

**A CASEBOOK OF DENIALS OF DOING HARM TO OTHERS
AND REWARDS TO PEOPLE AND NATIONS WHO
OVERCOME DENIAL**

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The following introductory note must appear with any publication of this article along with other papers presented at the conference at Istanbul University:

DISCLAIMER: The author agreed to participate in the conference at Istanbul University as a welcome new initiative by an established Turkish academic institution-and to all appearances the Turkish government as well-to invite and allow explicit references to the Armenian Genocide, which even in recent months has been the basis for criminal prosecution of any number of Turkish citizens. By agreeing to publication of the present paper in the Proceedings of the conference, the author is aware that he is necessarily agreeing to publication of this paper alongside of any number of gross denials of the history of the Armenian Genocide (as well as other non-Turkish peoples) committed by the Ottoman Empire. Publication of this paper by Istanbul University alongside of denials of the Armenian Genocide in no way is to be taken as the author's approval or agreement of such denials, but as a willingness to open new windows in Turkish society towards learning about the western world's established history of the Armenian Genocide. -Israel W. Charny

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PREFACE

Voldemort! The Evil Presence and Bearer of Death, who killed dear Harry Potter's mother and father, always lurks, waiting to pounce on each of us. -J.K. Rowling, Harry Potter and the Sorcerer's Stone

It was important, Dumbledore [the beloved headmaster of the Wizards Academy], said, to fight, and fight again, and keep fighting, for only then could evil be kept at bay, though never quite eradicated...

Dumbledore to Harry Potter: 'Despite your privileged insight into Voldemort's world (which incidentally, is a gift any Death Eater would kill to have), you have never been seduced by the Dark Arts, never, even for a second, shown the slightest desire to become one of Voldemort's followers!... You are protected, in short, by your ability to love!...the only protection that can possibly work against the lure of power like Voldemort's!'-

J.K. Rowling, Harry Potter and the Half-Blood Prince

This paper has been prepared for delivery at a tense and controversial conference in Istanbul on Armenian-Turkish relations invited by Istanbul University. Given the human truth that for all of us, it is often more difficult to look at ourselves clearly but we may observe our own issues more objectively when we see others, I have prepared the present version of my paper on "denials of doing harm to others and rewards to people and nations who overcome denial" to include examples that for the most part do not pertain to the history of the Armenians and Turks.

I propose that we seek to see and understand how denials of known events of doing harm to others create an ugly and often a ridiculous world of superstition and backwardness, barriers to science and progress, hatred, violence, and totalitarianism. Denials may temporarily serve to protect us from pain and shame, but over the long run they prevent us from advancing our lives.

I have made a point of referring as much as possible to recent events in our shared world history. I have also cited a considerable number of reports from the contemporary western press rather than only from academic sources. My point is to help us see what is happening in the real world we live in, how a nation's denials of doing harm to others are regarded in the world that is taking shape today such as in the European Union and in the battle that is forming between fundamentalism and its devotion to genocidal terrorism versus the free

modern world. In each case presented, please feel and think what your reaction is to the denial. Please do not rush to read any implications for our understanding of the deaths of the Armenians in the Ottoman Empire, which Armenians and most of the free world call the Armenian Genocide, but which Turkey to this day denies was genocide. Let us first learn from the various cases what there is to learn, and hopefully at a later date we can apply our understanding to our issue.

CHINA

The Giant Leaps Forward while Holding Backward

China to all accounts is an emerging superpower in our world, perhaps the successor-to-be to the U.S. some day. Yet at this time, including approaching the 2008 Olympics China coveted so deeply to prove her status in the world, China is committed to many forms of denial of reality and truth, and has a dismal human rights record. The world knows that thousands of people are imprisoned in China for saying what the government deems the wrong thing, including telling the truth about real events.

China treats anyone harshly should they refer to the mass killing of students in Tiananmen Square in 1989. It is also unsafe in China today to make any statements about the unbelievable tens of millions of deaths of Chinese citizens under Mao Tse-tung's "Cultural Revolution" or "Great Leap Forward," let alone if one asks Google too many questions about such topics in contemporary China, not only will there be no answers, and if one persists the screen will go blank, but there may also follow ominous knocks on the door.

A bizarre patchwork pattern has developed in China where along with a breaking through of freedoms never dreamed of by Chinese citizens, there are bursts of oppressive measures that curtail and punish free speech and even searching for information on Internet, and which make honest journalism a very dangerous profession both to the reporters and to the owners of a news medium.

An illustrative report filed from Shanghai in a recent edition of the *New York Times* told how one week after the violent police suppression of a demonstration against the construction of a power plant that left as many as 20 people dead, the overwhelming majority of the Chinese public still knew nothing of the event. The *Times* called it "the biggest use of armed force against civilians since the massacre around Tiananmen Square in 1989," and said that "Chinese officials used a blend of techniques, from barring most newspapers

outside of the immediate region of the incident to report on it, to banning place names and other keywords associated with the event from major Internet search engines, such as Google..."¹

The first response by the government to the news to the violent confrontation between the police and protesters in the southern village of Dongzhou was to impose a blanket silence. Chinese media were banned from reporting the incident. Four days later, the official Xinhua press agency published the first Chinese media account of the confrontation in which it said that more than 300 armed villagers "assaulted the police," that three villagers were killed and eight were wounded, and that "the police were forced to open fire in alarm." However, the stories told by villagers insisted that 20 or more people had been killed by automatic weapons fire, and at least 40 were still missing.

"We don't have this news on our Web site," said Fang Sanwen, news director of Netease.com, one of China's three major Internet portals and news providers. In what has to be a classic understatement, the news director added, "I can't speak. I hope you can understand." Another communications professional, Li Shanyou, who is editor in chief of Sohu.com, a leading portal in China, said similarly, "I'm not the right person to answer this question... It's not very convenient to comment on this..."²

There have been many reports of China having searches on the Web remove information even on concepts like "democracy" and "free speech." In the U.S. there is great distress and public protest at this time against once-believed giants of the new information world such as Yahoo and Google who have agreed to remove informations from their local sites that are unacceptable to the government.

In the case of the violence we are describing is Dongzhou, web users who went to search engines like Google and typed in the word Shanwei, the city with jurisdiction over the village where the demonstration was put down, found links to a handful of pages on the city but nothing at all about the demonstrations against construction of the power plant, or about the eruption of violence. Those browsers who persisted then found their screens froze. Some days later the

¹ French, Howard W. (2005). China's tight lid on village shootings: National press is silent, and barriers are raised on the Web. *International Herald Tribune*, December 17, with attribution to the *New York Times*.

² *Ibid.*

system teased them by putting on links to foreign news sources after several screens of Google searches, but the links proved unworkable.

In another *New York Times* story,³ a young lawyer, Gao Zhisheng, 41, is profiled as "one of a handful of self-proclaimed legal 'rights defenders,' [who] travels the country filing lawsuits over corruption, land seizures, police abuses and religious freedom." The lawyer usually files against the ruling Communist Party, but the Party has told him he had better cease and desist. His firm's operating license and his personal permit to practice law were both suspended. Secret police now watch his home and follow him wherever he goes.

Among others, Gao has been blocked from filing lawsuits on behalf of Falun Gong members. He then resorted to open letters addressed to President Hu Jintao and Prime Minister Wen Jiabao in which he charged that the secret police tortured, including raped and brainwashed sect members to make them renounce Falun Gong. The result was not long in coming, "first as a courtesy call." The men who came were very polite, Gao recalled. "When they prepared to leave, however, one of them said, 'You must be proud of what you have achieved as a lawyer after your self-study. Certainly you must be worried should something happen to derail that.' I'm not sure how much time I have left to conduct my work," Gao says. "But I will use every minute to expose the barbaric tactics of our leadership."

Chinese leaders do not discourage legal process entirely. They need the law to check corruption and persuade the outside world that China is governed by law and not the whim of party leaders. But, says this *Times* reporter, "They draw the line at any fundamental challenge to their monopoly on power..." Zhang Sizhi is also a prominent defense lawyer who has accepted dozens of long-shot cases that he views as advancing the law. He says lawyers must do so with "small, carefully calibrated jolts of legal pressure.... The system is improving incrementally. If you go too far, you will only hurt the chances of legal reform as well as the interests of your client."

One might conclude cynically that China is so huge and powerful that she will get away for many more years with her denials. Too many nations fear her power. Too many people want a share in the markets. But these harsh realities should be of no comfort to smaller and less powerful countries. Moreover, there

³ Kakn, Joseph (2005). Lawyer takes on China's 'unwinnable' cases. *International Herald Tribune*, December 13, 2, with attribution to the *New York Times*.

are also other students of history, political science and economics who believe that China must reduce her abuses of truth and freedom or she will not be able to sustain her development.

Question: Is China, as it moves towards a place of prominence in the world, the stronger or the weaker for its denials and suppression of information?

JAPAN

Japan has braved a noteworthy recovery, including economically, since World War II and its occupation by the Allied forces that conquered her. Nonetheless, with all its advances to become a modern culture and participant in world society, to this day Japan continues to hold on to an amazing level of denials of the clear-cut facts of many of its destructive actions in the 1930s and World War II. Periodically there are outrages by many countries and especially Japan's neighbors, China and Korea, when the Prime Minister of Japan pays respectful homage at Yasukuni Shrine, Japan's hallowed memorial to its war dead where the country has enshrined military leaders from the 1930s and 1940s who include people who were actually sentenced to death and hanged by the post-war Tokyo War Tribunal.⁴

Japan today is the object of world condemnation and disrespect also because of its failures to acknowledge even the infamous Nanking butchery.⁵ In the 1930s, Japan invaded the section of China that is designated Manchuria, and to all accounts conducted its military actions with the greatest kind of savagery and cruelty. It is during this period that Japan committed what came to be known as "The Rape of Nanking," a vicious orgy of rape and murder that created a prototypal event that has entered history. Moreover, as the brilliant researcher of genocide, Professor R. J. Rummel of the University of Hawaii points out, this was not an isolated case. From one village, town, or city to another, the Japanese often killed the inhabitants, executed suspected former nationalist soldiers, beat to death or buried alive those disobeying their orders or showing insufficient respect, and mistreating many others. Much of this killing was done in cold blood and thoughtlessly – as one would swat a fly. An

⁴ Judge, Michael (2005). *International Herald Tribune*, December 9, Japan's history: The struggle to be 'normal.' Michael Judge, a freelance journalist, is a Hoover Institution media fellow.

⁵ See, for example, an editorial in the *International Herald Tribune* which was reprinted from the *Boston Globe: International Herald Tribune* (2006). Editorial: Japan's history lesson. February 10, 8, with attribution to the *Boston Globe*.

example of this that most sticks in my mind is of one Japanese officer's use of Chinese prisoners for "kill practice" by his inexperienced soldiers.⁶

Nanking (or "Nanking") is actually a focal point of Japan's brutality in all of Manchuria. A bitter condemnation of Japan's conduct and especially its continuing denial appeared in the *Japanese Times*.

What the Japanese military did in Nanjing looks like a sideshow compared with what they did in the rest of China. In much of northern China, the military had a deliberate policy of destroying all villages and killing all who might possibly be of help to the other side. A much-documented horror was the practice of "blooding" new recruits by having them bayonet to death any captured Chinese males that might be at hand...

While Germany today apologizes, Japan prevaricates. Especially ugly is the way right wingers and conservatives here airily dismiss the need to dredge up details of the past, but then pounce with minute detail on minor discrepancies in otherwise undeniable accounts of past atrocities. A doubtful statistic on page 176 or one misplaced photo on page 274 is enough to slam the author and argue that maybe was no atrocity to begin with.⁷

In Manchuria, the Japanese also pioneered a type of dread medical-scientific leadership similar to what would be seen years later by the Nazis under the infamous Dr. Mengele. The Japanese Mengele was a Lt. Shiro Ishii. Under his direction, Japanese Army Unit 731 carried out excruciatingly cruel experiments.⁸ There were thousands of victims, initially Chinese prisoners and spies and some Japanese criminals, but increasingly also American, British and Australian prisoners of war. Victim of the experiments were infected with diseases like cholera, gas gangrene, typhus or frozen to death in endurance tests or exposed to mustard gas, or subject to amputations, or used as victims of test bombings and explosions. It was from this hell center of a science committed to destruction that the Japanese proceeded to release large numbers of infected fleas on Chinese civilians that are estimated to have caused some 270,000

⁶ Rummel, R.J. (1999). China, genocide in: The Chinese Communist anthill, *Encyclopedia of Genocide, ibid.*, p. 150.

