

**SPECIAL COURT FOR SIERRA LEONE**  
PRESS AND PUBLIC AFFAIRS OFFICE

**PRESS CLIPPINGS**

**Enclosed are clippings of the latest local and international press on the Special Court and related issues obtained by the Press and Public Affairs Office as of:**

Monday, November 08, 2004

The press clips are produced Monday to Friday.  
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# THE EXCLUSIVE

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Vol. 2 No. 2170

Monday November 8, 2004

Le500

# Bombshell For Hinga Norman

*By Joseph Turay*

Following the Chamber's recent ruling in which the judges decided to appoint court's counsels to represent the first accused of the Civil

Defence Forces, Samuel Hinga Norman, who had refused to attend trials because

he had been deprived of his right of self-representation, the chamber has again passed a decision to withdraw all the additional facilities which the

court had provided him with.

The order which was issued on the 27th of October 2004 signed by the Register, Robin Vincent, and all three

judges of the court, the chamber's decision on the 23rd June, 2004 granted the accused material resources that would help in his self

representation which included a desktop computer, a printer, desk telephone and stationeries has been cancelled.

*Contd. page 2*

## Bombshell For Hinga Norman

*From front page*

celled.

"Recalling the chamber's ruling on the issue of nonappearance of the first accused Samuel Hinga Norman, the second accused Nomina Fofana, and third accused, Alieu Kondewa at the trial proceedings, of the 1st October 2004 ("ruling") whereby the chamber revoked the first accused's right to self representation and appointed counsel to represent him in his trial proceeding.

The following paragraphs are quoted from the chamber's new ruling:

"Recalling that in this ruling

the register was ordered to review the requirement for the additional resources for the first accused and to provide a report to the chamber with a view to assist the chamber in determining whether these measures should be maintained;

"Having considered the memoranda submitted to the chamber by the register pursuant to the chamber's ruling whereby the register stated that, in his opinion, this is no need to continue providing the first accused with additional resources, given that he is no longer representing himself and that

continuing to provide such facilities would result in unequal treatment as none of the other detainees has such facilities;

"Pursuant to rule 54 of the Rules of Procedure and Evidence of the Special Court; orders as follows:

"Orders the chief of Detention facility to withdraw from the exclusive use of the first accused the following resources provided to him for the purpose of representing himself, that include;

"A desktop computer, a printer, a stationary desk telephone, computer desk and chair, and filing cabinet.

# STANDARD TIMES

Monday November 8, 2004

Le500

## SPECIAL COURT...

# Judges strip Norman naked

BY THEOPHILUS S. GBENDA

In a clear show of anger and suspicion, judges of the Special Court for Sierra Leone ordered the chief of detention, Barry Wallace, to withdraw from the exclusive use of Chief Sam Hinga Norman additional resources provided him for the purpose of self-representation.

The order, which was given last week, came as all three CDF indictees including Chief Sam Hinga Norman are effectively boycotting the trial proceedings on grounds

that the trial chamber is biased against their defence.

Another issue is the suspicion by the trial chamber that Chief Norman is deliberately violating detention conditions by using the

resources provided him for his self defence to print articles often critical of the court and circulated to various media houses for publication.

The resources in question include a desktop computer and desk, printer, stationary, telephone, chair and a filing cabinet.

It could be noted that at the commencement of the CDF trial, Chief Norman relieved his defence team and opted instead for self-representation.

*Continued back page*

# Judges strip Norman naked

FROM PAGE 1

On his request, the trial chamber ordered that the resources listed above be provided him with a view to enhancing his defence.

The trial chamber explain that as it is clear that the chief is no longer interested in the trial, it has become incumbent on the Registrar and the chamber to review the continued acquisition of the resources by the former.

In a memoranda submitted to the chamber by the Registrar pursuant to the latter, he says, "in my view, there

is no need to continue providing the first accused with additional resources ... that he is no longer representing himself, and that continuing to provide such facilities would result in unequal treatment as none of the other detainees have such facilities."

It was on the basis of this memorandum that the trial chamber ordered the revoking of the additional resources provided to Chief Norman.

Accordingly, the chamber also ordered that the chief

of detention ensure that the indictee be provided with all those resources and facilities generally available and accorded to other indictees including stationary and access to telephone.

In another development, the court appointed counsels for the CDF indictees have made a formal motion, questioning the credibility of eighteen year old prosecution witness TFZ-012, whose oral testimony in the ongoing trial, to a large extent, seems to be in direct contrast to original state-

ments purported to have been obtained from him by the prosecution.

In reaction, the prosecution reminded the trial chamber that the witness in question is illiterate and therefore asked that the inadequacies be overlooked.

According to the chamber however, a witness is considered credible on three grounds namely, his responses during cross examination, prior inconsistencies and the evidences of other witnesses.

# Special Court Witness Admits He's A Killer

*By Mohamed Mansaray*

*The 19th Prosecution witness in the trial of Special Court indictees, TF2-021 has revealed that he murdered a woman at Masiaka when they attacked rebels in the town between 1997 and 1998.*

He told the court that the Masiaka attack was his first mission after his initiation into the Kamajor society at Base Zero, Talia Yawbecko in the Bonthe district.

The witness testified that he murdered the woman shortly after his colleague was shot dead. "When I saw my colleague on the ground, I also saw a woman running towards me and I shot her and she fell down because I considered her as an enemy," he said.

He told the court that when he saw the remains of his colleague, he vowed that he would also kill before he dies. "We also looted Masiaka," the witness testified and named Alieu Kondewa as his initiator. The witness told the court that he used to take marijuana and brown-brown (which the witness also identified as cocaine) before he went to battle. "Papay Konde's (Kondewa) boys gave me the drugs at Base Zero," he said.

Asked by Michiel Pestman who is defending Alieu Kondewa whether he wanted the court to believe his evidence, that they (Kamajors) covered a distance of about 163 miles from Masiaka to Base Zero in

one-and-half days, the witness replied "yes".

Asked further whether people were forced to join the Kamajor movement, the witness also replied "yes", although this answer contradicts his original statement he made to the prosecution on January 13, 2003 with respect to the issue, thus: "To my knowledge no one was forced to join Kamajor initiation."

Counsel for Sameul Hinga Norman, Dr. Bu-Bukei Jabbi also asked the witness whether the woman was armed before he shot her, to which the witness replied "no". In his examination-in-Chief last week, the witness testified that he was carrying a weapon he described as "a

SEE PAGE 3

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## vs... Salone News... Kamajor On How He Used Drugs

2-Pistol-grip" which was given to him by Commander Jamah who captured him in Ngeihun Village in the Kailahun district from the RUF rebels.  
 The 18-year-old witness was led in evidence earlier by a prosecution lawyer, Sharan Parmar at Court Room No. 1, New England in Freetown.  
 The witness gave his testimony in Krio through an interpreter in English.  
 The trials continue.

# Kabbah Frustrates Moves to Try Charles Taylor

## SPECIAL COMMENTARY

By Ishmael Al-Sankoh Conteh

One of the kingpins for the ten-year rebel war in Sierra Leone, Charles Ghangay Tay-

lor, is still enjoying the good-will asylum privilege provided by Nigeria's President Olusengun Abasanjo. It would be recalled

that Mr Taylor was indicted by the Special Court for Sierra Leone, sometime last year, to

Cont. Page 2

The Trumpet  
08 November 2004

## Special Commentary

From front page

account to the people of Sierra Leone for his role in the ten-year rebel war, that brought untold suffering to the people of this country.

Whilst in Ghana attending a conference of West African Heads of States aimed at finding solutions to the debilitating war in Liberia, the no-nonsense Prosecutor of the Special Court in Sierra Leone, American born, David Crane, slammed an 18 count indictment against Mr Taylor, to face the Special Court to answer an eighteen count charge with regards his role in the decade long turmoil in Sierra Leone.

