



**The Secret Genocide Archive**  
**By NICHOLAS D. KRISTOF**  
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Photos don't normally appear on this page. But it's time for all of us to look squarely at the victims of our indifference.

These are just four photos in a secret archive of thousands of photos and reports that document the genocide under way in Darfur. The materials were gathered by African Union monitors, who are just about the only people able to travel widely in that part of Sudan.

This African Union archive is classified, but it was shared with me by someone who believes that Americans will be stirred if they can see the consequences of their complacency.

The photo at the upper left was taken in the village of Hamada on Jan. 15, right after a Sudanese government-backed militia, the janjaweed, attacked it and killed 107 people. One of them was this little boy.

I'm not showing the photo of his older brother, about 5 years old, who lay beside him because the brother had been beaten so badly that nothing was left of his face. And alongside the two boys was the corpse of their mother.

The photo to the right shows the corpse of a man with an injured leg who was apparently unable to run away when the janjaweed militia attacked.

At the lower left is a man who fled barefoot and almost made it to this bush before he was shot dead.

Last is the skeleton of a man or woman whose wrists are still bound. The attackers pulled the person's clothes down to the knees, presumably so the victim could be sexually abused before being killed. If the victim was a man, he was probably castrated; if a woman, she was probably raped.

There are thousands more of these photos. Many of them show attacks on children and are too horrific for a newspaper.

One wrenching photo in the archive shows the manacled hands of a teenager from the girls' school in Suleia who was burned alive. It's been common for the Sudanese militias to gang-rape teenage girls and then mutilate or kill them.

Another photo shows the body of a young girl, perhaps 10 years old, staring up from the ground where she was killed. Still another shows a man who was castrated and shot in the head.

This archive, including scores of reports by the monitors on the scene, underscores that this slaughter is waged by and with the support of the Sudanese government as it tries to clear the area of non-Arabs. Many of the photos show men in Sudanese Army uniforms pillaging and burning African villages. I hope the African Union will open its archive to demonstrate publicly just what is going on in Darfur.

**The [African Union] archive also includes an extraordinary document seized from a janjaweed official that apparently outlines genocidal policies. Dated last August, the document calls for the "execution of all directives from the president of the republic" and is directed to regional commanders and security officials.**

**"Change the demography of Darfur and make it void of African tribes," the document urges. It encourages "killing, burning villages and farms, terrorizing people, confiscating property from members of African tribes and forcing them from Darfur."**

It's worth being skeptical of any document because forgeries are possible. But the African Union believes this document to be authentic. I also consulted a variety of experts on Sudan and shared it with some of them, and the consensus was that it appears to be real.

Certainly there's no doubt about the slaughter, although the numbers are fuzzy. A figure of 70,000 is sometimes stated as an estimated death toll, but that is simply a U.N. estimate for the deaths in one seven-month period from nonviolent causes. It's hard to know the total mortality over two years of genocide, partly because the Sudanese government is blocking a U.N. team from going to Darfur and making such an estimate. But independent estimates exceed 220,000 - and the number is rising by about 10,000 per month.

So what can stop this genocide? At one level the answer is technical: sanctions against Sudan, a no-fly zone, a freeze of Sudanese officials' assets, prosecution of the killers by the International Criminal Court, a team effort by African and Arab countries to pressure Sudan, and an international force of African troops with financing and logistical support from the West.

But that's the narrow answer. What will really stop this genocide is indignation. Senator Paul Simon, who died in 2003, said after the Rwandan

genocide, "If every member of the House and Senate had received 100 letters from people back home saying we have to do something about Rwanda, when the crisis was first developing, then I think the response would have been different."

The same is true this time. Web sites like [www.darfurgenocide.org](http://www.darfurgenocide.org) and [www.savedarfur.org](http://www.savedarfur.org) are trying to galvanize Americans, but the response has been pathetic.

I'm sorry for inflicting these horrific photos on you. But the real obscenity isn't in printing pictures of dead babies - it's in our passivity, which allows these people to be slaughtered.

