

Preventing Genocide[©]



Dr. Gregory Stanton
Genocide Watch

- Genocide succeeds when state sovereignty blocks international responsibility to protect.

- The UN represents states, not peoples.

- Since founding of UN:

 - Over 55 genocides and politicides

 - Over 70 million dead

- Genocide prevention

≠

conflict resolution

Prevention requires:



**1. Early
warning**



**2. Rapid
response**



**3. Courts for
accountability**

Genocide continues due to:

- **Lack of authoritative international institutions to predict it**
- **Lack of ready rapid response forces to stop it**



UNAMIR peacekeeper in Rwanda, April 1994

Genocide continues due to:

- **Lack of political will to peacefully prevent it and to forcefully intervene to stop it**



**UN Security Council votes to withdraw
UNAMIR troops from Rwanda, April 1994**

Memorial to 800,000 Rwandans murdered, April – July, 1994



The 8 Stages of Genocide

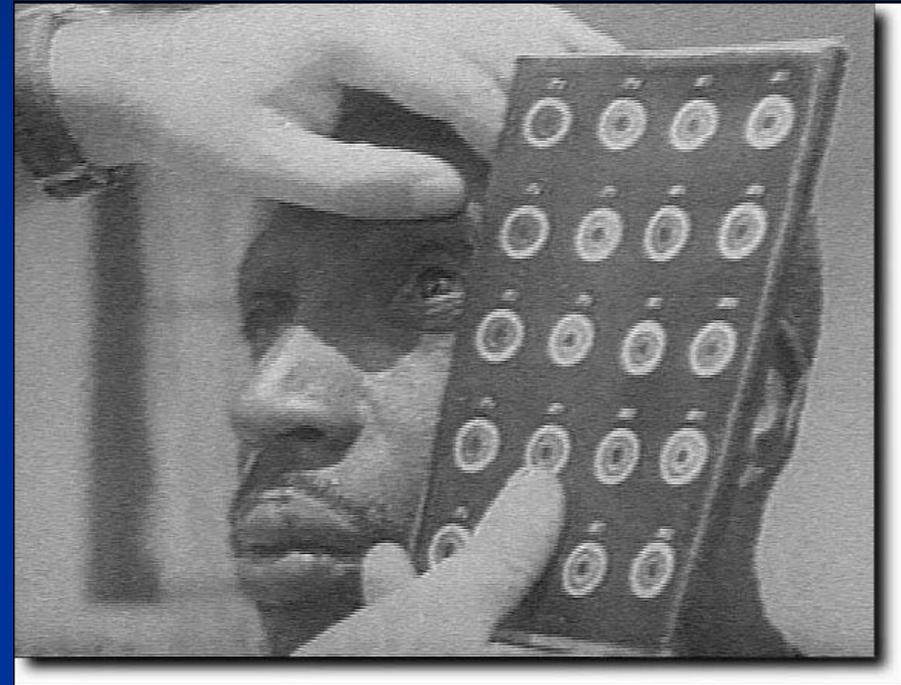
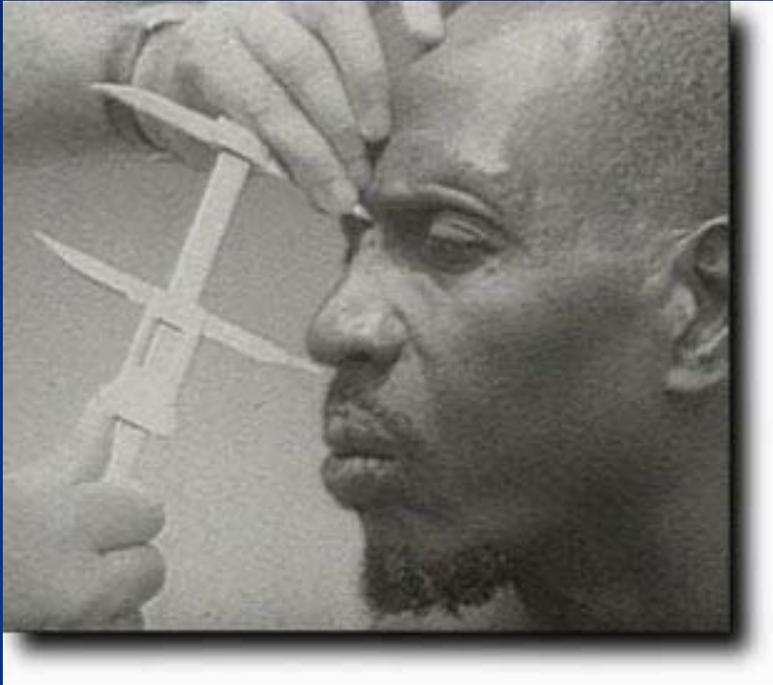
- Understanding the genocidal process is one of the most important steps in preventing future genocides.
- The Eight Stages of Genocide were first outlined by Dr. Greg Stanton, Department of State: 1996.
- The first six stages are Early Warnings:
 - Classification
 - Symbolization
 - Dehumanization
 - Organization
 - Polarization
 - Preparation

