

Incitement and Hate Language, Hate Education and their Role in Promotion of Violent Conflict and Atrocity Crimes – an Epidemiologic Perspective

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“Death and life are in the power of the tongue”

Proverbs 18:21

“Wars are not fought for territory, but for words. Man's deadliest weapon is language. He is susceptible to being hypnotized by slogans as he is to infectious diseases. And where there is an epidemic, the group mind takes over.”

Arthur Koestler

“Auschwitz was built not with stones, but words.”

Abraham Joshua Heschel

Introduction

This monograph on incitement to violence, terror and genocide is intended for policymakers, genocide scholars, and experts in conflict resolution ethics, human rights, social psychology, and anthropology.

The core section of the document presents and discusses epidemiologic models of incitement and hate language as hazardous exposures (analogous to microbial or toxic exposures), increasing the risk of genocidal violence.

The decision to look at epidemiologic models for grappling with the phenomenon of incitement requires some explanation. Unfortunately neither the understanding of the dynamics of incitement nor the adoption of politics which seek its elimination have advanced very far in recent years.

As a result, international diplomacy has not made the problem of incitement a priority. While the question of incitement to genocide appears in

international treaties, like the Genocide Convention, the legal community has only addressed this issue sporadically.

And yet, a careful examination of the role of incitement in the outbreak and spread of violence is incontrovertible. The failure of other disciplines to deal effectively with incitement suggests that other methodologies be tried out that might have a better chance at dealing with this problem by providing more powerful tools that policymakers can employ.

Our points of departure are the UN Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of Genocide and the International Criminal Court Rome Statute on Incitement to Genocide as crimes against humanity. The background sections and appendices review relevant prior knowledge from the fields of ethics, international law, genocide studies, social epidemiology, social psychology, history, and conflict resolution. The monograph examines relationships between incitement and violence between Arabs and Jews in the Middle East in the light of this knowledge.

We devote a special section to data collected since the year 2009 for the *Incitement and Peace Culture Index*, a new epidemiologic tool developed by Government of Israel experts in conflict resolution, for tracking incitement.

Readers are encouraged to read the executive summary and the conclusions first, and then to read the sections that most interest them, along with the appendices, as one reads a reference book. The table of contents is designed to ease the reader's navigation through this document.

Executive Summary

We believe that respect for human life and dignity takes precedence over all other values. Respect for life is enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. If incitement leads to mass assault on human life, the most basic of human rights, then respect for life justifies a policy of Zero Tolerance for Incitement.

In this report, we review the evidence that exposure to incitement and hate language increases the risks of individual and mass violence against individuals in the targeted groups. In analyzing the evidence, we use epidemiologic methods, tools and models. The tools of epidemiology were initially developed to identify causal agents by studying the distribution and determinants of the major communicable diseases. Later, these methods, tools and models were also used in predicting and preventing non-communicable diseases. In recent years, methods originating in the field of epidemiology have been applied to predicting and preventing non-intentional injury, intentional injury, crime, community violence and terror. Terms such as population, source, hazard, exposure, outcome, pathways of spread, risk, vulnerable subgroups, susceptibility and interaction, mean and range, derived from epidemiology, have facilitated understanding of the causes and control of complex social problems.

We have reviewed episodes of violence, mass atrocities and genocidal violence -- the most extreme assaults on human life and dignity - and examined their relationship to the incitement which preceded these episodes.

Our hypothesis is that populations with lifetime exposures beginning in early childhood to messages and motifs dehumanizing or demonizing other groups are more likely to engage in genocidal violence than populations not so exposed, and this risk is increased when they are intensely exposed.

The cause-effect relationship between hate language and incitement and genocidal violence was initially recognized in the Nuremberg trials following WWII. Julius Streicher, Editor-in-Chief of the anti-Semitic newspaper *Der Stürmer*, was convicted of “incitement to genocide” and sentenced to death for committing crimes against humanity. He was guilty of propagating crude virulent anti-Semitic incitement, both prior to and during the Holocaust. Similarly, during the 1990s, the International Criminal Court-Rwanda convicted radio correspondents and journalists for inciting Hutus to murder Tutsis and opponents of the Hutu regime.

Based on evidence from the Nuremberg and Rwandan trials, the UN Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of Genocide and the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court defined the use of hate language and incitement to genocide as crimes against humanity.

Incitement is instructing or urging (or, more subtly, threatening or predicting) violence against or destruction of a target group (or an individual characterized as representative of the target group). Incitement frequently uses hate language as justification.

Hate language or hate speech includes dehumanization of the (comparing or identifying the target with nonhuman species or diseases), demonization (blaming the target for the hater's personal misfortunes or those of his/her group), delegitimization (accusing the target of extreme criminal acts), disinformation (e.g. the denial of past atrocities perpetrated against the target), and invoking well-known perpetrators of genocidal violence as role models.

The purpose of epidemiology is to predict and prevent hazards and their health risks in populations. Epidemiologic models provide useful perspectives on the distribution and determinants of mass outbreaks, the viral propagation of messages, source-exposure-effect pathways and exposure-effect relationships. These models focus attention on vulnerable or susceptible subgroups, latency or incubation periods, and the reversibility of the effects of incitement. Analysis of the distribution data often suggests relevant interventions.

Metrics or indices can be used to measure, track and monitor incitement ("*word pollutants*") by source, type, content, intensity, targets (intended victims), and audiences (intended perpetrators), in ways analogous to the use of metrics to monitor *air pollutants*.

Our analysis is based on data collected for the "Incitement and Peace Index" of the Government of Israel, which tracks and monitors incitement from various sources in the Palestinian Authority. A professional team at the Israeli Ministry of Strategic Affairs developed the index as a tool to assist conflict

resolution. The Incitement and Culture of Peace Index quantifies and tracks incitement by source, type and intensity. It monitors variation in intensity over time, and tracks coherent trends in the short-term.

The data base for this index and its analytic methods have been published and are accessible. We have collected additional data ourselves, as explanatory examples for the epidemiologic models. The data that has been collected is extremely disturbing, considering the fact that the Palestinian Authority, under its president, Mahmoud Abbas, presents itself to the international community as a party, which unlike Hamas, is prepared to reach a peace treaty with Israel. Yet, the Palestinian Authority Institutions, media outlets, and its officials have continually used a hostile narrative with respect to Israel containing indisputable evidence of virulent incitement.

In the latest “Incitement and Peace Index,” from December 2012, there are at least four components to that hostile narrative that stand out:

- a) The spread of the belief that all of “Historic Palestine” – from the Mediterranean Sea to the Jordan River – will return to Palestinian control.
- b) Denial of all historical connections of the Jewish people to Israel or to any part of Jerusalem.
- c) Demonization and dehumanization of Jews and Israelis, frequently attacking “the Zionists.”
- d) The persistence of the belief that all forms of struggle – including armed struggle, meaning terrorist attacks – are legitimate instruments to be employed by the Palestinians to obtain their goals.

Since World War II, the fields of genocide studies, behavioural and social psychology, and case studies have assembled a large body of knowledge showing that hate language and incitement, especially in authoritarian settings, can motivate, instruct, direct, coerce and intimidate individuals and groups, and even entire communities, to commit hate crimes on a large scale. Authoritarian regimes use incitement in order to mobilize their populations to

make sacrifices for the cause of armed struggle rather than the cause of peace. Equally important, hate language and incitement desensitize and intimidate bystanders, preventing them from recognizing and protesting against these crimes. For example, Streicher's repeated aggressive dissemination of texts containing virulent and vulgar hate language and incitement made such language and the behaviour it encouraged socially acceptable.

In his book, *The Tipping Point*, Malcolm Gladwell explains how "ideas and products and messages and behaviours spread just like viruses do." He suggests that fashion fads often look like "textbook examples of epidemics in action." For him, there are ideas that become contagious and as a result are widely adopted. Fads begin with advertising and are spread by young people adopting them and exposing others to them until they too are "infected" by the fashion "virus." Thus, the idea that social behaviour many times imitates the spread of biological organisms is a powerful explanatory tool for looking at political behaviour as well.

Epidemiologic models define parameters that can affect the distribution of the disease or the hazard. The parameters that may influence the impact of hate language and incitement on social norms, attitudes, and behaviours of individuals and societies include: the intensity and frequency of the incitement, the content of the message, the level of authority attributed to the source, the size of the audience, and intergenerational transmission. Messages received from high-authority figures have greater effect. Prior exposure to hate messages influences susceptibility to incitement, and violence can follow very quickly. Without removal of the inciting authority figure or regime, it is difficult to dispel the effects of past messages on their intended audience.

In such settings as Nazi Germany, Rwanda, and Bosnia, hate language and incitement emphasized the purity and exclusivity of the audience, encouraged acts of violence against the target and glorified those who performed these acts. Among the Palestinians, for example, imams have glorified suicide bombers as "martyrs" [*shahids*] and role models for the young. Political leaders have

named streets and athletic facilities after these murderers and have offered financial or other incentives for similar actions. Palestinian youth are susceptible recipients of the intergenerational transmission of hate language and incitement.

This report presents evidence that, in much of the Middle East, substantial segments of the entire population have been exposed to repeated and widespread messages of dehumanization, demonization, delegitimization and defamation against Israel, the Zionist movement and Jews in general. Political, religious, and other authority figures, in public events, sermons, and televised presentations, have recycled centuries-old stereotypes drawn from Christian, Nazi and Soviet anti-Semitic propaganda as well as from classic Islamic texts. While Islamic texts do contain other, positive messages as well, the inciters prefer to emphasize only the negative ones.

Overall, the Incitement and Culture of Peace Index suggests that escalations and declines in Palestinian incitement against Israel are related temporally to increases or decreases in political tension, but subtle background incitement against Israel (and Jews) is a norm in Palestinian society, always present in the public space.

Since the beginning of data collection for the Incitement and Culture of Peace Index, in October 2009, the long term trend for three components of the metric – *Encouragement of an atmosphere of violence and terror*, *Incitement to hatred and demonization* and *Non-preparation of the public for peace*, have deteriorated. Explicit incitement to violence is less visible, but a persistent, background level of incitement to violence, employing metaphors for dehumanization and demonization and glorifying of terrorists as role models continue in all levels of Palestinian society. These findings could mean that Palestinian leaders are more careful not to incite explicitly since they are watched – but incitement, hate language and encouragement of acts of violence against Israel are still a social norm in mainstream Palestinian society today. According to the December 2012 Index, the level of Palestinian incitement,

taking into account all its forms, has only gotten worse over time, making a rigorous understanding of the incitement phenomenon all the more urgent.

The process by which a young person grows up to become a fanatic *shahid* often begins early.

In the context of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, many young Palestinian children hear messages of hate from their parents at home and teachers in kindergartens. Messages of hatred and stereotypes are embedded in elementary and high school textbooks, and reinforced in summer camps, youth groups, and in mosques. Currently, Palestinian children are indoctrinated to believe that Israel is an illegal and wicked alien colonialist entity that has stolen their land. This belief obliges them to claim a “right of return” to the villages in which their families once lived before 1948. They are also indoctrinated to believe that the most honourable member of society is the *shahid*, who sacrifices his life in order to kill Israeli civilians. Most maps in PA schoolbooks do not even mention Israel or mark the locations of Israeli cities.

In recent years, criticism of the hate language that was found in Palestinian school textbooks has led to removal of explicit dehumanization and demonization rhetoric, but the textbooks as well as other media still glorify those who have carried out terror attacks against civilians as heroes or martyrs. Dehumanization is still used on Palestinian Authority television which depicts Israeli soldiers as dragon-like figures that bayonet Palestinian children and eat Palestinian infants. These images were broadcast as recently as July 13, 2012.

The exposure to such messages continues in colleges and universities and is prevalent in the written and broadcast mainstream media, on the internet, in social media and in the general cultural environment of the Palestinian Authority and, even more, in Hamas-ruled Gaza. Official documents of the Palestinian Authority call for the destruction of the State of Israel. They state clearly that “the struggle will not end until the elimination of the Zionist entity and the liberation of Palestine.” This assertion is repeated everywhere: on the

streets, on TV, in newspapers and sports, and at cultural events. Being accompanied by glorification of those who commit acts of terror against civilians, it appears to constitute incitement to genocide.

Use of incitement and hate language against Israel and Jews, propagated by state-sponsored media, politicians, and religious leaders, has become the norm in Palestinian society and the wider Muslim world. It began long before the establishment of the state of Israel. Israeli withdrawals from territories have not diminished it.

These motifs are pervasive throughout the Muslim world, as part of a larger background of region-wide incitement and hate language against Israel. These messages of hate are often linked to explicit or subtle genocidal texts and contexts.

A large body of circumstantial evidence presented in this monograph demonstrates an empirical cause-effect relationship between prior incitement against a group and real-world violent atrocity crimes committed by individuals and groups against that targeted group, following the incitement. These are examples of what epidemiologists call *ecologic correlations*. Demonization of a target population sets the stage for the use of mass violence, for once a group loses its humanity in the eyes of those contemplating violence, the worst atrocities against it become possible. Knowledge from past cases should be applied for prediction, precaution, prevention and protection.

The evidence presented in this monograph leads us to conclude that the core issue of the Arab-Israeli conflict is Arab refusal to accept the basic right of the Jewish people to self-determination and the State of Israel as the nation-state of the Jewish people.

Indices such as the Incitement and Culture of Peace Index can be used to monitor progress – or the absence of it—toward a culture of “live and let live” and peace, even during a period of political conflict.

Redefining the Unacceptable

The British industrialist and scientist Sir Geoffrey Vickers coined the term "Redefining the Unacceptable," (1957) in connection with the change in public health standards in mid-19th century Great Britain. In London, running sewage in the open streets, unclean drinking water and uncollected garbage, previously taken for granted, suddenly became unacceptable. In response to high infant mortality and epidemics of cholera and other diarrheal diseases – the so-called "crowd diseases" – British sanitary reformers such as Sir Edwin Chadwick spearheaded the great Sanitary Revolution of the 1840s.

Endemic population-wide, state-sanctioned hate language and incitement are the "open running sewers" of our times. It is time to define them as unacceptable.

In every group, some individuals are resistant to messages of hate. Strengthening the authority and influence of these positive role models may also be an effective countermeasure.

Models of what is called positive deviance suggest that promotion of a positive message and stopping the incitement could lead to a change in norms and eradication or reduction in violence. Regime change, such as occurred with the defeat of Nazi Germany and its occupation by the Allied Forces, may be required to change the norms. However, the use of the tools of international law to deter and punish for the crime of incitement advances the locus of intervention from proof of intent after violence to prediction and prevention by stopping the incitement that leads to the violence.

What Next? Zero Tolerance for Incitement (ZT4I)

State-sanctioned hate language and incitement represent an unacceptable assault on the core values of life, and respect for life and human dignity of the other. Endemic society-wide hate language and incitement should be defined as unacceptable because of its horrific effects throughout our region and elsewhere, especially on the young.

The case for action – for *taking all necessary educational, legal and administrative measures to implement a policy of Zero Tolerance for Incitement* – is imperative.

Guns, rockets, missiles and, more ominously, nuclear weapons (Iran) are the hardware of the conflict that hate language and incitement are its software, and the airwaves, media, and cyberspace are its battleground.. The adage that ‘sticks and stones will break my bones, but names will never hurt me’ may be true, but it ignores the roles of the names in motivating others to use rockets, missiles and weapons of mass destruction.

Conflict resolution based on the merging of narratives – rather than addressing of historical evidence – is potentially dangerous when the narrative justifies the use of a motif of destroying the other.

Some incitement and "lone-wolf" acts of terror do exist in Israeli society, directed against Arabs, Muslims, other minority groups, and migrants but official policy condemns these actions. Hate language and incitement are also seen in the textbooks and educational curricula of some ultra-religious closed extremist societies in Israel, but without calls to commit acts of violence.

In the wake of the violence in the Muslim world today, it is the responsibility of all those seeking to manage, mitigate or resolve the conflict between Israel and the Arab world to recognize the need to stop state-sanctioned hate language and incitement against Israel. Otherwise, another generation of young men and women in the Palestinian Authority and in other Muslim countries will grow up idealizing the *shahids*, and leading a campaign of genocidal terror, conflict and war.

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I. Introduction

Life as the most basic human right; core values and belief systems

Respect for human life is the most basic core value. Article 3 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights states that “everyone has the right to life, liberty and security of person” and everyone is entitled to this right, without distinction of any kind.¹

Jewish ethics places “*pikuach nefesh*,” saving a life, above any other commandment or religious consideration.² Christian and Islamic texts incorporate the Biblical commandments (Appendix I).

Without life, there are no other human rights, yet some belief systems do not assign priority to life. For example, those that condone honour killings effectively place honour above life, and those that encourage martyrdom – the death of an individual for a cause greater than oneself – entice individuals to take lives. Certain societies even encourage suicide to redeem honour.

The philosophical background

Nazi medical scientists used the ethically flawed constructs of eugenics and social Darwinism to promote “racial hygiene,” starting with euthanasia of the mentally impaired, whom they characterized not as human beings but as a socioeconomic burden. Nazi rhetoric started with getting rid of disease, continued with getting rid of individuals with disease, then populations carrying the disease and then populations who were the disease. The rhetoric led to acceptance of compulsory sterilization, euthanasia and killing by gas of the mentally impaired. Genocide was justified as a strategy for protecting the public from diseased populations.

This monograph reviews the evidence for the cause-effect relationship between incitement and genocidal violence.

(Appendix I offers additional details and examples)

II. The Research Challenge: Use of the epidemiologic paradigm to analyze reality as it is reflected in the Incitement and Culture of Peace Index

In this paper, we use the tools of epidemiology to identify, quantify, analyze and track trends of incitement, as a public health hazard. Our data include the material collected for the Incitement and Culture of Peace Index and additional material we have assembled. Our aim is to present a model for predicting and preventing violent atrocities associated with such incitement.

Goals and Objectives

1. To describe and present epidemiologic tools and models for defining and tracking exposure to incitement and its effects on the exposed population, including vulnerable subgroups (e.g. children).
2. To present the case for systematic tracking and monitoring of incitement, in order to enable real-time identification of early warning signs and trends.
3. To evaluate the efficacy of interventions against incitement.
4. To call attention to the ongoing intergenerational incitement against the State of Israel.

Premises and Hypotheses

If hate language and incitement to violence are exposures that increase risks for violent actions in those exposed to the messages, especially those in high-risk subgroups, then:

- We can use epidemiologic models to quantify exposure and analyze exposure-effect relationships between incitement and violence
- By reducing the exposure, we may help to prevent the outcome.

Questions we aim to answer in this monograph:

1. How can we quantify and track incitement and hate language in a population?

2. What are the benefits of using the tools of epidemiology to track and analyze incitement and its effects?
3. What proportion of the Palestinian population is exposed to incitement, and to what degree?
4. Do the data in the Incitement and Culture of Peace Index represent the mainstream Palestinian Authority population or an extreme, irrelevant segment?
5. What are the implications of the findings, for promoting a Culture of Peace?

III. Background

III.A. Epidemiology

Epidemiology is the study of the distribution and determinants of health-related states and events in populations, and the application of the findings to prediction, prevention and control of health problems.^{3 4} Epidemiology initially focused mainly on infectious (communicable) diseases, but in recent years has been used increasingly to study non-communicable (chronic) diseases, non-intentional injury and violence (e.g., industrial and road injuries), and social ills (e.g., crime and terror).⁵

Epidemiology's tools are used to understand and quantify cause-effect relationships

The most challenging task of epidemiology is to distinguish causation from circumstantial association, coincidence or mere correlation. In epidemiology, several lines of evidence are generally combined to support the judgment that a relationship is causal. For example, the association of cigarette smoking prevalence with lung cancer incidence rates in different populations, and of interventions (e.g., increased taxes on cigarette sales) on subsequent reductions in smoking prevalence and, ~10 years later, on falls in lung cancer

incidence rates – provides the most compelling evidence for a cause-effect relationship.

Sir Austin Bradford-Hill, in his classic 1965 lecture, summarized suggestions and viewpoints for assessing the case for cause-effect as opposed to circumstantial relations.⁶ (1) *Strength* of the association – how great is the difference between risk in the exposed and risk in the unexposed? (2) *Consistency* – has the association been observed repeatedly by different persons, in different places and circumstances, and at different times? (3) *Specificity* – is a particular exposure associated with a well defined outcome? (4) *Temporality* – does the outcome occur at a later time than the exposure? (5) *Biological Gradient* – does greater exposure correlate with greater risk of the outcome (dose-response)? (6) *[Biological] Plausibility* of the association – do outcomes conform to current biological knowledge? (7) *Coherence* – does the interpretation of our data fit with the generally known facts of the natural history and biology of the disease in question? (8) *Analogy* - does the exposure-outcome relationship resemble others generally accepted as causal? ...and most importantly (9) *Experiment* – does removal of the exposure in fact prevent or reverse the outcome?

Epidemiologists recognize that the search for causes of diseases is bound to be limited by prior knowledge and experience, and that the directions of the search will change as new knowledge becomes available.⁷

Models of a chain (or web) of causation are sometimes used to determine aetiology (causation or origination).⁸ An aetiological agent of disease may require an independent co-factor, and be subject to a promoter (which increases expression) in order to cause disease. For example, doctors once believed peptic ulcer disease was induced by stress, later related it to the presence of acid secretion in the stomach, and now know that the pathogenic agent is *Helicobacter pylori*, based on successful results of experimental intervention—treatment with antibiotics.⁹ Some diseases are associated with a chronic infection or underlying pre-condition, which may be asymptomatic

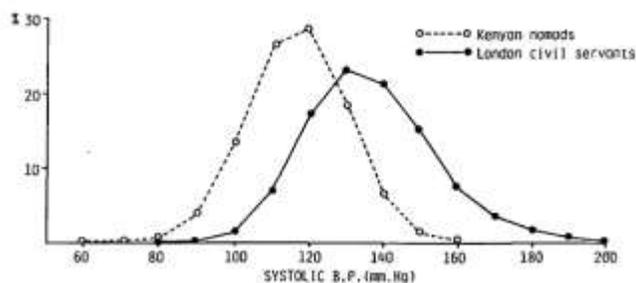
until a promoter triggers eruption. For example, HCMV (human cytomegalovirus) may play a role in human malignancies, by serving as a promoter for tumour invasion or proliferation.¹⁰ Other diseases, e.g. ischemic vascular disease, have more complex webs of causation involving many factors (e.g., smoking, diet, weight, exercise patterns, and genes).

- Epidemiology examines associations between exposures and outcomes
- Causation is complex – it can include multiple agents or a chain of processes
- Sir Austin Bradford-Hill suggested guidelines that can help us make judgments about cause-effect relationships between exposures and outcomes

From Individuals to populations

Prominent epidemiologist Geoffrey Rose pointed out that the determinants of individual cases and of the incidence rate in a population are not necessarily the same.¹¹

'Why do some individuals suffer from hypertension?' is a quite different question from 'Why is hypertension common in some populations and rare in others?'



Distributions of systolic blood pressure in middle-aged men in two populations (from: Rose G., *Sick individuals and sick populations*)¹²

Rose explained that the determinants of prevalence and incidence rates are characteristics of populations, not individuals. We must analyze the range of

exposure levels within a population and between different populations, or over a period of time within the same population. (Appendix II)

Causation, prediction and prevention

Bradford-Hill presented his ideas on association and causation in the context of occupational medicine. In this field, the objective is to identify points in the industrial system or production process in which intervention can eliminate or reduce the risk of work-related death or disease based on evidence which states the “the case for action.”¹³

Evidence from controlled studies quantifies exposure–effect relationships and assesses the relative contribution of different exposures to the outcomes of concern, and enables us to make predictive statements as to the benefits of intervention directed against the exposures.¹⁴

In some cases, unplanned natural experiments occurring in real world situations afford opportunities to assess association and causation and to apply preventive measures. One example – a point source epidemic - was seen in Barcelona, Spain, in 1989, when researchers noticed a rise in emergency room admissions for asthma that highly correlated with dates of deliveries of soybean shipments to the port. Replacement of the lid of the soybean container reduced asthma admission peaks.¹⁵ Another example of a system wide epidemic is the repeated empirical relationship between the fourth power in rises in vehicle travel speeds and in road deaths, following rises in permitted speed limits. This epidemiologic observation triggered the introduction of speed camera networks and roundabouts that substantially reduced road deaths.¹⁶

At the individual level, after high-risk susceptible individuals are identified, prevention involves providing them with services such as nutritional counselling. At the population level, prevention involves applying measures at the source, such as chlorination of the water supply at the source or adding vitamins to mass-produced cereal or flour.¹⁷ This strategy is based on the

principle that a low-level exposure of a large number of people may produce more cases of disease than a high-level exposure of a small number of people.

Why quantify data?

Methods of risk assessment were introduced into preventive medicine and public health during the 1970s, mainly because regulatory agencies were required to provide a clear connection between an imposed regulation, recommended thresholds and an expected and substantive health benefit.^{18 19} Quantitative risk assessment has become widespread and is now used proactively to support regulatory decisions.^{20 21} Assessing the shape of the dose-response relationship curve and searching for no effect thresholds are at the heart of quantitative risk assessment.

Providing clear, relevant, concise and practical information regarding the hazards, risks and health effects attributable to environmental exposures enables decision makers to assess the implications of their decisions, to compare the potential effects of different decisions and choices, and ultimately to develop effective prevention strategies and guidelines.^{22 23 24 25}

From theory to policy - the case for indices and metrics

Indices and metrics help us to relate abstract data to real world situations and facilitate the decision-making process.^{26 27} In economics, the cost-of-living index indicates changes in financial needs of families. Stock market indices measure the perceived economic value of stocks, and are the basis for buy/sell decisions.²⁸ They inform policy makers about the robustness of the economy. Physicians use the body mass index (BMI) - the ratio of weight in kilograms to height in meters, squared is a single figure that can be used to compare individuals to a standard and to analyze risks for such health outcomes as cardiovascular disease or colon cancer.²⁹ Air pollution indices can tell whether

the air we breathe is safe or dangerous, and guide policy makers in making decisions about emission levels.³⁰

III.B. Application of epidemiologic models and ideas in the social sciences

Dynamic population models are used to predict average behaviour, generate hypotheses or explore mechanisms across many fields of science including ecology,^{31 32 33} epidemiology^{34 35 36 37} and immunology.³⁸ (Examples in Appendix II)

Epidemiology models have been used to analyze incentives – economic and others – for healthy behaviour, and behavioural responses in an epidemiologic context, for the sake of better understanding sources and patterns of transmission of disease.³⁹ They can also examine the role of externalities, global disease and the influence of individuals' incentives on the outcome and cost of health interventions.

