Murder(ing) People

Genocidal Policy Within 20th Century
Description, Analysis, and Prevention

Armenocide, Serbocide, Holocaust
As Basic Genocidal Events During the World Wars

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Absolute faith corrupts as absolutely as absolute power
(ERIC HOFER)

In science, ideology tends to corrupt; absolute ideology absolutely
(Robert A. Nisbet)

Nothing but a memory is productive which does not only remember what happened but also what still is to be done
(Ernst Bloch)

In this smart piece the author, an experienced German social psychologist, and political scientist, tries to sum up the very content of his own approach to genocide, genocidal action, genocidal policy, and genocidal mentality as a general pattern which was worked out, at first, in his inaugural lecture February 1st, 1989 (Albrecht 1989), and which the author recently published in his books on Genocide and Armenocide when discussing comparative and theoretical aspects of genocidal policy within 20th century (Albrecht 2006); the third volume of the authors trilogy on genocidal policy within 20th century (“Genozidpolitik im 20. Jahrhundert”), presenting the first scholarly verification of the notorious speech Adolf Hitler (1889-1945), as chancellor of the German Reich and Führer of the German people, delivered to his Supreme Commanders at Obersalzberg, on August 22nd, 1939 was published actually: the key sentence can be valued as a sort of “genocidal connection” between Armenocide and Holocaust:

„Who [the fuck] is, after all, today speaking about the destruction of the Armenians?”[1]

Needlessness to state that the author, who, as a scholar of genocide[2], recently published a short piece summing up the second genocide during World War II - named Serbocide[3] - is by no means one of that dubious guys self-naming ´genocide scholar´ but, in fact, either ouvert or covert, proclamation such cloudy issues like hierarchies of the three genocidal victim-groups during the two World Wars – the Ottoman Armenians (1915/16), the European Jews, and the Serbs in “Satellite Croatia” (1941/45) which the author looks upon as the three basic genocidal events during the two World Wars.
Whenever looking on genocide politically, the author feels that the best anti-genocidal perspective in fact is an anti-fascist and anti-racialist one – although whenever looked upon the genocidal phenomenon as a scholar that cannot be regarded as a vital essential condition or conditio sine qua non: according to the dialectics of general and special features of the genocidal field and its sufficient condition(s), empirical details, and random aspects, a society must neither be classified as a ’fascist’ one to be regarded as a ’genocidal’ society: the Italian society between the World Wars indeed was a ’fascist’ but by no means a genocidal one like the South African, which basically was a racial one (like some of the Southern US-states were at that time). Any genocidal society is a racial one but non vice versa: not any racialist society is a genocidal or a fascist one. Moreover, the German society since 1933 soon became both a fascist and a racial societal basic structure causing another Great War (like in 1914) which also belongs to the historical context in which both the very genocidal crimes committed in Ottoman Turkey (1915/16) during the First and in Satellite Croatia (1941/45) during the Second World War – another feature which demonstrates the very meaning of the event Great or World War within 20th century either caused by a genocidal regime like the German or actively using the given occasion (in the meaning of opportunity structure/s) either by Young Turk or by Ustase leadership in 1915 and 1941 under the umbrella of the German Reich as the most powerful ally.

I take the liberty – if I may – and address me scholarly readers, she or he, that I will, for reasons, not name what happened in 1915 “the Armenian Genocide” as “the terrible Holocaust” (Bernard Lewis) with about one and half a million Ottoman Armenians exterminated – “unquestionable the greatest crime of the First World War” Hirschfeld/Gaspar 1929: 510), and the ultimate human crime genocide. For I know, of course, that not only in the so called ‘scientific community’ this terrible slang-version is more and more used instead of what must be precisely indicated, like the Encyclopaedia Britannica does in her latest CD-Rom version (2004²), “the Turkish genocide of the Armenians in 1915”. Insofar I agree to distinguished genocidal scholars like Irving Louis Horowitz and Vahakn N. Dadrian when talking about the “Turkish Genocide” and the “Genocide against the Armenians”. Moreover, I feel that as rubbish as moronic talk - “Armenian Genocide” - is, indeed, not only as confusing as cretinous but also a sort of complete reversal – and perverse reversal, too – in the very sense of Umwertung aller Werte (Friedrich Nietzsche) under most relevant moral, intellectual, political, historical, and linguistic aspects, declaring victims for perpetrators, and perpetrators for victims. I am not sure but do hope that, three generations later, the linguistic reversal as expressed in that false metaphor “Armenian Genocide” neither mirrors nor expresses the victory of the former genocidal violators as another final solution ... I may also remind me readership of three facts of life the German poetical playwright Bertolt Brecht (1898-1956) had worked out in other contexts: (i) whenever injustice happens too often it will not become justice because it happens very often; (ii) in the last instance the truth cannot be suppressed but must be publicly repeated again and again even after it had been once recognized as the very truth; (iii) within the intellectual field democracy indeed means transforming the small circle of connoisseurs towards the large circle of connoisseurs – a ’sociological experience’ which should never be forgotten by any genocidal scholar whenever engaged in preventing genocidal action/s, too, for
a basic virtuality must be taken into consideration: “Human actions are not destined be the very facts but by the perceptions of the facts acting humans have got.” (Alexander v. Humboldt)

Finally, I will by no means apologize for the very fact that the following scholarly piece is neither composed nor written due to the Zeitgeist which (to quote a German ‘classic’ literary figure) is, as spirit of the age, more or less mirroring the very ideology of the masters race (Goethe: Faust I: 577-579) but is partisan in the sense of saving life-policy (Albrecht 1989) which basically means the very contrary of genocidal or taking-life-policy (Irving L. Horowitz). Whoever expects an attitude like that one I have recently named the „wikipedianization of knowledge and cognition“ (Albrecht 2008: 13) claiming the overwhelming NPOV („Neutral Point of View“: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wikipedia:NPOV) may, please, use that postmodern „open source“ encyclopaedia called wikipedia. For what I am still standing, and working, for as a scholar is that dedicated anti-genocidal perspective disposing, of once and for all, every point of origin for genocide and, consequently and in the last instance, any genocidal research work, too (Albrecht 2006: Armenozid, 3).

