**ASSESSING AND DEFINING RESPONSIBILITY IN RWANDA**

*How would you assess the level of “responsibility” of these people for the Rwandan genocide that began in April 1994? Indicate one of the following:*

1. **Not Responsible**
2. **Minimally Responsible**
3. **Responsible**
4. **Very Responsible**

\_\_\_ 1. A teacher who categorized schoolchildren as Hutu or Tutsi for the government

\_\_\_ 2. Civil servants who gave lists of Tutsis to the militias who then killed them

\_\_\_ 3. A Rwandan soldier who opposed the killings, but did not speak out against them.

\_\_\_ 4. Child soldiers, recruited into the Hutu militia, who killed Tutsis

\_\_\_ 5. Radio broadcasters who called for the elimination of all Tutsis

\_\_\_ 6. Members of the Presidential Guard who started the killing

\_\_\_7. Foreign companies and governments who sold the Rwandan government guns, tanks, and other supplies before the killings. (Most killing was with machetes)

\_\_\_ 8. Humanitarian organizations who gave aid to everyone-victims and perpetrators alike

\_\_\_ 9. Diplomats who evacuated Rwanda, leaving their Rwandan employees behind without protection

\_\_\_ 10. The U.S. President who, during the entire three months of the genocide, never assembled his top policy advisors to discuss the killings.

\_\_\_ 11. A Catholic nun who forced hundreds of Tutsis seeking protection in her convent to leave knowing they would be killed.

\_\_\_ 12. A Hutu man who killed his Tutsi neighbor to divert the military’s suspicion away

from himself and his house where he was hiding Tutsi family members.

\_\_\_ 13. UN officials who ignored reports of genocide in Rwanda

\_\_\_ 14. Belgian colonizers who, in the early 1900s, damaged ethnic relations between Hutus and Tutsis by promoting the idea that Tutsis were superior to Hutu

\_\_\_ 15. Members of the UN Security Council who voted to reduce peacekeeping troops while the killings were ongoing.

\_\_\_ 16. A man who helped his Tutsi friend escape, but participated in the killing of strangers

\_\_\_ 17. A woman who did not kill anyone, but looted the homes of Tutsi victims

\_\_\_ 18. A British reporter who incorrectly reported the genocide as “tribal warfare”

\_\_\_ 19. An American citizen who tuned out all the news from Rwanda because it was too graphic and depressing

\_\_\_ 20. UN peacekeeping troops who, following direct orders not use force unless fired upon, did not intervene as Hutus killed Tutsis

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## 8 Stages of Genocide

**Instructions:**

1. **Read and annotate**
2. **Add to your annotations as we go through the slides**
3. **Apply to the genocide in Rwanda. Can you apply any of these stages to the scenarios on the other side of this page?**
4. Classification
   * All cultures have categories to distinguish people into "us and them" by ethnicity, race, religion, or nationality. Bipolar societies that lack mixed categories.
5. Symbolization
   * We give names or other symbols to the classifications. We name people "Jews" or "Gypsies", or distinguish them by colors or dress; and apply them to members of groups. Classification and symbolization are universally human and do not necessarily result in genocide unless they lead to the next stage, dehumanization. When combined with hatred, symbols may be forced upon unwilling members of pariah groups.
6. Dehumanization
   * One group denies the humanity of the other group. Members of it are equated with animals, vermin, insects or diseases. Dehumanization overcomes the normal human revulsion against murder.
   * At this stage, hate propaganda in print and on hate radios is used to vilify the victim group. In combating this dehumanization, incitement to genocide should not be confused with protected speech. Genocidal societies lack constitutional protection for countervailing speech, and should be treated differently than in democracies.
7. Organization
   * Genocide is always organized, usually by the state, though sometimes informally or by terrorist groups. Special army units or militias are often trained and armed. Plans are made for genocidal killings.
8. Polarization
   * Extremists drive the groups apart. Hate groups broadcast polarizing propaganda. Laws may forbid intermarriage or social interaction. Extremist terrorism targets moderates, intimidating and silencing the center.
9. Preparation
   * Victims are identified and separated out because of their ethnic or religious identity. Death lists are drawn up. Members of victim groups are forced to wear identifying symbols. They are often segregated into ghettoes, forced into concentration camps, or confined to a famine-struck region and starved.
10. Extermination
    * Extermination begins, and quickly becomes the mass killing legally called "genocide." It is "extermination" to the killers because they do not believe their victims to be fully human. When it is sponsored by the state, the armed forces often work with militias to do the killing. Sometimes the genocide results in revenge killings by groups against each other, creating the downward whirlpool-like cycle of bilateral genocide.
11. Denial
    * Denial is the eighth stage that always follows a genocide. It is among the surest indicators of further genocidal massacres. The perpetrators of genocide dig up the mass graves, burn the bodies, try to cover up the evidence and intimidate the witnesses. They deny that they committed any crimes, and often blame what happened on the victims. They block investigations of the crimes, and continue to govern until driven from power by force, when they flee into exile. There they remain with impunity, unless they are captured and a tribunal is established to try them.

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