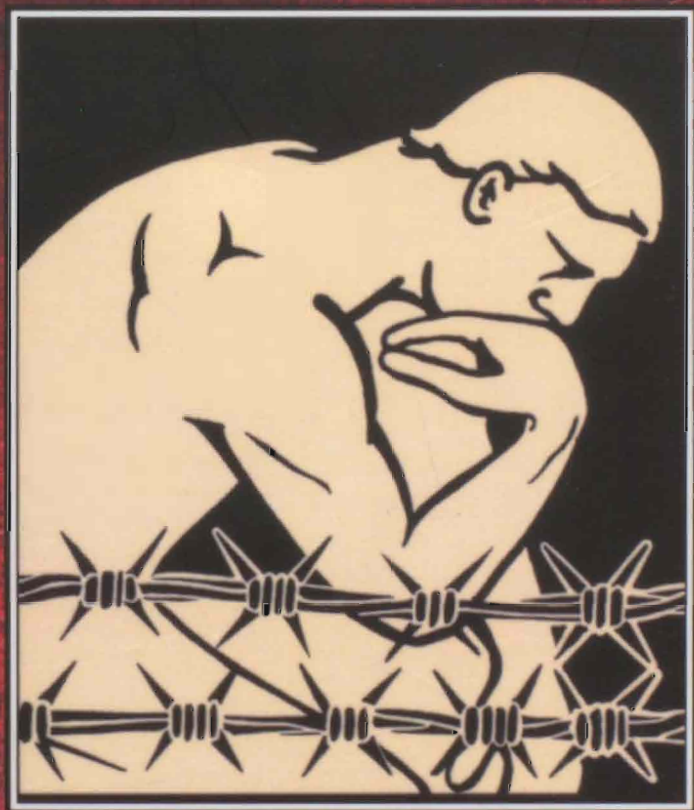


GENOCIDE and HUMAN RIGHTS

A PHILOSOPHICAL GUIDE



Edited by
John K. Roth



Also by John K. Roth

AFTER-WORDS: Post-Holocaust Struggles with Forgiveness, Reconciliation, Justice
(*edited with David Patterson*)

AMERICAN DIVERSITY, AMERICAN IDENTITY (*ed.*)

THE AMERICAN DREAM (*with Robert H. Fossum*)

AMERICAN DREAMS: Meditations on Life in the United States

AMERICAN DREAMS AND HOLOCAUST QUESTIONS

AMERICAN GROUND: Vistas, Visions & Revisions (*edited with Robert H. Fossum*)

THE AMERICAN RELIGIOUS EXPERIENCE: The Roots, Trends and the Future of
American Theology (*with Frederick Sontag*)

APPROACHES TO AUSCHWITZ: The Holocaust and Its Legacy
(*with Richard L. Rubenstein*)

A CONSUMING FIRE: Encounters with Elie Wiesel and the Holocaust

THE DEATH OF GOD MOVEMENT AND THE HOLOCAUST: Radical Theology
Encounters the Shoah (*edited with Stephen R. Haynes*)

THE DEFENSE OF GOD (*edited with Frederick Sontag*)

DIFFERENT VOICES: Women and the Holocaust (*edited with Carol Rittner*)

ENCYCLOPEDIA OF SOCIAL ISSUES (*ed.*)

ETHICS AFTER THE HOLOCAUST: Perspectives, Critiques, and Responses (*ed.*)

ETHICS: An Annotated Bibliography

ETHICS: Ready Reference (*ed.*)

FIRE IN THE ASHES: God, Evil, and the Holocaust (*edited with David Patterson*)

FREEDOM AND THE MORAL LIFE: The Ethics of William James

FROM THE UNTHINKABLE TO THE UNAVOIDABLE: American Christian and Jewish
Scholars Encounter the Holocaust (*edited with Carol Rittner*)

GENOCIDE IN RWANDA: Complicity of the Churches? (*edited with Carol Rittner and
Wendy Whitworth*)

GOD AND AMERICA'S FUTURE (*with Frederick Sontag*)

"GOOD NEWS" AFTER AUSCHWITZ? Christian Faith within a Post-Holocaust World
(*edited with Carol Rittner*)

GRAY ZONES: Ambiguity and Compromise in the Holocaust and Its Aftermath
(*edited with Jonathan Petropoulos*)

HOLOCAUST: Religious and Philosophical Implications (*edited with Michael
Berenbaum*)

