



REFERENCES TO THE WORD

“AUTHORITARIAN” and “AUTHORITARIANISM”

in Truth and Reconciliations Commissions Reports of African Countries:

**Gambia, Ghana, Kenya, Liberia, Nigeria, Rwanda,
Sierra Leone, South Africa, Tunisia**

**Dr. Melike YILMAZ
Research Coordinator**

July 2022

© Copyright, 2022, Centre for Human Rights and Restorative Justice (CHRRJ), McMaster University, Canada. All Rights Reserved.

This is an Open Access article, which permits unrestricted use, distribution, adaptation, and reproduction in any medium, provided that the original work is properly cited.

Note on access:

This document is a research project prepared for the Centre for Human Rights and Restorative Justice. It can be downloaded from the research project's web page:

<https://truthcommissions.humanities.mcmaster.ca/>

How to cite in APA 7th edition:

Yilmaz, M. (2022). References to the Words “Authoritarian” and “Authoritarianism” in Truth and Reconciliations Commissions Reports of African Countries: *Centre for Human Rights and Restorative Justice (CHRRJ) at McMaster University*.
<https://truthcommissions.humanities.mcmaster.ca/>

Note on Word Frequency Query:

Minimum 4 letter words were chosen (rather than 3 letter word length)

4 letter words were preferred so that years (such as 2020, 2021, and so on) can also be found.

Note on software:

The word references analysis was done by NVivo software.

Table of Contents

Word Frequency Query

Chart

Word Cloud

Tree Map

References to “Authoritarian” and “Authoritarianism”

Gambia White Paper

Gambia Final Report

Ghana Report

Kenya Report

Liberia Report

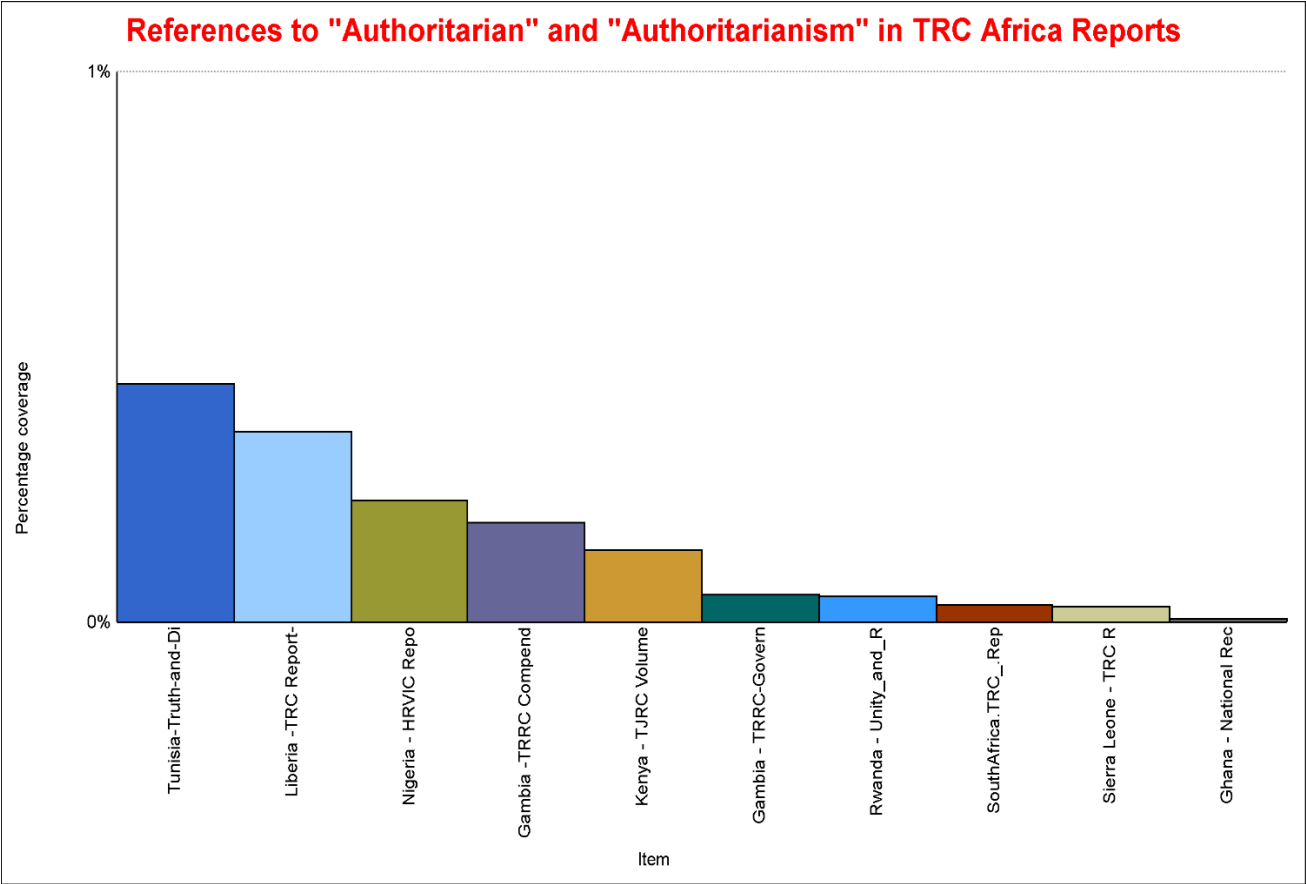
Nigeria Report

Rwanda Report

Sierra Leone Report

South Africa Report

Tunisia Report



Name: References to Authoritarian and Authoritarianism in TRC Reports

Gambia - TRRC-Government-White-Paper> - § 1 reference coded [0.05% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.05% Coverage

437. The Commission found that like the other state and security institutions, The Gambia prison system was used as a tool to facilitate former President Yahya Jammeh's authoritarian machinations. He used the prison to instil fear and inflict punishment on those who opposed him or fell out of favour with him.

