

# Countries at Risk Report - 2012

## GENOCIDE WATCH



**The International Alliance to End Genocide**

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# The 8 Stages of Genocide

By Gregory H. Stanton, President, Genocide Watch

## Classification Symbolization Dehumanization Organization Polarization Preparation Extermination Denial

Genocide is a process that develops in eight stages that are predictable but not inexorable. At each stage, preventive measures can stop it. The process is not linear. Logically, later stages must be preceded by earlier stages. But all stages continue to operate throughout the process.

**1. CLASSIFICATION:** All cultures have categories to distinguish people into “us and them” by ethnicity, race, religion, or nationality: German and Jew, Hutu and Tutsi. Bipolar societies that lack mixed categories, such as Rwanda and Burundi, are the most likely to have genocide. The main preventive measure at this early stage is to develop universalistic institutions that transcend ethnic or racial divisions, that actively promote tolerance and understanding, and that promote classifications that transcend the divisions. The Catholic church could have played this role in Rwanda, had it not been riven by the same ethnic cleavages as Rwandan society. Promotion of a common language in countries like Tanzania has also promoted transcendent national identity. This search for common ground is vital to early prevention of genocide.

**2. SYMBOLIZATION:** We give names or other symbols to the classifications. We name people “Jews” or “Gypsies”, or distinguish them by colors or dress; and apply the symbols to members of groups. Classification and symbolization are universally human and do not necessarily result in genocide unless they lead to the next stage, dehumanization. When combined with hatred, symbols may be forced upon unwilling members of pariah groups: the yellow star for Jews under Nazi rule, the blue scarf for people from the Eastern Zone in Khmer Rouge Cambodia. To combat symbolization, hate symbols can be legally forbidden (swastikas) as can hate speech. Group marking like gang clothing or tribal scarring can be outlawed, as well. The problem is that legal limitations will fail if unsupported by popular cultural enforcement. Though Hutu and Tutsi were forbidden words in Burundi until the 1980’s, code-words replaced them. If widely supported, however, denial of symbolization can be powerful, as it was in Bulgaria, where the government refused to supply enough yellow badges and at least eighty percent of Jews did not wear them, depriving the yellow star of its significance as a Nazi symbol for Jews.

**3. DEHUMANIZATION:** One group denies the humanity of the other group. Members of it are equated with animals, vermin, insects or diseases. Dehumanization overcomes the normal human revulsion against murder. At this stage, hate propaganda in print and on hate radios is used to vilify the victim group. In combating this dehumanization, incitement to genocide should not be confused with protected speech. Genocidal societies lack constitutional protection for countervailing speech, and should be treated differently than democracies. Local and international leaders should condemn the use of hate speech and make it culturally unacceptable. Leaders who incite genocide should be banned from international travel and have their foreign finances frozen. Hate radio stations should be shut down, and hate propaganda banned. Hate crimes and atrocities should be promptly punished.

**4. ORGANIZATION:** Genocide is always organized, usually by the state, often using militias to provide deniability of state responsibility (the Janjaweed in Darfur.) Sometimes organization is informal (Hindu mobs led by local RSS militants) or decentralized (terrorist groups.) Special army units or militias are often trained and armed. Plans are made for genocidal killings. To combat this stage, membership in these militias should be outlawed. Their leaders should be denied visas for foreign travel. The U.N. should impose arms embargoes on governments and citizens of countries involved in genocidal massacres, and create commissions to investigate violations.



**5. POLARIZATION:** Extremists drive the groups apart. Hate groups broadcast polarizing propaganda. Laws may forbid intermarriage or social interaction. Extremist terrorism targets moderates, intimidating and silencing the center. Moderates from the perpetrators' own group are most able to stop genocide, so are the first to be arrested and killed. Prevention may mean security protection for moderate leaders or assistance to human rights groups. Assets of extremists may be seized, and visas for international travel denied to them. Coups d'état by extremists should be opposed by international sanctions.

**6. PREPARATION:** Victims are identified and separated out because of their ethnic or religious identity. Death lists are drawn up. Members of victim groups are forced to wear identifying symbols. Their property is expropriated. They are often segregated into ghettos, deported into concentration camps, or confined to a famine-struck region and starved. At this stage, a Genocide Emergency must be declared. If the political will of the great powers, regional alliances, or the U.N. Security Council can be mobilized, armed international intervention should be prepared, or heavy assistance provided to the victim group to prepare for its self-defense. Otherwise, at least humanitarian assistance should be organized by the U.N. and private relief groups for the inevitable tide of refugees to come.

**7. EXTERMINATION** begins, and quickly becomes the mass killing legally called "genocide." It is "extermination" to the killers because they do not believe their victims to be fully human. When it is sponsored by the state, the armed forces often work with militias to do the killing. Sometimes the genocide results in revenge killings by groups against each other, creating the downward whirlpool-like cycle of bilateral genocide (as in Burundi). At this stage, only rapid and overwhelming armed intervention can stop genocide. Real safe areas or refugee escape corridors should be established with heavily armed international protection. (An unsafe "safe" area is worse than none at all.) The U.N. Standing High Readiness Brigade, EU Rapid Response Force, or regional forces -- should be authorized to act by the U.N. Security Council if the genocide is small. For larger interventions, a multilateral force authorized by the U.N. should intervene. If the U.N. is paralyzed, regional alliances must act. It is time to recognize that the international responsibility to protect transcends the narrow interests of individual nation states. If strong nations will not provide troops to intervene directly, they should provide the airlift, equipment, and financial means necessary for regional states to intervene.

**8. DENIAL** is the eighth stage that always follows a genocide. It is among the surest indicators of further genocidal massacres. The perpetrators of genocide dig up the mass graves, burn the bodies, try to cover up the evidence and intimidate the witnesses. They deny that they committed any crimes, and often blame what happened on the victims. They block investigations of the crimes, and continue to govern until driven from power by force, when they flee into exile. There they remain with impunity, like Pol Pot or Idi Amin, unless they are captured and a tribunal is established to try them. The response to denial is punishment by an international tribunal or national courts. There the evidence can be heard, and the perpetrators punished. Tribunals like the Yugoslav or Rwanda Tribunals, or an international tribunal to try the Khmer Rouge in Cambodia, or an International Criminal Court may not deter the worst genocidal killers. But with the political will to arrest and prosecute them, some may be brought to justice.

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## Countries at Risk - Quick Reference Table: 2012

Country	Genocide Stage	Victims	Killers
<b>Extermination/Current Massacres – Stage 7</b>			
DR Congo	7	Women, civilians, Congo Tutsis	Ex-Rwandan genocidists, mineral warlords
Sudan	7	Darfurese, Abyei, Nuba	Sudan army, Arab militias
Eastern Congo, Sudan, Uganda	7	Civilians, women, children	Lord's Resistance Army
Syria	7	Pro-democracy protesters	Assad, Alawite loyalists; army
Somalia	7	Opposing clans	Al Shabaab
Afghanistan	7	Gov't supporters	Taliban, Al Queda
Pakistan	7	Gov't supporters	Taliban, Al Queda
North Korea	7	Gov't opponents	Korean Army
Burma/Myanmar	7	Shan, Kachin, Karen, Rohingya, democrats	Burmese Army
Ethiopia	7	Gov't opponents	Tigrean Army
<b>Preparation/Potential Massacres – Stage 6</b>			
Nigeria	6	Ethnic, religious	Ethnic, religious
Libya	6	Gaddafi militias	Tribal militias
Yemen	6	Elected gov't	Al-Queda
PRChina	6	Falun Gong, Uighers	Chinese army
Colombia	6	Gov't officials	Drug gangs, FARC
Equatorial Guinea	6	Bubi minority	Gov't police
Republic Congo	6	Ethnic opposition	Gov't forces
Chad	6	Zaghawas	Sudanese raiders
Central Afr. Rep.	6	African farmers	Arab militias
Haiti	6	Democrats	Duvalierists
Kenya	6	Gov't opposition	Gov't supporters
Guinea-Bissau	6	Democrats	Army/ drug lords



<b>Polarization – Stage 5</b>			
Iraq	5	Kurds, Shia, Sunni	Ethnic, religious
Iran	5	Bahais, Sunnis	Revolution Guard
Uzbekistan	5	Tajiks, Islamists	Uzbek Army
Egypt	5	Copts	Islamists
Côte d'Ivoire	5	"immigrants"	"True Ivoirians"
Rwanda	5	Tutsis, Hutus	Hutu extremists
Burundi	5	Tutsis, Hutus	Hutu extremists
Zimbabwe	5	Matabele, MDC	Zanu-PF
South Africa	5	Whites, Boers	Marxist racists
Angola	5	Cabindans	Angolan Army
Mali	5	Touareg	Malian Army
Algeria	5	Berbers	Algerian Army
Philippines	5	Gov't supporters	Abu Sayyef
Lebanon	5	Christians, Druze	Hezbollah
Israel/Palestine	5	Palestinians/Jews	Israelis/Hamas
Sri Lanka	5	Tamils	Sinhalese
India	5	Muslims; Landowners	Hindu Extremists; Naxalite Maoists
Indonesia	5	Christians	Islamists
Russia	5	Ingush, Chechens	Russian Army
Kosovo	5	Serbs	Kosovars
Bosnia-Herzegovina	5	Bosniaks, Serbs	Serbs, Bosniaks
Belarus	5	opposition	government
Venezuela	5	opposition	government
Tunisia	5	Islamists	Liberals
Mexico	5	Government Supporters	Drug Cartels
Bahrain	5	Shiites	Sunni army





## **Countries at Risk**

### **Stage 7: Preparation**



## **Genocide Warning: Democratic Republic of the Congo – the Kivus 3 October 2012**

Since April 2012, instability in North and South Kivu in the eastern Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) has become increasingly violent. Genocide Watch warns that there have already been genocidal massacres and mass atrocities by warring ethnic groups, and there is serious risk of all-out genocide.

A Mai Mai militia, the Raia Mutomboki, is targeting anyone who speaks Kinyarwanda (Congolese or Rwandan, combatant or civilian), and has declared its intent to kill or expel all Kinyarwanda speaking people from the Congo. In response, a Hutu militia, the FDLR, is targeting anyone associated with the Raia Mutomboki. Since the beginning of 2012, these two groups have reportedly killed at least 700 people and have displaced over 300,000 Congolese.

Since the end of the Second Congo War in 2003, the Congolese army (FARDC) has relinquished its efforts to pacify the eastern Congo. It is currently in pursuit of the pro-Rwandan March 23 Movement (M23). Absence of the FARDC has left a power vacuum, now filled by Raia Mutomboki and the FDLR.

The DRC has been in constant conflict since 1994, the year of the Rwandan genocide, when Rwandan genocidaires fled into the DRC. In 1996 Laurent Kabila, backed by the Rwandan Army, invaded the Congo, killed many Hutu and overthrew President Mobutu. Rwandan and Ugandan troops stayed in the DRC, and many other African countries sent armies to exploit the vast mineral resources of DRC, driving civilians into the jungle, resulting in over four million civilian deaths and rapes of 200,000 women.

A peace treaty was eventually signed in 2009, and militias of the National Congress for the Defense of People (CNDP), were supposed to be integrated with the FARDC. However, in April 2012, CNDP soldiers who had not already left the FARDC mutinied and joined M23, led by Bosco Ntaganda, a leader in the CNDP. Ntaganda has a warrant for his arrest issued by the International Criminal Court for using child soldiers. M23 is based in the eastern Congo province of North Kivu and seeks an independent Tutsi-led state. It has been alleged that the Rwandan government supports M23, but Rwanda denies involvement. M23 commits crimes against humanity by targeting civilian populations, mutilations, and mass rape.

The Raia Mutomboki and the genocidaire-led FDLR are engaged in a bilateral genocidal conflict. Both groups massacre and mutilate entire villages, combatants and civilians. Both groups have enlarged recruitment beyond the Kivus. Local leaders are terrorized by Raia Mutomboki and say it gets support from M23. The Kivus are again descending into genocide, mass rape, and forced deportations.

There are currently genocidal massacres taking place in the North and South Kivu provinces of the DRC. Eastern DRC is at Stage 7.

- Genocide Watch advocates that the United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of Congo (MONUSCO) should increase its efforts to hunt down perpetrators of genocide in both the FDLR and Raia Mutomboki with robust funding and training from European and other African governments, culminating in a cease-fire monitored by MONUSCO.
- International relief organizations should establish safe refugee corridors and camps for IDPs.
- Genocide Watch demands that Bosco Ntaganda and all genocidists be arrested for war crimes and extradited to the ICC. The principle of subsidiarity—giving precedence to the national courts over the ICC—does not apply to Ntaganda, because the DRC referred his case to the ICC in 2004.
- Genocide Watch calls upon the Congolese government and neighboring governments to pass necessary legislation to build national institutions for justice and accountability, provide genuine local security, and pass and enforce laws that outlaw donor support of militias by foreign powers.



## **Genocide Emergency: Democratic Republic of the Congo 7 February 2012**

The Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) is plagued by enduring conflict in its eastern provinces. Formally the second Congolese war came to an end in 2002. However, in practice the conflict drags on and is the most deadliest since the second World War. Estimates of the dead range from three to five million persons. The victims are civilians, in particular women and girls, and ethnic groups such as the Banyamulenge, the Hutu Banyarwanda, the Hema and the Lendu. Many of the killers and rapists are former genocidists who escaped into the DRC from the Rwandan genocide.

Besides the high death rate among vulnerable civilian populations, especially children, and the number of internally displaced persons, there is the alarming trend of rape used as a weapon of war. Sexual violence is aimed at terrorizing and controlling the population. A recent study estimates that nearly 2 million women have been raped in the DRC, that is nearly one every minute. These atrocities, however, are not limited to women and girls. The fact that also men and boys are victims of rape is often not highlighted. Moreover, sexual violence is not limited to rape. It includes crimes such as abduction and sexual slavery, forced maternity and sexual mutilation. Sexual violence causes traumas, diseases, rejection and stigmatization. These consequences are aggravated by feelings of hopelessness, shame and abandonment because of the impunity of the perpetrators.

The rapes in the DRC constitute war crimes and crimes against humanity, targeting a civilian population on a mass scale. Some of the acts of sexual violence can be qualified as genocidal acts, such as those committed by the FDLR and the Mai Mai towards the Tutsi population. Sexual violence is the most shocking human rights violation now occurring in the Eastern Congo.

The situation in this extensive country located in the heart of Africa is highly explosive. This is evidenced by the following factors;

- Risk of future instability is judged by Barbara Harff to be very high.
- There were genocidal massacres in the DRC during the period from 1993 to 2003 as evidenced by a draft report of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights.
- The elections of December 2011 were marked by widespread fraud, and proved that the DRC needs to build democratic institutions. Dozens of people died in pre- and post-election violence
- The mineral wealth in the eastern provinces of the DRC is a major cause of the ongoing conflict. Numerous militias controlled by rapacious warlords, as well as Congolese government troops exploit these minerals, while engaging in human rights violations on a large scale, including forcing civilians to work in the mines.
- MONUC, the UN Mission in the DRC, one of the largest UN Peacekeeping Operations in the world, has had a beneficial effect in some towns and regions, but it remains hopelessly understaffed, undertrained, under resourced and underfinanced.

Currently genocidal massacres are taking place in the DRC. The DRC is at Stage 7: Extermination.

- Genocide Watch calls upon the Congolese government and neighboring governments to pass the necessary legislation to build regional institutions for justice and accountability, with international assistance and financing, under Congolese, national and international law.
- Genocide Watch advocates a large increase in efforts to hunt down and stop perpetrators of sexual violence, carried out by regional forces with robust funding and training from European and American governments, the UN, and support from MONUC.
- Genocide Watch urges an exponential increase in funding for hospitals, especially to repair fistula and other maiming of women who have been raped.
- Genocide Watch urges investigation and arrest of perpetrators of sexual violence, other crimes against humanity, and genocide by a special unit of the International Criminal Court.



## **Genocide Watch for the Nuba Mountains of Sudan 10 June 2011**

Due to confirmed reports of a military buildup and atrocities by the Sudanese Army in the Nuba Mountains of Sudan, Genocide Watch is issuing a Genocide Watch for the area. The people of the Nuba Mountains in South Kordofan again face genocide by the Government of Sudan.

Many people of the Nuba Mountains fought on the side of the southern Sudan Peoples' Liberation Army (SPLA) during the twenty-year civil war. Now that South Sudan has voted for independence, they are afraid of massive retaliation by the northern government. They are stranded in "northern" Sudan but are ethnically considered "black Africans," like the people of the south, by the Arab government in Khartoum.

As Alex de Waal, an expert on Sudan, wrote in 2006, "The counterinsurgency fought by the Government of Sudan against the rebels of the Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA) in the Nuba Mountains of central Sudan during the early 1990's was not only exceptionally violent, but also aimed at depopulating the area of civilians. Not only did the government aim to defeat the SPLA forces but they also intended a wholesale transformation of Nuba society in such a way that its prior identity was destroyed. The campaign was genocidal in intent and at one point, appeared to be on the brink of success... The conflict took on a distinct racial character. The war was notable for attacks on civilian targets with forced displacement, rape and killing." ([http://howgenocidesend.ssrc.org/de\\_Waal2/](http://howgenocidesend.ssrc.org/de_Waal2/))

The people of the Nuba Mountains fear that they will again be dispossessed of their land and herded into displaced persons camps as they were in the 1990's. They fear re-imposition of Sharia law by President al Bashir. In violation of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement, the Sudanese Army invaded the oil-rich Abyei area of South Kordofan in May, driving out its Dinka inhabitants, in order to ensure northern victory when Abyei votes on whether to join Sudan or South Sudan. al-Bashir said Abyei belongs to Sudan.

In May elections, Abdel Aziz al Hila, a popular former commander of the SPLA was expected to win the election for Governor of South Kordofan. Instead Ahmed Haroun, who is wanted by the International Criminal Court (ICC) for atrocities perpetrated in Darfur, was declared the winner by Khartoum. The ICC has charged Haroun with 20 counts of crimes against humanity, including persecution, rape and torture, and 22 counts of war crimes, including attacks against the civilian population, destruction of property and outrage upon personal dignity. Haroun was reportedly nearly arrested by SPLA troops this week, but escaped and was immediately evacuated to Khartoum.

Two and a half weeks ago, Sudanese President Omar al Bashir was in Kadugli, the capital of South Kordofan, where he reportedly announced, "If the people here [meaning those in the Nuba Mountains] refuse to honor the results of the [gubernatorial] election, then we will force them back into the mountains and prevent them from having food just as we did before." Intentional deprivation of food is an act of genocide under Article 2(c) of the Genocide Convention. Open threats such as al-Bashir's cannot be ignored. Al-Bashir is a serial genocidist with an arrest warrant for genocide in Darfur from the ICC.

Genocide Watch has received confirmed reports of a dramatic increase in the number of heavily armed Government of Sudan troops massing in the Nuba Mountains. According to sources on the ground, over the past three days fighting between government troops and the Sudan People's Liberation Army have exploded in the Nuba Mountains, at Umm Durein, Toladi, Angaruthu, and Kadugli. An unnamed source reported, "Abdul Aziz al-Hila is back fully in military uniform." Another reliable source reported over satellite phone, "If Aziz goes down, the entire Nuba Mountains will erupt."

The open announcement of genocidal intent by al Bashir and the militarization of the Nuba Mountain area are clear early warning signs of imminent genocide and mass atrocities. We urge diplomats at the United Nations and in the African Union to undertake immediate diplomatic action to warn al-Bashir that genocide in Sudan will not be tolerated.



## **Genocide Emergency: The Nuba Mountains of Sudan 8 March 2012**

After years of war, as South Sudan celebrates its independence, Sudan's state of South Kordofan is again afflicted by genocide. South Kordofan is situated in a geopolitical hot spot, bordering northern Sudan and South Sudan. It is strategically, and geographically important due to the significant oil reserves in the region. Like Darfur, the state of South Kordofan suffers from long-term political and economic marginalization.

In the heart of South Kordofan are the Nuba Mountains, also known as 'Jibal al-Nuba', home to the Nuba people. Over fifty Nuba tribes live in the Nuba mountains. They are not united politically. The Sudanese government's long-term goal is to transform Sudan into an Islamic Arab state. The Nuba suffered genocidal massacres and were driven into displaced persons camps in the 1990's. They are again under brutal military attack by Sudanese armed forces.

The Nuba people have suffered from oppression, discrimination, and genocide. In the early 1980's the Nuba's growing discontent with the government's Arabist policies, drove many Nuba to join the Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLM/A.) The late John Garang's vision of a "new Sudan" in which Sudan would become a secular state, where diversity was respected, resonated well with the Nuba.

In efforts to weaken the SPLM/A, the government in Khartoum launched attacks on the Nuba. The National Islamic Front initiated a jihadist campaign intended to eradicate the Nuba population. Government forces, especially the Air Force, along with government-armed militias, committed mass atrocities in the Nuba Mountains. Under the Genocide Convention, the atrocities committed in 1990's against the Nuba were acts of genocide.

From 1987 to 2001 the Nuba Mountains were a war zone. In 2002, a ceasefire agreement was signed. The 2005 Comprehensive Peace Agreement failed to address many of the issues concerning the Nuba. The Nuba were not permitted to vote in the January 2011 referendum on southern secession from Sudan.

State elections in South Kordofan were repeatedly delayed. In May 2011, elections were held, Many anticipated that Abdel Aziz al Hila, a popular former commander of the SPLA would win the election for Governor of South Kordofan. However, the National Elections Commission appointed by Omar al-Bashir officially announced that Ahmed Haroun won the elections. The SPLM/A has stated that the election outcome was fraudulent.

Haroun is wanted by the International Criminal Court (ICC) for atrocities he committed in Darfur. He is charged with 20 counts of crimes against humanity and 22 counts of war crimes. The Sudanese government has refused to surrender Haroun. Instead al-Bashir promoted him from Chairman of the Humanitarian Affairs Commission (HAC) to Governor of South Kordofan. It is appalling that a criminal like Haroun has been rewarded for committing acts of genocide. The South Kordofan elections signify the vindictiveness and incompetence of the Sudanese regime, and the elections illustrate the culture of impunity in Sudan. Haroun lives in Khartoum and is afraid to set foot in South Kordofan.

The National Congress Party issued a letter to SPLA headquarters stating that by 1st of June the SPLA units in the state of South Kordofan must disarm in accordance to the CPA's provision. On June 5, 2011 under the pretext of "counter – insurgency," the government started supplying Arab –based local militia with arms to murder Nuba civilians. The Sudan Armed forces (SAF) along with Arab militia are currently engaging in widespread, systematic attacks on Nuba civilians that are intended to destroy in part the Nuba ethnicity. These acts constitute genocide and crimes against humanity.

There are innumerable reports of government military units called the "Abu Tiera" rounding up innocent civilians using prepared execution lists, proof of intentional premeditation. The Sudan Armed Forces (SAF) are using a systematic policy of intimidation, rape, torture, and detention against women and



children and the elderly. Genocide Watch has received reports that populated areas in the Nuba Mountains are subject to aerial bombings by the Sudan Air Force, followed by ground attacks.

The Sudan Armed Forces, along with paramilitary groups such as Popular Defence Forces (PDF), the Central Reserve Forces (CRF) and the National Intelligence and Security Services (NISS) are also orchestrating the mass atrocities occurring in South Kordofan.

Many thousands of civilians have been killed; the UN estimates that more than 73,000 people have been displaced. The military continues to engage in relentless aerial attacks. A large number of refugees have fled to the Unity State in South Sudan.

The genocidal role played by al-Bashir and Ahmed Haroun in South Kordofan is identical to their role in Darfur. They are serial genocidists. President Bashir and Ahmed Haroun have both publicly announced their orders and support of the SAF's military actions in South Kordofan. As the crisis in the Nuba Mountains worsens, the decimation of the Nuba people continues unabated. Now the Sudanese government's massacres have spread to the Blue Nile state.