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I. Genocide is not only mass killing and killing masses as traditionally well-known like massacres, mass atrocities, pogroms, riots, and slaughter, but ‘modern’ serial killing, strategically planned and organized, not only of masses but of peoples as entire populations for racial, religious, ethnic, political, and even ideological reasons: neither traditional massacres and atrocities nor well-known mass slaughters, pogroms, and riots, and also not only administrative murder of masses (as a conventional measure applied by absolute rulership, dictatorship, tyranny, colonialism etc. before World War I.), but of people. After World War I. traditional „administrative mass-murder“ (Al. Carthill) became modern „administrative mass-murder as organised by a state“ (Hannah Arendt) which later on was described as “policy of extermination” (Majorie Housepian), and as „organized state murder“ (Helen Fein), and defined as „structural and systematic destruction of innocent people by a state bureaucratic apparatus“ (Irving Louis Horowitz), indeed, as an outstanding „crime against mankind and civilisation as planned and organized by a state“ (Richard Albrecht[4], “the blackest page in history” (H.A. Gibbons). Insofar any genocidal action may include “ethnic cleansing“ and its violent methods of ejection, expulsion, and displacement, as applied by the perpetrators – but genocidal policy has got a peculiarity (Albrecht 2006: Völkermord[en], 124-125) demonstrating that genocide is more than “ethnic cleansing“, “demographical engineering“, “homogenisation of population“ as accompanied by massacres to fulfil a specific policy to “systematically eliminate another group from a given territory on the basis of religious, ethnic or national origin.“ (Petrovic 1994)
II. Needlessly to stress that not only these but all the pieces on genocide worked out and published by the author within the last two decades are lead by a central principle according to a grounded problem of any research work on genocide which the author himself once named, in summer 1989, the urgent „development of an early warning system against genocidal tendencies” („Entwicklung eines Frühwarnsystems gegen Völkermordtendenzen. Pilotstudie zu einem unbearbeiteten Grundproblem einer kultur-, sozial- und politikwissenschaftlichen Friedensforschung“ 1989, 2 p., not printed [in German]). Given this setting, the author emphasizes the very meaning of a basic ‘historical memory’ (Jorge Semprún) which inevitably also includes „what still is to be done” (Ernst Bloch) as one of the central presuppositions and *conditio sine qua non* for preventing genocide.

III. According to my own research work on genocide as the most destructive event in the history of mankind and state-sponsored ‘crime against humanity and civilisation’ (as published in 1989) I take the liberty - if I may - and quote the basic definition of genocide as worked out by Raphael Lemkin:

„In this respect genocide is a new technique of occupation, aimed at winning the peace even though the war itself is lost.” (Lemkin 1944: chp. XI: Genocide, 81)

Following this concept means that within 20th century there do exist until now three outstanding events, two of them well-documented as genocides and crimes against humanity and civilisation: ‘Armenocide’ (1915/18) and ‘Holocaust’ (1941/45), the third, ‘Serbocide’ (1941/45), still under-documented. Any specific silence as practised by German historians traditionally and actually until the first ‘colonial genocide’ in German South West Africa (GSWA), 1904-07, is also a relevant subject: this „smart genocide” (Micha Brumlik) started when the German representative declared the native ethnic group (Nama) no longer as subjects of His Majesty, The German Kaiser William II (v. Trotha, October 2nd, 1904):

„The Herero people is no longer subject of the German crown. They have murdered and stolen […] The Herero people has to leave this country. If the Herero people will not follow this order, I will force the Herero people by using my Great Fire Gun.” (Bley 1968, 204)

This specific command, which indeed did exist, and its consequences, and very meanings express of what can be regarded as ‘genocidal mentality’ due to the mainstream of German colonial and imperial ideology before World War I. (*Herrenmenschen*, later on *Herrenvolk*) according to the whites as the mastery race (*Herrrenrasse*). Moreover, another relevant aspect of this early annihilation order given in 1904 lays in its very secrecy as a general feature of all genocidal actions within 20th-century-genocides. Finally, the image and the perception of German rules in GSWA as mirrored in diary and letters written by the Nama-leader Captain Hendrik Witbooi, 1884-1894, are of scholarly relevancy, too. This native individual indeed felt military measures against his people as, in the last instance, both destructive and lethal policy of the German occupants. In a way the Witbooi-writings can be regarded as the first (written) document which gave testimony of the underlying
concept of any ‘modern’ genocide and genocidal action within 20th century at all: the very
destruction of an entire population as planned and organised by a state and his (military,
administrative, cultural, medical, ideological etc.) officials.

IV. The mass murdering of about one and half a million Armenians (fifteen hundred
thousand humans) in the Ottoman/Turkish State 1915-1922 was „the first planned and or-ganized genocide within 20th century” (Edgar Hilsenrath). Without studying this out-
standing destructive event as the most nasty crime a state can ever commit any scholarly
understanding of genocide is hardly possibly. Finally, the Armenocide (in German: Ar-
menozid) was, in fact, not only an outstanding crime but also the „essential prototype of
genocide in the 20th century” (Irving L. Horowitz) applying modern techniques, too. The
former (West) German Chancellor, Dr. Helmut Kohl, stressed, in April 1987, the very arg-
ument his ghost-writer at that time, Dr. Klaus Hildebrandt, gave according to the
uniqueness of the Holocaust, his instrumental modernity and economic efficiency, follow-
ing Hannah Arendts consideration on the Holocaust as state-sponsored killing:

„The crime of the Holocaust named genocide is indeed unique within human history whenever looking on the cold inhuman planning and its lethal efficiency“.

