



Worksheet for Describing and Categorizing a Genocidal Event

Data Collection and Analysis of Genocides in Multiple Defined Subcategories

Israel W. Charny

So much – so very much—of genocide studies has been devoted to argumentation about what is genocide - which definition will triumph, and whether a given event of ugly mass murder of civilians constitutes genocide.¹

One scholar argues in a recent article that the lack of definitional closure and decisiveness that has been a prime cause of paralysis in the international system in response to mass murders such as in Rwanda and Sudan.² This is true and compels us to develop new solutions; but personally I am no less impressed – and depressed - by the fact that the crazy energies devoted to definitional squabbles and battles have a further result that much of the simple real meanings of so many people being murdered often are lost.

Being overly occupied with intellectual disputations, which I have identified in the literature under the name of “definitionalism” and turf power struggles is an anesthetic to feeling the genuine tragedy and horror of mass murder.³ Endless “Is it or is it not...” evaluations and controversies dull the simple ethical sensitivity that murders most foul have been committed.

The author of the present Worksheet is known in the literature of genocide studies for a wide ranging definition of genocide that speaks most definitely to the *outcome* of many human beings murdered rather than to the *intent*, and is not limited to intended *total*

destruction of a people.⁴ The definition addresses the basic FACTS that many unarmed human beings are killed by whomever for whatever 'reasons' in whatever ways. The prevailing responses to this definition that appear in one form or another in the literature of genocide studies have been that this definition is too broad, that it defines *everything* as it were as "genocide," hence that the power and awe of the special horrendous category of "genocide" are seriously diminished. These critiques argue that unless the definition of genocide is restricted to ... and then come the chosen restrictions of different scholars, some so extreme that they even rule out most genocides from constituting genocide and leave only one or more chosen events as befitting to be identified as genocide.⁵

Nonetheless, over the years any number of scholars who chafed and even scoffed at my definition have written appreciatively that it is inspired by humanism and caring for human life. Philip Spencer, who directs a Joint Program in Human Rights and Genocide Studies in Kingston University (U.K.), recently evaluated the definition as follows:

The one-sidedness of genocide is a central issue for another pioneer, Israel Charny, who fought hard to raise the question of genocide at a time when it was not seen by many as a major problem. His acute awareness of the vulnerability of victims lies at the heart of his own redefinition of genocide as 'the mass killing of substantial numbers of human beings when not in the course of military action against the military forces of an avowed enemy, under conditions of the essential defencelessness and hopelessness of the victim.' Charny's emphasis in this definition on the weakness and vulnerability of victim groups is very important, particularly when it comes to thinking about what is to be done to help victims.⁶

Replacing Definitionalism with Solid, Factual Data Collection

Slowly but surely I have come to the conclusion that if we return to basic principles of the scientific method, and concentrate firstly on assembling all the known concrete FACTS of an event of genocide, that we will be fulfilling a basic principle of science about getting verifiable information, and setting a far better stage for the kinds of

evaluative and definitional concepts that we want to attach to these facts – but these evaluations should be done well *after* a database has been assembled.

As noted, many of us genocide scholars have spent such hugely irksome and fatiguing parts of our lives literally fighting one another – too often also abusively – as to whether or not a tragic pileup of dead human bodies in whatever historical event constituted genocide, or a crime against humanity, or ‘plain’ mass murder or whatever. The process of our definitional squabbles corrupted us – more correctly we allowed them to corrupt us – into crazy power struggles between us, and this has also affected and seriously weakened our abilities to contribute and to convince international agencies and national governments to recognize an event of genocide as such.

The approach that I am proposing is first of all going back to the fundamentals of assembling concrete, verifiable, detailed information about all aspects of a genocidal event. This method frees us from our wasteful pursuits of absolute definitions and the accompanying personality–power battles that have eaten away at so much vitality of our profession of genocide scholarship. Most important, this approach redirects us and our various research staffs and students as well to good basic science.