**Genocide Watch is issuing a Genocide Emergency Alert.**

Genocide Watch has declared that the massacres in South Kordofan constitute a Genocide Emergency. In accord with our eight stages of genocide, Sudan is ranked at Stage 7: Extermination and 8: Denial.

- Genocide Watch calls on all armed parties to declare an immediate cease-fire.
- We urge the government of Sudan to allow international humanitarian access in all areas.
- We urge the UN Security Council to strengthen the mandate of the United Nations Mission in Sudan (UNMIS) to authorize proactive armed intervention to protect the Nuba and other people.
- We call upon the government of Sudan to immediately cease all aerial bombardment in South Kordofan. Genocide Watch recommends that a "passive" no fly zone be imposed over South Kordofan, even without UN authorization, in which any planes used by the Sudanese Air Force to bomb or strafe civilians would be destroyed by cruise missiles when they return to their bases at night. Aerial bombardment of South Kordofan by the Sudanese Air Force must be stopped.
- We urge the UN Human Rights Council to send a Commission of Inquiry to South Kordofan and the Blue Nile states.
- We call upon the African Union and the League of Arab States, to publicly condemn the serious crimes against humanity violations being perpetrated by the Sudanese government in South Kordofan and Blue Nile.



## **Genocide and Mass Atrocity Emergency: Syria 8 June 2011**

Since 1970, Syria has been under the repressive rule of the al-Assad family regime and the socialist Ba'ath Party. Political tensions have been caused by opposing ideologies of the ruling Alawite minority – Baathist socialism – and the Sunni Muslim majority (three quarters of the population) which favors adherence to moderate Islamic law. Since the 1980's, the Assad government has become increasingly authoritarian and repressive. Torture and killing of opposition leaders became policy.

During the Arab Spring of 2011, which swept authoritarian regimes out of power across North Africa, pro-democracy protests began in Syria in early March. The eruption of mass anti-government protests quickly spread throughout the country. Violent attacks on civilians by the al-Assad regime have escalated in brutality throughout the past year. When Genocide Watch issued its Genocide Warning for Syria in February 2012, the U.N. High Commissioner for Human Rights reported the death toll exceeding 5,400. Today, reports by the Syrian Network for Human Rights and the Damascus Centre for Human Rights Studies place the death toll around 14,000. Thousands more have fled as refugees to neighboring countries like Jordan and Lebanon. Despite government attempts to cut off the internet, exclude reporters, and even to forbid the UN to investigate the Houla massacre, information on the mass atrocities has been obtained from victims and witnesses by the U.N. Human Rights Council, Human Rights Watch and the international press.

The U.N. Supervision Mission in Syria (UNSMIS) deployed 300 unarmed monitors to oversee a “cease-fire” that never took effect. UNSMIS has stood by and watched as civilians were slaughtered. The Houla massacre on May 25 and the al-Qubayr massacre on June 7 killed over 200 civilians, many of them women and children executed by gunshots to the back of the head. Eyewitnesses have testified that the massacres were perpetrated by the Syrian Army and Alawite militias. President Bashar al-Assad denies involvement in the mass killings, claiming terrorists are behind the country's uprising. But the U.N. Human Rights Council has condemned the Syrian government for committing the massacres.

The evidence is now conclusive that the al-Assad regime is committing intentional crimes against humanity. Among the crimes the al-Assad regime is committing are: indiscriminant, widespread attacks on civilians, arbitrary detention of thousands in the political opposition, rape of detainees, widespread torture- including torture and murder of children- and denial of food, medicines and other essential resources to civilians. U.N. Secretary General Kofi Annan warns that Syria stands on the brink of a “full-blown civil war”. The early warning signs and stages of genocide in Syria are:

- Prior unpunished genocidal massacres perpetrated by Assad's father in Hama in the 1980's;
- Rule by a minority sect – the Alawite sect that supports Assad – with an exclusionary ideology;
- Systematic human rights violations;
- Fear by the ruling elite that any compromise will mean total loss of their power;
- Deliberate targeting of particular groups -- Sunni Muslims and army defectors;
- Denial by the Syrian government of committing crimes against humanity, blaming “foreign-inspired terrorist gangs” for the armed conflict.

### **Genocide Watch is issuing a Genocide Emergency Alert.**

Genocide Watch recommends that:

- The Arab League and Turkey should quickly create an Islamic Court to try Assad and other Syrian officials for crimes against humanity under Islamic law;
- The Arab League, Turkey, European Union, US and other nations should impose targeted sanctions against financial accounts, visas, and businesses owned by top Syrian officials;



- Arab and NATO nations should offer to cooperate with Russia to air lift and ship in humanitarian and medical relief supplies to all parts of Syria;
- The UN General Assembly should pass another resolution demanding full protected access for UN and international aid workers and journalists to all areas of Syria.
- Arab League and Turkish armed forces should support Syrian Army leaders who are planning to overthrow the al-Assad regime from within with as little bloodshed as possible.





## **Genocide and Mass Atrocities Alert: Syria 16 February 2012**

Since the beginning of March 2011, the stability of the Syrian Arab Republic has degenerated at an alarming rate. Genocide Watch warns that massacres and mass atrocities against pro-democracy protesters and the civilian population are being committed by Syrian security forces under the command of the al-Assad government. Protests have turned violent as former Syrian troops have defected and formed the “Free Syrian Army,” which the Syrian government has called a “terrorist” organization, and used to justify its ever more violent repression of civilian protests. Whole cities have been shelled by Syrian tanks and mortars, and at least 6000 civilians have died.

Since 1970, Syria has been under the repressive rule of the al-Assad family regime and the socialist Ba’ath Party. Tensions and political strife have been an on-going theme in Syria due in large part to the opposing ideologies of the regime’s ruling Alawite minority -- Baathist socialism- and the Sunni Muslim majority, which makes up three quarters of the country’s population, and largely favors adherence to Islamic law. After the Hama Massacre of 1982- a ‘scorched earth’ operation that killed 20,000 people to combat an attempted Sunni Muslim uprising- the government became increasingly authoritarian, relying on repressive policies to maintain control. Torture and killing of opposition leaders became policy.

When Hafez al-Assad died in 2000, the Constitution was amended to permit his 34 year old son, Bashar al-Assad to take power after a one-party “election.” Dynastic successions are characteristic of Middle Eastern autocracies, as they are in North Korea. There was a brief “Damascus Spring” when political life became freer, and Bashar al-Assad promised reforms, but the only reforms were economic, freeing the economy from the stranglehold of state socialism. Political repression returned quickly.

During the Arab Spring of 2011, which swept authoritarian regimes out of power across North Africa, pro-democracy protests began in Syria in early March. Violent repression followed quickly when official mukhabarat security forces opened fire on non-violent political protesters in the city of Daraa on March 18th, killing at least four people. The eruption of mass anti-government protests quickly spread throughout the country, and violent attacks on civilians by the al-Assad regime have continued to escalate in brutality throughout the past year. According to the U.N. High Commissioner for Human Rights, as of January 2012, the death toll in Syria now exceeds 5,400- over five times more than the estimated deaths in July 2011, when Genocide Watch issued its first Genocide Alert for Syria. Thousands more have fled as refugees to neighboring countries like Jordan and Lebanon.

As the intense struggle for power continues between the al-Assad regime and opposition fighters, the government has resorted to the extreme measures of closing off borders and shutting down the internet. However, information on the mass atrocities has been obtained from victims and witnesses by the U.N. Human Rights Council, the BBC, Human Rights Watch, and the Arab League’s Commission of Inquiry. Video footage of the violence and witness testimonies have also surfaced on the internet.

The evidence is now conclusive that the al-Assad regime is committing intentional crimes against humanity. Among the crimes the al-Assad regime is committing are: indiscriminant, widespread attacks on civilians, arbitrary detention of thousands in the political opposition, rape of detainees, widespread torture- including torture and murder of children- and denial of food, medicines and other essential resources to civilians.

If the Alawite government of al-Assad believes it is about to lose all power in a zero-sum, winner take all revolution, its massacres could turn genocidal. Early warning signs and stages of genocide in Syria are:

- Prior unpunished genocidal massacres, such as those perpetrated by Assad’s father in Hama in the 1980’s;
- Rule by a minority sect – the Alawite sect that supports Assad – with an exclusionary ideology
- Systematic human rights violations;



- Fear by the ruling elite that any compromise will mean total loss of their power;
- Deliberate targeting of particular groups -- Sunni Muslims and army defectors;
- Denial by the Syrian government of committing crimes against humanity, blaming “foreign-inspired terrorist gangs” for the armed conflict.

In February 2012, a UN Security Council resolution proposed by the Arab League, calling for the resignation of President Assad and supporting an Arab League peace plan, was vetoed by Russia and China. A nearly identical UN General Assembly Resolution was then passed by a vote of 137 to 12 and the U.N. Secretary General denounced the al-Assad regime’s crimes against humanity. Navi Pillay, the U.N. High Commissioner for Human Rights, has issued a recommendation that the U.N. Security Council refer evidence of atrocities committed by government forces in Syria to the International Criminal Court.

President al-Assad announced plans for a constitutional referendum to remove the clause that makes the Baath Party the sole party permitted in Syria, but it will have no impact on the intensifying violence.

Genocide Watch offers the following recommendations:

- The Arab League, Turkey, the Islamic Conference, and other nations should demand an immediate cease-fire in Syria, with full rights for non-violent protest.
- The Arab League and Turkey should quickly create an Islamic Court to try Assad and other Syrian officials for crimes against humanity under Islamic law;
- The Arab League, Turkey, European Union, US and other nations should impose targeted national and regional sanctions against financial accounts, visas, and businesses owned by top officials of the Syrian regime and its army;
- Arab and NATO nations should offer to cooperate with Russia to air lift and ship in humanitarian and medical relief supplies to all parts of Syria;
- The UN General Assembly should pass another resolution demanding full protected access for UN and international aid workers and journalists to all areas of Syria.



## **Mass Atrocities Alert: Somalia** **29 March 2012**

Complex civil conflicts, along with devastating periods of drought over the past two decades have left the Republic of Somalia a failed state. The UNDP deems Somalia the world's "worst humanitarian disaster." Somalia's instability has led to mass atrocities and human rights violations against the civilian population, being committed by all major parties involved in the conflict, but especially by Al-Shabaab insurgents, Transitional Federal Government (TFG) forces, and intervening Ethiopian military forces. Therefore, Genocide Watch places Somalia at Stage 7 on the 8 Stages of Genocide, and issues a Genocide and Mass Atrocities Alert.

Since its independence in 1960, Somalia has been plagued by decades of inter-clan rivalries and warfare. Mohamed Siad Barre seized power in 1969 by military coup d'état and proceeded to turn Somalia into a Soviet-backed communist state, leading the totalitarian Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party. Resentment for the regime grew as Somalia became a proxy battleground for the US and USSR during the Cold War. A coalition of clan-based opposition groups overthrew the regime in 1991 as a response to government corruption and a major episode of politicide committed by the Barre regime after the Isaaq clan rebellion of 1988.

The current armed conflict in Somalia began in 1991 with the fall of Barre and the subsequent onset of civil war. Somalia has since been devoid of stable, centralized government control. This power vacuum has given way to protracted clan warfare and lawlessness that continues to wrack the country, with thousands of casualties, periods of famine, and large refugee movements into surrounding countries. In the early 1990s there were several humanitarian intervention attempts made by the US and the United Nations, but because of violent opposition from Somali militias, both withdrew from the country by 1995.

In 2004, a two-year peace process resulted in the formation of the Transitional Federal Government (TFG), marking the country's fourteenth attempt to establish control since the 1991 start of the Somali Civil War. Representing just a few clans, and having almost no effective power over the majority of Somali territory, the TFG lacks legitimacy. In 2006, an alliance of sharia courts and Somali business men, known as the Islamic Courts Union (ICU), emerged in opposition to the TFG, and successfully gained control of Mogadishu and much of the south. However, the rise of the ICU was unacceptable to Ethiopia, the European Union and the US.

In its place, a radical Islamic insurgent group, al-Shabaab, openly allied with Al Qaeda, took control of large swaths of Somalia north of Mogadishu. In support of the TFG, Ethiopia, backed by the US, launched a military intervention in 2006, which drastically intensified internal violence. Ethiopia withdrew its troops in 2009 following the Djibouti peace talks, which extended the Transitional Government's mandate and selected a moderate Islamist president. Fighting continued against al-Shabaab, and ANISOM forces (the African Union Mission in Somalia) led by Burundi, intervened. They have steadily gained ground for the Transitional Government. Kenyan forces intervened in southern Somalia to combat al-Shabaab militants, who pose a threat to Kenya's northeastern border, which is controlled by Somali clans.

In addition to the grave effects of protracted armed conflict, Somalia has also suffered from periods of severe drought, which led the UN to declare much of the country to be in a state of famine in 2011. Al-Shabaab worsened the crisis by imposing severe restrictions on humanitarian aid agencies, banning most Western aid agencies from entering the territory, and stopping civilians from fleeing the affected areas. Although the UN determined the famine to be over in February 2012, Somalia is still suffering from its lasting effects. Today, al-Shabaab forces continue to control much of Somalia's southern territory, despite their "strategic withdrawal" from Mogadishu in August 2011.

Effective and relatively successful attempts at stability have been made in the autonomous northern regions of the country known as Puntland and Somaliland. Puntland, the northeastern section of the Somalia, declared itself an autonomous state in 1998, and has since had a democratically elected government while still working in cooperation with the TFG. The northwestern region of Somalia, known as Somaliland, declared its independence in 1991, though it is not recognized by any country or



international organization. Somaliland also has its own democratically elected government, and since its self-proclaimed independence in 1991, has successfully avoided the instability and violence that have devastated the rest of Somalia.

Puntland has allowed a growth in piracy as a source of income, though there has been an increasingly effective naval effort to stop the pirates, including recent renewal of authorization by the UN for allied naval forces to pursue the pirates to their land bases.

For the purposes of this Mass Atrocities Alert, Genocide Watch sees the following warning signs of genocide and atrocities being committed against the civilian population of Somalia:

- Prior unpunished genocidal massacres, such as those perpetrated by the Barre regime, primarily against the Isaaq clan, in the late 1980s;
- Polarization and attempted rule of the clan-based society by groups with an exclusionary ideology, such as the ICU and al-Shabaab;
- Systematic human rights violations being committed by all major parties (al-Shabaab, the TFG, ANISOM forces, Ethiopian and Kenyan armed forces and their respective supported militias).

These widespread systematic human rights violations include the following:

- Indiscriminate killing of civilians by all major parties;
- Denial of humanitarian aid and basic necessities to civilians by al-Shabaab forces;
- Arbitrary arrest and detention of civilians by all major parties;
- Forced recruitment and physical abuse of children by al-Shabaab forces;
- Use of child soldiers by al-Shabaab and TFG forces;
- Domestic and sexual violence against women;
- Arbitrary arrest, abuse and deportation of Somali refugees by Kenyan forces.

Somalia is currently under a great deal of pressure to produce a new constitution by August 20, 2012, when the transitional government mandate is set to end, as stipulated in the Somalia End of Transition Roadmap. The roadmap is a comprehensive plan, designed to install more permanent political institutions, security and stability in the country, which was agreed in September 2011 by Somali Prime Minister Abdiweli Mohamed Ali, the UN, AU and other regional leaders such as those from the autonomous Somali entities of Puntland and Galmudug. With the help of the UNPD, a National Constituent Assembly of 1,000 members will vote on a draft constitution in May 2012. Despite the UN's efforts to include a diverse array of social and political actors in the process, there is growing concern within the country that the constitution will not be fully "Somali."

The current crisis in Somalia is one of extreme complexity, but at its roots are two factors:

1. The after-effects of totalitarian communist rule under Siad Barre, followed by two decades of anarchy, war, and famine;
2. The clan-based nature of Somali society. In a classic essay in social anthropology, Prof. Marshall Sahlins declared that "the segmentary lineage system is an organization for predatory expansion." The communist system unsuccessfully tried to abolish clans. Al-Sabaab is attempting to replace them through imposition of fundamentalist Islam. Neither totalitarian system will succeed.

Genocide Watch recommends that the UN, AU, and Somali officials convene an all-Somali congress to draw up a new con-federal constitution that recognizes the autonomy of southern Somalia, Puntland, Galmudug and Somaliland. The new constitution should draw inspiration from the Somaliland constitution of 2000, and allow Somalis to govern themselves using their traditional clan-based political system. A dramatic increase in accountability for human rights violations committed by all major parties should be enforced through a judicial system in accord with Somali tradition.



## **Persecution of Women: Afghanistan 5 May 2012**

Afghanistan was first unified by domestic power in 1747 under Pashtun leadership. Control in Afghanistan was held by Britain until 1919, when independence was obtained and leadership reverted to a unified tribal council. Democratic reforms instituted from 1919-1929 created rifts in the highly religious and polarized country. Numerous tribal wars ensued.

A military coup ushered in a communist regime in 1973, prompting immediate support and invasion by the USSR. The People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan initiated the coup, backed by Soviet troops. The communist regime was unable to gain control of the country outside of the metropolitan areas where armed resistance groups had formed. The US and other outside powers provided assistance in training and arms to the resistance fighters against the Soviets. Afghanistan became a drain on Soviet resources and eventually prompted the Soviets to withdraw in 1989.

Taliban Islamist extremist groups took power after Soviet withdrawal and openly allied with Al Qaeda against the US, Saudi Arabia, and the West. The Taliban and Al Qaeda gained control over 90% of the country and eliminated all opposition. They implemented strict Sharia law and committed massive human rights violations against non-Muslims, ethnic minorities and women. During the reign of the Taliban, Afghanistan became home to the largest terrorist conspiracy network in the world, responsible for attacks committed in Nairobi, Dar es Salaam, New York City, Washington, DC and many other places.

After the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks on the Twin Towers in New York and the Pentagon in Washington, DC, the US invaded Afghanistan and drove the Taliban from power. Since the fall of Taliban rule and occupation by the US and other NATO forces, the newly elected government has been working to combat human rights abuses. But crimes against women are still being committed by traditional, local "jirgas" (an appointed council of community members and religious scholars) which often hand out convictions against women for "moral crimes."

Crimes against women include forced marriage, arbitrary arrest and prosecution for "moral crimes" such as running away, sex outside of marriage or refusing to submit to a forced marriage. Many women serve jail time for being victims of domestic abuse or rape (which is considered sex outside of marriage). Those from abusive homes are especially susceptible to this fate because women are not allowed to obtain divorces. Women from abusive homes who cannot obtain divorces are the ones most likely to be convicted of having sex outside of marriage.

Lack of education is still a major barrier to women's rights. Under Taliban rule, women were prohibited from obtaining an education. Although education of girls is now legal, Taliban terrorists still attack schools for girls. Women still face the threat of acid being thrown at them for appearing in public. Women are also used as payment for debts either by being married off as payment or involuntary domestic servitude that is performed to repay a debt to another family. This practice is known as Baad. "Honor killings" are still prevalent in Afghanistan as a continuing violation of women's rights. The public execution of Sanam Bibi in 2009 for adultery, carried out by Taliban officials, demonstrates the gruesome nature of these types of sentences. Bibi was publicly whipped 200 times before being shot in the head three times. Her alleged partner paid a fine of about \$3,300.

Arbitrary arrest, widespread official impunity and ineffective government investigations into abuses committed by local security forces are perpetuated by the systematic corruption in the Afghan government. These abuses against women and ethnic minorities demonstrate the necessity for a more accountable administration in Afghanistan and the need to establish a stronger national judicial system in which perpetrators are held responsible for crimes against women.



Afghanistan saw its first democratically elected administration come to power in 2009 after a substantial amount of international financial and military support. Afghanistan has made small steps to remedy human rights violations and has made great democratic strides in order to regain control of the country from the terrorist Taliban regime. Genocide Watch recognizes the continuing struggle and encourages the elected officials to address violations of women's rights.

Afghanistan remains ethnically and religiously polarized. It is at Genocide Watch's Stage 5: Polarization. Withdrawal of NATO forces could result in rapid deterioration of the human rights situation in the country unless the Afghan government is able to defeat resurgent Taliban forces.



## **Genocide Watch Alert: Pakistan 17 April 2012**

The country of Pakistan has been fraught with various occupations and civil wars due to its geo-political location in the Middle East. Because of the ethnic diversity within the region, many administrations have struggled with the ethnic tensions and violence being perpetrated against citizens by militant groups such as Al Qaida and the Taliban. These terrorist groups operate with impunity while the Pakistani government struggles to uphold the “Responsibility to Protect” citizens against its own national military. The military resists civilian authority, operating independent of the elected government. Human Rights Watch has reported that the Pakistani military has been behind a number of forced disappearances and extrajudicial killings targeting religious and ethnic minorities, specifically Shias and people from the Baloch region. Political dissidents are at risk for these forced disappearances as well, The Karachi-based Baloch Rights Council estimated that about 1,600 political prisoners were in custody of security forces in 2010. Civilians are detained indefinitely and undergo various forms of physical torture; women are often sexually abused and raped as a form of interrogation while in custody.

Discrimination against women continues to be an issue that warrants greater concern by the international community. In some regions of Pakistan, criminal trials are conducted by religious courts headed by appointed judges and assisted by religious scholars. These trials are biased and corrupt and operate under Sharia law. They also deny people representation and opportunity for bail. Under the jurisdiction of these courts, women are helpless against verdicts including honor killings (a husband or male family member taking revenge against a woman for a crime of honor), which are legal in all four provinces. These courts also consent to “watta-satta” marriages (exchange of brides between clans or tribes in payment of a debt). Women who are engaged in these situations can be as young as twelve and are often discriminated against in their spouse’s home and abused. There have been 500 cases of violence against women in the home reported in the last six months according to Asian Human Rights Commission.

The rogue military in Pakistan continues to target religious and ethnic minorities. One persisting problem is the isolated region of Balochistan in Northern Pakistan. The Pakistani government has carried out a cultural onslaught in the region targeting educated professionals such as Baloch historians, healthcare professionals and journalists. This civil war has been going on for decades while religious minorities all over Pakistan continue to be persecuted under the pretext of Pakistan’s infamous blasphemy law. This law holds an automatic death sentence for anyone convicted of insulting Islam and has been used to prosecute and execute religious minorities, especially Christians. This blasphemy law was introduced in the 1980s to attempt to unify the broken society under a military dictator.

Because of these crimes, the government has taken drastic measures to limit citizens’ access to outside information, going as far as shutting down television stations and implementing a firewall to censor the web. Journalists and publishers regularly practice self-censorship in order to stay in business and avoid unwanted attention from the government and militant groups. Journalists are in constant fear of being attacked and harassed. Several of the journalists remain missing, according to the Department of State report on human rights for Pakistan. The government has implemented sanctions for certain television programs and radio stations that broadcast messages endorsed by the government.

The inability of the Pakistan government to reign in its military and protect its people is a big human rights concern. While the government has recently made efforts to improve some of the issues mentioned, local influence and cultural tradition continue to dictate everyday life in this predominantly rural society. The local governments perpetuate this cycle of abuse among women and in the courts, while the censorship and limit in personal freedoms is stifled by the threat of a rampant military and various armed militants. In light of these violations, Genocide Watch concludes Pakistan remains at a risk level of 7 because of these indicators.

Genocide Watch makes these recommendations:



- The Pakistani government must make efforts to quell the apparent civil conflict in the Balochistan region by arranging peace talks;
- Pakistani government ceases the repression and abuse of Baloch citizens;
- Comply with their ratification of the Convention to End all Discrimination Against Women;
- End the restrictions on religious and personal freedoms;
- Implement effective, democratic, secular judicial courts;
- Regain full control of the military and prosecute those responsible for crimes against the citizens of Pakistan.





## **Genocide and Politicide Alert: North Korea 19 December 2011**

The Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) was established under a Korean Stalinist communist, Kim Il-Sung, in August, 1948. North Korea invaded South Korea in June 1950. By October 1950, UN forces had driven the North Korean army back to the border with China. In November 1950, the Chinese army invaded Korea and drove UN forces back to the 38th Parallel. An Armistice Agreement was reached in 1953, effectively ending the Korean War.

