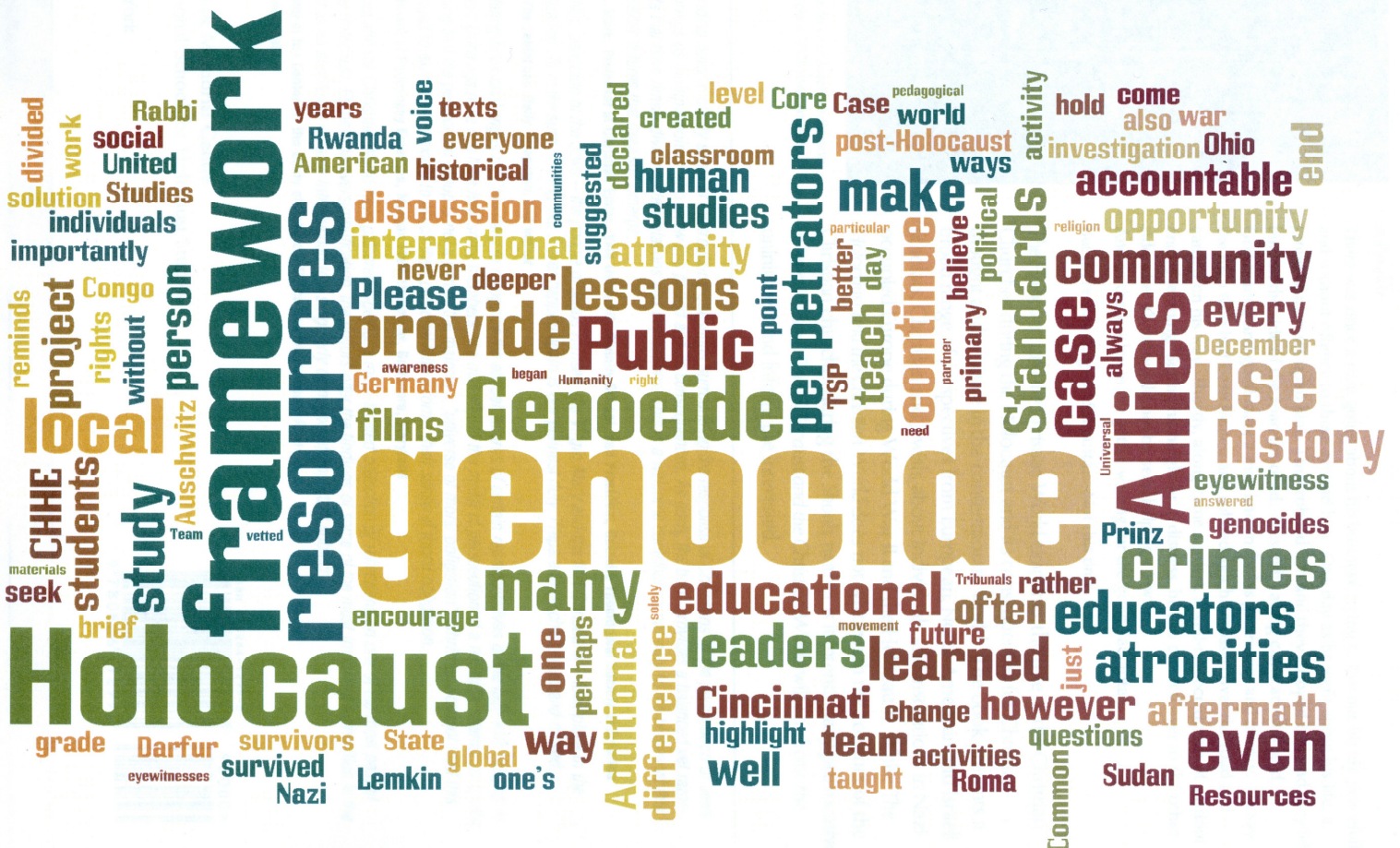


Lessons Not Learned:

Exploring Atrocity after the Holocaust





Lessons Not Learned: Exploring Atrocity after the Holocaust

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INTRODUCTION

After surviving the horrors of Auschwitz, Roma Kaltman felt a strong obligation to share about her experiences during the Holocaust. She believed that no one should ever have to live through what she and her sister survived. Rabbi Joachim Prinz, who led a Jewish congregation in Berlin, Germany during the rise of Nazism, stood at the podium during the March on Washington in 1963 and declared that in the face of hatred "the most urgent, the most disgraceful, the most shameful and the most tragic problem is silence." Decades later, Carl Wilkens, an American missionary who remained in Rwanda during the 1994 genocide, remarked that "Genocide stems from the belief that my world would be better without you in it — without you and your kind." These three individuals learned these lessons as eyewitnesses to crimes of genocide.

