

CHGS

The Center for Holocaust and Genocide Studies

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Fall/Winter 2004/05

Genocide Emergency: Darfur, Sudan

By Gregory H. Stanton; President, Genocide Watch, Mary Washington College
Guest Column

The United States Secretary of State, Colin Powell, on 9 September 2004 declared "that genocide has occurred in Darfur and that the government of Sudan and the Janjaweed bear responsibility, and that genocide may still be continuing." The U.S. Senate and House of Representatives, by unanimous vote on 23 July 2004, declared "that the atrocities unfolding in Darfur, Sudan, are genocide."

The State Department has not historically been forward-leaning in making findings of genocide, as was notoriously evident during its refusal to apply the term "genocide" to Rwanda in 1994 until most of the 800,000 victims had been murdered. This time, however, the Ambassador for War Crimes Issues, Pierre Richard Prosper, adopted an exemplary strategy of proof. Prosper was the Prosecutor in the Akayesu case, which resulted in history's first conviction after trial by an International Criminal Tribunal applying the Genocide Convention. Prosper's strategy demonstrated the careful investigation and solid legal analysis that made him so successful at the ICTR.

Prosper knew that proof of genocide needs to be based on authoritative facts. So he got the State Department's Human Rights Bureau to commission and fund a thorough investigation by expert investigators recruited by the Coalition for International Justice. They interviewed 1,136 eye-witnesses in Sudanese refugee camps, a sample large enough for any social scientific study. Then he and the State Department Legal Advisers' Office applied international law to the facts, without determining in advance what the conclusion would be. The legal conclusion was properly separated from its political consequences.

The results of the systematic interviews were shocking. Over sixty percent of the people interviewed had witnessed the killing of a family member. Two-thirds had witnessed the killing of a non-family member. Over eighty percent had witnessed destruction of a village. Two-thirds had witnessed aerial bombing of villages by the Sudanese government. And perhaps most chillingly, one third had heard racial epithets used while they or their relatives were being murdered or raped. Assailants often shouted, "Kill the slaves" and "We have orders to kill all the blacks." Over 50,000 black Africans have died in Darfur, and 1.5 million people have been displaced from their homes. Over four hundred villages have been burnt to the ground by Arab Janjaweed militias, supported by Sudanese government bombing.

Genocide is "the intentional destruction, in whole or in part, of a national, ethnical, racial, or religious group, as

(continued on next page)

such." Was the killing "intentional"? Yes. Was it systematically organized by the al-Bashir regime using government armed Janjaweed militias, bombers, and helicopter gunships? Yes. Were the victims chosen because of their ethnic and racial identity? Yes. Fur, Masseleit, and Zaghawa black African villages were destroyed. Arab villages nearby were left untouched. The State Department report concludes, the "primary cleavage is ethnic: Arabs against Africans." Is this the intentional destruction, in part, of ethnic and racial groups? Yes. This, in short, is genocide. The genocide continues.

The Al-Bashir regime in Sudan is a serial killer, a master of genocide and ethnic cleansing, having combined these crimes before in the Nuba mountains and in the southern Sudan, where over two million black Africans have died. In the south, the government wants to confiscate rich oil reserves under the lands of the Nuer, Dinka, Shilluk, Nuba, and other black African groups. In Darfur the regime wants to "Arabize" the territory and drive out black Africans in order to confiscate their grazing lands, water resources, and cattle herds.

Mass murder by starvation has been a method of genocide for centuries, perfected by the Turks in Armenia in 1915 and by Stalin in 1933 Ukraine. It has been the strategy of choice of the Sudanese government, both in the south and in Darfur. It is a shrewd strategy because death comes slowly and denial is easy. All a government need do is arm and support militias, which drive a self-sufficient people off their land through terror; herd them into displaced persons and refugee camps; then systematically impede aid from getting to them, letting them slowly die of starvation and disease. The deaths can then be blamed on "famine," "disease", "ancient tribal conflicts," or "civil war," or most cynically, "failure of the international community to provide needed relief."

A brutal civil war is underway in Darfur, and the ceasefire and settlement being negotiated in Abuja might save lives. But the talks could take years. Meanwhile there will be peace in Darfur only with a powerful African Union force, supported logistically and financially by the West, to enforce it, much as NATO has enforced the peace in Bosnia. If the African Union force cannot stop the genocide, the U.N., NATO, European Union, and their member nations should send in troops under Chapter VII of the U.N. Charter.

Professor Stanton will be a guest speaker at the U of M in December 2004

The Eight Stages of Genocide

Gregory H. Stanton has developed an eight stage categorization of genocide.

Classification
Symbolization
Dehumanization
Organization
Polarization
Preparation
Extermination
Genocide

Stanton has written that: "Genocide is a process that develops in eight stages that are predictable but not inexorable. At each stage, preventive measures can stop it. The later stages must be preceded by the earlier stages, though earlier stages continue to operate throughout the process."

For the entire article with extended discussion, see: <http://www.genocidewatch.org/8stage>

2003-2004: CHGS YEAR IN REVIEW

by Stephen Feinstein,
Director

The academic year 2003-2004 was an eventful one for the Center for Holocaust and Genocide Studies. The major event was the sponsorship with the College of Liberal Arts and many of its Centers and Departments of the outdoor poster exhibition, *Coexistence*. The idea to bring this exhibit to the Twin Cities came after seeing it in Berlin. In terms of the goals of CHGS, the word *Coexistence* seemed to fit as a discursive issue to examine aspects of a cohesive society, the opposite of genocidal societies that we examine through academic research and study.

As a result, many programs merged within the U of M, including associations with corporations and legal firms, as well as religious communities, new Americans and groups representing the increasingly diverse culture of the upper Midwest.

The exhibition was hatched by Raphie Etgar, Curator and founder of Museum on the Seam in Jerusalem, an art center designed to develop a dialogue between Israelis and Palestinian Arabs and supported with private funding from Germany. However, *Coexistence* was designed also to create a discourse in Europe, where it was first shown to create a conversation about the critical issues that were emerging in nation-states because of immigration of non-Europeans, particularly Arab Muslims, Turks and South Asians.

