

Masters of Puppets

The preparation of a people for genocide

Barbara Curran

“In Germany, they first came for the communists, and I didn’t speak up because I wasn’t a communist.

Then they came for the Jews, and I didn’t speak up because I wasn’t a Jew.

Then they came for the trade unionists, and I didn’t speak up because I wasn’t a trade unionist.

Then they came for the Catholics and I didn’t speak up because I wasn’t a Catholic.

Then they came for me – and by that time there was nobody left to speak up.”¹

Martin Niemoller

Genocide: Humankind at its worst

The past century saw some of the worst atrocities committed against humankind, by humankind. The growth of nationalism and the nation-state,; the experience, twice in one century, of total war, and the global repercussions of a Cold War lasting five decades have taken their toll on the human race and have given legitimacy for some of these barbaric acts. Horowitz has indicated that “in the last ninety-five years, over three-and-a-half times as many people have been killed by their own governments as by opposing states [in warfare].”²

Genocide, however, is one of those phenomena that is too much to bear. The overwhelming literature on the experience of the Holocaust, intricately descriptive as it is, charts the victimisation, dehumanisation, torture and death of millions of innocents – men, women and children. The representation of recent genocides by the

¹ *The Campaign to End Genocide: An Initiative of the World Federalist Association*, <http://www.endgenocide.org/genocide/hutu.htm>

mass media begs our attention, but is often too brutal a reminder that others have much tougher lives than us. The West tends to shy away from peoples in desperate situations until they can ignore it no longer, when it is often tragically too late for many.

After the Second World War and the Nuremberg Trials of major Nazi war criminals, the United Nations drafted a convention that would attempt to prevent such a tragedy from happening again. The wealth of literature that contradicts even the definition of genocide shows the ineptitude and negligence of the international community in the genocides that followed the Holocaust.

Definitions

The official definition of genocide can be found in the United Nations Genocide Convention which states in Article II that

In the present Convention, genocide means any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, national, ethnical, racial or religious groups, 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) Importing measures intended to prevent births within the group
- (E) Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group³

Many academics have criticised the Convention for being “too inclusive or too exclusive.”⁴ Kuper has said “the final text of the UNGC was the product ... ‘of forces which have rendered it so ineffective,’”⁵ due to “international concern for the protection of the sovereign rights of the state ... and by United Nations *de facto*

² Horowitz, Irving Louis, 1997, *Taking Lives: Genocide and State Power*, pg 28

³ Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide

⁴ Fein, Helen, 1992, *Genocide Watch* pg 3

⁵ Kuper, Leo, quoted by Rumney, Philip N S, 1997, “Getting Away with Murder: Genocide and Western State Power,” *The Modern Law Review*, Vol 60, pg 596

condonation, which serves as a screen for genocide.”⁶ Harff claims “point b ... is problematic, for it gives rise to innumerable claims of victimisation.”⁷ Jonassohn felt that economic, political and social groups should also be included in the Convention’s definition.⁸ Fein has criticised the gaps in the groups covered, ambiguity of the notion of ‘intent to destroy ... group as such,’ and “the inability of non-state parties to invoke the Convention and the failure to set up an independent enforcement body.”⁹ Jonassohn and Chalk find fault with the inadequacy of the definition of groups, the confusion of genocide, massacres and collateral damage, and would prefer the separation of ethnocide from genocide.¹⁰ It is this observer’s opinion that groups targeted for political opposition, such as socialists in the Third Reich and moderate Hutus in Rwanda should be included in the UN definition.

Fein has argued that genocide is “sustained purposeful action by a perpetrator to physically destroy a collectivity directly or indirectly, through interdiction of the biological and social reproduction of group members, sustained regardless of the surrender or lack of threat offered by the victim.”¹¹ This definition purposely avoids naming groups due to Fein’s criticism of the Genocide Convention.¹² Fein also suggests the innocence of the victim and the victim group’s position outside “the universe of obligation”¹³ which indicates the possibility of dehumanisation. To place a person or a group outside the universe of obligation, the person or group are no longer deemed worthy of a place in society and are therefore excluded from the psyche of the in-group.

Jonassohn believes that “genocide is a form of one-sided mass killing in which a state or other authority intends to destroy a group, as that group and membership in it are defined by the perpetrator.”¹⁴ Here Jonassohn places the onus squarely on the perpetrator, as in a criminal trial, where evidence of planning and intent, threat to the

⁶ Kuper, Leo, 1982, *Genocide: Its Political Use in the Twentieth Century*, pg 18

⁷ Harff, Barbara, 1992 “Recognising Genocides and Politicides,” *Genocide Watch*, pg 28

⁸ Jonassohn, Kurt, 1992, “What is genocide?” *Genocide Watch*, pg 18

⁹ Fein, Helen, 1993, *Genocide: A Sociological Perspective*, pg 10

¹⁰ Jonassohn, Kurt & Chalk, Frank, 1987, “A Typology of Genocide and Some Implications for the Human Rights Agenda,” *Genocide and the Modern Age*, pg 11

¹¹ Fein, Helen, 1992, *Genocide Watch*, pg 3

¹² Fein, Helen, 1993, *Genocide: A Sociological Perspective*, pg 10

¹³ Ibid, pg 36

¹⁴ Jonassohn, Kurt, 1992, *Genocide Watch*, pg 4-5

physical survival of the group and the strength of the dominant group must be proven. The absence of words such as “conspiracy” or “attempt” suggest that the act of killing must be perpetrated for genocide to take place. The Rwandan Tribunal defined killing where in “The victim is dead ... and the death resulted from an unlawful act or omission of the accused or subordinate.”¹⁵

The strict definition that only killing can be construed as genocide is contrary to the Genocide Convention (Article II, b, c, d, e). The tribunal in Rwanda also provided judicial backing to the idea of mental harm, in regards to the sexual violence in many individual cases of the genocide, and going so far as to cite sexual violence as a method to prevent births.¹⁶

Dadrian states that

Genocide is the successful attempt by a dominant group, vested with formal authority and with preponderant access to the overall resources of power, to reduce by coercion or lethal violence the number of a minority group whose ultimate extermination is held desirable and useful and whose respective vulnerability is a major factor contributing to the decision for genocide.¹⁷

This definition surmises that if an attempt at the destruction of a group is not successful, that the crime is not genocide. Staub asserts, “Genocide means an attempt to exterminate a racial, ethnic, religious, cultural or political group, either directly through murder or indirectly by creating conditions that lead to the group’s destruction.”¹⁸ The Genocide Convention, currently the only recognised definition in international law states in Article III (b, d) that conspiracy and attempt to commit genocide are punishable under international law.

In the Rwandan tribunal after the genocide in 1994, Jean Kambanda was found guilty of conspiracy to commit genocide, the tribunal charging him “by his acts or omissions

¹⁵ Rwandan Tribunal, quoted by Schabas, William A, 2000, *Genocide in International Law*, pp 157-158

¹⁶ Ibid, pp 163 - 174

¹⁷ Dadrian, 1974, quoted by Fein, Helen, 1993, *Genocide: A Sociological Perspective*, pg 13

¹⁸ Staub, Ervin, 1992, *The Roots of Evil: The Origins of Genocide and Other Group Violence*, pg 8

... did conspire with others including Ministers of his Government ... to kill and to cause serious bodily or mental harm to members of the Tutsi population, with intent to destroy in whole or in part, and ethnic or racial group as such, and has thereby committed conspiracy to commit genocide.”¹⁹ This case, which has convicted a charge of conspiracy enforces the Genocide Convention and reflects Staub’s definition.

Huttenbach contends that “the criteria be whether the action threatens the continued existence of the group but does not distinguish between premeditated or accidental deaths ... or deaths resulting from poor industrial or national planning.”²⁰ This definition hints that the USA has been guilty of genocide in regards to Hiroshima and Nagasaki²¹, due to the high civilian population. These non-combatants were, presumably, not the targets of the attack, however an atomic attack on military targets would undoubtedly cause much ‘collateral damage.’ Horowitz disagrees with the possibility that the atomic attacks were genocide due to the fact that they occurred in total war. He has stated, “It is operationally imperative to distinguish warfare from genocide.”²² However, under the Just War theory, such an attack may be deemed to have not distinguished between combatants and non-combatants, despite the gravity of the situation.

Huttenbach’s definition also hints at the provision in Article II (C) of the Genocide Convention, which prohibits “Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part.”²³ This is withholding materials necessary for the sustenance of human life, as was the case in the ghettos in which Jews were imprisoned during the Third Reich.

Thompson and Quets state that, “Genocide is the extent of destruction of a social collectivity by whatever agents, with whatever intentions, by purposive actions which

¹⁹ Rwanda Tribunal, quoted by Schabas, William A, 2000, *Genocide in International Law*, pp 264-265

²⁰ Huttenbach, 1988, Staub, Ervin, 1992, *The Roots of Evil: The Origins of Genocide and Other Group Violence*, pg 15-16

²¹ Kuper, Leo, 1982, *Genocide: Its Political Uses in the Twentieth Century*, Pg 17

²² Horowitz, Irving Louis, quoted by Markusen, Eric, “Genocide and Total War: A Preliminary Comparison,” *Genocide and the Modern Age*, pg 107

²³ UN Genocide Convention, 1946, Article II (C), appendix of Kuper, Leo, 1985, *The Prevention of Genocide*

fall outside the recognised conventions of legitimate warfare.”²⁴ This purposely vague definition is in sharp contrast to the constricting definition agreed in the Genocide Convention. Fein has described this definition as “severely flawed ... [due to] the omission (in the first) of a perpetrator ... lack of boundaries due to their omission of intent, allowing the inclusion of accidents, ecological and environmental damage.”²⁵ She also criticises the exemption of war and war crimes “given the boundlessness of their definition.”²⁶ Examples of what they hold to be legitimate warfare are also missing from this broad definition. This leads to problems in perspective when applying the definition to a conflict; for example, some has described terrorists that operate within a certain area, such as the IRA as freedom fighters. Without clarification on what ‘legitimate warfare’ is, supporters of such organisations are free to describe victims targeted because they belonged to a certain group as ‘legitimate targets.’