In the aftermath of the Holocaust, while survivors faced the difficult and often unbearable journey of rebuilding their lives, the international community was confronted with some of the worst crimes against humanity in history, and forced to decide how they were going to hold the perpetrators of the Holocaust accountable. British Prime Minister Winston Churchill and Soviet Russia's Joseph Stalin suggested the quick and perhaps obvious solution of executing all ranking Nazi leaders; however, the United States offered a different solution. They argued that here was the opportunity to not only punish the perpetrators, but to set a standard which maintained that those crimes committed during the Holocaust, and any future crimes would not be tolerated. In November 1945, the Nuremberg Tribunals began.

On December 10, 1948, one day after The Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide was adopted by the United Nations, Eleanor Roosevelt and the other members of the Commission on Human Rights passed a Universal Declaration that was created to send a message that every person has specific rights granted to them solely because they are a human being. It declared that every person, regardless of one's race, religion, class, gender, sexual orientation, political affiliation, language, or ethnic or cultural identity, has the right to be respected and to feel safe in their own home. With the liberation of Auschwitz, the end of Japanese-American internment and the start of the Nuremberg Tribunals, the world seemed focused on the protection of human rights and dignity.

Unfortunately, this awareness soon began to fade. With Carl, Roma and Rabbi Prinz in mind, this educational guide is not only a discussion about the lessons not learned and how "never again" continues to be a failed promise, but it is also to provide the opportunity to reflect on the many lessons that we have, in fact, learned in the aftermath of the Holocaust. Although educators, activists, politicians and religious leaders continue to struggle with how to make genocide a phenomenon of the past, there are many questions that have been answered. The *gacaca* courts in Rwanda taught us the importance of reconciliation and seeking forgiveness for a brighter future; yet, they also highlight the need to remember that scars from genocide can take years to heal. The Cambodian genocide reminds us that too often war is a guise for genocide, and each of us must seek out ways to read through the lines. The atrocities in the Congo teach us that rape should be seen as more than just a tool of war, but rather "gendercide." The Guatemalan genocide provides a lesson on never giving up hope that perpetrators can always be held accountable — even if it is decades later. The Bosnian genocide reminds us that even after the Holocaust and Nazi Germany, Europe is not immune to genocide. The genocide in Darfur and the ongoing conflict between Sudan and South Sudan continue to teach us that the voice of youth should never be silenced, because they are often the key to forcing our leaders to pay attention to global atrocities. Perhaps even more importantly, Raphael Lemkin taught us that the prevention of genocide is directly connected to a

fear of punishment, and that every human being has a moral obligation to intervene and encourage international political leaders to do the same. Lemkin shows us the difference one person can make, and that when a multitude of individuals come together, real and everlasting change can occur.

Please use this educational guide as a way to not only teach about the lessons *not* learned and that even after the Holocaust, hate, intolerance and indifference can lead to genocide, but in addition, use it as a way to open a student's eyes to the potential each of us has to make a positive difference in our local and global communities.

Case Studies

The educational guide is divided into sections labeled as "case studies." Each includes a brief description of the history and aftermath of the atrocity, as well as the response of the international community. Following each study are comprehension and discussion questions, as well as extension activities. *Please note that the historical background provided for each case study is not meant to be complete, but rather serve as an introduction to the history and an entry point to beginning a discussion with your students.* Additional teacher and student resources are listed at the end of the guide in order to provide the opportunity for a deeper investigation.

More importantly, as with most case studies of genocide and atrocity crimes, there is rarely an end point. Therefore, we strongly encourage you to tie in current primary resources, such as newspapers, magazines and news briefings that can speak to how each region continues to reconcile and come to terms with these histories and seek ways to hold the perpetrators accountable.

Voice of an Eyewitness

Each case study concludes with the voice of a survivor and/or eyewitness. These brief introductions to their stories highlight how atrocities impact individuals differently and can provide an entryway for further exploration in the classroom.

Ohio State Standards and Common Core Standards

The standards addressed in each activity align to the 2010 Ohio State Standards for social studies as well as the Common Core Standards for grades six through twelve. In particular, the educational guide places a strong emphasis on improving literacy through the use of primary resources.