⁷ Clark, Gregory (2000). The Nanjing number game. *The Japan Times*, February 7. Retrieved from the web: <http://warbirdforum.com/massacre.htm>:Rent Me, 1/ 26/2006. Gregory Clark is president of Tama University.

⁸ *Encyclopedia of Genocide* (1999). Japanese Unit 731-Dread medical experiments that preceded the Nazis. *Encyclopedia of Genocide, ibid.*, p. 413.

deaths.⁹ There are reports that anatomical remains from the experiments continue to be in use in a medical school in Tokyo to this day. Japan has never acknowledged the Mengele experiments of Ishii and Unit 731.

Japan is also frequently indicted for its promiscuous use of "comfort women" who were taken mainly from Korean prisoners, but it is reported that there were also Chinese Taiwanese, Filipinos, Dutch and even a few American women. At one point Korea was required to provide 20,000 women so that the Japanese army in Manchuria in the early 1940s could "enjoy" a ratio of 35 soldiers to one comfort woman. A Japanese Prime Minister (Miyazawa in 1922) has admitted to the facts of the comfort women, but never accepted Japan's responsibility.¹⁰ There have been many international efforts including by the United Nations to demand responsibility by Japan, but largely unsuccessfully.

I confess, regrettably, that the overall story of Japan also could be taken as a basis for promoting continued denials of destructiveness by a government, and an example of the fact that a government that insists on denial can get away with it for many years and even achieve considerable economic success. Yet there are also many in Japan itself who argue that Japan is the poorer for its denials, and that these eat away at the spirit of the nation. Who knows, for example, whether the drastically and even dangerously reduced birth rate in Japan that leads to predictions of a declining population might reflect a loss of morale and pride that might be better if Japan were less condemned by so many nations in the world. Each one of us must choose how we think.

The Committee for the Chinese Holocaust Museum of the United States writes as follows about what they call "the Chinese Holocaust" at the hands of the Japanese in the 1930s and into World War II. As its name implies, the committee is seeking to create a museum in the United States to commemorate this "forgotten Holocaust," including the "Rape of Nanking," Japanese germ warfare by Unit 731, and the "comfort women" exploited by Japan.

In 1931, the Japanese Military forces first invaded Northeast China, known as Manchuria, then escalated the aggression against China to an all-out war by staging the Marco Polo Bridge incident in July 7, 1937, and eventually launched the Pearl Harbor surprise attack that touched off the Pacific War or

⁹ Hung, Poland (date unknown). Integrating the Sino-Japanese War (1932-1945) into the World War II history curriculum in high school. Committee for the Chinese Holocaust Museum of the United States. Retrieved from the web: www.chineseholocaust.org/edu1.html, January 26, 2006.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

World War II in Asia. By early 1942, all Asian peoples except the Indians groveled at the feet of the Japanese army. However, no Asian peoples had suffered from Japanese tyranny as the Chinese had. For fourteen years, the Japanese wreaked havoc upon the Chinese: no less that 35 million Chinese were killed and hundreds of billions dollars worth of properties were destroyed and plundered; and millions of laborers were forced to work to death or simply murdered, which among other crimes and atrocities have characterized the Chinese Holocaust.¹¹

Question: Is Japan, today a heroic leader in world manufacturing and commerce, the stronger or the weaker for its denials?

UNITED STATES

The U.S.A. (and the U.K. too) -A Democratic Accomplice to Genocide

One does not have to join the plentiful ranks of the anti-Americans to know that, for all its greatness as a democratic country and a country that has saved the populations of many other countries from being vanquished and subject to agonizing occupation by the worst totalitarian powers on this planet, the U.S. periodically also stretches its hand out in serious acts of destruction or as an accomplice to the destruction of civilians.

The collaboration can be undercover CIA-type assistance and even direct participation by CIA officers in programs of extra-judicial executions and disappearances, such as when the United States cooperated in the murders of 3,000 people in Chile by Pinochet – a man who to this day is in a process of being charged with "crimes of genocide and terrorism that include murder" (the British text of an indictment of Pinochet in 1998, and today Pinochet is under indictment in his own country). The United States has actively released formal documents confirming what had long been known of its participation in Pinochet's acts of torture and murder.¹² The role of the United States as an accomplice can also take the form of refusing to acknowledge that murders that are taking place in another country constitute genocide, such as the failure of the U.S. to confirm that genocide was taking place in Rwanda to which we will return later in our discussion of new developments in apologies and restitution by governments, but about which I will now note that in March 1998 President

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² Totten, Samuel (1999). Pinochet, Augusto, and a new legal precedent toward extradition on charges of genocide. *Encyclopedia of Genocide, ibid.*, pp. 460-462.

Bill Clinton traveled to Rwanda and acknowledged that America's failure allowed the incredible near-100 day slaughter to proceed: "We did not act quickly enough after the killing began. We did not immediately call these crimes by their rightful name "genocide," said President Clinton.¹³

It is well known that in 1965-1966, Indonesian government troops killed at least one hundred thousand people charged with being Communists in what were described as a popular uprising of the people running amuck against the enemies of Indonesian nationalism. Some reporters have claimed that the number of dead was much larger, even as many as one-half million. All reports agree that many of the victims were very simple peasants and plantation workers who were loosely associated with workers' groups who were responsive to the Communists. Moreover, much of the killing involved not only actual members of the Communist party or even the workers identified with them, but their wives and children and entire families. It was a bloodbath. I remember speaking to the great anthropologist, Margaret Mead, about this eruption of genocide as if from the people, and for her too this was a watershed event which disproved the theory that she and other anthropologists previously had enjoyed when they believed that a people living close to the land would be less likely to engage in genocide than the people of a more highly comprised culture who are more accustomed to marching to the demands of their churches or governments. Margaret Mead said to me that the genocide in Indonesia proved that the possibility of genocide was universal, a conclusion that unfortunately is only proven more and more over time.

A powerful article in 1996 by Marc Curtis revealed the depth of the connection of the United States and Britain, two sterling democratic leaders of the world then and today, to the genocide:

If a democratic country is found to have aided the killing of hundreds of thousands of people, how should its institutions respond? Recently declassified secret government files show that in 1965 Britain aided the slaughter of over half a million people in Indonesia... According to a CIA memorandum on June 1962, Prime Minister Harold Macmillan and President John Kennedy "agreed to liquidate President Sukarno, depending on the situation and the available opportunities." The British Ambassador in Jakarta, Sir Andrew Gilchrist,

¹³ *Encyclopedia of Genocide* (1999). President Clinton: World reacted too slowly to Rwandan Genocide. *Encyclopedia of Genocide, ibid.*, p. 13. See also Jehl, Douglas (1995). Officials told to avoid calling killings genocide. *New York Times*, June 10.

informed the Foreign Office on 5 October 1965 that "I have never concealed from you my belief that a little shooting in Indonesia would be an essential preliminary to effective change."

A British official reported on 25 November that "PKI men and women are being executed in very large numbers." Some victims "are given a knife and invited to kill themselves. Most refuse and are told to turn round and are shot in the back." One executioner considered it "his duty to exterminate what he called 'less than animals.'" It was not only PKI supporters who were targets of this slaughter. As the British files show, many of the victims were the "merest rank and file" of the PKI who were "often no more than bewildered peasants who give the wrong answer on a dark night to bloodthirsty hooligans bent on violence" with the connivance of the army.

It is known from declassified US records that the US covertly provided arms to the Generals to aid their campaign of slaughter. The US embassy in Jakarta also gave the Indonesian army a hit list of thousands of PKI supporters, who were subsequently hunted down and killed. The British files reveal extremely close relations between the US and British embassies in Jakarta.

Together our so-called democratic governments had little concern for protecting civilized values.¹⁴

Amusingly, although let there be no doubt we are talking about dead serious events, the United States first declassified many of its documents from the period, but then panicked and attempted to recall the documents to no avail after they had already been copied by various press reports and scholars.

The United States has also been implicated any number of times for its support of other regimes and movements, including once upon a time Osama bin Laden in Afghanistan, whom the U.S. believed would be more favorable to its political interests but who turned out to be especially murderous.

Question: The U.S.A. is indisputably the world's great superpower. Is it possible that with her great strength the U.S. is no worse off for her denials? Or does the erosion of moral integrity in each instance of complicity in genocidal massacres slowly but surely weaken the fighting spirit and historical purpose of the U.S. as a champion of democracy?

¹⁴ Curtis, Mark (1999). Democratic genocide: Britain and the United States aided genocide in Indonesia [title of feature in Encyclopedia based on original article by Curtis, "Democratic Genocide," the *Ecologist*, 1966, 26 (5). *Encyclopedia of Genocide*, *ibid.*, p. 355.

ISRAEL

Israel is an example of a near-fully democratic country, certainly as regards the rights of its citizens to speak fully and openly about everything, and a tremendously wide range of freedom of expression in the newspapers, magazines and increasingly the media as well – at one point there was only a government television station, and for many years that station had limited its broadcasting of topics such as about the Armenians per government decision.¹⁵

With regard to its own errors, shortcoming and acts of evil -that of course are always present to some degree even in nations and countries which are largely trying to be decent- Israel's government engages in denials of destructive actions to an extent that is genuinely shameful by the standards of committed proponents of human rights, but which are not at all out of line or extreme in comparison to other democratic governments in the western world. Relatively speaking, the truth of Israeli policies that are destructive of innocent human lives end up being brought to light by its relentless press as well as by its judicial system with a high level of integrity.

There are, however, other levels of denial of denial of wrongdoing in Israeli society even as freedom of speech remains high. Thus, following a genuinely epic trial and conviction of Israeli soldiers who commanded the pitiless massacre of some 49 unarmed Arab men, women and children returning innocently from their day's work in the fields without knowing that a curfew had been declared for that evening in their village, Kfar Kassem, no less than the fabled first Prime Minister, David Ben Gurion, arranged for an early pardon for some of the convicted killers and even for desirable employment for some of them. There is no question but that such intervention by the country's leader is a major expression of denial of wrongdoing.

There are also other levels of the culture that turn against people who bring up the truths of abuses and murders by Israel of Arab civilians.¹⁶

¹⁵ Auran, Yair (2003). *The Banality of Denial: Israel and the Armenian Genocide*. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers. See also Auran, Yair (2000). *The Banality of Indifference: Zionism and the Armenian Genocide*. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers.

¹⁶ See the publications of the excellent human rights group, B'tselem -a word which means "in his image" and refers to the biblical statement that man was created in God's image with the explanation that man, like God, is expected to be just and compassionate. Israel's leading newspaper, *Haaretz*, is also a continuous source of information about horrible violations of human rights of Palestinians. See, for example, Levy, Gideon (2005). Dusty trail to death. [... testimony about Palestinians who have been tied to their mules]. *Haaretz Magazine English Edition* (also appeared in the Hebrew), December 23, 8-10.

One of my then graduate students, today Dr. Daphna Fromer, and I did a study of people who were taking the time to go to see the nine-hour saga of the Holocaust created by Claude Lanzmann.¹⁷ We had graduate students greet people at the box office of the Tel Aviv Museum where they were purchasing their tickets and asked them whether they would agree to participate in a brief study being conducted at Tel Aviv University. We were interested in seeing whether people who cared so deeply about lives of Jews in the Holocaust would also care about the lives of the innocent Arab victims, and we were also interested in knowing how people who were Holocaust survivors or closely related to them would compare to other Israelis in respect to their protests against illegal and vicious taking of human lives under the cloak of security needs. The key question that we asked the participants in this study was whether they approved or understood the army's massacre of civilians at Kfar Kassem. Later when we presented the results of this study to a faculty seminar at Tel Aviv University, my student and I were treated coldly and angrily, but since no one could argue the subject we studied was not legitimate the verbal fire was directed at our "poor scientific methodology" -which I will add proved to be entirely acceptable to a quality American professional journal, the *Journal of Traumatic Stress* which shortly thereafter published our findings.

