

# DEFINITIONS OF THE 10 STAGES OF GENOCIDE

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Genocide is a process that develops in ten stages that are predictable but not impossible to stop or prevent. At each stage, preventive or responsive measures can stop it. The process is not linear. Stages may occur simultaneously, and 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, and CLASSIFICATION is the process of putting people into one or more specific classes for the purposes of emphasizing a separation of people in a society. Societies that lack mixed categories or where there is extreme separation of people into classes are the most likely to have a genocide.

## 2. SYMBOLIZATION

SYMBOLIZATION is using representative names or other symbols for a classification of people to more easily identify or summarize people into that group. Group names can be positive, negative or neutral in a society, such as “Christians”, “Jews”, “Muslims”, or “Atheists”, but the SYMBOLIZATION stage emphasizes that all people in that group, called that name, are the same. SYMBOLIZATION often includes the adoption of physical indicators to distinguish a group, such as dress, custom, or religious symbols to represent members of groups.

## 3. DISCRIMINATION

DISCRIMINATION occurs as a stage when a class of people in power in a society create or use laws, customs, and/or political power to deny rights and opportunities to members of one or more other groups; this can include preventing one or more groups from having full civil rights, voting rights, or even citizenship. This practice ensures the dominant group has more power, often protected or provided by law, and legitimizes the victimization of weaker groups.

## 4. DEHUMANIZATION

DEHUMANIZATION occurs when one group denies the humanity of a target group, equating them with animals, vermin, insects, or diseases. DEHUMANIZATION is a key stage in a process that leads to genocide because it contributes to conditions that can overcome the normal human revulsion against murder: it is easier to kill a person if a person thinks of that person as a snake or a cockroach rather than as a human being.

## 5. ORGANIZATION

Genocides are always organized. ORGANIZATION occurs when plans are put in place for attacking a targeted class of people, usually by the state/government or members in that government. A government will often use a militia or paramilitary group to carry out attacks and/or genocidal killings, to provide deniability of state responsibility, though sometimes the ORGANIZATION is informal or decentralized. Often during the ORGANIZATION stage, the units who carry out killings are trained, armed, and instructed and/or inspired to carry out violence.

**PLEASE DO NOT THROW AWAY**

*USED MULTIPLE DAYS*

*These stages and definitions come directly from the work of Dr. Gregory Stanton, and have been adapted (simplified) for secondary students being introduced to the concept of genocide and historic examples of genocide and mass atrocity as part of Michigan Holocaust and Genocide Education (MHGE) lesson plans, though the original language has been retained as much as possible. The stages were first presented (as a briefing paper) at the US State Department in 1996 by Dr. Gregory Stanton, and the full, un-adapted definitions, plus further information, can be found at the website GENOCIDE WATCH (<http://www.genocidewatch.org/home.html>)*

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*Continued...*

## 6. POLARIZATION

POLARIZATION occurs when groups are driven apart in a society by extremists, propaganda, hate speech, laws (DISCRIMINATION), terrorism, and/or other means. POLARIZATION often includes identifying and silencing (through intimidation, arrest, violence, etc.) members of any group in that society that can actively or potentially work to stop a genocide, such as moderates or peacekeepers in the perpetrators' own group.

## 7. PREPARATION

PREPARATION occurs when national or perpetrator group leaders begin to take specific steps necessary to prepare a society for the beginning of the violence of a genocide. It can include using terms or euphemisms in public, such as in the media, to cloak or justify their intentions, such as "cleansing" or "purifying" a society, and/or creating fear in a society of the victim group, such as "we are in danger", or "if we don't kill them, they will kill us." It can also include arming and mobilizing perpetrators to be in position to carry out violence.

## 8. PERSECUTION

PERSECUTION occurs when victims are identified and separated, stripped wholly or in part of power, property, and free membership in a society, and are sometimes even segregated by force into separate areas, such as a ghetto, concentration camp or detention zone, or confined to a specific geographic region. Violence begins, and this can include group massacres; killings are acts of genocide because they intentionally destroy part of a group.

## 9. EXTERMINATION

EXTERMINATION is the stage of mass killing and other measures, taken by perpetrators organized into militias, paramilitary groups, and/or armed forces, to eliminate the victim group. At this stage, only rapid and overwhelming armed intervention can stop genocide.

## 10. DENIAL

DENIAL is the final stage that lasts throughout and always follows a genocide. It can include physical measures of perpetrators to cover up evidence and intimidate witnesses to genocide, legal measures to arrest and punish individuals inside a state or nation who bring attention to the genocide, and/or diplomatic measures to deny a genocide occurred in the national and global policies and politics of a state/government. DENIAL can also include working to provide proof that the charge or evidence of genocide is false, a hoax or exaggeration, or the political or economic agenda of those opposed to the perpetrators and/or state/government accused of genocide or who might make a claim against it.

