

# Issues of Genocide in the Modern and Contemporary World

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**G**enocide is the most barbaric crime and has long-term effects. Cold-blooded state-organized mass murder is not an exceptional crime. Though genocides and mass murder of defenceless victims account for 2 percent of all conflicts, this is an alarming sign and a matter of most serious concern. The number of victims of genocide and mass violence is much higher than the frequency suggests; the small numbers of genocidal mass violence show a higher mortality than those of all other conflicts combined. The illustrative example given was that the state-organised genocide in Rwanda 1994 alone took one million lives in a period of 99 days; this incredible

number of victims is more than three times the number of victims caused by all conflicts in the ex-USSR and former Yugoslavia 1989–2002 combined.

Genocide is the most severe type of violent conflict and has to be clearly distinguished from warfare; its victims are civilians, including old people, children, and even babies. Since the holocaust and WWII gross human rights violations, genocidal atrocities and in some cases outright genocide cause havoc in many regions of the world and result in whole populations being petrified in fear and mass traumatization.

## Long Dreadful History of Genocide

One of the most important observations is that genocide and colonization were always closely linked. The largest ever genocide in modern history was committed by half a dozen European states in what was later called the Third World. Large-scale genocide was committed against American Indians, against Africans and Afro-Americans, against the Australian Aborigines and against a large number of subjugated peoples in European colonies. The worst genocides ever were committed by European colonial powers against the peoples of America and Africa.

- The indigenous Indians of the Americas were reduced by the Spaniards in the South and other European settlers in the North from 80 millions in 1492 to 3.5 millions 1750. Genocide against Indians is continued until today, e.g. in Paraguay, Guatemala, and Brazil.
- From 1500 onwards Africa lost hundred million people to European slavery. Most enslaved Africans died under genocidal conditions during mass transport from Africa to Americas. Genocide against Africans was continued by infamous lynching campaigns in Southern USA.

It is important to understand that genocide was an inherent part of general practice employed by virtually all European powers

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throughout the colonial period, with Belgium, Germany and Britain ranking after Spain. In the late 19th and early 20th centuries the largest genocide went on for decades in the Congo Free State (see: Hochschild, Adam: *King Leopold's Ghost*. Houghton Mifflin 1998); heinous techniques used by the Germans against the Herero and Nama in Southwest Africa and in Tanganyika became part of modern genocide.

The 20th century is called the 'Age of Genocide'. From 1910 onwards, genocide underwent a paradigmatic change towards the type of total genocide involving aggression of dominant group vs. domestic minorities.

### Basic concepts and definitions

**Genocide** is a phenomenon known since ancient times; it means actions carried out by a state or ruler with the intent to systematically kill a particular community of people or social collectivity, resulting in destroying the targeted group in whole or in part.

**Modern genocide** is state-organized mass murder and crimes against humanity characterized by the intention of the rulers to exterminate individuals because of belonging to a particular national, ethnic, religious or 'racial' group (genocide). Victims belonging to a particular cultural group (*ethnocide*), to a particular political group (*politicide*) or to a particular social group (*democide*) or not equally well protected by the UN Anti-Genocide Convention of 1948. Genocide is a premeditated mass-crime that has been systematically planned, prepared, and executed.

**Massacres and pogroms** are acts of mass murder committed by different types of perpetrators such as state agents, security forces, political extremists and interest groups against vulnerable groups, which have been excluded from main-stream society. Pogroms are usually committed by a mob of incited thugs while massacres can well be premeditated and may include state

agents or are ordered by political and state leaders.

**Partial genocide** means that the perpetrators aimed at destruction-in-part of a particular community or group of people in order to dominate the group. This was the case regarding genocide and slavery against Africans and Afro-Americans committed by European colonial powers and settlers.

**Total genocide** means that the perpetrators aimed at the complete extermination and destruction-in-whole of a particular community or group of people, with the intent to destroy its members, its reproduction (as a group) as well as its culture and institutions.