Construction of the Worksheet

The Worksheet invites the following gathering of data:

1. Genocidal Intention (Objective)

First, much like clearly describing a disease process in medicine, we track the genocidal event in all of its aspects and signs and twists and turns. Intentionality is included in this assembly of data. We certainly want to know what degree of intentionality is seen in the process of bringing about murders of the designated victims, and whether the intent was to exterminate a total people or to kill a significant number of a designated group (per the Genocide Convention, “in whole or in part”); whether the genocidal killing culminated as it did in a definite outcome of masses of dead bodies but was done without focused intentionality - e.g., government indiscriminately killing civilians in an effort to keep its power, as is happening in Syria at this writing.⁷

The Worksheet identifies other possibilities as well with regard to the objective of a genocide, including murders of a designated ethnic, national or religious group -- what is known as *ethnic cleansing*;⁸ or genocide as a result of abuse of the human environment via ecological destruction or via disastrous neglect or failure to meet engineering requirements for safety, e.g., the Chernobyl nuclear plant, or the deaths of civilians in floods in China as a result of massive rerouting of a natural water system.⁹

This section of the Worksheet also invites an effort at understanding whether the genocidal event was largely directed by a commanding agency, e.g., a key leader like Hitler, Stalin, Mao, and Pol Pot, or the genocidal event unfolded sequentially through a series of increasingly severe or extensive means and scope of extermination fed by an intoxication of violence and orgiastic progressions to extremes. Note the same genocidal event can also be identified as *both* of the above – both commanded by a central agency and spurred by a progression that expanded and worsened from stage to stage. Thus, for many years and to a lesser extent there are some continuations today, there was an intense dispute between understanding the Holocaust as an *intentionalist* versus *functionalist* process, where many scholars progressed to the conception that it was both – especially commanded by Hitler and his senior cohorts like Eichmann, but also characterized by a progressive unfolding from stage to stage to climactic procedures that were not conceived or planned originally by Hitler, like the gas chambers and crematoria, and endless variations like the forced death marches that were carried out even as Germany was collapsing decisively.¹⁰

2. Target Victim Group

The Worksheet records the identity of the target victim group, and whether the definition of the intended victim is along lines of racial identity, religious identity, ethnic identity, political affiliation, gender, sexual preference, or membership in whatever collective group, or combinations of categories.

Note that *at all times the worksheet allows for entering new categories and sub-categories that express most clearly the data as available to us*. Thus, if rotten genocidal killers choose mentally defective or physically defective people or plain

intellectual-looking people with eyeglasses, for extermination, categories for this information are formulated and entered.

3. *Means of Genocide*

The Worksheet also calls for identifying data about the means of genocide. There are so many possible instruments for killing, so many various means of execution – again I emphasize the outcome - all of which share the same terrible generic outcome of the deaths of many unarmed people.

Differences between various means of execution have many implications in their own right, including the comparative ‘efficiency’ of the means of killing, and in respect of our knowledge and sensitivity to the different kinds of terror, pain and suffering that the victims underwent. Thus:

Direct face-to-face execution by hand or other contact weapons, e.g., like hacking and execution by machete in the Rwandan Genocide;

Death camps, concentration camps, gulags, labor camps, and prisons;

Forced marches, forced deportations or “transfer” of populations; induced famine, e.g., the Ukrainian Genocide, and according to emerging reports quite possibly today in North Korea;

Medical killing, a la Dr. Mengele in the Holocaust, and by Dr. Ishii in the Japanese invasion of Manchuria;

‘Plain old’ mass killings, but here too means of killing vary considerably and need to be specified, e.g., the airplanes that crashed into the World Trade Center on 9/11; or gas chambers – there are some reports of a gas chamber operating today in North Korea, let alone everybody, including David Irving, knows of the gas chambers in the Holocaust;

Mass graves, and crematoria;

Bombing of civilians as a means of genocide, whether intended or as a resulting fact on the ground that huge numbers of civilians are killed by how the bombing is conducted (“saturation bombing”), e.g., the controversy about whether the Allied bombing of Dresden constituted genocide;¹¹

The relatively new ‘blessing’ in our time of contemporary transnational genocidal terrorism - terrorist attacks with bombs exploding in civilian areas, markets, churches, hospitals, cemeteries – you name it; and the crazy proliferation of suicide bombings in the world where the killers do not try to protect their own lives; and of course, Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD) - - heaven help us for what may lie ahead in respect of weapons of mass destruction of nuclear, chemical, biologic or other futuristic weapons.

