

**Mass Atrocities and Armed Conflict:
Links, Distinctions, and Implications
for the Responsibility to Prevent**

Appendices

**A Stanley Foundation Policy Analysis Brief
by Alex J. Bellamy**

February 2011

Appendix 1: Mass Atrocities and Armed Conflict 1945–2010

Country	Dates	Death Toll	Description	War	Minor Armed Conflict
Albania	1948-1952	5,200	Execution of political opponents by Communist regime	N	N
Afghanistan I	1978-1992	500,000-1,000,000	Adherents of old regime targeted by revolutionary government	Y	-
Afghanistan II	1979-1985	20,000-25,000	Afghan civilians targeted by Soviets (mainly air force but other types of killing too)	Y	-
Afghanistan III	1998	5,000-8,000	Regime opponents targeted by Taliban	Y	-
Algeria I	1962	30,000-150,000	OAS supporters (Harki) victims of retributive politicide	N—(retribution immediately after war)	N
Algeria II	1992-2002	60,000-100,000	Civilians targeted by both sides during Muslim fundamentalist insurrection against FIS and GIA	Y	-
Angola I	1961-1975	30,000-50,000	Civilians targeted during war of independence	N	Y
Angola II	1975-1994	300,000 - 500,000	Government vs. UNITA war	Y	-
Angola III	1998-2002	70,000-100,000	Government vs. UNITA war	Y	-
Argentina	1976-1980	9,000-20,000	Right wing crackdown on socialists—disappearances, etc.	Y (1976-1977) N (1978-1980)	-
Armenia-Azerbaijan	1992-1994	7,500	Civilians killed in war	Y	-
Bosnia	1992-1995	150,000-250,000	Civil war—main perpetrators Bosnian Serbs	Y	-
Bulgaria	1945-1960	20,000-100,000	Opponents of Communist regime killed or killed in forced labour camps	N	N
Myanmar I	1948-1951	8,000	Ethnic violence against Karen	N	N (1948) Y (1949-1951)
Myanmar II	1978-1980	5,000	Crackdown against communists	N	Y

Country	Dates	Death Toll	Description	War	Minor Armed Conflict
Myanmar III	1981-1988	5,000-8,500	Ethnic violence against Karen	N	Y
Burundi I	1969	10,000-50,000	Hutu killed by Tutsi	N	N
Burundi II	1972-1973	80,000-210,000	Hutu killed by Tutsi	N	N
Burundi III	1988	5,000-20,000		N	N
Burundi IV	1993-	50,000-250,000	Post-election killing	N	N
Cambodia I	1969-1973	400,000-700,000	Civil war and US bombing	Y	-
Cambodia II	1975-1979	1,000,000-3,500,000	Khmer Rouge genocide	Y	-
Chad	1982-1990	40,000	Habre regime killing of political opponents	Y	-
Chile I	1973	5,000-20,000	Pinochet coup	N	Y (battles associated with coup)
Chile II	1973-1976	5,000-10,000	Pinochet crackdown on socialists	N	N
China I	1946-1949	1,400,000-4,900,000	Civilians killed in civil war	Y	-
China II	1959	65,000	Tibet—civilians killed in crackdown	Y	-
China III	1966-1975	400,000-850,000	Cultural revolution	N	N
Colombia I	1946-1958	110,000-200,000	La Violencia—Political violence	N	N
Colombia II	1975-	50,000-200,000	Government and Communist FARC rebels—both sides have targeted civilians	Y	-
Congo-Brazzaville	1997-1999	5,000-11,000	Coup and civil war	Y	-
DRC (Zaire) I	1964-1965	10,000-50,000	Post-independence political violence	Y	-
DRC (Zaire) II	1977-1979	5,000-8,000	Angolan rebel attacks on Katanga	Y (1977-78)	-
DRC (Zaire) III	1992-1994	7,000	Ethnic clashes in Masisi (Hutu vs. Nyanga)	N	N
DRC IV	1997-2003	1,500,000-2,500,000	Civilians killed in war by all sides	Y (1996-2001)	-
East Germany	1949-1989	40,000-100,000	Killing of former POWs from WWII and subsequent killing of political opponents in prison	N	N