THE HOLOCAUST CHRONICLE (*with Marilyn Harran et al.*)

HOLOCAUST POLITICS

INSPIRING TEACHING (*ed.*)

MEMORY OFFENDED: The Auschwitz Convent Controversy (*edited with Carol Rittner*)

IDEOLOGY AND AMERICAN EXPERIENCE: Essays on Theory and Practice in the United States (*edited with Robert C. Whittemore*)

THE MORAL EQUIVALENT OF WAR AND OTHER ESSAYS (*ed.*)

THE MORAL PHILOSOPHY OF WILLIAM JAMES (*ed.*)

POPE PIUS XII AND THE HOLOCAUST (*edited with Carol Rittner*)

THE PHILOSOPHY OF JOSIAH ROYCE (*ed.*)

PRIVATE NEEDS, PUBLIC SELVES: Talk about Religion in America

THE POLITICS OF LATIN AMERICAN LIBERATION THEOLOGY: The Challenge to U.S. Public Policy (*edited with Richard L. Rubenstein*)

PROBLEMS OF THE PHILOSOPHY OF RELIGION

THE QUESTIONS OF PHILOSOPHY (*with Frederick Sontag*)

REMEMBERING FOR THE FUTURE: The Holocaust in an Age of Genocide (*edited with Elisabeth Maxwell*)

RIGHTS, JUSTICE, AND COMMUNITY (*edited with Creighton Peden*)

WILL GENOCIDE EVER END? (*edited with Carol Rittner and James M. Smith*)

WORLD PHILOSOPHERS AND THEIR WORKS (*ed.*)

Genocide and Human Rights

A Philosophical Guide

Edited by

John K. Roth

Editorial matter, selection, epilogue, Chapter 20 © John K. Roth 2005
All remaining chapters © their respective authors 2005

All rights reserved. No reproduction, copy or transmission of this publication may be made without written permission.

No paragraph of this publication may be reproduced, copied or transmitted save with written permission or in accordance with the provisions of the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988, or under the terms of any licence permitting limited copying issued by the Copyright Licensing Agency, 90 Tottenham Court Road, London W1T 4LP.

Any person who does any unauthorized act in relation to this publication may be liable to criminal prosecution and civil claims for damages.

The authors have asserted their rights to be identified as the authors of this work in accordance with the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

First published in 2005 by
PALGRAVE MACMILLAN
Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire RG21 6XS and
175 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10010
Companies and representatives throughout the world.

PALGRAVE MACMILLAN is the global academic imprint of the Palgrave Macmillan division of St. Martin's Press, LLC and of Palgrave Macmillan Ltd. Macmillan® is a registered trademark in the United States, United Kingdom and other countries. Palgrave is a registered trademark in the European Union and other countries.

ISBN-13: 978-1-4039-3547-2 hardback

ISBN-10: 1-4039-3547-5 hardback

ISBN-13: 978-1-4039-3548-9 paperback

ISBN-10: 1-4039-3548-3 paperback

This book is printed on paper suitable for recycling and made from fully managed and sustained forest sources. Logging, pulping and manufacturing processes are expected to conform to the environmental regulations of the country of origin.

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Genocide and human rights : a philosophical guide / edited and introduced by John K. Roth.

p. cm.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 1-4039-3547-5 (cloth) — ISBN 1-4039-3548-3 (paper)

1. Genocide — Philosophy. 2. Human rights — Philosophy. 3. Philosophy — Social aspects. I. Roth, John K.

HV6322.7.G453 2005
179.7—dc22

Printed and bound in Great Britain by
CPI Antony Rowe, Chippenham and Eastbourne

ԵՊՀ Գրադարան



SU0223588

Contents

<i>List of Contributors</i>	x
Prologue: Philosophy and Genocide <i>John K. Roth</i>	xvi
Part I The Problem of Evil: How Does Genocide Affect Philosophy?	1
<i>John K. Roth</i>	
1 The Evil in Genocide <i>Berel Lang</i>	5
2 Rights, Morality, and Faith in the Light of the Holocaust <i>Sander Lee</i>	18
3 How Should Genocide Affect Philosophy? <i>Frederick Sontag</i>	29
4 Genocide, Despair, and Religious Hope: An Essay on Human Nature <i>Stephen T. Davis</i>	35
5 The Holocaust and Language <i>D. Z. Phillips</i>	46
6 Genocide, Evil, and Injustice: Competing Hells <i>Thomas W. Simon</i>	65
Part II Innocent or Guilty? Philosophy's Involvement in Genocide	79
<i>John K. Roth</i>	
7 The Doctorhood of Genocide <i>Colin Tatz</i>	82
8 The Philosophical Warrant for Genocide <i>David Patterson</i>	95
9 The Rational Constitution of Evil: Reflections on Franz Baermann Steiner's Critique of Philosophy <i>Michael Mack</i>	105

