

In the empty days of April 1945, I watched as...
 Killed my father, mother, 2 brothers and baby sister. I became a work,
 I couldn't cry even though I wanted to scream.
 The young one of the 7 ordered me to follow him and then he
 when my parents let he enemy. He took my clothes off and raped me, etc
 said that this was his prize for saving my life. I was raped by 4 of
 them.
 They took me to a makeshift 'barrack' where girls were put to one side, and other people were
 killed. Along with other girls, the men chose among us who they wanted and
 raped us. We stayed at the roadblock for a week, then we were round about

EDUCATION SYMBOLIC

Exploring GENOCIDE

Educational issues and challenges

olic doesn't mean that they are
 parents in the Republic of Ireland
 doesn't mean that they are a 'loyalist'
 remains in the United Kingdom as
 in the modern situation, those that are
 typically Catholic and those that are loyalist's
 children. Yet these are the groups which first
 Genocide Horror

"ALL WERE
 WHO WERE
 David Coleman
 Survivor of



DEHUMANISATION

DENIAL

A woman thinking
 and said "frodo
 shot her first
 as he was the only
 first shot and he
 (I don't know
 the milk on
 and I don't know
 what happened with
 injured - I don't know
 dead were Catholics



“We are working together with 80:20 and Concern on the subject of Genocide and on the circumstances of the violence in Darfur. The project is to try and bring about a change in the Darfur situation.”

“We feel that it is necessary to bring the situation in Darfur to people’s attention immediately. Along with the mural, we are producing an information booklet to be distributed around the country. We hope to raise awareness with this project, as only pressure from the public can improve the current diplomatic problems with Sudan ...”

“This mural is a very important piece of work as it raises awareness of the genocide that happened, Rwanda, the genocides that could have happened, Northern Ireland, and the genocides that are happening, Darfur.”





Introduction

“Good matters, right matters. They have the last word. We learn about the Holocaust and other genocides so that we can be more human, more gentle, more caring, more compassionate, valuing every person as being of infinite worth, so precious that we know that such atrocities will never happen again, and that the world will be a more humane place that is hostile to such horrendous occurrences.”

— Archbishop Desmond Tutu

Never again – this is what the world said after the Holocaust of the Second World War. Then there was Bosnia and, in between, Rwanda. The genocide in Rwanda in 1994, resulted in the merciless slaughter of more than 800,000 Rwandan citizens in the space of just 100 days – while the world watched and did nothing. This genocide was a stark and horrific reminder that the crime of genocide can – and did – happen again. It reminded us that the realities of genocide are not archived to history, such as in the horrors of the Holocaust in Europe, the Killing Fields of Cambodia or the Turkish slaying of innocent Armenians at the turn of the century. It must never happen again, yet it has, and is, and may well be happening again.

For those of us in the ‘developed’ world, genocide is a reminder that killing, on a large scale, is not confined to over ‘there’ such as in Rwanda or Cambodia, but is very much a part of our world, such as the genocide in the Balkans in the 1990s. For those of us living in Ireland, studying the phenomenon of genocide is deeply disturbing for a variety of reasons. While the character and scale of killing in Northern Ireland (and throughout the island) has remained limited, many dimensions of our own history remain deeply challenging. The reality is that many of the worst genocides have occurred in Europe and at the hands of Europeans.

The genocide wall murals and this resource were developed to explore the topic of genocide in a number of contexts:

- During Phase I of the mural developed in 2004, a group of students and teachers from two schools – one in East Belfast, the other in Bray – explored the nature and context of what happened in Rwanda and in Northern Ireland.
- In Phase II, which took place in 2007, students and teachers from schools in Bray and Crumlin, revisited the wall mural and explored the topic of genocide in the context of the current debate around the killings in Darfur.
- To attempt to understand the nature and causes of genocide as well as its geography and history in recent decades
- To attempt to answer the basic question – what can I do to prevent genocide?

This resource is a record of what we did during both projects, it hopes to share our work and experiences with others, to highlight the educational dimension of genocide, to mark its consequences for those who died and those who survived, and to look at the question – is genocide happening today in Darfur? The resource also challenges the often-asserted view that young people today don’t care – they do!

“I wasn’t aware of genocide when I came here and now that I know about it I think it’s very wrong and something should be done to stop it.”

– Jasmin Boland

“Although the project may not make a difference to the situation in Darfur, we can all say we tried to help, which everyone should be able to say.”

– Kaleen Doyle

About this project

This project began (and then developed further) as a response to a number of issues:

- the genocide in Rwanda in 1994 and the desire to mark its 10th anniversary
- to explore whether genocide could happen here in Ireland
- to try to understand what is happening in Darfur today and how we might respond educationally as well as practically
- to understand the nature of genocide and how it happens, how ordinary people get caught up in it (on 'both sides') and what lessons this has for us here on this island (Ireland) and also further afield (in the 'new' Europe)





What does genocide mean?

“We are in the presence of a crime without a name.”

— Winston Churchill

“What isn’t properly named, cannot be properly understood.”

www.darfurgenocide.org/learn.php#Genocide

‘Genocide’, as a word, is relatively new. It originated as a result of the Jewish Holocaust under Nazi rule in the 1940s. Raphael Lemkin coined the term by combining the Greek word geno, meaning ‘race’ or ‘tribe’, together with the Latin word cide from caedere, meaning ‘to kill’.

