

What is the legal definition of genocide?

- Violent attacks with the specific intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnic, racial, or religious group.

# The Ten Stages of Genocide

Source: <http://genocidewatch.net/genocide-2/8-stages-of-genocide/>

Genocide is a process that develops in ten stages that are predictable but not inevitable. 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.

## → 1. **CLASSIFICATION:**

**All cultures have categories to distinguish people into “us and them” by ethnicity, race, religion, or nationality**

↳ (Example: German and Jew, Hutu and Tutsi, etc)

## → 2. **SYMBOLIZATION:**

**We give names or other symbols to the classifications.**

↳ We name people “Jews” or “Gypsies,” or distinguish them by colors or dress; and apply the symbols to members of groups. *Classification and symbolization are universally human and do not necessarily result in genocide unless they lead to dehumanization.* When combined with hatred, symbols may be forced upon unwilling members of pariah groups

### → 3. **DISCRIMINATION:**

**A dominant group uses law, custom, and political power to deny the rights of other groups.**

↳ The powerless group may not be accorded full civil rights, voting rights, or even citizenship. The dominant group is driven by an exclusionary ideology that would deprive less powerful groups of their rights. The ideology often advocates monopolization or expansion of power by the dominant group. It legitimizes the victimization of weaker groups. Advocates of exclusionary ideologies are often charismatic, expressing resentments of their followers, attracting support from the masses.

### → 4. **DEHUMANIZATION:**

**One group denies the humanity of the other group.**

↳ Members of it are equated with animals, vermin, insects or diseases. Dehumanization overcomes the normal human revulsion against murder. At this stage, hate propaganda in print and on hate radios is used to vilify the victim group. The majority group is taught to regard the other group as less than human, and even alien to their society. They are indoctrinated to believe that “We are better off without them.” Hate speech fills the propaganda of official radio, newspapers, and speeches.

## → 5. **ORGANIZATION:**

**Genocide is always organized, usually by the state, often (but not always) using militias to provide deniability of state responsibility.**

## → 6. **POLARIZATION:**

**Extremists drive the groups apart from broader society.**

↳ Hate groups broadcast polarizing propaganda. Motivations for targeting a group are indoctrinated through mass media. Laws may forbid intermarriage or social interaction. Extremist terrorism targets moderates, intimidating and silencing the center. Moderates from the perpetrators' own group are most able to stop genocide, so are the first to be arrested and killed. Leaders in targeted groups are the next to be arrested and murdered. The dominant group passes emergency laws or decrees that grants them total power over the targeted group. The laws erode fundamental civil rights and liberties.

## → 7. **PREPARATION:**

**Plans are made for genocidal killings.**

↳ National or perpetrator group leaders plan the “Final Solution” to the Jewish, Armenian, Tutsi or other targeted group “question.” They often use euphemisms to cloak their intentions, such as referring to their goals as “ethnic cleansing,” “purification,” or “counter-terrorism.” They indoctrinate the populace with fear of the victim group. Leaders often claim that “if we don't kill them, they will kill us,” disguising genocide as self-defense.

## → 8. **PERSECUTION:**

**Victims are identified and separated out because of their ethnic or religious identity.**

↳ Death lists are drawn up. In state sponsored genocide, members of victim groups may be forced to wear identifying symbols. Their property is often expropriated. Sometimes they are even segregated into ghettos, deported into concentration camps, or confined to a famine-struck region and starved. They are deliberately deprived of resources such as water or food in order to slowly destroy them. Programs are implemented to prevent procreation through forced sterilization or abortions. Children are forcibly taken from their parents. The victim group's basic human rights become systematically abused through extrajudicial killings, torture and forced displacement. Genocidal massacres begin. They are acts of genocide because they intentionally destroy part of a group.

## → 9. **EXTERMINATION**

**Murders begin, and quickly becomes the mass killing legally called “genocide.” It is “extermination” to the killers because they do not believe their victims to be fully human.**

## →10. DENIAL

**Denial is the final stage that lasts throughout and always follows genocide.**

↳ It is among the surest indicators of further genocidal massacres. The perpetrators of genocide dig up the mass graves, burn the bodies, try to cover up the evidence and intimidate the witnesses. They deny that they committed any crimes, and often blame what happened on the victims. They block investigations of the crimes, and continue to govern until driven from power by force, when they flee into exile.

