 91; first person convicted of, 242; Great Purge, the, **173**; *Hostis Humani Generis* (Latin, “an offense against all mankind,” **192**); Human rights, 90; Lukic, Milan convicted of, **264**; murder, 90; Rwandan media executives, 276
- Crimes of Universal Jurisdiction, **90**; crimes against humanity, 90; genocide, 90; war crimes, **90**
- Croatia, **441**; concentration camp at Jasenovac, **231**; and irredentism, **277**; and Milosevic, Slobodan, 48, **283–85**; Tadjman, Granjo, **430–31**; *Ustache*, **451**; Vukovar, **462–63**
- Croatian Attila the Hun. *See* Pavelic, Ante, 328
- Croatians: murder of, 480; cultural genocide by, 91–92
- Cromwell, Oliver, **90–91**, 112; and crimes against humanity, 91; and war crimes, 91
- Crusades: Albigensian Crusade, **9**; and Jews, 282
- Cultural Genocide, **91–92**; in China, 92; of collective identity, **91–92**; U.S. Indian policy
- Cultural Revolution, **92**; and Chairman Mao Zedong, 92; in China, 92
- Cultural Survival, **92**; of indigenous peoples and ethnic groups, 92
- Culture of Impunity, Relationship to Genocide, **92–93**
- CUP. *See* Committee of Union and Progress (CUP)
- CUSHRID Net, **93**
- Customary International Law, **93–94**; as opposed to formal international law, 93–94
- Cyanide gas: used at Lublin-Majdanek, **263–64**
- Czechoslovakia, 395; and ethnic cleansing, **94**; massacre at Lidice, **260**
- Dachau, 83, **95**
- Dadrian, Vahakn, 101, 323

- Daimler-Benz, 95–96
- Dallaire, Lieutenant-General Romeo, 42, 96. *See also* Shake Hands with the Devil
- Damascus blood libel of 1840, 46
- Darfur Atrocities Documentation Project, 74; Coalition for International Justice (CIJ), 74
- Darfur conflict: Arabism as a cause of, 16; and Eric Reeves, 360; genocide and, 97–98; Gosh, Salah Abdallah, and, 172; Save Darfur Coalition, 388
- Dark Tourism, 99
- Dayton Agreement (Dayton Accords; November 21, 1995), 48, 99, 229; Scorpions continued atrocities after, 390; Stabilization Force (SFOR), 408
- Death Camps, 321; Operation Reinhard, 99; and slave labor, 395; Sobibor, 398–99; *Sonderkommando*, 402–3; Treblinka, 429
- Death marches: Assyrian genocide and, 26
- Death squads, 79, 100; defined, 100; Guatemalan government and, 175; in Rwanda, 100
- Declaration: defined, 100; on the Enhancement of the International Relations (1987), 100, 101; on the Inadmissibility of Intervention, 100–101; on Principles of International Law Concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation (1970), 101
- Definition of genocide: Chalk and Jonasohn's, 101; Charny's, 101; Dadrian's, 101; Fein's, 101; Horowitz's, 101; Lemkin's, 101
- Degrees of genocide, 101
- Degrelle, Leon, 103
- Dehumanization, 103–4
- Deir ez Zor, 104–5
- Dekulakization, 105; and Bolsheviks, 89, and Thousanders, 421
- Del Ponte, Carla, 105–6
- Democide, 106–7, 376
- Democracy: defined, 107; and genocide, 107; promotion, 107–8
- Democratic Organization of Ukrainians Formerly Persecuted by the Soviet Regime, 43
- Democratic Kampuchea, 108. *See also* Cambodia; Khmer Rouge
- Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK). *See* North Korea
- Democratic Republic of Kampuchea, 386. *See* Cambodia; Khmer Rouge
- Denazification, 108; Nuremberg Tribunal Charter, 313
- Deng, Francis, 445
- Depopulation in the Congo, 258
- Deportation. *See* Forcible relocation
- Der Stürmer, 109
- Desaparecidos* (those who have disappeared), 68
- Desecration of the Host, 110
- Desensitization, 110
- Desk killing, 110–11
- Despotic genocide, 111
- Despotism, 111
- Des Pres, Terrence, 109–10
- Destruction process of the Jews by the Nazis, 111
- Developmental genocide, 111
- Diary of Anne Frank*, 111–12
- Diary of Dawid Sierakowiak*, 112
- Dictatorship, 112–113; Djemal, Ahmed (Pasha), 117–18; Ottoman Empire, 117–18
- Dili Massacre, 113–14
- Dimensions: A Journal of Holocaust Studies*, 114
- Diplomacy; peacemaking, 329; PLOOM Foundation, 332
- Dirección de Inteligencia Nacional* (DINA), 114; Chile, 114
- Direct Responsibility, 114
- Dirty War, 114; Argentina, 114–15
- Disappearances, 115; Cambodia, in, 65; Chile, in, 68; *Desaparecidos* (those who have disappeared), 68; International Commission on Missing Persons (ICMP), 218; *Nacht und Nebel* policy, 297
- Discrimination, 115; protection from under international law, 115–16
- Disease(s); and dekulakization, 105; and population collapse, 337; tuberculosis, 38
- Disease and genocide, 116; Australasia, 116; Britain, 116; France, 116; Mexico, 116; North America, 116; Portugal, 116; United Kingdom, 116; United States, 116
- Dispersion, 116–17
- Displaced persons, 216. *See also* Forcible relocation; Internally displaced persons; Refugees
- Dispossession of land, 130–31
- Distributive Justice, 117
- Djemal, Ahmed (Pasha), 117–18
- Doctors' trial, 118
- Doctors without Borders. *See Médecins sans Frontières*
- Documenting Atrocities in Darfur*, 118
- Domestic Genocides, 119
- Donor Fatigue. *See* Compassion Fatigue
- Doubling, 119
- Draft Code of Offenses against the Peace and Security of Mankind, 119–20
- Drina Corps, 120, 325; Krstic, Radislav and, 250–51
- Drogheda, siege of. *See* Cromwell, Oliver
- Drost, Pieter N., 120
- Il Duce*. *See* Mussolini, Benito
- Duch, (Khang Kehek Iev), 120. *See also* "Comrade" Duch
- Dunant, Henri, 120–21, 218–19
- Dunera* Boys, 121–22
- Duranty, Walter, 122
- Dutchbat* (Dutch paratroop battalion), 122–23
- Dzhugashvili, Josef Vissarionovich. *See* Stalin, Josef
- Early Warning System, 124; Minorities at Risk Project, 285, 369
- Eastern bloc: Cold War, 75–77; vied for Third World allegiance, 76
- Eastern State of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, 40
- East Pakistan. *See* Bangladesh
- Eastern zone (Kampuchea), 125

- East Timor, 441; Dili Massacre, 113–14; FALANTIL and, 142–43; FRETILIN, 149; genocide in, 124; Gerombolan Pengacau Keamanan (GPK), 169; Gusmao, Xanana, and, 177–78; INTERFET, 215–16; and mass rape in, 271–72; Operation Encirclement and Annihilation, 319; *See also* Indonesia
- Economic and Social Council, 440
- Economic sanctions, 125
- Education on genocide: Institute for the Study of Genocide and, 212–13; International Association of Genocide Scholars (IAGS), 216–17; to remember Holocaust, 477; Yad Vashem, 477
- Eel River Rangers, 481; formed for the purpose of killing Yukis, 481; Jarboe, Captain Walter, 481
- Eichmann in Jerusalem: A Report on the Banality of Evil*; Banality of Evil, 34; Hannah, Arendt, 34; originally appeared as a series of articles in *New Yorker* magazine, 34; social impacts of genocide, 34
- Eichmann, SS Colonel Adolf, 49, 110, 127; and Wiesenthal, Simon, 471–72
- Eichmann trial, 127
- Eicke, Theodor, 127–28
- Einsatzgruppen*, 39, 184, 318, 391; complicity with *Wehrmacht*, 468–69
- Electronic jamming, 129
- Eliticide, 129–30
- Emergency Rescue Committee (ERC), 130
- Enabling Act, 130
- Enclosures, 130–31
- Encyclopedia of Genocide* (Charny), 131, 213
- Encyclopedia of Genocide and Crimes Against Humanity* (Shelton, et al.), 131
- Encyclopedia of the Holocaust* (Gutman), 131
- Engels, Frederick: socialism, 399
- Ennals, Martin: Amnesty International secretary-general, 131
- Enver, Ismail (Bey), 131–32
- Epithets, 132–33. *See also* Racial epithets
- Erdemovic, Drazen, 133
- Escape from Sobibor* (Gold), 133–34
- Escaping Auschwitz: A Culture of Forgetting* (Linn), 462. *See also* Vrba, Rudolf
- Essay on the Inequality of Human Races* (de Gobineau), 352
- Ethiopia, 39; atrocities by Italians in, 295–96; genocide in, 134
- Ethnic cleansing, 135; Bosnia-Herzegovina, in, 68; Bosnian Serb overseer of, 264; Chetniks and, 68; Croatia, in, 68; Czechoslovakia, in, 94; eliticide, 129–30; in the former Yugoslavia, 135–36; against Germans, 94; in Kosovo, 189, 284, 350–51, 481; of Marsh Arabs, 270; mass rape as, 159; of Muslims in Visegrad, 264; in Poland, 335; Raznatovic, Zeljko, 68; and retributive genocide, 365–66; in Rwanda, 96–97; Srebrenica massacre, 405; State Commission for the Free Transfer of the Civilian Population, 410; in Visegrad, Bosnia, 459–60; in Vukovar, Croatia, 462–63
- Ethnic conflict, 136
- Ethnicity, 136
- Ethnocentrism, 136–37
- Ethnocide, 137
- Ethnopolitical conflict, 137
- Eugenics: and social Darwinism, 398–99
- Eugenics, Nazi belief in, 137, 351
- Euphemisms, 137–38; Tibet and, 69; “Work,” (Hutu extremists), 473
- European Network of Genocide Scholars (ENOGS), 138
- European Platform for Conflict Prevention and Transformation, 138
- Europe; libel of Jews, 110
- Euthanasia Program of Nazis, 138–39; metaphors of; and Galen, Bishop Clemens August Graf von, 155–56; “Life Unworthy of Life” (German, *Lebensunwertes Leben*), 261; Stangl, Franz, 409–10; T-4 program, 347, 418–19; *See also* Purification
- Evian Conference, 139
- Excremental assault, 139
- Executions; dirty war, 114
- Expulsion, 139–40
- Extrajudicial killings: Dirty War, Argentina, 114–15; disappearances, 115
- Ezhov, Nikolai, 141
- Facing History and Ourselves, 142
- Failed state, 142
- FALANTIL, 142–43
- Famine, 143. *See also* Kulak
- Farben, I. G., 143
- Farmers: dekulakization, 105, dispossessed, 130–31
- Fascism and Fascists, 144; Degrelle, Leon, 103; genocidal tendencies of, 259; *Ustache* in Croatia, 451
- Faurisson, Robert, 144
- Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY), 144; Milosevic, Slobodan, 48, 283–85
- Fighting for Peace: Bosnia 1994* (Rose), 373
- Fein, Helen, 102; despotic genocide, 111; ideological genocide, 203; Institute for the Study of Genocide and, 212–13
- Fiji, 44
- Films: *Armenia: The Betrayed* (BBC video), 19; *Bophana, a Cambodian Tragedy*, 47; *Calling the Ghosts: A Story about Rape, War and Women*, 57; *Gacaca: Living Together Again in Rwanda?*, 154; *The Great Dictator*, 172–73; *Hotel Rwanda*, 193–94; *Journey to Darfur*, A, 232; *Jud Süss*, 232–33; *Killing Fields, The*, 71, 246; *Land of Wandering Souls*, 252; *Last Just Man, The*, 254; *Life is Beautiful*, 261; *Lost Boys of Sudan*, 262–63; *Man in the Glass Booth, The*, 268; *Mortal Storm, The*, 291; *The Murderers Among Us* (book and film) (Wiesenthal), 472; *In Rwanda We Say: The Family That Does*

