

# Contents

Preface .....	xiii
List of abbreviations .....	xix

## PART ONE INTRODUCTION

I International Crimes and other Gross Human Rights Violations around the world .....	3
1. Introduction .....	3
2. International human rights law .....	4
2.1 The first human rights documents .....	4
2.2 The United Nations .....	5
2.3 The international Bill of Human Rights and beyond .....	6
2.4 Other treaty bodies and monitoring mechanism .....	8
2.5 The role of the Security Council .....	11
2.6 Other international organizations .....	13
3. International criminal and humanitarian law .....	14
3.1 The Battle of Solferino and the birth of international humanitarian law .....	14
3.2 International criminal law .....	17
3.3 Conclusion .....	19
4. International crimes and other GHRV as manifestations of political violence .....	20
4.1 State crime, governmental violence and state terrorism: definitional issues .....	21
4.2 Armed conflict .....	21
4.3 Conclusion .....	24
5. Measuring the incidence and prevalence of international crimes and other GHRV .....	25
5.1 Encountered difficulties when measuring international crimes and GHRV .....	25
5.2 Governmental and nongovernmental informational sources .....	27
5.3 Compiling databases and terror scales .....	29
5.4 Towards a new era of gathering human rights data .....	32
6. Conclusion .....	34

## PART TWO INTERNATIONAL CRIMES

II War Crimes .....	39
1. Introduction .....	39
2. Definition .....	39
3. A short history of war crimes as a legal concept .....	41
3.1 Grave Breaches of the Geneva Conventions .....	41
3.2 Common article 3 of the Geneva Conventions .....	42
3.3 Prosecuting perpetrators .....	43
3.4 The ICTY, ICTR and ICC provisions .....	44
3.5 The difference between war crimes and crimes against humanity .....	45
3.6 Conclusion .....	46
4. The social context of war .....	47
4.1 Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori .....	47
4.2 War and the myth of maleness .....	49
4.3 The horrors of war .....	50
4.4 The niceties of war .....	55
4.5 The after-effects of war .....	58
4.6 Conclusion .....	59
5. War crimes: types and case studies .....	59
5.1 Irregular warfare, excessive violence and other atrocities .....	61
5.2 Rape and other forms of sexual violence .....	62
5.3 Massacres .....	70
5.4 A unit turns berserk .....	80
6. Conclusion .....	82
III Crimes against Humanity .....	85
1. Introduction .....	85
2. Definition .....	85
3. A short history of the development of the concept crimes against humanity .....	86
3.1 Difference between war crimes, crimes against humanity and genocide .....	89
4. The social context of crimes against humanity .....	90
4.1 Why and when states use force: the political context ....	91
4.2 Why and when states use force: the ideological context	96
4.3 Why and when states use force: the institutional context .....	98
4.4 Conclusion .....	102

5.	Crimes against humanity: case studies .....	102
5.1	Argentina's Dirty War .....	103
5.2	The South African Apartheid state (1948–1990/1994) ...	108
6.	Conclusion .....	116
IV	Torture .....	119
1.	Introduction .....	119
2.	Definition .....	119
3.	A short history of the legal prohibition of torture .....	120
3.1	Torture as a legitimate tool .....	120
3.2	Torture within human rights law .....	123
3.3	Torture as an international crime .....	125
4.	The social context of torture .....	127
4.1	Torture: forms and effects .....	127
4.2.	The functions of torture .....	132
4.3.	Institutionalized torture .....	141
5.	Torture in democratic states: two case studies .....	148
5.1	Israel and the Shin Beth affair .....	149
5.2	The United States and the War on Terror .....	151
6.	Conclusion .....	157
V	Genocide .....	159
1.	Introduction .....	159
2.	Definition .....	159
3.	A short history of the development of the concept of genocide .....	160
3.1	The prohibition of genocide: an absolute moral postulate .....	160
3.2	Legal and political consequences .....	163
3.3	Sociological definitions of genocide .....	165
3.4	Related concepts .....	166
3.5	Conclusion .....	167
4.	The social context of genocide .....	168
4.1	Functions and types of genocide .....	169
4.2	Genocide prone situations and the roots of evil .....	171
4.3	The means of genocide .....	181
5.	Case studies .....	182
5.1	Nazi Germany .....	182
5.2	The Rwandan genocide .....	192
6.	Conclusion .....	198

**PART THREE THE PERPETRATORS**

VI Human Nature and Social-Psychological Insights .....	203
1. Introduction .....	203
2. Aggression and sadism .....	204
2.1 Aggression – a natural instinct or learned behaviour? .....	204
2.2 Moral disengagement .....	206
2.3 De-individuation .....	207
2.4 The myth of pure evil .....	208
2.5 Conclusion .....	211
3. Obedience to authority .....	211
3.1 The Milgram experiment .....	212
3.2 Replications of the Milgram experiment .....	222
3.3 Measuring personal dispositions .....	227
3.4 Significance of the Milgram experiments .....	230
3.5 Conclusion .....	232
4. Situational factors .....	232
4.1 The Stanford Prison Experiment (Zimbardo) .....	232
4.2 The aftermath .....	237
5. Conclusion .....	239
 VII Conformism, Group Behaviour and Collective Identities .....	243
1. Introduction .....	243
2. The effect of others and especially groups on human behaviour .....	244
2.1 The experiments of Asch: measuring compliance .....	245
2.2 The social identity theory and the danger of polarization .....	248
2.3 Constructing social reality and the role of attribution errors .....	250
2.4 Cognitive dissonance, foot-in-the-door technique and escalating commitments .....	252
2.5 Group dynamics, social learning and the extreme behaviour in groups .....	254
2.6 Conclusion .....	256
3. Mass movements .....	257
3.1 The Wave .....	258
3.2 The followers .....	261