**Mass murder** committed against members of a particular political group (called *politicide* by Barbara Harff) or of a social group (called *democide* by Rudolph Rummel) also constitutes a horrifying crime but does not legally fall under the UN Anti-Genocide Convention of 1948.

**Most deadly regimes** in the 20th century have all committed total genocide against domestic groups, mainly their barbarian attempt to exterminate domestic national, ethnic or religious minorities.

**Dominant groups** got into positions of command over the so-called monopoly of violence. Their assertive relationship toward ethnically distinct nationalities (*nations without their own state*) became the most important dangerous source of violent conflict since 1945, increasingly so with each cycle of decolonization.

**Ethnic communities** have a distinct name, which often simply signifies 'person' or 'people' in the ethnic community's language, a specific heterogeneous culture, particularly, a distinct language, and a collective memory or historical remembrance, including community myths relating to shared ancestry. This is producing a degree of solidarity between members, generating a feeling of belonging.

**Ethnicity** as a term is used to describe a variety of forms of mobilization, which ultimately relate to the autonomous

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existence of specifically ethnic forms of socialization.

### Definition by the Anti-Genocide Convention

Scholars do not have to define genocide. This worst possible crime is defined and codified in the UN *Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide* of 9 December 1948, which entered into force on 12 January 1951. The definition reads in Article 2 as follows:<sup>1</sup>

... 'genocide means 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.'

In Article 1 the convention declares that 'The Contracting Parties confirm that genocide, whether committed in time of peace or in time of war, is a crime under international law which they undertake to prevent and to punish.' In Article 3 the punishable acts are listed: 'The following acts shall be punishable: (a) Genocide; (b) Conspiracy to commit genocide; (c) Direct and public incitement to commit genocide; (d) Attempt to commit genocide; (e) Complicity in genocide.'

### Basic Standards Concerning Genocide

A short note about what is underpinning definitions can be added, keeping in mind that there are different starting points and points of consideration:

1. Genocide is not a matter for interpretation. The definition the international community is obliged to

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1. Download the text of the UN Anti-Genocide Convention at [http://www.unhchr.ch/html/menu3/b/p\\_genoci.htm](http://www.unhchr.ch/html/menu3/b/p_genoci.htm).

use (and most genocide scholars stick to) is the codification of the crime of genocide in the Anti-Genocide Convention of 1948, defining scope, intent and four victim groups.

2. War and genocide are not the same and have to be strictly separated.
3. The UN defines genocide on the base of a procedure (UN Human Rights Commission, Special Rapporteurs and on-the-spot inquiries by experts). The regime is slow; it did not prevent Cambodia, East Timor, Rwanda.
4. The term 'genocide' shall not be abused as a political propaganda tool.

Any exercise of defining genocide must be aware of the fact, if we like it or not, that genocide is already defined and that the UN definition is policy relevant, e.g., the only definition relevant in prosecuting the crime of genocide, currently by the UN International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR) and soon by the International Criminal Court (ICC).

### Distinguishing Genocide from Other Forms of Mass Violence

In today's mass violence we encounter different degrees of gross human rights violations (1–2), war crimes (3), crimes against humanity (4–8), among them genocide (7–8). Such gross violations and crimes are ranged on a scale from 1 to 8—with increasing degree, intensity and magnitude of the crimes committed:

1. 'ethnic cleansing' or expulsions;
2. mass deportations, euphemistically called 'population transfers';
3. war crimes and crime of aggression, now being codified by the ICC;
4. pogroms, crimes against humanity not organized by the state;
5. massacres, crimes against humanity, often state-organized / in wars;
6. large-scale atrocities, crimes against humanity, often during wars;
7. partial genocides, usually using a war as a front; and

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8. total genocides, 'genocide-in-whole' according to the UN convention, with four total genocides in the 20th century; another one started in the 19th century (in the Congo Free State, 1835–1909).<sup>2</sup>

Only the last two crimes are defined as genocide; they are by definition organized by a state or other authority.

