

An At-A-Glance Guide to the Genocides of the 20th and 21st Centuries
Tufts University—Peace and Justice Studies

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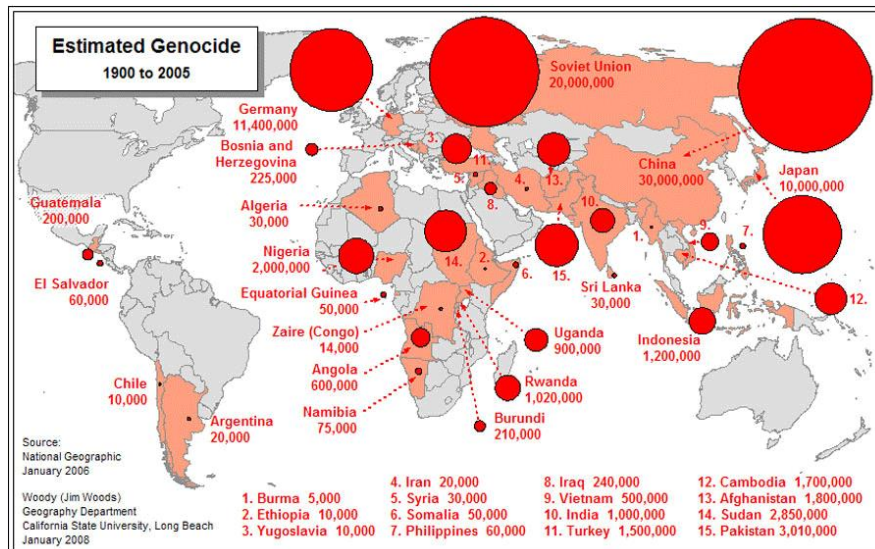
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Genocide Case Notes

Project Description

This project is the collaborative efforts of students in Tufts PJS 150-03 Special Topics on Genocide (Fall '17), under the guidance of Professor Amanda Donahoe, which introduced students “to the most extreme form of political violence in human experience by examining the historical origins, patterns, and legacies of contemporary genocides around the world” (Syllabus, 1). The following case notes represent a collective effort of seven students to analyze the cause and course of recognized genocides of the last two centuries: including the slaughter of indigenous peoples in the US and Australia, the Ottoman destruction of Christian minorities, Stalin and Mao, the Jewish Holocaust, Cambodia and the Khmer Rouge, Bosnia and Kosovo, and the apocalypse in Rwanda using primarily Jones' Genocide: A Comprehensive Introduction and Totten and Parsons' Centuries of Genocide. The case notes are further subdivided by Gregory Stanton's first six stages of genocide: classification, symbolization, dehumanization, organization, polarization, preparation which demonstrate both the distinct attributes of each case, and the overall themes across genocides. Through this comprehensive and structured study, the project aims to educate, and better equip the Tufts community to better understand, acknowledge, and address the root causes of genocidal acts, especially those prevalent today.



This graph represents the distribution of worldwide genocides from 1900 to 2005.

Defining Genocide

The United Nations Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide defines genocide as “any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such:

- a. Killing members of the group;
- b. Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group;
- c. Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part;
- d. Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group
- e. Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group.”¹

¹ "United Nations Office on Genocide Prevention and the Responsibility to Protect," United Nations, accessed January 10, 2018, <http://www.un.org/en/genocideprevention/genocide.html>.

Gregory Stanton's Stages of Genocide

In 1996, shortly following the Rwandan Genocide, Dr. Gregory Stanton, founder and president of Genocide Watch, presented *The Eight Stages of Genocide* to the US State Department. His eight stages were classification, symbolization, dehumanization, organization, polarization, preparation, extermination and denial. In 2012, Stanton's expanded his framework to include two new stages: discrimination and persecution. In a 2016 report titled "The Ten Stages of Genocide", Dr. Gregory Stanton wrote:

"Genocide is a process that develops in ten stages that are predictable but not inexorable. At each stage, preventive measures can stop it. The process is not linear. Stages may occur simultaneously. Logically, later stages must be preceded by earlier stages. But all stages continue to operate throughout the process."²

For the purpose of these case notes, only six of Stanton's eight stages are employed. Though significant, the stages of extermination and denial are more relevant in discussing the aftermath, rather than the cause and course of genocide, which is what these case notes seeks to address.

Classification: refers to the process of distinguishing individuals on the basis of nationality, race, ethnicity or religion. It can often be found in deeply divided, bipolar societies. It is important to keep in mind these divisions can be arbitrary (i.e. the classification of Tutsi, Hutu and Twa and Rwanda).

Symbolization: refers to the use of names and labels, language, types of dress, colors, religious symbols and/or identity cards in order to reinforce the classification of individuals.

Dehumanization: refers to the process by which an identifiable group of individuals is denied humanity by means of vilification, hate propaganda or invoking superiority of another group. In essence, dehumanization justifies genocide under the guise of 'ethnic cleansing'.

Organization: refers to the means by which a group organizes, arms and financial supports itself to conduct genocidal massacres, often relying on state structures to do so. This could involve the removal of youth from families and incorporating them into state or military structures.

Polarization: refers to the process by which extremists work to drive identifiable groups apart. Polarization might include radio broadcasting or printed propaganda by hate groups. Targeted groups might be blamed for social, political or economic issues within the society. It also might involve the passing of laws that prevent or forbid social interaction or intermarriage. By virtue of polarization, moderate dissenters are silenced, threatened, intimidated and killed. The driving factor of polarization is ensuring those who don't fall in line are pushed out of the way.

Preparation: refers to the process by which perpetrators ready themselves economically, militarily, politically and organizationally to carry out a genocide. Members of the victim group(s) might be forced to wear identifying symbols. Preparation might also involve segregation into ghettos, deportation or forced resettlement. The perpetrators might also stockpile weapons or build extermination camps.

² Gregory Stanton, "10 Stages of Genocide," Genocide Watch, accessed January 10, 2018, <http://genocidewatch.net/genocide-2/8-stages-of-genocide/>.

Case 1: The Holocaust

Case

The Holocaust was the systemic killing of Jews, homosexuals, mentally and physically disabled individuals, Romani, ethnic Poles, and a number of other ethnic or racial groups in Adolf Hitler's Nazi Germany around the time of the Second World War. Throughout the course of the Holocaust, 5-6 million Jews were systematically murdered by the Nazi regime and its allies. During the war, Raphael Lemkin, a Polish-Jewish legal theorist, coined the term 'genocide'; to coin the term combined the 'genos', a Greek word for race or tribe, and 'cide', a Latin word for 'killing'. Raphael Lemkin's *Axis Rule in Occupied Europe: Laws of Occupation* "was of tremendous value as a reference guide to war crime investigators, governments returning from exile and Civil Affairs sections of Allied armies trying to establish order in postwar Europe" between 1944 and 1946.³

Classification

The Nazi Germans under Hitler's rule aimed to exterminate classified groups such as the Jewish population in, and around, Germany, but also groups such as homosexuals, the mentally unstable, those physically deformed and more. Adolf Hitler aimed to create the Arian race with his National Socialist German Workers' Party (Nazis) in order have a pure breed of German race that would fit a number of certain characteristics traditionally associated with Germany.

Symbolization

The Holocaust employed one of the most clearly delineated and institutionalized systems of victim group symbolization. Jews were the earliest targets of outright symbolization, as many were forced to sew a yellow Star of David onto their clothing, or wear armbands with the star printed onto them. This set them apart from the "normal" citizenry of the German empire throughout occupied Europe (Classification System in...). This system of identification was taken even further in the concentration camps after 1938. Within the camps "Criminals were marked with green inverted triangles, political prisoners with red, 'asocials' (including Roma, nonconformists, vagrants, and other groups) with black or—in the case of Roma in some camps—brown triangles. Homosexuals were identified with pink triangles and Jehovah's Witnesses with purple ones. Non-German prisoners were identified by the first letter of the German name for their home country, which was sewn onto their badge. The two triangles forming the Jewish star badge would both be yellow unless the Jewish prisoner was included in one of the other prisoner categories. "A Jewish political prisoner, for example, would be identified with a yellow triangle beneath a red triangle."⁴ Each victim group could be quickly identified by the SS Guards and prisoners, which often led to individuals being singled out for harsher punishments or othered through the internal prejudices and biases held by the prisoners themselves.

Dehumanization

The dehumanization of the Jewish population had been present in Europe for centuries. In Medieval Europe, Jews were often either scapegoated or persecute: the fact that they had not only rejected Jesus, but allegedly were the cause of his death, made their very existence an act of denigrating and defiling the Christian God and Man.⁵ Jews were symbolized the evils in the world and, the men especially, were considered

³ Fussell, Jim. "Chapter IX: Genocide from Raphael Lemkin's *Axis Rule in Occupied Europe*." Prevent Genocide International, 7 Feb. 2003, www.preventgenocide.org/lemkin/AxisRule1944-1.html

⁴ "Classification System in Nazi Concentration Camps." United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Accessed 12 Dec. 2017, www.ushmm.org/wlc/en/article.php?ModuleId=10005378#.

⁵ Jones, Adam. *Genocide: A Comprehensive Introduction*. 2nd ed. (New York, NY: Routledge, 2011): 234.