Kim Il Sung ruled North Korea until he died in 1994. His communist party ruled North Korea through terror and genocide. In a succession strangely reminiscent of Korean royal dynasties, Kim Il Sung's son, Kim Jong-Il took power in 1994 and maintained totalitarian communist rule. Now he has died and power has passed to the next in the dynastic line, his son, Kim Jong-Un.

The Kim regimes have committed genocide and political mass killings since the creation of North Korea. Genocide Watch has ample proof that genocide has been committed and mass killing is still underway in North Korea. Our prediction is that when North Korean people eventually rise up against their totalitarian government, which is almost inevitable, North Korea's powerful million-man army, now armed with nuclear weapons, will be used to crush the revolt. We predict that North Korea could become the worst politicide since World War Two.

North Korea has already committed genocide against citizens who belong to minority racial, religious, political, and national groups. Before Korea was divided in 1948, there were millions of Christians who lived in North Korea. According to Robert Park, the author of "North Korea and the Genocide Convention," about 30 percent of the population in Pyongyang was Christian before the division. However, when Kim Il-Sung became the leader of North Korea, the country became the "worst violator of religious freedom in the world" and committed mass killings of Christians (Park, 2011). Hundreds of thousands of Christians were murdered by the regime and many more are still held in prison camps today. Open Doors USA reported that about 200,000 North Koreans are currently held in political prison camps and about 50,000 of them are Christians (Kerby, 2011).

National and racial groups have also been targeted by the North Korean regime. Many North Koreans have fled to China since 1948. Many refugees are women and eighty percent of those who remain in China are forced into prostitution or forced marriages (Park, 2011). China also returns North Korean women to North Korea even if they are married to Chinese citizens. They are usually executed or sent to concentration camps. Women who are impregnated by men who are not North Koreans, often Chinese or Chinese-Korean, are forced into having abortions in order to prevent other national or racial groups from becoming part of the North Korean population. Children who are not fully North Korean are murdered by the North Korean regime.

Widespread politicide has also been committed by the regime. People suspected of holding non-communist political opinions or who are not ethnically fully North Korean are held in concentration camps or prisons. According to a report released by Amnesty International, most of the political prisoners are held in "Total Control Zones," from which they will never be able to leave. These zones have grown over the last decade into a vast gulag. Over 200,000 North Koreans are held in these prison camps and a third of them are children (Park, 2011).

According to former guards and heads of these prison camps, prisoners are treated inhumanely by being used for medical experiments as well as exterminated in gas chambers. Children born in the gulag will be slave laborers for life. N.C. Heiken, the director of the film "Kimjongilia," claims, "this child is being raised as a slave or an animal" (Park, 2011).



Famine, caused by North Korea's disastrously inefficient food production and distribution system, and also intentionally caused by the state by refusal to distribute food to entire regions has caused millions of deaths from starvation since 1948, especially in the 1980's. Food shortages continue to be a major reason why North Koreans are dying today. The United Nations World Food Program reports that North Korea is facing the worst food shortage in the world today.

North Korea has a population of 24 million and a quarter of them, 6 million people, are severely suffering from food shortages and malnutrition. The government feeds its million-man army well, and devotes much of its budget to weapons production and nuclear arms development. The government does not spend enough to purchase food for its own citizens. Children are severely mal-nourished. Refugees who have managed to flee from North Korea tell the media that people are starving to death and eating manure when there is nothing else to eat.

North Korea is a serial killer state. To make matters worse, it now has the capacity to commit the ultimate genocide. North Korea has joined the exclusive club of nations with nuclear weapons. Even if other nations wanted to exercise the responsibility to protect North Korea's people, a nuclear-armed North Korea, backed by China, would render intervention impossible. The border of North Korea is only a few kilometers from Seoul, South Korea, which has become a democracy and an economic power. A North Korean invasion of South Korea would kill millions of people and even result in nuclear war.

Six-Party talks have been underway since 2003 with North Korea, South Korea, China, Japan, the United States, and Russia but have resulted in no improvements for the human rights of the North Korean people. North Korea has launched missiles several times in the sea near Japan. In March 2010, North Korea was almost certainly responsible for sinking the Cheonan, a South Korean Navy patrol ship, which killed 46 South Korean sailors. North Korea is not only committing mass killings of its own people, but also threatening international peace and security.

How has the North Korean regime been able to get away with mass killings since 1948?

The failure of the US, South Korea, and the UN to take effective action to respond to North Korean attacks is one of the main reasons.

Irregular six-party talks and sanctions do not seem to have much impact on the North Korean regime. Current sanctions harm North Korean citizens, and not the leaders of the regime. Economic sanctions and suspending food aid for North Korea only starve common people.

When North Korea attacked the Cheonan, the United States, South Korea, nor the United Nations took any retaliatory actions that affected the leadership of North Korea. Instead, the United States only expanded its economic sanctions and the United Nations Security Council wasn't even able to hold North Korea accountable because of the threat of a veto by China.

- The US, UN, and especially South Korea should concentrate on building opposition to North Korea's regime from inside North Korea. When North Korea's army tries to crush its own people, we should support revolt inside the army that will finally topple the regime.
- Genocide Watch is convinced that non-violent resistance by North Koreans themselves will finally end the tyranny in North Korea. The example of the success of South Korea under democratic capitalism is a strong magnet, much like the example of the success of Western democracies was for the peoples of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union.
- War with North Korea must be avoided. But we must resolutely speak the truth and empower opposition forces with funding, communications resources, training in non-violent resistance and relentless demands that North Korean leaders stop murdering their own people. Eventually the North Korean people themselves will tear down the wall that now separates them from the free world.



## **Genocide Watch Alert: North Korea 20 February 2012**

North Korea has been a leader in human rights violations since the Korean War when they kidnapped and forced thousands of South Koreans to fight on the side of the North. The civil war, each side backed by a corresponding political superpower, led to the split of the peninsula along the 38th parallel. Since, North Korea has used fear, torture and propaganda to ensure the loyalty of its citizens to the regime and the Kim family. Atrocities committed by the communist regime include Nazi-like work camps believed to house approximately 500,000 domestic and political prisoners, systematic starvation of non-party citizens and forced abortions.

The situation in North Korea is defined as politicide and is in the most severe and deadly stages of the process. In assessing the severity of the politicide in North Korea, Genocide Watch employs The 8 Stages of Genocide by Dr. Gregory Stanton (1998). Stages four and five in the “eight stages of Genocide” (Stanton, 1998) are organization and polarization. The labor camps in North Korea are an example of polarization. The existence of these camps has been affirmed by Amnesty International with the use of satellites and also by defectors who have confirmed their existence. The people are organized into two groups, those for the communist party and those not explicitly working for the party, those “against” the party are at risk of being imprisoned in the camps. Those who do not work for the party also face the reality of starvation.

The 1990’s was a period known as the “arduous march” in which North Korea’s economy failed and fell into depression and famine. Since that time, the needs of the common people have taken a back seat to those who are members of the communist party and the military. These members are the first and often the last to receive the rations that are provided from foreign humanitarian aid.

The final stage of this process is denial. Kim Jong-il has long denied the existence of these prison camps. More recently, following the death of Kim Jong-il his son, Kim Jong-un, denied allegations of sending people to labor camps for “not mourning enough” according to CNN’s report by Jiyeon Lee and Jethro Mullen.

Despite the fact that this Hermit Kingdom has come under new leadership this year, Kim Jong-un has already made his intentions known as the new “Great Leader” with his increase in military activity along the South Korean border. It is for this reason that North Korea remains at the top of the list of Countries at Risk in 2012, according to Genocide Watch.



## Country Profile: Myanmar (Burma)

The state of Myanmar, formerly known as Burma, is a melting pot of political tensions. Myanmar has been subject to several occupations by foreign militaries. In response, a surge of nationalism prompted the different ethnic minorities to fight together against the imperialist nations of Britain and Japan. Following the pull out of foreign militaries, ethnic minorities were promised their opportunity to secede from the nation of Burma if they chose to do so. However, the assassination of Aung San left the nation without a capable leader. Burma became a police state in 1962 under the socialist leader, General Ne Win. The constitutional agreement to allow the ethnic minorities to secede was nullified. Since then, numerous secessionist movements have fought the Burmese Army, representing the Karen, Shan, Kachin, and other peoples. These movements have been viciously suppressed, with many crimes against humanity and even genocidal massacres committed by the Burmese Army.

The socialist party has continued to oppress the people of Myanmar (Burma) by nationalizing all property, staging fixed elections, and killing and imprisoning those who speak out against the regime. They continue brutal attacks and campaigns against the ethnic minorities in Myanmar; the Kachin, Karen, Shan, Rakhin, and Mon. They have also violated international treaties pertaining to human rights including the Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women and the Convention on the Rights of the Child.

The armed forces of the SLORC party (State Law and Order Restoration Council) committed heinous crimes against humanity by using rape as a weapon of war. Women not only run a high risk of being raped, but lack access to healthcare because of their refugee-like status in their own country. Many people have fled Myanmar and are refugees in the surrounding countries of Bangladesh, China, India, Thailand, Malaysia and Singapore.

Myanmar conscripts children into its armed forces, as do the resistance movements to Burmese rule. These children, usually between the ages of 15-17, are forcibly removed from their families and homes and forced to fight for the government or one of the minority rebel militias. The UN International Labor Organization received 201 complaints of child recruitment from people in Myanmar in 2010. There is evidence that both sides of the conflict have been using child soldiers, a crime against humanity. This conscription of children directly violates the Convention on the Rights of the Child, in which a government is obliged to recognize a child's inherent right to life and ensure, to the possible extent, the survival and development of that child. Myanmar is a state-party to that Convention.

Despite significant democratic reforms in the last two years, Myanmar continues to wage ethnic wars on ethnic minorities. The regime has released 300 political prisoners but reports say there are still several hundred imprisoned. The opposition leader, Aung San Suu Kye has been freed from house arrest and has declared her candidacy in the next elections or Parliament. The U.S has required that all political prisoners be released before all sanctions will be removed. However, full diplomatic relations have been restored.

Because of its ongoing wars against minorities, especially the Karen, Shan, and Kachin, Genocide Watch has kept Myanmar at Stage 7: Extermination (current genocidal massacres occurring).



## **Genocide and Politicide Emergency: Myanmar (Burma) – Rakhine State 26 June 2012**

The Rohingya are a Muslim ethnic minority living in northern Rakhine state in Western Myanmar. They face religious and ethnic discrimination by Myanmar's military regime, which refuses to recognize the Rohingya as Myanmar citizens. The Rohingya people are not considered one of 135 legally recognized ethnic minority groups in Myanmar. Myanmar considers them illegal immigrants from Bangladesh, but they have lived in Myanmar for centuries, and Bangladesh will not accept them as its citizens.

The first Rohingya people arrived in Myanmar as early as the seventh century, but the Myanmar military regime maintains, to this day, that the Rohingya immigrated to Myanmar from India while under British colonial rule. This disregard for earlier settlers prohibits the Rohingya from being legally recognized as a minority group in Myanmar.

The Rohingya have permanently settled in Western Myanmar and make up 1/3 of the population of the Rakhine State. There are close to 750,000 Rohingyas in Rakhine State.

Because of the Myanmar military regime's denial of legal recognition, the Rohingya are denied fundamental human rights and freedom, and the military regime consistently perpetrates human rights violations against this vulnerable population.

- The regime refuses to issue identification cards to Rohingya, which are necessary to be able to travel, as well as to obtain passports and enroll in higher education.
- They are denied land and property rights and ownership. The land on which they live can be taken away at any time.
- The Rohingya people are barred from government employment.
- Marriage restrictions are imposed on them. They are limited to two children per couple.
- They are subject to forced labor, extortion and other coercive measures.
- Public services such as health and education are neglected. Illiteracy is 80%.
- More than 40,000 Rohingya children in western Myanmar are deprived of rights to travel, go to school or to marry in the future, because their parents had an unauthorized marriage or exceeded the two-child limit the Myanmar government has imposed on the Rohingya. These blacklisted children are refused birth registration, and so are not included in family lists and must be hidden during the authorities' population checks.
- The Rohingya are subject to curfews and other restrictions on basic freedoms.

The Rohingya are a dehumanized and persecuted minority in Myanmar. Many attempt to flee to Bangladesh or Malaysia in rickety boats, but are not accorded the rights of refugees in those countries. Some boat people drown.

Among the crimes against humanity the Myanmar military regime is committing against the Rohingya are: denial of citizenship, imprisonment in displaced persons camps, widespread murder of civilians, denial of the right to travel, denial of education rights for children, and denial of food and medicines.

**Genocide Watch is issuing a Genocide Emergency Alert for the Rohingya of Myanmar.** Genocide Watch recommends that:

- The Myanmar Parliament should pass legislation that grants full citizenship to the Rohingya, with all rights of citizens of Myanmar, including the right to hold land titles, travel, and other rights guaranteed by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights;
- Plan measures to dissolve Rohingya displaced persons' camps with international assistance, especially from countries in Asean;
- Myanmar authorities should cease human rights violations against the Rohingya;



- Bangladesh should adhere to its obligations under the UN Convention on the Protection of Refugees, by accepting boats of Rohingya refugees, permitting them to settle in refugee camps until they can be repatriated with full citizenship rights in Myanmar.



## **Genocide and Politicide Watch: Myanmar (Burma) 12 March 2006**

Burma, Southeast Asia's most oppressed nation, remains under the forty-three year tyranny of a military junta and should be a grave concern to the international community. Abuse of ethnic minorities, mass rape of women, mandatory relocations, extrajudicial state executions, military recruitment of children, and forced labor are only a few of the many violations of human rights currently practiced in the resource rich but economically impoverished nation. The regime change of 2004 which deposed General Khin Nyunt in favor of Lieutenant General Soe Win continues to suppress the strong movement for democracy, keeping Burma in a cyclical state of tyranny.

Despite false promises of political reform and national reconciliation, Burma's authoritarian military government, the State Peace and Development Council (SPDC), continues to operate a strict police state and drastically restricts basic rights and freedoms. It has suppressed the democratic movement represented by Nobel Laureate Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, under detention since May 30, 2003, in virtually solitary confinement without access to newspapers, telephones, or any correspondence.

The SPDC's repressive policies remain the same as those of its predecessors, including the notorious SLORC regime that ruled from 1988 through 1997. Freedom of political expression, assembly, and association are still non-existent. Strict enforcement of Burmese laws limiting freedom of opinion and expression, initially intended to punish political dissent, led to the incarceration of over 1,300 political prisoners.<sup>4</sup> Freedom of expression ends the moment someone speaks critically of the government. In addition to individuals arrested for political reasons, the government continues to arbitrarily arrest and detain people for crimes such as failure to pay army taxes or to sell the required crop quota.<sup>5</sup> Hundreds of thousands of people, most of them from ethnic minority groups, continue to live precariously as internally displaced people. More than two million have fled to neighboring countries, in particular Thailand, where they face difficult circumstances as asylum seekers or illegal immigrants. An estimated 144,000 members of ethnic minorities live in refugee camps on the Thai border, in addition to the over one million who are illegal immigrants in the neighboring nation.

The SPDC's human rights record is one of the worst in the world. Burma remains an extremely poor neo-communist state with very little private property, repression of political dissent, forced labor, ethnic persecution, lack of religious freedom, and rampant human trafficking. After a November 2001 visit, an International Labor Organization (ILO) team reported little improvement in the serious forced labor problem. The Government of Burma has recently agreed to permit an ILO liaison office in Burma but has yet to agree to a full ILO presence or make significant efforts to end forced labor, which falls most heavily on ethnic minority groups. The US Government has designated Burma as a Country of Particular Concern under the International Religious Freedom Act. Burma is a country of origin for trafficked persons, primarily women and girls seeking labor in Thailand as factory workers or household servants who are sold to brothels for sexual exploitation.

The SPDC restricts the fundamental freedoms of all Burmese, but particularly members of the winner of the 1990 elections, the National League of Democracy. It also continues to commit systematic, widespread, and well-documented abuses against ethnic minority groups, and several have well-organized rebel resistance movements that have been in conflict with the government for over forty years. These include the Karen, Karenni, Shan, Zomis (Chin), Rohingyas, Kachins, Mons and Wa. The government campaign against these groups includes extrajudicial executions, rape, torture, forced relocation of entire villages, and forced labor. As of late 2004, an estimated 650,000 people were internally displaced in eastern Burma alone, and at least 240 villages have been destroyed, relocated or abandoned since 2002. Some two million Burmese have moved to Thailand, including 145,000 refugees living in camps.

The Burmese government has refused international access to areas of ongoing conflict, cutting off humanitarian assistance to internally displaced persons (IDPs) in violation of international humanitarian law. Hundreds of thousands of villagers have been forced to work as porters or laborers for Burmese



military forces for little or no pay. Those who refuse to provide mandatory labor are often threatened with prosecution, or exhorted to pay a fee in lieu of their duties. Those who do not properly carry out their tasks are often shot or beaten to death. Anyone found to have made what the government deems “false complaints” to the ILO can face prosecution.

Aside from Afghanistan, Burma has the largest and most chronic refugee problem in Asia. Other major refugee problems of recent times, from Cambodia and Vietnam, have long since ended. The refugee problem is a warning sign of the organized, intentional, quasi-genocidal violence inflicted on non-Burman ethnic groups by the Burmese army. The most desperate minority groups have fled to extremely poor regions like Mizoram in India, Bangladesh and northwestern Thailand. Very few are economic migrants. They have been driven out of their homes. Even with ceasefires in place, refugees are too scared to go back. They rightly distrust the intentions of the armed forces.

U.N. programs tasked to provide humanitarian assistance for the people of Burma continue to face challenges from bureaucratic hurdles, corruption, and extensive restrictions on both travel to project sites and the import of supplies and equipment. In 2005 the Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria withdrew its U.S.\$98 million program on the ground that “its grants to the country cannot be managed in a way that ensures effective program implementation.”

In an era of globalization, the United States cannot exert effective pressure on the government of a despotic nation without multilateral cooperation. The international effort to combat tyranny in Burma lies solely in words, not actions, as evidenced by the refusal of Asian, European, and Latin American states to take a strong stand against the Government of Burma. Thai companies, including one owned by the Prime Minister of Thailand, have made fortunes from their investments in Burma. The situation in Burma is well known; the facts are indisputable; inaction, therefore, is not an acceptable response. Efforts to place the situation in Burma on the agenda of the U.N. Security Council gained momentum in late 2005 with the publication of “Threat to the Peace: A Call for the U.N. Security Council to Act in Burma,” which was jointly commissioned by former president of the Czech Republic Vaclav Havel and South Africa

n Nobel Peace Prize Laureate Bishop Desmond Tutu. It called for an urgent, new, and multilateral diplomatic initiative in the United Nations Security Council to bring about change in Burma.

To improve relations with the SPDC, in 2005 the Thai government adopted an increasingly hard-line stance towards Burmese refugees, asylum-seekers, and migrants. While continuing to put pressure on exiled pro-democracy activists and human rights advocates, the Thai government struck another major blow against Burmese opposition groups in March 2005 with a new policy requiring all Burmese refugees registered with the U.N. High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) to move to camps along the Burmese border, where they are cut off from the outside world. Thailand also continues to expel thousands of illegal immigrants to Burma every month. The Thai army has stated that Shan asylum seekers will not be allowed to cross the border.

Special attention must be given to the criminal treatment of Burmese youth. Child soldiers between the ages of fourteen and sixteen are recruited to serve in both the Burmese State and rebel forces.<sup>14</sup> “Burma has more child soldiers than any other country in the world,” states Human Rights Watch, “accounting for approximately one-fourth of the 300,000 children...participating in armed conflicts across the globe.” Further abuses outside of the military persist: Burmese law allows capital punishment of minors and encourages sentenced juveniles to serve their punishment in work camps, where many are literally worked to death.

“The Burmese people shouldn’t have to wait another generation for the killing to end and democracy to begin,” says Human Rights Watch. “The generals have ignored all other demands to end the abuse. It is time for the collective voice of the Security Council to be heard in Rangoon.”





## **Genocide Watch Alert: Myanmar (Burma) 28 February 2012**

The state of Myanmar, formerly known as Burma, is a melting pot of political tensions. Myanmar has been subject to several occupations by foreign militaries. In response, a surge of nationalism prompted the different ethnic minorities to fight together against the imperialist nations of Britain and Japan. Following the pull out of foreign militaries, ethnic minorities were promised their opportunity to secede from the nation of Burma if they chose to do so. However, the assassination of Aung San left the nation without a capable leader. Burma became a police state in 1962 under the socialist leader, General Ne Win. The constitutional agreement to allow the ethnic minorities to secede was nullified. Since then, numerous secessionist movements have fought the Burmese Army, representing the Karen, Shan, Kachin, and other peoples. These movements have been viciously suppressed, with many crimes against humanity and even genocidal massacres committed by the Burmese Army.

The socialist party has continued to oppress the people of Myanmar (Burma) by nationalizing all property, staging fixed elections, and killing and imprisoning those who speak out against the regime. They continue brutal attacks and campaigns against the ethnic minorities in Myanmar; the Kachin, Karen, Shan, Rakhin, and Mon. They have also violated international treaties pertaining to human rights including the Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women and the Convention on the Rights of the Child.

The armed forces of the SLORC party (State Law and Order Restoration Council) committed heinous crimes against humanity by using rape as a weapon of war. Women not only run a high risk of being raped, but lack access to healthcare because of their refugee-like status in their own country. Many people have fled Myanmar and are refugees in the surrounding countries of Bangladesh, China, India, Thailand, Malaysia and Singapore.

Myanmar conscripts children into its armed forces, as do the resistance movements to Burmese rule. These children, usually between the ages of 15-17, are forcibly removed from their families and homes and forced to fight for the government or one of the minority rebel militias. The UN International Labor Organization received 201 complaints of child recruitment from people in Myanmar in 2010 (U.N. [www.un.org](http://www.un.org)). There is evidence that both sides of the conflict have been using child soldiers, a crime against humanity. This conscription of children directly violates the Convention on the Rights of the Child, in which a government is obliged to recognize a child's inherent right to life and ensure, to the possible extent, the survival and development of that child. Myanmar is a state-party to that Convention.

Despite significant democratic reforms in the last two years, Myanmar continues to wage ethnic wars on ethnic minorities. The regime has released 300 political prisoners but reports say there are still several hundred imprisoned. The opposition leader, Aung San Suu Kye has been freed from house arrest and has declared her candidacy in the next elections or Parliament. The U.S has required that all political prisoners be released before all sanctions will be removed. However, full diplomatic relations have been restored.

Because of its ongoing wars against minorities, especially the Karen, Shan, and Kachin, Genocide Watch has kept Myanmar at Stage 7 (Current genocidal massacres.)



## **Genocide Warning: Ethiopia 22 January 2012**

In the remote western region of Gambella, tens of thousands of people have been forcibly relocated from their land. In 2010, the Ethiopian government initiated a villagisation program. The program intended to group scattered farming communities into small villages, with the aim of changing their lifestyles, and providing better access to food, education and health. However, the government's plans are far from reaching these goals; the Ethiopian government has forcibly relocated approximately 70,000 people from their land with the intention to lease the land for foreign and domestic investment. There have been numerous reports of human rights violations. Many of the new villages where people are being relocated have inadequate food and lack healthcare and educational facilities. The Ethiopian government's villagisation program has been extremely detrimental to the livelihoods of the people of Gambella. The government's failure to provide food assistance has caused endemic hunger and cases of starvation. In addition, those who have resisted relocating are repeatedly assaulted and arbitrarily arrested. Through this program, the Ethiopian government is planning on relocating 1.5 million people by 2013 from the following regions: Gambella, Afar, Somali, and Benishangul Ghumuz

"My father was beaten for refusing to go along with some other elders," one former villager told HRW. "He said, 'I was born here – my children were born here – I am too old to move so I will stay.' He was beaten by the army with sticks and the butt of a gun. He had to be taken to hospital. He died because of the beating – he just became weaker and weaker."