## Ten Stages of Genocide

1. **Classification** – creation of categories to distinguish people into ‘us and them’ by ethnicity, race religion or nationality.
2. **Symbolization** – we give names or other symbols to the classification
- Discrimination** – a dominant group used law, custom, and political power to deny the rights of other groups.
- Dehumanization** – one group denies the humanity of the other group.
- Organization** – organized by the state, or militias to provide for deniability of state responsibilities.
- Polarization** – extremists drive the groups apart from broader society
- Preparation** – plans are made for genocidal killings
- Persecution** – victims are indemnified and separated out because of their ethnic or religious identity
9. **Extermination** – systemic murders begin
10. **Denial** – the final stage

## Questions:

- These ten points need not occur in the order in which they appear listed. Discuss how causation (that is, how one stage may lead directly into another) may occur.
- Of the ten stages, which are the most preventable in American society, and why? What are prevention/mitigation strategies for each of the ten stages?
- How might modern technology (social media, etc) further a culture toward genocidal thinking?
- Of the ten stages, at what point would you think that the prejudice underpinning the momentum toward any genocide becomes ingrained within the culture (if it's not already there)?

## Basic questions

### •Sourcing:

- ↪ Who is the source of this quote, and what is their position?
- ↪ What type of document is this? (private or intended for public consumption?)
- ↪ Who is the intended audience? What is their motivation or agenda?

### •Corroboration

- ↪ Do other sources exist which apply to this document?
- ↪ Is this document consistent with our understanding of history?

### •Contextualization

- ↪ What was going on before/during/after this event?
- ↪ How might circumstances in which the speech/document was created affect its content?

### •Text

- ↪ How does the document's language indicate the author's purpose?

Examine the following primary source documents and assess the degree to which each historical event moved the continuum toward potential genocidal behaviors.

(Please note that not all the documents carry equal weight in their magnitude of impact)  
Most of the following questions may be applied to the documents

## Advanced questions

- What group is being targeted? What evidence of dehumanization is there?
- Is the author speaking of a law, policy-subject-to-oversight or a proposed policy? Does it matter? Can we distinguish between intention, policy explanation or a call for action?
- Which of the Ten Stages of Genocide does this document strengthen/reinforce?
- To what extent does the author/source of this quote/document lend authority to the message's intent?
- To what extent does this document encourage/establish/strengthen state-sponsorship of prejudice?
- In what ways might the speaker/author imply that national security and the wellbeing of the nation would be benefitted by targeting the minority group?
- (US Documents) Words matter...the First Amendment protects words which inform, but it does not protect words which incite. Of these documents, how can we determine if the words are sufficiently inflammatory to warrant a legal response?

“Carrie Buck is a feeble minded white woman who was committed to the State Colony above mentioned in due form. She is the daughter of a feeble minded mother in the same institution, and the mother of an illegitimate feeble minded child. An Act of Virginia, approved March 20, 1924, recites that the health of the patient and the welfare of society may be promoted in certain cases by the sterilization of mental defectives, under careful safeguard ... ; that the Commonwealth is supporting in various institutions many defective persons who, if now discharged, would become a menace, but, if incapable of procreating, might be discharged with safety and become self-supporting with benefit to themselves and to society, and that experience has shown that heredity plays an important part in the transmission of insanity, imbecility, &c.

The judgment finds the facts that have been recited, and that Carrie Buck is the probable potential parent of socially inadequate offspring, likewise afflicted, that she may be sexually sterilized without detriment to her general health, and that her welfare and that of society will be promoted by her sterilization," ... . We have seen more than once that the public welfare may call upon the best citizens for their lives. It would be strange if it could not call upon those who already sap the strength of the State for these lesser sacrifices, often not felt to be such by those concerned, in order to prevent our being swamped with incompetence. It is better for all the world if, instead of waiting to execute degenerate offspring for crime or to let them starve for their imbecility, society can prevent those who are manifestly unfit from continuing their kind. ... Three generations of imbeciles are enough.”