Meanwhile there does exist a translation of relevant documents of the Turkish post-War
military trials into German, and also into American English. In 1919, the Stambul Trial
condemned to death 17 Young Turk politicians - one of them the prominent CUP-leader
Talaat Pasha, the former Ministry of the Interior (1913-1918) and a principle architect of
the first genocide within the 20th century - as responsible for the destruction of the Arme-
nian people as „organised by a united state-power“. Moreover, the genocidal actions fol-
lowed the official order as given against „persons acting against the Ottoman government
at war times“ (Akcam 2004, 178)

The Ottoman Ministry of the Interior and member of the most powerful triumvirat, Talaat
Pasha, declared, in August 1915, that the “Armenian Question” does not exist any longer
(Lepsius 1919, 146):

„La question arménienne n’existe plus.“

In so far Talaat followed Abdul Hamid II who was as the absolute ruler until the Young
Turks overtook political power in 1908 responsible for two well-know atrocities against
and massacres of Armenians in 1895/96 and in 1903/04. This man publicly stated in 1896
[The Nation, 14th January, 1897]:

„The way to get rid of the Armenian question is to get rid of the Armenians”
The interview Talaat gave in 1916, two decades later, expresses the specific modernity of the first genocide within 20th century. In his statement the most prominent CUP-leader publicly declared on „the Armenian question“ (Morgenthau 1918, p. 336)[5]

„We have been reproached for making no distinction between the innocent Armenians and the guilty; but that was utterly impossible, in view of the fact that those who were innocent today might be guilty tomorrow“

To quote a legitimate US-scholar (of religious history) commenting the Talaat-interview (Rubinstein 1983, 19):

„The Armenians were slaughtered not for what they did but for what the Turks suspected some of them might do in the future.“

What Talaat expressed in 1916 when he stresses „that those who were innocent today might be guilty tomorrow“ anticipates possible developments, created (what Hannah Arendt later on identified as) ‘the objective enemy’ (Arendt 1989, 654), and expresses the modern scientific idea of latent potentiality (as worked out by theoretical physics, especially the ´quantum theory´). As the author mentioned when looking on relevant documents according to the Croatian genocide of the Serbs living in the Ustase state 1941/45 (Albrecht 2006, Völkermord[en]: 71-93), the principal concept of ´the objective enemy´ was also graphically applied by the murderous perpetrators and Croatian elitist political figures as a sort of “lumpen-intelligenta” (Yehuda Bauer): on November 26, 1941, the Croatian government ordered that repressive measures are to be applied against those “unwanted persons who might threat the very achievements of the Croatian Ustase Movement for liberation.” (quoted in ibid: 89) Given this setting, the concept “objective enemy” as, at first, scholarly sketched by Hannah Arendt (1951) might serve as a relevant key feature for scholars whenever analysing ´modern´ genocide under comparative aspects and perspectives (Albrecht 1989).

The intellectual political philosopher Hannah Arendt (1906-1975), a German emigré to the United States of America (USA) in the Second World War, sketched her basic concept of “the objective enemy” (“objektiver Gegner”) as part of her ´diagnosis of our time´ at the beginning of the 1950’s. Every totalitarian regime applies an ideology due to that leading figure which the author filtered out of the fascist “juridical” writings highly powerful German politicians like Reinhard Heydrich (1904-1942) and Werner Best (1903-1989) did when stigmatizing humans publicly naming as the “objective enemy” and the very “people’s enemy” – “an everlasting enemy” of the German people: “the very enemy of the racial, cultural, and spiritual being, and substance, of our people.” (Heydrich 1936: 121-123) Moreover, it is one of the main tasks of the totalitarian political police within the nationalsozialistische Führerstaat as a specific institution “which is thoroughly, and permanently, monitoring the body of the German people, which is timely detecting every symptom of illness, and her destructive germs, and which is eliminating all of it totally by ap-
plying effective methods” – “ferretting out and monitoring the enemies of the state for disposing them of at the right moment – that is the preventive-police task of a political police.” (Best 1936: 125-128)

Of course those “preventive-police task” does mean the complete reversal of any rule of law and her leading principles – “nullum crimen sine lege” [no crime without law], “nulla poena sine lege” [without law no punishment], and “nulla poena sine culpa” [no punishment without guiltiness] – which basically guarantees not only the presumption of innocence – nobody who is accused has to establish the innocence of the defendant in general – but also “fair trial” especially. According to the political system of historical Stalinism in the 1930’s, Susanne Leonhard (1895-1984), in the end of 1918 a founding mother of the authentic Communist Party in Germany (SPARTAKUSBUND), who became, as an emigré to the USSR, a political prisoner from 1935 to 1948, later remembered the way the secret police oppressed its “presumptive enemies” (Leonhard 1959):

“There was no individual guiltiness at all – on the contrary: any individual ‘crime’ was constructed lateron to that end that the individual ‘case’ could be classified under the given category of political suspect persons […] That the secret police will arrest somebody because this person belonged to a specific group whose members are looked upon as potential rebels by the government was a specific insight” – the author added – “which most of us unfortunately realised much more later.”

VI. The very ‘modernity’ of the Genocide against the Armenians 1915/16 is also expressed within the forms of genocidal actions Ottoman Turks really did. Mass killing as serial killing was organised in an highly efficient manner due to the logic of economic efficiency whenever executing the genocidal business. When during World War II. in Europe gas-chambers were economically the most efficient instrument of mass-killing Jews – mass-killing Armenians during World War I. in Minor Asia complied another economic rationality according to any logic of saving material: they did not involve the waste of powder and shell (Morgenthau 1918, 321):

“As the Turks themselves boasted they were more economical since they did not involve the waste of powder and shell.”

In a specific way the most destructive event during the First World War, the „administrative holocaust” (Winston Churchill) called Armenianocide, which began in April 24th, 1915, in Constantinople as the first „modern“ genocide within 20th century, expresses, although until now not mentioned at all, what the encyclia „Evangelium vitae“, eighty years later, emphasised as the very „value and inviolability of human life“ in general, when characterising any „culture of death“, whenever „taken as a whole“, as the result of a policy of „the strong“ against the weak who have no choice but to submit“ (Ioannes Paulus PP. II [Carol Woytila, 1920-2005]: Evangelium vitae To the Bishops, Priests and Deacons, Men
and Women religious lay, Faithful and all People of Good Will, on the Value and Inviolability of Human Life [March 25th, 1995]), cpt. 19).

VII. In June 2005, the German Federal Parliament („Bundestag“) made up her mind and decided a modest critique of the Turkish denial of what happened but neither used the expression „genocide“ nor „Armenocide“. Like all governments of the Turkish Republic since 1923 when at first a sort of culture of impunity was legally created within ’New Turkey’, the current one denies not only any Turkish Genocide but also continues that as official as rubbish talk on „tragic events during the war“. Moreover, and as far as I know, a chequered group, politically unified under the umbrella that an Turkish Genocide in 1915/16 is the very fiction of a so-called plot or conspiracy of the world-wide Armenian community, when organising her „March Towards Berlin“ where the official Turkish community hold a demonstration on March 18th, 2006, the day Talaat died of an assassination an Armenian student executed, 85 years ago (in Berlin, 1921), demanding that the German Federal Parliaments (for one voice) declaration is to cancel (Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung: February 4th, 2006, 39). Obviously these daisy bones do not at all know that Kemal Pasha („Atatürk“), the founding father of the Turkish Republic, before the Lausanne Treaty (1923), in 1920, several times talked on „the Armenian catastrophe“. Moreover, in October, 1920, Kemal mentioned about 800,000 killed Armenians and damned the act (Akcam 2004², 123-125).