In light of the recent report issued by Human Rights Watch, Genocide Watch is deeply concerned with the rising number of human rights violations in Ethiopia; as a result Genocide Watch is classifying the situation as a Genocide Alert.

The early signs which indicate, the occurrence of genocide in the near future are the following:

- Forcibly relocating approximately 70,000 people from the western region of Gambella
- The use of force and coercion
- The deprivation of resources & the denial of rights
- The targeting & exclusion of indigenous groups
- The restriction on NGOs such as the Human Rights Council (HRCO) & the Ethiopian Women's Lawyer Association
- The absence of free media and lack of tolerance on dissents



## **Ethiopian Tribes Cry For Help 6 March 2012**

The Lower Omo valley located in South-west Ethiopia is inhabited by several ethnic groups known as the Omo tribes. The Omo tribes are agro-pastoralist and nomadic. They are self-sufficient tribes that rely on land and water for survival. Many of the tribes are currently facing extinction.

The Ethiopian government's new appetite for large-scale agricultural development is causing catastrophic damage to the land and the people in the Lower Omo Valley. The construction of Africa's largest hydropower plant, the Gibe III dam and the vast areas being cleared for sugar and biofuel plantations are accompanied by alarming human rights violations. The land is being leased to Indian, Chinese, and Saudi multi-national agro-corporations at rock-bottom prices. None of the money for the leased land is being used to benefit the Omo tribes. They are simply being pushed off their traditional land.

The Ethiopian government is forcibly relocating tribes in a manner identical to the brutal way they drove out the Anuak population in Gambella province. Approximately 300,000 hectares of land in the Omo valley are currently being cleared in order to cultivate sugar cane and biofuel plantations. The large dam flooding the land, along with the plantations, threaten to destroy the very existence of the Omo tribes.

A tribal leader explained how his self-identity and worth are linked to the land. "We stand to lose everything. Our traditional hunting grounds, the land we use for grazing our cattle, our homes. Everything will be gone. We will be left with nothing. We need the outside world to help us."

According to testimonies collected by Survival International and the Oakland Institute, gross human rights violations are occurring in the Omo Valley. The Ethiopian Peoples Defense Forces are using a systematic policy of intimidation, rape, assault and detention against women, children, and the elderly, and are arresting and detaining men. There are also reports of male tribesmen who have been raped by the Ethiopian forces, a traumatic dehumanization from which many never recover. The lower Omo valley is surrounded by roadblocks that ensure that the eviction plans and other human rights abuses stay out of the spotlight. It is practically impossible for any news media to get permission to travel there.

Land grabbing without compensation has become official policy in Ethiopia. It is no wonder. President Meles Zenawi began his career as head of the Marxist-Leninist Tigreyan Peoples Party during the Mengistu years. Many Ethiopians fear that this new form of internal colonialism will not only destroy their land but their identity as well. The situation in the Omo Valley is one of many harbingers of a genocidal storm that is now descending on "the land of thirteen months of sunshine."

- Genocide Watch considers Ethiopia to have already reached Stage 7, genocidal massacres, against many of its peoples, including the Anuak, Ogadeni, Oromo, and Omo tribes.
- We recommend that the United States government immediately cease all military assistance to the Ethiopian Peoples Defense Forces. We also recommend strong diplomatic protests to the Meles Zenawi regime against massive violations of human rights in Ethiopia
- Ethiopia is currently fighting a proxy war with US support in Somalia. We strongly advise diverting all US aid for Ethiopia in that war to the African Union Forces in Somalia.



# **Countries at Risk**

## **Stage 6: Preparation**



## **Genocide Warning: Nigeria 3 February 2012**

The insurgency of the radical Islamist movement Boko Haram in the north of Nigeria poses a great threat of genocidal massacres. Since the summer of 2011 Boko Haram has struck different targets in Nigeria ranging from government buildings, especially the security sector, to churches. The latter category of attacks is alarming as they might radicalize relations between the Muslim north and the Christian south of the country.

On 25 December 2011 several church bombings struck Nigeria. These Christmas Day attacks caused the death of at least 49 persons. The bombings were followed by a message from Boko Haram giving the Christians who are living in the north three days to leave the area. As a result, thousands of people are trying to flee the North

In 2011 at least 550 people died. More than 253 people were killed since January 2012. The deadliest attack took place on 20 January 2012 resulting in the death of at least 185 people. Boko Haram targets people based on their ethnicity and religion, including moderate Muslims (read more).

Tensions are rising quickly. This is demonstrated by the public announcement made by the president of the Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN) that the Christian community would react in an appropriate manner, without giving details, but implying that forceful self-defence would be used. The Nigerian president, Goodluck Jonathan, has announced his determination to defeat terrorism by Boko Haram.

The moderate Muslim leader, the Sultan of Sokoto, Muhammad Sa'ad Abubakar, assures that the attacks do not represent a conflict between Islam and Christianity. Nevertheless, the situation is highly alarming in the light of previous violent religious and ethnic clashes (read article by Greg Stanton).

The early warning signs which might evidence genocidal massacres are the following;

- Risk of future instability is judged by Barbara Harff to be very high (read article by Harff).
- There have been previous genocidal massacres in Nigeria, such as those from 1967 to 1969 undertaken against the Igbo and those in 2010 on the Jos Plateau.
- During his candidacy for the presidency in January 2011 Goodluck Jonnathan has denounced the "zoning" pact which is an informal agreement according to which the Nigerian presidency should rotate between Muslim north and Christian South. His subsequent election a few months later led to post-election violence in which hundreds of people died (read more).
- The division between the Muslim north and the Christian south of Nigeria also reflects large economic discrepancies, especially because the oil-rich south is the source of most of Nigeria's wealth.

Because of these factors Genocide Watch warns that future genocidal massacres may occur, based on religious and ethnic identity. Nigeria is at stage 6: Preparation.



## **Genocide and Politicide Warning: Yemen 1 March 2012**

On 22 May 1990 the Republic of Yemen was founded, unifying the Yemen Arab Republic (North Yemen) and the Marxist People's Democratic Republic of Yemen (South Yemen). The former president of the north, Ali Abdullah Saleh, became the first president of Yemen, although, he lacked support in the south. The political divisions between the former two countries were so overwhelming that in 1994 a civil war broke out. The secessionist southerners were defeated and the civil war aggravated the subordination of the south.

Yemen is the poorest country in the Arab world. Its UNDP human development index stands at 0.462, whereby Yemen ranks 154 out of 187 countries. The country is thorn by three security issues: the separatist insurgency in the south, the Zaida Shia rebellion in the north (the Houthis) and the increasing presence of Al Qaeda. In addition, Yemen has to deal with Somali refugees, including Al Shabaab militants. Yemen has been called "a failed state" due to its divisions.

In January 2011 Yemen joined by the popular uprisings called "the Arab Spring". The desire for democratic change resulted in peaceful demonstrations by Yemeni citizens, violently repressed by government forces. At least 270 people, 120 in Taizz alone, died during the protests. Although the situation in Yemen seemed hopeless, non-violent democratic protests continued. The fact that one third of the Nobel Peace Prize for 2011 was awarded to Tawakkol Karman, along with two other women leaders, encouraged the movement. It was an important symbolic victory for the voices of the Arab Spring, as well as for the role of women in the transition to peace and democracy. Symbols matter. They are how people think.

On November 23, president Saleh eventually agreed to transfer his power to the vice-president, Abdu Rabbu Mansour Hadi, in return for immunity from prosecution. Vice-president Hadi is known for his compromising nature. The Yemeni Parliament passed the necessary legislation in January. On February 25, 2012 President Hadi was sworn in before the Parliament. Two days later a ceremony took place which was attended by former president Saleh.

The transition to greater democracy in Yemeni politics has had many shortcomings. There was only one candidate participating to the elections and the family of former president Saleh still controls the security sector of Yemen, in particular the army and the security agencies. However, President Hadi will guide the democratic transition in Yemen for two years. The challenges facing Yemen remain very high and necessitate a strong central government. The threat of Al Qaeda was evidenced again by a lethal bombing the day of President Hadi's swearing-in.

Genocide Watch has downgraded the risk of genocide and politicide in Yemen from stage 7 (active massacres) to stage 6: potential massacres. Genocide Watch welcomes the recent transfer of power in Yemen and the large participation in elections by Yemeni citizens. However, the following risk factors are evidence that the security situation in Yemen is still of great concern. The roots of national identity and democracy are shallow. Yemen could again degenerate quickly into violence.

- There is still a governing elite in Yemen, dominated by Sunni Muslims. The government has to overcome this polarization by effectively incorporating and pacifying Shi'ite rebels in the north and the separatist movement in the south.
- The Yemeni government is incapable of governing some remote areas in the country that are characterized by tribal animosity, kidnappings, brigandage and anarchy. Al Qaeda has a strong foothold in those regions.



## **Genocide Watch Alert: China** **1 April 2012**

As one of the oldest unified countries in the world, China has had many political systems, but all have been dominated by hierarchical, patriarchal dynasties. China has never had a democratic government or a tradition of respect for human rights. Today, China is the world's largest communist country. China is also one of the most severe violators of human rights. China's human rights violations include systematic repression, brutal police action against its people, illegal repatriation of North Korean refugees, and repression of religious freedom and freedom of speech.

The systematic repression in China can be attributed to China's Maoist state centralist ideology, lack of uniformity with which the law is applied, and rampant corruption within the system by members of the communist party. The corruption within the highest governing bodies does not provide the people with the representation that is promised in China's constitution. The National People's Committee is, by law, the "highest organ of state power;" and is theoretically elected by the people. However, in practice this body has taken a subordinate position to the State council, which is not elected by the people but appointed by the Party, taking all effective political participation away from China's citizens.

This subjective application of China's constitution and other laws allows authorities to fabricate charges in order to justify government crimes such as forced disappearances and indefinite imprisonment. This is especially true with people accused of being enemies of the state, or democratic reformers. China's treatment of democratic reformers has become more public in light of recent events such as the imprisonment of Liu Xiaobo, in 2008 who was the recipient of the 2010 Nobel Peace Prize. While prosecutions are on the rise among dissidents and political reformers, the Party has also employed police brutality against certain ethnic populations to control growing criticism throughout the country. Many ethnic minorities have begun to fight back, resulting in high death tolls and ongoing resentment.

One of the most severe examples of police brutality in China is in Tibet. Social unrest has escalated in the last several years in the Tibetan Plateau region. A total of 24 Tibetans have committed self-immolation (self-sacrifice by burning) protesting the legitimacy of the Han government. (Han is the ethnic majority in China.) Mass protests and self-immolations have spurred Chinese police to open fire on protesters several times in the past year. It is Chinese policy to re-populate Tibet with ethnic Han people, and to build railroads and roads to integrate Tibet into the Chinese nation-state, a denial of Tibet's historic assertions of its independence.

The ethnic Uighur Muslim population in Xinjiang in Western China has also been subjected to brutal repression. Just as in Tibet, it is Chinese policy to re-populate Xinjiang with ethnic Han. There have been many instances in the past year involving Chinese authorities using unjustified police force on Uighurs. One incident this past year involved Chinese authorities barring a group of Uighurs from crossing the border out of China, opening fire and kidnapping at least 5 children. According to Amnesty International, Uighurs have been arbitrarily detained on trumped up charges of "splittism" and "inciting separatism" for exercising their right to freedom of religion, expression and association. Uighurs and Tibetans are only two of the many minorities in China that suffer from unfair and illegal treatment of the government.

The US Ambassador at Large for Religious Freedom, Suzan Johnson Cook, was denied admission to China this past year. Members of the Falun Gong movement have been systematically persecuted, and Christians worshiping outside officially approved churches have been arrested. China has been characterized by the US Commission on Religious Freedom as one of the most religiously repressive societies in the world.

North Koreans who escape into China face the threat of repatriation, against international human rights law. As a party to the U.N Refugee Convention, China is compelled to grant North Korean refugees political asylum in country. Instead, China has refused to recognize the refugee status of North Koreans and has labeled them as economic migrants and therefore not eligible for refugee status or asylum. Already this year China has attempted to repatriate almost thirty North Koreans in full knowledge of Kim



Jong-Un's severe "three generations" regulation. This regulation calls for the imprisonment of a "criminal's" family over three generations as a way to "clean the Korean race." Kim Jong –Un reintroduced this policy after the death of his father to coerce citizens into mourning for their "Great Leader."

Continuing close economic relations between China and the U.S provide a platform for the U.S and the international community to address these human rights abuses. As the largest growing economy in the world, China should be held responsible for the crimes it is committing against its own people. China's continued resistance to international law should be a major concern for countries like the U.S and the EU as China's influence grows. The international community should work to guarantee the safety and security of the Chinese people including ethnic and religious minorities, and should encourage China to re-open talks with the Dalai Lama and Tibetans, stop Chinese persecution of the Muslim Uighur minority, and ensure all people the fundamental rights of religion, speech, association and due process.

China's role in supporting the genocidal policies of countries that provide it with oil and other resources, such as Sudan, should also be addressed. The US and Western nations could make China pay a much higher price in its trade relations for its direct support of dictatorships such as al-Bashir's in Sudan and Assad's in Syria.





## **Genocide Warning: Equatorial Guinea 21 February 2012**

Equatorial Guinea gained independence in 1968. Ever since this small African country has suffered under authoritarian rule.

The first president was Francisco Macías Nguema. After his election in September 1968 he installed a single-party system and assumed all powers, including the legislature and the judiciary. During his bloody rule approximately one third of the population was either exiled or murdered, targeting in particular the Bubi people. President Macías Nguema was notorious for his arbitrary executions of entire villages and families. He held mass executions in football stadiums while loudspeakers blared "Those were the days my friend. We thought they'd never end." In 1979 he was overthrown by his nephew, Teodoro Obiang Nguema Mbasogo. The former president was put on trial and executed. The charges included the crime of genocide.

The change of power did not improve the situation for the population of Equatorial Guinea. Its human rights record is abominable and characterized by torture, arbitrary executions, lack of freedom of expression and association and corruption. Freedom House identifies Equatorial Guinea as one of the nine least free countries in the world.

Since oil reserves have been discovered in Equatorial Guinea its GDP has increased enormously to \$14 billion (2010) annually. However, due to kleptocracy and nepotism this oil wealth has not reached the majority of the population.

There is deep ethnic division in Equatorial Guinea, and also clan division within ethnicities. The majority of the population belong to the Fang group. Within this group there are clans. President Obiang Nguema favors his own clan, the Esangui.

The Bubi people represent the minority ethnicity and are indigenous to Bioko Island. They are subject to systematic discrimination and persecution by the government, and were the main victims of the genocide carried out by president Macías Nguema from 1978 - 1979.

Genocide Watch closely monitors the situation of repression in Equatorial Guinea. Early warning signs of potential genocidal massacres are the following:

- There have been previous genocidal massacres of the Bubi minority under former president Macías Nguema (1968-1979), but he was the only person tried for them.
- The Bubi minority is discriminated against and persecuted. This practice has increased during recent years. In 2006, president Obiang Nguema denounced the tradition of appointing a prime minister from the Bubi group.
- Nepotism and kleptocracy mean that the nation's oil wealth has mostly benefited the president's family and the Esangui clan of the Fang group. This has created an ethnically polarized elite. The resulting income inequality is enormous.

Genocide Watch considers Equatorial Guinea to be at stage 6: Preparation for potential massacres.



## **Chad Remains at Stage 6 “Preparation” 9 February 2012**

Since its independence from France in 1965, Chad’s history has been marked by tensions between the Arab-Muslim North and the Christian and traditional South.

In 1962, Hissène Habré seized power. During his rule, thousands of political killings and widespread torture took place. The killings included genocidal massacres against various ethnic groups such as the Sara, Hadjerai and the Zaghawa. In 1990 Habré was overthrown by Idriss Deby. Habré fled to Senegal.

In September 2005, a Belgian judge issued an international arrest warrant charging Habré with crimes against humanity, war crimes and torture committed during his rule and requested his extradition to Belgium under the Belgian law asserting “universal jurisdiction” over crimes against humanity. The request was rejected by Senegal. Despite renewed requests from Belgium, Senegal has refused Habré’s extradition. [Extensive information about the Habré case can be found on the website of Human Rights Watch. Reed Brody, who has worked on the case for many years, continues his extraordinary quest to bring Habré to justice for his crimes.]

In 1996, Deby was confirmed as president after the country’s first election. In 1998, his former defense minister Youssouf Togoimi led an armed rebellion in the North, and Libya tried to annex a large northern strip of Chad. Chadian troops, assisted by France, drove Libya back. Despite a Libyan peace deal in 2002, genuine peace did not come until Gaddafi was overthrown in Libya in 2011.

In 2003 the situation worsened when the genocide in neighboring Sudan’s Darfur region resulted in hundreds of thousands of Sudanese refugees fleeing across the border into Chad. Sudanese government backed Janjaweed militias extended their raids into Chad. Just as they did in Darfur, the militias raided dozens of black African Chadian villages, murdering, pillaging and displacing civilians.

The Sudanese government has supported rebels who have made three attempts to overthrow the Chadian government by force. These situations made Genocide Watch declare Genocide Warnings for Chad in 2005, renewed in April 2006 and January 2008. Chad remains at Stage 6, the Preparation stage preceding genocide.

Since 2010, ties between the Sudanese president al-Bashir and the Chadian president have improved. Although Chad is a state-party to the Rome Treaty of the International Criminal Court, which has issued an arrest warrant for al-Bashir, Chad refused to arrest Bashir when he visited the country in August 2010.

The improvement in relations between Chad and Sudan has not ended the hopeless situation of hundreds of thousands refugees in Chad. According to a report of Human Rights Watch (2011), there are still more than 250,000 Sudanese refugees and 168,000 Chadian displaced people in the eastern part of the country.

In February 2011, a report of the International Crisis group raised an Alert about Chad’s Northwest, as the next high-risk area where violence and famine could endanger human lives. The region is totally ignored by the Chadian government, and very few international relief organizations have operations there.



## Country Profile: Central African Republic

As one of the least developed, poorest countries of the world, the Central African Republic (CAR), (ranked 217 out of 225 nations in GDP per capita, \$800 per year) suffers an endless humanitarian crisis. It has the world's eighth highest rate of maternal deaths in childbirth, and the fifth highest infant mortality rate before age five. It has been largely forgotten by the rest of the world.

Since its independence from France in 1960, the political situation in CAR has always been unstable. The first President, David Dacko, established a one party state. Jean-Bedel Bokassa seized power from 1966 until 1979, renamed the CAR the Central African Empire, declared himself Emperor for Life, and ruled with cruelty and barbarity. A military coup, backed by the French, restored David Dacko to power in 1979. After two years, Dacko was overthrown by Andre Kolingba, who finally announced a move toward parliamentary democracy in 1991.

When the country's first democratic elections were held in 1993, Ange-Félix Patassé became president. In March 2003, the French backed General Bozizé launched a surprise attack against Patassé, who was out of the country. Libyan troops and some 1,000 soldiers of Bemba's Congolese rebel organization failed to stop Bozizé, who took control of the country and thus succeeded in overthrowing Patassé. Bozizé was reelected in the 2011 elections.

Since 2003, Bozizé's government has been in conflict with several rebel groups in a so-called 'bush war'. Because of the unstable situation, there has been massive displacement of people, both within the country and to neighboring countries. According to the 2012 UNHCR country operations profile, an estimated 130,000 CAR refugees have sought refuge in Cameroon, Chad and Sudan, while an estimated 176,000 internally displaced persons (IDPs) remain within the CAR, most dependent on UN assistance.

Some progress towards ending the bush war was made in 2008, when two rebel groups APRD and UFDR signed peace accords with the government and a peace process of disarmament, demobilization and social reinsertion (DDR) was launched. In 2011, another rebel group CPJP signed a ceasefire agreement. However, the political situation and peace process in CAR is still unpredictable: in January 2012 the APRD said it was pulling out of the peace process because of the arrest of its chief, Jean-Jacques Demafouth ([link article](#)).

The CAR has also become a refuge for the Lord's Resistance Army, led since 1987 by the mass murderer, Joseph Kony of Uganda. Kony is notorious for abducting child soldiers and girl sex slaves. Kony was indicted by the International Criminal Court in 2005. His forces have dwindled to around 150 men. Kony is currently being hunted by a US backed African Union commando unit. The CAR has become Kony's haven because of its ineffective police and lack of infrastructure. More information about the LRA can be found on the website of the Enough Project. Genocide Watch supports the work of the Enough Project and advocates the arrest and trial of Kony and his henchmen by the ICC.

Another pressing security threat in the CAR is the Front Populaire Pour le Redressement (FPR), a Chadian armed rebel group backed by Sudan that has carried out sporadic attacks in northern CAR since 2008. In January, an offensive by armed forces of both CAR and Chad was launched to oust the FPR from its stronghold in CAR and to capture its rebel leader. According to humanitarian officials, this campaign has displaced thousands of people within the CAR and has increased widespread insecurity ([link article](#)).

Because crimes against humanity by the LRA and FPR have led to widespread terror and forced displacement, Genocide Watch considers CAR at stage 6: potential massacres.



## Country Profile: Libya

Col. Muammar el-Qaddafi served as Libya's dictator for a term that lasted over 40 years. In August 2011 he was forced out of power, bringing an end to his regime after decades of oppression. His overthrow resulted after pro-democracy protests quickly escalated and became violent, leading to a six month armed struggle by Libyan rebels supported by NATO airstrikes.

Peaceful protests against the Qadhafi regime began in February 2011 and were met with violent resistance from the government. Ordinary citizens began taking up arms in hopes of freeing themselves from the oppressive regime. The resistance quickly turned into an armed rebellion with numerous Libyan diplomats and military personnel defecting due to increasingly violent reactions by the regime. Qadhafi was killed in October 2011 following an ambush of his convoy while he was attempting to escape.

Although the brutal hand that held the country together has been removed, a post Qadhafi Libya now finds itself in a state of disarray, as tribal rivalries suppressed under Qadhafi have erupted and resulted in violent killings. In March 2012 tribal clashes in the southern city of Sabha caused the deaths of 147 people. In the western town of Tawergha, an entire population of black Libyans was evicted by fighters from a neighboring city. Violence against Black Libyans has continued as hundreds have been arrested and charged with being former Qadhafi supporters. Some leaders in the eastern part of the country, which contains the majority of the oil, sought to remain autonomous from the central government, leading to violent clashes in Benghazi.

Tribal tensions date back to the days before Qadhafi, and were exploited by his divide and rule policies. Fighting continues between the Zintan and the Mashashya, whose tensions originated when Qadhafi gave tribal land that was expropriated from one tribe to the other. 30,000 civilians from the town of Misrata were evicted due to allegations of rape, murder, torture and working against the rebel army. The Tawerghans, descendants of slaves, make up a small minority in Misrata and previously received some protection under the Qadhafi regime. They claim to be innocent of charges of rape, murder and torture but have suffered brutal revenge at the hands of the rebels. Their recent eviction is said to be in retaliation for supporting the regime and also because the rebels want their land. They remain a displaced people in "liberated" Libya. Supporters of Qaddafi have fled into Mali, where they have now taken over the northern half of that country, and are imposing brutal Islamist rule.

The militia, who overthrew Qadhafi's regime, has refused to disarm and now hinder the nation's progress. Deadly street shootings and the recent kidnapping of two members of the ruling Transitional National Council, made it difficult for elections to go forward. Weeks before the scheduled elections, the headquarters of Libya's interim prime minister- Abdel Rahim el-Keab, was attacked by armed militants. This political tension was in response to a recent decision made by tribal leaders to reinstate the federal government structure which would create three states; Tripolitania in the west, Fezzan in the south and Barqa in the east. This decision was met with dissatisfaction, predominately by Tripoli, due to fears of the dismemberment of Libya and the loss of oil wealth.

Tribal militias have continued to oppose formation of a central governmental system. On June 7<sup>th</sup> a local militia, Seif el-Islam, located in the city of Zintan detained four staff members of the [International Criminal Court](#), who have since been released.

