

GEORGE BELL LECTURE

THE FIGHT FOR HUMANITY

As we celebrate the 75th anniversary of the Genocide Convention, is there an end in sight?

LORD ALTON OF LIVERPOOL

2023



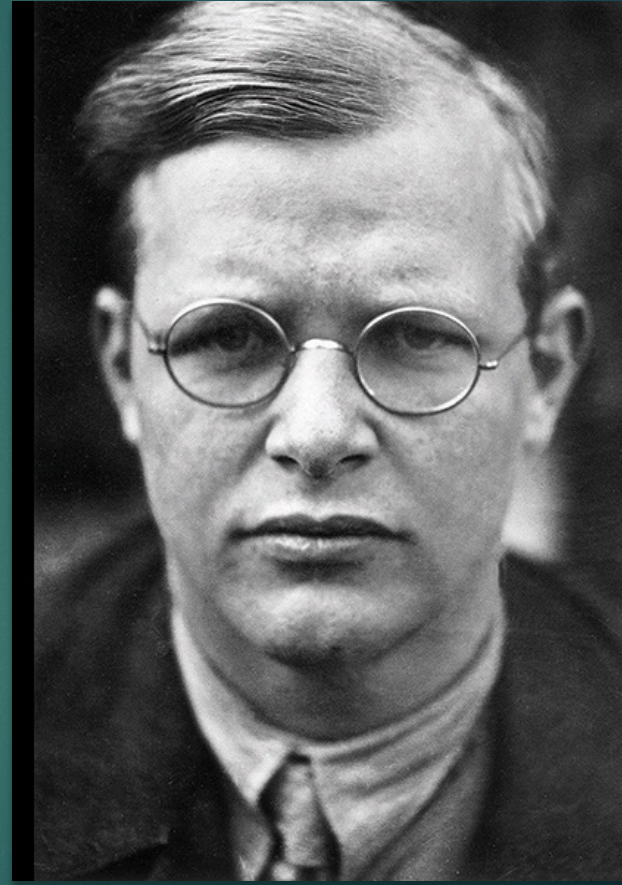


UNITED NATIONS



“Tell him that for me
this is the end but
also the beginning”

Message from Bonhoeffer
to Bell





“One must have a tough mind, and a soft heart. Laws change. Conscience doesn't. Stand up for what you believe in even if you are standing alone”

