



**“WE WANT TO GO  
HOME, BUT WE  
CAN’T”:**

CÔTE D’IVOIRE’S  
CONTINUING CRISIS OF  
DISPLACEMENT AND  
INSECURITY

**AMNESTY  
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Cover photo: Site of displaced people in the Catholic mission of Guiglo, June 2011 © AI

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# 1. INTRODUCTION

“For us the top three priorities, no, the top ten priorities for starting our lives again are all the same – security.”

Displaced Ivorian, Adéhem<sup>1</sup>

Serious human rights violations and abuses, including crimes against humanity, war crimes, torture, enforced disappearances and extrajudicial executions have been committed in Côte d’Ivoire since the arrest of former president Laurent Gbagbo on 11 April 2011. The end of the political crisis - that erupted in the country following the contested outcome of the November 2010 presidential election<sup>2</sup> - and the installation of a new government appointed by President Alassane Ouattara did not put an end to the insecurity of the population in Abidjan, the economic capital, and in many other parts of the country. As a result, as of 30 June 2011, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) estimated that close to 670,000 Ivoirians remained displaced – 500,000 internally displaced and some 170,000 as refugees in neighbouring countries, mainly Liberia.<sup>3</sup>

An Amnesty International delegation visited the country for two weeks in June 2011 and carried out research into crimes under international law and human rights violations and abuses committed in Abidjan and three other regions in the south and west of the country.<sup>4</sup> Serious violations, including war crimes and crimes against humanity, have been committed by militia groups and Liberian mercenaries loyal to Laurent Gbagbo as well as by the Republican Forces of Côte d’Ivoire (*Forces républicaines de Côte d’Ivoire, FRCI*) created by the new President, Alassane Ouattara on 17 March 2011.<sup>5</sup> A state-sponsored militia composed of Dozos (traditional hunters)<sup>6</sup> have also committed crimes under international law and serious human rights abuses which appear to have been supported or condoned by the FRCI. Amnesty International has documented a close relationship between the Dozos and the FRCI, including with respect to such matters as supplies, ammunition and planning operations. As such the organization considers them to have taken on the character of a militia group at this time and holds the Ivorian government accountable for the abuses Dozos have committed.

In all areas visited, Amnesty International documented crimes under international law and human rights violations and abuses, including extrajudicial executions and other unlawful

killings, rape and other sexual violence, torture, other ill-treatment and arbitrary arrest and detention; as well as the consequences of high levels of displacement, pervasive insecurity, and intentional destruction of homes and other buildings not justified by military necessity.

It is therefore not surprising that the number of displaced people and refugees, the overwhelming number of whom belong to ethnic groups perceived as supporters of Laurent Gbagbo, remains very high. In several parts of the country, particularly in the south and west, internal displacement is closely linked to access to land. Many displaced people continue to be prevented from recovering their houses and land, either because they are afraid to return home or because other people are occupying their land. This issue is a long-standing source of conflict between communities and needs to be addressed as a priority.

This document focuses on the continuing insecurity and the ongoing displacement of people both within Côte d'Ivoire and in neighbouring countries, mainly Liberia. It does not deal with concerns related to the detention of Laurent Gbagbo and a number of his actual or perceived supporters, which were the subject of a separate recent Amnesty International report.<sup>7</sup>

Some of the events covered in this report occurred as part of the non-international armed conflict that followed the contested November 2010 presidential elections; the conflict continued after the arrest of Laurent Gbagbo and ended by mid-May when some groups of pro-Gbagbo Liberian mercenaries retreated from Abidjan to Liberia. The conduct of the parties to the conflict is governed by international humanitarian law. Serious violations of international humanitarian law described in this report constitute war crimes; other serious violations carried out as part of a widespread or systematic attack on the civilian population constitute crimes against humanity.<sup>8</sup>

Amnesty International recognizes the challenges for the new Ivorian government of establishing the rule of law and restoring security in a country which is flooded with weapons and where armed groups and militias have been committing gross violations and abuses, including war crimes and crimes against humanity, with impunity. The organization is calling on President Alassane Ouattara and on his government led by Prime Minister Guillaume Soro, who is also Minister of Defence, to exercise strict control over the FRCI and any forces fighting alongside them, including the Dozos. They must make clear that anyone responsible for ordering, carrying out or failing to prevent human rights violations will be held accountable for their actions, and ensure that anyone suspected of responsibility for crimes under international law is brought to justice in proceedings that conform to international fair trial standards.

The Ivorian government must work urgently with the international community to resolve the country's continuing human rights crisis and, in particular, to move rapidly to address the rampant insecurity and grave human rights violations and abuses that fuel continued displacement.

Given that government security forces and the Dozos are currently committing crimes under international law and human rights violations, the protection role of the peacekeeping forces of the United Nations Operation in Côte d'Ivoire (UNOCI) is key. Amnesty International is calling on UNOCI to fully carry out its mandate of civilian protection, as enshrined in several resolutions of the UN Security Council.<sup>9</sup>

If not addressed quickly, the very serious consequences of the recent wave of insecurity and displacement will have further repercussions during the coming years and may fuel growing discontent and unrest, undermining efforts to promote reconciliation in a country torn apart by a decade of ethnic strife and violent conflict.

## 2. CONTINUING DISPLACEMENT DUE TO INSECURITY

Côte d'Ivoire has long been a country that has received migrants and refugees from other countries in West Africa. For decades large numbers of people have migrated to Côte d'Ivoire from neighbouring countries, particularly Burkina Faso, Mali, Guinea and Senegal, drawn by the possibilities of working in the country's agricultural sector. Those communities have become well-established in the country over several generations now. They have also, however, faced discrimination and grave human rights violations and abuses for many years.

Côte d'Ivoire has also hosted significant numbers of refugees over the years, most notably tens of thousands of Liberians who fled their country after civil war broke out in Liberia in 1989. Welcomed at first, over the past 10 years Liberian refugees have found themselves targeted by both sides of the conflict in Côte d'Ivoire following the September 2002 coup attempt. This resulted in the *de facto* partition of Côte d'Ivoire into a northern zone controlled by an armed opposition movement, the Armed Forces of the New Forces (*Forces armées des Forces nouvelles, FAFN*) led by Guillaume Soro, and a southern zone loyal to the then President Laurent Gbagbo. In the aftermath of the coup attempt, many Liberian refugees were victims of human rights abuses committed by the various parties to the conflict, who ill-treated them, looted their possessions and recruited some of them into their ranks, while at the same time accusing Liberian refugees in general of supporting their opponents.<sup>10</sup>

The *de facto* partition of the country in 2002 provoked massive internal displacement as well as refugee flows into neighbouring countries, mainly Liberia. That displacement has again reached very high levels over the past eight months. As soon as fighting and human rights violations began in the aftermath of the November 2010 presidential election, people started to flee from their homes both in Abidjan and in several parts of the west of the country. Some did not go far and sought safety in other neighbourhoods in Abidjan, or in nearby towns and villages in other parts of the country. Several hundred thousand people fled from the country seeking refuge in neighbouring countries, the majority in Liberia. At the height of the crisis, UNHCR estimated the number of people fleeing their homes – in Abidjan alone – to be between 700,000 and 1,000,000.<sup>11</sup>

A substantial number of displaced people returned to their homes in April and May 2011, following Laurent Gbagbo's arrest on 11 April and again after Alassane Ouattara was sworn in as President on 21 May. There was hope and expectation that both of those events would bring violence and human rights violations to an end. However, in the days and weeks following Laurent Gbagbo's arrest, there was a wave of reprisal attacks against neighbourhoods, villages and ethnic groups suspected of being supporters of the former President.<sup>12</sup> Amnesty International also documented a rise in human rights violations during the period immediately following the day Alassane Ouattara was inaugurated as president.



As a result, rates of return have slowed dramatically and, in some locations, there has been renewed displacement. For instance, the number of displaced people living in the grounds of the Catholic Mission of Our Lady of Nazareth in Guiglo, has increased from 3,376 at the time of a census carried out on 10 May, to more than 4,000 one month later.<sup>13</sup> In June, Amnesty International visited numerous villages in western Côte d’Ivoire, particularly between the towns of Guiglo and Bloléquin, to which as many as 60-75 per cent of the Guéré population – generally perceived to have been loyal to Laurent Gbagbo - had not yet returned. For instance, by 11 June 2011, about 12,000 individuals were still living in the grounds of the Catholic Mission in Duékoué (about 500 km to the west of Abidjan). Recognizing that the prospect of many of those people returning to their villages seems increasingly distant, UNHCR has decided to build a formal site to which they would be transferred. By mid-July 2011, two blocks of housing were complete and some 800 displaced people had been transferred to the new site. During its visit to this area, Amnesty International also learned that rates of return of Ivorian refugees from Liberia had slowed dramatically as well.



Displaced people  
site at St. Laurent  
Catholic Church in  
Abidjan, June  
2011

By mid-June 2011, more than 55,000 people continued to be displaced in the Abidjan area also. Much of the displacement was not readily visible as people had fled to the homes of family and friends or to nearby villages.<sup>14</sup> The two neighbourhoods most dramatically affected by displacement in Abidjan have been Abobo, where real or perceived supporters of Alassane Ouattara have long been targeted for killings, rape and torture by pro-Gbagbo security forces

and militia groups in December 2010 and during the first three months of 2011;<sup>15</sup> and Yopougon, a neighbourhood in which many of the pro-Gbagbo militia groups were based and which has been targeted in a wave of killings, torture and arbitrary arrests by the FRCI in the weeks following the arrest of the former President.

In Yopougon, at the height of the violence in early April 2011, 8,500 people had fled to the grounds of the St. Laurent Church. Most have now returned to their homes, but as of 10 June 2011 some 700 remained, fearful that it was not yet safe to return. By mid-July, the remaining 150 displaced people were transferred to an UNHCR site.

For the hundreds of thousands of people who continue to be displaced, conditions remain harsh and dangerous. Thousands took refuge on the grounds of various Catholic Missions and other churches throughout the country, in Abidjan and the west. Many of these sites became desperately overcrowded and in the early days there was very little food, shelter or health care available. And while these sites offered some safety, there were also frequent instances of displaced people being threatened and attacked in and around these locations. The Catholic Mission in Duékoué, whose grounds are not much larger than a sprawling schoolyard, was home to approximately 28,000 displaced people at its peak in April 2011. Many other individuals went into hiding in the country’s extensive forests, where they often remained for weeks at a time in precarious conditions.