In 1948, the United Nations made Genocide an international crime, punishable during war or in times of peace under the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide. More than 130 countries have signed the Convention. Article 2 of the Genocide Convention defines genocide as:

“any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such:

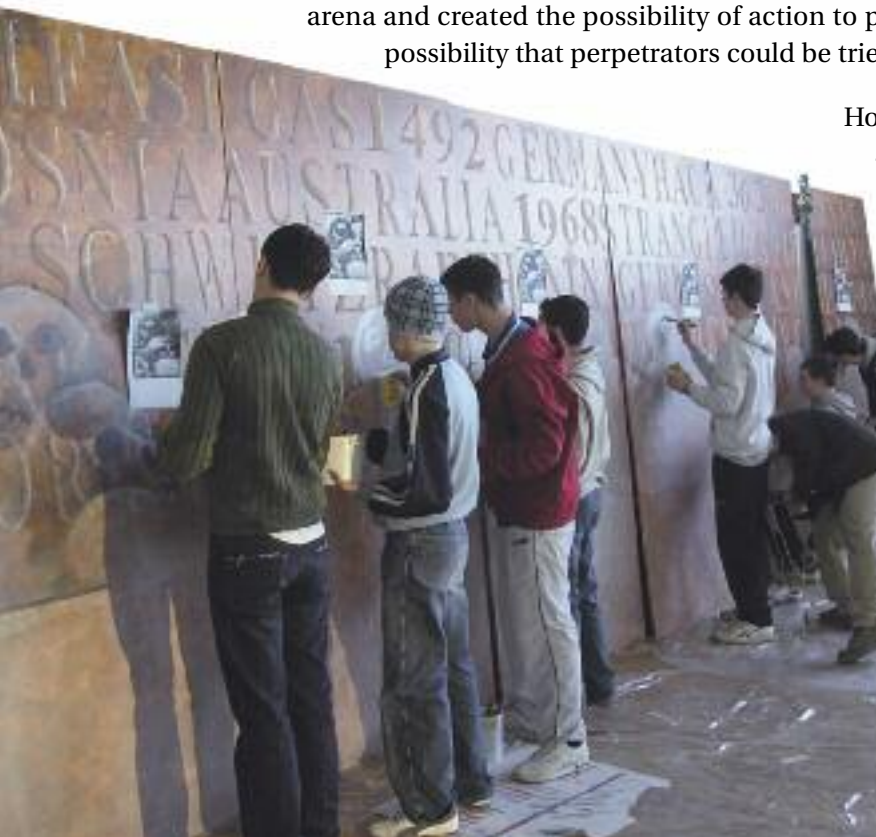
- (a) Killing members of the group;
- (b) Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group;
- (c) Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part;
- (d) Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group;
- (e) Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group.”

In naming and defining Genocide, crimes associated with it were finally brought into the international arena and created the possibility of action to prevent/stop genocide and (eventually) the possibility that perpetrators could be tried for their crimes in an international court.

However, one noted commentator has stated:

“Since the invention of the word, however, a long line of (US) Presidents have gone out of their way to avoid using it. Jimmy Carter resisted branding the Khmer Rouge with the term. Ronald Reagan avoided applying it to Saddam Hussein. The first President Bush refused to apply it to the Bosnian Serbs. And Bill Clinton skirted the label for Bosnia and Rwanda. State Department spokeswoman Christine Shelly became the face of Clinton’s semantic wriggle when she tried to insist that, although hundreds of thousands of Rwandans had been butchered, only “acts” of genocide were occurring.”

— Samantha Power (2003) “A Problem from Hell: America and the Age of Genocide”



Why study genocide?

“Thus for the time being I have sent to the East only my ‘Death’s Head Units’ with the orders to kill without pity or mercy all men, women, and children of Polish race or language. Only in such a way will we win the vital space that we need. Who still talks nowadays about the Armenians?”

— Adolf Hitler to his Army commanders August 22, 1939

In developing and updating the Genocide mural, a series of workshops and discussions took place in Belfast, Bray and Crumlin about the nature and causes of genocide, how genocide happened in Rwanda and in other countries, questioned whether it could happen here in Ireland and (in updating the mural), looked at whether the mass killings in Darfur could be considered genocide.

During the workshops, a fundamental question was revisited – why learn about genocide? What follows is our attempt to answer this question (with due acknowledgement to Archbishop Desmond Tutu in *The Encyclopaedia of Genocide*, ABC-CLIO, Oxford, England, 1999).

■ So that we try not to forget

The human consequences of genocide are horrific – not just for those who have been killed but for their families and their communities. Whole societies have been profoundly shaped and influenced by historical experiences – while they might appear to be in the past, for many, these experiences are very much a part of the present. The guilt of those who were involved as well as the guilt of those who survived lives on and is capable of shaping new lives positively, and negatively.

We need to know about the specific historical settings in which a genocide took place, to whom it happened and by whose hand and in what circumstances. We need to know this if we are to attempt to answer the question – what can we do?

■ So that we learn

As has been pointed out – ‘those who forget the past are doomed to repeat it’.

There are many crucial lessons to be learned – how genocide occurs? What factors and circumstances allow it? What can be done to prevent its recurrence? What the role of government and the broader society are (and could be)? What the role of armies and of ordinary people is (and could be)? etc.

But there are other, equally vital, lessons:

- That we can experience revulsion and yet be inspired
- So that we realise that ordinary people are capable of horrific violence (and heroism)
- That the issue cannot be left to governments and international bodies alone to deal with
- That the promotion and protection of human rights is vital
- That specific interventions such as the International Criminal Court are fundamental to the rule of law – and of morality
- That education against genocide is a fundamental (if insufficient) instrument of prevention, etc
- As has been pointed out – ‘what we learn from history is that we do not learn from history’.



■ So that we work to avoid it happening again

As we progress further into the 21st century, our technological capacity increases exponentially – at least here in the so-called ‘developed world’ – yet our moral, legal and political capacities remain stunted by comparison. For example, contrary to what we might believe, genocide is not simply carried out by educationally ‘ignorant’ people but by some of the most sophisticated and ‘learned’ individuals and groups.



We need to work to learn what instruments, structures and procedures are needed at national and international levels to attempt to prevent re-occurrences. But, most of all, we need to work to develop a public climate in which the tell-tale signs are not only noted but also loudly challenged.

Each and every one of us has a role to play.

■ To appreciate that it could happen to me

Genocide always seems to happen to other people – Jews, Rwandans, Muslims, etc. And yet, any brief study of genocide makes it clear that it happens to ordinary people, like you and me as well as to their families, communities and countries. It is not confined to any one group of countries in Africa or the Middle East or to poorer countries – it has happened here in Europe and in the so-called ‘civilised world’.

Ensuring protection for those at risk of violence ensures all our safety and begins to build an international understanding of the idea of human security.

■ To support international protection and justice

When a particular group or community comes under attack, international support becomes crucial. Such support can take many forms – political pressure, publicity, sanctions, UN condemnation, intervention, protection, asylum, etc. Support for the UN and for its measures of protection is crucial to those under attack.