- Not Speak Dies*, 207; *Schindler's List*, 389; *Shoah* (film), 394; *Soldier Blue*, 400; *Sometimes in April*, 401–2; S21; *The Khmer Rouge Killing Machine*, 412–13; *Triumph of the Spirit*, 429; *Truce, The*, 430; *Uprising*, 450; *Voices from the Lake*, 460; *Welcome to Sarajevo*, 190; *Year Zero*, 479
- Final Solution of the Jewish Question, 87; Aktion Reinhard, 7–8; decided on at Wannsee Conference, 232, 465–66; Eichmann, SS Colonel Adolf, 127, 465; extermination camps of, 8; and *Generalgouvernement*, 157; Heydrich, Reinhard, 184–85, 465–66; Jewish question, 231–32; role of the SS in, 8
- Financial Sanctions, 144–45
- Firing squad, 67
- First Nations, 145; Métis people, 280; Native Americans, genocide of, 301
- First-person accounts of genocide, 145–46
- Foca, Rape Camp, 146
- Food insecurity, 146
- Forced labor to the death, 485; *Zur Vernichtung Durch Arbeit*, 485
- Forces Armées Rwandaises* (FAR). See Rwandan Armed Forces; Tutsi genocide in 1994
- Forcible relocation, 134, 222; in Australia, 304–5; in Cambodia. See *New People*, Cambodia; ineffective NATO Kosovo intervention, 302–3; in USSR, 108–9
- Foreign opponents of the Nazis, 83
- Forensic inquiry: activities in, 147–48; and genocide, 147–48; and mass graves, 270–71; uses for, 147
- “Forgotten Genocide,” 148
- Formal international law: Customary International Law, 93–94
- Former Yugoslavia, the, 441; eliticide, 129–30; impunity for perpetrators of genocide, 93; “No-fly zones,” 77, 307–8; and Powell Doctrine, 339
- Forty Days of Musa Dagh, The* (Werfel), 148
- Forum on Early Warning and Early Response (FEWER), 149
- France: absolutism in, 1; French government in Nazi-occupied, and complicity in genocide, 456–57; supported Rwandan government that committed genocide, 380–81; Vendean massacres, 455; Trocme, André, 429–30
- Frank, Anne, 39, 111–12
- French Resistance, 387
- FRETILIN, 149. See also FALANTIL
- Frontline: Ghosts of Rwanda*, 149–50; U.S. president Bill Clinton's apology in, 149–50
- Fry, Varian Mackey, 150
- Functionalism, 150–51
- Funktionshäftlinge* (German, prisoner-functionaries), 151
- Fur, 42
- Gacaca*, 152
- Gacaca Law*, 152–53, 153–54
- Gacaca: Living Together Again in Rwanda?*, 154
- Galbraith, Peter, 154–55
- Galen, Bishop Clemens August Graf von, 155–56
- Gas chambers, 156; in Polish death camps, 99–100; at Lublin-Majdanek, 263–64
- Gas vans, 156
- Geneva Convention of 1864, 121
- Gassing: of Kurds told in U.S. by Peter Galbraith, 154–55; in Libya, 259; Sobibor, 398–99
- Gendercide, 156–57; *Gendercide: The Implications of Sex Selection* (Warren), 156; watch, 157
- Gender Issues Education Foundation (GIEF), 157
- Gender-Related Persecution, 157
- General Assembly. See United Nations General Assembly
- Generalgouvernement* (French, Absorbed into; German, General Government), 157
- Geneva Conventions and Protocols I and II: grave breaches of, 172
- Geneva, Switzerland, 441
- Genghis Khan, 158, 281
- Génocidaire*, 158; one-sided killing, 316; Rwandan, Froduald Karamira, 241
- Genocidal massacre, 158–59; term coined in *Genocide: Its Political Use in the Twentieth Century* (Kuper), 158–59
- Genocidal Mentality: Nazi Holocaust and Nuclear Threat* (Lifton and Markusen), 404
- Genocidal Rape, 159–60
- Genocidal Societies, 160
- Genocide, 39; by attrition, 161; by average person, why and how, 282; causes of, 161–62, 365–66; “Century of,” 166; of Chinese in Indonesia, 211; Civil War, and, 72–73; classification in multiple categories, 162; concept of genocide, 31; for control of oil in Sudan, 126; definition, 166; definition, Chalk and Jonassohn's, 101; definition, Charny's, 101; definition, Dadrian's, 101–2; definition, Fein's, 102; definition, Horowitz's, 102; definition, Lemkin's, 102; definition, used in UNCG, 102; degrees of, 102–3; democracy and, 107; denial of, 163–64, 263, 273; during early modern period, 164; early warning system, 164–65; economically motivated, 125–26, 206; education, 165; eight stages of (Stanton), 128; *Encyclopedia of* (Charny), 131; establishing “intent” to commit, 2; as government policy, Australia, 29; healing and reconciliation following, 362; hegemonial genocide, 183; history of, 166–67; ideological, 203; indigenous groups and, 209; in Indonesia, 210–11; Institute for the Study of, 212–13; Kurdish genocide in Northern Iraq, 252; language of, 252; Lemkin, Dr. Raphael, 31, 102, 256–57; in Libya, 259; and mass graves, 270–71; mechanisms of, 275; in Middle Ages, 281–82; misuse of the concept/term, 167; in Mozambique, 293; multiple, 294–95; by Mussolini, 259, 295; in Namibia, 298; preconditions of, 340;

- Genocide (continued)
 rationale for, 351, 352, 452, *see also* Modernity and genocide; research on, 213; representative accountability in, 405–6; revolution and, 366; satellite images of, 387–88; slavery, 397; in southern Sudan, 402–3; theories of, 168; Total, 425; utilitarian, 451; Transaction Publishers, 428; warning signs of religious, 362; xenophobic, 475–76
- Genocide: A Critical Bibliographical Series* (Charny), 160
- Genocide and Politicide Project, 161
- Genocide as government policy; independent Commonwealth of Australia, 29
- Genocide at the Millennium* (Totten), 160
- Genocide detection, 387
- Genocide education, 168. *See also* Education on genocide
- “Genocide Fax,” January 1994, 165–66
- Genocide in antiquity, 15; ancient Greeks and, 15; Hebrew bible, references to genocide in, 15; Roman destruction of Carthage, 15; Roman wars against the Jews of Palestine, 15
- Genocide Convention Implementation Act of 1988, 163
- Genocide fiascos and reneges, 444; Srebrenica, 444
- Genocide Forum, The, 166
- Genocide in Darfur: Investigating Atrocities in the Sudan* (New York: Routledge, 2006): description, discussion, and analysis of the ADP, its findings, 28; Markusen, Dr. Eric, 28; Totten, Dr. Samuel, 28
- Genocide Perspectives*, 29
- Genocide Prevention. *See* Peace-building; Prevention of Genocide; Satellite images of
- Genocide studies, 166, 385; Institute on the Holocaust and Genocide (Jerusalem), 213; theories of, 168
- Genocide Studies and Prevention: An International Journal* (GSP), 167–68
- Genocide Watch, 168; *Prevent International News Monitor*, 342
- Geno/Politicide, 168–69
- German South-West Africa, 266–67
- Germans: deportations from Soviet Union, 108; Herero genocide, 330
- Germany, Nazi: annexation of Austria, 14; anti-Jewish laws. *See* Law for the Protection of German Blood and German Honor; Law for the Restoration of the Professional Civil Service; bureaucrats in, *see* *Schreibtschutater*; Christian X, King of Denmark and, 71; collective responsibility, imposition of by the Nazis, 77; Confessional or Confessing Churches, 85; conspiracy, 87; Control Council Law No. 10, 88; cultural genocide by, 91–92; Danish resistance, 71; denazification, 108; Gestapo (Geheime Staatspolizei; Secret State Police), 169; Goebbels, (Paul) Joseph, 170; Göring, Hermann, 169, 171–72; Hademar, 180; handicapped German people. *See* T-4; Holocaust, 62–63; irredentism, 277; “Israel” as middle name of male Jews in, 228; JUDENREIN, 234; mentally and physically handicapped, treatment of, 279–80; National Socialism, 299; and nationalism, 300; and news media, 306; Nuremberg Trials, 88; and Protestant churches, 85; and public perception of, 306; resistance movement against Nazis in, 389–90; “Sarah” as middle name of female Jews in, 228; and slave labor, 143–44; and the Roman Catholic Church, 62–63; *Der Stürmer* (newspaper), 109, Third Reich, 420
- Gerombolan Pengacau Keamanan (GPK), 169
- Gestapo (Geheime Staatspolizei; Secret State Police), 169, 184–85; in Warsaw, 331
- Ghettos: Krakow, 331; Łódź, 112, 207; and *Judenrat*, 233–34; Warsaw Ghetto uprising, 38, 467; Warsaw, information smuggler, 241, 331
- Glücks, Richard, 169
- Goebbels, (Paul) Joseph, 170
- Goldstone, Richard, 170
- Golkar (Indonesian political party), 170–71
- Gong, Falun, China, genocide in, 69
- Good People in a Time of Evil* (Broz), 353
- Gorazde safe area, 171
- Göring, Hermann, 169, 171–72
- Gosh, Salah Abdallah, 172
- Government of Rwanda, 42
- Government of Sudan (GOS), 42
- Government policies; desk killing, 110–11
- GPK. *See* Gerombolan Pengacau Keamanan
- Great Dictator, The* (film), 172–73
- Great Purges (USSR), 173, 451
- Great Terror (USSR), 173–74
- Greeks, 326; deportations from Soviet Union, 108; Pontic Greeks, genocide of, 337
- Grotius, Hugo (Huig de Groot), 174–75
- GSP. *See* *Genocide Studies and Prevention: An International Journal* (GSP)
- Guatemala: CIA and overthrow of government in, 175; death squads, 79; dirty war, 114; genocide in, 175–76; Truth Commission, 79
- Guayaki Indians. *See* Aché
- Gulags (forced labor and prison camps): Lenin, Vladimir Ilyich Ulyanov established, 257–58; in North Korea, 246; Soviet, 176–77
- Gulag Archipelago, The* (Solzhenitsyn), 177
- Gurr, Ted, 369. *See also* Risk Assessments; Risk factors, 369
- Gusmao, Xanana, 177–78
- Gypsies: *Porrajmos*, 337–38; research of, by Dr. Robert Ritter, 369–70
- Habyarimana, President Juvenal, 47, 179–80; assassination of, 24, 32; Bushnell, Prudence, and, 53
- Hackenholt, SS Master Sergeant Lorentz, 37
- Hademar, 180
- Hague, The, 219
- Hague Conventions, 180; military occupation, 282–83

- Hama, 180–81
 Hamidian massacres, 181. *See also* Adana massacre
 Hamitic Hypothesis, 182
 Hannah, Arendt, 34
 Harff, Dr. Barbara, 336
Heart of Darkness (Conrad), 182
 Heavy Weapons Exclusion Zones, 182–83
 Hebrew Bible; examples of genocide in, 166
 Hebrides, 44
 Hegemonial genocide, 183
 Hegemony, 183
 Heidegger, Martin, 183–84
 Heng, Samrin, 184
 Herero people, genocide of, 184, 267, 330;
 Maharero, Samuel, chief of, 266–67; mass
 rape, 271–72; related Nama people, 267;
 Von Trotha, Adrian Dietrich Lothar, 460–61
 Hering, Gottlieb, 37
 Heydrich, Reinhard, 184–85; Aktion Reinhard and, 7
 Highland clearances, 185
 Hilberg, Raul, 111
 Himmler, SS Chief Heinrich, 28, 37, 49, 185–86,
 233, 391; and kapos, 240; named SS-
 Totenkopfverbände, 407–8; SS (*Schutzstaffel*),
 406; temporarily eased persecution of Roma
 and Sinti, 371. *See also* Gypsies
 Historical revisionism, 186–87, 484; father of,
 Rassinier, Paul, 358–59; and Zundel, Ernst,
 484–85
 Hitler, Adolf, 187–88, 213–214; *Mein Kampf*,
 277–78; personal bodyguard, SS
 (*Schutzstaffel*), 406; role model for, 295–96;
 and social Darwinism, 398–99; “Who
 Remembers the Armenians?,” 470–71
 “Hitler of Norway.” *See* Quisling, Vidkun
 Hitler Youth (German, *Hitlerjugend*), 188
 Hoess, Rudolf Franz, 188–89
 Holbrooke, Richard, 189
 Holiday Inn Sarajevo, 199–200
 Hollerith machine, 190
 Holocaust (Shoah), 47, 111, 190–91, 394; analogy,
 191; antecedents to, 14–15; *Churban*
 (destruction); concentration camps in,
 83–84; denial of, 55, 186–87, 227–28, 484.
See also Historical revisionism; Smith,
 Bradley; first-person accounts of, 145–46; and
 functionalism, 150–51; Glücks, Richard,
 and, 169; and Huguenots, 194; Martyrs’ and
 Heroes’ Remembrance Authority, Israel’s. *See*
 Yad Vashem, 477; Jews, European, 62–63;
Life is Beautiful, 261; and Nuremberg Trials,
 312–13; and Rassinier, Paul, 358–59;
refoulement, 360–61; rescuers during,
 363–64; resistance movements during, 365;
 role of physicians during, 370–71; role of
 Roman Catholic clergy and, 62–63; Roman
 Catholic Church, 62–63; Swiss policy during,
 360–61; United States’ response to, 192;
 Wiesel, Elie, 471; Yad Vashem, 477; Zundel,
 Ernst and, 484–85
Holocaust and Genocide Studies: An International Journal, 191–92
 Holocaust denial; Smith, Bradley, 397
 Holocaust studies, 166
 Holy Office; Inquisition of, 43
 Homosexuals: in Dachau, 95; in Polish death camps,
 99–100
 Horizontal inequality, 192
 Horowitz, Irving Louis, 102
Hostis Humani Genitis (Latin, “an offense against all
 mankind”), 192
 Hotel des Mille Collines, 193; manager Paul
 Rusesabagina, 376–77; subject of movie
 Hotel Rwanda, 193–94
Hotel Rwanda, 193–94
 Huguenots, 194; in Le Chambon-sur-Lignon, 255;
 Trocme, André, 429–30
 Human destructiveness, 194–95
 Humanitarian action, 197
 Humanitarian assistance, 297
 Humanitarian aid: Safe havens, 384–85
 Humanitarian intervention, 197, 217; Operation
 Provide Comfort, 321; Safe havens, North-
 ern Iraq, 384–85; unilateral, opposition to,
 100–101
 Human rights, 90, 195; abuses of, in Bangladesh,
 67–70; in Guatemala, 79, 175–76; and inter-
 nal displacement, 176; investigation of viola-
 tions of, 196; Lawyers Committee for Human
 Rights, 255; Office of the United Nations
 High Commissioner for Human Rights
 (OHCHR), 314–15
 Human Rights Information and Documentation Sys-
 tems International (HURIDOCS), 93
 Human Rights Internet (HRI), 195
 Human Rights Law, 196
 Human Rights Organizations; Simon Wiesenthal
 Center, 395
 Human Rights Watch (HRW), 48, 196, 249; and IN-
 DICT Campaign, 208–9; Méndez, Juan El,
 278; report, *Prosecute Now!*, 345
 Hussein, Saddam, 198–99; economic motivation for
 genocide of Kurds and Shiites, 126; and
 Marsh Arabs, 270
 Hutu people, 42, 199–200, 442; in Burundi, 54;
 “Clearing the Bush,” 73; Dallaire, Major
 General Romeo, and, 96; extremists and
 MDR, 292; the *Interahamwe* and death
 squads, 100; revolution (1959), 40; *Rubanda*
 Nyamwinshi (Hutu majority), 374; “Work”
 euphemism, 473
 Hutu Power, 200
 Hutu Ten Commandments, 200–201, 239, 276
 ICC. *See* International Criminal Court (ICC)
 Identity: cards, Rwandan, 202–3; dehumanization
 and, 103–4
 Ideological genocide, 203. *See* Social Darwinism,
 298–99; Serbian Memorandum,
 391–92