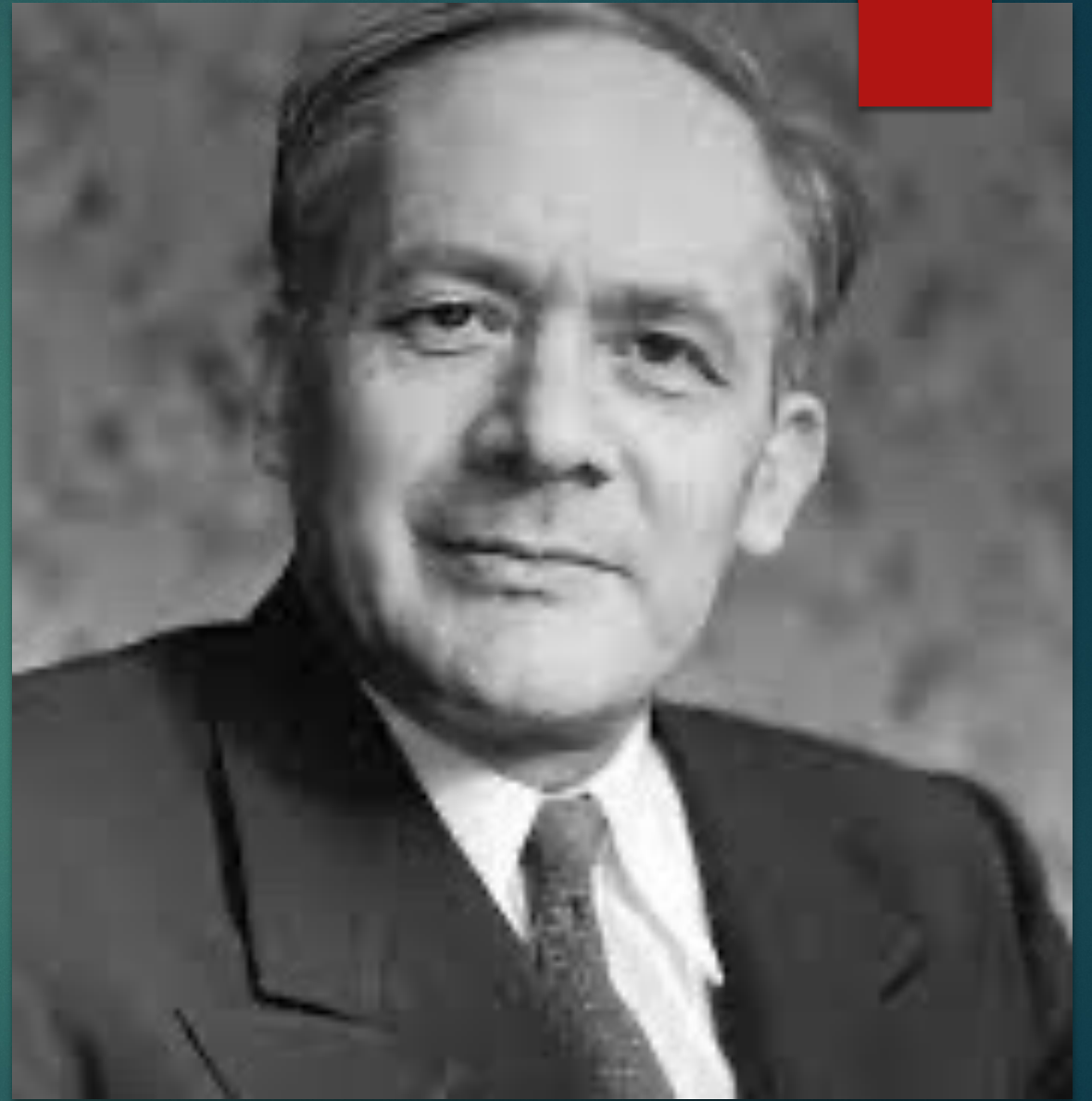
Sophie Scholl

GENOCIDE

/'dʒenəsaɪd/

GENOS - Greek meaning race or tribe
CIDE - Latin meaning killing

Lemkin said it would be a word like “tyrannicide, homicide, infanticide” but “is intended rather to signify a coordinated plan ... with the aim of annihilating the groups themselves.”



Armenian Genocide, 1917

**800,000 ARMENIANS
COUNTED DESTROYED**

**Viscount Bryce Tells House of
Lords That Is the Probable
Number of Turks' Victims.**

10,000 DROWNED AT ONCE

**Peers Are Told How Entire Chris-
tian Population of Trebizond
Was Wiped Out.**

**MILLION ARMENIANS
KILLED OR IN EXILE**

**American Committee on Relief
Says Victims of Turks Are
Steadily Increasing**

POLICY OF EXTORTION

**More Atrocities Detailed
of Charge That
Acting Deliberately**

The Armenians in Turkey.

It cannot be said that the massacres in Armenia are a result of the Turkish Revolution. The tyrannical rule of Abdul Hamid II, which has been the cause of the Turkish Revolution, has always been a certain political attitude of the Sultan, and what Western

Le Petit Parisien

Supplément Illustré
Mardi 15, Mercredi 16, Jeudi 17, Vendredi 18, Samedi 19, Dimanche 20, 1917



Un blessé enlevé dans les rues de Galati
L'ENLEVEMENT DES CORPSES DANS LES RUES DE GALATI



MASSACRES IN ARMENIA.