Country	Dates	Death Toll	Description	War	Minor Armed Conflict
Equatorial Guinea	1969-1979	50,000-100,000	Francisco Masias Nguema regime—killing of opponents, etc.	N (violent revolt in 1979)	N
El Salvador	1980-1989	30,000-60,000	Civil war and targeting of civilians - killings principally by government	Y	-
Ethiopia I	1974-1991	30,000-200,000	Mengistu repression	N	N (except 1976-1983)
Ethiopia II	1972-1978	30,000-38,000	2nd Ogaden War	N (except 1977)	N (except 1976 and 1978)
Ethiopia III	1983-1985	1,000,000	Regime-induced famine mainly in Tigray region	Y	-
Ethiopia-Eritrea War	1965-1993	50,000-500,000	Civilians targeted as part of war of succession	Y	-
Guatemala	1978-1990	60,000-200,000	Civil war developed into genocide against some indigenous populations	Y	-
Guinea	1970-1984	6,000-35,000	Victims of a purge by the Sekou Toure regime	N	N
Haiti	1957-1986	10,000-60,000	Political repression by Papa Doc and Duvalier regimes	N	N
India	1947	200,000-1,000,000	Rioting and ethnic violence associated with partition	N	N
Indonesia I	1965-1966	300,000-600,000	Suspected communists killed in aftermath of attempted coup	N	N
Indonesia II (East Timor)	1975-1992	100,000-200,000	Invasion and suppression of E. Timor by Indonesia	Y (1975-1978) N (1979-1992)	Y (1979-1992)
Iran I	1953-1979	6,000-16,000	Civilian opponents killed by Shah regime	N (ends with war 1979)	N
Iran II	1981-1992	10,000-50,000	Islamic revolution and crackdown on opponents and Kurds	Y (1979-1982 and 1986-2001)	-
Iran-Iraq	1980-1988	12,420	Killing of Iranian civilians by Iraq	Y	-
Iraq I	1963-1975	30,000-60,000	Government suppression of Kurdish separatists	Y (1961-3, 1965-66, 1969, 1974-5)	Y (other years)
Iraq II	1979-2003	60,000	General suppression (not including Anfal and Shiite campaigns)	N	Y
Iraq III	1988-1991	180,000	Campaign against Kurds in Anfal	Y (1988 and 1991)	Y (1989-1990)

Country	Dates	Death Toll	Description	War	Minor Armed Conflict
Iraq IV	1991	40,000	Campaign against Shiites in the south	Y	-
Iraq V	2003-	22,000-25,000	Civilian deaths caused by anti-US insurgents and terrorists	Y	-
Korea	1950-1953	535,000-1,129,000	Killing of civilians by N. Korea and US/UN in Korean war	Y	-
Laos I	1963-1965	18,000-20,000	Genocide of Meo tribesmen	Y	-
Laos II	1966-1972	35,000-200,000	US bombing and civil war	Y	-
Lebanon	1982	10,000	Killing of civilians by Israel	Y	-
Liberia I	1989-1997	100,000-200,000	Charles Taylor and civil war—government v. National Patriotic Front	Y (to 1995)	-
Liberia II	2002-2003	50,000-150,000	Resumption of civil war and LURD insurgency	Y	-
Malawi	1964-1994	6,000-17,000	Opponents of Banda regime	N	N
Mozambique	1975-1992	100,000-200,000	Civilians targeted by RENAMO during civil war	Y	-
Nigeria I	1966	9,000-30,000	Ibos in the north killed after coup	Y	-
Nigeria II (Biafra)	1967-1970	600,000-2,000,000	Government crackdown on rebellion in Biafra	Y	-
Nigeria III	2001-2004	54,000	Civilians killed in communal clashes between Christians and Muslims in central plateau state	N (except 2004)	N
North Korea I	1948-	1,200,000-1,700,000	Communist government repression (excluding famine)	Y (except 1949-1953)—war accelerates repression	-
North Korea II	1995-1998	2,000,000-3,500,000	Regime induced	N	N
Peru	1980-2000	30,000-50,000	Shining Path insurrection and government crackdown	Y (1981-1988)	-
Poland	1946-1949	8,000-30,000	Civilians killed as new Communist regime asserts its authority	N	N
Pakistan I (East)/Bangladesh	1971	1,000,000-3,000,000	Attacks on non-Muslim population by Muslim majority	Y	-