Locally, *Coexistence* received principal sponsorship from Allianz Life Insurance Company, which also mounted an advertising campaign on billboards and buses, as well as Regis Foundation. (other grants are listed on the last page of the newsletter). *Coexistence* was installed in Hennepin County Plaza North in Minneapolis, across from City Hall in May and was in June moved to Rice and Landmark Parks in Saint Paul. Formal openings involving both Mayor R. T. Rybak of Minneapolis and Mayor Randy Kelly of Saint Paul opened each event. It is estimated that more than 150,000 people saw the exhibition. The next site is the Mall in Washington, D.C. across from the new National Museum of the American Indian. Under the banner of *Coexistence*, U of M departments and centers sponsored a number of guest speakers. A conference on Rwanda and an Interfaith Dialogue on Race and Religion were held in conjunction with the exhibition. Thanks to a grant from the Jay and Rose Phillips Foundation, more than 200 sets of posters and catalogues were given to teachers for classroom use. Many had students construct artistic replies to *Coexistence* which are currently found on the permanent web site. They were also shown during Summer 2004 in the Student Gallery, Regis Center for the Arts. The Center for German and European Studies sponsored a *Borderlands Film Festival* on campus (Greek, Armenian and Turkish films with guest speakers) as well as arranging lunchtime seminars in Minneapolis and Saint Paul.

The *Dialogue on Race and Religion*, was taped by TPT-Channel 17 in the Twin Cities and will be shown several times during Fall and Spring 2004-05.

The first showing date is November 7, 2004 on TPT Channel 17 from 6-7:30 P.M. The discussion at Landmark Center in Saint Paul featured Archbishop Harry J. Flynn, Twin Cities Archdiocese, Rabbi Joseph Edelheit Director of Jewish Studies, St. Cloud State University, Adjunct Professor of Religious Studies, University of Minnesota, Center for Holocaust and Genocide Studies, Dr. Hamdy El-Sawaf, Executive director, Islamic Center of Minnesota, Rev. Dennis M. Oglesby, Jr., Minister to the City for Hennepin Avenue United Methodist Church in Minneapolis, and Rev Dr Roslyn Carrill, Director of the Center for Excellence in Urban Teaching. The debate highlighted the fact that a lot of discussion has occurred, but many problems relating to the issue of race have not been solved in Minnesota.

The most unexpected issue was a discourse about the word "tolerance." The issue about the problems associated with the word were raised first by Holocaust survivor Dr. Eugen Schoenfeld, Professor Emeritus in the Sociology Department at Georgia State University, who gave a paper on the subject at the Annual Scholar's Conference on the Holocaust in 2003.

Schoenfeld's academic paper suggested that the word "tolerance" was inappropriate for dealing with the problems of a multi-cultural society. Schoenfeld viewed "tolerance" as the lowest level of acceptance of the "other." Other academic work about the word has suggested that historically, "tolerance" meant "reducing one's hatred" toward those who were viewed as inferior or despised. Professor Bernard Lewis also raised the issue in an article in the May

2003 issue of *The Atlantic Monthly*. Among other things that he pointed to was the concept that: "Tolerance is, of course, an extremely intolerant idea, because it means "I am the boss: I will allow you some, though not all, of the rights I enjoy as long as you behave yourself according to standards that I shall determine."

In our surveys among teachers, we found that most were not using the word "tolerance" but had moved toward "teaching with respect," "mutual acceptance," "coexistence," "equality," and other words without a negative edge. This discussion will hopefully continue.

The tenth anniversary of the Genocide in Rwanda (April 2004) was used to highlight that genocide is still a major international issue that continues now in the Darfur region of the Sudan. The continuation of genocide suggests that the cliché from the Holocaust of "never again" has to be questioned. There is also the need to examine the continuation of the roots of societal hatred, failure of international intervention and failures of journalism to cover such events.

The Summer 2004 seminar featured a unique experiment with the Zoryan Institute of Toronto. An intense 9 AM to 5PM two-week seminar entitled "Genocide and Human Rights" was held at the U of M July 6-16 and repeated at the University of Toronto in August. Altogether, 40 students and teachers participated. Students who attended received 50% scholarships on tuition thanks to the generosity of numerous individuals and foundations.

The 2004-05 academic year will feature CHGS's involvement in many projects: *The Borderlands Project* with the Center for

German and European Studies, Center for Austrian Studies and the Watson Institute at Brown University; an educational program with "In the Heart of the Beast Puppet and Mask Theatre" of Minneapolis; "Teaching with Respect" workshops for teachers in November including an appearance by Holocaust survivor Gerda Weissmann Klein, whose life story was expansion of the teaching trunk project for middle and high schools, as well as programs for the university and the public involving speakers and films.

CHGS would like to give special thanks to Dr. Eric Weitz, Director of the Center for German and European Studies and Sabine Engel, Administrator for CGES for their support with the "Coexistence" project, Dr. Evelyn Davidheiser and the Institute for Global Studies for support and cooperative projects, Professor Michele Wagner for arranging the Rwanda Conference, Vicky Knickerbocker for her outreach work, Warren Lubline for his work with "Coexistence" and all of the other volunteers who have helped make our projects a success.

Scholarships in Holocaust & Genocide Studies

The greatest impediment to expanding student interest in studying the Holocaust and other acts of genocide on a graduate level is the lack of scholarship money.

Graduate students are the future of academic teaching of these important subjects. The U of M prefers to admit students to graduate programs in limited numbers and with financial aid. If you are considering a gift, consider one to the U of M Foundation for this specific educational goal.

Upcoming Classes

Films of the Holocaust
INVER HILLS COMMUNITY COLLEGE; HUM 2250;
Wednesdays, 1-3:50 p.m Room 150
of the Fine Arts Building
contact: Alan Miller
alanmillermn@comcast.net

Problems in Historiography and Representation of the Holocaust
Jewish Studies 5111/RS 5111
Section 1; History 5285
Credits: 3
Spring 2005
Instructor: Dr. Stephen Feinstein

Summer Workshop on the Teaching of the Holocaust and Genocide
GloS 5900, section 003; HiSt 5960, section 001; CI 5150, section 001
2 credits July 18-July 22 9-4PM
Instructor: Dr. Stephen Feinstein

Remembering to Forget: The Holocaust and Its Afterlife
Jewish Studies 1909W
Credits: 3
Spring 2005
Instructor: Chaouat, Bruno

Women and the Holocaust
Jewish Studies 3900 section 2
HIST 3960 section 001, JWST 3900 section 002; Credits: 3
Spring 2005
Instructor: Elizabeth Baer

Contemporary Jewish Voices
Jewish Studies 3900 Section 3
Credits: 3
Spring 2005
Instructor: Judith Katz

States of Exception: Jewish Thoughts in Modernity
Jewish Studies 3900 Section 4
Credits: 3
Spring 2005
Instructor: Judith Katz
Consult web pages for times and registration info

Upcoming Events

The **Elie Wiesel Essay Contest** is an annual essay contest relating to ethics. The submission deadline for this year is December 3, 2004. The link to the online announcement of the 2005 competition is:

<http://www.eliewieselfoundation.org/EthicsPrize/Student/Guidelines2005.htm>

Awards

First Prize	-	\$	5,000
Second Prize	-	\$	2,500
Third Prize	-	\$	1,500
2 Honorable Mentions	-	\$	500

Eligibility

Registered undergraduate full-time juniors or seniors at accredited four-year colleges or universities in the United States during the fall 2004 semester. The University of Minnesota has had one winner in the recent past.