For adherence to strict codes of international law, Mr Taylor was hurriedly granted an international amnesty, and was whisked to Nigeria by colleague African Presidents including Olusegun Obasanjo to Nigeria, where he was granted a safe asylum on the belief that it would bring about a permanent truce in the beleaguered West African state of Liberia. Since then, Mr Taylor has resided in Calabar and feeding on the sweat of the Nigerian people, many of whom suffered a lot during the ten year war.

Apparently, Sierra Leoneans cannot still understand the sudden twist in the Obasanjo Camaraderie with Charles Taylor, a man universally known to have contributed to the devastation of Sierra Leone for want of diamonds to strengthen his finances and to satisfy his selfish political intention.

If this man has been indicted by the Special Court for Sierra Leone, to prove beyond all reasonable doubts, whether he is innocent of the charges or speculations for his involvement in the destruction of this country, it is but fitting that all must be done to have this happen. Otherwise, it will send the signals that international politics can be tainted with political hypocrisy where some criminalized political demagogues can ruin a whole country with no corresponding sanction on those people. We in The Trumpet still maintain that Charles Taylor is still an indictable material and this stance must not be compromised if only we want to put impunity behind us.

Our President, HE Ahmad Tejan Kabbah has merely expressed an opinion on the move taken by President Olusegun Obasanjo, to grant Charles Taylor asylum in Nigeria. We see this as an explosive diplomatic opinion based on domestic African politics, which many Sierra Leoneans have attributed as moves to down play the indictment of Charles Taylor. We want the Presi-

dent to know that the Special Court was not forced on us. It was created as a result of a request by the Sierra Leone government, for the United Nations to try the RUF high command and all those responsible for, or who bear the greatest responsibility for war crimes and crimes committed against humanity during Sierra Leone's civil conflict. The victims are urgently calling on Obasanjo to hand over Mr Taylor to the Special Court in Sierra Leone.

The sacrifice Nigeria made both in human and financial cost cannot be discarded for centuries to come, but equally so, if they continue to resist international pressure to hand over this alleged dreaded war criminal who needs to prove his innocence or guilt in the Special Court for Sierra Leone, then all the material and human cost of their sacrifice in Sierra Leone would have been wasted just to protect one individual.

We need not remind President Obasanjo that Sierra Leoneans endorsed the crucial legal battle to try all those people already identified as bearing the greatest responsibility for war crimes and crimes against humanity, and among whom Taylor is one!



# THE AUSTRALIAN

[Print this page](#)

## **Adviser to slam UN teen sex probe**

By Padraic Murphy  
08nov04

A UNITED Nations legal adviser who initially investigated claims a senior Victorian police officer sexually assaulted a teenage girl in Sierra Leone is due to give evidence critical of the UN's handling of the allegations when the policeman's trial resumes this week.

Former UN Special Court legal adviser Alberto Fabbri sat on a panel that investigated claims the former head of Victoria's homicide squad, Peter Halloran, 56, sexually assaulted the 13-year-old girl.

Mr Fabbri left Sierra Leone and returned to Switzerland soon after the panel found the claims against Mr Halloran, who was working for the Special Court as a war crimes investigator, could not be supported.

Mr Fabbri is expected to return to Sierra Leone to give evidence against Mr Halloran when his trial resumes at Freetown's High Court. The trial had been adjourned due to the death of the wife of judge Samuel Ademusu.

Despite being cleared by the UN Special Court, Mr Halloran was charged by Sierra Leone authorities.

Another UN investigator, Tasmanian Mandy Cordwell, allegedly found the 13-year-old in Mr Halloran's bedroom in June and took her to local police. Halloran's housemate, UN investigator Ralph La Pierre, also helped transport the alleged victim from the UN's Freetown compound.

Sources have confirmed Mr Fabbri has agreed to give evidence about the UN's internal investigation.

Mr Halloran has strenuously denied any wrongdoing, although the UN report criticised him for putting himself in a compromising position and said he should be given the opportunity to resign.

However, sources close to the UN inquiry claim the investigation was "a whitewash" and neither Ms Cordwell or Mr La Pierre were called to give evidence.

Ms Cordwell was criticised by the UN for apparently tricking the girl into leaving the compound and providing a statement to local police.

Mr Halloran's lawyers have claimed the alleged victim was pressured into giving a statement alleging assault.

Prosecutors claim a subsequent retraction of that statement was the result of pressure from the girl's family.

Australian Federal Police are keeping a close eye on the trial and seeking legal advice on whether Mr Halloran could face prosecution under anti-child-sex-tourism laws.

Mr Halloran has received support from former colleague Tim Carrodus, serving Victorian policeman Wayne Bostin, and the Police Association's welfare officer, Kay Murphy, who have each travelled to Sierra Leone.

11/07/2004 12:20:42

## **Wary west Africa braces for Ivory Coast implosion**

DAKAR, Nov 7 (AFP) - Wary west African eyes were Sunday turned towards Ivory Coast, once again on the brink of war, fearing a glut of refugees and further assaults on economies which still depend heavily on the fortunes of the world's top cocoa producer.

A resumption of conflict in Ivory Coast could also engage the thousands of newly unemployed ex-combattants in **Liberia** and veterans of the Sierra Leone war, amid rampant reports of hidden arms caches in the unpoliced, forested border areas.

Already some 300 Ivorians have streamed across the western border into **Liberia**, where the UN refugee agency was bracing for an influx that could top the more than 6,000 people who sought shelter in **Liberia** two years ago after a failed coup erupted into civil war.

"We have a transit center and camp in Saclapea that can take 1,500 people, and a transit center (on the border) at Loguatu that can house 500 people," UN High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) spokeswoman Francesca Fontanini told AFP.

"Right now it looks like mostly vulnerable populations of women and children are coming across, but we are getting ready to provide assistance to everyone."

Ghana, too, is expecting a stream of panicked Ivorians to make the 17-kilometer (10-mile) trek over the border from areas such as Bondoukou in the government-held south and Bouna in the rebel-controlled north.

The timing of this latest flare-up in Ivorian tensions, which has so far left at least 13 people dead including nine French troops and a US national, is difficult for Ghana, which is four weeks from a presidential election.

Incumbent President John Kufuor has played a leading role in mediating the Ivory Coast crisis, drawing both kudos and criticism from those Ghanaians who would prefer he focus more on domestic issues and ensuring that a refugee crisis does not burden the country's burgeoning economy.

"The Ivory Coast crisis has created a very difficult situation for President Kufuor, who would like very much to be deeply involved in dealing with it but cannot because he is so close to the election," a senior official from the ruling New Patriotic Party told AFP.

Northern neighbors Mali and Burkina Faso, whose nationals and their Ivorian-born descendants have been heavily targeted by so-called "patriots" in waves of xenophobic violence, have warned of swift reprisals against any incursions into their airspace.

Such bellicose rhetoric could serve to mask concerns of a return to the sluggishness at the seaport in the commercial capital Abidjan, among west Africa's largest, where Malian and Burkinabe goods languished on the docks for months during fighting in Ivory Coast in 2002 and 2003.

A slowdown at the Abidjan port, combined with the devastating effects of the worst locust invasion to hit north and west Africa in 15 years, could spell disaster for Mali and Burkina Faso as well as Niger, three of the world's poorest countries.

Ivory Coast's implosion could also have further economic implications for the region, considered among the world's most volatile and thus least attractive to foreign investment despite a wealth of natural resources including oil, gold, diamonds and timber.