- Ideology of genocide. *see* Prejudice, Purification, metaphors of, Stereotyping, *Volk*; as genocide motive, 282; in Rwanda, 306–7
- Ieng Sary, 204
- IFOR, 204–5
- Igbo people, genocide of, 205–6
- Imperialism, 206
- Implementation Force (IFOR), 206. *See also* IFOR; for Bosnia-Herzegovina, 206
- Impuzamegambi* (Kinyarwanda, “Those with a single purpose”), 206–7; and the Presidential Guard, 341–42
- Incentives: and diplomatic practice, 207
- Indian Removal Act, 1830, 207–8
- INDICT Campaign, 208–9
- Indigenous peoples, 209–10; Beothuk, 393; of Canada, *See* First Nations; Indian Removal Act, 1830, 207–8; Sand Creek Massacre, 386; Survival International (SI), 413; Trail of Tears, 208; Yanomami people, 478–79
- Indigenous groups and genocide, 209
- Individual responsibility, concept of, 210, 224. *See also* Nuremberg principles
- Indonesia: Dili Massacre, 113–14; FALANTIL, 142–43; and genocide, 210–11; Gerombolan Pengacau Keamanan (GPK), 169; Gusmao, Xanana, and, 177–78; KOLAKOPS, 247–48; mass killing of suspected communists, 211; *Operasi Keamanan* (Operation Final Cleansing), 317; Operation Encirclement and Annihilation, 319
- Inducements, as part of a sanctions policy, 212. *See also* Incentives
- Ingush people; deportation from USSR, 108
- Injustice, speaking out against. *See* Wiesel, Elie *Inkotanyi*, 212
- Inquisition, 43, 212; *Malleus Maleficarum* (Latin, *The Witches’ Hammer*) (Kramer), 267
- In Rwanda We Say: The Family that Does Not Speak Dies*, 207
- Institute for the Study of Genocide, 212–13
- Institute of Turkish Studies (ITS), 213
- Institute on the Holocaust and Genocide (Jerusalem), 213, 225
- Integrated Network for Societal Conflict Research (INSOCR) Program, 213
- Intellectuals: and Khmer Rouge, 58
- Intentionalists, 213–14; debate with functionalists, 214
- Intentionality, 214
- Interahamwe*, 214–15; and death squads in Rwanda, 100; founder of, 237; and the Presidential Guard, 341–42
- Interdisciplinary Research Program on Root Causes of Human Rights Violations. *See* PIOOM Foundation, 332
- INTERFET, 215–16
- Intergovernmental organizations (IGOs), 216
- Internal displacement, 216; guiding principles on, 176
- Internally displaced persons (IDPs), 216
- Internal refugees, 216
- International Alert (IA), 216
- International Association of Genocide Scholars (IAGS), 216–17
- International Bill of Rights, 217
- International Campaign to End Genocide, 168
- International Centre for Transitional Justice, 444
- International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty (ICISS), 217–18
- International Commission on Missing Persons (ICMP), 218, 391
- International Committee of the Red Cross, 157–58, 218–19, 293, 441
- “International Conference on the Holocaust and Genocide,” 66; Charny, Israel W. and, 66–67
- International Convention Against Torture, 331
- International Court of Justice, 86, 219
- International courts and war crimes, 466–67
- International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), 219–20
- International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights, 220
- International Covenant on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (ICEAFRD), 220
- International Criminal Court (ICC), 28, 37, 80, 220–21; Crimes against Humanity, 90; Draft Code of Offenses against the Peace and Security of Mankind, 119–20; and end of impunity, 93; establishment of, by Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court, 371–72; and Human Rights Watch (HRW), 196–97
- International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR), 33, 36, 40, 41, 42, 222, 440; Akayesu, Jean-Paul, genocide trial of, 6; Arbour, Louise, chief prosecutor of, 17; Belgian broadcaster Georges Ruggiu, 374–75; Crimes against Humanity, 90; Del Ponte, Carla, chief prosecutor for, 105–6; Draft Code of Offenses against the Peace and Security of Mankind, 119–20; Kambanda, Jean, 237; Nahimana, Ferdinand, 297–98; prosecutor, Pierre-Richard Prosper, 345–46; Rutaganda, Georges Anderson Nderubumwe, 378; Victor’s Justice, 457
- International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY), 37, 45, 49, 83, 251, 325, 333, 440; Arbour, Louise, chief prosecutor for, 17; Crimes against Humanity, 90; first convicted war criminal, 133, 415; first indicted war criminal, 415; Del Ponte, Carla, chief prosecutor for, 105–6; tried Milosevic, Slobodan, 284–85; Mladic, Ratko, 286–87; Tadic, Dusan, 415; Victor’s Justice, 457
- International Crisis Group (ICG), 223
- International Force in East Timor. *See* INTERFET
- International Holocaust and Genocide Network* (ITNet-work), 29
- International Humanitarian Law (IHL), 223
- International Intergovernmental Organizations (INGOs), 223–24

- International law: father of, 174
- International Law Commission: established Nuremberg principles, 312
- International Military Tribunal (IMT), 224–25, 396; International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY); chief U.S. prosecutor, 230–31; Crimes against Humanity, 90; London Charter, 262. *See also* International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR)
- International Military Tribunal, 224
- International Network on Holocaust and Genocide*, 225
- International Organization for Migration, 441
- International Panel of Eminent Personalities (IPEP), 225
- International Pro-Armenia Movement, 52
- International relations, 2
- International War Crimes Tribunal; and United States, 377
- International Workgroup for Indigenous Affairs (IWGIA), 225
- Internet on the Holocaust and Genocide*, 225–26
- Intervention Efforts: safe area, 384
- In the Beginning Was the Ghetto: Notebooks from Łódź* (Rosenfeld), 207
- Into that Darkness: An Examination of Conscience* (Sereny), 409
- Inyangumugayo*, 330
- Inyenzi, 226. *See* Epithets
- Iraq: al-Majid, Ali Hassan, 67; Anfal campaign, 13–14; allegations of genocide against the Kurds (ethnic group), 13–14; genocide of Kurds in Northern Iraq. *See* Anfal; Hussein, Saddam, 198–99; INDICT Campaign, 208–9; Kurdish genocide in Northern Iraq, 252; safe havens, 384–85; Special Tribunal for Crimes Against Humanity (IST), 226; supplier of raw material for chemical weapons Frans Van Anraat, 454; war with Iran, 198
- Ireland: crimes against humanity, 91; and Cromwell, Oliver, 91; war crimes against, 91
- Irish Conquest, 1649. *See* Cromwell, Oliver
- Irish independence movement, 42
- Irish Republican Army (IRA), 42
- Irredentism, 277
- Irving, David, 277–78
- Islam: Bangladesh, in, 70; Khmer Rouge and, 64; Marsh Arabs (Shiite), 270; and stigma of raped women, 159, 272; perpetrators in Sudan, 262–63
- Israel: Chamy, Israel W. and, 66–67; as middle name of male Jews in Germany, 228; Yad Vashem, 477 “Israel,” 228
- I Will Bear Witness: A Diary of the Nazi Years—1933–1941* (Klemperer), 202
- I Will Bear Witness: A Diary of the Nazi Years—1942–1945* (Klemperer), 202
- Izetbegovic, Alija, 48, 99, 228–29
- “J,” 230
- Jackson, Robert H., 230–31
- Janjaweed* militia, 231; attacks on refugee camps in Chad, 98; attacks on Sudanese displaced persons camps, 98; and genocide in Darfur, 97; and Gosh, Salah Abdallah, 172
- Japan; Nanking (now Nanjing) and, 69, 298–99
- Jarboe, Captain Walter, 481; and Eel River Rangers, 481; and Yuki people, genocide of, 481–82
- Jasenovac, 231
- Jehovah’s Witnesses; in Dachau, 95; in Polish death camps, 99–100
- Jesus Christ, 36, 46
- Jewish Agency in Palestine, 49
- Jewish Historical Institute, Warsaw: Ringelblum’s Archive, 369
- Jewish question, 231–32. *See also* Final Solution to the Jewish Question
- Jewish refugees; *Dunera* boys, 121–22
- Jews: Christian, 307; and Croat-Nazi collaborators, 480; discrimination against, by Christian church, 361–62; French, and Laval, Pierre, 254; goals of anti-Jewish administrators, 170; “Israel” as middle name of male Jews, 228; “J,” 230; “J” on passports suggested by Swiss, 360–61; King Christian’s support of, 71; Kishinev Pogrom, 246–47; in Nazi-occupied France, 456–57; Nuremberg (racial) laws, 311–12; rescued Jewish children, 194; rescuer Albert George Ogilvie, 315–16; “Sarah” as middle name of female Jews, 228; and slavery, 397; Sobibor, 398; *SS St. Louis*, 407; Ukraine, in, 70; Vrba, Rudolf, 461–62; and Wallenberg, Raoul, 364, 464–65; Wiesel, Elie, 471; Yad Vashem, 477; and Yellow Star or Badge, 479–80; Zygiel bojm, Szmul Artur, 485–86
- Jihad*: in Hama, Syria, 181
- JNA. *See* Yugoslav People’s Army (JNA)
- Johns Hopkins University Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies, 445
- Jolie, Angelina; Goodwill Ambassador, 40; *Notes from My Travels* (2003), 40; U.S. actress, 39
- Jonassohn, Curt, 101
- Journal of Genocide Research* (JGR), 138, 232
- Journey to Darfur*, A, 232
- Judaism, 46
- Judenfrei*, 233
- Judenrat*, 233–34
- Judenrein*, 234
- Jud Süß*, 232–33
- Jus ad Bellum*, 234
- Jus Cogens*, 234
- Jus in Bello*, 234
- Justice: for Armenians, 320; for Jews by Wiesenthal, Simon, 471–72; Lawyers Committee for Human Rights, 255; when mass graves are found, 271; United States Cambodian Genocide Justice Act, 447; Victor’s Justice, 457
- Just War Theory, 234–35
- Kabiligi, Brigadier General Gratien, 33
- Kagame, Paul, 236–37