Fromer and I had a similar and even more unbelievable experience with regard to empirical studies that we did of the readiness of Israeli students in the *helping* professions to do harm to chronically ill patients, and to Arab citizens. In this experiment no real harm was done to people, thank God, but we ran a series of experimental scenarios where we projected for the students in medicine, psychology and social work scenarios in which they were to imagine themselves in their future practices. In the first study, they were called upon to make very serious decisions about how they would handle chronically severely ill medical patients, and whether or not they would agree, on the advice of a government Health Department and a leading University Medical Faculty to terminate their lives in the interests of maximizing the resources of the health

The article was featured as the cover page of the magazine under a large headline: Death by dragging: Palestinians report a new method of punishment by the Border Police: Tying people to their mules and letting the animals run free.

¹⁷ Charny, Israel W. and Fromer, Daphna (1992). A study of attitudes of viewers of the film "Shoah" towards an incident of mass murder by Israeli soldiers (Kfar Kassem, 1956). *Journal of Traumatic Stress*, 5 (2), 303-318.

system for more treatable patients in the developing African country in which they were told they were being employed.¹⁸

In the second study, the students were asked to picture themselves in Israel at a time when a right-wing government comes to power and orders a forced population transfer of Arabs out of Israel, not including the sick and infirm and old who are allowed to remain. The health professionals are called up to army service in their professional roles, and in that context, when they are required to follow orders, are instructed to evaluate the health status of the Arab residents. The question was whether the future health professionals would agree to carry out these orders -which effectively would make them participants in the program of forced migration.¹⁹

For your interest, the results of the above series of studies were both good and bad, in that too many Israeli students were ready to do harm to others, but on the other hand the percentages of those willing to do harm were lower than has been found in a number of other studies of readiness to do harm to people.

The unbelievable story of the denial of our findings by colleague professionals is that when it came to publishing the results in Hebrew in an Israeli journal, a leading journal first accepted a paper from us, but then some months later withdrew the acceptance and reported back to us that a reviewer had conveyed to them *with absolute certainty* that the findings we had reported were "lies and a purposeful fabrication." It will be noted here too that the same studies were indeed accepted for publication in a variety of established American and British journals, including the conservative flagship journal of Holocaust studies, *Holocaust and Genocide Studies*, and the first-rate psychiatric journal, *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, as well as others.²⁰ We were never able to publish the findings in Hebrew in Israel, although some - not all- newspapers ran stories on the study.

¹⁸ Charny, Israel W., and Fromer, Daphna (1990). A study of the readiness of Jewish/Israeli students in the health professions to authorize and execute involuntary mass euthanasia of "severely handicapped" patients. *Holocaust and Genocide Studies*, 5 (3), 313-335.

¹⁹ Charny, Israel W., and Fromer, Daphna (1990). The readiness of health profession students to comply with a hypothetical program of "forced migration" of a minority population. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 60 (4), 486-495.

²⁰ Charny, Israel W. (1990). To commit or not commit to human life: Children of victims and victimizers -- all. *Contemporary Family Therapy*, 12 (5), 407-426; Charny, Israel W., and Fromer, Daphna (2004). A study of the readiness of Jewish/Israeli students in the health professions to authorize and execute involuntary mass euthanasia of "severely handicapped" patients. *Idea-A Journal of Social Issues* an electronic journal; 9 (1), September 25: <http://www.ideajournal.com/articles.php?sup=35>. An introduction to the article will be found in <http://www.ideajournal.com/articles.php?sup=13>.

Overall, Israel comes across as a political culture where there are healthy legal safeguards of freedom of speech; tendencies of the Israeli government like most governments to conceal information, but which most often fail under the healthy pressures of the free press and the judiciary; but also no little obstruction and cover-up by the government including security forces, and political sanctions that become the equivalent of censorship on the level of the public culture, including the politics of academia and in scholarly-professional institutions.

With respect to the fate of the Armenians in 1915, the Israeli government acknowledges the massacres of the Armenians but adamantly declines to call it *genocide*, in a clear-cut bowing to the wishes of the Turkish government. Thus, an angry cartoon in the U.S. recently mocked protests of Iran's denials of the Holocaust by showing Israel standing with Turkey in denying the fate of the Armenians.²¹ On the other hand, Israeli culture as a whole has accepted unambiguously the facts of the genocide of Armenians and treats the government's failure to do so a combination of a shameful action and trivial politicking that is not to be taken seriously. As a cultural community, Israelis know and remember the Armenian Genocide.²²

Question: Given that there is no doubt that popular Israeli culture does recognize the validity of the Armenian Genocide, does Israel joining actively in Turkish denials of a genocide -including lobbying with Turkey in the U.S.-weaken her position as the leader of Holocaust remembrance in the world? Does Israel weaken itself in the eyes of its own people? Are the evident political gains of cooperation with Turkey so valuable as to offset the damages to Israel's integrity?

RWANDA

Rwanda -including a Case of Overcoming Denial by Israel

In 1994 in Rwanda close to one million human beings, mainly Tutsi but also some Hutu who refused to submit their fellow Tutsi Rwandans to the death squads or who were otherwise perceived as opposing the genocide, were slaughtered, the majority viciously in direct butchering, by their fellow countrymen, the Hutu, in an incredibly short period nearing 100 days. The

²¹ The cartoon dated February 8, 2006 in a French-language source can be retrieved at <http://.bendib.com/newones/2005/december/small/12-18-Holocaust-Deniers.jpg>

²² See the two works by Yair Auron, *ibid.*

western world stood by and refused to recognize that genocide was taking place. The event was called everything but genocide so as to forestall any consideration of international intervention. The United Nations had a small force in Rwanda under the command of General Roméo Dallaire who appealed for additional troops with whom he *could have stopped the genocide* but was turned down by the United Nations and by the western nations who were most influential in making that decision, including Belgium, France, the United Kingdom and the United States.

The January 11, 1994 cable from Dallaire warning that genocide was planned and asking for further help is today infamous. Linda Melvern, an outstanding investigative journalist in the U.K., author of *Conspiracy to Murder: The Rwanda Genocide and the International Community*, and today a vice-president of the International Association of Genocide Scholars, has written:

The United Kingdom... together with the United States... refused reinforcements for Rwanda even before the genocide began, telling those people sounding alarm bells that for reasons of economy it was not possible... The UN Security Council... decided to leave the peacekeepers in Rwanda with no mandate or means... There are countless dead who believed that with UN peacekeepers in their country they would be safe... In the three months that the genocide lasted, April-July, the killing was faster at the outset; the end of May, when the large scale massacres were over, bore no resemblance to the coherence and systematic nature of the killings when they began. What was needed at the end of May was a protection force for the hundreds of them under the threat of militia or military.²³

As is well-known, in Israel there has been intense pressure since the Holocaust to define the Holocaust as an ultimately unique event that extends far beyond any other event of mass destruction in recorded human history, one might say the 'uniquest of the unique' and therefore incomparable to other events of mass destruction. The Israeli public as a whole nonetheless has been able to tolerate awareness and concern for other victimized peoples in this world, including as a natural extension of the traditional emphases in Jewish

²³ Melvern, Linda (2005). Review of Fisanick, Christina (Ed.) (2004). *The Rwanda Genocide: At Issue in History*. At Issue in History Series. Chicago: Greenhaven Press. H-NET BOOK REVIEW, published by H-Genocide@h-net.msu.edu, December. Distributed by H-NET List on the History and Theory of Genocide, 12 December, 2005. Melvern, Linda (2004). *Conspiracy to Murder: The Rwanda Genocide and the International Community*. London: Verso.

culture in regard for the sanctity of life and compassion for victims of injury and death. Nonetheless, the Establishment of Israeli culture, including the prestigious leaders in academia who rule the roost on recognition and promotion in faculty appointments, and certainly the government-mandated authority for memorial of the Holocaust, the world renowned institution of Yad Vashem in Jerusalem, have steadfastly insisted on the aforementioned concept of the Holocaust as an event in its own class.

Over the years there have been hundreds of incidents where the introduction of information about the genocides of other peoples in academic, public or media settings has been decried, treated with contempt, or simply forbidden. As one example, in a major lecture by American-Jewish Professor Steven Katz, who is well-known for his denying that *any* other event other than the Holocaust could even be considered *genocide*, in the discussion following the lecture the chair responded with crushing dismissal to a protest by one scholar in the audience.²⁴ In fact I can share this with you that since I was that one scholar. In the reception that followed the above heavily laden event, I had an interesting and even amusing experience. I found myself ostracized and kept at a distance by the crowd in whom normally I would be mingling in a friendly fashion, but then literally every few minutes someone would slide past me where I was standing alone with my cup of tea and whisper out of the side of their mouth, "Well done. I'm so glad you protested," or "I wish I had the courage to say what you did. Thank you!"

At Yad Vashem, there were constant proclamations by staff of the uniqueness of the Holocaust, and when occasional lecturers came from the outside to speak (usually at the invitation of groups visiting from different countries who ask for the specific lecturer) would bring up other cases of genocide in comparison with the Holocaust, I literally saw and heard Yad Vashem staff members become outraged. On one such occasion, when the lecturer was distinguished Professor Richard Hovannisian of the University of California's Department of Near Eastern Studies, a staff member even screamed out, "How dare he speak of [another event of genocide] here in Yad Vashem! How dare he violate the holiness of this house!"

So it is truly a major transformational event in Israeli cultural history when, just a few months ago, Yad Vashem hosted a seminar titled, "The

²⁴ Katz, Steven T. (1994). *The Holocaust in Historical Context*. Volume 1. *The Holocaust and Mass Death Before the Modern Age*. New York.

Genocide in Rwanda – Have We Learned Anything from the Holocaust?" So significant was this event under the auspices of Yad Vashem's School for Holocaust Studies that was attended by 20 Tutsi survivors of the Rwandan Genocide, and which was also addressed by the Chairman of Yad Vashem, Avner Shalev, that the *Jerusalem Post* wrote about the event as follows:

In a highly unusual move, Yad Vashem will host an international seminar dealing with the genocide in Rwanda last decade, effectively broadening the scope of Israel's Holocaust Martyr's and Heroes Remembrance Authority for the first time since its inception a half century ago beyond the confines of World War II. Israel's internationally respected Holocaust center has rarely strayed onto other genocides outside the Holocaust, barely even using the term 'genocide' in order to distinguish the Holocaust from other mass murders... Dr. Motti Shalem, Director of the International School for Holocaust Studies, conceded a "shift" in long-standing policy. As a center that teaches about the Holocaust, it was imperative to actively speak out against genocide and mass murder whenever it happens while still maintaining the uniqueness of the Holocaust.²⁵

The head of the Tutsi delegation was a deeply impressive survivor of the genocide by the name of Yolande Mukagasana. A practicing nurse-therapist in Rwanda, whose life work was the protection of life and the alleviation of suffering, Yolande had lost all of her children and husband and other family members in the genocide. She has little sympathy for many of us academics "who lecture at great length on the genocide in Rwanda... and offer false explanations of false facts. I hate the West. I hate the cultured intellectuals of the West," she says.²⁶ She has similar little patience for the politicians "from Washington to Brussels [who define the Rwandan genocide as] 'a civil war based on tribal loyalties.'"²⁷ Yolanda cries out, "I don't know if it is because of my children that I am crying...or because of the disgustingly low nature of human beings...and also, without doubt, the disgusting shallowness of the international community that abandoned us."²⁸

²⁵ Lefkovits, Etgar (2005). Yad Vashem to host seminar on Rwanda genocide. *Jerusalem Post*, November 2, 3.

²⁶ Mukagasana, Yolande (2005). *Death Does Not Want Me: A Testimony of Genocide*. Jerusalem: Elkana, p. 94. (Hebrew)

²⁷ Mukagasana, Yolande (2005), *ibid.*, p. 104.

²⁸ Mukagasana, Yolande (2005), *ibid.*, p. 83.

COLLECTIVE DENIAL OF 9/11

Collective Denial of 9/11 – and Further Islamic Terrorism

As is well known, there were many places in the Islamic world where the news of the incredible toppling of the two towers of the World Trade Center in New York, as well as the less celebrated but nonetheless also very significant airplane bombing of the Pentagon at the same time, were celebrated openly, even wildly, by crowds of people in the streets. Nonetheless, notwithstanding the popular celebration of the crushing attacks on the enemy-United States, there seems to be also a healthy, instinctive knowledge in Islamic society that the kind of attacks that were employed, using civilian aircraft and taking innocent passengers to their terrifying deaths, and killing thousands of innocent civilians going about their daily lives, is intrinsically wrong. Otherwise there would be no need for Islamic society to deny so extensively that the attacks were not carried out by representatives of Islam.