The African Union has sharply rebuked the government of President Laurent Gbagbo for the air raids on rebel and French targets and has mandated South African President Thabo Mbeki to depart for Abidjan in coming days with a "view to promoting a political solution" to the Ivory Coast conflict.

"This escalation clearly contradicts the process of national reconciliation," the AU said in a statement.

"All parties (should) exercise maximum restraint to prevent a further aggravation of the situation. President Gbagbo, the Ivory Coast government and all political and social leaders (must) do everything possible to maintain calm and to ensure the safety of all life and property."



11/06/2004 19:24:38

## **UPDATE 5-Ivory Coast warplanes kill 9 French soldiers**

By Peter Murphy and Silvia Aloisi

ABIDJAN, Nov 6 (Reuters) - Ivory Coast warplanes killed nine French soldiers on Saturday in a bombing raid during the fiercest clashes with rebels for 18 months and France hit back by destroying most of the West African country's small airforce.

Two Sukhoi 25 fighters and three helicopters were blown up on French President Jacques Chirac's orders after the French soldiers, working with U.N. troops policing a ceasefire, died with a U.S. aid worker in the air strike on rebel-held Bouake.

The retaliation by former colonial power France for the Ivorian air raid, which also injured 23 French soldiers, provoked an angry popular backlash. French troops came under

fire in the top world cocoa grower's main city of Abidjan.

Thousands of stick-wielding youths poured onto the streets of the city in response to a call by a firebrand pro-government youth leader for ``popular resistance'' against the French.

``Are you ready to die in shame or in dignity?''' Charles Ble Goude, leader of the ``Young Patriots,''' said on state television.

The U.N. Security Council demanded an immediate end to all military operations and authorised some 10,000 French and U.N. peacekeepers in Ivory Coast to use ``all necessary means'' to carry out their duties.

Ivorian forces bombed rebel towns for the third day running on Saturday, the start of an offensive to retake the north of the country which was seized by insurgents after a failed attempt to oust President Laurent Gbagbo in 2002.

The bombing raids were the first major hostilities since a truce signed in May last year ended fighting which had killed thousands and uprooted more than a million people.

French soldiers destroyed the Sukhoi fighters and the helicopters in the capital Yamoussoukro.

Sporadic gunfire rang out across Abidjan and pickup trucks full of soldiers cruised the streets.

The French military sent three Mirage fighter jets and a supply plane to Gabon as reinforcements after the clashes and ordered 300 more soldiers to Ivory Coast.

The Ivorian army said it had not meant to bomb the base in Bouake. The pilots got out before their planes were destroyed.

## FRENCH CIVILIANS EVACUATED

Henry Aussavy, French military spokesman in Abidjan, said Ivorian forces later opened fire on French troops at the airport in Abidjan. An Ivorian military source said two of their soldiers had been wounded in the clash.

U.N. sources and an airport security official said French troops now control the international airport.

Plumes of thick smoke rose from the plush Cocody suburb of the city where a French school was razed as armed mobs headed towards the airport.

Two-metre flames leapt into the sky from a French school in Yamoussoukro as crowds of bare-chested protesters carted away computers and smoke billowed out of the building.

The French embassy said some of its citizens were being evacuated from homes in Abidjan by helicopter as gangs looted their homes. Four French policemen were airlifted from a building there before it too was burned down.

France holds Gbagbo ``personally responsible" for public order in the country, French Defence Minister Michele Alliot-Marie said.

A spokesman for Gbagbo later appealed for calm on state television and urged people not to attack foreigners pending an investigation into the bombing.

U.N. peacekeepers stopped two army convoys trying to cross into a buffer zone on Friday that separates a government-run south from the north. Rebel leaders have accused peacekeepers of not doing more to stop government attacks.

Rebel officials said government troops had moved into the confidence zone and were at Sakasso, a town 40 km (25 miles) south of the main rebel base of Bouake. Ivorian military sources said their forces were only 10 km (6 miles) from Bouake.

Aid workers for Doctors Without Borders (MSF) said there had been heavy gunfire in Bouake on Saturday afternoon. The U.N. in Ivory Coast said rebels were still in their main town.

Aid workers in the rebel-held town of Danane, 27 km (17 miles) from **Liberia**, said they feared an imminent attack.

``They have got through the confidence zone near Danane to attack us. We are pushing them back now," said Sidiki Konate, spokesman for the rebel New Forces.

(Additional reporting by Loucoumane Coulibaly, Media Coulibaly, Emmanuel Braun in Abidjan, Ange Aboa and Alain Amontchi in Yamoussoukro, Dino Mahtani in Nigeria, Laure Bretton and Emmanuel Jarry in Paris and Evelyn Leopold in New York)

**BBC** Last Updated: Sunday, 7 November, 2004, 18:00 GMT

## Troops move to end Ivorian riots

**France says the situation in Ivory Coast is "under control" after its forces fanned out across the main city, Abidjan, to end anti-French riots.**

Troops in armoured cars took over road junctions and gunboats moved into position near bridges but Paris said it did not plan to evacuate its citizens.

Mobs went on the rampage after a day of bloodshed involving French forces sent to Ivory Coast as peacekeepers.

The UN has backed France's tough response to attacks on its soldiers.

French Defence Minister Michele Alliot-Marie said in Paris that while the situation was under control as of Sunday, it remained tense.

The French virtually wiped out the small Ivorian air force on Saturday shortly after an air raid on the rebel-held north of the country killed nine of their troops and wounded 22, and further damaged peace agreements reached with the rebels in July of last year.

France, the former colonial power, has dispatched 600 more troops to back up the 4,000 soldiers it already has in Ivory Coast as part of a UN force of 10,000.

The UN Security Council has called on both the Ivorian government and rebels to refrain from further violence.

The African Union has appointed South African President Thabo Mbeki to try to find a solution to the crisis and he is expected to arrive shortly in Ivory Coast shortly.

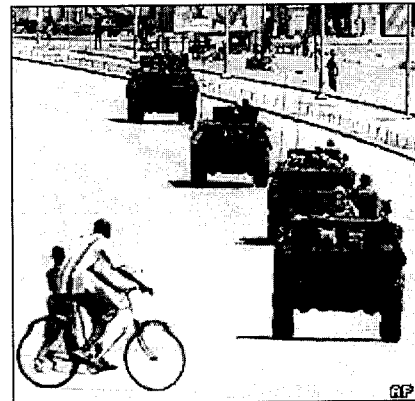
The Ivorian government has said it is also sending troops out to "contain the vandals and stop the damage".

Separately, the president's office announced that recent action against rebels in the north was over and the army ordered its soldiers to report to their units in Abidjan.

### Community in fear

The French troops have moved at least 80 people to safer locations in Abidjan since supporters of President Laurent Gbagbo went on the rampage.

Paris has denied official charges that its forces killed at least 15 protesters in the riots.



France has also sent troops to the capital, Yamoussoukro

**“ We are all terrified, and try to reassure each other ”**

Anonymous Abidjan resident

**Ivorian violence: Your say  
UN condemns attacks  
Unrest drives cocoa prices**



#### IVORY COAST'S PEACE UNRAVELS

29 Sept: Parliament fails to agree citizenship laws - a key requirement of the January 2003 peace deal

13 Oct: Rebels say they will not disarm until the laws are agreed

28 Oct: Vendors selling newspapers accused of supporting the opposition are attacked by pro-government militants in Abidjan and southern towns

The New Forces order eight rebel ministers to return to the rebel-held north, saying it had discovered the government smuggling arms across its territory

4 Nov: Government launches air strikes on rebel-held territory in north

5 Nov: More government air strikes and clashes on the ground in north, as unrest erupts in Abidjan

6 Nov: French forces destroy five Ivorian air force aircraft after an air strike leaves French soldiers dead

Thousands of people armed with machetes and clubs have been roaming the streets, setting up roadblocks of burning tyres.

