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# List of genocides

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This list includes all events which have been classified as genocide by significant scholarship. As there are varying definitions of genocide, this list includes events around which there is ongoing scholarly debate over their classification as *genocide* and is not a list of only events which have a scholarly consensus to recognize them as genocide. This list excludes mass killings which have not been explicitly defined as genocidal.<sup>[a]</sup>

## Definitions

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Scholarship varies on the definition of genocide employed when analysing whether events are genocidal in nature.<sup>[2]</sup> The United Nations Genocide Convention, not always employed, defines genocide as "any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such: killing members of the group; causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group; deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part; imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group; [and] forcibly transferring children of the group to another group".<sup>[3]</sup> This and other definitions are generally regarded by the majority of genocide scholars to have an "intent to destroy" as a requirement for any act to be labelled genocide; there is also growing agreement on the inclusion of the physical destruction criterion.<sup>[4]</sup> Writing in 1998, professors of sociology Kurt Jonassohn and Karin Björnson stated that the Genocide Convention was a legal instrument resulting from a diplomatic compromise; the wording of the treaty is not intended to be a definition suitable as a research tool, and although it is used for this purpose, as it has an international legal credibility that others lack, other definitions have also been postulated. Jonassohn and Björnson go on to say that for various reasons, none of these alternative definitions have gained widespread support.<sup>[5]</sup>

Three genocides in history have been recognised under the 1948 legal definition: the Cambodian genocide, the Rwandan genocide, and the Srebrenica massacre.<sup>[6]</sup>

According to Ernesto Verdeja, associate professor of political science and peace studies at the University of Notre Dame, there are three ways to conceptualise genocide other than the legal definition: in academic social science, in international politics and policy, and in colloquial public usage. The academic social science approach does not require proof of intent,<sup>[6]</sup> and social scientists often define genocide more broadly.<sup>[7]</sup> The international politics and policy definition centres around prevention policy and intervention and may actually mean "large-scale violence against civilians" when used by governments and international organisations. Lastly, Verdeja says the way the general public colloquially uses "genocide" is usually "as a stand-in term for the greatest evils".<sup>[6]</sup>

## List

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The term genocide is contentious and as a result its definition varies. This list only considers acts which are recognised in significant scholarship as genocides.

## List of genocides in reverse chronological order

Event	Location	Period		Estimated killings	
		From	To	Lowest	Highest
Description		Proportion of group killed			
<u>Gaza genocide</u>	<u>Gaza Strip, Palestine</u>	2023	Present	42,718 <sup>[b]</sup>	186,000 <sup>[12]</sup>
<p>Israel has been accused by experts, governments, UN agencies and non-governmental organizations of carrying out a genocide against the Palestinian population during its invasion and bombing of Gaza during the ongoing Israel–Hamas war.<sup>[13][14]</sup> By March 2024, after five months of attacks, Israeli military action had resulted in the deaths of over 31,500 Palestinians – 1 out of every 75 people in Gaza – averaging 195 killings a day,<sup>[15]</sup> and nearly 40,000 confirmed deaths by July. Most of the victims are civilians,<sup>[16][17]</sup> including over 25,000 women and children<sup>[18][19]</sup> and 108 journalists.<sup>[20]</sup> Thousands more dead bodies are under the rubble of destroyed buildings.<sup>[21][22][23]</sup> By March 2024, 374 healthcare workers in Gaza had been killed.<sup>[24]</sup></p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>More than 10,000 estimated under rubble<sup>[25]</sup></li><li>At least 100,282 injuries<sup>[8][26]</sup></li><li>Damage to or destruction of approximately 80% of homes and 50% of buildings in Gaza<sup>[27][28][c]</sup></li><li>20% of population facing "catastrophic levels of acute food insecurity" involving "an extreme lack of food, starvation, and exhaustion"<sup>[31]</sup></li><li>1,900,000+ internally displaced persons<sup>[32][33]</sup></li><li>1.7–7.9% of pre-war Gazan population killed<sup>[12][d]</sup></li></ul>			
<u>Rohingya genocide</u>	<u>Rakhine State, Myanmar</u>	2016	Present	9,000–13,700 <sup>[34]</sup>	43,000 <sup>[35]</sup>
<p>The Rohingya genocide<sup>[36]</sup> is a series of ongoing persecutions and killings of the Muslim Rohingya people by the military of Myanmar. The genocide has consisted of two phases to date: the first was a military crackdown that occurred from October 2016 to January 2017, and the second has been occurring since August 2017.<sup>[37]</sup></p> <p>The crisis forced over a million Rohingya to flee to other countries. Most fled to Bangladesh, resulting in the creation of the world's largest refugee camp,<sup>[38]</sup> while others escaped to India, Thailand, Malaysia, and other parts of South and Southeast Asia, where they continue to face persecution. The Rohingya are denied citizenship under the 1982 Myanmar nationality law, and are falsely regarded as Bengali immigrants by much of Myanmar's Bamar majority, to the extent that the government refuses to acknowledge the Rohingya's existence as a valid ethnic group.<sup>[39]</sup></p>		<p>Before the 2015 refugee crisis, the Rohingya population in Myanmar was around 1.0 to 1.3 million. Since 2015, over 900,000 Rohingya refugees have fled to southeastern Bangladesh alone, and more to other surrounding countries. More than 100,000 Rohingyas in Myanmar are confined in camps for internally displaced persons.</p>			
<u>Iraqi Turkmen genocide</u>	<u>Islamic State-controlled territory in northern Iraq</u>	2014	2017	3,500	8,400
<p>The Iraqi Turkmen genocide refers to a series of killings, rapes, executions, expulsions, and sexual</p>					

Event	Location	Period		Estimated killings	
		From	To	Lowest	Highest
Description		Proportion of group killed			
slavery of Iraqi Turkmen by the Islamic State. <sup>[40]</sup> It began when ISIS captured Iraqi Turkmen land in 2014 and it continued until ISIS lost all of their land in Iraq. In 2017, ISIS's persecution of Iraqi Turkmen was officially recognized as a genocide by the Parliament of Iraq, <sup>[41][42]</sup> and in 2018, the sexual slavery of Iraqi Turkmen girls and women was recognized by the United Nations. <sup>[43][44]</sup>					
<u>Yazidi genocide</u>	<u>Islamic State-controlled territory in northern Iraq and Syria</u>	2014	2017	2,100 <sup>[45]</sup>	5,000 <sup>[46]</sup>
The Yazidi genocide was perpetrated by the Islamic State throughout Iraq and Syria between 2014 and 2017. <sup>[47][48][49]</sup> It was characterized by massacres, genocidal rape, and forced conversions to Islam. Over a period of three years, Islamic State militants trafficked thousands of Yazidi women and girls and killed thousands of Yazidi men. <sup>[50]</sup> The United Nations' Commission of Inquiry on Syria officially declared in its report that ISIS was committing genocide against the Yazidis population. <sup>[51]</sup> It is difficult to assess a precise figure for the killings <sup>[52]</sup> but it is known that some thousand of Yazidis men and boys were still unaccounted for and ISIS genocidal actions against Yazidis people were still ongoing, as stated by the International Commission in June 2016.		A study found 3,100 killed and 6,880 were kidnapped, amounting to 2.5% of Yazidis being either killed or kidnapped. <sup>[53]</sup> By 2015, upwards of 71% of the global Yazidi population was displaced by the genocide, with most Yazidi refugees having fled to Iraq's Kurdistan Region and Syria's Rojava. <sup>[54][55]</sup>			
<u>Darfur genocide</u>	<u>Darfur, Sudan</u>	2003	Present	98,000 <sup>[56]</sup>	500,000 <sup>[57]</sup>
The Darfur genocide is the systematic killing of ethnic <u>Darfuri</u> people which has occurred during the war in Darfur and the ongoing war in Sudan in Darfur. <sup>[58]</sup> The genocide, which is being carried out against the Fur, Masalit and Zaghawa ethnic groups, has led the International Criminal Court to indict several people for crimes against humanity, rape, forced transfer and torture. This includes Sudan's president Omar al-Bashir for his role in the genocide. <sup>[59]</sup> An estimated 200,000 people were killed between 2003 and 2005. <sup>[60]</sup> These atrocities have been called the first genocide of the 21st century. <sup>[58]</sup>					
<u>Effacer le tableau</u>	<u>North Kivu, DR Congo</u>	2002	2003	60,000 <sup>[61][62]</sup>	70,000 <sup>[61]</sup>
<u>Effacer le tableau</u> ("erasing the board") was the operational name given to the systematic extermination of the Bambuti pygmies by rebel forces in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC). The primary objective of <u>Effacer le tableau</u> was the territorial conquest of the North Kivu province of the DRC and ethnic cleansing of Pygmies from the Congo's eastern region. <sup>[62]</sup>		40% of the Eastern Congo's <u>Pygmy</u> population killed <sup>[N 1]</sup>			

