Preface

WHY STUDY GENOCIDE?

"Why would you want to study that?"

If you spend time seriously investigating genocide, or even if you only leave this book lying in plain view, you will probably have to deal with this question. Underlying it is a tone of distaste and skepticism, perhaps tinged with suspicion. There may be a hint that you are guided by a morbid fixation on the worst of human horrors. How will you respond? Why, indeed, study genocide?

First and foremost, if you are concerned about peace, human rights, and justice, there is a sense that with genocide you are confronting the “Big One,” what Joseph Conrad called the “heart of darkness.” That can be deeply intimidating and disturbing. It can even make you feel trivial and powerless. But genocide is the opposite of trivial. Whatever energy and commitment you invest in understanding genocide will be directed toward comprehending and confronting one of humanity’s greatest scourges.

Second, to study genocide is to study our historical inheritance. It is unfortunately the case that all phases of recorded human existence, and nearly all parts of the world, have known genocide at one time or another, often repeatedly. Furthermore, genocide may be as prevalent in the contemporary era as at any time in history. Inevitably, there is something depressing about the prevalence and repetition of genocide in world history. Will humanity ever change? But there is also interest and personal enlightenment to be gained by delving into the historical record, for which genocide serves as a point of entry. I well remember the period, a
decade—half ago, that I devoted to voracious reading of the genocide studies literature, and exploring the diverse themes this opened up to me. The accounts were grim—sometimes relentlessly so. Yet they were also spellbinding, and they gave me a better grounding not only in world history, but also in sociology, psychology, anthropology, and a handful of other disciplines.

This points to a third reason to study genocide: it brings you into contact with some of the most interesting and exciting debates in the social sciences and humanities. To what extent should genocide be understood as reflecting epic social transformations such as modernity, the rise of the state, and globalization? How has warfare been transformed in recent times, and how are the wars of the present age linked to genocide? How does gender shape genocidal experiences and genocidal strategies? How is history “produced,” and what role do memories or denial of genocide play in that production? These are only a few of the themes to be examined in this book. I hope they will lead readers, as they have led me, toward an engagement with debates that have a wider, though not necessarily deeper, significance.

In writing this book, I stand on the shoulders of giants: the scholars without whose trail-blazing efforts my own work would be inconceivable. You may find their approach and humanity inspiring, as I do. One of my principal concerns is to provide an overview of the core genocide studies literature; thus each chapter and box text is accompanied by recommendations for further study.

Modern academic writing, particularly in the social sciences and humanities, is often riddled with jargon and pomposity. It would be pleasant to report that genocide studies is free of such baggage. It isn’t, but it is less burdened by it than most other fields. It seems this has to do with the experience of looking into the abyss, and finding that the abyss looks back. One is forced to ponder one’s own human frailty and vulnerability; one is even pressed to confront one’s own capacity for hating others, for marginalizing them, for supporting their oppression and annihilation. These realizations aren’t pretty, but they are arguably necessary. And they can lead to humility—a rare quality in academia. I once described to a friend why the Danish philosopher Soren Kierkegaard (1813–1855) moved me so deeply: “It’s like he’s grabbing you by the arm and saying, ‘Look. We don’t have much time. There are important things we need to talk about.’” You sense the same in the genocide-studies literature: that the issues are too vital, and time too limited, to beat around the bush. George Orwell famously described political speech—he could have been referring to some academic writing—as “a mass of words [that] falls upon the facts like soft snow, blurring the outlines and covering up all the details.”1 By contrast, the majority of genocide scholars inhabit the literary equivalent of the tropics. I try to keep a residence there too.