During past genocides against Armenians, Jews and Cambodians, it was possible to claim that we didn't fully know what was going on. This time, President Bush, Congress and the European Parliament have already declared genocide to be under way. And we have photos.

This time, we have no excuse.

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*"Darfur Genocide, Sudan Genocide, Action, Information*



## **On the Atrocities in Sudan** **by Elie Wiesel**

*Remarks delivered at the Darfur Emergency Summit, convened at the Graduate Center of the City University of New York on July 14, 2004, by the American Jewish World Service and the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum.*

Sudan has become today's world capital of human pain, suffering and agony. There, one part of the population has been – and still is – subjected by another part, the dominating part, to humiliation, hunger and death. For a while, the so-called civilized world knew about it and preferred to look away. Now people know. And so they have no excuse for their passivity bordering on indifference. Those who, like you my friends, try to break the walls of their apathy deserve everyone's support and everyone's solidarity.

This gathering was organized by several important bodies. The U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum's Committee on Conscience (Jerry Fowler), the Graduate Center of the City University of New York, the American Jewish World Service (Ruth Messinger) and several other humanitarian organizations.

As for myself, I have been involved in the efforts to help Sudanese victims for some years. It was a direct or indirect consequence of a millennium lecture I had given in the White House on the subject, "The Perils of Indifference". After I concluded, a woman in the audience rose and said: "I am from Rwanda." She asked me how I could explain the international community's indifference to the Rwandan massacres. I turned to the President who sat at my right and said: "Mr. President, you better answer this question. You know as well as we do that the Rwanda tragedy, which cost from 600,000 to 800,000 victims, innocent men, women and children, could have been averted. Why wasn't it?" His answer was honest and sincere: "It is true, that tragedy could have been averted. That's why I went there to apologize in my personal name and in the name of the American people. But I promise you: it will not happen again."

The next day I received a delegation from Sudan and friends of Sudan, headed by a Sudanese refugee bishop. They informed me that two million Sudanese had already died. They said, "You are now the custodian of the President's pledge. Let him keep it by helping stop the genocide in Sudan."

That brutal tragedy is still continuing, now in Sudan's Darfur region. Now its horrors are shown on television screens and on front pages of influential publications. Congressional delegations, special envoys and humanitarian agencies send back or bring back horror-filled reports from the scene. A million human beings, young and old, have been uprooted, deported. Scores of women are being raped every day, children are dying of disease hunger and violence.

How can a citizen of a free country not pay attention? How can anyone, anywhere not feel outraged? How can a person, whether religious or secular, not be moved by compassion? And above all, how can anyone who remembers remain silent?

As a Jew who does not compare any event to the Holocaust, I feel concerned and challenged by the Sudanese tragedy. We must be involved. How can we reproach the indifference of non-Jews to Jewish suffering if we remain indifferent to another people's plight?

It happened in Cambodia, then in former Yugoslavia, and in Rwanda, now in Sudan. Asia, Europe, Africa: Three continents have become prisons, killing fields and cemeteries for countless innocent, defenseless populations. Will the plague be allowed to spread?

**“Lo taamod al dam réakha” is a Biblical commandment. “Thou shall not stand idly by the shedding of the blood of thy fellow man.” The word is not “akhikha,” thy Jewish brother, but “réakha,” thy fellow human being, be he or she Jewish or not. All are entitled to live with dignity and hope. All are entitled to live without fear and pain.**

**Not to assist Sudan's victims today would for me be unworthy of what I have learned from my teachers, my ancestors and my friends, namely that God alone is alone: His creatures must not be.**

**What pains and hurts me most now is the simultaneity of events. While we sit here and discuss how to behave morally, both individually and collectively, over there, in Darfur and elsewhere in Sudan, human beings kill and die.**

**Should the Sudanese victims feel abandoned and neglected, it would be our fault – and perhaps our guilt.**

**That's why we must intervene.**

**If we do, they and their children will be grateful for us. As will be, through them, our own.**

## **Our tradition teaches us to act**

Those listed below are many, but by no means all, of the worthy organizations involved in solving this crisis.