## 2.1 NO SAFE PLACE FOR THE DISPLACED

For many people displacement did not lead to security. For example, on 25 April 2011, the FRCI launched a raid against displaced people who had found refuge at St. Pierre Catholic Church in Yopougon. At the time, there was still considerable fighting in that area between the FRCI and pro-Gbagbo militia groups and Liberian mercenaries in Abidjan. Close to 1,000 people from the surrounding area had taken refuge on the grounds of the church during the previous week; but many had returned home because it appeared that the fighting was subsiding. There were about 200 people left at the church at the time of the raid by the FRCI on 25 April.

Amnesty International interviewed several eyewitnesses to this raid. They explained that at about 5 pm gunshots could be heard in the neighbourhood and people started fleeing everywhere, including some who came back to the church. At around 6:30 pm the FRCI surrounded the church grounds and came into the courtyard saying that they had seen a militia member run in. People had rushed into classrooms in the church’s school when the FRCI arrived, but the soldiers forced them all out into the church grounds. An eyewitness described to Amnesty International what happened next:

*“They told all of the women to go back into the classrooms, with the children. Then they made all of the men lie down and asked them who were militia members. And before we knew it they had shot and killed three young men, just like that. The first was a man who was obviously incredibly afraid and he tried to run away. They shot him dead at the doorway into the church grounds. The second was a young man with dreadlocks, wearing*

*military fatigues. They said he must be Liberian so they killed him. The third man was killed because they found that he had in his pocket a very small knife that he used to open the coconuts.”*

In several parts of the country, particularly in the south and west, internal displacement is closely linked to the issue of land and security of tenure. Displaced people, in particular those who fled villages in the west of the country, are now prevented from recovering their houses and land, either because they are afraid to return home or because other people are occupying their land.

This issue is a long-standing source of conflict between communities and has been fuelled by the xenophobic rhetoric of the doctrine of “Ivoirité” (see box below).

## LAND, CONFLICT AND IVOIRITÉ

Much of the insecurity at local level, particularly within and around villages and towns in western Côte d’Ivoire, relates to conflicts about access to and control of land for agriculture. For several decades, people from the north of Côte d’Ivoire and from neighbouring countries such as Burkina Faso migrated to the rich agricultural areas located in the west of the country. Many were able to secure access to their own lands and began to develop their own coffee and cocoa plantations.

Tensions around land have always remained high but they were seriously exacerbated by the doctrine of “Ivoirité”, developed in the mid-1990s by a number of intellectuals close to the then President of the country, Henri Konan Bédié. This theory pitted “genuine” Ivoirians (termed “*autochtone*” or indigenous) against “non-indigenous” or “*allogène*” populations, commonly known as *Dioulas*. Depending on the circumstances, the term *Dioula* is used to describe anyone with a Muslim name, or anyone coming from the north of Côte d’Ivoire or other countries in the sub-region (such as Mali, Burkina Faso, Guinea and Senegal).<sup>16</sup>

After the *de facto* partition of the country in 2002, the *Dioulas*, both Ivoirian nationals and migrants from neighbouring countries, including people who had been born in Côte d’Ivoire, often became scapegoats and many of them, especially those from Burkina Faso, were attacked and chased from lands that they had, in some instances, been cultivating for decades.

Since the *de facto* division of the country in 2002, all communities have been victims of expulsion or were forced to flee from their lands and houses by all parties to the conflict. Notably, hundreds of thousands of people lost all their belongings and had to return to Burkina Faso.

However, during the past eight months, the main victims of this displacement and dispossession have become the “*autochtone*” communities, generally perceived as supporters of Laurent Gbagbo. The offensive launched by the FAFN and the Dozos in the west of the country, beginning in December 2010 and January 2011, caused tens of thousands of “*autochtone*” ethnic groups to flee their homes and lands. This was particularly the case for the Guéré ethnic group in the area of Duékoué and Guiglo.

Displacement grew as fighting spread and intensified over the subsequent months. As a result, many people, in some situations almost entire communities, have not been working

their lands for months. They have not planted or harvested crops that they would traditionally rely upon both to feed their families and to sell. This problem risks becoming endemic as, due to the continuing insecurity, many do not dare to return home and may become permanently dispossessed from their houses and lands.

The recent post-electoral crisis has also affected the thousands of Liberian refugees remaining in Côte d’Ivoire. Many refugees have returned to Liberia over the past eight years, following significant changes in that country. But many have remained in Côte d’Ivoire, particularly those who have lived in the country for a long time, many of whom were born in Côte d’Ivoire. As of 27 May 2011, a total of 24,000 Liberian refugees remained in Côte d’Ivoire.<sup>17</sup>

Liberian Refugee Camp,  
Guiglo, June 2011



Liberian refugees have been targeted for widespread reprisal attacks, particularly after the 2002 armed uprising and again since the resumption of the violence after the November 2010 presidential election, largely because some Liberians were recruited as mercenaries at different times during the last decade by all the parties to the conflict. These mercenaries have been responsible for crimes under international law and serious human rights abuses. During each of the three fact-finding visits to Côte d’Ivoire since the beginning of 2011, Amnesty International has interviewed numerous Liberian refugees among a group of 600 in a camp beside the UNOCI base in the town of Guiglo, in the west of the country. One leader of the community told Amnesty International in June that:

“We have become like prisoners in this small camp. We cannot leave and even set one foot outside this camp because we could be killed at any time. Too many people hate Liberians in this country right now. They tell us we should go back to Liberia. But for many of us Liberia is a country we have tried to forget and for many others it is a country they have never known.”

Facing this massive level of continuing displacement, government officials, including ministers in President Ouattara’s new government, have made frequent public statements encouraging people to return home. When the Amnesty International delegation was at the Catholic Mission in Guiglo on 11 June, a delegation led by the Minister of Human Rights and accompanied by a large government and UNOCI security contingent, arrived to address the displaced population and exhort them to return to their villages.

However, the reasons why so many people do not dare to return home remain still quite obvious. In June 2011, one displaced person explained to Amnesty International why he could not leave the grounds of the St. Laurent Church in Yopougon, where he was living:

“I was out on the street, not far from here yesterday morning [3 June]. Suddenly an FRCI patrol stopped me and accused me of stealing. They took me to the nearby village of Kouté. And they beat me. They used a belt and gun butts. They hit me about 25 times. They only let me go when my relatives paid them 3,000 CFA Francs (approximately 5 Euros). I don’t want to leave the Mission again. I certainly can’t go home.”

Many people who fled from their homes, in particular in towns and villages in the west of the country, are afraid to return home as they feel threatened by the pervasive and growing presence of the FRCI and Dozo fighters and patrols.

A 44-year-old woman told Amnesty International that she had hoped that President Ouattara’s investiture would mark the end of the war but two days later, on 23 May 2011, her 65-year-old husband and 27-year-old son were killed in front of her by Dozo fighters in the village of Douandrou (some 580 north-west of Abidjan). She expressed deep despair about the situation in the country saying that she didn’t think things ever would “become safe enough to go back to the village.”

Three days later, on 26 May 2011, two brothers aged 13 and 19 were attacked and killed by a group of Dozos as they were returning home with their father after hiding in the bush for several weeks. Amnesty International interviewed their father, a 41-year-old displaced man from the village of Bédya-Goazon:

“I had been hiding in the forest with my family for many weeks. After President Ouattara’s investiture everyone said it was now safe, so on 26 May we decided to go back to our village. We were walking on a roadway near the village. My sons were walking ahead and suddenly I heard them scream. I could see that they had been stopped by a group of Dozo fighters. My oldest son told me to run and said: ‘We are already dead.’ I ran away and heard shots. I came back later with friends but could not find their bodies. I saw blood on the road. I cannot get it out of my mind. I keep hearing their cries and their shouts and the gunshots. I see their blood. A father is supposed to protect his children. I could do nothing to stop this.”

This insecurity is clearly linked with the increased presence of Dozos in many areas of the west of the country. In general, in comparison with previous Amnesty International research visits to the Duékoué and Guiglo area in January/February 2011 and April 2011, the presence of the Dozos, circulating on motorcycles, bicycles and on foot, or based at checkpoints – always armed – has increased dramatically. In Duékoué’s Carrefour neighbourhood, where hundreds of civilians were killed at the end of March 2011 by the FRCI, the Dozos and other armed groups fighting alongside them, very few Guéré have returned to their homes. Those who have returned told Amnesty International that armed Dozo fighters on motorcycles now frequently ride up and down the main street of the neighbourhood. One neighbourhood resident said that:

“They don’t have to do anything more than that. They don’t even have to get off their motorcycles. Just coming through as often as they do with their arms is enough to keep us afraid. That is what they want.”

Amnesty International has examined population figures and rates of return of displaced people established by village chiefs and other leaders in the Guéré community in various villages in the west. It was clear that thousands of Guéré have not yet returned to their homes. For instance, village leaders in Douandrou, between Guiglo and Bloléquin, told Amnesty International that they estimate that as of 12 June, only 126 of 623 Guéré inhabitants of the village had returned. In nearby Zéaglo village officials indicated that they estimate only 693 of approximately 5,000 Guéré villagers have come back; and in Bédy-Goazon, an estimated 1,000 of 8,000 Guéré had returned.

Until security, rule of law and justice are restored throughout the country, it is unlikely that the rate of return will increase significantly and it is instead possible that even more Ivorians will flee from their homes.

## 3. CONTINUING HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS AND ABUSES

Since the arrest of Laurent Gbagbo on 11 April 2011, crimes under international law, including crimes against humanity and war crimes, have been committed by militias and Liberian mercenaries loyal to the former president and by the FRCI and the Dozos.

