



# THE ISG NEWSLETTER

NUMBER 40

Helen Fein, editor

SPRING 2008

## PEOPLES AT RISK AND POLITICAL DILEMMAS

Ed. note: This column focuses on peoples at risk not just because of natural disasters (which occurred in some places) but also because of their government's negligent response to natural disasters and policies of persecution. In the past, we have looked at minorities at risk but in this season we also focus on majorities at risk because of the these policies of authoritarian governments. This is undoubtedly an incomplete list. Because these situations are so fast moving, we urge our readers to check reliable news sources for up-to-date developments .

**Myanmar (Burma)** The refusal of the government to allow enough foreign humanitarian aid workers and governments to distribute food and emergency supplies in the wake of the cyclone on May 3 that led to mass deaths and need for immediate relief has led to international protest and calls for humanitarian intervention. Fears voiced include the possibility of widespread death through diarrhea, cholera and other diseases spread by tainted water sources, overflowing or non-existent sanitation systems, as well as by lack of food. Indeed, water-logged fruit which starving people may eat complicate the problem. Cholera and plague were reported by May 16 by major newspapers and media. Some reports say that citizens who are receiving anything are getting rotting rice, leading to the question: where or

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*The ISG Newsletter*  
is published by the  
**INSTITUTE FOR THE STUDY OF GENOCIDE**  
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For More Information on ISG, see our website at:  
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## PEOPLE(S) AT RISK : VISIBILITY AND EXPOSURE

to whom has the food delivered to the government through World Food Program and other donations gone?

Public discussions highlight calls from foreign ministers in the U.K. and France about the duty to protect against the denial of foreign assistance as a crime against humanity.

“In a column in the French newspaper *Le Monde*, Mr. Kouchner [French Foreign Minister] said the United Nations should intervene by force, or would be guilty of cowardice in the eyes of the world. ‘What we need to bring is hand-to-hand, heart-to-heart help, not donor conferences with all their bowing and scraping,’ he said later in an interview with French radio. ‘In the meantime, people are dying.’” (*New York Times*, May 20, 2008, A10).

Would such an intervention be an instance of the enforcement of the UN resolution declaring the “responsibility to protect” (United Nations Security Council Res. 1674)? What would be the consequences of this? If the intervenors were to topple the army-based Burmese government—by design or by unexpected consequences—, would it not make them responsible for installing a responsible and effective democratic government? Some have argued, on the other hand, that threats of intervention make the government less likely to accept aid and that more diplomatic pressure (especially from China and India) on Myanmar would be a more effective way of getting foreign assistance in.

By the third week in May, there were reports of an impending ASEAN conference and hopes that UN Secretary General Ban Ki-Moon would meet with Burmese leaders who had not replied to his letters and telephone calls.

**ZIMBABWE.** Chronic hyper-inflation and food shortages caused by government policies of racial discrimination and land redistribution to political cronies have led to widespread hunger and dissatisfaction. There is a crisis of legitimacy as President Robert Mugabe appears to have lost the last election despite a surge of terror against opposition activists reported by major media and Human Rights Watch (April 25, 2008). On Sunday, 11 May, a major church was targeted (according to *New York Times* of May 16:

“The parishioners were lined up for Holy Communion on Sunday when the riot police stormed the stately St. Francis Anglican Church in Harare, Zimbabwe’s capital. Helmeted, black-booted officers banged on the pews with their batons as terrified members of the congregation stampeded for the doors, witnesses said...

“Beneath their defiance, though, lay raw fear as the country’s ruling party stepped up its campaign of intimidation ahead of a presidential runoff...Over the past three Sundays, the police have interrogated Anglican priests and lay leaders, arrested and beaten parishioners and locked thousands of worshippers out of dozens of churches...Church leaders say the struggle in the Anglican diocese of Harare is not only over its extensive, valuable properties, but also over who controls the church itself in a society riven by political divisions, especially since the disputed elections of March 19.”

It appears unlikely that a scheduled run-off election will resolve the crisis, given the terror and restraints on the press. Human Rights Watch said on May 2 that a runoff vote was not credible amidst violence and torture of political opponents which endanger free elections. There are international calls for African states to intervene, especially directed at the major regional power, South

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Africa, which may control the levers of change because it can most effectively press the government of land-locked Zimbabwe.