It is true that committed ideologues call for and justify any violence without conscience or boundary, but I believe there remains at work in the minds of most human beings a universal human conscience that knows that the killing of unarmed non-combatants is inhuman in the face of a God or natural ethic that most human cultures and religions agree on. So that in the majority of Islamic countries, the celebrations of 9/11 were then followed by an eruption of denial of the very acts that had just been celebrated. According to opinion polls, in virtually all Islamic countries it is now said and accepted and mouthed by the majority of the population that 9/11 was *not* the work of Al-Qaeda, and not a statement of Muslim rage against the world, but was executed (a) by the United States by itself against itself, (b) by Israel and its forever omnipotent Mossad, or (c) a combination of United States and Israel working in sinister cooperation. So the crime, that at first is not a crime according to all of those who celebrated it, now is no longer a crime perpetrated by any Islamic identity; the Earth is again flat, and a bizarre explanation of the events has been elevated to the status of accepted 'facts' that are not corrected by the political and cultural leaders of the people who adopt the mythology (in fact, perfectly notable Ph.D.s and political leaders in certain lands have made public statements promoting the myths).

Question: Do these denials strengthen the coping capacity of these Islamic cultures? Or, as many believe, do these denials weaken Islamic cultures by their adoption of wild fables of non-reality?

We live in an era where the stability of much of most organized society - in my judgment including the stability of Islamic regimes and peoples along with the western world- is increasingly threatened by what I have been calling "transnational genocidal terrorism."

Terrorism means attacking people in all walks of life as they go about their everyday existence and instilling fierce fear and terror in the hearts of people in their everyday lives.

Genocidal means killing masses of unarmed civilians as a group of people without discriminating or caring about anything but killing the largest number of people as possible.

Transnational means that the movement sponsoring terrorism goes beyond the identities of governing nation states, and that the violence is executed by political-ideological groups that are coalitions of people from many different locations and national identities across the globe.

Assaf Moghadam, a research fellow at Harvard University's JFK School of Government and author of the forthcoming book, *The Roots of Terrorism*, has written recently:

Traditionally, suicide missions have been used by groups seeking to establish a national homeland or ward off a foreign occupier -meaning that the attacks happened close to home. Traditionally, suicide recruits have tended to be locals as well. The new suicide attacks are transnational in nature and in their aspirations. Today's human bombs are more ambitious geographically and politically and are operated by cells connected to transnational movements. Modern martyrs often sacrifice themselves beyond their own borders. That the goals of the global jihad movement are transnational has recently been affirmed in a letter by Al-Qaeda's No. 2, Ayman Al-Zawahiri, in which he calls for the establishment of a caliphate "in the manner of the prophet," to be spread over as many countries as possible.³⁰

Many people began warning of such transnational terrorism 10 and even 15 years ago, but most of the world did not adopt their warnings. It is hard to call such delays of understanding *denial* although it is not wrong to do so (see how the cancer patient who delays the truth of early symptoms pays only too

³⁰ Moghadam, Assaf (2005). Suicide bombers go global. *International Herald Tribune*, November 22, 8. This article first appeared in the *Boston Globe*.

dearly). But there is no question that not acknowledging the grave dangers of transnational genocidal terrorism today is clearly a denial of reality.

Such denials of the reality of transnational genocidal terrorism have many practical consequences. It means that a country -whether it is the United States, Saudi Arabia, Russia, Egypt, Bangladesh, the United Kingdom or Turkey- is not prepared with effective means of prevention or response to terrorist attacks. The price of denial is that very dangerous murderers are able to proceed with less risk to larger and larger scales of events.

One has to ask how in the face of endless mounting reports of terror and suicide bombings and efforts to gather weapons of mass destruction one can continue to deny the seriousness of what is happening in the world? How does one deny that terrorism is the cruelest and most despicable type of murder of plain everyday people? Unfortunately, the answer is that the mind's capacity to deny evident reality is endless. With respect to terrorism, one American intellectual who has made it his specialty for years to deny that there were threats of terrorism has said, "One man's terrorist is another man's freedom fighter."³¹ One simply defines the acts of terrorism as "heroic," "noble," "military or commando acts," "revolutionaries," or "freedom fighters" and woof – there are no longer dead innocent civilians, there are casualties of war and freedom fighting.

Question: Does a nation or ethnic group really gain greater opportunities for life for its people by honoring let alone supporting and participating in terror movements? Do death-making megalomaniac dictators and empires bring about joyful eras of prosperity at least for their *own* peoples and faithful? Or do they bring inevitable destruction and death to themselves and their own followers, let alone the agony and losses of their endless victims? Everyone of us needs to ask, what kind of a planet do we want our people to make, for our own people and for other human creatures?

THE FORMER YUGOSLAVIA

Just a few years ago, Serbia was the acknowledged perpetrator of a vicious campaign of genocidal ethnic cleansing (1991-1995).³² No, there are no

³¹ Militant Islam Monitor.org. (2005). Retrieved from the web, December 20. In an interview at a Malaysia conference, John Esposito declared that Sheik Tantawi of Egypt should not be criticized for his approving suicide bombings in Islam.

³² See Yugoslavia, Genocide in. *Encyclopedia of Genocide, ibid.*, pp. 633-644. Includes Hirsch, Herbert. Historical background, pp. 633-634; Mirkovic, Damir. Genocide in Croatia against Serbs, Jews and

questions to be asked or intellectual tightropes to be walked that what they did was not genocide when it is known that Serbia executed thousands of totally unarmed human beings whose bodies have been found in mass graves.

In one case, the Bosnian Serbs made a point of executing Muslim men who had taken refuge in an area that was specifically defined by the United Nations as a "safe zone" in which their lives were to be protected as if by the entire international community. I can tell you that this site is now one of the symbolic focus points of those in our world who, slowly but surely, are objecting more and more to mass murder and genocide, and that the International Association of Genocide Scholars has chosen to hold its next conference in 2007 in Sarajevo in order to journey to Srebrenica on July 11 to participate in the annual memorial and protest ceremonies.

Some years ago when we were preparing the *Encyclopedia of Genocide*, the ambassador of Serbia called on me in Jerusalem. He was very affable. As we sipped coffee together, he identified himself as a fellow tennis player, and as the son of one Jewish parent who had been in a Nazi concentration camp. Our atmosphere was a good one as he went on to tell me he had brought me for the encyclopedia data of Croats and Muslims slaughtering Serbs. Moreover, I certainly knew that Serbs had been the victims of genocide, along with the Jews, by the Croats (and their "Ustashe" army) in World War II. But when I told the ambassador that I would accept his data willingly and with thanks only if it were accompanied by data on Serb murders of the Croats and Muslims in those years, he literally stormed out angrily.

The European Union is proving an extraordinary tool for the development of nations that were previously considered minor players on the European scene and in the global economy, politics and culture. There are many who believe that the European Union is a steady process towards the creation of a major world power on the scale of a United States of Europe, though -hopefully- a major entity that will honor and preserve deeply the authenticity, beauty, language, culture, religion and other traditions of its component peoples in a truly pluralistic symphony. From the outset, the European Union has seen fit to emphasize in many different ways its basic commitment to values of democracy -as opposed to totalitarian modes of suppression of free speech, failure to hold

general elections, or indiscriminate use of force of terror or conquest other than in self defense.

These principles also bring on requirements of honoring the objective historical record, including *not denying* responsibility for having executed crimes of mass killing against humanity or genocide, crimes we must add that many, many peoples have been responsible for committing, which we as a human race must stand up to acknowledge and outlaw just as primitive man needed to move through a sequence from being a natural cave-man killer to accept the principle that is precious in most of our religions and legal codes, "Thou Shalt No Kill."

Serbia itself has now recognized that it cannot become a full and equal member of the world community unless it recognizes its destructive acts in the past. As is well known, the government of Serbia forced former Prime Minister Milosevic to stand in the trial that is now ongoing in the newly established International Criminal Court (ICC) in the Hague, a new legal institution of mankind against the commission of genocide.³³ Increasingly, Serbia has pursued legal steps of its own against perpetrators. Thus Reuters reported recently that

Serbia convicted 14 Serbian former militia members of the massacre of nearly 200 people during the battle of Vukovar in November 1991. A special Belgrade court found the men guilty of carrying out the executions on a pig farm at the end of the three-month siege of Vukovar, Croatia's easternmost town, by local Serbian rebels backed by Yugoslav Army troops, tanks and artillery. They were found guilty "of murders, inflicting bodily harm and behaving in an inhumane way calculated to degrade human dignity," said the presiding judge.³⁴

The *International Herald Tribune* summarized the outcome of the trial which it called "one of the worst massacres of POWs during the Balkan wars": Eight of the defendants received the maximum 20 years in jail; the rest were given prison sentences ranging from 5 to 15 years, including the only woman among the defendants, who was given a nine-year prison term; two of the 16 defendants originally indicted were acquitted.³⁵

³³ See Balint, Jennifer (1999). Law responds to the Holocaust and genocide: Redress and perpetration. *Encyclopedia of Genocide, ibid.*, pp. 388-397.

³⁴ Reuters (December 12, 2005). Serbian Court Finds 14 guilty in '91 massacre of Croatians. Retrieved from nytimes.com, December 13, 2005.

³⁵ Simons, Marlise (2005). Croat hears charges at UN court. *International Herald Tribune*, December 13, 3.

The Reuters account continued:

The massacre in Vukovar took two days. The victims were taken from the hospital where they had sought shelter from bombardment, and taken to pits where firing squads shot them seven or eight at a time. The pits were bulldozed over. Among the dead were patients, members of the hospital staff, journalists and Croatian fighters.³⁶

According to the *Tribune*, "The trial in Belgrade was seen as a key test of the ability of Serbia's judiciary to deal with cases of war crimes committed by Serbs during the bloody breaking of the former Yugoslavia in the 1990s."³⁷ The chief prosecutor for the Hague tribunal, Carla Del Ponte, supplied documents for the case.

Even so, the European community has continued to warn Serbia that it must go the full route of handing over the criminals of the genocide. Carla Del Ponte recently warned Serbia that it must hand over two outstanding leaders of the genocide, Mladic and Karadzic.

Del Ponte told the Serb leadership that its chances of moving close to Europe by eventually joining the European Union and the NATO military alliance would lead to nothing if it did not step up its efforts to capture Mladic. The Serbian...leadership... had seen how its former wartime neighbor, Croatia, was rewarded with being able to start negotiations to join the EU after it started fully cooperating with the tribunal. Croatia recently handed over General Ante Gotovina, who had been indicted for war crimes by the Hague court for his involvement in the killing of ethnic Serbs during Croatia's war with Serbia, which was then a part of the rump Yugoslavia in the early 1990s.³⁸

My personal understanding of history is that warfare by definition opens the door to crimes against humanity and genocide, that virtually all countries at war -including the great democracies- have committed acts of genocide, and that the battle against genocide needs to be a universal one by each and every one of us and our peoples who believe that the purpose of being alive is first of all to stay alive and be healthy and enjoy life.

³⁶ Reuters (December 12, 2005), *ibid*.

³⁷ Simons, Marlise (2005), *ibid*.

³⁸ *International Herald Tribune* (2006). Mladic reported close to surrender. *International Herald Tribune*, February 22, 1,7.

In the bitter warfare in the Former Yugoslavia, genocidal crimes were not only committed by the Serbs, although in this period they were the acknowledged leaders in the ethnic cleansing killings. Thus, as referred to, Croats too committed genocidal acts, and Croatia too has understood that it could not start membership talks with the European Union without taking action against its perpetrators of mass murders. The *New York Times* reported a few months ago that, under the increasing international laws of universal jurisdiction, which means that perpetrators of crimes against humanity and genocide can be indicted by countries other than the jurisdiction where they committed their crimes, the Spanish government arrested Ante Gotovina, a top war crimes suspect from Croatia who was indicted by the international tribunal at The Hague four years ago. Gotovina was arrested in Spain's Canary Islands, a popular winter resort, in what the *Times* called a step "removing a potential obstacle to Croatia's efforts to join the European Union." The *Times* explained that "Brussels had long made Gotovina's arrest a condition for starting membership talks, which finally began in October."