"uprooted, troublesome, malevolent, shiftless."⁶ An actually policy of classifying Jews was prevalent throughout Europe far before the rise of the nation state, however this dynamic was reshaped with the rise of what Jones calls 'modernity,' which also produced the term 'Anti-Semitism'. In the early 1900s Germany was actually one of the most tolerant states towards Jews, however because the political system was not democratic, the humiliating defeat in WWI, and the subsequent loss of colonies, reparations, the government turned to scapegoating. With the rise of Hitler and his proudly anti-semitic message, dehumanization of the Jews rose significantly. Hitler very blatantly stated his epic hatred of Jews in Mein Kampf, proclaiming Jews to be "black parasites of the nation."⁷ In 1933 dehumanization of the Jews became institutionalized.

The Enabling Act of 1933 gave free reign to terrorize and silence political opposition. "Immediately thereafter, the Nazis' persecutory stance toward Jews became plain."⁸ The very acts of stripping a group of citizenship, the denial of basic human rights (though this was before the UN), and the prohibition of intermarriage or sexual intercourse are all legal forms of dehumanization; it is to tell a group that they are essentially too dirty and evil to have contact with the pure. The state played a very active role in turning the people - who had previously been relatively accepting of Jews - not simply against the Jews as an enemy, but turning their fundamental perception of minorities from that of disliked groups of humans to non-humans who had to be eradicated.

Organization

Plans to annihilate all other perceived 'enemies' of the Nazi state and carry out the final solution are made by elites.⁹ With total control of Germany, Hitler introduced the Enabling Act of March 23rd 1933, giving him "carte blanche to terrorize and neutralize and effective political opposition"¹⁰ Thereafter, several efforts were made to ensure the economic and social vulnerability of Jews in Germany; Jewish businesses were boycotted, they were dismissed from hospital, school and the civil services.¹¹ The Einsatzgruppen were also founded and acted as paramilitary death squads with the particular role of carrying out massacres.

Polarization

Jewish individuals were herded into ghettos, walled off parts of the city in which the people could be more easily controlled.¹² Daily anti-Semitic slurs appeared in Nazi newspapers, on posters, the movies, radio, in speeches by Hitler and top Nazis, and in the classroom.¹³ Things were perpetuated during the 'Night of the Broken Glass'. Within two days, "many synagogues were burned, Jewish businesses were trashed and looted, dozens of Jewish people were killed, and Jewish cemeteries, hospitals, schools, and homes were looted while police and fire brigades stood by."¹⁴

Preparation:

Preparation for the Holocaust took place in Germany when Hitler published Mein Kampf, and created the Nazi party. They were elected to Parliamentary seats, and Hitler became the Chancellor, gaining power and control over the German state. The creation of concentration camps and ghettos, and transportation of people into these camps were also preparation.

⁶ Ibid., 234.

⁷ Ibid., 236.

⁸ Ibid., 236.

⁹ Ibid., 235.

¹⁰ Ronnie S. Landau, *The Nazi Holocaust: Its History and Meaning* (London: IB Tauris & Co Ltd, 2006): 317.

¹¹ Jones, *Genocide: A Comprehensive Introduction*, 346.

¹² Ibid., 235.

¹³ Ibid., 488.

¹⁴ Ibid., 237.

Case 2: The Genocide of Indigenous Peoples in North America

Case

The genocide of Native Americans in the United States was the purposeful ethnic cleansing of indigenous people by the European colonialists. The colonialists labeled the indigenous people as the previously dominant population of a now colonized society, so their land and laws are only in accordance with "their own cultural patterns, social institutions and legal systems."¹⁵ From this colonialist period indigenous people were tortured, massacred, sexually abused, terrorized and forcibly removed from their land. Indigenous children were taken to boarding schools in order to teach them white society norms. This time period was labeled a genocide due to the intent to exterminate or remove all indigenous people from new European society in the United States in order to cleanse America of indigenous culture.

Classification

In genocidal confrontations between two ethnically, culturally, and racially distinct peoples, classification often precedes, and to an extent provokes, confrontation. Such was the case in the genocide of indigenous peoples, which occurred as a subset of a greater clash between civilizations. Primarily European peoples, and their descendants, pursued an imperial expansion plan motivated by notions of superiority. Different skin tones, forms of dress, political systems, military techniques, and spiritual practices drew a hard and preexisting line between the genocidiaries and their victims.

Symbolization

Indigenous peoples were symbolized by their distinctive (to Europeans) dress, culture, ethnicity, race, language - virtually by everything. Similar to dehumanization, symbolization was visibly and culturally cemented upon first contact: the Americas had been isolated from the rest of the world until Europeans migrated and conquered the indigenous people en masse. Those who were 'saved' through re-education programs or "residential schools" were dressed in western clothing, had their hair cut into western styles, and educated in English.¹⁶ There was, of course, no way to change their racial appearance, however they were symbolized as separate from both the mass indigenous population, and the whites.

Dehumanization

Dehumanizing language was used systematically to refer to the indigenous people: heathens, nits, redskins, rascals, and apple children.¹⁷ Moreover, female genitalia were taken as trophies and garnered the horses in the parade after the massacre. Women were also forcibly sterilized. Dehumanization was a relatively rapid process since the indigenous people were already visibly identifiable and 'othered' by the whites.

Organization

An example of the organization of the genocide was the extermination of the bison, which was hunted into near extinction. An estimated sixty million buffalo roamed the Great Plains before contact. However, by 1895 there were fewer than 1,000 animals left, and the ecocidal campaign "had not only driven [the Indians] to starvation and defeat but had destroyed the core of their spiritual and ceremonial world."¹⁸ With the seizure of California and other Mexican territories in 1847, the Yuki fell under US control. The following year, the California Gold Rush began. It proved "probably the single most destructive episode in

¹⁵ Ibid., 105.

¹⁶ Ibid., 117.

¹⁷ Totten, Samuel, and William Spencer Parsons. *Centuries of Genocide: Essays and Eyewitness Accounts*. 4th ed. (New York, NY: Routledge, 2013): 33.

¹⁸ Jones, *Genocide: A Comprehensive Introduction*, 114.

the whole history of Native/Euro-American relations.”¹⁹ 40 Ranchers and farmers flowed in and, among many other atrocities, murdered Yuki men and stripped the communities of children and women, taking the former for servants and the latter for “wives” and concubines.”²⁰

Polarization

There was polarization of Indigenous people in the United States through laws and acts that were passed by the U.S. government. For example, the Indian Removal Act created a legal way for U.S. citizens to push Indians off their land and force them into reservations. Indians were targeted because their land was desirable for settlers to take, and the settlers believed that they were not capable of utilizing the land like they could. As a result of this, their land was stolen from them, and this was legally allowed by U.S. legislation. When the Indians were forced onto reservations, this created separation that forbid social interaction with white settlers.

Preparation:

The genocide not only took form in direct killings but also through disease, which was, “without doubt, . . . the single most important factor in American Indian population decline.”²¹ As such, preparation for the genocide took form in the settlers ensuring that indigenous populations were less able to fend off against the effects of disease and famine. Settlers destroyed local flora and fauna, including the near complete extermination of bison on the Great Plains. Because the genocide happened alongside a number of small skirmishes and wars, attributing the deaths to one or the other is fairly complicated. Even still, these wars played an important part in laying the groundwork for settler domination and their ability to inflict a genocide on native peoples. For the Yuki, preparation took form in the destruction of the food supply; this was later accompanied by a slaughter of the Yuki people.²² They are indicative of the fact that a diverse range of experiences, groups and motivations exist for the genocide of indigenous peoples in North America. As a result, the preparation for each distinct process varies.

¹⁹ Ibid., 114.

²⁰ Ibid., 115.

²¹ Totten, Parsons, *Centuries of Genocide: Essays and Eyewitness Accounts*, 73.

²² Ibid., 75.

Case 3: The Genocide of Indigenous Peoples in Australia

Case

In the 1800s-1920s in Australia, there were a number of mass killings and separations of Aborigine families. There was forced removal of children, resulting in what is now referred to as the 'Stolen Generations'.

Classification

Because the settlers arrived in Australia, the classification largely existed prior to the genocide and did not have to be constructed. Where the classification by skin color and ancestry becomes relevant is when it is afforded significance and used to dehumanized the settler population. The aborigines people are native-born, dark-skinned 'Australians'. Individuals, particularly children, were divided not only by ancestry but also by skin color. In the minds of settlers, there were different degrees of native blood, depending largely on how white the children looked. Children who were more light skinned benefitted from this trait. Those referred to as 'half-castes' were those who were half white and half aborigine.

Symbolization

Half-caste children were taken to assimilation homes and here they were stripped of their names and their identities and assigned numbers. They were identified by numbers instead of names and forced to speak English. Renaming, re-educating, giving Aborigine to white families.

Dehumanization

Native Aborigines are referred to as vermin, scarcely human, and "hideous scandals to humanity."²³ Children who were put into assimilation homes had their heads shaved, and were referred to by numbers and not their names. The baseline assumption of white colonizers was that they were not human to begin with, therefore there was no process of dehumanization, as this was the default state of affairs right from the beginning of Australia's colonization. Aborigines were treated as "fair game for white sportsmen."²⁴ White men on their travels would run into Aborigines and murder them, referring to "the individual murder of natives, exactly as they would talk of a day's sport, or having to kill some troublesome animal."²⁵ "Dispersing kangaroos" was a euphemism often employed for massacres against aborigines and the land "was treated as a wasteland of which the natives were a part", holding no claim to, or ownership over, it.²⁶

Organization

The isolation policy separated whites and natives, and fences were created to separate them. There was a government branch created and a Chief Protector of Aborigines who was in charge of the removal and placement of children. Neville's three-point plan—bureaucracy, public policy and controlled marriages—was used to breed out the half caste. Neville's plan became a common policy practiced by government and society alike. Furthermore, colonial officers organized death squads and ordered the state militia to commit acts of genocide against the Aborigines. 'Social death' measurements were active in order to, through the legal system, was also prevalent.²⁷

Polarization

Groups are already polarized: natives vs. white settlers, no previous mixing. In this

²³ Totten, Parsons, *Centuries of Genocide: Essays and Eyewitness Accounts*, 56.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 56.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 59.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 56.