French property in the Bietry and Cocody districts, including four schools and a library, were looted and the French-controlled airport came under attack.

A mob near the main French military base demanded to know if there were any French living in the district.

"It's better to burn them, like in Algeria," one rioter was quoted as shouting by The Associated Press.

"They burned the whites - that's why they're respected."

An unidentified French engineer living in Ivory Coast told France 2 TV by telephone that expatriates were staying in their homes, preparing to leave:

"We aren't moving, we can't move any more, we can't go out. There are no more supplies coming in. We're waiting.

"There's a very, very palpable climate of fear, which means nobody dares talk. Everyone is packing their bags but won't dare tell the neighbours."

#### 'No hidden agenda'

Ivorian officials have been giving conflicting messages - some calling for a truce, others urging the French to leave Ivory Coast.

"Vietnam will be as nothing compared with what we are going to do here," said parliamentary speaker Mamadou Coulibaly.

In Paris, French Foreign Minister Michel Barnier denied his country's growing intervention was aimed at destabilising Ivory Coast.

"In no way is France there to destabilise the Ivory Coast and its institutions or take sides. Its aim above all is to preserve constitutional legality."

The French minister added that there was "no hidden agenda".

Speaking on French LCI TV, he added that the government did not "anticipate an evacuation of [its] nationals from Ivory Coast at the moment".

11/06/2004 20:30:52

## **French troops destroy government aircraft after bomb strike kills eight French peacekeepers and American civilian**

By PARFAIT KOUASSI

ABIDJAN, Ivory Coast (AP) \_ Ivory Coast and French forces traded gunfire at Ivory Coast's international airport in Abidjan on Saturday in mayhem that erupted following a deadly earlier clash between their two militaries that killed eight French soldiers and an American civilian.

Thousands of pro-government youths, some armed with machetes, axes or chunks of wood, took to the streets of the country's commercial capital looking for French targets. Smoke rose from a French school set on fire by the mobs.

The violence threatened to drag French and U.N. peacekeepers into the civil war that hard-line military commanders re-launched Thursday, breaking a more than one-year-old ceasefire with surprise bombing attacks on rebel-held positions in the north.

The U.N. Security Council called an emergency session Saturday to deal with the violence. The United States, which currently holds the council presidency, and France were drafting a presidential statement warning Ivory Coast's government to stop attacks immediately or face "serious consequences," council diplomats said.

France sent three Mirage fighter jets to West Africa in response, and French President Jacques Chirac said he ordered the deployment of two more military companies to Ivory Coast.

Many in the country's fiercely nationalistic south resent the French peacekeeping force, suspecting it of siding with rebels who have controlled the north since the September 2002 start of the war in the world's top cocoa producer.

France has about 4,000 troops in Ivory Coast, and a separate U.N. peacekeeping force numbers around 6,000.

Saturday's violence began when government warplanes struck French positions at Brobo, near the northern rebel-held town of Bouake, in the afternoon, U.N. military spokesman Philippe Moreux said.

Eight French soldiers were killed and 23 others wounded, said Defense Ministry spokesman Jean-Francois Bureau in Paris. An American citizen was also killed in the raid, the French presidency said, without providing details.

U.S. Embassy spokeswoman Ergibe Boyd in Abidjan said they've been told of the death by the French but haven't confirmed it. She said the American was likely a missionary, since there is no U.S. military or diplomatic presence in the area.

In response, French infantry destroyed two Ivory Coast Sukhoi fighter jets on the ground at an airport in the capital, Yamoussoukro, 75 miles to the south, French military spokesman Col. Henry Aussavy said.

``Our forces responded in a situation of legitimate defense," Bureau, the spokesman, said. ``Now the priority is the immediate end of combat."

The French retaliation sparked a wave of mahem in Abidjan. Loyalist mobs tried to overrun a French military base near the airport. French troops fired in the air and lobbed tear gas at the crowd.

At the same time, Ivory Coast soldiers tried to destroy French aircraft at the airport itself, sparking clashes with French forces, a French spokesman, Jacques Combarieu, said.

Combarieu said a French soldier was lightly injured and an airplane was lightly damaged before the fighting ended.

In Yamoussoukro, crowds of people streamed from the airport to town after the French retaliation. Edgy-looking soldiers turned away a members of an Associated Press crew seeking to get into the airport, telling them it was not safe.

Col. Philippe Mangou confirmed that government planes were destroyed in the French assault at the airport, though he could not say how many. ``The planes were destroyed by shots from the French military ... The planes were on the ground," he told The Associated Press.

Ivory Coast's civil war killed thousands and uprooted more than 1 million, threatening efforts by neighboring countries \_ Sierra Leone and **Liberia** \_ to recover from their own vicious civil wars of the 1990s.

Last year's peace deals, brokered under international pressure, ended major fighting but an agreed-upon power-sharing government has never taken hold.

The U.N. Security Council, which has poured billions of dollars and thousands of peace troops into West and Central Africa to support peace accords, expressed alarm at the renewed fighting, as have France, the United States and others.

Fearing a spread of the fighting, the France-based relief group Medecins Sans Frontieres, or Doctors Without Borders, said Saturday it was evacuating some staff from its hospital in the western town of Danane, about 20 miles from Ivory Coast's border with **Liberia**. The west saw some of the most brutal attacks of the war.

Van Schoor said the hospital would remain functioning. She declined to say how many staffers were being brought out or where they were being taken.

Nigerian President Olosegun Obasanjo, current president of the African Union, opened talks with regional leaders Saturday at his farm on the outskirts of Nigeria's commercial capital, Lagos, to look for a way out of the crisis. Remi Oyo, Obasanjo's spokeswoman, declined to say if Ivory Coast government or rebel representatives would take part.

\_\_\_ Associated Press writers Daniel Balint-Kurti in Abuja, Nigeria, and Jamey Keaten in Paris contributed to this report.

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## Can Ottawa act against Mugabe?

A small, courageous group thinks so. STEPHANIE NOLEN reports on a plan that would see Zimbabwe's leader charged with abuse of human rights under Canada's new war-crimes law

By STEPHANIE NOLEN

Friday, Nov 5, 2004

UPDATED AT 4:22 AM EST

PRETORIA -- Working alone, moving quickly through the countryside and attracting as little attention as possible, a dozen courageous Zimbabweans are assembling the dossier they hope will drive Canada to indict their President for crimes against humanity.

The evidence-gatherers, who cannot be named for their safety, work for the Accountability Commission Zimbabwe, one of a small number of rallying points for the millions of Zimbabweans in exile, who in the face of the seemingly endless deterioration of their homeland are increasingly looking toward drastic measures. They are attempting to collect sworn statements and evidence, including medical photographs of injuries received under torture, from 100 victims of Robert Mugabe's regime, which they hope Canada's Attorney-General will use to charge him.

A year ago, a small group of Canadian and Zimbabwean lawyers presented Martin Cauchon, who was then justice minister, with a draft indictment asking him to take on Mr. Mugabe under the Crimes Against Humanity and War Crimes Act, which they say allows for universal jurisdiction for Ottawa to act against those suspected of gross abuse of human rights.

Their strategy is ambitious and controversial, and experts in international law are divided about whether it is even possible. The government took months to respond to their request, before finally replying in July that there would have to be a Canadian victim or some Canadian connection for a case to proceed.

Justice Minister Irwin Cotler declined to comment on the case. But as a member of Parliament in 2000, he was a key force behind the new war-crimes act.

"When we enacted it, we stated that this legislation is an implementation of our obligations under the International Criminal Court treaty to bring perpetrators of international crimes to justice," Mr. Cotler told reporters at the presentation of the draft indictment a year ago.

