

SOCI520 – Concepts of Community Development – Dr. Marciana Popescu

Post-Session Assignment: Global Issue and International Development

Genocide and Ethnic Cleansing -- Due October 19, 2009

Introduction

Genocide has been called the “crime of crimes,” (Kres, 2006, p. 463), yet there is considerable disagreement among scholars regarding how to accurately define it (Rubenstein, 2001; Chalk & Jonassohn, 1990). Genocide is commonly understood as “a deliberate attempt to exterminate a human group, normally an ethnic or religious minority” (Rubenstein, 2001, p.114). However, international law is based on a more technical definition, which was significantly shaped by Raphael Lemkin’s 1944 work, *Axis Rule in Occupied Europe*, in which he coined the term “genocide” (Kreß, 2006, p. 465; Chalk & Jonassohn, 1990, p. 3). After much deliberation, the United Nations adopted the following definition in December 1948 in the *Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide* (CPPCG) (“Convention on Genocide, Article II” n.d.):

In the present Convention, genocide means any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such: (a) Killing members of the group; (b) Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group; (c) Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part; (d) Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group; (e) Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group.

The related term “ethnic cleansing,” also needs to be defined. This concept can be considered as a continuum ranging from “forced migration and population exchange” to

“deportation and genocide” (Bell-Fialkoff, 1993, p. 110). It is “the expulsion of an ‘undesirable’ population from a given territory due to religious or ethnic discrimination, political, strategic or ideological considerations, or a combination of these” (Bell-Fialkoff, 1993, p. 110). Ethnic cleansing focuses on establishing an ethnically homogenous territory whereas genocide seeks the total destruction of an ethnic group (Walling, 2000). While this distinction is useful for understanding social phenomena, as well as development literature and international criminal law, the effect on populations are quite similar—disruptions in every area of life. Consequently, the examples and lessons examined in this paper will cover both crimes of ethnic cleansing and genocide.

Regions & Populations Affected

Ethnic cleansing and genocide are historical and global phenomenon. Chalk and Jonassohn state that genocide “has been practiced in all regions of the world and during all periods of history” (1990, p. xvii). Weitz (2003) agrees, but argues that “beginning with the Armenians, genocides have become more extensive, more systematic, and more thorough” (2003, p. 8). This is in reference to 1915 when Turks and Kurds killed more than half of the Armenian population residing in the Ottoman Empire (an estimated loss of 1.5 million people) and took approximately 90 percent of their territory (Bell-Fialkoff, 1993, p. 113).

While campaigns of genocide and ethnic cleansing have been conducted on every continent, the three most notable instances in the modern era include Nazi Germany, the former Yugoslavia and Rwanda. The violence in Darfur, Sudan will be analyzed in more detail in a subsequent section of this paper. Despite the fact that precise number of deaths and physical dislocations are extremely difficult to determine and are hotly contested by all parties involved,

the following statistics give an indication of the scope of the upheaval of the three instances just mentioned:

- Nazi Germany – German forces killed an estimated 20.9 million people, including 4 to 6 million Jews, 250,000 Gypsies, and 250,000 homosexuals (Bell-Fialkoff, 1993; Rubinstein, 2001);
- The former Yugoslavia – 750,000 Serbs were killed between 1941 and 1945, and in revenge 100,000 Croats were murdered in 1945. In 1995 seven thousand Muslim men were murdered in Srebrenica, while there were 156,600 civilian deaths in Bosnia and 30,000 to 50,000 women raped (Bell-Fialkoff, 1993, p. 119; Weitz, 2003, p. 194);
- Rwanda – Mills and Brunner (2002) report that 800,000 Tutsi and their supporters were killed by Hutus, and then 2 million Hutus fled after the violence was stopped in 1994 by Tutsi rebel forces. Leading up to the catastrophe, 400 Tutsis had been killed in 1990, five hundred in 1991, and 300 in 1992. Further back in their troubled history, five to ten thousand Hutus had been killed by Tutsis in 1965, and more than 100,000 Hutus were killed across the border in Burundi in 1972. Burundi's army also killed another 20,000 Hutus in 1991, and a total of 50,000 from both groups were killed after a failed Tutsi coup attempt in 1993. (Kressel, n.d., p. 45 ???)

