I. Genocide and Collective Behavior

A. Genocide, Collective Behavior, and Rwanda

1. Unique:

a. tens of thousands, maybe hundreds of thousands, participated

in the killing.

b. statistically one killer per family

2. Usually

a. Holocaust

i. highly organized

ii. cooperative institutions

iii. Hitler’s Willing Executioners

iv. majority: “some are guilty all are responsible”

b. Sadam and the Anfal

3. Sudan and Darfur

B. Background

1. Recognizing the crime (not recognized)

a. 1915 Henry Morgenthau ambassador to Turkey

b. Turkish genocide of Armenians

c. “race murder” Churchill “in the midst of a crime without a name”

d. earlier examples

i. Australians in Aborigines and Tasmania

ii. Columbus and the Taino iii. U.S. and British

iv. Belgium and the Congo

2. One person to name the crime and establish international law

a. First use: Raphael Lemkin “Axis Rule in Occupied Europe” 1943

b. began in 1929

i. international law that would prohibit destruction of nations, races, religious groups

ii. precedent is piracy

c. used the terms

i. barbarism: premeditated destruction . ..

ii. vandalism: destruction of culture

d. cover: mass deportation, lowering birth rate, economic exploitation, starvation, mass executions

e. imply: moral judgment

f. “genocide”

i. Greek

ii. Latin

3. Making it a crime: Genocide and the War Crimes Trials

a. Nuremberg Trials based on indictments against German leaders and organizations

b. Japanese War Crimes Trials: International Military

Tribunal for the Far East

4. Indictments

a. Crimes against the Peace

i. waging an aggressive war

ii. in violation of international treaties

iii. most serious crime “crime of the collective”

b. War crimes in all occupied countries

i. waging “total war” methods of combat and

occupation in violation of the laws and

customs of war

ii. Rules of Aerial Warfare Hague 1923

iii. no wanton destruction of cities, towns, or villages, destruction of private property, or injury to non-combatants

iv. German bombing of cities: “inhuman barbarism that has profoundly shocked the conscience of humanity”

v. murder and torture of civilians Rape of Nanking

vi. treatment of prisoners of war

c. Crimes against humanity in occupied territories

i. murder, enslavement, deportation and other inhumane acts

ii. “conducted deliberate and systematic genocide , the

extermination of racial and national groups, against the

civilian populations of certain occupied territories

d. conspiracy

i. General Plan

ii. a, b, and c

4. New precedents

i. no political, economic, military or othe considerations shall serve as an excuse or justification

ii. law of individual responsibility

not superior orders

not acts of state

iii. rejection of preemptive war as defense

5. Old powers: national sovereignty

D. Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide.(1948)

1. any of the folowing acts committed with intent to destroy in whole or

in part, a national, ethnical, or religious groups, such as

a. killing members of the group

b. causing serious bodily or mental harm to members

c/. deliberately inflicting on the group the conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part.

d. imposing measure intended to prevent births within the group

e. forcibly transferring children of the group to another group

2. motives not relevant as defense

a. security threat

b. necessity

3. prevention

a. any signer many call on U.N. to take action

b. disputes taken to International Court of Justice

4. punishment

a. persons (rulers, officials, private citizens)

b. signers laws to give effect, esp punishment

c. international penal tribual when necessary

5. US opposition: sovereignty, ‘entangling alliances,” 1988

E. Universal Declaration of Human Rights

F. International Criminal Court

1. standing tribunal to try war crimes, crimes against humanity,

and genocide

2. governments have jurisdiction first

G. New precedents

1. rights vs national sovereignty

2. mandatory collective action to stop and punish

H. Still genocide

1. Cambodia (1975-78)

2. E. Timor (1975-80)

3. Iraq-Anfal

4. in 70s

a. Nigeria Ibo 1 million

b. Pakistan killed 1 -2 million Bengalis

5. Darfur

II. Social pre-conditions to Genocide

A. Ideology: Evil “other:

1. group:

a. homogenous identity

b. identity: determining factor in who they are

c. racial anti-semitism, Tutsis

2. demonized

a. inhuman

b. evil

c. Tusis were “cockroaches”, Jew were “vermin”