"President Robert Mugabe is responsible for the perpetration of crimes against humanity, including state-orchestrated murder, torture and massive sexual violence," he added.

With those words ringing in their ears, the volunteers in Zimbabwe have been carrying out their surreptitious work, contacting people terrorized by the national youth militia, arrested on suspicion of supporting the political opposition or denied food aid because they cannot produce a membership card for the ruling party.

Although Canada is their best hope, they will also take their case to the African Union and the International Court of Justice, said Gabriel Shumba, a human-rights lawyer who was tortured by intelligence officers in Harare last year and has since fled to South Africa. But "the international legal system does not offer much consolation to victims," Mr. Shumba lamented.

Last year, the Accountability Commission asked a British court to indict Mr. Mugabe as directly responsible for crimes against humanity, but that court refused to hear the case because the President is a sitting head of state. Mr. Mugabe may also be guaranteed immunity by a 2002 International Court of Justice ruling that such leaders cannot be prosecuted in national courts without the permission of the state in question.



However, Canada's war-crimes act itself offers no such protection.

"We in Canada have a law that classifies such things as torture and forced starvation and the kind of criminal realities that face the Zimbabwean people every day . . . as crimes against humanity. This is a chance for Canada to lead," said Amir Attaran, a University of Ottawa law professor who teamed up with Mr. Shumba and his colleagues, along with two other Canadian lawyers, Craig Jones of Vancouver and Paul Champ of Ottawa, after the failed British prosecution.

Lynn Lovett, deputy director of the war crimes and crimes against humanity branch of the Justice Department in Ottawa, declined to comment on the case against Mr. Mugabe, but she repeated the government's position that the act's intent is that there be some connection with Canada.

David Matas, a Winnipeg refugee lawyer who works on crimes against humanity, said this is the only reasonable position.

"Otherwise, we'd be like Belgium; we could prosecute anybody, anywhere, for anything, no matter what their ties to Canada . . . and it caused all sorts of problems for Belgium," he said, referring to a law in that country that gave courts universal jurisdiction on human-rights issues, but which had to be repealed after people including British Prime Minister Tony Blair and former U.S. secretary of state Henry Kissinger were indicted.

"We can't become a criminal court for the whole world; there have to be some ties to Canada before we have jurisdictional right to take over a case," Mr. Matas said.

Mr. Attaran and his team are hunting for a Zimbabwean victim who will provide that "nexus" with Canada, but he contends that the law does not require it. Some experts agree, such as William Schabas, a Canadian who is the director of the Irish Centre of Human Rights and who served on the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in Sierra Leone.

"The Justice Department is wrong if they say that the intention of the act is that there be a nexus with Canada. The whole point of the Crimes Against Humanity and War Crimes Act is to give Canada universal jurisdiction, which means you can prosecute people when there is no nexus," he said.

But Prof. Schabas said there is no getting around the head-of-state problem.

"If we indict Mugabe in a court in Canada, guess who is going to be indicted in a court of Zimbabwe?" he said. "I don't think [Prime Minister] Paul Martin or the Queen would like it, and that's why you do it; it's out of respect for national sovereignty and you have to give some room to that even when you're trying to hold people accountable."

Mr. Shumba and Mr. Attaran say their ultimate goal is creating a blunt diplomatic instrument of the kind that is now lacking in the international response to Zimbabwe.

"If we have a filed indictment against him, we don't need to prosecute to have a meaningful impact," Mr. Attaran said, adding: "It's worked before and it's the only approach that's ever worked before."

The precedent is Charles Taylor, the despotic president of Liberia, who was indicted for crimes against humanity by the Special Court of Sierra Leone in 2003. Mr. Taylor was arrested after travelling to an event in Ghana, and was forced to accept a negotiated solution that sent him into exile in Nigeria.

"How much better of a precedent could we have?" Mr. Attaran asked. "If tiny little Sierra Leone could do it, my God, don't tell me Canada can't."


**'The nightmares don't stop'**

**Today:** An appeal to Canada

**Tomorrow:** Flight into exile

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"Never Again?"

'In Germany, they first came for the Communists, and I didn't speak up because I wasn't a Communist. Then they came for the Jews, and I didn't speak up because I wasn't a Jew. Then they came for the Trade Unionists, and I didn't speak up because I wasn't a Trade Unionist. Then they came for the Catholics, and I didn't speak up because I was a Protestant. Then they came for me, and no one was left to speak up.' - Attributed to Pastor Martin Niemöller, Dachau, Germany, 1941

50 years ago, following the genocidal murder of 6 million Jews (1.5 million children), the world joined Holocaust survivors in chanting this mantra: "Never Again-oe. Never again will we be hunted down and killed. Never again will we live in fear. Never again, never again." 1 Since that time, the world community made a solemn promise to be vigilant and to prevent **genocide** from rearing its ugly head on the planet again.

Families that have had to bear the historical, emotional and psychological scars of **genocide** such as the Drissman family, provide this profound reminder to the world: "Never again is a wonderful mantra. It ranks right up there with 'we won't negotiate with terrorists.'" Of course we know that words mean nothing. Only action counts."2

Several conventions have passed resolutions and ratifications to prevent and punish war crimes and genocidal killings. Two such documents include: The Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of **Genocide**. This article was approved and proposed for signature and ratification or accession by the United Nations General Assembly resolution 260 A (III) of 9 December 1948. It saw its entry into force 12 January 1951, in accordance with article XIII. The other is The Convention on the Non-Applicability of Statutory Limitations to War Crimes and Crimes against Humanity. It was adopted and opened for signature, ratification and accession by the UN General Assembly resolution 2391 (XXIII) of 26 November 1968 and later entered into force 11 November 1970, in accordance with article VIII.3

The world's dismal record of preventing **genocide** is proof enough of the failure to enforce the substance of these and other resolutions. Virtually every single continent on the planet has witnessed **genocide**, ethnic cleansing, or large scale political murders since the Holocaust. Europe has been plagued by the Russia -Chechnya conflict, a history of sporadic persecutions in Crimea, Dagestan and Ingushetia. **Genocide** and recurrent war in the Balkan and surrounding states: Croatia, Serbia, the former Yugoslavia- Kosovo, Bosnia-Herzegovina has been particularly concerning. Georgia- Abkhazia; Northern Ireland, Macedonia, and Basque country have also been scenes of ethnic, religious or political murders.

In Asia, these murders have occurred in nations such as Cambodia, India -Gujarat, Kashmir; Nepal, Sri Lanka, Indonesia, Philippines, Uzbekistan -Fergana Valley, Pakistan and Bangladesh. Other nations affected by this activity include Tibet, East Timor, Laos, Burma (Myanmar), North Korea and the Peoples Republic of China.4 Latin America has witnessed racial, ethnic and political killings in Chile, Argentina,

Colombia, Peru, Brazil, Cuba, Guatemala, Nicaragua, El Salvador, Venezuela, Paraguay and Mexico.

## The Early Explorers

Historians are quick to remind us that **Genocide** has been a 'recurring nightmare' for centuries. Ward Churchill, professor of Native American studies at the University of Colorado in Boulder, and author of the book *A Little Matter of **Genocide**: Holocaust and Denial in the Americas 1492 to the Present*, sparked a great debate a few years ago with the assertion that the discoverer Columbus triggered large scale **genocide** of Native American peoples in the Americas. This view is shared by a number of other intellectuals and captured succinctly in the passage below:

"For his second voyage to the Americas, Columbus took the title Admiral of the Ocean Sea and proceeded to unleash a reign of terror unlike anything seen before or since. When he was finished, eight million Arawaks -- virtually the entire native population of Hispaniola -- had been exterminated by torture, murder, forced labor, starvation, disease and despair."<sup>5</sup>

Columbus' exploits pale in comparison to the **human rights** abuses and atrocities that were to begin a century later in the New World.