**OTTOMAN MINISTERS HELD
PERSONALLY RESPONSIBLE.**

Exclusive Associated Press Service **Oakland Tribune.** **LAST Edition**

WOMEN AND CHILDREN ARE BURNED ALIVE

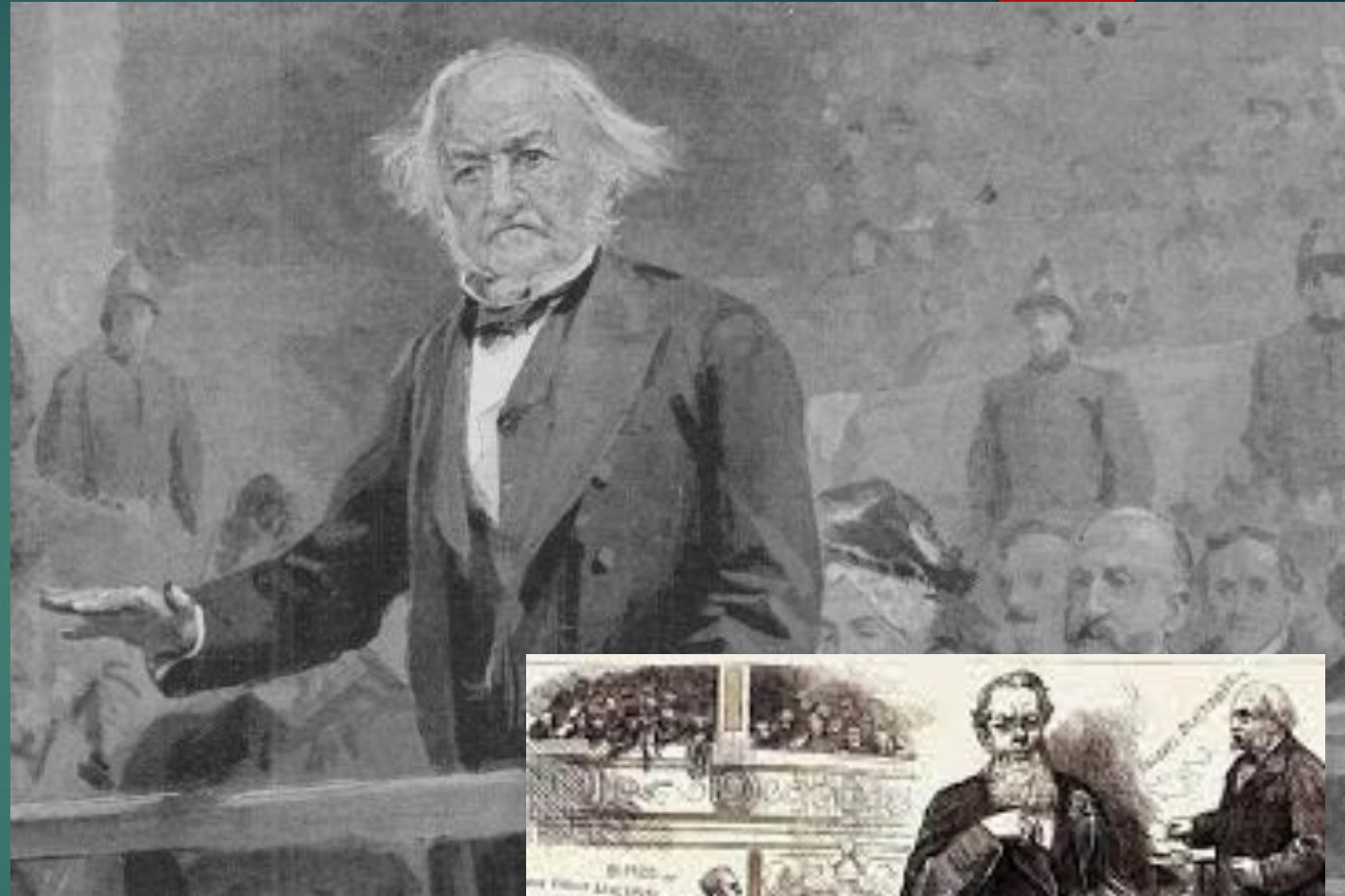
WOMAN IS FOUND INTIMACY WITH BIT MYSTERY MRS. EDGARD
I Wish to Create Memory of Jack London And Have a Home With Children, Declares Mrs. London
LIVES OF AMERICAN