The models are useful as tools for policymakers and health-care providers in making decisions regarding preventive interventions.^{40 41}

Strategic epidemiology is a branch of economic epidemiology that adopts a “game theory” approach to analyzing the interplay between individual behaviour and the dynamics of population-wide disease.^{42 43}

"Contagious" social phenomena explained using epidemiologic models

“Social contagion” processes, based on epidemiologic models, date back to 1953.^{44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51} Nearly a decade later, population models were applied to the spread of scientific ideas, and a stochastic model for the spread of rumours was proposed and analyzed.^{52 53 54} Mathematical models have been developed to generate predictions about the capacity of a population or idea to persuade others or engender imitation.^{55 56 57 58 59 60 61}

Models used initially used to map disease progression through a human population typically divide a population into groups or classes, e.g. susceptible,

exposed, and infected.^{62 63 64} Similar models are used here for the spread of ideas.⁶⁵

In ‘mass psychogenic illness’ (MPI), also called mass sociogenic illness,⁶⁶ a circumscribed group of people demonstrate shared symptoms following ‘exposure’ to a common precipitant. Such “outbreaks” have been described in workplaces^{67 68 69} and schools.^{70 71 72 73}

Malcolm Gladwell, in his best-seller “The Tipping Point”, has brilliantly popularized the idea that social changes are capable of modifying the propagation of an epidemic. He illustrates how minor inputs trigger a rapid spread of norms, ideas and habits and how ideas can be contagious in exactly the same way as a virus.⁷⁴

(See Appendix III for additional details and examples.)

In this report we discuss the use of indices to track and measure incitement by source and severity.

III.C. Incitement and Hate Language as Exposures

Incitement and Hate Language - Definitions of basic terms^{75 76}

Hate language is terms that dehumanize, demonize, stigmatize, or delegitimize national, ethnic, religious, racial, or political groups.

Dehumanize: “to characterize as subhuman, inhuman or otherwise without human qualities.” Dehumanizing hate language consists of terms and metaphors - usually labelling members of a group to a disease (e.g., cancer, plague), infectious agent (e.g., virus), animal (e.g., cockroach), or alien species inducing disgust, revulsion, fear and hate for the other. Demonizing hate language attributes to a group powers that represent overpowering danger, threat and evil intent. Delegitimizing hate language involves terms and motifs that deny the rights of the group to political, national, ethnic or religious status. Double standards:

“any code or set of principles containing different provisions for one group of people than for another” are employed to judge a group by norms not applied to

all other similar groups, so as to cast the group or its members in an unfavourable light. Defamation: “false or unjustified injury of the good reputation of another, as by slander or libel;” and Disinformation:

“false information, as about a country's military strength or plans, publicly announced or planted in the news media, especially of other countries” pertain to the spreading of misinformation with the aim of demonization or delegitimizing a group, e.g. “rewriting” history in a way that is more favourable to the inciter’s side of the story. Denial of past genocides – e.g. denial of the Armenian genocide, the Holocaust, or the Rwandan genocide - is used to lay the groundwork for future genocides. There exist other forms of hate language as well, such as the use of euphemisms, and mirroring.^{77 78 79}

Standard definitions of incitement refer to something that provokes to action. These can be cast in the form of *threats*, or *threats phrased as predictions and prophecies* or religious decrees. Praising persons who have carried out acts of genocide or genocidal terror and *elevating them to hero status* are also indirect forms of incitement, encouraging violence and terror.

To incite: “to set in rapid motion, rouse, stimulate, stir up, animate, instigate or stimulate to do something” or “to urge or provoke (some action).”

Incitement: “the action of inciting or rousing to action; an urging, setting up or stimulation” or “that which incites or rouses to action: animating cause or motive, spur”.

An inciter: “one who incites or rouses to action; an instigation.”

- Incitement is a direct or indirect call to violent action, grounded in hatred toward a person or a group
- Hate language – the seven D’s: dehumanization, demonization, delegitimization, double standards, defamation, disinformation and denial.

Cause-effect relationships between hate language, incitement, indoctrination and violent atrocities - prior knowledge

Can words lead to violence?

Law professor Alexander Tsesis⁸⁰ cites Gordon W. Allport, the great psychologist of prejudice, who wrote, in 1979: “prolonged and intense verbal hostility always precedes a riot.” Allport made the point that “*there is never a bite without previous barking.*”⁸¹

Regarding the use of language, he cites the field of linguistics, quoting Pierre Bourdieu: “*Linguistic practices draw on socio-historical content to establish acceptable interpersonal behavior. Speech acts that rely on culturally recognized images of subordination are not merely the sentiments of a single person. They rely on the symbolic efficacy of group slogans to express acceptable conduct toward a named class of individuals.*”^{82 83 84 85}

In Tsesis’s opinion, exhorting others to commit discriminatory acts threatens the order of a multi-ethnic, representative democracy.⁸⁶ Hate speech is a “vital ingredient” for fascist and racist organizations determined to harm outgroups.⁸⁷

Tsesis explains that stereotypes and ethnocentric ideology rely on readily recognizable prejudices. They dehumanize members of the targeted groups by depicting them as born slaves, sexual predators, savages, insects, or brutes,⁸⁸^{89 90 91 92} and exploit overgeneralizations, depicting rejected outgroups as not having the rights common to all members of a democracy. Rather than serving a catalyst for discussion, hate propaganda promotes intergroup animosity and foments social unrest.^{93 94 95 96 97} These perceptions significantly increase the likelihood of aggression.^{98 99}

(Appendix IV lists examples of legislation restricting hate speech in various countries around the world.)

- *A bite is preceded by barking*
- Hate language targeting groups promotes discrimination against them
- Hate speech is a “vital ingredient” for fascist and racist organizations

III.C.1. Incitement and Violence

Incitement to genocide, a punishable crime against humanity

“Genocide is the calculated murder of a segment or all of a group defined outside the universe of obligation of the perpetrator by a government, elite, staff or crowd representing the perpetrator.”¹⁰⁰

Raphael Lemkin, a Polish lawyer and prosecutor of Jewish descent, who escaped the Holocaust to the United States in 1941, coined the term “genocide” from the Greek word *genos* (family, tribe, or race) and the Latin *-cide* (killing). The term appeared in his “founding text”, *Axis Rule in Occupied Europe: Laws of Occupation - Analysis of Government - Proposals for Redress*, published in 1944 and the product of many years of research into the historical and legal aspects of genocide.^{101 102}

The UN Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide means any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such, though any of the following:

- (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

The Convention defined incitement to genocide as a crime against Humanity. The Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court restated this definition.

Models from Genocide Studies

In a classic model of extrinsic or ecologic circumstantial predictors of genocide, Barbara Harff identifies dictatorial and asymmetric power relationships, past conflicts, unrest, political and economic failures and

vulnerable target groups as *circumstantial* predictors. ^{103 104 105} This model does not address the role of hate language and incitement as *intrinsic* direct catalysts or triggers of violent conflicts along racial, ethnic, religious or political lines.

Israel W. Charny's Genocide Early Warning System ¹⁰⁶ and Gregory Stanton's "Eight Stages of Genocide" ¹⁰⁷ were pioneering in drawing attention to the use of hate language, stigmatization and dehumanization by perpetrators for the sake of recruiting, to motivating and mobilizing followers and deterring bystanders. Classification, symbolization and dehumanization, the first three of Stanton's Eight Stages, all contain elements of incitement, and lead to organization, polarization, preparation, extermination, and denial.

- Raphael Lemkin coined the term genocide in 1941

Incitement and hate language against a group are now recognized by Genocide scholars as an early warning sign.

History of the legislation against Incitement

At the Nuremberg trials in 1945-46, Julius Streicher – Editor-in-Chief of the anti-Semitic newspaper *Der Stürmer* was convicted of "incitement to genocide" ¹⁰⁸ and sentenced to death for committing crimes against humanity; his "incitement to murder and extermination at the time when Jews in the East were being killed under the most horrible conditions clearly constitutes persecution on political and racial grounds in connection with War Crimes as defined by the [IMT] Charter."

Lemkin drafted the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide which, with the support of the United States, was presented to and adopted by the U.N. General Assembly on December 9, 1948, entering into force on January 12, 1951.¹⁰⁹ In adopting the Convention, the General Assembly made hate language and incitement punishable as crimes against humanity. ¹¹⁰ Signatory states have committed to punish the "direct and public incitement to commit Genocide." ¹¹¹

Propaganda can constitute “the philosophical and ideological preparation for genocide”. As Wibke Timmermann has written, the *Secretariat Draft* of the Genocide Convention included an article criminalizing “[a]ll forms of public propaganda tending by their systematic and hateful character to provoke genocide, or tending to make it appear as a necessary, legitimate or excusable act”.^{112 113}

- Streicher was the first person convicted for incitement to genocide
- Incitement to genocide is a punishable crime as per the UN Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, 1948
- Hateful propaganda - which makes genocide appear necessary, legitimate or excusable - is likewise a criminal offense

Prosecution of inciters to genocide - Rwanda

During the 1994 Rwandan Genocide, the Hutu government and its collaborators recruited, incited and encouraged the entire Hutu population to kill Tutsis and moderate Hutus. Incessant hate messages and explicit incitement to violence broadcast by Radio Télévision Libre de Mille Collines (RTLM), interspersed between music and popular gossip, served to “heat the scene.” Journalists broadcasting on RTLM used dehumanizing hate language to mobilize groups of young men -- the Interahamwe -- to use their machetes and butcher their neighbours.^{114 115 116}

Recognizing that serious violations of humanitarian law were committed in Rwanda, and acting under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter, the Security Council created the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR).¹¹⁷ The range of crimes that the Tribunal was assigned to prosecute extended to Genocide, crimes against humanity, and violations of Article 3 common to both the Geneva Conventions and Additional Protocol II.

International law expert Gregory Gordon, who has worked with the Office of the Prosecutor for the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda, has written

about incitement to genocide in Rwanda and about the legal implications (and limitations) of the ICTR prosecutions.¹¹⁸

At the trials following the Rwandan genocide, individuals who incited via the mass media were prosecuted despite the absence of proof that the specific words they had expressed actually caused the killing.¹¹⁹ For example, Rwandan pop music composer Simon Bikindi's songs "advocated Hutu unity against a common foe and incited ethnic hatred" and they were "deployed in a propaganda campaign in 1994 in Rwanda to incite people to attack and kill Tutsi..."¹²⁰ Gordon presents the case of a Rwandan mayor, Akayesu, whom the Tribunal found guilty of ("*inter alia*") inciting Hutu militia to slaughter his town's Tutsi population.^{121 122}

Gordon notes that, in several cases, the Tribunal indicated that causation was not a required element in determining whether incitement had occurred: "...*liability may be established 'even where such incitement fails to produce results.'*"^{123 124} However, there are limitations. Not every kind of hate speech was deemed prosecutable. "*It should be noted that the Appeals Chamber found, based on the evidence, that certain pre-genocide speech could not be considered incitement beyond a reasonable doubt.*"^{125 126}

More legislation – and another precedent

The 1998 Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court restated the UN Genocide Convention's clause that incitement to genocide was a crime against humanity.¹²⁷

In 2005, Léon Mugesera, a Rwandan residing in Canada, was prosecuted by the Supreme Court of Canada for once delivering a hate-laced speech.^{128 129}

- During the Rwandan genocide, the entire Hutu population was incited to kill their Tutsi neighbours and relatives

- The International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda investigated and indicted individuals for crimes of incitement to genocide
- The 1998 Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court defines incitement to genocide as a crime against humanity
- Individuals can be prosecuted for incitement to genocide they committed in the past, in their own country, or even elsewhere

III.C.2. Case Studies – Past and Present – Violent Atrocity Episodes, Genocidal Massacres and Genocides. Were there Hate Language and Incitement?

Looking at past genocides, other violent events and atrocities in ancient and modern history, we can often identify the early warning signs of incitement and hate language, singling out the group which was ultimately victimized. Perpetrators often state their intent clearly, but many times, bystanders avert their gaze. When the bystander is an authority figure, complicity can be expressed through silence or inaction.

(Appendix V presents a table with a partial list of mass atrocity scenarios, with gross estimation of victims, categorized into various types: territorial or power/control disputes, colonialist battles, killing on political grounds, killing on religious grounds, massacre of ethnic groups and minorities, expulsion and/or starvation, gendecide, and planned and orchestrated “ideological” killing intended exterminate a group. Many of these scenarios match more than one category.

In regard to these mass atrocity scenarios, it must be asked whether they were preceded by incitement.

Appendix VI contains a table which addresses Incitement in atrocity scenarios in greater detail

Case Study: The genocidal threats of the Iranian leadership against Israel

Iranian President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, as well as his predecessors and associates, have been using explicit incitement to genocide against the State of Israel – repeatedly calling for the Jewish state to be “wiped off the face of the Earth.” The Iranian leadership’s incitement against Israel is characterized by dehumanization, demonization, disinformation, and denial of the Holocaust. The inciters’ goal is to motivate followers, and to both desensitize and intimidate bystanders.^{130 131}

For example, in a recent statement given in New York, Ahmadinejad once again denies Israel's right to exist, and denies Jewish history in the region:¹³²

"Iran has been around for the last seven, 10 thousand years. They (the Israelis) have been occupying those territories for the last 60 to 70 years, with the support and force of the Westerners. They have no roots there in history,"

"We do believe that they have found themselves at a dead end and they are seeking new adventures in order to escape this dead end. Iran will not be damaged with foreign bombs"

At the same time, the Iranian regime is an active supporter of terror against Israel (via their Hezbollah and Hamas proxies). The Iranian regime is developing nuclear weapons and missile delivery systems, and its leaders have made statements indicating intent to carry out its threats. The regime of the Iranian *ayatollahs* brutally represses the human rights and freedom of its own citizens – e.g. execution of dissidents, women and minors.¹³³

In February 2006, Scholars for Peace in Middle East sponsored a petition calling for the indictment of Ahmadinejad on the charge of incitement to genocide against Israel, based on the Rwandan precedent. The issue was raised in the US Congress on July 20, 2007. United States House Concurrent Resolution 21 (H. Con. Res. 21): *“Calls on the United Nations Security Council to charge Iranian leader Mahmoud Ahmadinejad with violating the 1948 Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide and*

United Nations Charter because of his calls for the destruction of the State of Israel." ¹³⁴ ¹³⁵

This point has also been addressed by Justus Weiner,¹³⁶ Gregory Gordon,¹³⁷ Alan Dershowitz ¹³⁸ and the Responsibility to Prevent Petition - Report.¹³⁹

- The genocidal threats of Iranian leaders against the State of Israel constitute a punishable crime of incitement to genocide
- Coupled with the regime's active repression of human rights, support of terror and development of weapons of mass destruction, the likelihood of these threats leading to genocidal violence is high
- The burden of proof is on those indicating otherwise.

III.C.3. Education and Indoctrination Spread Hate Language and Incitement as a Population-wide Exposure

Education and conditioning of a population is required in order to make people ignore, and even reverse, logic and emotion. In this way, they can be induced to carry out genocidal massacre or genocide, or to condone it.

a. Manipulation of the masses

- Conscious use of language by leaders, who exercise control over thought by "Pavlovian" methods
- Use of lies and disinformation (rewriting of history) to present the leader's theories as truth

b. Maximizing the effect of the message

- Use of emotions – instead of values, logic or factual information
- Victimization - identifying and targeting specific groups as the enemy and, by extension, the cause of malice
- Population-wide immersion in the message

c. Education

- Narrow- or single-narrative textbooks
- Close-knit communities sharing the same culture and beliefs

d. Religious education

- Pupils taught that others are less worthy due to their religion
- Religious leaders preach or condone killing or violence, instead of virtue, truth, and condemnation of killing and violence
- Religious leaders call on believers to take action on social/political issues

e. Cult-type education or training methods

- Recruitment or mobilization of susceptible populations (children, neglected individuals)
- Existence of charismatic leader, close “family-type” group relationship, obedience
- Removal from in-groups/other commitments, physical distance
- De-individuation of trainee
- Dehumanization and demonization of enemies

(a) Manipulation of the Masses

Historian Joel Fishman cites and describes the methods used by socialist and communist leaders to politicize the masses.¹⁴⁰

- Conscious use of language by leaders

Historian Joel Fishman has written about Arkady Kremer, a 19th-Century Russian socialist and leader of the Jewish ‘Bund’, whose brochure “On Agitation”¹⁴¹ detailed the role of “agitation” in provoking action – through the manipulation of the masses to action via the use of slogans.

Fishman explains that Lenin developed Kremer's doctrine of “sloganeering”, formulating clear “bumper sticker”-type messages to manipulate the masses: “*Land for the Peasants!*”, “*Factories for the Workers!*”, “*Bread for the Hungry!*”, “*Peace with Germany!*”, “*All power to the Soviets!*” In his essay “*What is to be Done?*”^{142 143} Lenin claimed that the purpose of this process is to “*designate visible and accessible hate-targets within the community*” and remove inhibitions about the next step (physical annihilation of enemies): “*The wording*

*[of our press campaign against our foes] is calculated to provoke in the reader, hatred, disgust, contempt. The phrasing must be calculated not to convince but to destroy, not to correct the adversary's mistake, but to annihilate his organization and wipe it off the face of the earth.*¹⁴⁴

Fishman cites Bertrand Russell's interview of Lenin - for Russell's book on Bolshevism ¹⁴⁵ - when he reported on Lenin's feelings about the fate of the kulaks, the richer peasants: *"He [Lenin] quite calmly ignored the word 'murder.' He smiled and said they were a nuisance that stood in the way of his agricultural plans."* ¹⁴⁶

- Leaders exercise control over thought via "Pavlovian" methods

Fishman has researched the Soviets' use of manipulation. He writes that Stalin's regime utilized Pavlovian methods to control human behaviour, and thus exercise totalitarian control in the face of popular resistance to his aggressive rule. According to the basic principle of the new Pavlovian model of personality, nothing in man transcends conditioned salivary responses of Pavlov's dog. ¹⁴⁷

Soviet science paid attention to language conditioning and used language as an instrument of social/political control *"The ultimate weapon of political control would be the dictionary."*

- Disinformation (use of lies, "rewriting" history) to present the leader's theories as truth

An illustrative example of using disinformation or lies to rewrite and control history is presented in George Orwell's '1984':¹⁴⁸

"Day by day and almost minute by minute the past was brought up to date. In this way every prediction made by the Party could be shown by documentary evidence to have been correct... Nor was any item of news, or any expression of opinion, which conflicted with the needs of the moment, ever allowed to remain on record."

"And if all others accepted the lie which the Party imposed-if all records told the same tale-then the lie passed into history and became truth... 'Who controls

the past' ran the Party slogan, 'controls the future: who controls the present controls the past”

(b) Maximizing the effect of the message

Daphne Burdman, a physician and psychiatrist who has done extensive research on childhood indoctrination and its harmful effects, explains that not logic but emotion has long been accepted as the keystone of successful indoctrination. ¹⁴⁹

- Use of emotions instead of values, logic or factual information

Leaders make essential use of emotive “hate speech” and visual messages to identify targets. Messages are more readily accepted in collective, authoritarian societies where obedience and a quasi- Pavlovian response are the rule. Such societies – as opposed to individualist ones – are particularly prone to successful indoctrination with diverse voices giving rise to "tea-party" and other rejectionist phenomena.“



Jews presented as snakes, in Nazi propaganda ¹⁵⁰

In his book *Mein Kampf*, Hitler actively emphasized the historical precedents of emotional arousal, describing "an army of agitators" who precipitated the French Revolution, and the "apostles of agitation" who were the real force – more powerful than Lenin's writings - behind the Bolshevik Revolution. ¹⁵¹

Hitler acknowledged the need to increase audience “suggestibility” in both verbal and non-verbal ways, holding evening rallies in which attendees were tired, off-guard and therefore less apprehensive, gathered in semi-darkness with flickering lights from numerous blazing torches. He used rousing songs –

often in 4:4 march time – reaching climax with demagogic orations “*inflaming the audience to fever pitch, his voice screaming and his fist pummeling the air.*”

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- Victimization - identifying and targeting specific groups as the enemy and, by extension, the cause of malice

Hitler promoted a feeling of victimization among the German people by raising the issue of the Versailles armistice (1919) with its harsh economic consequences and annexation of large portions of "German" territory by France, Belgium, Denmark etc. ¹⁵³

The victimization of the German people was attributed to specific demographic groups. The genetically or mentally infirm, according to the *Neues Volk* monthly, (published by the racial policy office of the NSDAP) were accused of “*cost[ing] our people’s community 60,000 marks over his lifetime.*” – Thus the magazine's call to action: “*Citizens, that is your money.*” ¹⁵⁴



Germans were told that they were being enslaved by an imaginary “world Jewish power;” *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion* were invoked to instigate massive anti-Semitic hatred.

The fact that *The Protocols* are a work of fiction – conceived as an indictment of the Jews for a litany of various evils – has never deterred those who distribute the volume from claiming that it documents a Jewish conspiracy to dominate the world.¹⁵⁵ In 1903, portions of *The Protocols* were serialized in a Russian newspaper, *Znamya* (The Banner), and two years later a version was appended to “*The Great in the Small: The Coming of the Anti-Christ and the Rule of Satan on Earth*” by Russian writer and mystic Sergei Nilus.



In 1939, *The Protocols* were re-published – under the auspices of the Nazi Party – by Dr. Hans Jonak von Freyenwald. ¹⁵⁶



“He who wears this symbol is an enemy of our people.” ¹⁵⁷

(c) Cult-type education or training methods

enhance the suggestibility of pupils to messages being promulgated. ^{158 159 160}

^{161 162 163 164 165 166 167} Such methodology typically employs:

- A charismatic leader with an intense physical presence, intelligence, experience, education, expertise, ability to articulate goals and missions, and, most importantly, strong emotional appeal.
- The attraction of susceptible individuals (e.g. children from broken homes), such that the re-constituted group resembles a new family. The leader assumes the place of a parent. Older members coach the newcomers. There is strong discipline and an expectation of total obedience.
- The removal of trainees to a remote training area, where they are distanced from the effects of relatives and former commitments.
- The repetition and enhancement of fundamental messages – e.g. the imperative to bring honour to self and family, and the (personal) dangers entailed in leaving the group – through songs, mantras, slogans and positive reinforcement.¹⁶⁸
- Religious reinforcement, encouraging members to act for the greater good, for God or for Allah.
- The deindividuation of self, requiring one to shed their personal identity and accept that of the group. The leader’s guidance takes the place of truth. Generally speaking, deindividuated people cease thinking for themselves and come to view themselves as part of a greater whole. ^{169 170 171}
- The deindividuation of the other, not as individual people, but as members of an amorphous group with the same typical characteristics. Total separation and emotional distance from a given "target" are necessary prerequisites to violence against that target. Germans did not associate with Jews during the Holocaust. Hutus in Rwanda did not associate with Tutsis. ^{172 173 174 175}

^{176 177 178}

- The dehumanization of the other ^{179 180 181} invoked for the sake of branding enemies as sub- or inhuman – such that their murder bears no ethical significance. Trainees attribute all positive characteristics to their own group and all negative characteristics to the enemy, who is viewed as morally degenerate, stupid, irresponsible, dishonest and cunning; in extreme situations, said enemy is associated with non-human entities, such as animals, vermin, filth and germs.
- Demonization and the identification of enemies as evil, leading to an ethical inversion, whereby it is good to kill them. Young and old alike are characterized as "representatives of the devil" to counter any feelings of remorse toward them.

Democratic militaries enforce strict rules governing the cause of harm to innocent non-combatants, taking preventive measures to ensure their safety. By contrast, terrorist groups condition their members to dehumanize all members of the enemy group – who thus become deserving of death, regardless of their combat status. ^{182 183}



Family murdered in their sleep - terror attack in Itamar



In this chapter, we have demonstrated why hate language and incitement to violence can be regarded as a hazardous exposure, increasing risks for a spectrum of violent actions at the individual, community and political levels. Accordingly, epidemiologic models and methods are required to quantify these exposures and effects, and the relationships between them.

In the next chapter, we will present the example of an epidemiologic tool currently in use: an index which quantifies, tracks and analyses hate language and incitement, operationalizing the epidemiologic exposure-effect model. This type of

index assists policymakers in conducting situation assessments and determining the effects of their decisions.

IV. The Incitement and Culture of Peace Index – An Example of Epidemiologic Monitoring

Can incitement be tracked and monitored? The pilot study of the Incitement and Culture of Peace Index provides descriptive information.

Aims:

The Index was developed by the Israeli Ministry of Strategic Affairs for the purpose of monitoring degree of incitement and of the promotion of a ‘culture of peace’ within the Palestinian Authority. Ultimately, the index seeks to determine whether the Palestinian Authority is advancing a culture of peace, while simultaneously providing all parties with a real-time measure of the situation on the ground.

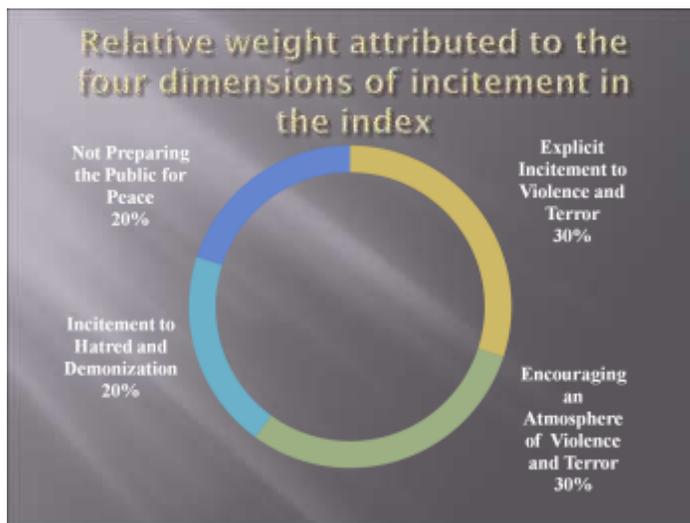
Premises:

1. The promotion of a Palestinian culture of peace must begin with the recognition that the other side (i.e. the State of Israel) its ostensible partner for peace, possesses a legitimate right to exist.
2. The encouragement of violence and hatred toward Israel will not promote a culture of peace.¹⁸⁴

Sources of information on incitement and hate language in the PA:

- Over a period of 33 months, the Israeli Ministry of Strategic Affairs, has collected and studied a large body of data included in quarterly reports of its Incitement and Culture of Peace Index, which concentrates on the Palestinian Authority and the areas under its control (i.e. excluding the Hamas-controlled Gaza Strip). We were given access to both the completed indices and the raw data from which they were compiled. We also interviewed the lead professionals responsible for the Index, and received detailed explanations regarding their methodologies. Independently, we collected additional examples from the PA, the wider Middle East and Israel.