Event	Location	Period		Estimated killings	
		From	To	Lowest	Highest
Description		Proportion of group killed			
<u>Massacres of Hutus during the First Congo War</u>	<u>Kivu, Zaire</u>	1996	1997	200,000 <sup>[63]</sup>	233,000 <sup>[63]</sup>
<p>During the First Congo War, troops of the Rwanda-backed <i>Alliance des Forces Démocratiques pour la Libération du Congo-Zaïre</i> (AFDL) conducted mass killings of Rwandan, Congolese, and Burundian Hutu men, women, and children in villages and refugee camps in eastern <u>Zaire</u> (now named the Democratic Republic of the Congo).<sup>[64][65]</sup> Elements of the AFDL and the Rwandan Patriotic Army (RPA) systematically shelled numerous camps and committed massacres with light weapons. These early attacks killed 6,800–8,000 refugees and forced the repatriation of 500,000 – 700,000 refugees back to Rwanda.<sup>[66]</sup></p> <p>As survivors fled westward, the AFDL units hunted them down killing thousands more.<sup>[64]</sup></p>					
<u>Rwandan genocide</u>	<u>Rwanda</u>	1994		491,000 <sup>[67]</sup>	800,000 <sup>[68]</sup>
<p>The Rwandan genocide, also known as the genocide against the Tutsi, occurred between 7 April and 19 July 1994 during the <u>Rwandan Civil War</u>.<sup>[69][67][70]</sup> During this period of around 100 days, members of the Tutsi minority ethnic group, as well as some moderate Hutu and Twa, were killed by armed Hutu militias. Although the Constitution of Rwanda states that more than 1 million people perished in the genocide, the actual number of fatalities is unclear, and some estimates suggest that the real number killed was likely lower.<sup>[70][71][72]</sup> The most widely accepted scholarly estimates are around 500,000 to 800,000 Tutsi deaths.<sup>[68]</sup></p>		<p>60–70% of Tutsis in Rwanda killed<sup>[67]</sup> 7% of Rwanda's total population killed<sup>[67]</sup></p>			
<u>Bosnian genocide</u>	<u>Bosnia and Herzegovina</u>	1992	1995	31,107 <sup>[73]</sup>	62,013 <sup>[73]</sup>
<p>The Bosnian genocide comprised localised massacres, including those in <u>Srebrenica</u><sup>[74]</sup> and <u>Žepa</u>, committed by Bosnian Serb forces in 1995, as well as the scattered ethnic cleansing campaign throughout areas controlled by the <u>Army of Republika Srpska</u><sup>[75]</sup> during the 1992–1995 <u>Bosnian War</u>.<sup>[76]</sup> On 31 March 2010, the <u>Serbian Parliament</u> passed a resolution condemning the Srebrenica massacre and apologising to the families of Srebrenica for the deaths of Bosniaks ("Bosnian Muslims").<sup>[77]</sup></p>		<p>More than 3% of the <u>Bosniak</u> population of <u>Bosnia and Herzegovina</u> died during the <u>Bosnian War</u>.<sup>[78]</sup></p>			
<u>Isaaq genocide</u>	<u>Somaliland, Somalia</u>	1987	1989	50,000 <sup>[79][80][81][82]</sup>	200,000 <sup>[83]</sup>
<p>The Genocide of Isaacs was the systematic, state-sponsored massacre of Isaaq civilians between 1988 and 1991 by the <u>Somali Democratic Republic</u> under the dictatorship of <u>Siad Barre</u>.<sup>[84][85][86]</sup> This included the leveling and complete destruction of the second- and third-largest cities in Somalia, <u>Hargeisa</u> (90</p>					

Event	Location	Period		Estimated killings	
		From	To	Lowest	Highest
Description	Proportion of group killed				
<p>percent destroyed)<sup>[87]</sup> and Burao (70 percent destroyed) respectively,<sup>[88]</sup> and had caused 400,000<sup>[89][90]</sup> Somalis (primarily of the Isaaq clan) to flee their land and cross the border to Hartasheikh in Ethiopia as refugees,<sup>[91]</sup> with another 400,000 being internally displaced.<sup>[89][92]</sup></p> <p>In 2001, the <u>United Nations</u> commissioned an investigation on past human rights violations in Somalia,<sup>[84]</sup> specifically to find out if "crimes of international jurisdiction (i.e. war crimes, crimes against humanity or genocide) had been perpetrated during the country's civil war". The investigation was commissioned jointly by the <u>United Nations</u> Co-ordination Unit (UNCU) and the <u>Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights</u>. The investigation concluded with a report confirming the crime of genocide to have taken place against the Isaaqs in Somalia.<sup>[84]</sup></p>					
<u>Anfal campaign</u>	<u>Kurdistan Region, Iraq</u>	1986	1989	50,000 <sup>[93]</sup>	182,000 <sup>[94]</sup>
<p>The Anfal campaign was a counterinsurgency operation which was carried out by <u>Ba'athist Iraq</u> from February to September 1988 during the <u>Iraqi–Kurdish conflict</u> at the end of the <u>Iran–Iraq War</u>. The campaign targeted rural Kurds<sup>[95]</sup> because its purpose was to eliminate Kurdish rebel groups and Arabize strategic parts of the <u>Kirkuk Governorate</u>.<sup>[96]</sup> The Iraqis committed atrocities on the local Kurdish population, mostly civilians.<sup>[97]</sup> A variety of national governments have passed resolutions recognising the Anfal campaign as a genocide.<sup>[98][99][100]</sup></p>					
<u>Gukurahundi</u>	<u>Matabeleland, Zimbabwe</u>	1983	1987	8,000 <sup>[101]</sup>	30,000 <sup>[102]</sup>
<p>The <i>Gukurahundi</i> was the systematic massacre of the Ndebele people by Robert Mugabe's ZANU-PF party.<sup>[103]</sup> The <i>Gukurahundi</i> was initiated because the ZAPU party, the main Zimbabwean opposition party, found the majority of its support among the Ndebele people, leading Mugabe to conclude that they must be exterminated in order to eliminate support for the ZAPU.<sup>[104]</sup> The <i>Gukurahundi</i> began in 1983, and continued until the signing of the 1987 Unity Accords, during which time about 20, 000 Ndebele were killed and sent to <u>re-education camps</u>.</p>					
<u>Sabra and Shatila massacre</u>	<u>Beirut, Lebanon</u>	1982		460 <sup>[105]</sup>	3,500 <sup>[106]</sup>
<p>The Sabra and Shatila massacre was the 16–18 September 1982 killings of civilians—mostly Palestinians and Lebanese Shias—in the city of <u>Beirut</u> during the <u>Lebanese Civil War</u>. It was perpetrated by the <u>Lebanese Forces</u>, one of the main <u>Christian militias</u> in Lebanon, and supported by the <u>Israel Defense Forces</u> (IDF) that had</p>					

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surrounded Beirut's Sabra neighbourhood and the adjacent Shatila refugee camp. <sup>[107]</sup> Both the United Nations and an independent commission headed by <u>Seán MacBride</u> concluded that the massacre was an act of genocide against the Palestinian people, <sup>[108][109]</sup> a conclusion concurred with by NGOs such as the <u>Palestinian Return Centre</u> . <sup>[110]</sup> Human rights scholars <u>Damien Short</u> and <u>Haifa Rashed</u> also described the massacre as genocidal in nature. <sup>[111]</sup>					
<u>Cambodian genocide</u>	<u>Democratic Kampuchea (Cambodia)</u>	1975	1979	1,386,734 <sup>[112][113]</sup>	3,000,000 <sup>[114][115]</sup>
The Cambodian genocide was the systematic persecution and killing of Cambodian citizens by the Khmer Rouge, led by <u>Pol Pot</u> . <sup>[116]</sup> The Khmer Rouge emptied the cities and forced Cambodians to relocate to labor camps in the countryside, where mass executions, forced labor, physical abuse, malnutrition, and disease were rampant. <sup>[117][118]</sup> Up to 20,000 mass graves, the infamous Killing Fields, were uncovered, where at least 1,386,734 murdered victims found their final resting place. <sup>[119][120]</sup> The Khmer Rouge Tribunal found that targeting of <u>Vietnamese</u> and <u>Cham</u> minorities constituted a genocide under the UN Convention. <sup>[121][122]</sup>	15–33% of total population of Cambodia killed, <sup>[123][124]</sup> including 99% of <u>Cambodian Viets</u> , 50% of <u>Cambodian Chinese</u> and <u>Cham</u> , 40% of <u>Cambodian Lao</u> and <u>Thai</u> , 25% of <u>Urban Khmer</u> , 16% of <u>Rural Khmer</u>				
<u>East Timor genocide</u>	<u>East Timor, Indonesia</u>	1974	1999	85,320 <sup>[125]</sup>	196,720 <sup>[126]</sup>
The East Timor genocide refers to the "pacification campaigns" of state terrorism which were waged by the Indonesian New Order government during the Indonesian invasion and occupation of <u>East Timor</u> . Genocide scholars at <u>Oxford University</u> and <u>Yale University</u> acknowledge the Indonesian occupation of East Timor as genocide. <sup>[127][128]</sup> The truth commission held Indonesian forces responsible for about 70% of the violent killings. <sup>[129]</sup>	13% to 44% of East Timor's total population killed (See <u>death toll of East Timor genocide</u> )				
<u>Genocide of Acholi and Lango people</u>	<u>Uganda</u>	1972	1978	100,000 <sup>[130]</sup>	300,000 <sup>[130]</sup>
After <u>Idi Amin</u> overthrew the regime of <u>Milton Obote</u> in 1971, he declared the Acholi and Lango tribes enemies, as Obote was a Lango and he saw the fact that they dominated the army as a threat. <sup>[130]</sup>  In January 1972, Amin issued an order to the Ugandan army ordering that they assemble and kill all Acholi or Lango soldiers, and then commanded that all Acholi and Lango be rounded up and confined within army barracks, where they were either slaughtered by the soldiers or killed when the Ugandan air force bombed the barracks. <sup>[130]</sup>					
<u>Ikiza</u>	<u>Burundi</u>	1972		80,000 <sup>[131][132]</sup>	300,000 <sup>[133]</sup>