10	Epistemic Conditions for Genocide <i>Emmanuel C. Eze</i>	115
11	Genocide and the Totalizing Philosopher: A Levinasian Analysis <i>Leonard Grob</i>	130
12	Why Do the Happy Inhabitants of Tahiti Bother to Exist at All? <i>Robert Bernasconi</i>	139
	Part III Will Genocide Ever End? Genocide's Challenge to Philosophy <i>John K. Roth</i>	149
13	Refocusing Genocide: A Philosophical Responsibility <i>Raimond Gaita</i>	153
14	Genocide and Crimes against Humanity <i>Norman Geras</i>	167
15	Innocence, Genocide, and Suicide Bombings <i>Laurence M. Thomas</i>	181
16	Beyond the Affectations of Philosophy <i>James R. Watson</i>	192
17	The Warring Logics of Genocide <i>Edith Wyschogrod</i>	207
18	Philosophy's Obligation to the Human Being in the Aftermath of Genocide <i>Paul C. Santilli</i>	220
	Part IV Resistance, Responsibility, and Human Rights: Philosophy's Response to Genocide <i>John K. Roth</i>	233
19	Genocide and Social Death <i>Claudia Card</i>	238
20	Genocide and the "Logic" of Racism <i>John K. Roth</i>	255
21	The Right to Life, Genocide, and the Problem of Bystander States <i>David H. Jones</i>	265

	the Obligation to Prosecute Human Rights Atrocities <i>Patrick Hayden</i>	277
130	23 “The Human Material is Too Weak” <i>Roger S. Gottlieb</i>	287
139	24 Virtue Ethics, Mass Killing, and Hatred <i>Paul Woodruff</i>	298
	25 Shame, the Holocaust, and Dark Times <i>Michael L. Morgan</i>	304
149	Epilogue: “After? ... Meaning What?” <i>John K. Roth</i>	326
153	<i>Select Bibliography</i>	334
167	<i>Index</i>	341
181		
192		
207		
220		
233		
238		
255		
265		

Robert Bernasconi is the Moss Professor of Philosophy at the University of Memphis. He is the author of two books on Martin Heidegger, *Heidegger in Question: The Art of Existing* and *The Question of Language in Heidegger's History of Being*, and numerous articles on various aspects of continental philosophy, social and political philosophy, and race theory. With Simon Critchley, he co-edited *Rereading Levinas* and *The Cambridge Companion to Levinas*. He also co-edited *The Idea of Race* with Tommy Lott. In addition, Bernasconi edits a reprint series with Thoemmes Press, which contains books on race from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Claudia Card is the Emma Goldman Professor of Philosophy at the University of Wisconsin, where she has teaching affiliations with Jewish Studies, Women's Studies, and Environmental Studies. She is the author of *The Atrocity Paradigm: A Theory of Evil*; *The Unnatural Lottery: Character and Moral Luck*; and *Lesbian Choices*. Card is also the editor of *The Cambridge Companion to Beauvoir*; *On Feminist Ethics and Politics*; *Adventures in Lesbian Philosophy*; and *Feminist Ethics*. During 2002–07, she is a Senior Fellow at the Institute for Research in the Humanities at the University of Wisconsin, where she is writing a book on responding to atrocities.

Stephen T. Davis is the Russell K. Pitzer Professor of Philosophy at Claremont McKenna College, where he has taught since 1970 and frequently chaired the Department of Philosophy and Religious Studies. He is the author of many articles on the philosophy of religion and has written or edited thirteen books, including: *Risen Indeed: Making Sense of the Resurrection*; *God, Reason, and Theistic Proofs*; and *Encountering Evil: Live Options in Theodicy*.

Emmanuel C. Eze is Associate Professor of Philosophy at DePaul University, where he teaches critical race theory and modern African and European philosophy. He is the author of *Achieving Our Humanity: The Idea of the Postracial Future* and the editor of several other volumes, including: *Race and the Enlightenment: A Reader* and *Postcolonial African Philosophy: A Critical Reader*. His scholarly articles have appeared in journals such as the *Journal of the History of Ideas*, *Soundings*, and *Philosophia Africana*.

