

Sexual Atrocities as a Tactic of Slow Genocide in Ethiopia: Death by a Thousand Secret Cuts

by

Habtamu Dugo, M.S.

hab.dugo@gmail.com

Adjunct Professor, University of the District of Columbia

&

Joanne Eisen, D.D.S.

Senior Fellow for Criminology and Genocide,

Independence Institute, Colorado

Abstract

The Oromo people have been suffering a slow genocide by attrition. This paper focuses on sexual atrocity as a tactic to reduce the reproductive capacity of targeted Oromo elite men and women. A history of the Abyssinian practice of covering up barbarous acts is presented as part of the explanation of why sexual atrocities remain covert. The tactic of stretching the male organs and tearing the spermatic cords in order to create sterility rather than the use of outright castration serves the purpose of secrecy. We show that these systematic widespread acts designed to destroy the reproductive capacity of Oromo elites without visible scarring were planned by high level political or military authorities. Genocide courts and genocide scholars acknowledge that intent to destroy a group can be inferred from such evidence of plans from above. When intent to destroy a group becomes evident, because intent to destroy is part of the definition of genocide, the acts of sexual torture and rape now become evidence of genocide rather than evidence of crimes against humanity. If the cause of humanitarian crises in Ethiopia can be shown to be genocidal in nature, and if light would then be focused on the plight of the victims, we believe that such damaging policies would quickly change.

Key words and phrases: genocidal intent, sexual mutilation as genocide, forced sterilization, slow genocide, rape as genocide, Oromo, castration.

"Generally speaking, genocide does not necessarily mean the immediate destruction of a nation ...It is intended rather to signify a coordinated plan of different actions aiming at the destruction of essential foundations of the life of national groups, with the aim of annihilating them." Raphael Lemkin, *Axis Rule in Occupied Europe: Laws of Occupation-Analysis of Government-Proposals for Redress* (Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1944), p.79.

Introduction

Just as people and their governments vary, the unfolding of genocide will also vary. In Rwanda, in 1994 there was a dramatically bloody genocide in which about 800,000 people were murdered in just 100 days.¹ The genocide in Rwanda exemplifies the global understanding of the appearance of an actual genocide. However, Lampkin (1944) and those who followed did not limit the definition of genocide to rapid mass murder, but defined genocide as intentional destruction of a group. The path genocide takes depends on the abilities and culture of the perpetrators. Article 2 of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide indicates "acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such."² It does not place time limitations upon the murderous acts.

In Ethiopia, the culture of secrecy and the presence of foreign donors and visitors have forced the regime to engage in genocide by attrition. Instead of death by one visible cut with a machete, club or spear as occurred in Rwanda, in Ethiopia, there is death by a thousand secret cuts. Each act affects the victim in a tiny, but negative manner and is easily explained away as poor policy or as the fault of the victim. In rural areas where visitors are not permitted, the acts may become a little more aggressive. But the sums of the wounds suffered by individuals accumulate and damage the future existence of the group in a process hardly noticed and of no concern to the outside world.

It has been observed that, "Genocide by attrition represents a new direction in genocide studies that demonstrate the field's elasticity..."³ Rosenberg and Silena charge that many genocides are not recognized because during a slow genocide the acts are viewed as singular criminal events and not as the mass horror that the word 'genocide' brings to mind.⁴ They view genocide as a complex process that includes direct killing and also acts that indirectly destroy the group.⁵ They acknowledge that indirect, covert acts aid the concealment of the intentions of genocidal governments⁶, which creates difficulty when accusing such a government of genocide.

David Scheffer summarized the *Krstic Appeals Judgement*, which indicated that genocidaires need not follow the design of a rapid, but visible genocide path if those efficient policies would maximize the possibility of retribution. If the perpetrators implemented genocidal policies that harm the future survival of the group, then those policies and acts are also indications of a genocidal process.⁷

For example, in Ethiopia, there is an ongoing slow genocide during which, over several decades and several regime changes, millions have perished. In Rwanda the goal was to eliminate as many as possible as quickly as possible, even though unburied corpses could easily be seen. In Ethiopia, the goal was and is to destroy Oromo people and other peoples of the South without the notice, opprobrium and cessation of funding by donor countries. The perceived need for continuous foreign aid by the Ethiopian ruling elites guided the genocidaires into a slow genocide, or genocide by attrition, which cannot be observed as an explosion of mass murder, but as a cumulative process of policies and practices leading to the annihilation of peoples. Dugo and Eisen (2015) have described the tactic of government created famines and forced deportations over decades of time which led to the deaths of uncountable Oromo people and other Ethiopian peoples of the south. They explained that many social scientists, including Amartya Sen, recognize that famine is easily prevented and is caused, not by draught or disease, but by government policy.⁸ In the case of Ethiopia, a determination that these acts are intentional murder and not poor policy would be more than merely embarrassing. Recognition of intent would tend to expose the true nature of the Abyssinian regimes and destroy the global admiration for the Abyssinian people that presently exists. Great care is taken to prevent foreigners from understanding the scope and intent of government policies and acts.

