1 **A Most Sensitive Matter**

4. The idea that Eichmann was essentially a vain, but dull, cipher who was committed to obedience was presented by Hannah Arendt in *Eichmann in Jerusalem* (New York: Viking Press, 1963). For a different perspective that depicts Eichmann as more committed to Nazi ideology, see David Caserani, *Becoming Eichmann: Rethinking the Life, Crimes, and Trial of a Desk Murderer* (New York: Da Capo Press, 2007). The well-known debate about whether the men of Police Battalion 101 were ordinary men, or more specifically ordinary Germans, is found in part in the 1998 edition of Christopher R. Browning, *Ordinary Men: Police Battalion 101 and the Final Solution in Poland* (New York: Harper Collins, 1992). For a rejoinder to Browning and an argument that eliminationist anti-Semitism was the cultural consensus in Germany for several decades preceding the Holocaust, see Daniel J. Goldhagen, *Hitler’s Willing Executioners: Ordinary Germans and the Holocaust* (New York: Vintage, 1996).
7. There were two concerts held on August 1, 1971, which were designed to raise funds to aid refugees from both the November 1970 cyclone that devastated East Pakistan and caused several hundred thousand deaths and the atrocities that commenced with the army repression in Dhaka in March 1971.
10. Ibid.
11. E-mail of December 3, 2004, in the author’s possession.
13. It should be noted, the events of 1971 are the subject of a novel by Tahmima Anam, a Bangladeshi-born woman educated in the United States and Great Britain. See Tahmima Anam, *A Golden Age* (New York: Harper Collins, 2007). Anam includes the targeting of Hindus by the Pakistani army as a major theme in her novel.
16. See other essays in Rosenbaum, *Is the Holocaust Unique?*
18. The case that there was a state-sponsored genocide of the Ottoman Armenians is made most persuasively in Taner Akçam’s *A Shameful Act: The Armenian Genocide and the Question of Turkish Responsibility* (New York: Henry Holt, 2007).
23. Ibid.

2 The Politics of Genocide Scholarship: The Case of Bangladesh

2. East Timor was a third case of an Asian genocide that did not receive much attention in the American media. The Indonesian government was
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a close Cold War ally of the United States. This interesting case will not be explored here. On East Timor, see Edward S. Herman and Noam Chomsky, Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of Mass Media (New York: Pantheon, 2002).

3. While there has been little attention paid to the Bangladesh genocide elsewhere in the West, this article focuses on the United States.


5. By 2007, a group was formed in North America to study the Bangladesh genocide. It was known as the Bangladesh Genocide Study Group and based at Kean University in New Jersey. It held a short first seminar in December 2007. http://cie.kean.edu:16080/~bdgenostudy/archive/Site/Welcome.html/ (accessed August 6, 2009). It planned a conference for October 2009.


17. Ibid.

18. Ibid.


22. Ibid.


35. Rohde’s letter is reprinted from the Record of the U.S. Senate as “Recent Events in East Pakistan” in Sheelendra Kumar Singh et al. (eds), *Bangladesh Documents*, vol. 1 (Madras, India: B. N. K. Press, 1971), 349–51.

36. Ibid., 351.

37. Reprinted from the Record of the U.S. House of Representatives in ibid., 357.


41. Ibid.


44. Mascarenhas, *The Rape of Bangla Desh*.

45. Rummel, *Death by Government*. 
50. Ibid.
51. Muhith, Bangladesh.
54. Ibid.
55. Jahan in “Genocide in Bangladesh” provides eyewitness testimony of mass rape camps established by the Pakistani army.
57. Ibid.
58. Ibid. In 2011, the rapists in Bangladesh were incorrectly identified as members of the Indian Army in The Economist. See “War’s Overlooked Victims.” The Economist, January 15, 2011, 63–65.
59. Muhith, Bangladesh.
62. Akram, “Atrocities against Humanity.”
70. Nazis often referred to areas that were free of Jews as a result of deportations as judenrein, implying that they had been cleansed of Jews.
71. Oldenburg, “A Place Insufficiently Imagined.”
72. Ibid.
73. Jahan, “Genocide in Bangladesh.”
74. Quoted in Oldenburg, “A Place Insufficiently Imagined,” 724.
76. There has been no investigation into the numbers of Hindus and Muslims killed in 1971, though there were obviously many victims from each religion.
77. Akmam, “Atrocities against Humanity,” 553.
79. Melson, Revolution and Genocide.
82. Weitz, A Century of Genocide.
83. Although the Pakistani army also eliminated many Bengali Muslims.
85. Ibid., 914.

