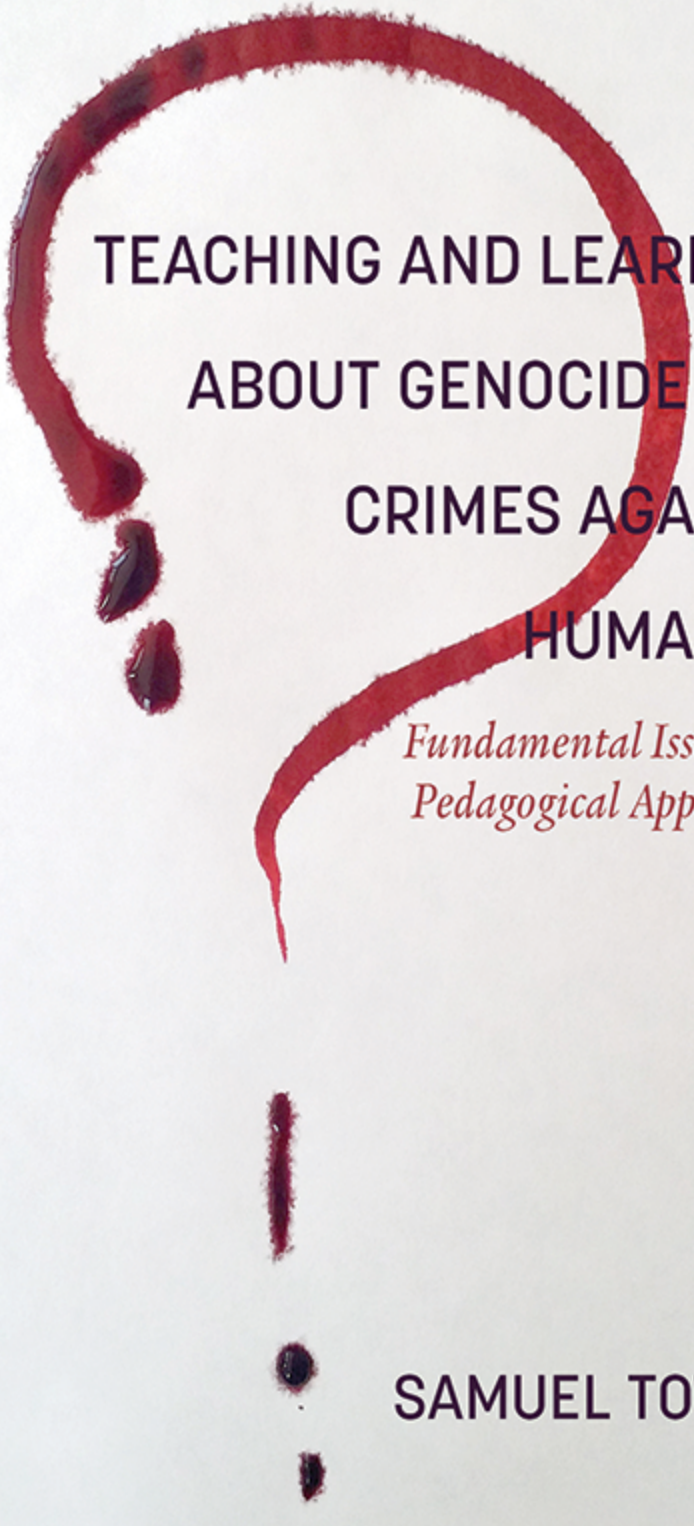

TEACHING AND LEARNING ABOUT GENOCIDE AND CRIMES AGAINST HUMANITY

Fundamental Issues and Pedagogical Approaches

SAMUEL TOTTEN

Teaching and Learning About Genocide and Crimes Against Humanity

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INTRODUCTION

Teaching and Learning About Genocide and Crimes Against Humanity

Fundamental Issues and Pedagogical Approaches

Teaching and Learning About Genocide and Crimes Against Humanity: Fundamental Issues and Pedagogical Approaches is the culmination of my 30 plus years as a scholar of genocide studies. Essentially, it is my gift to all of those who take on the complex, often gut-wrenching, and honorable task of educating future generations about the horrors of crimes against humanity and genocide—and, what can and should be done to attempt to prevent such atrocities.

Whenever I tend to reflect on how genocide is often taught today I return to something the renowned Holocaust scholar and survivor Henry Friedlander (1979) lamented some 50 years ago:

> The problem with too much being taught by too many without focus is that this poses the danger of destroying the subject matter through dilettantism. It is not enough for well-meaning teachers to feel a commitment to teach about genocide; they also must know the subject. . . . The problems of popu-

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> larization and proliferation should make us careful about how we introduce the Holocaust into the curriculum; it does not mean we should stop teaching it. But we must try to define the subject of the Holocaust. Even if we do not agree about the content of the subject, we must agree on its goals and on its limitations. (pp. 520–522)

Friedlander was addressing the fact that in the mid-1970s the Holocaust had suddenly become a highly popular subject in both universities and secondary schools, and such popularization resulted in the so-called "bandwagon effect." Just as there will always be outstanding and conscientious educators who put their all into studying and teaching about significant issues by becoming conversant with most salient aspects and then devising ways to truly engage their students in a study of such, there will always be others who hop on the bandwagon and "teach" the topic in a hurried, perfunctory, and inadequate way. And when the subject matter is, in their eyes, not as "hot" as it once was, they will hop on the next bandwagon. That is the nature of the beast, unfortunately.