National elections were finally held on July 7<sup>th</sup> 2012, and were generally free. They are a hopeful step forward toward a democratic new Libya. The coming years will reveal whether the country will be able to unify itself and put aside ethnic tensions. Failure to unify will result in a failed state and a continuation of ethnic clashes. Libya remains divided by tribe and ethnicity.

Genocide Watch classifies Libya at stage 6: Polarization.



## Genocide Watch Alert: Kenya 2 May 2012

Since late-February 2008, when Kenya's 2007 post-election violence finally ceased as the result of external mediation and the formation of a coalition government, the Republic of Kenya has made much progress toward good governance and national stability. However, the government is still resisting indictments by the International Criminal Court against leading politicians over the 2007 violence.

Tensions are again rising as the first presidential and parliamentary elections under the new constitution are set to take place March 4, 2013. As prescribed by Kenya's 2010 constitution, the upcoming elections will launch the new devolved government structure, in which the country will be separated into 47 counties and new regional political powers will be elected.

As districts and boundaries are set to merge under the new county system, many local populations feel their territorial control is under threat. As a result, ethnic tensions and violence are increasing throughout the country. Genocide Watch places Kenya at Stage 5 (Polarization) on the 8 Stages of Genocide and again issues a *Genocide Watch* due to the current political climate and the country's history of political and ethnic violence.

Genocide Watch is particularly concerned with the outbreak of ethnic violence targeting the Turkana people in the Isiolo region of Northern Kenya. In the past year, escalating violence has killed over 70 Turkana and approximately 10,000 more have been displaced.

The Isiolo region has been traditionally diverse, home to numerous different ethnic groups, including the Turkana, Borana, Somali, Meru and Samburu communities. These communities have generally coexisted peacefully, with occasional tribal violence attributed to traditional cattle-rustling. Disputes over territory and power due to the upcoming elections have had serious effects in the Isiolo region.

Beginning in mid-2011, a pattern of violence arose that has specifically targeted members of the Turkana tribe. The primary perpetrators of the violence have been Somali and Borana tribesmen. Contrary to official reports that have dismissed the violence as traditional cattle-rustling among rival pastoral communities, recent attacks seem to have been motivated by ethnic animosity alone, instigated by political and economic prospects. According to local reports in January 2012, attacks against the Turkana lacked the traditional motive of theft of livestock or property, and had characteristics of genocidal massacres. Borana government officials are believed to be arming Borana and Somali communities to drive out Turkana communities that would back their electoral opponents.

There are also mounting disputes over land ownership. Competition over communal land that provides water resources and new economic opportunities, such as a proposed resort city, has also aggravated ethnic animosity, resulting in violent clashes.

Genocide Watch recognizes the following to be early warning signs of genocidal violence in the Isiolo region:

- The denial of Kenyan identity cards to Turkana people- part of a vetting process that lawfully should not apply to Kenyan Turkana- by a biased committee of Borana and government officials;
- Systematic attacks on Turkana homes and villages, including fatal attacks, burning and looting;
- Indiscriminant killing of Turkana women and children;
- Deliberate destruction of Turkana land and agricultural resources;
- Violent attacks on Turkana planned by Borana politicians;
- A history of ethnic discrimination against the Turkana;
- Government corruption.

Although few human rights groups have noted these threats to the Turkana, Genocide Watch believes their situation is at Stage 6: Preparation.



## Country Profile: Haiti

In Haiti, political violence has been the pattern since it was a slave colony of France from 1625 to 1804. A slave revolt led by Touissant Louverture defeated Napoleon Bonapart's troops, and in 1804, Jean Jacques Dessalines declared Haiti's independence. Dessalines massacred Haiti's white planter class, its once rich forests were cut down, its soil eroded, and it returned to subsistence agriculture. Although its official religion is Catholicism, most Haitians practice voodoo, based on West African religions, as well.

Since 1804, Haiti has been ruled by a succession of brutal dictatorships, propped up by official gangsters with complete impunity to imprison, torture, and murder regime opponents. Lofty provisions in Haitian constitutions have never restrained the dictators' power.

The United States occupied Haiti from 1915 through 1934. An outspoken opponent of American occupation and Haiti's mulatto elite, Dumarsais Estimé, became President from 1946 through 1950, when he was overthrown by a military junta. Power remained in the hands of the army until September 1957, when Dr. François Duvalier, a physician known as "Papa Doc", was elected President, supported by blacks who saw in him the end of the "reign of mulattos."

Papa Doc rapidly assumed absolute power, maintained by corruption, violence and terror. He took control of the army by ousting its top officers, and created his own private militia, the notorious "*Tontons Macoutes*" a brutal secret police and death squad.

Duvalier corrupted the idea of "negritude" championed by black intellectuals into a racist idea: "Negroism." He used it to divide the black masses from the Haitian elite, traditionally composed of descendents of mulattoes. Duvalier kept the Haitian people in ignorance and illiteracy. 2,000 opponents were executed by his *Tontons Macoutes* in 1967 alone.

Papa Doc Duvalier served as "President for Life" until his death in 1971. He was succeeded by his son, Jean-Claude (Baby Doc) Duvalier, who continued his father's brutal rule until 1986, when he was overthrown in a popular uprising. Baby Doc was forced onto exile, leaving power to a National Council of Government (CNG), headed by General Henri Namphy. Elections scheduled for November 1987 were cancelled after troops killed 300 voters on election day. 1988 elections were boycotted by most parties, with only four percent of voters casting ballots, and the winning candidate was ousted by military coup three months later. The military burned down the St. Jean Bosco Church led by Jean-Bertrand Aristide, a liberation theologian.

In 1991, Aristide was elected President with 67% of the vote. Supporters of Aristide hunted and killed "*tontons macoutes*" and other supporters of the Duvalier regime after a failed coup attempt led by "*tontons macoutes*" and former Duvalier government minister Roger Lafontant. According to an Organization of American States report (ICHR, 1991), 75 individuals were killed and 150 wounded, all of them "*tontons macoutes*" or persons directly associated with Roger Lafontant. Many of the victims were believed to be voodoo priests because of their association with Duvalier, who wrote a book on Voodoo.

Aristide was overthrown in a bloody military coup in 1991 that killed over 300 people. Under General Cédras, 3000 – 5000 people were murdered and over 41,000 Haitians in boats to the US were stopped by the US Coast Guard and repatriated. In July 1994, the UN Security Council passed Resolution 940 authorizing use of all necessary means to restore civilian rule. Aristide returned to the Presidency and was succeeded after 1995 elections by Rene Preval, who won 88% of the vote.

Aristide won a second term in November 2000 with over 90% of the vote. In 2004, Aristide was forced out of office and flown to the Central African Republic in an American airplane. Aristide claims he was kidnapped and did not resign. Allegations of corruption against Aristide were dropped by the Haitian government in 2006 for lack of enough evidence to prosecute.



The UN Security Council authorized a UN Peacekeeping Force in 2004, and 1000 US Marines were on the ground the same day, followed the next morning by Canadian and French troops. Brazil then took the lead in the UN Stabilization Mission in Haiti. Rene Preval was re-elected President in 2006.

On January 12, 2010, Haiti suffered one of the deadliest earthquakes in history, which killed 200,000-300,000 people, and leveled nearly every building in Port au Prince. The country remains devastated and the economy has ground to a halt.

In April 2011, Michel Martelly, a former musician, won election to the Presidency. Coming out of exile, Baby Doc Duvalier has boldly returned to Haiti, accompanied by his gang of "*Tontons Macoutes*," and is reportedly seeking to make Haiti a major center for the drug trade.

Haiti remains one of the poorest states of the world. The country has an official unemployment rate of 60% and a gross domestic product per capita of U.S. \$ 469 per year and a life expectancy of less than 50 years for men and 54 years for women. According to the Human Development Index of the UN, Haiti ranks 150th out of 173 countries surveyed in the world.

Haiti's population will reach 20 million by 2019. Haitians are certain to find any means necessary to escape from their grinding poverty, and emigration to the US, either legally or illegally, is the most attractive way out. After the earthquake of 2010, hundreds of millions of dollars of international aid are needed to rebuild Haiti, but most of the pledged money is frozen, for want of reliable and honest institutions to administer it.

Haiti could quickly fall back into its historical pattern of government by dictators, thugs, and now drug gangs unless the international community makes good on its magnanimous promises of billions in aid following the earthquake of 2010. Such aid will put Haitians to work in rebuilding their own country, without any military intervention from abroad. Prevention of atrocities is always cheaper and wiser than sending in troops to overthrow dictators and bury bodies.

Because of this, Genocide Watch considers Haiti to be at Stage 6: Preparation.



## **Politicide Warning: Colombia, Stage 6: Preparation 3 August 2012**

Colombia has been a very unstable country since its independence, 20 July 1810. Tensions in Colombia have arisen because of the polarization between political parties, its large income distribution inequality and its long history of violence. Since 1980 violence has increased, the drug cartels have corrupted law enforcement, and the Communist FARC rebels have taken over whole areas of the country.

In Latin America after independence, *latifundios* (*caudillos*) owned huge estates. This land distribution inequality led to a large landless peasant class. Colombia has never had a government that supported the redistribution of land. The most consistent feature of the political system was the revolving door rule of just two parties, the Liberal and Conservative parties, both opposed to radical land reform. The struggle between the parties was often quite violent.

From 1946 to 1964 the period of *La Violencia* made Colombia one of the most violent countries in the world. It was a feudal conflict, expressed as a conflict between the political parties, but rooted in competition for power between Colombia's leading families. On April 9, 1948 the leader of the liberal party Jorge Eliécer Gaitán was shot in the center of Bogotá. He was a populist who before joining the liberals had organized his own political party. His assassination outraged the population and massive riots broke out, called *Bogotázo*.

During the ensuing civil war between the conservative and liberal parties, 200,000 people were killed. The most destructive period was from 1948-53 when 50,000 people died. From the mid 1950's to the mid 1960's, the war took the form of "Mafia" violence, as marauding groups sought economic gain. In protest against the abuse of power from the Conservatives, Liberals abstained from a presidential election. This gave an excuse for president Ospina, who was a Conservative, to close congress and declare a state of siege. Conservatives burned the buildings of two of the most respected Liberal newspapers, *El Tiempo* and *El Espectador*. Liberals formed guerrilla units as a way to defend themselves. A coup d'état led by Gustavo Rojas Pinilla, commander of the armed forces, took power. Rojas Pinilla was considered to have a mild, brief authoritarian regime.

From 1958 to 1974, the National Front was created, a period of alternating rule of the Conservative and Liberal parties. The peace of this period created the political space for a transition to democracy in Colombia. Popularly elected bodies were equally divided as well as the cabinet and the judicial branch.

However, there was no room for other political parties, and in the 1970's, a left wing Marxist guerrilla movement started. The National Front system ended with Conservative President Pastrana. Fraud in the ensuing elections spawned a guerrilla movement called M-19. Former president Rojas Pinilla established an opposition party, ANAPO, which gave rise as a splinter radical group that allied with M-19. They became well known for snatching the sword of Simon Bolivar from his statue and seizing the palace of Justice. However, M-19 dissolved quickly to participate in politics.

In 1966, the FARC, or Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia was created with a Marxist-Leninist program. Other smaller groups were also organized, including the ELN, which was inspired by its leader, Fidel Castro, and the EPL, Ejército Popular de Liberación, which espoused Maoism. In the 1980's, FARC's leadership broke with the Soviet communist party and FARC became independent, with its own Marxist-Leninist military and political doctrines. The FARC is currently the most powerful guerilla movement in Colombia.

Since the 1980's the FARC has made alliances with narco-traffickers and it moved directly to the cultivation of coca, marijuana and opium. FARC grew from 3,600 insurgents in 1968 to 20,000 by 2000.





In the 1990's, Colombia was disintegrating. One source of danger came from the narco-trafficking cartels that made enormous profits from the export of cocaine, principally to the United States. Especially well known was Pablo Escobar, who owned an entire town, but was shot in 1993. Smaller cartels were created in Cali that were less visible, just as profitable, and more difficult to trace.

Drug cartels undermined the authority of the government in several ways.

They employed violence and intimidation with impunity. When the government tried to pass an official decision to extradite traffickers for trial in the United States, their cartel hit men assassinated judges, prosecutors, law enforcement agents, and political figures. They blew up an Avianca airliner because they thought it was carrying police informants. Four out of six presidential candidates in the election process were shot to death. They also won public support by sponsoring soccer teams, building playgrounds, and supporting charities. Pablo Escobar even owned a preschool in Medellin. With their enormous wealth they corrupted the Colombian judicial system and police. Pablo Escobar's prison cell was designed by him and was more luxurious than many private villas. From it he continued to run his criminal empire.

Members of the M-19 kidnapped family members of drug cartel leaders, who unleashed a campaign of more assassinations. Also *nouveau riche* drug traffickers purchased rural estates and joined the landed oligarchy against agrarian rebels like the FARC.

Paramilitaries organized themselves as self-defense groups against both the communist guerrillas and the drug traffickers. Their argument was that if the government could not protect its citizens, they would. With a vague right-wing ideology, they offered their services to landlords, wealthy businessmen and even drug traffickers. Evidence showed that paramilitary units had close ties to the Colombian armed forces.

Serious human rights abuses have been committed by paramilitaries, especially by the paramilitary coalition known as the United Self-Defense Forces of Colombia (Autodefensas Unidas de Colombia, AUC). The AUC regularly commits massacres, killings, forced displacement, rape, and extortion, and creates a threatening atmosphere in the communities they control. They target human rights defenders, trade unionists, victims of the paramilitaries who are seeking justice, and community members who do not follow their orders.

Conflicts between drug cartels, guerrillas and paramilitaries have inflicted frightful violence in Colombia. By 1995, homicide rates in Colombia averaged 95 per 100,000 citizens, the highest in Latin America.

Assaults, kidnappings and assassinations between 1985 and 1995 forced more than half a million people to leave their rural homes and resettle in the country's major cities. By 2011, one out of every 55 Colombians has been forced to migrate because of violence.

Colombia is one of the most heavily land mine-affected countries in the world. Land mines claimed at least 8,081 victims between 1990 and October of 2011. Casualties have increased since 2002. Most have been planted by government forces in their war against the FARC. "A landmine is a perfect soldier: It doesn't eat, it doesn't ask for vacation, it doesn't need to rest and it is active for 30 years," said Lt. Colonel Mauricio Moreno, commander of the School of Military Engineers.

On March 12, 1997 the Inter American Court of Human Rights ruled that there have been systematic crimes against humanity against members of a political party, "Unión Patriótica" or Patriotic Union perpetrated by the Colombian government. In 1985 the Patriotic Union was established as a result of the peace negotiations between the FARC and the government of the former President Belisario Betancourt. Since its beginnings, its members have been victims of persecution, extrajudicial executions, disappearances, unfounded criminal prosecution, assaults and threats. In their court case, the petitioners said that the goal of this persecution is an attempt to eliminate their party. Agents from the state have participated in at least 1,163 murders of members of the Unión Patriótica, who were executed extrajudicially between 1985 and 1993.



Colombia's state, criminal, and revolutionary terrorism targets moderates, and includes kidnapping and attacking the civilian population.

Genocide Watch concludes that extreme polarization in Colombian politics, the rise of the paramilitary "self-defense forces", emergence of violent drug –trafficking cartels, and the continuing battle against communist FARC guerillas as well as corruption within the government place Colombia at stage 6: preparation for politicide.

Genocide Watch makes the following recommendations:

- The US needs to review its PLAN COLOMBIA aid to Colombia, and in addition to supplying arms and training to Colombia's police and Army, provide funding for education and health services.
- Prevent corruption during elections by encouraging creation of a powerful Election Commission with numerous poll monitors, both domestic and international.
- Assign more DEA agents to monitor investigation, capture, arrests, trials, and imprisonment of drug traffickers from start to finish.
- Provide funding for 24/7 security protection for moderate leaders and direct security assistance to human rights leaders.
- Assets of cartel leaders should be seized under a Colombian version of the RICO law, and visas for international travel denied to them and their families.
- Recruit and train a new group of uncorrupted, highly trained police to physically protect civil society leaders, and moderate leaders, such as activists, judges, and political leaders.
- Finance a major mine-clearance program to clear antipersonnel mines.
- Cooperate fully with the Inter American Court of Human Rights in lawsuits against traffickers, paramilitaries, and government officials responsible for killing, kidnapping, or assaulting Colombians.



## Country Profile: Guinea-Bissau

Since independence in 1974, Guinea-Bissau has endured military revolts, a civil war and several coups, the latest one in April 2012.

After a long struggle for independence, spearheaded by the Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde (PAIGC), Guinea Bissau became independent from Portugal in 1974. The left-wing post-independence leader Luis Cabral became the first president of the country. Under his rule, several thousand local soldiers who had fought along with the Portuguese army against the PAIGC guerrillas were slaughtered. The most notorious massacre took place in Bissorã.

In 1980, Luis Cabral was overthrown by a coup led by Joao Vieira, who would lead the country until 1998. In 1994 Cabral was elected president in Guinea Bissau's first free elections. In 1998, an army uprising ousted the president, triggering a civil war between the government (backed by neighboring states) and rebels.

Following foreign mediation, the war ended and presidential elections were held in 2000. However, this did not mean the end of political instability. The winner of the 2000 election, Kumba lala was ousted in a bloodless military coup in September 2003. New presidential elections were held in June 2005 and were won by former president Vieira. His rule was abruptly ended in March 2009, when he was assassinated by soldiers, several hours after his old rival, General Batista Tagme Na Waie, was killed. Following these assassinations, Malam Bacai Sanha took power. He died in January 2012 in a French hospital.

The latest military coup took place in April 2012, just before the second round of voting in presidential elections was scheduled to take place. Both the Interim President Raimundo Pereira and outgoing Prime Minister Carlos Gomes Junior - who was the frontrunner in the presidential poll- were detained.

The coup leaders claimed that Carlos Gomes intended to reduce the size of the army. The coup was largely opposed by the international community and Guinea Bissau was suspended from the African Union. On April 27, 2012, the coup leaders bowed to ECOWAS pressure and the President and Prime Minister were freed. However, the country is still under military rule.

The ongoing political instability has undermined the economy and made Guinea Bissau a transshipment point for Latin American drugs. The coastline has numerous off-shore islands that are ideal landing places for small planes to load drugs shipped by boat from Latin America. The drugs are then flown to Europe. The government and military receive bribes to ignore this drug trafficking.

Because of the dangers related to military rule and drug lords, Genocide Watch considers Guinea-Bissau to be at Stage 6: Preparation.



# **Countries at Risk**

## **Stage 5: Polarization**

**Genocide and Politicide Watch: Iran**  
**28 February 2012**



In 1979 an Islamic Revolution overthrew the Shah Reza Pahlavi royal dynasty. The revolutionaries adopted a theocratic constitution and founded the Islamic Republic of Iran. Under its constitution, the Supreme Religious Leader (Ayatollah) assumes the highest religious and political authority. Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini returned from exile in Iraq. He exercised Supreme Rule until his death in 1989. He was succeeded by Ayatollah Ali Khomeini.

Ayatollah Khomeini issued a fatwa in 1979 ordering that religious minorities, including Jews and Christians, be treated with tolerance. But in practice the treatment of religious and ethnic minorities worsened. The Ayatollah's fatwa did not protect the Baha'i, who have been persecuted since their founding in the 1850s. This religious minority accepts other religions and considers their founder, Bhá'u'lláh, a messenger of God. The Shi'ite Muslim Iranian government regards the Baha'i as apostates and treats them as a heretical cult. Between 1978 and 1998 more than 200 Baha'i were killed or disappeared. Many others are still wrongfully imprisoned. The Baha'i are subject to widespread and systematic discrimination and persecution.

The Iranian government targets other minority groups as well. Recent facts evidence the persecution of the ethnic Arab minority in Iran (read more). Furthermore, Sunni Muslims – who are predominantly Kurds but also Arabs – as well as Jews and Christians, face discrimination, arbitrary imprisonment, harassment and intimidation. Since the election of president Ahmadinejad in 2005 the religious and ethnic discrimination has increased.

Political opponents of the Iranian regime are also repressed. In 2009 president Ahmadinejad was re-elected in a highly contested vote. Announcement of the results caused violent demonstrations. Ayatollah Khomeini confirmed the re-election of president Ahmadinejad over the more moderate candidate, Mir-Hossein Moussavi. The Iranian government repressed the protests by shooting demonstrators, arbitrary executions, mass trials and torture. The demonstrations led to the creation of the Green Movement, which is still suppressed by the Iranian government.

Besides internal political, religious and ethnic conflicts, international tensions are increasing as well. Since the election of president Ahmadinejad in 2005 the Iranian government has led an anti-Semitic campaign against Israel that is reminiscent of the propaganda of Nazi Germany. Dr. Gregory Stanton, the president of Genocide Watch and President of the International Association of Genocide Scholars, has denounced Iranian threats to "wipe Israel off the face of the map" as incitement to genocide (read letter to president Bush). There is increasing evidence that Iran's nuclear program is intended to develop nuclear weapons, and that its missile program is intended to give it a first strike capacity to attack Israel. These developments have recently led to speculation that as pre-emptive self-defence, Israel will attack Iranian nuclear facilities. Iran accuses Israel of assassinating its nuclear scientists, while Israel believes that current attacks on its diplomatic personnel in foreign countries are reprisals directed by the Iranian government. Iran supports anti-Israel terrorist groups such as the Hezbollah.

Iran is at level 5 of Genocide Watch's 8 stages of genocide: Polarization. Genocide Watch monitors the situation in Iran on the basis of the following early warning signs:

- At the internal level, the widespread discrimination against religious and ethnic minorities, in particular the Baha'i, is alarming. The government is authoritarian, and is controlled by a religious elite with an exclusionary ideology.
- At the external level, the nuclear program of Iran threatens international peace and security, especially in combination with Iran's anti-Semitic campaign against Israel.



## **Genocide and Politicide Watch: Uzbekistan 6 March 2012**

Uzbekistan gained its independence from the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) on August 31, 1991. President Karimov has been in power ever since. A new constitution was adopted, establishing a separation of powers between the executive, the legislature and the judiciary. In reality, however, Uzbekistan is a full autocracy. President Karimov has the power to dissolve the parliament and to appoint the judges. Further, there is a clan division in Uzbekistan which is associated with political power. The highest positions in Uzbekistan are exercised by members of the Samarkand clan of President Karimov and the Tashkent clan.

The Uzbek government violates human rights on a large scale: torture, absence of due process, lack of freedom of expression and association. Freedom House identifies Uzbekistan as one of the nine least free countries in the world. Islamists and political opponents, including Tajiks, are the main victims of this repressive regime.

Firstly, there is the situation of the Tajiks. In 1929 Uzbekistan and Tajikistan, which previously formed one country, were separated. However, ethnic Tajiks still represent a large minority within Uzbekistan, especially in the cities of Samarkand and Bukhara. Figures in this regard are even underestimated, as during the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic the Uzbek nationality was imposed on ethnic Tajiks living on Uzbek territory as part of a policy of "Uzbekization". In the 1980s the Tajik community made secessionist claims, but these claims later evolved into a campaign for greater participation by ethnic Tajiks in political, economic and cultural life. President Karimov considers the Tajiks to be political opponents. His response has been repression.

Secondly, the Uzbek government upholds a tradition of persecuting Islamists. This policy is once again politically motivated. In Central Asia there are several Islamic groupings such as Hizb ut-Tahrir which want to establish a caliphate – an Islamic state unifying the many Muslim countries into a revival of the caliphate of the middle ages. Under the pretext of the "war on terror" the Uzbek government infringes the human rights of Islamists in Uzbekistan on a large scale. They are subject to even tougher restrictions regarding freedom of expression and association, arbitrary imprisonments, torture and forced disappearances.