Finally, some good news for the reader interested in understanding and confronting genocide: your studies and actions may make a difference. To study genocide is to study processes by which hundreds of millions of people met brutal ends. Yet there are many, many people throughout history who have bravely resisted the blind rush to hatred. They are the courageous and decent souls who gave refuge to hunted Jews or desperate Hutus. They are the religious believers of many faiths who struggled against the tide of evil, and spread instead a message of love, tolerance, and commonality. They are the nongovernmental organizations that warned
against incipient genocides and carefully documented those they were unable to prevent. They are the leaders and common soldiers—American, British, Soviet, Vietnamese, Indian, Tanzanian, Rwandan, and others—who vanquished genocidal regimes in modern times. And yes, they are the scholars and intellectuals who have honed our understanding of genocide, while at the same time working outside the ivory tower to alleviate it. You will meet some of these individuals in this book. I hope their stories and actions will inspire you to believe that a future free of genocide and other crimes against humanity is possible.

But...

Studying genocide, and trying to prevent it, is not to be entered into lightly: as the French political scientist Jacques Sémelin asks, “Who is ever really prepared for the shock of tales of cruelty in all their naked horror?” The psychological and emotional impact that genocide studies can have on the investigator has yet to be systematically studied. How many genocide students, scholars, and activists suffer, as do their counterparts in the human rights and social work fields? How many experience depression, insomnia, and nightmares as a result of having immersed themselves in the most atrocious human conduct?

The trauma is especially intense for those who have actually witnessed genocide, or its direct consequences. During the Turkish genocide against Armenians (Chapter 4), the US Ambassador to Constantinople, Henry Morgenthau, received a stream of American missionaries who had managed to escape the killing zone. “For hours they would sit in my office with tears streaming down their faces,” Morgenthau recalled; many had been “broken in health” by what they had witnessed. In 1948, the Jewish jurist Raphael Lemkin, who learned when World War Two ended that dozens of his family members had perished in the Holocaust (Chapter 6), wrote: “Genocide has taken the lives of my dear ones; the fight against genocide takes my health.” My friend Christian Scherrer, who works at the Hiroshima Peace Institute, arrived in Rwanda in November 1994 as part of a United Nations investigation team, only a few months after the slaughter of perhaps a million people had ended (see Chapter 9). Rotting bodies were still strewn across the landscape. “For weeks,” Scherrer writes:

Following directions given by witnesses, I carefully made my way, step by step, over farmland and grassland. Under my feet, often only half covered with earth, lay the remains of hundreds, indeed thousands . . . Many of those who came from outside shared the experience of hundreds of thousands of Rwandans of continuing, for months on end, or even longer, to grieve, to weep internally, and, night after night, to be unable to sleep longer than an hour or two.

Scherrer described the experience as “one of the most painful processes I have ever been through,” and the writing of his book, _Genocide and Crisis_, as “part of a personal process of grieving.” “Investigation into genocide,” he added, “is something that remains with one for life.”

I encourage you—especially if you are just beginning your exploration of genocide—to be attentive to signs of personal stress. Talk about it with fellow students, colleagues, family, or friends. Dwell on the positive examples of bravery, rescue, and
love for others that the study of genocide regularly brings to light (see especially Chapter 10). If necessary, seek counseling through the resources available on your campus or in your community.

It is also worth recalling that genocide scholars are far from alone as members of a profession that must confront suffering and mortality. Indeed, we are often privileged to maintain an arm’s-length distance from those realities, unlike many other (often underappreciated and poorly recompensed) workers. The point was made to me by Meaghan Gallagher, an undergraduate student in Edmonton, Canada, after she first encountered the field of comparative genocide studies. She wrote:

Really, you chose a very interesting field of study, in my opinion. It might be dark, but it is something that people are so afraid to talk about, when it really needs to be brought into light . . . I guess it is just like anything. Nurses, police, emergency technicians, philanthropists, they all have to deal with some pretty tough things, but someone has to do it, right?*

WHAT THIS BOOK TRIES TO DO, AND WHY

I see genocide as among history’s defining features, overlapping a range of central historical processes: war, imperialism, state-building, and class struggle, from antiquity to the present. It is intimately linked to key institutions, in which state or broadly-political authorities are often but not always principal actors, such as forced labor, military conscription, incarceration, and female infanticide.