Pro-Gbagbo militia groups and Liberian mercenaries committed crimes under international law in many different areas as they first made an attempted stand against the FRCI’s offensive in Abidjan and then retreated from the economic capital and moved towards Liberia in the latter part of April and the beginning of May. At the same time a wave of reprisal attacks against real or perceived Gbagbo supporters by forces and militia groups loyal to Alassane Ouattara targeted people and communities in Abidjan and in parts of the south-west and west of the country, based largely on ethnicity and perceptions that young, fit men were likely to have been members of militias.

In late April and early May 2011, crimes under international law were attributable to both parties to the conflict. From mid-May onwards, these crimes were overwhelmingly committed by the FRCI and the Dozos.

### 3.1 CRIMES UNDER INTERNATIONAL LAW COMMITTED BY PRO-GBAGBO MILITIA GROUPS AND LIBERIAN MERCENARIES

Since the FRCI’s offensive against Abidjan at the end of March and until their retreat from the economic capital in early May, militias and Liberian mercenaries loyal to the former president killed scores of people in Abidjan, mostly in the districts of Yopougon, Koumassi, and Port Bouët. The killings were part of a pattern of reprisals and retribution against real or perceived supporters of the new President.

An eyewitness told Amnesty International that in early April, a disabled person who could not walk was arrested at a checkpoint set up by pro-Gbagbo militias in the district of Port-Bouët:

“A disabled person was on his bicycle when he was arrested. He was shot by a bullet and fell to the ground. Then he had his throat slit.”

On 4 April 2011, a Dioula from Burkina Faso named Ky Soumaila was stopped at a

checkpoint by a pro-Gbagbo militia in Port-Bouët. He was beaten and killed with a machete and then his body was burned.

Liberian mercenaries and pro-Gbagbo militia fighters also left a bloody trail - killing dozens of real or alleged supporters of Alassane Ouattara when they retreated from Abidjan and headed to Liberia in early May 2011 (See below, Section 4: A cycle of attacks and reprisals).

## 3.2 CRIMES UNDER INTERNATIONAL LAW COMMITTED BY THE FRCI

The FRCI are now deployed widely across Côte d’Ivoire. But in many regions both the mere presence and the actual behaviour of FRCI troops are a source of considerable insecurity. They have not yet won the trust and confidence of many ethnic groups, who have been targeted since the FRCI launched their general offensive against Laurent Gbagbo in March 2011.

### 3.2.1. CRIMES UNDER INTERNATIONAL LAW IN ABIDJAN

Since the arrest of Laurent Gbagbo on 11 April 2011, the FRCI have been responsible for crimes under international law in Abidjan, particularly in the Yopougon neighbourhood.

In June 2011, Amnesty International delegates in Abidjan collected numerous first-hand and eyewitness accounts of recent crimes under international law by FRCI forces. Particularly at risk are young men who appear to be physically fit, as they are perceived as likely to have been members of pro-Gbagbo militia groups. One individual described witnessing the killing of 33-year-old Hubert Goubou Djriepé on 29 May 2011:

“He just worked at the city’s water agency. But someone reported to the FRCI that he had been with the militias. They killed him by putting a tyre around his neck and setting it on fire. His body was totally carbonized.”

Another eyewitness described the summary killing of the 30 years old Élisée Monteme Aneammin, on 5 May:

“Several soldiers arrived in the neighbourhood in four vehicles. I was out doing some shopping but was not far from our home. Élisée was at home. I am Dioula and I could understand what they were saying. People were starting to yell and run. I heard gunshots everywhere. I was running to our house. I heard more gunshots and I heard someone say, in Dioula, ‘Bara Bana’ (the job is done). I arrived home and found that it was Élisée who had been shot and killed. We know that he did nothing wrong. We have gone to the FRCI many times now asking why they did this. We got no answers.”



Amnesty International also learned of cases of enforced disappearances by the FRCI. In one of these instances, in early May 2011, three military officers were arrested by the FRCI in Yopougon. Two were released but the third, Mathurin Tapé, who was a Bété (the ethnic group to which Laurent Gbagbo belongs), remained unaccounted for. An eyewitness told Amnesty International:

“On 2 May, around 2:30pm, the FRCI knocked at the door and asked us to open. Some neighbours, a soldier who was Baoulé<sup>18</sup> and a Lobi<sup>19</sup>gendarme who were living in the neighbourhood and had joined the FRCI, were at home with us. Everyone stood up when they arrived. They announced that they had no problem with us personally but that they were going to carry out searches in order to know if there were weapons. They asked the three soldiers to follow them. The day after, these two men came back but Mathurin Tapé did not. We have looked for him in several places of detention including the police station of the 16e *arrondissement* but we couldn’t find him.”



Mathurin Tapé, a soldier who disappeared after being arrested by the FRCI on 2 May 2011

Other people were arrested at home and found dead a few days later. On 5 May, the chief of the Niango district in Yopougon, who was named Jean Kpain and nicknamed “Vieux” (old man), was arrested by the FRCI and accused of not assisting young Dioulas who had been killed there a few days earlier by supporters of Laurent Gbagbo. A member of his family told the Amnesty International delegation: “They tied his hands behind his back and brought him to a military vehicle. His body was found later in the road to Dabou bearing the marks of beatings.”

The FRCI have also been responsible for torture and other ill-treatment of displaced people. Four young men interviewed by Amnesty International at the St. Laurent Church in Abidjan recounted experiences of being arbitrarily arrested and shot or badly beaten by the FRCI. One of them described his experience as follows:

“The FRCI came here to the Church on the Friday after Easter [29 April 2011]. They singled us out because we are in good physical shape. They took us to their base at the Lagoon. They made us strip to our underwear. We were forced to kneel. The whole time they kept their guns pointed directly at us. Then at about 3pm the beatings started and they didn’t stop for three hours. They beat us with everything they had at hand. When they finished, they just let us go. They stole our cell phones and any money we had. They even refused to give my shirt back to me.”

Another victim told Amnesty International:

“On the Tuesday after Easter [26 April 2011] a group of FRCI soldiers came to where I was working as a security guard. They accused me of being with the militia. I showed them the palms of my hands and said, there, can’t you see that I’ve never touched a gun

in my life? They didn't believe me. They handcuffed me. They shot me in my right foot and then they shot me two times in my left foot. I fell to the ground and couldn't walk. They forced me to walk on my knees to the Kenya Pharmacy. They were threatening to kill me by setting me on fire. Fortunately another FRCI soldier came along. I had helped him the previous day when he was looking for a place to get some food and drink. He told them to let me go."

### 3.2.2. CRIMES UNDER INTERNATIONAL LAW IN THE WEST OF THE COUNTRY

Amnesty International has documented crimes under international law including crimes against humanity committed by the FRCI in the west of the country since the arrest of Laurent Gbagbo, including extrajudicial executions, rape and other crimes of sexual violence, enforced disappearances and torture.

There are numerous reports of FRCI soldiers killing people they have detained. Four men, Emmanuel and Elegan Koué (27-year-old twins), Armand Bealie and Armand Napoh, were arrested by the FRCI on 13 May in the village of Nibi II, south of Soubré (some 300 km south-east of Abidjan). They were accused of being members or sympathizers of pro-Gbagbo militias and were killed. Two other people, Joel Tesse Cane, aged 35, and another man were killed behind a church in the village of Douandrou on 19 May 2011, not long after being arrested by the FRCI in the nearby village of Guéya, west of Guiglo.

People who were told that they could return safely to their villages were targeted by the FRCI, who accused some of them of being supporters of Laurent Gbagbo. One eyewitness told Amnesty International:

"We found refuge in the Cavally region and on 25 May we were told that we could go back to the village [of Douandrou]. There were 12 of us and we began to return around 6am. Around 10am, a few kilometres away from the village, we were checked at a roadblock by about 10 FRCI soldiers wearing fatigues and boots or Leke (plastic sandals). One of the villagers, who wore a T-shirt with the face of Laurent Gbagbo, was arrested by the FRCI and they asked him why he was still wearing this T-shirt since the elected President was now Ouattara. He explained that he didn't have any other clothes. They tied his hands up behind his back and one of them slit his throat. His name was Alain Bondé and he was 17."

Another member of this group told Amnesty International:

"Then the FRCI announced that now the land will be inhabited by Burkinabé. They accused muscular young men of being militia members. They took five young men and tied their hands to their feet, behind their back. They were hunched over and the FRCI made them lie back and look up at the sky. They slit their throats. Their bodies were left on the spot."

Ivorian refugees returning from Liberia have also been killed by the FRCI. On 29 May, near the Cavally River, FRCI soldiers reportedly fired on the family of Felix Monouen, his two wives

and three children, who were returning from Liberia, killing his 15-year-old son, Alfred Zouan.

People were also tortured by the FRCI. One 38-year-old man described to Amnesty International how he was tortured on 20 May 2011 in Duékoué, and showed his injuries to the delegation: “The FRCI tied me to a tree, tied a mattress around me and set the mattress on fire. The flames burned through the ropes holding the mattress to my body and I then fell to the ground. But my left arm was badly burned.”



Scarred arm of man  
tortured and burned by  
FRCI in Duékoué on 20  
May 2011

The FRCI repeatedly arrested (on 11 April, 20 April, 11 May and 13 May) the leader of the Youth Committee from the village of Nibi II, sometimes holding him for a few hours, sometimes for several days. He told Amnesty International that they subjected him to frequent beatings in custody and, on one occasion, tortured him by dripping burning plastic all over his body.

Amnesty International collected several testimonies from people who described being tortured with burning plastic dripped on their body. A woman, from the village of Goya (between Bloléquin and Toulepleu), told Amnesty International:

“One week before the investiture of Alassane Ouattara, the Dozos and the military arrived at our *campement* [a house surrounded by a plantation] and everybody fled. Those who couldn’t flee were caught. They killed my husband, Gabriel Biah, and my daughter Philomène Gueï, who was 22 and was pregnant. After killing my husband, I asked them to kill me too. They told me that they didn’t want to do that and that I would get something different. They tied up both my hands, then they set fire to a plastic bag and poured the melted plastic on my forearm.”