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# ONE-PAGE SUMMARY OF DARFUR GENOCIDE

## Resource 4-2

### DARFUR GENOCIDE, 2003 - PRESENT

*The Sudanese government trains and arms Arab militias to kill, terrorize, and destroy the predominantly non-Arab Darfur region of Sudan.*



#### Where?

Darfur is a region in Western Sudan that encompasses an area roughly the size of Spain. The population of Darfur is estimated at 6 million people. Hundreds of thousands of refugees have fled into neighboring Chad and the Central African Republic.

#### When?

Following independence from Britain in 1956, Sudan became embroiled in two prolonged civil wars for most of the remainder of the 20th century. Competition for scarce resources played a large role in these conflicts. Oil was discovered in western Sudan and the Sudanese government and international contributors became increasingly interested in the land in Darfur. The genocide in Darfur began in 2003 and continues today, driven by conflict between largely Arab grazers and non-Arab farmers.



#### Who?

Government-supported Arab tribesman (Janjaweed) systematically raid non-Arab villages in Darfur, killing and terrorizing the people and burning the villages. The goal is to remove the non-Arab farmers from the land to create a Pan-Arab state.

#### How?

Attacks on Darfuri villages commonly begin with Sudanese Air Force bombings followed by Janjaweed militia raids. All remaining village men, women, and children are murdered or forced to flee. Looting, burning of food stocks, enslaving and raping women and children, and stealing livestock are common. Dead bodies are tossed in wells to contaminate water supplies and entire villages are burned to the ground.

In 2004, the United States declared the on-going conflict in Darfur to be 'genocide.' In 2006, President Bush called for the number of international troops in Darfur to be doubled. British Prime Minister Tony Blair called upon the members of the European Union for a unified response to the crisis.

In 2008, the UN issued a hybrid United Nations-African Union mission (UNAMID) to maintain peace in Darfur. A UNAMID force of 26,000 troops was authorized to use force to protect civilians, but despite this mandate, too few were sent and they lacked the necessary equipment to carry out their mission.

In 2009, the International Criminal Court issued an arrest warrant for Sudanese President Omar Bashir for crimes against humanity and, in 2010, a warrant for arrest on charges of genocide. The government of Sudan has yet to turn him over to the Court and, since the issuance of the warrants, the country has seen increased violence. The government forcefully expelled aid agencies, further jeopardizing the conditions for thousands of displaced and marginalized civilians.

In attempts to appease the Sudanese government, China and Russia, both permanent members of the Security Council, have blocked many United Nations resolutions. China is Sudan's chief diplomatic ally and invests heavily in Sudanese oil. Sudan's military is supplied by Chinese-made tanks, fighter planes, bombers, rocket launch propelled grenades, and machine guns. For decades, Russia and China have maintained a strong economic and politically strategic partnership. Russia is Sudan's strongest investment partner and political ally in Europe.

According to the United Nations, more than 2.7 million people are internally displaced and more than 350,000 are refugees in neighboring Chad. More than 400,000 have been killed; approximately 5,000 people die each month. The Sudanese government denies any culpability for the violence, displacement, and deaths.

# ONE-PAGE SUMMARY OF THE HOLODOMOR

## Resource 4-2

### *The Holodomor (Голодомор), 1932-1933*

**What?** The Holodomor was a man-made famine in the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic between 1932 and 1933. Millions of Ukrainians died of starvation in a peacetime catastrophe unprecedented in the history of Ukraine.

#### **Where?**

The Ukrainian SSR was bordered by the Black Sea to the south, and the Soviet republics of Moldova and Belarus, and Czechoslovakia. The population was about 30 million and the region was approximately the size of Texas. Today, Ukraine largely covers the same area.

#### **When?**

The years 1932-1933 were the period in which the famine occurred, but there were many historical factors leading up to the famine. The policies of mass agriculture and forced collectivization enacted by the Soviet Union, which led to the famine, began in 1929.