Grade Level and Intended Audience

Each activity lists a suggested grade level range; however, all activities were designed to be adapted in a way that is most effective with your students.

Additional Resources

Books, films, and eyewitness accounts continue to be created and documented. In an effort to bring to you as many of these resources as possible, at the conclusion of the educational guide is a collection of texts (for students and educators), films and websites that will provide an even deeper investigation to the field. The list is divided according to case study, and each resource has been vetted for historical accuracy and pedagogical appropriateness. Please use these resources however is most appropriate for your assigned discipline and grade level. Due to the graphic nature of some of these resources, we recommend that any films and texts be previewed prior to use in the classroom.

How This Educational Guide Began

This guide began as a collaboration and partnership between The Center for Holocaust and Humanity Education (CHHE) and Public Allies Cincinnati. For many years it was CHHE's goal to provide better resources for local educators on post-Holocaust genocides and atrocity crimes. As a small organization this was a great undertaking. CHHE was selected as a Team Service Project site by Public Allies Cincinnati. Each Friday from December 2011 through May 2012, 20 young professionals spent part of their day at CHHE working on an exciting new project, "Understanding Genocide: A Closer Look at Global Atrocities." The outreach committee built connections with genocide survivors in the local community and the education committee initiated the creation of educational materials, such as this framework, to be used to raise awareness in the local community and distribute to educators for use in their classrooms. It was their vision that helped facilitate the completion of this educational guide.

The Center for Holocaust and Humanity Education

In the years following the Holocaust, hundreds of survivors began new lives in Cincinnati. They formed the Jewish New American Society, which served to help the survivors integrate into the local Jewish community and foster community with those who had been through similar experiences. Later, this organization was reorganized under the name Jewish Survivors of Nazism. The group's primary purpose was to provide social opportunities and Jewish connection through events, holiday parties, picnics, an annual Liberation Ball, and a special spring Yizkor Service commemorating the Holocaust. In addition to these events, from its earliest organizational meetings, the group debated the appropriate way to preserve the memories of those they had lost.

In 1994, the aging of the leaders of the Jewish Survivors from Nazism led them to approach the children of local survivors to take over and re-envision the organization. Thus was born a new group called The Combined Generations of the Holocaust, which included children of survivors and others interested in a wider mission of developing and delivering education, outreach and social programs promoting Holocaust history, understanding and preservation. After much consideration, the committee of Combined Generations of the Holocaust approached Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion about locating a Holocaust education center at the college that would build upon and expand the mission of the organization.

In 2000, CHHE opened on the Cincinnati Campus of Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion. The space included offices and a Resource Library for teachers. CHHE expanded the annual Yom HaShoah commemoration to include a series of Holocaust awareness programs across the tri-state.

In 2007, CHHE became an independent non-profit organization and in 2009, relocated to its current location at Rockwern Academy. CHHE continues to educate about the Holocaust, remember its victims and act on its lessons. Through innovative programs and partnerships, CHHE challenges injustice, inhumanity and prejudice, and fosters understanding, inclusion and engaged citizenship. Resources include traveling and permanent exhibits, teacher trainings, and innovative programs.

Public Allies Cincinnati

Public Allies is a national movement grounded in the conviction that everyone leads. It holds a belief that everyone can make a difference and can work to inspire others to step up and act.

Throughout United States' history, lasting social change has always resulted from the courageous acts of many, not just a few. The motto of Public Allies is that "Everyone Leads."

One component of the Public Allies program is the team service project (or TSP). During the TSP, groups of Allies partner with local nonprofits to plan, develop, and implement a project. The partnership between Public Allies and The Center for Holocaust and Humanity Education included nine Allies who worked together to initiate a curriculum on post-Holocaust genocide and mass atrocity.

EVALUATION

Much effort has gone into making this educational guide as effective as possible. However, we are always open to your feedback. If you have any suggestions for improvement or modifications to the guide, please provide us with the following information:

Name: _____

Title: _____

School/Organization Name: _____

Address, City, State, Zip _____

School/Business Phone Number and Email: _____

Grade Level/Subject Area: _____

How many students and educators used this educational guide? _____

Please circle the number corresponding to your choice:

1=strongly disagree 6=strongly agree

This educational guide increased my knowledge of genocide.

1 2 3 4 5 6

I have gained valuable tools, resources and activities for classroom use.

1 2 3 4 5 6

Was the format of the guide easy to use? Explain.

What did you think of the overall content of the guide?