3. existence was a threat

a. Jewish conspiracy

4. extermination: necessary no other solution

B. Propaganda

1. social organizations: government, church, schools, small groups

2. mass media

3. conventional wisdom: reality

C. Economic conditions

1. Depression, inflation, high unemployment

2. scapegoating: blame the other

D. War

1. authoritarian: breakdown of democratic institutions

2. following war: destruction of social and cultural institutions, norms,

and roles

III.. Genocide and Rwanda

A. History

1. Rwanda was settle by cave-dwelling pygmies

whose descendants are calle the Twa peoples

a. marginalized and disenfranchised

b. make up today less than 1%

2. Tutsis and the Hutus

a. little is really known about their migrations

b. Hutus could be Bantu, Tutsis could be Nilotic

3. Tutsis and Hutus

a. share the same language Kinyarwanda( second

most widely spread in Africa next to Swahili)

b. follow the same religion

c. intermarry

d. interact economically, politically, and socially

4. Political culture

a. small chiefdoms

b. chiefs were called Mwamis

i. some Hutu some Tutsis

ii. fought toghere in Mwamis armies

5. through heredity Hutus could become Tutsis and

vice versa

6. hierarchical with complex and highly organized

a. multi-layered military, political, civil

b. chiefs, sub-chiefs, sub-sub chiefs governors,

deputy governor

c also priests, tax collectors, clan leaders,

army recruiters

7. 1860 Rwabugiri came to power as Mwami

a. Tutsis in power

b. better off economically from this arrangement

c. feudal arrangements: Tutsis aristocrats, Hutus vasssal

d. no universal distinction

B. Importance of Appearance

1. Hutus were stocky, round-faced, dark-skinned,

flat-nosed, thick-lipped, and square-jawed;

2. Tutsi lanky and long-faced, lighter skinned, narrow

nosed, thin lipped narrow chin

3. nature proved countless exceptions

4. however, ethnic ideology emerging, ideology of

antagonistic opposites

C. Race Science and the Importance of Appearance

1. John Hanning Speke 1863

a. Africa a world of "sorry Negroes" who could

possibly be save by England" brought out of the

darkness

b except for the "superior race' that he found

i. identified the Tutsis because of their

appearance

ii. must be lost Christians Hamitic myth

(son of Noah, cursed to be slave\_

2. Colony of Germany East Africa 1885

3. Germany set up a colonial government of indirect

rule: 1897-1921

a. kept Tutsis in power

b. reinforced their power over the Hutus

c. clearly defined as opposing ethnic identities

G. Belgian colonial rule: 1921

1. Rwanda given to Belgium after WWI

a. Belgium sent military and admininstrative personnel

b. an army of churchmen Rwanda most Catholic

country in Africa

c. ethnic division cornerstone of colonial rule

4. race scientists

a. weighing Rwandans

b. measuring cranial capacity

c. measuring noses (nasal index), foreheads

d. they discovered Tutsis superior, Hutus 'coarse"

and 'bestial"

5. Belgium and Roman Catholic Church: joint rule

a. organizing Rwandan on ethnic lines: apartheid

b. unlimited power of Tutsis

i. Hutu labor and taxation

ii. identity cards which labeled ethnic

identity

iii. Hutu forced labor \*Belgian Congo

c. RCC schools discriminated

i. taught ethnocentrism

d. opportunities declined in all areas

e. Belgians made ethnicity the defining feature of

Rwandan existence

H. Rwandan Independence

1. Post WWII: Un Trusteeship

2. Hutu Manifesto 1957

a. argument for democracy

b. send Tutsis back to where they came

c. Hutuness

3. not democracy simply reversal

4. Nov 1, 1959 wide scale violence against Tutsis after

death of Hutu activist "The wind of destruction"

5. Belgian Col Logiest "revolution"

6. Hutus in power: reversal

a. disenfrancish Tutsis

b. take their homes and propert

c. organize more violence

6. Jan 1961 Belgium declares Rwanda a republic and

independence in 1962

7. UN: not a democracy, a racial dictatorship, and there

will be consequences

6. 1963: “self defense units killed 14,000.