Gambia -TRRC Compendium Part A Final> - § 2 references coded [0.18% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.11% Coverage

This important national undertaking should help The Gambia begin to come to terms with its difficult past under Yahya Jammeh's 22-year dictatorship and authoritarian rule. It was clearly recognized by the framers of the Act that healing and reconciliation could not be achieved without first establishing the truth of what happened. While it is important to achieve those objectives, it is equally important to address impunity. The victims of heinous crimes perpetrated by agents of the State are entitled to justice and reparations. It is always a challenge to balance reconciliation with justice. Countries, cultures and experiences differ regarding response to dealing with reconciliation and justice in the new dispensation following the end of conflict or dictatorship. The TRRC Commission, in drawing up its findings and recommendations after receiving testimonies, will not shrink from its responsibility to find that equitable balance.

Reference 2 - 0.07% Coverage

Instead, it was turned into an oppressive institution characterised by human rights abuses and inhumane degrading treatment of prisoners and even prison officers in some cases. Like all the other state and security institutions, The Gambia's prisons system was used as a tool to facilitate former president Yahya Jammeh's authoritarian machinations. He used the prisons as a tool for instilling fear and inflicting punishment on those who oppose him or fall out of favour with him. He effectively wielded the threat of sending people to his "five-star

Ghana - National Reconciliation Commission Report-FULL> - § 1 reference coded [0.01% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.01% Coverage

1.9.6 It is worth mentioning that the Security Services found their traditional role being usurped by the creation of these other security institutions. Consequently, officers and men of the traditional security services became peeved and dissatisfied hence, putting the security of the State at further risk. With suspicion, bitterness, rancour, the general economic decline and the dictatorial and authoritarian rule of the CPP Government, it came as little surprise when the first coup d'état was staged by the joint action of the Military and the Police on 24th February, 1966.

Reference 1 - 0.02% Coverage

14. By 2002, when KANU was dislodged from power by the National Rainbow Coalition (NARC), Kenya was a ravaged state with a history burdened by ghastly accounts of gross violations of human rights and historical injustices. In effect, the KANU government had created an authoritarian, oppressive and corrupt state. It created a traumatised nation of thousands of individuals living with physical and psychological wounds in a country that had no time or space for their experiences and stories. It

Reference 2 - 0.02% Coverage

60. President Kenyatta's authoritarian style of leadership soon began to attract staunch opposition from some of his previous allies including the then Vice-President, Jaramogi Oginga Odinga, who later broke with KANU to form the Kenya Peoples' Union (KPU). Although its main aim was to counter KANU's ethno-politics, it is rather ironic that Odinga's KPU was far from a model of ethnic diversity as it found support almost exclusively from people of Luo ethnicity.⁴⁶

Reference 3 - 0.03% Coverage

The re-introduction of multi-party politics in the early 1990s, and the demise of KANU's authoritarian rule in 2002 renewed hopes of national healing and reconciliation among the various ethnic communities in the country. There was earnest expectation that the government would create an enabling environment that would ensure equality and non-discrimination for its citizens. Contrary to this popular expectation, most of the 1990s were a continuation of the un-democratic practices birthed at independence. In fact, the re-introduction of multi-party politics in 1991 only increased ethnic identities and divisions as the country's political parties were mainly regional, ethnic-based and poorly institutionalised. The nature and composition of the political parties founded in 1992 and thereafter attest to this fact in that even the self-styled national parties have ethnic or regional undercurrents.

Reference 4 - 0.04% Coverage

Kenya's history has been characterised by tragic episodes of gross violations of human rights. Most of these atrocities were committed between 1963 and 2002 during which Kenya African National Union (KANU) was at the helm of power. KANU, the independence party, and under the leadership of President Jomo Kenyatta and later President Daniel Arap Moi, created an authoritarian, oppressive and corrupt state. It created a traumatised nation of thousands of individuals living with physical and psychological wounds in a country that had no time or space for their experiences and stories. Indeed, for decades, Kenya has remained a nation in which communities stand divided along ethnic and regional lines suspicious and distrustful of one another. Over the decades feelings of intercommunities distrust, even hatred, have festered mainly because a myriad of issues which are at the core of nation building have largely remained unresolved. These issues include land problems, inequality and regional imbalances, and impunity combined with a lack of transparency and accountability. These issues have eroded a sense of belonging, nationhood, and public trust in political and governance institutions.

Reference 5 - 0.03% Coverage

179. The Commission finds that although men were the predominant victims of repressive and authoritarian means employed by the state, women were also victims, both as primary and secondary victims. As primary victims, scores of women, especially politicians, academics or human rights activists, and female Members of Parliament who were vocal in their opposition to repressive rule in both Kenyatta's and Moi's administrations, were often detained, tortured and subjected to politically motivated charges. As secondary victims of state repression, many women were widowed after their husbands were killed in security operations or died in police custody after undergoing torture. Some were subsequently thrown into destitution following the detention or death of their spouses.

Liberia -TRC Report-FULL> - § 13 references coded [0.35% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.05% Coverage

Liberia's triumphant and tortuous history of conflict did not begin in January 1979 or end on October 14, 2003 (the TRC's temporal mandate period). Rather, the historical antecedents are woven deeply into its troubled socio-political and psychological culture. Until the November 8, 2005, run-off elections and subsequent inauguration of President Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf as Liberia's first post conflict democratically-elected president and Africa's first female democratically-elected president, Liberians were forced to live under various forms of oligarchic, autocratic, militaristic and authoritarian governments. In spite of the challenges of a verdant republic, the unsavory character of its various regime types, as Africa's first Republic and one of only two independent nations in Africa (Ethiopia being the other) throughout the colonial era, Liberia also served, among other things, as a sanctuary for Africans seeking to escape colonial oppression, an activist African nation while holding the presidency of the UN General Assembly in 1969, and a bulwark advocate against Apartheid in South Africa.

Reference 2 - 0.03% Coverage

socio-cultural and political antecedents to the Liberian polity and conflict. The first section spans from 1822-1847, comprising the official settling of free blacks and freed slaves from the United States and recaptives in Liberia, up to the time the country achieved independence from the American Colonization Society. The second section spans 1847-1989, including three significant developments: (1) the first time the settlers were directly in charge of making policies for Liberia; (2) the rise of oligarchy, authoritarianism and state repression; and (3) the development of a culture of constitutional subversion and political violence. The final period described in this section spans 1990-2003, when conflict exploded on the Liberia soil.