4. Context – Organizing Theme and Inspiration Imagoes

Data are now gathered specifying the context or organizing theme and inspirational imagoes of the genocidal event being studied, thus, battles for power, superiority and domination, and/or the many battles to cleanse and purify and rid the world of the defiling Other:¹²

- *Religious Supremacy* – my god can beat up your god anytime;
- *Ethnocentric Superiority* - Battles defined in respect of ethnocentric superiority – our people *uber alles*;
- *Battles for Ideological Purity, Supremacy or Domination* – Battles for our ways of life, thinking, values over others. Note that new forms of battles in the name of a political ideology can be developed at a drop of the hat, as in the Khmer Rouge fabrication of an almost indescribable ideology as the understructure for destruction of no less than one third of their *fellow* citizens in Cambodia;
- *Economic System Superiority* - The traditional biggies of this capitalism and communism that seek to capture more and more power no matter the expense in human lives, e.g., the efforts of communist-bloc countries to achieve domination over an “empire”;

- *Utopianism* – which means that many of us good people have beautiful dreams of a better world, but go crazy and push on and on become entrenched in beliefs that all those who oppose us have to be eliminated;

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Wartime Crimes against Humanity (1) - Genocidal killing in the course of what is a perfectly *Just War* of legitimate self-defense, where the people fighting for their lives 'lose it' and go on to massacre enemy civilians in whatever number of genocidal events – thus, Israel, clearly fighting a war of self-defense against intended destruction of its people, *also* has sinned several times seriously in callous events of destruction of civilians;¹⁴

- *Wartime Crimes against Humanity (2)* - Genocide in the course of a war that in plain old-fashioned ways is intended to expand or dominate – and thereby is generally defined, in the concepts of the Catholic philosopher, Thomas Aquinas, as an *Unjust War*;
- *Transnational Genocidal Terrorism* - Thus, Al Qaeda and its affiliates have definite intentions to undermine the existing power structures of many countries in the world in their long-range intention to impose sharia over huge areas, and is a sense over the entire world;
- *Genocidal killings that accompany much colonization*, such as the destruction of indigenous native peoples in many countries in North and South America;
- *Globalization* - Genocidal acts resulting from relentless globalization or exploitation of resources and major industrial development at the expense of the lives of a local population;
- *"Ecological Genocide"* - or in conventional legal terms, large-scale manslaughter by ignoring and overriding safety concerns, e.g., decidedly careless and indiscriminate development of nuclear energy at the expense of radiation leaks and a high probability of catastrophic accidents, or supercilious use of carcinogenic substances like asbestos;
- *Revolution* – and genocidal excesses of killing civilians when the Great New Savior that a revolution is bringing to the 'lucky people' who have

been oppressed by a previous regime turns into retribution - the delight of 'giving it back' to the people who committed genocide against your people and 'deserve nothing better'; or the revolution sponsors harsh murderous campaigns against people in its own society who are identified, rightly or wrongly, as enemies of the revolution and a passion of genocidal persecution expands against 'counterrevolutionaries' and 'enemies of the state;'

- *Genocidal Killing for the Sake of Killing* – There are still other existing or emergent themes and inspirations for genocide. Personally, I have come to the conclusion that the killing impulse is instinctive or a natural substrate in the human mind. Much genocidal killing is, forgive me, 'killing for killing's sake.' The desire and readiness to destroy other living beings is resonant within us human beings as one of our instinctive systems of thinking–behavior and is a part of the basic machinery with which we humans are endowed at the 'factory' when we are born. Obviously this conclusion deserves and requires a full-scale scientific and philosophical investigation of its own, but this is not the place for it.

However, the good news nonetheless is that the killer instinct and constructive uses of aggression for building and life can be sublimated to a use of power in self-defense and not for violence and destruction. Not to kill others can be a positive goal of a culture that fights violence, and/or the outcome of personal spiritual choices by people.