The FRCI have also been responsible for rape and other crimes of sexual violence against women and girls. One young girl who survived being raped told Amnesty International:

"On 22 May, I was in the bush with other villagers when the FRCI found us. They accused us of passing information on to militia members. They surrounded us and told us to take off our clothes, the men kept their underwear. They tied our hands up, then they chose two young men, Leyero Ange, 18 years old, and Leyero Odeina, 15 years old, who were very muscular and accused them of being militia members. They slit their throats. After the death of these two young men, they threatened to kill my father. We cried. They told us he would be spared if I agreed to have sex with them. My hands were tied behind my back. Three soldiers raped me in turn, in front of my parents. Fifteen people, including my parents and I, were sent to an official's residence. That evening, a soldier asked me to follow him. He wanted me to come with him into a room. I refused and I shouted. He gagged me with a rag, tied my hands up behind my back and threw me to the ground. He then took off my clothes and raped me. The same evening another soldier came and raped me as well."

Another woman, Laurence Banjneron, aged 27, was killed while resisting being raped by FRCI soldiers in the village of Toulepleu, near the Liberian border, on 11 May 2011. She reportedly bit the hand of an FRCI soldier who was attempting to rape her. The soldier killed her and reportedly later shot and killed her husband Jean Pierre Péhé, when he arrived to make inquiries about what had happened to his wife.



Photos of Laurence Banjneron and Jean-Pierre Pehe, killed by the FRCI on 11 May 2011 in the village of Toulepleu

Other women were also raped by the FRCI in the village of Tanyo (in the region of Soubré) on 12 May 2011. One eyewitness told Amnesty International:

"After the Liberians passed through our village on 10 May, we went to the bush in order to find refuge. The same day the FRCI arrived and started shooting in the air to scare us. They started looting, then they chased us into the bush. After that, the FRCI threatened to kill us if we didn't go back to the village. So most of the women returned home. We were really scared. One evening [on 12 May 2011] someone knocked at the door. When we asked who it was, we heard it was the FRCI. My mother opened the door. Three FRCI soldiers took three women including me. They threatened us with their weapons and we followed them. They asked us where the young men were, we answered we didn't know. They told us to lie down and aimed their guns at our faces. I told them I was having my period but they said that I was lying. When they tore off my loincloth (*pagne*), they saw I wasn't lying. They raped two other women in turn. We went back home. The following day, they came back and they took a 16-year-old girl who was four months pregnant. When she came back, she was crying. She told her parents she had been raped three times."

A number of people in the west have been subjected to enforced disappearance after being arrested by the FRCI. Gabriel Kouonzon was reportedly taken from his home in Bloléquin at 2 am on 27 May 2011 by FRCI soldiers. Neighbours told his sister that they could hear him yelling in a nearby forest until around 5 am and that they heard nothing more after that. He had been reportedly crying out, "they are going to kill me; they are going to kill me." There had been no further news of him as of 11 June.

Amnesty International heard of several cases in which FRCI soldiers reportedly bluntly told their victims that they were now the "masters of the country" and could "do whatever they wanted." For example, Robert Guy Dogba, aged 61, and his two sons were captured by FRCI soldiers at approximately 7 pm on 23 May, while walking between Bédya-Goazon and Guiglo. The soldiers reportedly tortured Robert Guy Dogba by pouring gasoline on him after which they killed him with machetes. His two sons were allowed to go. The soldiers reportedly told them: "See, the country belongs to us now."

Amnesty International also collected information about crimes allegedly committed by FRCI members which have not been investigated by the authorities. For example, on 30 May 2011, outside the village of Zéaglo, between Bloléquin and Guiglo, a man and his pregnant wife were killed along with four of their children. One child survived and was able to identify the people responsible. They have been described as armed members of the Dioula community. The FRCI did reportedly arrest some individuals on 2 June 2011 but reportedly released them unconditionally two days later, apparently without seriously investigating the case.

Account of the killing of a family in the village of Zeaglo on 30 May 2011 written on a blackboard at the center of the village and requesting justice after the perpetrators of the killings were released two days after their arrest.

Des tueries en core dans la forêt de Zeaglo (zone IFA) précisément IFA Mossikro W ZOU Jean kro!  
Un ressortissant de la SIP de ZOU, nommé KAKRO, sa famille et femme enceinte de 9 MOIS originaire de BÉDY GOAZDN, ont été tués dans la nuit du 30.05.2011 à 19 heures 30.  
Les auteurs de ce drame sont les Bawé, les Mossi, les Sénoufo, les Lobi et bien d'autres qui sont aujourd'hui les maîtres de la forêt des guérés, qui sont dépourvus de tous leurs Liens (maisons brûlées, des porcs emportés, des pillages et...)  
Il faut retenir que ces hommes sont armés de Kalachnikov, de R.G., de lances Robettes...  
Une enquête est mise sur pied par les éléments des FRCI pour appréhender ces malfaiteurs.  
NB: les remerciements aux ONG telles que: PAM, CROIX-ROUGE, OXFAM

A travers ce drame nous pouvons retenir que l'insécurité est totale à Zeaglo.  
INFO ZEA N° 06 du 05 Juin 2011  
Des auteurs du drame du 30.05.2011 qui étaient détenus à Plolequin depuis le 02.06.2011 sont mis en liberté totale dans conditions par les FRCI de la brigade de Plolequin depuis le 04.06.2011.  
Leur retour à Zeaglo est inquiétant pour les autochtones. Ses parents de ces victimes réclament la Justice.

In this context of ongoing and widespread human rights violations and crimes under international law committed by the FRCI, it is very difficult for the communities, who are generally perceived to have been supporters of Laurent Gbagbo, to see these security forces as a force able or willing to provide them with protection. A displaced Guéré community leader from the village of Bédi-Goazon told Amnesty International on 13 June 2011:

“The FRCI is not our security force. They are for the Dioulas. They tell us that they are now here for all the people of Côte d’Ivoire. So why do they only come after us, the Guéré, and are always doing what the allogènes ask them to do? Here in the village the Dioulas now tell us Gbagbo was our president and Ouattara will be their president. They say it to make us feel afraid.”

### 3.2.3 CRIMES UNDER INTERNATIONAL LAW COMMITTED BY THE DOZOS

Amnesty International has also documented extensive crimes under international law and human rights violations committed by the Dozos, who have now taken on the character of a state-sponsored militia<sup>20</sup>. These traditional hunters have become increasingly involved in the conflict in Côte d’Ivoire over the past decade. This has included providing security to Dioula populations that have been threatened and attacked during the last decade by security forces and militias loyal to former President Laurent Gbagbo.

## CLOSE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE DOZOS AND THE FRCI

The Dozos had close connections with the New Forces, the armed opposition group that controlled the north of the country following the 2002 coup attempt. Those connections, and a close working relationship, have intensified considerably with the creation of the FRCI in March 2011.

Amnesty International has received numerous eyewitness accounts of the FRCI and the Dozos working together in armed operations carried out in various villages in the west of the country. Amnesty International delegates also noted that the Dozos are increasingly taking on a role as an “unofficial” security force in the country. They encountered several Dozo checkpoints both on some of the principal roadways connecting towns in the west and on rough roads through the forest that reach more remote villages.

Amnesty International delegates interviewed one young Dozo who was supervising a checkpoint in a neighbourhood on the outskirts of Duékoué. He described a close working relationship between the Dozos and the FRCI and said that the FRCI often provide them with instructions, such as where to operate checkpoints, and logistical support, including food, fuel for vehicles and ammunition.

In June 2011 Amnesty International also met with Dozo leaders in Duékoué, including the regional Dozo Chief and his son. They confirmed that they are working closely with the FRCI. They indicated that the FRCI has asked them to be responsible for night-time security patrols throughout the region. They said that Dozo fighters frequently apprehend people in the course of these patrols, including when they do not have a “valid” identity card. In such circumstances they hold the people for only a few hours and then turn them over to the FRCI. They were not aware of any law that gives the FRCI the authority to ask them to play that role. At the

same time as describing the close working relationship the Dozo leaders were quick to emphasize that they remain a fiercely independent force and are not in any way controlled by or accountable to the FRCI.

Amnesty International believes that the close cooperation and coordination (including many joint operations) between the Dozos and the FRCI, the support Dozos receive from the authorities in the form of equipment and weapons and the complete impunity the Dozos enjoy, strongly suggests that they are acting as an integral part of the state’s security apparatus. Therefore, Amnesty International is holding the state authorities directly responsible for the violations being committed by the Dozos. The authorities should take decisive action to ensure that the Dozos no longer play any formal or informal security role. They should also either disband and disarm the Dozos, or incorporate them into the formal armed and security forces with proper vetting, accountability, training and a clear chain of command.

During meetings with the Amnesty International delegation in June 2011, Dozo leaders strongly denied that they have been responsible for committing crimes under international law and human rights abuses. They insisted that any killings committed by Dozo fighters have been limited to militias and mercenaries fighting on the side of former President Gbagbo. One Dozo leader told Amnesty International: “Everyone accuses us of being out for revenge. But that is nonsense. If the Guéré were really going to reap everything they have sowed over the many years of attacking our people; then there would not be a single Guéré left.”

However, Amnesty International gathered numerous testimonies showing that the Dozos have been committing serious violations, including deliberately killing or otherwise targeting people often solely on account of their ethnic group.

For instance, Amnesty International documented several cases during May 2011 in which Dozos attacked families from “*autochtone*” ethnic groups, killing and injuring numerous people. On 13 May, a group of Dozos attacked a *campement* outside the village of Bédi-Goazon, killing four men from the same family between the ages of 25 and 35 and injuring many others.

Another family was targeted on 30 May 2011 by Dozos who raided a compound in the village of Doké, between Bloléquin and Toulepleu, shooting and injuring a girl with a baby on her back and killing her husband, Pierre Baié, and his two brothers, Dominique Gria and René Koleiyi.

Dozo fighters also opened fire on a group of young men who were walking to school in Guiglo during the daytime on 21 May, the day Alassane Ouattara was inaugurated as president.

Amnesty International also received reports of the arrest and disappearance of 33-year-old Laurent Goue Kanhen, who was stopped and apprehended on 22 May 2011 at a checkpoint operated by Dozos on a road outside the village of Yoya, near Bloléquin. By 11 June 2011, he remained unaccounted for.

Displaced people and refugees were also targeted. A group of Dozos approached the site where displaced people were living at the Catholic Mission in Guiglo during the night of 4 June and began making threats that they were going to attack. A UNOCI patrol was summoned and the Dozos dispersed.