Sex Crimes as Genocide

In this paper, we focus on the use of rape and genital mutilation as one aspect of this slow destruction of a group[s] in Ethiopia. However, in order for atrocities, even globally visible horrific mass rapes as occurred in Darfur⁹ and other sexual atrocities, to rise to actual genocide, one must show the existence of special intent, that is, the intent to destroy the group[s] by harming the individual victim, rather than only to harm the individual victim. That is relatively more difficult because rogue governments, and especially the Ethiopian government, fully understand that fine point of the definition of genocide and the desire to prevent the shame that is attached to the charge of genocide. So the mass rapes in Ethiopia are hidden out of sight of international media cameras as many of the genocide regions such as Oromia and Ogaden are closed to local and international media. Hence the lack of global outrage as was described for example in Bosnia, Darfur and Rwanda. Those rapes were too public to be hidden and helped pave the way to a global understanding that genocide occurred and that both male and female rape was used as a tactic.¹⁰

We know from previous genocide trials by relevant courts that many variables within the evidence of intent to destroy can be used as an excuse for a negative verdict when a finding of genocide becomes politically sensitive. Olaf Jensen relates, “The different and sometimes contradicting interpretations of genocidal intent in international criminal law show a high level of uncertainty.”¹¹ And Hans Vest relates, “Genocidal intent and its proof seem to constitute the most serious problem linked to the 'crime of crimes'....it seems definitely not predictable whether a Trial Chamber will enter a genocidal verdict or not.”¹²

There can be political motives for the reluctance of courts to issue a verdict of guilt. One such might be, for example, in Ethiopia, that a finding of genocide would inevitably also lead to a finding of almost global complicity. The attempted and actual destruction of the Oromo and other peoples of the South have been in progress for decades under various regimes and these regimes have been funded by many nations and global charities. These nations and charities are aware of the murderous policies of the elites. They might wish to retain the status quo of international relationships. They may be concerned that an attempt to prevent genocide in a foreign country might result in an unwanted or unwinnable war, or they might be concerned about their own genocidal complicity.

At the present time, it would be difficult to charge Ethiopian regimes in a relevant court. Yet even without charges of genocide being brought before a relevant court, an attempt must be made to consider guilt in order to turn a light of publicity on the shadow of slow destruction of nationalities, ethnicities, races and religions in Oromia and in the south of Ethiopia.

If the sexual and other atrocities, including famines and forced deportations are not considered to be actual genocide, these atrocities do not attract significant media attention. Yet, even without a court, we find it wise to prove 'intent to destroy a group' that would lead to a verdict of genocide in order to focus light on the situation decades in advance of a court decision, because today's victims do not have the time to wait. The destruction of peoples of Ethiopia's south by Abyssinian rulers should not be permitted to continue unnoticed and unabated.

Dugo and Eisen have investigated the mental element of special intent to destroy the group in a previous paper¹³ and have determined that the existence of religious and racial hatred exists in the Ethiopian elite rulers against the Oromo national group and other southern groups.¹⁴ Sorenson said that Menelik and Haile Selassie were so racist as to reject their own Black identity.

In northern Ethiopia, where secrecy is valued, it is difficult to find a covert sign of intent to destroy a group. Evidence of intent is hidden from donors and foreigners. Not all victims' scars are visible, lest allegations of barbarism reoccur, and so the castration and slashing off of breasts favored by Menelik, who ruled in the late 19th century, is no longer committed by government. Stories and charges of mass rape and other sexual atrocities might make their way to foreign press, and so rape is committed in secret.

However, genocide scholars agree that intent can be inferred from a limited pattern that emerges from the details of the acts. Jerry Fowler states, “Inferring intent from conduct in the absence of direct evidence is widely accepted.”¹⁵ Despite the lack of evidence of great amounts of these acts, these acts do occur and data are slowly emerging from the darkness of societal shame. Unfortunately, those few brave powerless people who complain are not considered to be credible by foreign governments and most NGOs. In Ethiopia, although the number of these acts that tend to limit births are hardly acknowledged and difficult to assess, they are, nevertheless, present, and we posit that the pattern of these acts are part of the proof of intent to destroy.

Helen Fein asks about victims. If part of a group, “Were they chosen on the basis of their status within the community, e.g. priests, religious leaders, or educated class?”¹⁶ The victims of torture including sexual torture and rape are generally incarcerated in political prisons. They consist of activist leaders, successful business people, student protestors, those who were accused of any form of political dissent and families and relatives of Oromo intelligentsia. Control of this group permits the regime to destroy civilians more easily and more quietly. Genocide can proceed unabated.