The 2005 Essay Contest Suggested Essay Topics are...

- How is ethics a source of hope, and hope a source of ethics?
- Examine the ethical aspects or implications of a major literary work, a film, or a significant piece or series of artwork.
- What is terrorism and what is the ethical response to it?
- Reflect on the most profound moral dilemma you have encountered and analyze what it has taught you about ethics.

The local contact on the U of M Twin Cities Campus is Dr. Stephen Feinstein, Center for Holocaust and Genocide Studies, 102 Nolte Hall, 626-235, feins001@umn.edu

GERDA WEISSMANN KLEIN TO SPEAK

Wednesday, November 17 at Humphrey Institute, Cowles Auditorium 7PM. Free and Open to the Public.

Gerda Weissmann Klein is a Holocaust survivor whose story is found in her autobiography *All But My Life* and is also told in an Academy Award winning documentary short film (1995), *One Survivor Remembers*. Gerda Klein has been featured on 60 Minutes and appeared with husband, Kurt, on Nightline following their inspiring meeting with parents, teachers, and students at Columbine High School after the tragedy there in 1999.

November 7, 2004 TPT-Channel 17 will broadcast the *DIALOGUE ON RACE AND RELIGION*. This was a highlight of the Coexistence Exhibition during its stay in Saint Paul. 6-7:30PM. May be recorded for class use.

Participants include: Archbishop Harry J. Flynn (Twin Cities Archdiocese), Rabbi Joseph Edelheit (Director of Jewish Studies, St. Cloud State University, Adjunct Professor of Religious Studies, University of Minnesota, Center for Holocaust and Genocide Studies), Dr. Hamdy El-Sawaf (executive director, Islamic Center of Minnesota), Rev. Dennis M. Oglesby, Jr., Minister to the City for Hennepin Avenue United Methodist Church in Minneapolis, and Rev. Dr. Roslyn Carroll, Director of the Center for Excellence in Urban Teaching, Hamline University.

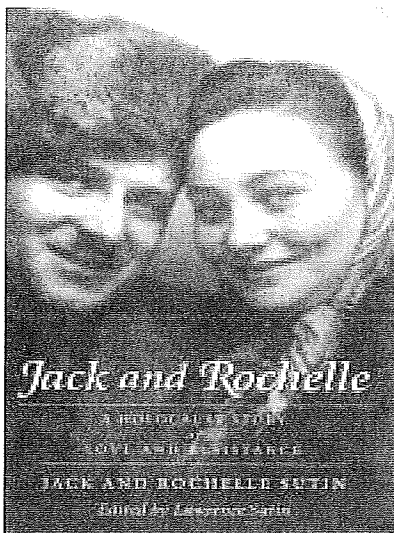
University of Minnesota Human Rights Center Announces the 2005 Upper Midwest Human Rights Fellowship Program

Application Deadline is Monday, February 21, 2005. 20 Fellowship grants are available ranging from \$1000-\$4,500 for individuals to undertake placements for approximately 10 weeks with local, regional, national or international human rights organizations. The Upper Midwest International Human Rights Fellowship provides an opportunity for residents of the upper Midwest, including students, teachers, lawyers, other professionals, community leaders, and activists, to undertake practical experience in human rights organizations. The Fellowship Program is designed to promote human rights by providing a practical experience in at least one of the many aspects of human rights work world-wide. The fellowship placement should provide both practical experiences for the individual and assistance to the organization. Individuals undertake a field-based internship of approximately 10 weeks with a local, regional, national, or international human rights organization. The fellowship is also designed to benefit the human rights movement by creating opportunities for collaboration among individuals from different social, economic, and cultural origins, and those persons with both rural and urban backgrounds.

<http://www1.umn.edu/humanrts/fellowshipinfo.html>

**Maxine Rude
"Displaced" Exhibition**

The traveling photo exhibition owned by CHGS, "DISPLACED: PHOTOS BY MAXINE RUDE" will be shown at the Richard I. Bong World War II Heritage Center in Superior, Wisconsin October 26 through March 30, 2005. Rude, a World War II photographer from Viroqua, Wisconsin, donated her work to CHGS. Richard I. Bong World War II Heritage Center 305 Harbor View Parkway Superior, Wisconsin 54880
<http://www.bongheritagecenter.org/>



**Jack and Rochelle - A
Holocaust Story of Love
and Resistance at Stages
Theatre**

February 4-March 6, 2005
This new play tells the true story of two young Jews who escape from Nazi labor camps and join a Jewish partisan group in the vast woods of Poland during World War II. Adapted from the collection of firsthand accounts by Minnesota residents Jack and Rochelle Sutin, this powerful work portrays the dangerous circumstances under which the two survived, resisted the war, and fell in love. Based on Larry Sutin's Book,

adapted by Buffy Sedlachek, directed by Steve Barberio. Recommended for ages 10 up. Held in the Mainstage Theater Hopkins Center for the Arts 1111 Mainstreet, Hopkins, MN 952-979-1118
<http://www.stagetheatre.org/jackandroch.htm>

**Moving Towards
Respect: Two day
Conference for
Educators**

November 15-16 or
November 18-19, 2004
Two Workshop Locations: Nov. 15-16, 2004; 8:30-4:30 p.m.
Our Savior's Lutheran Church, 1207 Prairie Avenue, Faribault
And in Minneapolis: Nov. 18-19, 2004; 8:30-4:30 p.m.
Open Book, 1011 Washington Ave S, Minneapolis
With a Public Presentation and Book Signing by:
Gerda Weissmann Klein, author of *One Holocaust Survivor Remembers*
November 17th, 7:00 p.m.