The same day, a group of Dozos reportedly intercepted and fired on a vehicle carrying a group of Ivorian refugees returning to the country from Liberia, not far from the frontier village of Kpabli, causing the vehicle to turn over and killing at least one person, Thérèse Monqui.

The freedom of the Dozos to operate in this way and commit human rights abuses indicates that their action is tolerated by the authorities, who seem not to have taken any measures to prevent it. Such measures could include investigating the alleged crimes committed by the Dozos. The inaction of the authorities may also lead to the conclusion that Dozos are acting at the instigation of or with the consent or acquiescence of public officials.

## 4. A CYCLE OF ATTACKS AND REPRISALS: FIVE VILLAGES DEVASTATED BY VIOLENCE IN EARLY MAY

Rubble in the village of  
Gobroko, June 2011



Between 5-9 May 2011, five fairly remote villages in the Sassandra region (some 200 km south-west of Abidjan) were the scene of serious violations of international humanitarian law and grave human rights abuses. More than 200 people were killed, most of them unarmed civilians, and dozens of houses were burned and looted. At least 1,000 people were left displaced as a result.

The violence involved several groups: Liberian mercenaries and pro-Gbagbo militias retreating from Abidjan and trying to reach Liberia, the FRCI, Dozos, and armed elements from the different communities.

In early May 2011, a group of pro-Gbagbo mercenaries and militia members were retreating from Abidjan along the coastal road. Near the town of Fresco they came inland and started travelling through the forest in a direction that brought them out onto a road at the village of Godjiboué. Their route was anticipated by the FRCI who set up a barricade in Godjiboué, resulting in intense fighting. The fighting continued as the group of mercenaries and militia members moved southeast from Godjiboué through the villages of Trikpoko, Gnegrouboué and Gbroko.

During the fighting a number of mercenaries, militia members and FRCI soldiers were killed. In June 2011, the Prefect responsible for the area told Amnesty International that approximately 20 pro-Gbagbo mercenaries and militia members and an unknown number of FRCI soldiers had been killed.<sup>21</sup> A number of Dozo fighters and people from the villages who took up arms were also killed. Amnesty International has, however, also documented the killing of many unarmed civilians, some of whom were shot in the midst of the fighting, but most of whom were deliberately killed in the aftermath. Some were shot; others attacked with machetes and others burned in their homes. Many appear to have been targeted on the basis of their ethnic group, against a backdrop of inter-communal attacks and reprisals between the Godié, who are the local “*autochtone*” population, and the Dioula community.

The targeted killings took place in all four villages that had been the scene of fighting between the pro-Gbagbo mercenaries and militia members and FRCI soldiers. Additionally, there was a wave of similar ethnic violence in a fifth village called Adébé, the next village northeast of Godjiboué. Residents of Adébé told Amnesty International that although the pro-Gbagbo Liberian mercenaries and militia groups had not passed through their village, violence erupted nonetheless and crimes under international law were committed.

As they moved through these villages, the Liberian mercenaries targeted the Dioula communities, often to steal food and money but also committing other crimes, including deliberate and arbitrary killings. Amnesty International received information that the Liberian mercenaries were in some instances assisted by local supporters of Laurent Gbagbo.

Amnesty International met with representatives of the Dioula communities in each of these villages who were able to provide estimates of the numbers of Dioulas killed by Liberian mercenaries and pro-Gbagbo militias.

In Godjiboué, 24 members of the Dioula community were killed: 10 women and girls, and 14 men. One survivor told the Amnesty International delegates how the Liberian mercenaries attacked the Dioulas when they entered the village of Godjiboué :

“When they arrived [on 6 May 2011], the villagers were panicking, every one was trying to escape and run into the bush. My father, who was old and couldn’t run quickly, took refuge in a house. The mercenaries chased him and shot him dead as well as another person. The mercenaries also chased the Imam’s wife and her grandson who found protection in a house. They set fire to it. Their two bodies were carbonized.”

The leader of the Dioula community in the nearby village of Gnegrouboué told Amnesty International that on 6 May 2011:

“When the Liberian mercenaries arrived in the village, they killed 28 people, mainly civilians. Some people were killed while they were trying to find protection in houses. At some point, I found refuge in my house along with other people. Liberians came in and killed nine people, including my 22-year-old son, Yacouba Coulibali. When they entered houses, they looked for money as well.”

On 7 May 2011, Liberian mercenaries entered the village of Gobroko and reportedly killed at least 23 Dioulas, most of whom were from neighbouring countries, including four from Nigeria, five from Mali, one from Benin and 10 from Burkina Faso.

After the Liberian mercenaries left the area, the Dozos and the FRCI attacked the Godié communities, the local “*autochtone*” ethnic group, killing many people and looting and burning their properties.

An 81-year-old man from the village of Gobroko and now living there displaced, told Amnesty International:

81 year old man in remains of his house burned in Gobroko on 9 May 2011



“I built this house, with help from all my brothers, in 1972. It was a large house and a solid house and over the years many, many people have lived here. On 6 May [2001] the fighting here was terrible. Liberian mercenaries had come. FRCI soldiers were chasing them. There was fighting everywhere. Everyone seemed to have guns and machetes. At first everyone from my family came and hid in my house. But late in the afternoon the FRCI came to my house. They forced the door open and shot and killed the first person they saw. It was my nephew, Loukoko Awa. So we all started to run. Because of my age I cannot run so others had to help me get away. I didn’t go far – I just hid in the forest over there. I could see what was happening. I stayed in hiding for five days. On the Monday [9 May] a group of Dozos came to my house. They were going to all the Godié houses. They were stealing and breaking everything. And then they set my house on fire. Watching my house burn I felt like my life was ending. I am too old and sick to start again. I hope it is not too late for the country.”

Some people who were arrested by the FRCI and the Dozos were subjected to enforced disappearance. A woman who fled the village of Godjiboué on 6 May 2011 to find refuge in the village of Adébem told Amnesty International:

“We were heading to the village of Adébem when we were stopped by the FRCI and Dozos at a checkpoint. My husband was arrested and I haven’t seen him since then. I found his shirt not far from the place of his arrest.”

People from the same village of Godjiboué who had taken refuge in the bush told Amnesty International that the Dozos used dogs to chase them. One eyewitness told Amnesty International:

“When our village was attacked by the Liberians, we went to take refuge in the bush on Friday evening [6 May 2011]. Dozos launched reprisals the following day on Saturday. We heard the barking of dogs that the Dozos were using to find us. They said they didn’t want to attack women and they were only looking for the young men (“*les garçons*”). They arrested a man, Koffi Beugré [born in 1970] and his young brother-in-law, Dawoua Okou. They tied their hands behind their back and they took them away. I didn’t see them again. Other people who were in the *campement* were arrested as well, they never came back.”

The Dozos also killed people in the village of Adébé even though this village had not been attacked by the pro-Gbagbo Liberian mercenaries and militias. Houses belonging to Godié were burned and people killed as reprisals for the attacks led by Liberian mercenaries and other pro-Gbagbo militias in the four other villages.

A 75-year-old woman from the village of Adébé told Amnesty International:

“It was a nightmare. Suddenly our house was being attacked. I think it started on the Saturday night [7 May 2011]. A group of Dozos had come and they said they wanted to kill all the Godié. I was trapped here in my house with two of my children. Both were shot dead. They set our house on fire and I was very badly hurt. I somehow survived. I have only recently come back from the hospital. I have not seen my husband since. People tell me that his throat was slit by Dozo fighters who caught him while he was trying to hide in the forest.”



75 year old woman injured when her house was burned in Abébé on 7 May 2011

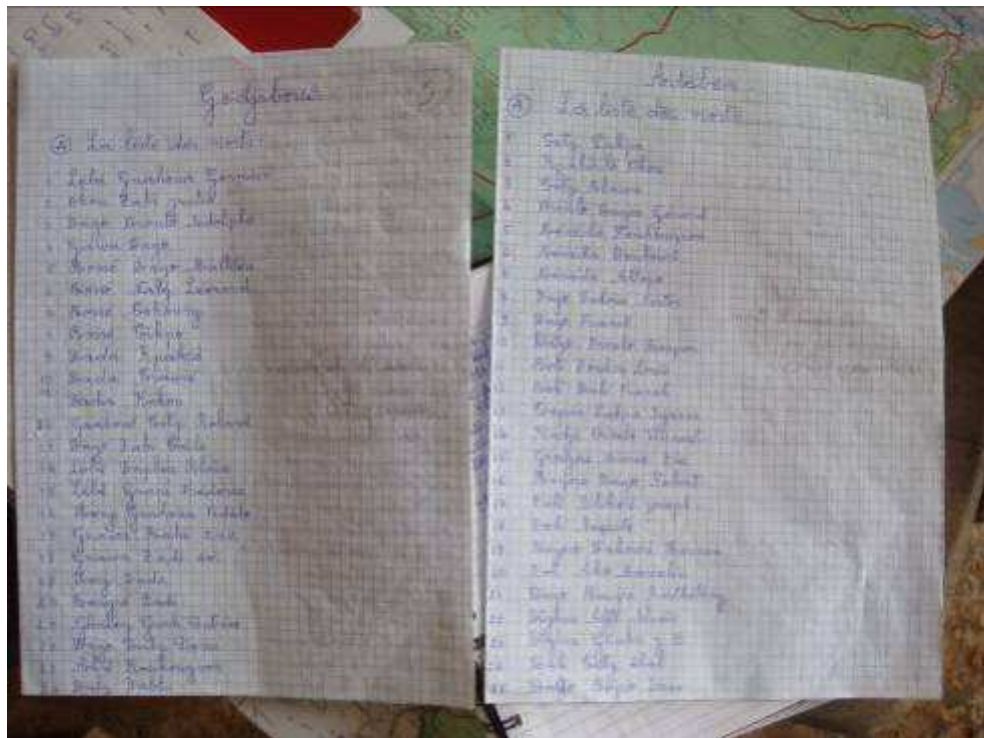
One Godié woman living in Adébéhem told Amnesty International:

"On Thursday [5 May], people were saying that the Liberians would attack our village and several villagers fled into the bush until Friday. When they came back, they saw that their houses had been burned and that Godié villagers had been killed. Some women perished in their burnt houses, including Dago Nguessan Jeanne, who was pregnant, and Benxi Germaine."