The victims themselves become part of the cover-up. Because of the culture of sexual privacy and shame of the victims, the cover-up becomes almost complete. We have minimal data with which to estimate the number of acts. Only a few brave souls have dared to make public their ordeals which occurred in the hidden bowels of Ethiopian political prisons.

Testimonies on acts of sexual torture indicate that the acts of torture are authorized by Ethiopian authorities with intent to destroy the Oromo in part or in whole. Our in-depth interviews with two Oromo survivor of sexual atrocity reveal that they were targeted because of their membership in a group—the Oromo.

The interviews are important because they transform what appears to be an isolated case of sexual torture into intentional genocidal acts. A common theme emerged from the responses, indicating that the survivors were targeted not just as individuals, but as members of an ethn-national group who were marked for destruction. In other words, the interview data provides essential information to prove the intent by Ethiopian authorities to destroy the Oromo by imposing measures intended to prevent births.

“Volunteer 1” made the following testimony proving intent:

“They made me sit on a sharp metal object and hang metal weights on my testicles for three hours at a time; they tied me down to the edge of a pit/hole. The metal weight pulls down the testicles of the genital. ‘You and other Oromo people who have risen up to remove us from this country are not going to live from now on. People like you will not also be born and this is your end. You will not live and you will not also reproduce. Even if we release you from here, you will never reproduce.’ The prison official who said this was inspector Tilahun.” Volunter1 knows three other Oromo prisoners who died after suffering similar acts of sexual atrocity.

“Volunteer 2” also made the following testimony proving intent:

They beat me. They put heavy weight on my reproductive organ. They put long wood bars in-between my legs. The first person is Moni, the Butcher is Moni, Moni Mengasha, he is a chief inspector. He was a security person. There are more than 500 Oromo prisoners in the dark cells of Maekelawi. We don’t know each other, but we hear each other roaring like cows being slaughtered. We hear each other always crying in Afan Oromo after midnight.

When asked about what he was told during the torture, he testified officials said to him: “People like you should not live on this land. You don’t own any land and you don’t have any right here. People like you should not be born in the future. The person who said that to me was Alemayehu and he was an inspector at Maekelawi. Another one was Tezera and all of them say that we would perish. Prisoners below my cell hear me yelling/crying and ask whose turn it is.”

In addition to the multiple acts of rape and sexual torture that can be used as evidence of intent to destroy a group, there are indications that this is part of a covert plan coordinated by government officials. This is because of the widespread pattern of unusual acts and the commission of these unusual acts of sexual torture that are common in Ethiopia, but not elsewhere. This could only be possible if there were a plan formed at a high level, which we shall discuss in greater detail infra.

William Schabas wrote, “The question of proof of genocidal intent seems inexorably to bring the discussion back to the problem of the plan or policy. It is the identification of a plan or policy, either through specific documentary evidence or by deduction based on various factual manifestations that permits the inference that perpetrators acted with genocidal intent.”¹⁷

The elements that are required to find for the presence of genocide exist in full measure. There is the presence of a targeted group (s), the Oromo nation upon whom measures were imposed that prevent or reduce births. There is the presence of intent to destroy the group, in whole or in part, and there is a continuous pattern of genocidal policy by Abyssinian elites that could lead to the destruction of the targeted group.¹⁸ We posit in this paper that sexual atrocity in Ethiopia rises from crimes against humanity to the crime of genocide, and that these hidden crimes exist in greater numbers than realized because of the failure of both the victim and the perpetrator to expose the acts. Article II of the UN Genocide Convention states “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.” We show that the description “Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group” (UNGC article II d) has occurred and still occurs in Ethiopia. We charge that acts of rape and sexual torture that creates forced sterilization in men and acts of rape and of sexual torture of women leading to failure to procreate are tactics commonly used to prevent or reduce births.

Charges

In Ethiopia, the acts include rape and genital torture that can easily be construed as designed to limit or prevent births to the Oromo people. These acts are committed secretly in political prisons and are rarely spoken of by the victim or the perpetrator(s). Yet, most of the group members are aware and are silent with that knowledge. These prisons include, but are not limited to Maekelawi and Kaliti (Qaliti) prisons in the capital Addis Ababa, and unofficial detention centers in Oromo areas like Didessa, Tatek, Holeta, Sankele and Birshalako (Bir Sheleko).¹⁹ Trevor Trueman reports that a defecting official, Yonatan Dhibisa, former Minister of Justice in Oromia region, told him of the “existence of secret detention centres...and ‘ghost houses’ in Addis Ababa (the capital of Ethiopia).” About 30,000 thousand unofficial Oromo political detainees were incarcerated at that time.²⁰ The detainees included Oromo intelligentsia, business men, politically active college students and their families, among others.