William Alton's Photographs of Armenian Genocide, 1917



Gladstone

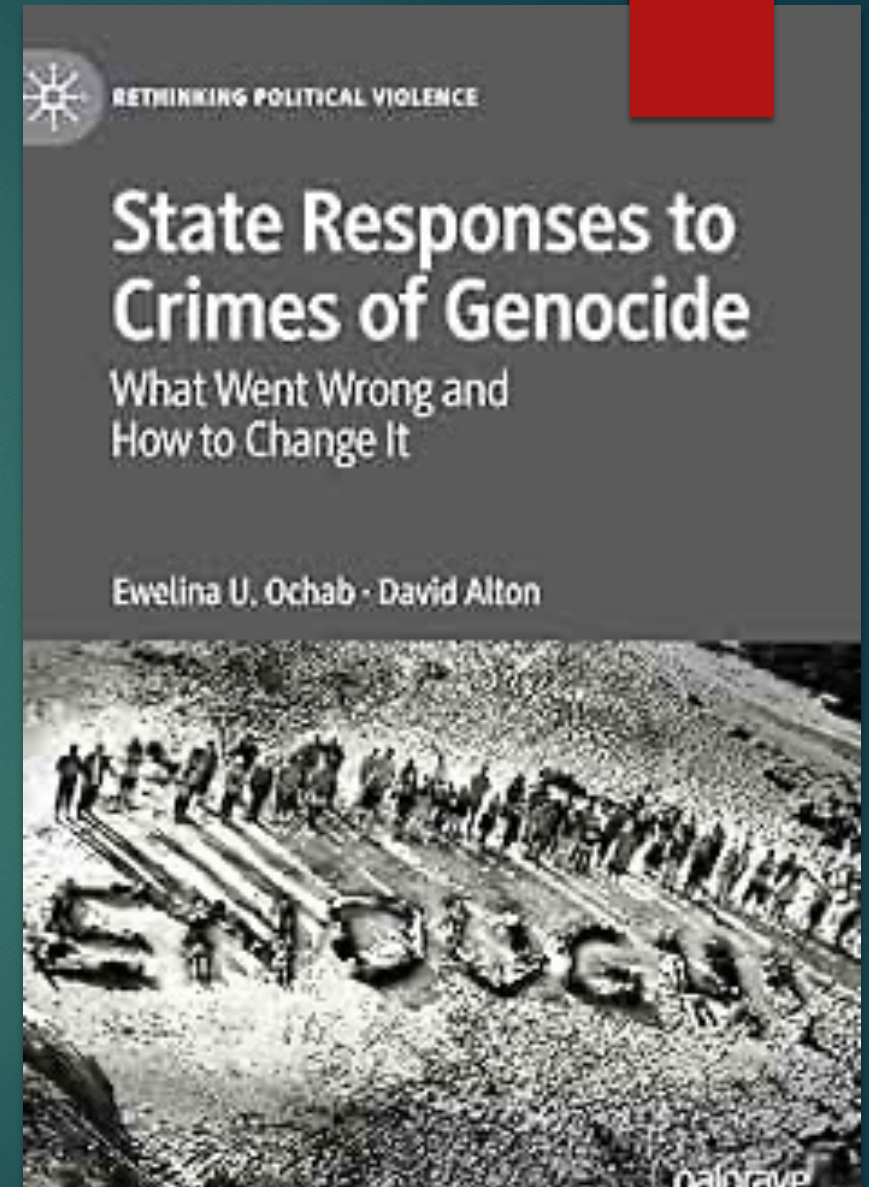
He told a crowd of 6,000 people that he felt compelled to come out of retirement having met “two Armenian gentlemen” who had described atrocities “horribly accumulated outrages” which he said, “the powers of language hardly suffice to adequately describe”.