Zimbabweans who flee to South Africa and other African migrants have been subject to violent ethnic riots around Johannesburg, riots in which native South Africans are said to accuse the migrants of taking jobs away from them and committing crimes. Reuters reported on May 22 that President Thabo Mbeki on South Africa “gave approval for the army to help end attacks that have killed more than to people...The police said that the death toll since the violence started on May 11 had risen to 42.”.

**SUDAN** Homelessness, displacement and hunger continue to threaten the people of Darfur, millions of whom have been forced to flee to camps in Sudan and Chad to evade killings by the Government of Sudan (GOS) and the Janjaweed, Arab forces whom the GOS has armed. The splits within the Darfuri rebel movement have made a brokered peace less likely. There is dispute about the significance of the May attack by the Darfuri Justice and Equality Movement (JEM) in Khartoum; although the rebels were turned back, the attack showed the weakness of the GOS. Has the JEM aligned its strategy with hard-line Islamists inside Sudan? Was it intended to provoke an army revolt?

Enough, a project to end genocide and crimes against humanity ([www.enoughproject.org](http://www.enoughproject.org)) said (May 14, 2008) that this indicates the need to re-open all- Sudan peace talks. “The unprecedented attack on a suburb of Khartoum by the Justice and Equality Movement (JEM) demonstrates once again the urgent need for a credible and inclusive peace process to resolve the crisis in Darfur. It is too early to predict what effect the attack will have on the political and military dynamics of the conflict going

forward, but Sudan’s ruling National Congress Party is making it clear that its response will focus on civilians. The government and its proxies are launching a new round of assaults against civilian targets in Darfur and we are receiving credible reports of arrests, beatings, disappearances, and executions of Darfuri civilians (particularly Zaghawa) in Khartoum and Omdurman. Today’s alarming reports of heavy fighting in Abyei—a flashpoint that threatens to ignite full scale civil war—further underscore the urgent need for sustained, high-level diplomacy. To prevent the further deterioration of the volatile situation in Sudan, ENOUGH and the Save Darfur Coalition urge the US government and the international community to take immediate steps to launch and sustain an all-encompassing peace process that addresses the local and national issues that are fueling conflict. [The urgent steps that are needed are to] :

“ Appoint a single empowered mediator...[who has] substantial negotiation experience, particularly in Africa, and preferably in Sudan...Support the mediator with coordinated international leverage...Enough, the Save Darfur Coalition, and the Genocide Intervention Network have proposed a ‘Quartet’ of the countries that have the most external leverage: China, France, the United Kingdom, and the United States...The Quartet should consult closely with—and in some cases apply pressure to—regional states with interests in Darfur and Sudan, including Egypt, Libya, Chad, Ethiopia, Eritrea, and Saudi Arabia, and work with key AU states, such as South Africa....Even a well-resourced Quartet effort is unlikely to succeed if it sets up a peace process divorced from a commitment to peace enforcement. Throughout the five years that this conflict has raged on, virtually no multilateral costs have been imposed on the individuals most responsible for violence targeting civilians or for obstructing humanitarian relief efforts. ...those who are most responsible for the crisis, including top officials in

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the Sudanese government, must bear a cost for promoting destruction and obstruction—a cost that outweighs the benefits they have been enjoying...Lastly, they must address the Darfur conflict in its local and national contexts.“...Any final agreement will have to address the following:A substantial sum for individual compensation to be paid by the government;International monitoring of a cessation of all forms of state support for the janjaweed militia structure; International monitoring and support for encampment of all forces in Darfur (government, rebel, and militia); Administrative arrangements for Darfur; Power sharing for Darfurian constituencies; A comprehensive plan to address the humanitarian, livelihoods, environmental, and development challenges that Darfur will face in the aftermath of the conflict...

Enough concludes:

“...That peace process must address both the local and national issues that underlie the conflict, ensuring that resolution of the conflict in Darfur complements full implementation of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement that ended the conflict in southern Sudan and that provides a blueprint for the democratic transformation of the entire country.”

**TIBET (CHINA).** Nicholas Kristof told of how he “sneaked through Tibetan areas...and it became clear that the recent anti-Chinese protests spread across a larger area in traditional Tibet than is sometimes realized. This was, in effect, a popular uprising against Chinese rule throughout Tibetan areas, and the region is still seething.

“Chinese citizens have been understandably outraged by anti-Chinese rioting by Tibetans in Lhasa in March. Tibetans burned 1,000 Chinese-owned shops (a few with people inside them) and savagely attacked or stoned ordinary Chinese citizens, even a child of about 10. The

Dalai Lama and pro-Tibetan Westerners were far too leisurely about condemning Tibetan brutality, and America came across as hypocritical for apparent indifference when the victims in Tibet were Chinese.