Bringing to justice those guilty of war crimes is a fundamental part of ensuring that genocide does not happen again. It is an important part of ensuring that revenge does not become the ‘order of the day’ – it is also part of the healing process. Institutions such as the International Criminal Court are a vital part of responding to the realities of genocide.



■ To realise our capacity for evil and for good

Learning about, and from, the history of genocide tells us much about human nature and about our societies and ourselves.

In a word, we should study genocide to learn about what Africans call ‘UBUNTU’ – the essence of being human – that our humanity is bound up with that of others.

The eight Stages of Genocide

“One of the reasons for our failure in Rwanda was that beforehand we did not face the fact that genocide was a real possibility. And once it started, for too long we could not bring ourselves to recognise it, or call it by that name.”

— Kofi Annan, April 2004 (speaking on the 10th anniversary of the Rwandan genocide)

Genocide does not just happen. It is precisely organised, planned and executed and usually follows eight stages in its development and execution:

1 Classification

Classification is the categorising of people into groups. They are classified by ethnicity, race, religion and/or nationality. An ‘us versus them’ attitude is introduced and promoted. Classification will always take place – it has happened in Ireland for example where there are divisions drawn between Protestants and Catholics, and between Nationals and Non-Nationals.

There are ways of ensuring that these classifications don’t escalate. If both sides find a common ground and institutions that transcend these divisions, inter-relationships and tolerance can grow. One example could be the promotion of a common language in countries like Tanzania or Cote d’Ivoire.

2 Symbolisation

Groups are given names and other symbols that can be used to classify them. Classification and symbolism are universally human and do not necessarily result in genocide unless they lead to the next stage, dehumanisation. When combined with hatred, symbols may be forced upon unwilling members of groups, such as the Star of David on Jewish populations by Nazi rule during the Second World War.



3 Dehumanisation

(Dictionary extract: to deprive of human qualities)

This process implies that members of one group deny the humanity of another. Members of the ‘other’ group are compared to animals, vermin, insects or diseases. Why is dehumanisation important? By dehumanising a group, those planning a genocide feel justified and the killing of the other group is not seen as murder. Dehumanisation overcomes the human revulsion against murder. This is the stage where hate propaganda in print and on radio is used to vilify the victim group such as during the genocide in Rwanda.

4 Organisation

The genocide is organised, often by the state or by terrorist groups. Hate groups are organised and militias are formed, trained and armed. Plans are made for genocidal killings. Propaganda institutions like newspapers and radios are strengthened and propaganda increases.



5 Polarisation

(Dictionary extract: form, or cause to form into groups with directly opposite views)

Extremists drive the two groups involved in the genocide apart. The 'us versus them' attitude is emphasised and a new view is formed, 'if you are not with us, you are against us' – hate groups may broadcast polarising propaganda, laws may forbid intermarriage or social interaction between groups, etc. Moderates are denounced as traitors and are persecuted. Some are even killed. It is now 'a kill or be killed situation'.

6 Preparation

Plans are made for the fast approaching genocide. Victims are identified and separated out according to their ethnic or religious identity and lists are drawn up of those who are to be killed. Here, members of victim groups may be forced to wear identifying symbols and may be segregated. Trial massacres are conducted to give the murderers practice. If these massacres go ignored by the international community, genocide is ready to proceed. This is the time when an international force should be sent to intervene and humanitarian assistance should be organised for the inevitable tide of refugees.

7 Extermination

This is when the killings begin. It is termed "extermination" as the killers believe their victims to be less than human and that they are purifying society. When the genocide is sponsored by the state, the armed forces often work with militias to do the killing.

At this stage, only rapid and overwhelming armed intervention can stop genocide.

8 Denial

During and after every genocide, the perpetrators will deny the crime. How can you deny genocide? You lie, block investigations and dispose of the evidence. The killers will deny that they committed any crimes, and blame what happened on the victims, they will hide the bodies in mass graves and intimidate any witnesses who are brave enough to speak out. Most will claim that the genocide was justified and that the killings were part of a war or a repression of terrorism. Many continue to govern until driven from power by force, when they flee into exile, where they remain with impunity, such as Pol Pot from Cambodia or Idi Amin from Uganda. The best response to denial is punishment by an international tribunal, such as the Rwanda Tribunal, national courts and ultimately the International Criminal Court. There the evidence can be heard, and the perpetrators punished. They may not deter the worst genocidal killers. But with the political will to arrest and prosecute them, some mass murderers may be brought to justice.



Genocide in History

– some examples

The ‘American Holocaust’

The genocide against the indigenous population of the United States of America spanned over four centuries, beginning with the discovery of the ‘new world’ by the Spanish in 1492 and continuing with the early settlers to that ‘New World’. In 1830 the Indian Removal Act was introduced as US Government policy which sought to ‘relocate’ Native Americans living east of the Mississippi River to the West in order to clear the land for ‘white’ settlers. Much of this land was deemed ‘sacred’ by native peoples with deep religious and spiritual significance. The forced deportation resulted in the well-known ‘Trail of Tears’ and led to the near extinction of the entire Cherokee Nation due to starvation, exhaustion and disease during the long journey. The discovery of gold in the West of the US, subsequent migration and expansion of white settlers, compounded the plight of Native Americans and resulted in further exploitation and loss of life. During this period, the Native American population reduced from a quarter of a million to less than 20,000. The mass hunting by the white man of the American Buffalo, a life source for the Native American, also contributed to their life losses.

Compounding the massacres were the US government and church policies, which sought to wipe out traditional Native American values and beliefs and replace them with more American Christian ones. It wasn’t until 1968, through the Indian Civil Rights Act, that Native Americans were accorded tribal sovereignty – the right to govern themselves, define their own membership, manage tribal property, and regulate tribal business and domestic relations.

Some effects

- The estimated 2.5 million Native Americans living in the US continue to suffer from many significant social and economic problems – disproportionate rates of poverty, infant mortality, unemployment, low high-school completion rates, etc
- The Native American Civil Rights movement continues to struggle for their cultural rights – traditional religious beliefs, preservation of tribal languages, carrying out native social practices; rights to religious freedom, the preservation of tribal sovereignty and treaty rights, etc.