Country	Dates	Death Toll	Description	War	Minor Armed Conflict
Pakistan II	1973-1977	5,000-10,000	Government vs. Baluchi/Pathan separatists	Y (1974)	Y (1975-77)
Philippines	1972-1976	10,000-50,000	Guerrilla war against communists	Y	-
Romania	1948-1989	60,000-150,000	Politicide and forced labour by Communist regime	N	N
Rwanda I	1963-1964	12,000-20,000	Government oppression of Tutsi	N	N
Rwanda II	1994	500,000-1,000,000 (usually 800,000)	Rwandan genocide—Tutsi killed by Hutu	Y (1990-2002)	-
Rwanda III	1994-1995	25,000	RPF revenge killings	Y (1990-2002)	-
Russia (Chechnya) I	1994-1996	20,000-40,000	Chechen civilians killed by indiscriminate Russian attacks	Y	-
Russia (Chechnya) II	1999-	5,000-50,000	Chechen civilians killed by indiscriminate Russian attacks	Y (1999-2001)	Y (2001-)
Somalia I	1969-1990	50,000-60,000	Isaaks killed by Said Barre regime	N (except 1978)	N
Somalia II	1991-1993	10,000-50,000	Collapse of state and anarchy—warlord attacks on civilians	Y	-
Somalia III	2005-ongoing	5,000-50,000	Civil war between Government/Ethiopia and UIC/al-Shabaab	Y	-
Sierra Leone	1991-2002	50,000-100,000	Civil war—civilians killed by all sides—RUF, government, Kamajors	Y	-
Sri Lanka	1989-1990	13,000-30,000	Civil war—government crackdown on JVP	Y	-
Sudan I	1956-1972	400,000-600,000	Government repression followed by civil war	N (1956-1962) Y (1963-1972)	-
Sudan II	1983-2002	2,000,000	North-south civil war. Both sides attack civilians, but especially the government—policy of extermination	Y	-
Sudan III (Darfur)	2003-ongoing	250,000	Darfur—crackdown on rebels by govt and Janjaweed	Y	-
Syria	1981-1982	10,000-30,000	Hama massacre of conservative Muslims by al-Assad regime	Y (1979-1982)	-
Taiwan	1947	10,000-40,000	Crackdown on Taiwanese insurgents	Y	-
Uganda I	1971-1979	100,000-400,000	Idi Amin government wages war on opponents	Y	-

Country	Dates	Death Toll	Description	War	Minor Armed Conflict
Uganda II	1980-1986	200,000-300,000	Civil war between Obote government and National Resistance Army	Y (1981-1988)	Y (1980)
Uganda III	1987-	30,000-100,000	Lord's Resistance Army	Y (1987-1989)	Y (1990-)
South Vietnam I	1955-1963	30,000-50,000	Killing of opponents of Diem regime	Y	-
South Vietnam II	1965-1975	400,000-500,000	Atrocities against regime opponents and suspected communist sympathizers	Y	-
Vietnam I	1946-1952	125,000-250,000	French counterinsurgency war against Viet Minh nationalists/communists	Y	-
Vietnam II	1957-1972	37,000-51,000	Civilians assassinated by communists during Vietnam War	Y	-
Vietnam III	1957-1972	50,000-220,000	Civilians killed by indiscriminate bombing, artillery fire, and other means by US and allies during Vietnam War	Y	-
Vietnam IV	1975-1990	230,000-430,000	Reprisals/retribution/ forced movement by the Communist regime in former S. Vietnam	N (except 1979)	N (1975-1977) Y (1978-1988)
Yugoslavia I	1945-1946	60,000-500,000	Reprisals by communists after end of WWII	N (immediately after war)	N
Yugoslavia II	1991	25,000-50,000	Ethnic cleansing of Croats by Serbs	Y	-
Yugoslavia III	1998-1999	10,000	Ethnic cleansing of Kosovar Albanians by Serbs	Y	-
Zanzibar	1964	5,000-17,000	Massacre of Arabs	N	N

This is not a definitive list.

Qualifying conditions:

- In excess of 5,000 civilian deaths (according to low estimates)
- Evidence that significant part of those deaths were deliberate
- This includes: deaths caused by induced famine (i.e. famines in places without overall food shortage) and death caused by indiscriminate targeting

Appendix 2: Prevention Agendas			Conflict Prevention	Conflict Within R2P	Genocide	R2P
SYSTEMIC		Regulate trade in natural resources	*			
		Regulate trade in arms	*			
		Regulate trade in illegal narcotics	*			
		Address HIV/Aids pandemic	*			
		Address and mitigate environmental degradation	*			
STRUCTURAL	Economic	Tackling deprivation/poverty	*	*		*
		Reduce inequities (esp. horizontal)	*	*		*
		Promote economic growth	*	*		*
		Better terms of trade/trade openness		*	*	*
		Structural reform	*	*		*
		Technical assistance	*	*		*
		Support community development/ownership	*	*		*
		Resilience to economic shocks				*
	Governance	Institutional capacity and social services (inc. health systems)	*	*	*	*
		Democracy (inc. electoral assistance)	*	*	*	*
		Diffusing/sharing power/dealing with factionalised elite	*	*	*	*
		Strengthen independent judiciaries/legal reform	*	*		*
		Exclusionist ideology			*	
		Eradication of corruption	*	*		*
		Indigenous conflict resolution capacity	*			*
	Security	Rule of law	*	*	*	*
		Addressing impunity (inc. criminal prosecution, truth and reconciliation)	*		*	*
		Security sector reform (inc. training, civilian control, budget control)	*	*	*	*