Cowles Auditorium, Hubert H Humphrey at the University of Minnesota
301 19th Avenue South, Minneapolis, MN 55455
Details available on www.igs.cla.umn.edu.

**Series on Anti-Semitism
in France**

October 28, 2004
Sponsored by U of M French Department, Center for Holocaust and Genocide Studies, Center for Jewish Studies, CLA
Alain Finkielkraut will speak on "Democratic Anti-Semitism" and Jeffrey Mehlman will speak on "A New Judeocentrism: On a Recent Development in French Thought," October 28, 2004, 3:30-7 pm in the Coffman Memorial Union Presidents Room. These are the opening lectures of the series "The French Middle East," organized by the Department of French and Italian. Information concerning the series is available at <http://cla.umn.edu/frit/events.htm>

**"The Diary of Anne
Frank"**

February 21-May 13, 2005
Park Square Theatre in St. Paul will present "The Diary of Anne Frank" by Goodrich and Hackett on February 21-May 13, 2005. Student Tickets are \$11. Chaperones are FREE. Groups up to 340. 10AM performances. Wheelchair accessible. For more information email:

edservices@parksquaretheatre.org

Performance dates are:
February 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 28
March
1,2,3,4,7,8,9,10,11,14,15,16,17,18,21,22,23,24,28,29,30,31
April
1,4,5,6,7,8,11,12,13,14,15,18,19,20,21,22,25,26,27,29,29
May 2,3,4,5,6,9,10,11,12,13
ASL Performance March 24.
For info on special seminar with cast, Call Mary at 651-767-8494

Park Square Theatre is located in the Historic Hamm Building 408 St. Peter Street Suite 110 St. Paul, MN 55102-1130

William Brustein Speaks on Anti-Semitism

William Brustein, Director of the Center for International Studies at the University of Pittsburgh and former Professor of Sociology at the University of Minnesota spoke in May for CHGS about his most recent research which has been published by Cambridge University Press in the new book: *Roots of Hate: Anti-Semitism in Europe before the Holocaust*.

In his current research, Brustein continues to challenge Daniel Goldhagen's line of reasoning concerning anti-Semitism found in his controversial monograph, *Hitler's Willing Executioners*. With funding from the National Science Foundation which appointed Brustein to its Sociology Panel in 1998, Brustein and a team of undergraduate and graduate students in Minnesota and Europe pored over European newspapers and American Jewish yearbooks for a comparative study of anti-Semitism in Europe before the Holocaust.

Brustein chose two of the largest circulation newspapers in five European countries, and had his researchers read each paper published on the 15th of each month between 1899 and 1939. Any article related to Jews was copied and coded using a 34-question guide. They also reviewed American Jewish yearbooks during the same period and coded what they found into eight different categories of anti-Semitic acts.

Brustein's research, he explained, sought to determine answers to a number of complex questions. How did the levels of anti-Semitism in the 1930s compare to those of earlier decades? Did anti-Semitism vary in content and intensity across societies? In other words, were Germans more anti-Semitic than their European neighbors, and, if so, why? How does

anti-Semitism differ from other forms of religious, racial, and ethnic prejudice? Brustein's conclusions suggested that European anti-Semitism flowed from religious, racial, economic, and political roots,



which became enflamed by economic distress, rising Jewish immigration, and socialist success. His historical work has led Brustein to some surprising conclusions about present day anti-Semitism. "Traditional religious anti-Semitism is virtually gone," Brustein explained, "The continuation of anti-Semitism today is largely of the left. Much of the right-wing basis of anti-Semitism has eroded since 1945."

The Roman Catholic Church and conservative Protestant churches, according to Brustein, have radically changed their teachings in the last 50 years. "Jews are no longer held responsible for the death of Christ; Protestant Evangelicals, in fact, tend to be strong supporters of the state of Israel." Anti-Semitic views of Jews as Communists, on the other hand, have collapsed with the end of the Cold War, and racial anti-Semitism was debunked after the fall of Fascism.

Brustein's research based on his sources found that Germany was far from being the most anti-Semitic

country in Europe at the time, despite the later growth of National Socialism. Incidents of formal anti-Semitic laws, boycotts, and pogroms were much more common in Eastern Europe. In the late 1890s, secret police in Tsarist Russia concocted *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, a fraudulent document describing a nonexistent Jewish plan for world domination that continues to circulate in left- and right-wing anti-Semitic circles.

Brustein's research also led him to another conclusion that the resurgence of right-wing European anti-Semitism often reported in the American media is not happening.

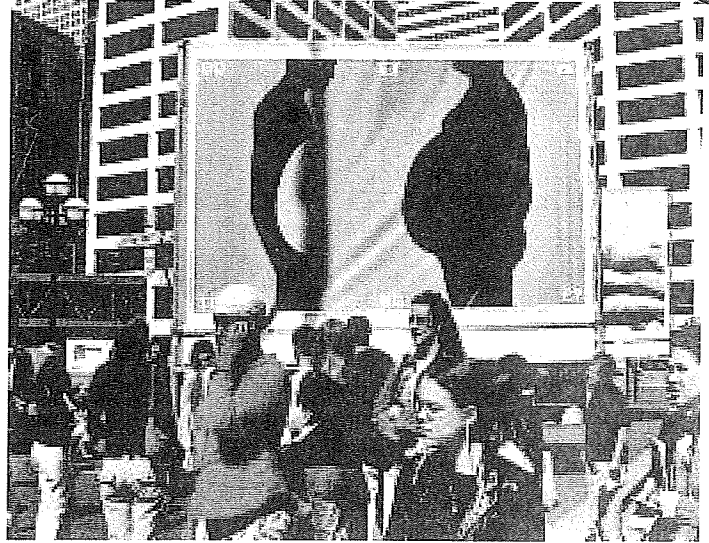
"I try to bring empirical evidence to look at these arguments," Brustein said. "The anti-Semitism of 50 to 100 years ago is not re-emerging." Empirically, Brustein said, the incidents of attacks on Jewish synagogues and graveyards have not occurred in significant numbers. Moreover, he added, the perpetrators almost always have been Muslims living in Europe.