The repression in Uzbekistan was most brutally expressed by the Andijan Massacre on May 13, 2005. That day protests broke out in Andijan because of an unfair trial against local businessmen for alleged Islamic extremism. The government forces randomly shot hundreds of unarmed demonstrators. Estimates of the death toll are uncertain due to the denial and cover-up by the Uzbek government. Eventually, the government acknowledged the death of 187 persons, while human rights organizations speak of approximately 750 casualties. No official has ever been held accountable for the killings, but fifteen persons were convicted for organizing protests in Andijan. Hundreds of civilians fled to neighboring country Kyrgyzstan. The Uzbek government continues to use reprehensible practices to cover the truth on the Andijan Massacre, including forced return of refugees, torture of witnesses and intimidation of civil society initiatives.

Uzbekistan is at stage 5 of Genocide Watch's 8 stages of genocide: Polarization.



## Genocide Watch: India

In India, all the global religions are represented: Hinduism, Islam, Christianity, Sikhism, Buddhism and Jainism. Besides religious diversity, there are also indigenous regional tribes recognized under the Constitution. India is thus an extremely diverse country, but because of its pervasive caste system, the nation struggles with polarization based upon religious, regional, caste and economic background.

In August 1947, British India became independent. Colonial India was partitioned into two independent countries according to religious demography, namely the Republic of India and the Islamic Republic of Pakistan. Pakistan was composed of two territories a thousand miles apart, divided by Indian territory, with different ethnicities and languages. This partition led to continuous tensions between India and Pakistan. It resulted in the displacement of 12.5 million people, the greatest migration in history. Muslims migrated to either West or East Pakistan. Hindus fled from Pakistan into India. Genocidal massacres by organized mobs of Muslims and Hindus went unpunished by the departing British authorities. During this migration, communal violence resulted in approximately one million Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs being slaughtered.

After West Pakistan inflicted genocide upon East Pakistan in 1971, costing up to three million lives, East Pakistan declared independence as the People's Republic of Bangladesh. Hindus and Sikhs migrated to India. They were afraid of being discriminated against by Muslims in Bangladesh.

Serious political tensions between India and Pakistan remain, especially regarding the Kashmir region. India controls the central and southern part of the former Kashmir state, namely the Kashmir, Jammu and Ladakh regions. The majority of the people living in these regions are Muslim. The Kashmir and Jammu state enjoys a particular statute under the Indian Constitution, but since 1990 control by the Indian security forces has tightened. The result is increased government repression in the Kashmir regions governed by India. Thousands of Kashmiris have been forcibly disappeared and mass graves with 2,730 bodies were discovered in 2011.

India is plagued by religious and regional tensions. In 2002, hundreds of Muslims and Hindus were killed in interreligious violence in the state of Gujarat. Many thousands more fled their homes. Dozens of worship places and houses were destroyed. Some government officials were involved in the riots as they purposely refused to intervene and stop the killings, and even supplied weapons and planned attacks by Hindu mobs. Even children were killed brutally. Gujarat authorities, including Chief Minister Modi, obstructed justice and refused to pursue perpetrators. Recently, however, an Indian Parliamentary Commission has laid blame squarely at the feet of Modi, and several Hindus were convicted for killing Muslims during these riots. Genocide Watch calls for the arrest and prosecution of Modi and others who participated in the Gujarat massacres.

Since the outburst of violence in Gujarat, tensions between Hindus and Muslims have remained. In general Muslims are economically disadvantaged in comparison with Hindus. Hindu police are brutal towards Muslims in many places, especially in Kashmir. Muslim terrorists from Pakistan most recently attacked Mumbai on November 26, 2008.

Besides religious polarization, there are also tensions due to the system of social stratification in India. Notwithstanding major improvements for so-called "untouchables", due to affirmative action authorized by the Indian Constitution, the Indian caste system is still pervasive in social life. The groups belonging to the lowest castes remain socially disadvantaged, although some members climb the social ladder through entry into the professions and the modernizing economy. There are groups claiming to fight for the rights of these lower castes and tribes, such as the Maoist insurgents or Naxalites. In practice, however, the Naxalites kidnap tourists, engage in corruption and kill and extort money from civilians and government officials.

Because of its religious, caste and economic discrimination, India is at Stage 5: polarization.



## Country Profile: Kosovo

In the aftermath of the Balkan wars that were fought in the 1990s, Kosovo unilaterally declared independence from Serbia in 2008. However, this independence is contested by Serbia and tensions between the Albanian majority and Serb minority in the country remain extremely high.

After the death of the President Tito of Yugoslavia in 1980, pressure for independence of the Kosovo province was growing within the Kosovar Albanian population, who felt that the Serb authorities discriminated against them. Serbia did not permit Kosovar Albanian to be taught in the schools, and there was no Kosovar Albanian representation in the Serb parliament. Kosovo's independence movement was violently suppressed by Serb troops under Slobodan Milosovic, the leader of Serb nationalism, who advocated creation of a "Greater Serbia," that would include part of Bosnia and Croatia, as well as Kosovo.

When a passive resistance movement in the 1990s failed to secure independence, a rebel movement, the Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA) left the path of non-violent resistance and started to attack Serb targets in the mid-nineties. Meanwhile, the Serbian forces started an "ethnic cleansing" (forced displacement) campaign against the Kosovar Albanians. They used genocidal massacres of entire villages as a terror tactic to drive over 800,000 Kosovars into Albania.

In 1999, NATO decided to intervene and NATO bombings of Serbia began. After the Serb Army was driven out of Kosovo, NATO and the UN took over the administration of Kosovo. Justice for the atrocities during the war came through The International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia, which charged Milosevic with genocide and other crimes against humanity. However, in March 2006 after a four-year trial, Milosevic was found dead in his cell from a heart attack. Other trials for crimes against humanity and war crimes have been heard in international courts established in Kosovo.

In 2008, Kosovo Albanians declared their country independent from Serbia, but Serbia refuses to recognize this independence. Kosovo is still deeply polarized between the Albanian majority and the Serb minority, which mainly lives in the northern corner of the country. While the Serbs hate the Kosovo Albanians because they have taken part of what they consider Serbia, the Albanians won't forget, nor forgive the atrocities committed by Serbs during Milosevic's rule.

In their latest report, the International Crisis Group examined the on-going instability in the North of Kosovo. In July 2011 tensions rose again in northern Kosovo, when Pristina's police and local Serbs got into conflict about custom gates along the border with Serbia. Serbia's refusal to recognize Kosovo's sovereignty, especially in northern Kosovo where Serbs are a majority, is "halting Kosovo's and Serbia's fragile dialogue and threatens Kosovo's internal stability and Serbia's EU candidacy process", says the International Crisis Group, a key member of the International Alliance to End Genocide.

Because of Kosovo's history of ethnic tensions and the current risk for further conflict, Genocide Watch considers Kosovo to be at stage 5: Polarization.





## **Genocide Watch: Côte d'Ivoire 14 February 2012**

Although the civil war of 2002 came to an end in 2004, Côte d'Ivoire has ever since been divided between north and south. The split is along religious and ethnic lines. The north is predominantly Muslim and populated by Senufo, Mandé (Malinké, Dan, Gouro, Dioula), and Lobi groups, while the south is majority Christian and populated by Akan (Baoulé, Agni, Abron), Laguné (Ébrié, Adioukrou, Abbé, Atié), and Krou (Krou, Bété, Guéré) groups. These groups lived peacefully together during the Presidency of Félix Houphouët-Boigny from 1960 through 1993, a physician and Baoule chief who later served in the French Parliament, led Cote d'Ivoire's peaceful move to independence, and maintained an open-border policy toward workers from Mali and Upper Volta (Burkina Faso.) "Le Vieux", as he was affectionately called, was a master at balancing regional interests within Côte d'Ivoire. He maintained close relations with France. Dr. Alassane Ouattara was Prime Minister 1990 – 1993.

Following Houphouët-Boigny's death, a policy of "Ivoirisation" was instituted by his successor, Henri Konan Bédié. Distinctions between so called "native" or "pure" Ivoirians (Ivoirité) and immigrants or settlers – even those descended from several generations of immigrants who came from the north, in particular Mali and Burkina Faso (Burkinabés) – caused rising ethnic tensions. Classification of the population was also reflected in inequality in land ownership, with southern groups owning many of the south's rich cocoa, coffee, and palm oil plantations, while hiring northerners as laborers. In 1995, the tensions turned violent when Burkinabés were killed in plantations during ethnic riots.

This classification had a political impact in the Presidential elections of 1995, when Alassane Ouattara was precluded from running for President because of false charges that he had been born in Burkina Faso (He was actually born in Dimbokro), and that one of his parents was also born in Burkina Faso, violating a new electoral law designed to prevent Ouattara from running. Fully 26 percent of the population in Côte d'Ivoire was descended from Burkinabé immigrants, who were no longer allowed to run for office or even to vote. All opposition parties boycotted the 1995 election and Konan Bédié won.

A military coup ousted Konan Bédié on 24 December 1999. Ouattara returned five days later and hailed Konan Bédié's ouster as "not a coup d'état," but "a revolution supported by all the Ivorian people. A new constitution was approved by referendum in July 2000, but it kept the restrictive bar against anyone running for President unless both of their parents were Ivorian born, and Ouattara again was disqualified from the 2000 presidential election. Robert Guéï claimed victory with 33 percent of the vote, but street demonstrations forced him to hand over the Presidency to Laurent Gbagbo, who received 59 percent of the vote.

Ivorian troops from the north mutinied on 19 September 2002. They launched attacks in many cities, including Abidjan, and by midday had taken full control of the northern half of the country. On the first night of the uprising former president Robert Guéï was killed. Alassane Ouattara took refuge in the French Embassy. The French government had been alerted to the probability of ethnic conflict in 2001 when Prévention Génocides, a member of the International Alliance to End Genocide, produced a film about the danger of the Ivoirité ideology, *Poudrière Identitaire*, (<http://www.paperblog.fr/4296290/cote-d-ivoire-poudriere-identitaire-documentaire/>) showed it on Ivorian national television, and to French foreign policy makers.

French forces based at Port-Bouët, Côte d'Ivoire quickly intervened and formed a cordon sanitaire between the northern and southern forces. Guillaume Soro led the northern Patriotic Movement of Côte d'Ivoire (MPCI) later to be known as the Forces Nouvelles de Côte d'Ivoire/New Forces, based in Bouake. Southern forces were led by the National Army (FANCI), also called loyalists and The Young Patriots: nationalist groups aligned with President Laurent Gbagbo.

French military forces were sent within the framework of Operation Unicorn and under UN mandate (UNOCI), 3000 men in February 2003 and 4600 in November 2004; and the CEDEAO, White helmets, also came under UN mandate.



Genocidal massacres occurred during the civil war, such as at Duékoué, where 2000 civilians were slaughtered. Many other crimes against humanity were perpetrated by both sides.

A peace agreement finally brought the war to a halt in 2004, but the country remained divided. President Gbagbo was President of the south. Guillaume Soro led the north.

After years of postponement, the presidential elections in October and November 2010 were the trigger leading to another eruption of violence. Incumbent president Laurent Gbagbo was defeated by the opposition leader, Alassane Ouattara, who originates from the north. But Gbagbo refused to give up power and barricaded himself into the Presidential house. This resulted in bloody post-election violence in which at least 3,000 persons died. Atrocities were committed both by the Ivorian army loyal to Gbagbo and the Forces Nouvelles de Côte d'Ivoire –later the Republican Forces– of Ouattara.

Laurent Gbagbo was captured in April 2010. The pre-trial chamber of the International Criminal Court 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.

The prosecutor of the ICC is still investigating the role played by other members of the Gbagbo government as well as members of Ouattara's government.

The crimes that took place in Côte d'Ivoire in the aftermath of the elections may be qualified as genocidal massacres, though they were not a full genocide. The arrest warrant issued by the ICC explicitly mentions that the assaults were often directed at specific ethnic or religious communities – national groups were also targeted, namely migrants from West-African countries. Furthermore, the attacks were the result of an organizational policy of Laurent Gbagbo and his forces. The murders, rapes, persecutions and other inhuman acts were thus committed with the intent to partially destroy ethnical, religious and national groups in the south of the country.

The root causes of the eruption of violence in Cote d'Ivoire have not been resolved, in particular the deeply rooted polarization in Côte d'Ivoire. The establishment of the Dialogue, Truth and Reconciliation Commission represents a welcome but insufficient initiative.

Therefore, Genocide Watch measures Côte d'Ivoire at Stage 5: Polarization.

- Genocide Watch urges upon the government of Côte d'Ivoire to investigate, prosecute and punish atrocities committed by both sides, including the Duékoué massacre. The Republican Forces of Ouattara need to be vetted, and perpetrators punished.
- Genocide Watch calls upon the government of Côte d'Ivoire to emphasize and develop transcendent national institutions, in education, music, sports, security, and common celebrations of both Muslim and Christian holidays at the community level.
- Genocide Watch recommends that a deep root cause of the tensions be addressed, conflicts relating to land rights and labor rights for plantation workers.
- Above all, the ideology of Ivoirité with its false distinction between "native" and immigrated Ivoirians should be abolished.



## **Genocide and Politicide Watch: Côte d'Ivoire 11 December 2002**

Since December 1999, when a military coup led by General Guié overthrew the government of Henri Konan Bedié of the Parti Democratique de Côte d'Ivoire (PDCI), the country has been in crisis. The policy of "Ivoirité", begun under the PDCI, has continued, aimed at excluding "foreigners" from participation in Ivorian political life and limiting their civil rights by subjecting them to deportation. The north is majority Muslim, the south majority Christian. Muslim immigrants make up a quarter of the population of Côte d'Ivoire. They come especially from Burkina Faso (3.7 million) and Mali (780,000), and provide much of the labor on cacao, coffee, and oil palm plantations in the south and center. In March 2000, General Guié's police arrested RDR militants for issuing new national identity cards to "foreigners." In May 2000, the Higher Council of Imams complained that security forces abusively confiscated ID cards from Muslims.

Presidential elections held in October 2000 presented a choice only between General Guié and Laurent Gbagbo and three minor candidates. The election excluded Alassane Dramane Ouattara, former Prime Minister of Côte d'Ivoire and leader of the Rassemblement des Republicains (RDR), on the putative grounds that he is not an Ivorian citizen because one of his parents was born in Burkina Faso (a charge he denies) and that he once held a Burkina passport. The RDR draws its greatest support from the Muslim north of the country. Although Guié claimed victory after he suspended ballot counting, demonstrations that included deadly clashes between Guié's military and civilians led to the installation of the current President Gbagbo. Guié fled. At least 57 bodies were discovered in a mass grave at Yopougon, near Abidjan, a crime imputed to the gendarmerie, though those charged were acquitted.

RDR supporters demanded a re-run of the elections that would include their leader, Ouattara. It has not been held. In March 2001 local elections included all major parties, with the RDR winning the largest number of local councils, especially in the north, followed by the PDCI, and President Gbagbo's Front Populaire Ivoirien (FPI). Beginning in October 2001, a National Reconciliation Forum including political parties and civil society groups began. Among its recommendations was recognition of the Ivorian citizenship of Ouattara. In January 2002, Bedié, Gbagbo, Ouattara and Guié met. A judge delivered a certificate of nationality to Ouattara in June 2002, though it is disputed by those who do not support him.

On 13 September 2002, General Guié accused President Gbagbo of breaking his commitments. On 19 September, heavy shooting broke out in Abidjan when army troops recruited by General Guié mutinied because they were about to be decommissioned. President Gbagbo called it another coup attempt by General Guié, who was killed on the first day, along with his wife. Government troops quickly put down the mutiny in Abidjan, but the mutineers took control of the northern cities of Bouaké and Korhogo. French troops evacuated 1,200 foreigners from Bouaké. Hundreds of Ivorians began to flee Bouaké. Government troops have failed to retake the town, second largest in Côte d'Ivoire.

ECOWAS set up a mediation group on September 30. The northern rebels, taking the name Mouvement Patriotique de Côte d'Ivoire (MPCI), signed a ceasefire agreement on October 17. Negotiations brokered by Togolese President Eyadema yielded agreement by the MPCI and government to respect the ceasefire, with a French buffer force of 600 troops. The government agreed to submit a draft amnesty law to free jailed military troops and reintegration of exiled soldiers into the army. However, the talks have since broken down over the MPCI's demand for a new transitional government with fresh elections, which the government rejects.

At the end of November, two new rebel groups arose in the west, supported by the Yacouba (Dan), General Guié's ethnic group. One of them, the Mouvement Populaire Ivoirien de Grande-Ouest (MPIO) appears to be led by one of General Guié's sons. The other, Movement for Justice and Peace (MJP), took Man on 28 November. The groups reportedly may be receiving support from Liberia's Charles Taylor and the fugitive Sierra Leone Revolutionary United Front warlord, Sam Bockarie. The government has launched a counterattack. At least 27,000 Liberian refugees and 2,600 Ivorian nationals have fled into Liberia. A ferry used by UNHCR to transport refugees was sunk on December 8 by government



forces. President Gbagbo has called for a mobilization of all males between 20 and 26, a call that has been greeted with enthusiasm by the many unemployed youth in Côte d'Ivoire. 3000 of them will receive six week military courses and given weapons, a very short time to instill professional military discipline, much less to instruct them in the international humanitarian laws of warfare.

On December 4, French troops reported discovery of a mass grave in Monoko-Zohi, a village west of Daloa, which was briefly occupied by rebel forces before being re-taken by the government. ECOWAS has investigated and confirmed that 120 villagers were murdered. Villagers report that government soldiers carried out the massacre, going house to house with lists of rebel sympathizers. The government denies the charge and blames the rebels. A national human rights group, the Mouvement Ivoirien des Droits Humains (MIDH) has denounced the killings and called for a U.N. investigation.



## Country Profile: Bosnia-Herzegovina

Following the breakup of Yugoslavia, Bosnia Herzegovina was confronted with an ethnic civil war from April 1992 to December 1995. The three main ethnic groups in Bosnia Herzegovina, the Bosniaks (Bosnian Muslims), Serbs and Croats did not agree whether or not Bosnia Herzegovina would become independent. On February 29, the Bosniaks and Croats voted for independence in a referendum, which was boycotted by the Serbs. After independence was declared, a civil war broke out when Bosnian Serbs, supported by the Serbian government of Milosevic, attacked the Republic of Bosnia- Herzegovina. The Serb goal was “ethnic cleansing”, an euphemism for forced displacement invented by Milosevic, accompanied by genocidal terror to drive Bosniaks and Croats out of Serb areas, which became a separate Serb Republic, governed from Pale. The war was characterized by cruel killings and mass rapes of Bosniaks and Croats and caused an enormous numbers of displaced persons.

In July 1995, the worst massacre occurred in Srebrenica, which was in 1993 declared a ‘safe area’ under UN protection. However, under the command of General Ratko Mladic, the army of Republika Srpska killed 8000 Bosniaks in Srebrenica, mainly men and boys. The Srebrenica massacre became the worst massacre in Europe since the Nazi area.

Late 1995 peace negotiations in Dayton, Ohio led to the so-called Dayton Agreement, which finally ended the Bosnian war and set up two separate entities: the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Republika Srpska. In addition, there is the district of Brcko which is a self-governing unit and is both part of the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Republika Srpska.

Although the UN failed to prevent genocidal massacres in Bosnia, it did establish a new era of international justice for those who were responsible for the genocide. The International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY) at The Hague was created by the United Nations in 1993 and became the first international tribunal to prosecute genocide, crimes against humanity, and war crimes since Nuremberg. Years passed with only low-level officials in custody, but finally Ratko Mladic and Radovan Karadzic were captured in May and July 2011. All top war criminals have now been arrested and will be brought to trial for genocide and other crimes against humanity.

Today, Bosnia Herzegovina is still a divided country, with two effective governments, and divided by ethnicity down the heart of the country. Milosevic’s “ethnic cleansing” succeeded. The elections in 2010 in the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina resulted in a political crisis, since ethnic political leaders could not reach agreement on the formation of a new government. In February 2012, the parliament finally approved a new central government, ending 16 months of deadlock. With this new government, hope is growing that Bosnia-Herzegovina may progress towards EU accession.

- Genocide Watch strongly encourages the work of the ICTY to arrest and prosecute the perpetrators of the Bosnian Genocide. The capture of Ratko Mladic and Radovan Karadžić last year in Serbia were of great importance for achieving justice.
- Genocide Watch urges the European Union to support efforts by Bosnia-Herzegovina to build political and economic institutions that will overcome ethnic differences, bring stability in the country and promote accession to membership in the European Union.
- The European Union should seek ways to build bridges between Bosnia-Herzegovina, the Republika Srpska, and Serbia, and to keep a watchful eye on the situation in Bosnia Herzegovina, lest violent conflict recur.

Because ethnic tensions remain high in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Genocide Watch considers the country at stage 5: polarization.



## Country Profile: Rwanda—A Country Still Recovering From Genocide

The Rwandan genocide in 1994 killed 800,000 Rwandans in 100 days - Africa's fastest, intentionally planned genocide. It was a glaring example of the failure of international institutions like the UN and of leading nation-states like the US, Belgium, France, and the UK to prevent or stop genocide. It was a shocking reminder that genocide has happened again and again since 1945. The "Never Again" in UN resolutions after the Holocaust proved to be an empty promise. Rwanda shocked the world.

The Rwandan genocide was followed by innumerable reports, by the creation of the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda in 1995, by the International Criminal Court in 2002, and by a new emphasis on prevention at the United Nations symbolized in 2004 by creation of the Special Adviser to the UN Secretary General for the Prevention of Genocide. Genocide Watch played a major role in all of these initiatives.

The 1994 genocide followed generations of ethnic tensions between the Hutu majority and the Tutsi minority. Belgian colonialism played a significant role in establishing the divide between the two groups, by issuing identification cards in 1933. They included each individual's group identity, Tutsi, Hutu or Twa. They thus reified group identity for each person and made changes from one group to another quite difficult. One's group identity was patrilineal. If one's father was Tutsi, one was Tutsi, even if the Tutsi father had married a Hutu and one's mother was Hutu.

Prior to independence, Belgian colonialists ruled indirectly through the Tutsi aristocracy, and Tutsis received preference for placement in secondary schools, government, and the priesthood. This order was turned on its head from 1959 to 1962, as Rwanda became independent. There were many anti-Tutsi massacres, and hundreds of thousands of Tutsis fled into neighboring Uganda and into Tutsi ruled Burundi. From independence in 1962 until 1994, the single political party associated with the Hutu majority ruled the country and discriminated against the Tutsi minority. The dehumanization of Tutsis was a prominent feature of genocidal massacres in 1959, 1962, and 1972.

In 1990, the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF), a rebel group led by Tutsi refugees in Uganda, invaded Rwanda. Its leaders had risen to prominent positions in the Ugandan army. Full civil war broke out, and the RPF moved swiftly. They were repulsed by the Rwandan Armed Forces before they conquered Kigali only with considerable assistance from France. A ceasefire was declared, and the RPF began negotiations with the Rwanda government. The Arusha Peace Accords were signed in 1993 by Rwandan President Habyarimana and by the RPF. The Arusha Accords would have opened the Rwandan political system to multi-party elections, abolished ethnic ID cards, and established a government of national unity that included RPF representatives.

Hutu Power advocates believed the Arusha Accords gave up far too much power, and they formed extremist political parties to oppose implementation of the agreement. They also planned the Rwandan genocide, organized, trained and armed militias (the *interahamwe*) to do most of the killing, established hate radio stations (*Radio Television Libre des Mille Collines*) that relentlessly called Tutsis "cockroaches" and aggravated ethnic tensions, and assassinated moderate Hutu leaders who opposed genocide.

The US, Belgium, France, and the UN ignored the danger signs and instead sent an observer mission UNOMUR, to Rwanda, under the leadership of Canadian General Romeo Dallaire. The UN converted UNOMUR's mandate into a "peacekeeping mission" and renamed it UNAMIR. But General Dallaire's request for 5000 troops was cut in half by the UN Security Council because the US and UK considered it too expensive. Warning signs from General Dallaire of 500,000 machetes shipped from China in January 1994, three months before the genocide, in violation of an arms embargo, were ignored by the US, Belgian, French and other Ambassadors. The UN Office of Peacekeeping Operations, led by Kofi Annan, refused Dallaire's request to confiscate the weapons, as "outside UNAMIR's mandate." The machetes were distributed to Hutu militias who later used them to murder Tutsis.