5. IDENTITY OF PERPETRATOR

Data entering continues with identification of *who* is the perpetrator executing the genocide. It is well-known that in a majority of cases in history to date it is national governments who are the perpetrators, but there are also a substantial number of situations where others such as the church – see for example the Crusades - or a

political party – see a revolutionary party in Columbia in South America, or often enough when a revolutionary political movement grows in power to become the prevailing government – such as was the case in Communist Russia or in Communist China.

There are also other ‘actors’ who can be identified as the perpetrators, including terrorists; a present or past victim people who assert themselves in retaliating against their genocider; a military, para-military or ‘special force’ that executes genocidal murders (often enough on behalf of a government – such as in the disappearances in Argentina); and even the people themselves can be the immediate perpetrators of genocide, such as in rioting crowds and bloodthirsty public trials of “enemies.”

The subject of *who* executes a genocidal event broadens even further when, in addition to identifying the major perpetrators, we look for accomplices and bystanders, and then too others who give assistance to the execution of the genocide. Not only individuals play these roles. Any number of societal institutions need to be looked at for their roles as accomplices or bystanders as those who gave some significant form of assistance to a policy of executions and their implementation.

For example:

What role did the legal establishment in Germany play in enabling and legitimizing the Nazi regime to consolidate its dictatorial power and to carry out its policies of killings? What role did the churches in Germany and in Europe play in enabling and even encouraging the Holocaust? Similarly, what roles did churches play in the Rwandan Genocide – a famous example is that of the pastor who ordered bulldozing his church to which thousands of people had fled for safety.¹⁵

What roles did the medical professions play in the Holocaust, before the Holocaust in a campaign to “ethanize” the mentally deficient and mentally ill children;¹⁶ continuing with the roles of physicians in “selections” and in bringing the gas ‘medicine’ to the crematoria, and much more?

Where do educational institutions figure in the enabling event? Do they have any real entry points into the processes that culminate in genocide? Can educators and their institutions 'afford' to take stands against powerful government or other societal agencies of killing?

What about the diplomats of a killing nation?¹⁷ The 'plain intellectuals'? The musicians? The artists? Those who have possibilities of rescuing victims?

What roles did communication and media play in campaigns 'advertising' and 'hypnotizing' national and other audiences to internalize imagoes of given target peoples as 'germs,' 'bacteria,' 'filth,' or other sources of potential destruction to their host nation, people, culture, or religion? Thus, the extraordinary hypnotic public pageants and assemblies of the Nazis, or the tragically brilliant radio campaigns in Rwanda.

OUTCOME

The Worksheet calls for the best information available as to the numbers of victims killed, and an assessment of the relative percentage of the victim group that has been murdered.

The great researcher R.J. Rummel has been the outstanding demographer of genocide and has given us estimates of the tolls of genocides, including his unbelievable but data-grounded estimates of 54 million victims of genocide in the USSR under Stalin, and 36 million victims in China under Mao, and an estimated conservative total of 260 million dead by genocide in most of the last century.¹⁸

A second frame for viewing the toll of a genocide is to look at what percentage of the population designated as intended victims has been murdered – the Herero in South Africa were virtually totally exterminated by the Germans at the beginning of the twentieth century; and in Cambodia the two million victims of the Khmer Rouge constituted one-third of the total population.

Another summarizing perspective comes from the data of the length of time during which the extermination was carried out – who can forget the unbelievable killings by

Rwandans of one another to the extent of 800,000 victims in no more than approximately 100 days!?!; for those of us who view the nuclear bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki as genocidal events - like the great scholar Leo Kuper¹⁹ – first in a devastating flash, then long years of illness and disability, including defective births and deaths of many others, and the suffering of thousands more in the first agonizing hours and days and then in long years to come.

7. OTHER IMPORTANT CHARACTERISTICS OF THE GENOCIDAL EVENT

Aside from the guiding rule of this Worksheet that invite each scholar and researcher to correct, modify, revise and augment any category of data, Row 7 in the Worksheet specifically calls for focusing on any other important characteristic of a given genocidal event that a researcher sees fit to identify.