91. Ibid., 203.

92. Sisson and Rose, *War and Secession*.


94. Ibid., 298n9.

95. Ibid., 306n24.

96. Akmam, “Atrocities against Humanity.”


101. Ibid.


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111. See the website of the Liberation War Museum at www.liberationwar museum.org (accessed June 26, 2007).


114. Ibid.

115. Ibid.


120. The claim here is not that all academic research seeks to score political points, but that there are few political gains to be had in focusing on Bangladesh.

121. The atrocities committed during the attempt to suppress Bengali nationalism are a major focus of A Golden Age, a novel by Bangladeshi writer Tahmima Anam published in Britain in 2007. Anam devotes considerable attention to the very controversial topic of the violence directed against Hindus by the Pakistani army. Tahmima Anam, A Golden Age (New York: Harper, 2008).

3: Arguing about Cambodia: Genocide and Political Interest


5. Political and economic groups were excluded from protection of the genocide convention after considerable debate, likely due to Soviet objection to terming the killing of oppositional groups as genocide. See Leo Kuper, *Genocide: Its Political Use in the 20th Century* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1981).

6. Genocide as defined by the 1948 Convention of the UN General Assembly constituted various harms perpetrated against a national, ethnic, racial, or religious group. In addition to Power, *A Problem from Hell*, see Kuper, *Genocide: Its Political Use*.


8. Ibid., 84.


12. Ben Kiernan, “The Cambodian Genocide,” in Totten, Parsons, and Charny, *Century of Genocide*, 343. Kiernan estimated that about 10,000 urban and 10,000 rural Vietnamese were killed by the Khmer Rouge. Indeed, Pol Pot and Democratic Kampuchea radio exhorted citizens to kill as many Vietnamese as possible. More than 100,000 Vietnamese were expelled from the country. Kiernan wrote that in a year’s research in Cambodia, he was unable to identify a single Vietnamese remaining in the country after the reign of the Khmer Rouge; p. 341.


14. Ibid.

15. Ibid.


17. Ibid., 56.

18. Ibid., 97.

19. Ibid., 104.

20. Ibid., 9.


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25. Ibid.
30. Ibid., 50.
31. Ibid., 47.
32. Bob Hering and Ernst Utrecht, eds., *Malcolm Caldwell’s Southeast Asia* (Townsville, Australia: Committee of South-East Asian Studies, James Cook University of North Queensland, 1979), 23; Caldwell notes that the *Reader’s Digest* book was serialized on Hanoi radio. For Barron and Paul, see n. 41 below.
33. Ibid., 27.
34. Ibid., 42.
35. Ibid., 46.
36. Ibid., 49–50.
37. Ibid., 103.
40. One of Chomsky’s most recent works is *Hegemony or Survival: America’s Quest for Global Dominance* (New York: Metropolitan, 2004), which was praised by Venezuelan president Hugo Chavez in the same speech that likened George W. Bush to the devil.
43. Ibid., xv.
47. Chomsky and Herman, “Distortions,” 792.
48. Ibid.
49. Ibid., 790.
51. Ibid., 146.
58. Ibid.
60. Ibid.
61. Becker, When the War Was Over, 435.
63. Ibid., 278.
64. Power, A Problem from Hell, 154
67. Ibid.
69. Shawcross, The Quality of Mercy.
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73. Ibid.
75. Kiernan, “Bringing the Khmer Rouge to Justice.”
76. Opposing the Khmer Rouge was politically unacceptable to many U.S. conservatives from 1979 until the collapse of the Soviet Union. Those who fought against Franco in the Spanish Civil War were labeled “prematurely anti-fascist” in the McCarthy era.
78. Kiernan, “Bringing the Khmer Rouge to Justice,” 103.
79. Shawcross, Quality of Mercy, 358.
81. Ibid.
83. Peter Maguire, Facing Death in Cambodia.
84. Ibid., 96.
85. Ibid., 97.
86. Ben Kiernan claimed in 2000 that some academics, notably Bunrouen Thach and Sorpong Peou, had written with sympathy for the Khmer Rouge during the 1990s. See “Bringing the Khmer Rouge to Justice.”
88. Ibid., 417.
89. Ibid., 424.
92. Ibid.
94. Ibid., 27.
96. Ibid., 103.
97. Ibid., 146.

99. Ibid., 407.


105. Metzl, Western Responses, 113.

106. Ear, “The Khmer Rouge Canon”


108. Metzl, Western Responses, 113.


111. Ibid. Todorov argues that humans ought to strive for a heightened moral standard when other people face a situation as dire as genocide.