Source: US Supreme Court, *Buck v Bell* 274 US 200 (1927)

<https://supreme.justia.com/cases/federal/us/274/200/>

*Since this is a Supreme Court case, it must be stressed that this since verdict came from the nation's highest court, it became the law of the land.*

*Historical notation:  
In the Nuremberg War Crimes Trials, some Nazi defendants cited *Buck v Bell*.*

## DOCUMENT B – United States

“When Mexico sends its people, they’re not sending their best — they’re not sending you. They’re not sending you. They’re sending people that have lots of problems and they’re bringing those problems with us. They’re bringing drugs. They’re bringing crime. They’re rapists. And some, I assume, are good people.”

Source: Donald Trump, 2015

“A Trump administration will stop illegal immigration, deport all criminal aliens, and save American lives.”

Source: Donald Trump, at a campaign rally in Miami,  
January 2017

“Next week ICE will begin the process of removing the millions of illegal aliens who have illicitly found their way into the United States. They will be removed as fast as they come in.”

Source: President Trump, June 18, 2019

*It must be distinguished when Trump’s comments were made as a candidate (who has no governmental authority or power) as opposed to statements made as the President (which might suggest a pursuit of policy)*

*This might also be a good place to bring in explanation of the role of checks and balances in American government*

“Our conduct toward these people is deeply interesting to our national character. Their present condition, contrasted with what they once were, makes a most powerful appeal to our sympathies. Our ancestors found them the uncontrolled possessors of these vast regions. By persuasion and force they have been made to retire from river to river and from mountain to mountain, until some of the tribes have become extinct and others have left but remnants to preserve for a while their once terrible names. Surrounded by the whites with their arts of civilization, which by destroying the resources of the savage doom him to weakness and decay, the fate of the Mohegan, the Narragansett, and the Delaware is fast overtaking the Choctaw, the Cherokee, and the Creek. That this fate surely awaits them if they remain within the limits of the states does not admit of a doubt. Humanity and national honor demand that every effort should be made to avert so great a calamity.”

Source: President Jackson in a speech to Congress,  
8 December 1829

“That those tribes cannot exist surrounded by our settlements and in continual contact with our citizens is certain. They have neither the intelligence, the industry, the moral habits, nor the desire of improvement which are essential to any favorable change in their condition. Established in the midst of another and a superior race, and without appreciating the causes of their inferiority or seeking to control them, they must necessarily yield to the force of circumstances and ere long disappear.”

Source: President Jackson in a speech to Congress,  
3 December 1833

"One of the principle reasons for the legislation in Germany is the necessity to combat Bolshevism. This legislation is not anti-Jewish, but pro-German. The rights of Germans are thereby to be protected against destructive Jewish influences. ... the Jews who formed less than one per cent. of the population tried to monopolize the cultural leadership of the people and flooded the intellectual professions, such as, for example, jurisprudence and medicine. The influence of this intellectual Jewish class in Germany had everywhere a disintegrating effect. For this reason in order to bar the spread of this process of disintegration it became essential to take steps to establish a clear and clean separation between the two races.

Europe cannot find peace until the Jewish question has been solved.

...One thing I should like to say on this day [the sixth anniversary of his being appointed Chancellor of the Reich] which may be memorable for others as well as for us Germans. In the course of my life I have very often been a prophet and have usually been ridiculed for it. ...

Today I will once more be a prophet: if the international Jewish financiers in and outside Europe should succeed in plunging the nations once more into a world war, then the result will not be the Bolshevization of the earth, and thus the victory of Jewry, but the annihilation of the Jewish race in Europe."

Hitler speech to the Reichstag, 30 January 1939

Source: Adolf Hitler, speech to the Reichstag,

30 January 1939 <https://phdn.org/archives/www.ess.uwe.ac.uk/genocide/statements.htm>

## Rwanda 1994

Beginning in April 1994, and lasting 100 days, nearly one million ethnic Tutsi's and moderate Hutu's were killed.

Seven-out-of-every-ten Tutsi's where killed.