Brustein actually found more support in Europe for Jews than for Muslims. He explained that the right-wing nationalist parties that are in resurgence in France, the Netherlands, Belgium, and Italy are particularly directed against Muslims in Europe. Brustein draws a distinction between anti-Jewish and anti-Israeli sentiments. They are, for the most part, two different issues, he said. Opposition to Israel in terms of policies is not necessarily anti-Semitism. Partly because European Muslims belong largely to parties of the left, Brustein explained, the European left tends to see the Israel/Palestine conflict as an anti-colonial or anti-imperialist struggle. (Some of the material in this article is drawn from *The Pitt Chronicle*)

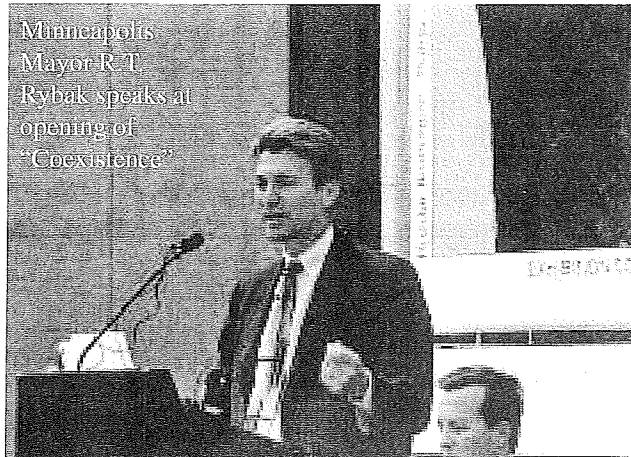
Coexistence Exhibition in the Twin Cities



Ellen Bising (2nd from Right), Vicky Knickerbocker (2nd from left) and Faribault High School group visit "Coexistence" Exhibition in Minneapolis, May 2004.



Student groups at Minneapolis "Coexistence" Site

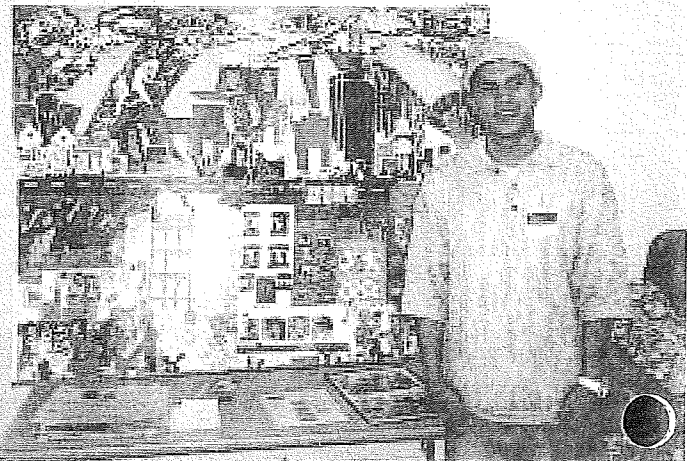


Minneapolis Mayor R. T. Rybak speaks at opening of "Coexistence"

Boys and Girl's Club affiliated with ALLIANZ Life Insurance Company outreach project at "Coexistence"



Student Edgar Yanez-Herrera in front of his completed large painting at the Work Opportunity Center Gallery, Minneapolis.



CHGS Visitors

Nina Lagergren, sister to Raoul Wallenberg, with Stephen Feinstein at an American-Swedish Institute for announcement of establishment of Raoul Wallenberg Peace Foundation.



Visiting scholars Taner Akcam and Vahagn Dadrian with Vicky Knickerbocker at Summer Institute on Genocide co-sponsored with the Zoryan Institute of Toronto



Rwandan Survivor Yvette Rugasaguhunga



Dept. of History Chair M.J. Maynes introduced King Kigeli V, the exiled king of Rwanda (left) at Rwanda Commemorative Conference in May 2004.

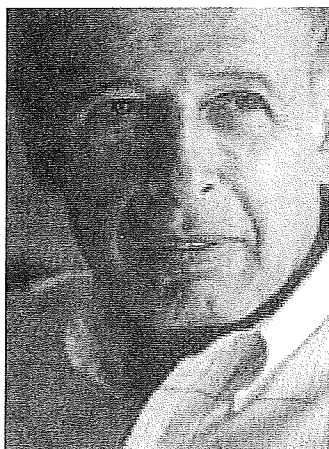


Rev. Dennis M. Oglesby, Jr., Minister to the City for Hennepin Avenue United Methodist Church in Minneapolis, Rev. Dr Roslyn Carroll, Director of the Center for Excellence in Urban Teaching, Hamline University and CHGS Director Stephen Feinstein at June 28 Landmark Center: "Interfaith Dialogue on Race and Religion," also to be broadcast on TPT-Channel 17 in the Twin Cities, November 7, 6-7:30 PM. Copies of the program are available from CHGS.

Remembering Rwanda

April and May 2004 were months for tenth commemoration of the genocide in Rwanda, when approximately 800,000 Tutsis were murdered during 100 days in 1994 by their Hutu neighbors. Court proceedings are still in process in Arusha, Tanzania and well as in the Gacaca courts in villages across Rwanda.

Dr. Ervin Staub, whose family was saved by a Swedish diplomat Raoul Wallenberg's "shutz-passe" in Budapest during the Holocaust and received his undergraduate degree from the University of Minnesota in 1962, was guest speaker for CHGS on April 13. His talk was on "Preventing Renewed Violence: Healing, Reconciliation and Forgiveness after Genocide." Staub also spoke at Saint Cloud State University.



Dr. Ervin Staub

Staub explained that survivors of the 1994 genocide were reluctant to have him as a Westerner simply arrive on the scene and become engaged in reconciliation issues. However, any barriers that existed immediately fell when Staub explained that he too was a "genocide survivor." Staub

developed an approach that tries to understand the origins of genocide as occurred in Rwanda, the impact of violence like genocide on people and institutions, and seeking out ways of healing the society. The answers are still complex and unclear regarding resolution. Victims and perpetrators still live side by side in the aftermath of the 1994 killings. Court proceedings have hardly gone forward, with tens of thousands of accused awaiting trials by local Gacaca courts.

Staub's talk coincided with his return from Kigali where he was a guest for the commemoration there. That commemoration featured the reburial of bodies of those murdered in 1994 in a national memorial in Kigali. For many years, bodies were often left where murdered. His conclusion was that issues about healing were very complex and that dealing with survivors in Rwanda necessitated adaptive solutions to reduce trauma and restore a civil society there.