Horowitz (2001) adds that the “Stalinist period in Russia killed anywhere from 35 to 50 million people, while the Maoist period in China caused the deaths of about 23 to 35 million people” (p. 80-81). A more thorough accounting of the casualties resulting from genocide and ethnic cleansing would need to consider mass killings and dislocations in the Americas (First Nations), Tasmania, Indonesia, Burundi, Bangladesh, Cambodia, and East Timor (Chalk & Jonassohn, 1990). And though even this list of tragedies is by no means exhaustive, the statistical

and anecdotal details of each of these countries and people groups is beyond the scope of this paper. Rather, the case of Darfur in western Sudan will be analyzed in greater depth and detail.

Populations affected by genocide and ethnic cleansing are nearly always a minority in some important aspect, such as their national, ethnic, racial, religious, political or economic identity. As minorities they either do not have the economic or military strength to defend themselves adequately, or they choose not to return violence with violence.

Related Issues

Because genocide and ethnic cleansing require widespread violence and intimidation, they inevitably lead to four inter-related problems—(a) internally displaced persons (IDPs) and refugees, (b) an interruption of a people group's way of life, (c) broken families and communities, and (d) the destruction of infrastructure.

IDPs and Refugees

The primary difference between an IDP and a refugee is where they seek shelter—within a safe area of their home country (IDP) or across an international border (refugee). Jonassohn (year?) argues that “genocides have become more frequent and are responsible for increasing refugee flows” (p. 75).

Women are often the most at risk during times of violent upheaval as they face “rape, sexual abuse, sexual extortion, and physical insecurity during flight and in places of refuge” (Beyani, 1995). Sexual abuse can continue within the refugee camp where women are not included in the decision making processes, and where one of the last objects of value to be traded for food for their families is their bodies.

Even perpetrators of violence can find themselves in refugee camps, as was the case with the two million Hutu mentioned previously who fled Rwanda after Tutsi forces from Burundi gained control and stopped the genocide.

During the most recent episode of fighting in the Balkans, there were 158,000 refugees in Serbia (Bell-Fialkoff, 1993). In March 1992, 420,000 people fled from Bosnia after it declared independence, and by July the number had grown to 2.5 million people. As will be shown in the case study of Sudan, a similar number of refugees and IDPs have had their lives uprooted in the Darfur region. **GET MORE STATS FROM ITALY PRESENTATION ON REFUGEES. Or maybe unnecessary.**

Broken families and communities

Families are torn apart as some members are killed or seriously injured and others are separated while fleeing to safer areas. Communities are split as previous neighbors, patrons, friends and fellow citizens turn on each other.

Rwanda provides a dark example. “Communities in Rwanda have experienced unprecedented fragmentation and reconstitution as a result of death, exile and massive repatriation of refugees” (Veale, 2000, p. 233). Veale further reports that in Rwanda, one non-governmental organization (NGO) had significant difficulty reintegrating 30,000 unaccompanied children left as orphans from the fighting because “family networks and community systems were in disarray” (p. 234).

Interruption of Daily Life

With massive dislocations it naturally follows that the daily routines of life are interrupted, for example in the areas of education, work and farming. Children who are not able to attend school are not trained to participate in civilian life once order has been restored. More

urgently, lack of work means no income to secure food, clothing and shelter. Farming and crop cultivation must also be abandoned, resulting in food shortages and potentially starvation.

Jonassohn (1993) contends that “premeditated use of starvation has been a central part of many genocides” (p.74).

Destruction of infrastructure

Depending on the methods used to kill or threaten the targeted groups, there can be significant damage to houses, farm lands, orchards, businesses, school houses, road, bridges, and other important physical infrastructure. Bernadine Niyirora shares the horrors of the massacre in Rwanda in *The New Killing Fields* (Mills & Brunner, 2002), “It was useless to hide. We knew we had to die. So we returned to the place where we lived and found that our houses had been burned” (p. 101).

Similarly, villages in Darfur were greatly damaged by attackers who’s methods involved “targeting grain and seed stocks, cutting down mature fruit trees, poisoning wells with corpses, burning homes, markets, mosques, and all that might sustain life” (Reeves, 2009, p. 17).