Many years ago (in 2001, in fact), when so-called "other genocides," as we, early scholars of genocide, referred to them (that is, genocides other than the Holocaust) were just beginning to become the focus of classroom lessons and units, I wrote an article that is still widely read today, and that I believe is worth quoting, in part, herein:

> [T]hose who care about genocide need to familiarize themselves with key issues. This should be a given, but often it is not. Some teachers have a propensity for focusing on the "whats," "whens," and "hows" of a genocide (all important), but ignoring the ultimate question of "why." As a result, students walk away from such a study bereft of an understanding of the historical trends that ultimately culminated in the genocide. (Totten, 2001, p. 310)

Purpose of the Book

My primary purpose in writing this book is to assist educators in tackling the subjects of crimes against humanity and genocide—tortuously complicated and emotionally wrenching issues—in the most historically and politically accurate and pedagogically sound manner as possible. While I am rarely completely satisfied with what I've written and published, I am actually quite pleased with the outcome of the book you are now holding in your hand, and thus I hope educators—particularly those at the upper secondary (high school), college and university levels—find it helpful.

As I proceeded with the writing of this book, I kept asking myself, "What do educators *really need to ponder and know* as they prepare to teach about genocide, and why is that so?" As a result, throughout the two and a half years I worked on the book, I repeatedly revised the table of contents as well as the focus of various chapters.

At one and the same time, as I crafted and revised each chapter, I repeatedly asked myself, "So what?" What I meant by that was, "Is this a topic, an issue, an approach, a suggestion that is truly worth a busy educator's time to read and mull over?" If the answer was either "no" or "maybe," I jettisoned what I had written and started over again. The point is, I have molded and remolded the manuscript in a sincere effort to address what I perceive as the most the fundamental and essential concepts, topics, and approaches needed in order to teach about genocide in a professional, highly engaging and thought-provoking way. It is my hope that I have accomplished that goal.

Focus

Since the main focus of this book is *teaching about genocide*, I do not dedicate a chapter to the history of genocide. No matter how long such a chapter might be, it would be inadequate. Indeed, it would not do service to the many genocides that have been perpetrated in the 20th century, let alone the 19th and 21st as well. That said, I do comment on various cases of genocide throughout the book; indeed, in each and every chapter.

The titles of the chapters in this book are as follows: Chapter 1: **"**Genocide: An Overview"; Chapter 2: "Genocide: What Is It Exactly?"; Chapter 3: "Crimes Against Humanity, Ethnic Cleansing, and Genocide: The Distinctions Between and Amongst Them"; Chapter 4: "Misconceptions, Inaccuracies, and Myths That Often Plague Teaching and Learning About Crimes Against Humanity and Genocide"; Chapter 5: "The Prevention and Intervention of Genocide"; Chapter 6: "Issues of Rationale: Teaching About Crimes Against Humanity and/or Genocide"; Chapter 7: "Teaching About Crimes Against Humanity and Genocide: Instructional Issues, Teaching Strategies, and Learning Activities"; Chapter 8: "Incorporating First-Person Accounts Into a Study of Crimes Against Humanity and/or Genocide:; Chapter 9:" Incorporating Primary Accounts Into a Study of Crimes Against Humanity and/or Genocide"; Chapter 10: "Denying Deniers the Opportunity to Deceive and Influence One's Students"; and Chapter 11: "Who Isn't a Bystander to Crimes Against Humanity and Genocide?"

While most of the chapter titles are self-explanatory, a few are not and thus I will succinctly comment on them here. First, in Chapter 1, "Genocide: An Overview," which is chockablock with information, I address the following: (a) the pioneering efforts of Polish jurist Raphael Lemkin: from coining the term "genocide" to taking the lead in establishing genocide as a crime in international law; (b) the major genocides perpetrated in the 19th, 20th, and 21st centuries and their potential place in the curriculum; (c) typologies of genocide; (d) genocide as a process; (e) the wretched record of the international community vis-à-vis the prevention and intervention of genocide; (f) the complicity of the United States as it relates to the perpetration of genocide by other governments; and (g) what is being done in the way of devising new approaches to the prevention and intervention of genocide. There is *a lot* of food for thought.

Chapter 6, "Issues of Rationale: Teaching About Crimes Against Humanity and/or Genocide" addresses the significance of developing strong rationales in relation to what a teacher includes and doesn't include in his/her lessons and units. This is a key chapter in that those teachers who take the time to formulate clear and strong rationales vis-à-vis the content, instructional strategies and learning activities are much more likely to design and teach lessons that are pedagogically sound and historically accurate than those who don't.

Chapter 10, "Denying Deniers the Opportunity to Deceive and Influence One's Students" is included in the book due to the aggravating fact that deniers of various genocides (including but not limited to the Armenian genocide, the Holocaust, the Soviet manmade famine in Ukraine, the Bangladesh genocide, and the genocide of 7,000 Muslim boys and men at Srebrenica) are extremely active on the World Wide Web. In fact, not only are they active, but the titles of many of their websites and articles therein sound legitimate and well worth reading. Furthermore, some of their articles—particularly if one is not clued into the history of an event or the fact that deniers are purposely wily—read, at least in part, as legitimate historical revisionism. That, unfortunately, often leads to innocent and unknowing readers being easily pulled in and poisoned by the deniers' positions, accusations, and "correctives" to history. The denier's form of "revisionism" is, of course, diametrically opposed to legitimate historical revisionism, and even their use of the term "revisionism" is part and parcel of their filth-filled toolbox. In light of that, this chapter is a warning of sorts to educators about what their students might come across on the Internet. It is also comprised of suggestions on how to help students to avoid being pulled in by the deniers.