- Kaganovich, Lazar Moiseevich, 237
 Kajuga (Jerry) Robert, 237
 Kalmyks: deportations from Soviet Union, 108
 Kambanda, Jean, 237–38
Kangura, 238–39; Hutu Ten Commandments, 200–201; and Ngeze, Hassan, 306–7
 Kapos, 239–40
 Karachays: deportations from Soviet Union, 108
 Karadzic, Radovan, 240, 363
 Karamira, Froduald, 241
 Karski, Jan, 241
 Ka-Tzetnik 135633, 242
 Kemal, Ismail (Bey), 242
 Kenney, George, 242
 Ke Pauk, 242
 Khang Khek Iev, 386, 402. *See also* “Comrade Duch”
 Khemshils: deportation from USSR, 108
 Khieu Samphan, 242–43
 “Khmer Noir,” 244
 Khmer Rouge (Cambodia), 47, 82, 244; Angkar’s eight-point agenda, 14; campaign against Buddhists, 53; *Chap Teuw*, 65; and China, 458–59; cultural genocide by, 91–92; culture of impunity, and, 93; Duch (Khang Khek Ieu), 120; in Eastern Zone (Kampuchea), 125; eliticide, 129–30; intellectuals, artists, professionals, 58; Islam and, 64; Khieu Samphan, 242–43; Lon Nol, 261–62; Nuon Chea, 310–11; Pol Pot and, 14, 57–58; and Sihanouk, King Norodom, 394–95; Son Sen, 386, 402–3; Ta (“Grandfather”) Mok, 414–15; Tuol Sleng prison, 82, 386, 431–32; victims of, 58; and Vietnam, 458–59; *Year Zero*, 479; *Year Zero*, concept of, 479
 Kielce Pogrom, 244–45
 Kigali Memorial Centre, 245
Killing Fields, The, 71, 246; Schanberg, Sydney H., journalist depicted in, 388
Killing Fields, The, 245–46
 “Kill Them All. God Will Know His Own!.” *See* Amaury, Arnold
 Kim Il-sung, 246
 Kishinev Pogrom, 246–47
 Klemperer, Victor, 247. *See also* *I Will Bear Witness: A Diary of the Nazi Years—1933–1941*; *I Will Bear Witness: A Diary of the Nazi Years—1942–1945*
 Koch, Ilse (“Bitch of Buchenwald”), 52
 Koch, Karl Otto, 52
 Kohl, Helmut, 41
 KOLAKOPS, 247–48
Konzentrationslager, 298
 Koreans; deportations from Soviet Union, 108
 Kosovo: agreement to set up government following genocide, 355; first president Ibrahim Rugova, 375–76; Force (KFOR), 248; Intervention, 248. *See also* Allegations of a Serb-perpetrated Genocide; Intervention, Serb claims of genocide, 248–49; and irredentism, 277; Liberation Army (KLA), 249–50; and Milosevic, Slobodan, 48, 283–85; nonintervention, international community, 308–9; Operation Allied Force, 317; Operation Horseshoe, 319; Racak massacre, 350–51; Rambouillet Accords, 355; Rugova, Ibrahim, 249
 Kozielowski, Jan. *See* Karski, Jan
Kristallnacht, 185, 250, 391
 Kristof, Nicholas D., 250
 Krstic, Radislav, 250–51
 Kulaks, 77–78, 89, 251; dekulakization under Bolshevik regime, 105, Thousanders and, 421
 Kulmhof: carbon monoxide asphyxiation, 67; firing squad, 67
 Kuper, Leo, 251–52; *Genocide: Its Political Use in the Twentieth Century*, 2
 Kurdish Genocide in Northern Iraq, 252
 Kurds (ethnic group), 384–85; al-Majid, Ali Hassan, 67; chemical weapons used against, 10; deportation from USSR, 108; economically motivated genocide, 126; Galbraith, Peter, and story of gassing, 154–55; and Powell Doctrine, 339
 Kutner, Luis, 252
 Lalleri. *See* Gypsies
Land of Wandering Souls, 252
 Language and genocide, 252. *See also* Propaganda and genocide; Purification, Metaphors of; “Life Unworthy of Life” (German, *Lebensunwertes Leben*), 261; *Mandi Laut* (Indonesian, literally “Gone for a Swim”), 268; *Untermenschen*, 450; *Vernichtung* (“Extermination”), 455–56; “Work,” 473
 Lanzmann, Claude, 394
Last Days of the Jerusalem of Lithuania: Chronicles from the Vilna Ghetto and the Camps, 1929–1944 (Kruk), 253–54
Last Just Man, The, 254
 Laval, Pierre, 254
 Law for the Protection of German Blood and German Honor, 254–55. *See also* “Hutu Ten Commandments”
 Law for the Restoration of the Professional Civil Service, 255
On the Law of War and Peace (Grotius), 174–75
 “Laws of Occupation, Analysis of Government, Proposals for Redress,” 31
 Laws, treaties, and agreements pertaining to genocide: Arusha Agreements (signed in 1993), 33
 Lawyers Committee for Human Rights, 255
 League of Nations: Bryce, Viscount James and ideals of, 52; Committee of Jurists, 80; International Criminal Court (ICC), 80; and intervention, 256
Lebensborn (German, “Fountain of Life”), 256
Lebensraum (German, “Living Space”), 256
 Le Chambon-sur-Lignon, 255
 Lemkin, Dr. Raphael, 31, 102, 256–57. *See also* *Totally Unofficial Man* (Lemkin)

- Lenin, Vladimir Ilyich, 257–58; Cossacks, genocide of, 88–89; the gulags and, 176
 Leopold II, King of the Belgians, 258
 Lepsius, Johannes, 258–59
 Lewis, Bernard, 259
 Libel; of Jews, 110
 Libya, Genocide in, 259; and Mussolini, Benito, 295–96
 Lidice, 260
 Lieber, Dr. Franz (Francis), 260–61
Life is Beautiful, 261
 “Life Unworthy of Life” (German, *Lebensunwertes Leben*), 261. See also T-4; Mentally and physically handicapped, treatment of, 279–80
 Linguicide, 261
 Locke, John, 117
 Łódź Ghetto, 112
 London Charter, 262, 313
 Lon Nol, 261–62; and Pol Pot, 334
Lost Boys of Sudan, 262–63
 Lowry, Heath W., 263
 Lublin-Majdanek, 263–64
 Lukic, Milan, 264
- Macedonia, 265–66, 441, 442; preventive deployment, 342–43
 “Machete Genocide,” 266
 MacKenzie, Lewis, 266
 Ma’dan (ethnic group) People. See Marsh Arabs
 Maharero, Samuel, 266–67
 Majdanek. See Lublin-Majdanek
 Male homosexuals, 83
Malleus Maleficarum (Latin, *The Witches’ Hammer*) (Kramer), 267
 Mandate, of a United Nations Mission, 268
 Mandates, and United Nations Peacekeeping Operations, 267
Mandi Laut (Indonesian, literally “Gone for a Swim”), 268
Man in the Glass Booth, The, 268
 Maori genocide perpetrators, 290–91
 Mao Zedong, 268–70; Cultural Revolution, 92
 Markusen, Dr. Eric, 28
 Marr, Wilhelm, 270
 Marsh Arabs. See Ma’dan (ethnic group), 270; AMAR Appeal and, 10–11; and Hussein, Saddam, 198–99; and Powell Doctrine, 339
 Marxist revolution, 30
 Marx, Karl; socialism, 399
 Massacres: of Armenians, 181; Chmielnicki Pogroms, 71; colonial genocide and, 78; by conquistadores, 86–87; dirty war, 114; and Drina Corps, 120; evidence of, 271; Hamidian Massacres, 181; of Huguenots, 194; of indigenous people, 78; of Jummas, 70; of Muslims by Serbs, 481; at Lidice, 260; and mass graves, 270–71; of Mayan communities, 79–80; in Mozambique, 293; in Nanking, 298; at Racak, 350–51; at Srebrenica, 405, 484; St. Bartholomew’s Day, 194; at Wounded Knee, 473–74
 Massaliet, 42
 Mass graves, 270–71; secondary graves, 391
 Mass rape, 271–72; in Mozambique, 293
 Mass rape as a crime against humanity, 272
 Mauthausen-Gusen, 83, 273
 Maya people, 79–80; Guatemalan killing of, 175
 Mayan communities: complete extermination of, 79
 McCarthy, Justin A., 273
 McCloskey, Frank, 173
 McMillan, Angus, 274–75
 MDR. See *Mouvement Démocratique Républicain* (MDR)
 Mechanisms of Genocide, 275
Médecins Sans Frontières (Doctors without Borders), 275–76
 Media outlets: inciting genocide, 276; *Kangura*, 238–39, 276; *New Yorker* magazine, 34; Radio B-92, 353; *Radio-Télévision Libre des Mille Collines* (RTL), 40, 276; RTS TV or Serbian Television, 374
 Media trial, Rwanda, 277, 307
 Medical experiments: in Dachau, 95; Megele, Josef, 278–79; in Polish death camps, 99–100
Mein Kampf (*My Struggle*, or *My Fight*) (Hitler), 187, 277–78; *Lebensraum* advocated in, 256
 Melanesians; “Kanakas,” 44
 Memorandum 1986, 391–92. See Serbian Memorandum, 391–92
 Méndez, Juan E., 278, 445
 Mengele, Josef, 278–79
Mens Rea (Latin, “guilty mind”), 279
 Mentally and Physically Handicapped, Treatment of by Nazi Germany, 279–80
 Meskhetian Turks: deportation from USSR, 108
 Methods of genocide, 28
 Métis People, 280
Mfecane (Zulu, “The Crushing”), 280
 Micombero, Michel, 280–81
 Middle Ages and genocide, 281–82
 Milgram, Stanley, 282
 Military occupation, 282–83
 Military rule: Argentina, 114
 Militias, 283
 Milosevic, Slobodan, 48, 283–85; Chetniks and, 68; compromise with, 249; Dayton Agreement (Dayton Accords) and, 99; and NATO’s Kosovo intervention, 302
 Minorities at Risk Project, 285
 Minority, 285
 Miqmaq, 60
Mischlinge, 285–86
 Missing persons, 218
 Mission mandate, 286
Mit Brennender Sorge (German, *With Burning Anxiety*), 286
 Mladic, Ratko, 286–87
 Modernity and genocide, 287–88
 Mogadishu, 288
 Mogadishu line, 288

- Molotov, Vyacheslav Mikhailovich, **289**. *See also* Operation Barbarossa; Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact
- Monoethnic nationalism, **30**
- Monowitz, **289**
- Montreal Centre for Genocide Studies (MIGS), **289**
- Moral education: Facing History and Ourselves, **142**; Holocaust and, **142**
- Morgenthau, Henry, Sr., **289–90**; Armenian genocide and, **22**
- Mori People, genocide of, **290–91**
- Mortal Storm, The*, **291**
- Moscow Declaration, **291**
- Mouvement Démocratique Républicain* (MDR), **291–92**
- Mouvement Révolutionnaire Nationale pour le Développement* (MRND), **292–93**. *See also* National Revolutionary Movement for Development (Rwanda)
- Movies. *See* Films
- Moynier, Gustav, **293**
- Mozambique, genocide in, **293**
- Multilateral, **294**
- Multilateral aid, **294**
- Multilateralism, **294**
- Multiple genocide, **294–95**
- Murder, **90**. *See also* Massacres; Armenian genocide (1915–1923) and, **104**; Chile, **114**; China, in, **69**; of Croatians, **480**; in Darfur, **97**; in East Timor, **124–25**; *Einsatzgruppen*, **128–29**; Erdemovic, Drazen and mass, **133**; Japanese, by, **69**; Killing Fields, *The*, **245–46**; methods at Mauthausen-Gusen, **83, 273**; Nazi medical “improvement,” **180**; Operation Condor, **318**; Tutsi in Rwanda, of, **75**
- The Murderers Among Us* (book and film) (Wiesenthal), **472**
- Murder squad; Dirty War, Argentina, **114–15**
- Muslims: and Milosevic, Slobodan, **48, 283–85**; in Sarajevo, **484**
- Mussolini, Benito, **295–96**
- Myth of the Twentieth Century* (Rosenberg), **296**
- Der Mythos des XX Jahrhunderts* (Rosenberg), **374**
- Nacht und Nebel*, **297**
- Nahimana, Ferdinand, **297–98**
- Nama people, genocide of, **298**
- Nanking Massacre, **298–99**
- National Socialism, **299**
- Nationalism, **299–300**; Belgrade Radio B-92, broadcasts against, **353**
- National Revolutionary Movement for Development (Rwanda), **7, 32, 47**; “Akazu” oligarchy and, **7**; genocide, accusations of planning, **7**; Habyarimana, Juvenal, leader of, **7**
- National Socialism, **46**
- Nation-building, **300**
- Nation-state, **300–301**
- Native Americans, genocide of, **301**; Beothuk, **393**; at Wounded Knee, **473–74**; Sand Creek Massacre, **386**; Trail of Tears, **427–28**
- NATO, **301–2**; and bombing of Kosovo (1999), **10, 284**; in Gorazde, **171**; Operation Allied Force, **317**; Operation Deliberate Force, **218–19**; Operation Deny Flight, **319**
- NATO and the Kosovo intervention, **302–3**
- Natural disasters, **39**
- Nazi concentration camps. *See* Concentration camps, Holocaust
- Nazi extermination camps. *See* Concentration camps, Holocaust
- “Nazi Hunter.” *See* Wiesenthal, Simon
- Nazim, Dr. Mehemed, **303–4**
- Nazis: annexation of Austria, **14**; anti-Jewish legislation implemented by, **15**; *Arierparagraph*, **18**; asocial designation, **25**; bedroom legislation, **358**; dehumanization and, **103–4**; denazification, **108**; *Der Stürmer* (newspaper), **109**; euthanasia program of, **138–39, 180**; excremental assault, **139**; Fry, Varian Mackey rescued Jews from, **150**; Goebbels, (Paul) Joseph, **170**; Göring, Hermann, **169, 171–72**; and handicapped Germans, **139**; Hitler, Adolf, **187–88**; ideology of, **303, 460**; *Kristallnacht*, **250**; League of German Girls (Bund Deutscher Mädel; BdM), **53**; *Lebensborn* (German, “Fountain of Life”), **256**; *Lebensraum* (German, “Living Room,” or “Living Space,” **256**; and Lenin, Vladimir Ilyich Ulyanov, **257–58**; manufacturer of crematoria for, **424**; massacre at Lidice, **260**; and Molotov, Vyacheslav Mikhailovich, **289**; Neo-Nazism, **304**; Nuremberg laws compared with Hutu Ten Commandments, **200–201**; non-Aryan descent, **18**; “other victims” of the Third Reich, **325–26**; papal reproach, **286**; police leader Theodor Eicke, **127–28**; *rassenkampf* worldview, **358**; *Rassenschande*, **358**; *Rasseverrat*, **358**; Reserve Police Battalion 101, **364**; Roma and Sinti during, **371**. *See also* Gypsies; seized Jewish assets, **126**; Sicherheitsdienst, **391**; slave labor and, **126**; social engineering, **399**; SS tattoos, **416–17**; *Der Stürmer* (newspaper), **109**; tattoos on prisoners, **416–17**; T-4 (*Tiergartenstrasse 4*) designation, **418–19**; warning of prosecution for genocide, **291**
- Nazism, **46**
- Neo-Nazism, **304**
- Netherlands; resignation of government following massacre at Srebrenika, **405–6**
- Never Again International, **304**
- Neville, Auber Octavius, **304–5**
- Newfoundland, **38**
- “New People,” Cambodia, **305–6**
- News Media, **306**
- New South Wales, **45**
- Newspapers: *Der Stürmer* (newspaper), **109**
- Ngeze, Hassan, **306–7**
- NGOs. *See* Nongovernmental organizations (NGOs); PIOOM Foundation