- The Incitement and Culture of Peace Index uses a "grab sample" sequential study design for tracking and evaluating statements of PA leaders, school textbooks, media outlets (such as newspapers and news agencies), internet forums, PA core documents, religious sermons and more.
- The Index distinguishes between four categories, representing four types of peace culture and incitement; categories are weighted differently, according to the relative importance attributed thereto:
 - Grade 1: Explicit incitement to violence and terror – 30%
 - Grade 2: Encouragement of an atmosphere of violence and terror – 30%
 - Grade 3: Incitement to hatred and demonization – 20%
 - Grade 4: Non-preparation of the public for peace – 20%



Collection of data – sampling methods

The Ministry engages in ongoing monitoring and examination of all the above-mentioned major sources. One apparent limitation is that this method ascribes lesser weight to additional and more diverse sources, such as non-official newspapers, personal websites and media from other Arab countries.

These are sampled occasionally, but are not considered primary sources, whereas sanctioned PA outlets are perceived as the font of all official PA attitudes and information.

Work methods: Several professional teams – some within the Ministry, others not – track the data, collecting available information from all official PA outlets (written and broadcast media, internet sites), and sample media from Arab countries. The websites of MEMRI ¹⁸⁵ and Palestinian Media Watch¹⁸⁶, which regularly track and translate Palestinian media, are also surveyed.

All available sources are collected in their original language, usually Arabic, and then translated into English and Hebrew; some sources are in other languages, e.g. Farsi or Turkish. Additional information is provided by central Israeli intelligence agencies, as well as IDF District Coordination and Liaison centres.

Teams are then assigned to process data by specialization: those with a background in education examine data from textbooks; journalists are assigned to track the media, experts in political science review official websites and speeches by PA officials, and so on.

Analysis of the data in the Index - "scoring methods"

Collected information is divided into four general types, as described above in Paragraph 2. Not every single piece of data actually appears in the final index, but all are taken into account in the calculation of scores for each source/parameter. Each data point is assigned a numerical score, on a scale between -10 (Promoting Hate) and +10 (Promoting Peace).



Examples of PA Statements and How They Are Scored

Source: Kobi Michael, Incitement and Peace Culture Index

	Grade 1: Explicit incitement to violence and terror	Grade 2: Encouragement of an atmosphere of violence and terror	Grade 3: Incitement to hatred and demonization	Grade 4: Non preparation of the public for peace
Chairman of the PA	Explicit (1+)			
10 th Report, January-March 2012	<p><i>Interview with President Mahmoud Abbas:</i></p> <p>Die Zeit: "Why are you continuing with negotiations?" Abbas: "We have no choice. We will never return to the armed struggle! Never! There will be only peaceful resistance to the occupation.... Such a thing [the intifada] must never be repeated. We want peace; therefore we must take responsibility for Israel's security: five years without a single unfortunate incident! Why does the other side not understand this?..."</p> <p>[Palestinian News and Info Agency (WAFA), January 31, 2012]</p>			
Religious messages	Explicit (-2)			
10 th Report, January-March 2012	<p>"PA mufti Muhammad Hussein comes to the podium and says:</p> <p>'The Hour [of Resurrection] will not come until you fight the Jews. The Jew will hide behind stones or trees. Then the stones or trees will call: " Oh Muslim, servant of Allah, there is a Jew behind me, come and kill him." Except the <i>gharqad</i> tree [which will keep silent].' Therefore it is no wonder that you see <i>gharqad</i> [trees] surrounding the [Israeli] settlements and colonies."</p> <p>[PA TV, January 9, 2012] http://www.youtube.com/watch?feature=player_embedded&v=kDoV8ZL9Xkc</p>			
Official core documents of the PA	Explicit (-7)			
10 th Report, January-March 2012	<p>Palestine National Charter</p> <p>Article 9: "Armed struggle is the only way to liberate Palestine. This is the overall strategy, not merely a tactical phase...."</p> <p>[Note: The Palestine National Charter appears on the following websites:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • PLO—Refugee Affairs Department: http://plord.ps/ar/index.php?act=Show&id=500 • PLO Executive Committee— 			

	National Office for Defense of the Land and for Resistance to the Settlements: http://www.nbprs.ps/page.php?do=show&action=pl04]
Media	Encouragement (-7)
11 th Report, April-June 2012	PA TV broadcast a documentary about terrorist Abu Jihad to commemorate the anniversary of his death. The documentary included footage of Abu Jihad planning large-scale terror attacks against Israel: “When we get there, Allah willing, we will begin to fire, to fire on our enemy. We will dig in his throat and heart with the massacres that we spoke about. We want to turn the Tel Aviv day black....” Narrator: “[Abu Jihad] was the mastermind of the armed struggle against Israel. He is a symbol of Palestinian armed struggle...” [PA TV, April 16, 2012] http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3aPG4MkhhZs
PA and Fatah Officials	Demonization (-5)
11 th Report, April-June 2012	<i>Live broadcast: Opening of the first Forum for Arab Women Sports Journalists, in the presence of PA prime minister Salam Fayyad and PA chairman of the Palestinian Olympic Committee Jibril Rajoub:</i> Rajoub: "I say also—and on behalf of Palestine: something that has no place in the dictionary of Palestinian sportsmen is the subject of normalization with the occupation. Impossible, impossible, impossible... I understand by normalization that the relationship between me and you will be normal, that we'll play [sports] together and there'll be a joint program. I say to you: under no circumstances will there be normalization. Next time we are prepared to bring the Executive Committee in helicopters...so they will see no Jews, no Satans, no Zionist sons of bitches. Come by helicopter and go back by helicopter." [PA TV (Fatah), May 17, 2012] http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PyliMiuokaU&feature=player_embedded
Education	Demonization (-7)
11 th Report, April-June 2012	“By your life! How is it that snakes invade us and we still observe a protection covenant [<i>dhimma</i>] that respects commitments?” <i>Arabic Language, Grade 12 (2010), p. 61</i>
Internet	Preparing (-1)
11 th Report, April-June 2012	<i>The PLO Refugee Affairs Department and the Higher National Committee for Reinvigorating the Commemoration of the Nakba published an action plan for Nakba Day and related events:</i> “1. On the educational and propaganda levels:... To contend with the Israeli people and to reveal their imperialist and terrorist plans and

	<p>aims that they achieve through killing, destruction, immigration, arrests, appropriation of land, the Judaization of Jerusalem, and attempts to erase the Arab-Palestinian existence within the land occupied since 1948, the settlements, and the racist separation wall and particularly the celebration of their fabricated state that arose on the lands and properties of our Palestinian people...”</p> <p>[The document can be found on the committee’s website “Right of Return” http://www.nakbah.org/download-v26.html]</p>
Culture and other	Preparing (-6)
11 th Report, April-June 2012	<p><i>Music video on PA TV: Jaffa, Acre, Haifa, and Nazareth are ours</i></p> <p style="text-align: center;"> Jaffa, Acre, Haifa, and Nazareth are ours. Muhammad, sing about the Galilee and the Golan. Jaffa, Acre, Haifa, and Nazareth are ours. Kabha, sing about the Galilee and the Golan. From Bethlehem to Jenin is Palestinian, Ramle, Lod, and Sakhnin are Palestinian. Nowhere is more beautiful than Jerusalem; no matter how much we travel from Safed to Al-Badhan is Palestinian; Tiberias and Ashkelon are Palestinian. </p> <p><i>[This song originally aired on May 13, 2011, and was rebroadcast on June 24, July 14, July 15 (twice), August 20, September 2, 2011, and again on January 5, 8, February 25, March 19, and April 6, 2012]</i></p> <p>http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PyliMiuokaU&feature=player_embedded</p>

Other examples of Index scores are provided below in section V

Eight outlets (of different relative weights) are used in determining a quotient for each of the four major types of incitement:

- Chairman of the PA
- PA and Fatah Officials
- Official core documents of the PA
- Education
- Religious messages
- Media
- Internet
- Culture and other

By way of example the “Chairman of the PA” parameter is assigned a relative weight of 20% within “Explicit incitement to violence and terror”, but only 15%

within “Incitement to hatred and demonization”, since the experts have determined that other parameters are more influential in the latter context.

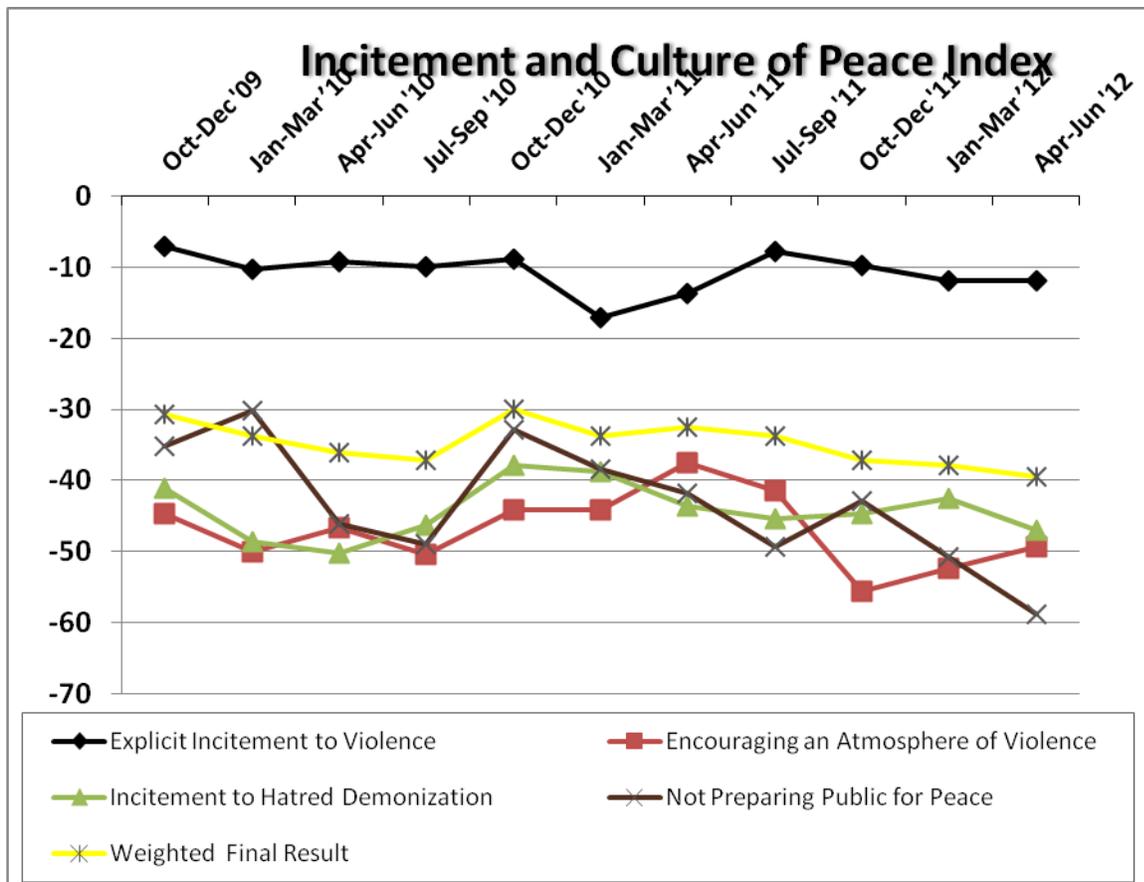
“Education” is given a relative weight of 20% in “Explicit incitement to violence and terror”, but of 30% in “Non-preparation of the public for peace”, because education is seen as more influential with respect to the long-term intergenerational effects of hate language on the willingness of the Palestinians to achieve peace with Israel.

The Ministry convenes a quarterly meeting with the multiple participants of all the collecting teams, during which they share and discuss relevant data. Ideally, each team will have scored each of their entries prior to the meeting; however, since the system is relatively new, teams often prefer to consult with each other before making such determinations independently. While defined outlines exist for the grading process, some subjectivity will endure due to the participants’ respective backgrounds and preconceptions.

By the conclusion of the meeting, numerical scores will have been designated for all items, reflecting the interaction and collective decision of the interdisciplinary team.

Subsequently, a small, core committee of professionals from the Ministry of Strategic Affairs reviews all the suggested scores and re-examines the entries and confers the final consensus scores and averages for each of the four types of incitement and the eight sources.

Finally, a single, weighted average is deduced for all four categories, producing one final score for the quarter. The following graph illustrates roughly the trend evident over the quarterly reports in 2009-12. The weighted final result shows a drift towards a gradually worsening composite exposure to incitement and hate language over a three year period.



What does the Incitement and Culture of Peace Index tell us about current trends in incitement in the Palestinian Authority?

The Incitement and Culture of Peace Index quantifies and tracks incitement by source, type and intensity. It monitors variation in intensity over time, and tracks coherent trends in the short-term. Overall, the Incitement and Culture of Peace Index suggests that escalations and declines in Palestinian incitement against Israel are related temporally to increases or decreases in political tension.

Three of the four measures of different components of the metric – *Encouragement of an atmosphere of violence and terror, Incitement to hatred and demonization and Non-preparation of the public for peace,* – move in relative tandem, having deteriorated during the first half of 2010, then improving slowly during the fourth quarter of 2010 and then deteriorating

again. Overall, the long term trend since October 2009 through 2012 shows that incitement in the Palestinian Authority is ongoing, with substantial deterioration.

Concurrently, there has been a low, but persistent, background level of explicit incitement to violence, employing metaphors for dehumanization and demonization in the public space. These types of incitement are much less prevalent in official PA texts than in the past, but delegitimization remains universal. Palestinian leaders are aware that incitement against Israel is being tracked by the Israeli government and other parties. This very fact may account for the drop in the intensity and frequency of blunt, explicit incitement --e.g. the motifs of dehumanization and demonization-- but it is unclear whether this monitoring has been successful in preventing “grey” incitement – notably, delegitimization in the form of ignoring the other.

If epidemiological monitoring is indeed having an effect on the Palestinian Authority, a persuasive case can be made for extending it to track incitement in other countries.

V. Demonstrating the Use of Epidemiologic Models to Analyse Incitement Data

Models presented in this chapter are:

- Predict and prevent
- The Iceberg of disease - the populations at risk
- Susceptibility – susceptible groups
- Intergenerational transmission
- The Geoffrey Rose model:
 - Risk to population vs risk to individual
 - The mean determines the range
- Resistance
- Incubation or latent periods

- Dose-response
- Presence of background chronic sub-clinical exposure
- Viral spread
- Point source exposure
- Positive deviance

(See Appendix VII for additional details and examples)

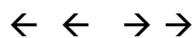
V1. Predict and prevent

If a condition or disease is predictable, it is preventable. The same can be said of an environmental or social hazard. If incitement leads to violence, then reducing one's exposure to incitement should lower the risk of violence. By eliminating the exposure entirely, it should be possible to prevent, or at least reduce, its outcome – namely, violence.

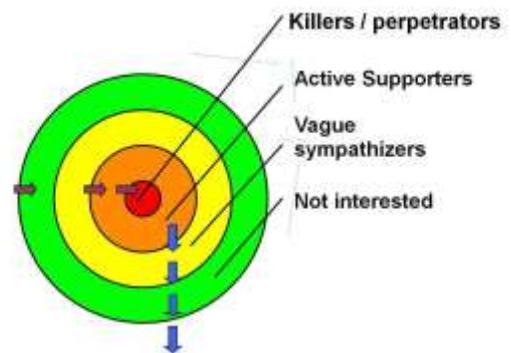
The questions of concern are: whether this exposure-violence relationship applies to individuals and/or populations, which sub-populations may be at greater risk, and how improved and deteriorating levels of risk might be monitored.

Prevention (in this graph) = movement toward the periphery

Population migrates between groups:



Bi-directional Model



External – zero severity

Center - extreme severity

Appropriate interventional goals would thus be to reduce exposure to the agent (air pollution, salt in diet) and, in our particular context, to reduce population-wide exposure to incitement.

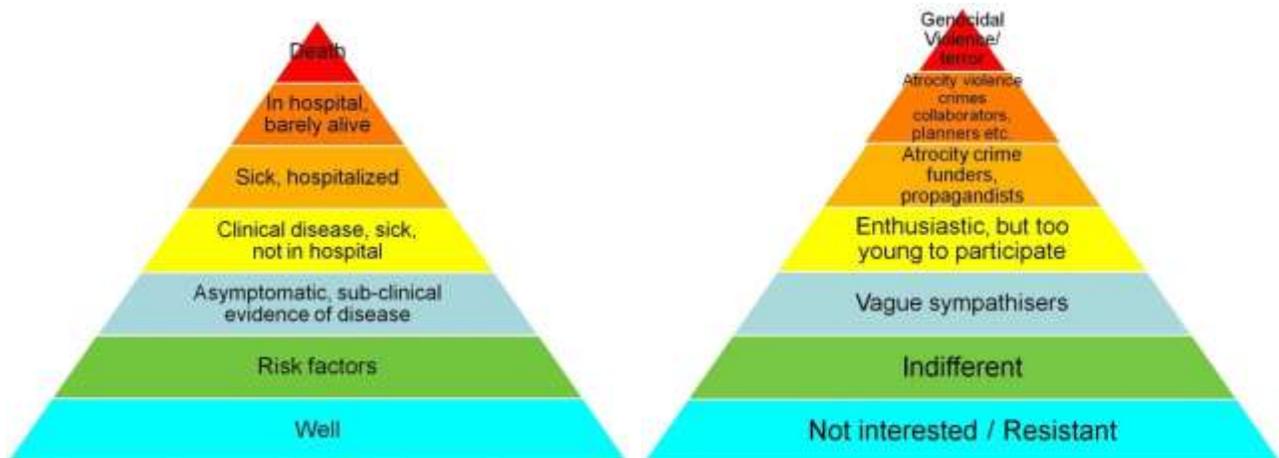
V2. The Iceberg of disease - the population(s) at Risk

How deeply affected are people exposed to a hazardous agent?

Are they all affected equally?

Are all those exposed to messages of hate and incitement equally affected?

How enduring are the effects?



The Iceberg model presents gradients of effect within a given population – enabling us to consider different levels of involvement and interest in messages of hate, as they lead to involvement in terror and violence.

In an effort to reduce acts of genocidal violence, one could choose to either target the top of the iceberg or melt the wider substrata lower down – a concept implicit in the Rose model.

V3. Susceptibility:

Which populations are more susceptible to environmental health hazards?

Which populations are more susceptible to incitement and hate language?

Susceptible groups

- a. Children 187 188 189 190 191 192 193 194 195

Children are the most vulnerable population sub-group exposed to environmental agents. *"Neglected and malnourished children are particularly vulnerable to environmental toxins"*

Does the same hold true regarding children's susceptibility to social messages of incitement and hate?

Researchers have shown that products of broken families, where the father is either absent, non-functional or not in contact with his children, are at higher risk of being involved in terror. Psychoanalysts have noted that people who have undergone emotional trauma in early life are much more susceptible to indoctrination.

Example from the Index:

Type of Incitement: Encouraging an atmosphere of violence and terror.

Category: Media. Score: -5

Two young nieces of a woman terrorist convicted (3 life sentences) of smuggling a suicide bomber into Jerusalem recite a song in her honour on PA TV (28/5/2010) [The girls' room is filled with photographs of the terrorist. They recite the song by heart with accompanying hand gestures]: *"What am I doing here when my enemy is in my forefathers' land? I want to protect, I want to fight, I want to carry a machine gun and a rifle. And tomorrow when the war breaks out, I will not care about you [my enemy] or about the West. And we will land a direct hit against Israel, and we will land a direct hit against Israel, and return you to us – the land of my forefathers, return you, the land of my forefathers."*

b. Young men 196 197 198 199

Categories of motivation:

- Opportunity for "action"
- The need to belong and bond
- Desire for social status
- Acquisition of material reward promise of eternal reward ("70 Virgins of Paradise")

Example: *Praise and recognition for families of terrorist who killed many Israelis.*

PA TV program *"In a Fighter's Home"* honours "heroic fighter prisoner" [terrorist]

Muhammad Wael Daghlas – planner of "Sbarro" terror attack, in which 15 civilians were

killed, including 7 children, and 130 wounded – visiting his family’s home and sending "best wishes" to "our glorious" prisoner ^{200 201}

“Sbarro” terror attack



Some of Daghlas' victims



c. Women

- Terror as a mean of gaining social equality and status
- National-religious motive
- Legitimization of terror by religious and military leaders
- Romance (terrorist boyfriends)



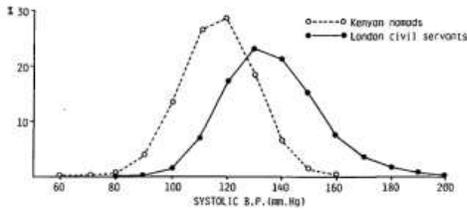
V4. Intergenerational transmission:

Transmission of disease, trauma and other traits between generations (genetic & behavioural) ^{202 203 204 205 206 207 208 209}

- The message of hate flows naturally from parents to children
- Social science has compared the intergenerational spread of a group belief, memory or trauma to a medical condition passed from mother to child at birth.

V5. The Geoffrey Rose model ^{210 211}

- Risk to population vs. risk to individual
- The mean determines the range



What distinguishes between the two sets in the model (above) is a shift of the whole distribution – a mass influence acting upon the entire population and affecting the determinants of the population mean.

Increased population-wide exposure to incitement will lead to heightened individual proclivity toward crimes of violence and terror across *the entire population*, in the same way that adding salt to the food supply will increase the risk of high blood pressure throughout the entire population.

Small increases in exposure applied to large numbers of people will produce more sickness, morbidity and mortality than targeted high doses of exposure aimed at small numbers of people.

When society at large is exposed to incitement, the mean background level will be higher (“shift to the right”). A large number of people may be affected at some level, in keeping with the distribution curve.

By promoting positive deviance and reducing the entire population’s exposure, the mean and distribution curve could shift left-ward.

V6. Host immunity or resistance ^{212 213}

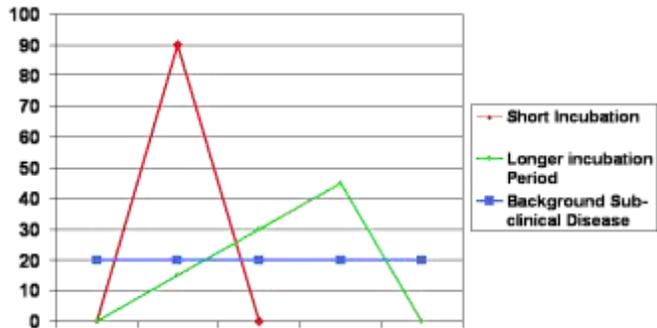
Some individuals may be biologically immune/ resistant to infection – e.g. previous infection, immunization, better nutritional status or host genetics – and remain uninfected after exposure. There is a certain percentage of individuals who are unaffected by group dynamics and incitement, and remain unwilling to participate in violence. The reasons for this resistance may lie in education, previous experience, genetics or mental characteristics.

Genocide scholars in particular have noted that, among ordinary people, there is a minority – estimated at 10% by Christopher Browning – who are

resistant to incitement and will remain steadfastly unwilling to participate in mass killing.²¹⁴

V7. Incubation or latent periods 215 216 217

Diseases caused by an infectious/non-infectious agent, such as a toxin or carcinogen, have an intrinsic incubation period after contact with the agent prior to the outbreak of disease.



A background asymptomatic infection will shorten incubation of a new infection via promoter and/or independent co-factor.

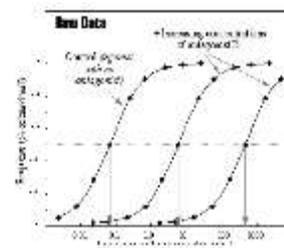
Medical models:

- Acute-on-chronic inflammation
- Exacerbation of chronic disease
- Priming – i.e. exposures in childhood can affect susceptibility as an adult; similarly, hate language could have an enhanced effect on adults who were “primed” to hate in early childhood.

Premise: If a susceptible population of children or young adults is constantly exposed to hate education or indoctrination, we can expect this exposure to shorten the incubation period for violent actions (or condoning them) when they become young adults.

V8. Dose-Response 218

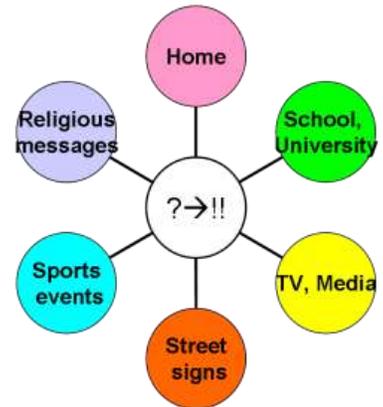
- More exposure → more effect
- Multiple/simultaneous routes of exposure → more effect



Continuous background exposure and flow, “immersion” in the message from multiple sources, such as:

- Pan-society accepted set of beliefs and behaviours, reaffirmed continuously
- Similar messages reinforced all the time, from multiple sources:

Lullabies, kindergarten, primary school, high school, summer camp, university, television, political leaders, community events, sports events, signposts, places of religious worship, youth movements, etc.



This model suggests that people exposed to numerous messages of incitement and hate from multiple sources will accept and internalize them more readily – and may consequently possess a greater inclination to carry out a range of violent actions or to condone/credit these acts when performed by others.

Example from the Index:

Type of incitement – Explicit incitement to violence and terror.

Category: Official core PA documents. Score: -5

“The armed conflict is a strategy, not a tactic and the armed revolution of the Arab Palestinian nation is the most important factor in the campaign to release and elimination of the Zionist presence. This conflict will not stop until the Zionist entity is beaten and Palestine is freed.”

[Chapter 19 of the PLO constitution; confirmed by the PLO Central Committee, August 2009]

Example from School Textbook:

*“Returning, returning, we are returning
 The borders will never be [final]
 Nor fortresses nor strongholds
 Cry out displaced people!...
 We are returning to the homes,
 the shores and the hills
 Under the banners of glory, Jihad and struggle*

With blood and willingness to risk life...

To Jihad on the hilltop”

[‘Our Beautiful Language’ textbook for 5th grade, Part A, p. 50.

Published in 2010 by the PA Ministry of Education

Examples from the Index:

Type of incitement – Not preparing the public for peace

Category: Culture. Score: -3

Three questions in an inter-university national quiz broadcast on PA TV (25/6/2010) convey a world in which there is no Israel.