Staub is Professor of Psychology at University of Massachusetts-Amherst and Director of the PhD concentration in the Psychology of Peace and the Prevention of Violence. More on his views of healing after genocide can be found at <http://www.heal-reconcile-Rwanda.org/> as well as in his most recent edited volume: *The Psychology of Good and Evil: Why Children, Adults, and Groups Help and Harm Others*.

On Saturday, May 8 CHGS joined a consortium of U of M departments and Centers including the Institute for Global Studies for a one day conference: "History, Healing and the Human Spirit: Ten Years After the Rwanda Genocide." Featured speaker was Lt. General Romeo Dallaire, Force Commander of UN Peacekeeping Forces (UNAMIR) in Rwanda, 1994.

Dallaire's talk to a full audience in Coffman Memorial Union's Theatre stressed the difficulties of the UN Mission from the outset, compared to the American initial military strategy in Iraq, which Dallaire described as the dream of every officer who ever planned a military intervention. Rwanda, however, was a nightmare. Dallaire stressed the lack of essential information about Rwanda from UN sources, the lack of equipment, limitation on rules of engagement to dispossess the Interahamwe of arms caches, and then having to deal diplomatically with members of the ruling Hutu government who literally had blood on their hands. Dallaire considered his mission a failure that was doomed from the beginning because the UN Security Council failed to understand what was happening in Rwanda.



General Romeo Dallaire

On January 11, 1994, Dallaire had sent a coded cable to Kofi Annan at the UN Africa Peacekeeping desk. Dallaire urgently requested protection for an informant who outlined to him Hutu plans being made to exterminate Tutsis: to provoke and kill Belgian troops so as to guarantee Belgium's withdraw from Rwanda; and the location of Interahamwe arm caches. Everything Dallaire's informant told him came true three months later. General Dallaire received a reply the same day. Dallaire was told the (Continued on next page)

(cont.)

J.N. didn't agree with his plan to raid the arm caches and furthermore, he must inform the president of Rwanda what he had learned from the informant, even though it was the president's own inner circle that was planning the slaughter of Tutsis. That reply left UNAMIR helpless to protect the Tutsi population. Many of Dallaire's government contacts were murdered and it was left to the invasion of the country by the RPF, the Rwandan Patriotic Front to oust the Hutu leadership and end the genocide.

Dallaire, however, ended on a pessimistic note, as he indicated that he saw no will of governments or the United Nations to intervene on behalf of genocidal events unless there were other factors that affected a third party's national interest. Dallaire's memoir of this horrific period, *Shake Hands with the Devil: The Failure of Humanity in Rwanda* is available at bookstores.

Other featured speakers at the conference included Tutsi survivors of the genocide, speakers from other communities which have been victims of violence, experts on human rights, and exiled King Kigeli V. Jean-Baptiste Ndahindurwa of Rwanda, who was in Kinshasa to meet with Secretary-General of the United Nations Dag Hammarskjöld in 1961 when he was forced into exile. The King indicated that he would return to Rwanda if he could be a force for reconciliation. The monarchy, however, was banned in 1994 after the RPF took power and indications have been that there is no ongoing discussion with President Kagame about the return of the monarchy, even as a cultural symbol.

Germany admits genocide in Namibia, Promises aid

On August 14, the BBC and other news sources reported that Germany had admitted its role in the genocide of the Herero in 1904-1905 and offered a formal apology for the mass-murder of between 55,000 and 65,000 pastoral natives in the German colony of Southwest Africa, now Namibia.

German minister Heidemarie Wieczorek-Zeul told a commemorative ceremony that the brutal crushing of the Herero uprising 100 years ago was "genocide." However, compensation for victims' descendants has been denied. A group of Herero has filed a case against Germany in the United States demanding \$4 billion in compensation. Germany's admission could influence the Turkish position on the Armenian Genocide.

"We Germans accept our historic and moral responsibility," Ms Wieczorek-Zeul, Germany's Development Aid Minister, told a crowd of some 1,000 at the ceremony in Okokarara. "Germany has learnt the bitter lessons of the past." While denying compensation, the German government indicated it would continue economic aid for Namibia which currently amounts to \$14 million a year.

The Herero rebelled against German colonization and military rule in 1904. In response, the German military commander, General Lothar von Trotha, ordered the Herero people to leave Namibia or be killed. Herero were massacred with machine guns, their wells

poisoned and then driven into the desert to die. It is believed that some of the German military who served in Southwest Africa may have later served as military advisors to the Ottoman Army during the Armenian genocide. This notion is being investigated by scholars.

Herero chief Kuaima Riruako said the apology was appreciated but added: "We still have the right to take the German government to court." The lawsuit lodged by the Herero Peoples' Reparation Corporation in U.S. Federal District Court in Washington, DC (September, 2001) is seeking \$4 billion from the German government and also \$2 billion in damages from several German companies including Deutsche Bank, mining company Terex Corporation, formerly Orenstein-Koppel Co., and the shipping company Deutsche Afrika Linie, formerly Woermann Linie, all of which allegedly profited from German occupation of Namibia. The Court ruled that the Alien Tort Claims Act of 1789 allows for such civil action from foreign countries.

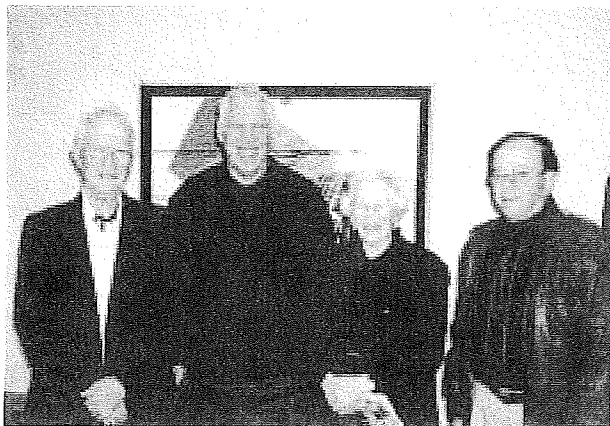
Professor Eric Weitz of the University of Minnesota's History Department recently was involved in research of the genocide in Namibia. Records are in German and there were contingents of Finnish missionaries also involved in the colonization project there. Germany controlled Namibia between 1884 and 1915, when it conquered by South Africa and became a mandate ruled by South Africa under the League of Nations in 1918. Namibia became independent in 1990.