- Niemöller, Pastor Martin, 95, 307
- Nigerian Civil War of 1967–1970, 205–6; war of independence for the Biafrans, 40; war of national reunification for the Nigerians, 40
- Night and Fog. *See* *Nacht und Nebel*
- Nobel Peace Prize; Dalai Lama, 421, *Médecins Sans Frontières*, 275–76
- “No-fly zones,” 77, 307–8
- Nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), 308; Coalition for an International Criminal Court (CICC), 74; Coalition for International Justice (CIJ) and, 74; and Human Rights Internet (HRI), 195; Physicians for Human Rights, 345; protection for, 343; Simon Wiesenthal Center, 395; United States Committee for Refugees and Immigrants, 448
- Nonintervention, 308–9
- Non-Khmer minorities; victims of Khmer Rouge, 58
- Non-refoulement*, 308
- Nostre Aetate*, 309–10
- North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). *See* NATO
- North Korea: Kim Il-Sung, 246
- Nozick, Robert, 117
- Nsengiyumva, Lieutenant-Colonel Anatole, 33
- Ntabakuze, Major Aloys, 33
- Nuba, 310
- Nuclear warfare: democide and, 106; omnicide, 316
- Nuon Chea, 310–11
- Nuremberg Code, 311; Doctors’ Trial, 118
- Nuremberg (racial) laws, 311–12; and Mischlinge, 285–86; *Rassenschande*, 358; sexual relations between a Jew and a non-Jew banned, 358; Streicher, Julius, author of, 412
- Nuremberg principles, 312
- Nuremberg Trials, 88, 90, 312–13, 374. *See also* International Military Tribunal (IMT)
- Nuremberg Tribunal Charter, 313
- Obedience to Authority* (Milgram), 282
- Obote, Milton, 314; and the Rwandan Patriotic Army (RPA), 382; and the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF), 382–83
- Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR), 314–15
- Office of War Crimes Issues, 345. *See also* Prosper, Pierre-Richard
- Ogilvie, Albert George, 315–16
- Oil, genocide for control of, in Sudan, 126
- “Old People,” Cambodia, 316
- Omarska Concentration Camp, 316
- Omnicide, 316
- One-sided killing, 316–17
- Online University, 29
- Operasi Keamanan* (Operation Final Cleansing), 317
- Operation Allied Force, 317
- Operation Barbarossa, 317–18; ended with Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact, 367
- Operation Condor, 318
- Operation Deliberate Force, 218–19
- Operation Deny Flight, 319
- Operation Encirclement and Annihilation, 319
- Operation Horseshoe and Annihilation, 319
- Operation Menu, 320
- Operation Nemesis, 320
- Operation Provide Comfort, 321, 385
- “Operation Reinhard,” 321; extermination of all Jews within the *Generalgouvernement*, 37
- Operation Restore Hope, 321; Mogadishu, 288
- Operation Support Hope, 321–22
- Operation Turquoise, 322–23, 381
- Optimal Genocide, 323
- Order Police, 323
- “Ordinary Men” (Browning), 323, 364
- Organization of African Unity (OAU), 324, 361
- Organizations/political parties involved in genocide: *Forces Armées Rwandaises* (FAR), 32; *Interahamwe*, 33; International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR), 33; *Mouvement Révolutionnaire Nationale pour le Développement* (MRND), 32; Protestant Evangelical Church, 36; Rwandan Ministry of Defense, 32; Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF), 33
- Oric, Naser, 324–25
- OSCE. *See* Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE)
- “Oskar Schindler of Rwanda,” Rusesabagina, Paul, 376–77
- “the Other,” 164, 323
- “Other Victims” of the Third Reich, 325–26
- Ottoman Empire: Abdul Hamid II, 1; Adana massacres and, 3; Armenian massacres and, 1, 104; Assyrian genocide and, 25–26; denial of genocide by, 273; economic jealousy of Armenians, 126; Hamidian massacres in, 181; and Lepsius, Johannes, 258–59; Morgenthau, Ambassador Henry, Sr., 289–90; Nazim, Dr. Mehemed and ideology of, 303–4; in Polish death camps, 99–100; Pontic Greeks, genocide of, 337; Sevres, Treaty of, 392; Young Turk revolution and, 1, 3, 80; *See also* Turkey, 326
- Overwork; in Polish death camps, 99–100
- Pacelli, Eugenio. *See* Pius XII
- Pacification, 327
- Pacifism and early Christians, 234
- Palestine, 38
- Panama: evicted United States Army School of the Americas from, 447
- Paraguay, 2; Aché, de facto genocide against, 2
- Paris Agreements: enforced by United Nations Transitional Authority on Cambodia (UNTAC), 445
- Paris Protocol, 99, 229
- Participatory justice, 152–54
- Partisans, Jewish, 327
- Pastors’ Emergency League, 307

- Pallawah People, 327
 Pavelic, Ante, 327–28
 Peace-Building, 329
 Peace Enforcement, 328
 Peacekeeping, 77, 329; and Presidential Decision Directive 25 (PDD-25), 341; preventive deployment, 342–43
 Peace Maintenance, 328–29
 Peace Operations, 329
 Peacemaking, 329
PeaceWatch, 329
 Pearson International Peacekeeping Training Center, 329–30
 People groups: Arawak, 50; Carib, 50; Ge, 50; Herero people, genocide of, 184, 460–61; Igbo people, 205–6; Indigenous groups, 209, 209–10; Moriari People, genocide of, 290–91; Nama people, genocide of, 298, 460–61; Native Americans, genocide of, 301; Nuba, 310; Pontic Greeks, genocide of, 337; tribal, right to self-determination, 413; Tupi-Guarani, 50; Yanomami, 51
 People of Integrity, 330
 Permanent Five. *See* P-5
 Perpetrators of genocide, 36; Adolf Eichmann, 34; Bagosora, Théoneste, 32; Government of Iran, 33; Hackenholt, SS Master Sergeant Lorentz, 37; Himmler, SS Chief Heinrich, 37; Hutu, 442; Hutu, in Burundi, 54; individual responsibility, concept of, 210; Khmer-Rouge, 53, 445; megalomaniacs, *see* Utopia; Nazi SS, 32; Ottoman-Turk, 32; prosecutions of, 331–32; Soviet occupation forces in Buchenwald, 53; Tutsi, in Burundi, 54; Von Trotha, Adrian Dietrich Lothar, 460–61; Wirth, SS Colonel General Christian, 37; Young Turk regime, 52
 Persecution of Baha'is in Iran, 33; Baha'i faith originated in Iran in 1844, 33; 1850s and 1860s, over twenty thousand put to death, 33; routinely killed in small groups, 33
 Personnel Continuities, 330
 P-5, 330–31
 Physicians. *See* Doctors without Borders
 Physicians for Human Rights, 345
 Physicians, role of during the Holocaust, 370–71
Pianist, The, 331
 Pidhainy, S.O., 43
 Pilger, John, 107
 Pillage; in Darfur, 97
 Pinochet Ugarte, General Augusto Jose Ramon, 331–32; *Desaparecidos* (those who have disappeared), 68; left-wing political parties and, 68
Pioneers of Genocide Studies (Totten and Jacobs), 332; Lemkin, Dr. Raphael in, 31, 102, 256–57
 PIOOM Foundation, 332
 Pius XI, 332–33
 Pius XII, 333
 Plavsic, Biljana, 333
 Poison gas. *See* Chemical weapons, use of
 Poisonings: in Polish death camps, 99–100
 Pogroms, 333–34; Chmielnicki Pogroms, 71; Kielce, 244–45; Kishinev Pogrom, 246–47; *Kristalnacht*, 185, 250
 Poland: annihilation of Polish Jewry (1940s), 53–54; death camps (Vernichtungslager) in, 99–100; ethnic cleansing in, 335; gas vans, first in, 156; *Generalgouvernement* in, 157; genocide of Polish Jewry, 485–86; *Judenrat*, 233–34; under Nazi occupation, 8; Sobibor, 398–99; Treblinka, 429; Warsaw Ghetto uprising, 38, 467; Zygiel bojm, Szmul Artur, 485–86
 Poles, 395
 Polish Jews; in Łódź Ghetto, 112
 Polish National Council, 334
 Political Groups; and the U.N. Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (UNCG), 335–36
 Political implications of genocide: Christian church response against, 36; Cold War balance of powers, 35; nation-building capacity weakened, 35; President Nixon's China policy, 35; reluctance of U.S. to intervene, 35
 Political killings, 336; disappearances, 115; in Ethiopia, 134; in North Korea, 246; Operation Condor, 318
 Political realism. *See* Realism
 Political refugees, 38
 Political sections, 336
 Politicide, 336–37
 Pol Pot, 82, 242–43, 334, 386; and Sihanouk, King Norodom, 394–95; Cambodian genocide and, 57–58; Cham people, genocide of, 64; and Lon Nol, 261–62; and Son Sen, 386, 402–3; *Year Zero*, 479; *Year Zero*, concept of, 479
 Polynesia; Moriari People, genocide of, 290–91
 Pontic Greeks, genocide of, 337
 Population collapse, 337
 Populations at risk, 337
Porrajmos, 337–38
 Potocari, 338. *See also* Srebrinica
 Potsdam Agreement, 108
 Potsdam Conference, 338–39
 Powell, Colin, 339
 Powell Doctrine, 339
 Preconditions of genocide, 340
 Prejudice, 340–41
 Presidential Decision Directive 25 (PDD-25), 341
 Presidential Guard, Rwandan, 341–42
Prevent International News Monitor, 342
The Prevention and Intervention of Genocide (Totten), 160
 Prevention of genocide, 342; Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, 235; Ennals, Martin, 131; Forum on Early Warning and Early Response (FEWER), 149; International Alert, 131,

