# GENOCIDE WATCH

# ANNUAL REPORT 2012

GENOCIDE WATCH IS A NON-PROFIT,

NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATION THAT

PREDICTS AND PREVENTS GENOCIDE.

#### **MISSION**

Genocide Watch exists to predict, prevent, stop, and punish genocide and other forms of mass murder. We seek to raise awareness and influence public policy concerning potential and actual genocide. Our purpose is to build an international movement to prevent and stop genocide.

#### VISION

We address genocide as it is defined in the Genocide Convention: "the intentional destruction, in whole or in part, of a national, ethnic, racial or religious group, as such." We also address political mass murder, ethnic cleansing, and other genocide-like crimes.

Genocide Watch is the Coordinating organization of The International Alliance to End Genocide (IAEG), an international coalition of 50 organizations. The IAEG aims to educate the general public and policy makers about the causes, processes, and warning signs of genocide; to create the institutions and political will to prevent and stop genocide; and to bring perpetrators of genocide to justice.

#### **OBJECTIVES**

#### **Education**

We work to raise consciousness of genocide as a global problem and to raise awareness of specific high-risk situations.

#### **Prediction**

Genocide Watch uses predictive models such as Dr. Gregory Stanton's "The Eight Stages of Genocide" to analyze high risk situations for the purpose of education, policy analysis and advocacy. We monitor high risk areas, declare Genocide Watches, Warnings, and Emergencies, and recommend options for governments, international organizations, and non-governmental organizations to prevent genocide. We proposed and support creation of a Genocide Early Warning Center in the Secretariat of the United Nations.

#### Prevention

Using the resources of the members of the International Alliance to End Genocide, and other international organizations with on-the-ground field staff, Genocide Watch uses our understanding of the genocidal process to prepare options papers for policy makers, recommending specific actions to prevent genocide in high-risk areas.

#### Intervention

Once genocidal massacres have begun, intervention may be necessary to halt genocide. Genocide Watch coordinates work by the IAEG to promote rapid response by the U.N., regional and authorized national forces, including effective mandates and funding, and the political will to intervene. We support creation of a standing U.N. Rapid Response Force under Articles 43 – 47 of the U.N. Charter.

#### **Justice**

In order to seek justice for victims and survivors, punish perpetrators, deter future genocides, and facilitate the transition from divided societies to peaceful coexistence, we support national justice systems, special national and international tribunals, The International Criminal Court, and truth and reconciliation commissions.

#### LOOKING AHEAD

Genocide Watch and the International Alliance to End Genocide will concentrate on several goals in the coming years:

#### Contributing to anti-genocide education

Convinced that prevention of genocide must be built from the ground up, rather than through intervention by international military force, Genocide Watch will disseminate Prof. Gregory Stanton's book on The Ten Stages of Genocide at low cost and e-book format to secondary schools around the world. His stage model of the genocidal process has already become the template for school curricula developed by educational publishers such as ABC-CLEO to meet the demand imposed by US state laws that require a unit of genocide education in every high school in major states, such as Texas, California, Illinois, New Jersey, and Massachusetts. Similar laws exist in Canada, Germany, and other countries. Yet there is still no summary textbook for such courses. ABC-CLEO uses Stanton's iconic paper on the Stages of Genocide, followed by accounts of a dozen genocides written by experts. Each genocide is studied separately using Stanton's stages. Stanton's book will finally provide a comparative introduction for such courses.

The book will first be used in the United States, Canada, and the UK, where national, state or provincial laws require genocide education. Genocide Watch will conduct evaluations of the book from teachers who use it, with considerable feedback to improve the book, and its accompanying curriculum.

Contextually sensitive translations of the book and curriculum will then be exported to other countries with the help of the growing membership of the International Alliance to End Genocide. Current staff of Genocide Watch will translate the book into Spanish, French, German, Russian, and Korean, and it will also be translated into Kinyarwanda by the CNLG (Rwandan National Committee for Battle Against Genocide) and into Khmer by the Documentation Center for Cambodia (DC Cam). Other languages such as Bengali, Hindi, Chinese, Vietnamese, and Swahili are certain to follow. Genocide Watch has connections with organizations in many of these countries and is currently working to create a network in Europe with the Institute for Cultural Diplomacy in Berlin, Germany.

#### Building international anti-genocide institutions

Convinced that absence of institutions for early warning, early response, and effective punishment have caused many failures in genocide prevention since 1945, Genocide Watch will work with governments to create such institutions. Genocide Watch originated the proposal for creation at the UN of the Office of the Special Adviser to the Secretary General for the Prevention of Genocide. It was also instrumental in creating and supporting the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda, the Special Tribunal for East

Timor, the Khmer Rouge Tribunal, and the International Criminal Court. But despite these successes, supporting institutions need to be created.