LEARN MORE

www.learn.org/hgp/aeti/aeti-1997/native-americans.html

www.historicaldocuments.com/indianremovalact.htm

www.unitednativeamerica.com/aiholocaust.html

The Armenian Genocide

“The Ottoman Empire should be cleaned up of the Armenians...”

Young Turk leader Enver Pasha in 1916

From 1915 to 1917 the Muslim Young Turk regime of the Ottoman Empire carried out a systematic, premeditated, centrally planned genocide against the Christian Armenian minority. The genocide began with the mass slaughter of able-bodied males who were either immediately killed or worked to death. Villages and towns were systematically emptied of women, children and the elderly; any remaining residents were “escorted” by Turkish Gendarmes in what were known as “death marches” across Anatolia to the Syrian Desert. More than one million Armenians died as the result of execution, starvation,



disease, the harsh environment, and physical abuse along the journey. Further massacres of Armenians continued after World War I in 1919 – at the beginning of 1915 there were some two million Armenians within Turkey, today there are said to be fewer than 60,000.

Some effects

- “In a single year, 1915, the Armenians were robbed of their 3000-year-old heritage...all that remained was left to memory – including their ‘tragic destiny.’”
- Despite the vast amount of evidence that points to the historical reality of the Armenian genocide – eyewitness accounts, official archives, photographic evidence, reports of diplomats, condemnation at the time by all the major political powers, and the testimony of survivors – successive regimes in Turkey continue to deny the Armenian Genocide and the world up until recently remained silent
- When France passed a resolution in November 2006 declaring the events genocide, they were faced with harsh political reactions from Turkey. The US has fallen short of naming the genocide, rather, commemorating “victims” of the “tragedy”. A recent resolution in the US Congress calling for formal U.S. acknowledgment of the Armenian Genocide has once again been delayed – Turkey remains an important military hub for the US

LEARN MORE

www.armenian-genocide.org/
www.gendercide.org/case_armenia.html
www.anca.org/anca_home.php
www.theforgotten.org/site/intro_eng.html

The Jewish Holocaust

“I ask nothing of the Jews except that they should disappear.”

Nazi Governor of Poland

Adolf Hitler came to power in Germany in January 1933 blaming his country’s defeat in World War I and its subsequent economic hardships on the Jews and accused the Jews of various conspiracies. Via the Nazi regime, Hitler began a systematic and planned policy of extermination against the Jewish population of Europe. Jews in Germany were deprived of their German citizenship, forbidden to marry non-Jews, removed from schools, banned from professions, excluded from military service along with many other restrictions. The campaign was intensified by a state sanctioned smear campaign portraying Jews as enemies of Germany in newspapers, on posters, in movies, on radio, in speeches by Hitler and other top Nazis, in the classroom, etc. The campaign expanded as Hitler’s power grew with the ultimate goal of ‘...the annihilation of the Jewish race in Europe’.

Every minute detail of the extermination process was meticulously planned with the use of concentration or death camps, mobile gas vans, mass “deportations” to the camps, with some individuals taken aside for medical experiments and others for slave labour. It was when the Soviet and Western allies began liberating concentration camps from early 1945 that the full horror of the twelve-year Nazi regime became apparent. By this stage, most of Europe’s Jews had been killed – four million had been gassed in the death camps while another two million had been shot dead or died in the ghettos.

Some effects

- The Holocaust has become a chilling benchmark in the history of both Germany and genocide. What happened led to the conviction and execution of Nazi leaders and the overall strengthening of laws against genocide and the signing of the Genocide Convention. It has also raised many difficult and enduring questions for the German people
- It led to the creation of the state of Israel with all its consequences for both Israelis and Palestinians

LEARN MORE

www.ushmm.org/
www.library.thinkquest.org/12663/
www.holocaust-education.dk
www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/holo.html

Bosnian Genocide

Conflict between the three main ethnic groups – Serbs, Croats and Muslims (Bosniacs) in the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, resulted in genocide committed by the Serbs against the Muslims between 1992 and 1995. Under the leadership of Serbian leader Slobodan Milosevic, over 200,000 Muslim civilians were systematically murdered with a further 20,000 ‘missing’ and over 2,000,000 refugees. With policies reminiscent of the Jewish Holocaust, the world once again witnessed mass shootings, forced repopulation of entire towns, confinement in make-shift concentration camps, the terrorising of Muslim families, rape as a weapon of war against women and girls, the destruction of Muslim mosques and historic architecture throughout Bosnia.

Some effects

- Serbia today remains weak and devastated with strong ethnic hostilities still a reality
- The genocide is seen by many as evidence of the weakness of the UN and, in particular its ‘peacekeepers’ as the UN effectively failed to do much to stop the killings
- The massacre in Srebrenica in 1995 is generally regarded as the worst single atrocity in Europe since the end of World War II
- The return of refugees to their homes remains an unfulfilled dream for many.

LEARN MORE

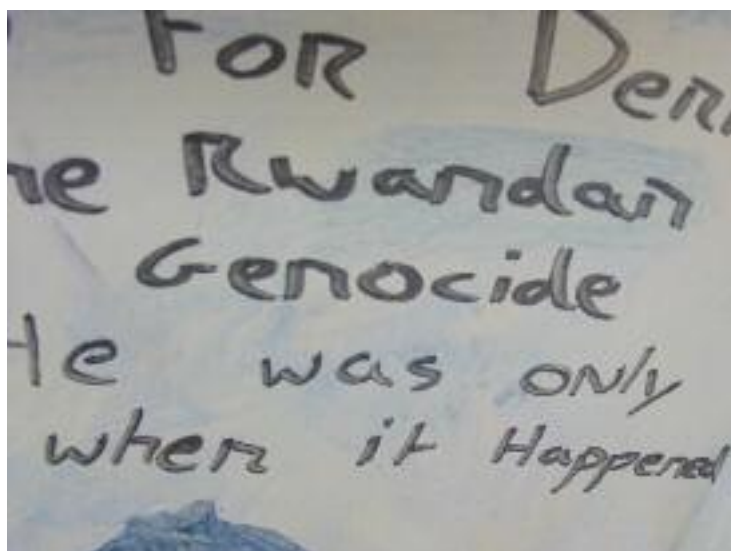
www.unitedhumanrights.org/Genocide/bosnia_genocide.htm

www.ppu.org.uk/genocide/g_bosnia.html

www.historyplace.com/worldhistory/genocide/bosnia.htm

Genocide in Rwanda

The two main ethnic groups in Rwanda are divided between ethnic Hutu (who make up 85% of the population) and the Tutsi minority, which formed the traditional elite. On 6 April 1994 the plane carrying the Rwandan President Juvenal Habyarimana, a Hutu, was shot down above Kigali airport. Within hours, a campaign of violence throughout the country where Hutu militias armed with machetes, clubs, guns and grenades began indiscriminately killing Tutsi civilians. Over the next 100 days, an estimated 800,000 Rwandans were killed in the genocide.