What Does The Convention Require?

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

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



Duty to prevent

- ▶ Although the 1948 Genocide Convention imposed a duty to prevent, it said no more than that, and it would take the barbaric massacre at Srebrenica in 1995 and the Bosnian genocide for the International Court of Justice to provide such clarification in its judgment of *Bosnia and Herzegovina v. Serbia and Montenegro*.
- ▶ It says the duty to prevent arises “At the instant that the State learns of, or should normally have learned of, the existence of a serious risk that genocide will be committed.”



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'NEVER AGAIN' HAS
HAPPENED AGAIN
AND AGAIN.

Is The Convention
Fit For Purpose?



Darfur

REGION OF WESTERN SUDAN

...munity is yet again in danger of pre-emptive and appeasement. Months ago in Parliament, I urged the government to think about what happened in Rwanda 10 years ago as it considered its policy towards Darfur. In Rwanda, in just days, 800,000 people died as the brutal community silently red on. There are no UN soldiers in Darfur - just a handful of African Union soldiers who are there to protect the monitors. The territorial leaders that I met in Darfur living under the illusion that mere presence of monitors and international non-governmental organisations will prevent incursions by the Janjaweed militia into their camps. Rwanda illustrates the dangers of such illusions. In Geneva I met the Fashir of eastern district, Suliman Dina. He was appointed to his senior position of local leadership by the former Sultan and has placed himself in grave danger by speaking publicly about events there. Suliman Dina, who is 71, told me what he wanted the world to be clear on what had happened to him and his people. He told us that the build-up to violence began in 1995 with the usual catalogue of plundering and killing. Cows and cattle were stolen and rustling was accompanied by sporadic attacks. In 1997, the Janjaweed militia began to consolidate their position and their presence. In 1998, some hundred Janjaweed fighters reinforced a Government

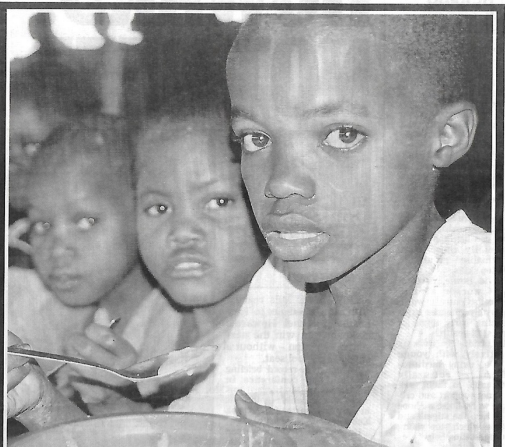
- Thousands of people murdered
- Hundreds of thousands forced to flee
- Thousands more starving

So why are we failing Sudan?

helicopter, attacked the 54 villages in the Fashir district - 433 people were left dead. Suliman Dina told us that, of the 54 villages only one, Azena, was not razed to the ground. The Janjaweed tried to hunt down the Fashir but he escaped across the border into Chad with many other villagers. In 1998 he returned when the government said there would be no reprisals. But he told us: "Instead of killing the government has also continued to harass the Fashir. Last month he was arrested and spent several days in prison. His life is undoubtedly in danger, but he told us emphatically that he wanted the truth to be told and for the international community to act. When we asked him what was the government's motive, he said: "The Arabs want to empty us off our land and take it from us. The Khartoum government has never wanted us. They behave as if they want to rid the whole land of the tribes' people. There are too many of us compared to them. Now that broke down as they recounted the humiliations and killings. Before we shake too many hands in Sudan we should remember the blood that is on them. The international community has failed the people of Sudan in the past and the evidence from Darfur - where 10,000 more people died last month - is also, thus far, a record of failure." Lord Alton of Liverpool is an Independent Crossbencher Peer and a co-founder of the Jubilee Campaign human rights group (www.jubilee.org.uk) He is urging Merseysiders to

In an open letter to PM Tony Blair - currently on a three-day African tour - Lord Alton of Liverpool explains why the PM needs to take urgent action there ...