### Total Genocide in the 20th Century

**Total genocide** means that the perpetrators were aiming at destruction-in-whole of a particular community of peoples (not genocide-in-part) and the result was accordingly. There were only very few cases of total genocide before the 20th century, namely the largest ever genocide committed 1492–1750 by the Iberians (Spanish and Portuguese) against the American Indians and the genocide against North American Indians by European powers and settlers. In the 20th century alone there were four cases of total genocide, causing more victims than in any previous period.

- (1) the *Aghet*: Turkish genocide 1914–1923 against the Armenians
- (2) the Holocaust: genocides committed 1933–1945 by the fascist German state and its allies and collaborators against the European Jews (*Shoah*), the Roma (*Porrajmos*), Poles, Russians, Serbs and other Slavs, as well as democide against POWs, foreign slave workers, domestic disabled people and homosexuals, and politicide of domestic / foreign opposition
- (3) the Khmer Rouge genocide in Kampuchea 1975–1979 against the Vietnamese, the pre-Khmer Cham nation (Muslims), Chinese minorities and Buddhist monks, as well as democide against the Khmer urban classes
- (4) the Hutu-power genocide in Rwanda 1994 committed by the *akazu* elite, their

state machinery, Hutu-power militia and factions of political parties and a huge number of common people against the Tutsi branch of the Banyarwanda, as well as politicide against the Hutu opponents.<sup>3</sup>

The most deadly regimes of the 20th century have all committed total genocide against domestic groups—the barbarian attempt to exterminate *their* minorities—often combined with democide (murder of social groups).<sup>4</sup>

### Modern Genocide

The most infamous cases of state-organized crimes in *modern* Europe are large-scale genocide committed during both World Wars. The willing executioners of the Holocaust were not only Germans but also local collaborators among different nations in occupied countries all over Europe; the executioners of the Armenian genocide were also recruited among non-Turkish peoples of the Ottoman Empire. Both large-scale genocides were committed under the cover and during periods of warfare. However, the genocidal agenda of the perpetrators was known, e.g. in the case of German fascism openly announced by Hitler well in advance.

### War as a Smokescreen for Slaughter

War provided a smoke screen for the slaughter of millions of civilian victims. After reaching the height of power in the moribund empire in 1914, the Young Turk

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2. The genocide in the Congo Free State of Belgium king Leopold II was the largest ever in Africa.

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3. Rwanda genocide see: Scherrer, C.P.: *Genocide and Crisis in Central Africa*. Praeger 2001. African Rights 1994. Prunier 1995. Scherrer 1997, 1995. "Ethnisierung und Völkermord in Rwanda," *Widerspruch* 30: 61–86.

4. Cases of large-scale partial genocide since the 1950s were Sudan's Arab or Arabized regimes (1954–1972; 1984 until today), Bangladesh 1961 (Pakistani army vs. Bengali and Hindu minority), Indonesia 1965 (army vs. Chinese and PKI members), Burundi 1972 (Hima-Tutsi army vs. Hutu elites and Tutsi-Banyaruguru opposition), US indiscriminate bombing in Laos, Cambodia and Vietnam (1968–75), the Khmer Rouge (1975–9), Rwanda's Hutu regime against the Tutsi (4–6/1994).

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military elite (originating entirely from the European part of the Ottoman Empire) began with systematic preparation for the genocide against the Armenians. On August 2, 1914, a secret German-Turkish agreement on the entry of Turkey at the side of Germany into World War I was signed. The situation was similar concerning the fascist genocides: Since 1939 Germany was at war with its neighbors, starting with Poland where in the following years alone 4.4 million civilians perished. Genocide was one of the means totalitarian regimes in Europe used against national, ethnic or religious minorities, which played leading roles in the economy and culture of their respective countries.<sup>5</sup>

### The Holocaust as Model Genocide

Genocidal atrocities started with a politicide (state-organized mass murder of the political opposition). Violence was first directed against communists, trade unionists and socialists. Mass executions and slaughter was executed by special task forces and SS paramilitary, the main instrument of fascist terror policy, under direct command of the *Führer* and the Nazi power elite, based on the *National Socialist German Workers Party* (NSDAP) party.