Were there any areas of the guide that needed improvement? Explain.

Do you have any additional comments?

Please send this evaluation to Alexis Storch, astorch@holocaustandhumanity.org.
We appreciate your time and consideration in completing this evaluation.

GUIDELINES FOR TEACHING ABOUT GENOCIDE

Adapted from The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum (USHMM)

CHHE encourages each educator to explore the guidelines below as they prepare to tackle the challenging and potentially emotionally-charged topic of genocide. We also suggest examining USHMM's guidelines for teaching the Holocaust. For more information, please visit:

<http://www.ushmm.org/education/foreducators/guideline/>

1. Define genocide: "Genocide means 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; forcibly transferring children of the group to another group." (Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide. (UN))

2. Investigate the context and dynamics that have led to genocide: Examine the steps taken toward genocide and the factors and patterns which may play a role in the early stages. These might include political tensions, poor economy, history of conflict, etc.

3. Be wary of simplistic parallels to other genocides: Each genocide is unique in its own way. Students often make easy comparisons to other genocides, particularly the Holocaust. Many times this is to come to terms with the enormity of genocide; however, teachers should try to refocus students to examine the specifics of each case study. Parallels may exist in terms of tactics (i.e. methods of transport, marginalization, etc.), but teachers should avoid any comparisons of pain and suffering.

4. Analyze American and world response: In order to learn from mistakes of the past, it's important to examine what happened during a genocide, but also what did not happen. Teachers can avoid easy answers to why there may or may not have been intervention during an atrocity crime by contextualizing the response of the international community and what choices were available before, during and after the atrocity.

5. Illustrate positive actions taken by individuals and nations in the fact of genocide: Although during each atrocity, there are bystanders who choose to not intervene, teachers should also discuss the responses of upstanders who took positive action. Without exaggerating their numbers or their frequency, teachers can show the power of the individual who spoke out against the oppressive regime and/or rescue threatened people.

THE EIGHT STAGES OF GENOCIDE©

One of the most common questions asked by students during a study of genocide is “how could it have happened?” What prompted neighbors to turn against their neighbors and consequently, become indifferent to their murder? In 1996, Gregory Stanton, President of Genocide Watch, presented a paper to the U.S. State department in which he outlined one possible understanding of the process leading to genocide. These stages show us that genocide does not occur in a vacuum, but rather has different steps that contribute to its escalation.

The Eight Stages of Genocide can provide a guideline for your students to examine the case studies included in this educational guide. Stanton not only provides a description of each stage, but also specific and historical examples to support his findings. In addition, Stanton highlights that at each stage individuals have the opportunity to prevent the process from continuing. Below is an abridged version of each stage. For a complete version, please visit: <http://www.genocidewatch.org/genocide/8stagesofgenocide.html>

Genocide is a process that develops in eight stages that are predictable but not inexorable.

At each stage, preventive measures can stop it.

The process is not linear. Logically, later stages must be preceded by earlier stages.

But all stages continue to operate throughout the process.

1. CLASSIFICATION: All cultures have categories to distinguish people into “us and them” by ethnicity, race, religion, or nationality: German and Jew, Hutu and Tutsi. Bipolar societies that lack mixed categories, such as Rwanda and Burundi, are the most likely to have genocide. The main preventive measure at this early stage is to develop universalistic institutions that transcend ethnic or racial divisions, that actively promote tolerance and understanding, and that promote classifications that transcend the divisions. This search for common ground is vital to early prevention of genocide.

2. SYMBOLIZATION: We give names or other symbols to the classifications. We name people “Jews” or “Gypsies”, or distinguish them by colors or dress; and apply the symbols to members of groups. Classification and symbolization are universally human and do not necessarily result in genocide unless they lead to the next stage, dehumanization. When combined with hatred, symbols may be forced upon unwilling members of pariah groups: the yellow star for Jews under Nazi rule, the blue scarf for people from the Eastern Zone in Khmer Rouge Cambodia.

3. DEHUMANIZATION: One group denies the humanity of the other group. Members of it are equated with animals, vermin, insects or diseases. Dehumanization overcomes the normal human revulsion against murder. At this stage, hate propaganda in print and on hate radios is used to vilify the victim group.

4. ORGANIZATION: Genocide is always organized, usually by the state, often using militias to provide deniability of state responsibility (the Janjaweed in Darfur). Sometimes organization is informal (Hindu mobs led by local RSS militants) or decentralized (terrorist groups). Special army units or militias are often trained and armed. Plans are made for genocidal killings.