Altogether, the data cells create a picture of the unique aspects that are to be found in virtually every genocidal event. Row 7, “Other Important Characteristics of the Genocidal Event,” also invites researchers to identify empathetically special and outstanding and important characteristics of a genocidal event, e.g., how common it was in Rwanda for neighbors and even members of a single family to be the executioners of neighbors and relatives, or the ways in which local populations assembled during the Cultural Revolution in China to rule on the fates of fellow citizens and neighbors.²⁰

Part 2 of the Worksheet:

Value Judgments of Whether an Event is Genocide or another Related Crime

Having assembled the factual data about an event of genocide, the Worksheet invites each researcher to proceed to the ‘beloved game’ of assigning a definition of the category to which the event belongs, first in general in the language of history and social sciences and general intellectual thinking, and second in the language of law – generally international law, but on any given case it can be the specific legal code of a

given country, or both international and more local law, with clear identification of the legal system being used.

All of the chaos and nastiness that have been in the field of genocide studies about defining an event of mass murder is cordially invited to come forth now, but this time not in a combative context so much as in an invited act of judgment by each scholar, where it is agreed and clear that the judgment *in no way affects the accumulation of factual data that has been completed up until now.*

In comparison to metaphors of medical practice, our 'doctors' will have concluded recording the history and complaints and symptoms, and will have examined the patient, and now our 'doctors' are invited to offer their best judgments and choices of the category or categories to which the genocidal events are to be referred.

Making *judgments* is clearly differentiated from assembling *facts*. The earlier work on the first part of the Worksheet aims at reaching consensual factual information about what happened. Now each researcher formulates his/her own *judgments*— opinions, choices — how to define and classify the event. There is a priori understanding that the classifications are selected among alternatives, and are not sacrosanct facts of absolute knowledge.

Of course, in some cases the known facts will drive us towards a necessary classification - - if the perpetrator fully intended to kill victim people it is Intentional Genocide. But in many cases the final classification is more a judgment of the severity, meaning and significance of the event than the facts themselves disclose.

There are two axes of judgment.

The first is an intellectual designation and follows historical and social science terms and classifications.

The second judgment is as to the most correct legal definition of a given event under the existing legal system in which the event is being judged. As of today, the legal situation is fluid and immature but clearly developing, with a growing accumulation of judgments far beyond what many of us older genocide researchers dared to expect in to

short a number of years. *A word of caution: Just because a legal verdict is rendered, it isn't necessarily truth.* Legal judgments of genocide, like judgments everywhere in life, include bizarre outcomes such as were seen in the ruling of the International Criminal Court in the case brought by Bosnia against Serbia about the genocidal massacre at Srebrenica, where the court ruled first of all that the event indeed constituted genocide, but bizarrely failed to identify Serbia as the perpetrator of the genocide.

As the field progresses, there will certainly be more serious significance to such judgments of ongoing events by our 'doctors,' and especially as to what actions should be taken to stop an ongoing genocide. Such recommendations for interventions are not included in the present Worksheet at this time, nor have we prepared different data sheets for past genocidal events and events currently in progress.

Identifying the Biases of Researchers

It is recommended that each scholar and researcher also add an additional page to this Worksheet on which each researcher spells out the basic definition of genocide they have personally adopted, as well as any other relevant value positions that are guiding their scholarly work. Thus, a researcher who is committed to special valuation of the Holocaust as a unique event that goes beyond other cases of genocides would spell out this guiding conviction that obviously will enter into the choices he makes in defining Axis One and Axis Two classifications of genocide.

It is basically always true in science that a scholar or researcher *does* have some point of view with respect to the controversial, or ambiguous, or unknown knowledge in the field in which they are working. Identifying personal positions and biases, and taking responsibility for the role they play in one's judgments is one proven method in science for trying to reduce the role of blind biases and their impositions on the assembly of information.

Rules for Use of the Worksheet for Describing and Categorizing Genocidal Events**Rule 1**

It is entirely permissible to select multiple characteristics of a genocide, e.g., multiple means of an extermination, e.g., death camps and forced marches in the Holocaust; or a combination of organizing themes, such as ideological domination, ethnocentrism, and genocide in the course of an unjust war in the former Yugoslavia.