VIII. One of the central topics of any profound definition of genocide within 20th century as crimen magnum and ultimate human crime is not only the very fact the taking-lives-actor is a state but also that any destructive acts like expelling, prosecuting, and killing people are undertaken by a the state as the most powerful national institution executed after a central governmental plan. Although is was not the main task of the International Military Tribunal at Nuremberg, in 1945-46, this international court which was often, and not only by the victims, scorned as the winners tribunal, in fact did a great juristic job when, in the general field of war of aggression, proved, and verified, the central plan of the Nazi figures when attacking Poland on September 1st, 1939, as a sort of conspiracy against peace.

Moreover, not only a central plan guiding the action/s undertaken is basically required, but at least one command, expressing the destructive will of the Führer and his intension to kill an entire social group, collective, or people, for ethnic, religious, political, economic, or ideological reasons structurally belongs to any ´modern´ genocidal business, too.

When looking on the Armenocide, at first glance a central plan for the total annihilation of the Ottoman Armenians during World War I seems to exist: the Andonian documents, published, as evidence of ´The Great Crime´, in Armenian language under the title Medz Vojeeru (1921), as well as in French (Documents officiels concernant les massacres armé-
niens, 1920) and in English (The Memoirs of Naim Bey, 1920). Some sixty years later, one of the leading scientific experts, the US-scholar Vahakn N. Dadrian, in 1986, discussed the documents as authentic telegrams send out by the CUP-leader and central figure within the ruling political elite, the Ottoman Ministry of the Interior, Talat Pasha, in 1915, to instruct his followers within the state bureaucracy in the very province how to handle their genocidal business in an efficient manner. To sum up basic results of current legitimate scholarly works (as recently published in “Genocide Studies & Prevention”, vol. 1 [2006], No. 2, pp. i-iv; 93-226) very briefly - there cannot be any doubt about the fact that it was Talat Bey (1872-1921), 1913-1917 Home Secretary of the Interior of the late Ottoman State who applied the Young-Turks-motto “Only a Dead Armenian is a Good Armenian” and ordered, commanded, and instructed the genocidal actions against the Ottoman Armenian by sending various telegrams to his followers down in the very provinces of the Ottoman Reich. According to genocidal research, the existence of a central plan whenever expressed in orders, or commands, written down is, in fact, as conditio sine qua non, not one of various sufficient conditions, but a necessary condition and insofar essential according to any scientific definition of genocide as such, it is by no means surprising that ‘the other side’, above all representatives of the Turkish state, her political elite, and her relevant institutions[6] do not accept this perspective but declare these documents either at best as “Armenian fiction” (Orel; Yuca 1986) or at worst as “forgeries” (Ataöv 1984; 1986).

For until now no scholar has ever seen the original telegrams send out by Talat from Constantinople in Osmanian language (Osmanli)[7] it is not at all possible either for falsifying or for verifying: this is, indeed, a heavy problem not only due to any scholarly work but also opening the road to denial the Armenocide in general, classifying what happened either as tragic war-events with mutual perpetrators and victims on both sides or as an effective “Armenian fiction” particularly created by the world-wide Armenian community plotting against Turkey and the Turks.

Be it as it ever may be: first of all for nearly fifty years a central command, or order, by Adolf Hitler as a necessary condition for recognizing, and accepting, the historical fact of the Holocaust as the destruction of the entire European Jewry during World War II with between five and six million humans as empirical victims has, until now, never scholarly been disputed. Moreover, until now a written source of evidence produced by Hitler himself could not be found, and it is, indeed, doubtable whether such a document exist at all. Christian Gerlach, at that time a German student of the Holocaust, read, however, as the first historian at all, in 1996/97, two well-known diaries of politically relevant figures within the German genocidal elite thoroughly, and this enabled him to work out the meaning of a secret speech Hitler gave, on December 12th, 1941, above all to some of his high-ranked party functionaries proclaiming the annihilation of the Jewish people in Europe as his basic “political decision” (Gerlach 1997; 2001³).

The second argument lies not in the field of comparative genocidal research like the first one but has to do with the situation of official Ottoman documents and its highly selective use. Nevertheless another student of genocide in general, and of the Armenian
1915/16 especially, found out when investigating the relationship between the very political centre as represented by the Ottoman Ministry of the Interior in Constantinople, and his close CUP-follower Dr. Mehmed Resid, in March 25th, 1915, freshly established as the new regional governor in Anatolian town Diyarbekir.

Presenting an excellent scholarly piece when describing what another investigator called the “cumulative radicalization” within the murderous Armenocidal process itself (Bloxham 2003), the Dutch junior scholar Ugur Ü. Üngör (2006) not only identifies more than a dozen official Ottoman documents, most of them produced by Talat and send to his vicergerent in Diyarbekir (and to the provinces of Erzurum, Bitlis, Van, and others, too), but also analyses the various steps on the road to Armenocide identifying both the second half of March, 1915, as the crucial date leading to a certain ‘point of no return’. Finally, after having looked on the special archive in Istanbul (“Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi” [Ottoman Archives under the Prime Ministry]) which has got more than hundred millions of files[8], Üngör presents the command as given by Talat on May 23rd, 1915, to all the provinces when ordering “the wholesale deportations of all Armenians to Deyr-ul Zor, starting with the northeastern provinces.”[9]

This official Ottoman document (as to be found in the Ottoman Archives under BOA, DH.SFR, and not within the central register BOA, MV) is, as Üngör points out, until now “the single instance in which the empire-wide nature of the deportations is reflected in one order at the most central level.” (Üngör 2006, 187; 195, note 131) In the very meaning of quod-erad-demonstrandum, and even when comparing to the situation according to the Holocaust in 1941 without any written order from the very top, any debate on “the Andonian documents” indeed is a yesterday discussion (in spite of the fact that the Talat telegrams at first were mentioned from H.A. Gibbons [1916], 19-23).