The Genocide must be understood to have taken place in (1) the context of colonialism and (2) in the context of civil war

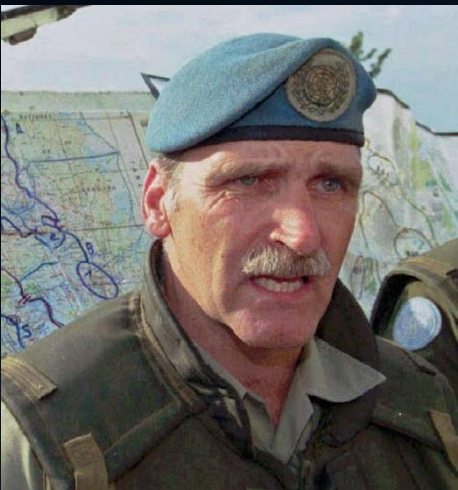


### Period of Colonialism

- Rwanda was a colony of Belgium. The Europeans assigned labels to the indigenous peoples.
  - “Hutu” – lower, poorer part of society
  - “Tutsi” – wealthy, powerful part of society, lighter skinned and taller
  - “Twa” – original inhabitants of Rwanda, forest dwelling
- The colonial period was characterized by rule of the Tutsi elite and exploitation of the Hutu.
  - ↳ Until 1959, when a Hutu Peasant Revolt resulted in Belgium reallocating power to the Hutu majority
- When Rwanda gained independence in 1962, the Hutu (ethnic majority) was left in power
  - ↳ Hutu rule resulted in widespread discrimination against Tutsi's. Tutsi's were excluded from prominent careers and education. A Hutu Power ideology emerged in which Tutsi's were viewed as foreigners.

### Period of Civil War

- 1990: A civil war between the Hutu government's armed forces and the rebel Rwandan Patriotic Front (Tutsi) started. Thousands were displaced causing insecurity and fear.
  - ↳ There was anti-Tutsi propaganda, painting Tutsi's as traitors. Lists of targets were drawn up. Weapons stored.
- Hutu's start using radio broadcasts from Uganda to incite hatred toward Tutsi's and issue commands.
- 1994: the genocide started when the President's (a Hutu) plane was shot down. Massacres were framed as revenge.



### Romeo Dallaire

- Born 1946 in Netherlands, moved to Canada at 6 months.
- Joined the Canadian army in 1963
- Canadian officer in charge of UN Peacekeepers during the genocide
- Developed PTSD. Attempted suicide in 2000 (left in coma for a time)
- Dallaire founded The Roméo Dallaire Child Soldiers Initiative to help prevent the recruitment and use of child soldiers
- Briefly taught at Harvard University
- Elected to the Canadian Senate
- Retired 2014 to spend time lecturing, dealing with PTSD and to devote his time toward his organization.
- Still alive in February 2023



### Paul Rusesabagina (Hutu)

- Born 1954. Dad was Hutu, mom was Tutsi
- 1987, meets Tatiana (Tutsi) at a wedding. Marry two years later
- Studies to become a minister. Disillusioned, he gets a job at the hotel
- After staying in Rwanda for two more years after the genocide, Rusesabagina applied for asylum in Belgium and moved to Brussels with his wife, children, and two nieces in 1996, fearing for his life. There he worked as a taxi driver
  - 🇧🇪 Has Belgium citizenship, a US green card, and has homes in Belgium and Texas.
  - 🇧🇪 On 31 August 2020, believing he was taking a chartered flight to Burundi from Dubai, he arrived in Rwanda where he was arrested on nine charges of terrorism that related to his association with the National Liberation Front, which claimed responsibility for terrorist attacks in 2018 which killed at least nine people
    - ↳ On 20 September 2021, he was convicted on terrorism charges and sentenced to 25 years in prison. The UN Working Group on Arbitrary Detention rendered their opinion on 18 March 2022 that Rusesabagina had been illegally kidnapped, tortured, and sentenced after an unfair trial.
- Still alive in February 2023



### Notes on Tatiana...

- Born 1958
- Tatiana's mother was murdered in the genocide along with other family members and their bodies were thrown into a pit with many others.
  - ↳ Her father paid to be killed by shooting, so that he did not have to die a more painful and horrific death.
- Her father had forged all of her family's identification cards to say that they were Hutu; however, the militia had other ways of tracking who was who. Two of her siblings survived the genocide