Reference 3 - 0.03% Coverage

Notwithstanding, the ACS' authoritarian and coercive approach to government ensured that relations between black settlers and indigenous Liberians would be hostile, not excluding the fact that the founding principles upon which they lived were juxtaposed. The new settlement was anti-slavery, pro-trade, predominantly Christian and highly centralized; whereas, most coastal native groups were proslavery, commercial tradesman, non-Christian and lived under decentralized authority structures. Hence, the

likelihood of any form of union between the settlement and native nations was highly unlikely. This explains why conflict between the settlers and natives

Reference 4 - 0.03% Coverage

b) The Rise of Authoritarianism

President Tubman's authoritarian reign—though progressive in some instances—laid the structural foundation, the continuation of Americo-Liberian hegemony through oligarchy, for national chaos, state break down and violent conflicts between 1979-2003. In 1951, with the aid of the True Whig Party-controlled Legislature, President Tubman unilaterally sponsored a constitutional amendment that removed the 1935 provision on presidential term limits limiting presidents to one eight year term in office. The new clause permitted one eight-year term, followed by successive four year terms. This

Reference 5 - 0.02% Coverage

Also, it was Tubman who introduced into Liberian politics the partisan use of democratic institutions, the political control of the military, the culture of extermination of political opposition, invidious destruction of lives and property, and more importantly, the rise of authoritarianism and political brutality. All of these vices festooned during this period and set into motion a political culture that would birth future wars.

Reference 6 - 0.02% Coverage

The authoritarian and dominant role of the ACS and the imposition of settler's rule have been at the core of contention and conflict between the two peoples of Liberia, which to date remains unresolved for centuries; germinating into even greater conflicts from land to skin color, to cultural differences and social, political and economic inequities.

Reference 7 - 0.05% Coverage

The Commonwealth adopted the governing structure and social, political policies of the colonies and resisted slave trade just the same. The agents of the ACS were heads of the colony; powerful and authoritarian, embodying all the powers of executive, legislative and judicial functions. Ali Ayers was replaced by Elijah Johnson (Johnson Street) who held on for Jehudi Ashmun. Lott Carey (Cary Street) acted up to the arrival of Ashmun's successor, Richard Randall (Randall Street). Randall died prematurely and was replaced by Joseph Mechlin (Mechlin Street). Mechlin and his successor John B. Piney (a Presbyterian Minister) agencies were brief because the settlers were disgruntled with their authoritarian rule and rioted for greater voice in the affairs of the colony. Ezekiel Skinner succeeded Pinney who was accused of dictatorship and widespread opposition and illness forced him to resign. He was replaced by Antony B Williams, the last colonial agent who ruled until the colony became a Commonwealth in 1939.

Reference 8 - 0.01% Coverage

vote effectively neutered that measure.

President Tubman's authoritarian reign, though progressive in some instances, laid the structural foundation for the continuation of Americo-Liberian hegemony through oligarchy, and unfortunately, leading to national chaos, state break down

Reference 9 - 0.02% Coverage

Also, it was Tubman who introduced into Liberian politics the partisan use of democratic institutions, the political control of the military, the culture of extermination of political opposition, invidious destruction of lives and property, and more importantly, the rise of authoritarianism and political brutality. All of these vices festooned during this period and birthed a political culture that would nurture future wars.

Reference 10 - 0.05% Coverage

the allegations and called for proof even though it was public knowledge that RUF operatives, including Sam 'Mosquito' Bockarie, had free movements in and out of Liberia and were literally operating and living in Liberia. The suspicion of the West African sub region, especially Guinea, Sierra Leone and Ivory Coast was that the arms for-illicit diamonds trade between Taylor and the RUF could further destabilize the sub region. Taylor's intransigence led to the imposition of mandatory sanctions on Liberia and individuals involved in the illicit arms and diamond trade, including close associates of the president who stood to benefit from the illicit dealings involving the exploitation of Liberia's natural resources. Taylor's rule signal the continuation of authoritarian rule in Liberia leaving behind a legacy of poor governance, administrative malfeasance, corruption, intimidation and intolerance of opposition, threats, torture, terroristic acts against the population and summary executions reminiscence of his predecessor, President Samuel K Doe.

7.3.1. The LURD

Reference 11 - 0.02% Coverage

Tubman ruled Liberia for 27 years and at the time of his death 3.5% of the population, mostly of the Americo-Liberian stock, accounted for more than 60% of the nation's wealth. His reign was characterized by patronage and privilege; political control of all institutions of government which saw the rise of authoritarianism in Liberia politics. Tubman was brutal in dealing with political opponents and virtually exterminated all political opposition during that period which stifled the growth of democracy in Liberia.

Reference 12 - 0.01% Coverage

The United States role can be summarized as follows: • Support for the authoritarian rule of the ACS and the settlers hegemony;

Reference 13 - 0.02% Coverage

In the aftermath of conflict or authoritarian rule, the state is responsible for reparations to victims whether in the form of restitution (restoring the victim to the original situation before the violation), compensation

for economic damages, rehabilitation (medical and psychological care, legal and social services), satisfaction (public disclosure of the truth, public apologies, commemorations and tributes to victims), or guarantees of non-repetition through reform of state institutions.

Nigeria - HRVIC Report-FULL> - § 17 references coded [0.22% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.01% Coverage

Under simple majoritarian, first-past-the-post competitive democratic electoral processes, and much more so under authoritarian regimes ethnic minorities all too easily find themselves excluded by the structure of power and the rules of the electoral process, making them less competitive and denying them access to the State and its enormous patronage.

Reference 2 - 0.01% Coverage

first-past-the-post competitive democratic electoral processes, and much more so under authoritarian regimes ethnic minorities all too easily find themselves excluded by the structure of power and the rules of the electoral process, making them less competitive and denying them access to the State and its enormous patronage.