Rape of women in prisons by their guards is nearly ubiquitous for women in many countries. Available statistics in Ethiopia reveal similar findings. Female detainees report that about 50 % of women are gang raped multiple times while in prison. This figure might be grossly understated. One Oromo woman said, “rape is very disgraceful in Ethiopia. Women are blamed.”²¹ Sue Polluck reports that aside from gang rape, vaginas are impaled with stakes, glass and electric shocks.²² Physical damage that may result from this trauma might impair subsequent fertility. Dr. Lawrence Tydings told us, “If there is significant trauma to the vulva, vagina and pelvis, subsequent infertility is a possibility.”²³ Psychological and social difficulties arise that also tend to limit births to Oromo women.

At this point in time, courts may recognize rape as an aspect of genocide, if other elements of the crime of genocide exist.²⁴ The understanding that rape obscures the identity of offspring and creates negative desire for rape victims by their present or future husbands is part of what drives the ubiquitous presence of rape in war and genocide. Technically, the crime of rape against even a single person can transform that act into an act of genocide if the crime is seen as an act against a targeted individual of a group and that act is committed with intent to destroy the group.²⁵

It is not yet widely accepted that male rape occurs. Yet, of 607 male prisoners from 45 countries, 25.2 % had been sexually assaulted.²⁶ Peel also reports, “[I]t is clear that where torture of men exists, a significant proportion of them will have a sexual component to that torture.”²⁷

Even though males are not considered impure after sexual torture or rape, they do not easily report these incidents. Michael Peel²⁸ (MD), recognizing that there is usually a significant proportion of sexual torture among torture victims writes, “Men who have been sexually tortured, and particularly those who have been raped, find it difficult to disclose, principally because of shame”²⁹ It becomes easy to understand that even when men disclose, few specify the details. The Advocates of Minnesota report the “unique torture...of Oromo men having weights tied to their testicles.” And, they continue, “Oromos referred to this as virtual castration, intended to make you infertile and not productive anymore.”³⁰

With over half of all prisoners subjected to torture, the suspension of weights from genitalia of men has been reported as having occurred in various prisons.³¹ Trueman documented the case of a man who stated, “They then wet some string. They filled a one and a half litre bottle of water and tied it to my genitals with wet string...for one hour...I started to bleed...The pain was indescribable...” [see Trevor Trueman Human Rights Violations in Ethiopia May 29, 1998 , case 10] Amnesty International reported a case in which 70% of an infected penis needed to be removed after weights were suspended from a man's penis.³² Sue Polluck reported sexual torture of both men and women. She also detailed 2-3 kilogram weights hung from men's testicles and outright castration.³³ An ACAT report also documented beatings focused on the genitalia and weights suspended from genitals.³⁴

These tortures have the potential to cause sterilization in men. Dr. Eric Hochberg, Chief of Urology at Glen Cove Hospital, Nassau County, New York, confirmed this fear. He told us, “The fastening of heavy weights to the testicles could result in significant damage to the testicles themselves or possibly the vasa differentia (spermatic cords). This could lead to severe pain and possibly infection. In addition, hormonal deficiency and/or possibly infertility may result.”³⁵ Dr. Eric Hochberg, a urologist, continues, “These injuries could be diagnosed by physical examinations, blood tests and semen analyses. Treatment may be possible but would require corrective surgery.”³⁶

This type of unusual torture does not result in visible scars that might lead one to even suspect torture with intent to destroy a group by creating infertility in men. We note, that in keeping with the Abyssinian requirement for stealth, Dr. Peel states that the skin of the penis and scrotum “is difficult to damage and generally heals without scarring” adding to the difficulty of diagnosis on the basis of a physical exam, alone.³⁷

Also, men can be psychologically castrated. Amnesty International concurs that psychological torture occurs in Ethiopia and that, “genital torture can be accompanied by threats on the part of the torturer or fear on the part of the victim of permanent damage to sexual or reproductive functions.”³⁸ The psychological aspects of male sexual torture are perhaps the most damaging. Peel describes the mental trauma.