²⁷ Jones, *Genocide: A Comprehensive Introduction*, 119.

case, intermarriage was not outlawed but encouraged as a step to breed out the Aborigine. Furthermore, there was also internal polarization, the division of half-caste and full Aborigine. The former was considered able to be 'saved' by the whites while the latter was not. During the 1960s, separate laws existed aboriginals as a means of social division. Polarization increased and was encouraged during the genocidal process but existed before since the white and the natives never lived together as equals. Genocide simply furthered the polarization between the two. Children from the stolen generations were made to be ashamed of who they were/are and where they came from which led them to support the separation from their families and identities, in turn this contributed to ongoing polarization between the two groups.

Preparation:

White Australians begin to want to slowly get rid of the Aborigine race, and assimilate half-caste children into white society. Half-caste children were forcibly removed from their families and brought to homes where their names and identities were removed. Children were removed from families and brought to 'assimilation homes' where they were raised in white society. The government was setting up a system of genocide by creating these schools. Officials would go to reservations and areas where Aborigines were living and take the children to these homes. The most murderous extremes were reached in Queensland, where a state militia – effectively a death squad – was “given carte blanche to go out and pursue ‘niggers’ far into the bush and indiscriminately shoot them down – often quite regardless of whether a particular tribal group had been responsible for an alleged wrongdoing or not – with the rape of cornered women inevitably being one unofficially sanctioned perk of these operations.”²⁸

²⁸ Ibid., 119.

Case 4: The Armenian Genocide

Classification

These peoples were minorities identified as a threat to the Central Committee of the Young Turk Party or the Committee for Union and Progress (CUP). Classification is often thought about in terms of who was being classified, however it is sometimes more important to understand who was doing the classification. Though often referred to as the Armenian genocide, "a 'Christian genocide' framing acknowledges the historic claims of the Assyrians and Greeks peoples."²⁹ Other Christian minorities were targeted in the Ottoman realm: notably Assyrians (Chaldeans, Nestorians, Syrian/Syriac Christians) and the Anatolian and Pontian Greeks. Christians and non-Muslims were thought of non-citizens within the Ottoman Empire until 1876 Constitution. Any non-Muslim was considered a second class citizen and a lesser person.

Symbolization

"Young Turk racial theory, according to Ben Kiernan, connected the Turks with the heroic Mongols, and contrasted them with inferior and untrustworthy Greeks, Armenians, and Jews."³⁰ Called infidels and unbelievers by the Muslim persecutors. Framed as Turks versus Infidels (non-Muslims) or "non-believers". Infidels were assigned separate laws, had higher taxes and fewer rights to facilitate separation. Crosses were broken; replaced by crescents.³¹

Dehumanization

Dehumanization of Christian minorities in Ottoman Empire: Armenian elites were rounded up and imprisoned. Some women and children were captured and kept as servants or sex slaves and were auctioned off- "comparing the scene to sheep being sold at an auction". Killing off of Armenians in the army, forced to work until death, used as a labor workforce not as humans. They were also stripped of all of their culture, churches were destroyed, some were allowed to live if they converted and gave up their religion. Some were sent from their homes to the desert in Syria to die of thirst or famine.

Organization

It is interesting to note that as time evolved, bureaucratic structures, and thus the ability for a nation to carry out a concerted, effective and organized campaign evolved as well. As Jones contends, "modern bureaucratic structures and communications technologies, especially the railroad and telegraph, were critical to the enterprise."³² For example, the Armenians were disarmed. Another means of organization for the genocide was property destruction and robbery which helped armed and financially support Turkish authorities. In the process of "concentration, deportation and systematic slaughter", organization largely takes place in the form of concentration moving towards deportation through governmental organization and political expansion.³³ Politics were polarized and then radicalized. The CUP then launched a coup and took over by establishing a de facto dictatorship.

Polarization

Decline of Ottoman Empire leads to paranoia and nationalism among the Young Turks. This began the drawing of boundaries around what it meant to be Turkish. Increasing tension between tension between secular and religious governments. Young Turks were working to expand the role of Islam in the empire. History of Christian minorities being

²⁹ Ibid., 150.

³⁰ Ibid., 152.

³¹ "Armenian Genocide," History.com, 2010, accessed January 14, 2018, <http://www.history.com/topics/armenian-genocide>.

³² Jones, *Genocide: A Comprehensive Introduction*, 156.

³³ Ibid., 154.

treated as second class citizens. Armenians have contact with Europe in a way that was seen as threat. Though they were technically given citizenship in the constitution, Armenians isolated from society. This isolation made the targeting and genocide of these peoples easier. "Theories of Turkish racial superiority" helped spur hatred and polarization including the Young Turk racial theory.³⁴ Propaganda was used to accuse Armenians of having affiliations with the Russians, the enemy of the CUP, and of having plans on overthrowing the Party. Furthermore, intermarrying between Turks and Armenians was forbidden.

Preparation:

The 1876 constitution granted citizenship to all citizens of the realm, meaning Christian populations no longer had autonomy. Most Assyrians disarmed themselves under the promise that they would be protected by the Ottoman government against marauding Kurdish tribes. The Assyrians believed that the Kurds had also been disarmed, but this proved to be untrue and they were left defenseless. In 1915 the CUP sent out a confidential document ordering its military officials to exterminate "all males under 50, priests, and teachers" were to be killed, along with any Armenians serving in the military, while "leav[ing] girls and children to be Islamized."³⁵ Armenian property was seized, robbed, and destroyed while Armenians were forced off their land. Businesses and neighborhoods were destroyed, forced labor became the norm in the military, and shortly thereafter the death marches began.³⁶ "Looting and pillaging were accompanied by a concerted campaign to destroy the Armenian cultural heritage."³⁷ This left the empire's Christians unarmed and unable to defend themselves, impoverished, without guidance, and susceptible to any manner of attack from Ottoman regulars or Kurdish brigands.

Denial

The Turkish government argues that the destruction of Christian minorities was not a genocide but rather a 'relocation' of potentially dangerous people. Recognition matters; not a requirement but a strong suggestion for joining the EU. The Turkish government began seeking EU (EEC) membership in 1987. They received strong support from Britain, which is notable because they have not acknowledged the Armenian genocide. Angela Merkel, says she will seek an end to Turkey's reelection talks. The US has yet to acknowledge the genocide. Recognition of genocide can serve as a way from preventing from it happening again. Also contributes to those responsible being held accountable for their actions, and receive appropriate legal response. Not recognizing opens the door for future irresponsibility.

³⁴ Ibid., 152.

³⁵ Kiernan, Ben. *Blood and Soil: A World History of Genocide and Extermination from Sparta to Darfur*. (New Haven, Yale University Press, 2007): 408

³⁶ Jones, *Genocide: A Comprehensive Introduction*, 155.

³⁷ Ibid., 157.

Case 5: The Bosnian Genocide

Case

The dissolution of Yugoslavia in the early 1990s, a state formed out of the disintegrated, diverse, Ottoman Empire, and the subsequent economic, political, and security issues prompted the region to erupt into a three-party civil war, which soon became a genocide. Seeds of genocide began after the death of Tito, the leader of Yugoslavia. Two figures became prominent leaders of different groups: Franco Tudjman consolidated power in Croatia, and mobilized hatred and fear against the Serbs; Slobodan Milosevic held power in Serbia and likewise took advantage of the fear and chaos to radicalize Serbs and increase a sense of nationalism. Milosevic called for a "Greater Serbia," transforming the conflict, and setting the scene for ethnic cleansing.³⁸ In Kosovo particularly, system of apartheid was established, in political, economic, social, and cultural life which would last for nearly 10 years.³⁹ War erupted, and "Bosnia promptly became the most brutal battlefield of the Balkan wars."⁴⁰

In 1991 the Krajina Serbs declared independence from Croatia, which had recently declared independence from Bosnia-Herzegovina. In February 1992 the Muslim-dominated federation declared independence.⁴¹ The BH area split between the three factions. The international community ordered the Y army out of the Sarajevo area, however they left their weapons behind to encourage and enable civilians to take up the fight. While the war moved through a variety of alliances and attacks, and despite the reality that all three groups committed horrific acts, the UN reported that 90% of the violence was committed by the Serbs, while only 10% by the Muslims and Croats combined.⁴² In addition, Serb casualties were overwhelmingly soldiers, and Muslim casualties split evenly between soldiers and civilians. "An estimated 102,000 people had died in the Bosnian war and genocide, about 50 percent of them Muslims and 30 percent Serbs."⁴³

On March 9th, 1999 the "Serbs launched a massive campaign of ethnic cleansing, aimed not only at tipping the demographic balance [of Kosovo] in Belgrade's favor, but also by driving hundreds of thousands of desperate Albanians over the border... threatened the Western allies with the destabilization of the entire Balkan peninsula."⁴⁴ Around 10,000 ethnic Albanians died during the war. The Dayton Accords froze the genocide and ethnic cleansing, and broke up the conflict. Around 1,282,000 people were recorded to be displaced. The "multiethnic state of Bosnia-Herzegovina collapsed into genocidal conflict" in the 1990s.⁴⁵ While the majority of the violence was inflicted "by Serbs against Muslims", clashes between "Croats and Serbs, and between Muslims and Croats, claimed thousands of lives."⁴⁶

Classification

The classification was ethno-religious: Bosnia Serbs, Bosniaks (Bosnian Muslims), Bosnian Croats, and Albanians. In addition, there was a defined border in the former Yugoslavia that was seen as belonging to different ethnic groups.
Symbolization

Symbolization

Differences in language. The use of white flags to mark the homes of Serbs to "intimidate the target population with artillery fire."⁴⁷ Muslims were considered "Christ-killers" and therefore the enemy of Christianity. In addition, names, skin color, and dress were used to 'identify' which ethnicity people were. Muslims were given the name, "Bosniaks".