Case Study – Darfur, Sudan

Historian and Director of Yale University’s Genocide Studies Program, Ben Kiernan (2007), considers Darfur to be the location of the first genocide of the new millennium. “In 2003, with the support of Khartoum, Janjaweed militias launched a murderous racist land-grab, in just four years killing and starving to death 300,000 members of Darfur’s African agricultural tribes...” (Kiernan, p. 596).

Eric Reeves (2009) reports that on March 4, 2009, Omar al-Bashir, Sudan’s president, was charged with war crimes and crimes against humanity. The International Criminal Court prosecutor, Luis Moreno Ocampo, had also sought the charge of genocide as supported by the

U.S. State Department study that interviewed 1,100 randomly selected residents of refugee camps along the Darfur/Chad border; however, three pre-trial judges did not include this charge in their indictment. Reeves argues that the judges did not consider all of the relevant evidence for the genocide count such as “the mass executions of Fur men and boys... reported by Human Rights Watch and Amnesty International” (p. 16).

Ocampo’s arrest for President al-Bashir charges him with:

the polarization of ethnic groups into two broadly racialized groups (Arab and *Zurga* or black), followed by a violent conflict from 2003 to 2005, leading to the ethnic cleansing of *Zurga* ethnic groups... from their traditional tribal lands or *dars*, and a deceptively non-violent process whereby those forcibly expelled were left to die, either in the desert or from malnutrition, rape or torture, leading to “slow deaths” in the internally displaced persons (IDP) camps. (Mamdani, p. 85)

While the most violent period of the conflict was between April 2003 and early 2005, the “UN reports 317,000 people were newly displaced in 2008, nearly all of them violently” (Reeves, p. 17). This is in addition to the 2.7 million persons previously displaced. In a further escalation of displacement, President al-Bashir ordered at least 13 NGOs to leave the country following his indictment, leaving 1 to 1.5 million individuals without health services, food, water and sanitation.

To comprehend how this level of social upheaval is possible, one needs understand the historical and geographic context. Sudan is the 10th largest country in the world, and yet it has very few all-weather roads, which makes governing from Khartoum in the north extremely difficult (Bechtold, 2009). The two most remote regions, Darfur in the West and the southern portion, have few ties to the government in the north and have historically been neglected by it.

Sudan is not a homogeneous country. Rather, there are “almost 600 different tribal groupings speaking up to 400 different languages and dialects” (Bechtold, p. 151). Most Sudanese in the north are Muslim; however, there are several million Christians as well. In the South there are approximately 200 religious identities, predominantly animist, though Christians and Muslims are also present, 10-15% and 5% respectively. Given this diversity, loyalty is more tribal than national.

More specifically, the Darfur region’s geography is an important element in the violence. The northern area is primarily desert with few inhabitants; the central region is mostly pastoral, while the southern area also has some agriculture because of more rainfall. Bechtold (2009) describes the ways of life and demographics of these regions:

The two lifestyles then are a function of ecological conditions: semi-nomadic pastoralists further north... and agricultural villagers further south growing vegetables and maintaining cattle rather than camels. In journalistic reports, the former have been labeled “Arab” and the latter “African” even though that distinction is rather trivial. All are African, indistinguishable in skin pigmentation... and they all speak one of several versions of Arabic. (p. 153)

Two protracted and devastating North-South civil wars have significantly affected Sudan (1955-1972 and 1983-2004), though smaller violent confrontations have flared in a number of areas since its independence in 1956. Concurrent with the second North-South civil war in the 1980s and 1990s, groups within Darfur fought each other. Near the end of this civil war between the North and South, the Sudanese Liberation Movement (SLM) was formed by various tribes in Darfur who wished to stop the Arabization of their province.

The current crisis began when the SLM attacked government forces in February 2003. Soon after, the Justice and Equality Movement (JEM) became the second rebel military group to attack Khartoum's forces. Because the Sudanese Armed Forces (SAF) were focused on the Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM) in the South, the "regime decided to... arm tribes with historic animosities against the current rebels and let them do the fighting" (Bechtold, p. 155). These militias, or *janjaweed*, were responsible for much of the violence in the first two years of fighting, but Bechtold reports that more recently "UN observers and others agree that the preponderance of killing and destruction is due to rebel action" (p. 157).

ADD DETAILS OF METHODS AND SCALE OF ATROCITIES. Maybe???