“Men who have been tortured sexually are often told as part of the torture that they will never be able to function sexually again. This can become a self-fulfilling prophesy. Additionally, when a man embarks on a voluntary sexual activity, he may well get flashbacks of his sexual torture or feelings of guilt or shame, and these will impede his sexual function, for example, causing impotence or premature ejaculation.”³⁹Not having sufficient data, we cannot quantify the number of acts nor state the actual effects of these acts. The next step is to question whether or not it must be proved that these acts actually prevent births and present themselves as acts of genocide, but opinion, at present, is divided. Although acts of sexual trauma may be present and that those acts may have the purpose of damaging the fertility of the group, according to William Schabas, conceptualizing Article II (d) of the convention, “it need not be proven that they (the measures imposed) have actually succeeded. Nevertheless, in its proposed 'Elements of Crimes' for the Rome Statute , the United States suggested that the prosecution must establish that 'the measures imposed had the effect of preventing births within that group' ”⁴⁰

At this time, the difficulty caused by lack of sufficient data stemming from the double cover-up of the perpetrators and the victims again achieves importance. Exactly how many people suffered rape and sexual torture? What specifically was said and done? Exactly how many people have suffered unwanted infertility? We cannot yet know, and we ask that social barriers should be lowered so that such data may be more easily gathered.

Elite Authorization

In addition to the acts themselves as evidence of intent to destroy, a pattern of involvement by high authorities manifests and becomes additional evidence of intent to destroy. Helen Fein asks "... at what level did the authorization occur? Is there prime facie evidence that the pattern of acts and personnel involved show that authorities had to plan, organize, or overlook a pattern of destruction?"⁴¹ The UN acknowledges that there is such evidence.

There appears to be a widespread use of torture in Ethiopia, which is condoned and encouraged by authorities and this is accompanied by a culture of impunity. However, we are not privy to the specific details known by the UN. With regard to Ethiopia, the UN Committee Against Torture, "is concerned about credible reports that such acts (torture) frequently occur with the participation, at the instigation or with the consent of commanding officers in police stations, detention centres, federal prisons, military bases and in unofficial or secret places of detention."⁴²

It should not be difficult to understand that these atrocities are more than individual crimes and are sanctioned and coordinated from above because there is consistent pattern, across time and distance that can substitute for written orders commanding the destruction of a group.⁴³ Such evidence of planned actions by leadership easily substitutes for written or spoken words of 'intent to destroy a group', exactly as stated in Article 2 of the UNGC.

In addition to UN acknowledgement of planned torture, the scheme becomes evident because the unusual torture of hanging weights from male genitals is common in Ethiopia. Male genital torture can be found elsewhere⁴⁴, but what cannot be easily found is the specific act of hanging weights from the genitals that appears to be generally limited to Ethiopia. We do not think that uneducated prison guards could spontaneously in many different locations create this damaging torture and carry it out without instruction. Instruction to carry out this plan could only come from above.

The widespread use of this scar-free, potentially sterilizing, previously unheard of low-tech torture technique indicates premeditated instruction from centralized authorities and therefore a plan of intent to reduce fertility of males in leadership positions. So we can deduce that the answer to the question Helen Fein asks about the origin of these crimes is that they are not committed willy nilly by the whims of low level political cadres, or of common criminals committing individual atrocities, but are organized at higher levels.

We do not ask that these sexually destructive acts should be used as the only indication of the slow genocide in Ethiopia. We ask that these acts be considered as part of the totality of the massive evidence of the intent to destroy the Oromo nation by the Ethiopian elites, and extend this intent to the destruction of other conquered groups in southern Ethiopia.

We suggest that additional study is required and that greater attention should be given to male rape and genital torture in general in order to better understand that these details indicate the existence of a covert pattern that reveals the intent of Ethiopian regimes.

The Perpetrators: Denial for Dollars

The past is so infused into the present that acts and attitudes of the past explain the need for and the extent of cover-ups. The ruling elites, both past and present, understand the depths of their own barbarity and the repugnance of Western foreigners should that truth become public knowledge. Past atrocities in Ethiopia are denied today. For example, in 1886, in Arsi, Oromia, a present federal state of Ethiopia, massacres occurred during the invasion of Menelik's army. The survivors were mutilated. The right hands of men and the right breast of women were slashed off and hung around the victim's necks, in retaliation for resisting.⁴⁵ Slashed off breasts, in addition to castration, can be categorized as genocidal atrocities.

Adam Jones describes these atrocities as “ritual mutilation and desecration symbols of group reproduction, including male and female reproductive organs, [and] women’s breasts as the sites of lactation.”⁴⁶ At this time, deniers of those barbarous acts [Nafxanyaas] refer to Menelik's invasion as “holy war” or “reunification of Ethiopia.”⁴⁷ A glimpse of the depth of the cover-up can be seen in the language of the Amhara which is rife with words and phrases which have opposite meanings and which is known as “wax and gold”. For example, the 'wax' definition of *iji nestew* is a greeting. Yet the 'gold' definition of that term is 'left them without hands'.⁴⁸ Abbas Haji suggests that the Menelik's conquest of the Arsi Oromo could not have been accomplished without foreign aid and that without such aid; Menelik would not have been able to pursue conquest farther south. He describes Menelik's “Traditional barbarous practices of castration and mutilation...” of defeated enemies.⁴⁹