An international police force should be created through an Optional Protocol to the Statute of the International Criminal Court with the authority to arrest persons charged with genocide, crimes against humanity, or war crimes by the Prosecutor of the International Criminal Court. This special police force would not have jurisdiction over any other crimes or persons except those for whom charges have been brought by the ICC Prosecutor. The Optional Protocol could be created be agreement of the Assembly of States-Parties of the International Criminal Court, and would become effective according to terms agreed in the Protocol. Its creation could not be blocked or vetoed by the UN Security Council or General Assembly, since the ICC is independent of the UN. It is time for such a force to end the current impunity of genocidists like Omar al-Bashir, who cannot be arrested so long as he remains within states whose police or governments will not arrest him.

Professor Stanton has worked with other experts in international law led by Cherif Bassiouni and Leyla Sadat to draft a proposed International Convention on Crimes Against Humanity. This convention would include an international monitoring body to which every state party would report annually, and would require each state party to adopt laws against crimes against humanity that are consistent around the world. Currently only thirteen nations outlaw all of the crimes against humanity enumerated in the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court.

#### Building the international anti-genocide movement

It has become quite apparent with at least fifty genocides since the Holocaust, that the current international political system is incapable of preventing genocide. The fundamental problem has been absence of political will in states at risk of genocide, where leaders with genocidal ideologies often get away with their crimes without effective opposition; coupled with indifference by other nations in the so-called "international community" and the UN.

An international anti-genocide movement must be built to pressure political leaders in countries at risk to stop genocidal incitement and other acts, arrest them, and bring them to justice. If such local efforts are ineffective, political will must be built to convince leaders of other nations, especially alliances of neighboring countries, to intervene to prevent or stop genocides. Regional preventive efforts should receive financial, logistical, communications, and military aid from wealthy nations in order to defeat genocidal regimes.

With these goals, Genocide Watch intends to continue its path-breaking work in genocide prevention.

Gregory H. Stanton President & Founder October 31, 2012

## Accomplishments to Date

Since the Cambodian Genocide Project, Inc. was founded and incorporated in 1982, it has made the following substantial contributions to documenting the crimes of the Khmer Rouge regime, attaining justice, and preventing future atrocities in Cambodia:

- 1. It meticulously videotaped eyewitness testimony of the Cambodian genocide in 1986 and 1987 with the help of Prof. Ben Kiernan and professional filmmaker Chris Munger, now digitized and on disc and tape, preserved in the archives of the Cambodian Genocide Program at Yale, the Documentation Center of Cambodia in Phnom Penh, and at George Mason University in Arlington, VA. We hoped to use these tapes to produce a rough-cut for a documentary film about the Cambodian genocide, and received a US Institute of Peace grant to do so, but the filmmaker produced no rough cut. We were fortunate that we kept the original copies of the videotapes, which have now been digitized. With today's equipment, production of a documentary film is still possible.
- 2. The Cambodian Genocide Project promoted prosecution of the surviving leaders of the Khmer Rouge with governments around the world. At first, the chosen venue was the International Court of Justice.

Facing US State Department opposition, Director Ben Kiernan, Sally Benson, Dr. Craig Etcheson, Dr. Stanton and others organized the Campaign to Oppose the Return of the Khmer Rouge, which drafted the Cambodian Genocide Justice Act, which passed Congress and was signed into law by President Clinton in 1994. The Act reversed State Department opposition to prosecution of the Khmer Rouge, mandated creation of an Office of Cambodian Genocide Investigations in the State Department, and allocated \$500,000 to establish the Documentation Center of Cambodia (DC-CAM), which has been crucial in providing evidence to the Khmer Rouge Tribunal (KRT.) The year after its founding, the US State Department's Assistant Secretary of State for Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor, John Shattuck, on the advice of Deputy Assistant Secretary Catherine Dalpino and Dr. Gregory Stanton granted DC-CAM another million dollars to continue its work.

- 3. Dr. Stanton wrote and cleared the US State Department Options Paper proposing how the Khmer Rouge could be tried for their crimes, and a mixed tribunal proposal was agreed by the US government, the Royal Government of Cambodia and the UN.
- 4. Following his service in the State Department, Dr. Stanton provided legal advice to the Cambodian government's Task Force on the Khmer Rouge Tribunal, including assistance in negotiations with the UN Office of Legal Affairs, and drafting of the Internal Rules of procedure for the Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia (ECCC), also known as the Khmer

Rouge Tribunal (KRT.) After amendment, the Internal Rules were adopted by the Tribunal's judges.