In his outlook U.Ü. Üngör reminds us on the public declaration of the three Entente powers dated May, 24th, 1915, condemning “these new crimes of Turkey against humanity and civilization”, promising that “all members of the Ottoman government and those of her agents who are implicated in such massacres […] will hold personally responsible.” Having realized their projective fate, “the CUP leaders, especially Talat, panicked”, creating immediately, for covering the beginning genocide, an emergency decree on the deportations as a sort of pseudo-law (May 29th, 1915). Later on, in 1916 and 1917, two ideological pamphlets above all to be distributed among the diplomats at Pera([10], [11]), were produced in French, denying that Armenocide had well-started, using pseudo-arguments picked up by all post-Ottoman true-believers and fanatics, either militant Kemalists or not, till nowadays.

IX. Whenever scholarly looking on what could be named Serbocide (“killing Serbes”) as a specific way of mass killing during World War II as planned and organized serial killing by the political leadership of “Satellite Croatia” (1941-1945) which started in summer 1941 it is clear that this was not only mass slaughter at hardcore-level of cruelty but,
in fact, and *strictu sensu*, another genocide with about one million victims within nearly four years. What might appear, at the first glance, as Balkan atrocities - or just another balkanized massacre happening – was, in fact, the murder of that part of the Serbs as a people living, in 1941, as citizen in the newly created Croatian state (about 1,5 million humans at all belonged to that ethnic, religious, and cultural minority). Remembering the very historical context of that specific genocidal syndrome, above all (i) German military occupation of the Balkan and the crimes committed by these armed forces, (ii) specific genocidal actions run by SS and Wehrmacht against Balkan jews, and the Gypsy, and (iii) the graphic, and active, support the fascist powers Germany, and Italy, gave to the Croatian Ustase movement - the Croatian genocidal elite figures Jehuda Bauer stigmatized as “lumpen” intellectuals lead by a fanatic race ideology with “the Serb” as the deadly enemy caught their chance and overtook not only the state power but realized the very opportunity and deprived, persecuted, and murdered the bulk of the members of the Serbian people living within that newly established Croatian state - all of what happened under the eyes of the Third Reich as the most relevant protective power the Ustase state has got. In the end about 100.000 Serbs fled outside the country, 250.000 were forced to become members of the Roman catholic church, and 750.000 were killed within the country.

It is a matter of fact that this genocide within 20th century is, until now, under-documented whenever compared with the Holocaust and the Armenocide. Moreover, there do exist a lot of still unsolved problems to be discussed by further scholarly work, e.g. the role of the religious ideologies and the catholic church, priest, clergyman, and the meaning of often barbarian forms of (serial) killing humans with streams of blood like butchery in a slaughterhouse whenever killing the slaughter cattle. Nevertheless there is no doubt about the facts (although daisy bones and true believers like Ustase ideologists deny). Finally, from a comparative perspective, any genocidal scholar cannot overlook the common features according to Armenocide and Holocaust: first of all the vital role of the Croatian Ustase state (NDH) itself as well as the very application of a destructive racial ideology named “the objective enemy” (Hannah Arendt) leading to this third European genocide within 20th century under Balkan circumstances, started, and undertaken, at the same time of the Holocaust, expressing the equal fascist, racial, annihilating, destructive, and deadly mentality of the genocidalists.

X. Whereas Raphael Lemkin (1944) discussed both the historical situation/s -the World War/s- and the destructive bio-political dimensions of mass slaughter and serial killing a people for religious, ethnic, and ideological reasons, which is effective over generations, Hannah Arendt worked out the specific role the state apparatus played whenever the holocaust (1941-1945) is discussed as a specific form of „mass murder” planned and organized by a state (thus being himself subject of a capital crime). Giving this setting, I will take another special feature of any genocide, as emphasized by Irving Louis Horowitz (1980), seriously: The very crime later named genocide implies, from the standpoint of any relevant concept due to ‘sociology of killing’, the basic feature of mass killings as serial killing not only masses but a defined social group, an entire people, like the Armenians
(1915-1918) during the First World War, the Serbs living in that separate Ustase state founded in 1941, and the European Jews (1941-1945), during the Second World War. Whenever looking on both well-documented genocidal events during the World Wars within 20th century through the eyes of an experienced social scientist like Irving Horowitz, there is good reason to argue that the „Armenocide“ (meanwhile discussed as such within the scholarly community) was not only historically the first modern genocide within 20th century but also the first, and prior, most outstanding destructive genocidal event anticipating a specific new quality of lethal policy (which was defined later on, e.g. by Hannah Arendt, as totalitarianism). Consequently, the „Armenocide“ as „the essential prototype of genocide in the twentieth century“ (Irving L. Horowitz) and its genocidal totalitarianism, will be the most relevant matter of future scholarly work on modern genocide within 20th century, its political sociology, and its social mentality.

XI. The very secret of any anti-genocidal ‘saving-lives’-policy is and means to break down a basically destructive process before mass killing and murdering people is regarded as a legitimate method for solving societal problems in the way totalitarian regimes do, using the state apparatus as a bureaucratic organised administrative machinery for mass murder producing an empirical „double-bind“-situation (Gregory Bateson) whenever giving the victims, whatsoever they will do or not do, not at all a chance to escape, likely to atrocities, riots, pogroms, mass slaughters, and massacres as pre-totalitarian methods: traditionally those who did submit and/or revoke could survive and survived, e.g. as religious convertites.

The most prominent Nazi-ideologist of the Third Reich, later on as "Reichsminister für die besetzten Ostgebiete" since July 17, 1941, the most responsible political figure for occupied Eastern territories - Alfred Rosenberg – crossed, in autumn 1941, the Rubicon of the perpetrators, when, after a personal meeting with SS-leader Heinrich Himmler (November 18, 1941), commanding "die biologische Ausmerzung des gesamten Judentums in Europa" [„the biological elimination of the entire European Jewry“] as an imperative necessity of any as racial as fascist „eliminationist antisemitism“ (Daniel J. Godhagen). At the Main Nuremberg Trial 1945-46, NS-Reichsminister Alfred Rosenberg (1893-1946) - both as an ideologist the very creator of "racial hate" and a radical practitioner of what could be, as a specific manner of genocidal totalitarianism, named genocidal fascism or fascist genocidality - was accused because of (i) "participation in a common plan or conspiracy for the accomplishment of crime against peace", (ii) "planning, initiating and waging wars of aggression and other crime against peace", (iii) "war crimes", and (iv) "crimes against humanity", found guilty in all four topics, condemned to death, and was, consequently, executed October 16th, 1946.