“Yet few will ever hear about the harsh crackdown unfolding here in the ancient Tibetan region of Amdo...even where protests were entirely peaceful, the repression has been merciless...more than 220 Buddhist monks were arrested and beaten, local Tibetans said. The great majority have been released, but some are still hospitalized because of injuries. Some monks are hiding in the mountains, and they are all terrified....’There won’t be any more protests before the Olympics,’ one monk said. ‘People are just too scared. The pressure is too great.’” (*New York Times*, May 16, 2008, A31.

China has also been scriticized by human rights groups for sending arms to Zimbabwe and Sudan, arms which are used to put down protestors and rebels. Calls to boycott the August Olympics or protest the passing of the torch seem to have been overshadowed by sympathy for the Chinese injured in the recent earthquake. For more information on summer plans, see the Genocide Intervention Network, [www.genocideinterventionnetwork.org](http://www.genocideinterventionnetwork.org)

### INDIGENOUS PEOPLES AT RISK

(The following are taken from web reports of Survival International. Check Miriam Ross at Survival International [[mr@survival-international.org](mailto:mr@survival-international.org)] for more information.)

13 May: BRAZIL. Damning of the Xingu River in the Amazon is said to threaten the ability to exist of many groups of Brazilian Indians. “The largest indigenous gathering in the Brazilian Amazon in nearly twenty years

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will take place from May 19 to 23 in the town of Altamira, Para, to protest against a series of huge hydroelectric dams being planned for the Xingu River...The Xingu is one of the Amazon's main tributaries. The Kayapo say that damming it will destroy their way of life, kill the animals and fish they rely on, and profoundly affect their health. The Ikpeng people said in a statement... 'We're not holding back the country's progress. We're defending our rights to life, to our land, and to our way of life.'"

### INDIA

8 May: "Hundreds of members of the remote Dongria Kondh tribe held a protest in India yesterday against the British FTSE 100 company VEDANTA, which plans to mine their sacred mountain. Vedanta is owned by London-based Indian billionaire Anil Agarwal...Jitu Jakasika, a young Dongria Kondh man, told the Indian Telegraph newspaper, 'If the mining project is allowed, it will destroy the livelihoods of 10,000 tribals and the religious sanctity of our beloved Niyamgiri.' Survival has launched a campaign targeting Vedanta, and is urging shareholders, including major British companies Coutts Bank, Standard

Life, Barclays Bank, Abbey National and HSBC, as well as Middlesbrough and Wolverhampton Councils, to disinvest unless Vedanta abandons its plans."

### BANGLADESH

24 April: "Seven villages belonging to the 'Jumma' tribal people of the Chittagong Hill Tracts were burned to the ground on Sunday by Bengali settlers, with the support of the Bangladesh army. Jumma villagers, including women and children, were beaten in the attack, and their belongings looted. One hundred houses were destroyed, and the Jumma villagers have fled into the surrounding forests. Bengali settlers were also injured."

The Bangladesh army recently began a new settlement programme in the Sajek area of the Chittagong Hill Tracts, bringing in new groups of Bengali settlers. The construction of settler houses led to conflict between settlers and the Jumma. Hundreds of thousands of settlers have been moved into the Hill Tracts over the last sixty years, displacing the eleven Jumma tribes and subjecting them to violent repression."

## LEMKIN AWARD WINNER ON ROOTS OF ARMENIAN GENOCIDE

Donald Bloxham (University of Edinburgh)

Author: *The Great Game of Genocide: Imperialism, Nationalism, and the Destruction of the Ottoman Armenians* (Oxford University Press, 2005)

The book originally intended to focus upon Turkish denial of the Armenian genocide, and western acceptance of that denial. In researching it, it became clear that denial and its accommodation could not be properly understood without knowledge of how the outside world related to the Ottoman Empire during and immediately after the First World War itself. I then realised that, in turn, it was impossible to explain this pattern of interaction without reference to the earlier interaction between the Ottoman state and the 'Great Powers in the 'Armenian question' up to and during the genocide. This is the reason for the book's title, derived from the name for the nineteenth century Russo-British race for hegemony in central Asia, which alludes to the importance throughout of inter-imperial struggle and the changing geopolitics of the near east.