The planned genocide was triggered by the shooting down of President Habyarimana's French plane on April 6, 1994. His plane was shot down – probably by Hutu extremists- after he had conferred with regional leaders about implementation of the Arusha Accords, which he had signed in August 1993. The Arusha Accords were seen by Hutu Power as a direct threat to Hutu control, because they called for sharing power with the Rwandan Patriotic Front.

Hutu Power organizers were well prepared for the genocide that immediately followed. The Presidential Guard murdered the Hutu moderate Prime Minister and President of the Constitutional Court and ten Belgian UN Peacekeepers on April 7, 1994. *Interahamwe* Hutu militias set up roadblocks and began to slaughter Tutsis and moderate Hutus. Possession of a Tutsi ID card was a death sentence. By dusk on April 7, 8000 Tutsis and moderate Hutus were dead. Between April and July 1994, at least 800,000 Rwandans, mostly Tutsis, were killed, while the world withdrew, watched, and did nothing. The only foreign troops who intervened were French and Belgian paratroopers who flew in within days to rescue all white people, even their dogs, while leaving all Rwandans to their terrible fates. The American community formed a motorcade into Burundi, considered a great diplomatic triumph by the State Department. For the next three months, State Department lawyers blocked any reference to the massacres in Rwanda as “genocide”, both in State Department press guidance, and in UN Security Council Resolutions.

On April 21, 1994, the UN Security Council, in one of the most shameful moments in its history, voted to withdraw all but several hundred of the 5000 UNAMIR troops in Rwanda. The RPF launched a counteroffensive to the Hutu Power genocide and took control of the country in July 1994, when Paul Kagame formed a government headed by Hutu president Pasteur Bizimungu. The country was *de facto* led by Kagame himself, who was Minister of Defense and Vice-President.

Millions of Hutu refugees fled to other African countries, especially Zaire (the current DR Congo.) Operation “Support Hope” was launched by the US and other western countries to assist Hutu refugees, at a cost of over a billion dollars. The Zaire camps were controlled by the Ex- Rwandan Armed Forces and militias who had committed the Rwandan genocide.

Offers by Canada to send its own troops to break the grip of the genocidists on the refugees were rejected by the U.S. Raids into Rwanda were made from the camps. Finally, Paul Kagame had enough and supported an invasion of Zaire by the Congolese Laurent Kabila and the Rwandan Army. Mass murder of Hutu civilians followed, along with a civil war in the Democratic Republic of the Congo that has cost at least three million lives, and the worst mass rape epidemic in world history, much of it committed by the same criminals who perpetrated the Rwandan genocide.

Top leaders of the 1994 genocide are being tried in The International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR) established by UN Security Council Resolutions 955 and 978, drafted by the President of Genocide Watch, based in Arusha, Tanzania. Other participants in the genocide are being tried by Rwandan courts and by community-based gacaca courts. To date, the ICTR has convicted more than 50 people for their involvement in the 1994 genocide, and has played a major role in defining the terms of the Genocide Convention. The community-based gacaca courts have been criticized as well. They are, however, adaptations of traditional Rwandan conflict resolution practices that are far better suited culturally than the Belgian neo-colonial courts that are the only alternative.

Many genocide suspects are currently in exile in other countries. The Rwandan government has sent several extradition requests to various countries. After Rwanda abolished the death penalty, these extradition requests have been increasingly successful. On 24 January 2012, Leon Mugesera, who made a notorious speech advocating murder of all Tutsis, was extradited to Rwanda from Canada, and Jean Bosco Uwinkindi was turned over by the ICTR to the national courts of Rwanda. Concern remains whether Rwanda has the capacity to provide fair trials, which will begin in mid-2012

Today, Rwanda's is one of the fastest growing African economies, but the “country's bright future is tainted by it's tragic past” Paul Kagame, who became president in 2000, was re-elected, effectively



unopposed, in August 2010 by an overwhelming majority of 93 percent. Nevertheless, several human rights organizations have expressed concern about violence and repression against opposition figures. In a 2012 report, Human Right Watch states that the government's intolerance of criticism and hostility toward human rights organizations makes it difficult to report on current human rights violations by the state.

Genocide Watch considers Rwanda still to be at Stage 5: Polarization. The Rwandan government and civil society are making concerted efforts in schools and churches to overcome this polarization and has one of the most systematic genocide education programs in the world.





## Country profile: Burundi

Since its independence from Belgium, Burundi has been confronted with ethnic violence between the Hutu majority and Tutsi minority, as in its neighboring country, Rwanda.

Between 1959 and 1962 an estimated 50,000 Hutus were killed by the Tutsi Government. In 1972, the Tutsi army murdered an estimated 150,000 Hutus, including nearly all educated Hutus, in an attempt to “decapitate” the Hutu leadership. This was clearly a genocide, but no government protested. In 1988 another 25 000 Hutus were killed at Ntega and Marangara in northern Burundi, in massacres personally investigated by the President of Genocide Watch.

Peace talks led by Burundi President Buyoya resulted in the first multi-party elections in Burundi. However in 1993, Melchior Ndadaye, the first Hutu president of the country, was murdered. His assassination set off a 12-year civil war, marked by a downward spiral of revenge killings that some have called a “bilateral genocide” by the two dominant groups against each other. This bilateral genocide killed an estimated 300,000 people in Burundi, mostly civilians.

After difficult peace talks mediated by Nelson Mandela, with behind the scenes support from peacemakers like former US Congressman Howard Wolpe, the situation was somewhat stabilized when elections were organized in 2005. The main Hutu former rebel group FDD won and Pierre Nkurunziza became president. In May 2008, the government and the last active rebel group FNL signed a ceasefire.

However, no one was ever prosecuted for the murders of the past fifty years. Tensions have increased due to this ongoing impunity since the country’s 2010 general elections. In a 2012 report, Human Rights Watch reported that reciprocal killings by members of the ruling National Council for the Defense of Democracy-Forces for the Defense of Democracy (CNDD-FDD) and the former rebel group the National Liberation Forces (FNL) have increased (report Human Right Watch) . The largest recent massacre took place September 19, 2011 when nearly 40 people were killed in a bar in Gatumba, close to the border with the Democratic Republic of Congo.

In December 2010, Amnesty International reported that there has never been justice for the Burundi massacre victims. The organization said the government should hold those accountable for massacres and other serious human rights violations during the civil wars. In July 2011, president Pierre Nkurunziza finally announced that a Truth and Reconciliation Commission would be established in 2012. After that commission will have completed its investigations, a special tribunal would be formed.

Genocide Watch considers Burundi at stage 5: polarization.



## Country Profile: Zimbabwe

The Zimbabwean crisis has been the result of internal and external political forces that have been mounting for years. Internal tensions have been high between the two major political parties, ZANU PF and the MDC. The animosity between these two groups has continuously mutated since the original political rift between Joshua Nkomo's ZAPU and Robert Mugabe's ZANU. Mugabe ordered the Gukurahunde, the genocidal massacres by the Fifth Brigade against the Matabele people in the 1980's, and forced Nkomo to dissolve ZAPU so that Zimbabwe became a one party state.

Zimbabwe's external crises began in the 1990's when the Zimbabwean government had a falling out with the British government under Labour Prime Minister Tony Blair, who had recently been elected. His administration decided not to continue funding the land resettlement program in Zimbabwe, a program the Conservative party had honored since the 1989 Lancaster House agreements that brought independence to Zimbabwe. Blair's administration cited misuse of the funds by ZANU, allegations that the Zimbabwean government vehemently denied.

The tides changed for Zimbabwe when a rival political party emerged, posing the first real threat to ZANU-PF. This party called itself MDC (Movement for Democratic Change) and was led by Morgan Tsvangirai, a Shona. Mugabe argued that this party was backed by foreign powers whose motives were to infiltrate the country and impose their agendas upon Zimbabwe. Mugabe then approved the violent farm invasions in which marginalized black people simply approached farms of their choice and ordered the white people off the land. Mugabe asserted that forced land redistribution constituted "liberation" of Zimbabwe from prior forced takeover of land by white colonizers.

In preparation for the 2002 presidential election, draconian laws were enacted by ZANU-PF, which made it virtually impossible for the opposition (MDC) to compete or campaign. An example was the "Public Order Security Act" (POSA), which gave the police power to arrest or harass any public gatherings not sanctioned by the police themselves. This stopped MDC members from campaigning and in the rare event they managed to obtain authorization to gather, the red tape and bureaucracy they encountered proved to be so onerous that they usually ignored the process. Another law enacted in 2002 was the "Access to information and protection of privacy act" (AIPPA) which dictated the limits within which all forms of media could operate. This meant all material that did not sympathize with the ZANU-PF agenda was banned, preventing the MDC from campaigning in newspapers, TV or radio. Imposition of this law caused many foreign media companies to close their doors and leave Zimbabwe. These laws were enforced with a single purpose in mind, to consolidate the power of ZANU-PF and eliminate any possible threats to its dominance.

In addition to these laws, the Zimbabwean government trained a special ZANU-PF youth brigade," which terrorized and intimidated the electorate all over the country before the elections. Even MDC leader Morgan Tsvangirai himself was physically attacked. The elections were held and Robert Mugabe was declared the winner despite widespread evidence of voter intimidation and fraud.

In a nation in which many people do not believe in violence, Tsvangirai knew he could not galvanize the people to revolt or fight back, so instead he campaigned for sanctions against the Zimbabwean government with the hope of backing Mugabe's regime into a corner. The sanctions came from the West and the economy of Zimbabwe was brought to its knees by way of mismanagement and the brutal effects of the sanctions. This only made ZANU-PF dig deeper trenches. They labeled Tsvangirai a traitor who wanted nothing but pain and suffering for Zimbabwe and blamed his efforts for the great suffering the people have endured. These sanctions have ultimately had a greater negative effect upon the citizens of Zimbabwe than they have had on the ruling party.

In 2005, the MDC split, with one side led by Morgan Tsvangirai and the other by Arthur Mutambara. As the 2008 elections approached, the atmosphere was calm in comparison with the 2002 elections. People voted, but it took months for the results to be announced, and when they were released, no official explanation for the delay was given. The results announced that Morgan Tsvangirai had received the majority of the votes, but they fell just short of the absolute majority necessary to clinch victory so there



would be a run off election. Tsvangirai feared that violence by the ZANU-PF youth brigades would resume, so Tsvangirai did not participate in the run off election. By default, Mugabe was re-elected President.

Financial sanctions were biting, and the formerly productive commercial farms no longer produced the surpluses they once did before the land invasions, sending food prices sky-rocketing. The Zimbabwean currency became worthless. Due to its clear loss of legitimacy, ZANU-PF decided to create a coalition government with the MDC. Tsvangirai agreed to join this coalition, a decision that was met with disappointment from many MDC supporters. In this coalition government, Mugabe would remain President and Tsvangirai would be the Prime Minister, with Arthur Mutambara as Deputy Prime Minister. Although the purpose of this coalition was to form a power sharing structure, Mugabe marginalized Tsvangirai by placing MDC ministers over powerless ministries while keeping the powerful ministries of defense, public security, and the intelligence service in the hands of ZANU-PF.

The coalition government is set to expire in March 2013, and Robert Mugabe has expressed the desire to hold elections in 2012. Tsvangirai on the other hand, wants a new constitution to be drafted in hopes of creating a level playing field to avoid a repeat of events that occurred during the last election. There is speculation that Mugabe is looking for a successor to take his place after he wins. Factions are emerging within ZANU PF along tribal lines and by political patronage.

Zimbabwe remains deeply polarized and politically unstable. Genocide Watch considers Zimbabwe to be at Stage 5: Polarization.



## **Zimbabwe: Stage 5 – Polarization 7 February 2012**

According to the 8 stages of genocide, Zimbabwe is currently at stage 5: 'polarization'. Like many other African countries, the tensions within the country have much to do with the country's ethnic and colonial history. Polarization has always been high between the Shona and the Matabele and between the black population and the white minority. Robert Mugabe has ruled the country since 1980, after years of guerrilla war against harsh white minority rule. After taking power, Mugabe's party (ZANU-PF) has tried to eliminate all sources of opposition in order to stay in power.

In 1983 and 1984 massacres of over 20,000 Matabele citizens of Zimbabwe were committed by the Fifth Brigade of the Zimbabwe Army. These massacres are called the "Gukurahundi". This mass atrocity meets the definition of genocide because it targeted ethnic Matabele people. The massacres were carried out by the North-Korean trained, exclusively Shona Fifth Brigade under orders from President Mugabe. Genocide Watch called in September 2010 for prosecution of Zimbabwean president Robert Mugabe and other leaders for genocide and crimes against humanity for the Gukurahundi (see below).

The small white minority (under 100,000 people) was targeted by Mugabe's dictatorship in order to gain support from the black population. Mugabe launched a "land reform" campaign to return white-owned land to black Zimbabweans, but without adequate compensation. Much of the land went to Mugabe's political cronies. The rest has returned to subsistence farming. Land invasions by Mugabe's ZANU-PF militias have caused agricultural and economic collapse, as white farmers fled Zimbabwe with their families before black managers could be trained to run the commercial farms that had made Zimbabwe agriculturally self-sufficient.

Agricultural workers fled to Zimbabwe's cities when the commercial farms collapsed, and built shantytowns around them. In a vicious policy called "Drive Out the Filth", Mugabe's government bulldozed the shantytowns and left hundreds of thousands of Zimbabweans homeless and starving. This policy was declared a Crime Against Humanity and an early warning sign of genocide in a resolution of the International Association of Genocide Scholars in 2007.

Since 2000, Mugabe's ZANU-PF has faced growing opposition from the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC), which transcends ethnic divisions. After the 2008 elections, which were accompanied by systematic fraud and attacks on thousands of suspected opposition voters, a government of national unity was formed with the MDC. Nevertheless, ZANU-PF is still trying to rule the country on his own.

Mugabe and the ZANU-PF are not facing the truth about the Gukurahundi, despite courageous MDC members like Minister for Education David Coltart who has stated that the Gukurahundi was genocide (see articles "It was genocide - Coltart" and "Rights violations: Zimbabwe must face the truth"). Currently, the 87-year old Mugabe is pushing for a quick election so the MDC cannot organize against him. If ZANU-PF militias again try to steal the next election, the situation could degenerate further into the preparation stage for genocide or politicide.



## **Genocide Watch Returns South Africa to Stage 5 “Polarization” 12 July 2012**

The African National Congress has been South Africa’s governing party since the Presidency of Nelson Mandela 17 years ago, following the end of white minority rule and apartheid. In the years under apartheid, hate speech was used by both supporters and opponents of the apartheid system to stir up their followers. When racial tensions in South Africa ran high, the song “Kill the Farmer, Shoot the Boer” was a revolutionary song of the anti-apartheid movement. However, it is an illustration of the long-term impact that such de-humanizing language can have.

After many years when such songs were no longer sung, in 2010, prominent members of the ANC Youth League, in particular Julius Malema, President of the ANC Youth League, openly sang the “Shoot the Boer” song at ANC Youth League rallies. Not only did revival of the song strike fear into the hearts of Boer farmers, but it has actually been sung during attacks on white farmers. It is an incitement to murder white Afrikaner farmers.

Over 3000 white farmers have been murdered since 1994. The South African police have not made investigation and prosecution of these farm murders a priority, dismissing them as crimes by common criminals. The government has disbanded the commando units of white farmers that once protected their farms, and has passed laws to confiscate the farmers’ weapons. Disarmament of a targeted group is one of the surest early warning signs of future genocidal killings.

A recent outbreak of violent farm invasions has led to casualties among white South Africans. The farm invasions are direct results of calls by Julius Malema and his Deputy, Ronald Lamola for whites to give up their land without compensation, or face violence by angry black youths “flooding their farms.”

In response to Julius Malema, the Freedom Front (FF) cited Section 16.2c of the South African Constitution, which restricts freedom of speech rights by excluding as unprotected speech “advocacy of hatred based on race, ethnicity, gender or religion and incitement to cause harm.” The FF contended that Malema’s singing of the “Shoot the Boer” song was hate speech and therefore a human rights violation. Acting Judge of the South Gauteng High Court, Leon Halgryn declared that the song is hate speech, and it is unconstitutional to either utter or sing “dubul’ibhunu” (“shoot the Boer.”) He issued an injunction against Malema, ordering him to no longer sing the song. The phrase is now considered hate speech.

Julius Malema was shortly thereafter removed as President of the ANC Youth League, and ejected from the ANC. However, Malema’s followers have defied the judgment and continue to sing the song. Even President Jacob Zuma sang “Shoot the Boer” at the ANC Centenary Celebration event in January of 2012. He claimed that its use at the ANC Centenary was not intended as hate speech, but rather to commemorate the struggle against apartheid.

Despite President Zuma’s proclaimed intent, his singing of the song may be contributing to an increasingly hostile environment that threatens the safety of white South Africans. The number of murders of Boer farmers has increased each month in 2012.

For ten years, Genocide Watch has been the only international human rights group willing to declare an Alert about the high murder rate of Boer farmers, perhaps because it is not “politically correct” to defend the rights of people who once supported apartheid. Genocide Watch is opposed to all forms of racism, from whatever the source. The President of Genocide Watch actively supported the anti-apartheid movement in constitutional consultations with the United Democratic Front when he was a Fulbright Professor of Law in Swaziland. He has visited South Africa several times since and will soon visit again.

Genocide Watch measures South Africa at stage 5: Polarization.



## **South African Farm Invasions Are Threatened by the ANC Youth League 4 July 2012**

In 1961 South Africa gained its independence from the British and planning began to redistribute land owned by whites. But Apartheid was the policy of the white run South African government, which wanted to maintain racial separation in ethnic “homelands.” The initial goal was to redistribute at least 30% of the farming land to black South Africans, but distribution of land was to be by ethnic group. South Africa’s white minority population currently owns approximately 87% of the arable farmland, with the black majority owning only 13%.

Following the end of Apartheid, in 1994 the South African government enacted a land reform program in hopes of addressing the longstanding issue of land distribution. Under black majority rule, the South African government’s first attempt at land distribution was through the “willing seller-willing buyer” program, which was a “buy back” program. Through this program the government would purchase land from willing white sellers and redistribute it to members of the black community. It was estimated that the program would cost the government upwards of ten billion dollars to execute, a budget it does not have the funds to meet.

The program was ultimately a failure. To date only 6% of the land has been successfully redistributed. President Jacob Zuma has openly admitted that the “willing seller – willing buyer” model will not work. His administration has since proposed a new plan in “The Green Paper,” which critics have criticized as vague, and avoiding many existing problems.

Unrest is brewing among black South Africans as the land distribution problem remains unresolved. Warnings of “inevitable” farm invasions by the African National Congress Youth League have caused great fear among white farmers, many of whom are Boers, descendants of the original Dutch settlers, who consider themselves Africans because they have lived in South Africa for hundreds of years.

Following Zimbabwe’s hostile land invasions, leaders of the ANC Youth League have promised to follow Robert Mugabe’s example, and forcibly expropriate farms owned by whites. Julius Malema, at the time President of the ANC Youth League, has demanded that expropriation should be without compensation. He urged his followers to “take back the land that was illegally stolen by the white man from the black man.” Malema is a racist Marxist-Leninist, and espouses an ideology contrary to the ANC’s “willing seller-willing buyer” program, which would provide farmers with financial compensation for their land. Malema has since been removed as ANC Youth League President and expelled from the ANC.

At a Youth League Policy workshop, Ronald Lamola, declared, “If they don’t want to see angry black youths flooding their farms they must come to the party....Whites must volunteer some of the land and mines they own.” Lamola explained, “But white South Africans must continue to participate, they remain relevant to this process and will continue to do so.” His comments were followed by warnings of a “Zim-style takeover.” The ANC Youth League demands that the South African Constitution be amended to permit state approved uncompensated land expropriations.

Gwede Mantashe, the general secretary of the ANC, has openly rebuked the ANC Youth League saying “This is not the policy of the ANC.... It is not the ANC policy to expropriate land without compensation and personally I don’t think it will work.”

Genocide Watch considers land redistribution to be a ticking time bomb in South Africa. If the wealthy countries of the world do not assist South Africa in resolving it by financing compensation of land-sellers, the “rainbow nation” could descend into violence and go the way of Zimbabwe.

Genocide Watch rates South Africa at Stage Five: Polarization, just at the edge of Stage Six, Preparation.



## **Genocide Watch Returns South Africa to Stage 5 “Polarization” 2 February 2012**

After upgrading South Africa to stage 6 “preparation” in September 2011 due to the increasing power of Julius Malema, then the Marxist racist President of the African National Congress Youth League, two quite significant developments have occurred. The first was a South African court’s ruling that Malema’s singing of the “Shoot the Boer” song constitutes “hate speech” in violation of South African law. The court issued an injunction prohibiting Malema from singing the song. The second development is the suspension of Julius Malema from the African National Congress (ANC) and his removal as President of the ANC Youth League.

Stage 5 of the eight stages of genocide is “polarization”. Given the history of Apartheid in South Africa, there is deep-rooted polarization between whites and black in the nation. Part of the polarization in South Africa is the legacy of Apartheid and the continuing dominance in the economy of white owned businesses and farms. There is also polarization from the black population, who feel excluded from real power and jobs, even though the ANC now controls the government.

A response to this black polarization was Julius Malema’s call for redistribution of wealth from the white population to the black population, which Malema claimed to be a “correction of the injustices of Apartheid.” The current socio-economical inequalities in South Africa are leading to an increasing, rather than decreasing polarization. Since poverty and unemployment among black youth remains, tensions between impoverished blacks and wealthier whites is likely to increase.

This general polarization, which is normally non-violent, created a fertile ground for political radicalization. That was the case with the rise of Malema, former President of the ANC Youth League, when he and his followers sang the old anti-Boer song: “Kill the Boer” at rallies of the Youth League. Malema called for expropriation of white owned land when he was in Zimbabwe visiting Robert Mugabe and called Botswana’s racially harmonious society “neo-colonial”. These practices of Malema, and the slowness of the leadership of the ANC to discipline him, made Genocide Watch upgrade South Africa to stage 6 in September 2011. But now that Malema has been removed from his position of growing power, Genocide Watch is returning South Africa to stage 5.

It is very important to note that downgrading Genocide Watch’s risk assessment, does not mean that the situation is safe now in South Africa. Unfortunately, we still think Malema has a large following among unemployed youth, and tensions between black and white people are still high.

Genocide Watch continues to be alarmed at hate crimes committed against whites, particularly against Boer farmers, an important early warning sign that genocide could occur. Those who commit such crimes must be promptly brought to justice, and denounced by the political leaders of South Africa. Genocide Watch’s first six stages do not constitute genocide. Genocide Watch does not believe that genocide is currently underway in South Africa. Nevertheless, Genocide Watch will keep a watchful eye on the situation.



## **Genocide Watch Upgrades South Africa to Stage 6 “Preparation” 15 September 2011**

Genocide Watch placed South Africa at stage 5 (polarization) from 2001 - 2011 because the country's racial divisions continued, there was a high level of youth unemployment in the black population, and the country had an appalling crime rate, including one of the world's worst rape rates against all groups in the country.

Genocide Watch has been particularly concerned for over ten years at the hate crimes perpetrated against Boer farmers and other whites -- bodies of murder victims disemboweled and disfigured, old women raped in front of their husbands, and other strong evidence of racially targeted crimes. However, we had no evidence that these crimes were being encouraged by the South African government or that they were organized by an organized hate group.

