



**STOCKHOLM INTERNATIONAL FORUM 2004**  
**PREVENTING GENOCIDE**  
**JANUARY 26, 2004**  
**STOCKHOLM, SWEDEN**

Your Majesty, Royal Highness, Prime Minister, Secretary-General,  
Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen:

It is a pleasure for me to be here in a city characterized by its historical role in developing and expounding international peace and justice. We thank Prime Minister Goran Persson and the Government of Sweden for hosting this important Forum. It is the hope of the U.S. here that we can hone our tools towards a shared objective: creating an environment where the innocent are protected and those who disregard human life face resolute justice.

This morning we saw a recital that was moving and underscored the tragic and terrible history we have experienced. It personally also brought back memories for me. My fellow delegates, as a UN prosecutor I had the duty to bring to life Lemkin's definition of genocide and secure the first ever conviction under the 1948 Convention. As a result I share Lemkin's observation that genocide anywhere affects us all. We have a duty to remedy this evil. The United States believes that our overarching responsibility must be to create conditions in the world where such catastrophes as the Holocaust, the killing fields in Cambodia, the Rwanda Genocide, and the over 25 years of the massive assault on humanity in Iraq will be put beyond the human imagination. There needs to be a coordinated approach that watches for signs of impending violence and reacts to it with diplomacy, humanitarian assistance, justice, force where appropriate, and education. The United States is committed to working with the international community to ensure that every state fulfills its obligations to guard against those who would exterminate liberty and innocent life.

In the past, consideration of how to prevent genocide and mass atrocities has often been presented as a stark choice between forcible intervention– the commitment of troops – or standing aside in hope that it will stop. This is not acceptable. If we are facing this dilemma, then it is already too late. For if we are serious about preventing genocide, we will take action even before violence begins. We know that Genocide and mass atrocities do not arise spontaneously. They are the result of careful planning. They are the result of a breakdown in social fabrics and form part of political calculations. They are also the result of pure ethnic, racial, national, and religious hatred. Genocide leaves a recognizable trail that if addressed early is reversible. The U.S. agrees that we need an appropriate early warning system.

A growing number of academic and government officials – many of whom are present here today – have studied these phenomena, and have cited a number of factors that set the stage for atrocities. The United States is part of this effort, and has persons dedicated to studying trends in order to warn policy and decision makers with the hope of true and real prevention. These individuals closely monitor states that experience political, economic, or social upheaval. They monitor countries with poor human rights, countries who ignore the rule of law and have no freedom of the press. They watch countries that disengage from the international community and disregard the welfare/life of vast segments of their population. We must find an appropriate way to bring our efforts together.

As we see such situations, the United States believes our duty is to engage early with diplomatic and humanitarian action. We must maximize the use of diplomatic and humanitarian tools to prevent genocide from ever occurring, rather than simply trying to stop it in its course. Each state must recognize its responsibility to properly regulate its territory and must recognize the consequences of inaction. Regions must see they have a duty to support the rule of law and engage neighbors bilaterally as well as through regional agreements and

institutions. This involves sending strong messages of rebuke and involves raising a bilateral disapproval into a multilateral condemnation. Consequences must be made clear. We should not hesitate to be firm. We should not hesitate to withhold assistance. We should not hesitate to levy appropriate and smart sanctions targeting individuals who plant the seeds of genocide using visa bans, asset seizures, and other means. Additionally, we should maintain standards for entry into regional and multinational institutions and make clear that entry is a privilege, not a right. And of course, offenders need to know, if they commit these crimes, they will face justice.

Since the Nuremberg trials, we have all worked to create a framework of principles to secure the rule of law and hold perpetrators accountable. The United States believes that we must fortify these principles by encouraging states to pursue credible justice and come to terms with their pasts. We all must assist states in such efforts by providing as needed the technical, financial and human resources. We must not tolerate abdication of the responsibility to pursue justice at home. We must not tolerate the lack of political will. Hard experience has taught us that lasting peace and democracy can only be achieved where there is justice and accountability – justice that touches society, has its acceptance, and ideally the participation, of the local community.

Sadly, we must recognize there will be, despite our efforts, outbreaks of atrocities. We now know that these occasions may call for use of force. This must be done as required but at all times with forethought. This calls for contingency planning within governments and collaboration amongst states. The burden to act should not fall on one country and no country is exempt from this responsibility. Countries must determine how to fulfill their respective responsibilities by examining what they have to offer in terms of contributing military personnel, providing logistical support, or helping with political and financial assistance. Primary responsibility should fall to states in the affected region and then as necessary, to the broader international community.

While we talk of steps of prevention, nothing replaces education. All who cherish freedom, value human dignity, recognize the horror of the Holocaust understand the seminal role of education to enlighten future generations. This Forum and its predecessors have contributed to raising awareness and have led to useful initiatives such as the Task Force for International Cooperation on Holocaust Education, Remembrance and Research. It is efforts like these that leaves us to understand we must as Elie Wiesel stated here for years ago, "...transform information into knowledge, knowledge into understanding, understanding into sensitivity." A sensitivity that leads to an understanding that each human life has value and that every ethnical, racial, national, and religious group makes a contribution to the world. We benefit from our diversity. Humanity is enriched by our differences. The United States stands ready to work with you to break this cycle of violence. My delegation looks forward to working with you during this Forum to find solutions and lay the groundwork which will truly allow us to say, "never again."