5. POLARIZATION: Extremists drive the groups apart. Hate groups broadcast polarizing propaganda. Laws may forbid intermarriage or social interaction. Extremist terrorism targets moderates, intimidating and silencing the center. Moderates from the perpetrators' own group are most able to stop genocide, so are the first to be arrested and killed.

6. PREPARATION: Victims are identified and separated out because of their ethnic or religious identity. Death lists are drawn up. Members of victim groups are forced to wear identifying symbols. Their property is expropriated. They are often segregated into ghettos, deported into concentration camps, or confined to a famine-struck region and starved.

7. EXTERMINATION begins, and quickly becomes the mass killing legally called "genocide." It is "extermination" to the killers because they do not believe their victims to be fully human. When it is sponsored by the state, the armed forces often work with militias to do the killing.

8. DENIAL is the eighth stage that always follows a genocide. It is among the surest indicators of further genocidal massacres. The perpetrators of genocide dig up the mass graves, burn the bodies, try to cover up the evidence and intimidate the witnesses. They deny that they committed any crimes, and often blame what happened on the victims. They block investigations of the crimes, and continue to govern until driven from power by force, when they flee into exile.

© 1998 Gregory H. Stanton

“THE WORD IS NEW, THE CONCEPT IS ANCIENT”:¹ DEFINING GENOCIDE

In November 1945, 22 men stood trial for the crimes committed during the Holocaust, when the Nazi regime and its collaborators murdered approximately six million Jews and millions of non-Jews. In a quest for racial superiority, the Nazi regime systematically sought to rid Europe of Jewish culture and religion. The military tribunal established at Nuremberg would be the first time individual political leaders would be held accountable for “crimes against humanity.” Following the first set of tribunals, more trials continued and included the doctors who performed unwarranted medical experiments, the members of the mobile killing units (*Einsatzgruppen*), as well as high-ranking Nazi officials. However, perhaps even more notable about the Nuremberg Trials, as these tribunals came to be known, was that it was the first time in history that an international military tribunal sought to apply law to a mass group of individuals.

Soon after the gates of Auschwitz opened and survivors of the Holocaust began to come to terms with the loss of their families and the stark future of rebuilding their lives, the United Nations (UN) was formed on October 24, 1945. After the horrors of the Holocaust, its aim was to maintain world peace through mutual cooperation and respect. The Nuremberg Trials complemented this mission.

For various reasons, many Holocaust survivors remained silent about the crimes they had witnessed. In fact, the backbone of the Nuremberg Trials was not eyewitness testimony, but rather evidence created by the Nazis — charts, lists, and graphs. It was not until the trial of Adolf Eichmann in 1961 that the voices of Holocaust survivors would be heard by a broader public that seemed ready to come to terms with an event that not only saw the murder of many, but the indifference of an international community.

The Armenian Genocide

Although the Nuremberg Trials were the first of their kind, the Holocaust was not the first time crimes against humanity were committed in the twentieth century. In 1915, under the guise of World War I, approximately one and half million Armenians were murdered at the hands of the Ottoman government. Having just lost a battle with Russia, the Armenian community quickly became the scapegoats for the Ottoman government’s failure. Then, with the rest of the world distracted by conflict, the ruling Turkish party, the Committee of Union and Progress (CUP) took the opportunity to erase the Armenian community from all of the Ottoman lands. Under the CUP leadership, they rounded up, transported and murdered men, women and children. By 1923, approximately half of the Armenian population no longer existed.

Soghomon Tehlirian, a survivor of the Armenian genocide, was trying to come to terms with the loss of his family at the hands of Ottoman leaders. Knowing that the man responsible for their death, Mehmed Talaat, one of the CUP leaders, roamed free, in 1920 he joined a group of Armenians, based out of Boston, Massachusetts, who established a plot to assassinate all the Ottoman leaders who led the genocide. In 1921, Tehlirian murdered Talaat.

¹ Quoted by Leo Kuper, Professor and genocide scholar

The Coining of a New Word

The story of Talaat's murder traveled across the ocean until it reached a Jewish law student in Poland. Raphael Lemkin, born in 1900 in a small Polish town, pondered why it was a crime for Tehlirian to kill one man, but Talaat, who was responsible for the death of over a million people, was immune to prosecution.