The world did little to stop the massacres. The U.N. Security Council responded to the worsening crisis by voting unanimously to effectively abandon Rwanda. U.N. peacekeeping troops were pulled out of Rwanda, leaving behind a tiny force of about 200 soldiers for the entire country.

After the genocide some 120,000 people were arrested and an international court was set up to try the ringleaders of the genocide. A decade later, at a cost of more than half a billion dollars, only 20 people have been charged and 3 have been acquitted. The Court has been condemned for being



inefficient, corrupt and not doing enough to protect witnesses. Criminal courts and mass trials have so far convicted 105 and acquitted 37 people. Due to the sheer numbers involved in the genocide, traditional community courts have been introduced to speed up the trial process, but continue to be inefficient and corrupt.

Some effects

- The scars of the genocide and subsequent reprisals will remain with Rwandans for generations with massive social consequences
- Rwanda's economy continues to be badly damaged. Many professionals and labourers were killed in the genocide and this has had significant impact on all aspects of development
- Since mostly men were killed in the genocide, there is a demographic imbalance on marriage and polygamy (which is illegal in Rwanda) or *kwinjira* (practice of sharing men), are seen as a solution to this issue. This has implications for the spread of HIV in Rwanda, already high due to the systematic policy of rape as a weapon of war during the genocide
- The genocide in Rwanda leaves behind large numbers of orphans as a direct result of the genocide

LEARN MORE

www.gendercide.org/case_rwanda.html

www.news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/in_depth/africa/2004/rwanda/default.stm

www.hrw.org/reports/1999/rwanda/

Darfur – Genocide?

“We concluded that genocide has been committed in Darfur and that the government of Sudan and the Janjaweed bear responsibility, and that genocide may still be occurring. We believe that the evidence corroborates a specific intent to destroy a group in whole or in part.”

Colin Powell, September 2004

Sudan's government and pro-government Arab militias have been accused of carrying out genocide against black African residents of the Darfur region of Sudan. The militia groups, known as the Janjaweed, are said to be receiving support from the government of Sudan and are accused of forcing some two million people from their homes and killing thousands. Rape is being widely used as a weapon of war.

Violence has continued to escalate in Darfur since 2003 and is spreading into neighbouring Chad. The violence is hampering international efforts for emergency support and a hybrid UN peacekeeping force has been negotiated with the Sudanese government, yet is still not in place in Darfur.

In 2004, US Secretary of State Colin Powell used the term 'genocide' to describe the conflict in Darfur. So far, the US is the only power to publicly name the war genocide. Using the term genocide under the

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www.usmmm.org/conscience/alert/darfur/contents/01-overview/

www.protectedarfur.org/

www.enoughproject.org/sudan

www.darfurgenocide.org/index.php

www.crisisgroup.org/home/index.cfm?id=3060&l=1

Convention carries a legal obligation to act but, so far, no-one has. The UN has claimed that the violence is 'tantamount' to genocide while the Sudanese government strongly denies a campaign of genocide in the region.

Darfur – is it Genocide?

According to Amnesty International, tens of thousands of people are estimated to have been killed in Darfur, Western Sudan since the conflict erupted there in February 2003, with some 2.5 million people displaced from their homes. Whether the killings in Darfur are considered genocide is a highly charged political debate. There are many who believe genocide is occurring in Darfur, while at the same time, others who hotly contest this claim – along with some who remain on the bench. Whatever the view, there has been a wholly inadequate response to the wave of killings and mass rape in the region. We have captured a little of that debate below – remember, those who argue against it being genocide may be doing so for very specific reasons – not necessarily negative reasons!

The argument for ...

“The horrors in Darfur are just what Lemkin had in mind. Sudan’s government and its Janjaweed militias are systematically expelling Darfur’s non-Arab population, murdering tens of thousands and permitting widespread gang rape—to make what they say will be lighter-skinned babies and ensure that the non-Arab tribes will be too degraded to return to their homes”

— Samantha Power in Time magazine

“...[in Darfur] there is definitely an expansionist territorial process going on, which is spreading the genocide from Darfur into neighbouring countries like Chad and the Central African Republic. Which, I think, is very important alongside the rather-important sense of ethnic complaint phrased in a historical way by the Arab gathering document of 1987, which makes it very clear that the perpetrators who claim to represent the Arab populations of Darfur were out to restore the long-lost position of dominance that, they think, Arabs had and should have in Darfur.”

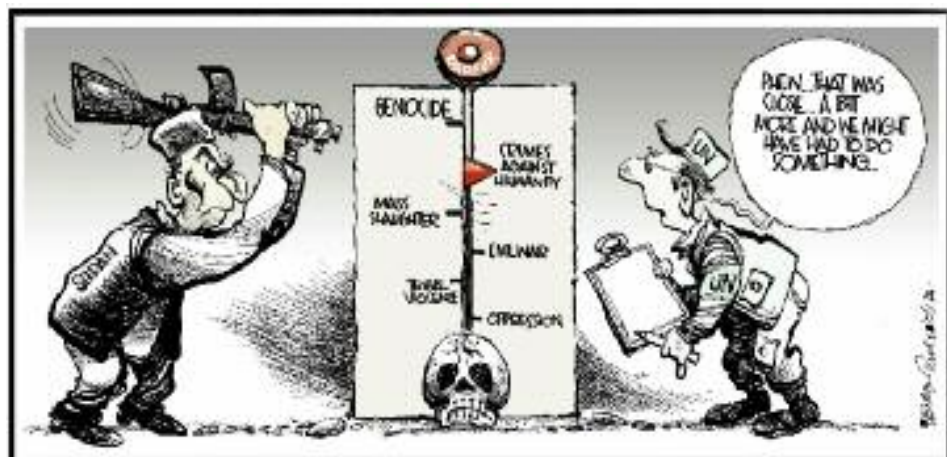
— Ben Kiernan in <http://www.passionofthepresent.org/>

“Large numbers of non-combatant civilians are either suffering or dying as the result of large-scale, intentional violence committed by the Government of Sudan or their proxy militias. The methods of destructions used can be characterised by attempts to eliminate the livelihoods of targeted populations of ethnic groups.”