Raimond Gaita is Professor of Moral Philosophy at King's College London, University of London, and Professor of Philosophy at Australian Catholic University. His main research interests and publications have been in moral philosophy, political philosophy, the philosophy of psychology, and on the nature and place of reason. Gaita's most important books include: *Good and*

Evil: An Absolute Conception and A Common Humanity: Thinking about Love and Truth and Justice.

Norman Geras is Professor Emeritus in the Department of Government at the University of Manchester, England. His research interests include Marxism, the moral philosophy of socialism, normative political theory, aspects of so-called anti-foundationalist thought, the Holocaust, and crimes against humanity. He is the author of many articles, and his books include *Marx and Human Nature: Refutation of a Legend*; *Solidarity in the Conversation of Humankind: The Ungroundable Liberalism of Richard Rorty*; and *The Contract of Mutual Indifference: Political Philosophy after the Holocaust*.

Roger S. Gottlieb is Professor of Philosophy at Worcester Polytechnic Institute. The author or editor of twelve books, his most recent works include *Joining Hands: Politics and Religion Together for Social Change*; *A Spirituality of Resistance: Finding a Peaceful Heart and Protecting the Earth*; *This Sacred Earth: Religion, Nature, Environment*; and *Liberating Faith: Religious Voices for Justice, Peace, and Ecological Wisdom*. He is "Reading Spirit" columnist for *Tikkun* magazine and book review editor for *Social Theory and Practice* and *Capitalism, Nature, Socialism: A Journal of Socialist Ecology*.

Leonard Grob, co-founder of the biennial Pastora Goldner Holocaust Symposium, is Professor of Philosophy and coordinator of philosophical studies at Fairleigh Dickinson University, where he has also directed the university's Core Curriculum Program. His publications include numerous articles on the philosophy of dialogue and the thought of Martin Buber and Emmanuel Levinas. Grob is the co-editor of *Education for Peace: Testimonies from World Religions* and *Women's and Men's Liberation: Testimonies of Spirit*, two anthologies based on Buber's philosophy. His essays have appeared in books such as *Ethics after the Holocaust*; *After-Words: Post-Holocaust Struggles with Forgiveness, Reconciliation, Justice*, and *Fire in the Ashes: God, Evil, and the Holocaust*.

Patrick Hayden is Lecturer in Political Theory at Victoria University of Wellington, New Zealand. His research interests include international ethics and human rights, theories of war and peace, democratic theory, and the application of social and political theory to the study of international relations and global politics. Hayden's books include *Cosmopolitan Global Politics*; *America's War on Terror*; *John Rawls: Towards a Just World Order*; and *The Philosophy of Human Rights*. His scholarly articles have appeared in *Human Rights Review*, *Theoria*, and *International Studies*.

David H. Jones is Professor of Philosophy Emeritus at the College of William and Mary. He has taught and published primarily in the areas of ethics, social and political philosophy, and the philosophy of law. He continues to teach a course on genocide and is the author of *Moral Responsibility in the*

Holocaust. His current research interest is in the prevention of genocide and crimes against humanity.

Berel Lang is Professor of Humanities at Trinity College (Connecticut). He has also held appointments as Professor of Philosophy at the University of Colorado and the State University of New York at Albany; Visiting Professor at Wesleyan University and the Hebrew University, Jerusalem. Lang is the author or editor of more than twenty books, including: *Act and Idea in the Nazi Genocide*; *The Future of the Holocaust*; *Heidegger's Silence*; and *Post-Holocaust: Interpretation, Misinterpretation, and the Claims of History*. His research and writing have been supported by fellowships from the National Endowment for the Humanities, the American Council of Learned Societies, the Remarque Institute, and the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum.

Sander H. Lee is Professor of Philosophy at Keene State College, where he has chaired the Department of Communication, Journalism, and Philosophy. In addition to serving on the editorial boards of *The Journal of Value Inquiry* and *Film and Philosophy*, Lee has served as president of the Society for the Philosophic Study of Genocide and the Holocaust. Lee is the author of *Eighteen Woody Allen Films Analyzed: Anguish, God, and Existentialism* and *Woody Allen's Angst: Philosophical Commentaries on His Serious Films* as well as numerous scholarly essays on issues in aesthetics, ethics, social philosophy, and the Holocaust.