My first purpose became to provide a new interpretation of the development of the genocide and, to that end, to critique some of the more influential existing explanations, which, however valuable, I felt to be somewhat too deterministic. As for the world outside the Ottoman Empire, I sought to chart the changing relationship between external intervention in state-minority relations in the nineteenth century, through response to the genocide itself and the postwar division of the near east, to the latter-day acceptance of the denial agenda of the modern Republic of Turkey. Great power involvement in Ottoman internal affairs was a key element in exacerbating the Ottoman-Armenian dynamic towards

genocide while Turkish sensitivity about external intervention on behalf of the Armenians - whether directed towards reforms before 1914 or independence after 1918 - was a vital contributory factor to the emergence of denial.

One beginning of the story is in 1774, the year when the Sublime Porte concluded the treaty of Küçük Kaynarca with Russia, giving it effective control of the north of the Black Sea and the right of passage from that sea to the Aegean through the Dardanelles. Russia also acquired the right to build an Orthodox church in Istanbul and protect its congregation, an achievement that formed the dubious basis for future Russian claims to intervene in the name of all Orthodox Ottoman subjects, including millions of Balkan Christians. These developments suggest that religious and ethno-religious affinity were manipulated to promote and sustain great power interests in the Ottoman Empire. What precisely those interests were - profit, prestige, territorial expansionism, dismemberment of the Ottoman territories, maintenance of the Ottoman empire, containment of other states' regional ambitions - varied between powers and over time, and up to the definitive Lausanne treaty of 1923 their interplay constituted the 'eastern question'.

The nineteenth century saw the intensification of external forces. Ottoman reformers borrowed European models of reform, often under pressure from Europeans (particularly Britain), only to find that Ottoman strength relative to the Christian powers was still declining, external influence in Ottoman internal affairs was increasing and territories were being lost at an accelerated rate. The pressure to reform to survive irreversibly changed the constitutional fabric of the Ottoman Empire. The Ottoman rulers sought to prevent Christian secessionism by trying to tie in the loyalties of their Christian subjects with the fortunes of the

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state. Reform programmes upset many Muslims with their rhetoric of inter-religious equality, while failing to safeguard significant changes for groups such as the Armenian rural population of Anatolia, or to protect them from the Muslim backlash against their 'inappropriate' aspirational behaviour. Meanwhile, Armenians and others were encouraged by spasmodic European pressure on the Porte to believe that they had reliable defenders to which to appeal in their plight: they did not. Christian separatism and great power sequestration of Ottoman lands also meant that the ethnic composition of the empire was changing, and along with it the political orientation of the Ottoman elite.

Ottoman demography was fundamentally altered by the secession of Christian minorities in the Balkans and the influx of Muslim refugees from the Balkans and Tsarist rule in the Caucasus. The first great reconfiguration of Ottoman population policy away from the prevailing recent if compromised model of greater inter-religious inclusiveness and towards a more exclusive focus on the (Sunni) Muslim majority came under Sultan Abdül Hamid II (1876-1909). This was the climate in which the 1894-6 massacres of 80,000-100,000 Armenians were perpetrated. Subsequently, the nationalistic Committee of Union and Progress, in a period of rule punctuated by the catastrophic Balkan wars, led a drive towards the hegemonic European state model of ethnic-national homogeneity, preparing the ground for Kemal's secular republic. An intrinsic part of this drive was the mass expropriation of Christians in order to transfer capital to Muslims for the creation of a Turkish-Muslim bourgeoisie as an engine of Turkish nationalism and economic independence, and it also inevitably entailed marginalisation and demographic dilution of the Armenian population.

The Ottoman entry into WWI involved an attempt to throw off all of its shackles – including the Ottoman Public Debt Administration established in 1881, the hated 'capitulations', and the most recent 'reform plan' for the Armenians. The genocide itself developed in the incubator of a war seen by the CUP as a Darwinian struggle for imperial collapse or renewal. Some limited Armenian nationalist activity was important in triggering escalations in Ottoman policy towards genocide, as was the flight of some Muslims from the Russian-controlled Caucasus and the advances made by Entente forces. The burden of guilt, however, resides entirely with the extremist CUP regime which by this point fully subscribed to the notion that Armenians were by definition treacherous and foreign, and desired the ethnic homogenisation of Anatolia by any means necessary.