Horowitz defines genocide as “a structural and systematic destruction of innocent people by a state bureaucratic apparatus.”²⁷ He goes on to say that “genocide must be conducted with the approval, if not direct intervention, [of] state apparatus.”²⁸ This is compliant with many academics’ view of the involvement of the state. Like Fein’s definition, he states the innocence of the victim and suggests the dehumanisation of the victim group.

Charney believes that “Genocide is the mass murder of any human being,” but is sceptical of definitionalism.²⁹ Such scepticism may be warranted due to the passion with which genocide is discussed in the literature, but this definition encourages the misuse of the word due to its vastness. Charney avoids the thorny issue of groups by identifying the entire human race as a group, but also avoids other issues raised by the Genocide Convention such as methods of destroying the group, prevention of births and forcible removal of children.

²⁴ Thompson & Quets, 1987, quoted by Fein, Helen, 1993, *Genocide: A Sociological Perspective*, pg 16

²⁵ Ibid, pg 16-17

²⁶ Ibid, pg 16-17

²⁷ Horowitz, Irving Louis, 1997, *Taking Lives: Genocide and State Power*, pg 21

²⁸ Ibid, pg 12

²⁹ Charney, 1994, cited by Rumney, Philip N S, 1997, *Getting Away With Murder: Genocide and Western State Power*, pg 597

Dehumanisation

Dehumanisation is a vital component of genocide in that it helps to distance the perpetrator group from the victim group and can contribute to the incitement of genocide. If widespread dehumanisation is present in the society previous to genocide, it can be taken as evidence of preparation and therefore of intent to commit genocide and is punishable under the UNGC, Article III, b and c.

Stanton has suggested that there are seven stages of genocide. These are (1) classification, (2) symbolisation, (3) dehumanisation, (4) organisation, (5) polarisation, (6) identification and (7) extermination of the enemy.³⁴ Here he proposes that the first stage is to create the in-groups and out-groups, the “categories of we and they.”³⁵ As has been seen in many divided societies, this has the potential of being deepened through the segregation of the two groups. If this occurs, the likelihood of the dehumanisation of the out-group is more likely as the in-group will have limited understanding of the out-group to alleviate their fears. Stanton refers to dehumanisation as “we are human, they are not,”³⁶ and as we will see in later chapters, dehumanisation can be very powerful. The creation of ‘polarisation’ is undertaken through extremist propaganda, which will reinforce the dehumanisation through the mass media and attempt to convince in-group bystanders that the extremist action must be carried out.

The definition of dehumanisation offered by Fein claims that “The exclusion of the victim from the universe of obligation is a necessary but not sufficient condition for genocide.”³⁷ This definition shows that the out-group has been devalued in the in-group’s collective opinion and has no role in the social, political or economic role in society. Where dehumanisation is controlled by state apparatus (which may not always be the case,) legislation against the victim group’s social, political and economic rights often work parallel to the dehumanisation of the group. If the policy

³⁴ Stanton, Gregory H, 2001, “The seven stages of genocide,” *Peace Research Abstracts Journal*, Vol 38, No 2

³⁵ Ibid

³⁶ Ibid

³⁷ Fein, Helen, 1993, *Genocide – A Sociological Perspective*, pg 36

of dehumanisation succeeds, “Offences against persons outside the universe of obligation will not be socially recognised and labelled as a crime.”³⁸

Smith has suggested that victims will be seen “not as individuals but only as members of a despised group ... blamed for their own destruction ... and held accountable in terms of the ancient notion of collective and ineradicable guilt.”³⁹ The view of ‘they had it coming’ is central to post-genocide dehumanisation in that the perpetrator group are indoctrinated so intensely that they consider that the victim group forced the action of genocide, and that the perpetrator must commit the act. Smith goes on to describe the “ideal killer” as “dispassionate [and] efficient ... engaged in systematic slaughter, in the service of a higher cause.”⁴⁰ Also, Smith looks at the cruelty involved in the actual perpetration of genocide and attributes this to the dehumanisation of the victim leading to “loss of compassion, [and] detachment”⁴¹

Kuper carries on the theme of state involvement: “The danger signal is when there is official sanction for talking about a minority group in non-human terms.”⁴² This lends unofficial legitimation to the dehumanisation and ill treatment of the out-group. Dehumanisation is further intensified by legislation against the minority group to ensure they are not considered equal in the eyes of the law or society. Kuper illustrates how comparing out-groups to animals is a common method of dehumanisation. For example, the Tutsi in Rwanda were called cockroaches or *inyenzi*. He states,

These metaphors derive from the culture and characteristics of the group applying them, and, of course, express in no way the qualities of the vilified group ... some of these animal descriptions or animal analogies seem specifically designed to awaken horror and elicit fear⁴³

³⁸ Ibid, pg 36

³⁹ Smith, Roger W, 1987, “Human Destructiveness and Politics: The Twentieth Century as an Age of Genocide,” *Genocide and the Modern Age*, pg 22

⁴⁰ Ibid, pg 22

⁴¹ Ibid, pg 23

⁴² Kuper, Leo, 1982, *Genocide: Its Political Use in the Twentieth Century*, pp 85-86

⁴³ Ibid, pg 88

Propaganda

Dehumanising material is promoted through propaganda, which may appear to be constant as the material appears often and in all forms of the mass media. Propaganda can be seen as positive or negative. Positive propaganda can be that which elevates the regime and encourages loyalty to that regime. This has occurred in the former Soviet Union during both Lenin and Stalin's terms of power, in Mussolini's Italy through the idea of "Romanita,"⁴⁴ and the Third Reich's "Hitler Myth," which Kershaw describes as "the myth of the all-seeing, all-knowing infallible Leader, elevating [him] to the very principle of government itself."⁴⁵ Such propaganda is in keeping with the ideology of the regime and the institutionalisation, which occurs through the main organs of the regime, such as the government bodies, educational institutions and the mass media. Positive propaganda will put the in-group on a pedestal and leave the out-group in the cold.

Negative propaganda undermines the victim group and allows all in the perpetrator group to feel better about victimising the target group – this is particularly the case when legislation has been passed – after all, it's not against the law. Such propaganda is usually employed in politicians' speeches and in the mass media to prepare the people of the perpetrator group for a looming genocide.

Herman & Chomsky have stated that

In countries where the levers of power are in the hands of a state bureaucracy, the monopolistic control over the media, often supplemented by official censorship, makes it clear that the media serves the ends of a dominant elite.⁴⁶

If the media serves the dominant elite, they will present a picture of what the elite wish the in-group to see. As such, a vilified representation of the out-group will be

⁴⁴ This was the idea of the "eternal Rome" which was a backward looking view of contemporary Italy, and the wish to return to the glory days of Rome as it was during the time of the empire. Source - Payne, Stanley G, 1997, *A History of Fascism 1914-45*, pg 217

⁴⁵ Kershaw, Ian, 2000, *Hitler – 1936-1945*, Pg 94

⁴⁶ Herman, Edward S & Chomsky, Noam, 1994, *Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of the Mass Media*, pg 1

easily accessible to the in-group and due to repeated exposure to it they will come to accept this as the ‘norm.’

Herman & Chomsky have developed a “Propaganda Model” which although written specifically for the United States of America, can be applied to many countries. The model focuses on a set of filters, which are set in place to control and manage the news and its content in order to keep a government in power. These include (1) the size, concentrated ownership, owner wealth and profit orientation of the dominant mass media firms; (2) advertising as the primary income; (3) reliance of the media on information from the government; (4) disciplining the media by “flak” and (5) “anticommunism” as a control mechanism.⁴⁷ These have relevance to any state in which the government has power over the media by legislation or state ownership, for example the BBC in Britain or RTE in Ireland. The last point of “anticommunism” can be exchanged for any fear the state has successfully built into their population, from terrorism to the fear of a section of the society. Such a high level of control allows the state to promote its own ideology through emphasis on important issues and a downgrading of damaging news, which would tarnish the reputation of the state authority. Through this model the in-group will see only what the state wants it to see.

On the influence of sociopolitical organisation, Staub describes the governmental system as “A culturally induced respect for authority [that] can join with governmental propaganda and repression in creating uniform views of events.”⁴⁸ This suggests the employment of the education system and mass media to promote the culture and ideology of the authority, grafted onto a pre-existing respect for authority, which was present in both Germany and Rwanda before the genocidal regimes came to power. Such respect is utilised through the indoctrination of the regime’s ideology and the slow implementation of genocidal preparations.

Kris & Speier have described political propaganda as “a form of coercion; while it lacks the bluntness and irrevocability of physical violence, it derives its ultimate efficacy from the power of those who may, at any moment, cease talking and start

⁴⁷ Ibid, pg 2

killing.”⁴⁹ This coercive effectiveness is necessary to ensure the complete cooperation of the in-group during the ideological preparation, incitement and implementation of genocide.

Kuper identifies propaganda with what he describes as the scapegoat type of genocide, which is “an identifiable and differentiated group within a society [on which] hostile stereotypes are projected onto the victims and vilifying propaganda directed against them.”⁵⁰ Here Kuper is speaking of negative propaganda, which may be backed up by positive propaganda. When negative and positive propaganda appear in the mass media together, they do not compete for attention. They are represented to the people as a battle between good and evil, where the out-group is vilified and demonised, and appears to want to eradicate the in-group. This battle may be presented as the in-group’s struggle for survival in which the out-group must be eradicated to ensure the survival of the in-group.

Groups with different aspirations want different things – a fact illustrated so clearly during election campaigns. Reeves has suggested that the National Socialists had something for everyone

...they exploited working-class resentment of the wealth and power of the business classes by claiming that the enemy was not financiers and bankers, but an international conspiracy of *Jewish* financiers and bankers...for middle-class Germans worried about the rise of socialism, the enemy was not socialism itself, but international Jewish Marxism⁵¹

Propaganda can be directed towards everyone and envelope all sections within the in-group. Those moderates within the in-group must be incorporated into the genocidal culture before they can oppose and destroy plans for the liquidation of the out-group.

⁴⁸ Staub, Ervin, 1992, *The Roots of Evil: The Origins of Genocide and Other Group Violence*, pg 65

⁴⁹ Kris, Ernst & Speier, Hans, 1944, *German Radio Propaganda: Report on Home Broadcasts During the War*, pg 3

⁵⁰ Kuper, Leo, 1982, *Genocide: Its Political Use in the Twentieth Century*, pg 43

⁵¹ Reeves, Nicholas, 1999, *The Power of Film Propaganda: Myth or Reality*, pg 85

Therefore, members of the in-group would be targeted by extremist propaganda to ensure their co-operation.