³⁸ Ibid., 318.

³⁹ Ibid., 329.

⁴⁰ Ibid., 321.

⁴¹ Ibid., 320.

⁴² Ibid., 320.

⁴³ Ibid., 328.

⁴⁴ Ibid., 329.

⁴⁵ Ibid., 317.

⁴⁶ Ibid., 317.

⁴⁷ Ibid., 323.

Dehumanization

"Finally, on July 6, 1995 the Bosnian Serbs decided to implement their endgame. Serb General Ratko Mladic promised his men a "feast": there will be blood up to your knees."⁴⁸ On a visit to Albanian-dominated province of Kosovo in 1987, "Milosevic was greeted with a rowdy crowd of outpouring Serbs barely kept in check by the police. Rocks were thrown, apparently as a provocation. The police reacted with batons. Milosevic was urged to calm the crowd. Instead he told them: 'No one should beat you'," unwittingly coining the rally call for genocide.⁴⁹ In 1998, Milosevic launched an outburst saying "We know how to deal with those murderers and rapists...They are killers of their own kind, but we know how to deal with them and have done it before...In 1946, in Drenica, we killed them all. Well, of course, we didn't [kill them] all at once. It took several years."⁵⁰

Organization

"Modus operandi" of Serb forces: Concentration, Decapitation, Separation, Evacuation, Liquidation. They organized when they warned Serbs and told them to put white flags outside their houses to avoid being harmed. Furthermore, the execution of political leaders, lawyers, judges, public officials, writers and professors removed the class capable of protesting. This ensured there was no one in leadership positions that could threaten the course of genocide and constrained the ability of others to organize. Preparation also took shape by removing women and bringing them to rape camps for ethnic cleansing purposes.

Polarization

The destruction of the Oriental Institute, National Museum, and National Library by Serbs sought to promote the eradication of cultural institutions that served to preserve and perpetuate the history and identity of targeted populations. However, this also polarized the international community and rallied outsiders to intervene: the mass killings had preceded the destruction of culture, but it was the latter act which prompted international intervention. Muslims in Bosnia reacted by entrenching themselves in an equally aggressive and reactionary muslim nationalism that sought to retaliate against Serbian aggressors. Tracing acts of hatred on a timeline of retaliation demonstrates that one group's nationalistic aggression triggers nationalist aggression on behalf of neighboring or targeted peoples. While facing ongoing threats at the hands of other nationalities, "populations sought safety in ethnic exclusivity."⁵¹

Preparation

The mobilization of the Yugoslav Army, and the arming of Serbian civilians who were organized into paramilitary units was an important precursor to the massacres and genocidal attacks that eventually escalated into full blown genocide. Americans and Europeans allowed Croatia to breach the arms embargo placed against it. The US also allowed Iran and other Muslim states to sell weapons to Bosnians. When the Yugoslavian army was ordered to stand down, they purposefully left their weapons behind in order to allow the civilians to take up the fight.

Gender and Sex

Rape was continuously used as a weapon of war against women, as well as men, of non-Serbian descent as part of a Christo-Serbian pursuit of nationalist masculinity, and an act of reactionary aggression against the impalements and rapes committed by the Ottoman Turks while they had occupied the country centuries before the Balkan Wars. It was used to unify and build cohesion among Serbian fighting units, as well as a technique to divide the oppressed populations by forcing them to see one another as both victims and victimizers.

⁴⁸ Ibid., 326.

⁴⁹ Ibid., 318.

⁵⁰ Ibid., 329.

⁵¹ Ibid., 321.

Women were seen as ethnically void, and therefore could be utilized as vessels to carry Serb children as a means of perpetuating the Serb nation. This was also used as a tool of eradicating Muslim minorities by inhibiting the women from birthing children with men of their same ethnicity. The use of rape as a weapon also trends towards skyrocketing abortion rates, suicides, and child abandonment. The most destructive instance of gendercidal killing was the Srebrenica slaughter of July 1995. 8,000 Bosnian Muslim men and boys were slaughtered, and of those killed "92% are men and 8% were women."⁵² The term. "genocidal rape" was minted during and because of the Bosnian genocide.

⁵² Ibid., 324.

Case 6: The Guatemalan Genocide

Case

The genocide happened from 1980-1983, with a second phase happening in the mid 1980s. It was primarily executed through extra-judicial killings, so by the government or government forces without any threat of legal consequences. The tensions began during the structural transformations of the 1960s-1980s, which was primarily a change in class definitions and identities. There was a Maya uprising in the late 1970s and early 1980s, which escalated polarization. The entire country faced an intense economic collapse and a devastating earthquake in 1976. This forced many Mayas, who had traditionally lived in the isolated mountain region, to migrate—or at least participate in migrant labor—on the ladina populated coast and central Guatemala. Many came as seasonal workers, and both communities dealt with the hardship and growing diversity by reinforcing their own identities. Around this time the army became more repressive, particularly targeting political dissidents and suspected rebels. While not targeted, many Maya villages were invaded by soldiers.

In Jan 1980 there was a massive massacre of Maya, which prompted a massive strike of Maya workers on sugar and cotton plantations. This is exactly what the government and landowners had feared, as the Maya were a vital workforce, and the government cracked down. Instead of intimidating the Maya, it only polarized and radicalized people, and many joined the Socialist guerilla movement, thereby creating a sort of self-fulfilling prophecy. State violence escalated: the army had been trained by the US government in the 1960s to combat socialists, and the military were now able to use tactics such as 'disappearances', death squads, and scorched earth policies. In the fall of 1981 the military campaign became a total war against the Maya and socialists, including urbancide. It was under Gen. Efraim Rios Montee who had power from 1982 to 1983, that the ethnic cleansing formally began. This also had a major environmental damage due to the scorched earth policy. The explicit goals of the SE policy were to eliminate the Maya civilian base, material and economic support, base of communal ethnic structure, and the ability to reproduce and continue their population. It was a violent form of proletarianization.

The second phase, from 1983 to 1985 was under Gen. Oscar Mejia Victores, who consolidated military control of the Maya highlands and set up coercive institutions. This involved mandatory 'civilian self-defense patrols,' PACs which forced Maya to fight and kill their own, and anyone suspected of being a rebel. Rural settlement camps were set up, where Maya were forcibly relocated to 'model villages' where every aspect of their lives was controlled by the military. Finally, in 1985 relative peace was reached, marking the formal end of the genocide.

Classification

Geographic separation; distinction is easier if they are separated by region. Indigenous peoples were targeted as seen with other genocides. In this case, the Mayans were targeted by the government.⁵³ There was also those who conformed to the government, and those who were considered socialists and rebels. Furthermore many of the more radical ladinias tended to be landowners on the coast, who sided with the government out of fear that the seasonal workers—predominately Maya, and a vital labor source—would revolt.

Symbolization

'Ladinias' were non-Mayan who spoke Spanish. Already self-labelled by chosen way of dress, language, way of life. "Rather than "ladinizing" or acculturating the Mayas, however, this experience reinforced their struggle to preserve their indigenous identity."⁵⁴ Many Mayas stopped wearing their traditional dress (traje) indigenous organizations were "excluded from [...] political expression."⁵⁵ Furthermore, the Maya were symbolized by their type of job - migrant workers.

⁵³ Totten, Parsons, *Centuries of Genocide: Essays and Eyewitness Accounts*, 355.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 356.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 356.

Dehumanization

In Guatemala, the dehumanization process was eased by the fact that Mayans were of a lower class, historically. Furthermore, church and religious structures were used to further dehumanization propaganda. According to Centuries of Genocide, "indigenous organizations were defined by the government as subversive."⁵⁶ The use of the word 'subversive' by governments and landowners made it easier for them to portray Mayans as a block to greater social peace. The government called them "la subversion" meaning that they were actively at fault for all the devastation in Guatemala, and were a disease preventing the true Guatemalan population from surviving.

Organization

In the 60's Mayas had their hopes raised by being given land, but this was then taken away in the 70's indicating the lack political ability. At this time, the US government trained the army in order to help combat the socialists: through this training the army learned scorched earth, 'disappearance', and death squad policies. This organization was designed for the socialist, then in the late 1970s tweaked to fully combat the Maya 'threat'. The government issued the Scorched Earth Policy, destroying and burning buildings and crops, slaughtering livestock, fouling water supplies and violating sacred places and cultural symbols. There were many organized killings and disappearances in a hope to silence the Maya, but this only led to CUC staging strikes and rebelling. During the second phase, the organization were the numerous institutions designed to confine, control, and destroy the Maya population and the insurgents. This included the aforementioned 'model villages' and the PACs.