5. Dr. Stanton attended the first two KRT trials of Duch and the top three surviving Khmer Rouge leaders, Nuon Chea, Khieu Samphan, and Ieng Sary. Dr. Stanton provided commentary on the Khmer Rouge Tribunal on BBC, CNN, PBS, and other networks.

During his time in the US State Department from 1992 – 1999, Dr. Stanton was deeply involved in work to prevent and punish genocide. He drafted UN Security Council Resolutions 955 and 978 that established the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda, UNSC 1012 that established the Burundi Commission of Inquiry, and UNSC 1013 that established the Central African Arms Flow Commission. He also wrote the UN Peacekeeping Operations resolutions that helped end the Mozambique civil war. Dr. Stanton received the American Foreign Service Association's W. Averell Harriman award for "extraordinary contributions to the practice of diplomacy exemplifying intellectual courage," based on his dissent from U.S. policy on the Rwandan genocide.

After leaving the US State Department in 1999, Dr. Stanton founded Genocide Watch, Inc. and the International Campaign to End Genocide. Genocide Watch and the International Campaign have made contributions to genocide prevention, education, and punishment in many ways.

Genocide Watch, Inc., was the world's first Non-Governmental Organization devoted solely to prevention of genocide and other forms of mass murder. It organized and chairs the International Campaign to End Genocide, now renamed the International Alliance to End Genocide, the first international coalition devoted to the prevention of genocide. The Alliance has over 50 member organizations in 24 countries, including major organizations such as the International Crisis Group, Minority Rights Group, Survival International, and the Aegis Trust (UK). It is a partner with the International Association of Genocide Scholars, the Martin Luther King, Jr. Center, and other anti-genocide organizations and coalitions.

- 2. Among the Genocide Watch's first projects was co-chairmanship of the Washington Working Group for the International Criminal Court, which achieved US signature of the Rome Treaty, and worked for ratification by enough states-parties for the ICC to begin its work in 2002.
- 3. Genocide Watch helped organize a working group in conjunction with other human rights and humanitarian relief organizations around the world, chaired by José Ramos-Horta, to respond to the genocidal massacres in East Timor in 1999. The UN Commission on Human Rights called the second special session in its history. The Working Group helped convince Australia to lead ASEAN in a humanitarian intervention, and got military leaders in the US to directly contact the head of the Indonesian military to stop the killing. Genocide Watch also proposed the Options

Paper on how to bring perpetrators of Crimes Against Humanity to justice, resulting in establishment of the East Timor Tribunal.

- 4. In 1999, Genocide Watch was among the first organizations to sound the alarm about the genocidal massacres in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, which eventually took over four million lives and resulted in mass rape on an unprecedented scale.
- 5. A Belgian member of the Alliance, Prévention Génocides, produced a documentary film warning of the rising ethnic tensions in Côte d'Ivoire, got it shown on Ivorian television, and took it to political authorities in France so that they were prepared to intervene to prevent mass killing when the country was divided by a military coup two years later. Juan Mendez, the UN Special Adviser on the Prevention of Genocide, warned the Ivorian President in 2004 that he could be tried by the ICC for incitement to commit genocide if hate broadcasts were not taken off the Ivorian state radio. They stopped the next day.
- 6. Genocide Watch learned of genocidal massacres against Anuaks on December 13, 2003 in Gambella, Ethiopia, and called the Ethiopia desk officer in the State Department. He asked the US Ambassador to demand that President Meles Zenawi stop the slaughter, and it was stopped. Since then, Genocide Watch has also campaigned against genocidal massacres of the Ogadeni and other Ethiopian groups by Ethiopian Defense Forces.
- 7. In 2003, Genocide Watch was the first global anti-genocide organization that warned of the impending Darfur genocide. Genocide Watch was a charter member of the Save Darfur Coalition, but when Save Darfur stopped being a coalition, and turned into an American dominated elite, Genocide Watch called for reforms. Save Darfur's successor, United to End Genocide, has also been ineffective in achieving US action against the atrocities in Sudan, though STAND, a member of the International Alliance to End Genocide, has helped build a student anti-genocide movement.
- 8. After experience with UN inaction on East Timor, in 2000, Dr. Stanton wrote a proposal to create a Special Adviser to the UN Secretary General on the Prevention of Genocide. The International Alliance lobbied the UN for creation of that position. In 2004, Kofi Annan appointed the first Special Adviser, Juan Mendez, and Genocide Watch has enjoyed close relations with him, with his successor Francis Deng, and with the current Special Adviser, Adama Dieng.
- 9. In 2005, the International Association of Genocide Scholars (IAGS) elected Dr. Stanton its First Vice President, when the IAGS launched its international journal and Dr. Stanton organized its largest conference in Bosnia, the first IAGS meeting in a country with recent genocide.