			Conflict Prevention	Conflict Within R2P	Genocide	R2P
		Arms control and disarmament (esp. SALW)/inc. controlling militia	*	*	*	*
	Human Rights	Protection of fundamental human rights/capacity building (inc. establishing HRIs)	*	*		*
		Protection for minorities	*	*	*	*
		Extend ratification of ICC		*	*	*
	Social	Intergroup confidence building (inc. interfaith dialogue)	*	*		*
		Strengthen civil society	*	*	*	*
		Press freedom/public participation	*	*	*	
		Tackle incitement/hate speech		*	*	*
		Education for tolerance	*	*	*	*
		Empowerment/Respect women's rights	*			*
		Protection of children	*			*
DIRECT	Strengthen early warning	United Nations		*	*	*
		National			*	
	Diplomatic	Fact-finding missions	*	*	*	*
		Friends groups	*	*	*	
		Eminent persons groups/envoys	*	*		*
		Good offices/mediation/facilitation	*	*	*	*
		Arbitration (inc. ICJ)	*	*	*	
		Track 2/unofficial dialogue	*	*		
		Human rights monitoring and reporting	*	*		
		Peace commissions	*			
		Support indigenous conflict resolution	*			*

			Conflict Prevention	Conflict Within R2P	Genocide	R2P
	Sanctions	Travel bans	*	*		*
		Trade and arms embargoes	*	*		*
		Diplomatic isolation	*	*		*
		Asset restrictions	*	*		*
		Economic		*		*
	Inducements	Economic/trade incentives	*	*	*	*
		Political	*	*	*	*
		Military	*		*	
	Military	Preventive deployment	*	*		*
		Stand-off reconnaissance/surveillance		*		*
		Capacity for rapidly deployable intervention/threat	*		*	*
		Direct prevention of incitement (jamming)			*	*
	Legal	ICC referral (threat of)		*	*	*
	Humanitarian	Relief aid	*			
		Refugee and IDP assistance	*			*
		Support children's needs	*			*

Appendix 3: Risk of Genocide and the Common Prevention Agenda

Risk Factor	Preventive Measures
1. Intergroup relations, including record of discrimination and human rights violations committed against a group	• Protection of fundamental human rights and building national capacity
	• Specific protection of minority rights
	• Intergroup confidence building, including interfaith dialogue
	• Strengthening and supporting civil society
	• Establishing freedom of the press
	• Preventing and punishing incitement and hate speech
	• Education for tolerance

Risk Factor	Preventive Measures
2. Absence of structures to protect the population, including legislative protection, judiciary, human rights institutions, presence of international actors, neutral security forces, independent media	• Strengthening the independence of judiciaries
	• Strengthen rule of law
	• End impunity
	• Security sector reform
	• Protection of fundamental human rights and building national capacity
	• Specific protection of minority rights
	• Establishing freedom of the press • Preventing and punishing incitement and hate speech
3. Presence of illegal arms and armed elements	• Arms control, disarmament, and management with particular reference to small arms
	• Full range of direct measures
4. Motivation of national leaders, acts which encourage divisions	• Supporting the diffusion or sharing of power
	• Strengthening the independence of judiciaries
	• Freedom of press
	• Strengthened civil society
	• Inducements and sanctions • Referral to ICC
5. Circumstances that facilitate perpetration of genocide	• Structural measures reduce likelihood of these circumstances arising
	• Direct measures mitigate their effect
6. Commission of genocidal acts	• Security Sector Reform
	• Reduce impunity
	• Direct prevention
	• Escalation prevention
7. Intent to destroy whole group	• Preventing and punishing incitement and hate speech
	• Direct prevention of hate speech
	• Referral to ICC
8. Triggering factors (elections, adverse regime change, armed conflict, natural disaster)	• Building institutional capacity and ensuring delivery of social services
	• Strengthening and supporting democracy
	• Supporting the diffusion or sharing of power
	• Strengthening the independence of judiciaries
	• Strengthening indigenous conflict resolution capacity