Polarization

Attempted assimilation of Maya into Ladina and Hispanic culture entrenched the natives in their cultural practices and strengthened their refusal to adopt European-influenced creole Guatemalan norms. This drew a harder line between in-groups and out-groups already distinguished by their language, dress, and cultural rites. The political struggles against leftist political entities were elevated into an ethnic struggle against the Maya as a whole, who trended towards working as laborers and field hands and were therefore more prone to a proletarianization of their collective identity. The Maya were systematically repressed and forced to live under apartheid, which drove thousands of them to organize into an armed resistance against state violence.⁵⁷

Preparation

After an attack on Maya villages in 1982, the President came on the radio and told the Maya to "return to your homes" promising safety and peace. Once people did so, he sent in the army to massacre the groups.⁵⁸ The creation of the policies and the PAC groups (the actions are the organization). The psychological attacks when the government claimed - and convinced - many Maya that it was their fault that the war and devastation was going on, that they had betrayed their motherland. This caused many to become ashamed, and essentially sitting ducks.

Trials and Tribunals

The proceedings were under intense pressure from the very start. On the legal front, it was clear from the outset that Ríos Montt's defense lawyers sought to obstruct the proceedings to prevent the case from coming to trial, and once it did, to prevent it from reaching a conclusion."⁵⁹ "Within the transitional justice literature, one of the main criticisms of

⁵⁶ Ibid., 357.

⁵⁷ Ibid., 357.

⁵⁸ Ibid., 375.

⁵⁹ Burt, Jo-Marie. "From Heaven to Hell in Ten Days: The Genocide Trial in Guatemala." *Journal of Genocide Research* 18 (June 28, 2016). doi:10.1080/14623528.2016.1186437, 151.

prosecutions is that they re-traumatize rather than empower survivors and relatives of victims."⁶⁰ "Indeed, successful prosecutions almost inevitably prompt a backlash by conservative, pro-military sectors, which sometimes manage to detain these processes in whole or in part. This is particularly the case in countries such as Guatemala where systems of impunity have been in place for so long."⁶¹ "The genocide case demonstrated Guatemala, domestic legal systems can adjudicate, in a fair and impartial way, complex cases of grave human rights abuses."⁶² Burt mentions how peace agreements frequently include amnesty clauses.

⁶⁰ Ibid., 158.

⁶¹ Ibid., 162.

⁶² Ibid., 165.

Guatemalan Genocide (1980-1983, mid 1980s)

"The Silent Holocaust"

The systematic destruction of the Maya Highlanders by the Guatemalan government and landowners.

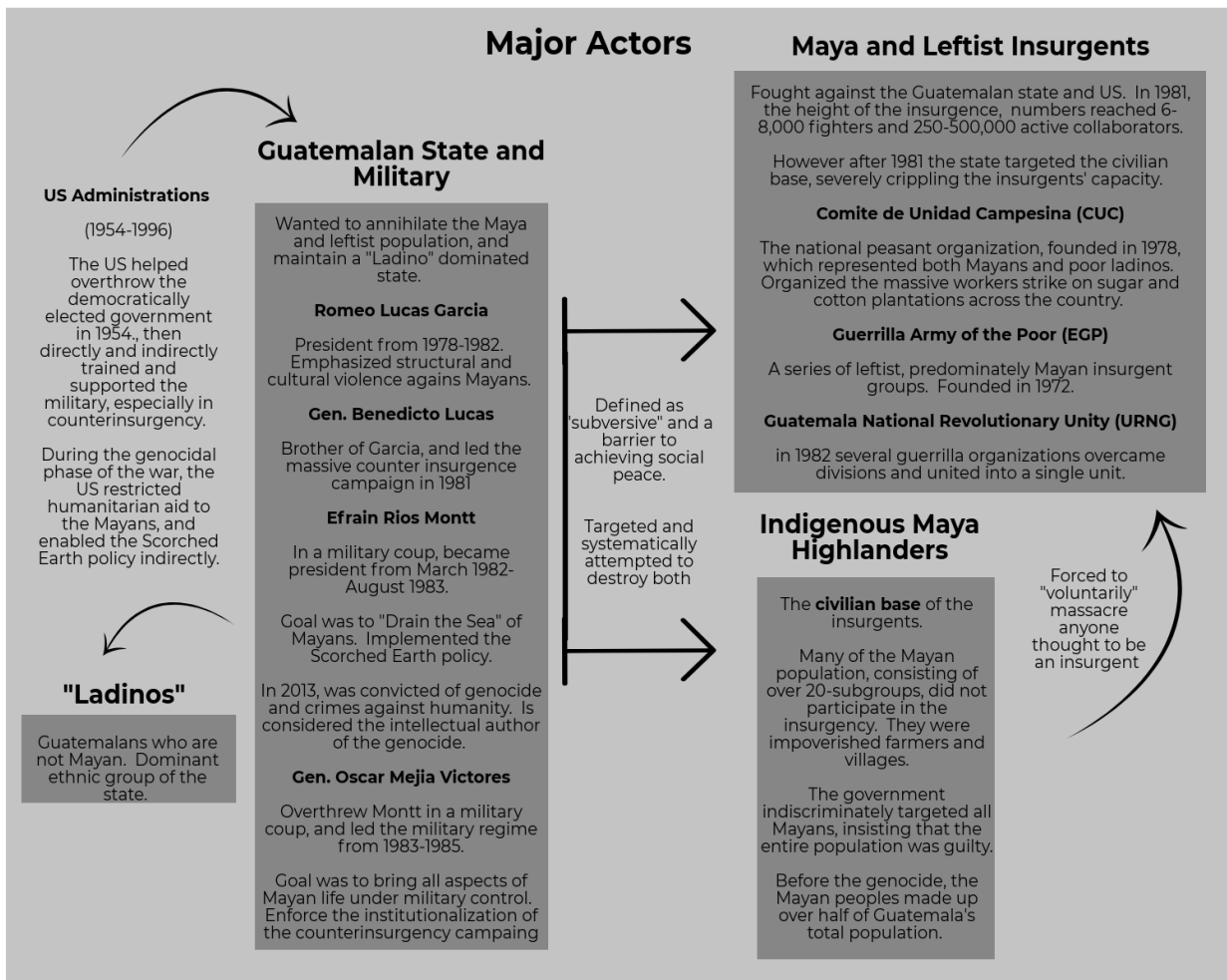


The genocide in Guatemala occurred during the 36 year civil war, which lasted from 1960 to 1996.

After, it is estimated that over 200,000 Mayas were killed or "disappeared," and another 1.5 million displaced.

The acts of genocide were committed by state counter-insurgents security forces and paramilitaries, which included many of the landowners. The violence was extrajudicial, without any legal constraints.

Internationally, the genocide was secreted in complicate silence, and attempts at justice continue to face barriers.



Influence of Christianity.

In the 1970s Catholic grassroots organizations focused on social justice, eventually creating Christian Base Communities, and what was know as "The Church of the Poor."

The groups radicalized many indigenous highlanders, and significantly influenced armed insurgent groups, leading some to consider themselves as agents of the Church.

The Catholic Church significantly shaped the identity and motivation of the insurgents, mobilizing indigenous peoples into insurgents.

ALSO RELIGION to legitimize dehumanization ADD!



Environmental Damage

Due to the Scorched Earth policies, which including the burning of villages, forests, and overall destruction of the highlands, the environment was irreversibly damaged.

It has been reported that climate and overall rainfall patterns were affected by the policy.

Stages of Genocide:

Stage 1: Classification

Due to the 1970s-80s economic crisis, and the devastating 1976 earthquake, Maya Highlanders were forced to migrate to the Southern coast and major cities, or to work as seasonal workers.

Mixing between the Mayas and ladinos.

Stage 2: Symbolization

Traditional Maya ethnic clothing and distinctive language.

Stage 3: Dehumanization

Ladino elites, landowners, and the state considered the Mayas and the CUC as "subversive," especially after the Mayan uprising and 1980 CUC strike.

Stage 4: Organization

Insurgency: Grass-roots organization and radicalization of indigenous people via the Catholic Church.

Phase 1: The military organization had been in place since the 1960s, designed to counter socialist insurgents with tactics including death squads and forced "disappearances." At that point, Mayans were ignored. After 1980 the army began to directly target Mayans.

Phase 2: The consolidation of a military dictatorship and its institutions.

Stage 5: Polarization

Before, when the Mayas were in the highlands, they were relatively isolated. After their forced migration, Guatemala did not integrate but rather both groups became ethnically exclusive.

Phase 1: Catholic grassroots organizations radicalized and mobilized Mayans.

Phase 2: The PAC violently forced inter-polarization between Mayan civilians and Mayan "insurgents".

Stage 6: Preparation

Phase 1: After initial massacres, the President told the Maya's to "return to your homes" and "not to fear the military" before setting the army to slaughter and destroy their villages.

Phase 2: Creation of institutions.

Aftermath

The German human rights organization published the extensive report, recording the testimony of over 9,000 survivors, revealing previously unknown depths of violence and US participation.

Under international law, state forces committed acts of genocide.

The military ordered that Mayans be raped, tortured, and subject to sadistic sexual.