Stage 1: Classification

- “Us versus them”
- Distinguish by nationality, ethnicity, race, or religion.
- Bipolar societies (Rwanda) most likely to have genocide because no way for classifications to fade away through inter-marriage.
- Classification is a primary method of dividing society and creating a power struggle between groups.

Classification (Rwanda)

Belgian colonialists believed Tutsis were a naturally superior nobility, descended from the Israelite tribe of Ham. The Rwandan royalty was Tutsi.



Belgians distinguished between Hutus and Tutsis by nose size, height & eye type. Another indicator to distinguish Hutu farmers from Tutsi pastoralists was the number of cattle owned.

Stage 2: Symbolization

- Names: “Jew”, “German”, “Hutu”, “Tutsi”.
- Languages.
- Types of dress.
- Group uniforms: Nazi Swastika armbands



- Colors and religious symbols:

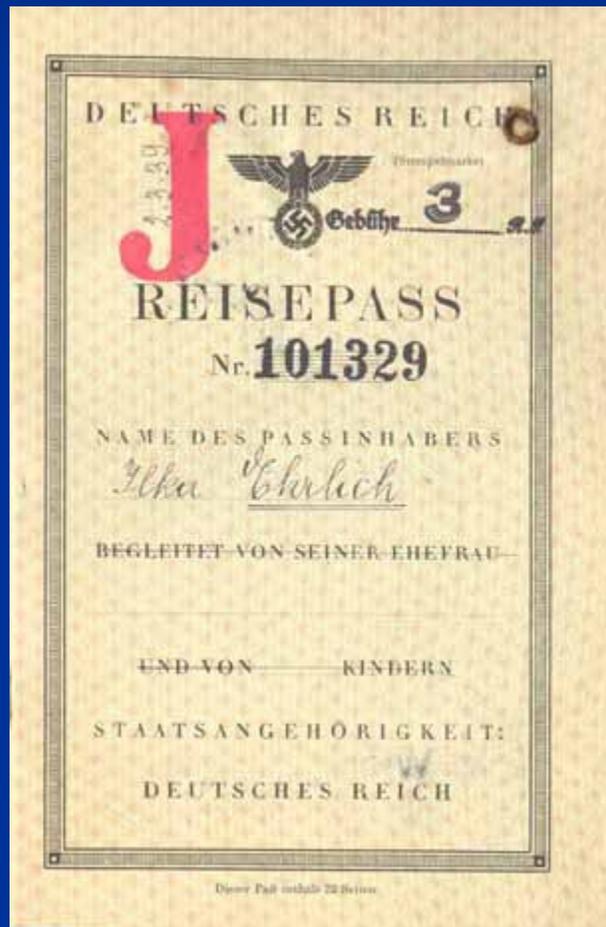
- Yellow star for Jews
- Blue checked scarf Eastern Zone in Cambodia



Symbolization (Nazi Germany)

Jewish Passport: "Reisepäss"

Required to be carried by all Jews by 1938. Preceded the yellow star.



Symbolization (Nazi Germany)

Nazis required the yellow Star of David emblem to be worn by nearly all Jews in Nazi-occupied Europe by 1941.