3.3	The need for an enemy .....	263
3.4	The role of the leader and the use of symbolism .....	265
4.	Conclusion .....	266
VIII	Training and Education of Perpetrators .....	267
1.	Introduction .....	267
2.	Military organizations and their environment .....	268
2.1	Features and characteristics .....	268
2.2	Initiation .....	271
2.3	Selection procedures and trainings methods .....	274
2.4	Trained to kill .....	279
3.	The Greek torture school .....	282
3.1	Selection and basic training .....	283
3.2	Trained to become a torturer .....	289
3.3	Conclusion .....	292
IX	Ordinary People in Extra-Ordinary Circumstances .....	295
1.	Introduction .....	295
2.	Who are the perpetrators? .....	295
2.1	Perpetrators in Nazi Germany .....	296
2.2	Other Perpetrators .....	301
2.3	Conclusion .....	302
3.	Transformation process .....	303
3.1	Initiation and first kill .....	304
3.2	Neutralization techniques and other defence mechanisms .....	308
3.3	Doubling .....	312
3.4	The urge to cope .....	313
3.5	Looking back .....	315
3.6	Conclusion .....	317
4.	Typology of perpetrators .....	318
4.1	Criminal mastermind .....	320
4.2	The profiteers and careerists .....	321
4.3	Devoted warriors and professionals .....	322
4.4	Fanatics, sadists and criminals .....	322
4.5	The followers and conformists .....	323
4.6	The compromised .....	324
4.7	Conclusion .....	324
5.	A question of gender? .....	326
6.	Conclusion .....	327

## PART FOUR BYSTANDERS

X	Bystanders .....	331
1.	Introduction .....	331
2.	Definition .....	332
2.1	Stages of atrocities and the role of the bystander .....	333
3.	Ignorance .....	335
4.	Levels of analysis .....	337
5.	Time periods .....	341
6.	Collaborators and rescuers in combined triangles .....	341
6.1	Bystander roles of Sweden and Denmark in the triangles as both collaborators and rescuers .....	345
6.2	Visions of perpetrators towards bystanders .....	347
7.	No single bystander role .....	351
8.	Responsibility .....	353
9.	Conclusion .....	355
XI	Prevention by Bystanders .....	357
1.	Introduction .....	357
2.	Prevention of genocide .....	358
3.	Opportunities to prevent .....	363
4.	Responsibility to protect .....	366
5.	Early warning as a concept .....	369
6.	Signals for early warning .....	372
7.	Preventive action .....	376
8.	Peace-keeping forces .....	377
8.1	Generations of peace-keepers .....	379
8.2	Consent .....	382
8.3	Use of force .....	384
8.4	Impartiality .....	385
8.5	Strength, mandate, composition and rules of engagement .....	386
8.6	Regional peace-keeping forces .....	389
9.	Conclusion .....	390
XII	Case Studies: Failure to Prevent Genocide in Rwanda (1994), Srebrenica (1995) and Darfur (since 2003) .....	393
1.	Introduction .....	393
2.	Rwanda .....	394

2.1	Warnings .....	396
2.2	Instruments: UNAMIR .....	396
2.3	Decision-making .....	399
3.	Srebrenica .....	399
3.1	Warnings .....	401
3.2	Instruments: DUTCHBAT .....	401
3.3	Decision-making .....	404
4.	Darfur .....	405
4.1	Warnings .....	408
4.2	Instruments: UNAMID/EUFOR .....	410
4.3	Decision-making .....	413
5.	Failures to prevent genocide .....	414
6.	Conclusion .....	417
XIII	Intervention by Bystanders .....	421
1.	Introduction .....	421
2.	Enforcement measures by the UN .....	421
3.	Security council decision-making .....	425
4.	Economic sanctions .....	428
5.	Effectiveness of sanctions .....	431
6.	Smart sanctions .....	432
7.	The use of force in military actions .....	435
8.	Humanitarian intervention .....	437
8.1	Responsibility to Protect (R2P) .....	439
8.2	UN-authorized intervention .....	442
8.3	UN Unauthorized intervention .....	442
9.	Conclusion .....	445
<b>PART FIVE DEALING WITH THE PAST</b>		
XIV	Post-conflict Justice .....	449
1.	Introduction .....	449
2.	The importance of dealing with the past .....	450
2.1	Truth .....	451
2.2	Accountability .....	453
2.3	Reconciliation .....	456
2.4	Reparation .....	457
2.5	Conclusion .....	459

3. Dealing with the past? .....	460
3.1 Do nothing: general pardons and unconditional amnesties .....	460
3.2 Retributive justice .....	463
3.3 Restorative justice .....	478
3.4 Other ways of dealing with the past .....	485
4. How to choose the best option? .....	489
5. Conclusion .....	492
 Bibliography .....	495
Biographic note .....	519
Index .....	521