In 1933, already observed the rise of Nazism in Germany and Austria, and having studied the murder of the Armenian community, Lemkin began to brainstorm ways to create legal protections for social, religious and cultural groups. His studies were temporarily cut short when the Nazis invaded Poland in 1939, and Lemkin was fortunate to escape to the United States and continue his work at Duke University.



Raphael Lemkin (Courtesy of United Nations)

Soon after Germany invaded the Soviet Union in June 1941, the *Einsatzgruppen*, mobile killing squads under orders of the Nazi government, began rounding up and murdering Jews, Roma (gypsies) and communists. In August of the same year, British Prime Minister Winston Churchill declared in response to the rise of anti-Jewish and xenophobic propaganda and murders, "We are in the presence of a crime without a name." In less than a year, ranking Nazi officials would meet at the Wannsee Conference and decide how the "Final Solution" would be carried out.

Lemkin had already concluded that the only way to prevent mass atrocities was first, to find a word to describe the crime, and second, to find a way to insure punishment of it. He first decided on calling this untitled crime, "barbarity"— "the premeditated destruction of national, racial, religious and social collectivities," and "vandalism"— "the destruction of works of art and culture, being the expression of the particular genius of these collectivities." However, after meeting with George Eastman of the company, *Kodak*, Lemkin was encouraged to find a name more catchy and identifiable. "Barbarity" and "Vandalism" can have multiple meanings, and could easily be confusing. Eventually, Lemkin decided on the word, "Genocide," bringing together the Greek, *geno*, meaning "group" and Latin, *cide*, meaning "killing." He first wrote about genocide in his 1944 work, *Axis Rule in Occupied Europe*.

With the end of World War II, the establishment of the UN and the decision to set up the military tribunals at Nuremberg in 1945, Lemkin thought that the world was ready to do something about genocide. He joined a team of Americans working for the Nuremberg Trials and was delighted when the third count of the 24 defendants at the first Trial (24 were indicted, but only 22 stood trial), specifically mentioned that they "conducted deliberate and systematic *genocide*." It was also during this time that Lemkin learned the fate of his family members who had remained in Poland and died during the Holocaust.

Lemkin determined that the newly established United Nations would need to take on the prevention of genocide; however many politicians remained hesitant. There was a fear that such an international system of genocide prevention could impede a country's sovereignty. Nevertheless, Lemkin continued to lobby for genocide to be a part of international law. On December 11, 1946, the UN General Assembly passed a resolution that condemned genocide as an international crime. Almost two years later on December 9, 1948, the General Assembly met to vote on a treaty that would become the Convention of the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (the Genocide Convention). By October 1950 the Genocide Convention

was ratified, and 90 days later it went into effect. (See the Appendix for a complete version of The Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide). In theory, no longer would states and heads of states be permitted to commit mass atrocities without the fear of punishment from the international community. Needless to say, the elusive strategies that make preventing genocide a challenge still remains.

Bringing Attention to the Genocide Convention



Senator William Proxmire
(Courtesy of USHMM)

Although the Convention went into effect in 1951, not every country was willing to sign on for its ratification. One of these countries was the United States. Senator William Proxmire (D. - Wisconsin) believed that if citizens knew more about genocide, they would be energized to prevent it. Therefore, he made it his duty to educate as many Americans as possible. Beginning in 1967, Senator Proxmire made approximately 3,000 speeches on the Senate floor, urging the Senate to adopt the Genocide Convention. Finally, in 1986, the United States ratified the Convention. In 1988, it was signed by President Reagan, making the United States another nation responsible for the prevention and punishment of genocide.

In 2005, at the UN World Summit, nations came together and established the “Responsibility to Protect” clause. This specifies a state’s responsibility to protect against genocide and atrocity crimes as well as to assist other nations who have made an offer to protect. It further indicates that if diplomatic measures do not succeed, the use of force by the approval of the UN Security Council is warranted.

Two years later, a Genocide Prevention Task Force was launched as a privately funded conglomerate of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, The American Academy of Diplomacy and The United States Institute of Peace. Its goal was to highlight atrocities being committed around the globe and suggest ways to stop them. On April 23, 2012, the Obama administration announced the start of an Atrocities Prevention Board (APB) under the leadership of Samantha Power as a way to highlight the “Responsibility to Protect” clause.

Despite the challenging road to the Genocide Convention and the ongoing struggle to prevent genocide, there are two important lessons to be taken and shared. First, the Convention clearly defines what is genocide (Article II), but perhaps even more importantly, makes the contracting parties responsible for holding those individuals accused of genocide accountable for their actions (Article IV and V). Contracting parties would still be permitted to decide *how* they wanted to respond, but the Convention said they were now *required* to do so. Nevertheless, many countries remain hesitant and worry that such a Convention impedes a country’s sovereignty.