4 Who Suffered the Most? Genocide Studies and the Politics of Victimization

1. For a concise argument by a uniqueness advocate, see the chapter by Steven T. Katz, “The Uniqueness of the Holocaust,” in Is the Holocaust Unique?
Notes


5. See all three of the books in the preceding reference.

6. Lipstadt, Denying the Holocaust, 212.

7. Ibid.


9. It is worth recalling that in his 1984 presidential campaign, Jesse Jackson would not directly repudiate Farrakhan despite the controversial Nation of Islam leader’s anti-Semitic comments and death threat against a black Washington Post reporter. Jackson received the bulk of his support from African Americans and was reluctant to alienate his political base.

10. Lipstadt, Denying the Holocaust, 7–8.

11. Evan Burr Bukey, Hitler’s Austria: Popular Sentiment in the Nazi Era (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000). Among the Austrians playing a prominent role in the Final Solution were Adolf Eichmann, Ernst Kaltenbrunner, and Franz Stangl.


15. The killing of Poles by both the Nazis and the Soviet Union is discussed in Timothy Snyder, Bloodlands: Europe between Hitler and Stalin (New York: Basic Books, 2010).


17. It is worth recalling that the definition of genocide approved by the UN General Assembly in 1948 refers to killing and other acts of destruction against a group, “in whole or in part.” See Leo Kuper, Genocide: Its


19. Ibid.

20. Snyder, Bloodlands.


22. Lipstadt, Denying the Holocaust, 212.

23. The vast literature on Ottoman Armenians cannot be considered here. It is analyzed in chapter 5. Two insightful recent works on the genocide are Donald Bloxham, The Great Game of Genocide: Imperialism, Nationalism, and the Destruction of the Ottoman Armenians (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), and Taner Akçam, A Shameful Act: The Armenian Genocide and the Case of Turkish Responsibility (New York: Metropolitan Books, 2006). For an argument that many Armenians were killed, but most likely not a result of central government direction, see Gunter Lewy, The Armenian Massacres in Ottoman Turkey: A Disputed Genocide (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2005).


25. Lipstadt, Denying the Holocaust, 212.


29. Lipstadt, Denying the Holocaust, 212.


31. Ibid.

32. See Richard J. Evans, In Hitler’s Shadow: West German Historians and the Attempt to Escape from the Nazi Past (New York: Pantheon, 1989).

40. *Ibid*.
42. *Ibid*.
51. For an account of Finkelstein’s inability to secure employment after his tenure denial at DePaul and the tale of some professors’ unsuccessful efforts to secure a job for him at California State University at Northridge, see David Klein, “Why is Norman Finkelstein Not Allowed to Teach?” http://www.csun.edu/~vcmth00m/finkelstein.html (accessed January 16, 2011).
53. Ibid., 32.
54. Ibid., 37.
55. Ibid., 127.
56. Ibid., 68.
57. Ibid., 69.
58. Finkelstein cites an article by historian Gordon Craig that appeared in the *New York Review of Books* in 1988, a dozen years before the verdict in the Lipstadt/Irving case.
59. In addition to the incorrect claim that more Jews died of natural causes than were murdered in the years 1939–1945, Mayer also claims that the Nazi hatred of the Jews was rooted in anti-communism rather than anti-Semitism.
60. Ibid., 72.
62. Guttenplan, *The Holocaust on Trial*. Lipstadt’s major publications were on the American media’s coverage of the Nazi persecution of the Jews and, of course, Holocaust denial.
69. Ibid., 27.
71. Novick, *The Holocaust in American Life*, discusses the quote and the reasons for believing that the most likely order of victims was listed by Niemoller is the communists, the Social Democrats, the trade unionists, and the Jews.
74. Linenthal, *Preserving Memory*.
76. Ian Hancock, *Responses to the Porrajamos*.
77. Linenthal, *Preserving Memory*, 238.
78. Ibid.
80. Ibid., 250.
81. Ibid., 249–50.
84. Ibid.
92. Ibid., 4. The committee also said that the investigation was “perhaps” in response to the attacks on Churchill’s “controversial publications,” 3.
94. Ibid.
95. Churchill, “Forbidding the G-word.”
96. Ibid., FOL refers to Friends of the Lubicon, a support group for the Lubicon who are a small indigenous tribe in Alberta.
5 The Disputed Fate of the Ottoman Armenians