Michael Mack holds the Sesqui Fellowship, 2004–07, at the University of Sydney, Australia. Along with his many scholarly articles, he is the author of two books: *Anthropology as Memory: Elias Canetti's and Franz Baermann Steiner's Responses to the Shoah* and the award-winning *German Idealism and the Jew: The Inner Anti-Semitism of Philosophy and German Jewish Responses*, which uncovers the deep roots of antisemitism in the German philosophical tradition.

Michael L. Morgan is the Chancellor's Professor of Philosophy and Jewish Studies at Indiana University, Bloomington. His research interests include the history of philosophy, especially ancient philosophy and modern philosophy, the philosophy of religion, Jewish philosophy, and the Holocaust. The recipient of several teaching awards, he is also the author of numerous books, including *Platonic Piety*; *Dilemmas in Modern Jewish Thought*; *Interim Judaism*; and *Beyond Auschwitz*. In addition, he has edited *Classics of Moral and Political Theory*; *The Jewish Thought of Emil Fackenheim: A Reader*; *A Holocaust Anthology*; *The Collected Works of Spinoza*; and he has translated and edited, with Paul Franks, *Franz Rosenzweig: Philosophical and Theological Writings*. Morgan is currently working on a book about Emmanuel Levinas.

David Patterson holds the Bornblum Chair of Excellence in Judaic Studies at the University of Memphis, where he directs the university's Bornblum Judaic Studies Program. The author of scores of journal articles and book

chapters, he has also published more than fifteen books, including: *The Shriek of Silence: A Phenomenology of the Holocaust Novel*; *Sun Turned to Darkness: Memory and Recovery in the Holocaust Memoir*; *Along the Edge of Annihilation: The Collapse and Recovery of Life in the Holocaust Diary*, which received the 1999 Koret Jewish Book Award for Jewish Thought and Philosophy; and *Hebrew Language and Jewish Thought*. Patterson is also the translator and editor of the English edition of *The Complete Black Book of Russian Jewry* and co-editor of the *Encyclopedia of Holocaust Literature*.

D. Z. Phillips is the Danforth Professor of Philosophy of Religion at Claremont Graduate University and Professor of Philosophy Emeritus and Rush Rhees Professor Emeritus, University of Wales, Swansea. Much of his research concentrates on issues pertaining to evil. He is the author or editor of more than forty books, including *The Concept of Prayer*; *Faith and Philosophical Enquiry*; *Death and Immortality*; *Religion Without Explanation*; *Faith after Foundationalism*; *Interventions in Ethics*; *Wittgenstein and Religion*; *Introducing Philosophy: The Challenge of Skepticism*; *Philosophy's Cool Place*; *Religion and Friendly Fire*; and *The Problem of Evil and the Problem of God*.

John K. Roth, the editor of *Genocide and Human Rights: A Philosophical Guide*, is the Edward J. Sexton Professor of Philosophy and the Director of the Center for the Study of the Holocaust, Genocide, and Human Rights at Claremont McKenna College, where he has taught since 1966. In addition to service on the United States Holocaust Memorial Council and on the editorial board for *Holocaust and Genocide Studies*, he has published hundreds of articles and reviews and more than forty books, including, most recently, *Will Genocide Ever End?*; *After-Words: Post-Holocaust Struggles with Forgiveness, Reconciliation, and Justice*; *Genocide in Rwanda: Complicity of the Churches?*; and a revised edition of *Approaches to Auschwitz: The Holocaust and Its Legacy*. Roth has been Visiting Professor of Holocaust Studies at the University of Haifa, Israel, and his Holocaust-related research appointments have included a 2001 Koerner Visiting Fellowship at the Oxford Centre for Hebrew and Jewish Studies in England as well as a 2004–05 appointment as the Ina Levine Invitational Scholar at the Center for Advanced Holocaust Studies, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Washington, DC. In 1988, Roth was named U.S. National Professor of the Year by the Council for Advancement and Support of Education and the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching.

Paul C. Santilli is Professor of Philosophy at Siena College. An award-winning teacher, he is particularly interested in law and jurisprudence, the moral imagination, ancient philosophy, film studies, and business ethics. His numerous papers and articles, including “On the Strange Relation between Heroic Socrates and Wise Achilles,” concentrate on these fields. Presently he is writing a book about the late Polish film maker, Krzysztof Kieślowski.

