

## TYPES OF EPISODES AND VICTIMS

It is useful for scholarly and policy purposes to distinguish among different kinds of episodes, taking into account the circumstances in which they occur and the kinds of groups targeted for destruction.<sup>2</sup> Of the 51 episodes in Table 1 eight are classified as pure genocides, i.e. the victims are defined solely in terms of their communal characteristics. In eight other episodes, characterized as genocides **and** politicides in Table 1, there were multiple victims, some of them defined communally and others politically. In Kampuchea, for example, the Khmer Rouge sought to eliminate not only the urban and educated people but also the rural Muslim Cham minority. Two types of genocide can be distinguished, **hegemonic** genocide and **xenophobic** genocide. In the former the primary motive of the ruling group is to subordinate a communal group by killing enough of its members that the survivors have no will or capacity to resist, whereas in the latter, elite ideology calls for the elimination of the 'offending' communal group.

Three **xenophobic** episodes occurred in the less-developed world, their victims numbering indigenous tribes such as the Ache Indians in Paraguay, a prosperous immigrant minority (the Ibos in Northern Nigeria), and members of a religious minority (the Arakanese Muslims of Burma). In these xenophobic cases there was no deliberate and sustained policy of extermination dictated and organized by ruling groups. Rather, rulers tacitly encouraged or acquiesced in genocidal actions initiated out of private animosities. This was quite different for the **hegemonic** genocides. Stalin's policies against Meshketians, Crimean Tatars, Chechens, Ingushi, Karachai and Balkars were part of a sustained policy to eliminate any threat from these suspect groups—suspected of disloyalty to the USSR - by killing or dispersing virtually all of their members.

Two-thirds of the episodes in Table 1—34 of 51—are politicides in which the victims were distinguished primarily by their political orientation and actions. In half of these the targeted groups had a communal identity, like the people of East Timor, but were targeted because they posed a political threat to the regime—usually because of protracted rebellions. There are several variants of this type of mass murder. A common variant is **repressive** politicide, in which ruling groups retaliate against adherents of political parties, factions or movements because they openly oppose the regime. Common tactics are operations by death squads or vigilantes in which Communist sympathizers were executed or murdered, for example in Argentina, El Salvador, and Indonesia. Other cases have taken place in African states in which newly-empowered leaders used extreme and deadly repression against any and all groups suspected of opposition, tactics followed by Macias in Equatorial Guinea and, on occasion, by Mobutu in Zaire (now the Democratic Republic of Congo).

**Repressive/hegemonic** politicides differ from purely repressive politicides in that the political opposition coincides with, or is based upon, the victimized group's communal identity. If the regime's intent is to suppress a security threat, regime repression will end when acts of resistance end, implying that the political rather than communal characteristics of the group determines their victimization. In 1947 the mainland Chinese nationalists who had taken over control of Taiwan from the Japanese killed at least 10,000 Taiwanese political activists, not because they were Taiwanese but because they had supported nationalist resistance to mainland control. The Serbian government's abortive attempt to cleanse Kosovo of rebellious Albanians in 1999 is a very recent instance, though the ultimate