Second, the role and influence of the individual cannot be overemphasized. The dedication, passion and drive of Lemkin and Senator Proxmire, for example, highlight the impact one individual can make. Similarly, the individuals who continue to advocate on behalf of victims of genocide play an important role in keeping the public informed and making sure genocide does not fall off the political agenda.

Comprehension Questions:

1. Identify the individuals who played a critical role in the creation of the term “genocide.”
2. What two “crimes against humanity” were referenced by Lemkin and pre-dated the creation of the term, “genocide”?
3. Describe the significance of the Nuremberg Trials as part of the larger history of human rights.

Discussion Questions:

1. What do you think Professor Kuper meant when he suggested that the “word is new, the concept is ancient”?
2. Why do you think this curriculum begins with Raphael Lemkin and the creation of the term, “genocide?” Why is it important to learn about the definition of genocide prior to examining examples of it?
3. The United States did not ratify the Genocide Convention until long after it was created. Reflect on United States policy between 1948 and 1986 and determine different possible reasons why their ratification was stalled.
4. The Genocide Convention and the UDHR are not often discussed among the public. How can we raise awareness about the rights granted in these two documents and why it's important to protect these rights?
5. Lemkin was upset with passing the UDHR so close to the adoption of the Genocide Convention. He worried that if too many crimes were the subject of international law, the crime of genocide would not be taken seriously. Do you agree with Lemkin on whether there should be some crimes punishable only by individual states?

Title: It's All Semantics: Creating a Word Wall

Grade Level: Grades 7 and above

Time: 40 minutes

Lesson Overview: This activity is meant to serve as an introduction to a unit on genocide and/or human rights. The goal of this activity is to introduce common terms that students will likely come across as they continue their study of genocide.

Standards:

Common Core Standards:

RL.(6-12).4., RI.(6-12).4., RH.(6-12).4

Ohio Social Studies Content Statements:

American History: 2, 16, 24, 28,
American Government: 1, 4, 16,
Modern World History: 2, 15, 16, 19, 22, 24
Contemporary World Issues: 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 13, 17,

Objectives:

- Students will be able to define key terms related to a study of genocide.
- Students will research different sources to determine the most appropriate definition for their assigned term.
- Students will display their terms for the class.

Materials:

- Class set of terms (See Appendix for pre-selected terms)
- Assorted construction paper cut in half the “long way.”
- Markers, Scissors
- Wall adhesive

Opening:

1. Explain to students that as part of their study of genocide, they will each be assigned a different term to research and define. Remind students that often a word's definition may change over time, so it's important to find a neutral, yet accurate definition.
2. Students may complete this activity individually or with a partner.

Core Instruction:

3. Distribute a term and a piece of construction paper to each student or pair.
4. If possible, allow students to use various sources (i.e. reliable websites, textbooks, journals, etc.).
5. Once they decide on an appropriate definition, they can write their definition on construction paper large enough so it can be read from afar. They may also draw a picture, if helpful.
6. In addition to a definition, if appropriate, they may also include who coined the term and an example.

Closing:

7. If time permits, allow each student (or pair) to present their definition to the rest of the class. After presenting, they may post it on the wall where it can remain throughout the unit.

DEFINING GENOCIDE ACTIVITY TERMS

Impunity	Sovereignty	Security Council
Genocide	Human Rights	The Universal Declaration of Human Rights
General Assembly	Raphael Lemkin	Sen. William Proxmire
International Criminal Court	United Nations	Nuremberg Trials
8 Stages of Genocide	Upstander	Bystander
The Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide	Genocide Convention Implementation Act	Article IV of the Genocide Convention
Article II of the Genocide Convention	<u>Intent</u> to commit genocide	Gendercide
Amnesty	Internally Displaced Person (IDP)	Refugee
Human Rights Commission	Atrocity	Armenian Genocide
NATO	League of Nations	Crimes Against Humanity

CONVENTION ON THE PREVENTION AND PUNISHMENT OF THE CRIME OF GENOCIDE

The Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide was adopted by the United Nations General Assembly in December 1948. It went into effect in January 1951. The United States joined the Convention in 1988. The text below includes the first ten Articles.

Article I

The Contracting Parties confirm that genocide, whether committed in time of peace or in time of war, is a crime under international law which they undertake to prevent and to punish.