Finally, Chapter 11: "Who Isn't a Bystander to Crimes Against Humanity and Genocide?" is largely a thought piece. My ardent hope is that by concluding the book with this chapter it will encourage (if not, nudge, push, prod and/or propel) readers to ponder their own place in the world as it relates to bystanders of crimes against humanity and genocide. In turn, I hope the chapter will encourage readers to raise critical issues with their students about who is and what it means to be a bystander in the face of horrific actions by one group of people against another. Included in the chapter are key questions and issues worthy of serious thought, as well as suggested learning activities.

Why "Crimes Against Humanity and Genocide" and Not Solely "Genocide"?

Many are likely to be curious as to why crimes against humanity is a focus of this book versus simply genocide. The answer is relatively simple but extremely important: First, over the years I have come to believe that the single-minded focus on genocide by so many (including but not limited to the international community (i.e., the United Nations, the UN Security Council, etc.); individual states and nations (including the United States); scholars and teachers; and even school curricula is wrong-headed because by the time a violent conflict is definitively deemed to be a case of genocide, tens—if not hundreds—of thousands, and possibly millions, are often already dead. Second, I firmly believe that if—at the least—equal concern were focused on crimes against humanity, it may well result in greater attention being focused on the antecedents to genocide (e.g., the ostracism and isolation of certain groups of people, the creation of "others" within a society, the forced dispersion/deportation of a group of people to the hinterlands or "camps," the carrying out of test massacres of certain members of society, etc.) early on, thus heading off, if not squelching, such actions before they degenerate into genocide. The point is, focusing on crimes against humanity is tantamount to addressing the potential seeds of genocide, thus avoiding the ludicrous wait for the "big tell" as to whether or not the crimes rise to the level of genocide.

Unfortunately, due to the fact that the concept of genocide has such an eminent place in our world (in some ways, and I realize that this sounds extremely odd, the very word "genocide," if not the concept, almost seems to be sacrosanct in today's world), the potential seeds of genocide are easily overlooked and/or given short shrift. That is more than unfortunate; indeed, it is unconscionable, as it results in the horrific deaths of untold numbers of innocent people when that not need to be the case.

Background

I am always curious as to the background and expertise of those authors I read, but the author notes never really do justice to their backgrounds. In light of that, I will provide an extremely truncated biographical statement here. In doing so, I hope to establish my bonafides in relation to crimes against humanity, genocide, and yes, educating about them.

As a junior/high school teacher in Eaglehawk, Victoria, Australia—which was not only my first teaching job, but the first time I resided in a country other than the United States—I discovered upon entering the classroom that neither the state department of education nor the school I taught at had anything approaching a set curriculum until the students entered fifth and six forms (eleventh and twelfth grades). And since only Australians were allowed to teach fifth and sixth forms, I had no choice but to design my own curriculum, which at the time was a major headache since I was, literally, only informed of that fact a couple of days before I was to enter the classroom. All these years later, though, I now appreciate what an amazing opportunity I had as a wet behind the ears first year English teacher. The upshot is that I decided to incorporate social issues into the curriculum, believing that certain social issues were likely to truly engage students. And I was right. The study of social issues was also an ideal vehicle for incorporating reading, writing, thinking and debating about something that was significant to the students.

Thus, my students read, for example, Alexander Solzhenitsyn's *One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich*, George Orwell's *Animal Farm*, and Ray Bradbury's *Fahrenheit 451*. Right off the cuff, at least in the students' eyes, what the books had going for them was that they were relatively short. But as they settled down to read them, many became captivated by what they were reading and learning about in the process of reading "such skinny books." Part and parcel of what they found so engaging were the heated and fascinating debates that enlivened many of the class sessions.

It was only after I left Australia and headed around the world on my way back to the States that I was moved to add Elie Wiesel's *Night* to my curricular offerings. What motivated me to do so was my visit to Yad Vashem, the national memorial and Holocaust research center, in Jerusalem, Israel.

A decade later I was asked to join a small team of educators to serve as an educational consultant to the United States Holocaust Memorial Council, the predecessor to the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. Working individually or in pairs, we—Bill Parsons, Steve Feinberg, Bill Fernekes, and Grace Caporino, along with the amazing Sybil Milton, the Senior

Historian at the USHMM, all of whom were astonishingly smart, incredibly well read and outstanding educators—worked on a variety of projects. I was tasked with developing the *Guidelines for Teaching About the Holocaust*, which I must duly note were greatly enhanced due to the invaluable input of Bill Parsons, Steve Feinberg and Sybil Milton.

By the time the USHMM opened in 1993, I had already gravitated to the new field of genocide studies. In fact, my first book on genocide—*First Person Accounts of Genocidal Acts Committed in the 20th Century*—was published in by Greenwood Press in 1991. It was also in 1991 that I induced Bill Parsons to join me as a guest editor of a special issue of *Social Education*—the official journal of the National Council for the Social Studies—on genocide. The line-up of contributors to that special issue was rather remarkable, and included, for example: Sybil Milton, Henry Friedlander, Ben Kiernan, Frank Chalk, Israel W. Charny, among others. All are huge names that are well known to anyone involved in genocide studies.