Competitors are asked whether the length of the Palestinian coastline is 335 km long. The correct answer given is 235 km.

235 km is the length of the coastline from the most Southern point in Gaza up to Israel’s Northern border.

Type of incitement – Incitement to hatred and demonization

Category: Culture. Score: -9

Messages and images of hatred towards Jews and Israel, as they appear in the press:



Al-Hayat Al-Jadida

January 2009



Der Stuermer

February 1930



Palestinian TV (Fatah)

July 2010



Der Stuermer

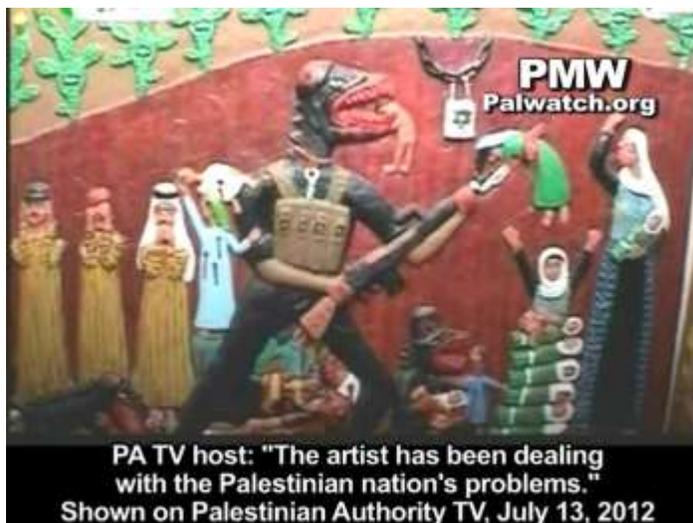
July 1939

A recent example (Aug. 24, 2012) collected by *Palestinian Media Watch*: PA daily cartoon demonizes Israel as a bloodthirsty religious Jew holding a knife dripping with blood.²¹⁹



In another recent example, collected by Palestinian Media Watch from Palestinian Authority TV, an artist presents his painting "dealing with the Palestinian nation's problems such as the Gaza massacres."²²⁰

The painting portrays Israel as a monster that eats Palestinian children - an ogre impaling children on his bayonet and eating them one by one. On the lower right, dead children are piled up to be eaten and two baby ogres are also shown eating children. The three monsters wear skull caps with a Star of David. The scene is taking place in the ogre's underground lair under cactuses that are growing on the surface. A Star of David is also painted on the lock of the lair.



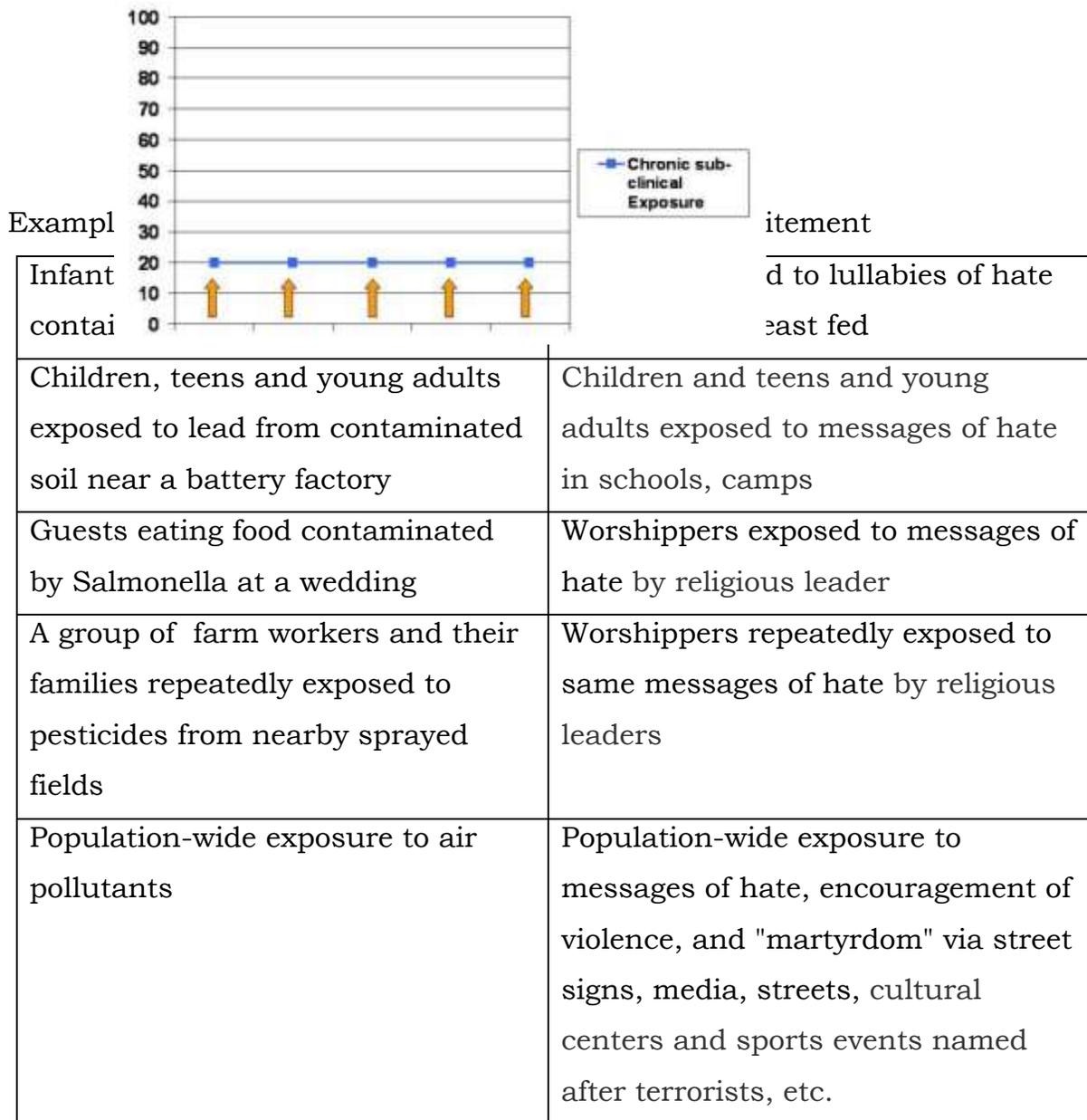
In a third recent example (August 23, 2012), Palestinian Authority Chairman Mahmoud Abbas again denies Jerusalem's Jewish history and the existence of the Jewish Temple in Jerusalem, referring to the "alleged Temple" and declaring that "No peace, security, or stability is possible without evacuation of Jews from Jerusalem - "our holy city".²²¹

A study by Palestinian Media Watch found that Abbas has used the term "alleged Temple" in his speeches, to deny the Jewish claim to Jerusalem, 97 times in 2011 and 2012. This continuously reaffirmed theme helps to create a "Norm" in Palestinian society.

Palestinian Media Watch has collected many more examples of "rewriting history" by Palestinian leaders – denial of Jewish history and Jewish connection to the Land of Israel.²²²

More exposure → more effect of the message.

V9. Presence of background chronic sub-clinical exposure



Regarding incitement: Constant, repeated disinformation (use of lies, “rewriting” history) to present the leader’s theories as truth.

School Textbooks:

Example from the Index:

Type of incitement – Incitement to hatred and demonization of Israel

Category: Education. Score: -5

Textbooks accuse Israel of trying to steal the water of the Nile, The book reviews Israeli methods and plans to take over the Nile, including development of Israeli ties in Ethiopia, The student is asked to: “Describe the actions of Israel, trying to achieve its greedy aspirations at the Nile”

[Source: History of the Arabs and the World in the 20th Century. 12th grade. p. 155]

Religious Education:

Example from the Index:

Type of incitement – Not preparing the public for peace

Category: Religious messages. Score: -4

PA-appointed Jerusalem Mufti Sheikh Muhammad Hussein defined the conflict with Israel as a relentless religious war – Ribat – which began since the “castastrophe” of the establishment of the State of Israel.

Sheikh Hussein called to his followers to keep standing in stability, patience and Ribat in this land, until all the plans that aim to destroy the existence of the Palestinians, their land or the Holy Sites have failed. [Al Hayat Al Jadida, 22/5/2010]

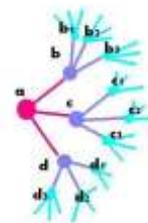
Example from the Index:

Type of incitement – Not preparing the public for peace

Category: Religious messages. Score: -4

PA TV News telephone interview with Minister of Religious Affairs, Mahmoud Habbash: “For our part, we view the Ibrahimi Mosque [Cave of the Patriarchs in Hebron] as the Al-Aqsa Mosque, as an absolute Islamic right; none of the Israelis have any right to it.” [PA TV Aug 1, 2010]

V10. Viral spread ²²³

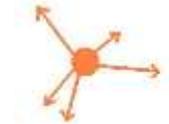


Fast spread, initially from person to person, but then “exploding” and reaching large audiences at various levels of the population, with no geographical borders:

- Spread of infectious agent of disease (e.g. flu)
- Spread of non-infectious environmental agent
- Spread of message, rumour, idea via word of mouth or internet

V11. Point Source exposure from a common source or by person-to-person spread

A source constantly spreading the hazardous exposure -- such as an individual infected with HIV -- passing the infection on to many others



Cult-type training: Charismatic leader as the Point Source exposure ^{224 225 226}
_{227 228 229 230 231}

- Group often collapses if the leader is removed.
- Powerful group dynamics reinforce the conditioning process
- Remove the source and begin to reverse the effect

V12. Optimal growth environment

In biology, an ideal growth medium or culture medium – e.g. Petri dish to grow bacteria – is used for cultivation. In the case of incitement, a close-knit, uniform environment creates the optimal conditions for inciting/hate messages to thrive and spread.

- Cult-type training: Close-knit, small-world family/society groups, aim to train individuals to conform to a pre-planned scenario ^{232 233}

V13. Positive deviance

This concept is based on the observation that, in any population, some individuals ("positive deviants") facing the same challenges will generate

uncommon – but successful – behaviours which enable them to reach better solutions.²³⁴ The model can be used to promote positive behaviour within a specific society.

Example from the Index:

Type of incitement – Explicit incitement to violence and terror

Category: PA and Fatah Officials. Score: +2

PA Prime Minister Fayyad publicly condemns the terror attack at Beit Hagi (14.6.2010) where an Israeli policeman was shot: *“Our people are united around a popular and non-violent struggle against the settlers and the terror attacks conducted by the settlers. This way has the support of the National Authority and the support of the International Community... This event needs to be condemned, as it stands in contradiction to the National interests of the Palestinian people and against the efforts the National Authority is taking for the sake of defending them.”*

VI. Implications of the Findings

We suggest that basic epidemiologic models are helpful for characterising the spread of hate language and incitement, and for predicting their effects. Social epidemiology, in particular, adds clarity and rigor to prior knowledge from social psychology, history and genocide studies, regarding the cause-effect relationship between incitement and violence.

Epidemiologic models provide the basis for interventions, based on the paradigm of "predict and prevent". Furthermore, the use of metrics or indices adds a degree of rigor and precision to the epidemiologic models of predict and prevent, enabling evaluation of success or failure of interventions

Epidemiologic models show that incitement and hate language can be viewed as a hazard with severe risks

Incitement and hate language are directed at susceptible populations. They can be propagated by various sources and in various modes (e.g. from a common source, person-to-person) to produce epidemic-like conditions.

Recurrent exposure of children to a focused narrative of hate – arising simultaneously from home, school, places of worship, summer camp, television, street signs, cultural events and the like – serves to embed messages into a child’s consciousness. There can also be intergenerational transmission from parents to children. Once a child has been repeatedly exposed to background messages calling for hate-based action, a shorter “incubation period” or very brief triggers may suffice to trigger a response later in life – in the form of an idea or the willingness to commit acts of violence.

Susceptibility to hate language and incitement varies according to age, gender, prior education and the level of effect of the incitement and hate language directed at them among enablers, supporters or bystanders to violence or terror. According to the Rose model, even a low-intensity message directed at a large number of people is apt to affect more people than a more extreme message directed at a small number of people. When the exposure is population-wide, the distribution curve for the entire population is “shifted to the right” (just as adding salt to everyone’s diet leads to more cases of high blood pressure in the population).

This model means that while the pattern of distribution remains static, with some people more affected than others, the mean (or accepted norm) becomes more extreme than would have been the case without the presence of incitement. Cries of “death to Israel” in Arab Spring demonstrations, or burning of Israeli flags by Palestinians, for example, might be considered extreme or unacceptable in other societies, but are perceived as “normal” because of a population-wide culture of hate.

It thus follows that, when high intensity messages are targeted at groups already “primed” by prolonged background messaging, the triggering effect in producing violence can be abrupt and severe. There are many anecdotal accounts which fit this two-step scenario.

Cairo, September 9, 2011: A group of young men attacked and broke the wall of the Israeli Embassy. Later they broke in and threw documents from the windows. An

official Egyptian local newspaper *Al-Ahram* reported several days later, that the rioters had been paid by a wealthy tycoon. Quoting a “judicial source,” the daily reported that a day before the incident, the protesters were taken by “luxury tourist buses” to a lavish dinner where they were encouraged to take revenge against Israel “*for our children killed on the border.*” ^{235 236 237}

Some individuals in the population are however resistant to messages of incitement in low or high dose. Identifying them and determining why they are so resistant will provide the key to successful preventive interventions.

Causation: incitement and its effects

We can apply data from the Index and from the additional examples presented in this text to Bradford Hill’s comments on causation (discussed in chapter IIIA) - to ascertain that there is indeed a cause-effect relationship between incitement and violence:

- (1) *Strength* of the association – Case studies and examples presented in Chapter V and in the appendices show a greater increase in the appearance of a range of violent scenarios against targeted populations following long-term dehumanization and demonization, especially in the wake of specific, localized incitement by a leader. Regarding terror and incitement in the Palestinian Authority, it is necessary to examine whether there are temporal correlations between levels of incitement and actual events of terror, including intercepted failed attacks;
- (2) *Consistency* – We have been able to identify a repeated pattern of violence following incitement, across different places, circumstances and times.
- (3) *Specificity* – Incitement and hate language in the Palestinian Authority and the rest of the Muslim world are very specifically directed against Jews and Israel, who are targeted, dehumanized and demonized as the source of all problems. This kind of incitement is not simply an “aggressive attitude” or “shooting in all directions.” It is also linked to attacks on racial, alien, and colonial non-Muslims and Western culture.

- (4) *Temporality* –Case studies of past violent scenarios, including mass violence, demonstrate that the population was often prepared ahead of time through exposure to delegitimizing motifs, dehumanization and demonization, directed against the group subsequently attacked. The same type of delegitimizing language used today by Palestinians to describe Israel – often combined with active calls by religious leaders to commit violent acts – plausibly increases the risk of ensuing acts of violence for ideological motives such as “martyrdom.”
- (5) *Biological Gradient* (Dose–response) – If the incitement is more intense, will the violence be more intense and/or more frequent? Do the effects of incitement subside?
- (6) *Plausibility* of the association – Common sense dictates a connection between incitement and violence. If a person is raised on the idea that a certain group is subhuman, dangerous or evil, and then is subject to inciteful messages calling for its members to be killed, s/he may eventually join an extremist group and actually commit acts of violence against the said group, believing it is the right thing to do. It follows that a group of people may be susceptible to such exposures and that such ideas may pass from one to another, such as a rumour or fashion. Lessons of social epidemiology on the spread of messages and motifs show that violence following this kind of propagation is indeed plausible.
- (7) *Coherence* – The interpretation of the data conforms to the facts – i.e. violence does in fact come on the heels of incitement – and to scientific models which explain human interactions and the spread of social phenomena among populations.
- (8) *Analogy* – Our analogy is to a disease caused by an infectious or non-infectious environmental agent affecting the entire population. Here, the message is the agent and the airwaves are the medium for its dissemination.

(9) *Experiment* – If removal of the hazard can in fact prevent its effect then, by implication, these violent outcomes can be prevented if the initiation and spread of hate language and incitement are thwarted.

In this monograph and its appendices we have summarized the large body of circumstantial evidence which demonstrates a cause-effect relationship between prior incitement against a group and real-world violent atrocity crimes committed by individuals and groups against that targeted group, following the incitement. These are examples of what epidemiologists call *ecologic correlations*, in which there are time trends between group exposure and group risk, but data are lacking on individual exposure-risk relationships.

When this correlation is coupled with Bradford Hill’s comments on causation, the case for a cause-effect relationship is much stronger. Empirical data of past cases provides a body of knowledge which should be used for prediction, precaution, prevention and protection.

Appendix IX discusses causation in additional detail - epidemiology and international law – and its implications for prevention

The foregoing leads to the most critical question of all: how do we prevent?

Prevention – promoting positive deviance

Evidence shows that the leadership of the Palestinian Authority and its precursors has indeed engaged in the conditioning of hatred toward Israel. Since the 1930s – long before there was a State of Israel – generations of Palestinians have been raised and nurtured from birth to adulthood on narratives which dehumanize Jews and Zionists, demonize Israel as the cause of all Palestinian misfortune and delegitimize Israel and the rights of the Jewish people.

It is highly unlikely that a population immersed in this type of intensely negative narrative can be expected to support peace and reconciliation with such a “despised enemy.” Recent trends have witnessed the elimination of the

worst forms of this incitement - dehumanization and demonization - from official school texts.

The challenge to policymakers is to expedite further elimination of other kinds of incitement and hate language in Can this trend — the media, politics, summer camps, public gatherings – not only in the PA, but in other countries as well?

Yet delegitimization – not recognizing the existence or the status of the Israeli/Jewish other — remains in Palestinian school texts—often in texts which exalt martyrdom of terrorists who have killed large numbers of civilians.²³⁸

According to the Rose model, preventive approaches must be population-wide and directed at removing population-wide exposures to incitement. Strategies which aim to shift the curve to the left should promote positive deviance. It is not sufficient to restrict attention to only the high-risk groups at the right end of frequency distribution. ^{239 240 241 242}

As mentioned above, a minority of people, on the order of 10%, has been shown to be resistant to incitement.²⁴³ Who are these individuals and why are they are resistant to incitement and hate language? Promoting the attitudes and traits of such individuals is one of the major challenges facing those concerned with the primary prevention of conflict and violence at all levels of severity.

Many will be quick to respond that incitement can be remedied by addressing what are called the "underlying root causes" – i.e. by bringing an end to the “occupation”, evacuating the settlements, returning to the 1948 borders, ceding control over Jerusalem, removing the security barrier and returning the refugees.

Three facts lead us to question these claims. Firstly, the incitement shaping attitudes of hate predates the State of Israel. In fact, secondly, both the incitement to violence and the violence itself increased with the advent of the

Oslo process, which saw Palestinian claims redressed. Finally, the return of territory to the Palestinians actually brought more, not less, terror.

What can be done?

We propose that steps must be taken to terminate the deep, population-wide, intergenerational Palestinian exposure to hate language and incitement. This is vital in order for them – and for that matter, the entire Muslim world – to be able to see Israelis and Jews, including Zionists, as normal people, as *individuals* with a right to exist and as a *people* with a right to national self-determination. Not as some inhuman or demonic group out to dominate or destroy them.

Without this minimal recognition, no real process of understanding or negotiation can ever happen, because the next generation will always grow up hating.

This change will require a change in perspective on the part of all actors in the Israel-Arab conflict.

Is such a change possible when terror attacks are taking place, when missiles and rockets are still aimed at Israeli cities from near and far, when Muslim clerics continue to call for the annihilation of Israel and when cries of “death to Israel” are still heard in almost every Arab country – presented as the aspiration of the entire Muslim world?

Will the Arab Spring become a permanent, hot summer?

Can we identify and strengthen the silent Arab minority that is resistant to messages of hate?

- What action can be taken to promote positive deviance?
- How can the conflict be resolved?

How can the conflict be resolved? Some theory and methods from the field of conflict resolution

Conflict Resolution expert Kobi Michael explains that conflicts can erupt at three different levels: greed, need and creed.²⁴⁴

He further explains that the Galtung triangular model maps the three parameters which define a given conflict:

- Contradiction between goals, social values and social systems
- Attitude toward both self and the other – including emotive attitudes (emotions), cognitive attitudes (beliefs) and conative attitudes (wishes)
- Behaviour – cooperation or coercion, positive gestures or hostility, and violence

Michael proposes that these, in turn, define a "response triangle", dictating three distinct outcomes:

- If the main parameter of the conflict is behaviour (i.e. direct violence), then the preferred solution would be peace-keeping. In practical terms, that would mean introducing an international peacekeeping force to separate between the warring parties and maintain a "cold peace".
- If the dispute centers around differing attitudes (cultural violence), the solution could be one of peace-making, where actions would be taken to bring hostile sides around to peaceably negotiating an agreement – along the lines described in Chapter 6 of the U.N. Charter.²⁴⁵
- In the case of contradiction between competing goals, the conflict would pivot around structural violence and require a peace-building solution. This would reflect a post-conflict predicament, and aim to strengthen and rebuild civil institutions, foster economic rehabilitation and adapt reality for the sake of preventing a renewed outbreak of the dispute, all the while creating conditions for promoting peace between adversaries.

Kobi Michael discusses Lederach's model,^{246 247} which suggests that a conflict between two nations is akin to a triangle that must be tackled on three parallel levels: Local peace commissions should meet at the grassroots level, become acquainted with each other, and discuss how misunderstandings and misconceptions between individuals might be resolved. Mid-level official leaders

should convene problem-solving workshops. Senior leadership should conduct high-level negotiations.

Governments influence the choices and behaviours of their populations through, inter alia, messages conveyed by the leadership – the more senior the messenger, the stronger the message – conveyed by: laws and regulations, modes of punishment, official media and the quality of the freedom (or lack thereof) afforded to the public.

Those in a position of power can consciously propel the population in the direction of embracing ideas that are profitable, beneficial and even “healthier” choices.^{248 249 250} If such options are placed within reach, there is a higher probability that some people will choose them.²⁵¹

Prior knowledge from the fields of social psychology, social epidemiology and history indicate that state-sanctioned hate language and incitement do in fact increase the risk of hate crimes, conflict, tension, terror, violence, genocidal terror and mass atrocities. *Since these outcomes constitute assaults on the most basic of human rights — life and respect for life – it only follows that state-sanctioned incitement and hate language are themselves threats to human rights.*

How can THIS specific conflict best be managed or resolved?

What can be done now in Israel and the Palestinian Authority?

Everything depends on what leaders will do to end all forms of incitement and hate language, not on what they say to other diplomats in closed meetings. This must be the measure of action taken against these assaults on human rights. Equally important is what leaders do to promote positive messages of peace, respect for life and human dignity of the other, and the "live and let live" credo.²⁵²

- It is time to redefine assaults on the core values of respect for life and human dignity - as unacceptable attacks on human rights.

- It is time for Israeli and Palestinian leaders to support and promote counter-incitement initiatives, and to support truth in order that reconciliation can have a chance to take root.
- It is time for Palestinian leaders to stop all forms of incitement and society-wide hate education, and promote messages of truth, in order to enable reconciliation.
- It is time for Israeli leaders to act as role models in promoting Zero Tolerance for Incitement (ZT4I) within Israeli society – e.g. outlawing “death to Arabs” calls at soccer matches and harassment of foreign migrants.

What comes next?

A number of practical questions emerge from the data contained in the Incitement and Culture of Peace Index:

- Do the trends demonstrated by the Index predict changes in attitudes, norms and actions among the populations exposed to the messages, and how can this research be applied to real life situations?
- How long does it take to produce change – either for the worse or a reverse in the current trend, for the better?
- How resistant are those who have been exposed to incitement in the face of attempts at reversing its affects?

It is important to examine the hypothesis that increased incitement, as manifest in the Index, can be coupled with a parallel trend of hardening in attitudes among Palestinians towards Israel and Israelis.

The huge body of prior knowledge from social psychology and social epidemiology (reviewed in Section III) gives every reason to believe there truly exists a cause-effect relationship – i.e. that incitement and hate language generate distortions in norms and attitudes that lead to acts of violence.

This correlation can be equated to the advertising of cigarettes where powerful role models have indeed altered attitudes toward smoking and contributed to a pandemic of smoking-related diseases.

We do not know how these short-term fluctuations in the intensity of incitement are reflected in similar changes in norms, attitudes and behaviours. Kedar and Yerushalmi have demonstrated a cross-sectional correlation between the intensity of incitement present in sermons and handouts at US mosques, and the intensity of hate attitudes among those attending these same mosques.²⁵³ Similar studies are required in the Middle East.

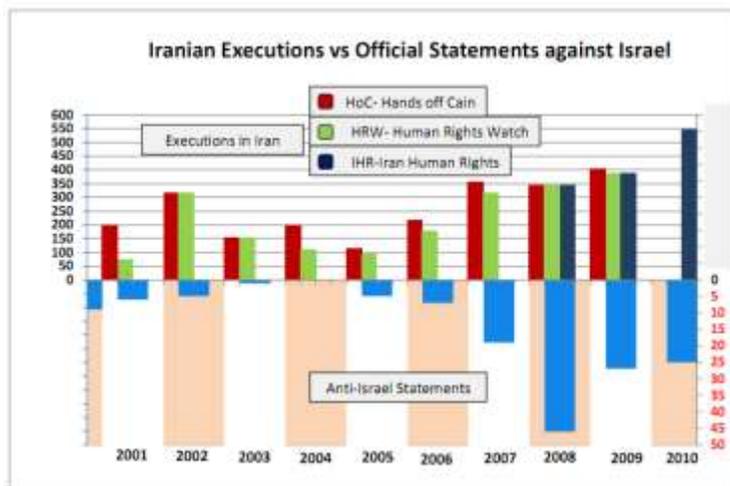
Conversely, it is necessary to examine whether the frequency and intensity of messages of hate language and incitement are themselves influenced by other circumstances and developments, internal or external.

Case study for comparison: Iranian incitement

A timeline tracking the incitement of Iranian leaders against Israel ²⁵⁴ indicates that the frequency and intensity of Iranian incitement decreased during the 2004 US attack on Iraq and then again in conjunction with international expressions of outrage over Mahmoud Ahmadinejad's 2005 call to wipe Israel off the face of the earth. Incitement increased again in late 2007 – following the release of the US National Intelligence Estimate stating that Iran had halted its nuclear enrichment activities – and then decreased with the internal upheaval that came in the wake of the contested Iranian election in 2009. Additionally, the increase in incitement over the years has roughly correlated with increases in executions, although it is premature to say whether and how the two factors might be associated.