When World War II was started with Hitler's *Blitzkrieg* against Poland, mass executions began in 1939. Following the occupation of large parts of Eastern Europe, mass murder against the European Jews, Roma, Poles, Russians and other peoples was ordered immediately and took the form of full-scale genocide. Units of the German army (*Wehrmacht*) and special battalions executed the mass murder.

The infamous *Einsatzgruppen A-D* partly consisted of police reserve battalions of 'normal Germans'. Finally the civilian population and prisoners of war (POWs) from the USSR were targeted. The overkill of prisoners and millions of slave workers

through hard labor and inhumane conditions in the concentration camps was organized parallel to the killings in war zones.

The Nazi terror reign was culminating in 'industrial genocide' in places like Auschwitz and in other extermination factories, especially constructed for the execution of the 'final solution' (*Endlösung*), by gazing and cremating millions—separated many different categories of victims—throughout the years 1942–1945.

50 millions died in WW2, among them the victims of the Nazi genocide and 'total war' fascist Germany brought over eastern Europe, southeastern Europe and Northern Africa. German fascism murdered 6 million Jews, 1.5 million Roma and Sinti, 3.3 million Soviet POWs, 12 million Russian civilians, 3 million Poles, 1 million Serbs and millions others.

The indirect death toll among the civilian populations (*democide*) was enormous: seven million people died of hunger during the German extermination war in the hinterlands of FSU only. These were cases of intentional mass murder, as H.H. Nolte pointed out.<sup>6</sup> In both cases (Germany 1930s-40s; Turkey 1910s) the exterminatory ideologies used were an inherent part of pre-modern ethnicist or racist theories.

### Ongoing Legacies of Colonialism

Examples of more than 50 years of modern post-colonial genocide are manifold. Legacies of colonialism led to genocide or genocidal atrocities in different parts of the world since 1948. Some of the crimes (listed hereafter) were supported or covered up by Western powers:

- Burma since 1948: ethnic Burman (Bamar) vs. 70 minorities.
- Southern and Central Sudan since 1956 until today: 3.5 million victims; Arabs /

5. The best analysis has Vahakan N. Dadrian (The History of the Armenian Genocide. Berghahn Books 1995). Also: Robert Melson, Taner Akçam, Mihran Dabag, Bernhard Lewis, a/o.

6. Nolte, Hans-Heinrich: 'Der Krieg im Osten als Vernichtungskrieg'; Hannover: LGN 1999, 43–68.

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- Arabized Northerners vs. Dinka, Nuer, Shilluk, Nuba, a/o.
- Rwanda since 1959 and Burundi since 1964: Hutu vs. Tutsi branch of Banyarwanda and Hima-Tutsi vs. Hutu branch of Barundi.
  - Indonesia 1965–6: against alleged communists; upheaval of 1993-4, with many victims among members of the Chinese minority; renewed chasing of Chinese in 1998 during fall of dictatorship and turmoil.
  - Genocide against American Indians: continued in the 1970s against the Aché in Paraguay, in the 1980s by the regime of General Rios Montt against Guatemala's indigenous Mayan majority (mainly against Quiche, Ixil, a/o.), in the 1990s against the Yanomami and other low land Indian peoples in the Brazilian Amazon region.
  - East Timor from 1975: Indonesian invaders vs. Timorese; the USA gave the green light to the military rulers; from end 1975 until 1999 a third of the population perished; the Portuguese colony was annexed, until TNI had to pull out 1999, and the UN came.<sup>7</sup>
  - Irian Jaya/West Papua: Indonesian invaders and settlers against Papuans.
  - Pol Pot's Cambodia in the 1970s
  - Burundi's selective genocide in 1972: Hima-Tutsi army killing over 100,000 among the educated Hutu and Tutsi-Banyaruguru opposition.
  - Burundi's second partial genocide in 1993: premeditated by Frodebu leaders and perpetrated by Hutu thugs, killing Tutsi farmers in almost all prefectures following Ndadaye's assassination; 'revenge killings' were carried out by the Hima-Tutsi army against Hutu; communal violence continued, even after the strengthening of the peace process in 1998.
  - Bangladesh 1971: two to three million people perished in a partial genocide perpetrated by the West Pakistani army to prevent the secession of former *East Pakistan*, which was carved out by the British colonizers from the Bengal region of British India to become part of the Muslim state of Pakistan,<sup>8</sup> as a result of massive terror against dissent among Bengali and supporters of the Awami League as well as large-scale communal strife and a parallel attempt by Muslim Bengali and Muslim Bihari to exterminate the large Hindu minority.<sup>9</sup>
  - Congo-Zaire since the 1970s: Mobutu's ethno-politics had a genocidal agenda; Congo-Zaire since 1993: genocidal atrocities increased in the three Kivu provinces, partly as spill-over of the crisis in Burundi 1993 and the aftermath of the genocide in Rwanda 1994;
  - Rwanda 1994: among the four total genocides of the 20th century.
  - Democratic Republic of Congo: ongoing slaughter since 1996; very high death toll (estimated 2.5 million victims from mid 1998 to end of 2001) in Eastern Congo due to support of *génocidaires* and militias by the Kinshasa regime and the inability of UN peace keeping (MONUC) to enforce disarmament and disbanding of irregular 'negative forces'.