From 2007 - 2009, Dr. Stanton served as IAGS President. He incorporated the Association, obtained tax-exempt status, wrote democratic Bylaws, established a strict accounting system, expanded its membership, internationalized the IAGS, and recruited many young genocide scholars.

10. In 2009, Genocide Watch became officially affiliated with George Mason University, which has given it ample office space, computer equipment, and other support, and allowed Genocide Watch to establish a regular internship program with the Washington Center for Interns. Each semester and every summer, five interns from the Washington Center work four days a week for graded credit for Genocide Watch. This work force from all over the world has allowed Genocide Watch to regularize its staffing without increasing its costs, and has greatly improved its ability to update its website on a daily basis, issue Country Profiles, build networks of contacts, and propose preventive measures for Countries at Risk.

11. Genocide Watch has proposed legislation to encourage US allies to charge Iran with the crime of incitement to commit genocide against the nation of Israel in the International Court of Justice (ICJ.) It would be the first time that Article 3c of the Genocide Convention has been enforced by the ICJ. This is not to be confused with indictment of individual Iranian leaders for incitement by the International Criminal Court, which would require referral by the UN Security Council.

Genocide Watch has accomplished all of these things on its initial grant of \$25,000. Genocide Watch has \$3000.00 of the \$25,000.00 that its initial benefactors so generously donated at its founding in 1999. Friends are usually astonished that it has been able to do so much on such a small budget. But it is not so astonishing. No one who works for Genocide Watch has ever received a salary. Genocide Watch has never had to rent space or buy computers. Its Information Technology budget has largely gone to purchase software and reserve domain names, which it is now relinquishing except for its basic website addresses. Its website has been built and maintained on a daily basis by its interns, and is now the most consulted website on genocide on the internet. We have always maintained a balanced budget.

When Prof. Stanton makes speeches, he always gets travel and other expenses reimbursed to Genocide Watch, and all of his honoraria have gone directly into the Genocide Watch budget. When UNDP hired him to train Cambodian judges and to help plan the Victims Unit for the Khmer Rouge Tribunal, he was reimbursed for his travel, lodging, and meal expenses, but his wages went straight into Genocide Watch's bank account. So Genocide Watch has had a self-financing, pay-as-you-go approach to its projects.

Until this past two years, Prof. Stanton earned his living as a Professor. He has now retired from teaching. He has received no salary for two years.

In fiscal year 2011 - 2012, the Cambodian Genocide Project, Inc. merged with Genocide Watch, Inc. The remaining assets (\$598.68) of the Cambodian Genocide Project, Inc. were transferred to the bank account of Genocide Watch, Inc. in accordance with Internal Revenue Service requirements to distribute its assets to another (related) 501(c)(3) corporation. All copyrights owned by the Cambodian Genocide Project, Inc. have been transferred to Genocide Watch, Inc.

Prof. Stanton is currently finishing work on "The Eight Stages of Genocide" (probably to become "The Ten Stages of Genocide,") a 150 page basic textbook intended for adoption in high schools all over the United States and Canada, and to be translated into other languages. The next phase of Genocide Watch's work will be development of curriculum to accompany the textbook. Genocide Watch hopes that sales of Prof. Stanton's textbook on the Stages of Genocide will help finance work of Genocide Watch. But the book has not yet been published, and no income is coming from sales of paper copies, as yet. Genocide Watch intends to put the book on the internet as an e-book for free use around the world.

Genocide Watch hopes to broaden the reach of the International Alliance to include many more organizations in Countries at Risk of genocide and mass atrocities. Genocide Watch is currently assisting the Government of Rwanda's Office for the Struggle Against Genocide to organize its first national Conference on Genocide Prevention in Kigali 13 December 2012.

In the coming years, Genocide Watch will have to raise additional funds. Genocide Watch will remain a low overhead, salary-free organization, where every penny counts. It has no plans to become a Human Rights Empire, and will instead rely on the efforts of the members of the International Alliance to End Genocide to build a strong, growing anti-genocide movement around the world, especially in countries at risk of genocide and mass atrocities.

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