Some Godié were attacked because they were accused of supporting Liberian mercenaries. A woman living in Adébéhem told Amnesty International:

"On Friday [6 May 2011] around noon, I saw 'allogènes' communities who attacked 'autochthone' communities because they accused them of calling and assisting the Liberian mercenaries who had attacked the village of Godjiboué. Several houses belonging to Godié were burned."

Names of people killed in  
villages of Godjiboué and  
Adébéhem in May 2011



When Amnesty International delegates were in the area, approximately four weeks after these killings and other human rights violations, hundreds of people remained displaced. Overwhelmingly those who were still displaced appeared to be members of the Godié ethnic group. Many had gone to neighbouring villages; some remained in hiding in the forest. Amnesty International interviewed displaced villagers in three locations including the grounds of a school in Godjiboué, where 63 displaced people were living; and the grounds of a health

clinic in Adébé where an estimated 120 displaced people were living.

Amnesty International was told that there has not been any further violence in the villages since 9 May. However the intense fear and distrust was palpable. In most of the villages, people from both the “*autochtone*” and Dioula communities told Amnesty International that they expect to be attacked again at any moment. The Village Chief from the neighbouring village of Sago, who has spent a great deal of time in all of the villages since 9 May, described the situation as follows:

“Yes things seem calm right now. But nothing is right. That calm is not to be believed. There is destruction everywhere. And people have suddenly become completely terrified of each other. The Prefect told me that I should be working on reconciliation with everyone. But they are so afraid and feeling so much hate, I do not even know where to start.”

The situation in these five villages over the course of several days of violence and grave human rights abuses was confusing and chaotic. While many individuals have been able to identify groups and individuals responsible for some of the attacks, others indicate that it is difficult to do so and also very difficult to ascertain the chronological order of the various incidents.

Many people told Amnesty International that they want to know the truth about what happened and that they see finding out that truth as a precondition to any possible reconciliation. One community leader in the village of Adébé told Amnesty International:

“We don’t know why this happened. We don’t even know a lot about what happened. We just know it was something terrible. Of course we all know what happened to us personally. But what everyone is saying about the whole situation is mainly rumours. We have to have an investigation so that we know what happened and why it happened. Otherwise I think we will see more of this hatred that so many people are feeling and we will all be afraid that it could happen again at any time.”

## 5. LAWLESSNESS AND IMPUNITY

Crimes under international law – crimes that involve direct individual criminal responsibility under international law, such as crimes against humanity, war crimes, torture, enforced disappearances and extrajudicial executions - have been committed by all parties to the conflict in Côte d’Ivoire since 2002 and are still being committed today in some parts of the country. Those responsible are not facing justice.

The recent human rights violations and abuses, and associated insecurity, occurred in a context of near lawlessness, particularly in the west of the country. The FRCI are, at present, the only national security or law enforcement force widely present in the area. As shown in this report, the Dozos have been given - or have assumed with the complicity or acquiescence of the FRCI - a security role in parts of the west of the country. The Dozos have committed serious violations of international humanitarian law and continue to perpetrate serious human rights violations without any clear chain of command or mechanism to ensure accountability.

The country’s police and gendarme forces have not yet been widely redeployed throughout the region. As such they are not playing a significant role in bolstering security and in responding to and investigating reports of human rights violations by the FRCI and the Dozos. This concern is also being shared by the UNOCI and, in a meeting with the Amnesty International delegation on 17 June 2011, UNOCI officials stressed that they had urged President Ouattara’s government to make the redeployment of police and gendarmes and restraining of the FRCI a priority in the west.

### UNOCI’S RESPONSIBILITY TO PROTECT CIVILIANS

In a report published on 25 May 2011,<sup>22</sup> Amnesty International expressed concern about troubling instances of UNOCI failing to live up to its UN Security Council mandate of using “*all necessary means to carry out its mandate to protect civilians under imminent threat of physical violence, within its capabilities and its areas of deployment*”.<sup>23</sup>

In June 2011, Amnesty International noted UNOCI’s continuing difficulties with fully carrying out its civilian protection mandate. UNOCI was still not able to patrol consistently and frequently in all areas that have been affected by fighting and human rights violations. They have not, for instance, had any significant patrols in the area of the five villages in the Sassandra region that suffered mass killings and significant displacement in early May 2011. Villagers in that area consistently told Amnesty International they had never seen a UNOCI patrol.



During their stay in the Duékoué and Guiglo area, the Amnesty International delegation noted that despite several public appeals by the organization since the end of March 2011, UNOCI had not yet significantly reinforced its military presence in the region.

Amnesty International recognizes that some of the areas affected by displacement and insecurity are in remote locations and can be difficult to reach by road, particularly in the rainy season. However, the organization is calling on UNOCI to consider further deployment and increased civilian protection activities as a top priority. This is particularly crucial at this time as UN peacekeepers appear to be the only forces able to provide protection to individuals and communities targeted by the FRCI and/or the Dozos.

The organization raised this concern with Young Jin Choi, Special Representative of the United Nations Secretary-General for Côte d’Ivoire, during a meeting at UNOCI Headquarters in Abidjan on 17 June 2011. Young Jin Choi indicated that UNOCI has plans to establish eight new bases in the country, with personnel reassigned from bases that presently have larger than necessary contingents. During a visit in the western town of Toulepleu on 2 July 2011, Young Jin Choi announced that UNOCI “will establish 8 military camps in the west, including one in Toulepleu, three others along the borders of Côte d’Ivoire and four around Daloa.” He added that these camps should be ready in the coming four weeks<sup>24</sup>.

During this meeting, the organization reiterated its concerns about the failure of UNOCI troops in the Duékoué area to act to protect civilians in the face of widespread violence at the end of March and the beginning of April 2011. Special Representative Choi indicated that he did not consider that UNOCI has an obligation to answer Amnesty International’s questions about those events, as UNOCI is not “accountable to Amnesty International”. However, the organization has never suggested that UNOCI provide that information out of a sense of accountability to Amnesty International. Rather, the accountability lies with the people of Côte d’Ivoire, particularly those living in and around Duékoué, to whom UNOCI does owe a duty of protection.

On 10 May 2011, UNOCI published a report about human rights violations and abuses committed in the west of the country since the beginning of the post-electoral crisis. The report stressed that “despite the hostilities and the restricted movement of its civilian and military personnel by pro-Gbagbo militiamen and organizations, UNOCI was able to develop a strategy for protection of the civilian population in Duékoué and in Guiglo.”<sup>25</sup> However, the report does not offer a clear explanation for the failure of UNOCI forces to protect the civilian population in Duékoué and nearby villages in late March/early April 2011. Hundreds of people were killed by pro-Gbagbo militias and Liberian mercenaries and by the FRCI and Dozos at that time. The organization continues to believe that a thorough assessment of UNOCI’s response to that violence should be carried out in order to draw lessons about how the UN can improve the protection of civilians in similar situations in the future.

The need for a thorough reassessment of UNOCI and humanitarian agencies’ role and operations during the post-electoral crisis was also highlighted in the report of the International Commission of Inquiry that was set up on 25 March 2011 by the UN Human Rights Council. In its report, the Commission of Inquiry called on “the United Nations [to] make a prompt assessment of the work accomplished during the crisis by the United Nations Operations in Côte d’Ivoire and the humanitarian agencies, among others, with a view to improving its ability to prevent conflict and protect the civilian population.”<sup>26</sup>

A substantial improvement in security can only be achieved if there is progress in moving ahead with a meaningful process of disarming, demobilizing and reintegrating (DDR) fighters from the various militias and other armed groups, including the Dozos who are now carrying out an increasingly active “security role” in the course of which they are committing serious human rights abuses.

For years, the issue of DDR has been a bone of contention between Laurent Gbagbo’s government and the FAFN who were controlling the north of the country. Despite some efforts and initiatives, there has been disappointing progress in this regard. In its May 2011 report, UNOCI’s human rights division highlighted this concern and called on the new government to move forward rapidly with a genuine DDR process.<sup>27</sup>

## 5.1. THE LONG ROAD TO THE END OF IMPUNITY

Impunity for human rights violations and crimes under international law has been deeply entrenched in Côte d’Ivoire for many years. Amnesty International has repeatedly highlighted that continuing impunity has fuelled serious human rights violations and abuses in the country over the past decade. It is essential that impunity come to an end and that there be justice and accountability for crimes under international law and grave human rights violations and abuses committed during the recent crisis and in previous years.

Several mechanisms to investigate and establish the facts, either underway or in the process of being established at both national and international level, are examined below.

### 5.1.1 JUDICIAL AND OTHER MECHANISMS AT THE NATIONAL LEVEL

On 1 May 2011, President Ouattara announced the creation of a national Truth, Reconciliation and Dialogue Commission, headed by former Prime Minister Charles Konan Banny in order “to shed light on all the massacres, crimes and other human rights violations”. However, to Amnesty International’s knowledge, the government has not yet issued the necessary decree or ordinance officially establishing the Commission’s terms of reference and powers.<sup>28</sup> Any truth commission should satisfy international legal standards which require that “truth” be obtained in a manner that fully respects the right of persons to a fair trial and facilitates the obtaining by victims and their families of full reparation. Amnesty International has described what the elements of any such body should be in its publication, *Truth, justice and reparation: Establishing an effective truth commission*.<sup>29</sup>

On 20 July 2011, President Ouattara signed a decree establishing a commission of inquiry into crimes committed during the post-election crisis. The members of the commission have not yet been appointed. The commission will make recommendations to the President and has six months from the date of signing of the decree to communicate the results of its investigations.

Legal proceedings have now been opened against Laurent Gbagbo, his wife and former officials.<sup>30</sup> Some of them have been officially charged while others, including the former

President, are still held without charge.