The conquest and domination of the southern peoples was accomplished with foreign weapons and foreign aid.⁵⁰ Also, the castration of vanquished foes stood out as one of the most egregious issues the Europeans had regarding Abyssinian behavior.⁵¹ Because of this European distaste for the primitive, brutal acts of the ruling elite, and the desire for the elite leadership for cash and weapons there are many examples of the sensitivity of the leaders to the foreign knowledge of their barbarous activities. For example, in 1891, Ras Makonen, confidant to Menelik and father to Haile Selassie, prevented Italian visitors from returning home with notes and sketches that might be embarrassing.⁵² After the battle at Adwa in March, 1896, in which Menelik won a decisive victory over the Italians, many Italian soldiers were castrated. Jonas cites historian Raffaele Ciasca as reporting that about 7% of Italians who returned home were castrated.⁵³ The castrations were designed to prevent reproduction.⁵⁴ Jonas noted that the intent was clear and he cited Menelik, "this is how they [Menelik's soldiers] bring a halt to the enemy's capacity to reproduce.” Chris Prouty noted “the atrocity and the fact that a few Italian bodies were emasculated by the "trophy" -collecting Ethiopians appalled readers of the European press.”⁵⁵

Haile Selassie spoke against violence even as his regime engaged in brutality and in so doing he received a great deal of foreign aid. He was favored by global media and it was noted by *Time* (April 7, 1941) that he instructed his army to not castrate captured Italian soldiers.⁵⁶ And upon returning from exile to Addis Ababa, Ethiopia on April 6, 1941, it was reported that Selassie told the crowd, "Do not repay evil with evil."⁵⁷

Haile Selassie may have charmed the global leaders of his era, but he was not the innocent leader he portrayed. For example, he rejected food aid during a famine in which up to one hundred thousand may have perished; because of that the lie of a flourishing economy would be revealed to all. When foreigners became aware of the size of the disaster despite his denials, Selassie, soon to be deposed, accepted aid as the lesser of evils rather than suffer from the negative publicity created from photos of starving peasants.⁵⁸

After the fall of Haile Selassie, the Dergue military regime continued the policy of oppression and terrorism targeted against Oromos. The elite leadership played the foreign press by claiming ignorance and error in order to commit mass death due to starvation and forced deportations. Sensitive to media knowledge, the Dergue started, stopped or changed damaging national programs in order to maintain friendly relations with foreign governments while targeted civilians who died in mass from deprivation of food, water shelter, and medicine.⁵⁹ This is the kind of behavior described by Martin Shaw, who wrote, "However, rarely do local actors feel fundamentally inhibited by surveillance. Instead it affects the *form* that genocidal policies take." [Martin Shaw *What is Genocide?* Polity Press 1907 at page 160] We must note here that we believe that intense continuous scrutiny would tend to terminate the present day policies of destruction in Ethiopia, when coupled with reduction in aid and insistence on verification of change.

In order to quell Oromo resistance to deadly oppressive policies, the Dergue responded with a tactic that both terrorized and sterilized men without leaving the visible scar of castration. According to Gunnar Hasselblatt, "When the Oromo movement could not be quenched by shooting or by the smashing of skulls, [the government] came up with a new idea. Men's testicles were smashed between a hammer and an anvil."⁶⁰ So when it comes to the knowledge of brutality by foreign visitors and press, the cover-up of genocidal violence and genocidal acts appears to the various regimes to be crucial as they fully understand the need for credible denial of acts because foreign aid is crucial to their continuing existence.

Conclusion

Albert Bandura wrote, “Given the many mechanisms for disengaging moral control at both the individual and collective level, civilized life requires, in addition to humane personal standards, safeguards built into social systems that uphold compassionate behavior and renounce cruelty.⁶¹ In Ethiopia, and in other pre-genocidal and genocidal cultures, these safeguards do not yet exist. Despite the fact that elites in Ethiopia cling to the notion of superiority, they believe that they need external aid to stay in power. We agree that they would not be able to continue to fund the immoral genocidal behavior if outside aid ceased.

We call for the global press to acknowledge the results of years of atrocities. If media are banned from certain areas, we ask them to accept the truth that the Ethiopian government has something to hide. We ask that victims are heard and believed. We believe that there are as yet no cultural controls on behavior that Bandura speaks of, but that outside opprobrium will go far toward creating them. We have provided a description of sexual horror perpetrated upon Oromo men and women who do not speak the correct global languages and who do not possess computers, cameras and other instruments of communication with which to beg the world to acknowledge that something is terribly wrong with the narrative the Ethiopian elite, would have us to believe.