As soon as Parsons and I completed our work on the special issue of Social Education, I proposed that that we co-edit a book comprised of critical essays and first-person accounts of different cases of genocide perpetrated in the twentieth century. The result was the first edition of *Century of Genocide: Critical Essays and Eyewitness Testimony*. By the fourth edition, we decided to re-title the book *Centuries of Genocide* (Routledge, 2013), as we added cases from the 19th and the 21st centuries. The fifth edition is currently being prepared, and I am suggesting that it be retitled: *Centuries of Genocide and Crimes Against Humanity: Critical Essays and Eyewitness Testimony*.

In 2002, I edited the first book published in the United States on teaching about genocide: *Teaching About Genocide: Issues, Approaches and Resources* (Information Age Publishers). Graciously, a host of notable scholars on various facets of genocide agreed to contribute to the book, including but not limited to: Richard Hovannisian, Michael Berenbaum, Henry Huttenbach, Craig Etcheson, Eric Markusen, and Rene Lemarchand.

Then, during the summer of 2004, my life took an incredible turn. Jerry Fowler, the director of the Committee of Conscience at the USHMM, recommended me to take part in the Atrocities Documentation Project. Subsequently, I was hired as one of twenty-four investigators to conduct interviews with black Africans who had recently fled from the violence in Darfur and were residing in massive refugee camps along the Chad/Darfur, Sudan border. The analysis of the data by the both U.S. State Department and an outside agency ultimately led then U.S. Secretary of State Colin Powell to inform the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on September 9,

2004, that the Government of Sudan had committed genocide against the black Africans of Darfur and was possibly still doing so.

Independently, I ended up making three trips back to Chad to interview additional Black Africans residing in various refugee camps along the Chad/Darfur, Sudan border. Ultimately, the work resulted in several refereed journal articles and a two volume set entitled *An Oral and Documentary History of the Darfur Genocide* (Praeger Security International, 2011).

During part of the period, I also served as a Fulbright Scholar at the National University of Rwanda. While there I conducted interviews with survivors of the 1994 genocide of the Tutsis and moderate Hutus, which resulted in *We Cannot Forget: Interviews with Survivors of the 1994 Genocide in Rwanda* (Rutgers University Press, 2011). I also proposed, developed and ultimately implemented a master's degree program in genocide studies for the National University of Rwanda.

For 4 long years (2004–2008) I had done just about everything I could to obtain a visa from the Government of Sudan in order to travel legally to Darfur, but all of my efforts came to naught. But then, in 2008, during my Fulbright year, while on a flight from Kigali, the capital of Rwanda, to the University of Chicago to give a talk on the Darfur genocide, I serendipitously met a fellow who got on the plane in Nairobi and had just come from the Nuba Mountains. As we traded information about our respective work, the fellow mentioned that a group of Darfur IDPs (internally displaced persons) was living in a makeshift camp near where he resided in the Nuba Mountains. When I told him I'd been trying for 4 years to get into Sudan but to no avail, he told me that he thought he could arrange to get me on a flight from Wilson Field in Nairobi to the Nuba Mountains, and, best of all, I would *not* need a visa because I'd be flying on the plane owned by a nongovernmental organization (NGO). Later that year, as the old DC 3 plane skidded to a stop on a rocky field in the Nuba Mountains, to my utter surprise, there was no airstrip, no air controller and no custom officers. That was in December 2010, and ever since I've been conducting field research in the Nuba Mountains. The first two trips I continued to interview the IDPs from Darfur, but then changed my focus to the genocide by attrition that the Government of Sudan had subjected the Nuba people to between 1989 and the mid-1990s.

When war broke out in the Nuba Mountains in June 2011, Sudanese President Omar al Bashir ordered the UN and all international nongovernmental organizations out of the Nuba Mountains. When it became obvious that the Nuba civilians were, once again, being bombed off of their farms and pushed into the caves that honeycomb the mountains in the region

where it was impossible to grow food due to the stoniness of the ground, I decided that someone had to help ameliorate the situation. Long story short, within a couple of months, I, along with another fellow, assembled a small team and we began raising funds, purchasing food and trucking tons of food and medicine into the Nuba Mountains. Thus far, I have personally made five trips into the Nuba Mountains with tons of food, which I delivered to those civilians who were said to be in most critical need (often close to the front of the war). Over the years I am pleased to report that I discovered there were other teams as well that were carrying out similar, but even larger, deliveries. Remarkably, all of them are U.S. citizens. We all continue to work up there, but independently. Most recently, in May 2017, I trucked food and medical supplies up to two refugee camps in northern Uganda, where Nuba civilians had fled due to being attacked in South Sudan, where they had initially fled to from the Nuba Mountains.

Conclusion

It is my heartfelt hope that this book proves to be valuable, if not invaluable, to teachers today and generations to come. I have put my heart and mind into the writing of this book, with the goal that it will serve educators well as they forge ahead with their own plans and efforts to help their students to come to understand the complexities and realities of crimes against humanity and genocide.