#### **How?**

Through his collectivization policy, Stalin's goal was to increase productivity from the farmers through eliminating small, privately-held farms and turning to mass agricultural policies. This resulted in the Soviet government seizing all privately owned farmland and livestock, which had a devastating effect on Ukrainians in a country where 80 percent of the people were traditional village farmers. Among the farmers, there was a class of people called Kulaks by the Communists. They were formerly wealthy farmers who owned relatively large farms or employed farm workers.[1] Stalin believed any future uprising would be led by the Kulaks, who were pro-Tsarist and anti-Soviet, thus he implemented policies intended to eliminate the Kulaks as a class of Ukrainian farmers. Collectivization meant forcing millions of small farmers off their own land into larger collective farms. However, many Ukrainian farmers saw this as a return to serfdom and resisted giving up their land.[2]

Armed brigades of Soviet troops forcibly confiscated land, livestock and other property, and evicted entire families. Thousands of Ukrainians were forcibly removed from their homes and sent by train to uninhabited places in Siberia. Stalin then created mandatory quotas of foodstuffs to be shipped out of Ukraine to other parts of the Soviet Union.<sup>2</sup> However, Ukrainian resistance only increased and there was rebellion in the streets, including the assassination of Soviet officers and Ukrainians burning down their own homes. Later, the Soviet Union increased production quotas that were impossible to meet, cut rations to those still in Ukraine, and coordinated food seizures in Ukrainian villages. This resulted in widespread malnutrition and starvation. In 1932 the Soviet Union called for the arrest or execution of anyone found taking food from the fields where they worked. Military blockades were even built around Ukrainian villages to prevent the transport of food from the outside into villages. During the famine, about 25,000 Ukrainians died every day.<sup>1</sup>



#### **Response?**

For decades, Ukrainians could not openly process the national trauma of the orchestrated famine because the Soviet Union would not allow it. Soviet authorities even banned any discussion of the famine, and went as far as falsifying depictions of history such as portraying the famine as a natural disaster that was inevitable.[3]

**Victims?** Estimates regarding the number of Ukrainians who died in the Holodomor range from 3 million to 8 million. The Holodomor has been recognized by today's Ukraine and over a dozen other countries as a genocide of the Ukrainian people carried out by the Soviet Union. The Russian government continues to cite claims of a man-made famine as "falsifications of history."<sup>4</sup>

Ukraine has many memorials to commemorate the Holodomor and the millions of people that died during the famine including the Barrow of Sorrows monument in Mhar, Poltava Oblast. The National Museum "Memorial to Holodomor victims" in Kiev opened in 2008. The United States has memorials in Washington D.C. and Chicago. Ukraine marks the fourth Saturday in November of every year as Holodomor Remembrance Day.



# ONE-PAGE SUMMARY OF MYANMAR

## Resource 4-2

### MYANMAR, 1962-PRESENT

#### Where?

Myanmar is about the size of Texas and has a population of 52 million people, nearly twice as densely-populated as Texas. It is bordered by China, Laos, Thailand, Bangladesh, and India. Decades of conflict have forced more than 2 million Myanmar to seek refuge abroad, particularly in Thailand and Bangladesh.

#### When?

**The Karen (pronounced kah-REN) Ethnic Minority** have been fighting for an independent state since Myanmar won its independence from Britain in 1948. The Myanmar army has terrorized civilians through forced labor, shelling, torture, and rape, which has led to the displacement of over 200,000 Karen people. The Myanmar government finally signed a ceasefire with Karen rebels in 2012.

**Myanmar's Pro-Democracy Movement** emerged in 1962, after an oppressive military dictatorship took power. They were the target of a brutal military campaign until 2011, when Myanmar began the transition to civilian democracy. Rebels were denied food, funding, and recruits, and they were often arrested for dissenting.

The democracy movement took power in 2016, when Aung San Suu Kyi, National League for Democracy leader and Nobel Peace Prize winner, became the country's *de facto* leader.

**The Rohingya Muslims** have been targeted by the Myanmar military since 1978 and were officially stripped of their citizenship in 1982, leaving them stateless, subject to restrictions on freedom of movement and property ownership, denied access to education, and unable to hold public office. The Rohingya have been fleeing into Bangladesh and other neighboring countries from forced labor, rape, and religious persecution since the 1990s.



Satellite images of burned Rohingya villages, September 2017

In 2017, the Myanmar army began a concerted campaign against the Rohingya. Over 675,000 Rohingya fled to Bangladesh in just three months. As of January 2018, over one million Rohingya refugees have been registered in Bangladesh, and thousands cross the border each day. Horrific sexual violence has been perpetrated against Rohingya women and girls, and over 350 villages have been destroyed since August 2017. Aung San Suu Kyi has failed to denounce or address the violence. She has denied visas to United Nations teams investigating the crisis and has prevented international organizations from delivering aid.

#### How?

The Myanmar army targets resources to starve and kill minority groups without drawing the international community's attention. The military gains control of an area and uses forced labor to build bases so they can attack and burn surrounding villages. Sexual violence, forced labor, and recruitment of child soldiers are used as methods of ethnic cleansing.