For its sheer scale, duration and brutality, the North American institution of Slavery and the antecedent Atlantic Slave trade, ranks very high on the all time list of man's inhumane treatment of his fellow man. University of Virginia History professor Jospeh C. Miller tells more:

"The Atlantic Slave Trade linked four continents in a tragic uprooting and subjugation of millions of Africans, the largest 'forced migration' in the history of the world that lasted more than four hundred years between the fifteenth and the nineteenth centuries."<sup>6</sup>

According to P.D. Curtin, distinguished Professor of History at Johns Hopkins University, 8 million Africans were transported on 25,000 ship voyages across the Atlantic during this period. Several other experts such as Professor McCaughey of Columbia University's Barnard College, and Hugh Thomas have revised this figure upwards into the double digit millions. All told, the total number of Africans that perished during this evil trade in human cargo- 'the middle passage' - and through the course of Slavery has been estimated to have totaled anywhere from 16-20 million.<sup>7</sup>

Other early explorers, merchants and discovers were equally vicious, as the harrowing account of the plight of the Aborigines on the Australian continent indicates. Beginning with the first foreign settlements in 1788, the population of the native inhabitants of that country declined through several means of 'systematic annihilation' from a high of 750,000 in the late 18th century to just 31,000 a century later. Most aborigines succumbed to new diseases introduced by the settlers. Documents indicate that about 20,000 were murdered!<sup>8</sup>

B.A. Robinson of Ontario Consultants on Religious Tolerance elucidates:

In those days, "The Sydney Herald claimed that blacks had bestowed no labor upon the land - their ownership, their right, was nothing more than that of the Emu or the Kangaroo. Courts rejected Aboriginal evidence, because non-Christians could not swear oaths, and the killers used 'the defense that Aboriginal morality did not exist.'" <sup>9</sup>

The aggression against Aborigines persisted for more than 60 years into the 20th century in the form of government sanctioned assimilation policies that uprooted and then placed upwards of 30% of Aboriginal children in the care of white families. The goal of the government was to assimilate "these people into the general population." A historical milestone that 'added insult to injury' came in the form of a government law that granted Aborigines, original natives of the continent, citizenship of Australia in 1967."

## Imperialism and World Conflicts

Expanding empires and world wars have long provided the milieu for **human rights** violations. The British (India - Jallianwallah Bagh massacre, etc), Belgian (Congo), French (Algeria), Spanish (conquistadors in the Americas), and Portuguese (Mozambique - Mueda's massacre) are all guilty of

**human rights** abuses and atrocities perpetrated against native populations that they conquered, colonized and subjugated through out the world. However, nothing that occurred in these empires is as glaring an example of outright **genocide** as what occurred during the second year of the First World War, in the Ottoman Empire. A horrifying pogrom against the Armenian minority there, orchestrated by the "Young Turk" government, led to the murder of about 1.5 million Armenians in the space of twelve months (1915-1916)"

Not to be outdone, on December 9, 1937, the Imperial Japanese Army launched an attack on the former Chinese capital city of Nanking. Over the next 6 weeks, through "an orgy of looting and mass execution," they murdered upwards of 300,000 civilians and raped about 20,000 women. This atrocity has left a bitter "legacy of distrust, which even today tarnishes relations between Japan and the other countries of East Asia."<sup>12</sup>

World War II saw the resurgence of unspeakable war offenses. Armed with racial and religious bigotry, disseminated by a highly organized ideological and political propaganda apparatus, the Nazis succeeded in keeping the majority German population in a state of "mental and physical paralysis" from 1940-45. During this time, they wiped out a third of the world's Jewish population, 3 million Poles (10% of the population), as well as one third of the Catholic priests in Poland. Other targeted groups included homosexuals, Jehovah's witnesses and the physically and mentally disabled. Slavs, Russians, socialists and other dissenters were also murdered in large numbers. All told, the Nazis massacred a grand total of about 12 million men, women and children.<sup>13</sup>

Borrowing a leaf from the Nazis, a segment of the minority population settled in South Africa set up the racist system of Apartheid after World War II. Revelations from the Truth and Reconciliation Commission indicate that over the course of the next half century, millions of black South Africans were forcibly deported and transported to 'designated homelands.' Tens of thousands died from murder (Sharpesville, Soweto massacres), torture, disappearances and detention in prisons.

Dictators, ideological and religious extremists

Stalin

Joseph Stalin, ruled the U.S.S.R. from 1929 to 1953 and into the early phase of the Cold War. His tyrannical, "iron fisted" dictatorship resulted in the death, disappearance and execution of upwards of 4114million soviet citizens. Between 1936 and 1939, during a period known as the Great Purge, "1.2 million Communist party members -- more than half the party -- were arrested, of which 600,000 died by torture, execution or perished in the Gulag."<sup>15</sup> His tactics are clearly highlighted in this passage from the United **Human Rights** Council:

"Joseph Stalin set in motion events designed to cause a famine in the Ukraine to destroy the people there seeking independence from his rule. As a result, an estimated 7,000,000 persons perished in this farming area, known as the breadbasket of Europe, with the people deprived of the food they had grown with their own hands"<sup>16</sup>.

The second half of the 20th Century

The latter half of the 20th century witnessed several cases of **genocide** rivaling the Holocaust. In Cambodia, from the mid to late 1970s, approximately 2 million individuals or nearly a quarter of the entire country's population was decimated by the repressive regimen of the Khmer Rouge led by the despot Pol Pot. This "government combined extremist ideology with ethnic animosity and a diabolical disregard for human life to produce repression, misery, and murder on a massive scale."<sup>17</sup>

Religious, racial or political exterminations occurred in Africa under dictators - Idi Amin, Mobutu Sese Seko, Said Mohamed Barre, Samuel Doe, Charles Taylor and every Nigerian dictator over the past 40 years. In Latin America they took place under the watch of dictators Pinochet, General Hugo Banzer Suarez, Major General Guillermo Rodriguez, and Major General Juan and several others. Europe has produced the **genocide** masterminds Slobodan Milosevic and Radovan Karadzic in recent memory. In the Middle East, Saddam Hussein will be remembered amongst other things as the architect behind the Kurdish **genocide**. **Genocide** watchdog organizations continue to be concerned about the endless cycle of violence in the Middle East (Israeli/Palestinian conflict) and Africa and the resurgence of an old enemy

- religious fundamentalism and intolerance

### The African Tragedies

Some scholars believe that Africa joined the ignoble club of '**genocide** plagued continents' late. However, it appears she is poised to outdo all the rest in the frequency of this form of senseless violence! Today, there are about 14 different battles, conflicts or wars on the African continent! From Biafra, Angola and Sierra Leone to Congo, Somalia and Ethiopia, Eritrea, Cote d'Ivoire Liberia, Morocco- Western Sahara, Egypt, Algeria, Madagascar, Mali, Chad, Guinea Bissau, Casamance- Senegal, Central African Republic, Equatorial Guinea, Burundi and Ethiopia, Africa has born a heavy weight of political, racial, ethnic and religious instability.

Rwanda.

"When I came out, there were no birds," said one survivor who had hidden throughout the **genocide**. "There was sunshine and the stench of death."18.