I. Post-Independence to 1990

1. accelerating violence

2. France insinuates itself trying to expand its African empire

J. 1990

1. RPF invades

2. retaliation: all Tutsis are accomplices

3. Kangura newspaper: “wake up”

i. Hutu power

ii. Ten Commandments of the Hutus

4. Oct 11 massacre at Kibiliar

K. 1993 Arusha Accords

1. power sharing

L. April to Mid-July: Genocide not war (Dallaire)

1. attempt to exterminate the Tutsi

a. cockroaches

b. “God wants you to die”

c. men, women, and children

d. moderate Hutus

2. planned and highly organized

a. lists drawn up

b. weapons stored (40 million tons by 1992, 500,000 machetes)

c. units trained

d. plan: kill Belgian peacekeepers

e. . state radio Radio Mille Collines directed the slaughter, identifying targets and locations

f. DIA: May 9, not spontaneous

3. spontaneous and coerced participation: hundreds of thousands of Hutus

a. under the banner of Hutu Power and

b. the slogan"Do your work"

c. most killing done by machetes

4. Drs killed patients, teachers killed students, students

killed students, ministers killed their congregation,

neighbor killed neighbor, family member killed family

5. examples

M. World Remanined Silent -1

1. Jan 1994 Gen Dallaire: informer

1. UN commander told Kofi Annan what was going to happen and that he could stop it with 5000

2. Kofi Annan then head of UN Peacekeeping said don't

intervene, in fact, tell Haybiarama

3. Immediately Hutus killed and mutilated a contingent

of Belgian peacekeepers who did not resists

4. UN for all practical purposes disappeared, however Dallaire was

able to save

N. World Remained Silent -2

1. Presidential Decision Directive 25

a. 16 factors for consideration

b.

2. also urged others not to get involved, demanded pull out.

3. would not use the word genocide because that

would mean keeping our word (359)

4. when other countries realizing it was genocide

were ready to send troops

a. Albright delayed vote

b. US delayed further by withholding promised

weapons

5. the agenda

a. Arusha Accords

b.

N. The world helped - 1 - France

1. Hutu and France had close ties after Belgians

left in 1959

2. France funneled arms to keep Hutus in power and

aid the killing

3. kept UN from condemning the atrocity

4. both US and France kept Rwanda ambassador on

Security Council

5. Sent troops to set up safety zone Operation Turquoise

safety for Hutu

F. World helped - NGOs

1. RPF was the group that stopped the slaughter, formerly

exiled Tutsis

2. As Hutu -genocidaires - fled to Uganda and Belgian Congo

3. NGOs set up humanitarian centers for them

4. Centers run by Hutu Power and served as staging

areas to attack and kill Tutsis

G. How can this problem be solved

1. over 100,000 Hutus in prison

2. Tutsis return home, Hutus in their house

3. Neighbors killed their relatives

III. America and Genocide in the Twentieth Century

A. Leaders:

1. cost -benefit analysis

2. negative consequences of failed intervention would be more harmful to

career than not intervening.

B. American policy

1. no troops to prevent genocide or stop on-going genocide

2. no use of unilateral economic or political pressure

3. spin the genocide

i. two-sided (civil war or traditional hostility)

ii. intervention would cause more harm than good

iii. avoid using the term “genocide”

C. Support of genocidal regime

1. unilateral political support for regime

2. undermine multilateral political, economic, and military efforts

3. provide economic aid to regime

4. provide military aid to regime