Rule 2

The Worksheet is designed to enable scholars and researchers to add categories at all times, in other words to use multiple categories already listed *and* to add new categories. The history of genocide is clearly one where killings are carried out in a wide variety of different forms and sequences.

Rule 3

The Worksheet allows and indeed encourages any scholar to propose corrected or revised definitions of a category

Rule 4

The Worksheet is presented in a condensed summary form, but it is suggested that additional individual pages be created for each of the nine rows in the worksheet, so that the scholar working with this material has spaces to write extended comments and notes about any aspect of the genocidal events.

Rule 5

The assembly of data (Rows 1-7) is intended to be as factual as possible in all the previous seven rows. The clarification of type of genocide (Rows 8-9) on the other hand is understood to be an act of *judgment* made by the researcher. It is a choice by the researcher and not established data in itself. The numerous disputes in the field to date

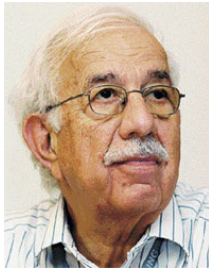
about categorizing genocide will continue, but now against a background of data sheets which record many facts about each of the cases involved. Each researcher is responsible for the choices—judgments he/she makes in categorizing an event.

The second Axis (Row 9) that refers to legal classification ostensibly is more anchored in a set of established definitions, but the truth is that legal judgments are forever modifying and revising principles of law, in many cases even when the original text of the code of law remains intact. Perpetrators who are brought to trial say before the International Criminal Court, such as at this time Karadzic, formerly President of the Serbian Republic in Bosnia, routinely appeal to the court not only with regard to the *facts* of events but often more as to the *interpretation* of the events. Slowly but surely legal systems, wisely and unwisely as the case may be, are building a series of clarifications of what the legal definitions of the different crimes of mass murder will be. This Axis invites the researcher to give an *opinion* as to the proper definition that is called for in existing law in the specific researcher's understanding.

Note again that this judgment is a separate judgment from the prior choice of an historical and social science categorization of the genocidal event.

Rule 6

It is recommended that on an additional page each scholar and researcher using this Worksheet format spell out the basic definition of genocide that has been adopted by them and any other relevant value positions that are guiding their scholarly work. Identifying personal biases, and taking responsibility for tracking the roles they play in the collection of data and in judgments of classifications is one of the possible controls biases in scientific methodology.



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Endnotes

¹ Charny IW. (Ed.). *Encyclopedia of Genocide*. Associate Editors: Rouben Paul Adalian, Steven L. Jacobs, Eric Markusen, Samuel Totten; Bibliographic Editor: Marc I. Sherman. Managing Editor: Pauline Cooper. Forewords by Archbishop Desmond Tutu and Simon Wiesenthal. Santa Barbara, CA and Oxford, UK: ABC-CLIO, 1999, 2000. Two volumes, 720p.

² Gallagher, Adrian M. (2012). A system society and community perspective on genocide. *Genocide Studies and Prevention*, 7, 2/3, 166-183.

³ Charny, Israel W. (1994). Toward a generic definition of genocide. In Andreopoulos, George (Ed.), *Genocide: Conceptual and Historical Dimensions*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, pp. 64-94. [Presented originally at the Yale University Law School Raphael Lemkin Symposium on Genocide, February, 1991]

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Katz, Steven (1994). *The Holocaust in Historical Context*, Vol. 1. New York: Oxford University Press.

⁶ Spencer, Philip (2012). *Genocide Since 1945*. London and New York: Routledge.

⁷ An unnamed employee of the *New York Times* in Syria and Damien Cave (August 27, 2012). Mass graves evidence of slaughter by Assad forces: Syrian soldiers searched house to house killing as they went, activists say. *New York Times*.