- 216; Never Again International, 304; Peace maintenance, 329; *Prevent International News Monitor*, 342; preventive deployment, 342–43; Operation Provide Comfort, 321; UN Whitaker Report on Genocide, 446–47, 469–70; and Vietnam analogy, 457–58
- Preventive disarmament, 343
- Prisoner-functionaries. *See Funktionshäftling*
- Prisoners of war, 38, 83; German POWs, held in Buchenwald, 53; Russian, held in Buchenwald, 53; Russian, held in Poland, 99–100
- Private military companies (PMCs), 343
- Professionals; and Khmer Rouge, 58
- Project Paperclip, 343–44
- Propaganda, 344; *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, 346–47; Purification, Metaphors of, 347–48
- Propaganda and genocide, 344
- Propaganda, and Serb State-Run Television, 345
- Prosecute Now!*, 345
- Prosper, Pierre-Richard, 345–46
- Protecting the Sarajevo Airport (Security Council Resolution 758), 442
- Protestant Church: discrimination against Jews, 316; Evangelical, 46; Huguenots, 194, 255; Lepsius, Johannes, 258–59
- Protestant Reformation; and *The Burning Times*, 54
- Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, 346–47
- Proxmire, William, 347
- Psychological tactics. *See also* Identity, cards, Rwandan; desensitization, 110
- Psychology of genocide. *See also* Prejudice; doubling, 119; species consciousness, 404–5
- Public Support Syndrome, 347
- Publishers, Transaction, 428
- Purification, Metaphors of, 347–48
- Queensland, 45
- Quisling, Vidkun, 349
- Quo Vadis* (Sienkiewicz), 349
- Racak massacre, 350–51
- Racial antisemitism, 351. *See also* Social Darwinism
- Racial epithets: and Armenian genocide, 132; and genocide in Darfur, 97–98, 104; Hutu, use of, 132; Khmer Rouge, use of, 132; Nazis, use of, 132; Sudanese army and *Janjaweed*, use of, 132
- Racial hygiene, 351–52; Racial Hygiene and Population Biology Research Unit, 369–70; Ritter, Dr. Robert, 369–70; Roma and Sinti during the Third Reich, 371. *See also* Gypsies
- “Racial” prisoners, 83
- Racial purity: *Mischlinge*, Nazis and, 285–86; *Rassenschande*, 358; *Rasseverrat*, 358
- Racial state, 352
- Racism, 352–53
- Radio B-92, 353
- Radio Jamming. *See* Electronic jamming
- Radio Jamming, Rwandan Genocide, 353–54
- Radio-Télévision Libre des Mille Collines* (RTL), 40, 297, 354–55; Belgian broadcaster Georges Ruggiu, 374–75; fate of leaders, 355; and Rutaganda, Georges Anderson Nderubumwe, 378
- Rambouillet Accords, 355
- Rambouillet Conference, 355
- Rape: Armenian genocide (1915–1923) and, 104; camps, former Yugoslavia, 356; China, in, 69; in Darfur, 97; to dilute culture of victims, 356–57; Foca, rape camp, 146; genocidal, 159–60; Islam and 356; Japanese, by, 69; warfare, former Yugoslavia, 356–57; and women, 116
- Rape camps, former Yugoslavia, 356
- Rape warfare, former Yugoslavia, 356–57
- Rapid action force, 357
- Rassenkampf*, 358
- Rassenschande*, 358
- Rasseverrat*, 358
- Rassinier, Paul, 358–59
- Ratti, Achille. *See* Pius XI
- Ravensbrück, 84
- Rawls, John, 117
- Raznatovic, Zeljko. *See* Arkan; Arkan’s Tigers, 68
- Reagan, Ronald, 41
- Realism, 359. *See* *Realpolitik*
- Realpolitik*, 359–60; doctrine of 234; U.S. policy toward Kurdish genocide, 252
- Red Cross. *See* International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC)
- Reeves, Eric, 360
- Reformation, 44
- Refoulement*, 360; Swiss policy during Holocaust, 360–61
- Refugees, 38, 361; internal, 176; international rescue committee, 130; Jewish and Evian Conference, 139; Kosovar Albanians, in Macedonia, 265–66; and *Non-refoulement*, 308; rescue organization, 130; Jewish and SS *St. Louis*, 407; United States Committee for Refugees and Immigrants, 448
- Religion and genocide, 361–62
- Religious motivation for genocide, 203
- Religious prisoners; in Dachau, 95
- Repatriation, 362
- Report of the International Commission of Inquiry on Darfur to the United Nations Secretary-General*, 362–63
- Representative accountability, 405–6
- Republic of Serbia and Montenegro, 144
- Republika Srpska, 99, 333, 363; army leader of, Mladic, Ratko, 286–87; Karadzic, Radovan, 363
- Rescuers during the Holocaust, 363–64
- Research on genocide: Integrated Network for Societal Conflict Research (INSOCR) Program, 213; International Association of Genocide Scholars (IAGS), 216–17; *Journal of Genocide Research* (JGR), 138, 232

- Reserve Police Battalion 101, **364**
 Resettlement, **364**. *See also* Forcible relocation; Safe havens
 Resettlement country, **365**
 Resistance movements during the Holocaust, **365**;
 Scholl, Hans and Sophie, **389–90**; White
 Rose (*Weisse Rose*), 389–90
 Retributive genocide, **365–66**
 Revolution and genocide, **366**
Revolution and Genocide: On the Origins of the Armenian Genocide and the Holocaust (Melson), 366
 “Rhineland Bastards,” **367**. *See also* Mischlinge
 Rhodesia, role in Mozambique genocide, 293
 Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact, **367**. *See also* Molotov,
 Vyacheslav Mikhailovich; Operation
 Barbarossa: ended Operation Barbarossa
 Riegner, Gerhard, **367–68**
 Righteous Among the Nations, **368**. *See also* Righteous Gentile
 Righteous Gentile, **368**; ended church in Le Chambon-sur-Lignon, 255; Schindler, Oskar, **388–89**; Wallenberg, Raoul, 364, **464–65**
 Ringelblum, Emanuel, 369
 Ringelblum’s Archive, **369**
 Risk Assessments, **369**
 Risk factors, **369**
 Ritter, Dr. Robert, **369–70**
 Road blocks, Rwandan Genocide, **370**
 Role of Physicians during the Holocaust, **370–71**
 Roma. *See also* Gypsies; and Croat-Nazi collaborators, 480; in Dachau, 95; “other victims” of the Third Reich, 325; in Polish death camps, 99–100, 371
 Roma and Sinti during the Third Reich, **371**. *See also* Gypsies
 Roman Catholic Church ended Albigenian Crusade, **9**; and anti-Semitism, 89–90; Burning Times, The, and, **54**; and conquistadores, 86–87; Coughlin, Father Charles E. Roman, **89–90**; in Czechoslovakia, 422, discrimination against Jews, 316; and French Cathars, 281–82; Galen, Bishop Clemens August Graf von, **155–56**; Holocaust, and the, **62–63**, 280; Holocaust, knowledge of, 62–63; Inquisition, 43, **212**; objection to euthanasia of handicapped, 279; policy of *Nostre Aetate*, **309–10**; and massacre of Huguenots, 194; *Mit Brennender Sorge* (German, *With Burning Anxiety*), **286**; priests and nuns convicted for Rwandan killings, 380; religious persecution by, 9, 54; Rwanda genocide, churches’ role, **380**; and T-4 (*Tiergartenstrasse 4*), **418–19**; Tiso, Monsignor Jozef, **422**; in United States, 89–90; witch hunt response to Lutheranism, 267
 Romantic utopianism, 30. *See* Utopia
 Rome; committed genocide in, 61–62
 Rome Conference; nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), 74
 Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court, **371–72**
 Roosevelt, Eleanor, **372–73**
 Roosevelt, Franklin Delano, **372–73**
 Rosenberg, Alfred, **373–74**
 Rose, Sir Michael, **373**
 Royal Irish Constabulary (RIC), 42; Auxiliary Division (“Auxies”), 43
 RTS TV or Serbian Television, **374**
Rubanda Nyamwinshi, **374**
 Ruggiu, Georges, **374–75**
 Rugova, Ibrahim, **375–76**
 Rules of engagement (RoE), **376**
 Rummel, Rudolph J., 106–7, 107, **376**
 Rusesabagina, Paul, **376–77**
 Russell Tribunals, **377–78**
 Russia, 440; dirty war, **114**
 Russians, 395
 Rutaganda, Georges Anderson Nderbumwe, **378**
 Rwanda, 32, 33, 35, 441, 442; the Arusha Accords, **24**, 236; Bagosora, Colonel Theoneste, 342; beginning of Tutsi genocide, 179–80; Bushnell, Prudence, and genocide in, **55**; butchery by Rwandan Armed Forces, 379; Carlsson Report, **60–61**; “Clearing the Bush,” **73**; Clinton’s apology, Rwandan genocide, **73–74**; Coalition for International Justice (CIJ), **74**; *Coalition pour la Défense de la République* (CDR) (French, Coalition for the Defense of the Republic), **74–75**; Dallaire, Major General Romeo, **96**; death squads in, 100; electronic jamming in, **129**; ended “Akazu” oligarchy and, 7; “ethnic cleaning” in, 96; *Gacaca*, **152–53**; genocide against the Tutsi, 7; and “genocide fax,” **165–66**; genocide in, 6; Habyarimana, Juvenal, 24; Hutu in, **199–200**; *Impuzamegambi* (Kinyarwanda, “Those with a single purpose”), **206–7**; *Inkotanyi*, **212**; *Interahamwe*, 207, **214–15**; International Criminal Court for Rwanda (ICTR), 6, 75; Jean-Paul Akayeshu, genocide trial of, 6; Kagame, Paul, **236–37**; *Kangura*, **238–39**; Media trial, 277; National Revolutionary Movement for Development, 7; and Ngeze, Hassan, **306–7**; nonintervention, international community, **308–9**; Presidential Guard, **341–42**; Prime Minister Agathe Uwilingiyimana, **452–53**; *Radio-Télévision Libre des Mille Collines* (RTL), 238, **354–55**, 379; reason for U.S. inaction, 288; *Shake Hands with the Devil: The Failure of Humanity in Rwanda*, 65; triggering the genocide in, 24
 Rwanda genocide, 324, **379**; churches’ role, **380**; determination of, 96; ended Arusha Accords and, **24**, 379; end of, 382–83; French response to, **380–81**; International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR), **222**; “Machete Genocide” in, **266**; Operation Turquoise, **322–23**; racial epithets and, 104; radio jamming, not done, **353–54**; and road blocks, **370**; Romeo Dallaire, 392; triggering of, 24, **429**; Tutsi, **432**; Twa, **433**; U.S.

- (non)response to, **381–82**; *See also* Somalia Factor
- Rwandan Armed Forces, **32, 378–80**
- Rwandan genocide, U.S. response to, **381–82**
- Rwandan Government Forces (RGF), **382**
- Rwandan Patriotic Army (RPA), **382**
- Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF), **33, 42, 236, 322, 378–80, 382–83**
- Sachsenhausen, **83**
- Safe Area, **384**; French-established in Rwanda, **381**; Operation Turquoise, **381**; UN-designated, **442**
- Safe havens, Northern Iraq, **384–85**; for Kurds after Gulf War. *See* Operation Provide Comfort
- Saloth Sar. *See* Pol Pot
- Sanctions, **77, 385**; inducements as part of, **212**; smart sanctions, **397**; trade, **125, 426**; Trading with the Enemy Act, **426–27**; Travel sanctions, **428**
- Sanctions Assistance Missions (SAMs), **385**
- Sand Creek Massacre, **386**
- Santa Cruz Massacre, **386**. *See* Dili Masacre
- Santebal, **386**
- “Sarah,” **228, 387**
- Sarajevo; Sniper Alley, **398**
- Sartre, Jean-Paul, **387**
- Satellite images of genocide, **387–88**
- Save Darfur Coalition, **388**
- Schanberg, Sydney H., **388**
- Scheffer, David, **388**
- Schindler, Oskar, **363–64, 388–89**
- Schindler’s List*, **389**
- Scholl, Hans and Sophie, **389–90**; and White Rose, **470**
- Schreibtschater*, **390**
- Schulte, Eduard, **367**
- Scorched earth policies: and Bolsheviks, **89**; and Gosh, Salah Abdalla, **172**
- Scorpions, **390–91**
- SD, **391**
- Secondary Graves, **391**
- Serbia: Arkan’s Tigers (militia), atrocities by, **18**; Chetniks, **67–68**; Milosevic, Slobodan, **283–85**; NATO intervention, **302**; Operation Deliberate Force, **218–19**; rape camps, **272**
- “Serbian Iron Lady”; *See* Plavsic, Bijana
- Serbian Memorandum*, **391–92**
- Serbian Television, **392**
- Serbs, **480**; and Croat-Nazi collaborators, **480**
- Seventh Day Adventist’s role in Rwandan genocide, **380**
- Sèvres, Treaty of, **392**
- Shake Hands with the Devil: The Journey of Romeo Dallaire*, **392–93**
- Shalom Institute, Shalom College, University of New South Wales, **29**
- Shanawdithit, **38, 393**
- Shaw, Stanford, **393**
- “Sheep to the slaughter,” **394**
- Shiite Muslims. *See also* Marsh Arabs; and Hussein, Saddam, **270**
- Shirach, Baldur von, **53**
- Shoah* (film), **395**
- Shootings; in Polish death camps, **99–100, 264**
- Sicherheitsdienst, **391**
- Sihanouk, Norodom, **47, 395–96, 446**
- Simon Wiesenthal Center, **396**
- Sinn Féin (Ourselves Alone), **42**
- Sinti. *See also* Gypsies; in Dachau, **95**; in Polish death camps, **99–100**
- Site 2 Around the Borders*, **396**
- Slave labor, **396–97**; in Cambodia, **334**; and Leopold II, King of the Belgians, **258**; in Lublin-Majdanek, **84, 263–64**; in Mauthausen-Gusen, **83, 273**; Monowitz, **289**; during the Third Reich, **396–97**; “other victims” of the Third Reich, **325**
- Smart Sanctions, **397**
- Smith, Bradley, **397–98**
- Sniper Alley, **398**
- Sobibór, **398**
- Sobibór death camp, **133–34**; Stangl, Kommandant Franz, **409–10**
- Social Darwinism, **398–99**; eugenics and Nazi ideology, **303**; *Lebensraum* (German, “Living Room,” or “Living Space”), **256**
- Social Engineering, **399–400**
- Social impacts of genocide: Christian Church response against, **36**; habituation of citizens, **34**
- Socialism, **400**
- Soldier Blue*, **401**
- Solomon Islands, **44**
- Solzhenitsyn, Aleksandr, **177**
- Somalia; Operation Restore Hope, **288**; and Presidential Decision Directive 25 (PDD-25), **341**
- Somalia Factor, **401**
- Sometimes in April*, **401–2**
- Sonderkommando*, **402–3**; Sobibor, **398**
- Son Sen, **386, 402**
- South Africa: concentration camps, South African War, **84–85**; *Mfecane*, (Zulu, “The Crushing”), **280**
- Sovereignty, **403–4**
- Soviet Union, **43**. *See also* Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
- Spanish Civil War, **440**
- Species consciousness, **404**
- Spencer, Herbert: Social Darwinism, **398–99**
- Srebrenica, **324**; secondary graves, **391**; Dutch peacekeepers, **404–5**. *See also* *Dutchbat* (Dutch paratroop battalion)
- Srebrenica massacre, **405**; Drina Corps, **120**; *Dutchbat* (Dutch paratroop battalion) and, **122–23**; Scorpions, Serb volunteer militia, **390–91**
- Srebrenika Resignation, Dutch government, **405–6**
- SS (*Schutzstaffel*), **406**; Aktion Reinhard, **7–8**; Aktion 1005, **7**; extermination camps and, **8**; Heydrich, Reinhard, assassination of, **7**; *See also* *Einsatzgruppen*; *SS-Totenkopfverbände*, **407–8**