Estimates for the number of those killed in the Darfur crisis vary greatly. The Sudanese government gives an estimate of 10,000 Darfuris killed, while observers suggest a range from 40,000 to 450,000. Bechtold (2009) doubts the higher estimates because no mass graves have been found.

While lawyers and politicians may argue about whether to label the Darfur atrocities as crimes against humanity, war crimes, ethnic cleansing or genocide, the reality for those affected remains the same—thousands of family members dead and millions displaced and facing a very precarious future. It is in caring for these displaced persons that international nongovernmental organizations (NGO) find their mission. The following section will describe the main areas of concern for NGOs and will offer a plan for one of these concerns—reconciliation.

Map of Immediate Need

- Support in refugee and IDP camps
 - Food

- Clothing
- Shelter
- Education
- Emotional support/counseling
- Communication
- Return home ???

Map of Resources – local capacity (stakeholders), services, access to services

- Refugee camp resources & services
- Leadership structure (tribal/communal)
- Resources within Darfur region ???
- UNAMID: Size, Composition and Cost
http://www.securitycouncilreport.org/site/c.gKWLeMTIsG/b.4916587/k.1F04/February_2009brSudanDarfur.htm, retrieved on 17 Oct 2009)
 - *Maximum authorised strength*: up to 19,555 military personnel, 3,772 police and 19 formed police units (total police 6,432)
 - *Strength as of 31 December 2008*: 12,374 military personnel and 2,803 police
 - *Main troop contributors*: Nigeria, Rwanda, Egypt and Ethiopia
 - *Cost*: 1 July 2008-30 June 2009: \$1.5 billion

Visibility

The violence and horrors of Darfur have received significant coverage in the Western press. Activism on the part of celebrities such as George Clooney and Don Cheadle as shown in Darfur Now/Diaries (?) has also shown the spotlight to this corner of the world. Pressure brought by social activists has convinced some local and national governments to limit economic ties with Sudan until peace is a reality in Darfur. For example, on (date???) California passed legislation forbidding state funds to be invested with companies or funds doing business in Sudan. Documentaries such as *The Devil Came on Horseback* and *Darfur Diaries* (others???) have influenced many, though their reach is much more restricted than mainstream news outlets.

A number of athletes (names???) in the 2008 Beijing Olympic Games also used this world stage to draw attention to the ongoing displacement and violence in Darfur. This venue was used because the world was focused on the games and because China is a major importer of Sudanese oil (). The effects of this informal campaign to encourage China to use its economic power to influence Sudanese officials does not seem significant since China and other world governments appear to maintain their previous opinions and policies regarding the government in Khartoum.

Concerns for Development

Main Concerns

Individuals who have been affected by ethnic cleansing or genocide have significant barriers to overcome in returning to a secure and “normal” way of life. It is the development agency’s role to aid in this transition. Concerns include immediate survival needs, emotional well-being, ending the conflict, returning home if possible, reconciling with the oppressing group, establishing governance, rebuilding an economy, reconstructing infrastructure, dealing with long-term food security, and developing the civil organizations such as schools, hospitals and religious institutions need to support life.

Development Plan – Transitional Justice (Based on lessons learned in Rwanda, Bosnia and South Africa-- Ex. Truth and Reconciliation Commission)

Of these major concerns, reconciliation between factions within a state is the element that will be addressed in the current development plan.

Limitations and Challenges

There are many significant challenges that complicate reconciliation between groups who have been in conflict. There is the original issue that started the conflict; this must be addressed in a meaningful way in order to prevent a recurrence of the violence in the future. This is

exacerbated by the anger, hatred and desire for revenge that naturally result from the horrors of genocide and ethnic cleansing. Racial, ethnic, religious, political, linguistic and other differences make reconciliation even more difficult as they bear directly on clear communication and, therefore, trust building.

Finally, lack of resources increase the difficulty of reconciliation because affected parties must put all of their time and attention into rebuilding the physical infrastructure of every-day life—education, food, health care and every other critical facet of living. Given a state of chaos and upheaval, generally involving the government, it is common for a devastated region to lack the international aid and foreign direct investment that is required for returning to some level of normalcy. It is incumbent on NGOs to fill this void and support the transition back to a self-sustaining community committed to the rule of law.

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