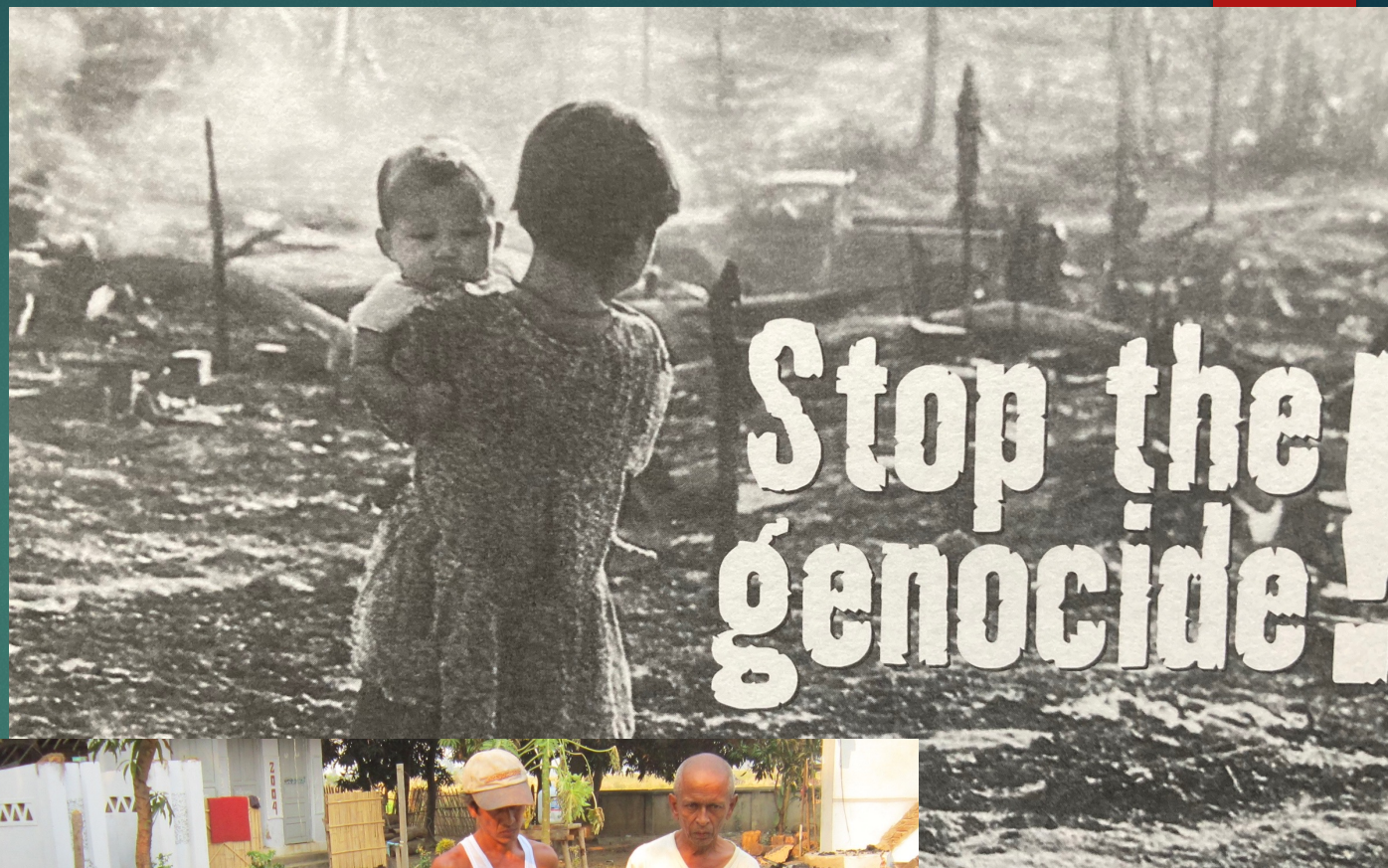
JUST three months ago, the UN described the horrific situation in Darfur, Sudan, as "the world's worst humanitarian crisis" - I now know nothing much has changed. Three days ago - while the international community continued to procrastinate about whether events in Darfur constitute genocide - I was in Gensira in West Darfur at the Ardumata refugee camp where 30,000 people are sheltering. While I was there it was reported that government helicopters had been seen that day flying in arms for the Janjaweed militia. We collected evidence from tribal leaders who testified to a systematic campaign of killings, rape, burnings and looting. On that same day, Kofi Annan, the UN secretary general, said that the government of Sudan had reneged on its promise to disarm the Janjaweed who have killed 90,000 people and displaced 1.4 million others in Darfur. It is a campaign with the sole objective of eradicating the African tribes people and installing the Arab militias in their place. Although I understand why Tony Blair wanted to have face-to-face discussions with Sudanese President al-Bashir, the international community is yet again in danger of procrastination and appeasement. Months ago in Parliament, I urged the government to think about what happened in Rwanda 10