— Physicians for Human Rights report, Assault on Survival: A Call for Security, Justice, and Restitution

“Many say that what is happening in Darfur is genocide. I do not quarrel with that assessment. There is a strong case to be made — especially based on the contention that the Sudanese government and its janjaweed allies are, in the words of the Genocide Convention, “deliberately inflicting on [a] group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part.”

— Jerry Fowler, “Death by Designation” The Globe and Mail.





The argument against . . .

The United Nations and European Union have fallen short of labelling the atrocities in Darfur genocide. It is felt that there is 'insufficient evidence' to call it genocide, rather that it is 'tantamount to genocide'. Former UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan, said that it could not be called genocide "yet."

In 2004 the UN Security Council established a Commission of Inquiry to determine whether or not acts of genocide had occurred. The Commission concluded that while the Government of Sudan 'has not pursued a policy of genocide', it was implicated in numerous war crimes and crimes against humanity. It suggested that 'in some instances individuals, including government officials, may commit acts with genocidal intent.'

<http://www.genocidewatch.org/SudanUnmistakableEvidenceofGenocidalIntent.htm>



"Genocide's not a word that I think should be bandied around lightly, for fear of devaluing the term. No-one doubts that there've been massive human rights violations, certainly crimes against humanity, committed in Darfur."

— Chris Mullin, Foreign minister

"Our position is clear, that what has been going on is not a genocide, this is an American attempt to use a humanitarian situation for a political agenda."

— Dr Mustafa Osman Ismail, Sudanese foreign minister

"To label the crisis something that it is not will only add fuel to an already volatile situation. The United Nations for example, has classified the situation in Darfur as "the world's worst humanitarian crisis" while the African Union – the only institution that presently has a permanent Observer Mission in Darfur – stated through the Peace and Security Council (25 May 2004) that it continued to be concerned about the prevailing situation in Darfur, "particularly the continued humanitarian crisis and the reported human rights violations". The present chair of the African Union's PSC (Cameroon) placed issues in perspective when he stated earlier this month that, "abuses are taking place. There is mass suffering, but it is not genocide".

— Minister of Foreign Affairs Republic of South Africa response to Mr Ko Bapela (ANC).
<http://www.dfa.gov.za/docs/2004pq/pq99.htm>

The Genocide mural

The 'art' in our mural is important – it is important for a number of reasons – it tries to capture visually some of the realities of genocide; it has a variety of layers that depict some of the complexities of genocide itself and the art is a means of learning – and teaching!

Our mural follows in a long international tradition of murals that attempt to capture key aspects of social, political, cultural and economic history. In our case, we used the mural as an educational methodology to investigate and debate the issues that surround genocide. The debates were both 'internal' (amongst our group and ourselves individually) and 'external' (between ourselves and the 'viewers' or those not directly involved in the project).

Our mural has a number of layers each with its own theme and debate.

- Initially, in the first layer, we decided to include 3 pieces of important information – places in which genocide and mass killing occurred (or are alleged to have occurred); the dates of such events and the



methods used in killing (note that we used the active rather than the passive tense). Some of the dates and places are clearly highly controversial and are hotly contested. For example, the treatment of Aboriginal Australians in the history of that country is a matter of current political debate and potential legal action; the question of the Armenians in 1915 – 1917 (and now a highly political issue in the United States as well as in Turkey) and, of course, the inclusion of Northern Ireland.





explored

- Our second layer approached the question of imagery – the traditional image of genocide is that of a mass of skulls – nothing was debated more in the entire project than the use, number and presentation of the skulls (other images were painted originally, subsequently rejected and painted over).
- The third layer in the mural is represented by the survivors' testimonies – hand-written on the mural – everyone associated with the project was invited to find and include a testimony. This layer represents our attempt to 'humanise' the issue of genocide and killing.
- Finally, our fourth layer includes the eight stages of genocide as identified by Gregory Stanton – this represents the 'analytical layer' of the mural (see www.genocidewatch.org) and is the one around which most 'learning' was done.



Three years on, we decided to revisit and update the mural to carry on the learning and to reflect the current debate around genocide in Darfur. We also wanted to use the mural (and its accompanying resource) to raise awareness amongst others and to stimulate action on the issue.



What we have learned

About the process

- The importance of researching and understanding the issues. The work undertaken by the groups included researching websites, reading, photography, meeting appropriate agencies such as Amnesty International, Irish Aid and Concern Worldwide
- People had to use their critical and negotiation skills to analyse what they were doing, why they were doing it and to make decisions about what content should go on the mural to portray what they wanted to say
- In order to share the information with others, the process needed to be documented at all stages – consciously looking at the process was not something we were familiar with – deciding photos, interviews, quotes, etc
- The effect of documenting an event or story using art as a tool. We learned the importance of images – the selection and portrayal of them – how to put together a wall mural – from researching the issue through to putting the finishing touches to the final product. We learned not just about the issues but also about the art and use of the art
- Writing, editing and designing. These were skills developed during the writing of the articles for the resource, the editing and choosing of photos, developing a cover design, etc
- How to write a press release to tell others about the project and lobby foreign embassies to take action in support of the people of Darfur
- The importance of working together as a team and keeping each other informed of what each group was working on especially when not everyone took part in every bit
- By working on this project, we, the participants learned a lot but so too did many others in our school – both students and teachers – it encouraged other classes to look at the same issue via sculpture and essay writing
- That we can make a difference if we bother
- This was hard work, but it was worth it





Quotes from participants:

PROCESS

"During the week we all had great craic but also learned how to work as a team." Adam S.