Erwin Staub states that observation and consistent condemnation of atrocities has been shown to be a “powerful influence” on state practice of genocidal torture.⁶² But Trevor Trueman complains that observation and reporting of Ethiopian state activities against civilians “has been muted” by Western countries, that is, donor countries who finance the atrocities for strategic reasons.⁶³ We must note that these countries have ratified the UN Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, including the U.S. on November 4, 1988. Aside from strategic considerations, these countries also may fear the responsibility and commitment required by the UNGC and its signatories.⁶⁴

We call for more information. We suggest that international pressure target the heinous genocidal acts of the Ethiopian government against Oromo and other peoples of the south in order to abide by the global norm of never committing genocide, nor permitting others to commit genocide.

Notes

¹ BBC. "Rwanda Genocide: 100 Days of Slaughter." BBC News, February 7, 2014. Available <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-26875506>

² UNGC.

³ Sheri P. Rosenberg. Genocide is a Process, Not an Event. *Genocide Studies and Prevention* 7,1 April 2012: 16-23 at page 21

⁴ Sheri Rosenberg and Everita Silna, "Genocide By Attrition : Silent and Efficient," in *Genocide Matters*, Eds. Joyce Apsel and Ernesto Verdeja, (London and New York: Routledge, 2013: 109), 106-126).

⁵ Ibid., P. 110.

⁶ Ibid., P.112.

⁷ David Scheffer "Genocide and Atrocity Crimes," *Genocide Studies and Prevention* 1(3) (2006): 241.

⁸ Habtamu Dugo and Joanne Eisen. "Stealth Genocide by Government Policy: Famine and Forced Deportation in Ethiopia." a paper presented at the 2015 OSA meeting, August 1 & 2, Howard University.

⁹ See John Hagan. "Gendered Genocide: The Socially Destructive Process of Genocidal Rape, Killing, and Displacement in Darfur," *Law and Society* volume 49 number1 2015

¹⁰ See Elisa von Joeden-Forgey, "Gender and the Future of Genocide Studies and Prevention," *Genocide Studies and Prevention* 7,1 (April 2012):89-107. at page 91 .

¹¹ Olaf Jensen, "Evaluating genocidal intent: the inconsistent perpetrator and the dynamics of killing," *Journal of Genocide Research* vol.15, No.1, 1-19 2013.

¹² Hans Vest A Structure -based Concept of Genocidal Intent *Journal of International Criminal Justice* 5 2007, 781-797 .

¹³ Habtamu Dugo and Joanne Eisen . Recurrent Genocidal Killings in Ethiopia: Cases of the Oromo and the South, a paper delivered at African Studies Association meeting Nov. 2014.

¹⁴ See also John Sorenson. *Imagining Ethiopia*. Rutgers University Press, 1993: 27-31

¹⁵ Jerry Fowler. “A New Chapter of Irony: The Legal Implications of the Darfur Genocide Determination,” *Genocide Studies and Prevention* vol 1 #1 July 2005.

¹⁶ Helen Fein. *Genocide A Sociological Perspective*. Sage Publications, 1993: p. 26.

¹⁷ William Schabas. *Genocide in International Law: The Crime of Crimes*. 2nd edition. Cambridge, 2009: p. 267.

We interviewed two men survivors of sexual atrocity on tape in two separate interviews to ensure the confidentiality of the interview due to the sensitive nature of the subject. Both interviews lasted over four hours. Following their request, we coded and quoted the survivors anonymously as “Volunteer 1” and “Volunteer 2” respectively. Fayera Negera, himself a torture survivor, played a key role in tracking down the survivors and in keeping us in touch with them as well in interpreting the interviews from Afan Oromo into English during the live interview sessions. Bonnie Holcomb has been very instrumental in jointly conducting the interview with Dr. Joanne Eisen. Holcomb probed the interviewees to provide in-depth accounts of their experiences and helped them overcome deeply emotional moments that some of the interview question invoked in the survivors. We appreciate the courage of the volunteers in coming forward and speaking to us on this extremely difficult subject many tend to avoid for fear of reprisal or shame.

¹⁸ See International Criminal Court, Elements of Crimes U.N. Doc. PCNICC/2000/1/Add.2 .

¹⁹ See “Country Reports on Human Rights Practices for 2013” US Department of State, Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor.

²⁰ Seyoum Hameso and Mohammed Hassen Editors, “ Arrested Development in Ethiopia cited in Trevor Trueman Genocide Against the Oromo People chapter 7 page 134 .”

²¹ See The Advocates for Human Rights Human Rights in Ethiopia: Through the Eyes of the Diaspora 2009 page 30.

²² See Sue Polluck Ethiopia: Tragedy In The Making The Oromo Commentary vol VI No. 1 1996 page 12.

²³ Conversation on May 11, 2015 in Nassau County, New York Dr. Tydings is Emeritus Director, Dept of Obstetrics and Gynecology Plainview Hospital New York.

