

Endnotes

1. Barbara Harff, *Genocide and Human Rights: International Legal and Political Issues*. Monograph Series in World Affairs Vol. 20, Book 3 (Denver: Graduate School of International Studies, 1984).
2. This discussion builds on distinctions made by Helen Fein, "Scenarios of Genocide: Models of Genocide and Critical Responses," and Leo Kuper, "Types of Genocide and Mass Murder," both in Israel W. Charny (ed.), *Toward the Understanding and Prevention of Genocide: Proceedings of the International Conference on the Holocaust and Genocide* (Boulder, Col., and London: Westview Press, 1984).
3. In Barbara Harff, "Genocide as State Terrorism," pp. 165-187 in Michael Stohl and George A. Lopez (eds.), *Government Violence and Repression: An Agenda for Research* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1986), and "The Etiology of Genocide," in Isador Walliman and Michael N. Dobkowski (eds.), pp. 41-59 in *Genocide and the Modern Age: Etiology and Case Studies of Mass Death* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1987).
4. See Helen Fein, *Accounting for Genocide: National Responses and Jewish Victimization during the Holocaust* (New York: Free Press, 1979).
5. Barbara Harff, "Early Warning of Potential Genocide: The Cases of Rwanda, Burundi, Bosnia, and Abkhazia," pp. 47-78 in Ted Robert Gurr and Barbara Harff, *Early Warning of Communal Conflicts and Genocide: Linking Empirical Research to International Responses* (Tokyo: United Nations University Press, Monograph Series on Governance and Conflict Resolution 05, 1996). It has been argued that Burundi in the 1990s had an ongoing genocide because of the high number of casualties - an estimated 200,000 between 1992 and 1999. It does not meet the general definition used in this chapter because there has been no sustained policy of elimination. Rather the killings have resulted from ethnic massacres by rival Tutsi and Hutu extremists. The case was chosen for accelerator analysis precisely because of the ethnic massacres and because Burundi has a history of ethnic violence turning into genocide, as in 1972 and 1988. The Abkhaz situation was of special interest because Abkhaz leaders claimed their peoples were victims of genocide, a claim rejected by external observers.
6. For more details see Barbara Harff and Ted Robert Gurr, "Systematic Early Warning of Humanitarian Emergencies," *Journal of Peace Research* XXXV (1998) 551-79; Barbara Harff, "Could Humanitarian Crises have been Anticipated in Burundi, Rwanda, and Zaire? A Comparative Study of Anticipatory Indicators," in Hayward Alker, Ted Robert Gurr, and Kumar Rupesinghe (eds.), *Journeys through Conflict: Narratives and Lessons* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2001); and Barbara Harff with Pamela T. Surko and Alan Unger, "Risk Assessment and Early Warning of Genocides and Political Mass Murder: Two Empirical Studies" (under review for publication).
7. The State Failure project was established in 1994 at the request of the Clinton Administration. Two published reports that describe the cases, procedures, and results are Daniel C. Esty, Jack A. Goldstone, Ted Robert Gurr, Barbara Harff, Pamela T. Surko, Alan N. Unger, and Robert Chen, "The State Failure Project: Early Warning Research for U.S. Foreign Policy Planning," pp. 27-38 in John L. Davies and Ted Robert Gurr (eds.), *Preventive Measures: Building Risk Assessment and Crisis Early Warning Systems* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 1998) and Daniel C. Esty, Jack A. Goldstone, Ted Robert Gurr, Barbara Harff, Marc Levy, Geoffrey D. Dabelko, Pamela T. Surko, and Alan N. Unger, "State Failure Task Force Report: Phase II Findings," *Environmental Change and Security Project Report*, Issue 5 (Summer 1999) (Washington, D.C.: The Woodrow Wilson Center).
8. Details of the study's findings are reported in Harff with Surko and Unger, "Risk Assessment and Early Warning of Genocides and Political Mass Murder," note 6.