I firmly believe that those teachers who tackle these subjects (crimes against humanity and genocide) and teach them in a historically accurate and pedagogically sound manner are doing something of the utmost significance. I also firmly believe that such an effort will eventually result in *tikkun olam* ("repair of the world"). While I am not Jewish, I love the concept of *tikkun olam.* And in that regard, it is my ardent hope that your—the readers'—students will one day gravitate to the essence of practicing "tikkun olam." Could there be any better legacy for an educator to leave with both current and future generations? I think not.

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1

Genocide

An Overview

While the term "genocide" was only coined in 1943, genocide is as old as humanity. Historians, in fact, assert that the first acts of genocide reach back to antiquity (Chalk & Jonassohn, 1999, p. 5). In all likelihood, no century escaped without a genocide having been perpetrated. Sadly, it's been the nature of the beast (i.e., beastly human nature).

Some scholars of genocide have referred to the 20th century as "the century of genocide." Why? First, most scholars agree that at least seven cases of genocide were perpetrated in the 20th century: the slaughter of the Hereros in Southwest Africa, the Armenian genocide, the Holocaust, the Bangladesh genocide, the Cambodian genocide, the Guatemalan genocide of the Maya, and the 1994 Rwandan genocide; while many others would add at least three more to that list for a total of ten: the Soviet man-made famine in Ukraine in 1932–1933, the gassing of the Kurds in northern Iraq in 1988, and the massacre of 8,000 Muslim boys and men in Srebrenica in 1995. Second, part and parcel of the claim that the 20th century was the century of genocide is the fact that the Holocaust was perpetrated in the

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heart of the "highly civilized" Europe by one of the most cultured societies in the history of humanity, Germany. Third, despite the remarkable establishment of a human rights regime in the last century during which the international community committed to promoting and protecting the basic human rights of everyone across the globe "by codifying human rights in a universally recognized regime of treaties, institutions, and norms" (Council on Foreign Relations, 2012, p. 1), the world was shocked by the genocide in Rwanda in which between 500,000 and one million were slaughtered in a mere 100 days in 1994.

But there have been others who have questioned the validity of appellation of the 20th century being the century of genocide. The latter have variously argued that certain cases deemed to be cases of genocide in the 20th century were really crimes against humanity. Still others have argued that no one has taken the time to thoroughly analyze past centuries in order to ascertain whether genocide occurred with a greater or lesser frequency in one or more of them than in the 20th century.

Various scholars have also deemed genocide to be "the crime of crimes." That is largely true due to the fact that inherent in the concept of genocide is the intent to destroy in whole or in part a particular group as such, thus threatening *the very existence* of the group. Other scholars, however, have argued that certain cases of crimes against humanity can be (and in fact, have been) just as horrific and deadly as genocide, which is incontestable.

Even a truncated list of genocides through the ages provides one with a sense of the shocking regularity vis-à-vis the actions of genocidaires: 416 BC—Melos; 146 BC—Carthage; 13th century—Mongols; 15th century—Pequots in England; 17th century—Christians in Japan; 19th century—Yuki in Northern California. (Cases from the 20th and 21st centuries are discussed below.)

Shortly after the end of World War II, which brought the Nazi's genocidal actions to a halt, the words "Never Again!" were uttered. According to Holocaust historian Raul Hilberg, the first use of that admonition was in April 1945, when inmates of the recently freed Buchenwald concentration camp displayed handmade signs upon their liberation by the Allies. It wasn't long, though, before this admonition was adopted by the international community. To this day, it is a phrase that Holocaust survivors, political leaders, educators, and authors, among others, use in speeches, memorial observations, classrooms, and publications.

Not only has this once powerful admonition become a cliché, but some scholars, educators, and certain others have debated the actual meaning of it. For example, some have asked, "Does the phrase 'Never Again,'

primarily, if not solely, refer to the extermination of Jews? If so, does it essentially mean, then: 'Never again can we allow Jews to be the victims of another Holocaust'?" or "Is the phrase meant to convey something more forceful, such as, *'Never again will Jews* be the victims of extermination!'?" Still, others have asked, "Or, does the use of the phrase mean, 'Never again shall the world allow genocide to take place anywhere against any group'?" Ultimately, it seems to depend on who is using the term and in the context in which they use it. That said, most educators and politicians have come to use the term to mean the latter.[1]

Since "Never Again" has become such a cliché and been used in the most perfunctory of ways by so many *despite the fact that one genocide after another has been perpetrated since the end of World War II,*[2] perhaps no one but those who are truly serious about preventing another Holocaust of the Jews should use the phrase. Then, and only then, it seems, will it regain the gravitas it once had.

The use of such a phrase in such a cavalier fashion—one that is seemingly quick off the tongue by those who are prone to giving speeches about the Holocaust and other genocides—largely mirrors the way in which the international community cavalierly acts in the face of each new genocide. It is no wonder that some have cynically asked and then commented as follows: "Never Again? Actually, it's more like Again and Again and Again."

The purpose of this chapter is not to provide a detailed discussion of the long and sordid history of genocide as there is not enough space to do justice to the subject; rather, the purpose is to: (a) succinctly address the pioneering efforts of Polish jurist Raphael Lemkin in coining the term "genocide," and tirelessly advocating for the establishment of the UN Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (UNCG); (b) highlight various genocides perpetrated in the 19th, 20th and 21st centuries that are ideal, for various reasons, to address in the classroom; (c) identify several key typologies of genocide; (d) comment on genocide as a process; (e) highlight the wretched record of the international community in relation to the prevention and intervention of genocide; (f) address the complicity of the United States as it relates to the perpetration of genocide by other governments; and (g) succinctly comment on what is being done in the way of devising new—and hopefully, more efficacious—approaches to the prevention and intervention of genocide.