Now we have evidence of organized incitement to violence against white people. It began with the rise of Julius Malema, President of the African National Congress Youth League, who began singing the old anti-Boer song: "Kill the Boer" at rallies of the Youth League, then called for expropriation of white owned lands while he was in Zimbabwe visiting Robert Mugabe, and has most recently called Botswana's racially harmonious society "neo-colonial," and has called for the overthrow of Botswana's government.

Malema is a racist Marxist-Leninist. The failure of the leadership of the ANC to discipline him and remove him from the Presidency of the ANC Youth League, and his recent reelection to the Presidency of the ANC Youth League (despite his age of 30), have led Genocide Watch to conclude that violence against whites is now being planned and incited by one of the most important leaders of the new South Africa.

Malema has considerable support among young black South Africans, and ANC leaders are afraid to discipline and remove him from his position. Genocide Watch will keep South Africa at Stage 6 - Preparation, until Julius Malema is removed from his position of growing power. South Africa has not yet reached actual genocide, which is Stage 7, but the preparations for it are ominous. Xenophobic riots and murders of foreign refugees as well as continuing hate crimes against Boer farmers and other whites have caused dark storm clouds to form over the "rainbow nation."





## Country Profile: Angola

After its independence from Portugal in 1975, Angola went through a 27-year civil war which was primarily a struggle between two former liberation movements, the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) and the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA). The war assumed a central role in the Cold War, since the Marxist-oriented MPLA was backed by the USSR and Cuba, while UNITA got support from the Western bloc, including direct intervention by apartheid South African troops, trying to drive back the Soviet influence on the African continent.

After 16 years of fighting, a fragile peace accord led to elections. But Jonas Savimbi, leader of UNITA, rejected the outcome of these elections and resumed the war. In 1994, the war was broken up by another fragile period of peace, when a peace accord was signed and UN peacekeepers were sent. But this peacekeeping mission failed and the war continued until 2002, when Savimbi died. His death finally brought peace. By that time, an estimated 500 000 people had been killed.

Besides the struggle between UNITA and MPLA, a separatist struggle by the Front for the Liberation of the Enclave of Cabinda (FLEC) also played a role in the civil war. FLEC fought for the independence of Cabinda. When Cabinda became a part of Angola in 1975, the Cabindans were not consulted. Cabinda is an Angolan province but it is separated from the country's main territory by a sliver of the Democratic Republic of Congo. While the Angolan war ended in 2002, the status of Cabinda is still disputed by FLEC. A 2006 peace agreement between the government of Angola and a faction of the FLEC sought to end the conflict, but sporadic attacks by both sides have continued. In 2010, two factions of FLEC claimed responsibility for a deadly attack on Togo's football team in Angola during the Africa Nations Cup. The attackers did not realize they were attacking the Togo team.

The separatists base their claim for independence on their interpretation of the colonial history of Cabinda. While Angola was a Portuguese colony for hundreds of years, Cabinda became a Portuguese Protectorate in 1885 under the treaty of Simulambuco, which was peacefully negotiated between Portugal and the Cabindan governors. Separatists often refer to Article 2 of this Treaty, which stated that "Portugal is obliged to maintain the integrity of the territories placed under its protection".

The refusal of the Angolan government to accept Cabindan claims for independence can largely be explained by the oil wealth in Cabinda, which accounts for half of Angola's oil production. Because of widespread corruption in Angola, the people in Cabinda do not share in the benefits of their oil wealth.

In a 2009 report, Human Rights Watch showed a disturbing pattern of human rights violations by the Angolan army. Between September 2007 and March 2009 at least 38 people were unlawfully arrested and accused of state security crimes. Many of these people were tortured. (see report HRW). In 2006, FLEC filed a complaint with the African Union (AU) against the Angolan government for government human rights abuses. In December 2011, more than 5 years after FLEC lodged its complaint, the AU still says it "is considering" the claims (see article).

Because of deep-rooted conflict about Cabinda, Genocide Watch considers the country at Stage 5: Polarization.



## Country Profile: Mali

The Mali Federation gained independence from France on June 20, 1960. Two months later, the Federation broke up into two countries: Senegal and the Sudanese Republic, which changed its name to the Republic of Mali. The regime in Mali imposed authoritarian Marxist rule. In the 1990s, opposition against the government increased and resulted in a successful coup. The first democratic elections were won by Alpha Ouamar Konaré. In 2002 he was succeeded by Amadou Toumani Touraré.

The history of Mali is characterized by several insurgencies of the Tuaregs in the northern region. Historians identify four major rebellions: 1916-1917, 1962-1964, 1990-1995 and 2007-2009. During the third rebellion ethnic massacres occurred. Approximately 1,000 Tuaregs were killed by the Malian government. The current insurgency, however, is characterized by an unprecedented level of organization and militarization.

Some Tuaregs served as mercenaries in the forces loyal to Colonel Qaddafi, the former dictator of Lybia. After Qaddafi was overthrown in October 2011, the Tuaregs returned to Mali with heavy weapons and ammunition. They founded a new organization to fight for secession of northern Mali: the National Movement for the Liberation of Azawad (NMLA). The NMLA wants to establish an independent state for the Tuareg people in the Sahel region. Many sources highlight the link between the current Malian insurgency and the defeat of the troops of Colonel Qaddafi ([read more](#)).

Since January 17, 2012 the NMLA has conquered some of the tiny villages in northern Mali. (Many, such as Aguelhok and Tessalit were personally visited by the President of Genocide Watch when he hitch-hiked across the Sahara Desert as a Peace Corps volunteer in 1970.) During the Tuareg conquests, they committed brutal ethnic massacres and summary executions. One of the first villages they occupied, Aguelhok, was recaptured by the Malian army. On January 24, 2012, the NMLA recaptured Aguelhok and executed 82 prisoners from the Malian army. Two tactics were used: shooting a single bullet through the head or slitting the throat. The hands of the victims were tied. These summary executions were war crimes under both the Geneva Conventions and the Statute of the International Criminal Court, to which Mali is a State-Party. The Malian government has declared that these massacres are evidence of the involvement of the terrorist group Al Qaeda in the Islamist Maghreb (AQIM). France denies the existence of such a connection ([read more](#)).

Most Tuaregs do not support the cause of the NMLA and its secessionist claims. They consider themselves to be Malian nationals. For instance, some of the Tuareg mercenaries who served in the troops of Colonel Qaddafi have already been reintegrated in the Malian army. However, many Tuaregs not supportive of the NMLA have fled northern Mali because they are afraid of reprisals. Recent demonstrations in Bamako have turned against any persons who are believed to be Tuaregs.

The Azawad insurgency has had disastrous consequences. The number of internally displaced persons and refugees in the neighboring countries of Niger, Burkina Faso, Mauritania and Algeria now number nearly 130,000. Besides the tenuous security situation, there are food shortages in the entire Sahel region due to poor rainfall. A humanitarian crisis is lurking, but humanitarian food deliveries have been difficult because of the violent NMLA rebellion in northern Mali.

Mali is at Stage 5: Polarization. Genocide Watch closely monitors the alarming developments in Mali.



## **Mali Update: Military Coup 3 April 2012**

On Thursday, March 22, 2012 there was a military coup in Mali under the direction of Captain Amadou Sanogo, who received much of his training in the US. The coup leaders justify their action under the pretext that the Malian government has not given the military the heavy weaponry and other capacity to deal with the Touareg insurgency in northern Mali, which they say is supported by AQIM (Al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb). The coup leaders say the Touareg have been re-armed with weapons they brought back to Mali after fighting as mercenaries for Colonel Gaddafi.

Their justification for a coup at this time is questionable, however, in light of the fact that provision of additional military supplies would take months. The real reason appears to be that the first round of presidential elections are supposed to take place on April 29, 2012, and the Malian military wants to seize power before a civilian government can do so.

The international community has condemned this unconstitutional coup d'état in Mali. Declarations have been issued by inter alia the UN Security Council, the African Union and ECOWAS. Some countries and organizations have already adopted sanctions towards Mali, including France (the former colonizer), the USA and ECOWAS. The latter wants to negotiate with the coup leaders in order to convince them to peacefully restore power to the previous democratically elected government. A first round of peace talks, however, was cancelled due to a pro-coup demonstration in the capital of Mali, Bamako. If no peaceful solution can be found, ECOWAS will consider military intervention, and Nigeria has already begun mobilizing its troops to lead such an intervention.

A recent announcement by the ousted president, Amadou Toumani Touré, has confirmed he is in good health and still present in Bamako. He is protected by an army contingent that remains loyal to him. In the meanwhile, coup leaders are trying to consolidate their power through the control of the national radio and television media. They have announced their intention to adopt a fundamental law guaranteeing democratic principles and imposing a prohibition on military officers from participating in the next presidential elections.

Genocide Watch denounces the military coup as unconstitutional and unacceptable under African Union principles of democratic governance. Genocide Watch calls upon the coup leaders to negotiate with ECOWAS, restore Amadou Toumani Touré to office, hold the scheduled presidential elections on April 29, and guarantee peaceful continuation of democracy in Mali.

During negotiations, the US, France, and Ecowas can assure the coup leaders that Malian military forces will receive full assistance in their counter-insurgency campaign against Touareg rebels in northern Mali. Troop carriers, fuel, heavy machine guns, and French air support should be offered.

The current humanitarian and security situation in Mali requires a swift response. Genocide Watch urges the UN, AU, ECOWAS, and world governments to demand restoration of the legitimate Malian government and to pledge assistance to end the Touareg insurgency in northern Mali.



## **Genocide Watch: Sri Lanka 27 March 2012**

Ceylon gained independence on February 4, 1948. When a new constitution was adopted in 1972, the country changed its name to the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka. The majority of the Sri Lankan population belongs to the Sinhalese ethnicity, which is largely Buddhist, while Tamils, who are Hindus, represent the largest minority. In the 1980s ethnic tensions between Sinhalese and Tamils arose, because of Sinhalese discrimination against Tamils regarding jobs, education and politics. This discrimination resulted in disparities in income and development. Before independence, Tamils had received preferential treatment from colonial jobs, resulting in resentment by Sinhalese.

In 1983 the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE, better known as Tamil Tigers) attacked government troops for the first time. It marked the beginning of an enduring violent insurgency. The goal of the Tamil Tigers was establishment of an independent Tamil state in the northern and eastern region of Sri Lanka (see map). The Sri Lankan armed forces were supported by an Indian peacekeeping operation. In 2002 both sides agreed to a cease-fire, but the peace did not last. Violence erupted again in 2005. The conflict eventually came to an end in May 2009 when the Sri Lankan armed forces defeated the Tamil Tigers. The political branch associated with the Tamil Tigers, Tamil National Alliance, have now denounced their secessionist claims in favor of a federalist state.

The period from 1983 to 2009 is commonly referred to as the Sri Lankan civil war, during which approximately 100,000 people died according to estimates of the United Nations, and hundreds of thousands of people were internally displaced or fled to neighboring countries. Both parties to the conflict committed atrocities. The Tamil Tigers organized bloody attacks on police, military and civilian targets. Their tactics included ambushes and suicide bombers, and they were notorious for their use of child soldiers.

Sri Lankan troops committed war crimes during the final phase of the Tamil rebellion from January – May 2009. The Tamil Tigers aggravated the atrocities by using civilians as human shields. A recent report of an investigative panel of the United Nations confirmed that the Sri Lankan troops deliberately targeted civilians, hospitals and aid workers, arbitrarily executed prisoners, and committed mass rape, all contrary to the Geneva Conventions which have been ratified by Sri Lanka (read more).

From January – May 2009 at least 7,934 persons died, of which 550 were children younger than 10, but real figures probably amount to tens of thousands victims –most sources speak of approximately 40,000 casualties. No one has been held accountable. Instead, the Sri Lankan government has relied upon one of the typical forms of denial: substituting reconciliation efforts that do not address the crimes committed (read article on the denial of genocide by Gregory Stanton).

Persecution of Tamils by the Sinhalese government continues today. The Sri Lankan government continues to commit forced disappearances, arbitrary arrests and physical intimidation, including murder and torture, of Tamils and journalists. Because of these human rights abuses Human Rights Watch has called upon the British government not to deport Tamils to Sri Lanka (read more).

Sri Lanka has not signed the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court. As long as there is no accountability for the massacres that occurred during the Sri Lankan civil war, there can be no sustainable peace among the ethnic communities, a failure confirmed by Desmond Tutu and Mary Robinson (read more). An international Commission of Inquiry should investigate the atrocities committed by both sides in the conflict, and the Sri Lankan government should arrest and try those who committed war crimes. However, it is unlikely that the current Sri Lankan government will make such a commitment.

Genocide Watch fully supports the resolution of the U.N. Human Rights Council and urges the Sri Lankan government to investigate the final months of the Sri Lankan civil war. Furthermore, Sri Lanka should immediately end any persecution of Tamils.

Because of the discrimination against Tamils, Sri Lanka is at Stage 5: Polarization.



## Country Profile: Russia

The breakup of the USSR in 1991 left the Russian Federation with ethnic conflicts in many of its Oblasts (provinces.) Many provinces in the North Caucasus area were historically autonomous republics that are now provinces in a federation in which they are ethnic minorities, with governors nominated by Moscow.

Peoples of the Caucasus region face xenophobia within the Russian Federation. The Russian government has acknowledged a growing number of Neo-Nazi youth gangs that violently target dark skinned citizens and religious minorities, mainly Muslims, such as Chechens, Ingush, Bashkirs, and Turkic peoples. A growing "Russia for Russians" nationalist movement is challenging Prime Minister Putin's United Russia party, driven by forces that would exclude non-Christian, non-Russian peoples.

Prime Minister Putin recently attributed growing ethnic polarization in Russia to the historical development of the Russian Empire. Putin argues that the "ethnicity problem" is a result of imperial Russia being neither a "mono-ethnic state nor a U.S style melting-pot where almost everyone was at one point an immigrant." (Putin)

People from the North Caucasus and ethnic Africans face serious danger in the larger cities of Russia. 38 Africans were murdered and 377 brutally injured by gangs in 2010. Along with growing racism in the country, the Russian Federation also has had increasing religious intolerance against Muslims and gender discrimination in Muslim provinces. This problem was most violently expressed during the independence wars in Chechnya.

Under the Leadership of Ramzan Kadyrov, Chechen rebel turned Russian loyalist, freedom of religion is virtually impossible. Kadyrov has noted that his "republic would be better off if it were ruled by Sharia law". Against Russian law, Kadyrov has started campaigns to punish those in Chechnya who do not abide by Sharia law. Kadyrov has also been known to openly endorse honor killings and polygamy. In Chechnya, women have been targeted and attacked for not adhering to Muslim traditional dress. Law enforcement has started shooting women with paintball guns who choose to walk in public without a headscarf or with short sleeves.

While Russia continues to violate the civil rights of its own citizens, Russia continues to fund the military regime in Syria. Syria is Russia's last stronghold in the Arab world. Their naval base in Tartus is the operating base for Russia's \$1.5 billion arms trade in Syria (Trenin). Russia has vetoed any UN Security Council Resolution to halt the killing in Syria.

One of the most important risk factors for genocide is the presence of an exclusionary ideology. Another is past genocide perpetrated with impunity against the victim groups, by Stalin under the USSR. A third is an authoritarian political system. Although progress has been made toward democracy, Russia is still effectively a one-party, authoritarian police state. The growth of populist movements with exclusionary ideologies against non-Russian, Muslim minorities is a sign of growing Polarization.

Russia is at Stage 5: Polarization.



## Country Profile: Tunisia

In 1956 Tunisia gained its independence from French colonial rule. For many years following its independence, the country enjoyed a flourishing large middle class and liberal social norms under the rule of Habib Bourguiba who led the country for three decades. Bourguiba was a modern thinker who believed in the advancement of women, abolition of polygamy and compulsory free education for his people.

President Bourguiba drew a clear line against Islamic fundamentalists, and sought to further liberal thinking and education. In spite of the freedoms he allowed his people, behind closed doors he ruled with an iron fist. He ran a one party state and tolerated no dissent from opposition parties. His security forces harassed government critics and human rights activists. Corruption ran rampant in the middle class, ultimately leading to a collapse of the country's economy.

In 1987 Bourguiba was ousted from power and Zine al-Abidine Ben Ali' became president. He continued most of Bourguiba's policies against Islamic extremists and maintained autocratic rule. Ben Ali quickly lost popularity at home and abroad. Underground opposition movements grew. In 2002 a suicide bomber killed 21 people during an attack at an historic synagogue in the resort of Djerba.

In 2011 massive street demonstrations erupted against the Ben Ali regime. They became known as the Jasmine Revolution. The riots were so forceful that they prompted Ben Ali to step aside after 23 years in power. This movement began the Arab Spring. Since his removal from power formerly suppressed Islamic groups have risen causing tensions and conflict with secular liberals. In 2011 the country held its first free election, with the consensus in favor of drafting a new constitution and forming a new government. To the dismay of the secularists, the moderate Islamist party- Ennahda won the election. They assured secularists that they would "respect women's rights and not try to impose a Muslim moral code on society."

Despite these promises, conflicts have continued between Islamists and secularists. In May 2012, ultraconservative Islamists known as Salafis went on a rampage, torching police stations and attacking bars that sold alcohol in several towns in the northwest. A television executive was fined \$1,600 for showing the film, "Persepolis," which the Salafists claimed was offensive to Muslims because it included a scene depicting God. Moderates were concerned about the conviction because it was the first prosecution for the exercise of free speech by the new government.

The policies of the new government have scared away tourists who once contributed greatly to the country's flourishing economy, causing a rise in poverty. Ultra-conservative militant Islamists continue to pose a threat to secular liberals.

Despite its successful elections, and transition to democratic government, Tunisia remains polarized, with violence between liberal and Islamist groups.

Tunisia is at Stage 5: Polarization.



## Country Profile: Mexico

During the twentieth century, Mexico had a long series of military dictatorships followed by one-party dominance by the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI), which finally ended in the election of 2000. The PRI has returned to power in the 2012 elections. Since 2000, the government's war against drug cartels has made Mexico one of the most dangerous countries in the world.

### Past Crimes Against Humanity

In 2004, the supreme court of Mexico sentenced ex-President Luis Echeverria for having murdered thousands of students on June 10<sup>th</sup> of 1971 in the massacre known as "Jueves de Corpus" or "Thursday of Corpses", in the heart of Mexico City. The massacre was carried out by a paramilitary group called "Los Halcones", which the government armed with rifles to put down a largely non-violent student protest."

The massacre of Tlatelolco occurred on October 2 of 1968 when Mexico was hosting the Olympic Games. President Diaz Ordaz ordered security forces to disperse a rally of students in Mexico City. When the students did not immediately disperse, police and paramilitary forces moved in. They began shooting, and the crowd was caught in a murderous cross fire. Hundreds fell dead and many more were wounded. There has never been an inquiry, prosecution or convincing explanation for the slaughter from military or civilian authorities.

### Current Gendercide

Since 1990 in Ciudad Juárez, just across the border from El Paso, Texas, USA, over 500 women have disappeared, usually on their way to or from work, and many of their bodies have been buried in shallow graves. The Mexican police have been unable to solve or stop these serial murders.

The murders have been hate crimes, ritual acts of rape and mutilation of impoverished, indigenous Mexican women and girls. A majority of the victims are poor migrant women from small villages and cities in the interior of Mexico, coming to Ciudad Juárez not to cross the border, but to find a job at *maquiladora*, a business organized since the NAFTA free trade agreement with the US, or as motel or hotel maids, or to attend schools. Police investigations have shown the victims share the same physical profile. Most are between the ages of 12 and 23, slim, short, dark-haired and dark-skinned.

Although some people have identified some root causes of this gendercide such as, machismo, sexism, domestic violence, armed gangs in the area, and drug cartels; families of the victims have been denied access to information about investigations by the Mexican police, and Mexico has not requested full assistance from more professional US investigators. Mexican police have even told families that their daughters "were misbehaving when they got lost," – an accusation unsupported by a shred of evidence. There have been cases when families have found their daughters' bodies in shallow graves, but they often have difficulty identifying them because the bodies are so badly decomposed. Frequently the only evidence they can find are articles of clothing that their daughters owned. The police have offered no DNA identification assistance. There was such serious suspicion that the notoriously incompetent and corrupt Mexican police were covering up evidence, that the President of Mexico sent in special agents from the Federal police to investigate the murders.

Hijas de Regreso a Casa (May Our Daughters Return Home) and Justicia para Nuestras Hijas (Justice for Our Daughters) have been organized by victims' mothers to press for investigations and prevention of these murders. There have been increasing threats and attacks against womens' human rights activists who are working for capture and imprisonment of the killers of these murdered women. According to organizations in Mexico, Chihuahua has the highest womens' homicide rate in the world, with 35 murders for each 100,000 women, 15 times higher than the average womens' homicide rate in the world.



## Threats to indigenous peoples in Mexico

Mexico has been ruled by a white, europeanized aristocracy since its conquest by the Conquistadores. Its indigenous “Indian” groups have been suppressed and exploited. Mayans and other indigenous communities have suffered violence for centuries. The Mexican government continues to tolerate attacks by armed militias working for large white landowners (latifundios).

In May 2012, threats against Mayans living in Chiapas state included demands that they move out of their homes and off their land. Some Mayans have already been killed. On 19 May 2012, a Mayan leader received a written warning that said “Damn Indians, get away from here with your dead, get ...out of here, and take your human rights with you. We’ve only just started the party, soon there will be food for the vultures.” (“maltidos indios, larguense con sus muertos, saquense a....con todo y sus derechos humanos. Apenas comenzamos la fiesta, pronto habrá comida para los Zopilotes”).

Armed revolutionary groups have organized to defend the rights of indigenous peoples. Most of them have adopted Marxist ideologies. In 1994, the day NAFTA went into effect, a guerrilla movement in the state of Chiapas held a public protest to denounce capitalism. The Zapatista National Liberation Army (EZLN), a guerrilla group, has kidnapped several political leaders and civilians, and held them for ransom. Other guerrilla groups, including the Popular Revolutionary Army (EPR), and the Insurgent People’s Revolutionary Army (ERPI) have also used kidnapping to raise money. The groups are usually made up of Marxist students, and under-employed professionals and workers, rather than peasants.

## Drug cartels, organized and unorganized crime

Since the 1970’s, a major challenge to the sovereignty of the Mexican government has come from drug trafficking cartels. During 2007 more than 2500 people were killed, many of them innocent civilians, and during 2008 the death toll rose to more than 6000. The death toll from drug cartel murders rose to over 47,500 in 2011.

People in Mexico are exhausted by the continuous violence that has made Mexico so dangerous. Because neither the military nor the federal government, through its police forces, have successfully stopped the violence, community “para-police” militias have been organized to fight drug cartels, just as they were in Colombia. If the plague of drug cartel killing is not stopped, Mexican society will descend into anarchy.

To fight the drug cartels, armed ranchers’ militias have been formed known as the “army that liberates the people”, and have hung banners with messages threatening the drug traffickers. However, two drug cartel financed groups, “The Black Command” and “The Avenger of the People”, have also hung messages accusing a former leader of the ranchers of directing a drug cartel himself. And to make things worse, the decentralized, ultraviolent crime group known as “Los Zetas” literally beheads scores of people and leaves their dismembered bodies in public squares.

Genocide Watch considers Mexico to be at Stage 5, Polarization due to Mexico’s polarized political, ethnic, and criminal groups and due to death threats against indigenous groups and women. Genocide Watch recommends:

- Full investigations must be conducted into threats made against Mayans and other indigenous peoples.
- Protection of women should be a priority. The US should offer training and help Mexican investigators of the murders of women in Ciudad Juarez. The World Bank and the Inter-American Bank should grant loans to increase the capacity of the Mexican police to recruit more women, and reduce violence against women.
- Effective anti-corruption laws and enforcement must be priorities for the Mexican government.





- The US should offer all its investigative, technological, and prosecutorial resources to help the Mexican government break the grip of the drug cartels on Mexico.
- The cultural roots of violence in Mexico should be investigated, including sexism, machismo, poverty, unemployment, and racism against indigenous peoples. Aid for preventive education should be a priority for international institutions to prevent further massacres and violence.