State and paramilitary forces committed 93% of the documented atrocities, "others" for 4%, and leftist guerrilla groups accounted for 3%.

Barriers to Justice

The Guatemalan Peace Accords took 6 years to negotiate, and marks the official end to the civil war.

Weaknesses: individual names, no automatic judicial consequences, attempts at amnesty, delayed cases.

In 2011, several wartime counterinsurgency leaders, including Perez Molina, were appointed back into power. Rios Montt was finally convicted in 2013, however many other leaders died free from persecution.

Major Events:

1954 - 1960s

Rise of a Guatemalan socialist revolution.

Mayas did not participate as they were isolated in the highlands.

1970s - 1980s

Major economic and political crises, which forced many Mayas to migrate to Guatemala city and the Southern Coast, ending their isolation.

1976

A major earthquake forced Mayas to migrate down from highlands.

1980

Security forces massacred indigenous protestors in Guatemala City in front of the Spanish embassy. They burned 39 alive.

A month later the CUC staged a massive workers strike on the sugar and cotton plantations, a massive blow to the state.

1981

Height of the leftist movement. However during the second half of the year the state launched a massive counter-insurgency campaign that targeted the indigenous civilian base.

1985

The government enforced a new constitution which outlined the judicial framework for a so-called civilian government.

1994

The Truth Commission began investigations in 1994.

1999

CEH published an extensive report on the Guatemalan genocide, "Memory of Silence."

Phases of Violence:

Organization of State Counter Insurgency: 1966 - 1968

A massive state military campaign against socialist revolutionaries. The US directly trained the state military, with tactics including death squads, the scorched earth policy, and "disappearances."

Resulted the consolidation of counter insurgency forces, later to be used against the Mayas.

Heightened Identity Awareness: 1960s-1980

Widespread structural transformations, which profoundly changed class definitions and identities of the Mayan population.

When the Mayas came in contact with the ladinos, both groups polarized.

Mayas were semi-proletarianized, excluded from all aspects of society, and systematically impoverished.

First Phase- Scorched Earth Policy: 1980-1983

The "Guatemala Solution." State actors and supporters were united and determined to wipe out what they believed was a threat to "social peace. "

Goal:

- 1) To eliminate the insurgent's civilian support base, and destroy the Maya's communal structure, ethnic unity, and means of reproduction.
- 2) To annihilate both the Maya culture, even identity, and economic autonomy. To proletarianize the entire population.

Tactics include:

Burning entire villages, destruction of forests and farmlands, mass killings - including of the elderly and children, and mass forced relocation. Between 100-150,000 unarmed Mayas were killed.

Second Phase - Institutionalization: 1983-1986

The military regime institutionalized their counterinsurgency campaign.

Goal:

To consolidate entire Maya population under military control.

Tactics include:

- 1) Enforced mandatory "Civilian Self Defense Patrols" (PAC), essentially forcing Mayas to massacre their fellow villagers. Around 25% of Maya adults participated.
- 2) "Model Villages," which were rural settlement camps, where Mayas were forced to live under direct and total control of the military.
- 3) Developed Inter-institutional Coordinating Councils, a centralized administration securing military control over every level of government.
- 4) Development Poles, a military institution for reconcentrating Mayas after destruction of villages.
- 5) "Beans and Guns" so-called benefit program, which used hunger as a weapon and made Mayas completely dependent on the military state.

Truth Commission Negotiations: 1991-1996

Official end to the 36 civil war

Case 7: The Rwandan Genocide

Case

Over the course of one hundred days in the summer of 1994, the Hutu-led government and their allies nearly murdered the entire Tutsi population of Rwanda as well as their sympathizers and moderate Hutus opposed to the genocide. Hundreds of thousands of people were slaughtered in what was the most 'efficient' killing spree in the twentieth century.⁶³

Classification

The classification of Hutus and Tutsis was created by the Belgians who colonized Rwanda. "It is hard even to describe them as distinct ethnicities, since they share the same language, territory, and religion. Rather, the two groups in the pre-colonial period may be viewed as social caste, based on material wealth. Broadly speaking, Tutsis were those who owned cattle; Hutus tilled the land and provided labor to the Tutsis."⁶⁴ The Belgians recognized them as two completely different groups, Hutus as offspring of Ham, who is cursed by God, and Tutsis as offspring from Egypt. Tutsis had a much more dominant role (even though they were the minority) under Belgian rule. This created hatred and distinction between the two groups. Eventually, identity cards were created to label them, and the classification of Hutu or Tutsi was the only thing that mattered about a person.

Symbolization

In 1935, Belgians codified the largely invented ethnic distinctions by issuing identity cards that divided the Rwandan population into one of three categories: Hutu, Tutsi or Twa. Churches and parts of the education system were largely segregated.⁶⁵ Those parts that weren't segregated largely favored Hutu individuals. For example, on state exams students were required to identify themselves as Hutu or Tutsi. In her memoir, *Miracle in Kigali*, Illuminée notes that self-identifying as Tutsi could result in individuals failing their exams. As the radicalization, polarization, and dehumanization processes occurred, the significance of identity cards grew. Roadblocks were established and to pass, individuals need to show their identity cards. As the genocide ramped up, the significance of identity cards devolved as those carrying out the killings clearly had an established list of targets. Jones notes, "when they started using machetes, they didn't even bother to ask for ID cards. It was as if they had carried out a census; they knew you were a Tutsi."⁶⁶

Dehumanization

International Law specialist John Quigley called it "probably the most concentrated mass killing ever seen."⁶⁷ During the frenzy of the Rwandan genocide there was little to no respect for Tutsi life, they were actually seen as so low that not only did they need to be exterminated, any Hutu who tried to help a Tutsi had to die too. The genocide was a mass slaughter where Hutus even murdered babies and children, and raped women in front of their husbands, fathers and brothers before murdering all of them. This genocide was different to that of the Holocaust, as those doing the murdering were not in uniform, but included women and children from the community. Dehumanizing terms were used in the propaganda leading up to the massacres such as 'inyenzi' meaning 'cockroaches'.

Organization

The assassination of president Habyarimana, who died after his plane was shot down

⁶³ Jones, *Genocide: A Comprehensive Introduction*, 346.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 348.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 350.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 356.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 356.

over Rwanda, was heavily politicized and used as a justification for the Genocide. It has been claimed that the assassination wasn't committed by RPF, but rather by Hutu extremists as an excuse to commit the genocide. Prior to genocide, it was known that if the president dies, Tutsis will suffer the consequences. The French military, in an attempt at establishing France's role in a postcolonial world through La Francophonie, helped organize and train the Hutu militias that would later be instrumental to committing the massacre. The formally trained militias committed many massacres, but this did not escalate to genocidal proportions until the Interahamwe, those who fight together, were armed and organized. The genocide was brutal and anarchistic, committed using household tools and hundreds of thousands of machetes that were imported by Hutu Power extremists.⁶⁸

Polarization

Before the Belgians arrived, the two ethnic groups were polarized by the political and economic superiority of the Tutsi. The Tutsi were primarily herders and because cattle is a symbol of wealth and necessary for survival, they were richer and able to establish political rule over the region. This is opposite of in Sudan, due to the environmental differences between the two areas. After the Belgians arrived, they realized that the Tutsi held power and aligned with them in order to pursue colonialist goals. The groups were further stratified: while the groups had already been segregated in all aspects of life in a government sponsored apartheid policy, under colonialism the differences in status were intensified. Towards the end of colonial rule, the Belgians began to fear a Tutsi uprising and so they switched sides and began to support the Hutus. This again, caused widespread tensions. Immediately preceding the genocide there was widespread structural violence against Tutsi, and populations were further exacerbated through hate radio, newspapers, the media (e.g. Kangura magazine). In addition, when the civil war began and banished Tutsi rebels returned, Hutus believed that all Tutsi were actively trying, and by virtue of simply existing, to destroy Hutus.

Preparation:

Preparation for the genocide included the stockpiling of machetes, political preparation—mini programs of the 90s and international rhetoric justifying Hutu actions—establishment of roadblocks where ID cards were required to be presented and the assembling of death lists.⁶⁹ Furthermore, the use of machetes serves as evidence of systematic violence. Perpetrators cannot run out of bullets. Lastly, preparation took form by the identification of Tutsi neighborhoods and convincing Tutsi individuals to “go home” or seek refuge in a church to ensure segregation and easier extermination.

⁶⁸ Ibid., 351.

⁶⁹ Ibid., 352.

Case 8: The Darfur Genocide

Case

The genocide in Sudan was the targeting of African Sudanese by Arab Sudanese that began in 2003. A group called the Janjaweed attacked and killed African people, claiming that they were inferior to the Arabs that lived in Sudan. An authoritarian regime was established with an Islamic Constitution, giving more power and support to the Sudanese Arabs.