● Thousands of people murdered



Burma



Yazidis

IN IRAQ





“Tell the world we’re dying.”



Tigrayans

IN ETHIOPIA

Uyghurs, China, North Korea



THE TIMES FRIDAY JANUARY 19 1996

Brother of China 'dying rooms' doctor arrested

FROM JONATHAN MIRSKY IN HONG KONG



UYGHUR TRIBUNAL

In the land without brothers and sisters

BEIJING is unsuitable as a place for holding a conference discussing women's rights, David Alton, MP for Mossley Hill, told the House of Commons this week.

Urging fellow mem- anyone can watch the sterilisation, the forcible

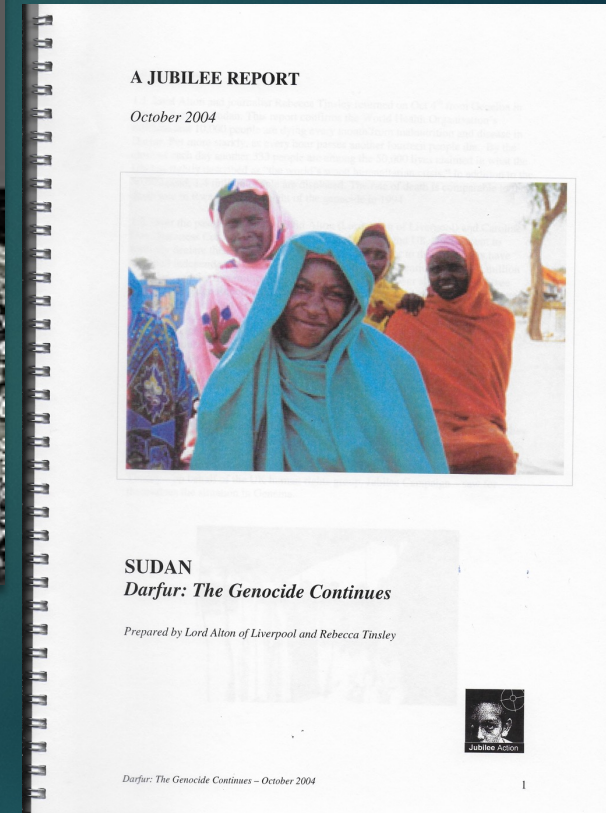
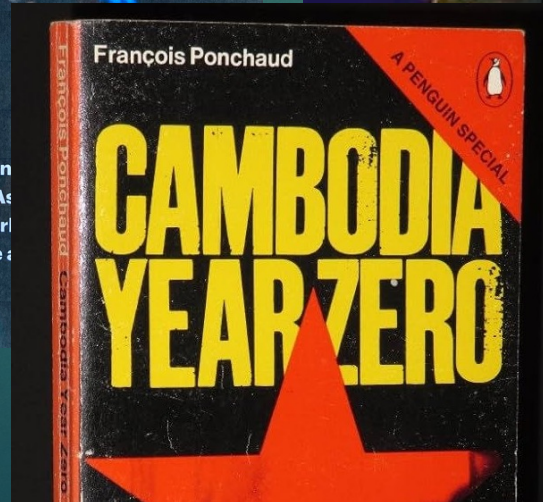
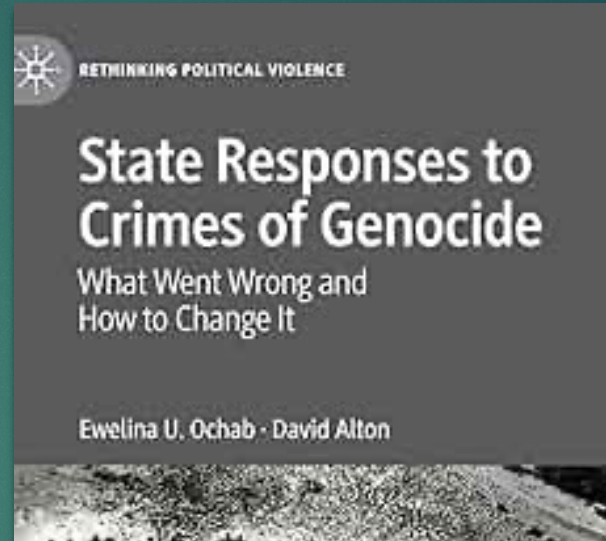
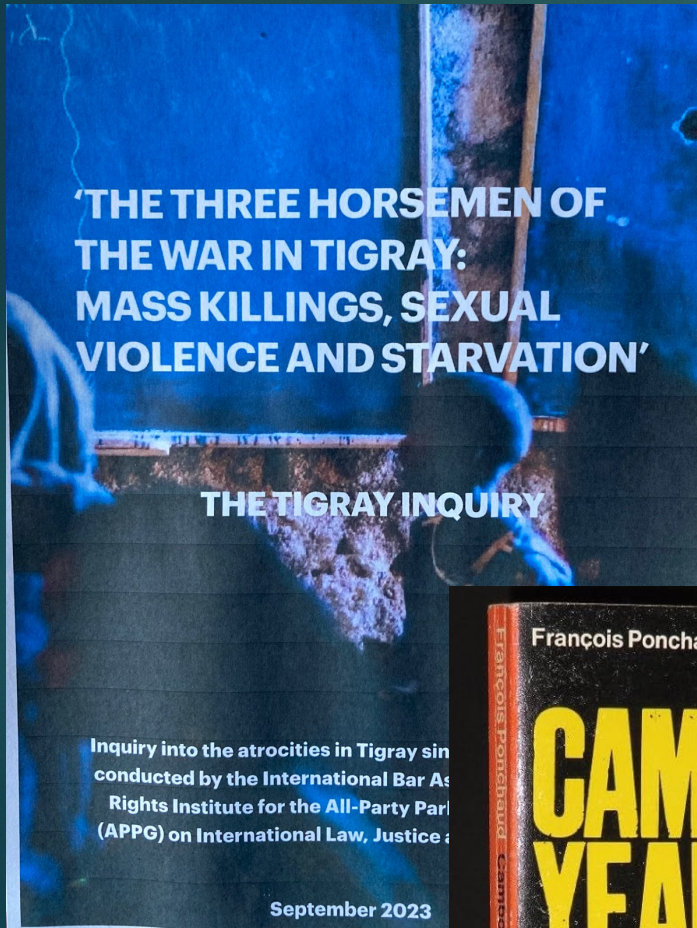
Parliamentary Under- secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth affairs.

China: Genocide *Motion to Take Note*

Ukrainians



Books, reports, commissions





“for me, it is also a symbol of the breaking of humanity every time a genocide occurs”

David Alton

“The Allies stand for something greater than power. The chief name inscribed on our banner is Law“

Bishop Bell,
House of Lords , 1944.