Mass media

An ideology is only as strong as its elite support – for example when Rwandan President Habyarimana displeased his elite associates, he lost control and was assassinated. If the elements of an ideology have existed before the regime's ascendancy, and were accepted at that time, an acceptance of an ideology containing such elements would appear logical. Therefore, the regime must look at the best ways in which to gain support. Indoctrination through the state education system is a useful method due to its strength, its large catchment area and the nature of many children to believe easily. However, this does not encourage the adult population. Therefore other methods need to be applied to ensure their indoctrination. Cohen has illustrated the importance of the mass media in indoctrination: “[The press] may not be successful much of the time in telling people what to think, but it is stunningly successful in telling its readers what to think *about*.”⁵² This not only applies to the press, but also to the mass media in general. If propagandist material has swamped the mass media, the likelihood of the issues it promotes existing in the collective psyche of the target audience increases. If these issues are popular, drawing from pre-existing issues, their place in the collective psyche is almost guaranteed.

The mass media includes radio, television, film (including newsreels), the printed press, theatre, music and art. The broadcasting of propaganda through these media ensures a wide saturation, and repeated communication develops positive reinforcement. These combine to provide a blanket of information and suggested opinions from which there may be little escape.

Kent states, “One important condition for strong mass communication effects arises when audience members have little or no established basis for judging content. When

⁵² Bernard Cohen, quoted by Kent, Kurt, 1989, “Media Theory and Effects: An Introduction,” *Readings in Mass Communication: Concepts and Issues in the Mass Media*, pg 411

the subject is new, potential for media impact increases.”⁵³ If an audience has been previously indoctrinated into a particular ideology, the bias with which they approach a new subject is likely to be that which the state wishes them to take. Therefore, if the media, which may be state controlled, issues warnings or misinformation against the out-group, the reaction of the in-group is more likely to be hostile. If such warnings are subtle and continuous over a protracted period of time, the strength of hostility is likely to increase.

Chalk has proposed that, “Because of its crucial role, many government[s] rigorously control radio news through government-ownership of radio stations and regulations barring the broadcast of uncensored news by private stations.”⁵⁴ News bulletins are managed and controlled to ensure a positive reflection of the regime and prevent negative images offered to the nation. The strength of this is often more concentrated where the government has tighter control on the media. As the word would suggest, totalitarian regimes often have total control over the media.

Such tight control on the media will also free a government to release false stories in an attempt to heighten fear among the general population. An example of this occurred in Rwanda where the government set up a fake attack on the capital, Kigali, and reported that the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF) was attacking the capital. Reports were broadcast over the government controlled radio station Radio Rwanda and the extremist Radio Television Libre des Mille Collines (RTLM) that spread the disinformation and created fear in the ordinary Hutu that was utilised in the genocide.

Fitzgerald has stated, “... people are becoming more culturally uniform, but some ethnic groups try at the same time to differentiate themselves by deliberate appeals to traditions ... and reinterpretations of past history.”⁵⁵ When the state is in control of the mass media, such interpretations become strengthened due to their monopoly over opinion in the public arena. The extremist Hutu representation of the Social Revolution in 1959 and the Nazi propaganda of ancient Germany illustrate this point.

⁵³ Kent, Kurt, 1989, “Media Theory and Effects: An Introduction,” *Readings in Mass Communication: Concepts and Issues in the Mass Media*, pg 413

⁵⁴ Chalk, Frank, 2000, “Hate Radio in Rwanda,” *The Path of a Genocide: The Rwanda Crisis from Uganda to Zaire*, pg 93

All origins of dissent are quickly condemned as threatening the continuance of hostilities and imminently dangerous to the in-group.

Hypotheses

Propaganda is a key tool in dehumanisation, and if the intent of genocide is to implement an ideology, propaganda can be used not only to dehumanise the victim group but also to help to instil the ideology. The deeper a state is involved in the conspiracy and incitement of genocide, the closer the propaganda will be to the state and therefore the sphere of influence and strength of the propaganda will be greater.

Hypothesis 1

The ideological preparation of the in-group for genocide begins long before the implementation of the event

Ideology will not be indoctrinated over night. The decision to commit genocide is not impulsive either. A pogrom is directed violence against a particular group – it is also usually spontaneous with little planning. As we have seen from the literature, it is widely theorised that genocide is not spontaneous and is often regimentally organised and executed by state organs or organisations with links to the sovereign power. Dehumanisation takes place in the political arena via laws barring the victim group from their civil and political rights. In the social sphere, derogatory images and messages can be placed in the psyche of the dominant group to ensure the victim group are placed outside “the universe of obligation,”⁵⁶ and hence make the act more acceptable to the dominant group and other influenced bystanders.

Hypothesis 2

The mass media is used extensively to promote dehumanisation and incite genocide against the out-group

⁵⁵ Fitzgerald, Thomas K, 1994, “Media, ethnicity and identity,” *Culture and Power: a Media, Culture and Society Reader*, pg 114

⁵⁶ Fein, Helen, 1993, *Genocide: A Sociological Perspective*, pg 36

Dehumanisation is necessary to make the act of genocide easier for the perpetrator and their subordinates, and to assure the non-participating bystanders of the dominant group of the action's righteousness and allow the crime to continue. Dehumanisation is often linked to ideology as a legitimising mechanism for the crime, and if racial or ethnic groups are involved, biological arguments, such as the Nazi idea of blood purity, will also be used to justify their actions and dehumanise their victim further. As in educational systems where children are indoctrinated to the chosen ideology, the mass media provide positive reinforcement of the ideology – often in a subtle manner that helps to cement opinions.

Methodology

The purpose of this study is to show that prolonged dehumanisation is a basis for genocide and that it is openly visible to all who wish to see it. In today's age of the Internet and instantaneous live global reporting, dehumanisation should be an early warning for genocide and can be prosecuted in an international court under Article III (c) of the Genocide Convention.

Two case studies will be used to test these hypotheses. These are the genocides of the Holocaust and Rwanda. These two genocides are similar in the ideology, dehumanisation, propaganda and organisation of the genocides. The international community and academics have confirmed them as genocides.

Due to disagreements between disciplines over what constitutes primary and secondary evidence, this study will rely on the historical understanding of these concepts. Tosh defines original sources as primary: "Everything which [historians] and their predecessors have written about the past counts as a *secondary* source ... By 'original sources' is meant evidence contemporary with the event or thought to which it refers."⁵⁷

⁵⁷ Tosh, John, 1996, *The Pursuit of History*, pg 32

Contemporary documentaries such as *Triumph of the Will*, and *The Eternal Jew* provide a primary source that allows an in-depth view of the positive and negative propaganda of the Third Reich in its preparation for war and for the ‘Final Solution of the Jewish Question.’ *Triumph of the Will* illustrates the “‘leadership-principle’, which was the basis of authority in the National Socialist German Workers Party (NSDAP) and constructed an image of Hitler, not only as party leader, but as the future head of a regenerated society.”⁵⁸ As these films were directed towards the in-group, they represent a society where the Jews are outside the “universe of obligation.” *The Eternal Jew* shows the Nazi representation of the Jewish people in the most repugnant image, an image designed to incite genocide. Repeatedly re-worked and finally released in November 1940, the extreme nature of the film reflects the personal interest that Goebbels took in its development.

Another primary source is the art that was commissioned by the Third Reich to support the leadership-principle and contribute to the iconography of Hitler. The art, also directed at the in-group, adds to the alienation of the out-group from the *Volk* and helps to heighten the elevation of the nationalist agenda and the Nazi ideology. As with the documentaries, art also found its negative side, in the poster for *The Eternal Jew* ‘.

Also, the transcript of the Nuremberg Laws provided the legal aspect of the removal of Jews from public life and legitimated the further dehumanisation of the group.

The ‘Ten Commandments of the Hutu’, originally printed in *Kangura*, and often reproduced, provide a primary source of dehumanising material directed against the Tutsi by extremist Hutus. This shows the way in which the elite wished the in-group to treat the out-group, and shows irrefutable evidence of dehumanisation in preparation for genocide.

The published works were used to develop a deeper understanding of the genocides and the important elements in their inception provide analysis of each case study, allowing the investigation of the academic view of the issues raised by the hypotheses

⁵⁸ Ward, Ken, 1989, *Mass Communication and the Modern World*, pg 113

posed in this study. Academics such as Gerard Prunier, Daniel Jonah Goldhagen, Alain Destexhe, and Gotz Aly provide insight into both case studies. A wide range of academic journals will also supply valued analyses of the case studies and the hypotheses.

Hearts & Minds: Ideological Preparation

Taking the view that genocide is planned, its successful implementation depends on how well the population has been prepared for the event. If the in-group has not expelled the out-group from the universe of obligation, bystanders may ruin the effectiveness of the event and scupper the entire plan. An overtly racist regime that has gained power through the support of the in-group (which is almost certainly larger than the out-group) may have done so due to an existing cleavage in the pre-regime society.

In a pre-regime society there may exist a force that has particular political power, which feeds the existing cleavage. This force may be supported by a secondary power, which serves to legitimate the primary power through the replication of divisive policies.

The early years of the regime will be spent cultivating this division through the ideological preparation of the in-group for the final solution and the further polarisation of the in-group and out-group. The response of the in-group to the ideology of the regimes and the ‘problem’ of the out-group depends heavily on the way in which the in-group receive the out-group after the rise of the regime to power

Germany

Pre-regime forces

In the case of Germany this was religion. The presence of the Jewish people undermined the efforts that the early Christians had made to keep their people faithful to the ways and teachings of Jesus due to the Jewish rejection of Jesus as the true

Christ. The Jews represented a weakness to the Christian community, and they were disliked for it. Soon the teaching of ‘Love your neighbour as yourself’ was lost if that neighbour happened to be Jewish. In sermons from the clergy, Jews were slandered and anti-Semitism was openly encouraged - the Jewish people were painted to be dishonest, dirty and dangerous – this in spite of all men being equal in the eyes of God.