Symbolization (Nazi Germany)

- Homosexuals = pink triangles
- Identified homosexuals to SS guards in the camps
- Caused discrimination by fellow inmates who shunned homosexuals

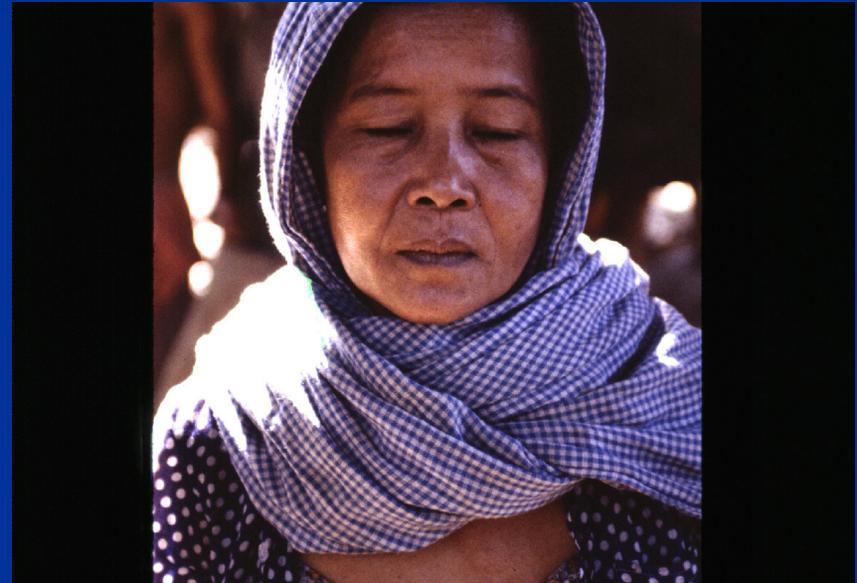
Kennzeichen für Schutzhaftlinge in den Konz. Lagern
Form und Farbe der Kennzeichen

	Politisch	Berufs- Verbrecher	Emigrant	Bibel- forscher	homo- sexuell	Asiat
Grund- farben	Red triangle	Green triangle	Dark blue triangle	Black triangle	Pink triangle	Black triangle
Flaggen für Rückfälle	Red triangle with white border	Green triangle with white border	Dark blue triangle with white border	Black triangle with white border	Pink triangle with white border	Black triangle with white border
Häftlinge der Straf- kompanie	Red triangle with black dot	Green triangle with black dot	Dark blue triangle with black dot	Black triangle with black dot	Pink triangle with black dot	Black triangle with black dot
Flaggen für Juden	Red Star of David	Green Star of David	Dark blue Star of David	Black Star of David	Pink Star of David	Black Star of David
Besondere Flaggen	Yellow triangle with black border Hilflose Schänder	Orange triangle with black border Rass- schänderin	Red circle with black border Tuch- verdrängt	Black rectangle with white border Häftlings- nummer	Striped triangle Prüfung	
	Red triangle with white border Pole	Black triangle with white border Tische	Red triangle with white border Betracht Angehöriger	Black rectangle with white border Häftling Ia		



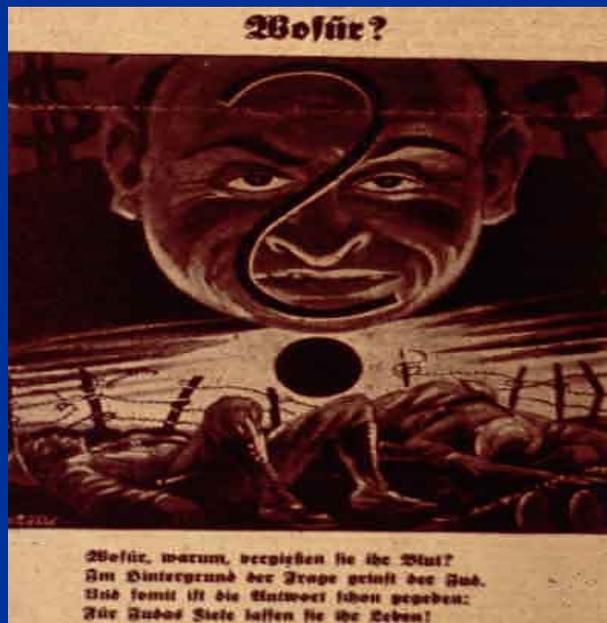
Symbolization (Cambodia)