New York Times Changes Policy on Armenian Genocide

The New York Times has recently revised its guidelines for editors regarding the Armenian genocide. The new policy notes, "After careful study of scholarly definitions of 'genocide,' we have decided to accept the term in references to the Turks' mass destruction of Armenians in and around 1915." The guidelines continue, "The expression 'Armenian genocide' may be used freely and should not be qualified with phrasing like 'what Armenians call,' etc."

The Times' new guidelines state that: "By most historical accounts, the Ottoman Empire killed more than one million Armenians in a campaign of death and mass deportation aimed at eliminating the Armenian population throughout what is now Turkey."

The memo notes, "While we may of course report Turkish denials on those occasions when they are relevant, we should not couple them with the historians' findings, as if they had equal weight."



U of M Art Professor David Feinberg (second from left) at the opening of "Voice to Vision" project at Sabes JCC with Holocaust survivors Murray Brandys(L), Sabina Zimering, and Joe Grossnacht

THE NEW TURKISH PENAL CODE WOULD CRIMINALIZE RECOGNITION OF THE ARMENIAN GENOCIDE

On September 26th, the Turkish Parliament finally adopted, at an extraordinary sitting, the controversial reform of the Turkish penal code. Although applauded by Commissioner Verheugen and some other EU leaders because of the absence of the mention of adultery, the new Turkish Penal Code is full of many anti-democratic articles. The new law reads:

Article 306 - Acting against fundamental national interests for directly or indirectly receiving benefits from foreign persons or institutions: up to 10 years. (According to the statement of reasons for this article, written by the Parliamentary Committee of Justice, a citizen who demands the withdrawal of Turkish soldiers from Cyprus or declares that the Armenian genocide actually took place during the First World War, can be pursued by virtue of this article).

The provision gives no legal justification for the law, which remains fundamentally incompatible with the European values of free expression. The European Commission scarcely reacted when the Turkish Ministry of Education brought genocide denial into the classroom, by institutionalizing it in the curriculum. A coalition of European NGOs expressed its concern about the denialist curriculum and called for the suspension of EC grants to the Turkish educational system. The European Parliament also expressed its concern in the Oostlander report on the Turkish application for EU membership. Independent commentators from all NGOs and Human Rights groups commented that the new Turkish Law brings official denial of genocide into the classroom and marks a threat to Turkish entry into the European Union because of suppression of free speech.

Teaching Trunks Available

Last academic year, CHGS embarked on a teaching trunk project, thanks to a \$25,000 grant from the Conference on Jewish Material Claims Against Germany. Six trunks were put into service in January 2004—three for middle school and three for high schools. All were in service continually. CHGS will deliver or pay UPS delivery charges for schools interested in using the trunks. Trunks contain books, videos, posters and other materials to do a unit on the Holocaust. Additional trunks are in planning: two on "Minnesota Survivors and the Holocaust" and two on "The Armenian Genocide," which has been added to the Minnesota Social Studies standards. Attending a workshop on use of the trunks is advised and several will be scheduled. For information, contact Vicky Knickerbocker at vknicke@yahoo.com or Keith Goya at goyax001@umn.edu or 612-624-0256.

What Happened to "Never Again"? Genocide Prevention in the New Century

*Herb Hirsch, Professor of
Political Science at Virginia
Commonwealth University*

The subject of genocide came flooding back to human consciousness at the conclusion of the last century as repeated examples of mass slaughter assaulted humanity giving rise once again to the question of what happened to "never again?" As the new century arrived, genocide appeared to remain a major human rights issue and scholars and political activists turned their attention to the topic as conferences and books appeared in an ever increasing number. Yet, the examples at the forefront of human consciousness, primarily Rwanda and Bosnia, were simply the tip of the proverbial iceberg. Massive atrocities, both genocides and gross violations of human rights, went unnoticed in places such as the Sudan and the Congo to name only two. It would not be too far fetched to say that the progress of humanity in the Twentieth Century could have been measured by the increasing piles of bodies coupled with the increased lack of interest displayed by the western world. Yet, there were important movements slowly evolving to put human rights and genocide prevention on the agenda of the international political comm-unity.

Most of these took place with little or reluctant support from the United States. As the number of genocides and

political atrocities increased, especially in association with failed states and ethno-national hatred and aspirations, there were positive signs indicating that there may have been hesitant movement toward genocide prevention. Some of these included:

*The proposed creation of a UN rapid reaction force

*The creation of the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia

*The creation of the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda

*The indictment of Augusto Pinochet, former military ruler of Chile

*Proposed Cambodian trials to try the leaders of the Khmer Rouge for genocide

*The conviction in February 2001 of three former members of the Bosnian Serb Armed Forces for rape and enslavement of Muslim girls and women in Foca in 1992. This was the first time that sexual enslavement had been punished as a crime against humanity.

When terrorist flew the planes into the World trade Center and the Pentagon all of these came to a crashing halt as attention was diverted from genocide and human rights to terrorism. Genocide prevention was sacrificed to a narrower definition of terrorism as the aftermath of September 11 brought a newly perceived threat to the forefront. Preventing terrorism and apprehending those who launched the attacks on the United States became the first priorities, while preventing genocide, or even acknowledging that it lingered as a continuing threat, was removed from the centrality of consciousness. In fact, it was much worse than anyone could have imagined. Support for

human rights was subverted to the "War on Terror" which became an excuse for any policy the Bush administration wished to pursue. In fact, as James Traub recently noted in The New York Times, "... if humanitarian intervention must involve vital interests, then humanitarianism itself is irrelevant" (Traub, 2004, p. 3).

He points out that humanitarianism may have become an "unaffordable luxury" in the face of the perceived threats to United States interests and, that the "Bush administration's effort to repackage the immensely unpopular war in Iraq as a Wilsonian crusade to free a subject people has discredited the very principle of humanitarian intervention" (Ibid.). At the present time, therefore, in this environment the Sudan government has every reason to believe it will not be faced with military intervention to stop the massacres in Darfur.

So, that is where we seemed to remain until new initiatives were undertaken. In other countries the folly of abandoning genocide prevention became more noticeable and the hesitant steps abandoned on 9/11/2001 started anew. In particular in January, 2004 the Swedish Government convened the 4th International Stockholm Forum on the Prevention of Genocide.