Event	Location	Period		Estimated killings	
		From	To	Lowest	Highest
Description	Proportion of group killed				
The Ikiza was a series of mass killings which were committed in Burundi in 1972 by the Tutsi-dominated army and government, primarily against educated and elite Hutus who lived in the country. The <i>International Commission of Inquiry for Burundi</i> presented to the United Nations Security Council in 1996 concluded that the Ikiza was a genocide. <sup>[134]</sup>	As much as 10% to 15% of the <u>Hutu</u> population of Burundi killed <sup>[133]</sup>				
<u>Bangladesh genocide</u>	<u>East Pakistan</u> (now <u>Bangladesh</u> )	1971		300,000 <sup>[135]</sup>	3,000,000 <sup>[135][136]</sup>
The Bangladesh genocide was the ethnic cleansing of Bengalis, especially Bengali Hindus, <sup>[137]</sup> residing in <u>East Pakistan</u> (now <u>Bangladesh</u> ) during the <u>Bangladesh Liberation War</u> , perpetrated by the <u>Pakistan Armed Forces</u> and the <u>Razakars</u> . <sup>[138][139]</sup> It began as <u>Operation Searchlight</u> was launched by <u>West Pakistan</u> (now <u>Pakistan</u> ) to militarily subdue the Bengali population of East Pakistan; the Bengalis comprised the demographic majority and had been calling for independence. Seeking to curtail the Bengali self-determination movement, Pakistani president Yahya Khan approved a large-scale military deployment, and in the nine-month-long conflict that ensued, Pakistani soldiers and local militias killed between 300,000 and 3,000,000 Bengalis and raped between 200,000 and 400,000 Bengali women in a systematic campaign of mass murder and genocidal sexual violence. <sup>[140]</sup>	4% of the population of East Pakistan <sup>[141]</sup>				
<u>Zanzibar genocide</u>	<u>Zanzibar</u> (now part of <u>Tanzania</u> )	1964		13,000 <sup>[142]</sup>	20,000+ <sup>[143]</sup>
In January 1964 during and following the <u>Zanzibar Revolution</u> , Arab residents of Zanzibar were targeted for violence by the island's majority Black African population. <sup>[144]</sup> Arabs were mass murdered, raped, tortured and deported from the island by Black African militiamen under the <u>Afro-Shirazi Party</u> and <u>Umma Party</u> . The exact death toll is unknown, although scholarly sources estimate the number of Arabs killed to be between 13,000 and more than 20,000. <sup>[142][143]</sup>	25% or more of the Arab population (50,000 people) of Zanzibar were killed by the end of 1964. <sup>[142]</sup>				
<u>Maya genocide</u>	<u>Guatemala</u>	1962	1996	166,000 <sup>[145]</sup>	166,000 <sup>[146]</sup>
The Guatemalan genocide was the massacre of <u>Maya civilians</u> during the <u>Guatemalan Civil War</u> (1960–1996) by successive US-backed Guatemalan military governments. <sup>[147][148][149]</sup> Massacres, forced disappearances, torture and summary executions of guerrillas and especially civilians at the hands of security forces had been widespread since 1965, and was a longstanding policy of the military regime, which US officials were aware of. <sup>[150][151]</sup> At least an estimated 200,000 persons died by arbitrary executions, forced disappearances and other human rights violations. <sup>[152]</sup> 83% of those killed were Maya. <sup>[153]</sup>	40% of the <u>Maya</u> population (24,000 people) of Guatemala's <u>Ixil</u> and <u>Rabinal</u> regions were killed				

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Description		Proportion of group killed			
A quarter of the direct victims of human rights violations and acts of violence were women. <sup>[154]</sup>					
<u>Deportation of the Chechens and Ingush</u>	<u>Soviet Union</u>	1944	1948	100,000 <sup>[155]</sup>	400,000 <sup>[156]</sup>
<p>The deportation of the Chechens and Ingush, or Ardakhar Genocide, was the Soviet forced transfer of the whole of the Vainakh (Chechen and Ingush) populations of the North Caucasus to Central Asia on 23 February 1944, during World War II. The expulsion was ordered by NKVD chief Lavrentiy Beria after approval by Soviet leader Joseph Stalin, as a part of a Soviet forced settlement program and population transfer that affected several million members of ethnic minorities in the Soviet Union between the 1930s and the 1950s.<sup>[157]</sup></p> <p><sup>[158]</sup> The European Parliament officially recognised the deportations as genocide in 2004.<sup>[159][160]</sup></p>		23.5% to almost 50% of total <u>Chechen</u> population killed <sup>[161][158]</sup>			
<u>Deportation of the Crimean Tatars</u>	<u>Crimea, Soviet Union</u>	1944		34,000 <sup>[162]</sup>	195,471 <sup>[163]</sup>
<p>The deportation of the Crimean Tatars was the ethnic cleansing and the cultural genocide of at least 191,044 Crimean Tatars which was carried out by the Soviet authorities from 18 to 20 May 1944, supervised by Lavrentiy Beria, and ordered by the Soviet leader Joseph Stalin. Within those three days, the NKVD used cattle trains to deport the Crimean Tatars, mostly women, children, and the elderly, even Communist Party members and Red Army members, to the Uzbek SSR, several thousand kilometres away. Multiple scholars have recognised the deportation as a genocide.<sup>[164][165]</sup></p>		The deportation and following exile reduced the Crimean Tatar population by between 18% <sup>[162]</sup> and 46%. <sup>[166][N 2]</sup>			
<u>The Holocaust</u>	<u>Nazi Germany and German-occupied Europe</u>	1941	1945	5,100,000 <sup>[168]</sup>	7,000,000 <sup>[169][170]</sup>
<p>The Holocaust was the genocide of European Jews during World War II. Between 1941 and 1945, Nazi Germany and its collaborators systematically murdered some six million Jews across German-occupied Europe, around two-thirds of Europe's Jewish population.<sup>[171][172][173]</sup> Nearly one and half million were killed in just 100 days from late July to early November 1942.<sup>[174]</sup> The murders were carried out primarily through mass shootings and poison gas in extermination camps.<sup>[175]</sup> Separate Nazi persecutions killed a similar or larger number of non-Jewish civilians and POWs; the term <i>Holocaust</i> is sometimes used to refer to the persecution of these other groups. The Holocaust is considered to be the single largest genocide in history.<sup>[176][177]</sup></p>		Around 2/3 of the <u>Jewish population of Europe</u> . <sup>[178][179]</sup>			



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Description		Proportion of group killed			
<u>Siege of Leningrad</u> <sup>[180][181][182]</sup>	<u>Leningrad</u>	1941	1944	1,042,000 <sup>[183][184]</sup>	1,042,000 <sup>[183][184]</sup>
Some historians and the Russian government have classified the siege, in which German and Finnish policies led to the deaths of more than 1 million civilians from starvation, as a genocide. <sup>[183]</sup>					
<u>Genocide of Serbs and Holocaust in the Independent State of Croatia</u>	<u>Independent State of Croatia (now Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina)</u>	1941	1945	248,000 <sup>[185][186][187][N 3]</sup>	548,000 <sup>[185][187][186][N 3]</sup>
Genocide of Serbs and Holocaust of Jews and Romani within the Independent State of Croatia (NDH), a fascist puppet state that existed during World War II, led by the Ustaše regime, which ruled an occupied area of Yugoslavia. The Genocide of Serbs was conducted in parallel to the Holocaust in the NDH. The Ustaše were the only quisling forces in Yugoslavia who operated their own extermination camps for the purpose of murdering Serbs and other ethnic groups (Jews and Romani).					
<u>Genocide of Bosniaks and Croats by the Chetniks</u>	<u>Yugoslavia</u>	1941	1945	50,000 <sup>[188]</sup>	68,000 <sup>[188]</sup>
The Chetniks, a Yugoslav royalist and Serbian nationalist movement and guerrilla force, committed numerous war crimes during the Second World War, primarily directed against the non-Serb population of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, mainly Muslims and Croats, and against Communist-led Yugoslav Partisans and their supporters. <sup>[189][190]</sup> The Moljević plan ("On Our State and Its Borders") and the 1941 'Instructions' issued by Chetnik leader, Draža Mihailović, advocated for the cleansing of non-Serbs. <sup>[191][192]</sup>					
<u>Nazi crimes against the Polish nation</u> <sup>[193][194]</sup> (part of the <i>Generalplan Ost</i> )	<u>German-occupied Europe</u>	1939	1945	1,800,000 <sup>[195]</sup>	3,000,000 <sup>[196][197]</sup>
Crimes against the Polish nation committed by Nazi Germany and Axis collaborationist forces during the invasion of Poland, <sup>[198]</sup> along with auxiliary battalions during the subsequent occupation of Poland in World War II, <sup>[199]</sup> included the genocide of millions of Polish people, especially the systematic extermination of Jewish Poles. <sup>[e]</sup> These mass killings were enacted by the Nazis with further plans that were justified by their racial theories, which regarded Poles and other Slavs, and especially Jews, as racially inferior <i>Untermenschen</i> .		From 6% to 10% (1.8 to 3 million) of the total Polish <u>gentile</u> population. <sup>[197]</sup> In addition, 3 million Polish Jews were killed during the <u>Holocaust in Poland</u> (90% of Polish Jews). <sup>[195]</sup>			
<u>Polish Operation of the NKVD</u>	<u>Soviet Union</u>	1937	1938	111,091 <sup>[201]</sup>	250,000 <sup>[202]</sup>