- People in the Eastern Zone, near Vietnam, were accused of having “Khmer bodies, but Vietnamese heads.”
- They were deported to other areas to be worked to death.
- They were marked with a blue and white checked scarf (Kroma)

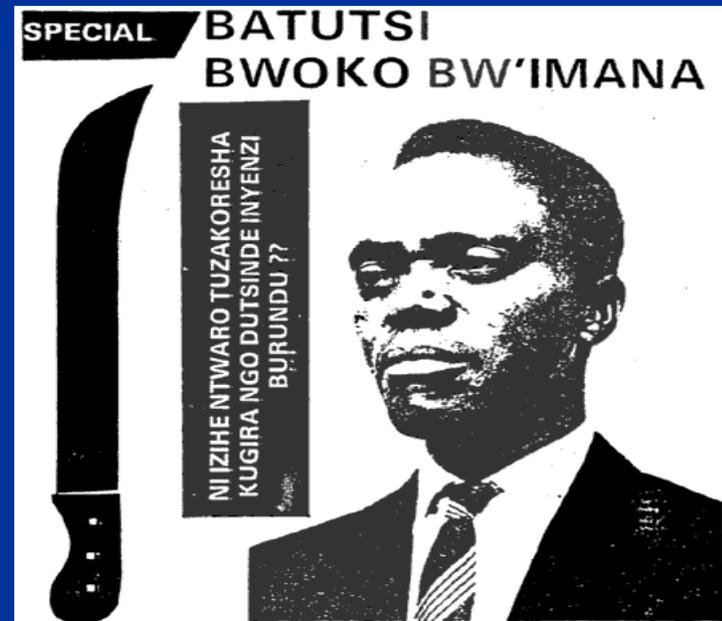


Stage 3: Dehumanization

- One group denies the humanity of another group, and makes the victim group seem subhuman.
- Dehumanization overcomes the normal human revulsion against murder.



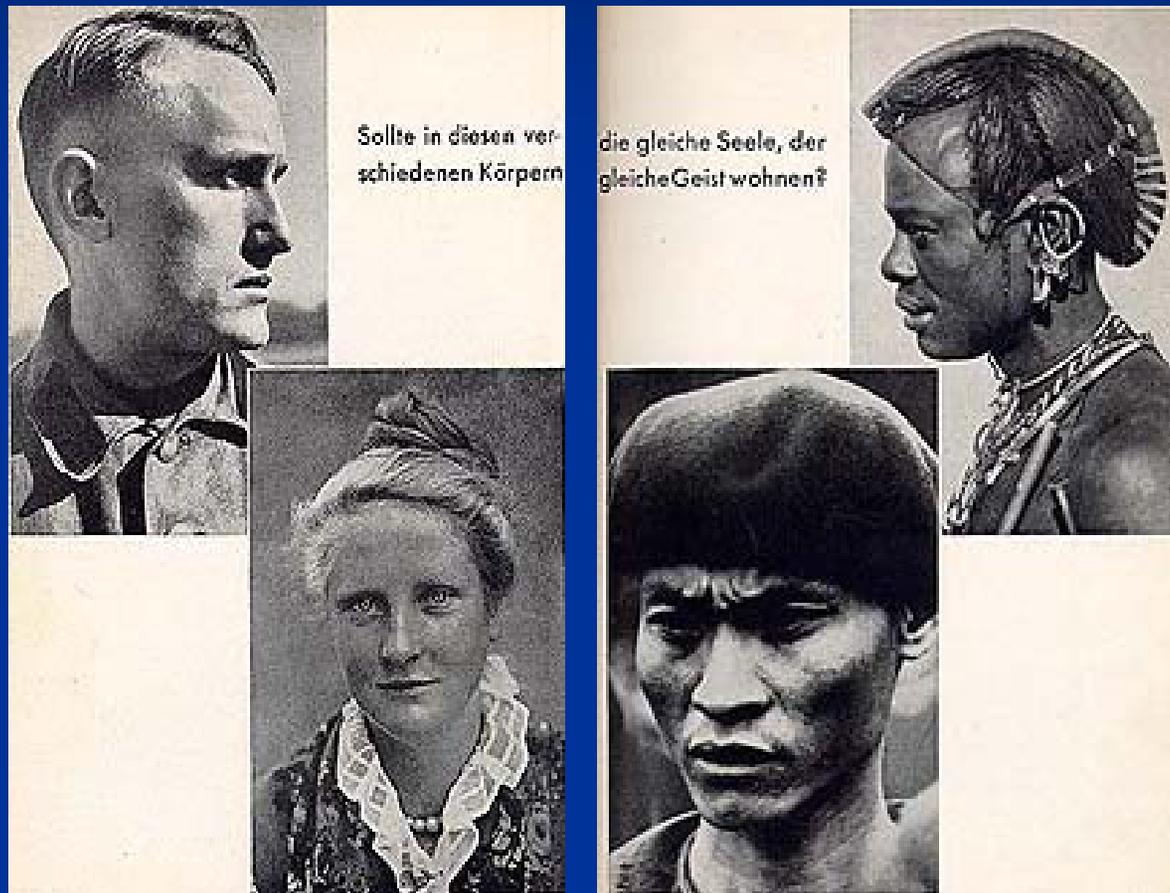
Der Stürmer Nazi Newspaper:
“The Blood Flows; The Jew Grins”