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7. In the example of East Timor the US acted indirectly. Declassified documents prove that US president Ford and Henry Kissinger, after having lost their 'total war' against the Vietnamese, gave Indonesian general Suharto the green light to overrun East Timor and annex it (see [www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB62/](http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB62/)).

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8. The differences between the two parts were extreme in all aspects (geography, culture, language, ethnicity, economy and history); religion could not work as a substitute in the long run. The only thing in common was the fear of Hindu domination.

9. 12 million Hindu Bengali fled to India and it was only due to the intervention by the Indian army in Dec. 1961 that the mass murder of 15% of population of Eastern Pakistan was stopped. See Leo Kuper 1981: 76–80.

## 20th Century Genocide and Mass Murder

	total genocide	partial genocide	mass murder (crimes against humanity, war crimes)
<b>genocide and mass murder by state actors until 1945</b>	colonial genocide of USA against Indian peoples extending into 20th century; Aghet 1914–23; Shoa, Roma & POWs 1939–45	during WW1 and WW2: Serbs vs. Albanians 1912; Japanese Nanjing massacre 1937–38; German army's 'total war' and collaborators in FSU, Balkan and Greece; Croatian Ustashi vs. Serbs, Roma; Jews a/o 1940s;	Hundreds of cases: 1898–1900 European powers massacre boxer uprising in China; US army vs. Creek Indians 1901; Japanese war crimes across Asia; Stalin's gulags, mass death in Ukraine; US fire bombs on Tokyo, A-bombs on Hiroshima & Nagasaki
<b>domestic genocide and mass murder by state actors after 1945</b>	four cases of total full-scale genocide in the 20th century (incl. Aghet and Nazi Holocaust); Cambodia: Khmer Rouge vs. Cham, Chinese, Monks, Vietnamese and urban Khmer classes 1975–9; Rwandan Hutu power vs. Tutsi April-July 1994 [see description in the main text]	Indonesian army and mob vs. Chinese 1965; Bangla Desh 1971: Pakistani & others vs. Bengali Hindu; Burundi 1972 army vs. Hutu elites & Tutsi-opposition; Sudan's regimes (1954–72; 1984 until today) vs. Nuba in Central Sudan and vs. Dinka, Nuer in South Sudan; Burma: army vs. Mon, Karen, Tai a/o; Paraguay vs. Aché in 1970s; Indonesian army vs. West Papuans 1970s to 1990s; Guatemalan military regimes vs. Mayan majority (Quiche, Ixil, a/o.) in 1980s; Iraq vs. Marsh Arabs and Kurds 1980s (Halabja 1988)	over hundred cases since 1945: KMT massacres in Taiwan March 1947; Cheju island in 1948–9; Burma: military vs. minorities ever since 1948; Zionists against Palestinians in 1948 (e.g., Deir Yassin); 1965 Indonesian army mass murder of 'communists'; series of Apartheid crimes in South Africa 1961–92; May 1980 Kwangju massacre in South Korea; IDF and Phalangists in Sept 1982 in Shatila and Sabra near Beirut; Burma vs. students in 1988; China's Tien-An-Men massacre 1989; IDF in Jenin camp April 2002; excessive violence, curfews and systematic denial of food and water supplies against Palestinian refugee camps and towns 2001 to 2003
<b>domestic genocide and mass murder by non-state actors</b>	European settlers vs. American Indians; landless peasants vs. low Indian peoples in the Amazon	in the 1990s by <i>Garimpos</i> against the Yanomami and other low land Indian peoples in the Brazilian Amazon; SE Asia: Filipino, Malay, Thai a/o vs. Negritos a/o	several hundred cases: pogroms against Jews and Roma in several states of Eastern and Western Europe; lynching of Blacks in USA; settlers vs. indigenous groups