Plainly spoken, this point of no return, allowing, and managing, the Holocaust as well as the Armenocide and the Serbocide - all of them ultimate breakdowns of any humanity and civilization under the shadow and the umbrella of two World Wars - is better never – and never again - to be reached.
XII. If it is not only true, but moreover the very truth, and finally nothing but the only truth that genocidal action/s and genocide policy is a matter of not only one generation, but of several generations according to both sides of the genocidal coin – perpetrators and victims – it is, by no means as “the last scene of all, that ends this strange and eventful history” (William Shakespeare) but as an integrative part incorporated in the genocidal process itself of extraordinary relevancy how humans born later (”die Nachgeborenen” [Bertolt Brecht]) are coping with the most destructive societal event of mankind, especially under the perspective of preventing that specific collective mass murder.

Decades before Elie Wiesel publicly mentioned “the holocaust before the holocaust”, Joseph Guttmann, an exiled European Jew surviving the Holocaust, reminds us, some sixty years ago, that beyond all “uniqueness” of the Holocaust setting, especially given with the murderous German industry placed in occupied ´Eastern´ Europe using gas chambers, several common features of Armenocide and Holocaust as successfully “organized attempt[s] to exterminate a whole ethnic group” could be detected (Guttmann 1948, 3). Moreover, Guttmann worked not only out the opportunity structures for genocidal policy as given by the historical situation/s of World War and also points out the meaning of plundering acts, robbery of money, goods, property, and fortunes of the (expelled and) murdered victims for sponsoring the genocidal system and its war machinery, but also stresses relevant differences between the methods applied: when comparing genocidal actions and policy – a legitimate method even in the eyes of Daniel J. Goldhagen (who was wrongly attributed a ‘true believer’ of the uniqueness-dogma for years) - the German genocidal business was valued as ‘scientific’ whereas the Turk one used more primitive, simple methods of traditional slaughter when executing their mass murder/s – an overwhelming aspect Michael J. Arlen (1975, 243/244) describes as a technological paradigm (Albrecht [2002]):

“Hitler’s Germany was to perfect the process of railway deportation and to develop the gas chamber and the crematoria [...] But in virtuality every modern instance of mass murder, beginning, it appears with the Armenians, the key element – which has raised the numerical and physic levels of the deed above the classic terms of massacre – has been the alliance of technology and communication.”

When combined with a historical view which looks upon the Holocaust as ‘the last stage’ of a process which started with the 30th of January, 1933, when the state power was given over to the Nazi gang (Wendt 2006), not only the very lethal result – mass/serial killing in murder-factories down in the “wild” East since the autumn 1941 – can be of scholarly interest but also alls the steps foreshadowing and leading to the Holocaust 1941 must be: sterilization under pressure, killing living human beings (children, oldies, gypsies, and others) arrested in clinics, and concentration camps, defined as ‘not worth’ to live any longer ...

The German-American Historian of World War II, Gerhard Weinberg, stressed this aspect as the general one according to the historical situation (Weinberg 1995: 16):
The Second World War [... ] was the struggle for life in the sense of who should live on this planet and who should command its very resources. At the same time the decision should be made which peoples would have been annihilated completely because they were regarded as inferior and troublesome by the winners.

XIII. What the world-wide Armenian community names “the white massacre” was, for decades, called “the forgotten genocide”, too. From a certain sociological standpoint any communication on genocide is formally regarded as a “second order”-phenomenon (Dammann 2001), basically including relevant communication strategies of either denial or apologizing genocide as the main forms of defending against any involvement within genocidal action and policy, and its consequences, applied by the perpetrator-group. Some twenty years ago, Richard G. Hovannisian (1986, 111-133), a prominent US-scholar of the Armenianocide, sketched a historical five-step-model to describe the efforts of any Turkish state (whosoever may be her leading political figures), at that time ending with scholarly historian “revisionism” created for “clouding the past” – a defensive slogan which was in the last years since the beginning of the 21st century transformed into the Turkish de-demand for establishing a committee formed by governmentally selected Turkish and Armenian historians (of the two states) to detect whether the Armenocide 1915/16 was genocidal policy as planned and organized by the Ottoman State - or not ... indeed nothing else than an as cretinistic as bullshit idea.

Most recently, the German researcher Mihran Dabag (2006) publicly accented that one of his own important – as scholarly as human – tasks as a student of genocide is to counter any denial of the crime:

“This is a relevant aspect for developing effective strategies for preventing and blocking collective violence. Surprisingly, at a first glance, that potential genocidal actors will not be to deter as perpetrators from committing the crime by legal consequences. Because the crime of genocide develops its destructive effectiveness not primarily for the generation of the perpetrators but for the following generations aiming the societal future of the perpetrator-group.”

Given this matter of fact, there is still a lot to be done according to Armenocide and Serbocide: For since the still existing “Türkiye Cumhuriyeti” was founded in [October 29th] 1923, every Turkish government and her (post-) Kemalistic policy, and ideology, sustainable denied the Armenocide as genocidal policy[12] in the sense and meaning of the UN-convention (1948). “Hrvatska”, the follower state of historical fascist Croatia (1941-45) as founded in [October 8th] 1991, in fact two generations after her predecessor, is also - if not basically denying the fact of mass-murdered Serbs during World War II in general – particularly playing down what really happened in a manner of extremely hard-core obscurity.
XIV. Denying genocide is, indeed, not only „a kind of double killing“: „the physical deed“ is „followed by the destruction of remembrance of the deed“ (Smith et.al. 1995) but in a way also the very last stage of any genocidal action and one of its structurally incorporated elements as a policy planned, and organized, by a state and not by true believers and other fanatics, militant liars, cultural desperadoes, psychopathic Lumpenintellektuelle, superfluous Mobführer, political and war criminals, criminal underworld, white trash (with or without cash) self-fancying as Herrenrassse, in short: all of that rabble scum of the earth as more or less small social groups and/or societal organizations belonging to the civil sectors of every - and above all the “hidden” – society[13], but the policy of denial of empirical states like Croatia and Turkey (independently whether classified as potential “failed states” - or not - whenever valued by political sociologists).