Kangura Newspaper, Rwanda: “The
Solution for Tutsi Cockroaches”

Dehumanization

From a Nazi SS Propaganda Pamphlet:



Caption: Does the same soul dwell in these bodies?

Dehumanization

- **Hate** propaganda in speeches, print and on hate radios vilify the victim group.
- Members of the victim group are described as **animals, vermin, and diseases**. Hate radio, Radio Télévision Libre des Mille Collines, during the Rwandan genocide in 1994, broadcast anti-Tutsi messages like “kill the **cockroaches**” and “If this **disease** is not treated immediately, it will destroy all the Hutu.”
- Dehumanization invokes **superiority** of one group and **inferiority** of the “other.”
- Dehumanization justifies murder by calling it “**ethnic cleansing**,” or “**purification**.” Such **euphemisms** hide the horror of mass murder.

Stage 4: Organization

- Genocide is a group crime, so must be organized.
- The state usually organizes, arms and financially supports the groups that conduct the genocidal massacres. (State organization is not a legal requirement --Indian partition.)
- Plans are made by elites for a “final solution” of genocidal killings.



Organization (Rwanda)

- “Hutu Power” elites armed youth militias called Interahamwe (“Those Who Stand Together”).
- The government and Hutu Power businessmen provided the militias with over 500,000 machetes and other arms and set up camps to train them to “protect their villages” by exterminating every Tutsi.



Stage 5: Polarization

- Extremists drive the groups apart.
- Hate groups broadcast and print polarizing propaganda.
- Laws are passed that forbid intermarriage or social interaction.
- Political moderates are silenced, threatened and intimidated, and killed.



- Public demonstrations were organized against Jewish merchants.

- Moderate German dissenters were the first to be arrested and sent to concentration camps.

Polarization

- Attacks are staged and blamed on targeted groups.

In Germany, the Reichstag fire was blamed on Jewish Communists in 1933.

- Cultural centers of targeted groups are attacked.

On Kristalnacht in 1938, hundreds of synagogues were burned.



Stage 6: Preparation

- Members of victim groups are forced to wear **identifying symbols**.
- **Death lists** are made.
- Victims are **separated** because of their ethnic or religious identity.



Preparation

- **Segregation** into **ghettos** is imposed, victims are forced into **concentration** camps.
- Victims are also deported to famine-struck regions for **starvation**.



Forced Resettlement into
Ghettos – Poland 1939 - 1942

Preparation

- **Weapons** for killing are stock-piled.
- **Extermination camps** are even built. This build-up of killing capacity is a major step towards actual genocide.