Event	Location	Period		Estimated killings	
		From	To	Lowest	Highest
Description	Proportion of group killed				
The <i>Polish Operation</i> of the NKVD in 1937–1938 was an anti-Polish mass-ethnic cleansing operation of the NKVD carried out in the Soviet Union against Poles (labeled by the Soviets as "agents") during the period of the Great Purge. It was ordered by the Politburo of the Communist Party against so-called "Polish spies" and customarily interpreted by NKVD officials as relating to all Poles. It resulted in the sentencing of 139,835 people, and summary executions of 111,091 Poles living in or near the Soviet Union. <sup>[203]</sup> Multiple historians have published opinions describing the operation as genocidal. <sup>[204]</sup>	22% of the Polish population of the USSR was "sentenced" by the operation (140,000 people) <sup>[205]</sup>				
<u>Parsley massacre</u>	<u>Dominican Republic</u>	1937		12,000	40,000 <sup>[206]</sup>
The Parsley massacre was a mass killing of Haitians living in the Dominican Republic's northwestern frontier and in certain parts of the contiguous Cibao region in October 1937. Dominican Army troops from different areas of the country <sup>[207]</sup> carried out the massacre on the orders of Dominican dictator Rafael Trujillo. <sup>[208]</sup> Many died while trying to flee to Haiti across the Dajabón River that divides the two countries on the island; <sup>[209]</sup> the troops followed them into the river to cut them down, causing the river to run with blood and corpses for several days. The massacre claimed the lives of an estimated 14,000 to 40,000 Haitian men, women, and children. <sup>[210]</sup> Dominican troops interrogated thousands of civilians demanding that each victim say the word "parsley" ( <i>perejil</i> ). If the accused could not pronounce the word to the interrogators' satisfaction, they were deemed to be Haitians and killed. <sup>[211][212]</sup>	As a result of the massacre, virtually the entire Haitian population in the Dominican frontier was either killed or forced to flee across the border. <sup>[213]</sup>				
<u>Romani Holocaust</u>	<u>German-occupied Europe</u>	1939 <sup>[214]</sup>	1945	130,000 <sup>[215]</sup>	1,500,000 <sup>[216][217]</sup>
The Romani Holocaust was the planned effort by Nazi Germany and its World War II allies and collaborators to commit ethnic cleansing and eventually genocide against European Roma and Sinti peoples during the Holocaust era. <sup>[218]</sup> A supplementary decree to the Nuremberg Laws issued on 26 November 1935 classified the Romani people as "enemies of the race-based state", thereby placing them in the same category as the Jews. Thus, the fate of the Roma in Europe paralleled that of the Jews in the Holocaust. <sup>[219][220]</sup>	25% to 80% of Romani people in Europe killed				
<u>Holodomor</u>	<u>Ukraine and the northern Kuban,<sup>[221]</sup> Soviet Union</u>	1932	1933	3,000,000 <sup>[222]</sup>	5,000,000 <sup>[222]</sup>
The <i>Holodomor</i> also known as the <i>Ukrainian Famine</i> was a man-made famine in Soviet Ukraine from 1932 to 1933 that killed millions of	10% of Ukraine's population <sup>[226]</sup> Over 35% of Ukrainians in Kazakhstan <sup>[227]</sup>				

Event	Location	Period		Estimated killings	
		From	To	Lowest	Highest
Description	Proportion of group killed				
<p><u>Ukrainians</u>. The <u>Holodomor</u> was part of the wider <u>Soviet famine of 1930–1933</u> which affected the major <u>grain-producing areas</u> of the <u>Soviet Union</u>. While scholars are in consensus that the <u>cause of the famine was man-made</u>,<sup>[223]</sup> whether or not the <u>Holodomor was intentional</u> and therefore constitutes a <u>genocide under the Genocide Convention</u> is debated by scholars.<sup>[224][225]</sup></p>					
<u>Libyan genocide</u>	<u>Italian Libya</u>	1929	1932	83,000 <sup>[228]</sup>	125,000+ <sup>[229]</sup>
<p>The <u>Libyan genocide</u> was the <u>genocide of Libyan Arabs</u> and the <u>systematic destruction of Libyan culture</u>,<sup>[230][231][232]</sup> particularly during and after the <u>Second Italo-Senussi War</u> between 1929 and 1934.<sup>[233]</sup> During this period, between 83,000 and 125,000 Libyans were killed by Italian colonial authorities under <u>Benito Mussolini</u>.<sup>[228][229]</sup> Italy committed major <u>war crimes</u> during the conflict; including the use of <u>chemical weapons</u>, <u>executing surrendering combatants</u>, and the <u>mass executions of civilians</u>.<sup>[228]</sup> Italy apologised in 2008 for its killing, destruction and repression of the <u>Libyan people</u> during the period of colonial rule.<sup>[234]</sup></p>		<p>25% of <u>Cyrenaican population</u><sup>[235]</sup>  Half of the nomadic <u>Bedouin population</u><sup>[236][237][238]</sup></p>			
<u>Osage Indian murders</u>	<u>Oklahoma, United States</u>	1918	1931	60 <sup>[239]</sup>	200+ <sup>[240]</sup>
<p>The <u>Osage Indian murders</u> was a plot by <u>William King Hale</u> and others to kill full-blood <u>Osage</u> to gain the <u>mineral rights</u> for their reservation. The events have been characterized as a <u>genocide</u> due to the intentions of its perpetrators to destroy the <u>Osage nation</u>.<sup>[241][242][243][244][245]</sup></p>		<p>Estimates vary widely, with 10% of 591 full-blood <u>Osage</u> being killed with the lowest estimate.<sup>[246]</sup></p>			
<u>Armenian genocide</u>	<u>Ottoman Empire (now Turkey, Syria, and Iraq)</u>	1915	1917	600,000 <sup>[247]</sup>	1,500,000 <sup>[248]</sup>
<p>The <u>Armenian genocide</u>,<sup>[249][250]</sup> carried out by the <u>Young Turks</u>, included <u>massacres</u>, <u>forced deportations</u> involving <u>death marches</u>, and <u>mass starvation</u>. It occurred concurrently with the <u>Assyrian</u> and <u>Greek genocides</u>; some scholars consider these to form a broader <u>genocide</u> targeting all of the <u>Christians in Anatolia</u>.<sup>[251][252]</sup></p>		<p>Approximately 90% of <u>Armenians</u> in the <u>Ottoman Empire</u> were killed or expelled.<sup>[253]</sup> The share of <u>Christians</u> in area within <u>Turkey's current borders</u> declined from 20-22% in 1914, or about 3.3.–3.6 million people, to around 3% in 1927.<sup>[254]</sup></p>			
<u>Sayfo</u>	<u>Ottoman Empire (now Turkey, Syria and Iraq)</u>	1915	1919	200,000 <sup>[255]</sup>	750,000 <sup>[256]</sup>
<p>The <u>Sayfo</u> (also known as the <u>Seyfo</u> or the <u>Assyrian genocide</u>) was the <u>mass slaughter and deportation of Assyrian/Syriac Christians</u> in <u>southeastern Anatolia</u> and <u>Persia's Azerbaijan province</u> by <u>Ottoman forces</u> and some <u>Kurdish tribes</u> during <u>World War I</u>.</p>		<p>Overall, about 2 million <u>Christians</u> were killed in <u>Anatolia</u> between 1894 and 1924, 40 percent of the original population.<sup>[257]</sup></p>			
<u>Greek genocide and Pontic genocide</u>	<u>Ottoman Empire (now Turkey)</u>	1914	1922	300,000 <sup>[258]</sup>	900,000 <sup>[259]</sup>

Event	Location	Period		Estimated killings	
		From	To	Lowest	Highest
Description		Proportion of group killed			
The Greek genocide, <sup>[260][261]</sup> which included the <i>Pontic genocide</i> , was the systematic killing of the Christian Ottoman Greek population of Anatolia which was carried out mainly during World War I and its aftermath (1914–1922) on the basis of their religion and ethnicity. <sup>[262]</sup> It was perpetrated by the government of the Ottoman Empire led by the Three Pashas and by the Government of the Grand National Assembly led by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, <sup>[263]</sup> against the Greek population of the Empire. The genocide included massacres, forced deportations involving death marches through the Syrian Desert, <sup>[264]</sup> expulsions, summary executions, and the destruction of Eastern Orthodox cultural, historical, and religious monuments. <sup>[265]</sup>		At least 25% of <u>Greeks</u> in Anatolia (Turkey) killed			
<u>Massacres of Albanians in the Balkan Wars</u>	<u>Scutari, Kosovo, and Manastir vilayets, Ottoman Empire</u>	1912	1913	120,000 <sup>[266][267]</sup>	270,000 <sup>[268]</sup>
The massacres of Albanians in the Balkan Wars were perpetrated on several occasions by the Serbian and Montenegrin armies and paramilitaries during the conflicts that occurred in the region between 1912 and 1913. <sup>[269]</sup> During the 1912–13 First Balkan War, Serbia and Montenegro committed a number of war crimes against the Albanian population after expelling Ottoman Empire forces from present-day Albania, Kosovo, and North Macedonia, which were reported by the European, American and Serbian opposition press. <sup>[270]</sup> Most of the crimes occurred between October 1912 and the summer of 1913. The goal of the forced expulsions and massacres was statistical manipulation before the London Ambassadors Conference to determine the new Balkan borders.		10% of the population of present-day Kosovo (estimated to be 500,000) was victimized <sup>[271]</sup>			
<u>Herero and Nama genocide</u>	<u>German South West Africa (now Namibia)</u>	1904	1908	34,000 <sup>[272]</sup>	110,000 <sup>[273][274]</sup>
The Genocide in German South West Africa was the campaign to exterminate the Herero and Nama people that the German Empire undertook in German South-West Africa (modern-day Namibia). It is considered one of the first genocides of the 20th century.		60% (24,000 out of 40,000 <sup>[272]</sup> ) to 81.25% (65,000 <sup>[275][276]</sup> out of 80,000 <sup>[277]</sup> ) of total <u>Herero</u> and 50% <sup>[272]</sup> of <u>Nama</u> population killed.			
<u>Hamidian massacres</u>	<u>Six Vilayets, Ottoman Empire</u>	1894	1896	200,000 <sup>[278]</sup>	300,000 <sup>[278]</sup>
The Hamidian massacres were massacres of <u>Armenians</u> in the Ottoman Empire that took place in the mid-1890s. <sup>[279][280]</sup> It was estimated casualties ranged from 80,000 to 300,000, <sup>[281]</sup> resulting in 50,000 orphaned children. <sup>[282]</sup> The massacres are named after <u>Sultan Abdul Hamid II</u> , who, in his efforts to maintain the imperial domain of the collapsing Ottoman Empire, reasserted Pan-Islamism as a state ideology. <sup>[278]</sup>					