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<b>foreign genocide and mass murder by state actors</b>	total genocide in the Congo Free State 1877–1909; genocide of the colonial German army vs. Herero & Nama 1904–7	support for the genocide in Indonesia 1965–66 by USA, providing intelligence, death lists and funds; foreign state occupation and genocide of Indonesia against East Timorese 1975 to the 1980s (US complicity; green light to Suharto regime), mass killings by TNI and militias in 1999; USA in Indochina 1960–75: Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia: indiscriminate terror bombing ('carpet-bombings'), massacres by GIs, nuclear threats, and use of WMD (Napalm and Agent Orange), 4.5 million civilians died; the use of a UN embargo of Iraq to compound health hazards (infanticide of 500,000, 1991-2003) and uranium WMD by US-UK in Iraq 1991, 2003	US covert actions in 40 countries; USSR dirty war in Afghan 1979-89; US support for Islamist jihad terrorists in Algeria, Afghanistan, ex-USSR, China, etc.; large-scale massacre of Tamils in Sri Lanka 1983; US-UK high-way massacre near Basra, Iraq, 1991; massacre of POWs buried alive in trenches by US army in Iraq 1991; Taliban massacres of Hazara in Yakaolang and Bamiyan, Jan-Feb. 2001; US and UK Special Forces, CIA and Uzbek militia massacre of Taliban and al-Qaeda POWs at Sheberghan prison, Qala-i-Janghi fortress and 'Convoy of Death' to Dasht Leile desert, Afghanistan, Nov. 2001; Hilla massacre by US-UK in Iraq April 2003
<b>foreign / non-state actors</b>	no case	Transnational Corporations vs. indigenous groups in the Brazilian Amazon	Mercenaries in Third World conflicts; TNCs against marginal groups; other cases

### Rationale of the Typology of Genocide

The distinction of scale shall be introduced. The wording of the Anti-genocide convention of 1948 suggests genocide-in-whole and genocide-in-part, thus total or full-scale genocide and partial or large-scale genocide. Robert Melson combined this distinction of scale (total / partial) with the distinction of place (domestic / foreign).

This also calls in the type of victims targeted. Total genocides in the 20th century were *all* directed against a domestic component of the respective societies or against several components at once. In *all* four cases the state machinery was used extensively.

The type of perpetrator, being state and non-state actors therefore defines an obvious distinction and third dimension of the crime of genocide. In order to broaden the picture I include other types of mass

murder, such as pogroms and massacres, to be distinguished from total or partial genocide. The result is a 12-types scheme.

### Patterns of Total Genocide

The framework conditions are of crucial importance. Melson saw 'tidal waves of ethno-national conflict and genocide in the wake of crushing or crumbling states and empires'. These waves followed during WW1, WW2, the decolonization period and end of the Cold War in Europe by the collapse of USSR and Yugoslavia.