The indictment charges Gotovina with war crimes and crimes against humanity, including the deportation of an estimated 150,000 to 200,000 Serbs living in Croatia and the killing of up to 150 Serbian civilians by troops under his command. The troops shot, burned and stabbed the civilians to death and destroyed countless homes, the indictment said. Most of the events cited took place during "Operation Storm" in August 1995, when Croatian troops retook an area known as the Krajina that had been seized by Serbian-led rebels. Gotovina was one of the operation's main commanders.³⁹

Croatia itself did not hide from its responsibility for the arrest despite the fact that the former general is seen as one of the country's most popular figures and war hero, and his arrest in fact provoked wide street protests. Croatian prime minister, Ivo Sanada, said in Zagreb of the arrest, "It is the final confirmation of the credibility of Croatia and its state institutions."

Question: Have Serbia and Croatia advanced their best interests by pursuing prosecutions of their genociders, even at the expense of strong public protests and demonstrations in favor of the indicted national heroes? What will history's judgments be of these corrections by countries that were adamant

³⁹ McLean, Renwick, and Simons, Marlise (2005). Croatian war crimes suspect is arrested in Spain. *International Herald Tribune*, December 9, 1, 4, with attribution to the *New York Times*.

throughout the war in the Former Yugoslavia and for some time thereafter that they were committing no atrocities or genocide?

IRAN

Iran -and Denial in the Service of Very Ominous Threats

Next we are going to look at examples of denials which connect up with manifest bigotry -in this case antisemitism; and with a manifest progression towards actual saber rattling and explicit threats of actual genocide and perhaps even nuclear war. Iran is today at the forefront of world concerns. It illustrates all too clearly how there is a political connection between denials and the actual enablement of violent acts. Today there are many people and nations who are excruciatingly concerned that contemporary Iran is moving on a path towards mega-destructive acts towards other nations and people including specifically announced desires and intentions to destroy Israel.

"Israel must be wiped off the face of the Earth. The Islamic world will not allow its historic enemy to live in its heart," exhorted the president of Iran, Mahmoud Ahmadinejad on October 26, 2005. These ominous threats of a head of state against another country, let alone a fellow member of the United Nations, have shaken the world community, especially when they have been coupled with Iran's relentless march towards securing nuclear weapons in stark defiance of the world. In addition, accompanying his ominous threats against Israel, President Ahmadinejad also has adopted a policy of major denials of the Holocaust. In a speech in the city of Zadhan in Southeast Iran that was broadcast on Iranian TV on December 14, 2005, he says, "They have fabricated a myth called the 'slaughter of the Jews,' and they hold the myth higher than God, religion or the prophets."⁴⁰

Ahmadinejad also lashed out at European criminalization of denials of the Holocaust (at a time when David Irving's sentencing to jail in Austria was taking place); and in a sense defended his critique of Europe by telling Europe that if they are so guilty they should take the Jews of Israel – give them one of their territorial provinces in Germany, or Austria. Reuters quotes him thus:

Some European countries insist on saying that Hitler killed millions of innocent Jews in furnaces and they insist on it to the extent that if anyone proves something contrary to that they condemn that person and throw them in jail. If

⁴⁰ Source: *Haaretz* (2005). President of Iran, Ahmadinejad, "The Holocaust is a myth," December 15.

the Europeans are honest they would give some of their provinces in Europe-like in Germany, Austria or other countries- to the Zionists and the Zionists can establish their state in Europe. You offer part of Europe and we will support it.⁴¹

Ahmadinejad has also called for a major "scientific conference" on the Holocaust, as he insists in seeming western respect for scientific thinking that the subject has been denied open investigation and discussion. Although the world has roundly condemned the denial of the Holocaust, Tehran has continued almost comically to defend its plan to organize a conference to examine what it terms the scientific evidence for the Holocaust. The official Islamic Republic News Agency reported that Foreign Ministry spokesman Hamid Reza Asefi castigated British Prime Minister Tony Blair for criticizing the proposed scientific conference, saying the time has come for Western leaders to hear comments not to their liking.

For more than half a century, those who seek to prove the Holocaust have used every podium to defend their position. Now they should listen to others... People of the world should hear all opinions and choose the best. Such comments are an insult to the wisdom of the people around the world... Unfortunately, blind prejudice together with political interests and aims have closed the eyes of the Holocaust defenders to the realities of the world, and they reject without any logic a scientific conference.⁴²

Denials of the Holocaust by Iran are naturally welcomed and amplified by other militant Islamic groups, like the outlawed Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt. The leader of Egypt's main Islamic opposition group joined Ahmadinejad in characterizing the Holocaust as a "myth," and lambasted Western governments for criticizing disclaimers of the Jewish genocide. The Associated Press reported Muslim Brotherhood chief Mohammed Mahdi Akef said on a Web site, "Western democracies have slammed all those who don't see eye to eye with the Zionists regarding the myth of the Holocaust."⁴³

In the meantime, led by its leader, popular Iranian culture has exploded into sloppy denials and classic vitriolic anti-Semitism. In an Iranian television

⁴¹ Reuters (December 9, 2005). Iranian leader voices doubts on Holocaust. Reported in the *International Herald Tribune*, December 9. Attribution to a news conference by Ahmadinejad in the Saudi Arabian city of Mecca, reported by Iran's official IRNA press agency.

⁴² *Haaretz English Edition* (2006). Iran defends planned conference to examine evidence of Holocaust. *Haaretz English Edition*, January 28, 3, with attribution to the *Associated Press*.

⁴³ *Haaretz* (2006). Iran plans conference on 'scientific aspect' of the Holocaust. *Haaretz English Edition*, January 16, 4, with attribution to the *Associated Press*.

discussion on the Holocaust, aired on Iran's Channel 2 on January 5, 2006, a political analyst, Dr. Majid Safataj says: "It should be noted that if the Zionists had actually found anyone who had survived the gas chambers and the so-called crematoria of the Nazis, I'm sure they would have interviewed him extensively, and would have produced many programs. But they couldn't find a single person to interview face to face, in order to present a historical documentary to the world."

Another political analyst, Dr. Majid Goudarzi, follows and makes the transition from denial to its *always somewhat implied and awaiting accompaniment of approval, legitimation or outright incitement of further genocidal violence*.⁴⁴ This analyst goes all the way from denial of the Holocaust to calling for full destruction of the Jews – a cancer.

If six million people had died, wouldn't there be a record somewhere of at least a hundred names?... The Zionists, according to their 'Protocols,' wanted to control the world, and they have not given up this idea. They are using various means, such as the Freemasons, or the Baha'i... I hope that one day humanity will reach the conclusion that the only solution for this cancerous tumor is surgery.⁴⁵

Thus, another TV discussion with Iranian political analysts Dr. Hasan Hanizadeh and Dr. Ali-Reza Akbari, aired on Jaam-e Jam 2 TV on December 20, 2005, began with the subject of denial of the existence of crematoria at Auschwitz, and went on to explain in detail how Jewish rabbis in Europe used to kill children and take their blood for use during the Passover holiday.

The West has forgotten two horrendous incidents, carried out by the Jews in 19th century Europe – in Paris and London, to be precise. In 1883, about 150 French children were murdered in a horrible way in the suburbs of Paris, before the Jewish Passover holiday. Later research showed that the Jews had killed them and taken their blood. This event caused riots in Paris back then, and the French government found itself under pressure. A similar incident took place in London, when many English children were killed by Jewish rabbis. These two

⁴⁴ Charny, Israel W. (1991). The psychology of denial of known genocides. In Charny, Israel W. (Ed.), *Genocide: A Critical Bibliographic Review. Volume 2*. London: Mansell Publishing; & New York: Facts on File, pp. 3-37.

⁴⁵ Iran TV Discussion on the Myth of the Gas Chambers and the Truth of Protocols of the Elders of Zion: "The only solution for this cancerous tumor [Israel] is surgery." Iranian TV, Channel 2, January 5, 2006. Cited in Middle East Media Research Institute (MEMRI) Special Dispatch-Iran/Antisemitism Documentation Project, January 18, No. 1072, www.memritv.org/bin/opener_latest.cgi?ID=SD107206.

incidents still haunt the minds and souls of the Europeans, but due to the growing influence of the Zionist lobby in Europe – or to be precise, the influence of the Jews – these two incidents are, unfortunately, never me

Comment: For people who value human life, there does not seem room for any question re current day Iran. The juxtaposition of fierce bigoted denials of the Holocaust with explicit calls for the extermination of Israel is a powerful example of the implicit approvals and calls for violence in many denials of genocides; and the further indication that Iran is defying the world with a relentless march to nuclear power gives rise to alarm not only for Israel but also for other neighboring lands, including Iraq and Turkey, and the world community at large.

EGYPT

Egypt and the Denials of the Holocaust

We will follow with Egypt where, in contrast to Iran, the government maintains a meaningful though cold peace agreement with Israel and does not engage in saber rattling. However, true devotees of peace have good reason to worry at the fact that on the level of popular culture, notwithstanding the welcome peace agreement between Egypt and Israel for many years, there continues to be a worrisome ferment of anti-Israeli and openly antisemitic ideas and sentiments in the Egyptian media, and often denials of the Holocaust are employed to make the point of hatred of Israel.

In an article titled "Israel's Lies" in the Egyptian government evening paper *Al-Masaa*, columnist Hisham Abd Al-Rauf wrote that there were no massacres of the Jews during World War II, and the gas chambers were intended for disinfecting clothing. Hitler was not against the Jews, and had even permitted Jews to emigrate to Palestine during his first years in power.

We've had enough of the lies and the falsification of the facts with which the [Israeli] textbooks are replete. The most serious lie is the Jews' Holocaust, which they have exploited in order to extort global solidarity. When Iranian President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad refutes this lie, the entire world is up in arms, and the Iranian president is inundated with accusations of madness, fanaticism, and falsification. [Ahmadinejad] was inundated with these accusations even though he did nothing more than state the truth, which a number of honest researchers have [also] reached. What this truth means is that these massacres, which Israel alleges that the Nazis perpetrated against the Jews, never happened.

The famous execution chambers [i.e., the gas chambers] were no more than rooms for disinfecting clothing.

It has also been proven that Hitler was not against the Jews, as disseminated by the Zionist historians... [The most recent of these researches] is the courageous British historian David Irving, who paid a heavy price for his courage. Some other historians have proven that some of the massacres alleged to have been perpetrated against the Jews in World War II were carried out in coordination with the Jewish leadership, in an effort to push [the Jews] to emigrate to Palestine.⁴⁶

Question: Having returned from Iran to an example 'only' of cultural denial, including strange attributions of the killings of Jews to the Jews themselves, do such denials seem really much less dangerous and basically trivial? Do the denials add to Egypt's stature in an emerging global community?

DEFINITIONS AND NAMES FOR GENOCIDES

Legitimate and Illegitimate Definitions and Names for Genocides

A novel definition of genocide was recently advanced by a Turkish writer, Gunduz Aktan, a well-known defender of Turkish nationalism, in an article in the *Turkish Daily News*⁴⁷ He proposes that “genocide is the crime of one group destroying another group without any ‘justification’ or, to put it differently, with motivations that are entirely irrational.” The Holocaust, of course, qualifies. But the Ottoman attacks on non-Turkish peoples in their midst -Aktan is referring to the Armenians- would not qualify, according to Aktan, because the latter were engaged in a “political/military struggle” against the Ottoman empire, something we have heard many times from Turkish sources and which may apply to some Armenians, the more so when the Russians were advancing, but hardly to the bulk of the Armenian population. I have never heard claims that the Assyrians or the Coptic Greeks -large numbers of whom were also killed by the Ottoman government- had been fighting the government, and in any case, never to unarmed civilian men, women and children of any people.

⁴⁶ Hisham Abd Al-Rauf (2005). Israel Lies. *Al-Masaa* (Egyptian government daily), December 12. Cited by Middle East Media Research Institute (MEMRI), Special Dispatch – Egypt/Antisemitism Documentation Project, December 20, no. 1052, www.memri.org/bin/opener_latest.cgi?ID=SD105205.