Given this setting, a lot remains to do, above all to make sure that Turkey and Croatia, both former political allies of Germany 1914-18 and 1941-45, actually knocking on the EU’s door as potential new members, will accept, acknowledge, and recognize both crimenis magna - Armenocide and Serbocide - as genocidal policy planned and organized by their predecessor/s in state: ni más, ni menos.
*) Enlarged version of a paper of mine which was, under the title Murder(ing) People - Genocidal Policy Within 20th Century in Europe, prepared for the “Second International Meeting on Genocidal Social Practices” (November 20-22, 2007), at Universidad de Tres de Febrero, Buenos Aires, Argentinia, focussing on the continuity of Genocidal Social Practices including also relevant aspects of preventing genocidal actions (http://www.catedras.fsoc.uba.ar/feierstein/mis_documentos/feierstein/Programa.pdf).

[1] Richard Albrecht, „Wer redet heute noch von der Vernichtung der Armenier ?“ – Adolf Hitler zweite Geheimrede am 22. August 1939 [“Who is, after all, today speaking about the destruction of the Armenians ?“ – What Hitler really said when talking to his Supreme Commanders, August 22nd, 1939]: Genozidpolitik im 20. Jahrhundert, Band 3, 104 p. (Aachen: Shaker, 2007 [= Allgemeine Rechtswissenschaft]); summary and table of contents -> http://www.shaker.de/shop/978-3-8322-6695-0; short scholarly prospects are to be found as well as at H-Net: http://www.h-net.msu.edu:80/announce/show.cgi?ID=160809 and at GRIN publication house: http://www.hausarbeiten.de/faecher/vorschau/76273.html. – I really don’t want to coin out another definition of Armenocide (in German: Armenozid) but take the liberty, however, to use, even in German, that artificial word which at first was used as Armenocide within the US-Armenian community and her scholars. The word and its meaning alludes to the fate of the Ottoman Armenians above all in 1915/16, expressing both the victimized group and what happened (cidere means killing). Neither the word nor the concept Armenocide implies anything about the way of murder(ing), in spite of the well-known, and as well artificially created, word Holocaust, which mirrors in its all-around meaning the form of the deliberate extermination of a people: holokaustos means totally burning humans when still living (Albrecht 1989, 69). Whenever looking on the way both genocides were executed, not Jews in 1941/45, but Armenians in 1915/16 were burnt when still living, having fled expecting shelter within their churches. In September 1922, when Kemalist militia occupied the Smyrna city, both Armenian, and Greek quarters were set in fire. Genocide means, stictu sensu, killing what was traditionally named a tribe or a race (genus cidere), typically nowadays named an ethnic group. Whenever any scholar uses the wide-spread expression “Armenian Genocide” (instead of correctly naming the subject “Turkish Genocide”), he or she should know that this term is a complete and horrifying reversal of the historical events and their genuine meaning, turning around the very relationship as if, in 1915/16, Armenians were the very perpetrators and Turks were their innocent victims. Moreover, as far as I know, until now no scholar, he or she, had lost his/her “tenure” because he/she publicly named what really happened correctly as “Turkish Genocide” (in German: “türkischer Völkermord” [Martin Sabrow]). – Finally, there is good reason for understanding that what is named Holocaust virtually expresses the special German way (deutscher Sonderweg) of historical genocidal policy (Völkermord): a people self-naming the master-race, organising in a fascist manner, and trying to set up a world-wide imperial(istic) dictatorship.

[2] The German sociologist Werner Hofmann (1968, 49-66) had characterized science formally as „the way of seeking knowledge in a methodical (as systematic as critical) way“ under two basic aspects: “(i) the general content of science has to be worked out (by collecting, describing, classifying the subjects, leading to any morphology, typology etc.); (ii) under theoretical aspects the very context and meaning of all appearances of the subjects and the underlying basic relations must be de-
fined as rules belonging to reality. [...] At first comes the image of the real world as given by her empirical nature founding the empirical nature of reality. [...] Any theoretical work of a scientist expresses the structural contradictory relationship of registering and interpreting of reality: reality can be understood without theory, but without theory sciences is not at all possible.” Whenever looking at sociology in particular, the sociologist Theodore Geiger (1948/49, 292-302) stressed: “Sociology cannot restrict her work to pure registration of human acting but must try to detect the basic underlying subjective processes, and describe the very meaning of human action.” – According to any scientific definition of genocide any rational logic has to apply the well-known principle differentio genus proximum et differentiam specificam to differentiating between general and specific aspects within societal action, or to express the methodological principle that racism is as conditio sine qua non an essential precondition for genocide graphically: not every racialist society is essentially a genocidal society – but, however, every genocidal society is essentially a racialist society (Barth 2006, 172-199). For meanwhile racism is by no means what it was at first: methodologically spoken the mechanistic dissolution of the highly contradictory unit (named dialectics) of the biological and the social for the sole benefit of the biosphere. Moreover, whenever discussing human action/s and the mentality of the actors, I may remind my scholarly readership to what William I. Thomas, with Dorothy S. Thomas (1928², 571/572), accurately formulated as one of the basic theorems whenever describing human action/s: ’If men define situations as real, they are real in their consequences’. Finally, W.I. Thomas (1967³, 42) later on pointed out: ’gradually a whole life-policy and the personality of the individual himself [...] will be influenced by a series of definitions the individual is involved in”. According to small social worlds of every-day life – named intimacy – in particular W.I. Thomas stressed the very meaning of subjective impressions and feelings leading to definitions of the situation/s constituting another ’real’ social world of the acting individual/s: „subjective impressions can be projected onto life and thereby become real to projectors.” (Volkart 1951, 14)