By 1923, in the aftermath of the Greco-Turkish war, the new Turkey was in a position to re-negotiate its international relationships. Despite having lost huge tracts of territory as a result of the war, it inherited the strategic Ottoman position on the Russian and Persian borders and around the Dardanelles. Almost immediately upon the establishment of the Bolshevik regime in Russia, Turkey was being seen in some British quarters as a potential bulwark against its northern neighbour, in a way that bears comparison with early cold war views of Germany from 1945. With the onset of the cold war proper, from 1947, Turkey's strategic importance was further enhanced. An inherited enmity between Turkey and Russia was opportune for the western bloc, but the partial, pragmatic rapprochement which had occurred between Turkey and the Soviet regime from 1919 meant that Turkey had continually to be fêted as well as prodded by the western powers.

## LEMKIN AWARD WINNER ON ROOTS OF ARMENIAN GENOCIDE

With the fall of the iron curtain, Turkey has retained a key regional role as an agent of stability in a politically unstable area. As a conservative but modernising, non-expansionist and officially secular nation-state, though far from the ethnically homogeneous entity it claims to be, it offers something of a model for the development from ‘backwardness’ to the state organisation most favoured in

the western-led international system. Accordingly, the mainstay of that system – the USA – seeks as best it can to marginalise the sensitive subject of the Armenian genocide, along with the ongoing plight of Turkey’s Kurds.

**RESOLUTION OF GENOCIDE SCHOLARS ON OTTOMAN GENOCIDE  
INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF GENOCIDE SCHOLARS**

WHEREAS the denial of genocide is widely recognized as the final stage of genocide, enshrining impunity for the perpetrators of genocide, and demonstrably paving the way for future genocides;

WHEREAS the Ottoman genocide against minority populations during and following the First World War is usually depicted as a genocide against Armenians alone, with little recognition of the qualitatively similar genocides against other Christian minorities of the Ottoman Empire;

BE IT RESOLVED that it is the conviction of the International Association of Genocide Scholars that the Ottoman campaign against Christian minorities of the

Empire between 1914 and 1923 constituted a genocide against Armenians, Assyrians, and Pontian and Anatolian Greeks.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that the Association calls upon the government of Turkey to acknowledge the genocides against these populations, to issue a formal apology, and to take prompt and meaningful steps toward restitution.

For further information, contact Dr. Gregory H. Stanton,  
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## BOOK REVIEW: TANER AKCAM, A SHAMEFUL ACT: THE ARMENIAN GENOCIDE AND THE QUESTION OF TURKISH RESPONSIBILITY.

BOOK REVIEW: Taner Akcam, *A SHAMEFUL ACT: THE ARMENIAN GENOCIDE AND THE QUESTION OF TURKISH RESPONSIBILITY* (New York: Metropolitan Books, 2006), pp 483. Reviewed by Roger W. Smith (College of William and Mary)

This is a wide-ranging, insightful, and dispassionate study of the Armenian genocide of 1915 and Turkish responsibility for it. It is thoroughly documented in Turkish sources –military and court records, parliamentary debates, letters, eyewitness accounts – and in the military and diplomatic records of Germany, Turkey’s World War I ally. Much new evidence is brought forward to substantiate the claim that the genocide was centrally planned, and that the intention was to eliminate in substantial part the Armenian population living in the Ottoman Empire. At the same time, Professor Akcam sees near panic on the part of the Turkish authorities as the empire collapsed around them, the European powers seemed intent on partitioning the Ottoman territories, and the Armenians were suspected of wanting to gain an independent state in the heart of Anatolia. As Akcam presents it, history and psychology cannot be separated; even today Turkey is fearful of its dissolution at the hands of outside powers, and deeply suspicious of Europe. Fear, he maintains, in no way justifies genocide, but it may help to explain it.

The narrative here is not a story of inevitability, but delineation of the conditions that made the genocide possible and that shaped its aftermath, with continued fighting and massacres (some have referred to these as “mini-genocides”) after the end of World War I, the failure of the war crimes trials in Turkey, and the general amnesty for crimes of war from 1 August 1914 to 20 November 1922 that was authorized by the Treaty of Lausanne. The

book begins with the Armenian question before the decision for genocide: the place of non-Muslim populations within the Ottoman Empire, the rise of the Young Turks (Union and Progress Party), and the development of Turkish nationalism. It then moves to what led to the decision for genocide, and the way in which the decision was implemented and its consequences. In the final third of the book, there is the fascinating question of “Punishing the Turks”: the European powers wanted not only to punish the perpetrators of the genocide individually, but to punish Turkey by dispossessing it of its territory, keeping much of it for the powers. There were also various Ottoman initiatives, the extensive war crime trials, and the position that Mustafa Kemal’s nationalist movement took on all of the Armenian and territorial issues. The book ends on why the trials failed: a combination of the nationalist tide, the competing interests of the European powers, and the weakness of international law and institutions.