Just as the Christians were persecuted for their faith, those who taught tolerance and peace to all mankind were persecuting the Jewish people, and actively encouraging others to do the same. In the basic simplification of life and faith, the good/bad theory was applied once more, but in a more severe and sinister manner. Jewish people were deemed to be evil because of the responsibility they were given for the death of Jesus and because of the reputation that was so carefully constructed for them by anti Semites within the Christian church.

The secondary force was the education system. Goldhagen speaks of the anti-Semitism that was to be found in the educational institutions in Germany between 1919 and 1922. He notes how “virulently anti-Semitic”⁵⁹ these institutions were, particularly the universities. Nazi party members were recruited from these students and gave the Nazi party the popularity they needed to become more powerful – many also became parents. In 1922, eleven years before Hitler became Chancellor, young boys and girls sat in their classrooms and listened to their teachers as they “continued to preach aspects of the anti-Semitic litany, which included the foundational notion that a ‘Jewish problem’ existed in Germany.”⁶⁰ Glass supports this:

While the racial hygiene arguments of the 1920s were adapted to Nazism, their message of exclusion and destruction remained central to the research agenda of mainstream German science [and hence science teachers]. The connection between a negative hygiene movement and engineers, administrators, physicians, lawyers and

⁵⁹ Goldhagen, Daniel Jonah, 1996 *Hitler's Willing Executioners: Ordinary Germans and the Holocaust*, pp 82-83

⁶⁰ Ibid pg 83

scientists became increasingly significant in constructing a cultural consensus on eliminating objectionable elements of definable racial types⁶¹

This idea of racial hygiene, openly prevalent in German educated society, is likely to have been learned by the children in that society. Most children are easily influenced and take particular note of example set for them by significant adults such as their parents and teachers – this is how learning takes place. If no conflicting example exists from a significant adult, no other example can be learned, and hence these children accepted anti-Semitism as a way of life and as normality. The reinforcement of this anti-Semitism at home, in school and later by the Propaganda Ministry of the Third Reich, ensured that the ideas were set in stone for these children. The operations of organisations such as Hitler Youth support this theory, particularly as membership became compulsory.⁶² It is this final acceptance that reinforced the anti-Semitic minds of the children and later the workforce including the professionals, who made Hitler's grip on power in those early stages that little bit more secure. By the time the Holocaust started in 1941, nineteen years had passed in which education of an increasing anti-Semitic nature had been passed on to an entire generation of German children and young adults.

Nationalism and Blood Purity – Legitimising the ideology

To help remove the out-group from society, the in-group will be encouraged to look at its own identity to make them feel superior to the out-group. One of the key ways to do this is through nationalism, which is an integral part of ethnicity. Goldhagen has defined nationalism as

The powerful beliefs and emotions associated with holding the nation to be the paramount political category and object of loyalists ... The nationalistic beliefs and emotions themselves lie dormant and, like anti-Semitism, can be activated easily, quickly, and often

⁶¹ Glass, James M, 1997, *Life Unworthy of Life: Racial Phobia and Mass Murder in Hitler's Germany*, pg 37

⁶² Johnson, Eric A, 2000, *Nazi Terror: The Gestapo, Jews and Ordinary Germans*, Pg 264

with devastating consequences, when social or political conditions are such as to provoke them.⁶³

The Third Reich used nationalism to bolster the self-esteem of a people destroyed by the defeat of the Great War, subsequent war guilt, reparations and the economic problems that emerged from these. The nationalist idea of *Lebensraum* was central to the Nazi ideology. Meaning the creation of 'living space,' Payne states that: "it is clear from [Hitler's] words and writings that he sought to acquire vast *Lebensraum* in the east for the accomplishment of the racial revolution and the full construction of the Thousand-Year-Reich, in the process destroying the Soviet Union and totally eliminating France as a power factor in the west."⁶⁴ Due to the ultra-racist nature of Nazism, the ethnic cleansing of the Thousand-Year Reich was considered necessary to ensure enough living space for all the Aryan race.

The Nazi ideology was built around the notion of German greatness, a greatness that belonged only to the Aryan race. Such notions of superiority may have been needed to bring the German people back to what they once were, but the intention was the utter destruction of the Jewish people who were blamed by the regime for all the country's woes. The intensity of racism was reflected in the importance attached to blood purity. The ideology of racism and blood purity became fanatical. As Glass has said,

It was this deep, unconscious fear that the Jew might provoke the disintegration of German flesh, that contact with Jews could literally destroy one's family, that pushed German professional culture into creating the apparatus of mass death, removing forever this infection.⁶⁵

Hence the idea of racial hygiene and blood purity had become commonplace in a society that had been previously subject to racism and was now actively encouraged

⁶³ Goldhagen, Daniel Jonah, 1996 *Hitler's Willing Executioners: Ordinary Germans and the Holocaust*, pg 45

⁶⁴ Payne, Stanley G, 1997, *A History of Fascism 1914-1945*, pp 355-356

⁶⁵ Glass, James M, 1997, *Life Unworthy of Life: Racial Phobia and Mass Murder in Hitler's Germany*, pg 118

to practice it. Glass shows how the regime validated the fears: “It was held to be sane in the culture caught up in the phobic projection of infection onto the Jews and the scientific authority legitimising such beliefs.”⁶⁶ This validation deepened the cleavage by further warping the ordinary German’s opinion of the Jews.

As we have already seen, anti-Semitism was rife within Germany for many years and its values were taught in schools, churches and homes. Jews were seen to be different and unable to be united with the German people because they were considered the antithesis of Germans due to the notion that to be Jewish was to belong to a different nation, an idea that was later developed into a ‘scientific’ racial dimension.

The Nuremberg Laws – Ideological justification

The Nuremberg Laws provided the ideological basis for the socio-political exile of the Jews from the psyche of the ordinary German (Appendix 1). Goldhagen illustrates the main reason for the laws:

[They defined] precisely who was to be considered a Jew, or a partial Jew ... the Nuremberg Laws made explicit and to a great extent codified the elimination of Jews from a civil or social existence in Germany, going a long way towards creating an insuperable separation between Jews and members of the *Volk*.⁶⁷

From the day Hitler came to power, he worked to ensure that the Jewish people would not have a voice in Germany. The initial anti-Semitic laws in April 1933, which ousted Jewish professionals from their posts, were much tamer than the Nuremberg Laws due to the newness of the regime, and the fact that the sovereign power still rested with President Hindenburg.⁶⁸ All opposing voices were silenced with the closing of Jewish and Communist newspapers and radio stations. After the death of President Hindenburg in 1935, and Hitler’s rise as the Fuhrer, the Nuremberg Laws were passed. Glass described them as the:

⁶⁶ Ibid, pg 7

⁶⁷ Goldhagen, Daniel Jonah, 1996, *Hitler’s Willing Executioners: Ordinary Germans and the Holocaust* pp 97-98

Legislative fiat [that] eliminated guilt as the foundation of civilised social law and therefore initiated a transvaluation of logics governing action and meaning. Transforming logics, inventing radically new moral precepts, constructing novel historical narratives and practices are properties of psychotic thinking.⁶⁹

Blood purity was so important, the law for the protection of German Blood and German Honour was passed on 15th September 1935 (Appendix 1). Such provisions in this law included the prohibiting of marriage and extra marital relations between German (Aryan) and Jews and were intended to preserve the purity of the race blood. The Jewish people were also barred from employing an Aryan woman for domestic service, which may have been seen as work below an Aryan woman. The law was to be enforced the day after its promulgation. The hurried enforcement of this law reveals the urgency with which the Nazis wished to avoid what they envisaged as the contamination of the Aryan race by a people that they considered as sub-human.

Due to these laws, which further eliminated Jewish people from the universe of obligation, the persecution of Jews was now socially and legally acceptable. As Kershaw points out, the demand for the laws existed: “Party organs demanded in June that Jews be excluded from state citizenship and called for the death penalty for Jews renting property to ‘Aryans,’ employing them as servants, serving them as doctors or lawyers, or engaging in ‘racial defilement.’”⁷⁰ Such extraordinary punishments for integration between the in-group and the out-group show the extent of racism against the Jews.

Hence the division of in-group and out-group that had existed in the hearts and minds of many ordinary Germans was now set in stone. The ideological preparation for genocide had begun.

⁶⁸ Burleigh, Michael, & Wippermann, Wolfgang, 1991, *The Racial State: Germany 1933-1945*, pg 44

⁶⁹ Glass, James M, 1997, *Life Unworthy of Life: Racial Phobia and Mass Murder in Hitler's Germany*, pg 129

Rwanda

Pre-regime forces

The force that created and perpetuated the division between Hutu and Tutsi in Rwanda was the influence of the colonisers. Much of the literature in this area concentrates on the Belgian policy of the preferential treatment of the Tutsi, due to their aristocratic position in pre-colonial Rwandan society. Thanks to the popularity of scientific theory at the time, (which was basically scientific racism), the class/caste system that operated in Rwanda was transformed to reflect ethnic theories of Tutsi origin and physiological differences between the two.

Destexhe has outlined this scientific racism: “At the beginning of the nineteenth century, linguistic studies, archaeological research and rational thinking ... [was] replaced with a system of classifying people according to their physical characteristics; skin colour, type of hair, shape of skull, etc.”⁷¹ The reasoning behind this classification has been discussed by Keane: “It suited the early colonists to believe in and foster the myth of the Tutsis as black Aryans, men not too dissimilar to Europeans, more noble than savage, who could be trusted to carry out the orders of the white men.”⁷² This way the colonisers could justify a form of indirect rule to their home government (in Germany or Belgium). Indirect government may have been preferable due to the fact that the higher-class natives knew the country and fewer colonists were needed. Where a class distinction had existed previously, race had been imposed and upheld by the colonisers and the Tutsis who benefited from the situation.