⁴⁷ Aktan, Gunduz (2005). Title or headline of article not available. *Turkish Daily News*, December 1.

Aktan then does a familiar though still breathtaking flip over. Having skipped past Turkish killings of Armenians because the Ottoman Turks didn't really mean to get rid of them, he turns around and accuses "the Balkan Christians and the Armenians" with no less than a genocidal-type destruction of the Ottoman Empire! "The Balkan Christians and the Armenians were looking down on the Turks. Hardly anyone displayed an interest in the Turks that were being killed or exiled without process." Therefore, "the collapse of the Ottoman state took on a genocidal feature rather than being the outcome of an ordinary political/military struggle." Now Aktan has satisfied his first condition, it is the Armenians and other Christians who were out to commit genocide or destroy the Ottoman state.

Aktan is a sad illustration of the knowledge of scholars of genocide who have long since established that denial is the last stage of the genocidal process.⁴⁸ That Aktan might charge that some Armenians massacred Turks in some areas, *peut-etre*. But to turn around the large-scale massacres of the Armenians and in effect define them as non-victims, while establishing the Armenians are the one and only genociders is to resort, foolishly, in a way that invites derision, to the most extreme method of denial of genocide which is to reverse the identities of the perpetrators and the victims!⁴⁹

In the interest of fairness I will add that the United Nations convention on Genocide does imply in its definition of genocide some degree of intentionality.⁵⁰ The more strict interpreters of this law insist on evidences of an intentionality, while more liberal interpreters like myself focus on the outcome - were masses of unarmed civilians killed; but no one has ever proposed a test of the rationality or irrationality of the intentions. Genocidal ethnic cleansing in the Former Yugoslavia, for example, had a very rational purpose, an ugly cruel purpose that is true of all efforts to eliminate peoples who are different from

⁴⁸ Charny, Israel W., and Fromer, Daphna (1999). Five Characteristics of the "Logic" of Denials of Genocide. *Encyclopedia of Genocide, ibid.*, p. 160; Charny, Israel W. (1997). Commonality in denial: Classifying the final stage of the genocide process. *International Network on Holocaust and Genocide*, 11 (5), 4-7; Charny, Israel W. (2004). The Holocaust and other genocides by the Nazis revisited in the framework of a *Multiple Classification of Genocides* and reconstructed according to the *Genocide Early Warning System*. Seminar at Hiroshima City University, March; Stanton, Gregory: <http://www.genocidewatch.org/TheEightStagesofGenocidebyGregoryHStanton.htm>. See also Stanton, Gregory (2004). The eight stages of genocide. Could the Rwandan genocide have been prevented? *Journal of Genocide Research*, 6 (2), 211-228.

⁴⁹ Charny, Israel W. (2003). A classification of denials of the Holocaust and other genocides. *Journal of Genocide Research*, 5(1), 11-34.

⁵⁰ Balint, Jennifer (1999). United Nations Convention on Genocide. *Encyclopedia of Genocide, ibid.*, pp. 575-577.

one's own in color, other biological characteristics, ethnic identity, religion, nationality, whatever, it is no less genocide because it was a form of rational.

I want to convey as sensitively and respectfully as I can that I am very much aware of the deep national and cultural sensitivities that become attached to historical slogans and ideas. They become as part of one's identity and are *almost* impossible to give up once they are adopted by a given group culture, such as members of a nationality, or the faithful of a given religion, or those who belong to a given ethnicity, or even -up to and including the faithful fans of a given sports team who in any number of countries have been known to riot and do serious physical harm to other people just because they love their team so much. This is an aspect of our human nature, just like other aspects of our natural inclinations to do various other evils, that *all* of us, individuals and peoples in every nationality, religion, ethnicity must work at controlling.

As a Jewish person and as an Israeli, I am certainly very sensitive to what I have described as the insistence of so many of *my* people, and so many of our state institutions in Israel, that there never was (or can be or will be) any event of genocide that is comparable to the Holocaust, and that the Holocaust must be treated as extraordinary and overwhelmingly unique. Many insist that the very word *Holocaust* must be reserved only for the genocide of the Jews -and written with a capital H as well to further underscore its standing head and shoulders above any other events of genocide (the dominant convention has been that no other events of genocide are even to be written with a capital G). There are also many who insist that only a Hebrew word from ancient times, *shoah*, be used so as to further separate the genocide of the Jews mystically from all other events. I do not agree, and indeed in the *Encyclopedia of Genocide*, together with Rouben Adalian (Director of the Armenian National Institute in Washington) and Steven Jacobs (a Rabbi and Professor of Jewish Studies at the University of Alabama)⁵¹ showed that the word Holocaust had been used for describing genocidal events of mass killing going back many, many years before the holocaust of the Jewish people, that the word belongs to all people in all times, so that when, say, defenseless Turkish civilian populations have been cruelly exterminated by others, these too are events of holocaust or genocide.

Many will be amazed to know that in Israel, notwithstanding the tremendous pressures of the folk conventions that I described, there are many

⁵¹ Charny, Israel W.; Adalian Rouben Paul; and Jacobs, Steven L. (1999). "Holocaust": The word and its usage. *Encyclopedia of Genocide, ibid.*, pp. 40-43.

instances where intellectuals and the press do spontaneously utilize even the very word *shoah* in Hebrew to describe the mass murders of *other* peoples. Thus, many years ago a professor of history at our most religiously-oriented university, Bar Ilan University, wrote in Hebrew of “the *shoah* of the Armenians” as constituting a “dress rehearsal of the Holocaust.”⁵²

Nonetheless, in the same entry of the *Encyclopedia of Genocide*, I and my colleagues propose that it is also fitting always to express sensitivity and respect for prevailing cultural norms so long as we do not violate the integrity of the facts; so that in the case of the Holocaust, out of respect for the sensitivities of many Jewish people and a language convention that has prevailed until recently in many western circles, we chose as our editorial policy for the *Encyclopedia of Genocide* that we would reserve the word *Holocaust* with a capital H for the genocide of the Jewish people, but at the same time we accept as totally legitimate usage the word *holocaust* for any and all events of genocide to whichever peoples. Historical accuracy and cultural sensitivity can generally be brought together when there is good will.

Armenian scholar, Prof. Boghos Levon Zekiyian, was one of two conveners of a path breaking conference in Venice (“In History and Beyond History: Armenian and Turks: A Thousand Years of Relations,” October 28-30, 2004) together with Professor Antonio Rigo, where for the first time in my professional life, Turkish speakers, Armenian speakers, and others of us from many nationalities and countries came together, as we are doing now in Istanbul, to debate respectfully the nature of the deaths to the Armenian population in Ottoman Turkey, especially in the period of 1915 and the immediate years following, but also in the period of Sultan Abdul Hamid in 1895. Professor Zekiyian has written intriguingly about different words that describe genocide and mass murder of civilian populations in our various languages, such as *voelkermord* in German, or *tseghaspanutiun* in Armenian, or *soykirim* in Turkish. He also discusses the relationship between such words and other special words for major destruction such as *shoah* (total destruction) in Hebrew, and *aghet* (catastrophe), *amedz yegherni* (great catastrophe) in Armenian, or a word like *tehcir* (banishment) in Turkish, for all that he notes this is the word “obstinately used by the official Turkish...denial” of the Armenian Genocide. Professor Zekiyian wisely calls the various words

⁵² Lapid, Pinchas (1974). The dress rehearsal for the Holocaust. *Bar Ilan University Bulletin*, Summer, 14-20. (Hebrew).

alternative “denominations” or language identifiers and proposes that they should *not* be considered competitive to one another, “but rather as complementary according to the relationship of a general concept/denomination (genocide) vs. the particular fact/reality.”⁵³

A Turkish-American scholar, Professor Fatma Muge Gocek of the University of Michigan, along with several other Turkish scholars and intellectuals such as Elif Shafak, Taner Akcam, Halil Berkay, Orhan Pamuk, and Ragip Zarakolu, has been forthright in calling for the recognition of the genocide of the Armenian people. She proposes sensitively that at least at this point in cultural and national history we do *not* use the word *genocide* for the fate of the Armenians. Professor Gocek says:

Given the dramatic epistemological discrepancy in relation to what happened in 1915, even though what happened in 1915 certainly fits the definition of genocide as defined by the 1948 United Nations Convention, I find it more heuristic and strategically more prescient to employ instead the term *kital* (large scale massacres) that the Ottomans themselves employed when referring to this tragedy. I personally think that both Turkish society and the state would be more willing to listen and engage in constructive dialogue that would eventually lead to recognition if what happened in 1915 was discussed at first in and of itself.⁵⁴

I will not say that I agree or disagree with Professor Gocek but rather that I appreciate her thoughtful contribution to our thinking because I trust both her commitments to scientific historical objectivity and to honorable cultural sensitivity. Working together, combining these values, we certainly will find effective ways to express ourselves.

I must say that at the conference I refer to in Venice in 2004, I became much more aware and sympathetic to the tension around the use of the word *genocide* for Turks, including those who very much do want to acknowledge the mass murder of 1-1½ million Armenian people that took place in 1915 and on,

⁵³ Zekiyian, Boghos Levon (2005). Correspondence between Professor Zekiyian and Professor Gocek: "Analysis of Boghos Levon Zekiyian" -- title of e-mail by Prof. Gocek distributed to the Armenian Workshop listserv at the University of Michigan [armworkshop@umich.edu], on December 1. Professor Zekiyian notes in his e-mail essay that his writing can be quoted and distributed. A copy is available from the present author.

⁵⁴ Babikian, Aris (2006). Turkish scholars and the Armenian question: An interview with Dr. Fatma Muge Gocek, published in the year end (2005) edition of the tri-lingual *Horizon Weekly*. *Horizon* is the largest Canadian-Armenian paper. Received by e-mail from a babikian@hotmail.com, January 6.

but who also do not want to impose a traumatic shaming or accusative experience on contemporary Turkey and Turkish culture. I therefore proposed to my Turkish colleagues a further language solution. I am happy to bring this proposal in my remarks here as well. Let me explain that my proposal is also humorous and I had great pleasure seeing my Turkish colleagues in the audience laughing even uproariously with pleasure, but that does not mean that my proposal is intended to make fun of any people or of the terrible topic of genocide that is clearly the worst side of our universal human natures. I believe that it is sometimes legitimate also to laugh a little, not ever at genocide as such, God forbid, but as we struggle with the complexities of the study of genocide. Indeed, I remind us that in the long run the very purpose of our scholarship is to eliminate genocide and to free all us peoples in the world to laugh more freely as we all would be able to live out safely our God-given natural life cycles.

My proposal is first to my Turkish colleagues that I lend you, so to speak, the Hebrew word *shoah* to refer to the mass killings of the Christian populations in the Ottoman empire when you are discussing these events in Turkey, for although the word *shoah* has achieved some recognition, it is not that widely known and will be more of a puzzler and less of an insult to the average Turkish person with his or her legitimate sensitivity about the pride and honor of the Turkish people.

In turn, I propose that the Turkish scholars lend my people the Hebrew-speaking Israelis, the Turkish word for holocaust, *soykirim*, so that we can use it whenever there is a reference to a holocaust of any people other than the Jews, and then also in our cultural world far fewer people will feel insulted or threatened with an experience of being competed with in their wishes to be unique.

I genuinely believe that we *all* -Turkish people, Armenians, Jews and Israelis, Russians, Chechens, Chinese, Tibetan, Afghans, Iraqis, Muslims, Christians, and more and more- are fellow human beings who share a common planet in a vast universe; that we all deserve biological safety and social justice; that violence, except in the clearest-cut self defense is the primitive side of the development of our species that must be brought under control if our very species is to survive; and that we all have everything to gain from smiling at each other, blessing one another, enjoying and cooperating with one another in all aspects of our lives -before the meteor hits us without discriminating between peoples.

FREEDOM OF SPEECH

Freedom of Speech and Laws against Denials of Genocide

In a world that is so full of lying, corruption censorship, dictatorial denial of human freedom, and far worse, the ideals of democracy stand out as truly sacred and the only hope for decent people and nations who want to celebrate the opportunity that is life. Without doubt, one of the cardinal values of the democratic process and government is that of free speech: People are to be free to say what they feel at all times, including their utter and profound disagreements with the policies of their governments and societies. People are to be free to advance their points of view, and to fight for them to be adopted by others and public opinion and by their cultures and governments.