Raphael Lemkin: Coining the Term "Genocide" and Advocating for the UN Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of Genocide

In August 1941, as he contemplated the mass atrocities being perpetrated in Europe by Hitler, Winston Churchill, the great British statesman, asserted that the world was confronted "with a crime without a name." Less than 2 years later, in his book, *Axis Rule in Occupied Europe* (1944), Raphael Lemkin (1900–1959), a Jewish Polish jurist who had fled Poland in the face of the Nazi onslaught, named the crime when he coined the term genocide. Composed of the Latin term for people, "geno," and the Greek term for death, "cide," the new term referred to the *intentional destruction of national groups on the basis of their collective identity.* Not only did Lemkin coin the term, but he tirelessly lobbied to see that genocide was a crime punishable under international law. He also worked tirelessly to prod, cajole, and finally convince the United Nations to approve the UNCG, which formally took place on December 9, 1948. That is why Lemkin has variously been referred to as "the man who criminalized genocide," and "the father of the genocide convention."

In Article 2 of the UNCG, the definition of genocide reads as follows:

> Article 2: In the present Convention, 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, and
>
> (e) forcibly transferring children of the group to another group.

While many scholars (political scientists, sociologists, historians, psychologists, among others) have crafted their own definitions of genocide due to their dissatisfaction with the definition found in the UNCG, it should be noted that in international law *the one and only definition that is adhered to* is the one found in the UNCG. Basically, that means that governments and the International Criminal Court (ICC) use the UNCG definition to ascertain whether particular crimes amount to genocide and whether an alleged perpetrator should be indicted and then tried for genocide or various other crimes (i.e., crimes against humanity and/or war crimes).

To date, unfortunately, the international community has placed much more attention on the punishment of genocide than the prevention of genocide. *Realpolitik* seems to drive the situation. The essence of *realpolitik* is to act (or, in the case of genocide, not to act) according to what is perceived as one's best interest.

Genocide in the 19th, 20th, and 21st Centuries

The 19th Century: United States and Its Territories

It is telling that more U.S. citizens than not seem to firmly believe that Native Americans, en masse, were subjected to genocide by the U.S. government and/or those in their employ (e.g., military leaders, military troops, hired hands). In fact, while Native Americans were horrifically mistreated and abused (and nothing should, in any way, shape or form minimize such facts), relatively few Native American tribes were subjected to genocide. Put another way, to claim or even suggest that all or even most Native American tribes were victims of genocide is historically inaccurate and patently false. To ascertain which groups of Native Americans did, in fact, suffer genocide, requires a detailed examination of the extant record (including any written orders from government officials and/or military officials vis-à-vis the treatment of Native American groups; copies of discussions, speeches, decisions, et al related to the treatment of Native Americans; newspaper articles from the period; comments in memoirs germane to the issue, etc.).

Benjamin Madley (2016), a professor of history at the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA), for one, makes an open and shut case that certain Native American groups in California did, in fact, suffer genocide. More specifically, Madley convincingly argues that between 1846 and 1873, California's Native American population decreased from around 150,000 to about 30,000. In discussing this matter, he spells out what life was like for the Native Americans prior to the genocide; the precursors to the genocide (including how the Gold Rush led to vigilante violence against the native population); the horrific nature and extent of the killing; the culpability of both state and federal officials, and how the state sanctioned the killing; how there was widespread support for the genocide amongst various levels of society—including various political and judicial officials; and, who carried out the killing (vigilantes, volunteer state militiamen, U.S. Army soldiers) and why. If teachers are inclined to teach about how certain Native Americans were subjected to genocide, the California case would be ideal due to the fact that Professor Madley has provided ample documentation in regard to how and why the situation, in retrospect, rose to the level of

genocide. He has also collected ample first person accounts of the genocide of the Yuki in northern California.

Genocides in the 20th Century

Succinctly outlined below are those cases that the vast majority of scholars of genocide studies and a good number of renowned historians agree constitute genocide (that is, where the perpetrators had the intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a particular group as such).

- 1904–1907: The German colonialist government's genocide of the Hereros
- 1915–1921: The Ottoman Turk genocide of the Armenians
- 1933: Soviet man-made famine in the Ukraine
- 1933–1945: The Holocaust—The Nazi-perpetrated genocide of the Jews, the Sinti-Roma (Gypsies), and the mentally and physically handicapped
- 1971: The Pakistani genocide of the Bangladeshis
- 1975–1979: The Khmer Rouge-perpetrated genocide of their fellow Cambodians
- 1981–1983: The Guatemalan government genocide of the Highland Mayas
- 1988: The Iraqi government gassing of the Kurds in northern Iraq
- 1989–mid-1990s: Genocide by Attrition of the Nuba mountains people by the government of Sudan
- 1994: The genocide in Rwanda of the Tutsi and moderate Hutu by radical Hutus and their collaborators
- 1995: The Serb massacre of 8,000 Muslim boys and men in Srebrenica

Tellingly, even some of the aforementioned cases have been embroiled in controversy; that is, some have asserted that some of the cases do not in fact constitute genocide, arguing that the perpetrators did not have the intent to destroy in whole in part a particular group as such. Among those cases that have, off and on, been surrounded in controversy are the Soviet man-made famine in Ukraine and the Khmer Rouge treatment of their fellow Cambodians. Such controversies have not arisen as the result of deniers' arguments, but scholars who honestly disagree. Be that as it may, far more

scholars than not consider the two latter cases to be cases of genocide, but the point here is simply this: Not all cases are closed and shut.