Event	Location	Period		Estimated killings	
		From	To	Lowest	Highest
Description		Proportion of group killed			
Although the massacres were aimed mainly at the Armenians, <sup>[283]</sup> they turned into indiscriminate anti-Christian pogroms in some cases, such as the <u>Diyarbekir massacre</u> , where, at least according to one contemporary source, up to 25,000 <u>Assyrians</u> were also killed. <sup>[284]</sup>					
<u>Selk'nam genocide</u>	<u>Tierra del Fuego</u> , <u>Chile</u> , <u>Argentina</u>	1880	1910	2,500 <sup>[285]</sup>	4,000 <sup>[286]</sup>
The Selk'nam genocide was the <u>systematic extermination</u> of the <u>Selk'nam people</u> , one of the <u>four indigenous peoples of Tierra del Fuego archipelago</u> , in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. <sup>[287][288]</sup> Historians estimate that the genocide spanned a period of between ten and twenty years, and resulted in the decline of the Selk'nam population from approximately 4,000 people during the 1880s to a few hundred by the early 1900s. <sup>[285]</sup>		84% The genocide reduced their numbers from around 3,000 to about 500 people. <sup>[289][290]</sup>			
<u>Putumayo genocide</u>	<u>Present-day Putumayo Department</u> , <u>Colombia</u>	1879	1913	32,000 <sup>[291]</sup>	40,000+ <sup>[292][293]</sup>
Members of the <u>Huitoto</u> , <u>Andoques</u> , <u>Yaguas</u> , <u>Ocaina</u> and <u>Boras</u> groups were hunted and enslaved so they could be used to extract latex. <sup>[294]</sup> During this time period, several tribes became extinct. <sup>[295]</sup>		80–86% of the total population in the <u>Putumayo region</u> perished during the <u>Amazon rubber boom</u> . <sup>[296][N 4]</sup>			
<u>Circassian genocide</u>	<u>Circassia</u> , <u>Russian Empire</u>	1864 <sup>[N 5]</sup>	1867	1,000,000 <sup>[297]</sup>	2,000,000 <sup>[298][299]</sup>
The Circassian genocide <sup>[300][301]</sup> was the <u>Russian Empire's systematic mass murder</u> , <u>ethnic cleansing</u> , and <u>expulsion of the Circassian population</u> , resulting in 1 to 1.5 million deaths <sup>[302][f]</sup> during the final stages of the <u>Russo-Circassian War</u> . <sup>[303][304]</sup> The peoples planned for extermination were mainly the Muslim Circassians, but other Muslim peoples of the <u>Caucasus</u> were also affected. <sup>[304]</sup> Killing methods used by Russian forces during the <u>genocide</u> included <u>impaling</u> and <u>tearing the bellies of pregnant women as means of intimidation of the Circassian population</u> . <sup>[303][305]</sup> Russian generals such as <u>Grigory Zass</u> described the Circassians as "subhuman filth", and glorified the mass murder of Circassian civilians, <sup>[303][306]</sup> justified their use in scientific experiments, <sup>[307]</sup> and allowed their soldiers to rape women. <sup>[303]</sup>		95%–97% of total <u>Circassian population</u> killed or deported by the forces of <u>Tsarist Russia</u> . <sup>[308][309]</sup> Only a small percentage who accepted to convert to <u>Christianity</u> , <u>Russify</u> and resettle within the <u>Russian Empire</u> were spared. The remaining Circassian populations who refused were thus forcefully dispersed, deported or killed. Today, most Circassians <u>live in exile</u> . <sup>[310]</sup>			
<u>California genocide</u>	<u>California</u> , <u>United States</u>	1846	1873	9,492–16,094 <sup>[311][312][N 6]</sup>	120,000 <sup>[312][N 7]</sup>
The California genocide was a series of systematized killings of thousands of <u>Indigenous peoples of California</u> by <u>United States government agents</u> and <u>private citizens</u> in the 19th century. It began following the <u>American Conquest of California</u> from <u>Mexico</u> , and the influx		Amerindian population in California declined by 80% during the period			

Event	Location	Period		Estimated killings	
		From	To	Lowest	Highest
Description	Proportion of group killed				
of settlers due to the <u>California Gold Rush</u> , which accelerated the decline of the Indigenous population of <u>California</u> . Between 1846 and 1873, it is estimated that non-Natives killed between 9,492 and 16,094 California Natives. In addition, between several hundred and several thousand California Natives were starved or worked to death. Acts of <u>enslavement</u> , <u>kidnapping</u> , <u>rape</u> , <u>child separation</u> and <u>forced displacement</u> were widespread. These acts were encouraged, tolerated, and carried out by state authorities and private militias. <sup>[313]</sup>					
<u>Queensland Aboriginal genocide</u>	<u>Queensland</u>	1840	1897	10,000 <sup>[314]</sup>	65,180 <sup>[315]</sup>
Queensland represents the single bloodiest colonial frontier in Australia. Thus the records of Queensland document the most frequent reports of shootings and massacres of indigenous people, the three deadliest massacres on white settlers, the most disreputable frontier police force, and the highest number of white victims to frontier violence on record in any Australian colony. <sup>[316]</sup> Thus some sources have characterized these events as a Queensland Aboriginal genocide. <sup>[317][314]</sup>	3.3% to over 50% of the aboriginal population was killed (10,000 <sup>[314]</sup> to 65,180 <sup>[315]</sup> killed out of 125,600)				
<u>Mori Mori genocide</u>	<u>Chatham Islands, New Zealand</u>	1835	1863	1,900 <sup>[318][319]</sup>	1,900
The genocide of the Mori Mori began in the fall of 1835. The invasions of the Chatham Islands by Maori from New Zealand left the Mori Mori people and their culture to die off. Those who survived were either kept as slaves or eaten and Mori Mori were not sanctioned to marry other Mori Mori or have children within their race. This caused their people and their language to be endangered. There were only 101 Mori Mori people left out of 2000 who had survived in 1863. <sup>[320]</sup>	95% of the Mori Mori population was eradicated by the invasion from Taranaki, a group of people from the <u>Ngāti Mutunga</u> and <u>Ngāti Tama iwi</u> . <sup>[321][322]</sup> All were enslaved and many were cannibalised. <sup>[323]</sup> The <u>Mori Mori language</u> is now extinct. <sup>[320][324]</sup>				
<u>Massacre of Salsipuedes</u>	<u>Uruguay</u>	1831		40 <sup>[325]</sup>	40
The Massacre of Salsipuedes was a <u>genocidal</u> attack carried out on 11 April 1831 by the Uruguayan Army, led by Fructuoso Rivera, as the culmination of the state's efforts to eradicate the <u>Charrúa</u> from <u>Uruguay</u> . <sup>[326][327]</sup>					
<u>Trail of Tears</u>	<u>Southeastern United States</u>	1830	1850	12,000 <sup>[328]</sup>	16,000 <sup>[328]</sup>
The Trail of Tears was the <u>forced displacement</u> of approximately 60,000 people of the "Five Civilized Tribes" between 1830 and 1850, and the additional thousands of Native Americans within that were ethnically cleansed by the <u>United States</u> government. <sup>[329]</sup> A variety of scholars have classified the Trail of Tears as either a genocide in and of itself, <sup>[N 8]</sup> or as a genocidal act within the broader genocide of Native Americans. <sup>[336][N 9]</sup>	Figures for the number of deaths per Native American group that was forcibly relocated can be found at <u>Trail of Tears § Statistics</u> .				