I adopt a comparative approach that resists elevating particular genocides over others, except to the extent that scale and intensity warrant special attention. I argue that virtually all definable human groups—the ethnic, national, racial, and religious ones that anchor the legal definition of genocide, and others besides—have been victims of genocide, and are vulnerable in specific contexts today. Equally, most human collectivities—even vulnerable and oppressed ones—have proven capable of inflicting genocide. This can be painful for genocide scholars to acknowledge. But it will be confronted head-on in this volume. Taboos and tender sensibilities take a back seat to getting to grips with genocide—to reduce the chances that mystification and wishful thinking will cloud recognition, and thereby blunt effective opposition.

The first part of Genocide: A Comprehensive Introduction seeks to ground readers in the basic historical and conceptual contexts of genocide. It explores the process by which Raphael Lemkin first named and defined the phenomenon, then mobilized a nascent United Nations to outlaw it. His story constitutes a vivid and inspiring portrait of an individual who had a significant, largely-unsung impact on modern history. Examination of legal and scholarly definitions and debates may help readers to clarify their own thinking, and situate themselves in the discussion.

The case study section of the book (Part 2) is divided between longer case studies of genocide and capsule studies that complement the detailed treatments. I hope this structure will catalyze discussion and comparative analysis.

Part 3 explores social-scientific contributions to the study of genocide—from psychology, sociology, anthropology, political science/international relations, and
gender studies. Throughout these chapters, my ambition is modest. I am a political scientist by profession, and consider myself a somewhat trained historian, sociologist, and gender scholar. In roaming these fields and beyond, I seek only to introduce readers to some relevant scholarly framings, and to convey something of the extraordinary, still burgeoning interdisciplinarity of genocide studies.

Part 4, “The Future of Genocide,” seeks to familiarize readers with contemporary debates over historical memory and genocide denial, as well as mechanisms of justice and redress. The final chapter, “Strategies of Intervention and Prevention,” invites readers to evaluate options for suppressing the scourge.

“How does one handle this subject?” wrote Terrence Des Pres in the Preface to The Survivor, his study of life in the Nazi concentration camps. His answer: “One doesn’t; not well, not finally. No degree of scope or care can equal the enormity of such events or suffice for the sorrow they encompass. Not to betray it is as much as I can hope for.” His words resonate. In my heart, I know this book is an audacious enterprise, but I have tried to expand the limits of my empathy and, through wide reading, my interdisciplinary understanding. I have also benefited from the insights and corrections of other scholars and general readers, whose names appear in the acknowledgments.

While I must depict particular genocides (and the contributions of entire academic disciplines) in very broad strokes, I have tried throughout to make space for individuals, whether as victims, survivors, rescuers, bystanders—and perpetrators. I hope this serves to counter some of the abstraction and depersonalization that is inevitable in a general survey. A list of relevant internet sources, along with links, teaching resources, and a “Filmography of Genocide and Crimes against Humanity,” can be found on the Web page for this book at www.genocidetext.net.²⁰

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### NOTE TO THE THIRD EDITION

Following the principle “If it ain’t broke, don’t fix it,” I have left the core structure of Genocide: A Comprehensive Introduction intact from previous editions. Instructors who kindly used the second edition in their classes will find that many sections are reproduced with relatively few alterations. However, arguments, sources, and political developments have been updated throughout.