The title of the book is taken from a statement by Mustafa Kemal who recognized the moral and political stain that the mass killing of Armenians had placed upon the Ottoman Empire and the need to separate the Turkish Republic from it. But the title becomes somewhat misleading: as Akcam is careful to say in discussing Kemal’s attitude toward the genocide, Kemal said different things to different audiences, and, in large part, he tried to distance himself and the Nationalist movement from the 800,000 Armenians destroyed (his figure): the killing was “a detail of history,” it was in the past. Later he would argue that foreign powers and the Armenians themselves were responsible for the killing, and that in Europe (he means in the Ottoman territories in Europe) twice as many Muslims were killed and no apology had ever been offered. In the case of the Armenians

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(displaying his generosity, I suppose) he said that explanation and apology was in order. However, many of the top officials, including the foreign minister, were deeply involved in carrying out the genocide and they were not removed from his government. Moreover, pensions were granted to the families of those few persons who were executed for “war crimes” (read “genocide”) and to the families of Talat, Enver, and Cemal. In any case, Kemal tried to be silent about the Armenians: his central objective was Turkish independence, with secure borders, and lack of foreign interference. “A shameful act” makes a good title, but Akcam is giving Kemal Ataturk too much credit: for Ataturk, after all, the Armenians were “a detail of history.”

This is a marvelous book that sets an exceptionally high standard for further studies of the Armenian genocide. In the critical comments I now will raise, I do not in any way want to take away from its significance. The section on “population policy” (p. 178) in which it is asserted that there was a policy adopted of limiting non-Turkish groups (Armenians, to be sure, but Greeks, Arabs, Kurds, Albanians, Bosnians) to 5-10% of the population in particular regions goes on to state that “deportations” of Armenians “were hardly simply a matter of relocation. The issue was Armenian population density”( p. 178.) This is a startling comment, and if true, of major importance, yet less than a page is devoted to a discussion of it. Similarly, less than a page is devoted to the question of how to characterize the killing of Muslims by Armenians during the period after World War I: are they “acts of revenge” or a kind of genocide? He does say that such killings were not “simply acts of revenge. The newly formed Armenian state was itself attempting to establish an ethnically homogeneous nation.” (p. 330). Still, how would we describe the killings? Revenge, genocide, self-defense (the latter is not considered by the author). Surely

issues of this sort, which have played a considerable role in Turkish denial in recent years, deserve more than very brief comment.

Another criticism is of a different order. On p. 204, Akcam states, without qualification, that “the purpose of the deportations was to prevent the emergence of an Armenian state.” That may be true (but in vastly complicated ways) but he does not document this and demonstrate that this is the case. He cites just after this the following: “A general circular from the Ministry of the Interior, sent by telegram to all the Ottoman provinces on 29 August, stated that ‘the government’s aim in deporting the Armenians ... is to prevent them from pursuing any nationalistic action to promote an Armenian government.’” Could this not be a rationalization? Why does he accept this statement at face value, when he rightly questions or rejects so many other official statements coming from the Young Turks?

Finally, I want to pay tribute to the man: Taner Akcam was born in Turkey, was imprisoned and tortured for having said in a student publication that Turkey was not a homogenous nation, that Kurds, for example existed there in large numbers. More recently, he has been charged under Article 301 with “insulting Turkishness:” his crime was that he publicly mentioned the Armenian genocide. He has been called a “traitor,” his life has been threatened, his lectures on “A Shameful Act” have been interrupted even at major American universities. Taner Akcam is one of a handful of Turkish historians who use the word “genocide” to describe the destruction of the Armenians in 1915. Many other Turkish historians and sociologists know that genocide is the appropriate term but they will not use it publicly.

## IN MEMORIAM: STEPHEN FEINSTEIN (1943-2008)

Professor Stephen C. Feinstein, Director of the University of Minnesota Holocaust and Genocide Center and Adjunct Professor of History died suddenly on March 4, 2008. For the over one-thousand people who attended his funeral the following day and for many scholars, educators, artists and people all over the world who knew and admired him, Stephen's sudden death at the age of 65, is an enormous shock and loss. Stephen was an extraordinary individual whose dedication to teaching and educating about the Holocaust and other Genocides was remarkable in its range and inclusiveness, and who provided links and networks between individuals and communities world-wide.