Event	Location	Period		Estimated killings	
		From	To	Lowest	Highest
Description		Proportion of group killed			
Black War (genocide of Aboriginal Tasmanians)	Van Diemen's Land (Tasmania)	1825	1832	400 <sup>[351]</sup>	1,000 <sup>[351]</sup>
The extinction of Aboriginal Tasmanians was called an archetypal case of genocide by Rafael Lemkin <sup>[352]</sup> among other historians, a view supported by more recent genocide scholars like Ben Kiernan who covered it in his book Blood and Soil: A History of Genocide and Extermination from Sparta to Darfur. This extinction also includes the Black War, which would make the war an act of genocide. <sup>[353]</sup> Historians like Keith Windschuttle among other historians disagree with this interpretation in discourse known as the History wars.		~100% <sup>[353]</sup>			
1804 Haitian massacre	Haiti	1804		3,000 <sup>[354]</sup>	5,000 <sup>[354]</sup>
The 1804 Haitian massacre is considered to be a genocide by many scholars, <sup>[355][356]</sup> as it was intended to destroy the Franco-Haitian population following the Haitian Revolution. The massacre was ordered by King Jean-Jacques Dessalines to remove the remainder of the white population from Haiti, and lasted from January to 22 April 1804. During the massacre, entire families were tortured and killed, and by the end of it, Haiti's white population was virtually non-existent. <sup>[357][358]</sup>					
Dzungar genocide	Dzungaria, Qing dynasty China	1755	1758	480,000 <sup>[359]</sup>	600,000 <sup>[359]</sup>
The Dzungar genocide was the mass extermination of the Mongol Dzungar people by the Qing dynasty. <sup>[360][361]</sup> The Qianlong Emperor ordered the genocide after the rebellion in 1755 by Dzungar leader Amursana against Qing rule, after the dynasty first conquered the Dzungar Khanate with Amursana's support. The genocide was perpetrated by Manchu generals of the Qing army, supported by Turkic oasis dwellers (now known as Uyghurs) who rebelled against Dzungar rule.		80% of 600,000 Zungharian Oirats killed <sup>[9]</sup>			
Taíno genocide	Hispaniola	1492	1514	68,000 <sup>[366]</sup>	968,000 <sup>[366]</sup>
The <i>Taíno genocide</i> refers to the extermination of the indigenous population of Hispaniola due to forced labor and exploitation by the Spanish. Raphael Lemkin (coiner of the term genocide) considers Spain's abuses of the native population of the Americas to constitute cultural and even outright genocide including the abuses of the Encomienda system. He described slavery as "cultural genocide par excellence" noting "it is the most effective and thorough method of destroying culture, of desocializing human beings." He considers colonists guilty due to failing to halt the abuses of the system despite royal orders. He also notes the sexual abuse of Spanish colonizers of Native women as acts of "biological genocide." <sup>[367]</sup> University of Hawaii historian David Stannard describes the encomienda as a		68% to over 96% of the Taíno population perished under Spanish rule. <sup>[366]</sup>			

Event	Location	Period		Estimated killings	
		From	To	Lowest	Highest
Description	Proportion of group killed				
genocidal system which "had driven many millions of native peoples in Central and South America to early and agonizing deaths." <sup>[368]</sup> Yale University's <u>genocide studies</u> program supports this view regarding abuses in Hispaniola. <sup>[366]</sup> <u>Andrés Reséndez</u> argues that even though the Spanish were aware of the spread of smallpox, they made no mention of it until 1519, a quarter century after Columbus arrived in Hispaniola. <sup>[369]</sup> Instead he contends that enslavement in gold and silver mines was the primary reason why the Native American population of Hispaniola dropped so significantly <sup>[370][369]</sup> and that even though disease was a factor, the native population would have rebounded the same way Europeans did during the <u>Black Death</u> if it were not for the constant enslavement they were subject to. <sup>[369]</sup> According to anthropologist <u>Jason Hickel</u> , a third of Arawak workers died every six months from lethal forced labor in the mines. <sup>[371]</sup>					
<u>Albigensian Crusade</u> (Cathar genocide)	<u>Languedoc</u> (now France)	1209	1229	200,000 <sup>[372]</sup>	1,000,000 <sup>[373]</sup>
The <i>Albigensian Crusade</i> was a 20-year military campaign initiated by <u>Pope Innocent III</u> to eliminate Catharism, a Christian sect, in Languedoc, in southern France. The Catholic Church considered them heretics and ordered that they should be completely eradicated. <sup>[374]</sup> Raphael Lemkin referred to the Albigensian Crusade as "one of the most conclusive cases of genocide in religious history". <sup>[375]</sup> Kurt Jonassohn and Karin Solveig Björnson describe it as "the first ideological genocide." <sup>[376]</sup>					

## See also

- Casualty recording
- Democide
- Denial of genocides of Indigenous peoples
- Genocidal massacre
- Genocide of indigenous peoples
- Genocides in history
- Hamoodur Rahman Commission
- List of ongoing armed conflicts
- List of wars by death toll

## Political extermination campaigns

- Anti-communist mass killings
- Dirty War
- Indonesian mass killings of 1965–66



- Mass killings of landlords under Mao Zedong (1949–1951)
- Mass killings under communist regimes
- Operation Condor
- Red Terror (Ethiopia)
- White Terror (Spain)

## Notes

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1. Eastern Pygmy population was reduced to 90,000 after a campaign that killed 60,000<sup>[61]</sup> implying a 40% decline
2. Unlike other deported peoples who were acknowledged to be distinct ethnic groups and given their national republics back under Khrushchev, the Crimean Tatars were not given the right of return for decades, and in addition were stripped of recognition as a distinct ethnic group as part of a wider campaign pushing for their assimilation in the Fergana valley.<sup>[167]</sup>
3. Total number of Serbs, Jews and Roma killed. Excluding the Jews sent to the German extermination camps.
4. Roger Casement reported that a population officially placed at 50,000 had dropped to 7,000 at the lowest estimation, and 10,000 remaining natives with the highest estimation by the time investigations were sent to the Putumayo.<sup>[293]</sup>
5. Although ethnic cleansings and massacres began in the early 1800s, particularly under the command of the Tsarist Russian general Grigory Zass, the mass deportations, mass murders and extermination operations — where most deaths occurred — started in 1864.
6. Only the range of deaths caused by massacred
7. The total population decline of the period overall
8.
  - Genocide education scholar Thomas Keefe – "The preparation (Stage 7) for genocide, specifically the transfer of population that "Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part" as stated in Article II of the UNCPPCG is clear in the Trail of Tears and other deportations of Native American populations from land seized for the benefit of European-American populations."<sup>[330]</sup>
  - Muscogee Nation Historic and Cultural Preservation Manager Rae Lynn Butler – "really was about extinguishing a race of people"; Archivist at the Cherokee Heritage Center Jerrod Miller – "The Trail of Tears was outright genocide".<sup>[331]</sup>
  - Sociologist and historian Vahakn Dadrian lists the expulsion of the Cherokee as an example of utilitarian genocide, stating "the expulsion and decimation of the Cherokee Indians from the territories of the State of Georgia is symbolic of the pattern of perpetration inflicted upon the American Indian by Whites in North America."<sup>[332]</sup>
  - Genocide scholar Adam Jones – "Forced relocations of Indian populations often took the form of genocidal death marches, most infamously the "Trails of Tears" of the Cherokee and Navajo nations, which killed between 20 and 40 percent of the targeted populations en route. The barren "tribal reservations" to which survivors were consigned exacted their own grievous toll through malnutrition and disease."<sup>[333]</sup>
  - Cherokee politician Bill John Baker – "this ruthless [Indian Removal Act] policy subjected 46,000 Indians—to a forced migration under punishing conditions [...] amounted to genocide, the ethnic cleansing of men, women and children, motivated by racial hatred and greed, and carried out through sadism and violence."<sup>[334]</sup>
  - Sociologist James V. Fenelon and historian Clifford E. Trafzer – "Instead the national government and its leaders have offered a systemic denial of genocide, the occurrence of which would be contrary to the principles of a democratic and just society. "Denial of massive death counts is common among those whose forefathers were the perpetrators of the genocide" (Stannard, 1992, p. 152) with motives of protecting "the moral reputations of those people and that country responsible," including some scholars. It took 50 years of

scholarly debate for the academy to recognize well-documented genocides of the Indian removals in the 1830s, including the Cherokee Trail of Tears, as with other nations of the "Five Civilized" southeastern tribes."<sup>[335]</sup>

9. ■ Political scientist Michael Rogin – "To face responsibility for specific killings might have led to efforts to stop it; to avoid individual deaths turned Indian removal into a theory of genocide."<sup>[337]</sup>
- Indigenous studies scholar Nicky Michael and historian Beverly Jean Smith – "Over one-fourth died on the forced death marches of the 1830s. By any United Nations standard, these actions can be equated with genocide and ethnic cleansing."<sup>[338]</sup>
- Historian Jim Piecuch argues that the Trail of Tears constitutes one tool in the genocide of Native Americans over the three centuries since the beginning of colonization in north America.<sup>[339]</sup>
- Political scientist Andrew R. Basso – "The Cherokee Trail of Tears should be understood within the context of colonial genocide in the Americas. This is yet another chapter of colonial forces acting against an indigenous group in order to secure rich and fertile lands, resources, and living spaces."<sup>[340]</sup>
- Political scientist Barbara Harff – "One of the most enduring and abhorrent problems of the world is genocide, which is neither particular to a specific race, class, or nation, nor rooted in any one ethnocentric view of the world. [...] Often democratic institutions are cited as safeguards against mass excesses. In view of the treatment of Amerindians by agents of the U.S. government, this view is unwarranted. For example, the thousands of Cherokees who died during the Trail of Tears (Cherokee Indians were forced to march in 1838-1839 from Appalachia to Oklahoma) testify that even a democratic system may turn against its people."<sup>[341]</sup>
- Legal scholar Rennard Strickland – "There were, of course, great and tragic Indian massacres and bitter exoduses, illegal even under the laws of war. We know these acts of genocide by place names - Sand Creek, the Battle of Washita, Wounded Knee - and by their tragic poetic codes - the Trail of Tears, the Long Walk, the Cheyenne Autumn. But ... genocidal objectives have been carried out under color of law - in de Tocqueville's phrase, "legally, philanthropically, without shedding blood, and without violating a single great principle of morality in the eyes of the world." These were legally enacted policies whereby a way of life, a culture, was deliberately obliterated. As the great Indian orator Dragging Canoe concluded, "Whole Indian Nations have melted away like balls of snow in the sun leaving scarcely a name except as imperfectly recorded by their destroyers"."<sup>[342]</sup>
- Legal scholars Christopher Turner and Mary Ellen Turpel-Lafond reiterate Strickland's assessment.<sup>[343]</sup>
- Attorney Maria Conversa – "The theft of ancestral tribal lands, the genocide of tribal members, public hostility towards Native peoples, and irreversible oppression--these are the realities that every indigenous person has had to face because of colonization. By recognizing and respecting the Muscogee Creek Nation's authority to criminally sentence its own members, the United States Supreme Court could have taken a small step towards righting these wrongs."<sup>[344]</sup>
- Historian David Stannard and ethnic studies scholar Ward Churchill have both identified the trail of tears as part of the United States history of genocidal actions against indigenous nations.<sup>[345][346]</sup>
- Sociologist Benjamin P. Bowser, psychologist Carol O. Word, and Kate Shaw – "There was a pattern to Indian genocide. One-by-one, each Native state was defeated militarily; successive Native generations fought and were defeated as well. As settlers became more numerous and stronger militarily, Indians became fewer and weaker militarily. In one Indian nation after the other, resistance eventually collapsed due to the death toll from violence. Then, survivors were displaced from their ancestral lands, which had sustained them for generations. [...] Starting in 1830, surviving Native people, mostly Cherokee, in the Eastern US were ordered by President Andrew Jackson to march up to two thousand miles and to

cross the Mississippi River to settle in Oklahoma. Thousands died on the Trail of Tears. This pattern of defeat, displacement, and victimization repeated itself in the American West. From this history, Native Americans were victims of all five Lemkin specified genocidal acts."<sup>[347]</sup>