I offer here a quick summary of major changes for this third edition, aimed especially at educators. The most significant of these changes is the reframing of Chapter 9, formerly titled “Holocaust in Rwanda,” as “Genocide in Africa’s Great Lakes Region.” It has become clearer to me, as to other scholars, that the Rwandan genocide of 1994 must be analyzed alongside parallel, reciprocal, and highly-consequential events in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and Burundi, especially. Adopting a broader framing allows me to incorporate Congo (previously addressed in a box text) in the main narrative; to examine the genocidal outbreaks in Burundi in 1972 and 1993, as well as the severe crisis in that country at the time of writing; and to devote space in the supplementary case study (Box 9a) to the conflict in the world’s newest state, South Sudan, together with the previously-featured Sudan and Darfur.
Other sections of the text have also been extensively revised. The early portrait and discussion of Raphael Lemkin in Chapter 1 reflects the recent “return to Lemkin” in genocide studies, gaining steam with the publication of his unfinished history of genocide (Lemkin on Genocide [2012], edited by Steven Leonard Jacobs) and his autobiography (Totally Unofficial: The Autobiography of Raphael Lemkin [2013], edited by Donna-Lee Frieze). I have also included Nigeria/Biafra as a “contested case” of genocide in Chapter 1. A lengthy box text in Chapter 2 (Box 2.2) explores the case of the Carcassins, uprooted and genocided by tsarist Russia in the nineteenth century, and their contemporary efforts to secure recognition, repatriation, and restitution. Chapter 4 now features sustained attention to the Kurds of Turkey, Iraq, and Syria (Box 4.2), as well as to the genocidal Islamic State (IS) movement (Box 4a). The case study of East Timor (Box 7a) now incorporates the earlier genocide in Indonesia (1965–1966)—the subject of advocacy and memorialization campaigns in Indonesia, an Oscar-nominated documentary film (The Act of Killing), and some notable recent scholarship, including an extended treatment in Christian Gerlach’s Extremely Violent Societies (2010).

Several box texts, for example on Buffy Sainte-Marie (Chapter 3) and the gendered politics of lynching in the US South (Chapter 13), have been substituted for this third edition. They are, however, archived in PDF format on www.genocidetext.net (see “Text Excerpts”), and are copyright-cleared for reprinting/reposting or for use as class handouts. Among the other new box texts for this edition are those on physical, biological, and cultural genocide (Box 1.7); “Whatever Happened to Political Groups?” (Box 1.3); Sinéad O’Connor on the Irish famine (Box 2.1); the “Bloodlands” and “Rimlands” of twentieth-century Europe (Box 2.3); “The American West and the Nazi East” (Box 3.1); “Stalin: Return from the Crypt” (Box 5.2); Hermann Gräbe’s witnessing of the “Holocaust by Bullets” (Box 6.1); the “Hitler-Mufti” controversy sparked by Israeli prime minister Benjamin Netanyahau (Box 6.4); the “Blood Telegram” sent by US consular officials during the Bangladeshi genocide of 1971 (Box 8a.1); the criminology of genocide (Box 11.1); the gendercide targeting of gay and trans people worldwide (Box 13.1, adapted and updated from materials in the last edition); the Stolpersteine (“stumbling stones”) memorialization project in Germany (Box 14.1); the “history wars” over the Canadian Museum for Human Rights (Box 14.2) and Canada’s Truth and Reconciliation process for Canadian aboriginals and the residential-school atrocities (Box 15.3); Benjamin Ferencz and the Nuremberg Einsatzgruppen trials (Box 15.1); the United Nations Office of Genocide Prevention (OSAPG, Box 16.1); recent studies of state “resilience” to genocide (Box 16.2); and whether humanity is becoming more peaceful (Box 16.6).

For each edition of this book, I replace two or three of the individual “stories” in the case-study chapters, based on my reading in the interim. Fresh stories accompany the case studies of Stalinism (Boris Izhevov, Box 5.1), the Jewish Holocaust (Frieda Wulfövna, Box 6.2), and Cambodia under the Khmer Rouge (Denise Affonço, Box 7.1).