9. Ibid., 232.
10. Ibid.
11. Ibid.
27. Ibid., 237–38.
28. Ibid.
29. Ibid.
30. Bagis’s letter was distributed on H-Genocide@H-Net.MSU.edu on July 19, 2005.
31. Ibid.
34. Ibid.
38. See for example, *The Armenian Encyclopedia*, “Recipients of Turkish Government Money,” www.armeniapedia.org. According to the Encyclopedia, 59 of the 69 scholars had received grant money from a Turkish-funded institute.
40. Ibid., 388.
41. Ibid., 400.
42. McCarthy’s view can be found in his general history of the Ottoman Empire. See Justin McCarthy, *The Ottoman Turks: An Introductory History to 1923* (London: Addison, Wesley, Longman Limited, 1997).
43. Ibid., 365.
45. Ibid.
49. Smith, Markusen, and Lifton, “Professional Ethics.” In an interview with a Swiss newspaper in February, Mr. Pamuk said, “Thirty thousand Kurds and one million Armenians were killed in these lands and nobody but me dares to talk about it.” He was referring to the conflict between the Turkish Army and Kurdish separatists and the slaughter of Armenians, which Turkey denies was genocide.
51. Ibid., 46.
52. Ibid., 47.
56. Hannah Arendt, Eichmann in Jerusalem: A Report on the Banality of Evil (New York: Penguin Books, 1994). Eichmann can be depicted in an organizational chart as heading section IV B4 of the Reich Main Security Office (RSHA or Reichssicherheitshauptamt), but he had a major role in the persecution of the Jews, from the German occupation of Vienna in 1938 to the murderous actions against Hungarian Jews in 1944. He was also present at the Wannsee Conference of January 20, 1942, where the implementation of the Holocaust was discussed.
60. Akçam, From Empire to Republic, 67.
62. Ibid., 128.
64. Ibid., 276.
66. The mass atrocities committed by the crusaders in pursuit of Jerusalem are well known as are the persecution and expulsion that followed the unification of Spain. The conquest of Eastern Europe and Ireland is chronicled in Robert Bartlett, The Making of Europe: Conquest, Colonization, and Cultural Change, 950–1350 (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993). The Albigenian or Cathari heretics were largely exterminated in the thirteenth century. See Norman Davies, Europe: A History (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996).
67. The classic statement on the Western view of “the other” is by Edward Said in Orientalism (New York: Vintage, 1979).
69. Ibid., 5.
71. Ibid., 45.
73. Dadrian, *The History of the Armenian Genocide*.
76. Mark 16:16. Ibid.
81. Ibid.
83. The full text of the letter may be found on the IAGS website at http://www.genocidescholars.org/about-us/iags-resolutions-statements/ (accessed December 5, 2010).
86. See the extended discussion of Rwanda in chapter 6.
87. Levene, “Creating a Modern Zone of Genocide,” 395.
88. Ibid., 421.
89. The trials are discussed briefly in Dadrian, *The Armenian Genocide*, and Bloxham, *The Great Game of Genocide*.
92. Donald Bloxham, *Genocide on Trial: War Crimes, Trials and the Formation of Holocaust History and Memory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001). Bloxham does not see the emerging conflict with the Soviet Union as the sole reason why so many prominent officials in Nazi Germany were released from custody or had sentences reduced. Interestingly, he argues that some Allied officials were not wholly unsympathetic with the crusade against Judeo-Bolshevism as the Nazis termed their murderous Operation Barbarossa campaign against the Soviet Union. U.S. and British business interests had reservations about the trial of the large industrial corporation I. G. Farben.