Reference 3 - 0.01% Coverage

2.7 Colonial rule, itself manifestly authoritarian and exploitative, was founded as much

Reference 4 - 0.02% Coverage

democratic civilian rule, and from the repressive and authoritarian rule of the military was, therefore, problematic in one significant respect: the transition would be incomplete, traversing rough and difficult terrain, if the past was not confronted, if alleged perpetrators and their alleged victims were not given an opportunity to provide their own testimonies, with a view to achieving national reconciliation and a sense of justice, without revenge. In this way, "confronting the past [is] building the future," to paraphrase an expression used to characterize the mandate of South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission.

Reference 5 - 0.01% Coverage

justification for resistance to authoritarian, tyrannical or oppressive rule by utilizing the idea of rights and its correlative obligations to mediate possible conflict between the authority of the state and the autonomy of the individual.

Reference 6 - 0.01% Coverage

The second perspective is the "Military Ruler perspective," which holds that military rule is by its very nature dictatorial and hence authoritarian, repressive and intimidating. Thus, according to this perspective, violations of human rights commence from the very act of the military's illegitimate overthrow of an elected government, and ruling without the consent of the ruled, using military decrees to subordinate the fundamental human rights of citizens enshrined in the constitution.

Reference 7 - 0.01% Coverage

5. Pro-democracy and environmental rights activists in the SouthSouth zone who suffered unjust punishment (including death) in the hands of the authoritarian state should be compensated and honoured as some of the true heroes of Nigeria's democratic struggles.

Reference 8 - 0.01% Coverage

and federal level) deprivations and discriminatory practices. Many of these are embedded in histories of unequal relations between groups, which have been perpetuated over the years by authoritarian regimes of colonialism and military rule.

3.4 Investigations in the

Reference 9 - 0.02% Coverage

the zone, like other zones in the country was subjected to prolonged authoritarian rule, especially by the military. However, one of the distinctive characteristics of the zone in the latter part of the period covered by the report (mid-1980s to the 1990s) was the relative absence or underdevelopment of militant and populist civil society organizations with pro-democracy and civil liberties/human rights agenda, that spearheaded opposition to military authoritarian rule and served as human rights watchdogs and defenders in other parts of the country. Local branches of the Academic Staff Union of Nigerian Universities (ASUU) and students unions may be regarded as exceptions in this regard, but these organisations were primarily interested in the interests and welfare of their members.

Reference 10 - 0.02% Coverage

society organisations was that, in comparison to some other parts of the country, especially the South-West and South-South zones under the ultra-authoritarian military administrations of General Babangida and General Abacha, cases of state repression involving assassinations and judicial killings of civil society opponents were not rampant. As is fairly well known, under authoritarian regimes, opposition activities tend to invite repressive and brutal state responses. It may however be noted that partly due to the preponderance of people from states in the zone in the officer corps and rank and file of the military, the zone has had more than a fair share of state terrorism of a non-civil society type in the high number

Reference 11 - 0.02% Coverage

of individual rights were reported

in the North-Central zone. The milieu of endemic conflicts and riots, abuse of office, excessive use of power (of which the most rampant was the flouting of court orders) and basic lack of respect for fundamental human rights and rule of law by overzealous law enforcement and security agencies, and authoritarian military rule were major underlying and reinforcing factors in this regard. These violations took the form of unlawful arrests and detention, torture, terrorism and intimidation. Another category of human rights violation involved the non-payment of adequate compensation to individuals, families and groups whose landed properties were compulsorily acquired by the state.

Reference 12 - 0.02% Coverage

of human rights abuses in

the North-Central zone based on the report submitted by AFRIGOV, what can be said by way of conclusion? First is that by the very nature of the complex ethnic composition of the zone and a history of migrations and displacements, which are still on-going, it was an area of endemic conflicts. Secondly, tradition was a very strong component of human rights deprivations. Third, the excesses of the police, military and security agencies, as well as the excesses of overzealous and highly partisan state officials, which were facilitated by military authoritarian rule, were the major sources of human rights violations.

Reference 13 - 0.01% Coverage

police brutality, military authoritarianism, and other systemic factors. For example, the unlawful arrest and detention of activist Ndigbo involved in the long-drawn battle against military dictatorship by prodemocracy and human rights movements had little to do with the fact that the activists were Igbo.

Reference 14 - 0.02% Coverage

individual violations being instances of targetted group persecution, human rights violations in the southeast fell into two major categories: violations of individual rights and violations of group rights. The latter basically had to do with equity and justice, and the rights that accrue to Ndigbo as (majority) members of the Nigerian federation, which were violated by what were perceived to be systemic deprivations, neglect, marginalization and discrimination against Ndigbo in the post-civil war power configuration and competition for scarce national resources. The major sources of violations of individual rights, on the other hand, included systemic discrimination against 'non-indigenes' by 'indigenes', prolonged authoritarian military rule, occasioned by repression, excessive use and abuse of power, and lack of respect for human rights by security and law enforcement agencies.

Reference 15 - 0.02% Coverage

right to life and fair

hearing as well as unlawful arrest and detention. The police was the main culprit in these violations, using power excessively and recklessly to arrest, detain and engage in extra-judicial killings and criminal acts. In one of the most sensational cases mentioned in the two-volume report, a robbery victim, Mr. George Mgbor of Enugu, found that the policeman at the station where he went to report the incident, was

actually one of those that robbed him! The complicity of the police cannot therefore be overemphasized. But the milieu of authoritarian military rule provided the anchor for these abuses, as it was the source of the enabling draconian decrees under which opponents of the regime(s) were detained. It is not surprising therefore that violations of individual rights are catalogued in the second volume of the report on the south east, which covers the high points of ultra-authoritarian rule by the military.

Reference 16 - 0.02% Coverage

nature and import of human

rights violations in the southeast zone in the period 1966-1999 lies in the pervasive feelings of Ndigbo that they were hated and persecuted, and that beginning from the end of the civil war in 1970, they were being punished through marginalization and discrimination for the sins of the civil war. Two factors served to aggravate these feelings. First was prolonged rule by unaccountable and authoritarian military governments. The Igbo fared very badly under the military because of the massive purge of Ndigbo officers and men from the armed forces, police and security agencies at the end of the civil war.