#### Response?

The Obama administration rolled back earlier sanctions when Aung San Suu Kyi and the democracy movement took power. However, the country's foreign relations, particularly with Western nations, have become increasingly strained due to human rights abuses. The leader's failure to address the violence against the Rohingya caused the US to withdraw military assistance from Myanmar in October 2017. Several organizations have revoked awards given to Aung San Suu Kyi because of her inaction, including the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum's prestigious Elie Wiesel Award presented to her in 2012.

Despite Western isolation, Asian countries have remained willing to invest in Myanmar. The country has close relations with India and China and has received millions of dollars in military aid from them. China, a permanent member on the UN Security Council, has used its veto power to defeat any resolution addressing the persecution of the Rohingya.

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# ONE-PAGE SUMMARY OF RWANDAN GENOCIDE

## Resource 4-2

### RWANDAN GENOCIDE, 1994

*In only 100 days, 800,000 ethnic Tutsis and moderate Hutus were slaughtered as part of the "Hutu Power" movement.*



#### Where?

Rwanda is about the size of Maryland, located near the center of Africa. According to the 1991 national census, the population of Rwanda was 7.7 million, with 90 percent of the population ethnic Hutus, 9 percent Tutsi, and 1 percent Twa, or pygmy.

#### When?

Rwanda gained independence from Belgium in 1961. The Belgians set up a Hutu-run government under which Tutsis were treated as lesser citizens.. The Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF) formed in 1985 to demand an end to social discrimination against the Tutsis. RPF rebels invaded Rwanda from Uganda in 1990, reigniting hatred against the Tutsi and starting a low-level civil war.

The Rwandan genocide took place over a time span of only 100 days, between April and July 1994.



#### Who?

**Perpetrators:** Most of the killing was carried out by two Hutu radical militant groups: the Interahamwe and the Impuzamugambi. Armed, backed, and led by the government of Rwanda (MRND), the Interahamwe was comprised largely of young Hutu men brainwashed by the "Hutu Power" ideology. The most unsettling co-perpetrators of the genocide, however, were those Rwandan civilians who collaborated with and supported the genocide. Neighbors killed neighbors, students killed teachers, and teachers killed students.

**Victims:** Killed alongside the Tutsi people were Hutus who sympathized with their Tutsi neighbors and resisted by defending, hiding, or providing aid to their Tutsi neighbors.

#### How?

Decades of discrimination and fear for a loss of power paved the way to genocide. The Hutu-led government provided arms, planning, and leadership for the militias. It also funded the RTLM "Hutu Power" radio broadcast, the primary source of "brainwashing" for the Rwandan civilians who also took part in the genocide. The machete was the primary weapon used to hack people to death, as it required no training to use.

The genocide unfolded before the eyes of the national media, which covered the events live from Rwanda until violence escalated and all foreigners were evacuated. UNAMIR, the UN peacekeeping force in Rwanda, was present on the ground throughout the genocide. France, Belgium, and the United States declined to send additional support, despite UNAMIR's specific warnings to the UN in early 1994 describing the Hutu militia's plan for extermination. The Security Council denied UNAMIR's request to intervene, and in early April the Belgian UNAMIR forces pulled out in response to the murder of ten Belgian soldiers. Almost overnight, 4,500 UNAMIR peacekeepers were reduced to a mere 260. In mid-May, the UN recognized that "acts of genocide may have been committed."

The RPF overthrew the Hutu regime in July, ending the genocide. UN intervention never occurred.

#### The Aftermath

Immediately following RPF takeover, 2 million Hutus (perpetrators, bystanders, and resisters to the genocide) fled into neighboring countries to avoid potential Tutsi retribution. Thousands died of epidemics that spread like wildfire through overcrowded refugee camps. The refugee presence in Zaire, among other factors, led to the first Congo War in 1996 and the formation of the Democratic Republic of Congo.

# SUMMARY SHEET FOR STUDENT WORK

## Resource 4-3

Read the one-page handout on the genocide assigned to your group and write a short summary of the event in which you include all the key facts. Please write it for an audience who knows nothing about the event, and write in such a way that your summary is complete and correct. Be prepared to share what you've learned with your class during large-group sharing and discussion.

<b>GENOCIDAL EVENT</b>	
<b>WHO (VICTIM)</b>	
<b>WHO</b>	
<b>WHAT</b>	
<b>WHERE</b>	
<b>WHEN</b>	
<b>WHY / HOW</b>	

**Written Summary**

Referring to your definitions of the 10 Stages of Genocide, what stages can you see/identify taking place during this historic event, based on your reading of the one-page handout?