### Stefan Stec (portrayed as a journalist in the film, actually a UN photojournalist)

- Born 1964 Warszawa Poland, died 2005 Netherlands (age 40)
- After Rwanda, settled in Netherlands with his partner Heather and created a organization to assist orphans
- In 2005, Stec was invited to a special showing of Hotel Rwanda in The Hague. After the film, which portrays the peacekeepers as ineffectual, there was a panel discussion during which Stec was publicly blamed for not having done enough to save Rwandan lives.
- Stec fell ill after the viewing. He stopped eating despite intervention by psychiatrists who had treated soldiers from the Dutch UN battalion in Srebrenica, and subsequently died due to complications from posttraumatic stress disorder in September 2005.



# Is Holodomor (Ukraine) a Genocide?

Holodomor is also known as 'to kill by starvation' / 'Terror Famine' / 'Great Famine'

↳ It was a human-made famine in Soviet Ukraine from 1932 to 1933 which killed between 3.3 million and 5 million people

It was part of the wider Soviet programs of the era which affected major grain-producing areas

Whether the Holodomor constitutes a genocide remains in dispute.

Yes, it is a genocide:

- The famine was planned and exacerbated by Stalin for the purpose of eliminating a Ukrainian independence movement.
- Starvation deaths were a direct, predictable result of Soviet policy
- 10% - 15% of Ukraine's population died

No, it is not a genocide:

- The famine arose because of rapid Soviet industrialization and collectivization of agriculture (ie, it was the byproduct of policies but not the intent of the policy itself)
- Holodomor does not have definitive documentation that Stalin directly ordered the mass murder of Ukrainians
- If truly a genocide, why did it end when it did?

What type of questions need to be addressed in the field of genocide studies?

Regarding Ukraine...

1. Was there something exceptional about the mass starvation of Ukrainians compared to other nationalities of the USSR?
2. Was it a general ruthless policy of the Soviet regime “to reach the plan by all means” or an intended elimination of certain nationalities?
3. Was the Holodomor directed towards kulaks and peasants as a social group, or towards Ukrainians as a national group?
4. Etc...

### International opinion

- Since 2006, Holodomor has been recognized as a genocide by the European parliament, Ukraine and 22 countries, and considered a criminal act by Stalin’s regime by 6 countries
- The United Nations considers it a crime against humanity, but not genocide.

How is analysis done in genocide studies?

Analyzing these events and documents, historian Timothy Snyder in his book “Bloodlands: Europe Between Hitler and Stalin” writes that although the famine caused by collectivization raged in many parts of the Soviet Union in 1932, *special and particularly lethal policies* were adopted in and largely limited to Ukraine at the end of 1932 and 1933.

Snyder defines seven policies which were implemented mostly or only in Ukraine and, therefore, caused there an additional number of deaths compared to other rural areas of Soviet Union.

The following may seem like an anodyne administrative measure - and each of them was certainly presented as such at the time - and yet each had to kill:

1. From 18 November 1932, Ukrainian peasants were required to return the extra grain they had previously earned for meeting their quotas. State police and party brigades were sent into these regions to root out any food they could find.
2. Two days later, a law was passed forcing peasants who could not meet their grain quotas to surrender any livestock they had.
3. Eight days later, collective farms that failed to meet their quotas were placed on “blacklists” in which they were forced to surrender 15 times their quota. These farms were picked apart for any possible food by party activists. Blacklisted communes had no right to trade or to receive deliveries of any kind, and became death zones.
4. On 5 December 1932, Stalin’s security chief presented the justification for terrorizing Ukrainian party officials to collect the grain. It was considered treason if anyone refused to do their part in grain requisitions for the state.
5. In November 1932 Ukraine was required to provide 1/3 of the grain collection of the entire USSR.
6. In January 1933, Ukraine’s borders were sealed in order to prevent Ukrainian peasants from fleeing to other republics. By the end of February 1933, approximately 190,000 Ukrainian peasants had been caught trying to flee Ukraine and were forced to return to their villages to starve.
7. The collection of grain continued even after the annual requisition target for 1932 was met in late January 1933.”