#### Decolonization as Trigger of Violence

The decolonization period was earmarked by artificial and weak states searching for ways of nation building, which were often very violently directed against non-dominant groups and the political

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opposition. 'Endless' ethnic civil wars, liberation wars, secessions and slaughter of populations began soon after WW2 in the Afro-Asian space. In Former British India the separation of India and Pakistan ended in large scale communal violence and horrible bloodshed. Internal wars in Burma since 1948, the secession of Eastern Pakistan and the civil war in Ceylon/Sri Lanka crippled South Asia. Africa was paralyzed by endemic mass violence in Sudan, Algeria, Indochina, Nigeria/Biafra, Indonesia, Uganda, Rwanda-Burundi, Former Portuguese Africa and the Horn of Africa.

The context is characterized by rapid political, social and structural changes (are rapid or abrupt historic changes following an extended period of crisis). The aim of genocide is part of a larger project of the nation state formation or its revision. This includes all the different processes of changing regimes, moving of boundaries or loss of territory, warfare (especially lost wars) or security threats resulting from (or perceived as) challenges to the dominant groups identity and to the identity of the 'national' political community.

### Genocide and Crimes Against Humanity during the Cold War

Some of the mentioned cases were facilitated or directly caused by the Cold War confrontation. The Cold War remained only cold on the territories of the superpowers and in Europe, formerly the worst theatre of wars and genocide, but the Cold War became 'hot' everywhere else and dismembered whole nations, killing tens of thousands up to several millions one superpower started, provoked, instigated and/or funded.

Direct US military aggression caused 3 million victims in Korea, 3.5 million in Vietnam, 2.5 million in Cambodia (including victims of Pol Pot's Khmer Rouge, which the USA supported even after they committed genocide) and hundreds of thousands in Laos. Declassified documents prove that USA gave the 'green light' or was accomplice to mass murder committed

by client regimes. The criminal role of USA in genocide and mass murder in Indonesia 1965 and 1975 is well documented.<sup>10</sup>

The deadly consequences of US supported destabilization and proxy wars: 1.5 million Afghans, 1.2 million Angolans, almost 1 million in Mozambique, and hundreds of thousands in Guatemala, Columbia and El Salvador died. Tens of thousands died, were tortured or disappeared in Chile, Argentine and Uruguay in the 1970s, in Nicaragua in the 1980s and in other countries in Latin America and beyond; they were considered (pro-) communists or they simply dared to engage in independent nation building.

### Exterminatory Ideology and Victimization

The redefinition or mystification of 'national' identity by the power-elites is a central point. The perceived 'struggle for national survival'—against internal and external enemies—has to become plausible for the majority group. The 'foreign' minorities shall function as scapegoats. The 'nation' needs to be purified. The elimination of '*foreign*' or alien elements from within is one of the common denominators of modern genocide.

The intentions of the killers are expressed in their exterminatory ideology. This ideology will always take up older stereotypes. The aim of the power elite is to single out and exclude a group as 'enemy of state and society'. Extremist regimes are essentially combining militarism, xenophobia, and ultra-nationalism—a dangerous brand of militant narrow nationalism—with promises for the majority population's 'bright future'.

Defencelessness of the victims or lack of attempts to resist—as witnessed in the holocaust, in Cambodia and in Rwanda—has been analysed as contributing to the likelihood of genocide.

Support for the genocide aim by a minority—and more important: the

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10. Burr and Evans: DNSA Briefing Book 62 ([www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB62/](http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB62/)).

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indifference of the majority—was ultimately won if victimized groups were presented as ‘racially’, ethnically, religiously or morally different from the dominant group. Successful proved the construction of close links between domestic ‘enemies’ and external ‘aggressors’ by the genocidal elites.

### Common Elements of Genocidal

#### Processes

Analyzing and comparing the total and partial ‘modern’ genocides of the 20th century produces a set of common elements and patterns of genocidal processes. Patterns can be found by looking at the perpetrators and their environment. Comparative research identifies and explores

- contexts in which genocidal escalation processes take place,
- role of the elite, the core organizers, legitimizers and perpetrators of genocide
- internal and external conditions genocidal elites find and create,
- the way genocidal extremists gain the state power and transform it,
- political environment in which they take the decision to destroy,
- politics of exclusion and the exterminatory ideology they use,
- type of victims they chose and how they stigmatize them,
- the reaction they get from the neighbouring states and the international community,
- the way they prepare and execute the crime of genocide, and
- the denial the perpetrators employ.