Thomas W. Simon is Professor of Philosophy at Illinois State University. Trained in law as well as in philosophy, he focuses his research and teaching on political philosophy, ethics, philosophy of law, genocide, and human rights. He has served as a consultant on human rights issues for the United Nations and the American Bar Association. The author of *Democracy and Social Injustice: Law, Politics, and Philosophy*, Simon is also the editor of *Law's Philosophies: An Anthology of Contemporary Comparative Jurisprudence*. In addition, he is the founder and co-editor of *Injustice Studies*, an electronic refereed journal.

Frederick E. Sontag is the Robert C. Denison Professor of Philosophy at Pomona College, where he has taught since 1952. He has held visiting appointments at the College of Sant' Anselmo in Rome, the Center for the Study of Japanese Religions in Kyoto, and as a Fulbright scholar in India and East Asia. His research interests have focused on issues about evil. Sontag is the author or editor of some thirty books, including: *The God of Evil: An Argument from the Existence of the Devil*; *What Can God Do?*; *Emotion: Its Role in Understanding and Decision*; *2001: A Spiritual Odyssey*; and *The Mysterious Presence*.

Colin Tatz, a specialist in race politics, founded and directed the Centre for Australian Indigenous Studies at Monash University in Melbourne from 1964 to 1970. He then founded the Political Science Department at the University of New England, where he taught from 1971 to 1982. He took the chair of Politics at Macquarie University, Sydney, in 1982, where, in 1993, he established and directed the Center for Comparative Genocide Studies. The Center has since relocated to the Shalom Institute, University of New South Wales, as the Australian Institute for Holocaust and Genocide Studies. Tatz is the author or editor of eighteen books, including: *Race Politics in Australia: Aborigines, Politics, and Law*; *Genocide Perspectives II: Essays on the Holocaust and Genocide*; and *With Intent to Destroy: Reflecting on Genocide*.

Laurence M. Thomas is Professor of Philosophy and Political Science at the Maxwell School in Syracuse University, where his scholarly interests focus on ethics, political theory, and social philosophy. He is the author of many articles, and his books include *Living Morally: A Psychology of Moral Character*; *Sexual Orientation and Human Rights*; and *Vessels of Evil: American Slavery and the Holocaust*. Currently he is at work on a book about family and children, and he is editing a volume on social philosophy.

James R. Watson is Professor of Philosophy at Loyola University, New Orleans. He is President of the Society for the Philosophic Study of Genocide and the Holocaust (SPSGH). He has published numerous essays and books on philosophy and the Holocaust, including *Between Auschwitz and Tradition: Postmodern Reflections on the Task of Thinking* and a co-edited volume entitled *Contemporary Portrayals of Auschwitz and Genocide*. His current book project is

Metaphysics and the Degradation of Labor: Philosophy's Repression and Its Uninvited Return in Psychoanalysis.

Paul Woodruff is the Darrell K. Royal Professor in Ethics and American Society and a Distinguished Teaching Professor in the Department of Philosophy at the University of Texas, Austin. The author of influential articles on Socrates and Plato, he has also published critical editions of Plato's *Hippias Major*, *Ion*, and (with Alexander Nehamas) *Symposium* and *Phaedrus*. He has also written on topics in aesthetics and ethics. His recent publications include: *First Democracy: The Challenge of an Ancient Idea*; *Reverence: Renewing a Forgotten Virtue*; *Thucydides on Justice, Power, and Human Nature*; and contributions to *Essays on the Philosophy of Socrates*; *The Cambridge Companion to Early Greek Philosophy*; and *Facing Evil*. Woodruff has been Visiting Professor at the University of Pittsburgh and has twice directed seminars on ancient philosophy for the National Endowment for the Humanities.

Edith Wyschogrod is the J. Newton Rayzor Professor of Philosophy Emerita at Rice University. Her books include *An Ethics of Remembering: History; Heterology and the Nameless Others*; *Saints and Postmodernism: Revisioning Moral Philosophy*; *Spirit in Ashes: Hegel, Heidegger, and Man-Made Mass Death*; and a second edition of *Emmanuel Levinas: The Problem of Ethical Metaphysics*. Her current work is centered on philosophical responses to biological and psychological theories of altruism.