The government also told Amnesty International that it has launched investigations into some specific situations of widespread human rights violations both in Abidjan and in the west of the country and has asked notably the General Prosecutor at the Daloa Court of Appeals (in the west of the country) to investigate “the serious allegations of massive human rights violations in this region of the west of our country and contribute in this way to revealing the truth.”<sup>31</sup>

#### 5.1.2. MECHANISMS OF INQUIRY AT THE INTERNATIONAL LEVEL

Although Côte d’Ivoire is not a party to the Rome Statute that set up the International Criminal Court (ICC), on 18 April 2003 the country’s then Minister of Foreign Affairs Mamadou Bamba lodged a declaration with the Registrar of the ICC accepting the exercise of jurisdiction by this Court with regard to crimes under international law committed in the territory of Côte d’Ivoire since 19 September 2002. The declaration expressly stated that it is not time limited and covers all war crimes and crimes against humanity.

On 14 December 2010, Alassane Ouattara officially confirmed the jurisdiction of the ICC and requested that the Prosecutor, Luis Moreno-Ocampo, open an investigation into crimes within the competence of the Court since 2002.<sup>32</sup> In a second letter, dated 3 May 2011, President Ouattara once again confirmed the recognition of the ICC’s jurisdiction but suggested 28 November 2010 as the initial date for an investigation.<sup>33</sup>

On 23 June 2011, the ICC Prosecutor requested that the ICC Pre-Trial Chamber authorize an investigation into crimes against humanity and war crimes committed in Côte d’Ivoire since 28 November 2010. The Pre-Trial Chamber of the ICC will now decide whether or not there is a reasonable basis to proceed with an investigation. The Pre-Trial Chamber may authorize or refuse the commencement of such an investigation.

Amnesty International deeply regrets the limited temporal jurisdiction chosen by the ICC Prosecutor. Restricting the investigation to events since 28 November 2010 ignores many thousands of victims of war crimes and crimes against humanity committed by all parties to the conflict since 2002, including women who have been subjected to rape and other crimes of sexual violence. Amnesty International has urged that the ICC investigation not be limited to events following the presidential election but rather should extend to all crimes against humanity and war crimes committed since 2002.<sup>34</sup>

On 25 March 2011, the UN Human Rights Council established an international Commission of Inquiry to investigate the facts and circumstances surrounding the allegations of serious abuses and violations of human rights and international humanitarian law committed in Côte d’Ivoire following the presidential election of 28 November 2010. This Commission spent three weeks in Côte d’Ivoire in May and presented its report to the 17<sup>th</sup> session of the Human Rights Council in June 2011. The Commission of Inquiry’s report concluded that “many serious violations of human rights and international humanitarian law were perpetrated by different parties: some might amount to crimes against humanity and war crimes. They were perpetrated by the defence and security forces and their allies (militias and mercenaries) [loyal to Laurent Gbagbo] and later, during their counter-offensive and once they had taken

control of the country, by the Forces Républicaines de Côte d’Ivoire (FRCI).”<sup>35</sup>

During its 17<sup>th</sup> session in June 2011, the Human Rights Council established an independent expert on the situation of human rights in Côte d’Ivoire for a period of one year.<sup>36</sup> This mandate-holder will be responsible for assisting the Government of Côte d’Ivoire and relevant actors in the follow-up to the implementation of the recommendations of the international Commission of Inquiry and of the resolutions of the Human Rights Council. The mandate-holder is expected to be appointed in September 2011 and take up the functions by 1 November 2011.

## 6. CONCLUSION

The pattern of human rights violations and abuses as well as the insecurity and displacement that have continued after the arrest of Laurent Gbagbo on 11 April 2011 risks perpetuating the cycles of violence and revenge that have characterized the situation in Côte d’Ivoire for the past decade. Politics of hatred and xenophobia have divided communities and left ethnic groups suspicious and fearful of each other. While former President Gbagbo was in power, security forces and militia groups drawn from ethnic groups considered to be “*autochtone*” committed widespread human rights violations and abuses against Dioula communities in the country. Under President Alassane Ouattara, an atmosphere of reprisals has taken hold.

It is a crucial time for President Ouattara and for his government led by Prime Minister Guillaume Soro. Segments of the population fear that the government and the country’s security forces will not act to protect their human rights. That fear is rooted both in ongoing human rights violations and abuses; and in entrenched perceptions and assumptions. Both must be addressed and both will require considerable leadership from the new government. In this regard, a credible process for demobilization of fighters and their integration into society as well as the establishment of clear command responsibility within the security and armed forces, in compliance with the obligations of Côte d’Ivoire under international law, are key to ensuring respect for the rule of law.

It is incumbent upon Côte d’Ivoire’s government to act urgently to restore human rights protection in the country so that displaced people can return home in safety and dignity and that all segments of the population feel safe and protected by government security forces.

The future of Côte d’Ivoire also very much depends on finally delivering justice to the thousands of victims of crimes under international law, and other human rights violations and abuses committed by all parties to the conflict over the last decade. President Ouattara has firmly committed himself to the fight against impunity, and has launched national judicial procedures and accepted the jurisdiction of the International Criminal Court (ICC). It is essential that investigations be carried out promptly, thoroughly, independently and impartially and that, whenever there is sufficient admissible evidence, suspects be prosecuted in fair trials. Any investigation by the ICC should encompass crimes against humanity and war crimes committed since September 2002, and not only since the beginning of the recent post-electoral crisis.

In order to end this cycle of violations and reprisals, it is essential to ensure justice for all victims, whatever their political affiliation or ethnic group. Without justice, truth and reparations, the people of Côte d’Ivoire risk returning to the appalling cycle of violence and reprisals that has blighted the lives of so many over the last decade.

## 7. RECOMMENDATIONS

**Urgent action is needed to re-establish the rule of law in Côte d’Ivoire and restore security and human rights protection so that displaced Ivorians will be able to return to their homes.**

Amnesty International calls on the government of Côte d’Ivoire to:

### **Restore and ensure security**

- Urgently develop a comprehensive plan of action for establishing security throughout the country with the goal of restoring the respect and protection of human rights and developing conditions that will eventually support the safe and durable return of displaced persons and refugees.
- Enact legislation and issue clear orders requiring all security forces to comply with Ivorian law and international human rights law and make clear that anyone responsible for committing, ordering, carrying out or failing to prevent human rights violations and abuses or crimes under international law will be held accountable for their actions.
- Exercise strict control over members of the FRCI and hold to account any member who is suspected of violations of international human rights law and applicable Ivorian law; or for allowing others to commit such violations.
- Take immediate action to stop the increasing formal and informal law enforcement and security roles played by the Dozos and ensure that all allegations of human rights abuses committed by Dozo fighters are promptly, fully and impartially investigated by ordinary civilian courts.
- Consolidate and provide sufficient funding for an effective disarmament, demobilization and reintegration programme for militia members and other irregular forces.
- Urgently develop a comprehensive plan of action for establishing security throughout the country with the goal of restoring the respect and protection of human rights and developing conditions that will eventually support the safe and durable return of displaced persons and refugees.
- Launch a widespread and high-profile public campaign highlighting that security forces have an obligation and responsibility to provide protection, equally, to all communities and all ethnic groups.

### **Protection of human rights**

- Take concrete steps to ensure full respect for the human rights of internally displaced people, and access to all necessary humanitarian assistance.
- Ratify and implement within national law the recently adopted African Union Convention for the Protection and Assistance of Internally Displaced Persons in Africa (The Kampala Convention), adopted in Kampala, Uganda on 23 October 2009 and which Côte d’Ivoire has signed but not yet ratified.
- Invite the African Commission on Human and Peoples’ Rights’ Special Rapporteur on Refugees, Asylum Seekers, Internally Displaced Persons and Migrants in Africa to investigate and review the situation of internally displaced persons in the country, and recommend durable solutions to better protect their rights, with a particular focus on the situation of women, children, the disabled as well as vulnerable elderly people, who may require special protection and assistance.
- Strengthen efforts to address gender-based violence, including rape and other forms of sexual abuse, with a view to developing and implementing specific and time-bound commitments to combat sexual violence in accordance with Security Council resolution 1960 (2010). Such commitments should include ensuring that survivors of rape and other sexual violence have access to appropriate medical treatment and psychological support.

### **Put an end to impunity**

- Immediately suspend, pending investigation, any person in a position of authority suspected of committing violations of international humanitarian or human rights law since the September 2002 coup attempt.
- Carry out impartial and thorough investigations, in accordance with international standards, of evidence indicating that crimes under international law, including war crimes and crimes against humanity, were committed. Wherever there is sufficient admissible evidence, prosecute any alleged perpetrator in proceedings that fully respect international fair trial standards. If necessary seek international assistance in the investigation and prosecution of these crimes.
- Guarantee that any investigation by the Ivorian judicial system into post-electoral violence is carried out in an effective, independent, impartial and thorough manner.
- Take concrete measures to put an end to impunity for violence against women and, in particular, ensure that any person reasonably believed to have committed rape or other forms of sexual violence, is suspended from duty while awaiting an investigation into the matter.
- Provide full reparation to victims of serious violations of international humanitarian law and human rights law, including the following forms: restitution, compensation, rehabilitation, satisfaction and guarantees of non-repetition.
- Cooperate with and allow unhindered access to the Office of the Prosecutor of the

International Criminal Court, including providing access to all relevant documents, other evidence and persons.

- Also cooperate with and allow unhindered access to the soon-to-be-appointed Independent Expert on the situation in Côte d'Ivoire, including providing access to all relevant documents, other evidence and persons.
- Undertake to protect persons who may provide information or testimonies to these or other investigations from reprisals and take pro-active steps to protect witnesses.
- Ensure that the country's Truth, Reconciliation and Dialogue Commission operates in a manner that conforms to international standards and recognized best practice and does not serve as a substitute for bringing those responsible to justice nor preclude victims from also seeking compensation through the courts.
- Seek assistance from the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights for the establishment and functioning of the Truth, Reconciliation and Dialogue Commission.
- Côte d'Ivoire should also promptly ratify or adhere to the following treaties, without making any prohibited reservation or declaration amounting to a disguised reservation:
  - Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court;
  - Agreement on the Privileges and Immunities of the International Criminal Court;
  - International Convention for the Protection of All Persons from Enforced Disappearance;
  - Convention on the Non-Applicability of Statutory Limitations to War Crimes and Crimes Against Humanity.