[4] In German/y since 1915 until now typically played down whenever named „Verbrechen gegen die Menschlichkeit” and not correctly called „Verbrechen gegen die Menschheit” - a sort of Newspeak which Hannah Arendt reviewed as „the understatement of the 20th century” at all; a brief case-study gives Albrecht (2004: Verbrechen). - For good reasons censorious measures as run by military dictatorship in Germany during World War I – especially when oppressing any facts on what was going on ‘backwards down in the very Turkey’ - were of hard-core character and part of a policy later on named “the crime of silence”. The German churchman Dr Johannes Lepsius (1858-1926), a prominent so-called “friend of the Armenian people”, at first in 1916 detected the very character of “these new crimes against humanity and civilisation” when clearly naming that massacres, slaughters, and mass murders, as part of the “annihilation of the Armenian nation” (“Vernichtung der armenischen Nation”), and, finally, “murder of a nation” (“Völkermord, den die Jungtürken auf dem Gewissen haben.” (Albrecht, Völkermord[en], 2006, 117)

[6] The Turkish Historical Society (founded in 1931) does not belong to that in contemporary Turkey small sector of the „civil society” but is part of the state apparatus, forming particularly what Louis Althusser once classified as “ideological state apparatus”. To up-value history is until now part of the ideology, and policy, the founding father of the Turkish Republic, Kemal Pasha, later on Atatürk („the father of all Turks”), proclaimed in 1931: “Writing history is as important as making it.” („Tarih yazmak, tarih yapmak kadar önemlidir“). Howsoever political analysts may value basic power structures within Turkey Today, a sustainable feature is not to overlook: the “state within the state”, the “deep”, “parallel” or “arcane” state as having developed from oriental “secret society” (Georg Simmel). In his latest book, Rudolf J. Rummel (2006, chp. XXIII, 152-159) also mentioned “the deep society” as an aggressive feature of traditional elites to be fought against.

[7] One of the most relevant political measures to modernize every-day-life in Turkey as run by early Kemalism was, in 1928, replacing the old Arab way of writing by a new quasi-Latin alphabet which, however, lead to that bizarre situation that the old language and writing – Osmanli – meanwhile, in modern Turkey, is in fact a matter of a few specialists, leading to the well-known situation of a specific expropriation process the German emigré Ernst Bloch (1939) named “Disrupted Language – Disrupted Culture”.

[8] A short description in modern Turkish is online: http://tr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ar%C5%9Fiv; an English text placed by the Turkish Minstry of Culture & Tourism, too: http://goturkey.turizm.gov.tr/Yonlendir.aspx?17A16AE30572D313D4AF1EF75F7A7968F9F8102006DD7892, but is, for any student/scholar/researcher, as worthless as that two volumes of “Documents on Ottoman-Armenians” (n.d., 317 [and] xi/188 p.) Turkish authorities distributed. An as systematical as critical overview on (after the armistice in 1918 ‘cleaned’) Ottoman Archives in Turkey, which cleary shows the “genocidal intention” of the CUP-leadership, gives, most recently, Akcam (2006).

[9] I take the liberty, if I may, and give a brief insight to my own experience according to the way German authorities actually dealing with relevant sources: After having finished my latest research work on Hitlers second secret speech to his Supreme Commanders at Obersalzberg August 22, 1939 (as published in the third volume on genocidal policy within 20th century: Albrecht 2008; abridged versions in “Zeitschrift für Weltgeschichte” [2008]; “Zeitschrift für Genozidforschung” [2008]) I realized that the papers of Dr Armin T. Wegner (1886-1978; http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Armin_T._Wegner; http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Armin_T._Wegner) are kept on file at the Central German Literary Institute at Marbach, including an unpublished “war-diary” this important German eye-witness of the Armenocide, in 1916, at this time Second Lieutenant within the military staff of Major General v.d. Goltz (“Goltz Pasha”) (http://www.dlamarbach.de/index.php?id=59042), has written. But I really did not succeed in getting hold of the very text I asked for thrice: I did not get any answer. In other words, in the case of the Wegner
“war-diary” (1916) as a most relevant “historically credible source” (Tamcke 1996: 238) my own research work was not only handicapped but completely inhibited

[10] Vérité sur le Movement Révolutionnaire arménien et les mesures gouvernementales/Journal de guerre [...] /Notes d’un officier supérieur russe [...]. (Constantinople 1916; 1919, 54 p.)


[13] Given the actual status of factual decomposition of (any image/s of) society in her “late modern age” (Anthony Giddens) - often most superficially described as ‘postmodernity’ - as the very age of “individualization” and “globalization”, I may, as a social scientist and an “old” European egghead, emphasize at least three basic topics against such as bizarre as absurd ideas whenever proclaimed, expressing an terrifying engineer (mis)understanding not only of society but also of human acting and/or acting human/s as expressed extremely plastically in a phrase a former British Prime-Minister affirmed: “There is no such thing as society, only men and women and their families” (Margaret Thatcher): (i) first, society does exist, however, “does not exist of individuals but expresses the sum of relationships [and] conditions that the individual actor is forming” (Marx 1857/58, 176); (ii) moreover, whenever looking on consciousness, “it is in fact not the consciousness dominating life but the very life dominating consciousness” (Marx [and] Engels 1845/46, 27); and (iii) finally, the term technology as sketched by Carl Marx in his radical critique of the economical anatomy of capitalism in a footnote (1867) when describing, in his “Capital” (13th chapter: “Machinery and Great Industry”) annotated on both conceptual and methodological aspects of any critical social science quite sophistically according to a grounded societal theory, and is by no means expressing mere (modern, applied etc.) engineering, mechanics, techniques, in short: a technical dimension, but, as technology, “discloses the active relation of man towards nature, as well as the direct process of production of his very life, and thereby the process of production of his basic societal relations, and of his own mentality and his images of society, too.” (Marx 1867, 392/393)
Select Bibliography

Völkermord(en)
Armenozid, Serbozid und Holocaust als entscheidende Völkermorde zweier Weltkriege


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The Author

Richard Albrecht is not only a scholar of the Armenianocide but also that investigative social scientist currently living in Germany who found, verified, contextualized, discussed, and at first published, in the third volume of his study “Völkermord(en)“ [Murder/ing People. Genocidal Policy Within 20th Century], the L-3-version of Reichskanzler Hitlers notorious second secret speech delivered to his High Commanders, August 22, 1939, which includes “The Armenian Quote”: “Who is, after all, today speaking about the destruction of the Armenians?” (Cutting the Gordian Knot: http://www.h-net.org/announce/show.cgi?ID=160809)


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