A decade ago, 'as the world slept,' an estimated 800,000 Rwandans were killed in a horrifyingly short span of 100 days. Early, simplistic analysis of the tragedy blamed the **genocide** on ancient animosities between the Tutsis and Hutus. In his landmark book published in 1998, called "We wish to inform you that tomorrow we will be killed with our families: Stories from Rwanda," Philip Gourevitch explores the Rwandan tragedy in depth. David Garrow of the Washington Monthly tells more:

"Gourevitch debunks the notion that the **genocide** was the inevitable result of "ancient" tribal enmities. The hatred was of a more recent vintage. For centuries Tutsis and Hutus were porous constructs - based on class as well as racial distinctions - until Rwanda's Belgian colonizers rigidly divided society along tribal lines. The Belgians granted Tutsis superior status and relegated the Hutus to virtual serfdom. Then, in 1959, the colonizers abruptly switched allegiances, backing the Hutus in an uprising that toppled the Tutsi overlords - and led to 35 years of increasingly brutal majority rule."19

Garrow goes further:

"Gourevitch issues a damning indictment of the United Nations, whose top bureaucrats received unequivocal evidence of an imminent Holocaust, but cut and ran after 10 Belgian peacekeepers were murdered and mutilated the first night of the massacres. The United States government behaved with equal cowardice. The Clinton administration went to absurd lengths to avoid using the word "**genocide**" - a qualification which would have obligated it to intervene as a signatory to the 1948 **Genocide** Convention. But for dastardly behavior, nobody matched the French. Driven by his friendship with Habyarimana and his distaste for the Anglophone rebels, the late French President Francois Mitterrand embraced the genocidaires. The French funneled arms to the Hutus, and in June 1994 they launched a last ditch pro-Hutu intervention dressed up as a humanitarian aid mission."20

Today, this south-central African nation is still struggling to come to terms with and to heal the psychological, emotional, social, economic and political wounds left behind by the **genocide** and its subsequent humanitarian upheaval.

Sadly, a decade after the horror of Rwanda, **genocide** has re-appeared on the African continent, fueled by an ancient human scourge - religious and racial intolerance.

Religious intolerance: The bane of the 21st century

"O People," the prophet had said, "just as you regard as sacred this month and this day [the day of Hajj] and this city [Mecca], so, too, regard the life and property of every Muslim. All mankind is [descended] from Adam and Eve; an Arab has no superiority over a non-Arab or a non-Arab over an Arab. A white man has no superiority over black or a black over whitea-oe." - The Last Sermon by the holy prophet Muhammad, From the Holy Koran

The colossal African American Intellectual W.E.B. Dubois defined the 20th century's greatest **challenge** as the "... the problem of the colour line; of the relations between the lighter and darker races of man ..." At the turn of the 21st century, all indications point to religious intolerance and its corollaries as

the greatest obstacle to world peace and stability! Conflicts in the Middle East, Cyprus, Chechnya, India/Pakistan, Indonesia, **Nigeria**, the Philippines, Mauritania, Macedonia, Germany's neo-Nazism, the Basque region of France, and simmering undercurrent resentments in post war Balkans; all have the underpinnings of religious intolerance.

Perhaps no where on earth is this more glaring than in Sudan. There, a conglomeration of factors including religious bigotry, racial and ethnic hatred has combined with greed and foreign multinational oil interests to create the world's greatest humanitarian emergency.

## SUDAN

Today we are again silent spectators to a horrifying drama in the Darfur region of Sudan.

A civil war has raged in Sudan for over 18 months, involving Black African farmers and the Arab militia - both predominantly Muslim. The farmers, represented by two groups, the Sudan Liberation Movement and the Justice and Equality Movement have been overwhelmed by the Sudanese government backed armed militias called the Janjaweed, who have with vicious impunity, terrorized, murdered and raped black African rebels in Darfur - a region that lies to the west of this, the largest country in Africa. The governments tactics have been typical- Sudanese military planes have bombed villages, after which Arab militias have been brought in, often on horses, to rape and kill survivors.

### The humanitarian Crisis in SUDAN

#### A Mother in a Refugee Camp

No Madonna and Child could touch  
Her tenderness for a son  
She soon would have to forget. . . .The air  
was heavy with odors of diarrhea, Of unwashed children with washed-out ribs  
And dried-up bottoms  
waddling in labored steps  
Behind blown-empty bellies. Other mothers there  
Had long ceased to care, but  
not this one: She held a ghost-smile between her teeth, And in her eyes the memory  
Of a mother's pride.  
. . . She had bathed him  
And rubbed him down with bare palms.  
She took from their bundle of  
possessions  
A broken comb and combed  
The rust-colored hair left on his skull  
And then-humming in her  
eyes-began carefully to part it.  
In their former life this was perhaps  
A little daily act of no  
consequence  
Before his breakfast and school; now she did it  
Like putting flowers on a tiny grave.

---- By Chinua Achebe Collected Poems, Anchor Books, August 2004 21

The United States Secretary of State Colin Powell testified recently before the Senate's Foreign Relations Committee, calling the disaster in Sudan **Genocide** and imploring the United States and the United Nations to act swiftly and effectively to put a halt to this humanitarian disaster.

Echoing Powell's remarks have been sentiments by Mukesh Kapila, the U.N. humanitarian coordinator in Sudan, who in a BBC interview referred to the **genocide** in Darfur as "the world's greatest humanitarian crisis-a-oe.. And I don't know why the world isn't doing more about it. . . . The only difference between Rwanda and Darfur now is the numbers involved." 22.

At the last count, over 50,000 villagers had died, over 1.5 million refugees were homeless and scores of thousands more lived in great dread of imminent attack and murder. According to several international aid agencies, close to 500,000 more men, women and children are at risk of perishing from the ravages of disease and hunger in the months ahead if immediate steps are not taken by the world community to end the Darfur **genocide**.

A recent Editorial published in The St Petersburg Times succinctly captures this sense of urgency: "The relief group Save the Children estimates that of the 1.2-million in so-called safe camps, at least 500,000 are under the age of 5. Children are the most vulnerable victims in a war, and meeting their needs is entirely dependent on a massive influx of peacekeepers and aid. Time is the enemy of this relief effort," Save the Children's Charles MacCormack said recently. The world should heed his urgent appeal." 23

#### The missing pieces of the puzzle

The present humanitarian disaster in Darfur, many experts insist, must be placed in the proper historical

context to fully comprehend the problem at hand.

Since 1983, in a conflict involving north and south Sudan, more than one million Black African Sudanese Christians have been killed. The United Nations **Human Rights** Commission's special investigator Gaspar Biro, the Jubilee Campaign and Christian Solidarity International have all repeatedly sounded alarms highlighting the fact that The National Islamic Front had employed murder, rape, and torture in an attempt to eradicate Christianity from Sudan. At that time, several **human rights** organizations documented Christian villages burned to the ground and raided, Christian men and women murdered, enslaved and raped, Priests tortured and imprisoned and children sold into slavery<sup>24</sup>. Some believe that there lies a hidden, insidious agenda that links what has happened to Black Sudanese Christians to the present tragedy in Darfur.

The BBC illuminates: "The Arab killers and rapists in Darfur are Muslims, and so are the victims--black African farmers. The Arabs are herdsmen, and have been competing for water, forage, and the land itself with the African farmers. Sudan's government is supporting the Arab Janjaweed militia's ferocious intent to make Darfur, in the west of Sudan, "Zurga-free." That term is the equivalent of "nigger" used by white racists. It also echoes the Nazis' mission to make Europe "judenfrei"--Jew-free.

The Sudanese government sanctions **genocide** in Darfur for several other reasons.