Clapham describes the effect which colonialism had on the two groups: “Colonialism hardened the distinction between the two ethnicities, not least through the ascription of stereotyped characteristics to each of them, and aroused the possibility of communal action, *as* Hutu or *as* Tutsi, which had barely been conceivable in the pre-

⁷⁰ Kershaw, Ian, 1998, *Hitler 1889-1936*, pg 536

⁷¹ Destexhe, Alain, 1995, *Rwanda and Genocide in the Twentieth Century*, pg 38

⁷² Keane, Fergal, 1995, *Seasons of Blood: A Rwandan Journey*, pg 13

colonial situation.”⁷³ The previous distinction of class or caste had now been changed and set as an ethnic distinction, as “... a mixture of racial prejudice ... and administrative expediency created a ‘superior race’ vision of the Tutsi.”⁷⁴

The supporting pre-regime cleavage force was the combination of the church, and the church controlled education system. The churches, which actively supported the Tutsi also supported the ethnic divide. Kakwenzire & Kamukama have pointed out that the church had been involved in Rwandan political life since “colonial times when church leaders became the vanguards of divisive politics ... Just like the colonial masters did the church – especially the Catholic Church – first threw its support behind the Tutsi.”⁷⁵ Prunier states: “A necessary prerequisite for membership of the elite of the new Rwanda the Belgians were creating was to become a Christian.”⁷⁶ The church controlled the social structure. Destexhe illustrates the methods of the missionaries: “The missionaries also supported the Tutsi power structure, using it to evangelise from the top down.”⁷⁷ This proselytisation continued as only Christians had access to education due to the church’s power over it.⁷⁸

However, the balance of power began to change when in 1957 the *Bahutu Manifesto* was published by Hutu intellectuals and supported by a new wave of missionaries who were open to the “fashionable ideas of equality, democracy and social progress.”⁷⁹ This change of direction by the new missionaries mirrored the shift towards the strengthened Hutu population. Prunier illustrates:

Slowly, in various parts of the country, the Hutu, who now felt that they had support from one of the leading institutions of the white man’s system, started to organise, creating mutual security societies, cultural associations and, in the north, clan organisation among some

⁷³ Clapham, Christopher, 1998, “Rwanda: The Perils of Peacemaking,” *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol 35, no 2, pg 197

⁷⁴ Prunier, Gerard, 1995 *The Rwanda Crisis 1959-1994: History of a Genocide*, pp 37-38

⁷⁵ Kakwenzire, Joan & Kamukama, Dixon, 2000, “The Development and Consolidation of Extremist Forces in Rwanda 1990-1994,” *The Path of a Genocide: The Rwanda Crisis From Uganda to Zaire*, pp 85-86

⁷⁶ Prunier, Gerard, 1995, *The Rwanda Crisis 1959-1994: History of a Genocide*, pg 31

⁷⁷ Destexhe, Alain, 1995, *Rwanda and Genocide in the Twentieth Century* pg 41

⁷⁸ Prunier, Gerard, 1995 *The Rwanda Crisis 1959-1994: History of a Genocide*, pg 33

⁷⁹ Destexhe, Alain, 1995, *Rwanda and Genocide in the Twentieth Century* pg 42

of the quasi-Bakiga clans which had submitted most recently to colonial power.⁸⁰

This political transfer from one group to another and the growing political will for independence from the Belgians and the Tutsis helped to solidify the move towards the ‘Social Revolution’ of 1959 in which many thousands of Tutsi fled in fear of their lives. The U turn of the Belgians to support the Hutu after years of oppression by the formerly pro-Tutsi regime encouraged dreams of independence. This dream was supported by the UN who criticised Belgium for its

Colonial policy that ensured that only a handful of the local population ... received sufficient training for them to be eventually promoted to the higher levels of their administrations - a policy aimed at ensuring that they would not think they were capable of running their own country.⁸¹

This consigned the Tutsi rule to history, but the collective memory of oppression was still very strong, which led to a general resentment of all Tutsi – a resentment that was to be exploited by both the first and second republics in Rwanda.

Throughout Kayibanda’s presidency of the first Hutu republic, Tutsis were targeted on and off. As Prunier points out, he ruled in the same manner as the *mwami*⁸² had done, expecting an order to be carried out simply because he gave the order.⁸³ Habyarimana inspired equal respect among his followers: “As a leader, [he] had many followers who believed in him and in whatever he said. His followers had actually given him the title UMUBYEYI – which literally means the parent, the provider and the one above everything.”⁸⁴ These leaders inspired devotion within the in-group and as a result were able to condition their people to obey without question. This was to prove important in the preparation and perpetration of the genocide

⁸⁰ Prunier, Gerard, 1995 *The Rwanda Crisis 1959-1994: History of a Genocide* pg 45

⁸¹ Destexhe, Alain, 1995, *Rwanda and Genocide in the Twentieth Century* pg 43

⁸² Tutsi king, initially acknowledged by different groups Ibid, Pg 37

⁸³ Prunier, Gerard, 1995 *The Rwanda Crisis 1959-1994: History of a Genocide*, pg 57

⁸⁴ Kakwenzire, Joan & Kamukama, Dixon, 2000, “The Development and Consolidation of Extremist Forces in Rwanda 1990-1994,” *The Path of a Genocide: The Rwanda Crisis From Uganda to Zaire*, pg 74

The elite of the Hutu regime also used the ‘one true people’ approach in their ideology as they accused the Tutsi out-group of being “foreigners, invaders” and not the true people of Rwanda.⁸⁵ As Prunier states: “The Hutu had been ‘native peasants’ enslaved by the aristocratic invaders: they were now the only legitimate inhabitants of the country.”⁸⁶ The teaching of Hutu ideology in schools, where a quota of Tutsi children were educated along side Hutu children, was represented the philosophy clearly:

...Racism was propagated among Rwandan youth at school, through radio and theatre. In school, the history syllabus painted the Tutsi as natural enemies of the Hutu and projected the sectarian PARMEHUTU party as a national salvation force. This systematic preaching of racial ideology served to keep alive racial hatred at a time when opportunities existed for national reconciliation.⁸⁷

The replacement of the Tutsi as overlords came with a replacement Hutu ideology. The Tutsi were still seen as the enemy, but the new regime needed cohesion among its own people to build a nation. During Kayibanda’s rule, he constantly and consistently reinforced the “intrinsic worth of being Hutu, the total congruence between demographic majority and democracy, the need to follow a moral Christian life and the uselessness of politics which should be replaced by hard work”⁸⁸

Nationalism and the ‘sociological majority’

Igwara states that the Rwandan genocide was an act of Hutu nation building.⁸⁹ This corresponds with the nationalistic representation from the government of the Hutu to the Hutu. This imagery became more intense after the October invasion of the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF), which resulted in the “[articulation of] an increasingly overt ideology of Hutu supremacy that had never been far beneath the

⁸⁵ Destexhe, Alain, 1995, *Rwanda and Genocide in the Twentieth Century* pg 42

⁸⁶ Prunier, Gerard, 1995 *The Rwanda Crisis 1959-1994: History of a Genocide*, pg 80

⁸⁷ Kakwenzire, Joan & Kamukama, Dixon, 2000, “The Development and Consolidation of Extremist Forces in Rwanda 1990-1994,” *The Path of A Genocide: The Rwanda Crisis*, pg 72

⁸⁸ Prunier, Gerard, 1995 *The Rwanda Crisis 1959-1994: History of a Genocide*, pg 58

⁸⁹ Igwara, Obi, 1995, “Ethnicity, Nationalism and Genocide in Rwanda,” *Ethnic Hatred: Genocide in Rwanda*, pp 14-15

surface, and which was readily mobilised to confront the largely (though not exclusively) Tutsi RPF.”⁹⁰

The representations of the enemy were developed through images from mythology. Prunier illustrates: “For the Hutu supremacists of the Habyarimana regime, the RPF was the serpent entering the Garden of Eden where industrious, God-fearing, law-abiding members of the ‘sociological majority’ were peacefully attending to their bucolic tasks.”⁹¹ This imagery evokes sympathy for the Hutu, rural and virtuous. The RPF were often not distinguished apart from the Tutsi, despite the fact that it was not entirely (although nearly) Tutsi. Such imagery is an example of the simplified struggle between good and evil in which the in-group are seen to be totally innocent and the out-group totally guilty.

Government policy

At no time in Rwanda were such strict and openly oppressive laws passed, and not as much literature exists on the nature of the first and second republic as the Nazi regime. Government policy on the inclusion of Tutsis into the socio-political sphere was strictly controlled in Kayibanda’s government but not as much in Habyarimana’s regime: “The quota policy existing under President Kayibanda was retained, although loosely enforced [under Habyarimana’s regime] and proportions of Tutsi in schools and universities were often some way above the required 9%”⁹²

The quota policy was not strictly enforced in Habyarimana’s regime due to the fact that, having been established and recognised, the Hutu regime did not need to evoke ethnic hatreds until 1990 when the RPF invaded. However, as Prunier continues “knowing that they could at any time become victims of officially-sponsored discrimination, the Tutsi preferred whenever possible to work in the private sector.”⁹³

⁹⁰ Clapham, Christopher, 1998, “Rwanda: The Perils of Peacemaking,” *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol 35, No 2, pg 198

⁹¹ Prunier, Gerard, 1995 *The Rwanda Crisis 1959-1994: History of a Genocide* pp 157-158

⁹² Prunier, Gerard, 1995 *The Rwanda Crisis 1959-1994: History of a Genocide*, pg 75

⁹³ Ibid, pg 75

This suggests that although the quotas were slack, discrimination and possibly intimidation may have been so widespread that the Tutsi may have felt unsafe in such an environment. This left the running of the country entirely to the Hutu, controlled by a government that espoused the Hutu ideology.