On 2 October 1938, less than a year before Nazi Germany's invasion of Poland began the Second World War, the British philosopher R. G. Collingwood put the finishing touches on his autobiography. Its observations underscored his belief that "the chief business of twentieth-century philosophy is to reckon with twentieth-century history."¹ Collingwood's primary intention was to urge philosophers to pay more attention to the discipline of history—its methods, consciousness of context, and attention to detail—so that philosophy might be less abstract, more aware of its own historical heritage, and directed more fully to inquiry about problems raised by historical thinking (e.g., how is historical knowledge possible?). At least by implication, this call for an up-to-date philosophy of history meant that philosophy's responsibilities included paying close attention to twentieth-century events as well.

Unfortunately, twentieth-century philosophy did relatively little to meet Collingwood's expectations. Whether philosophy will do better in the twenty-first century remains to be seen. Illustrative evidence for those latter judgments can be found by noting that the late December 1985 meeting of the American Philosophical Association's eastern division featured a symposium on the Holocaust. An article in the prestigious *Journal of Philosophy* provided a prelude for that event. Authored by Emil Fackenheim—with a brief commentary by Berel Lang—the essay was entitled "The Holocaust and Philosophy." As if echoing Collingwood in a minor key, it began with a lament: "Philosophers," wrote Fackenheim, "have all but ignored the Holocaust."² Twenty years on, Fackenheim's indictment is less devastating than it was in 1985. Philosophical attention to the Holocaust has grown and continues to do so.³ To that degree, philosophers have not ignored genocide entirely, for the Holocaust is a paradigmatic instance of that crime, but when one thinks of philosophy and genocide before and after the Holocaust, a version of Fackenheim's judgment remains valid. To a large extent, philosophers have ignored and still overlook genocide. This book responds to that fact by indicating how philosophers can correct that unfortunate situation and why it is important for them to do so.

While the Holocaust raged in the 1940s, Raphael Lemkin, a Jewish lawyer who fled from Poland, coined the term *genocide*. Initially defining it to mean "the destruction of a nation or of an ethnic group," he observed that the term denoted "an old practice in its modern development," for the plight of the

Jews under Hitler was not a simple repetition of past historical patterns.⁴ From the slaughter of Armenians in 1915 and the Holocaust to the Rwandan genocide in 1994 and, arguably, what has happened in the Darfur region of Sudan as this book went to press in 2005, genocide's modern development has taken an immense toll on human life and civilization in the twentieth century and now in the twenty-first as well. It is no exaggeration to say that we live and philosophy exists in an age of genocide.

Writing in the December 2002 issue of the *International Social Science Journal*, the Holocaust historian Omer Bartov argued persuasively that the modern development of genocidal catastrophes can neither be understood nor prevented in the future unless one grasps that "scholars have played a prominent role in preparing the mindset, providing the rationale, and supplying the know-how and personnel for the implementation of state-directed mass violence."⁵ Philosophers and philosophy are not exempt from Bartov's indictment. The passage from Genesis that serves as this book's epigraph—"What have you done? Listen; your brother's blood is crying out to me from the ground!"—accuses and indicts, provokes and challenges them as well. For even though the history of philosophy shows that philosophers have done much to advance human rights and to defend human equality, the same history shows that genocide has been aided and abetted by philosophies that have advanced racism and antisemitism and by philosophers who have encouraged—inadvertently if not explicitly—political regimes and cultural agendas that turned genocidal. When the topics are philosophy, genocide, and human rights, the ones highlighted in this volume, the problem is not simply that philosophy has ignored genocide and that philosophers need to pay more attention to that crime. The problem is also that philosophy and philosophers must bear more responsibility for genocide than they have usually admitted. In our post-Holocaust world, nations, businesses, churches, and professions such as medicine and law have been called to account for their complicity or for bystanding while Nazi Germany committed genocide against the European Jews.⁶ To some extent philosophers have been held accountable too, but when the history of genocide is taken into account, philosophy and philosophers have not been sufficiently self-critical about their bystanding and complicity. The contributors to this book hope that their work will do its part to reverse that deficiency.

Generally speaking, philosophy and philosophers have high estimates of themselves. Philosophy depicts itself as occupying high moral ground. Philosophers tend to see themselves—I include myself in these judgments—as extending a tradition that serves free inquiry, truth, goodness, beauty, and justice. But philosophy and philosophers have darker sides, and they have been less than forthcoming about them, especially with regard to genocide. As the history of the Holocaust shows, and other genocides follow similar patterns in this regard, the expertise and cooperation, or at least the passivity, of virtually every professional group within a state and a society—teachers,