It was attended by 60 governments, scholars and an international press corps. Interestingly, while it received extensive coverage in Europe it was hardly mentioned in the American press. The Forum issued a declaration outlining

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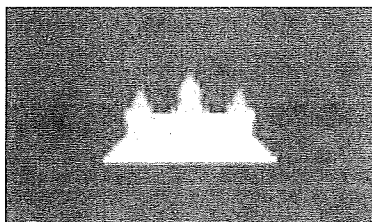
steps to be taken to prevent genocide and was an attempt to reinvigorate the stalled attempt to stop genocide and support international human rights. Several months later, on April 7, 2004, UN Secretary General Kofi Annan in a speech in Geneva commemorating the 10th anniversary of the genocide in Rwanda, announced he would appoint a Special Advisor on Genocide and attempt to start an action plan to prevent genocide. Specifically, this plan involved five points as summarized by Prevent Genocide International:

1. Preventing armed conflict
2. Protection of civilians in armed conflict
3. Ending impunity through judicial action in both national and international courts
4. Information gathering and early warning through a UN Special Advisor for genocide Prevention
5. Swift and decisive action along a continuum of steps, including military action.

These are, of course, the very steps recommended by the Stockholm Forum and by most experts on genocide. Canadian General Romeo Dallaire, the unfortunate commander of UN forces in Rwanda during the genocide, notes succinctly that, even given all the problems with the United Nations, it remains the only institution in a position to mobilize the energy and resources to prevent genocide. In order to effectively fulfill that toll, however, if must be, as he notes, revitalized and given the authority to act "guided by the founding principles of its Charter and the Universal declaration of Human Rights" (Dallaire, 2003, p. 520).

While it is too early to say if these efforts will be successful, the events taking place in Darfur, Sudan as well as in the Congo seem to raise important questions which will only be answered by the fashion in which these new atrocities are dealt with by the international political community.

Cambodia Assembly Ratifies Khmer Rouge Trial Pact



On October 4, Reuters News Agency reported that Cambodia has cleared the way for the trial of surviving members of the brutal Khmer Rouge regime, ratifying an agreement with the United Nations to set up a genocide tribunal.

The ratification by parliament of the pact, which took almost six years to write, opens the way for the United Nations to raise the \$57 million it estimates will be needed for the tribunal, which will include foreign judges and prosecutors. Estimates are that between 1 million and 1.7 million people died during the Cambodian genocide of 1975-79.

"What we have been waiting for so long has happened today," Prime Minister Hun Sen, once a former low-level Khmer Rouge commander before abandoning the regime, told reporters after the vote. All 107 members of the 123-seat National Assembly who were

present on Monday voted to ratify the agreement.

There was no immediate word on how long it would take to amass the money, assemble the judges and prosecutors and get the trials underway.

Foreign Minister Hor Namhong said on Saturday U.N. Secretary-General Kofi Annan had asked impoverished Cambodia, which says it does not have the money, to make a formal request for funds for the tribunal once it had ratified the pact.

None of the leaders of a regime that emptied cities, tried to weed out the educated and execute them and killed people through starvation and overwork has faced the courts. The surviving Khmer Rouge leaders are in their 60s and 70s.

The main power behind the regime, Brother Number One Pol Pot, died in 1998. Other leaders, including Brother Number Two Nuon Chea, then head of state Khieu Samphan and Foreign Minister Ieng Sary, are free. Only two top members of the regime await trial -- military chief Ta Mok and Duch, the head of the notorious Tuol Sleng interrogation center, a former school from which few emerged alive.

The U.N.-Cambodia pact plans three years of trials that will involve more than 2,000 people, but Hun Sen has said his government can afford to supply only the venue, security, water and electricity.

Sok An, head of the task force and chief negotiator of the agreement with the U.N., said 27 countries had expressed willingness to donate money.

**CHGS on the Internet at
www.chgs.umn.edu**

Professor Robert Ross Dies at 82

Robert Ross, who served as administrator, professor in Classical and Near Eastern Studies and as a minister died in Oakland on August 11. His 1980 Monograph, published by University of Minnesota Press, entitled *So It Was True: the American*



Protestant Press and the Nazi Persecution of the Jews, documented the knowledge of the Holocaust through documents available in the smaller churches of the American Midwest, who became concerned with Hitler's policies as they prohibited missionary conversions of the Jews to Christianity.

He was ordained in 1950 in the tradition of the Christian and Missionary Alliance Church. Robert Ross came to the university in 1966, after holding a number of positions teaching in colleges or serving as a minister, mostly in Baptist churches. Trudy Hahn's obituary in the Minneapolis Star Tribune noted that "At the university he became an associate professor of American studies, Jewish studies, religious studies and student affairs during a time of roiling agitation about civil rights, student rights and the Vietnam War."

Ross retired from the university in 1987 and moved to California, where he held several interim-ministry positions and taught at several theological seminaries. He remained a researcher and was a frequent presenter at the Scholars' Conference on the Holocaust and the Churches, organized by Franklin Litell, Richard Rubenstein and Eli Wiesel more than 35 years ago and which now meets annually at St. Joseph's University in Philadelphia.

A lecture by Professor Ross can be heard on the CHGS web page under videos.

CHGS Writes Curriculum for "COMPANY OF ANGELS"

CHGS, in conjunction with "In the Heart of the Beast Puppet and Mask Theatre" in Minneapolis has written a web-based curriculum for the life of Charlotte Salomon. The production at "In the Heart of the Beast" runs October 8 - November 7, 2004 and was developed by a Horse + Bamboo Production (UK), written by Bob Frith and Alison Duddle.

"Company of Angels" tells the heart-wrenching story of a young German Jewish artist, Charlotte Salomon, who died in Auschwitz -- but not before she had completed, in a whirlwind of creativity, "Life? Or Theatre?", a dazzlingly brilliant collection of nearly 1300 autobiographical paintings.

Paralleling the Nazi era, "Life? Or Theatre?" complements -- and yet is very different from - the well-known account of Anne Frank. In fact, Salomon's work is one of the most important bodies of visual art from the Holocaust period.



Based on her paintings, "Company of Angels" focuses on Charlotte's childhood, her struggle against a family history of suicides and secrets, and how she later turned to art for survival. Using Horse + Bamboo's uniquely vivid style, which combines masks, puppetry, movement and specially composed music - and no dialogue - "Company of Angels" animates the life story and artistic vision of a passionate

young woman caught up in the tragedy of the Holocaust. Audiences young and old will be moved by its message of the redemptive power of love and art.

Minnesota Holocaust survivors will share their stories in post-show discussions on Sundays at 4pm after performances. For tickets, contact: (612) 721-2535

THANK YOU!

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