Prunier has shown the lack of Tutsi involvement in the political establishment: “Throughout the Habyarimana years there would not be a single Tutsi *bourgemestre* or *prefet*, there was only one Tutsi officer in the whole army, there were two Tutsi members of parliament out of seventy five.”⁹⁴ The *bourgemestres* were the mayoral figures in Rwandan society, which were influential in their localities. The army has been seen to be the most anti-Tutsi organisation, much of the literature stating that its members were not permitted to marry Tutsi women, in spite of the patriarchal view over ethnicity of offspring from mixed marriages.⁹⁵

The Belgian administration’s identity cards, comprising of photograph, name and ethnicity were carried on by both regimes. Magnarella comments “This basis [wealth] for classification contributed to the physical mix found in each of the various ‘ethnic’ categories.”⁹⁶ Destexhe has commented on Kayibanda’s regime “He was able to make use of [ID cards] in a campaign against the Tutsi, aimed at uniting the Hutu in his support, that targeted ‘hybrid’ mixed marriages.”⁹⁷ In retaining the ID cards, the issue of ethnicity was fed during Kayibanda’s regime and operated as a life support regime during Habyarimana’s regime, until the RPF invasion stirred the ethnicity issue from its coma. The elite Hutu regime’s attitude has been aptly described with the unspoken understanding, “Do not mess around with politics, there is a Hutu preserve.”⁹⁸

⁹⁴ Ibid, pg 75

⁹⁵ Magnarella, Paul J, 2000, *Justice in Africa: Rwanda’s Genocide, Its Courts and the UN Criminal Tribunal*, pp 14-15

⁹⁶ Ibid, pg 11

⁹⁷ Destexhe, Alain, 1995, *Rwanda and Genocide in the Twentieth Century*, pp 44-45

Mass Media: Masters of Puppets

When the in-group has been elevated by positive propaganda, and the state organs have consented to the legal expulsion of the out-group from the universe of obligation, negative propaganda comes into play. Negative propaganda supports the existing social and political cleavages, which existed in society before the rise of the regime, and compliment the indoctrination that has occurred through the passing of information either through the collective memory or official education. Such negative propaganda can be presented in different ways – through the spoken or written word, through dramatic representations or through visual experiences.

Propaganda in the Third Reich

For Hitler to carry out his plans and election promises he needed to have the backing of the people. The effort had to be made to ensure continued support for the populist movement. Therefore, the Propaganda Ministry set about two campaigns.

The first campaign of the Propaganda Ministry was to promote a fusion of German nationalism and the Nazi ideology in a form that would be acceptable to all members of the Third Reich. This was done through the total use of the mass media available. The most primary of these was the broadcasting of propagandist speeches through the radio, which received a wide audience due to the large number of homes that owned a radio. As Noakes & Pridham state: "... both Hitler and Goebbels were well aware of the importance of radio as a propaganda medium. Hitler regarded the spoken word as more effective than the written one, and through radio the regime could reach the masses directly."⁹⁹ The spoken word leaves less room for critical analysis due to the continuing need to pay attention. Goldhagen quotes Hitler from one of these speeches: "countless illnesses are caused by one bacillus: the Jews ... we will become healthy when we eliminate the Jews."¹⁰⁰ Unmistakable genocidal messages such as

⁹⁸ Ibid, pg 76

⁹⁹ Noakes, J & Pridham, G, 1984, *Nazism 1919-1939 2: State, Economy and Society*, Pg 383

¹⁰⁰ Goldhagen, Daniel Jonah, 1996 *Hitler's Willing Executioners: Ordinary Germans and the Holocaust*, Pg 143

this were received against the backdrop of the iconic image of the Fuhrer as the saviour of the German people, attempting to foster trust in the Fuhrer.

The Hitler Myth

The promotion of the movement itself was that of a modern dynamic organisation ready and willing to take the new Germany into its next existence – the thousand year Reich, led by the Fuhrer who was elevated to a divine status. As Reeves points out: “*Volkisch* writers had constructed the idea of a leader who combined the power of the philosopher with the courage of the medieval German knight, his values rooted in the values of the *Volk*; his mission, the racial mission of reclaiming the race’s former greatness.”¹⁰¹ The aim of such propaganda was to have images of the Fuhrer and the nation synonymous. The imagery of Nazi art that served Hitler in an iconic manner is illustrated by the painting depicting him as a noble and courageous warrior, carrying a flag, emblazoned with the swastika, suggesting a position at the front of an army ready for battle.

This is perfectly illustrated in the film *Triumph of the Will* by Leni Riefenstahl, which was commissioned by the Propaganda Ministry. This documentary of the 1934 Nuremberg Rally which set up Hitler as the great military leader, an important statesman with a vision and showed the Nazi movement as united, focused and popular. The modernity of the props, such as the aeroplane and the motorcade gave an air of progressiveness and prosperity, while the reception the Fuhrer received from the people - the nation - further elevated Hitler in his position as the nation’s saviour. The rituality of the rally was shown through the processions and responses of the gathered military groups such as the SS. Such grandeur helped to build up the occasion and raised expectations of the speeches that were to follow. The film fed a hungry ultra-nationalism and promoted the Nazi movement as visionary, an ideology that could still show the way, and one that would take the Versailles Treaty, all its implications, and destroy them.

¹⁰¹ Reeves. Nicholas, 1999, *The Power of Film Propaganda: Myth or Reality*, Pg 85

The second propaganda campaign was to further slander the Jewish people and promoted the view of the Jew being dishonest/dirty/dangerous. This had the motive of ensuring the support of the electorate, which wanted an answer to the ‘Jewish Question.’ The electorate held the responsibility of the political regime in Germany – it was these people who the Propaganda Ministry needed to answer to, as any hold on power is delicate. For a genocidal plan to come to fruition, any unwilling bystanders would have to be won over, as “bystanders are persons possessing a potential to halt ... [the] ongoing actions.”¹⁰² For the plans for the future, i.e. the Nuremberg Laws, and the planned genocide, the Propaganda Ministry needed to convince the people that these were necessary, and hence allow the out-group to slip further out of the universe of obligation. Kershaw reflects on the success of the negative propaganda:

The scale and nature of the savagery, and the apparent aim of maximising degradation and humiliation, reflected the success of propaganda in demonising the figure of the Jew ... and massively enhanced the process, under way since Hitler’s takeover of power, of dehumanising Jews and excluding them from German society – a vital step on the way to genocide.¹⁰³

The Eternal Jew

The film of the same name, commissioned by the Propaganda Ministry and personally overseen by Goebbels himself¹⁰⁴ has been seen as the most vituperative example of anti-Semitic propaganda and illustrates Goebbels’ commitment to the extermination of the Jews. The visual imagery of the spreading of Jews over Europe and the wider world has the undertones of the “bacillus” which Hitler spoke of: “In the course of the 19th and 20th centuries, they spread from Eastern Europe like an irresistible tide, flooding the towns and nations of Europe – in fact, the entire world.”¹⁰⁵ The following excerpt from the dialogue illustrates the potency of dehumanisation, which contributed so effectively to the impending genocide:

¹⁰² Vetlesen, Arne Johan, 2000, “Genocide: A Case for the Responsibility of the Bystander,” *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol 36, No 4, pg 521

¹⁰³ Kershaw, Ian, 2000, *Hitler 1939-1945*, Pp 141-142

¹⁰⁴ Reeves. Nicholas, 1999, *The Power of Film Propaganda: Myth or Reality*, Pg 92

Wherever rats appear they bring ruin, by destroying mankind's goods and foodstuffs. In this way, they (the rats) spread disease, plague, leprosy, typhoid fever, cholera, dysentery, and so on. They are cunning, cowardly, and cruel, and are found mostly in large packs. Among the animals, they represent the rudiment of an insidious and underground destruction - - just like the Jews among human beings.¹⁰⁶

This flagrant dehumanisation was presented to the German people as a documentary - an attempt to portray these images as truth. Kershaw demonstrates the coldness with which the Nazi elite regarded the Jewish people:

Goebbels showed Hitler the horrible ritual-slaughter scenes from the film, and reported on his own impressions – already pointing plainly in a genocidal direction – gleaned during his visit to the Lodz ghetto: ‘It’s indescribable. Those are no longer human beings. They are animals. So it’s not a humanitarian but a surgical task. Otherwise Europe will perish through the Jewish disease.’¹⁰⁷

Due to the pre-existing anti-Semitism and the propagandising of the Nazi ideology, the opinions of the elite were festering in the psyche of many ordinary Germans. As Reeves points out: “The majority of Germans had never met a Jew, and the combination of that ignorance and the remorseless propaganda did create what has been called ‘a fatal degree of indifference’ within which the regime could carry out the mass killings.”¹⁰⁸ The constant duplication of dehumanising images encouraged the persistence of the pre-existing German anti-Semitism within the electorate, and therefore kept support for the regime at a high point. The result of this has been shown by Glass who comments on the “bizarre technical normality”¹⁰⁹ of phrases describing the destruction of the Jews:

¹⁰⁵ Ministry of Propaganda for the Third Reich, 1940, *The Eternal Jew*, <http://www.holocaust-history.org/der-ewige-jude/stills.shtml>

¹⁰⁶ Ibid

¹⁰⁷ Kershaw, Ian, 2000, *Hitler 1936-1945*, Pg 249

¹⁰⁸ Ibid, Pg 119

¹⁰⁹ Glass, James M, 1997, *Life Unworthy of Life: Racial Phobia and Mass Murder in Hitler's Germany*, Pg 113

Umsiedlung (“resettlement”); *Aussiedlung* (“evacuation”); *Sonderbehandlung* (“special treatment”); *entsprechend behandelt* (“treated appropriately”); *Auflockerung* (“thinning out”).¹¹⁰

It is true that the policies were not secret when power was gained, but it is also important to remember that the Propaganda Ministry still felt the need to embark on this campaign and hence this suggests that perhaps not everyone within the German population would have been in favour of the party’s plans to exclude Jewish people from social and political life in Germany – the Jews were not entirely outside the universe of obligation, but the Nazis intended to put them there.

Propaganda in Rwanda

Keane has described the nature of the anti-Tutsi propaganda:

For several years prior to the genocide Hutus were exposed to an ongoing and virulent campaign of anti-Tutsi brainwashing ... To peasants with a long folk memory of past Tutsi misrule, the warnings and increasingly hysterical propaganda had a powerful effect ... Tens of thousands became infected ... by an anti-Tutsi psychosis, they were convinced through newspapers, radio and the frequent public speeches of Habyarimana’s closest supporters that the Tutsis were going to turn them into beasts of the field once more.¹¹¹

The propaganda that served to heighten the fears of the Hutu played on the insecurities of the peasants who may have still felt inadequate compared to the Tutsi, due to their long subjugation despite the years of positive propaganda to elevate the self-esteem of the Hutu people, just as the UN had prophesied.¹¹²

¹¹⁰ Ibid, Pg 113

¹¹¹ Keane, Fergal, 1995, *Season of Blood: A Rwandan Journey*, pp 8-9

¹¹² Destexhe, Alain, 1995, *Rwanda and Genocide in the Twentieth Century*, Pg 43

As Rwanda is a developing country, access to education, as we have seen, has been traditionally restrictive. Therefore, literacy may not be as high as in Western states. Hence, only those who have had access to education and had been indoctrinated may have been prejudiced by the printed word, which continued the racist ideology forced upon them during their formative years in education.