- SS St. Louis, 407
 SS-Totenkopfverbände, 407–8
 Stabilization Force (SFOR), 408
 Stalin, Josef [Joseph], 408; chief lieutenant of, 237; and Dekulakization, 105; Great Purge and, 173; Great Terror, the, and, 174; the gulags and, 176–77
 Stalin-Roosevelt-Churchill Declaration, 409
 STAND (A Student Anti-Genocide Coalition), 409
 Stangl, Franz, 409–10; *Into that Darkness: An Examination of Conscience* (Sereny), 409; and Wiesenthal, Simon, 471–72
 Stanton, Gregory, 128
 Starvation: Armenian genocide (1915–1923) and, 104; and Bolsheviks, 89; in China, 69; in East Timor, 124–25; in Ethiopia, 134; of Igbo people, 205–6; *Kulak*, 251; in Polish death camps, 99–100; and population collapse, 337
 State Commission for the Free Transfer of the Civilian Population, 410
 State Failure Task Force, 410
 Stereotyping, 410–11
 Sterilization, compulsory. *See* Racial hygiene
 St. James Palace Declaration, 385
 Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI), 411
 “Stolen Generations” (Aboriginal children, Australia), 51, 411–12
 “Stop Hitler Now” demonstration, 473
 Streicher, Julius, 412; *Der Stürmer* (newspaper), 109
S21; *The Khmer Rouge Killing Machine*, 412–13
 Sudan: Arabism in, 16; black Africans of Darfur attacked, 81; Coalition for International Justice (CIJ), 74; Darfur, genocide in, 97–98; Darfur, scorched-earth campaign against, 8–9; and Eric Reeves, atrocities exposed, 360; genocide in southern, 402; Gosh, Salah Abdallah, and, 172; *Janjaweed* attacks on internal refugee camps, 98; *Janjaweed* militia, 9, 172; *Lost Boys of Sudan*, 262–63; non-Arab populations, oppression of, 8; Nuba people, 310; refugee camps and, 9; southern rebels, campaign against, 8
 Sudanese Liberation Army (SLA), 97
 Sudan Peace Support Project, 445
 Sudan People’s Liberation Army (SPLA), 402
 Sugihara, Sempo, 364
 Suharto, Mohamed: and Golkar political party, 170–71; and suspected communists, 211
 Supplement to the Agenda for Peace, 413
 Survival in concentration camps; theories about, 109–10
 Survival International (SI), 413
 Survivor testimony, 413
 Syria; Hama, 180–81
 Szpilman, Wladyslaw, 331
 Ta (“Grandfather”) Mok, 414–15
 Tadic, Dusan, 415
 Talaat, Mehemet (Pasha), 415–16
 Tamerlane. *See* Timur, Amir
 Tanzania: attacked by Uganda, 12
 Tasmanian Aborigines, 416
 Tattoo, 416–17
 Technology and Genocide, 417–18
 Tehlirian, Soghomon, 418
 Temporary Protection, 419
 T-4 (*Tiergartenstrasse 4*), 347, 418–19; superintendent Franz Stangl, 409–10
 Theory (general) of genocide, 419
 Theresienstadt (Czech, *Terezin*), 420
 Third Reich, 420
 Third World, 421
 Thousands, 421
 Threat, real or potential. *See* Retributive genocide
 Tibet, 69, 421–22
Tiergartenstrasse 4. *See* T-4
 Timur, Amir, 422
 Tiso, Monsignor Jozef, 422
 Tito, Josip Broz, 47, 423–24
 Topf, J. A. and Sons, 424
Torgsin, 424
 Torture: China, in, 69; dirty war, 114; in East Timor, 124–25; Japanese, by, 69; Nuon Chea and, 310–11; in Polish death camps, 99–100; Tuol Sleng prison, 120
 Totalitarianism, 425; and democide, 106
 Total genocide, 424
Totally Unofficial Man (Lemkin), 426. *See also* Lemkin, Raphael
 Total war, 425
 Totten, Dr. Samuel, 28, 40; *Genocide: A Critical Bibliographical Series*, 160; *Genocide at the Millennium*, 160; *The Prevention and Intervention of Genocide*, 160; *Women and Genocide*, 160
 Tourism; Dark, 99
 Toynbee, Arnold, 52
 Trade sanctions, 125, 426
 Trading with the Enemy Act, 426–27
 Trail of Tears, 140; 427–28
 Transaction Publishers, 428
 Travel sanctions, 428
Treatment of the Armenians in the Ottoman Empire, 1915–1916, The, 428–29
 Treaty, 429
 Treaty of Versailles. *See* Versailles Treaty
 Treaty of Westphalia, 308, 469; and Realism, 359; and sovereignty, 403–4
 Treblinka, 429
 Trigger, 429
Triumph of the Spirit, 429
 Trocme, André, 429–30
Truce, The, 430
 Truggernanna, 430
 Truth Commission; Commission for Historical Clarification, 79; Comisión para el Esclarecimiento Histórico (CEH), 79–80; in Guatemala, 175–76
 Tudjman, Franjo, 48, 99, 430–31

- Tuol Sleng prison, 82, 386, **431–32**; *S21*; *The Khmer Rouge Killing Machine* (documentary), **412–13**
- Turkey: Adana massacres and, 23; Armenian genocide, denial of, 21; Armenian massacres and, **23**; Atatürk, Mustafa Kemal and, **26–27**; Committee of Union and Progress (CUP), **80**; denial of Armenian genocide, 27; Institute of Turkish Studies (ITS), **213**; “no-genocide” state policy of, 21; occupation of Armenia, 27; Pontic Greeks, genocide of, **337**; Talaat, Mehemet (Pasha), **415–16**; war against Allied occupation, 26–27; Young Turks and, 27, 80
- Tutsi, **432**; army of, in Rwanda, 382; in Burundi, 54; “Clearing the Bush,” **73**; Dallaire, Major General Romeo, and, **96**; ethnic genocide of, 281; mass media and genocide of, 35, 36; and mass rape of, **271–72**; murder of, 75; in Rwanda, 199–200
- Twentieth century: as “Century of Genocide,” 166
- Tuzla*, **433**
- Twa, **433**
- Typologies of genocide, **433–34**
- Uganda: Amin, Idi, **12**; Entebbe airport, Israeli commando raid upon, 12; Obote, Milton, 12, **314**; Rwandan Patriotic Army (RPA) based in, 382; Tanzania, attack upon, 12
- Ukraine. See also *Einsatzgruppen*; Chmielnicki, Bogdan, **70**; Cossacks in, 70; Jewish Arendas in, 70; Kaganovich, Lazar Moiseevich, **237**; Kulaks, 203; man-made famine, 450–51; social engineering, **399**
- Ukrainian pogrom of Jews, **435**
- Ukrainians, 395
- Ulyanov, Vladimir Ilyich. See Lenin, Vladimir Ilyich
- UN Assistance for Rwanda (UNAMIR), 442
- UN Charter, 440; Article 13, 440
- UN Commission to Investigate Violations of International Humanitarian Law in the former Yugoslavia (UNCIVILY), 37
- UN General Assembly Committee for the Establishment of an International Criminal Court (UNGACEICC), 37
- Unilateral, **435**
- Uniqueness of the Holocaust argument/debate, **435–36**
- UN “safe areas,” 483; Bosnian Serb attack on, 483; Zepa, **483**
- UN Security Council, 27
- UN Whitaker Report on Genocide, **446–47**
- Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR). See also Russia; individual leaders; Afghanistan occupation and, 3, 4; cultural genocide by, 91–92; “dekulakization” under Stalin, **105**, 408; deportations in, **108–9**; German Operation Barbarossa, **317–18**; Great Purges, **173**; Great Terror, the, **173–74**; gulags in, **176–77**; invasion of, 317–18; Lenin, Vladimir Ilyich, **257–58**; and Solzhenitsyn, Aleksandr, 177; and slavery, 397; social engineering, **399**; Stalin, Josef [Joseph], **408**; and Thousands, **421**; *Torgsin* (stores for foreigners), **424**; treatment of citizens of, 177
- United Kingdom: Chamberlain, Neville, **64–65**; P-5, **327**
- United Nations, 79, 86; “Agenda for Peace,” **5**, 357–58; Annan, Kofi, **14**; arms embargos imposed by, 24; Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR), 96, 322–23, 353–54, **436–37**; Bureau for Crisis Prevention and Recovery, **437**; Chapter VI of the UN Charter, **65–66**; chapter six and a half, **65**; Chapter VII of the UN Charter, **66**; Commission of Inquiry (COI), 98; Commission on Human Rights, 176; Convention against Discrimination in Education, 115; Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, 115; Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (UNCG), 235, **335–36**, 347, 440; Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Intolerance and of Discrimination Based on Religion or Belief, 116; in East Timor, **124–25**; Economic and Social Council, **125**; failure to halt Rwandan genocide, 150; and financial sanctions, **144–45**; General Assembly, **439–40**; Geneva Conventions and, **157–58**; and genocide in Darfur, 98; International Law Commission (ILC), 119–20; missed chance of genocide prevention, 165; nation-building, **300**; Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR), **314–15**; peacekeeping, 65, **329**; preventive disarmament, **343**; rapid action force proposed, 357–58; Report of the Independent Inquiry into the Actions of the United Nations during the 1994 Genocide in Rwanda, **60–61**; rights of minorities, 285; Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court, **371–72**; and Rwandan genocide, 322; Supplement to the Agenda for Peace, **413**; Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET), 216; Truth Commission, 79; Waldheim, Kurt, **464**; War Crimes Commission, 108
- United Nations Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (1948), 51; definition of genocide used in, **102**; deportations considered genocide, 109; first invocation of Chapter VIII, 27; forcible transference of children to transform a group’s identity, 29; Lemkin, Dr. Raphael and, **256–57**; Part II of UN Whitaker Report on Genocide, **446–47**; See also Intergovernmental organizations (IGOs)
- United Nations Genocide Convention; Stolen Generations (Aboriginal children, Australia), **411–12**
- United Nations Guards Contingent in Iraq (UNGCI), 385