### **Jewish World Watch**

**[www.jewishworldwatch.org](http://www.jewishworldwatch.org)**

Jewish World Watch is a project of a Coalition of synagogues working together to mobilize synagogues, their schools, their members and the community to combat genocide and other egregious violations of human rights around the world. It is the mission of Jewish World Watch to (1) Develop educational programs to educate the target constituencies; (2) Activate the target constituencies to generate response from the United Nations and US policy makers; and (3) Realize resources to provide assistance to the victims of genocide and egregious violations of human rights. Jewish World Watch sells "Do Not Stand Idly By—Save Darfur" wristbands for \$3 for \$10 as one of its principal fundraising activities. JWW also has an active speaker's bureau which provides qualified, trained speakers to speak about the genocide in Darfur to any size group in the Los Angeles area. For more information contact [info@jewishworldwatch.org](mailto:info@jewishworldwatch.org)

### **AMERICAN JEWISH WORLD SERVICE**

**[www.ajws.org](http://www.ajws.org)**

AJWS was instrumental, with the US Holocaust Museum, in founding the Save Darfur Coalition (see below). Its mission is to provide relief in areas affected by natural and man-made disaster, and to supply resources for economic development projects. In Darfur, AJWS funds are helping to rehabilitate water sources, construct sanitation facilities and provide basic health care and other essential humanitarian services, including a service program for children orphaned by the crisis. Headed by Ruth Messinger, AJWS operates volunteer corps programs for adults and students, circulates a periodical with updates on projects, reports to supporters first-hand on Darfur, and advocates policy initiatives. Find more information online, and donate to AJWS' Emergency Appeal Sudan, 45 West 36<sup>th</sup> Street, New York NY 10018-7904, United States.

### **CITIZENS FOR GLOBAL SOLUTIONS**

**[www.globalsolutions.org](http://www.globalsolutions.org)**

Citizens for Global Solutions is a grassroots, Internet-based advocate of policies to address human rights abuses. It maintains an online Darfur Resource Center with links to major reports on the region. And it circulates email notices of political action drives. Among them is a current effort to lobby Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice to support bringing leaders of the Darfur genocide to justice at the International Criminal Court. Global Solutions's website includes tools for sending letters to advance this appeal. Find more information online, join a Global Solutions chapter, and donate either via the website or to Citizens for Global Solutions, 418 Seventh Street SE, Washington, DC 20003, United States.

### **GENOCIDE INTERVENTION FUND (GIF)**

**[www.genocideinterventionfund.org](http://www.genocideinterventionfund.org)**

The Fund offers an online 'do it yourself toolkit' to help volunteers mobilize support for public policy action on Darfur. It also raises money to assist African Union forces monitoring the situation in Sudan and posts an archive of reports on violence there. GIF was founded by the Center for American Progress, a think tank supported by George Soros and run by former Clinton administration chief of staff John Podesta. Find more information online, and donate to Genocide Intervention Fund, c/o Center for American Progress, 1333 H Street NW, 10<sup>th</sup> Floor, Washington DC 20005, United States.

### **SAVE DARFUR COALITION**

**[www.savedarfur.org](http://www.savedarfur.org)**

The Coalition unites diverse faith-based bodies to coordinate political action and act as a clearinghouse of updated information on the situation in Darfur. The Coalition issues bulletins highlighting the latest campaigns on the issue, and includes packets of information for those willing to act. Contribute to its work by purchasing its 'Not On My Watch—Save Darfur' wristband. Wristbands are a powerful, tangible expression of personal commitment to action. They are available in packages of ten for \$15, plus \$5 per order for shipping and handling. There are two options for ordering: You can send a check to Save Darfur Coalition, 1000 Connecticut Avenue, NW, Suite 802, Washington, D.C. 20036, United States. (Please include your shipping and email addresses.). Or, you can use a credit card online on the Save Darfur Coalition's donations page. Make sure to write "I am ordering wristbands" in the comments box AND send an email to [wristbands@savedarfur.org](mailto:wristbands@savedarfur.org) confirming your order and shipping address.