Kangura

The journal *Kangura* was a publication that was virulently anti-Tutsi in its political position. As Article 19's publication shows, its "orientation was clear from its slogan ... the voice which seeks to awaken and defend the majority people."¹¹³ *Kangura*, which in Kinyarwanda means 'Wake him up' has been described by Prunier as "sleazy but politically quite efficient."¹¹⁴ According to Chalk it was condemned in 1991 by the International Commission of Jurists for "its vicious incitement of racial hatred," and for its "Hitlerian contents."¹¹⁵

Destexhe recalls that in December 1990, *Kangura* published a "Call to the Conscience of the Bahutu Peoples" and the "Ten Bahutu Commandments."¹¹⁶ The Hutu Ten Commandments slander the Tutsi as an ethnic group, and issue rules by which the Hutu are expected to live, the most telling of which is the last; "The Hutu must stop taking pity on the Tutsi."¹¹⁷ (Appendix 4) Kakwenzire & Kamukama delve further into the "Call to Conscience":

[It] is high time for us to wake up, to deepen our consideration and to be aware of a new ideology, the ideology of the Bahutu which consists of defending all that was granted by the Revolution of 1959 and that of the referendum of the 25 September 1961.¹¹⁸

¹¹³ Article 19, 1996, *Broadcasting Genocide: Censorship, Propaganda and State Sponsored Violence in Rwanda 1990-1994*, Pp 62-63

¹¹⁴ Prunier, Gerard, 1995, *The Rwanda Crisis 1959-1994 – History of a Genocide*, Pg 129

¹¹⁵ Chalk, Frank, 2000, "Hate Radio in Rwanda," *The Path of a Genocide: The Rwanda Crisis from Uganda to Zaire 1990-1994*, Pp 94-95

¹¹⁶ Destexhe, Alain, 1995, *Rwanda and Genocide in the Twentieth Century*, Pp 30-31

¹¹⁷ Ngeze, Hassan, December 1990, *Kangura*, No 6, <http://www.onemancult.com/rwanda/hututen.html>

¹¹⁸ Kakwenzire, Joan, & Kamukama, Dixon, 2000, "The Development and Consolidation of Extremist Forces in Rwanda 1990-1994," *The Path of a Genocide: The Rwanda Crisis*, Pg 77

This theme of the defence of the Social Revolution and the resulting independence is consistent with the ideology of the ‘majority people’ who emancipated themselves from the slavery of the foreign invaders. For a people with a newfound superiority over their one-time rulers, this appeal may strike a chord and rally support around the cause. The people’s insecurity was fed after the RPF invasion by the passing of misinformation aimed at further frightening the Hutu. One of the main culprits of this tactic was the official radio station for the regime, Radio Rwanda. Article 19 has charged it as having “provided patently false and inflammatory reports on the RPF.”¹¹⁹ They claimed that on 22nd November 1990, that the RPF’s goal was “to exterminate and enslave us, we must not feel any mercy towards them.”¹²⁰

Inciting fear against an invading army may not be difficult and a tactic that would be used by any state. However, when the invading force is ethnically linked with a minority group that already suffers increasing state sponsored oppression, such an emotional and sinister call from a state structure was instructive of the shift from relaxed oppression and positive propaganda to the negative messages of fear and hatred. The shift was further consolidated by *Kangura*’s publication of the Hutu Ten Commandments.

Radio Rwanda

One of the earliest examples of misinformation was on 3 March 1992 – a full two years and one month before the genocide began – when Radio Rwanda “broadcast all day long false news reports that a leaflet issued by the Tutsi-based Parti Liberal had been discovered in Nairobi advocating the terrorist killing of twenty-two leading Hutu politicians, army officers, civil servants, priests, businessmen, and lawyers.”¹²¹ This news report may have been targeted at the middle class Hutu due to the professional nature of the alleged targets. Apart from demonising the Tutsi as planning the murders of prominent and successful Hutu, this report would also label those professions as legitimate targets, hence inspiring fear and the need to defend. It was also Radio Rwanda, which reported a fake RPF attack on Kigali on 4/5 October,

¹¹⁹ Article 19, 1996, *Broadcasting Genocide: Censorship, Propaganda and State Sponsored Violence in Rwanda 1990-1994*, Pp 28-29

¹²⁰ Ibid, Pg 28-29

which served to further heighten tension and fear, and promote the demonisation and perhaps the wish for revenge on the Tutsi.¹²²

RTL

However, Radio Rwanda was a news station, formal and not entertaining enough to appeal to all tastes. Radio Television Libre des Mille Collines (RTL – radio station), owned by the *Akazu*, an elite Hutu extremist group close to Habyarimana, was the most potent agent of anti-Tutsi propaganda available to the regime. Supposedly a private enterprise, it broadcast twenty-four hours a day and enjoyed uninterrupted power supply, which the state paid for, suggesting its importance to the government.¹²³

RTL's appeal was wider than the Radio Rwanda, due to its focus on an entertaining format. Article 19 comments: "In its presentation and format, RTL essentially resembled, and probably modelled itself after, Western-style radio talk shows, complete with audience participation, offensive jokes and popular music."¹²⁴ In the midst of a conflict where little other entertainment is available, RTL became popular, and its understanding of local culture helped to contribute to a mixture of overt and subtle anti-Tutsi propaganda, as Prunier points out, RTL reminded its audience that soon "one would have to reach for the top part of the house' that the Tutsi were evil and that 'we have learnt about it at school.'"¹²⁵

After the assassination of President Ndadaye, the first Hutu president of Burundi, on 21st October 1993, propaganda aimed at increasing fear and ethnic tension escalated dramatically, as Prunier shows:

They presented the situation in terms of almost biblical urgency. To the fear of losing one's privileges (rational level) they added the fear

¹²¹ Chalk, Frank, 2000, "Hate Radio in Rwanda," *The Path of a Genocide: The Rwanda Crisis*, Pg 95

¹²² Prunier, Gerard, 1995, *The Rwanda Crisis 1959-1994 – History of a Genocide*, pp 101-102

¹²³ Kakwenzire, Joan & Kamukama, 2000, "The Development and Consolidation of Extremist Forces in Rwanda 1990-1994," *The Path of a Genocide: The Rwanda Crisis from Uganda to Zaire*, Pg 76

¹²⁴ Article 19, 1996, *Broadcasting Genocide: Censorship, Propaganda and State Sponsored Violence in Rwanda 1990-1994*, Pg 85

¹²⁵ Prunier, Gerard, 1995, *The Rwanda Crisis 1959-1994 – History of a Genocide*, Pp 210-211

of losing one's life (visceral level) and the fear of losing control in one's world (mythical level). Their radio station [RTLM], poured out a torrent of propaganda, mixing constant harping on the old themes of 'majority democracy,' fears of 'Tutsi feudalism enslavement' and ambiguous 'calls to action.'¹²⁶

The establishment of RTLM in the summer of 1993 shows a marked increase in the volume of dehumanisation of the Tutsi.

The extremist owners of the station and its sponsorship from the government show that the mass media available to the state was used extensively to incite fear and suspicion of the Tutsi through misinformation and the edited broadcast and commentary on speeches from elite extremist politicians such as Leon Mugesera, which asked

Why don't we arrest these people to exterminate them? Why don't we exterminate these people who send young people to the front? ... Tell me, are you really just waiting blissfully to be massacred? ... the mistake we made in 1959 ... is that we let you get out safe and sound ... your country is Ethiopia and, soon, we will send you to your home, via Nyabarongo [river in Rwanda], on an express trip¹²⁷

This extract offers an unambiguous intention to kill, and was intended to incite hatred. Article 19 comments that "During the genocide ... statements were frequently repeated by RTLM."¹²⁸

¹²⁶ Ibid, Pg 200

¹²⁷ Article 19, 1996, *Broadcasting Genocide: Censorship, Propaganda and State Sponsored Violence in Rwanda 1990-1994*, Pp 39-40

¹²⁸ Ibid, Pg 39-40

Conclusion - Brothers In Arms

This study aimed at testing two hypotheses. The first was ‘The ideological preparation of the in-group for genocide begins long before the implementation of the event.’ The second was ‘The mass media is used extensively to promote dehumanisation and incite genocide against the out-group.’

As a result of the evidence presented, this observer has surmised that there are three stages to preparing society for genocide that relate to the stage of preparation of the in-group and the extent of which the out-group has been expelled from the universe of obligation.

The first stage is the creation of the in-group and the out-group. This occurs before the regime obtains power, but it assists the political group to gain power. The polarised groups are distinct due to their ethnicity, political, social or economic position. The influence of powerful forces within the state may help to support and nurture the cleavage before the perpetrator came to power. In Germany these forces were the churches and the education system, whereas in Rwanda the forces were the colonisers and a combination of the churches and religiously controlled education.

The second stage of genocide preparation is in the early period of the regime when political moves towards the further polarising of society take place through government policy and the creation of new laws. This stage is central to the first hypothesis. These policies are often intended to reduce the influence of the out-group in society either gradually or totally, depending on the urgency and political strength of the regime at this time. Such segregation from the in-group assures their reduction in the perception of the in-group. Due to this removal of the out-group from every day life, ideological indoctrination can occur reducing comparison to the actual group – the aim is to ensure a total belief in the ideology.

Discriminatory policies are the beginning of the dehumanisation of the victim group, and the beginning of the ideological preparation of the perpetrator group. The Nuremberg Laws of 1935 leave the reader without a doubt that the Jewish people were to be expelled from society, and hence the universe of obligation. In Rwanda during Kayibanda's regime, government quotas on the numbers of Tutsi allowed into higher education and the professions was strictly levelled at nine per cent. Although more relaxed during Habyarimana's rule, these quotas still existed, along with an unwritten agreement to leave politics to Hutus.

The third stage of preparation moves towards the positive reinforcement of the intrinsic worth of the in-group and the total degradation and dehumanisation of the out-group. This stage is pivotal in the second hypothesis. Where the in-group is constantly reminded of their worth, this will automatically degrade those outside the in-group as unworthy. The combination of positive propaganda with the dehumanisation of an out-group allows a more potent combination than simply one or the other. This is done through the mass media, ensuring where possible that each individual is reached, regardless of age, sex or class.