The visual aspect of the book has undergone extensive changes, including the addition of a photo essay/insert between Chapters 9 and 10, though plenty of familiar images remain. Since the last edition, photography and visual representations in
general have grown more important to my own scholarship, teaching, and advocacy efforts. Many of this book’s images are my own, including the cover photo. Many are gleaned from Wikimedia Commons, Flickr, the US government, and other sources of copyright-free illustrations. I am deeply grateful to the photographers who share their work in this way, as I do. Kudos also to those who scan, catalogue, and supply archival imagery at the US Holocaust Memorial Museum, Yad Vashem in Jerusalem, the Hoover Institution, and elsewhere. The publisher and I must renew our thanks to www.WorldAtlas.com for granting access to the excellent, reader-friendly maps used in the case-study chapters. Where licensing fees were unavoidable, Routledge provided very helpful financial assistance. Thanks to those at the Reuters, Associated Press, Magnum, and UN Photo agencies, who worked efficiently and courteously to make the necessary arrangements. But only a dozen or so of the 250 images in this book required licensing payments, at which point my budget was exhausted. That you hold, nonetheless, perhaps the richest and most diverse collection of genocide-related imagery ever compiled is an indication of what can be accomplished in the Creative Commons and online-institutional realms these days.

In a book of this attempted scope and detail, there are bound to be errors that have survived my fact-checking and various outside proofreads. For these stumbles, I accept full responsibility. But I also ask you to get in touch when you notice them. The publisher and I can make minor corrections to the digital edition quite rapidly, and to any new printings thereafter. Indeed, I welcome readers’ feedback of all kinds (well, most kinds). Write to me at adam.jones@ubc.ca. Now—let’s dive in.

NOTES


2 The Second World War: Allies against the Nazis and Japanese; Tanzanians against Idi Amin’s Uganda; Vietnamese in Cambodia in 1979; Indians in Bangladesh in 1971; soldiers of the Rwandan Patriotic Front in 1994. See also Chapter 16.


4 Writing the first in-depth study of the Soviet “terror-famine” in Ukraine in 1932–1933 (see Chapter 5), Robert Conquest confronted only indirectly the “inhuman, unimaginable misery” of the famine; but he still found the task “so distressing that [I] sometimes hardly felt able to proceed.” Conquest, The Harvest of Sorrow: Soviet Collectivization and the Terror-Famine (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), p. 10. Donald Miller and Lorna Touryan Miller, who interviewed a hundred survivors of the Armenian genocide, wrote: “During this project our emotions have ranged from melancholy to anger, from feeling guilty about our own privileged status to being overwhelmed by the continuing suffering in our world.” They described experiencing “a permanent loss of innocence about the human capacity for evil,” as well as “a recognition of the need to combat such evil.” Miller and Miller, Survivors: An Oral History of the Armenian Genocide (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1999), p. 4. After an immersion in the archive of S-21 (Tuol Sleng), the Khmer Rouge killing center in Cambodia, David


8 Meaghan Gallagher, personal communication, October 11, 2009.


Acknowledgments

Routledge Publishers has been the home of most of my recent book publications, both sole-authored and edited. I am deeply grateful to Craig Fowlie, who proposed what became the first edition of *Genocide: A Comprehensive Introduction*, over dinner in Durban, South Africa in 2003. He has continued his unfailing support through to the present. Thanks also to Nicola Parkin, Lydia de Cruz, and Emily Ross on the editorial side, and Luke Allen, who worked closely with me on the visual design and presentation of the volume. Emma Simmons and Jamie Vidich at Bookbright Media provided sterling copy-editing.

This book has its audience because educators around the world have adopted it for their courses on genocide studies. I have benefited from their supportive words and feedback, and it gives me no deeper pleasure in my intellectual life than to know that my work is contributing to the project of educating a new generation of students to an understanding of genocide and the international “epistemic community” that seeks to prevent future outbreaks of the scourge.