Stage 7: Extermination (Genocide)

- Extermination begins, and becomes the mass killing legally called "genocide." Most genocide is committed by governments.



Einsatzgruppen: Nazi Killing Squads

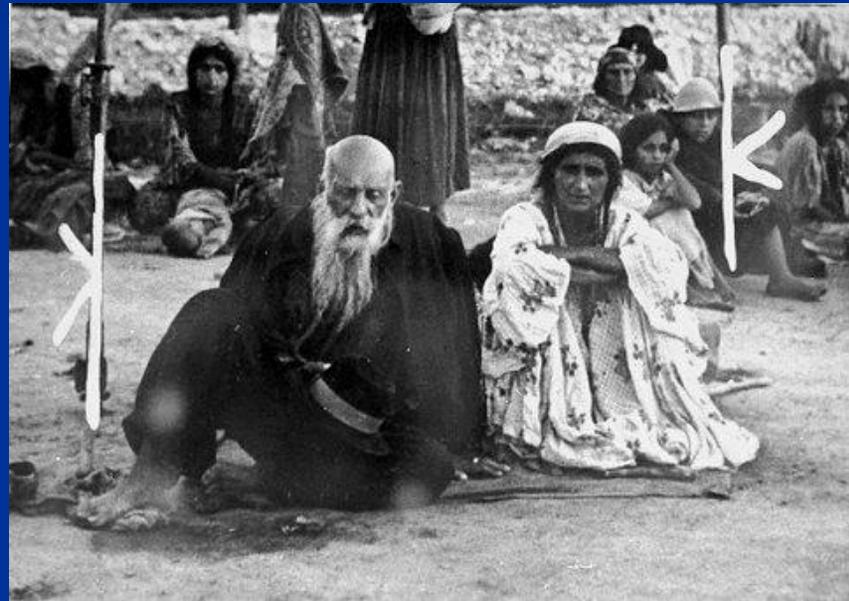
Extermination (Genocide)



Government organized extermination
of Tutsis in Rwanda in 1994

Extermination (Genocide)

- The killing is “extermination” to the killers because they do not believe the victims are fully human. They are “cleansing” the society of impurities, disease, animals, vermin, “cockroaches,” or enemies.



Roma (Gypsies) in a Nazi death camp

Extermination (Genocide)

- Although most genocide is sponsored and financed by the state, the armed forces often work with local militias.



Rwandan militia killing squads



Nazi killing squad working with local militia

Stage 8: Denial

- Denial is always found in genocide, both during it and after it.
- Continuing denial is among the surest indicators of further genocidal massacres.
- Denial extends the crime of genocide to future generations of the victims. It is a continuation of the intent to destroy the group.
- The tactics of denial are predictable.

Denial: Deny the Evidence.

- Deny that there was any mass killing at all.
- Question and minimize the statistics.
- Block access to archives and witnesses.
- Intimidate or kill eye-witnesses.

Denial: Deny the Evidence

- Destroy the evidence. (Burn the bodies and the archives, dig up and burn the mass graves, throw bodies in rivers or seas.)



Holocaust Death-Camp Crematoria

Denial: Attack the truth-tellers.

- Attack the motives of the truth-tellers. Say they are opposed to the religion, ethnicity, or nationality of the deniers.
- Point out atrocities committed by people from the truth-tellers' group. Imply they are morally disqualified to accuse the perpetrators.

Denial: Deny Genocidal Intent.

- Claim that the deaths were inadvertent (due to famine, migration, or disease.)
- Blame “out of control” forces for the killings.
- Blame the deaths on ancient ethnic conflicts.

Denial: Blame the Victims.

- Emphasize the strangeness of the victims. They are not like us. (savages, infidels)
- Claim they were disloyal insurgents in a war.
- Call it a “civil war,” not genocide.
- Claim that the deniers’ group also suffered huge losses in the “war.” The killings were in self-defense.

Denial: Deny for current interests.

- Avoid upsetting “the peace process.”
“Look to the future, not to the past.”
- Deny to assure benefits of relations with the perpetrators or their descendents. (oil, arms sales, alliances, military bases)
- Don’t threaten humanitarian assistance to the victims, who are receiving good treatment. (Show the model Thereisenstadt IDP camp.)