Reference 17 - 0.01% Coverage

speech for an honorary doctorate

award from Imo State University in March 1998: "The Force (Nigeria Police Force) has been torn between the civil populace and the military, so much so that its civil traditions are almost lost to military authoritarianism."⁶²

Sierra Leone - TRC Report-FULL> - § 6 references coded [0.03% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.01% Coverage

In the second section of the chapter, the Commission focussed on the prolonged period in power of the All People's Congress (APC). The APC government used concerns about internal security as a pretext to stifle the nascent democratic culture. All the institutions of the state were subjected to strict party control and Siaka Stevens, the new President of the Republic of Sierra Leone, adopted an increasingly authoritarian approach.

Reference 2 - 0.01% Coverage

On assumption of the office of Prime Minister, Siaka Stevens attended most urgently to the consolidation of his power. Despite espousing socialist principles, he adopted authoritarian methods of governance. All the institutions of the state were subjected to strict party control. Institutions that should have been checks on an overbearing executive were emasculated. The prolonged period of Siaka Stevens' rule is captured in more expansive detail in the chapter of this report entitled 'Governance', so a brief summary should suffice for present purposes.

Reference 3 - 0.01% Coverage

In examining the dynamics of this method of managing power – practised to differing degrees and at different times by both of Sierra Leone’s main political parties – the Commission has heard many testimonies about the adverse effects it has had on the population. Ironically, oppressive and authoritarian governance seems to have led to both inward and outward forms of defection.

Reference 4 - 0.01% Coverage

For good governance to obtain, the three branches of government – the executive, the legislature and the judiciary - must be separate and independent of one another, and each must have the requisite power to fulfil its functions. The constitutional provisions that ensure the separation of powers must not merely exist on paper, but rather must be developed and reaffirmed continuously in their application. A failure to respect this separation inevitably allows one branch of government – most often the executive – to act in an unaccountable fashion and to influence or undermine the work of the other two. A government that permits little or no restraint on its own powers is an authoritarian government, which epitomises bad governance. In analysing the pre-war period in Sierra Leone, the Commission regards authoritarianism, wherever it occurred, as a direct cause of injustice and, accordingly, as a cause of the conflict.

9.

The Independence Constitution of

Reference 5 - 0.01% Coverage

This practice has led to many children having their lives shaped for them by adults, who are well meaning and who honestly believe that they are acting in the best interests of the child. While this may be true in the majority of cases, it is also clear that decisions made on the basis of patriarchy and authoritarianism have affected many children’s lives negatively.

Reference 6 - 0.01% Coverage

have often both been victims.

Secrecy and authoritarianism have concealed the truth in little crevices of obscurity in our history. Records are not easily accessible; witnesses are often unknown, dead, unavailable or unwilling. All that often effectively remains is the truth of wounded memories of loved ones sharing instinctive suspicions, deep and traumatising to the survivors but otherwise incapable of translating themselves into objective and corroborative evidence which could survive the rigours of the law.

SouthAfrica.TRC_.Report-FULL> - § 10 references coded [0.03% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.01% Coverage

Much of what transpired in this shameful period is shrouded in secrecy and not easily capable of objective demonstration and proof...Secrecy and authoritarianism have concealed the truth in little crevices of obscurity in our history. Records are not easily accessible; witnesses are often unknown, dead, unavailable or unwilling. All that often effectively remains is the truth of wounded memories of loved ones sharing

instinctive suspicions, deep and traumatising to the survivors but otherwise incapable of translating themselves into objective and corroborative evidence which could survive the rigours of the law.¹⁴

Reference 2 - 0.01% Coverage

Much of what transpired in this shameful period is shrouded in secrecy and not easily capable of objective demonstration and proof. Loved ones have disappeared, sometimes mysteriously, and most of them no longer survive to tell their tales. Secrecy and authoritarianism have concealed the truth in little crevices of obscurity in our history. Records are not easily accessible; witnesses are often unknown, dead, unavailable or unwilling. All that often effectively remains is the truth of wounded memories of loved ones sharing instinctive suspicions, deep and traumatising to the survivors but otherwise incapable of translating themselves into objective and corroborative evidence which could survive the rigours of the law.

Reference 3 - 0.01% Coverage

48 Third, homeland police forces were generally alienated from, and hostile to, the communities they served. Homeland policing was largely authoritarian, with a track record of violence and brutality even in routine criminal cases. In the minds of many homeland residents, the police were living symbols of a repressive and unjust system. Because of routine heavy-handedness, most community members – and not just political activists – lived in fear of the police.

49 Finally, as revealed in the evidence before the Commission, homeland police – like their counterparts in South Africa – were generally above the law. While homeland police buttressed weak and often authoritarian elites, so too did homeland politicians manipulate institutions, particularly the judiciary, in order to protect the police. As a result, homeland police forces were not held accountable to the law they purportedly upheld or to the citizens whom they were created to serve.

VOLUME 2 CHAPTER 5 The

Reference 4 - 0.01% Coverage

common, resulting in breakaway groups.

247 The fierce struggles with the state facilitated the emergence of powerful leaders as protectors and patrons of squatters. In Old Crossroads, a pattern of authoritarian leadership was entrenched under Mr Johnson Ngxobongwana. Links to the UDF and other organisations in the formal townships remained largely symbolic as leaders tended to be preoccupied with internal squatter issues. The political relationship was also weakened by long-standing divisions between legal township residents and migrants (the amagoduka), who were based in the hostels and squatter camps.

248 During the course of

Reference 5 - 0.01% Coverage

- IN THE APPLICATION OF THE POLICY OF APARTHEID, THE STATE IN THE COMMISSION'S MANDATE PERIOD WAS INCREASINGLY AUTHORITARIAN IN NATURE AND INTOLERANT OF DISSENT. THIS WAS MANIFESTED, INTER ALIA, IN A HOST OF LEGISLATIVE MEASURES WHICH SEVERELY ABRIDGED THE

PRINCIPLES OF THE RULE OF LAW AND LIMITED THE RIGHT OF THE PEOPLE OF SOUTH AFRICA TO FREE POLITICAL ACTIVITY.