- United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), 40, **440**; based in Geneva, 441; provide protection and assistance to refugees, 440; world's primary humanitarian aid agencies, 441
- United Nations Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR), 42
- United Nations Peace Forces (UNPF), **441**
- United Nations Peacekeeping Operations, **441**; blue helmet, 441; chain of command, 441; permitted levels of lethal engagement, 441
- United Nations Protected Sites in Rwanda, **442**
- United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR), **442**; criticisms and failures of, 442; examples showing implementation of, 442; MacKenzie, Lewis, **266**; force commander Sir Michael Rose, **373**; headquartered in Zagreb, Croatia, 442; UN Security Council Resolution 743, 442
- United Nations Rapid Reaction Force, proposal for, **442**
- United Nations Security Council, 440, **443–444**; and genocide in Darfur, 98; the highest, most powerful UN body, 443; membership, 443; only body that can authorize intervention of peace forces, 440; options available to, 443; politics of, 443; UN Charter Chapters giving authority to, 443; working of, 443
- United Nations Security Council Resolution 827, **444**; established the ICTY, 444
- United Nations Security Council Resolution 995, **444**; established the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR), 444
- United Nations Security Council Resolution 1503 (August 2004), 444
- United Nations Security Council Resolution 1534 (March 2004), 444
- United Nations Special Advisor on the Prevention of Genocide, **445**; role of the adviser, 445
- United Nations Transitional Authority on Cambodia (UNTAC), **445**
- United Nations Voluntary Military Force, **446**
- United States: American Jews and knowledge of Jews' fate at hands of Nazis. *See* Wise, Stephen Samuel, **472–73**; CIA and overthrow of Guatemalan government, 175; cultural genocide by, 91–92; and Gosh, Salah Abdallah, 172; government, 42; and Kurds, 154–55; nonresponse to Rwandan genocide, 381–82; Operation Support Hope, 321–22; refusal to allow SS *St. Louis* to dock, **407**; and Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court, **371–72**; and Russell Tribunals, **377–78**; Trading with the Enemy Act, **426–27**; tried for war crimes in Vietnam, 377–78
- United States Army School of the Americas (SOA), **447**
- United States Cambodian Genocide Justice Act, **447**
- United States Commission on the Ukraine Famine, **448**
- United States Committee for Refugees and Immigrants, **448**
- United States Holocaust Memorial Museum (USHMM), **448**; Committee on Conscience (COC), **80–81**
- United States Institute of Peace (USIP), 329, **448–49**
- United States Presidential Leadership Syndrome, **449**
- Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 79, 195, 315, **449**
- Universal jurisdiction, **449–50**
- UNTAC. *See* United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia
- Untermenschen*, **450**
- Uprising*, **450**
- U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), 72; commissioned the State Failure Task Force, **410**; accusations of abetting genocide, 72; and genocide, 72
- U.S. Darfur Atrocities Documentation Project: opposite findings in *Report of the International Commission of Inquiry on Darfur to the United Nations Secretary-General*, **362–63**
- USHMM. *See* United States Holocaust Memorial Museum (USHMM)
- U.S. military ethics; Lieber Code, 260
- U.S. policy in Bosnia; McCloskey, Frank, **173**
- U.S. Secretary of State Colin Powell, 27
- U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee, 27
- USSR, Genocide in, **450**. *See also* Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR)
- U.S. State Department: Atrocities Documentation Project (ADP), 346; Coalition for International Justice (CIJ), **74**; Prosper, Pierre-Richard, **345–46**
- Ustache*, **451**
- Utilitarian genocide, **452**
- Utopian genocide, **452**
- Uwilingiyimana, Agathe, **452–53**
- Van Anraat, Frans, **454**
- Vance-Owen Peace Plan, **454–55**
- Vashem, Yad; State of Israel's Holocaust Memorial Authority, 47
- Vendean massacres, **455**
- Vernichtung* ("Extermination"), **455–56**
- Vernichtungslager*, **456**. *See also* Concentration camps; Death camps
- Versailles Peace Conference on War Crimes, **456**
- Versailles Treaty, **456**
- Vichy France, **456–57**
- Victims of genocide, 36; Aborigines of mainland Australia, 28, 51; Armenian people, 32, 52; asocials, 28; Baha'is in Iran, 33; black Africans in Darfur, Sudan, 27; Jews, 28; moderate Hutu targeted for assassination, 33; one-sided killing, **316**; Poles, 28; political dissidents, 28; Roma, 28; Soviet non-Jewish

- citizens, Ukrainians, and Roma, 32; Soviet POW, 28; between 33,000 and 50,000 Jews, 32; Tutsi, 32, 33
- Victor's Justice, 457
- Vietnam analogy, 457–58
- Vietnam Intervention in Cambodia, 458–59; United States' response to, 459
- Vietnam syndrome. *See* Vietnam analogy
- Visegrad, 459–60
- Voices from the Lake*, 460
- Volk*, 460
- Von Trotha, Adrian Dietrich Lothar, 460–61
- Vorn Vet, 461
- Vrba, Rudolf, 461–62
- Vukovar, 462–63
- Waldheim, Kurt, 464
- Wallenberg, Raoul, 364, 464–65
- Wannsee Conference, 232, 465–66; Eichmann, SS Colonel Adolf, 127; Heydrich, Reinhard, 184–85
- War and genocide, 466; Total war, 425
- War crimes, 466–67; Crimes against Humanity, 90; and Cromwell, Oliver, 91; and Hague Conventions, 180; Lukic, Milan convicted of, 264; mass graves to cover up, 271; United States tried for, 377–78; U.S. ambassador at large for, 388
- Warning of impending genocide, 367; telegram of Riegner, Gerhard, 367–68
- Warsaw Ghetto uprising, 38, 467; *Uprising*, 450
- Water, deprivation of; Armenian genocide (1915–1923) and, 104
- Weapons of mass destruction, 198–99
- Wegner, Armin T., 467–68
- Wehrmacht*, 468–69; complicity with *Einsatzgruppen*, 39, 184, 318, 391
- Wehrmacht Intelligence Service, 46
- Weisse Rose*, *Die*. *See* White Rose
- Weizmann, Chaim, 50
- Western bloc: Cold War, 75–77; Third World allegiance vied for, 76
- Western, Jon, 469
- West Pakistan. *See* Pakistan
- Westphalia, Treaty of, 469
- White arm bands, 469
- White Rose, 469–70; Scholl, Hans and Sophie, 389–90
- Whitaker, Ben, 446–47, 469–70; writer of UN Whitaker Report on Genocide, 446–47
- Whitaker Report on Genocide. *See* UN Whitaker Report on Genocide
- “Who Remembers the Armenians?,” 470
- Wiesel, Elie, 471; and the Bosnian genocide, 471
- Wiesenthal, Simon, 471–72
- Wilde-KZ*, 472
- Wirth, SS Colonel General Christian, 37
- Wise, Stephen Samuel, 472–73
- Witchcraft: accusations of, 54
- Women and Genocide* (Totten), 160
- “Work,” 473
- World Genocide Tribunal, 473
- World War I, 42; Turkish Christians and, 80
- World War II, 47; Chamberlain, Neville, 64–65; Holocaust in, 62–63; Roman Catholic Church in, 62–63; Yalta Conference, 478
- World Zionist Organization, 50
- Wounded Knee, 473–74
- Xenophobia, 475
- Xenophobic genocide, 475–76
- Yad Vashem, 477
- Yale University Genocide Studies Program, 477–78
- Yalta Conference, 478
- Yanomami people, 478–79
- Year Zero*, 479
- Year Zero, concept of, 479
- Yellow star or badge, 479–80; and Jews, 479–80; and Pope Innocent III, 479; required by Nazis, 480
- Young Turk revolution, 1, 3, 11; the Armenian massacres and, 23
- Young Turks, 80; assassination of Mehemet Talaat Pasha. *See* Operation Nemesis; Djemal, Ahmed (Pasha), 117–18; Enver, Ismail (Bey), 131–32; Ke Pauk, 242; Lowry, Heath W., and denial of Armenian genocide by, 263; exposed by Henry Morgenthau, Sr., 289–90; triumvirate, 117, 132
- Yugoslavia, 47, 440; break-up of, and genocide in former, 480; Coalition for International Justice, 74; resistance to Nazis, 480; after Tito's death, 423–24, 480
- Yugoslav People's Army, 480. *See also* Serbia
- Yuki people, genocide of, 481; by Eel River Rangers, 481
- Zaghawa, 42
- Zedong, Mao, 69
- Zepa, 483; attacked by Bosnian Serbs, 483; UN “safe area,” 483
- Zivanovic, Milenko, 483–84; and the Drina Corps, Bosnian Army of Republika Srpska, 483–84; replaced prior to Srebrenica massacre, 484
- Zlata's Diary: A Child's Life in Sarajevo* (Filipovik), 484; Serb's siege, life during, 484
- Zulu genocide against the Bantu, 280
- Zündel, Ernst, 484–85; incarcerated for views, 485
- Zur Vernichtung Durch Arbeit* (German, “Destruction Through Work”), 485; forced labor to the death, 485
- Zurug*, 485
- Zygielbojm, Szmul Artur, 53–54, 485–86

About the Authors

SAMUEL TOTTEN is a genocide scholar based at the University of Arkansas, Fayetteville. He is also a member of the Council of the Institute on the Holocaust and Genocide (Jerusalem, Israel).

Since 2003, Totten has served as the managing editor of *Genocide: A Critical Bibliographic Review*—a series of volumes comprising critical essays and annotated bibliographies that address a broad array of issues germane to the field of genocide studies. The first volume Totten edited for the series was *Genocide at the Millennium* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 2005), the second volume, currently in press, is titled *The Prevention and Intervention of Genocide*, and the third volume, in progress, is titled *Genocide and the Plight and Fate of Females*.

In 2005 Totten was named one of the inaugural chief coeditors of *Genocide Studies and Prevention: An International Journal*, which is the official journal of the International Association of Genocide Scholars (IAGS).

Among the essays/articles Totten has published on genocide are “The Intervention and Prevention of Genocide: Sisyphean or Doable?” in the *Journal of Genocide Research*, June 2004, 6(2); “The U.S. Government Darfur Genocide Investigation” (with Eric Markusen) in the *Journal of Genocide Research*, June 2005, 7(2); “Investigating Allegations of Genocide in Darfur: The U.S. Atrocities Documentation Team and the UN Commission of Inquiry” (with Eric Markusen) in Joyce Apsel (Ed.), *Darfur: Genocide before Our Eyes* (New York: Institute for the Study of Genocide, 2005); and “The U.S. Investigation into the Darfur Crisis and the U.S. Government’s Determination of Genocide” in *Genocide Studies and Prevention: An International Journal*, Summer 2006, 1(1):57–78.

Among the books Totten has edited/coedited on genocide are *First-Person Accounts of Genocidal Acts Committed in the Twentieth Century* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1991); *Genocide in the Twentieth Century: Critical Essays and Eyewitness Accounts* (coedited with William S. Parsons and Israel W. Charny) (New York: Garland Publishers, 1995); *Century of Genocide* (coedited with William S. Parsons and Israel W. Charny) (New York: Routledge, 2004); *Teaching about Genocide: Issues, Approaches, Resources* (Greenwich, CT: Information Age Publishers, 2005); *Genocide in Darfur: Investigating Atrocities in the Sudan* (with Eric Markusen) (New York: Routledge, 2006); and *The Prevention and Intervention of Genocide: An Annotated Bibliography* (New York: Routledge, 2007).

In July and August of 2004 Totten served as one of twenty-four investigators on the U.S. State Department's Darfur Atrocities Documentation Project, whose express purpose was to conduct interviews with refugees from Darfur in order to ascertain whether genocide had been perpetrated in Darfur. Based on the data collected by the team of investigators, U.S. Secretary of State Colin Powell declared on September 9, 2004, that genocide had been perpetrated in Darfur, Sudan, by Government of Sudan troops and the *Janjaweed*.

Most recently, Totten has conducted research in Rwanda on various aspects of the Rwandan genocide, including the perceptions of Rwandans regarding the *gacaca* process and the role of prisoners during the 1994 genocide. He was recently awarded a Fulbright Fellowship to conduct research on genocide in Rwanda and to develop and help implement a graduate degree program in genocide studies at the National University of Rwanda.

PAUL R. BARTROP is an Honorary Research Fellow in the Faculty of Arts at Deakin University, Melbourne, Victoria, Australia, and head of the Department of History at Bialik College, Melbourne, teaching history, international studies, and comparative genocide studies courses. He has previously been a scholar-in-residence at the Martin-Springer Institute for Teaching the Holocaust, Tolerance and Humanitarian Values at Northern Arizona University and a visiting professor at Virginia Commonwealth University. His published works include (with Samuel Totten and Steven Leonard Jacobs [eds.]), *Teaching about the Holocaust: Essays by University and College Educators* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2004); *Bolt from the Blue: Australia, Britain and the Chanak Crisis* (Sydney: Halstead Press, 2002); *Surviving the Camps: Unity in Adversity during the Holocaust* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 2000); (ed.) *False Havens: The British Empire and the Holocaust* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1995); *Australia and the Holocaust, 1933–45* (Melbourne: Australian Scholarly Publishing, 1994); and (ed.) *The Dineria Affair: A Documentary Resource Book* (Melbourne: Schwartz and Wilkinson, 1990). His current projects include *50 Key Thinkers in Holocaust and Genocide* (with Steven Leonard Jacobs), a book titled *Meanings of Genocide: Essays on a Misunderstood Concept*, and *A Genocide Reader* (edited with Samuel Totten). In addition, Dr. Bartrop has published numerous scholarly articles in journals and books. He is a member of the International Association of Genocide Scholars; the Australian representative on the International Committee of the Annual Scholars' Conference on the Holocaust; a member of the Editorial Advisory Board of the international journal *Genocide Studies and Prevention*; a member of the Editorial Advisory Board of the journal *Holocaust and Genocide Studies*; and a member of the Advisory Board of the Genocide Education Project, California. Dr. Bartrop is a past president of the Australian Association of Jewish Studies. He lives in Melbourne.