Denial: Deny facts fit legal definition of genocide.

- They're crimes against humanity, not genocide.
- They're "ethnic cleansing", not genocide.
- There's not enough proof of specific intent to destroy a group, "as such." (Many survived!)
- Claim the only "real" genocides are like the Holocaust: "in whole."
(Ignore the "in part" in the Genocide Convention.)
- Claim declaring genocide would legally obligate us to intervene. (We don't want to intervene.)

Prevention: Classification

- Promote common identities (national, religious, human.)
- Use common languages (Swahili in Tanzania, science, music.)
- Actively oppose racist and divisive politicians and parties.

Prevention: Symbolization

- Get ethnic, religious, racial, and national identities removed from ID cards, passports.
- Protest imposition of marking symbols on targeted groups (yellow cloth on Hindus in Taliban Afghanistan).
- Protest negative or racist words for groups (“niggers, kaffirs,” etc.) Work to make them culturally unacceptable.

Prevention: Dehumanization

- Vigorously protest use of dehumanizing words that refer to people as “filth,” “vermin,” animals or diseases. Deny people using such words visas and freeze their foreign assets and contributions.
- Prosecute hate crimes and incitements to commit genocide.
- Jam or shut down hate radio and television stations where there is danger of genocide.

Prevention: Dehumanization

- Provide programs for tolerance to radio, TV, and newspapers.
- Enlist religious and political leaders to speak out and educate for tolerance.
- Organize inter-ethnic, interfaith, and inter-racial groups to work against hate and genocide.

Prevention: Organization

- Treat genocidal groups as the organized crime groups they are. Make membership in them illegal and demand that their leaders be arrested.
- Deny visas to leaders of hate groups and freeze their foreign assets.
- Impose arms embargoes on hate groups and governments supporting ethnic or religious hatred.
- Create UN commissions to enforce such arms embargoes and call on UN members to arrest arms merchants who violate them.

Prevention: Polarization

- Vigorously protest laws or policies that segregate or marginalize groups, or that deprive whole groups of citizenship rights.
- Physically protect moderate leaders, by use of armed guards and armored vehicles.
- Demand the release of moderate leaders if they are arrested. Demand and conduct investigations if they are murdered.
- Oppose coups d'état by extremists.

Prevention: Preparation

- With evidence of death lists, arms shipments, militia training, and trial massacres, a Genocide Alert™ should be declared.
- UN Security Council should warn it will act. Diplomats must warn potential perpetrators.
- Humanitarian relief should be prepared.
- Military intervention forces should be organized, including logistics and financing.

Extermination: Stopping Genocide

- The UN Security Council should authorize armed intervention by regional military forces or by a UN force. If the state where the genocide is underway will not permit entry, the UNSC resolution should be under Chapter Seven of the UN Charter.
 - The Mandate must include protection of civilians and humanitarian workers and a No Fly Zone.
 - The Rules of Engagement must be robust and include aggressive prevention of killing.
 - The major military powers must provide leadership, logistics, airlift, communications, and financing.

Prevention: Denial

- If the state that is committing the genocide (or in which it occurs) is not a State-Party to the Rome Treaty of the International Criminal Court, the UN Security Council should confer jurisdiction over the situation on the ICC.
- If the genocidal regime has been overthrown, the UN should help the successor government form courts to try the perpetrators.

Prevention: Political Will

- Build an international mass movement to **abolish genocide**.
 - Organize civil society and human rights groups.
 - Mobilize religious leaders of churches, mosques, synagogues, and temples.
 - Put genocide education in curricula of every secondary school and university in the world.
 - Hold political leaders accountable. If they fail to act to stop genocide, vote them out of office.

Never Again? Or Again and Again?

- How can we use the 8 Stages of Genocide to develop more effective ways to prevent genocide in the future?
- Would it be useful for the UN to establish a Genocide Prevention Center to work with the Special Adviser for Genocide Prevention?
- Even with Early Warning, how can we achieve effective Early Response to prevent and stop genocide?