The perpetrators, their ideology, the process of victimization, and the way they executed the crime of genocide are the first focus of attention. The agendas of such elites are to destroy domestic groups, which as a rule are *always* in a non-dominant and minority position. Genocidal elites try to penetrate and dominate the state. Their objective is to impose their aims on the

state machinery they have conquered and on the majority people of their respective societies.

### Indicators of Alert

Identification of key elements of comparison and of general patterns of genocides may help to reduce the voids of comparative genocide research. This will contribute to the key objective of such research endeavors, the prevention of future genocide and mass violence.

An integrated warning process is needed. In 1999 I have proposed such a process based on twelve indicators of alert deduced from detailed escalation model.

#### Indicators of Genocide Alert

- (1) reinforcement and manipulation of old stereotypes,
- (2) construction of dichotomic collectivities: us / them and nationals / vermin,
- (3) reinforcing defencelessness of victims,
- (4) dehumanising of the victims,
- (5) impunity for crimes against the victims, and,
- (6) appeals to complicity and supply of more privileges.

#### Indicators of Red Alert

- (7) recruiting, indoctrinating and training of a ‘willing executioner’ force separate from army/police,
- (8) surge of hate propaganda in the state controlled media, such as gossip, lies, and fabrications about victim group,
- (9) liquidation of the political opposition,
- (10) breaking resistance among the national population,
- (11) skilful use of framework in producing a smoke-screen of ‘crisis’, and,
- (12) pre-emptive launch of well-prepared cover-up operations.

## **Enforcing the UN Convention**

The challenges of genocide prevention are great and the matter is urgent. Many states have not ratified the convention, among them a number of dangerous states. 56 states are not yet party to the Genocide Convention. Among them are genocidal states such as Sudan, DR Congo and Indonesia, as well as violence-prone states such as Tajikistan, Angola, Uzbekistan and Bolivia. Today effective instruments, practical procedures and respected institutions necessary to achieve these noble goals are only partly in place: most instruments and institutions for averting, preventing and outlawing genocide have yet to be created.

Genocide prevention is key task for global governance. Global monitoring of gross human rights violations has to be coordinated by a special UN branch. The UN system should implement the recommendations made by the remarkably candid Carlsson inquiry report 1999. Deadly threats and the vulnerability of civilian populations in intra-state conflicts and genocides were growing at a fast rate in the past 20th century.

Defenceless civilians are seen by many actors as the soft targets, easy to assault; they are murdered, tortured, terrorized, starved, pillaged, put at high risks for their health, chased, expelled, displaced, rather than protected. Violence is more often used without any purpose other than destruction of lives and livelihood. The international law and the international humanitarian law are not enforced. There are no comprehensive sanctions linked to gross violations of international law. Perpetrators of large crimes often get away with it. This is an invitation for others to act the same way.

Changes seem under way. On 11 April 2002, the world's first permanent International Criminal Court (ICC) was established at an historic UN treaty event. The simultaneous deposit of ten ratifications of the Rome Statute brought the number of countries formally

supporting the establishment of the Court from 56 to 66, more than the 60 ratifications required for the treaty to enter into force. As of 1 July 2002, the ICC has permanent jurisdiction over genocide, crimes against humanity, war crimes and other serious breaches of international law.

The first meeting of the assembly of states parties to the Rome treaty convened in September 2002. Ever since the USA was campaigning against the ICC. So far 22 countries signed an impunity treaty for US citizens after heavy pressure by the superpower. These moves are bound to devalue the ICC from the onset. March 2003 the judges were elected and the ICC, based in The Hague, Netherlands, got operational with the election of the prosecutor Moreno Ocampo on 21 April 2003.

The test for the International Criminal Tribunal already materialized. The ICC cannot avert its eyes from crimes against humanity, war crimes, breaches of world peace, and violations of a list of international instruments committed in Iraq 2003.