²⁴ See Magdalini Karagiannakis. Case Analysis: The Definition of Rape and Its Characterization as an Act of Genocide - A Review of the Jurisprudence of the International Criminal Tribunals for Rwanda and the Former Yugoslavia Leiden Journal of International Law 12, pp 479-490.

²⁵ See Daniela De Vito, Aisha Gill, and Damien Short, “Rape Characterized as Genocide” *Surjournal*. See also Magdalini Karagiannakis, “Case Analysis : The Definition of Rape and its Characterization as an Act of Genocide – A Review of the Jurisprudence of the International Criminal Tribunals for Rwanda and the Former Yugoslavia *Leiden Journal of International Law* volume 12 issue 02 June 1999 pp 479-490.

²⁶ Michael Peel. “Male Sexual Abuse in Detention,” In *The Medical Documentation of Torture*,” Eds. Michael Peel and Vincent Iacopino GMM 2002, p. 180. Ch. 12.

²⁷ *ibid*, p. 185

²⁸ Dr. Peel was, at the time of this book, Senior Medical Examiner, Medical Foundation for the Care of Victims of Torture London, England.

²⁹ .” Michael Peel Vincent Iacopino Editors ,*The Medical Documentation of Torture* GMM 2002 , Chapter 12, Michael Peel Male Sexual Abuse in Detention p. 189.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, *The Advocates*, p.30.. See also Sandesh Sivakumaran, “Sexual Violence Against Men in Armed Conflict,” *The European Journal of International Law* Vol. 18 no.2 2007 253-276 .

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³² Amnesty International. *Because I Am Oromo: Sweeping Repression in the Oromia Region of Ethiopia* 2014.

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³⁴ ACAT *A World of Torture* Ethiopia.

³⁵ Dr. Eric Hochberg, email message to authors, February 25,2015.

³⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷ Dr. Michael Peel (Editor). *Rape as Method of Torture*, 185-186.

³⁸ *Amnesty International*. 2014. "Ethiopia: Because I Am Oromo: Sweeping Repression in the Oromia region of Ethiopia. P. 88. Available at <http://www.amnesty.org/en/documents/AFR25/006/2014/en/>

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⁴⁰ William Schabas *Genocide in International Law* 2nd Edition. Cambridge University Press, 2009 p. 198 .

⁴¹ Helen Fein. *Genocide : A Sociological Perspective*. London: Sage Publications, 1993 p. 26.

⁴² UN Report of the Committee Against Torture, 2010 A/66/44 para 51 C 10.

⁴³ See Joyce Apsel and Ernesto Verdeja editors, *Genocide Matters*, Routledge 2013 in chapter 5. Roger Smith *Genocide and the Politics of Rape* p. 86.

⁴⁴ See Jemera Rone and Julian Kippenberg. "State of Pain: Torture in Uganda," *Human Rights Watch* vol 16 no.4[A], p. 23.

⁴⁵ "IN PICTURES : The Unveiling of the Aannolee Oromo Martyrs' Memorial Monument in Hetosa, Oromiyaa," posted Ebla/April 6, 2014 Gadaa.com.

⁴⁶ Adam Jones. *Genocide: A Comprehensive Introduction*. 2nd ed. Routledge 2011 at page 479 .

⁴⁷ Leenjiso Horo *The Marks of Aannolee, Azulee and Chalanqoo/Calanqoo Cannot be Erased from the Memory of Oromo Generations* January 29, 2014 gadaa.com

⁴⁸ OCFist "Reconciling " the Two Oromia August 30, 2014 mereja.com.

⁴⁹ Abbas Haji *Arsi Oromo Political and Military Resistance Against the Shoan Colonial Conquest [1881-6]* *The Journal of Oromo Studies* volume 2 number 1 & 2 Winter, 1995 & Summer, 1995 .

⁵⁰ Ethiopian history is rife with the transfer of arms, financial aid and technology from donor nations . See Harold Marcus, *The Life and Times of Menelik II* The Red Sea Press p. 93 .

⁵¹ Raymond Jonas . *The battle of Adwa*. The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press 2011 p. 223 .

⁵² Marcus ibid p137.

⁵³ Ibid., Jonas ibid p. 227.

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⁵⁵ Chris Prouty. *Empress Taytu and Menilek II*. The Red Sea Press, p. 159.

⁵⁶ Ibid Sorenson at page 30. [Note : these were soldiers who remained behind after their defeat in 1936].

⁵⁷ AJ Barker. *The Rape of Ethiopia 1936*, Ballantine Books, 1971 p. 156.

⁵⁸ Ryszard Kapuscinski. *The Emperor* Vintage International page 119 For a more complete description of events at that time, see Alex de Waal *Famine Crimes*, Indiana University Press 107-108 .

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