From the point of view of devoted democrats, there should virtually be no encroachments on this freedom, if only because the very process of limiting freedom of speech in any way opens the door progressively to more far-reaching totalitarian controls. As one writer in *The Times* (London) wrote recently -in a plea to free arch Holocaust denier and confirmed admirer of Hitler and Nazism, David Irving, from a jail in Austria- "Freedom of speech includes the right to be hopelessly, demonstrably and repeatedly wrong. It is not to be applied selectively, depending on the nature of the speech in question, but universally and consistently."⁵⁵ And it is not that the writer Ben MacIntyre has any doubts that Irving is a "deeply offensive" man who has used legal measures to harass others, or that he questions the British Court's condemnation of him for claiming that the Nazi gas chambers were a "fairytale" and claiming that Hitler knew nothing at all about the slaughter of the Jews.

Nonetheless, even on the level of everyday human experiences, democracies have long since recognized that there have to be definitive legal safeguards against destructive uses of free speech that by its very nature can create havoc, injury and disaster to human beings and society. The classic paradigm embodying this truth is the U.S. Supreme Court's decision enunciated by Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes that it is manifestly illegal, and therefore punishable by law, for a person to cry out, "Fire, fire!" in a crowded theater, thus causing a stampede, injuries and even death. Even so, the U.S. has remained a zealous guardian of free speech, but in the larger western world

⁵⁵ MacIntyre, Ben (2006). We can't deny the deniers. *The Times* [London], January 20. Cited in <http://jonestream.blogspot.com>, 1/ 28/2006.

there are any number of other democratic countries that have passed, variously, laws against incitement of prejudice and violence against ethnic and religious groups, and laws against denials of historically established genocides, especially the Holocaust of the Jewish people but in some instances also other genocides such as the Armenian Genocide.

At the present time there are laws against genocides in the following countries:

Austria
Belgium
France
Germany
Israel
Lithuania
Poland
Slovakia
Switzerland

European culture and polity clearly have voted for laws against denials of genocide. I might comment ironically that perhaps Europe must enact such legislation because it was Europe, after all, led by one of the countries I just named, that was responsible for the eternally damned genocide of the Jews along with a large number of other peoples who were victims of the Death Factory created by Germany, known as the Holocaust. Anglo Saxon countries and cultures, especially the United States, are near unanimously against enacting legislation against denials of genocide because these infringe on the commitment to and fervent belief in the absoluteness of free speech.

The precious principle of free speech is a key to keeping us alive in a world that is constantly plagued by people seeking to take power over others and destroying others. The key to this faith in democratic process can be phrased something like this: 'Let the fools, bigots, fascists and terrorists say what they want to, their stupidity, and most important their violation of peoples' desires to live, ultimately will reveal them to be idiots, insane people or evil, and the people will reject them in the due course of democracy.'

Would that this key belief were true. I for one respect the intention and the hope expressed by this key idea, but truly do not agree. I believe that democratic countries must exercise prudent security measures against all those

who would coopt and commandeer the democratic process in order to destroy the democracy and kill human beings. I do not believe that compassion cures terrorists and people who are ideologically committed to violence. I believe that decent people and governments must stand up against them with appropriate investigative police and military measures, and exert full police and military countermeasures against those who are out to kill democracy and people.

The meaning of legislation against denials of known genocides is not to punish stupidity, or to stop people from uttering wrong or bad ideas, but as we have seen -for example in the citations from Iranian TV stories- that denials of genocide inherently convey a degree of a celebration and legitimization of violence.⁵⁶ The denial becomes an exoneration of the violence that was committed in the course of the genocide that is being denied, and such exoneration has further implications for fostering in contemporary culture an orientation towards approving new violences against whatever target group or people.

My judgment is that our democracies gain when we have a combination of the strongest possible laws protecting *free speech* -and I agree even including nonsense that the world is flat or formed like a salty pretzel, and even including degrees of ridiculous questioning of non-facts such as whether the Jews have overstated the extent of their victimization in the Holocaust, or even questions whether the gas used in the concentrations camps might not have been intended for sanitation purposes. But I very much insist that it is in the interests of democratic societies also to have laws against any and all incitement against doing any actual injury to other human beings and peoples.

So I would conceptualize the laws against denials of known genocides as standing more strongly against *incitement to violence* than against questioning or even factual denials of the genocide, much as I hate such ugliness. Blanket and gross denials of known genocides -such as claims there were no gas chambers in the Holocaust- in themselves are, implicitly, calls for violence, and I believe, with Europe, they should be punishable by law. But I would gauge the severity of the violation of such laws even more according to a continuum that evaluates the extent to which the speaker is possibly creating a stampede in society of approving and especially inciting violences. In other words, the laws

⁵⁶ Charny, Israel W. (1991). The psychology of denial of known genocides, *ibid.*; See also Markusen, Eric, and Charny, Israel W. (1999). Denial of genocide, Psychology of, *Encyclopedia of Genocide, ibid.*, pp. 159-161.

should call for an analysis of denial statements for the extent to which they call forth any and all of the following:

1. Celebration of violence
2. Justification of violence
3. Threats of violence
4. Actual calls for doing violence

In an article in the *Human Rights Review*, I have proposed criteria for the evaluation of denial statements on two continua, one "a continuum of the malevolence of denial of the facts of a genocide"; the second, "a continuum of celebration of violence in denials of a known genocide."⁵⁷

To the extent the denier says things like the Jews make too much of the Holocaust, or that the Jews use the Holocaust as a cover for the aggressive tactics of Israel, and so on, I would accept the greater value of protecting free speech. Even when a Professor Ernst Nolte or a David Irving expresses admiration of Hitler as a great leader of pan-Germanism and a unifier of Europe, I would hold my legal breath, in other words take no legal measures to prosecute, while publicly protesting the ugliness. But I would prosecute aggressively such statements as that Hitler was right in what he did to the Jews, or that Stalin had no choice but to eliminate troublesome minorities, or calls for reconstituting murderous dictatorial leaders and regimes to 'complete the job' of eliminating a given target people. We do not want a world in which the Holocaust or any other genocide rises again, nor a world which creates new victims of mass murder. The people and certainly leaders who call for exterminating others should be held in violation of civilized law.

NEW MODES OF RESTITUTION

New Modes of Facing National Responsibility Earn both Increased Self-Confidence for a People as well as the Respect of the World.

In recent history there is an increasing trend for nations to accept responsibility for their errors and wrongdoings.⁵⁸

⁵⁷ Charny, Israel W. (2000). Innocent denials of known genocides: A further contribution to a psychology of denial of genocide. *Human Rights Review*, 1 (3), 15-39.

⁵⁸ Barkan, Elazar (2000). *The Guilt of Nations: Restitution and Negotiating Historical Injustices*. New York & London: W.W. Norton & Company.

It is not that nations can or even should take responsibility for every wrongdoing they have committed. I am convinced that virtually all of us as individual human beings cannot possibly take responsibility for all the harm we do in our personal lives. Nations too necessarily commit many errors and wrongs, and it is beyond national self-interest to be beating one's breast endlessly; let alone that it is intellectually and morally wrong not to understand the historical contexts and inadvertence of many undesirable acts by nations as in people. Martha Minow, professor of law at Harvard Law School, author of *Between Vengeance and Forgiveness: Facing History after Genocide and Mass Violence*, has written: "The double-edged dangers of too much and too little memory lead ... to ... paradoxical calls about remembering the past." She cites Dullah Omar, South Africa's justice minister as exhorting: "We want to put the past behind us but we don't want to forget, we want to remember."⁵⁹

Nonetheless, the historical prominence of certain events, or the sheer magnitude of suffering caused to a given target victim people, or the powerful significance of certain historical events in the narrative of the victim people dictate that certain events warrant the attention of a nation if it is to move forward successfully in history.

In a world in which only up to recently, certainly in my lifetime and in many of yours, there was little else but national self interest, advancement, competition and posturing of power, our 21st century civilization now includes:

- (a) Trials for the perpetrators of previously unnamed crimes against humanity and genocide
- (b) Truth commissions
- (c) Apologies by nations to their previous victims
- (d) Payments of reparations

Increasingly, nations are tending to accept responsibility for their errors and wrongdoings. Thus, the United states has apologized to Native American (Indian) peoples and, in a sense, has enabled the American judicial system to make some large land and financial compensation to the people; the United States government has paid compensation to Japanese Americans who were

⁵⁹ Minow, Martha (1998). *Between Vengeance and Forgiveness: Facing History after Genocide and Mass Violence*. Boston: Beacon Press, p. 119. Omar's quotation is from comments at Collective Violence and Memory: Judgment, Reconciliation, Education, Facing History and Ourselves, 12th Annual Human Rights and Justice Conference, 10 April, 1997, Cambridge, MA.

interred in World War II; President Clinton delivered at least an "unplanned semi-apology" for slavery to the peoples of Africa; South Africa has held remarkably successful truth commissions; Queen Elizabeth signed an apology to the Maori people in New Zealand; Germany has paid huge restitution to the Jewish survivors and descendants of victims of the Holocaust and its leaders have acknowledged Germany's responsibility for dastardly acts. Certainly for the victims, such memories unlock the blockages of history and release energies for new development, often including positive affiliation and even a new appreciation between the previous victims and their perpetrators -look at relationships between Germany and Israel, for example.

Professor Minow writes: "Trials, truth commissions, and reparations each hold potential for affording acknowledgment without locking people into roles as victims or trapping them in feelings of unrelenting hatred."⁶⁰

As for the perpetrators, there are some who scoff that any and all of the above stratagems of taking responsibility are or can be nothing more than a sham, pretense, crocodile tears, a show of morality, or political expediency to gain a better standing in international politics -thus you could interpret examples I have given of Balkan countries who are bringing perpetrators to trial simply as pragmatic maneuvers in their efforts to join the European Union. It is also pointed out cynically that the admission of responsibility and guilt of a nation really is the result of the relative strength of the political pressure that the victim people is able to mount more than a moral correction. However, the best and the majority of contemporary analysts of national politics and welfare believe that nations that do accept responsibility for their wrongdoing grow and profit in very real ways from their doing so. Thus, Professor Elazar Barkan, author of *The Guilt of Nations: Restitution and Negotiating Historical Injustices*, concludes that accepting national responsibility is a marker of national political stability and strength rather than shame. It is an attempt to recognize that nations have to come to terms with their own pasts, primarily responsibility for the others, their victims.⁶¹

Barkan points out too that "Non-democracies are less inclined to admit guilt because tribal ideologues and fundamentalists view the world through non-compromising lenses."⁶² The ability to accept national responsibility is

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 122.

⁶¹ Barkan, Elazar, *ibid.*, p. xxix.

⁶² *Ibid.*

characteristically more possible for democratic countries, and in a sense becomes a statement or a signal by a nation or a people of its intention to strengthen its democratic way of life and its intention to play a significant role in the historical unfolding of an international community that is dedicated to freedom, scientific development, and justice, as opposed to totalitarian and terrorist countries and movements.

I will now use the word *restitution* as a grouping word which will refer to all of the methods of taking national responsibility to which I referred. In the best judgment of the modern civilized world, restitution does not make amends for all grievances, it is not a panacean or utopian tool, but rather "the discourse of restitution aims at the morally possible...and its...limited aim is to improve on the existing social injustice."⁶³ Restitution improves the lives of the people to whom the offering of respect and regrets for past destruction and humiliation are addressed, and it also improves the lives of the people offering the corrective action.⁶⁴

All evidences to date are that no event of a nation taking responsibility for its actions has weakened the leaders, governments or peoples who have done so. On the contrary, acknowledgements of responsibility have strengthened those who have done so morally and in their self-confidence and pride, and raised their positions in the community of people and nations.

Daniel Goldhagen, a professor at Harvard University is well known for his bitter condemnations of German antisemitism as the single most important force in creating the Holocaust.⁶⁵ Writing very recently in the American Jewish press, and please note in an article devoted to Turkey entitled "Turkey after Pamuk," he praises Germany extensively:

No country, no people has ever confronted the horrors of their country's past perfectly, but Germans, for all their considerable failings, have done this more fully and more honestly than any other people I know... Truth does not shame but wins friends and goodwill... No one born after the deeds can be held

⁶³ *Ibid.*, pp. 349, 348.