Incitement, which is out in the public domain and thus easily tracked, can help to both predict and prevent future human rights violations. ²⁵⁵

The following graph plots the number of executions in Iran as reported by several Human Rights organizations, versus the number of official statements against Israel made by the Iranian regime during the same time period. Some correlation can be seen between the trends in killing and the trends in "verbal violence" – i.e. incitement.



*** This graph was prepared and presented in December 2010; information for December is partial*

VII Redefining the Unacceptable

British industrialist and scientist Sir Geoffrey Vickers was the first person to coin the term "redefining the unacceptable," in an address he delivered at the Harvard School of Public Health in 1957.^{256 257} On that occasion, he described tipping points in the history of public health, when society suddenly decided to no longer accept unhygienic conditions that had promulgated disease for centuries.

Vickers first applied this term to depict the mid-19th Century Sanitary Revolution in Great Britain. Running sewage in the streets, unclean drinking water and uncollected garbage for most of London's population, previously taken for granted, suddenly became unacceptable. High rates of infant mortality, and epidemics of cholera and other diarrheal diseases – the so-

called "crowd diseases" – provided the stimuli for British sanitary reformers such as Sir Edwin Chadwick to spearhead this revolution of the 1840s, even though there was yet no understanding of microbial agents as the causes of these diseases.²⁵⁸

London pioneered the development of a public sewer and drainage network – putting privies, garbage collection and clean water within the reach of all. What had been deemed acceptable for centuries was then redefined as unacceptable. Suddenly, open sewage became intolerable. Society invested massively in public infrastructure and health, creating laws and administration to operationalize this new insight. Similar tipping points occurred in the 20th Century with regard to mandatory chlorination and vaccination campaigns, legislation on child labour, public smoking and seat belts, vector control programs for mosquitoes transmitting tropical diseases, vitamin supplements and more – with spectacular results.

Endemic, population-wide state-sanctioned hate language and incitement are akin to the, running sewage of our times. They too must be defined as unacceptable. There should be a policy of Zero Tolerance for Incitement.

The Precautionary Principle: prediction, prevention and protection

Can hate crimes at the individual and group levels be prevented by halting state-sponsored hate language and incitement?

A coherent approach to the prevention of conflict, hate crimes, violence, terror, mass atrocities and genocide requires shifting the temporal locus of intervention from the period when perpetrators begin carrying out their mass killings, rapes, expulsions, plunder, and even push-button genocide – to the earlier stage when early warning signs signal intent.

How long does it take to reverse the effects of incitement and hate language?

Once a decision is made to redefine public incitement and hate language as unacceptable, how long will it take to reverse their effects?

The adverse impact of incitement and hate language is a function of the intensity and frequency of exposure thereto. As we have noted, inciters can rapidly trigger acts of violence by individuals and groups that have already been primed via sustained, low level and long-term exposure to incitement and hate language. The impact is modified by the political and social context of a coercive, authoritarian structure and a culture of exclusivity and intolerance which shape the susceptibility of the target population to these messages.

When there exists a lack of state-level will or capability to defeat and expel those responsible for producing the incitement, decades will be required to expunge the enduring, intergenerational effects of their hate language and incitement. In cases where the regime is incapable of inducing change, the message can be negated through removing propagators from power.

De-Nazification was successful in Germany in rapidly transforming society into a "normal" democracy – even if beer hall and kitchen table hate may have persisted – because the Allies had destroyed the Nazi regime, reshaped Germany's political and social environment, and completely transformed its educational system. Under the Nazis, the population had immediately adjusted to new realities, even if many still retained their original attitudes²⁵⁹

In Rwanda, RTLM's incitement to "*kill the cockroaches*" and "*heating heads*" ended once a Tutsi exile army defeated government forces. Former bitter enemies now live side-by-side – tensely and in pain and grief, but in peace of sorts. In Cambodia, the same phenomenon occurred once the Vietnamese disassembled the Khmer Rouge.

Genocide scholar Gregory Stanton has written about building an Anti-Genocide Regime and has described examples of interventions taken by his organization, Genocide Watch and by others, to try to restore relative calm in several "hot spots".^{260 261}

Côte d'Ivoire: ²⁶²

Stanton writes that Juan Mendez, when Special Adviser to the UN Secretary General on the Prevention of Genocide, warned the President of Côte d'Ivoire, Laurent Gbagbo, that use of the Ivorian public radio station to incite "true Ivorians" against "non-Ivorians", defined as those whose grandparents had not been born in the Côte d'Ivoire, could be interpreted as incitement to genocide - and that Gbagbo could be tried by the International Criminal Court for the crime. Broadcasts on the Ivorian radio station against "foreigners" stopped the next day.

Laurent Gbagbo was captured in April 2010. The pre-trial chamber of the International Criminal Court (ICC) authorized an investigation of the violence in Côte d'Ivoire on October 3, 2011. An arrest warrant for Laurent Gbagbo was issued a few weeks later. He is charged with crimes against humanity, in particular murder, rape and other sexual violence, persecution and other inhuman acts in the context of a widespread or systematic attack directed against the civilian population within the meaning of article 7 of the Rome Statute. He has been extradited to the ICC in the Hague, where he awaits trial.

Gregory Stanton obtained the cellphone number of Charles Blé Goudé, who had made many hate speeches against "foreigners." He delivered the same message.

Complete calm was not immediately restored, but Juan Mendez's action against incitement to genocide was an effective preventive tactic against genocidal violence.

South Africa: ²⁶³

Stanton reports that the murder rate among white Boer farm owners in South Africa since 1994 has been 97 per 100,000, the highest murder rate in the world. He describes the murders as hate crimes: the victims' bodies were disembowelled, eyes gouged out, women were raped, children burned or boiled alive. Very little property was stolen. Many farm murders were committed by employees on the white Boer farmers' own farms.

For comparison: the murder rate in Columbia is 61.1 per 100,000; the average murder rate among all South Africans is 34 per 100,000 per year; murder rate in the U.S. rate is 5.9, in England it is 2.4 per 100,000, In Israel 2.6, in the Netherlands 1.4, and in Japan 0.5 per 100,000.

Stanton writes that several years ago, the President of the African National Congress Youth League, Julius Malema, revived the ANC revolutionary song, “Kill the Boer, Kill the Farmer.” He sang it at countless ANC Youth League rallies. After Malema began to sing the hate song, the murder rate of Boer farmers increased monthly.

As soon as Malema began to sing the hate songs, Genocide Watch immediately issued a Genocide Alert. Genocide Watch moved South Africa up from Stage 5 (Polarization) to Stage 6 (Preparation) on Genocide Watch's Eight Stage Scale of genocide warnings.

At some stage, a farmer sued Malema under South Africa’s “hate speech” law, which defines hate speech clearly, and states that it is unprotected by the general free speech guaranteed by South Africa’s Constitution. A South African judge found Malema guilty of hate speech and enjoined him from singing the “Kill the Boer” song. In his injunction, the South African judge directly paraphrased the analysis of incitement on the Genocide Watch website. Malema mockingly converted the song to “Kiss the Boer” and his followers continued singing the original “Kill the Boer” words. Stanton notes that on January 10, 2012, even President Zuma himself sang the “Kill the Boer” song in a public African National Congress (ANC) celebration, and again several times since. The number of farm murders increased each month.

Following his indictment, the ANC removed Julius Malema from his office as President of the ANC Youth League, and expelled him from the ANC. But now, deputy President of the ANC Youth League has called for “war” to “take back the land.”

This case is still far from settled. The African National Congress (ANC), dominated by the South African Communist Party has issued a “green paper” calling for forced land redistribution in South Africa, in violation of the South African Constitution. The Boers and all Whites are commonly referred to as “settlers” and classified as foreigners – incitement and delegitimization commonly used by those with genocidal intent.

Without total defeat of a regime committing genocidal atrocities, and top-down re-education, the prevention of genocidal terror and atrocities through precluding incitement and hate language requires effective use of the tools of

public opinion and international law to punish the inciters – as proposed by more than 150 co-signers to the Responsibility to Prevent petition against the Iranian regime.²⁶⁴

VIII Summary and Recommendations

Incitement in the Palestinian Authority and much of the Muslim world encompasses all functions of life and reaches sub-populations: men, women and children, religious and secular, people with and without higher education. In the Palestinian Authority, the harshest motifs of dehumanization and demonization are no longer found in official textbooks, but pervasive delegitimization endures in many forms.

Premise: If incitement and hate language lead to and predict norms, attitudes and behaviours which are antithetical to peace and an absence of violence, can conflict resolution be enhanced by eliminating such incitement?

The evidence presented herein indicates that substantial segments of the entire Middle Eastern populations have been exposed to an intense environment of bigotry, hate, dehumanization, demonization, delegitimization and defamation against Jews in general and, more specifically, Israel and the Zionist movement. This incitement recycles centuries-old stereotypes which predate the Arab-Israeli conflict, and have been reinforced by Christian, Nazi and Soviet anti-Semitic propaganda, often repackaged as anti-Zionism.

An abundance of evidence seems to indicate that hatred of Jews is deeply embedded in Islamic society. ^{265 266 267} Some of these negative messages originate in classic Islamic texts – which also contain other, positive, messages about the Jewish people that are generally ignored by the inciters. A few, like the *Al Wasatiyyah* (“Moderation”) Foundation founded by Mohammed Dajani, have been making an effort to retrieve and disseminate these positive messages.²⁶⁸

Population-wide exposure in Palestinian society begins with the messages many young children hear from their parents and teachers, consume via clear

educational messages and subtle hatred and stereotypes embedded in elementary and high school textbooks, and absorb through exposure in informal education settings such as summer camps, youth movements, and places of worship (sermons).

Currently, Palestinian children are indoctrinated into a narrative that renders Israel an illegal and wicked, alien colonialist entity that has stolen their land and demands that Palestinians continue to insist upon fulfilling their “right of return” to pre-1948 villages. In this narrative, the most honourable members of society, glorified as role models, are the *shahada*, who sacrifice their lives in order to kill Israeli civilians. The school curricula offer no alternative, positive narrative regarding Israel or the Jews. Many of their maps depict no Israel alongside Palestine or within the Middle East.

The exposure to such messages continues in colleges and universities, and is prevalent in the written and broadcast mainstream media, on the internet, in social media and throughout the general cultural atmospherics of the Palestinian Authority. The situation is, of course, worse in Hamas-ruled Gaza.

The message conveyed to the Palestinian population, as stated clearly in official documents, is that “the struggle will not end until the elimination of the Zionist entity and the liberation of Palestine.” Women and children are full partners in fighting the occupation. The respect shown to those imprisoned for committing and assisting in acts of terror sustains the messages of hate from generation to generation. The message of erasing Israel is the central motif that pervades the cultural life of Palestinian society, appearing everywhere: on the streets and television, in newspapers and at cultural and sporting events.

Hate language and incitement, and the violence to which they predispose, predate the establishment of the State of Israel. Israeli withdrawals from territories have not abated the incitement.

The Nazis exercised total control over the public for a mere 12 years. Iranian-state sanctioned incitement has lasted for more than 30 years, already raising the prospect of the intergenerational transmission of motifs of hate that

will become ever more embedded in society. Modern Arab incitement and hate language directed toward Jews and Israelis goes back almost a century, recycling centuries-old Islamic motifs that have been further reinforced by Nazi propaganda and Soviet anti-Semitism.

Psychologist and psychohistory expert Avner Falk and psychiatrist Daphne Burdman have shown that re-education was insufficient to effect radical change in Nazi values, norms and attitudes; the total destruction and replacement of the Nazi regime was critical to this task.

In the past, leaders of Arab nations frequently scapegoated Israel in order to divert attention away from the social, political and economic failures of their own society. Since the advent of the Arab uprisings against indigenous corruption, the impression is that demonstrators seek more relevant answers from their leaders about their countries' economic and social affairs.

But the roots of the hate may lie deeper. Citing Hezbollah's Sheik Nasrallah – “We love death more than we love life and that is why we will win” – psychologist and Genocide scholar Israel Charny has pointed out, that extremist Islamic epists and fascistic thinkers are leading a battle against not only Jews, but life itself.^{269 270} Avner Falk describes the notion of honour and dignity (*sharaf*) which is crucial to our understanding Arab and Muslim culture, in which everything must be done to erase one's humiliations and to maintain one's honour.²⁷¹ In this culture, the desire to restore their pride by waging holy war on the infidels who have injured them or their people is superior to the core value of respect for life.

The ongoing incitement against Israel and Jews in Palestinian society, rewriting of history, reinforcement of the need for armed struggle and glorifying of terrorists play a critical role in maintaining the Israeli- Palestinian conflict active and violent.

If society-wide incitement and hate language provide an indicator of incipient violence and conflict, then epidemiologic models suggest that their prevention –

together with promotion of acts of positive deviance – should reverse the causal incitement-violence relationship.

What next? Zero Tolerance for Incitement (ZT4I)

State-sponsored hate language and incitement represent an unacceptable assault on the core values of life and respect for life and human dignity. The case for redefining endemic society-wide hate language and incitement as unacceptable derives from its horrific effects throughout our region and elsewhere, most especially on the youth.

It follows that the case for taking the necessary educational, legal and administrative measures to implement a policy of Zero Tolerance for Incitement is imperative.

All agents in the conflict, particularly policymakers, need to operationalize interventions based on the premise that guns, rockets, missiles and, more ominously, nuclear weapons (in the Iranian case) are the hardware of the conflict; hate language and incitement are its software, and the airwaves, media and cyberspace are its battlegrounds. The adage that ‘sticks and stones will break my bones, but names will never hurt me’ may hold true, but it ignores the role of ‘names’ in motivating others to deploy rockets, missiles and weapons of mass destruction. To express this point, Gregory Stanton, genocide scholar and president of Genocide Watch, has recently written an article titled: *"Sticks and Stones May Break Your Bones, But Hateful Words Can Kill You."*²⁷²

Conflict resolution based on the merging of narratives – rather than addressing of historical evidence is dangerous if it encourages or condones acts of violence against the other.

It is the responsibility of all those seeking to manage, mitigate or resolve the conflict between Israel and the Arab world to recognize the centrality of officially-sanctioned hate language and incitement against Israel, and make the case for action to eliminate it. This is the obvious precondition to preventing

another generation of *shahada* from leading a campaign of genocidal terror, conflict and war.

Recommendations:

Practical measures for prevention based on epidemiological models: Early warning signs, “predict and prevent,” surveillance, exposure-effect relationships, frequency and intensity of exposure, latent periods, reversal of risk and identification of susceptible subgroups

1. Recognize the early warning signs, “predict and prevent” –
When acts of violence occur, it is generally too late to consider prevention. The presence of hate language and incitement in society means that the clock is already ticking. The findings point to the need for counter-measures aimed not only against the violence, but also against the incitement and hate language which preceded and enhanced the violence.
2. Use epidemiologic surveillance to track early warning signs
 - Incitement and hate language should be monitored, in different locations and communities, as an early warning sign. Surveillance and monitoring of trends in frequency and intensity of incitement and hate language should be carried out regularly. Accordingly, intervention will be proactive, rather than reactive. The model for such intervention is the routine surveillance of air pollutants and trace pesticides in food. The Incitement and Peace Index developed by the Israeli Ministry of Strategic Affairs is an example of such monitoring.
 - The Palestinian Authority should be held responsible for lowering the rate of the various types of incitement in its realms.
 - Set up regional and international networks to track incitement and hate language, including threats against vulnerable ethnic groups and populations around the world. Such a centre should be funded by international organizations and similar to international networks surveying early warning signs of epidemic reportable diseases.
3. Identify susceptible groups and promote reversal of risk

The Rose Model shows that a population is at higher risk once “primed” by exposure to background “low” incitement and hate language. In fact, the mean of this population may generate higher extremes of violence and willingness to carry out atrocity crimes. Transforming these individuals or groups and restoring mainstream attitudes of "live and let live" is now much more difficult.²⁷³

Our models suggest that intervention programs targeted at individuals and high-risk subgroups will have a greater chance of success if background exposure, even in low levels, is eliminated.

Implications:

- Halt the funding for institutions which support, condone, sponsor and distribute incitement
- Promote narratives which are based on core values of respect for life and human dignity. Narratives not rooted in these core values lead to moral equivalence - as we can see in the glorification of acts of terror, which are nothing more than crimes against humanity.

4. Promote Zero Tolerance for Incitement

Zero Tolerance for Incitement (ZT4I), even during periods of political conflict, will sustain a culture of “live and let live”, even if imperfect.

- a. Oppose and stop explicit incitement to commit acts of violence (Grade 1 in the Incitement and Peace Culture Index) or to harm a specific national, ethnic, religious or racial group. Use available tools of international law to against perpetrators of incitement to genocide.
- b. When the killing of an ethnic, religious, national or racial group is already underway and all measures short of force have failed, tougher measures should be directed action against the source of the incitement. For example, bombing the Radio Télévision Libre des Mille Collines station in Rwanda could have saved hundreds of thousands of lives because it would have crippled the Rwandan regime’s capacity to organize, instruct, inform and incite its genocidaires.²⁷⁴ The same

holds true for blocking the radio waves of Palestinian radio stations, if they broadcast incitement and hate language.

- c. Stop lower-scale incitement (Grades 2-4 in the Index) which increases susceptibility to violence and has longer-term effects. Make an effort to reverse its effects by way of positive deviance.

For example, PA school textbooks should be republished – removing passages such as “armed struggle to the death” and including new entries presenting Jews as individuals and human beings, and Israel as a neighbouring state in the Middle East – for the sake of promoting a culture of peace. The same holds true for Jewish textbooks (especially in the ultra-religious private education system), which should present Palestinians as individuals and human beings with legitimate national aspirations. Palestinian and Israeli curricula should relate to the cities and holy places of the other

- d. Palestinian religious leaders should not be allowed to call for the destruction of Israel in their televised Friday sermons
- e. Education in summer camps and other venues should promote core values such as respect for life, and live and let live – rather than messages promoting death and armed struggle

5. Promote positive deviance:

- Use the techniques of social motivation to create social environments and norms that honour and respect positive role models — i.e. highlight and promote persons who rescue threatened groups and or promote peace
- Leverage cooperation in everyday life – business, agriculture, education, health, etc. – to strengthen reconciliation. Using health and welfare as a shared goal to promote and develop new ideas for regional cooperation is a particularly effective strategy in countering the effects of incitement via programs which produce real benefits. Regional Israeli-Palestinian projects address issues relating to health, agriculture and the environment; one good example is the regional MERC program, currently

funded at under \$2.5 million per annum, which could be strengthened substantially.

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Appendix I - Biblical and other religious sources for Respect for Life

The value of choosing life over death first appeared in the Bible as one of the Seven Laws of Noah (the Noahide Code), which obligated all mankind as in Genesis 9:6 “Whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed; for in the image of God made He man.”²⁷⁵ According to Jewish tradition, the Talmud goes even further back in time with its interpretation of Genesis 2:16 “And the Lord God commanded the man” - assigning six of these seven laws to Adam in the Garden of Eden.²⁷⁶

The Jewish people are instructed clearly to protect life in the Ten Commandments: “Thou shalt not murder”, Exodus 20:12 and Deuteronomy 5:16,²⁷⁷ repeated in Leviticus 24:17.²⁷⁸ The call to choose life over death appears again in Deuteronomy 30:19 “I call heaven and earth to witness against you today, that I have set before you life and death, the blessing and the curse. *So choose life in order that you may live, you and your descendants.*”²⁷⁹ Leviticus 18:5 strengthens Judaism’s high value of life: “You shall keep my decrees and my laws that a person will do and live by them, I am God.” Leviticus 19:16 “You shall not stand by the blood of your fellow,” is considered the source of the Jewish *Mitzvah*, commandment, Pikuach Nefesh – placing the act of saving a life above all other religious considerations and decrees.

These values are repeated many times in holy texts of other religions: Matthew 5:21, Matthew 19:18, Mark 10:19, Luke 18:20, Romans 13:9, James 2:11, Koran 17:33, Surah Al-Maaida 5:32, and others.

Examples:

Matthew 19, 17-19: ¹⁷ “*Why do you ask me about what is good?*” Jesus replied. “*There is only One who is good. If you want to enter life, keep the commandments.*”

¹⁸ *“Which ones?” he inquired. Jesus replied, “You shall not murder, you shall not commit adultery, you shall not steal, you shall not give false testimony, ¹⁹ honour your father and mother,’ and ‘love your neighbor as yourself.’ ”*

Surah Al-Maaida (5:32) *Therefore We ordained for the Children of Israel that he who slays a soul unless it be (in punishment) for murder or for spreading mischief on earth shall be as if he had slain all mankind; and he who saves a life shall be as if he had given life to all mankind. And indeed again and again did Our Messengers come to them with clear directives; yet many of them continued to commit excesses on earth.*

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which was developed following the horrors of the World War II and the atrocities of the Holocaust, gives legal authority to these internationally accepted ethical norms, Article 1: "All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights, Article 3: the right to life, liberty and security of person." ²⁸⁰

Many Biblical stories describe the wars of the Hebrews and their enemies, some of which would be considered genocidal today.

Using theories of Life to promote Death

Nazi propaganda claimed: *“We are building our new state on the basis of race and community, our race, the German people. We believe that God gave us our blood not to ruin it, but to keep it pure and pass it on to our children and our children’s children. That is eternity. That is our defense against the dark powers of Marxism, Bolshevism, liberalism, Free Masonry and a belief in the Messiah, the Jewish doctrine of salvation. That is a teaching that affirms life”* ²⁸¹

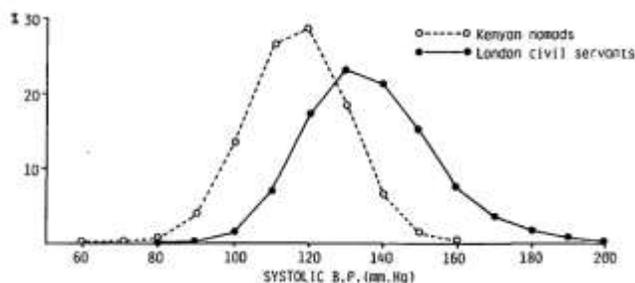
Claiming life for one nation, religion or ethnic group at the expense of the lives of others, who are deemed unworthy, or inhuman, is an ethical inversion.

Nazi doctors and experts in Public Health became leaders in implementing the Final Solution to make Europe ‘Judenrein’, i.e. "clean of Jews." They also carried out many inhuman scientific medical experiments on Jewish subjects, whom they regarded as sub-human lab specimens.

Similarly, ethically flawed theories of race led to classification of Rwandans into short Hutus and tall Tutsis differentiated by nose lengths, carefully measured by Belgian anthropologists.

Anti-semitic Jihadist jargon today, calls Jews and Zionists “sons of apes and pigs” and calls for their death under racist theories, promising those who perform these actions a reward from God.

Appendix II – Geoffrey Rose, Sick individuals and sick populations



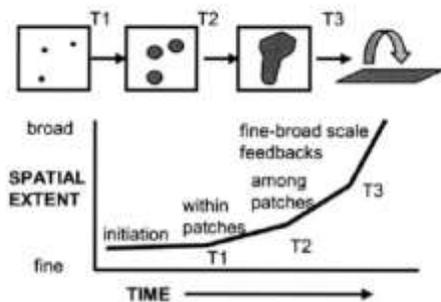
The figure shows the systolic blood pressure distributions of middle-aged men in two populations—Kenyan nomads and London civil servants.

“The question, ‘Why do some individuals have higher blood pressure than others?’ could be equally well asked in either of these settings, since in each the individual blood pressures vary (proportionately) to about the same extent - and the answers might well be much the same in each instance (that is, mainly genetic variation, with a lesser component from environmental and behavioural differences). But this view misses the most important public health question, namely, ‘Why is hypertension absent in the Kenyans and common in London?’ The answer to that question has to do with the determinants of the population mean. What distinguishes the two groups is nothing to do with the characteristics of individuals, it is rather a shift of the whole distribution—a mass influence acting on the population as a whole.”

Appendix III – Application of epidemiologic models in social sciences

In the field of Ecology, Peters et al present epidemiologic models of cross-scale interactions and nonlinearities in forecasting of catastrophic events.²⁸² The authors compare spread of disease to wildfires and desertification. The absolute rate and extent of the spread of infectious diseases are determined by host, agent, and event, but fundamental features of spread can be captured by a more general framework.

A model of spread of disease: Initiation of a disease (stage 1) is often followed by spread within the family and community (stage 2). This is primarily a function of population density, organism susceptibility, and local clustering.²⁸³ The disease can die out or spread. If the disease spreads, then a second threshold at which the disease spreads to other populations (stage 3) can be crossed. Positive and negative feedbacks among hosts may be important regulators of spread for some diseases (e.g., Lyme disease).²⁸⁴ For communities with “low connectivity” among organisms, the rate of spread can decelerate at stage 3 and the disease eventually dies out (e.g., smallpox).²⁸⁵ By contrast, systems with “high connectivity” can experience widespread dispersal among communities, for example pandemics, or the rapid international transport of Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome (SARS) among humans.²⁸⁶



(from: Peters et al., 2004)

Smith et al discuss host–pathogen time series data in wildlife support and develop mathematical models to elucidate a pathogen’s transmission dynamics.²⁸⁷ Transmission could plausibly incorporate elements which are both density- and frequency-dependent (number of contacts and rate of contacts).^{288 289 290}

The use of epidemiologic models to assess motivation of individuals emerged in the context of the prevalence-dependence, the idea of “disinhibition”, which suggests that individuals change their behaviour as the prevalence of a disease changes.^{291 292 293 294 295 296 297} For example, Fenichel et al describe adaptive human behaviour in epidemiologic models.²⁹⁸ They discuss public policy to manage epidemics, focusing on motivating people through social distancing policies, to alter their behaviour to reduce contacts and reduce public disease risk.