See the Resolution of the International Association of Genocide Scholars on Syria-June 5, 2012. In *GPN Genocide Prevention Now*, Issue 12, Winter 2012 <http://www.genocidepreventionnow.org>

GPN Genocide Prevention Now (2012). Syria An "Incremental Genocide." In Syria They are Now Reporting Mass Graves; UN Observers Group Announced Suspension of their Work, Issue 11, Fall 2012. <http://www.genocidepreventionnow.org>

GPN Genocide Prevention Now (2012). Genocide Alert Issued a Genocide Emergency Alert for Syria. Issue 11, Fall 2012. <http://www.genocidepreventionnow.org>

Here too fine scholars are embroiled in disputes as to whether a definition of “ethnic cleansing” is wrong, not because it fails to describe an ongoing process focused on getting rid of a targeted ethnicity, but because amazingly it as if becomes a lesser crime than genocide, therefore, as if it is *not genocide*.

The Worksheet calls first of all for accurate facts. Are they targeting a specific ethnicity? In the second part of the Worksheet, each researcher will choose conceptual labels that will not affect the assembly of data.

Personally, I view ethnic cleansing as one of the many or multiple forms of genocide, and thereby do not at all minimize its deadly significance as genocide, even as in using the name of a more specific subcategory of genocide I begin to convey more meaningfully how this specific genocidal mass murder was carried out. There really are different scenarios for committing genocide.

⁸ Blum, Rony; Stanton, Gregory H; Sagi, Shira; and Richter, Elihu D. (2008). Ethnic cleansing' bleaches the atrocities of genocide. *European Journal of Public Health*, 18, (2), 204-209.

⁹ Charny, Israel W. (1994). Toward a generic definition of genocide, op. cit.

The proposal of a concept and category of Ecological Genocide was also made by me in the article cited above.

It may be of interest to genocide scholars that this publication was of a talk that I gave at the “First Raphael Lemkin Seminar on Genocide at Yale University. The symbolism honoring the heroic founder of genocide studies, Raphael Lemkin, as well as meaning of holding a seminar at the prestigious law school and university touches me so deeply that with my wife’s agreement, I flew from Israel to the U.S. despite the fact that we were in the throes of the Gulf War and daily missiles were being fired on Israel. Only Israel’s national airline, El Al, was flying at the time, and the flights to and from the U.S. also were emotionally charged with an extra sense of danger. But I felt the Symposium marked a breakthrough event in the development of genocide scholarship.

¹⁰ Porter, Jack Nusan (1999, 2000). Holocaust Controversies: A Point of View. In *Encyclopedia of Genocide*, op. cit., pp. 307-313.

¹¹ Markusen, Eric, and Kopf, David (1995). *The Holocaust and Strategic Bombing: Genocide and Total War in the Twentieth Century*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

¹² Cohn, Norman (2001). *Europe's Inner Demons: The Demonization of Christians in Medieval Christendom*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Semelin, Jacques (2009). *Purify and Destroy: The Political Uses of Massacre and Genocide*. New York: Columbia University Press

¹³ Maslow, Abraham H. (1979). *The Journals of A.H. Maslow*. 2 Vols. Monterey, CA: Brooks/Cole. Edited by Richard J. Lowry.

Chalquist, Craig (date unknown-retrieved 2 December 2012). Maslow's Descent: When high peaks cast long shadows. www.terrapsych.com/maslow.html

¹⁴ Morris, Benny (1988). *The Birth of the Palestinian Refugee Problem, 1947-1949*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Morris, Benny (2004). *The Birth of the Palestinian Refugee Problem, Revisited*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Morris, Benny (2011). 1948. *A History of the First Arab-Israeli War*. New Haven & London: Yale University Press.

¹⁵ BBC NEWS (April 19, 1998). Priests get death sentence for Rwandan genocide. [A court in Rwanda sentenced two Catholic priests to death for their role in the genocide of 1994.]

[Wikipedia: Athanase Seromba (born 1963) is a Rwandan priest who was found guilty of aiding and abetting genocide and crimes against humanity committed in the Rwandan genocide. Seromba was priest of a Catholic parish at Nyange in the Kibuye province of western Rwanda. He was charged with the deaths of around 2,000 Tutsis who took refuge in his parish church. According to the charges brought against him, Seromba ordered his church to be bulldozed on April 6 1994, and then shot some survivors.