**Amnesty International calls on the international community and in particular on the United Nations Security Council to:**

- Renew the mandate of UNOCI beyond 31 July 2011 at current strength, highlighting the importance of UNOCI's continued support to the restoration of State authority throughout the country, the disarmament, demobilization and reintegration of ex-combatants, the dismantling of militias, the strengthening of rule of law institutions, the reform of the security sector, and the promotion and protection of human rights with particular attention to the situation of members of vulnerable groups including displaced persons, children and women.
- Reiterate the importance of the full and effective implementation by UNOCI of its mandate to protect civilians under imminent threat of physical violence.
- Stress the need to address sexual violence against men, women and children as a tool of warfare, and proceed with the appointment of women protection advisors in accordance with Security Council resolutions 1888 (2009), 1889 (2009) and 1960 (2010).
- Reaffirm the mandate of UNOCI to monitor, investigate, verify and report regularly on



human rights and international humanitarian law violations with a view to ending impunity.

- Demand that all parties in Côte d’Ivoire immediately cease all human rights violations and abuses, and all violence against the civilian population.
- Demand that all parties cease committing any acts of gender-based violence, including rape and other forms of sexual violence, and that national authorities develop and implement specific and time-bound commitments to combat sexual violence in accordance with Security Council resolution 1960 (2010).
- Reaffirm the importance of appropriate gender expertise and training in UNOCI in accordance with resolutions 1325 (2000) and 1820 (2008), encourage the appointment of women protection advisors in accordance with resolutions 1888 (2009), 1889 (2009) and 1960 (2010) and request the Secretary General to establish monitoring, analysis and reporting arrangements on conflict-related sexual violence, including rape in situations of armed conflict and post-conflict and other situations relevant to the implementation of resolution 1888 (2009), as appropriate.
- Urge Côte d’Ivoire to ensure increased representation of women at all decision-making levels in national institutions and mechanisms for the prevention, management, and resolution of conflict, post-conflict planning and peace building, including by enhancing their engagement in political and economic decision-making at early stages of recovery processes, through, *inter alia*, promoting women’s leadership and capacity to engage in aid management and planning, supporting women’s organizations, and countering negative societal attitudes about women’s capacity to participate equally.
- Stress the need to address sexual violence against women, men and children as a tool of warfare, and proceed with the appointment of women protection advisors in accordance with Security Council resolutions 1888 (2009), 1889 (2009) and 1960 (2010).
- Support the work of the UN Human Rights Council’s Independent Expert on the situation of human rights in Côte d’Ivoire.

**Amnesty International calls on the African Union to:**

- Ensure that the African Union Peace and Security Council give priority attention to the respect and protection of human rights in Côte d’Ivoire.
- Call on the Ivorian authorities to put an end to impunity and provide justice, truth and reparation to victims.
- Provide full support to ongoing investigations by the Office of the Prosecutor of the ICC.
- Call on Ivorian authorities to address all root causes that exacerbated the post electoral violence, including xenophobic public, media and political discourse and inter-communal violence.

## ENDNOTES

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<sup>1</sup> Interview in Adéhem, 9 June 2011.

<sup>2</sup> For a detailed description of the events that occurred in the aftermath of the November 2010 presidential election, see Amnesty International, *Côte d'Ivoire: "They looked at his identity card and shot him dead"- Six months of post-electoral violence*, Index: AFR 31/002/2011, 25 May 2011.

<sup>3</sup> UNHCR, Update No. 22 – Côte d'Ivoire Situation, 30 June 2011. Approximately 170,000 Ivorians remain as refugees in neighbouring countries, some 144,000 in Liberia.

<sup>4</sup> Amnesty International carried out research in Abidjan, particularly the city's Yopougon neighbourhood and in three other regions in the south and west of the country: villages in and around Duékoué and Guiglo; villages in the Sassandra region; and villages south of the town of Soubré. The delegation interviewed more than 200 people.

<sup>5</sup> *Ordonnance portant unification des Forces armées nationales et des Forces armées des Forces nouvelles*, 17 March 2011.

<sup>6</sup> Heirs to a thousand-year-old tradition, the Dozos (or "doston"), which in Bambara means "the one who returns to the house after hunting in the forest" are a brotherhood of very powerful and tightly-knit hunters, widely spread around Mali, Guinea, Burkina Faso, Senegal, Niger and Côte d'Ivoire. Since the armed uprising of 2002, the Dozos have regularly fought alongside the *Forces Armées des Forces Nouvelles* (Armed Forces of the New Forces, FAFN) and more recently the FRCI and have committed serious human rights abuses, including unlawful killings and acts of torture and other ill-treatment.

<sup>7</sup> Amnesty International, Côte d'Ivoire: Arbitrary detention of actual or perceived supporters of Laurent Gbagbo, Index: AFR 31/006/2011, June 2011.

<sup>8</sup> For an explanation of the legal framework applicable to Côte d'Ivoire before, during, and in the post-conflict periods, See Amnesty International, *They looked at his identity card and shot him dead"- Six months of post-electoral violence in Côte d'Ivoire*, Index: AFR 31/002/2011, 25 May 2011.

<sup>9</sup> On 13 May 2011, the UN Security Council adopted Resolution 1981 that extended the mandate of UNOCI, as set out in resolution 1975 (2011), 1962 (2010) and 1933 (2010), until 31 July 2011.

<sup>10</sup> See Amnesty International, *No escape: Liberian refugees in Côte d'Ivoire*, Index: AFR 31/012/2003, 24 June 2003.

<sup>11</sup> UNHCR, Regional Bureau for Africa, West Africa: Côte d'Ivoire Emergency, No. 4, 27 March 2011, See <http://www.unhcr.org/4d92e3e59.html> (last accessed 4 July 2011).

<sup>12</sup> See Amnesty International's news story, Reprisal attacks against Gbagbo supporters in Côte d'Ivoire must stop, 12 April 2011.

<sup>13</sup> Information collected by Amnesty International during its visit to this area in June 2011.

<sup>14</sup> The UNHCR estimates that 55,912 people remained displaced in Abidjan as of 16 June. UNHCR, Update No. 22 – Côte d'Ivoire Situation, 16 June 2011.

<sup>15</sup> See Amnesty International's press release, Fatal shelling in Côte d'Ivoire condemned, 18 March 2011, Index: PRE01/145/2011.

<sup>16</sup> For a more detailed description of "Ivoirité", see Amnesty International, *Côte d'Ivoire: Clashes between peacekeeping forces and civilians: lessons for the future*, Index: AFR 31/005/2006, 19 September 2006, pp. 13-14.

<sup>17</sup> *Le HCR rapatrié des réfugiés libériens bloqués en Côte d'Ivoire*, Centre d'actualités de l'ONU, 27 mai 2011.

<sup>18</sup> The Baoulés are an ethnic group from central Côte d'Ivoire. Henri Konan Bédié, who allied himself with Alassane Ouattara during the second round of the November 2010 presidential election, belongs to this ethnic group.

<sup>19</sup> The Lobi are an ethnic group originally from Ghana who migrated to Burkina Faso and then Côte

d’Ivoire. They are assimilated to the Dioulas.

<sup>20</sup> See above footnote 6.

<sup>21</sup> Interview in Sassandra, 7 June 2011.

<sup>22</sup> See Amnesty International, *Côte d’Ivoire: “They looked at his identity card and shot him dead”- Six months of post-electoral violence*.

<sup>23</sup> See several Security Council resolutions, including Resolution 1967 (2011), 19 January 2011; and Resolution 1975 (2011), 30 March 2011.

<sup>24</sup>. See ONUCI, *Note d’Information/1184, 2 July 2011*.

<sup>25</sup> ONUCI, *Rapport sur les violations des droits de l’homme et du droit international commises à l’ouest de la Côte d’Ivoire*, UNOCI/HRD/2011/02, 10 May 2011, p. 33.

<sup>26</sup> UN Human Rights Council, *Report of the independent, international commission of enquiry on Côte d’Ivoire*, A/HRC/17/48, 6 June 2011.

<sup>27</sup> *Rapport sur les violations des droits de l’homme et du droit international humanitaire commises à l’Ouest de la Côte d’Ivoire*, Opération des Nations unies en Côte d’Ivoire, Division des Droits de l’Homme, UNOCI/HRD/2011/02, 10 May 2011, pg. iii.

<sup>28</sup> UN Human Rights Council Resolution A/HRC/RES/17/21 adopted on 17 June 2011 calls on the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights to provide technical assistance for the establishment and functioning of the Commission. See operative paragraph 13.

<sup>29</sup> For the standards that must be respected by any Truth and Reconciliation Commission, See Amnesty International, *Truth, justice and reparation: Establishing an effective truth commission*, Index: POL 30/009/2007, 11 June 2007.

<sup>30</sup> See Amnesty International, *Côte d’Ivoire: Arbitrary detention of actual or perceived supporters of Laurent Gbagbo*.

<sup>31</sup> Official letter from the Ivorian Minister of Justice and Human Rights, 4 April 2011.

<sup>32</sup> Letters from Alassane Ouattara to the President, Prosecutor and Registrar of the International Criminal Court, 14 December 2010, available at <http://www.icc-cpi.int/NR/rdonlyres/7DA08D8E-FF5E-40C8-92D7-F058D5B032F3/283211/OuattaraICCConfirmationLetter141211.pdf>.

<sup>33</sup> Letter to the Prosecutor of the International Criminal Court from President Alassane Ouattara, 3 May 2011, available at: <http://www.icc-cpi.int/NR/rdonlyres/7DA08D8E-FF5E-40C8-92D7-F058D5B032F3/283315/LetterOuattaratoOTPO30511.PDF>.

<sup>34</sup> Amnesty International, *Côte d’Ivoire: ICC investigation must not exclude serious crimes*, 23 June 2011.

<sup>35</sup> Human Rights Council, *Report of the independent, international commission of enquiry on Côte d’Ivoire*, A/HRC/17/48, 6 June 2011.

<sup>36</sup> Human Rights Council Resolution A/HRC/RES/17/21, adopted without a vote on 17 June 2011. See operative paragraphs 10 and 11.

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