Bettencourt et al use epidemiologic principles to describe quantitative modelling of the spread of ideas.²⁹⁹ The authors discuss a wide range of “traits” transmitted between individuals, communities, or regions (within specific temporal or spatial scales), which can be described by epidemiologic models. Traits may include (i) a communicable disease such as measles³⁰⁰ or HIV;³⁰¹ (ii) a cultural characteristic such as a religious belief, a fad,^{302 303 304 305} an innovation,³⁰⁶ or fanatic behaviour;³⁰⁷ (iii) an addiction such as drug use or a disorder;³⁰⁸ or (iv) information spread through, e.g., rumours,^{309 310} e-mail messages,³¹¹ weblogs,³¹² or peer-to-peer computer networks.³¹³

‘Mass psychogenic illness’ (MPI), also called mass sociogenic illness,³¹⁴ is “the rapid spread of illness signs and symptoms affecting members of a cohesive group, originating from a nervous system disturbance involving excitation, loss or alteration of function, whereby physical complaints that are exhibited unconsciously have no corresponding organic aetiology.”³¹⁵ DSM-IV-TR³¹⁶ describes these phenomena under the blanket term “Mass hysteria” - “In ‘epidemic hysteria,’ shared symptoms develop in a circumscribed group of people following ‘exposure’ to a common precipitant.” Similar phenomena have been known since the Middle Ages, as “dancing manias”.³¹⁷ Such “outbreaks” have been described in workplaces^{318 319 320} and in schools.^{321 322}

Conversion disorder may develop following a threatening situation. There can be a group effect with many people simultaneously developing similar symptoms.^{323 324 325}

The idea that social changes can occur in the mechanism of an epidemic, that just a little input is enough to start a change which can spread very quickly, and that ideas can be contagious in exactly the same way that a virus is, is also discussed in “The Tipping Point”, by Malcolm Gladwell, based on models from epidemiology.³²⁶ Gladwell presents an example of a very strange epidemic of teenage suicide in the South Pacific islands of Micronesia. In the 1970's and 1980's, Micronesia had teen suicide rates ten times higher than anywhere else in the world. Teenagers were literally being “infected” with the suicide “bug”, and one after another they were killing themselves in exactly the same way under exactly the same circumstances.

Appendix IV – Legislation restricting hate speech in various countries

Article 20 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights requires “[a]ny advocacy of national, racial or religious hatred that constitutes incitement to discrimination, hostility or violence” to be “prohibited by law.”³²⁷
³²⁸ ³²⁹ Following a series of anti-Semitic incidents, multiple U.N. member states entered into the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, requiring parties to punish: “*all dissemination of ideas based on racial superiority or hatred, incitement to racial discrimination, as well as all acts of violence or incitement to such acts against any race or group of persons of another colour or ethnic origin, and also the provision of any assistance to racist activities, including the financing thereof.*”³³⁰ ³³¹

Countries which have restricted hate speech include: Australia, Austria, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, Cyprus, Denmark, England, France, Germany, India, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Sweden, and Switzerland.³³² ³³³ ³³⁴ ³³⁵

Tthesis outlines the legal restrictions on freedom of speech made by various democratic countries, in order to prevent misuse of this right. Some examples:

Canada	<p>Restrictions on hate propaganda, upholding the Canadian Human Rights Act’s prohibition against the use of telephonic communications equipment to spread group hatred ^{336 337} “...There is a need for necessary balance between a multiethnic society’s need to protect dignity and an individual’s right to self-expression.” ^{338 339 340}</p> <p>The Canadian Human Rights Act of 1999 addressed the use of hate language against a group via cyberspace (internet) ³⁴¹</p>	
France	<p>Prohibits abuses of free speech – even though it is “one of the most precious of the rights of man” ^{342 343 344} This includes Holocaust denial ³⁴⁵</p>	
United States	<p>Laws against “incitement to discrimination, hatred and violence”³⁴⁶</p>	
Germany	<p>Penalty of imprisonment for attacking the human dignity of others by: (1) inciting people to hate particular segments of the population; (2) advocating “violent or arbitrary measures against them”; and (3) “insulting them, maliciously exposing them to contempt or slandering them” ³⁴⁷</p> <p>Criminalizing the use of computer technology to disseminate antidemocratic group propaganda. ³⁴⁸</p> <p>Case of Holocaust denial ³⁴⁹</p>	
Britain	<p>Criminalizes hateful propaganda referring “to colour, race, nationality (including citizenship) or ethnic or national origins.” It requires proof of intention and is not applicable in every scenario.³⁵⁰</p> <p>In protection of free speech, religious criticism is allowed ³⁵¹</p>	
Australia	<p>Similar to British law. Free speech is safeguarded as an implied constitutional right. ^{352 353 354 355}</p>	
Scandina via	Denmark, ³⁵⁶	<p>Distinction between criticism of ideas and stigmatizing of individuals.</p> <p>Public Prosecutions did not prosecute a Danish</p>

		newspaper that printed twelve cartoons critical of radical Islam: “Depictions of Muhammad, which is prohibited by some sects of Islam, is unlikely to cause serious fear for personal well-being nor is it likely to constitute an extreme form of degradation.” ^{357 358}
	Finland, ³⁵⁹	
	Sweden ^{360 361} 362	
	Norway ^{363 364}	Prohibited - Inciting propaganda that relies on racial, xenophobic, ethnocentric, and homophobic hatred directed against specific groups or individuals. The bare expression of racism or ethnocentrism is not actionable. ^{365 366}

Appendix V

Case studies from past events of mass violence, and typology of mass violence episodes

Year	Place	Type of conflict/ atrocity scenario	perpetrators	Victims	bystanders & supporters	No. killed (approx.)	Was there incitement ?
6 th - 7 th Cent.	Mid East including today's Israel	Religious conquest - Islamic Jihad	Islamic Jihadists, headed by Abu Bakr	Jewish , Christians, Samaritan peasants	Hijaz, Najd, and Yemen	4,000-40,000	Yes
1095	Byzantine Empire	Religious conquest – the first Crusade	Christian crusaders	Hungary, Turks in , Antioch	Church	Hundreds of thousands?	Yes, Pope Urban II speech

				hia and elsewhere, Jews, Muslims			
1492	Spain	Expulsion of unwanted group	King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella	Jews	Church	100,000 to 800,000 expelled	Yes
	Tribes in North, Central, South America	Colonialism, killing, expulsion, control	Colonialists - many nationalities	Many			??
1800-1869	Tasmania	Colonialism	British colonists	Tasmanian Aborigines		hundreds to thousands	?
1904-1908	Namibia	Colonialism, conquest, expulsion, starvation	German colonists	Herero and Nama tribes	?	65,000 Herero, 10,000 Nama	?
1915-1918	Armenia	Ideological selective killing of non-Turk ethnic groups	Ottoman Empire (Muslim)	Armenians, Assyrians, Greeks, Yezidis	Many	600,000 – 1,500,000	Yes
1931-1934	Soviets	Brutal communist regime – political expulsion & killing, starvation, gulags	Soviets, led by Stalin	Political dissidents, religious figures		4-8 million?	Yes, by the Party
1939-1945	Europe	The Holocaust – planned, orchestrated, ideological killing of Non-Arians	German Nazis	Mainly Jews, also Poles, Roma, Soviets, the sick, & the	Many	6,000,000 Jews Up to 5 million others	Yes, intense, population-wide

				mentally retarded, political dissidents			
1941-1945	Croatia	Ideological killing of people “not Croat by blood”, race laws and concentration camps	Ustaša - Croatian Revolutionary Movement, headed by Starčević	Serbs, Jews & Roma	Supporters: Nazis Bystanders: – priests (Miroslav Filipović joined Ustaša)	350,000 – 750,000	Yes
1948-today	Israel	Territory conflict: Middle East Israeli-Palestinian conflict Wars: neighboring countries aim to destroy Israel	Israelis, Palestinians, & Neighbouring Arab nations: Egypt, Syria, Jordan, Lebanon, Iraq War of Independence (1948), Sinai War (1956), Six Day War (1967), Yom Kippur War (1973), 1 st and 2 nd Lebanon wars, 1 st and 2 nd Intifada terror attacks & IDF military campaigns		??	60,000 Palestinian and other Arab (By some estimates several thousand more in Lebanon) 23,000 Jewish military	Much incitement – presenting Israel as a criminal State that has no right to exist
1949-1965	Tibet	Territory, control - famine	Chinese republic, led by Mao	Tibetans	?	800,000 – 20 million? 40 million?	?
1954 - 1962	Algeria	Colonialism	French	Algerians	??	250,000 – 500,000	?
1955 - today	North Korea	<i>Juche</i> (self-reliant) state. Brutal Communist regime – gulags, starvation of dissidents	Single-party personality cult government led by Kim Il-sung	Political dissidents	China, Soviet Union	Torture in concentration camps 150,000-200,000 Famine/ mass starvation in 1990s	
1955	Sudan	Civil War	Government	Political	?	500,000?	?

- 1972			nt	dissidents			
1962 - 1970	Yemen	Civil war	Yemenite Gvmt, with Egypt, Saudi involveme nt	Political dissidents	?	100,000- 150,000	?
1965- 1966	Indonesia	Civil war, control	Political groups, selective killing			200,000?	
1967- 1970	Biafra, Nigeria	Civil war, blockade, starvation	?????	Ibo	????- Algeria, Egypt, the Sudan	2 million	?
1971	Bangladesh (East Pakistan)	Selective organized killing of minorities	Pakistan army	Hindus, Biharis, Razakars & others		200,000 – 3 Million?	?
1972	Burundi	Selective killing, Massacre	Tutsi	Hutu		15,000 - 300,000	?
1975- 1978	Cambodia	Brutal Communist regime – forced work, famine & killing of ethnic groups	Khmer Rouge	Urban Cambodia ns, Chinese, Vietnames e, Thai		1.7-2.5 millions	?
1975 - 1990	Lebanon	Civil war	Lebanese army Israeli involveme nt (1982)	Political dissidents	?	1975-77 >100,000 War with Israel - 10,000?	?
1977 - today	Somalia	Civil war, control conflict, famine/ selective starvation?	Somalis			350,000 – 1 million	?
1979 - today	Afghanistan	Brutal Communist regime, control Later civil	Soviets Afghanis American	Afghanis		Initial >1 million? Another 1 million in internal civil	?

		war	war against terror			war? Since 2001: 18,000 (& 15,000 American soldiers)	
1980' - today	Iraq	Brutal regime Ethnic killing (Kurds 1988) Religious conflict (Sunis vs Shiites) Iraq-Iran war	Iraqi Gvmt led by Saddam Hussein American war against terror (2003)	Iraqi Civilians Kurds, Iran-Iraq war Missiles launched at Israel (1991)		200,000- 300,000 Kurds 250,000 - 1 million? (Saddam Hussein) <100,000 Since 2003?	?
1983 - today	Sudan	Civil war? Selective killing, Massacre	Governme nt	Non- Islamic citizens	Many	?	?
1983 - 2009	Sri Lanka	Political conflict, control, territory	Government Sinhalese & rebel LTTE Tamils		?	28,000 LTTE fighters, 24,000 Sri Lankan military >1000 Indian soldiers	Both sides committed atrocities
1991- 2000 1995	Bosnia- Herzegovina Yugoslavia Srebrenica	Territorial conflict – leading to systematic, selective killing Gendecide – killing all men	Serbs, led by Milosevic	Bosniaks	Dutch peace keepers	25,000 to 750,000 Srebrenica 7,000- 10,000	Yes, media
1994	Rwanda	Selective coordinated killing	Hutu	Tutsi	Many	800,000- 1,000,000	Yes, intense, media
1994 - 1996 ... 2006	Chechnya	Territory/ Control -- Battle to separate from	Chechnya vs Russia Brutal communist regime vs Chechnyan terror		?	65,000 – 300,000 ?	Both sides committed atrocities?

		Russian Federation, terror					
1996	Congo	Civil war, corruption, greed,	Many internal groups	Everyone?	Many	Estimated 6.9 million??	?
1990-s - today	Iran vs Israel	Genocidal threats, support of terror	Iranian Islamic regime, led by Ahmadinejad	Israel	Muslim world	Many threats to destroy Israel, Terror victims via proxies (Hamas, Hezbollah)	Yes, intense
2003 ff	Darfur	Mass killing pillaging, rape, expulsions	Central Gov of Sudan	Darfuris	Many	200,000 – 600,000?	Some
2011- today	Kordofan, Darfur	Selective killing, bombing	Sudanese government President Al-Bashir	Ethnic Nuba mountains citizens	African Union Mission in Sudan (AMIS), Rwanda and Nigeria have tried to assist	Hundreds?	?
2011	Libya	Civil uprising	Gaddafi	Opponents		Thousands?	Both sides committed atrocities
2011 - today	Syria	Brutal suppression of rural uprising against government	Assad	Population-wide rebellion		5000-10,000?	No

* This table does not mention mass rape used as a weapon of war

367 , 368, 369, 370, 371, 372 , 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378 , 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412

Appendix VI

The role of Incitement in past mass atrocity scenarios, including genocides, genocidal massacres and other violent events

* Genocidal Terror – definition: Terror groups targeting people or civilian who belong to a specific nationality or ethnic group are waging a campaign of “genocidal terror.” “Regular” terrorists would kill people for political aims, for ransom, and so on. ⁴¹³

Islamic Jihad in the 1st Century

In “The legacy of Jihad - Islamic War and the Fate of Non-Muslims” ⁴¹⁴ Andrew Bostom cites scholars who present Sura 9 of the Qur’an as “a chapter of war proclamations,”⁴¹⁵ specifically verses 9.29 to 9.35, “a proclamation of war against Jews and Christians.”

Surah Al-Tawba ⁴¹⁶ (29) *And the Jews say: Ezra is the son of Allah, and the Christians say: The Messiah is the son of Allah. That is their saying with their mouths. They imitate the saying of those who disbelieved of old. Allah (Himself) fighteth against them. How perverse are they! (33) O ye who believe! Lo! Many of the (Jewish) rabbis and the (Christian) monks devour the wealth of mankind wantonly and debar (men) from the way of Allah. They who hoard up gold and silver and spend it not in the way of Allah, unto them give tidings (O Muhammad) of a painful doom, (34) On the day when it will (all) be heated in the fire of hell, and their foreheads and their flanks and their backs will be branded therewith... (35)So wrong not yourselves in them. And wage war on all of the idolaters as they are waging war on all of you. And know that Allah is with those who keep their duty (unto Him).*

Bat Yeor describes Arab Muslim conquests: ⁴¹⁷

“Abu Bakr organized the invasion of Syria [Syro-Palestine] which Muhammad had already envisaged. He gathered tribes from Hijaz, Najd, and Yemen and advised Abu Ubayda, in charge of operations in the Golan, to plunder the countryside, but due to lack of weaponry to refrain from attacking towns.

Consequently, the whole Gaza region up to Cesarea was sacked and devastated in the campaign of 634. Four thousand Jewish, Christian and Samaritan peasants who defended their land were massacred. The villages of the Negev were pillaged by Amr b. al As, while the Arabs overrun the countryside, cut communication, and made roads perilous. Towns such as Jerusalem, Gaza, Jaffa, Cesarea, Nablus and Beth Shean were isolated and closed their gates...

According to [the Muslim chronicler] Baladhuri (d892 C.E.), 40,000 Jews lived in Cesarea alone at the Arab conquest, after which all trace of them is lost.”

Anti-Semitism and Blood Libel in history

Since medieval times, Jews have been accused of kidnapping Christian children, crucifying them, and using their blood as an ingredient in Passover matzah. ^{418 419 420 421 422 423 424}

Myths of blood libels and of missing children were often used to incite anti-Semitic mobs to carry out pogroms in various parts of Europe and elsewhere, e.g. Iraq.^{425 426 427}

The First Crusade, Byzantine Empire, 1095

Pope Urban II preached “the First Crusade” speech, on November 27, 1095, at the Council of Clermont. He encouraged Christians to recover the holy land from the rule of the Muslims as a holy duty. This example highlights the power and influence of religious leaders, to motivate believers to a frenzy of violence. Several transcriptions are available:^{428 429 430 431}

“Urged by necessity, I, Urban, by the permission of God ...have come as an ambassador with a divine admonition to you, the servants of God... For your brethren who live in the east are in urgent need of your help, and you must hasten to give them the aid which has often been promised them. For,the Turks and Arabs have attacked themand occupied more and more of the

lands of those Christians, and have overcome them ...They have killed and captured many, and have destroyed the churches and devastated the empire.”

“If you permit them to continue thus..., the faithful of God will be much more widely attacked by them. On this account I, or rather the Lord, beseech you as Christ's heralds to publish this everywhere and to persuade all people of whatever rank, foot-soldiers and knights, poor and rich, to carry aid promptly to those Christians and to destroy that vile race from the lands of our friends....Moreover, Christ commands it.”

Spain, 1492

Historian Heinrich Graetz: “the populace was inflamed by the passionate eloquence of the preacher [and] emphasized his teaching by violent assaults on the Jews.”⁴³²

Historian Joseph Pérez writes: *For centuries, Christians had been encouraged to hate the Jews. With preachers telling them, Sunday after Sunday, that Jews were perverted and guilty of complicity in the death of Christ, the faithful ended up by detesting them with a hatred that was bound one day to express itself in violence.*⁴³³

Once the verbal hatred was unleashed, the expulsion of Jews from Spain followed naturally.⁴³⁴

King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella expelled the entire Jewish population from Spain in 1492, after years of Inquisition propaganda and teachings by zealous preachers, which brought on a nationwide anti-Semitic / anti-Jewish atmosphere.^{435 436 437 438 439}

Earlier, a Castilian decree discriminated against Jews in employment, dress, and criminal punishments.⁴⁴⁰

This example illustrates the power of a repeated message and its result

The Ottoman Empire / Turkey

Rudolph Joseph Rummel, in "Death by Government" ⁴⁴¹ describes ideological racism in Turkish social behaviour,:

"The spirit of Nationalism also infected the Young Turks. They believed in the "classic Turk", in a Golden Age during which the Turks manifested all the Great Virtues. They glorified Turkism, and like the Nazis, believed in themselves as a Master Race. They desired a new Turkey that would unite all ethnic Turks into one great nation, undistracted and unweakened by rebellious minorities. This new nation, they believed, would be a basic force on world history."

Dadrian, an Armenian scholar, writes: ⁴⁴²

"While they themselves were atheists, the Young Turks used Islam to turn on the Muslim masses against the Armenians, whom they saw as a severe obstacle to this united and pure Great Turkey. They referred to the eradication of 'dangerous microbes' in the body politic."

Turkey claims that genocides against its ethnic minorities did not occur. Representatives of the Armenians, Assyrians and Greeks claim that Turkey refrains from acknowledging property claims, and that it is using its education system to indoctrinate students in this manner. ⁴⁴³

"Turkey continues to deny that any minorities have suffered Genocide under its rule. The Turkish Ministry of Education on primary and secondary schools issued a circular and schools, including minority schools,attesting that the Armenians, Greeks and the Assyrians have never suffered extermination in Turkey. The students are urged to write against allegations of genocide and..... to use such expressions as massacres perpetrated by Armenians, and presumably by Assyrians. Such expressions as the Turks may have killed Armenians are not to be used in these essays."

"BE IT RESOLVED that it is the conviction of the International Association of Genocide Scholars (IAGS) that the Ottoman campaign against Christian minorities of the Empire between 1914 and 1923 constituted a genocide against Armenians, Assyrians, and Pontian and Anatolian Greeks." ⁴⁴⁴

The Association and other scholars have called upon the Turkish government to acknowledge the genocides, to issue a formal apology, and to take steps toward restitution. ^{445 446 447 448 449}

Donef, Assyrian scholar: ⁴⁵⁰

On 30 September 1930, Justice Minister Bozkurt said: "The Turk is only master in his country. Those who are not pure Turks have one right in the country: the right to be servants, the right to be slaves."

Donef: ⁴⁵¹Since laws were passed restricting certain professions to Turks only. In 1938-40 the "Citizen, speak Turkish!" campaign began and there were reportedly frequent assaults against non-Turks. The Government banned speaking languages other than Turkish in public.

Turkish researcher Akar on the ⁴⁵² "Wealth Tax" (1942). Reportedly... Muslims paid from 5 up to 25 percent tax, non-Muslims paid from 50 percent, while Armenians paid the highest tax at 236 percent. Those who could not pay this tax were sent to labour camps in Aşkale, to work on the railroads.

The Turkish Penal Code does disallows discussion of the fate of Armenians, Assyrians, and Pontian and Anatolian Greek populations by the Ottoman Empire. ^{453 454 455 456 457 458 459 460 461 462}...this is considered "inciting racial or ethnic enmity."

Hate speech can be used in several conflicting ways – either to incite hatred against groups which are considered unworthy, or to confine these same groups' rights and prevent them from speaking out

Russia and the Soviet Union

Lenin described the bourgeoisie as parasites, insects, leeches, bloodsuckers.⁴⁶³

Stalin used a pseudo-medical term --'Purge' ('chitki') to describe members of ethnic minorities, former members of the bourgeois and kulak classes

In 1988, the Soviets used the term 'Ethnic Purge' ('*etnicheskie chistki*') to describe expulsions of Azerbaijanis from Nagorno-Karabakh. ⁴⁶⁴

Stalin in the early 1930's used artificially produced mass famines to kill millions of Ukrainians.^{465 466 467 468}

Stalin later deported ('korenizatsiia') over two million people of these groups to slave labour camps in Siberia.

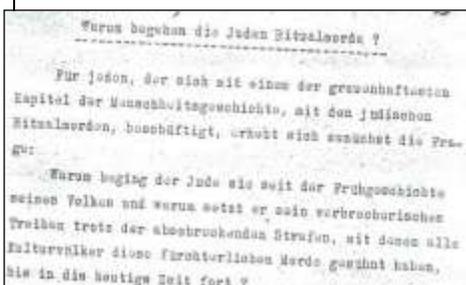
Nazi Germany - Hate language and Incitement from the top down
Hitler called the Jews: 'parasites, plague, cancer, tumour, bacillus, bloodsucker, blood poisoner, lice, vermin, bedbugs, fleas, racial tuberculosis' on the German body that would supposedly be killed with the 'Jewish disease.'

469 470

Later, the Nazis used the term 'Judenrein' which means 'Jew-free', to stigmatize the victim group as a carrier of filth and disease, and then, as the disease itself to be eradicated. The term predated the term 'Ethnic Cleansing', a euphemism often used by perpetrators to justify their genocidal actions and by bystanders to rationalize inaction. ⁴⁷¹

Motifs of "cleansing" the body politic and allegations that these measures were necessary to protect public health were used by the anti-Semitic perpetrators of the Holocaust. ⁴⁷²

Use of the alleged "Ritual" Blood Libel "for ceremonies". Example: an article from 1942 written for Nazi "Office for Police Matters", titled "Warum Begehen die Juden Ritualmorde", "Why do the Jews Commit Ritual Murder?"⁴⁷³



“Why do the Jews Commit Ritual Murder?”

In the Weimar Republic, the entire population was exposed to repeated anti-Semitic propaganda of outspoken ideologues. Julius Streicher published weekly Anti-semitic stories of Jewish ritual murder and sexual exploitation in *Der Stürmer* ⁴⁷⁴, His slogan: “The Jews are our misfortune!” adapted from an 1879 article by historian Professor Heinrich von Treitschke.^{475 476 477 478 479} These motifs gained public legitimization. By the 1930s, Streicher’s newspaper was used as a teaching tool by elementary school teachers.^{480 481}

Nazi propaganda used scenes of rats juxtaposed with stereotypes of Jews, depicted as the carriers and purveyors of filth and disease, to induce disgust and revulsion. Goebbels used aggressive repetition of simple crude messages and images to propagate revulsion and hate towards Jews. He adopted the

advertising techniques of Edward Bernays, a psychologist who developed campaigns for the tobacco companies. ^{482 483}



While the Nazis claimed that the Jews have a plan for taking over the world, it was actually the Nazis themselves who had a “World View” and a plan to implement it. ⁴⁸⁴

The above is an example of Inversion, or Mirroring- Perpetrators blame their victims for things they are doing themselves

Seventy years of political anti-Semitism preceded the discriminatory Nürnberg Laws. In 1921, the German student union, the “Deutschen Hochschulring,” barred Jews from membership, including converts to Christianity. Informal and then formal boycotts of Jewish businesses were organized by Nazi leadership. Nazi representatives stood by Jewish shops,

preventing customers from entering; shop windows were routinely smashed and shop owners threatened.⁴⁸⁵

The Nurnberg Laws, (September 15, 1935), classified people with four German grandparents as "German or kindred blood" and as "Jews" - if they had three or four Jewish grandparents. A person with one or two Jewish grandparents was defined "mixed blood" *Mischling*. The laws excluded German Jews from Reich citizenship and prohibited marriage or sexual relations with persons of "German or related blood."^{486 487 488}

During the 12 years of Nazi rule, they pioneered using mass media, radio, film, and the educational system to propagate genocidal incitement, most virulently against Jews, but also against Roma, gays, trade unionists, socialists and communists, as well as against Germans with disability or mental disease.⁴⁸⁹

The totalitarian rule of Nazi Germany, with its control of all resources of the State, produced an environment of coercion, control, direction and instruction. *But the Nazi propaganda did not explicitly and publicly declare that their objective was genocidal extermination of Jews and other groups. They concealed this objective from the outside world with euphemisms and code words (e.g. "Final Solution", Aktion) and did everything they could to conceal the mass murders in the death camps.*

In the Charter of the International Military Tribunal, August 8, 1945 (Nurnberg), Streicher is quoted as saying:⁴⁹⁰

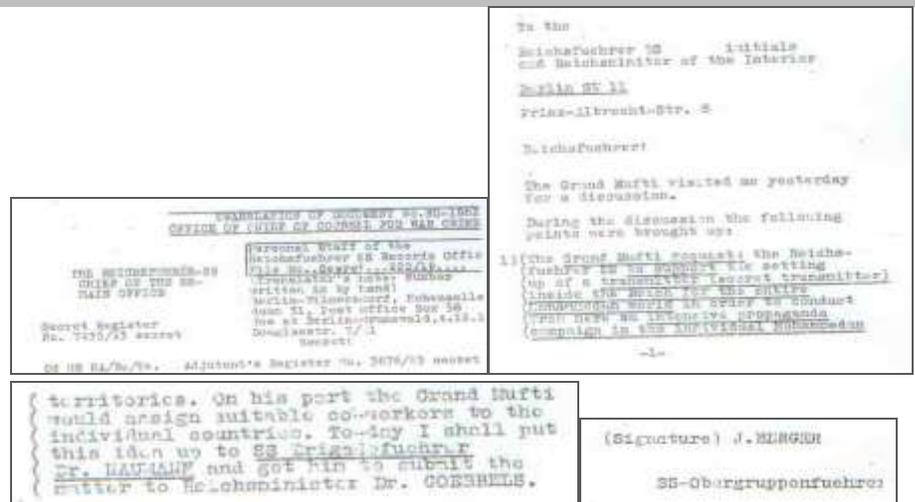
"A punitive expedition must come against the Jews in Russia. A punitive expedition which will provide the same fate for them that every murder and criminal must expect: Death sentence and execution. The Jews in Russia must be killed. They must be exterminated root and branch."