In the case of the Soviet man-made famine in Ukraine some argue that there was no intent on the part of Stalin and his lackeys to destroy in whole or in part the so-called "kulaks" (wealthier farm owners) and other Ukrainians but rather to make them bow to pressure to give up their nationalistic tendencies and cave into to becoming part and parcel of the Soviet Union. However, anyone who reads even a handful of the first-person accounts of the survivors, let alone a solid history of the period, will quickly detect that the very act of withholding food (including, in some cases, individual seeds) from the people of the Ukraine led to intentional mass starvation.

As for the Khmer Rouge, more than a few have argued that they killed their fellow Cambodians (Khmer)—some 1.3 million—due to political reasons and not to extirpate a national, religious, ethnic or racial group, and that under the UNCG "political groups" are not one of the protected groups. (This issue will be discussed in a good amount of detail in Chapter 2.) As a result of this fact, some scholars have parsed those groups caught up in the "killing fields" in Cambodia and duly noted that other groups—particularly Buddhists and Cham Muslims—were targeted due to their religious beliefs, and thus that, at the least, constituted genocide. To make an argument that the Khmer Rouge-perpetrated killings rise to the level of genocide, some argue that the Cambodian case was unique and should be perceived as an "autogenocide" of its own people, and that it, indeed, did target, with the intent to destroy, large swaths of their own people, even if for political reasons.

Genocide in the 21st Century (to Date)

Sadly, the 21st century has already laid claim to at least two genocides:

- 2003–2009: The genocide of the Black Africans of Darfur by the government of Sudan and its paid militia, the *Janjaweed*
- 2014: The genocide of the Yazidis by the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levent (ISIS) in Iraq

There has been heated disagreement over whether the case in Darfur constitutes crimes against humanity or genocide (see, Samuel Totten [2009] "The UN International Commission of Inquiry into Darfur: New and Disturbing Findings.")

Typologies of Genocide

Based on actual genocides that have been perpetrated, various scholars in various fields (political science, sociology, psychology, among others) have generated, what they refer to as to typologies (classifications and types) of genocide. The concept behind these typologies of genocide is that there was and is a distinct purpose vis-à-vis each case of genocide.

Presented here are some of the more acclaimed typologies by some of the more noted scholars of genocide. (Please understand that what follows is a succinct overview of a complicated issue.)

Helen Fein (1979), a sociologist and a noted scholar of genocide, created a typology comprised of four main types:

- "*Developmental Genocide*: The perpetrators intentionally or unintentionally exterminate people who prevent them from exploiting economic resources" (p. 7). Two examples of developmental genocide are: the genocide during the Great Rebellion of 1780–1882 in Peru, and the genocide of the Chittagong Hill Tracts in Bangladesh between 1977 and 1997.
- "*Despotic Genocide*: Which occurs in a highly polarized multiethnic state and aims at eliminating a real or potential force of opposition" (p. 7). A classic case of despotic genocide is the genocide of the highland Maya by the government of Guatemala between 1981 and 1983.
- "*Retributive Genocide*: By which perpetrators attempt to exterminate an actual opponent" (p. 8). A classic case of retributive genocide is the 1994 genocide in Rwanda carried out by extremist Hutus and their followers against the Tutsi and moderate Hutu.
- "*Ideological Genocide*: Which accounts for all cases of genocide against groups that the perpetrators regard as mortal enemies or the embodiment of evil" (p. 8). Two prime examples of ideological genocide are the Nazi genocide of the Jews, Roma and Sinti, and physically and mentally handicapped, and the Khmer Rouge's genocide of their fellow Cambodians, 1975–1979.

Roger Smith, a political scientist and a longtime scholar of genocide, developed his typology in 1987, which was influenced, at least to a certain extent, by the work of Fein:

- "*Retributive*: Genocide carried out as part of an attempt to exact revenge (such as mythological ruler Genghis Kahn's widespread

killing not only of fighting forces but of large civilian populations in thirteenth century Russia and China)" (p. 41).

- "*Institutional*: Genocide carried out primarily during military conquest, as was typical of ancient history and the medieval period" (p. 41).
- "*Utilitarian*: Genocide motivated by a drive to accumulate assets (for example, the colonial expansion that took place between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries, and in some cases into the twentieth century, and the extermination of local populations that accompanied it)" (pp. 41–42).
- "*Monopolitic*: Genocide perpetrated to achieve a ruling monopoly, particularly in divided multi-ethnic societies such as Bangladesh and Burundi" (p. 42).
- "*Ideological*: Genocide carried out in order to establish an idea of redemption or purification or to force such an idea on the general population (common during the twentieth century, and exemplified by the Armenian and Soviet cases, as well as the Jewish Holocaust and the genocide in Cambodia"; Smith, 2009, pp. 42–43).