- THE DEVELOPMENT OF AN AUTHORITARIAN POLITICAL ORDER IN THE MANDATE PERIOD WAS FACILITATED BY A CULTURE OF IMPUNITY WHICH EMERGED AS A RESULT OF LEGISLATIVE AND OTHER MEASURES BY THE STATE, AND BY THE FAILURE, LARGELY AS A CONSEQUENCE OF STATE PRESSURE, OF ORGANS OF CIVIL SOCIETY – POLITICAL PARTIES, THE MASS MEDIA, FAITH, BUSINESS, LEGAL, MEDICAL AND OTHER GROUPS – TO OBSERVE AND ADHERE TO THE CODES AND STANDARDS OF CONDUCT INTEGRAL TO THEIR PROFESSIONS.
- IN THE APPLICATION OF THE

Reference 6 - 0.01% Coverage

Authoritarianism

94 Before leaving individualistic psychological explanations, it is worth asking whether perpetrators are not self-selected, that is, people with particular kinds of personality predispositions who are drawn to certain careers and circumstances to emerge as killers and torturers. The theory of the authoritarian personality presents such a view. Rooted in earlier thinking from the 1920s, the authoritarian thesis was made famous in a major book published in 1950¹⁷. A particular kind of person, 15 H Arendt, *Eichmann in Jerusalem*. New York: Viking, 1964; Browning, (1992). 16 De Kock (1998) p. 45. 17 T Adorno et al, *The authoritarian personality*. New York: Harper, 1950.

Reference 7 - 0.01% Coverage

Perspectives of Perpetrators PAGE 285

the 'authoritarian personality', it was claimed, emerged from rigid and punitive family structures. Drawing on psychoanalytic theory, it was argued that children of such families split off and repressed feelings of hostility and resentment towards their parents and projected these hostile feelings towards members of weaker and stigmatised groups. As Adorno once put it, authoritarians metaphorically resemble cyclists: "above they bow, below they kick". Authoritarians as a type also manifest a particular pattern of social attitudes: ethnocentrism (or favouritism towards their own group), prejudice towards out-group members, anti-democratic views and a propensity towards conservatism and fascist ideology.

95 There is solid and reliable recent evidence that authoritarianism was manifest among white South Africans, that it was correlated with anti-black prejudice and anti-democratic tendencies, and was more prevalent among Afrikaans rather than English-speakers, and among those who regarded themselves as conservative.

96 In recent years, the theoretical base of authoritarianism has been revised. It is no longer seen as rooted primarily in either intrapsychic conflict or in strict, hierarchical and rigid family socialisation. Rather, it is a set of beliefs expressing strong and loyal identification with one's own social or cultural group – ethnic, national, racial, religious – with strong demands on group togetherness (cohesion). Respect and unconditional obedience is given to own-group leaders and authorities (an attitude of bowing to the top) while authoritarian aggression reflects negative prejudice, intolerance and punitiveness towards out-group members (the kicks below). Authoritarianism in this view is a form of social identity rather than a particular personality type. It is nevertheless a modality of identity with tendencies towards hostility towards 'others' – expressed in South Africa as the intolerance and hostility of whites towards blacks and those on the left¹⁸. It is certainly not far-fetched to argue that such people may be drawn towards lives in the police and the army, themselves rather rigid and hierarchical institutions, which then reinforce

authoritarian tendencies that are already present. Hence, self-selection on psychological grounds is quite feasible.

97 But does this offer an explanation for a predisposition to commit atrocities? Evidence is really rather thin. There is no direct evidence that shows that authoritarian identities are actually more violent in terms of behaviour. Research of this sort has shown evidence of expressed intolerance, prejudice, racism and anti-democratic tendencies but not direct evidence of murderous actions. It is dubious in the additional sense that there may be many authoritarians in a given social order,

Reference 8 - 0.01% Coverage

98 However, authoritarianism may form a contributing factor in the propensity towards violence in that both central elements of the authoritarian personality – obedience and loyalties to in-group authorities, and hostile distancing from others (a tendency towards dehumanisation of the ‘enemy’) – have been directly implicated in aggression. It is a feasible link in the chain; it is not the whole story.

99 In evidence before the Commission it would seem that many perpetrators, particularly from the security forces and right-wing organisations, would fit rather closely the description of authoritarian identity. Certainly there is evidence that security force training, perhaps particularly of the sort found in South Africa prior to 1994, may facilitate such tendencies. Here again are extracts from Mr John Deegan’s testimony, describing police training:

Reference 9 - 0.01% Coverage

training that individualism was out.

100 It should be apparent from the above that violence is not a matter of individual psychology alone. It is the combination of personal biographies interwoven with institutional forms (organisations, military structures, hierarchical arrangements of power) and an escalation of events in historical terms that provides the assemblages or configurations that produce awful deeds. It is not a mechanistic formula. Since authoritarianism in this view is a particular form of identification, social identity frameworks as potential motives for violence will now be examined.

Reference 10 - 0.01% Coverage

104 A second class of understanding motives explains violence as a product of personal or interpersonal psychology. Violence is due either to an intrinsic personality trait or type such as a sadist, psychopath, Machiavellian or authoritarian type, or conversely an inner psychological state or mood (rage, jealousy, frustration, revenge, provocation induced via interpersonal processes and interactions). Such explanations do not account adequately for violence against categories of people with whom we have little or no interaction, as in the case of warfare. The two domains, interpersonal and inter-group, are controlled by different processes.

Tunisia-Truth-and-Dignity-Commission-Report_executive_summary_report> - § 21 references coded
[0.43% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.01% Coverage

TDC) was able to identify the joints or articulations and mechanisms employed by the authoritarian regime to pervert law and employ the institutions to serve the interests of those close to the regime. It was a system designed to subjugate the entire society. It created social, political and economic marginalization. It is a system based on an octopus network extending its grip on all aspects of economic, social, cultural and political life based on and consisting of:

Reference 2 - 0.01% Coverage

as did the brotherly Morocco.

Moreover, this situation has also caused an almost total decline of any free activity in the public space and the confiscation of any dissident and thus paved the way for the establishment of an authoritarian and tyrannical regime.