He also published: *"If the danger of the reproduction of that curse of God in the Jewish blood is finally to come to an end, then there is only one way the extermination of that people whose father is the devil."*

Streicher was sentenced to death by the Nurnberg War Crimes Tribunal, for his role in producing and spreading anti-Semitic incitement.

Campaigns of classification and symbolization followed by dehumanization, demonization, delegitimization, double standards, and disinformation, produced willing killers and complicit bystanders.

Here we see the not infrequent progression: Antilocution [Hate Speech, verbal remarks against a person, group or community] → Discrimination → . . . Violence.⁴⁹¹



Nazi propaganda, from the 3rd Reich → to the Islamic world
 Islamic authoritarian fascism in the Middle East recycles anti Semitic motifs of “filth” and “disease” that were exported into the region in the 1930’s by Nazi propaganda.

In 1941, the Grand Mufti Haj Amin al-Husseini met with Adolf Hitler, Heinrich Himmler, Joachim Von Ribbentrop and other Nazi leaders in Germany.⁴⁹² He wanted to persuade them to extend the Nazis’ anti-Jewish program to the Arab world. The Mufti sent Hitler 15 drafts of declarations he wanted Germany and Italy to make concerning the Middle East. One called on the two countries to declare the illegality of the Jewish home in Palestine, and to “accord to Palestine and to other Arab countries the right to solve the problem of the Jewish elements in Palestine and other Arab countries, in accordance with

the interest of the Arabs and, by the same method that the question is now being settled in the Axis countries [i.e. extermination].”⁴⁹³

Lacquer and Rubin cite the date of the meeting, November 28-29 1941.⁴⁹⁴ a mere 10 days before December 9, the originally scheduled date for the Wannsee Conference, at which the top leadership of the Nazis were to be informed of plans to implement the Final Solution. But the attack on Pearl Harbour, Germany’s declaration of war and Soviet counterattacks on Nazi forces nearing Moscow caused postponement of the Wannsee Conference to January 20. Hitler rejected the Mufti's requests for a declaration in support of the Arabs, telling him the time was not right.

The Mufti offered Hitler his *“thanks for the sympathy which he had always shown for the Arab and especially Palestinian cause, and to which he had given clear expression in his public speeches....The Arabs were Germany's natural friends because they had the same enemies as had Germany, namely...the Jews....”*

Hitler replied: *Germany stood for uncompromising war against the Jews. That naturally included active opposition to the Jewish national home in Palestine....Germany would furnish positive and practical aid to the Arabs involved in the same struggle...Germany's objective [is]...solely the destruction of the Jewish element residing in the Arab sphere....*



The Mufti and the Fuhrer

In a (secret) letter written by SS Obergruppenfuhrer J. Berger to the SS Reichsfuhrer and Reichsminister of the Interior [Himmler], received on 6th December 1943,⁴⁹⁵ Berger tells Himmler about his meeting with the Grand Mufti [Haj Muhammed Amin al-Husseini]. The Mufti requested the Reichsfuhrer to support setting up a transmitter inside the Reich for the entire Mohammedan [Arab/Muslim] world, in order to conduct from Germany an intensive propaganda campaign in the individual Mohammedan territories. On

his part, the Grand Mufti would assign suitable co-workers to the individual countries. Berger adds that he will deal with this immediately... submitting the matter to Reichsminister Dr. Goebbels.

Nazi hate language was beamed by powerful radio transmitters directed at audiences throughout Europe and the Middle East. The dehumanizing, demonizing, delegitimizing motifs of Nazi anti-Semitism spread to the Middle East.

The Middle East – e.g. Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Syria

Hate language which reached the Middle East resonated with deeply embedded centuries old antisemitic motifs of Jihadist Islamic anti-Semitism, the triggers of pogroms and massacres through the ages.^{496 497 498 499}

Wahabi propagandists from Saudi Arabia and Egyptian media have been spreading motifs strikingly similar to those of the Nazis.^{500 501 502 503} Yet, Egypt's regime, even after the Arab Spring, still has what appears to be a treaty of cold peace with Israel despite condoning hate language in media, school texts and places of worship, and sponsoring the broadcasting of recycled versions of the anti-Semitic myths of the "Protocols of the Elders of Zion".^{504 505} The Muslim crowd seems to be obsessed with Israel. Many protesters in various Arab countries, while fighting for freedom and human rights in their own countries, have been photographed holding a banner with a Star of David, or chanting "Death to Israel".



Video still; source: MSNBC; AP photo; source: The Daily Beast

Islamist preachers such as al-Qaradawi come to the fore, not state appointed but revered as the ranking authoritative figure on Islamic jurisprudence. Al-Qaradawi was the follower of Hassan al-Banna, founder of

the Muslim Brotherhood. His Jihadist rhetoric includes demonizing hate language against Jews and Israel, which reaches 60 million listeners via Al Jazeera in his daily broadcasts, e.g.: *“Throughout history, Allah has imposed upon the [Jews] people who would punish them for their corruption. The last punishment was carried out by Hitler... This was divine punishment for them. Allah willing, the next time will be at the hand of the believers.”* ⁵⁰⁶

But this is not really surprising. The population has been educated to hate Jews since childhood.

Excerpts from Saudi Arabia school textbooks: ⁵⁰⁷

"The Jews are wickedness in its very essence". ⁵⁰⁸

"Now it [Palestine] is occupied by the Jews, a people of treachery and betrayal, who have gathered there from every place: from Poland, Spain, America and elsewhere. Their end, by God's will, is perdition". ⁵⁰⁹

Excerpts from Egyptian school Textbooks: **510**

"The lesson's goals - It is desirable that at the end of the lesson the student will be able to:

- *Define the reasons for the war between the Muslims and the Jews of the Qaynuqa' tribe.*

- *Mention some of the Jews' blameworthy characteristics."* ⁵¹¹

"The description of the Jews in the Qur'an is an eternal miracle [in itself], since it described them by the traits to which they have adhered throughout all their generations, such as stubbornness, material greed, slander, hypocrisy, plotting against Islam and the Muslims, and waging a war which is multifarious in its methods and manifestations and one in its true nature and goal." ⁵¹²

"[One] of the rules derived by the [Muslim religious] scholars from these [Qur'anic] verses is the following:

1. *Obligation to fight the infidels with utmost vigor and power until they become weak, their state disappears and they submit to the rule of the law of Islam."* ⁵¹³

Egyptian TV: Renowned Egyptologist Dr. Zahi Hawass, on Egyptian TV: "Jews Control the Entire World" ⁵¹⁴

Interviewer: "So [the Jews] were dispersed in 133 C.E.?"

Zahi Hawass: "That's right."

Interviewer: "And they didn't reunite until 1900?"

Zahi Hawass: "Exactly."

Interviewer: "So they were dispersed for 18 centuries?"

Zahi Hawass: "For 18 centuries, they were dispersed throughout the world. They went to America and took control of its economy. They have a plan. Although they are few in number, they control the entire world."

Egyptian Cleric Ahmad 'Eid Mihna on Egyptian TV: "The Jews Are Behind Misery, Hardship, Usury, and Whorehouses" ⁵¹⁵

Syrian actress Amal 'Arafa has said in an interview in 2008 that Syrians have "Suckled hate of Israel with the milk of their mothers", and no peace agreement can change that feeling.^{516 517 518}

"...as far as I am concerned, Israel will continue to be a black, dark, and murky spot in my memory, in my genes, and in my blood. Even though I am Syrian, and not Palestinian, the Syrian upbringing we received, and by which we lived – we've suckled it with the milk of our mothers. There is no playing around with this, it's in our genes, and we will pass this down for many more generations."

Cambodia

In the 1970's, the Khmer Rouge regime in Cambodia used terms such as "microbes", "parasites", "worms" and cancer to stigmatize their victims as they carried out the mass murders of 2- 3 million of their own countrymen. ⁵¹⁹ The Khmer Rouge had a slogan: "To spare you is no profit; to destroy you, no loss."

⁵²⁰

The Khmer Rouge marked for potential extinction all Cambodians they deemed not "borisot" (pure)—meaning all those with an education, those raised in population centres, those "tainted" by anything foreign (including knowledge of a foreign language), even those who wore glasses. Anyone, that is, suspected of not being in step with their pathological agrarian master plan. All suspect

Cambodians were labelled “new people” and kept apart from the “pure” populations. In some instances, the “new people” were given special identifying neckerchiefs—so they could always be picked out of a crowd, as they often were, when taken away for execution.

Bosnia

In the early 1990’s, Radovan Karadzic stigmatized Bosnians as not “belonging to the family of nations”, of being “...of desert origin”, and “originating from a specific gene of the Ottoman Army”.⁵²¹

On Oct 11 1991, Radovan Karadzic made the following statement: *“In two-three days, Sarajevo will vanish and there will be 500,000 dead people. In a month, Muslims will disappear from Bosnia”*. Two days later, Karadzic also said: *“First of all, none of their leadership would make it alive. They would all be killed in a matter of several hours. They would not even have a chance to survive.”*⁵²²

Thereafter, victims of genocide in Kosovo themselves killed many belonging to Roma minorities, whom they described as “majupi”, or lower than garbage.

In Bosnia, more than 100,000 were killed, in Serbian ‘ethnic cleansing’, -- often a euphemism for genocide⁵²³ --in the wake of the break-up of former Yugoslavia. Claims that genocide was restricted to the events of Srebrenica ignore evidence of Serbian intentions going back to 1991-2, including threats to annihilate the Bosnian Muslim community.

The incitement directly preceded Serbian genocidal mass killings of civilians, reports of hundreds of prison camps, 500,000 persons in detention, 50,000 tortured persons, 20,000 estimated rapes, and 151 mass graves.^{524 525 526}

Serbs raped Bosnian Muslim women - intimidation mixed with the idea that the child would be a Serb.⁵²⁷

North America

All American Indians were reputed to be brutal savages who killed frontier people, providing a rationalization for mass extermination and land misappropriation. ^{528 529 530 531}

Lynch mobs in the United States were often riled up by allegations of arson, or that a black man had raped a white woman or a black man argued with a white man. These accusations were unquestioned by riotous crowds of individuals who, even though they had grown up in a democratic culture, had been reared on the common assumption that blacks could not control their sexual urges, especially in respect to white women. ^{532 533 534}

Africa - Rwanda:

Common source from the top down: The role of one radio station

In 1994 in Rwanda, hate language and incitement broadcast by Hutu Radio Télévision Libre des Milles Collines (RTL) used ethnic stereotyping and repeated media calls for the extermination of Tutsi. Tutsis were called 'cockroaches' ('inyenzi') and snakes.^{535 536 537 538 539} Rwandans called such incitement "heating the heads." ⁵⁴⁰

RTL's broadcasts were the major source of news and information for most of the Rwandan public, and therefore had enormous influence. "You have to work harder, the graves are not full," urged the voice on the radio. ⁵⁴¹

RTL on April 7 and April 8: "*You have to kill [the Tutsis], they are cockroaches...*" May 13: "*All those who are listening to us, arise so that we can all fight for our Rwanda... Fight with the weapons you have at your disposal, those of you who have arrows, with arrows, those of you who have spears with spears...*

July 2: "*I do not know whether God will help us exterminate [the Tutsis] ...but we must rise up to exterminate this race of bad people... They must be exterminated because there is no other way.*"

Rwandan pop music composer Simon Bikindi: "*rise up" and do not "spare" any Tutsi.* He also asked the militia whether they had killed the "snakes." ⁵⁴²

Bikindi was convicted of direct and public incitement to commit Genocide.

Architects and perpetrators of genocide, using the most popular radio station in the country, mobilized, recruited, motivated, directed and instructed the Interhambawe– to hand-butcher some 800,000 Tutsis and Hutu moderates with machetes, over a period of between 3 to 5 months. Neighbours killed neighbours. ⁵⁴³

Paul Rusesabagina describes the 20-year rule of a corrupt dictatorial leadership, whose failures led to increases in discrimination and socio-economic gaps along with poverty. ⁵⁴⁴ The evidence for this deterministic explanation, argued most forcefully by Jared Diamond ⁵⁴⁵ is not persuasive. ⁵⁴⁶ Bystander indifference and inaction is the story of the Rwandan genocide from the outside.

In Rwanda, the machetes were the hardware, but the words were the software. Explicit Radio messages to “kill the cockroaches” and to “do your job” preceded the outbreak of the mass butchery in April 1994. Using a mix of rock music and juicy gossip, the perpetrators broadcast more and more intense and explicit hate language to incite to mass killing. ^{547 548}

In 2003, Ferdinand Nahimana, Jean Bosco Barayagwiza and Hassan Ngeze were convicted on counts of genocide, conspiracy to commit genocide, direct and public incitement to commit genocide, and crimes against humanity.⁵⁴⁹ The ICTR consolidated the indictments of these three men into “The Media Case” (The Prosecutor v. Ferdinand Nahimana, Jean-Bosco Barayagwiza and Hassan Ngeze). This trial was the first time since Nuremberg that the role of the media was examined as a component of international criminal law.

Darfur, Sudan

Arab racial hate propaganda in the Sudan catalyzed a government-sponsored attempt to “cleanse” black Africans. ^{550 551 552}

John Hagan has shown there was an increased use of racial epithets by Janjaweed rapists when they were joined by soldiers from the Sudanese

Army—a finding suggesting, but not proving, the possibility of incitement and direction from the top down, below the level of detection, directly reaching the perpetrators, without the use of open incitement to motivate the entire population. ⁵⁵³

During rape attacks, the Janjaweed often called the women slaves, telling them that they would now bear a “free child.”⁵⁵⁴

Eric Reeves: In Darfur, the Sudanese regime supported, protected and supplied the Janjaweed’s genocidal activities, but denies genocidal intent.

Death toll has been estimated to be up to or exceeding 400,000.⁵⁵⁵

In September 2004, the US State Department declared that acts of genocide had occurred in Darfur. ⁵⁵⁶

Mass Rape was used as an instrument of war and genocide in Darfur, as a means of “wiping out the non-Arabs.” ^{557 558 559}

Kenya: Person-to-person spread of incitement

The dissemination of ethnically incitable messages has precipitated tribal clashes in Kenya. Election campaigns have been shown to be the high risk periods for viral person-to-person spread of incitement, at first by word of mouth and then by text messaging—a highly efficient method. In the aftermath of disputed election results in 2008, and perhaps even before, tribal elders incited their followers to kill, plunder, and pillage.⁵⁶⁰

The inciters channelled endemic everyday street violence in the poor countryside and incited mobs to burn, kill and plunder rival tribal and political groupings. Because the inciters used vernacular dialects in isolated and remote rural settings, the story was not picked by urban based media until after violence started. The death toll was at least 1300 killed and 300,000 displaced. ⁵⁶¹

Mediators from the African Union were able to bring together shaken elites from two rival groupings just when the situation reached the tipping point and Kenya was on the brink of becoming another Rwanda. Pressures from the top

down aborted the spread of the killings, burnings, and expulsions. Governmental initiatives led to the use of text messaging to counter the inciters' text messaging.⁵⁶² It remains to be seen if the current uneasy quiet will be broken with the next election.

Democratic Republic of the Congo

The government has relied on the incitement of ethnic hatred, creating a culture where ethnic murder is a routine militia practice.^{563 564}

Material profit, the search for valuable minerals for the hi-tech industry, is the only rule. Other countries, condone, ignore, and purchase.

Iran

Iran is now the epicenter for official state sanctioned incitement to genocide. Since 1979, the leaders of the Islamic Republic of Iran, and most notably Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, have been using language identical to that of Hitler, to demonize, dehumanize and delegitimize "Zionists", a euphemism for Jews living freely in their own state, not governed by Muslims, to spread disinformation about them and, in recent years, to deny the Holocaust not only in speeches but in State-sponsored conferences.

Although most Jews in Iran are not believed to be in direct physical danger since the Islamic Revolution, in past years on several occasions Jews have been subject to show trials, imprisoned for trumped up reasons or executed.^{565 566} The fact that the Jews live in self-governance, "in defiance," seems to be bothering Ahmadinejad and his colleagues, who claim that destruction of the Jewish state is the aspiration of all Muslims.

August 22, 2003. Ali Akbar Mohtashami Pur:

"Israel is a state created by the West and stuck it as a 'knife in the heart of the Islamic world'... peace will never reign in the region as long as Israel exists and it is a cancerous growth which aspires to destroy the Islamic world." ⁵⁶⁷

April 26, 2005. Hussein Nuri Hamadani:

"One should fight the Jews and vanquish them so that the conditions for the advent of the Hidden Imam will be met."

"At present Jews' policies threaten us. One should explain in the clearest terms the danger the Jews pose to the [Iranian] people and to Muslims... Already from the beginning the Jews wanted to hoard the world's greed and voracity. They always worked in important professions and now they have hoarded all of the wealth in one place. And all of the world, especially America and Europe are their slaves." ⁵⁶⁸

October 26, 2005. Ahmadinejad. At "The World Without Zionism" conference in Tehran:

*"The establishment of the occupying regime of Qods [Jerusalem] was a major move by the world oppressor [the United States] against the Islamic world... Our dear Imam said that the occupying regime must be wiped off the map and this was a very wise statement."*⁵⁶⁹

Iranian state sponsored hate language and incitement ⁵⁷⁰ goes beyond that of the Nazis in that it explicitly and openly calls for the annihilation of Jews in Israel. Iran is also accused of being involved in secret development of nuclear weapons and missile delivery system, in order to carry out this threat against Israel.⁵⁷¹ It is also active in support, direction and instruction of terror proxies carrying out its writ, notably Hamas and Hezbollah.^{572 573}

March 2007. Ahmadinejad: *"Zionists are the true manifestation of Satan"* ⁵⁷⁴

"We cannot compromise over the issue of Palestine... I have no doubt that the new wave that has started in Palestine, and we witness it in the Islamic world too, will eliminate this disgraceful stain from the Islamic world. I warn all leaders of the Islamic world that they should be aware of this trick. Anyone who recognizes this regime because of the pressure of the World oppressor, or because of naiveté or selfishness, will be eternally disgraced and will burn in the fury of the Islamic nations." ⁵⁷⁵

Since the contested Iranian elections in June 2009, ruthless suppression of political dissent now goes hand in hand with these indicators of genocidal

intent. The leaders of the Iranian regime are continuing their genocidal incitement, as they continue to suppress human rights of their own people with ever increasing brutality, move towards nuclear capacity, support terror surrogates, and engage in terror themselves. These actions are even more meaningful when posed as religious decrees and recommendations.

Current crisis in Sudan Nuba Mountains

As we write, people are being killed in the Nuba Mountains area of North Sudan. Mass graves have been uncovered. Many Reports of bombings. ^{576 577}
^{578 579 580}

Is there Incitement?

Modern anti-Semitism

Claim: “the Jews were behind the 9/11 Terror Attack.” ⁵⁸¹ Upon the fifth anniversary of 9/11, polls showed that some 50 percent of British Muslims believed 9/11 to have been an American-Israeli conspiracy.

Israeli Philharmonic Orchestra concert in London “Proms” was disturbed by anti-Semitic protesters.⁵⁸² In an article on The Telegraph, Stephen Pollard, editor of 'The Jewish Chronicle', wrote that *"these pictures will remind you of the air of Weimar Germany, and the way Nazi party members broke up meetings."* Pollard comments that all this is happening in the middle of the Arab Spring, when genuine protesters for human rights are genuinely risking their lives on a daily basis in Syria, against a murderous dictatorship which has been criticized by many world leaders for its ruthless actions against its own citizens, yet only the Jewish State evokes protest.⁵⁸³

Modern-day Blood Libel against Jews.

Egyptian Cleric Salem Abu Al-Futouh, Al-Nas TV, June, 2011: ⁵⁸⁴

"The Jews are known to have two holidays. The first is Purim, celebrated in March, in which there must be blood. The second holiday is the Passover. That's why they take Palestinian children and never return them. They say that the child died in prison, but in fact, they suck his blood."

Let me just say that when there is a wedding, they gather at the rabbi's. The rabbi puts the egg in the man's mouth, and he takes a bite. Then he puts it in the woman's mouth, and she also takes a bite. The egg contains human blood. These are blood-sucking vampires, brothers.

Appendix VII - Analysis of the Incitement data according to the Epidemiologic models

The Iceberg of disease - The population(s) at Risk

1. Children:

- **Additional Examples:**

Terrorist Salim Hajja is serving 16 life sentences for involvement in three suicide bombings that killed a total of 51 people. Hajja's mother-in-law expresses the hope that Hajja's son Omar will be a "hero" like his father. The son, Omar, says: *"Daddy is a hero. I am very proud of him."* ⁵⁸⁵

- *Transcript from the children's program "Tomorrow's Pioneers" [Hamas]:*

[Seven year-old Palestinian child on phone tells how his father, a member of the Hamas Al-Qassam Brigades, "died as a Shahid (Martyr)."]

Nassur to child on phone: "What do you want to do to the Jews who shot your father?"

Child on phone: "I want to kill them."

Saraa: "We don't want to do anything to them, just expel them from our land."

Nassur: "We want to slaughter (Nidbah-hom) them, so they will be expelled from our land, right?"

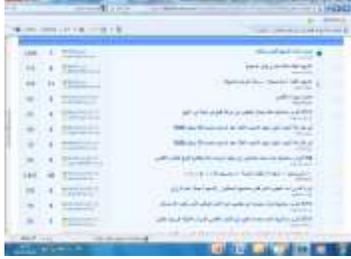
Saraa: "Yes. That's right. We will expel them from our land using all means."

Nassur: "And if they don't want [to go] peacefully, by words or talking, we'll have to [do it] by slaughter." (Shaht)

- Teenager describes Adolph Hitler as “Role Model” 586 587
 “UNESCO backed magazine, Zayzafouna, published an article in February [2012] written by a teenage girl who presented four role models: a medieval Persian mathematician, a modern Egyptian novelist, the Muslim warrior Saladin, and t he Nazi leader.

In the article, the author has Hitler telling her in a dream that he killed Jews “so you would all know that they are a nation which spreads destruction all over the world.”

2. Young men

Examples from the Index:	
Type of incitement – Explicit incitement to violence and terror	
Category: Internet. Score: -5	
Following the murder of Israeli civilians near Hebron (Aug 31, 2010) – user Salwa al-Mahad praises the heroes who carried out the attack and adds- <i>“whoever carried out these heroic acts, you have given great satisfaction to the bereaved mothers and widows.”</i>	
Type of incitement – Encouraging an atmosphere of violence and terror.	
Category: Internet. Score: -5	
Images from the Fatah web forum Commemorating 10 years since the start of the second Intifada	Web forums – whole pages dedicated to martyrs
	

The promised eternal reward (promised by religious authoritative figures):

- PA TV program, “*The Best Mothers*”, broadcast during Ramadan, interviewed the mother of a bomb maker from Fatah's military wing, Yusuf Shaker Al-Asi.
- *"People always told me, 'Marry him off, so he will bring you happiness.'*
- *I said to him (my son), 'I want to marry you off.'*
- *He said, 'Are you laughing at me? Just one wife?'*

- I asked him, 'What do you want? Four, according to [Islamic] tradition?'
 He said: 'I won't rest until I have 70 [wives]. I want 70', he told me."

Material reward / social status:

PA terrorists in prison receive a higher monthly salary than most professions:

Average monthly salary	Salary recipients
2,882 Shekel	Civil servant
2,704 Shekel	Military personnel
3,129 Shekel	Prisoner

3. Women:

Examples: 588 589 590 591 592

International Women's Day – focuses on armed struggle

- "On international Women's Day... We celebrate the woman writing "Free Palestine" with her blood to lead the road to liberation."
- "Palestinian women have always stood side by side with their fathers, brothers, husbands, comrades to resist the Zionist occupation, to fight for freedom and legitimate rights."

Women encouraged to raise children to be Shahids

- July 2003, Summer Camp named after Wafa Idris.
- July 2005 - Fatah named women's course after *Shahida* Wafa Idris.
 "The ceremony ended with the distribution of diplomas to the [women] graduates, and diplomas and awards of appreciation to the mothers of the Shahids (Martyrs)."

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Intergenerational transmission:

- Home / Family education begins at birth. The message passes from parent to child:

"Learning begins in the first days of life and continues for long. Parents should develop a habit to read with their children every night. Parents should provide an Islamic

environment, an Islamic culture. It is hypocritical to do things differently and expect the child to have Islamic values. Parents set the best examples for their children to imbibe...”
– the same is true for ultra-religious Jewish education systems.

- The message of hate flows naturally from parents to children

Like a medical condition passed from mother to child in birth, the intergenerational spread of a group belief, memory or trauma has been described in the social sciences, regarding a collective trauma:

“As the chosen trauma passes from generation to generation ... through sharing the chosen trauma, members of the group are linked together. In other words, the chosen trauma is woven into the canvas of the ethnic or large group tent, and becomes an inseparable part of the group’s identity.”

Host Immunity or Resistance

Example: Mus’ab Hassan Yousef, the son of a West Bank Hamas Leader, decided to convert to Christianity and to publicize his story. His motive: many atrocities he had seen committed by members of his group, Hamas.

Incubation or latent periods

“Emerging evidence suggests that increased risk of adult diseases including cancer and heart disease can result, in part, from exposures to certain environmental chemicals during childhood.”

Example of background exposures:

Named after terrorists, between 2001-2011:

- Schools, university academic courses – 25
- Sports events, tournaments, awards– 28
- Cultural, recreational events and ceremonies- 27
- Summer camps – 9

Transition from sub-clinical infection to full-blown “disease” could take years, or it could occur within days. In Rwanda, ordinary people turned from peaceful neighbours into mass murderers within a few weeks.⁵⁹⁴

In an interview with Nigerian Bishops visiting Israel: from their experience, a chronically incited population of young men can be turned into ferocious killers within seconds. Years of “feeding” hatred to these homeless youngsters precedes one strong inciting speech -- which sends them “to the kill.”

Dose-Response

Examples from the Index:

Type of incitement – Incitement to hatred and demonization of Israel. Category: Fatah and PA officials. Score: -8

Palestinian Minister of prisoners, Issa Karake, explicitly blames Israel for injecting Carcinogenic toxic substance into the body of the prisoner Faiz Zidat from the Hebron district, who died in the Israeli prison, and for conducting medical experiments on him.

Type of incitement – Explicit incitement

Category: Official Documents. Score: -5

The various organizations’ state this clearly in their legal constitutions – i.e. Article 19 of the Fatah’s constitution: *“The armed struggle is a strategy and not just a tactic and the armed revolution of the Arab Palestinian people is a decisive factor in the war of liberation and the elimination of the Zionist existence, and the struggle will not end until the elimination of the Zionist entity and the liberation of Palestine.”*

- Messages by leaders

Type of incitement – Encouragement of an atmosphere of violence and terror

Category: PA Chairman. Score: -2

Abbas: *“There [at the Arab League summit in Libya] I turned to the Arab states and I said: ‘If you want war, and if all of you will fight Israel, we are in favor. But the Palestinians will not fight alone because they don’t have the ability to do it.’”* ⁵⁹⁵

- Taught in school textbooks –

“I swear by Al-Aqsa Mosque and those plains, I shall not return the sword to its sheath and shall not lay down arms.”