- Sociologist and psychologist Laurence French wrote that the trail of tears was at least a campaign of cultural genocide.<sup>[348]</sup>
  - Cultural studies scholar Melissa Slocum – "Rarely is the conversation about the impact of genocide on today's generations or the overall steps that lead to genocide. As well, most curricula in the education system, from kindergarten up through to college, does not discuss in detail American Indian genocide beyond possibly a quick one-day mention of the Cherokee Trail of Tears."<sup>[349]</sup>
  - English and literary scholar Thir Bahadur Budhathoki – "On the basis of the basic concept of genocide as propounded by Rephael Lemkin, the definitions of the UN Convention and other genocide scholars, sociological perspective of genocide-modernity nexus and the philosophical understanding of such crime as an evil in its worst possible form, the fictional representation of the entire process of Cherokee removal including its antecedents and consequences represented in these novels, is genocidal in nature. However, the American government, that mostly represents the perpetrators of the process, and the Euro-American culture of the United States considered as the mainstream culture, have not acknowledged the Native American tragedy as genocide."<sup>[350]</sup>
- a. eg. Thirty Years' War (4.5 to 8 million deaths), Japanese war crimes (30 million deaths), the Red Terror (50,000 to 200,000 deaths), the Atrocities in the Congo Free State (1.5 to 13 million deaths), the Great Purge (0.7 to 1.2 million deaths), the Great Leap Forward and the famine which followed it (15 to 55 million deaths).<sup>[1]</sup>
  - b. Per the Gaza Health Ministry and Government Information Office,<sup>[8]</sup> which has previously been deemed reliable by prominent and independent organisations.<sup>[9][10]</sup> In the same period at least 700 Palestinians have been killed in the West Bank.<sup>[11]</sup>
  - c. The destruction includes:<sup>[29][30]</sup>
    - at least 360,000 homes
    - 392 educational facilities
    - 267 places of worship
    - 12 hospitals are partially functional
    - 83% of groundwater wells are not operational
  - d. Percentages were calculated based on taking the lower (41,870 deaths) and upper bounds (186,000 deaths) and dividing them by a 2022 Gaza Strip pre-war population estimate of 2,375,259 people, a figure used by The Lancet in their estimated death count.<sup>[12]</sup>
  - e. Quote: "To conclude: the Germans committed genocide against the Polish population. The very term genocide comes from the 1944 book of the Polish-Jewish jurist Raphael Lemkin, whose study of Nazi-occupied Europe focused on the German attack on the Poles. Not only did the Nazis seek ultimately to eliminate the Polish nation 'as such', but they engaged in each of the acts identified by the 1949 Genocide Convention as signifiers of the 'intent to destroy'"<sup>[200]</sup>
  - f. "In the 1860s Russia killed 1.5 million Circassians, half of their population, and expelled the other half from their lands." Ahmed 2013, p. 357
  - g. In an account of the war, Wei Yuan wrote that about 40% of the Dzungar households were killed by smallpox, 20% fled to Russia or the Kazakh Khanate, and 30% were killed by the army, leaving no yurts in an area of several thousands of Chinese miles except those of the surrendered.<sup>[359][362][363]</sup> Clarke wrote 80%, or between 480,000 and 600,000 people, were killed between 1755 and 1758 in what "amounted to the complete destruction of not only the Zunghar state but of the Zunghars as a people."<sup>[359][364]</sup> Historian Peter Perdue has shown that the extermination of the Dzungars was the result of an explicit policy of extermination launched by the Qianlong Emperor.<sup>[359]</sup> Although this "deliberate use of massacre" has been

largely ignored by modern scholars,<sup>[359]</sup> Mark Levene, a historian whose recent research interests focus on genocide, has stated that the extermination of the Dzungars was "arguably the eighteenth century genocide par excellence".<sup>[365]</sup>

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145. Namely the 83% of the "fully identified" 42,275 civilians killed by human rights violations during the Guatemalan Civil War. See CEH 1999, p. 17, and "Press Briefing: Press conference by members of the Guatemala Historical Clarification Commission" (<https://web.archive.org/web/20231114151232/https://press.un.org/en/1999/19990301.guate.brf.html>). *United Nations*. 1 March 1999. Archived from the original (<https://www.un.org/press/en/1999/19990301.guate.brf.html>) on 14 November 2023. Retrieved 13 August 2016.
146. Applying the same proportion as for the fully identified victims to the estimated total amount of person killed or disappeared during the Guatemalan civil war (at least 200,000). See CEH 1999, p. 17.
147. "Press Briefing: Press conference by members of the Guatemala Historical Clarification Commission" (<https://web.archive.org/web/20231114151232/https://press.un.org/en/1999/19990301.guate.brf.html>). *United Nations*. 1 March 1999. Archived from the original (<https://www.un.org/press/en/1999/19990301.guate.brf.html>) on 14 November 2023. Retrieved 13 August 2016.
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  - Rummel, R. J. (1990). *Lethal Politics: Soviet Genocide and Mass Murder Since 1917* (<http://www.hawaii.edu/powerkills/NOTE4.HTM>). Transaction Publishers. ISBN 1-56000-887-3. Retrieved 1 March 2014.
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  - Wood, Tony. *Chechnya: the Case for Independence*. pp. 37–38.
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164. Legters 1992, p. 104; Fisher 2014, p. 150; Allworth 1998, p. 216
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168. ■ Riep, Leonhard (2020). "The Production of the Muselmann and the Singularity of Auschwitz: A Critique of Adriana Cavarero's Account of the "Auschwitz Event"" ([https://web.archive.org/web/20230107032620/https://www.cambridge.org/core/services/aop-cambridge-core/content/view/682C53CEFFE13F950D40135F487DC0E2/S0887536720000410a.pdf/production\\_of\\_the\\_muselmann\\_and\\_the\\_singularity\\_of\\_auschwitz\\_a\\_critique\\_of\\_adriana\\_cavareros\\_account\\_of\\_the\\_auschwitz\\_event.pdf](https://web.archive.org/web/20230107032620/https://www.cambridge.org/core/services/aop-cambridge-core/content/view/682C53CEFFE13F950D40135F487DC0E2/S0887536720000410a.pdf/production_of_the_muselmann_and_the_singularity_of_auschwitz_a_critique_of_adriana_cavareros_account_of_the_auschwitz_event.pdf)) (PDF). *Hypatia*. **35** (4): 635. doi:10.1017/hyp.2020.41 (<https://doi.org/10.1017%2Fhyp.2020.41>). Archived from the original ([https://www.cambridge.org/core/services/aop-cambridge-core/content/view/682C53CEFFE13F950D40135F487DC0E2/S0887536720000410a.pdf/production\\_of\\_the\\_muselmann\\_and\\_the\\_singularity\\_of\\_auschwitz\\_a\\_critique\\_of\\_adriana\\_cavareros\\_account\\_of\\_the\\_auschwitz\\_event.pdf](https://www.cambridge.org/core/services/aop-cambridge-core/content/view/682C53CEFFE13F950D40135F487DC0E2/S0887536720000410a.pdf/production_of_the_muselmann_and_the_singularity_of_auschwitz_a_critique_of_adriana_cavareros_account_of_the_auschwitz_event.pdf)) (PDF) on 7 January 2023. "...between 5 and 6 million. According to Wolfgang Benz, at least 5.29 million up to around 6 million Jews of every age were murdered (Benz 1991, 17), whereas Raul Hilberg counts 5.1 million dead (Hilberg 2003, 1320–21)"
- Fischel 2020, p. 10 (<https://books.google.com/books?id=T4LQDwAAQBAJ&pg=PA10>): "The number of Jews killed by the Germans in the Holocaust cannot be precisely calculated. Various historians, however, have provided estimates that range between 4,204,000 and 7,000,000, with the use of the round figure of six million Jews murdered as the best estimate to describe the immensity of the Nazi genocide. The Germans exterminated approximately 54 percent of the Jews within their reach..."
  - Roth, John K. (2020). *Sources of Holocaust Insight: Learning and Teaching about the Genocide* (<https://books.google.com/books?id=-drQDwAAQBAJ&pg=PA1>). Eugene, Oregon: Wipf and Stock Publishers. p. 1n1. ISBN 978-1-5326-7418-1 – via Google Books. "...Raul Hilberg... 5.1 million... Israel Gutman and Robert Rozett... between 5–5 and 5.8 million... Wolfgang Benz... 6.2 million. The figures remain imprecise for several reasons, including..."
  - Rummel, R.J. (2017) [1978]. "Democide in Totalitarian States" (<https://books.google.com/books?id=ASFWDwAAQBAJ&pg=PT79>). In Charny, Israel W. (ed.). *The widening circle of genocide*. Routledge. ISBN 978-1-351-29406-5 – via Google Books. "4,204,400 to 4,575,400... the lowest count by any reputable study."
  - Oman, Nathan (2016). *The dignity of commerce: markets and the moral foundations of contract law* (<https://books.google.com/books?id=ntMZDgAAQBAJ&pg=PA203>). University of Chicago Press. p. 203n64. ISBN 9780226415529 – via Google Books. "Bloxham... "Between 5,100,000 and 6,200,000..."
  - Stier, Oren Baruch (2015). *Holocaust Icons: Symbolizing the Shoah in History and Memory* (<https://books.google.com/books?id=2xLyCgAAQBAJ&pg=PT99>). Rutgers University Press. ISBN 978-0-8135-7404-2 – via Google Books. "... between five and six million. The late Raul Hilberg, for example, political scientist and widely acknowledged dean of Holocaust historiography, estimated 5.1 million Jewish victims, and that number did not change in the third edition of his monumental work. This indicates, one might presume, that he was satisfied with his rigorous investigation into this figure... The Columbia Guide to the Holocaust offers a number of "more than" five million in its definition of the Holocaust.<sup>18</sup> In 2007 the Division of the Senior Historian at the USHMM developed a series of estimates (dependent on means of counting) of between 5.65 million and 5.93 million, based on published accounts by Hilberg and others as well as on Soviet documents available only since 1991... No estimate has gone higher than six million."