Stephen received his M.A. in European History and Art and Ph.D. in Russian and European history from New York University and was Professor of History at the University of Wisconsin-River Falls where he taught for thirty years. Steve was an activist scholar throughout his career from his significant role in the campaign for Soviet Jewry to working against denial of the Armenian Genocide, the Holocaust and other genocidal events. He published a series of books, articles and reviews on a range of subjects from Russian history to the Holocaust to Art and Genocide. Upon his "retirement," Steve became

the director in 1997 of the newly established University of Minnesota Holocaust and Genocide Center. Under his guidance and inspiration, CHGS became an extraordinary interdisciplinary center through its educational, research and outreach activities. From its remarkable web-site to a range of exhibitions, lectures, workshops and other activities, Steve provided a forum for diverse voices and a center for learning and tolerance.

I had the privilege of working with Stephen in workshops and seeing his dedication to teachers and students. From hosting the International Association of Genocide Scholars meeting in Minneapolis to putting together the program for the 2005 program, Steve made a major contribution to the development of IAGS.

In a difficult and demanding field of study, Steve stood out because of his breadth of vision, remarkable sense of humor, and capacity to support and help others; he truly was a humanitarian scholar. He is survived by his wife Susan, two children and two grandchildren. For contributions, eulogies, and further information go to the CHGS web-site <http://www.chgs.umn.edu>.

Joyce Aspel (New York University)

## BOOKS RECOMMENDED BY MEMBERS OF THE LEMKIN COMMITTEE

The following books which were considered for the 2007 Lemkin Award (see Bloxham article this issue) also drew appreciation from some members of the committee.

CHIROT, DANIEL AND CLARK MCCAULEY. *Why Not Kill Them All? The Logic and Prevention of Mass Political Murder*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006.

“This is a good integration of theory which adds social psychology to macrosociological considerations. The authors’ stress on the fear of pollution takes the killers’ fears seriously rather than view this as a product of ideology. What is novel is the way they turn the question around and consider prevention in a way few genocide scholars do.”

JONES, ADAM. *Genocide: A Comprehensive Introduction*. New York: Routledge, 2006.

“A fine work, clearly written, insightful, often skeptical of received wisdom...My main issues are that many of the case studies...are too brief.”

LEVY, DANIEL AND NATHAN SZNAIDER. *The Holocaust and Memory in the Global Age*. Trans. Assenka Oksiloff. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2006.

“This is a very good book ...[that] raises critical issues about how historical and contemporary contexts influence perceptions and judgments of genocidal events and of how politicians and social movements use such events to advance their own agendas. Explicit comparisons are made of memories of the Holocaust in Germany, Israel and the United States over a period from immediately after WWII to very nearly the present day.”

MIDLARSKY, MANUS. *The Killing Trap: Genocide in the Twentieth Century*.

Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.

“Midlarsky presents a new synthesis of major cases of genocide in the 20th century—the Holocaust, the

Armenians, and the Tutsi—expounding a theory based on more social psychological concepts than previous theorists...’risk acceptance,’ ‘risk minimization,’ ‘altruistic punishment,’ drawing on prospect theory.”

ROBINS, NICHOLAS. *Native Insurgencies and the Genocidal Impulse in the Americas*.

Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 2005.

“Very interesting book discussing primarily three Indian revolts in the America: the 1680 uprising of the Pueblo Indians against the Spanish; the Great Rebellion in Bolivia, 1780-82; and the Caste War of Yucatan that began in 1949. Each of these is clearly described and analyzed drawing significantly on primary sources. The book raises the question of whether an uprising and determined annihilation of those who are identified as occupiers and oppressors can be labeled as genocide.”

STOVER, ERIC. *The Witnesses: War Crimes and the Promise of Justice in the Hague*.

Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005.

“Stover provides unique insights into the working of the International Criminal Tribunal on Yugoslavia, puts a human face on the complexity of witness survivors and the ongoing dilemmas they face and provides concrete suggestions about how international tribunals may be more effective.”

STRAUS, SCOTT. *The Order of Genocide: Race, Power, and War in Rwanda*.

Cornell: Cornell University Press, 2006.

“An excellent, well-written account of the Rwandan genocide that breaks new ground methodologically and analytically....Straus’s book also has the virtue of considering a case-in-depth but linking the insights gleaned to larger issues in the field of genocide studies.”

## LEMKIN AWARD NOMINATION OPEN

The Institute for the Study of Genocide is opening the nominations for the 2007-2008 Lemkin Book Award. The winner will be selected in 2009 and give a lecture on the book in New York City.