Reference 3 - 0.02% Coverage

Since the independence, the overlap between the ruling party and the state presented a fundamental form to impose authoritarianism and tyranny. The multiplicity of the overlap mechanisms between the party interests and the state institutions is considered as the most prominent conclusion reached through research and investigation relying on the archives of the Truth and Dignity Commission. Moreover, delegation of control and security missions of repressive nature and limiting freedoms to the local and regional structures of the party, has contributed to the rise of human rights violations to include all areas of citizens' lives as well as the negative repercussions of such an unhealthy relationship on the developmental capacities of the society at all levels.

I. Free Destourian Party Welfare

Reference 4 - 0.02% Coverage

Chapter Three Pillars of denunciation _____

The previous authoritarian and tyrannical regimes largely based their domination upon denunciation as a mechanism of surveillance and domination on the whole society. Indeed, each political system established a network of informants, rooted in all political, economic, and cultural fields including the surveillance of the private life of citizens, especially dissidents and political opponents, but also some elements within the system. There was also a close and direct relationship between the reports of informants and the violations targeting dissidents from the different political movements as well as human rights activists.

Reference 5 - 0.02% Coverage

Instrumentalization of the security system _____

Authoritarian regimes used security systems to serve their interests instead of exploiting this institution in the function it was established to accomplish consisting in preserving security. The Regime of Bourguiba inherited the security system from the colonial authority and preserved the same structure designed for it by the Consul General of France. Whereas, Ben Ali developed this system and restricted it more tightly. Under his regime, the Ministry of Interior was administered according to a very precise structure that remained secret and confidential. Indeed, all the legal and regulatory texts which were issued in relation to the Ministry of interior were not published in the Official Gazette.

Reference 6 - 0.04% Coverage

Nine Propaganda and disinformation system_____

TDC (IVD) received 107 files related to violations of freedom of media. On December 14th, 2018, TDC (IVD) organized a public hearing¹⁵⁷ related to disinformation, during which some journalists¹⁵⁸ presented their testimonies about the suffering of the sector based on their own professional experience. It is noteworthy that the Tunisian media landscape has always been characterized by an almost total censorship from the executive authority since the independence. Although there were bright pages in the history of Tunisia in which independent media played the role of a loophole, the guided media, which used to be totally run by security and police laboratories, dominated the landscape. Media were employed to complement pillars of the despotic and authoritarian regime. Security dealings with media did not start with Bourguiba or Ben Ali. On the contrary, it goes back to the protectorate period. Indeed, after the trial of Ali Bach Hamba and the group of the Tunisian Youth Movement following the events of Djallaz in 1911, the colonial authorities used to seize Arabic language newspapers with the exception of one newspaper: "Arraid Attounssi", issued by the general residency.

Reference 7 - 0.05% Coverage

The turning point happened when cyber activists took to the streets. Indeed, Tunisian bloggers used different tools and means to express their refusal of the censorship policy and prosecution of bloggers through the publication of caricatures and satirical texts... To express their protest, they called for the organization of a campaign known as the "white blog post" which consisted in stopping blogging for one day on December 25th, 2007 and they raised slogans against censorship and control. On June 8th, 2008 they have also organized another online campaign entitled "Red blog post" to protest the repression targeting people in the mining basin in Gafsa. After that, online campaigns intensified such as: "No to Censorship", especially after blocking Facebook in 2008, as well as Yezzi Fokk and Sayeb Salah / Nhar Ala Ammar campaigns. The latter was organized on May 22nd, 2010. Indeed, the two bloggers Slim Amamou and Yassine Ayari presented a notification to the Ministry of Interior to organize a demonstration. But the police services then confronted bloggers and surrounded them and arrested some of them. The bloggers had also launched the campaign "letter to a deputy" to request the discussion of the issue of censorship in the parliament... In the summer of 2010, they organized a flash mob in Sidi Bou Said to denounce the policy of censorship. Both Civilian security officers and security officers in uniforms chased the bloggers away and banned their flash mob and arrested some of them. Prior to the Revolution of Freedom and Dignity, Tunileaks published documents relating to the US Embassy in Tunis on November 28th, 2010, which included criticism of the Ben Ali regime. This affected the authoritarian system and created confusion within the ruling regime.

Reference 8 - 0.01% Coverage

families and regions. It also did not distinguish between left, right, nationalist, trade unionist or ordinary citizen who intercepted the "machine". After examining the archives, the Truth and Dignity Commission was able to begin dismantling the authoritarian regime that ruled Tunisia for six decades.

Reference 9 - 0.02% Coverage

Constitutional Party in the state.

Leftist thinking was formed mainly in two basic structures: the Tunisian Communist Party, which was founded in the 1930s, and the Socialist Studies and Socialist Group in Tunisia, founded in 1961 and known as the Perspectives (Prospects of Tunisia) referring to the political review that was published in Paris and brought in secret. To Tunisia to be distributed among students and political activists in general. Each spectrum had their own vision in the political work and structure of objectives, but this did not prevent coordination between them or participation in the plight of the consequences of their political activities as they have been considered one enemy of the authoritarian regime.

Reference 10 - 0.01% Coverage

to the Communist Workers' Party.

The trials of leftist currents in Tunisia constituted one of the chapters of the authoritarian regimes that succeeded Tunisia and established a culture of impunity.

Reference 11 - 0.03% Coverage

1. Introduction

TDC received 1503 files concerning violations against students. TDC considered that these violations constitute one axis despite the diversity of the political currents concerned with the violations, because of the unity of the space targeted by the authoritarian regime in all stages.

Since the beginning of the establishment of authoritarian rule in the mid-1960s, the university space constituted a fortress for the youth uprising against the authoritarian choices of the regime, which managed to impose almost total dominance of the public space leading to the establishment of the one-party system in 1964 (the decisions of the "Destiny Conference" of the Socialist Constitutional Party) hence political pluralism and electoral competition were abolished. Also, all popular, working and cultural organisms became run by the state as auxiliary institutions of the one and unique Party.

The university space embraced bold

Reference 12 - 0.06% Coverage

family members, especially the women.