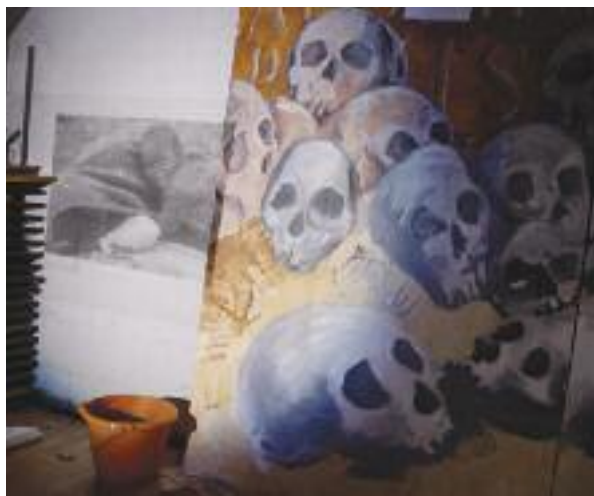
"I learned the value of working as a team member and also I learned how the extent of the damage in Darfur spread through all the neighbouring provinces." Cian Byrne

"It was a very worthwhile experience and I learned there are many problems in the world which are rarely mentioned, although they should be." Conor Richardson

"Updating the mural really opened my eyes to the atrocities that are occurring in Darfur. I hope that all the work that we have put into it will encourage people to learn more about Darfur. I thoroughly enjoyed the experience!" Malachi Gillich Healy



"Working on the project was an interesting experience and doing it with a school we had never met before helped create a great team. I'm glad that now I have a better awareness of the subject and issues of genocide." Eoin Dixon Murphy



"I've learned that I can do a lot for a problem that is so far away." Jessica Eccles

"I have learned to work with other people and as a team. I also learned a lot more about genocide and I strongly feel it is wrong." Amy King

GENOCIDE

"Although the project may not make a difference to the situation in Darfur, we can all say we tried to help, which everyone should be able to say." Kaleen Doyle

"It opened up my eyes to the reality of ongoing genocide." Donal Duffy

"I have learned so much about Darfur and genocide that I would like to make a difference in the future." Ciara Delaney

"I feel that not enough people know about genocide, I didn't know what it was when we started but now I feel confident enough to tell people about it when I go home. I think that everybody should be aware of what's going on in Sudan." Danielle Davey

"Not everyone knows stuff about genocide, which is a real problem because people can't help stop this happening. I'm glad I did this project because I feel like I've helped create awareness about it and in some way I'm helping people suffering from genocide." Amy Maher

"I wasn't aware of genocide when I came here and now that I know about it I think it's very wrong and something should be done to stop it." Jasmin Boland

"I didn't know about genocide till I did this project. It was a great experience and I hope to do a lot more about genocide in the future." Lorna Forde

Genocide – where do we fit in?

'Justice is not a court verdict, it is also a personal journey'

— Elizabeth Neuffer, author

As with all projects such as this, a central question raised at almost every turn is the difficult question of 'What can I/we do?' This question is all the more difficult to answer when faced with challenges as immense as those posed by genocide and the role of young people in countries such as Ireland and the UK.

And yet, in and of itself, the project described here is an initial important answer to the question – bringing together young people from different and differing traditions (and politics) within this island to explore the issue of genocide, not only in terms of its implications for Darfur (and elsewhere) but also for the island of Ireland.

The learning involved in a project such as this is visible and palpable. Supporting students (and teachers) in exploring the issue and in peeling the layers surrounding genocide is ultimately a process of opening both eyes and hearts. The information explored, the discussions and debates involved in that information; the arguments about images and messages as well as the methodologies of negotiation and compromise (and team working) are fundamental.

What is clear is that the most basic response required is a personal one – the recognition that an issue such as genocide has implications for me. Without this realisation, and the challenges it poses, little effective and meaningful personal development can occur. This is especially true when working with young people. They need the space and the support to explore, question, challenge and re-question without being handed easy and simplistic packaged solutions delivered to them by others.

Being a teacher or an educator in such a context is also a profound challenge – deciding where to begin, what to teach, what to avoid, etc.

In workshops addressing the question posed at the outset, we identified a brief list of actions that

all of us need to apply to our own personal and professional situations:

■ Challenge ourselves and others

Do not accept the argument that there is little we can do – there is always something we can do and usually far more than we give ourselves credit for!

Challenge the idea that genocide is impossible to understand, that it defies human experience or that it is conducted by uniquely evil individuals and groups. As Archbishop Desmond Tutu has pointed out, genocide graphically illustrates the capacity of each and every one of us for both good and evil.

Challenge the idea that issues such as this are inappropriate for enquiry in a school/youth context – that they are too political or too complex or too disturbing.

■ Explore the issues

In this project one of the most effective means for exploring the theme of genocide were the personal testimonies of survivors and those affected. These testimonies highlighted the human face of an issue that is usually illustrated by numbers – numbers that appear incomprehensible to most of us.





We need to try to avoid creating a hierarchy of suffering and recognise the reality that genocide is literally the killing of large numbers of single individuals. Such an approach has profound implications for learning.

Another powerful tool used in this project was the 8 stages of genocide proposed by Gregory Stanton (of Genocidewatch). This enabled all of us to break-down the issue of genocide into its component parts and in this way to make it more understandable and accessible.

Identify opportunities to share learning

Sharing the process and outcomes of a project such as this is important – the demonstration dimension of our work was clear – other students and teachers regularly dropped by to explore what was going on! Other classes began to work on the issue of genocide also – via sculpture and essays. Sharing the outcomes with parents, NGO staff, local community groups and local media has also been important.

The model of joint work involving students, teachers, schools and NGOs has considerable value that has yet to be fully realised. Many NGOs do not engage directly with schools or with learning realities and processes and so, many of the materials and actions offered are inappropriate to learning contexts and situations. Equally, schools are often isolated from the realities of what is currently being done (and what more can be done) by activist groups and by voluntary organisations. This is also true of the (mutual) misunderstandings between our politicians and our schools.