The biennial award is in honor of Raphael Lemkin, the originator of the concept of genocide and first exponent of a United Nations Genocide Convention. It recognizes the best book (for non-fiction books published in the last two years) in English which focuses on explanations of genocide, crimes against

humanity, state mass killings, and gross violations of human rights and strategies to prevent such crimes and violations. The award bestows a \$500 honorarium and \$500 for transportation expenses. Nominators include publishers and members of the ISG, other scholarly organizations, and others. To make a nomination, send a brief letter with the justification for your choice to Roger Smith, Chair of the Lemkin Committee (theseus51@msn.com) by July 1, 2008 for books published in 2007 and by January 1, 2009 for books published in 2008.

## NEW BOOKS AND NOTABLE ARTICLES

Taner Akcam, Review Essay of Guenter Lewy, *The Armenian Massacres in Ottoman Turkey, Genocide Studies and Prevention* 3:1 (April 2008): 111-145.

Comprehensive analytical review faulting Lewy's attempt to deny Ottoman responsibility for massacres by scholar using Turkish sources.

Istvan Deak, Review-essay of Dan Kurzman, *Hitler's Secret Plot to Seize the Vatican and Kidnap Pius XII*, "New York Review of Books, June 12, 2008: 40-42. This is a review not only of Kurzman but of the controversy of the role of the Roman Catholic Church during the Holocaust,

citing principal works, findings and questions.

Anthony Oberschall, *Conflict and Peace Building in Divided Societies: Responses to Ethnic Violence*. London/New York: Routledge, 2007. PB Seven chapters including theory, peace intervention and peace building, war and peace/peace process in Bosnia, Israel-Palestine, and Northern Ireland. 260pp.

Robert Skloot, ed. *The Theatre of Genocide: Four Plays About Mass Murder in Rwanda, Bosnia, Cambodia, and Armenia*. Madison, Wis.: University of Wisconsin Press, 2008. PB 220pp.

## ISG PUBLICATIONS AVAILABLE

All orders must be PREPAID with a check drawn on a U.S. bank made out to the Institute for the Study of Genocide. Please e-mail first to confirm availability of publication (e-mail feinhelen@comcast.net) and other information unless there is other ordering information for particular publications.

### *Darfur: Genocide Before Our Eyes*

ed. Joyce Apsel. Institute for the Study of Genocide, 3rd ed., 2007. \$20 in the U.S., \$25 in other countries by Global Priority Mail. Essays by Joyce Apsel on "Teaching About Darfur through the perspective of genocide and human rights"; Jerry Fowler, "The Evolution of Conflict and Genocide in Sudan,"; Eric Markusen and Samuel Totten, "Investigating allegations of genocide in Darfur"; Eric Reeves, "Darfur: Genocide before Our Eyes,"; Gregory Stanton, "Twelve Ways to Deny a Genocide"; and Jennifer Leaning, "The Human Impact of War in Darfur."

Also contains four maps, glossary, webography of sources on Sudan and the text of the UN Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of Genocide. To order, first contact Joyce Apsel, jaa5@nyu.edu

### *The Prevention of Genocide: Rwanda and Yugoslavia Reconsidered*

(Institute for the Study of Genocide, 1994)

\$10 US / \$15 International (Prepaid, international money orders, U.S. Dollars only)

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*Ever Again?: Evaluating the United Nations Genocide Convention On its 50th Anniversary.* (1998) Essays by noted scholars, journalist and lawyers. \$15 US / \$20 International

### *Teaching About Genocide: An Interdisciplinary Guidebook with Syllabi for College and University Teachers*

New Edition 2002, eds. Joyce Apsel and Helen Fein. Published for the Institute for the Study of Genocide in cooperation with the American Sociological Association. Syllabi by 22 noted teachers (in anthropology, history, international affairs, law, philosophy, political science, psychology, law, religion, sociology) on the Armenian genocide; the Holocaust; genocide and Holocaust; genocide; genocide, human rights and international affairs; essays by the editors; and selected internet websites on genocide. Cost for mailing in the US is \$18 for members of ISG, IAGS and ASA and \$22 for all others; add \$3 for Canada and Mexico and \$6 for other countries. To order, send check in US dollars drawn on a US bank or by credit card (American Express, MasterCard or Visa) to American Sociological Association: by mail (1307 New York Avenue, NW, Suite 700, Washington, DC 20005-4701); telephone (202 383 9005, ext. 318), by fax (202 638 0882) or web ([www.asanet.org](http://www.asanet.org)).

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