During the Bourguiba and Ben Ali periods, the authoritarian regime systematically violated freedom of belief and dress. The commission undertook 3099 files related to these violations. This case represents 37% of the files submitted by women to TDC, where the violations targeted especially in the pupils and

the students. The TDC held a public hearing on violations against women³⁸⁰, dedicated to this kind of violation, and represented by the circular No. 108. TDC established that the first circular of this kind was the circular No. 22 issued by the Prime Minister Mohamed Mzali on September 17, 1981. He directed it to the Ministers concerning "the appearance of the administration and public institutions agents." The Minister of National Education, Mohamed Fraj Chedly, gave instructions to all the high school principals "to take care with the necessary seriousness and firmness against the phenomenon of veil", a day after the publication of the circular No. 108. This publication was followed by several circulars : - The circular No. 102 of 1986 issued by the Minister of National Education Amor Chedly on the appearance of teachers, administrative agents and pupils. - On October 23, 1986, the Minister of the Interior Zine El Abidine Ben Ali issued the circular No. 81. - The circular No. 76 of 1987 issued by Minister of National Education Amor Chedly. - On July 20, 2001, the circular No. 35/1 issued by the Minister of Education Monser Rouissi - The circular No. 35 of 2001 and the circulars No. 70 and No. 80 of 2002 all issued by the Minister of Higher Education Sadok Chaabane. - The circular No. 98 of October 22, 2003 issued by the Minister of Health Habib Mbarek Also, TDC accessed to an archive document concerning an action plan of the dissolved RCD party to confront the "sectarian dress" calling to "warn the veiled women in the commitment process-verbal " and to apply the circulars referred to "firmly" . The regime launched campaigns against veiled women that were not necessarily politically active, but were pupils, students, administration agents, workers and housewives. They were

Reference 13 - 0.02% Coverage

Drawing upon the results of its work, TDC noted a strong correlation between human rights violations and financial abuses, through the will of authoritarian regimes to seek for privileges and material benefit, or caused by a prevalence of corruption arising from unequal distribution of wealth, increased taxation, and attempts to silence dissident voices. Financial crimes are therefore considered as the center of gravity of the violations covered by Transitional Justice, as they represent its most important cause, and a tool for sanctioning its perpetrators.

Reference 14 - 0.02% Coverage

especially in their public institutions.

Based on the results of the various TDC works, we have noted that all economic, political, or human rights violations have resulted in financial crimes through the quest of people close to authoritarian regimes for material privileges and benefits, or have been caused by the proliferation of financial corruption due to unfair wealth distribution and increased tax pressure. Financial crimes are therefore at the heart of the violations that are covered by transitional justice, as it represents its predominant cause, and a means of rewarding its perpetrators. On this basis, studying the phenomenon of financial corruption, identifying its causes, how it develops and its legal and financial complexities, and providing legislative and procedural proposals would have a positive impact on reducing other abuses and human rights violations.

Reference 15 - 0.01% Coverage

After the fall of the old regime, there remained material evidence worthy of preservation, such as regular and irregular detention centers, prisons and camps, as well as evidence of the authoritarian regime's self-worship, such as statues, geographical designations indicating power and murals.

Reference 16 - 0.01% Coverage

for those responsible for violations.

It follows that reconciliation aims at constructing a democratic system that cuts off with authoritarianism, and establishing equality between all citizens in various areas, which could help rebuild the citizen's confidence in State institutions, as well as holding all perpetrators of gross human rights violations accountable.

From the perspective of the

Reference 17 - 0.03% Coverage

The Paraguayan experience Pursuant to article 203 of the Constitution, the Paraguayan Chamber of Deputies adopted on 19 June 2003 Act no. 2225 on the establishment of the "Truth and Justice Commission (TJC)" in Paraguay, which focused on the period from May 1954 until 19 June 2003, date of ratification of the TJC establishment Act. It was entrusted with the tasks of investigating and looking into political, social and cultural circumstances and behaviors of State organs and other structures that committed serious violations of human rights, as well as officially uncovering the truth and proving the State's moral and political responsibilities, at a later stage. It was also tasked with clarifying the link between human rights violations and authoritarian policies of the National State, developing proposals of reparations for victims on the basis of acceptable norms, and preserving victims' memories and testimonies by identifying detention locations of individuals who were victims of violations.

Reference 18 - 0.02% Coverage

2. Revealing the truth Article 4 of the organic law no. 2013-53 dated 24 December 2013 "establishing and organizing the transitional justice" defines the mechanism of revealing the truth as "the entirety of methods, procedures and research used to dismantle the authoritarian system, by identifying and determining all the violations, as well as determining their causes, conditions, sources, surrounding circumstances, and repercussions. In cases of death, missing persons, and enforced disappearance, it shall uncover the fate and whereabouts of the victims, as well as the identity of the perpetrators and those responsible for such acts.

Reference 19 - 0.01% Coverage

These reforms include all State institutions that contributed to set up the authoritarian rule, mainly in the security and the judiciary sectors, and all State bodies, especially the public funds and property oversight body, in addition to dismantling this system and laying the foundations for the good management of public properties.

Reference 20 - 0.01% Coverage

reconstructing the violations victims' memory.

- Security cooperation with other countries should be developed to serve the national interests on the basis of national values and options generated by the removal of the authoritarian system while rejecting any response to other purposes that may contravene international safeguards of the individual's rights.

Reference 21 - 0.01% Coverage

- To name streets, roads, squares, parks, educational and cultural institutions after the victims who died or were missing due to serious human rights violations, in order to avoid all references to the commemoration of the authoritarian rule by the dominant designations in the public space, such as the streets of Habib Bourguiba in all cities of Tunisia and the proper commemoration of his name.

Rwanda - Unity_and_Reconciliation__Process> - § 2 references coded [0.05% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.02% Coverage

Governance failure, simply put as 'bad governance', which was authoritarian, centralized and discriminatory in the history of Rwanda, has been the leading factor/cause of ethnic-based divisions and persecutions, which culminated into the 1994 Genocide against Tutsi.

Reference 2 - 0.02% Coverage

The ways in which a society attempts to move away from authoritarian rule or armed conflict and come to terms with its legacy of past abuses, in order to create a justice system which will ensure accountability and prevent future atrocities from occurring.

Restorative justice brought about by