The Third Reich ensured that propaganda was a priority by putting one of the most influential Nazis, Josef Goebbels, in charge of the Propaganda Ministry. The effect of this appointment can be seen in the comparison of the 1934 documentary *Triumph of the Will*, and the breathtakingly gruesome film, *'The Eternal Jew.'* The Hutu elite in Rwanda made the most of the media they had available to the masses. Their use of radio, and in particular the station RTL, rivalled that of the newsreels of the Third Reich, managing news bulletins and reporting false news.

The propagation of an ideology is possibly the best way to create a cohesive group in which many intrinsic differences exist. Nationalism has been used by both case studies to coagulate all those who fitted their racial stereotypes, and was used in positive propaganda in an attempt to build their respective nations. Misinformation was also used by both states to create a hysteric phobia of the out-group and further consolidate the in-group as a nation, standing against their foreign enemies. These two tools were driving forces behind the propaganda that contributed to the environment, which allowed the genocides to take place.

A pre-existing cleavage within a society, exploited by an extremist regime will produce genocidal tendencies. Through the entrenchment of the regime's ideology by government laws and the judiciary, indoctrination through the educational system and saturation of the mass media of extremist propaganda, a people is prepared for the destruction of their perceived enemies. Through positive propaganda, the in-group is told that they are superior to all other groups, while simultaneously negative propaganda tells them that the out-group is a despicable, evil force that is bent on the destruction of the in-group – the chosen people.

The hypotheses examined through the application of the two case studies have survived well. They show that a group's alienation and dehumanisation are potential indicators of a future genocide. Neither of the hypotheses needs to be qualified, as evidence from both case studies has been provided to test their validity. However, to test them fully, other case studies should be used to ensure their strength. The importance of studying genocides is that we may identify patterns, which may be indicative of a future genocide, and potentially reduce the risk considerably.

Appendix 1 – The Nuremberg Laws

THE REICH CITIZENSHIP LAW OF 15 SEPT. 1935¹²⁹

The Reichstag has unanimously enacted the following law, which is promulgated herewith:

Article 1

- 1) A subject of the State is a person who enjoys the protection of the German Reich and who in consequence has specific obligations towards it.
- 2) The status of subject of the State is acquired in accordance with the provisions of the Reich and State Citizenship Law.

¹²⁹ From Sax, Benjamin & Kunte, Dieter, 1992, *Inside Hitler's Germany: A Documentary History of Life in the Third Reich*, pg 404

Article 2

1) A Reich citizen is a subject of the State who is of German or related blood, who proves by his conduct that he is willing and fit faithfully to serve the German people and Reich.

2) Reich citizenship is acquired through the granting of a Reich Citizenship Certificate.

3) The Reich citizen is the sole bearer of full political rights in accordance with the Law

Article 3

The Reich Minister of the Interior, in coordination with the Deputy of the Fuehrer, will issue the Legal and Administrative orders required to implement and complete this Law.

Nuremberg, 15 Sept 1935 at the Reichsparteitag of Liberty

The Fuhrer and Reichs Chancellor

ADOLF HITLER

The Reich Minister of the Interior

FRICK

FIRST REGULATION TO THE REICHS CITIZENSHIP LAW OF 14 NOV. 1935¹³⁰

On the basis of Article 3, Reichs Citizenship Law, of 15 Sept. 1935 ... the following is ordered:

Article 1

¹³⁰ Ibid 404

- 1 Until further issue of regulations regarding citizenship papers, all subjects of German or kindred blood, who possessed the right to vote in the Reichstag elections, at the time of the Citizenship Law came into effect, shall, for the time being, possess the rights of Reich citizens. The same shall be true of those whom the Reich Minister of the Interior, in conjunction with the Deputy of the Fuhrer, has given the preliminary citizenship
- 2 The Reich Minister of the Interior, in conjunction with the Deputy of the Fuhrer, can withdraw the preliminary citizenship

Article 2

- 1 The regulations in Article 1 are also valid for Reich subjects of mixed, Jewish blood
- 2 An individual of mixed Jewish blood, is one who descended from one or two grandparents who were racially full Jews, insofar as [he or she] does not count as a Jew according to Article 5, paragraph 2. One grandparent shall be considered as full-blooded if he or she belonged to the Jewish religious community

Article 3

Only the Reich citizen, as bearer of full political rights, exercises the right to vote in political affairs, and can hold public office. The Reich Minister of the Interior, or any agency empowered by him, can make exceptions during the transition period, with regard to occupying public offices. The affairs of religious organisations will not be touched upon.

Article 4

- 1 A Jew cannot be a citizen of the Reich. He has no right to vote in political affairs and he cannot occupy a public office
- 2 Jewish officials will retire as of 31 December 1935. If these officials served at the front in the World War, either for Germany or her allies, they will receive in full, until they reach the age limit, the pension to which they were entitled

according to the last received wages; they will, however, not advance in seniority. After reaching the age limit, their pension will be calculated anew, according to the last received salary, on the basis of which their pension was computed

- 3 The affairs of religious organisations will not be touched upon
- 4 The conditions of service of teachers in Jewish public schools remain unchanged, until new regulations of the Jewish school systems are issued

Article 5

- 1 A Jew is anyone who descended from at least three grandparents who were racially full Jews. Article 2, par. 2, second sentence will apply
- 2 A Jew is also one who descended from two full Jewish parents, if: (a) he belonged to the Jewish religious community at the time this law was issued, or who joined the community later; (b) he was married to a Jewish person, at the time the law was issued, or married one subsequently; (c) he is the offspring from a marriage with a Jew, in the sense of Section 1, which was contracted after the Law for the Protection of German Blood and German Honour became effective ... (d) he is the offspring of an extramarital relationship, with a Jew, according to Section 1, and will be born out of wedlock after July 31 1936

Article 6

- 1 As far as demands are concerned for the pureness of blood as laid down in Reich law or in orders of the NSDAP and its echelons – not covered in Article 5 – they will not be touched upon
- 2 Any other demands on pureness of blood, not covered in Article 5, can only be made with permission from the Reich Minister of the Interior and the Deputy of the Fuhrer. If any such demands have been made, they will be void as of 1 Jan 1936, if they have not been requested from the Reich Minister of the

Interior in agreement with the Deputy of the Fuhrer. These requests must be made from the Reich Minister of the Interior.

Article 7

The Fuhrer and Reichs Chancellor can grant exemptions from the regulations laid down in the law

Berlin, 14 November 1935

The Fuhrer and Reichs Chancellor

ADOLF HITLER

The Reich Minister of the Interior

FRICK

The Deputy of the Fuhrer

R. HESS

(Reich Minister without Portfolio)

LAW FOR THE PROTECTION OF GERMAN BLOOD AND GERMAN HONOUR OF 15 SEPTEMBER 1935¹³¹

Thoroughly convinced by the knowledge that the purity of German blood is essential for the further existence of the German people and animated by the inflexible will to safe-guard the German nation for the entire future, the Reichstag has resolved upon the following law unanimously, which is promulgated herewith:

SECTION 1

¹³¹ Ibid, pg 406

- 1 Marriages between Jews and nationals of German or kindred blood are forbidden. Marriages concluded in defiance of this law are void, even if, for the purpose of evading the law, they are concluded abroad
- 2 Proceedings for annulment may be initiated only by the Public Prosecutor

SECTION 2

Relation outside marriage between Jews and nationals of German or kindred blood are forbidden

SECTION 3

Jews will not be permitted to employ female nationals of German or kindred blood in their household

SECTION 4

- 1 Jews are forbidden to hoist the Reich and national flag and to present the colours of the Reich
- 2 On the other hand they are permitted to present the Jewish colours. The exercise of this authority is protected by the state

SECTION 5

- 1 A person who acts contrary to the prohibition of section 1 will be punished with hard labour
- 2 A person who acts contrary to the prohibition of section 2 will be punished with imprisonment or with hard labour

- 3 A person who acts contrary to the provisions of sections 3 or 4 will be punished with imprisonment up to a year and with a fine or with one of these penalties

SECTION 6

The Reich Minister of the Interior in agreement with the Deputy of the Fuhrer and the Reich Minister of Justice will issue the legal and administrative regulations which are required for the implementation and supplementation of this law

SECTION 7

The law will become effective on the day after the promulgation, section 3 however only on 1 January 1936

Nuremberg, the 15 September 1935 at the Reich Party Rally of freedom

The Fuhrer and Reich Chancellor

ADOLF HITLER

The Reich Minister of Interior

FRICK

The Reich Minister of Justice

DR. GURTNER

The Deputy of the Fuhrer

R. HESS

(Reich Minister without Portfolio)

Appendix 2 - The Hutu's Ten Commandments

The Hutu Ten Commandments created by the producer of hate newspaper Kangura, Hassan Ngeze. First published in December, 1990 (Kangura, N. 6)

- 1 Tutsi are blood and power thirsty. They want to impose their hegemony on the Rwandan people by cannon and sword.
- 2 Ever since the social revolution of 59 not one day has passed that the Tutsi have let go of the idea of reconquering power in Rwanda and exterminating the intellectuals and dominating the Hutu agriculturalists.
- 3 Tutsi use two means against Hutu: money and Tutsi women.
- 4 Tutsi sold their wives and daughters to the Hutu authorities. Tutsis tried to marry their wives to Hutu elite in order to have spies in the inner circle.
- 5 Tutsis did everything they could to erase the Hutu consciousness to the point that any Hutu that noticed the diabolical actions of the Tutsi was fired from their job without warning and thrown into jail
- 6 Hutus must know that the Tutsi wide wherever she may be is serving the Tutsi ethnic group. In consequence, any Hutu who does the following is a traitor:
 - a. Acquires a Tutsi wife
 - b. Acquires a Tutsi concubine
 - c. Acquires a Tutsi secretary protégé
- 7 All Hutus must know that all Tutsis are dishonest in business. Their only goal is ethnic superiority
- 8 The Rwandan Armed Forces (FAR) must be exclusively Hutu. The war in 1990 teaches us this lesson
- 9 No military man (ie FAR soldier) may marry a Tutsi woman
- 10 The Hutu must stop taking pity on the Tutsi

<http://www.onemancult.com/rwanda/hututen.html>

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