Challenge racial and other stereotyping

Today Ireland, North and South, is in a significant and highly visible process of change: we are increasingly becoming a multicultural and intercultural society. This reality offers us a challenging context for learning and teaching. Throughout this project, the issue of how we see each other as Nationalists, Loyalists, Catholics, Protestants, Muslims, Black, White, etc., was a constant theme. Dublin and Belfast have both

witnessed an upsurge of deliberately targeted and focused racist attacks to add to our own traditional sectarianism.

The 8-stage analysis of genocide allowed us to focus clearly on the question of how societies allow whole groups of people (who share common characteristics or traditions or beliefs) to be stereotyped and categorised. Classification, symbolism, dehumanisation, etc., as components of genocide, were much discussed. So too were their implications for Ireland.

Perhaps the most fundamental answer to the question what can I/we do is to be found in the context of the histories of conflict on this island and how each one of us involved in this project respond to that reality in the future. Another fundamental answer is to be found in how we respond to the growing multiculturalism (and its unfortunate attendant racism) on the island.

Further Information

There are, literally, hundreds of genocide sites on the Internet – and not all of them against it (watch out for white power sites that promote racist viewpoints and actions!). We have chosen to highlight the following sites because they are useful starting points and will give you more than enough links to take the search onwards.

www.unhcr.ch/html/menu3/b/p_genoci.htm – *Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide.*

www.historyplace.com/worldhistory/genocide/ – *brief summary of selected 20th Century Genocide.*

www.genocideintervention.net/Educate – *learn about genocide and the current 'areas of concern'. Includes links, looks at responsibility and what you can do to prevent genocide.*

www.ess.uwe.ac.uk/genocide – *Web Genocide Documentation Centre: basic documentation on genocide – conventions, stories, testimonies, further information on specific cases, Tribunals, etc.*

www.usmmm.org/conscience/ – *excellent resource on genocide, including history, resources, teaching aids, action events, map genocide in Darfur through "google earth" and more.*

www.genocidewatch.org – *great site for definition of genocide, 8 stages of genocide, 12 ways to deny genocide, up-to-date information on genocide by country and region.*



Lucienne Morner

... more than 100 days
... were than 100 miles
... butchered in one of the
... A recent memory
... hundreds of women
... and children with their
... had been taken away
... they gathered together
... after they were
... father who was
... killed in April. As he
... wanted to save his wife
... and children from the
... camp.

... in that they are a 'loyalist'
... in the United Kingdom
... situation, those that are
... those that are loyalist
... the groups which first



... more than 100 days
... Rwandans were
... most intense periods
... when the survivors were
... their lives, hearts, and
... when they were still
... very clearly and
... Summer 2011

"The genocide
... during the year
... to ensure it





This project was designed and delivered by students from:

PHASE 1: Orangefield High School, Belfast and Presentation College, Bray:

Daniel Carey, Eoghan Dodd, David Young, Eoin Hanney, Kris O’Neill, Anthony McDermott, Stephen McNeice, Luke Benson, Graeme Horner, Sammy Evitt, Ciaran Hurley, Frank Newman, Dylan Haskins, Dean Thompson, Philip Pinkerton, Johnny Roy, John Morton, David Coleman, Niall Fox, Thomas Larry, Leon Browne, Michael Walsh, Neil O’Rourke, David Finn, Conor Casey and Chris McClelland.

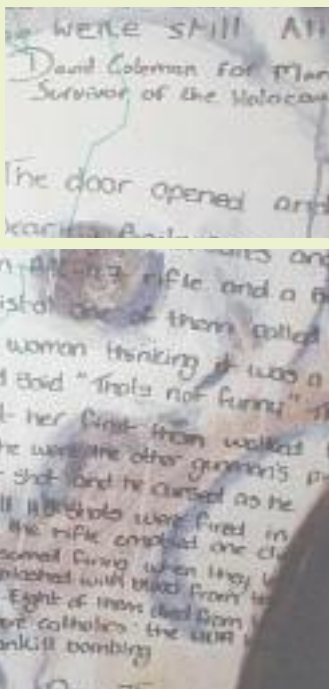


PHASE 2: Presentation College, Bray and Loreto College, Crumlin

Salome Angelina, Jasmin Boland, Ciara Delaney, Jessica Eccles, Tasneem Filaih, Lorna Forde, Amy King, Lisa-Marie Larkin, Stacey Lennon, Joanna Lynch, Amy Maher, Shauna Saul, Shauna Shanahan, Kelsey Sullivan, Michael Woods O’Rourke, Joseph Woods, Cian Byrne, Donal Duffy, Roy Silmartin, Eoin Dixon Murphy, Kelvin Doyle, Malachi Heeley, David O’Rourke, Fiachra Fallon Verbreggen, Jake McManus, Peter Richardson, Eoin Lennon, Murtha Davis, Conor Richardson, Ala Slokum

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*Rivers are full
with our bodies.
Yet the World has not discovered it.
Why?*

*The land is white,
covered
with our bones.
Yet the World has not seen it.
Why?*

*Our flesh is the food
of the birds
of prey, and wild animals.
Yet the World doesn't know it.
Why?*

*Our blood forms streams
that flow like streams
of water.
Yet the World keeps her eyes away from it.
Why?*

*We cry.
We scream.
Yet the World has not heard our Voices.
Why?*

*The Children of Sudan
abducted,
beaten, and worse.
There are no protections for them.
Why?*

*The price of a human being that God created
not to be sold
brings three times the price of a goat.
Yet slavery has been abolished.
Why?*

*The oil that God has blessed us to have
turns as a great Enemy
toward our lives.
Even our Government turns out the villagers.
Why?*

*Westerners brought our grandparents
Christian beliefs. Now our beliefs are attacked
with guns.
Yet the West does not defend us.
Why?*

*We need
the long, long tears
to be wiped from our eyes.*

*We need
to worship
what we believe
as we want.*

Amos Kur fled Sudan when he was nine, escaping the genocidal onslaught from the Government against black pastoralist tribes in the south of the country.

— Agany Kur, Lost Boy Dallas, TX © 2003 (edited)



“Words without deeds violates the moral and legal obligation we have under the Genocide Convention but, more importantly, violates our sense of right and wrong and the standards we have as human beings about looking to care for one another.”

Jon Corzine

“There aren't just bad people that commit genocide; we are all capable of it. It's our evolutionary history.”

James Lovelock