Classification

The genocide in Darfur was inflicted upon a number of African tribal groups, particularly on the Fur, Massalit, and Zaghawa. Both the terms 'African' and 'Arab' are commonly used in describing and explaining the genocide in Sudan. However, "neither term does justice to the diversity of ethnic groups that make up Darfur nor to the nuanced relationships among ethnic groups."⁷⁰ British occupation of Kordofan led to the classification of those living in the Nuba Mountains as African, distinguishing them from Arab and Islamic individuals in the rest of Sudan. Those classified were Muslim and Arabic speaking. It is worth noting that the distinction between Arab and African was more cultural than racial.⁷¹ Furthermore, "in colonial and post-colonial Sudan, the Nuba possessed second-class status."⁷² These individuals "were discriminated against in employment and education."⁷³ During the 1970s and 1980s, governments "turned toward more exclusivist and Islamist political programs" that deliberately excluded parts of Sudan's citizenry.⁷⁴

Symbolization

The Nuba Mountains became a "closed district": could only leave or enter by permit. Nuba 'second class citizens'. Removal of Nuba traditions for the Sudanese "civilization mission" due to embarrassment of the Western view of the Nuba as savages. During the commission of their crimes, the genocidiaries "screamed such epithets as slave, slave dogs, and zurega."⁷⁵

Dehumanization

The dehumanization of victims in Sudan was primarily characterized by deep seeded and overt racism. Made statements such as "Dog, you have sex with me... the government gave me permission to rape you."⁷⁶ The equating of human beings to dogs, which hold a particularly negative connotation in Muslim cultures, reduced human life to no more than vermin or a nuisance. The racial distinctions were made clear when assailants would call out at their victims by screaming "You are not a real Sudanese, you're black... we are the real Sudanese. No blacks need stay here."⁷⁷ There was evident and growing "racial and ethnic polarization in Darfur, perceived to result from discrimination and bias emanating from the central government."⁷⁸

Organization

"Beginning as a peaceful civilian movement, the Brotherhood gradually morphed into a powerful and radical rebel group."⁷⁹ Omar al Bashir is an authoritarian leader who controls all aspects of Sudanese life. "Proposed that Sudan adopt an Islamic Constitution. The latter basically established that those Sudanese who were not Muslim would, from that point

⁷⁰ Totten, Parsons, *Centuries of Genocide: Essays and Eyewitness Accounts*, 515.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 516.

⁷² *Ibid.*, 422.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 422.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 423.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 517.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 517.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 517.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 517.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 519.

forward, be considered and treated as second-class citizens."⁸⁰ Basically all resources from government were allocated to the North, "Third, the development of the country (the construction of roads, ridges, water systems, hospitals, schools) is largely limited to the North."⁸¹

Polarization

"The Black Book may have constituted a key step in polarization of the country along politically constructed "racial" lines, but it was hardly the first, or the major step."⁸² The ideology of Arab supremacism led to the demonization and disenfranchisement of certain groups in Sudan. The Muslim Brotherhood, active in Sudan since 1964, aimed to institutionalized Islamic law and established that "those Sudanese who were not Muslim would, from that point forward, be considered and treated as second-class citizens."⁸³ Black Africans in Sudan are especially marginalized since they own so little of the wealth. The North, primarily Arab, comprises just over 5% of the population but virtually control all of wealth and politics of the nation. "Black Africans have requested the establishment of more schools, medical facilities and roads" since these are either extremely underfunded or simply non-existent.⁸⁴ Nearly all development in the country was limited to the North. Without access to these basic necessities of development, black Africans were forced into a self-perpetuating cycle of extreme poverty and thus became vulnerable to polarization by those with far greater social and economic power.

Preparation:

"Along with the huge influx of weapons into Darfur (resulting, in part, due to the various wars in the region."⁸⁵ The Janjaweed separated the Darfurian farmers from their homes and their property. They were then placed in "Ghettos" or "Camps" as a way to control them and watch them

⁸⁰ Ibid., 519.

⁸¹ Ibid., 522.

⁸² Ibid., 523.

⁸³ Ibid., 519.

⁸⁴ Ibid., 519.

⁸⁵ Ibid., 524.

Case 9: Genocide in Stalin's Soviet Union

Case

Like in Mao's China, "much of the destruction took the form of outright murder". However, most victims were killed indirectly, through incarceration and forced labor, or manipulated famines.⁸⁶ Interestingly, the famines call in to question the idea of intent as it applies to definitions of genocide. While the famines were not planned with the motive of mass killings, "they were the predictable result of regime policies."⁸⁷ Therefore, this may represent a unique case as the assumption holds that the Soviet Union must have known the result of their policies, and carried them out nevertheless. "Genocidal intent may be discerned in both the direct and indirect forms of killing."⁸⁸ Jones later clarifies that those who died in forced labor camps or resettlement camps were part of a genocide "implemented through intentional negligence and willful disregard for subsistence needs."⁸⁹

Classification

Proletariat: working class. Bourgeoisie: middle class. Red (Bolshevik) and White (non-Bolshevik) during the civil war whites received help from UK and USA. Anyone outside the party was labelled as an enemy, "denounced, humiliated and destroyed."⁹⁰ Furthermore, within Soviet society peasants were regarded with contempt.⁹¹ As a number of Stalin's reforms supposedly aimed to move the country forward, peasants were viewed as an impediment to that progress.⁹² War communism was employed as economic policy. Originally 'Kulaks' represented the wealthier peasants. During Stalin's radicalization of policy and governing, the term was expanded to represent the entire peasantry.

Symbolization

Not assignment of labels, but assignment of meaning to categorizations that were already there. The meaning attached to neighbor holding a lesser, or greater degree of wealth, reassigns the meaning of agrarian wealth/poverty Symbols, such as types of dress, acquired new meaning and significance. Peasants did not have passports or identity cards which prevented them from moving from countryside to cities in pursuit of work.

Dehumanization

Peasants were known and classified as "the dark people."⁹³ The Kulaks were a segment of the peasant population who were named after the Russian word for "fist" as in "tightfisted."⁹⁴ Lenin often referenced Kulaks as spiders, leeches, or vampires. According to historian Lynne Viola, "the kulak came to serve as a political metaphor and pejorative for the entire peasantry."⁹⁵ Political opposition were labelled as "terrorists," "saboteurs," and "provocateurs."⁹⁶ National minorities were seen as "spies and subversives."⁹⁷

Organization

Stalin uses appointment as General Secretary to begin consolidating his power. Stalin succeeded in expelling Trotsky, the other contender as Lenin's successor, from the party.

⁸⁶ Jones, *Genocide: A Comprehensive Introduction*, 189.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 189.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 189.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 192.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 189.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 191.

⁹² *Ibid.*, 191.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, 191.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 191.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 192.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 197.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 198.

Begins spreading ideas of "socialism in one country" and Stalinism-Leninism, which essentially was loosely based communist ideas molded to support the political ambitions of Stalin. In January of 1930, Stalin approved the 'liquidation' of Kulaks, telling the leaders of the party to "beat [them] down" whenever possible.⁹⁸ Quotas of kulaks were established, often requiring towns to decide amongst themselves who would take on the label.

Several laws were put into place to weaken Ukrainian peasants in particular as these were seen to be possible "enemies of the people". All arms and guns were forcibly taken away from peasants so they could not defend themselves. Gulags in northern Russia were built in order to imprison political enemies. The corrupt judicial system and show trials were used to enable arbitrary arrests. Youth groups were created, such as the Kosomol, the Young Communist League, for those between 14-26 years old and 'The Pioneers' for school children between 8-14 years old. These youth groups were later used as spies to denounce anyone suspicious of being political opposition. 1.4 million sent to Gulag 'concentration camps', Gulag were a system of labor camps.

Polarization

In 1937, Stalin declared the 'Kulaks' as the primary ringleaders of all sorts of anti-Soviet and diversionary crimes both in the collective farms and the state farms and in transport and other branches of industry."⁹⁹ Geography played a significant role in separating groups and furthering the classifications of individuals. A genocide conducted by a strong arm of the state; as such, the necessity of mass support for the genocide was not as much of a factor as it was for other genocides of the 20th and 21st centuries. Furthermore, show trials and purges were used to consolidate power, spread fear, and polarize classified groups.

Preparation:

Establishment of Gulag concentration camps, known as forced labor camps though better described as extermination camps. The conditions of these camps were appalling; [prisoners died from starvation, disease, work accidents and overwork. Furthermore, NKVD openly and frequently handed out death sentences. Kulaks were resettled to "special settlements" that were in remote areas of the country, with poor resources and little arable farming land. Soviets readied themselves for genocide by a forced famine on the people, starving them and causing deaths while there was food available for the leaders. Furthermore, the Gulag system, a prison system in which many people were incarcerated and then forced to work in labor camps in harsh conditions, organized targeted individuals to ensure the genocide. The majority of deaths in Gulags occurred in the arctic circle where they were forced to cut down timber or mine gold. In the Great Purge of 1936-38, 1,575,000 were arrested.

⁹⁸ Ibid., 192.

⁹⁹ Ibid., 198.

Case 10: Genocide in Mao's China

Case

*See Genocide in Stalin's Soviet Union.

Classification

Anyone outside the party was labelled as an enemy, "denounced, humiliated and destroyed."¹⁰⁰ Capitalism, and those who were representative of it such as the bourgeoisie, landlords, and priests, were demonized.¹⁰¹ The Chinese Communists were highly educated and prosperous individual. They created carnage by taking advantage of the peasantry, a group which constituted the vast majority of the population and forced their communist expansion.