Hassan Turabi, the leader of a major rebel group - the Justice and Equality Movement, and a powerful Muslim cleric, has been a scathing critic of the Khartoum government for years. The Sudanese government perceives Darfur - a strong political base for Turabi- "as a back-door way for Turabi" to wreak political havoc and topple the central government.<sup>25</sup>

John Penergast, an Africa expert at the International Crisis Group in Washington provides this additional perspective: He believes that the Sudanese government continues genocidal activities in Darfur because there's a risk that north- south peace talks could very well fail and that Darfur groups could then conceivably build alliances with southern and eastern rebels and generate "a solid military threat to Khartoum from five or six directions".<sup>26</sup>

The role of China and its oil industry in prolonging the Crisis

Driven by its insatiable need for oil to fuel its rapidly expanding economy, China has invested billions of dollars in several countries of 'marginal stability and democracy' according to **Human Rights** Watch. By far, China's greatest foreign investment and success abroad has been in the Sudanese oil industry, where it has helped construct a 1,500-kilometer-long pipeline from Blocks 1 and 2 (oil reserves) to the Red Sea. China Petroleum Engineering & Construction Corporation (CPECC) - the construction arm of China's National Petroleum Company (CNPC) - also spearheaded the construction of a refinery near Khartoum as well as oil rigs, processing plants and jetties in the region.<sup>27</sup>

Over the past decade, China has also emerged as the principal supplier of heavy and light artillery and arms to Sudan. Weapon supplies have included ammunition, tanks, helicopters, antipersonnel and antitank mines and fighter aircraft- armaments that have been used in the **genocide** in Darfur.<sup>28</sup>

**Human Rights** Watch concluded that "while China's motivation for this arms trade appeared to be primarily economic, China made available easy financing for some of these arms purchases."<sup>29</sup>

It is little wonder; therefore, given her deep economic interests in Sudan, that China has been at the forefront of nations precluding an international alliance to sanction the government of Sudan and prevent any further **genocide**. In a memorandum published recently, James Phillips of the Heritage Foundation concluded:

"The U.N. Security Council has been hamstrung by the pro-Khartoum policies of China, Russia, Pakistan, and Algeria. China, which has a huge financial stake in Sudan's oil industry and is a leading importer of Sudan's oil, has used the threat of a veto to dilute the resolutions on Darfur. UNSCR 1564, passed on September 18, timidly warned Khartoum that, unless it complies with demands to stop the killing, the Security Council will "consider taking additional measures...such as actions to affect Sudan's petroleum sector and the Government of Sudan."<sup>30</sup>

**Genocide** -What Can Be Done?

Identify, confront and eliminate the roots of **Genocide**: Numerous studies indicate that war, ignorance, religious intolerance, hatred, racism, tyranny, and 'orchestrated dehumanizing public discourse that denies whole groups of people their dignity and their rights'<sup>31</sup> (The Nazis, Milosevic, Rwanda) lie at the foundation of factors that create the milieu for **genocide** to surface. Identifying these root causes is the simple step. Actually putting meaningful measures in place to confront these pathologies at their early stage and thus eliminating them is the **challenge**. Here are some suggestions:

Prevent armed conflict, protect civilians

**Genocide** almost always occurs during war. Battle strategy often employs dehumanizing propaganda and "coded language - collateral damage, casualties, the enemy etc" against the adversary. This strategy, psychologically 'suspends the taboo that forbids the deliberate taking of human life' in the minds of soldiers, and helps to propel and sustain assaults, which can often result in **genocide**. When religious, economic, ethnic, or racial hatred is mixed into this murky milieu, murderous activity is often increased exponentially. Where conflict is inevitable, the world community through the United Nations should do everything at its disposal to protect civilians from harm.<sup>32</sup>

A role for regional bodies such as the African Union

The world's and the African Union's anemic response to the worst humanitarian crisis on the planet is embarrassing and unconscionable. It is the hope that the current Chairman of the AU President Obasanjo, will call for an international coalition of forces including the AU, peace keepers from the United Nations, NATO and other bodies to halt the murderous madness and stop what international observers have described as a world lackadaisically witnessing an evil purge "in slow motion without intervening."<sup>33</sup>

Strengthen Early Warning Systems and Structures:

Funding and strengthening the work of **human rights** watch dog organizations (**Human Rights Watch**); other **human rights** anti **genocide** groups (United **Human Rights** Council, Amnesty International etc) will be particularly novel in alerting the world about **human rights** abuses early for swift action against impending genocidal activity. To this end, a world depository of data about abuses of **human rights** abuses akin to the structure employed by Interpol (the international police outfit) is crucial in this fight against tyranny.

Confront and temper religious fundamentalism, hatred, racism and Intolerance

Fundamentalism has taken root and grown in many of the world's major religions, such as Christianity, Islam, Judaism, Buddhism, Sikhism, Hinduism, and Confucianism so points out Karen Armstrong in her book "The Battle for God." This explosion in numbers she believes has been fueled by technological changes and modernity, and the pervasive nature of western liberal values and popular culture that fundamentalists find threatening.

Several other experts believe that fundamentalism can be tempered by promoting and exercising democratic freedoms, accomplishing the full emancipation of women, and celebrating pluralism. Other strategies would include encouraging ideological and cultural diversity, promoting openness and the acceptance of differences as well as enhancing social and economic well-being. This multi-pronged approach should start in the homes, schools and religious centers. Similar strategies could also be used to reduce other forms of hatred, racism and intolerance.<sup>34</sup>

Spread Democracy and improve educational systems.

The 3rd president of the United States, Thomas Jefferson held that: "Ignorance and sound self-government could not exist together: the one destroyed the other. A despotic government could restrain its citizens and deprive the people of their liberties only while they were ignorant-oe Only popular government can safeguard democracy. a-oe Every government degenerates when trusted to the rulers of the people alone. The people themselves are its only safe depositories. And to render them safe, their minds must be improved to a certain degree..."<sup>35</sup>



Democratic societies that have the most educated populations also have the least repression of their citizenry. Freedom, by its very nature protects organized societies from tyrannical leadership. To maintain democratic principles across the globe, however, the educational systems of countries must be improved. The target for foreign aid for wealthy nations of 0.7% GNP that the UN set about two decades ago is not only attainable, but more than ever, imperative. These 'monies' should be utilized among other things, to shore up the educational sectors of at risk countries. Land mark research now points to the fact that one of the most salient avenues for lifting entire populations out of poverty and ignorance, is to improve the quality and amount of education of women.<sup>36</sup> Herein, perhaps, lays a novel strategy for combating the underpinnings of **genocide**.

Strengthen the International Court of Justice at The Hague and the International Criminal Court

International Law regards **Genocide** as a crime against humanity. A treaty setting up a permanent International Criminal Court was signed and ratified by several countries in July 2002. However, a number of important nations such as China, the United States and Israel have not ratified it, rendering the court rather ineffective. Clearly, without a court able to enforce its judgments, the law cannot be upheld.

"We have little hope of preventing **genocide**, or reassuring those who live in fear of its recurrence, if people who have committed this most heinous of crimes are left at large, and not held accountable for their offenses. It is the hope that the world's sole super power the United States, in particular, will join the world wide ratification of the Rome Statute, so that the new International Criminal Court can deal effectively with crimes against humanity, whenever national courts are unable or unwilling to do so."<sup>37</sup>

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1 [www.drissman.com/blog/archives/2004/04/20/never\\_again.htmls](http://www.drissman.com/blog/archives/2004/04/20/never_again.htmls)

2 Ibid

3Information from A© Office of the High Commissioner for **Human Rights** Geneva, Switzerland, 2004

4 **Genocides**, Politicides, and Other Mass Murder Since 1945, With Stages in 2004, A©2004 Gregory H. Stanton, **Genocide** Watch

5 <http://www.religioustolerance.org/genocide2.htm>Also "#671 - Columbus Day, 1999," at: [http://www.rachel.org/bulletin/bulletin.cfm?Issue\\_ID=1591](http://www.rachel.org/bulletin/bulletin.cfm?Issue_ID=1591)

6 <http://www.virginia.edu/history/faculty/miller.html>

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