Seromba surrendered himself to the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR) on February 6, 2002. On February 8, 2002 he pleaded not guilty to the charges of genocide, complicity in genocide, conspiracy to commit genocide and extermination as a crime against humanity. He was found guilty and sentenced to 15 years in prison. Seromba appealed the verdict. On 12 March 2008, the Appeals Chamber of the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR) decided his responsibility was even greater than previously found, affirmed his conviction, and increased his sentence to a life sentence.

See also Venturini, Gabriella (28 February 2007). "[Rwanda's Unanswered Screams: Still seeking justice after the Seromba trial](#)". [The Hague Justice Portal](#).]

¹⁶ Proctor, Robert N. (1988). *Racial Hygiene: Medicine under the Nazis*. Library of Congress: Harvard College.

Sachs, S. (1985). *Action T4: Mass Murder of Handicapped in Nazi Germany*. Tel Aviv: Papyrus Publishing House, Tel Aviv University (Hebrew).

Sereny, Gitta (1983). *Into that Darkness: An Examination of Conscience*. Vintage Books.

Werthman, Fredric (1967). *A Sign for Cain*. New York: Macmillan.

¹⁷ A touching and perhaps a promising program for reaching the mid-level diplomats of many countries was created by the late Fred Schwarz under a rubric of an Auschwitz Institute for Peace and Reconciliation. The diplomats are invited to gather at the Institute's site immediately adjacent to Auschwitz – Birkenau, where they participate in a several day seminar aiming at heightening their awareness that they may be able to save human lives if they recognize persecutory genocidal processes in time and make good moral choices about their roles. Auschwitz Institute for Peace and Reconciliation. www.info@auschwitzinstitute.org [2 W. 45 St. Suite 1602

¹⁸ Rummel, R.J. (1990). *Lethal Politics: Soviet Genocide and Mass Murder since 1917*. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers.

Rummel, R.J. (1991) *China's Bloody Century: Genocide and Mass Murder since 1900*. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers.

Other basic works of RJ Rummel include the following:

Rummel, R.J. (1991). *Democide: Nazi Genocide and Mass Murder*. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers.

Rummel, R.J. (1992). Power kills. Absolute power kills absolutely. *Internet on the Holocaust and Genocide*, Special Issue 38. Jerusalem: Institute on the Holocaust and Genocide.

Rummel, R.J. (1994). *Death by Government*. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers.

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Rummel, R.J. (1999). *Statistics of Democide: Genocide and Mass Murder since 1900*. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publish

¹⁹ Chang, Jung, and Halliday, Jon (2005). *Mao: The Unknown Story*. New York: Knopf

²⁰ Foster Jason Morgan, and Savoie, Pierre-Olivier (2007). World Court finds Serbia responsible for breaches of Genocide Convention, but not liable for committing genocide. American Society of International Law, 11 (9). www.asil.org/insights070403.cfm (Retrieved December 4, 2012).

[On February 26, 2007, the International Court of Justice issued its judgment in the Application of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (Bosnia and Herzegovina v. Serbia and Montenegro). The case marked the first time that a country sued another country for breaches of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide ("the Convention"). In a complex and lengthy judgment, the Court concluded that Serbia had violated its obligations under the Convention by failing to prevent the genocide of over 7,000 Bosnian Muslims at Srebrenica in July 1995, and by failing fully to cooperate with the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia ("the ICTY"). However, the Court ruled that Serbia was not directly responsible for the genocide in Srebrenica, and that other atrocities reviewed by the Court did not in fact constitute genocide.]

GPN Genocide Prevention Now (2010). Serbia Apologizes for Srebrenica but Refuses to Label it Genocide. *GPN Genocide Prevention Now*, Issue 2, Spring. <http://www.genocidepreventionnow.org>

GPN Genocide Prevention Now (2010). NEWSPEAK Issue 3: Suit for Denial of Serb Genocide. *GPN Genocide Prevention Now*, Issue 3, Summer. <http://www.genocidepreventionnow.org>