- Rubinstein, William D. (2014) [2004]. *Genocide* (<https://books.google.com/books?id=pHUA BAAQBAJ&pg=PT121>). Routledge. ISBN 978-1-317-86995-5 – via Google Books. "The number of Jews killed at the hands of the Nazis is invariably given, in shorthand terms at any rate, as 6 million, a figure which has, of course, entered the common consciousness and is endlessly repeated.<sup>122</sup> It appears likely, however, that this number is too high by a considerable amount, as some careful Holocaust scholars such as Gerald Reitlinger and Raul Hilberg have pointed out. Reitlinger's early (1953) but carefully argued estimate of between 4,194,000 and 4,581,000 Jewish deaths is certainly the lowest ever offered by a serious historian; Hilberg's more recent, but even more carefully argued estimate of 5,100,000... appears to be the next lowest among reputable scholars... it appears to this historian that Reitlinger's figures are probably most nearly correct, with the figure of Jewish victims of the Holocaust numbering about 4.7 million, although there is a wide margin of imprecision. Given that about 2.7 million Jews perished in the six major extermination camps, a figure of 6 million Jewish dead necessarily means that 3.3 million perished in other ways: this is very difficult to believe and is almost certainly an exaggeration. In demographic terms, there are two ways of approaching this question: to compare the number of Jews in Nazi-occupied countries in September 1939 with those alive in May 1945 (bearing in mind such other factors as the escape of refugees and battle deaths), and to provide an estimate of the number of Jews who perished by method of death in the extermination camps, at the hands of the Einsatzgruppen, etc. Both are fraught with difficulties, especially the former"
  - Hayes, Peter; Roth, John K. (2012) [2010]. *The Oxford Handbook of Holocaust Studies* (<https://books.google.com/books?id=b3hUvouXdvYC&pg=PA197>). Oxford University Press. p. 197. ISBN 978-0-19-165079-6 – via Google Books. "Nevertheless, scholarly research, aided by recently opened archives and computerized data processing capacities, has put statistical estimates on a firmer footing than was possible in earlier decades. In previous stages of research, estimates of the Jewish victims ranged from 4,202,000—4,575,400 (Reitlinger 1961: 533–46), to 5.1 million (Hilberg 1961: 767), to 5,820,960 (Robinson 1971: 889), to 6,093,000 (Lestchinsky 1948:60). At the end of the 1980s two different teams, one headed by a German scholar, another by an Israeli, meticulously reviewed all the available data and arrived at the following numbers for Jewish fatalities during the Holocaust: 5,596,000 to 5,860,149 (Gutman 1990: 1799) and 5.29 million to slightly more than 6 million (Benz 1991: 17). The new Yad Vashem museum, which opened in 2005, mentions 5,786,748 Jewish victims. One can be skeptical of such precision, but the most current research reliably calculates a total number of victims close to the now iconic figure Six Million"
  - Benz, Wolfgang (2006). *A Concise History of the Third Reich* (<https://archive.org/details/concisehistoryof00benz>) (1st ed.). Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. p. 232. ISBN 0-520-23489-8. "At least six million human beings were deliberately and systematically murdered because they were Jews."
  - Benz, Wolfgang (1999). *The Holocaust: A German Historian Examines the Genocide* (<https://archive.org/details/holocaustgermanh0000benz>) (1st ed.). New York: Columbia University Press. pp. 12, 152–153. ISBN 978-1-317-86995-5. "Six million Jews (not fewer, most probably more) were murdered in the course of the Final Solution of the Jewish question,"
  - Bracher, Karl Dietrich (1970). *The German Dictatorship: The Origins, Structure and Effects of National Socialism* (<https://archive.org/details/germandictatorsh0000brac>) (1st ed.). New York: Praeger Publishers. p. 430. "The genocide of the Jews — according to Eichmann's figures more than 6 million (4 million in extermination camps) had been murdered by the summer of 1944 . . . Estimates of the total losses range from 5 to 7 million. At any rate, the total number of Jews in Europe declined from 9.2 to 3.1 million."
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179. Berenbaum, Michael (2006). *The World Must Know: The History of the Holocaust as Told in the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum* (2nd ed.). Washington, DC: United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. pp. 16, 220. ISBN 978-0-8018-8358-3.
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184. Glantz, David (2001). *The Siege of Leningrad 1941–44: 900 Days of Terror*. Zenith Press, Osceola, WI. ISBN 0-7603-0941-8.

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186. "Axis Invasion of Yugoslavia – Croatia" (<https://web.archive.org/web/20240114095543/https://encyclopedia.ushmm.org/content/en/article/axis-invasion-of-yugoslavia>). *Holocaust Encyclopedia*. United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. 2010. Archived from the original (<https://www.ushmm.org/wlc/en/article.php?ModuleId=10005456>) on 14 January 2024. Retrieved 12 August 2016.
187. "The JUST Act Report: Croatia" (<https://www.state.gov/reports/just-act-report-to-congress/croatia/>). *state.gov*. U.S. Department of State. "In all, approximately 30,000 Jews (between 75-80 percent of the Jews within the NDH) died during the Holocaust, the majority at the hands of the Ustasha, although the NDH also transferred some 7,000 Jews to the Nazis to be deported to Auschwitz... The NDH also killed an estimated 25,000 or more Roma men, women, and children, the vast majority of the Roma population under its control."
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191. Tomasevich 2001, p. 169.
192. Malcolm, Noel (1994). *Bosnia: A Short History* (<https://archive.org/details/bosniashorthisto00malc>). New York: New York University Press. pp. 178–179. ISBN 978-0-8147-5520-4.
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194. Bauer, Yehuda (1999). "Comparison of Genocides". In Chorbajian, Levon; Shirinian, George (eds.). *Studies in Comparative Genocide*. Palgrave Macmillan. pp. 31–43. doi:10.1007/978-1-349-27348-5\_3 ([https://doi.org/10.1007%2F978-1-349-27348-5\\_3](https://doi.org/10.1007%2F978-1-349-27348-5_3)). ISBN 978-1-349-27348-5. "According to Polish sources, about three million ethnic Poles lost their lives during the war, or about 10 per cent of the Polish nation(...) large numbers were murdered, or died as a result of direct German actions such as denying food or medical treatment to Poles, or incarceration in concentration camps. There is no way of estimating the exact proportions, but I believe it would be difficult to deny that we have here a case of mass murder directed against Poles. German plans regarding Poles talked about denationalizing the Polish people, or in other words, making them into individuals who would no longer have any national identity(...)This is a case of genocide – a purposeful attempt to eliminate an ethnicity or a nation, accompanied by the murder of large numbers of the targeted group."
195. "Polish Victims" (<https://encyclopedia.ushmm.org/content/en/article/polish-victims>). United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. Retrieved 30 October 2020. "It is estimated that the Germans killed between 1.8 and 1.9 million non-Jewish Polish civilians during World War II. In addition, the Germans murdered at least 3 million Jewish citizens of Poland."



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197. Banki & Pawlikowski 2001, p. 93: "...Along with those three million Polish Jews, three million Polish civilians were murdered as well...."
198. Kulesza 2004, PDF, p. 29.
199. Gushee 2012, pp. 313–314.
200. Kiernan, Ben; Lower, Wendy; Naimark, Norman; Straus, Scott, eds. (2023). "15: The Nazis and the Slavs - Poles and Soviet Prisoners of War". *The Cambridge World History of Genocide*. Vol. 3: Genocide in the Contemporary Era, 1914–2020. Cambridge University Press. doi:10.1017/9781108767118 (<https://doi.org/10.1017/9781108767118>). ISBN 978-1-108-48707-8.
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[Among the hundreds of thousands of households, four out of ten died of pox first, two out of ten fled into Russian Kazakhs, and three out of ten were killed by the soldiers. In addition to the generous rewards for women and children, so far only a few families from Erut who have come to the camp have set up assistants and leaders Angji. In addition, there is not a single tent with tiles or tiles for thousands of miles.]
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