### 6 Genocide Provocation? The Case of the Ottoman Armenians and the Rwandan Tutsis


4. Ibid., 212.


6. Ibid., 418.


8. Ibid., 40.


16. Ibid., 128.
18. Ibid., 99.
22. Ibid.
23. Ibid.
25. Ibid.
26. Review of McCarthy’s book, *Death and Exile* in *Middle East Quarterly*, 1996. It should be noted that Pipes regards the assertion that the CUP leadership was involved in a genocide against the Armenians as evidence of bias against Turkey.
27. McCarthy, *Death and Exile*. For a western academic proffering of the view long advanced by the Turkish government that the Armenian deportations were a military necessity and that the central government ordered that great care be taken to secure the well-being of the deportees, see Stanford Shaw and Ezel Kurel Shaw, *The History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey: Reform, Revolution and Republic: The Rise of Modern Turkey, 1808–1975* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977).
28. Shaw and Shaw, *The History of the Ottoman Empire*.
30. McCarthy, *Death and Exile*. McCarthy has continued to argue in this vein in *The Armenian Rebellion at Van* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2006).
32. Levene, “Creating a Modern Zone of Genocide,” 395.
34. Ibid., 128.
35. Levene, “Creating a Modern Zone of Genocide.”
40. Ibid.
41. Ibid.
42. See chapter 2.
43. In the threatening speech of January 30, 1939 that he later called his prophecy, Hitler conflated Judaism with both Bolshevism and capitalism (“international finance Jewry”) in just a few sentences as he also promised that a new world war would result in the destruction of Europe’s Jews. The speech is quoted in many sources. See for example, Saul Friedlander, *Nazi Germany and the Jews: The Years of Persecution, 1933–1939* (New York: Harper & Collins, 1997), 309–10.
46. Ibid., 356.
47. Bloxham, *The Great Game of Genocide*.
48. Levene, *Genocide in the Age of the Nation State*.
49. Ibid., 225.
54. Ibid., 159.
55. Ibid., 162.
57. Ibid., 134–35.
58. Ibid., 136.
61. Ibid.
63. The MRND was the Mouvement Nationale Revolutionnaire pour Development.
64. The fact that the Tutsis held power over Hutus in precolonial times and that colonists, especially the Belgians, built their system of control on these differences is discussed in virtually all the literature on the Rwandan genocide. A good overview of the background to genocide is Gerard Prunier, *The Rwanda Crisis, 1959–1994: History of a Genocide* (London: Hurst, 1995).
67. Kuperman, “Genocide Provocation.”
68. Ibid., 61.
69. Ibid., 78.
72. Ibid., 15.
73. Ibid., 19.
77. Ibid., 197.
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83. Scott Straus, The Order of Genocide.

84. Ibid., 45.

85. Dallaire, Shake Hands with the Devil. 358.

86. This chapter does not address the issue of whether U.S. or other external intervention would have been desirable. See the exchange between Kuperman and Alison Des Forges in Foreign Affairs, May/June 2000.


88. The Arusha Accords are discussed in Straus, The Order of Genocide.

89. Philip Gourevitch, We wish to inform you that tomorrow we will be killed with our children: Stories from Rwanda (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1998).

90. Ibid., 94.

91. Mamdani, When Victims Become Killers.


93. Gourevitch, We wish to inform you, 97.

94. Ibid., 98.


97. Ibid., 43.

98. Ibid.


100. Because of his belief that Kagame was stonewalling in the investigation of the downing of the presidential plane, Rusesabagina wrote the Queen of England asking her not meet with Kagame on his visit to the United Kingdom in 2006. See the letter in “Hero of Hotel Rwanda Calls Kagame a War Criminal,” www.Taylor-Report.com (accessed July 14, 2008).


103. The leader of the Democratic Green Party, which had been prevented from running in the elections, was found beheaded in Butare in July, 2010. See Peter Beaumont, “Deadly Attacks on Rwandan Opposition Spark Warning

104. The RPF government has also been attacked by the lawyers for defendants in the ICTR courts at Arusha. Kagame and his cohorts are often depicted as tools of the United States. See for example, Peter Erlinder, “The Great Rwanda Genocide Coverup,” Third World Traveler, February 20, 2008, http://www.thirdworldtraveler.com/East_Africa/Rwanda_Genocide_Coverup.html (accessed October 14, 2010).


111. Ibid., 160.

112. For a brief 2010 overview of the political and economic status update that reports on the absence of political freedom in Rwanda, see “Divisionists Beware,” The Economist, March 6, 2010, 65.

113. On the Gersony Report and other actions against Hutus by the RPF, see Prunier, Africa’s World War.

7 Final Thoughts


3. The case that the famine was a direct attempt to kill Ukrainians is argued succinctly by Yaroslav Bilinsky in “Was the Ukrainian Famine of 1932–1933 a Genocide?” *Journal of Genocide Research* 1, no. 2 (1999): 147–56.

4. Ibid., 155–56.


13. Ibid., 223.

14. Catherine Belton and Roman Olearchyk, “Medvedev Ultimatum to Ukraine Leadership,” *Financial Times*, August 12, 2009, 1. The Russian naval lease at Sevastopol, due to expire in 2017, was renewed for at least 25 additional years in a 2010 treaty negotiated by the newly elected Yanukovich government, which is perceived by many observers as far more pro-Russian than was the regime of President Yuschenko.


Gourevitch, Philip. *We wish to inform you that tomorrow we will be killed with our children: Stories from Rwanda.* New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1998.


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