Barbara Harff, a political scientist and former researcher at the U.S. Naval Academy, and Ted Gurr, a researcher at the University of Maryland, designed a typology that was unique in that it included both cases of genocide and what they refer to as "politicide" (i.e., "the victim groups are defined primarily in terms of their hierarchical position or political opposition to the regime and dominant groups"):

> "*Hegemonial genocides:* Mass murders which occur when distinct ethnic, religious, or national groups are being forced to submit to central authority, for example during the consolidation of power by a new state or in the course of a national expansion" (Harff & Gurr, 1988, p. 360). Two examples of hegemonial genocide are: the Soviet Union's man-made famine in the Ukraine between 1932 and 1933, and China's genocidal attack against Tibetan nationalists in 1959.
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> "*Xenophobic genocides:* Mass murders of ethnically, religiously, or nationally distinct groups in the service of doctrines of national protection or social purification which define the victims as alien or threatening" (Harff & Gurr, 1988, p. 360). The classic example is the Holocaust.
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> "*Retributive politicides:* Mass murders which are targeted at previously dominant or influential groups out of resentment for their past privileges or abuses" (Harff & Gurr, 1988, pp. 360–361). Three examples of retributive politicides are: Chile's torturous and murderous attacks on the leftists between 1973 and 1976; Uganda's attacks against the Karamojong, Baganda,

Madi, and other Idi Amin supporters between 1979 and January 1986; and the extremist Hutu's genocide of the Tutsi in 1994 Rwanda.

"*Repressive politicides:* Mass murders targeted at political parties, factions, and movements because they are engaged in some form of oppositional activity" (Harff & Gurr, 1988, p. 361). Two examples of repressive politicides are: the Soviet Union's attacks against repatriated Soviet nationals between 1943 and 1947, and Indonesia's attacks against East Timorese nationalists between 1975 and 1999.

"*Revolutionary politicides:* Mass murders of class or political enemies in the service of new revolutionary ideologies" (Harff & Gurr, 1988, p. 361). Two examples of revolutionary politicides are: North Vietnam's attacks on Catholic landlords, the rich and middle class peasants between 1953 and 1954; and Mao's Cultural Revolution in China between 1966 and 1975.

"*Repressive/hegemonial politicides:* Mass murders targeted at ethnically or nationally distinct groups because they are engaged in some form of oppositional activity" (Harff & Gurr, 1988, p. 361). Two classic examples of repressive/hegemonial politicides are: Indonesia's genocide of communists and suspected communists in 1965 and 1966. (As Harff and Gurr duly note, the latter had genocidal features but is listed as a politicide by them.) A more recent example is the Darfur genocide of the Black Africans of Darfur by the Government of Sudan, 2003–2009.

More recently, in 2005, scholar Benjamin Valentino crafted a new typology as a result of carefully examining what he referred to as (different types of) "mass killings," along with genocide. The three types of mass killing that he delineated are as follow:

- Communist mass killings, like the ones carried out in the Soviet Union, China, and Cambodia;
- Ethnic genocides as in Armenia, Nazi Germany, and Rwanda; and
- "Counter-guerrilla campaigns, including the brutal civil war in Guatemala and the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan" (Valentino, 2005, n.p.).

While some of the above typologies were developed well over 30 to 40 years ago, they continue to be, along with those more recently developed, the typologies that many, if not most, scholars of genocide today continue to refer to and discuss in their own work.

When considering typologies one needs to realize that various, if not most, genocides do not fall neatly into one or another typology. In fact, it might not be unusual to question whether a particular typology even makes sense. This is as true for students as it is their instructors/professors as it

is for scholars of genocide. The point is, none of these typologies should be considered *the* typology. Furthermore, as one examines the different typologies crafted by different scholars, one will see there is hardly a consensus amongst and between them in regard to how they understand various cases of genocide, let alone certain categories within the various typologies. For example, while one scholar may include "cultural genocide" in his/her typology, another scholar may completely ignore so-called cultural genocide. This reflects both the fact that the field of genocide is still relatively new and that scholars' perception and understanding of that which does and does not constitute genocide continues to evolve. Furthermore, some tend to take a very strict and narrow view of the UNCG, while others take a more liberal or broader view of it (and/or broaden the definition of genocide based on their own philosophical beliefs and moral approach to international human rights). The upshot is that none of the aforementioned typologies (or any others, for that matter) are sacrosanct, nor should they be considered such, and thus students and their teachers need to play the devil's advocate when encountering and/or attempting to apply them.

In fact, an interesting and worthwhile approach in the classroom would be to have students develop their own typology predicated on their study of genocide. Obviously, such an effort would have to come towards the end of a study, otherwise students are merely thinking off the tops of their heads with little to no solid knowledge at their beck and call. (The scholars noted above have discussed their typologies in great detail, and, as one might guess, other scholars have also provided critiques of the typologies. To locate the latter simply Google, for example, a scholar's name, plus "typology": Dadrian + typology.)

The Process of Genocide

Dr. Gregory H. Stanton, a noted scholar of genocide, has spent years analyzing a large number of genocides, and in doing so he has developed what he refers to as "the ten stages of genocide." His work has evolved over the years in that initially he spoke of "the seven stages of genocide," and then expanded that to "the eight stages of genocide." For numerous years, it seemed that he had settled on "eight" as the number of stages in genocide, but in 2016 he revised his work again and now speaks about "the ten stages of genocide."

I first made use of Stanton's eight stages of genocide (i.e., classification, symbolization, dehumanization, organization, polarization, preparation, extermination, denial) in 2008 when I was teaching a course on the