Allow me to express gratitude to some cherished colleagues on this path. Elisa von Joeden-Forgey has been one of my most reliable sources of information and inspiration on the gender-and-genocide front, and humanitarian issues more generally. She is unquestionably the best person alive when it comes to staying up late in Yerevan, Armenia, to knock back bottles of white wine and survey the progress of our field, our species, and much else besides. Benjamin Madley at UCLA, so helpful in shaping and polishing previous editions, continued to assist me this time around, as with his updated map of Native Indian massacres in North America (see Map 3.1, pp. 158–159). A core group of younger Canadian genocide scholars has
coalesced in recent years. I’m grateful to Christopher Powell, Andrew Woolford (president of the International Association of Genocide Scholars, 2015–2017), Andrew Basso, and Geneviève Parent for nourishing interactions. My graduate students in genocide-related thesis programs at the University of British Columbia have been constant sources of inspiration and insight. Thanks to Jill Mitchell (who also provided diligent research assistance for a couple of the box texts in this book), Jeffrey Stonehouse, Amin Mansouri, and Cathay Gibson. Many undergraduate students, especially in my Poli 382 and 383 (Genocide and Crimes against Humanity) courses, have supplied trenchant insights and the pedagogical pleasure of witnessing and guiding students’ first systematic encounters with this subject. Thanks also to my colleagues in UBCO’s PoliSci program—Carl Hodge, James Rochlin, David Ding, Carey Doberstein, and Andrew Irvine—as well as unit assistants Shelby Wolfe and Tiffany Clarke.

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For the better part of a decade, during the preparation of the current and previous editions of this book, I was privileged to serve as book review editor of the Journal of Genocide Research, the oldest and arguably the preeminent journal in the field of comparative genocide studies. This allowed me a perch from which to stay on top of the proliferating literature in the field, and related historical, sociological, and anthropological monographs on the cases addressed here. I thank A. Dirk Moses, one of the most impressive of the new generation of genocide scholars and historians, for collaborating to make the JGR review section one of the liveliest in the social sciences, or so I humbly submit. My deep gratitude also to the team of JGR book reviewers, including many of the preeminent names in the profession.
Genuine friendships, including with Mark Levene and Martin Shaw, grew out of my review editor role.

Miscellaneous shout-outs to the following friends and colleagues, several of whom provided feedback on this new edition: R. Charli Carpenter, Ferrel Christensen, Wendy Lower, Stephen McLoughlin, the late and much-missed Eric Markusen and Stephen Feinsten, Andrea and Steve Gunner, Rick Feingold, David Buchanan, Luz Maria Johnson and her son Louis, Diana Henson, Henry Huttenbach, David Liebe, Fabiola Martinez, Miriam Tratt, Paul Cottingham and Sandi Love, Susan Minushkin, Paula Drumond, Lauren Marshall, Hamish Telford, and Laura Shepherd. Marcelle Torres kindly double-checked all URL links in the book to ensure they were “live” as of June 2016. My cherished Facebook friends—my social life, as I sometimes refer to them—have followed my progress on this edition for many months. They have offered unceasing “thumbs up” and moral support, along with much useful feedback. For example, I Facebook-tested close to a dozen designs for this book cover. What you hold was the favorite of an absolute majority of respondents. And my own. And my mother’s.

Speaking of whom, this book could not have been written without the nurture and guidance provided by my parents and my brother, Craig. My beloved father, David Jones, died during the preparation of this third edition, at the age of 82.* I miss him immensely; but I know his shaping influence will be with me for the rest of my days. Together with my mother Jo, he proofread and commented on previous editions of this book, so he lives on in these pages. I can still count on Jo’s eagle eye for this new edition—thanks as always, Mom.

Dr. Griselda Ramirez Reyes shares the dedication of this work. Griselda is a pediatric neurosurgeon at the Siglo XXI medical center in Mexico City. I have stood literally at her elbow as she opened the head of a three-week-old girl, and extracted a cancerous tumor seemingly half the size of the infant’s brain. I hope to open a few minds myself with this work, but I would not pretend the task compares. Throughout the preparation of new editions, Griselda has joined me on journeys to sites of genocide and war that resonated deeply with us—most memorably in Cambodia, Vietnam, Russia, Poland, Romania, Rwanda, Armenia, and indeed Mexico. It is a great salve and pleasure to have her company and solidarity as I try to absorb these horrors and make some sense of them.

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