Symbolization

Similarly, to the genocides committed by the Soviet Union and the Khmer Rouge, as in many other communist states, symbolization hinged on the attachment of new meaning to pre-existing class divides. Anyone holding wealth, aristocratic power, or expressing a dissident opinion was targeted by the state. Mao's government executed those deemed "spies" or "class enemies", two terms frequently used throughout his rule to justify his killings and enforce his policies.¹⁰² "Exploiters", was also a term used to identify and other landowners, who would be shamed at public meetings and brutally beaten.¹⁰³ Tibet presented a divergence from class based symbolization, as the People's Republic attempted to eliminate the region's spiritual, cultural, and religious practices in the pursuit of a genocidal policy of homogenization. Religious expression was limited, collectivization was imposed, use of the Tibetan flag was outlawed, and the Dalai Lama and his sympathizers were and continue to be persecuted as China outright denies the existence of a Tibetan nation that is in any way distinct from the Chinese.¹⁰⁴

Dehumanization

Not explicit dehumanization, but rather implied. Enemies of the state are dehumanized through extreme hatred. The framing of the genocide is most evident in the quote, "we thirst for the last drop of our enemies' blood as compensation for our modern comrades."¹⁰⁵ The quote evidences retributive dehumanization rather than dehumanization by fear. For example, rhetoric focused not on 'they will harm you' but rather, 'they have harmed you'.

Organization

A quota of 10% for the number of landlords in the total Chinese population was put into place. This meant that for every 100 citizens 10 landlords must be found and exterminated, this invigorated the search for enemies of the state. Peasants were armed and encouraged to take part in "struggle meetings" during which landlords were placed in the center of a village square and attacked by angered peasants. To organize the Cultural Revolution of 1966-67, the youth was mobilized and used to target the 'Four Olds: Old Customs, Old Culture, Old Habits, and Old Ideas'. Conditions are created, through scare tactics, economic and political policy, etc. to allow and facilitate support for and exploitation of the genocide.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., 189.

¹⁰¹ Ibid., 205.

¹⁰² Ibid., 205.

¹⁰³ Ibid., 206.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., 207.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., 207.

Polarization

In his Hundred Flowers Campaign, Mao encouraged his citizens to come forward with their opinions and open criticism of his regime. He promised those who came forward would not be punished though ended up imprisoning them and executing them as enemies of the state. In cities, there were radios around enemies of the state that would blast propaganda.

Preparation:

An eliticide in Tibet ensured the facilitation of the genocide. During the eliticide, they targeted better educated and leadership-oriented individuals in the Tibetan population. Historically, the targeting of those capable and willing of mounting resistance to genocidal actions is often a first step to radical political policy. Forced labor camps, getting minerals from ground and building infrastructure such as roads and railways for the Chinese military. The “Great Leap” in 1958-61 idea was to try to “collectivize all agriculture and industrialize a peasant nation” but it created an economic disaster for the country.

Case 11: The Cambodian Genocide

Case

Between 1975 and 1979, the Khmer Rouge government led by Pol Pot, enforced an idealistic form of agrarian socialism akin to the ideas of Stalinism and Maoism. Government policies of forced migration, labor camps, torture, mass executions, malnutrition, and disease led to the extermination of 25% of the Cambodian population, around 2 million deaths. The KR formed out of the proto-communist Khmer People's Revolutionary Party (KPRP) in Northern Vietnam and Cambodia. The leadership consisted of Khmer intellectuals recently returned from France, and Pol Pot quickly organized the KR as a guerilla force and led a national uprising in 1968, which led to a civil war in which both parties committed mass atrocities. On April 17, 1975, the KR took PNH thereby ending the war during which half a million Cambodians died. People came out in droves to celebrate what they thought was freedom from the violence and newfound prosperity. However, Pol Pot immediately evacuated PNH 2.5 million residents, who were forced into work camps as part of a re-education program. Torture centers were set up, including S-21 located in the middle of PNH. Specific policies actively targeted the 'city dwellers' for mass extermination, forced labor, and so-called re-education.

The genocide continued, and in 1977 opposition forces—backed by Vietnam who had become wary of their former ally—fought back. On January 7, 1979 they captured PNH and Pol Pot fled with the remaining KR into the jungle. Technically, the Cambodian genocide does not actually constitute a genocide because the targeted group was an economic class of people, and while opposition were likewise killed, it was primarily an apolitical move. That being said, it is most definitely a genocide and treated as such under international law. It should be remembered that the UN resolution was first ratified in 1948, where the only modern understanding of genocide was the Jewish Holocaust and to some extent, the Armenian genocide, therefore the strict definition of minority groups is inconclusive. In addition, the KR also targeted minorities including Cham Muslims, Christians, Buddhist monks, and those of Vietnamese and Chinese descent, all of whom were actively segregated from the general population via so-called physical distinctions.

Classification

Like other communist regimes, the Khmer Rouge attacked all enemies of the revolution, a concept that was very loosely defined to comprise any returning expatriates, academics, and officials that did not align directly with the organization's goal. The KR also "exterminated ethnic Vietnamese, Chinese, Muslim Chams. In fact, almost every ethnic minority in Cambodia."¹⁰⁶ "In the case of Vietnamese remaining in Cambodia, the destruction was total."¹⁰⁷ The KR harked back to the days of the Angkor Empire and its subjugation of southern Vietnam as a way of isolating ethnically Vietnamese Cambodians and making them appear to be an internal enemy. The KR also emphasized a doctrine of global market isolationism and an aggressive pursuit of racial purity, leading to the aforementioned destruction of the country's minorities. Geographic distinctions between urban and rural populations were also made, as cities were emptied in a massive Urbicide. Class was also an important classification, as all people of bourgeois origin were to be liquidated through direct or indirect means. Buddhist monks were identified by their dress and religious rituals, and exterminated.

Symbolization

Targeted individuals were referred to as "new people", *neak thmey*, versus the "base people", *neak moulanh*.¹⁰⁸ Language afforded symbolization to the classification between individuals from rural versus urban areas. Intellectuals were often targeted first: essentially if you were an artist, a professional, a monk, or even simply wearing glasses, you were likely to be sent to the worst of camps. Those sent to re-education programs were

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., 289.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., 286.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., 292.

forced to wear the Khmer uniform: black pajama-like work suits, a red checkered krama, and sandals made from tires. This was done to preserve resources. Bright colors and western clothing were strictly prohibited. Soldiers were distinguished via green army uniforms. Furthermore, the attack of Buddhist shrines symbolized the violence directed against them.

Dehumanization

"Without damage to a single building, whole cities were destroyed."¹⁰⁹ However, churches, temples, and ancient religious structures were often sought out, sacked, and destroyed. Also, references to there being a sickness within the party that might need to be purified. The means of killing and carrying out the genocide was dehumanizing in and of itself. Individuals were described as being "slaughtered like animals."¹¹⁰ A common phrase was, "To spare you is no profit, to destroy you is no loss." Enemies were called dangkows (worms) who "gnawed the bowels from within." They were "parasites" and "victims of their own imagination... unlike the party who remained strong and healthy."

Organization

"French contribution to Khmer nationalism was the awarding of academic scholarships to Cambodians for study in Paris. In the 1950s, the French capital was likely the richest environment for revolutionary ferment anywhere in the world. The French Communist Party, which had led the resistance to Nazi occupation, emerged as a powerful presence in postwar politics... Many returning students flocked to the Indochinese Communist Party, which united communist movements in Vietnam and Cambodia."¹¹¹ As the Vietnam War spilled over into Cambodia, the extension of Vietnamese power provided a powerful boost for the Khmer Rouge, including vital training.¹¹²

Polarization

Polarization was created by the Khmer Rouge to create a divide between classes: the peasants and city people/ wealthier people. "Forced evacuation of the cities, the coercion of the population into economic programs organized with military discipline", "no senior Khmer Rouge leader was of peasant origin. Virtually all were city-bred individuals", "the core leadership belonged to a small, privileged intellectual class able to study overseas on government scholarships."¹¹³ "The Khmer Rouge treated the peasants as a separate group, distributing more food to them than to the city people, and assigning them easier tasks."¹¹⁴ Normalization of mass executions and purges against "class enemies" and ethnic minorities (Buddhist monks, Vietnamese, Muslim Chams, Chinese, Thai). Furthermore, the KR was polarized from the west and class enemies due to the US bombing campaigns in northern Vietnam and the outskirts of Cambodia. This not only drove the KR into the heartland of Cambodia, but also polarized and confirmed the rightness of their cause.

Preparation:

Preparation for the genocide occurred alongside the radicalization of policy and consolidation of the Khmer Rouge's power. A major factor of preparation was the division of the capital city, Phnom Penh into labor camps in the countryside. Urbicide proved to be a central means by which the Khmer Rouge conducted the genocide. Urban environments represented "group identity and social modernity" and their destruction was genocidal, if not genocide outright.¹¹⁵ During this time, around two million residents were deported to the countryside where conditions were appalling and life threatening. "The countryside thus served as the

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., 291.

¹¹⁰ Ibid., 297.

¹¹¹ Ibid., 284.

¹¹² Ibid., 286.

¹¹³ Ibid., 291.

¹¹⁴ Ibid., 292.

¹¹⁵ Ibid., 291.

backdrop for the Khmer Rouge assault on Cambodia's culture and people."¹¹⁶ Violent internal purges targeted any threats to the Khmer Rouge's power. More significant, however, than the direct killings and purges were the deaths attributed to indirect actions: "privation, disease and ultimately famine."¹¹⁷ On a micro level, traditional music was used in the camps in order to mask the bullets and cries of the mass killings. Young children were taken and trained to sing traditional songs which aligned with the KR ideology, both as a means of propaganda and to mask the horrors taking place. Soldiers were told to use bullets sparingly in order to save on resources; many of the killings were done with makeshift clubs.

¹¹⁶ Ibid., 292.

¹¹⁷ Ibid., 293.

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