[Arabic Language—Linguistic Sciences, Grade 12 (2006) p. 85]

- Taught in Summer Camp:

(Shown in a film from UNRWA summer camp in Aida and Deheishe) - “The right of return is the right of all Palestinians to return to all their original

homes”. “We as Palestinians carry this message to the day that we die, and it is not important what happens – we do not give up on that right”^{596 597}

“Dr. Husam Bilawi, coordinator of the National Committee for Summer Camps [in the Salfit region]: *‘the National Committee for Summer Camps appeals to and seeks guidance in the legacy of the Shahid Yasser Arafat, who died as a Shahid for the sake of this diverse culture, which unites the culture of resistance, the culture of stones and guns, the culture of knowledge and scholars, the culture of national unity, and the culture of Shahada...We follow in his footsteps.’*”

- Popular ‘Alashekeen National Band’: “*In Lod we are Poems and in Ramle-Grenades...Pull the trigger!*”



- Internet: Examples from the Index

Incitement to hate and demonization of Israel. Score: -8

Fatah forums cite Abu Mazen’s Anti Jewish book “Zionism, its beginning and end” – and publish much praise from web users. The table of contents of the book is shown, including chapters named: “Zionism and Apartheid”, “Who needs a Jewish State in Palestine”, “What the Jews themselves have done against Zionism”, “Zionism and anti-Semitism are two sides of the same coin”

Encouraging an atmosphere of violence and terror. Score -6

Web user *elfat7awe* writes: “*Best wishes to the fighters of Al Aqsa Martyrs Brigades in the West Bank and Gaza. May there be many more quality actions, may you land your hits on the Zionist enemy everywhere. Everyone should know the Storm Men are always prepared... We are the swift actors, protecting the National Plan. We swear that we will hold the olive branch in one hand and the rifle in the other hand.*”

Ignoring Israel’s existence

- In school textbooks:

“Nowadays, the land of Al-Sham is made up of the following states:

1. *Palestine*
2. *The Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan*
3. *The Lebanese Republic*
4. *The Syrian Arab Republic*”



[History of Ancient Civilizations, 5th grade

textbook, p30]

“Examples of Mountains in the Levant region: [...] The hills of the Galilee in Palestine”
 [Geography of the Arab Homeland, 9th Grade (2010), p. 17]

- In media:

Examples from the Index:
Type of incitement – Incitement to hatred and demonization
Category: Culture. Score: -5
In Culture section of PA Newspaper: <i>“In the poetry of Mahmoud Darwish we often encounter a symbol... of the cross. The Jews prepared a cross upon this land two thousand years ago, to kill Jesus, who represents the return to justice. What has happened to Palestine in modern times is similar... Palestine has been in the hands of the Zionists, and the Jews have crucified it and caused blood to flow from its body.”</i> [Al Hayat Al Jadida, 17.8.2010]
Type of incitement – Not preparing the public for peace
Category: Media. Score: -8
An educational PA TV show educates children about Palestine (August 2007 - June 2010). Israel does not exist: <i>“The Palestinian coastline runs along the sea shore, from Gaza strip and Ashkelon in the South, up to Haifa, on the Carmel Mountain. Haifa is a famous Palestinian dock. The city of Haifa is well respected among Arabs and Palestinians, especially before it fell into the occupation [Israel] in 1948, North of Haifa there is Acre, East of Acre we reach a historical town...”</i> Then the voice of an announcer is heard: <i>“I am from Jaffa, I am from Haifa, I am from Acre, I am from Nazereth, I am from Gamzo, I am from Zachariya, I am from Ein Kerem. Where are you from? where are you from? where are you from? [showing the map of Israel covered by a Palestinian flag] Of course, you are from Ukraine, of course you are from Germany, from Poland, from Russia, from Ethiopia (Falashim) – Why did you steal my homeland and take my place? Please go back to your original homeland, so that I can go back to my original homeland. This is my homeland. Go back to your homeland.”</i>

Maps erasing Israel - Palestine’s territory is shown encompassing the area between the Mediterranean sea and the Jordan river: ⁵⁹⁸

- Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics ^{599 600}



- Palestinian Ministry of Parliamentary Affairs ⁶⁰¹
- Fatah youth movement Shabiba⁶⁰²
- Maps in schoolbooks – Israel does not appear on the map, Israel’s territory is covered by the name Palestine, and Israel is not mentioned as a neighbouring country. ⁶⁰³



Popular everyday culture praising, idealizing and legitimizing “armed struggle” by suicide killing:

- Research findings of Bassam Banat, a lecturer at Al-Quds Open University - *“One can see that the Palestinian people, starting with the family, through the school and out to greater society, cultivate among the children_a deeply-ingrained culture of resistance and martyrdom for the sake of Allah (istishhad), which blooms and prospers without obstacles and without hesitation.”* ⁶⁰⁴
- School textbooks: *“The warrior goes to war faced with one of two good options: victory or a martyr’s death for the sake of Allah.”*

[Our Beautiful Language, Vol.1, 5th grade textbook, p70]

The result is Population-wide immersion in the message. Legitimization of the message of hate

Presence of background chronic sub-clinical exposure

Example from the Index:

Type of Incitement: encouraging an atmosphere of violence and terror.

Category: Culture. Score: -6

Dance on stage at PLO Culture festival, broadcast on PA TV at 4/6/2012 and again at 26/6/2010 – praising violence and death. The dancers hold guns and sing: *“My weapon has come out of my wounds, no power in the world can remove the weapon from my hands...”*

Other Example:

- Jews, or the euphemism “Zionists” [i.e. Jews in self-governance in Israel] are presented as the cause of most evil and wrong, committed against Palestinians and against the wider world.

Education – school textbooks

Dr. Arnon Groiss, former Director of Research at IMPACT-SE, the Institute for Monitoring Peace and Cultural Tolerance, explains that that the international guidelines regarding principles and values which are expected to appear in textbooks emphasize and human rights in education, and are based on: ^{605 606 607 608 609}

1. Respect for and application of human rights and fundamental freedoms.
2. Eradication of the prejudices, misconceptions, inequalities and all forms of injustice.
3. These should contribute to development of understanding, solidarity and tolerance among individuals as well as among ethnic, social, cultural, religious and linguistic groups and nations.
4. To get rid of negative stereotypes and distorted views of “the other”.
5. Offer different perspectives on a given subject.
6. Make transparent the national or cultural background against which they are written.
7. The content should be based on scientific findings.

Groiss reports that IMPACT-SE has examined around 1,500 schoolbooks from Israel, the Palestinian Authority (PA), Egypt, Syria, Saudi Arabia, Iran and Tunisia. In the early years, the reports by IMPACT-SE were criticized for being biased.⁶¹⁰ The organization then developed a simple and clear method, which gives clear answers. In recent years, the organizations’ findings have not been challenged.

When examining a book, on any subject, every single reference to some “other” entity, whether in text or graphic format, is registered and examined. The material is looked at as-is, no changes made. Similar subjects are grouped together and then the general attitude towards specific themes is analyzed.

While it is understandable that a country in a state of conflict would have unfavourable descriptions of the “other” in their textbooks, it is important to portray some picture of the rival group as individual ordinary human beings, and not to give a demonizing generalized description. It is also important to keep a balanced approach

by suggesting that the conflict could perhaps be solved in some way. An important point is that the student should not be exposed to a narrow, negative narrative regarding the rival group, with no alternative view. A problematic narrative would be to propose to the student to perform negative actions such as acts of terror in the rival's land, or to imply that all the adversary's claims are illegitimate. Furthermore, it should be implied that the conflict should be negotiated or solved within acceptable international standards of human rights.

In a recent publication, Groiss comments that some of the Israeli researchers who have examined Israeli and Palestinian schoolbooks have applied stricter guidelines towards the Israeli books than the Palestinians.⁶¹¹ He advocates for equal standards.⁶¹²

According to Groiss's analysis, in PA schoolbooks there is no direct explicit incitement to kill Jews. But the textbooks do contain certain basic elements that fall within the genocidal attitude displayed in the textbooks of other Middle Eastern states.

Such elements should be taken seriously, especially in view of the ongoing venomous anti-Jewish campaign in the Palestinian media, Palestinian official outlets, mosques and in other forums.

These include:

- Denying the 'other' any legitimacy;
- Demonizing the 'other';
- Advocacy of a violent struggle, rather than peaceful coexistence, with the 'other';
- Persons who committed acts of terror and killing of civilians described in positive terms, as role models;

Jews appear in multiple contexts in Palestinian textbooks – *but always negative ones*. Jews, or Israelis, are never described as ordinary human beings, always as a violent, threatening group of people causing harm and suffering, - for example they are described hurting prisoners, stealing water, trying to rob Palestinian land and water.

In various textbooks, in a wide range of subjects, from religion and language to mathematics and environmental studies, the Jews are always presented in a negative way. For example, the student is required to describe houses being demolished and trees being uprooted (in a language book). In history books, hardly a reference is made to any Jewish history or presence in the land of Israel. Jewish holy places or places

which are holy to several religions are described as belonging to Muslims. Israel is blamed for the Palestinian youth's violence, for causing the youth to use drugs, and as the cause of women losing their jobs.

Regarding Israeli books which he has examined (these are older editions, the latest are from 2002), Groiss says that while he did find a few negative descriptions of Arabs from various origins who were described as having behaved violently towards Jews when the Jews were living in Muslim countries. However these were not general comments about the entire population and in the books there was in no way any recommendation or encouragement to commit violence against any non-Jewish population in any way.

The examples from textbooks presented earlier are from a study conducted by researcher Noa Meridor.⁶¹³

Religious education:

Religious leaders condoning killing and violence or preaching in its favour

Example from the Index:

Type of incitement – Encouraging an atmosphere of violence and terror.

Category: Religious messages, Score: -3

Director of the Religious Affairs department in Tubas, Sheikh Muhammad Jihad Al-Kilani... emphasizes that the occupation's plans are doomed to failure, and that *“our people who are carrying out Ribat [religious war] will continue to stand firm”* [Al Hayat Al Jadida, 11/7/2010]

- Palestinian Mufti: Muslims' Destiny Is to Kill Jews ⁶¹⁴
- New e-book by Sheikh Abu Al-Hassan Al-Azdi, *“The Just Scale – On the Permissibility of Killing the Infidels' Children and Women as Reprisal”* ⁶¹⁵
- Sheik Ibrahim Mudeiris – official PA /Friday sermon: *We (Muslims) Will Rule America; Israel is a Cancer; Jews are a Virus Resembling AIDS; Muslims Will Finish Them Off*
- School textbook: *The Prophet was asked: What is the best act? He answered: Belief in Allah and his Messenger. And then he was asked: And after that what is best? He answered: Jihad for Allah.* [‘Islamic Education’, Grade 9, Part A (2010), p. 60]

Religious leaders expressing political views and preaching to believers take action on social/ political issues

- *‘The Jews Are the Enemies of Allah... Our Mutual Enmity With Them is a Matter of Faith More Than an Issue Pertaining To Occupation and Land’; ‘The Prophet Muhammad Said: You Will Fight the Jews, and You Will Kill Them’; ‘This Land Will Only Be Liberated Through Jihad.’*
- Formal Friday sermon on Palestinian Authority TV: Salafi-Jihadi Cleric Mundhir Al-Shinqiti encourages European Muslims to participate in riots. ⁶¹⁶

Case study: Anwar al-Awlaki & follower Nidal Hasan: Email exchanges between Awlaki and accused Fort Hood shooter gunman Nidal Hasan confirm that the al Qaeda leader’s messages were the inspiration for the massacre at a Texas army base that left 13 people dead. ⁶¹⁷

Other example: Pupils are taught that they have power and may rule over others just because they are Muslim

(This example is from the U.S.A.)

“The training imparted to a Muslim must be such that faith is infused into the whole of his/her personality and creates in him/her an emotional attachment to Islam and enables him to follow the Qur’an and Sunnah ... to the realization of his/her status as Khalifatullah to whom God has promised the authority of the universe.” ⁶¹⁸

Inciting TV programs: “documentary” soap opera “Zahra’s blue eyes” or “For you, Palestine,” created by Ali Derakhshi, a former official of the Iranian Education Ministry, shown on Iranian TV. ^{619 620}

The program is a fictional story of Palestinian children that are kidnapped by Israel from the West Bank and Gaza and brought to Israeli hospitals where doctors perform horrific operations on them, remove their eyes and internal organs, and steal these for use on Israelis. In Episode 2, the audience learns that the Israeli president is being kept alive by organs stolen from Palestinian children, and an Israeli military commander is seen kidnapping UN employees and Palestinians.

Viral Spread

Example: Use of social networks, forums, to spread ideas of hate and to recruit terrorists. Found on Fatah forums:



Hate-oriented facebook groups:

"Jihad", over 5000 members

<https://www.facebook.com/#!/groups/jihad.kaher/>

"I hate Israel" – 982 members

<https://www.facebook.com/#!/groups/136547929771009/>

"We hate Israel" – 1047 members

<https://www.facebook.com/#!/groups/251681871536311/>



photos are from facebook

- *Comment: facebook staff regularly remove hate messages, when they discover them*

Optimal growth environment

Examples from the Index:

Type of Incitement – Encouraging an atmosphere of violence and terror. Category – Official core documents of the PA. Grade: -7

“The council emphasizes that the popular resistance must be escalated. Plans for the organization led by Fatah must be constructed to awaken the distinct sectors and widen the resistance.” – Meeting summary of Revolutionary council of Fatah (20 Jan 2010)

This is an example of encouragement to violence and terror. Stating this message in a core official document reinforces the message.

Type of incitement – Official core PA documents

Category: Official PA documents. Grade: -7

“The British implanted in our land, via the Balfour Declaration, a racist, Zionist settler colonialism which worked to expel our people from its land using armed force and to settle strangers in their

place...”- Introduction from a historical perspective to the Political Plan presented to the Sixth General Fatah Conference

Cult-type training:

“How Did the Sahabiyat Rear Their Sons?” *Training from birth “for the Prophet”*

“The women who lived in the time of the Prophet reared their sons with a religious and jihad-based education, raising a generation that defeated two empires... The education they gave their children began even before conception, as even prior to pregnancy, they would resolve to give birth to mujahideen for the sake of Allah.”

- Ultra-religious Jewish training: *training from young age towards an enclosed life of study*

“Dressed in black trousers, plain white shirts with black velvet “kippas” or skullcaps, Ultra-religious teenagers debate passionately – not about politics, history or sociology but about the Talmud – Jewish Bible studies. Some of these children are not taught math, English and computing. Most of the boys will never work or participate in “wider” Israeli society – dedicating themselves instead to a life of religious study.”

Positive Deviance

Religious leaders preaching for virtue & truth, and condemning killing and violence

- Saudi Sheikh: *One Who Kills Himself and Others in Order to Win the Virgins of Paradise Is Not a Martyr but a Suicide; Only the Truly Virtuous Will Gain Paradise* ⁶²¹
- Iranian ayatollah Seyyed Hossein Kazemeyni Boroujerdi preaches the pre-Khomeini interpretation of Iranian Shiism, which calls for religion to be kept apart from politics – Offered Hanukkah Greetings to Jews (dissident Ayatolla, in jail for several years) ⁶²²

Appendix VIII – Two case studies of incitement in Israel

1. Assassination of former Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin, 1995

Prime Minister Rabin’s assassination was preceded by an intense campaign of incitement to violence and hate language – demonization and delegitimization of Rabin, for signing of the Oslo Accords. The Oslo Accords created the Palestinian National Authority and granted it partial control over

parts of the Gaza Strip and the West Bank. Researcher Raphael Cohen-Almagor has summarized and analyzed the key events of incitement.⁶²³

- November 30, 1993 - "Rabin must be killed" stickers were distributed in the town of Or Akiva during a visit of the then Minister of Labor Ora Namir. The two who circulated the stickers, Ahuva Vaanunu and Gil Sharon, stood trial for conducting seditious actions (under Section 133 of the Penal Law, 1977) and for circulating seditious publications (under Sections 134a, 26, and 499 of the Penal Law, 1977).
- October 1995 - *Pulsa Denurah* - "whip of fire" in Aramaic - a Kabbalistic curse which is supposed to cause the death of the victim within a year, was pronounced on Rabin by Right-extremist Rabbis. On the eve of Yom Kippur, Avigdor Eskin read out and distributed, against the Prime Minister. Eskin was photographed reading the *Pulsa Denurah* outside the Prime Minister's official residence in Jerusalem, calling for "the disappearance of Rabin from this world".

Cohen-Almagor explains that this ceremony calls upon the angels of destruction to refrain from forgiving this person his sins, to kill him and to call upon him all the curses named in the Bible. Eskin was not prosecuted.

- October 5, 1995, during a large right-wing demonstration against the Oslo Accords, two right-wing extremist activists of the movement "Kach" waved photomontage pictures of Rabin dressed in black Nazi uniform.

All these actions, directed by religious leaders, were an early warning sign of impending violence, potentially severe violence. This monograph has brought the evidence that such incitement and hate language legitimized the murder.

- On the evening of November 4, 1995, at a mass rally in Tel Aviv, held in support of the Oslo Accords, Prime Minister Rabin was assassinated by Yigal Amir, a radical right-wing Orthodox Jew who opposed the signing of the Oslo Accords.

2. State-sanctioned Incitement against a population of African Refugees in South Tel Aviv, 2012

As the security and Human Rights situation in Eritrea and Sudan continues to worsen, thousands of refugees have been smuggled into Israel's

border with Egypt, seeking either work or political asylum. Other countries do not let the refugees in or use ammunition against them. Israel has enabled them to enter.

Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu said at a Cabinet meeting that the "phenomenon of illegal infiltrators from Africa is extremely serious and threatens Israel's social fabric and national security," and continued: "if we don't stop the problem, 60,000 infiltrators are liable to become 600,000, and cause the negation of the State of Israel as a Jewish and democratic state." ⁶²⁴

The latter could be considered a legitimate statement of a country fearing a security crisis, even if it were not balanced by a recognition that many were fleeing persecution, terror, war, genocide, and famine. Interior Minister Eli Yishai's next comment qualifies as a message of State-sanctioned incitement:⁶²⁵ 'most African migrants are criminals and all, "without exception," should be arrested and deported.' Knesset Member Miri Regev made a statement of Dehumanization: she called the refugees "a cancer in our body." Knesset Member Danny Danon wrote in a Facebook status that "Israel is at war. An enemy state of infiltrators was established in Israel, and its capital is south Tel Aviv." ⁶²⁶ Those hearing these statements- at a public demonstration then began rioting - smashing windows and storefronts belonging to African migrants in South Tel Aviv.

Residents of this already run-down neighbourhood have had to endure an increase in crime and breakdown in sanitation resulting from the presence of many unemployed foreigners, but this does not justify physical violence against the migrants.

Regev and Danon were reprimanded by Reuven Rivlin, Speaker of the Knesset, who reminded Israelis that Regev's dehumanizing language and the subsequent violence recalled the events leading up to the Holocaust, and that Jews, a nation of refugees, show a special concern for the plight of the Africans. Although the grievances were real, such statements of hatred,

demonization and dehumanization by a State Minister and Knesset Members are incitement to violence—and Rivlin’s response was an example of Positive Deviance.

The dehumanizing and demonizing statements can be considered an early warning sign for impending genocidal violence against the threatened subgroup.

According to criteria of the Incitement and Culture of Peace Index these statement would qualify either as: Incitement to hatred and demonization, or Encouragement of an atmosphere of violence and terror.

And as noted – African refugees have been attacked several times in Tel Aviv since hatred and demonization have received “legitimization” by authorities.⁶²⁷

Appendix IX: The Case for Causation

From Rwanda to Iran - Prediction, Precaution, Prevention, Protection and Prosecution

This monograph and its appendices have summarized the large body of circumstantial evidence for a cause-effect relationship between prior incitement against a group and violent atrocity crimes committed by individuals and groups against that targeted group.

These observations, made over and over again, provide arguments for causation, and not mere coincidence. As explained in section V (which describes the epidemiologic models): more incitement against a group is a risk factor or an early warning sign of more violence against that group. The more extreme and prolonged the incitement, the more severe the violence. If there is more background incitement, then it is easier to trigger violence. When levels of incitement increase, this is followed by increases in episodes of violence, and when incitement decreases, less violence is seen.

These are examples of what epidemiologists call *ecologic correlations*, in which there are time trends between group exposure and group risk, but data are lacking on individual exposure-risk relationships.

Coupling the ecologic correlation with Bradford Hill's comments on causation adds strength and coherence to the argument for a cause-effect relationship between incitement and violence.

Once we have established the understanding that a cause-effect relationship between incitement and violence exists, the empirical data of past cases provide a body of knowledge which should be used for prediction, precaution, prevention and protection.

Since the consequences of violent atrocity crimes, and notably genocide, are catastrophic, the case for a proactive precautionary approach is imperative. The precautionary principle warrants that the temporal locus of intervention is advanced from proof of intent after the event, to "predict and prevent." This is implicated clearly in the UN Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of Genocide, which defines incitement to genocide as a crime against humanity.

ICTR (International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda) Judge Navanethem "Navi" Pillay's statement in the Rwandan Media Case Trial Judgment on the role of incitement in the Rwandan Genocide is definitive. Pillay wrote: *"The Chamber accepts that this moment in time [the downing of the airplane on April 6th] served as a trigger for the events that followed. That is evident. But if the downing of the plane was the trigger, then RTLM and Kangura were the bullets in the gun. The trigger had such a deadly impact because the gun was loaded. The Chamber therefore considers the killing of Tutsi civilians can be said to have resulted, at least in part, from the message of ethnic targeting for death that was clearly and effectively disseminated through RTLM and Kangura before and after April 6 1994."*

At a recent conference on "Incitement to Terror and Violence", in Jerusalem, November 2011, international law expert Gregory Gordon, who has worked with the Office of the Prosecutor for the International Criminal Tribunal for

Rwanda, described the legal foundations for prosecution of direct and public incitement to genocide, after the event.⁶²⁸

For prosecution of individuals for incitement to genocide, there must be proof of intent. Gordon reviewed the convictions based on Article 2(3) (c) of the ICTR statute, which mirrors Article III (b) of the Genocide Convention, under which several defendants have been prosecuted and convicted.

- (1) Jean-Paul Akayesu, mayor in Taba commune, incited the *Interahamwe* militia in advance of massacres of Tutsis and was convicted in 1998;
- (2) Jean Kambanda, prime minister of *the rump* government during the genocide, metaphorically called for "elimination of Tutsis" speeches on the radio. He was convicted in 1998.
- (3) RTLM announcer Georges Ruggiu used metaphors to incite Hutus to kill Tutsis. He was convicted in 2000.
- (4) In the 2003 Media Case judgment, RTLM founders Ferdinand Nahimana and Jean-Bosco Barayagwiza, as well as *Kangura* editor-in-chief Hassan Ngeze, were found liable for incitement.

Based on these cases, Gordon lists the indications for assessing legal plausibility of the cause-effect relationship between mass killings and the individual's prior incitement:

- (1) Where was the utterance issued? (Is it sufficiently public?)
- (2) How was it interpreted by the audience? (Is it sufficiently direct?)
- (3) What was the state of mind of the person uttering the words? (Is there sufficient intent?)
- (4) What is the content of the statement? (Is it a permissible exercise of free speech, or is it criminal advocacy?)
- (5) And must there be resulting violence? (I.e. is there a causation requirement?)

Gordon provides additional criteria:

Temporality: This requires that the speech must be contemporaneous with its dissemination;

Instrumentality: This requires that the speech be disseminated by the speaker himself;

Channel of communication: This requires considering whether the speech is disseminated via a written versus a broadcast medium. The broadcast word seems more powerful, but the written word may spread faster with the use of social media and instant messaging.

The case for a proactive precautionary approach for prevention and protection is imperative regarding the Iranian regime's incitement to genocide against Israel.

Iran

Iranian leaders, notably Supreme Leader Ayatollah Ali Khomeini and President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, have called for the destruction of Israel, both directly and indirectly. Gordon noted that these speeches have included explicit language of incitement, for example, Ahmadinejad's call for Israel to be "wiped off the map" -- language which is even more direct and explicit incitement than in the Rwandan cases.⁶²⁹

Gordon calls attention to the fact that the Iranian leaders also use indirect incitement and hate language, such as dehumanizing metaphors. They have, for example, referred to Israel as a "tumour" that must be removed. They have analogized Israeli Jews to animals or bacteria. In some speeches, Iranian leaders have expressed predictions of Israel's destruction. They have also denied the existence of the Holocaust.⁶³⁰ Such indirect calls, when anchored to more direct incitement rhetoric, may constitute legally punishable incitement too.

All these speeches have been carried out publicly, in international forums, such as the U.N., broadcast on television and disseminated, both in the original language and in translation, on the internet.

At the same time, Iran has been developing nuclear weapons and has been supporting terrorist groups bent on Israel's destruction. These actions show that behind the speeches there is intent to carry out the threats.

Even if the Iranian leaders would argue that they were advocating the destruction of the Israeli government, not its people, experts note that hate rhetoric aimed at "Zionism" or the Israeli government is readily perceived as an attack on Judaism or the Jewish people.

There is a sense of urgency. The Genocide Convention's full name is the Convention on the *Prevention* and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide. There is need to focus on prevention, as Iran gets ever closer to realizing its nuclear ambitions.

In "The Danger of a Nuclear, Genocidal and Rights-Violating Iran: The Responsibility to Prevent Petition" by Irwin Cotler and in the recently published "The Genocide Incitement Act Of 2012" by Gregory Stanton and Richard Hellman,⁶³¹ a strong case has been made that the Iranian regime's ongoing incitement to genocide, together with its clearly expressed intent to destroy a state and its actions supporting this intent, constitute a crime against humanity.

As many experts have written, the tools of international law, constructed to prevent the catastrophic consequences of incitement to genocide, should be used NOW to indict the Iranian regime for its genocidal incitement, intent and actions against the State of Israel, words and actions, which constitute a Crime against Humanity.^{632 633}

"The Responsibility to Prevent Petition" and the "Genocide Incitement Act of 2012" are tools which should be acted on immediately, to prevent violent atrocity and nuclear war.

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