⁶⁴ In this connection, see the developing literature on overcoming shame and humiliation, and on the sociology of apology and reconciliation: Braithwaite J. (1989). *Crime, Shame, and Reintegration*. Cambridge University Press; Tavuchis N. (1991). *Mea Culpa: The Sociology of Apology and Reconciliation*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press; Miller, William (1995). *Humiliation*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. See the forthcoming book by Lindner, Evelyn on the psychology of humiliation that will be published by Praeger Security International.

⁶⁵ Goldhagen, Daniel J. (1996). *Hitler's Willing Executioners: Ordinary Germans and the Holocaust*. New York: Knopf.

culpable for those deeds. But they can and ought to be held morally blameworthy for the suppression of the truth about those deeds. And they should be told as many times as necessary that, in the end, their denials only injure themselves.⁶⁶

Professor Minow concludes that restitution is a path that works its way between the two extreme poles of vengeance and continued historical enmity between peoples versus an indifference, total forgetting and forgiveness by the victim people and/or the perpetrator. Nations that embark on a path of honest memory and restitution are affirming life rather than death:

Between vengeance and forgiveness lies the path of recollection and affirmation, and the path of facing who we are, and what we could become.⁶⁷

CONCLUSION

Ultimately, the best solutions to denials are the recovery of truth, objectivity, and full disclosure of facts. Overcoming denial and acknowledging responsibility can bring great rewards, first as in the lives of individuals, and in large organizational units, and also to nations. The acknowledgment becomes the basis for the possibility of gaining new measures of control, dignity, and new creativity and success. In recent history there is an increasing trend for nations and peoples to acknowledge historical events they have previously sought to ignore. More and more nations in the democratic world are tending to accept responsibility for their errors and wrongdoings. Germany's handling of the Holocaust provides an outstanding example of the tremendous rewards a people can gain as a result of the integrity of their forthright acceptance of responsibility for the horrors of their deeds. Clearly Germany has recovered from WWII to become a thriving country and a respected leader among nations, and there are many who credit Germany's acceptance of responsibility for the Holocaust as a vital contribution to their success. Certainly the capacity of a nation that has previously denied responsibility for serious abuses to correct itself and take historical responsibility shows itself as winning great respect and admiration from the civilized world.

⁶⁶ Goldhagen, Daniel Jonah (2006). Turkey after Pamuk. *The New York Sun*, January 24. Retrieved from www.nysun.com/article/26391?page_no=2.

⁶⁷ Minow, Martha, *ibid.*, p. 147.

POSTSCRIPT: TURKEY AND THE ARMENIAN GENOCIDE

In one way, my paper concludes at this point. Hopefully we have conducted a meaningful exercise of looking at how denials of genocidal violence operate in a number of countries, and we are then enriched by what we have learned when we return to grapple with the subject of this innovative conference, namely, Turkish-Armenian relations. In this sense, I excuse my readers and even bibliographers to stop reading at this point and to treat the paper rendered thus far as the immediate complete product.

Nonetheless, the occasion of this historic conference also invites and challenges me to share with my readers, however briefly, my convictions about the authenticity of the Armenian Genocide, as well as my thoughts about what Turkey as a growing important nation has to gain from a brave revision of its denial position.

My own belief is that the historicity of the Armenian Genocide has been overwhelmingly established. It has been ratified in legal and policy statements by a great many western governments. It has been confirmed by several academic bodies, such as the unanimous resolution of the International Association of Genocide Scholars.⁶⁸ The archives of so many countries, including the U.S., Great Britain, Germany, and others repeatedly confirm the basic facts of the Armenian Genocide as seen by the diplomats,⁶⁹ let alone in various Turkish government records and the fact that the Turkish government itself held court-martials which sentenced many of the leading perpetrators

⁶⁸ The Armenian Genocide Resolution was unanimously passed by the Association of Genocide Scholars, later renamed the International Association of Genocide Scholars on June 13, 1997 at the association's conference in Montreal. The resolution reads simply and clearly: "That this assembly of the Association of Genocide Scholars in its conference held in Montreal, June 11-13, 1997, reaffirms that the mass murder of over a million Armenians in Turkey in 1915 is a case of genocide which conforms to the statutes of the United Nations Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of Genocide. It further condemns the denial of the Armenian Genocide by the Turkish government and its official and unofficial agents and supporters.

⁶⁹ See, for example: U.S. sources: Adalian, Rouben Paul (1994). *Guide to Armenian Genocide in the U.S. Archives 1915-1918*. Alexandria, VA: Chadwyck Healey; also Adalian, Rouben Paul (1999). Documentation of Armenian Genocide in US archives. *Encyclopedia of Genocide, ibid.*, pp. 97-99; German sources: Dadrian, Vahakn N. (1994). Documentation of the Armenian Genocide in German and Austrian sources. In Charny, Israel W. (Ed.), *The Widening Circle of Genocide. Volume 3 in the Series, Genocide: A Critical Bibliographic Review*. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, pp. 77-125; also Dadrian, Vahakn N. (1999). Documentation of Armenian Genocide in German sources. *Encyclopedia of Genocide, ibid.*, pp. 90-92; British sources: Jekhian, Vartkes (1991). *British Foreign Office Dossiers on Turkish War Criminals*. La Verne, CA: AAIC (500 pp.).

including to death sentences,⁷⁰ as well as religious missionaries and even travelers who were passing through at the time.⁷¹

Turkey's constitution's preamble declares: "No actions against Turkish national interests, Turkish national existence in its indivisible state and land, Turkish historical and moral values or the nationalism, modernity, reforms and principles of Ataturk can be afforded protection." Article III.1 Affirms: "The state, with its territory and nation, is an indivisible whole. Its language is Turkish." Amendment to this Article is prohibited by the constitution.

A writer in the Athens Daily News, Alex Penman, observes that, "The establishment holds that 'Ataturk's nationalism' has nothing to do with racism, religious, linguistic, or ethnic discrimination and is a synonym for modernity, a liberation movement from religious obscurantism, a call to defend Turkey's independence and the secular republic." He quotes from a member of the Society for Ataturkist Thought, Jem Taner: "It is always made clear in school that Ataturk's nationalism must be equated with citizenship, the commitment to the state and its republican ideals. It is equivalent to the French fraternity slogan."

On the other hand, Penman points out, there are many others who see Kemalism as antithetical to any multicultural pluralism.

Many...view Kemalism [as saying]...that although the constitution may not mention race directly, the concept of nationhood enshrined in it rests on the idea that only one culture is acceptable in the country. Minority rights lawyer Fethiye Chetin points out some practical problems: "Turkey doesn't recognize minorities' religious leadership bodies. Minority institutions lack legal recognition. This creates obstacles in properly trials... Turkey hasn't honoured its Lausanne obligations," proclaims Human Rights Association member Ayshe Gyunaysu. "Greeks in Imvros still await the reopening of their

⁷⁰ See, for example, Dadrian, Vahakn (1995). The Armenian Genocide in official Turkish records. *Journal of Political and Military Sociology*, 22 (1), whole issue. Edited by Roger Smith. Forward by Richard Falk. Also see: Dadrian, Vahakn (1991). Documentation of the World War I Proceedings of the Turkish Military Tribunal, *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 3 (4), 549-576; and Dadrian, Vahakn N. (1999). Armenian Genocide, court-martial of perpetrators. *Encyclopedia of Genocide, ibid.*, pp. 87-89 (includes a source document from the Turkish Military Tribunal's verdict).

⁷¹ See, for example, Adalian, Rouben Paul (1999). American Genocide, missionaries and. *Encyclopedia of Genocide, ibid.*, pp. 101-102. Among travelers who came upon the killings of the Armenians were Jews from Palestine who then brought home both outcries of protest and warnings to the Jews too of their possible fate. See the writings of Aaron and Sarah Aharonson, Jewish residents of the community known as the Yishuv in Palestine at the time. In Auron, Yair (2003). *The Banality of Denial, ibid.*

schools, closed in an ethnic-cleansing campaign of the Sixties, Armenians are denied permission to restore churches in Asia Minor. Minorities are portrayed as potential traitors. Schoolbooks present them cooperating with the enemy, stabbing Turks in the back – a paranoia bequeathed from late Ottoman times. Unsurprisingly, the word has become pejorative.”⁷²

I believe that Turkey as an emerging important nation in the world is in a process toward aligning itself with the values of western civilization, while retaining honorably its predominant religious identity as a largely Moslem nation that is committed, like other democracies, to multi-culturalism.

I take note happily that in recent years there is a steady growth of voices of Turkish scholars and intellectuals who are acknowledging the mass killings of the Armenians and other non-Turkish people; and I see, with pleasure, that these are the voices of Turkish people who love their culture, people and nation, and who sincerely want their people to grow healthfully and successfully as honored equal participants in the world community.

I feel that it is entirely right that Turkey be accepted as a member of the European Union, and I believe that common good sense will prevail in Turkish society and politics and that the government of Turkey will be able to acknowledge the destruction of non-Turks that the European Union is demanding as a prerequisite for admission of Turkey.

This is what Professor Boghos Levon Zekiyan whom I previously quoted also foresees:

I believe that the acknowledgment of what happened, also at official and high levels of the Turkish society, will inevitably come one day. Of course, no one can guess when, but it will come!... Some things that happen today in Turkey and in the “Turkish world” with relation to the Armenian-Turkish relations and also to the very debate on the genocide were absolutely unpredictable some 30 years ago, others some 20 years ago, others some 10 years ago, others only one year ago... Unless a radical and abrupt inversion of trend may occur, by some coup d’Etat or something like that, I believe this trend to be irreversible.

⁷² Penman, Alex (2004). Turkishness or Turkey-ness. *Asbarez Daily*, November 20, with attribution to the *Athens Daily News*.

The leading, the training force in this movement or evolution will be given, I think, by the vital dynamics coming from the inward of the Turkish society, that is mainly from its open and free intellectuals reflecting on their own past. Their force of conviction will be contagious since they offer at the same time a high example of civilian courage, of real political correctness, of intellectual honesty, of human dignity in one word.⁷³

Professor Fatima Gocek also foresees:

...the emotional relief that the recognition of the tragedy of 1915 shall bring to both the Armenians as well as the Turks. The Armenians can then finally start, with the support of the Turks, the much needed grieving process. The Turks in turn can assume responsibility for their past injustices and commence to live, as a consequence of such recognition, in a much kinder, gentler society where they tolerate those who are different from them.⁷⁴

Thus, earlier this very year Professor William Schabas of the National University of Ireland, Galway, spoke to the Ankara Bar Association on "The 'Odious Scourge': Evolving Interpretations of the Crime of Genocide," and he has shared with me that he was received not only courteously but also appreciatively and warmly. Professor Schabas concluded unambiguously that the Armenian Genocide was one of the major genocides of the last century:

Debates about historic cases of genocide need to be reassessed in light of evolving case law. In a series of recent decisions, the international criminal tribunals have broadened the reach of the 1948 definition. It has been held to apply to a somewhat more expansive category of groups than what is listed in the text of the definition. No proof of State involvement, or of a policy or plan, is necessary to establish that genocide has been committed. It may even be perpetrated by an individual, acting alone. As for those who participate in the crime of genocide, prosecutors need not establish that they actually had a genocidal intent, as long as they were in some way accomplices to the crime. Finally, and perhaps most important of all, the concept of genocide has been extended to acts that compromise the survival of a group, such as forced displacements, even when there are doubts about the intent to physically exterminate the group.

⁷³ Zekiyan, Boghos Levon (2005), *ibid.*

⁷⁴ Babikian, Aris (2006). *Ibid.*

None of this can be particularly comforting to those who have tried to deny that the massacres of Armenians within Turkey in 1915 amount to one of the great genocides of the twentieth century.⁷⁵

As I said, the Turkish professional audience honored Professor Schabas who returned with a glowing report of the Turkish freedom and integrity he had experienced.

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⁷⁵ Schabas, William (2006). The 'odious scourge': Evolving interpretations of the crime of genocide. Paper presented to the Fourth Law Congress of the Ankara Bar Association Conference, Ankara, January 2006.