Article II

In the present Convention, genocide means any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such:

- (a) Killing members of the group;
- (b) Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group;
- (c) Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part;
- (d) Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group;
- (e) Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group.

Article III

The following acts shall be punishable:

- (a) Genocide;
- (b) Conspiracy to commit genocide;
- (c) Direct and public incitement to commit genocide;
- (d) Attempt to commit genocide;
- (e) Complicity in genocide.

Article IV

Persons committing genocide or any of the other acts enumerated in Article III shall be punished, whether they are constitutionally responsible rulers, public officials or private individuals.

Article V

The Contracting Parties undertake to enact, in accordance with their respective Constitutions, the necessary legislation to give effect to the provisions of the present Convention and, in particular, to provide effective penalties for persons guilty of genocide or any of the other acts enumerated in Article III.

Article VI

Persons charged with genocide or any of the other acts enumerated in Article III shall be tried by a competent tribunal of the State in the territory of which the act was committed, or by such international penal tribunal as may have jurisdiction with respect to those Contracting Parties which shall have accepted its jurisdiction.

Article VII

Genocide and the other acts enumerated in Article III shall not be considered as political crimes for the purpose of extradition. The Contracting Parties pledge themselves in such cases to grant extradition in accordance with their laws and treaties in force.

Article VIII

Any Contracting Party may call upon the competent organs of the United Nations to take such action under the Charter of the United Nations as they consider appropriate for the prevention and suppression of acts of genocide or any of the other acts enumerated in Article III.

Article IX

Disputes between the Contracting Parties relating to the interpretation, application or fulfillment of the present Convention, including those relating to the responsibility of a State for genocide or any of the other acts enumerated in Article III, shall be submitted to the International Court of Justice at the request of any of the parties to the dispute.

Article X

The present Convention, of which the Chinese, English, French, Russian and Spanish texts are equally authentic, shall bear the date of December 9, 1948.

CAMBODIAN GENOCIDE



Capital City: Phnom Penh

Current Population: Approx. 14.8 million

Land Area: 43,432 square miles

Current Government: Constitutional Monarchy

What factors led to the genocide in Cambodia?

In 1953, Cambodia gained independence after nearly 100 years of French imperial rule. By 1970, the post-imperialism monarch Prince Sihanouk was replaced as a result of a military coup. The leader of the new right-wing government, backed by the United States, was Lieutenant-General Lon Nol, who named his new constituency the Khmer Republic (KR). In response to the military coup, Prince Sihanouk and the communist guerrilla movement joined to form the Khmer Rouge in 1975, and a civil war began.

After defeating Lon Nol's government, the Khmer Rouge's new leader Saloth Sar (who later took on the name Pol Pot) aggressively initiated a communist revolution modeled after the Maoist Revolution that occurred in China almost two decades prior. At the center of this ideology was the unwavering devotion to the development of a utopian society through racial purification.

In addition to a civil war, Cambodia was also involved in the neighboring Vietnam War. Under Prince Sihanouk, Cambodia had maintained neutrality during the Vietnam War by giving aid to both sides: Vietnamese communists, organized as the Viet Cong political party, were allowed to use a Cambodian port to ship in supplies, while the U.S. was allowed to bomb the Viet Cong's hideouts in Cambodia. Then, after gaining power, Lon Nol continued to allow the United States military to move freely into Cambodia in order to continue receiving financial support. As a result, Cambodia had become part of the Vietnam battlefield, and during the next four years bombing associated with the Vietnam War killed up to 750,000 Cambodians.

Motivated by the vast amount of Cambodian civilian casualties, Lon Nol's relationship with the United States, and promises of a better society, many peasant teenagers and young adults joined the communist Khmer Rouge political party in an attempt to gain control of Cambodia. However, this political campaign took a violent turn. With its newly built army, the Khmer Rouge successfully seized Cambodia on April 17, 1975, marching into and purging the capital city of Phnom Penh of any dissidents. During the destruction of Phnom Penh, the Khmer Rouge did not necessarily target individuals of a particular ethnic group. Rather, the city was completely and indiscriminately emptied. The invasion of Cambodia's capital city and the links to the ideology of Mao Zedong proved to be early warning signs of the genocide yet to come.

What happened during the genocide in Cambodia?

In order to create his perfect state, Pol Pot immediately isolated Cambodia from the rest of the world. All communication was controlled by the new government of Pol Pot, who had renamed the country, the Democratic Kampuchea (DK). Human interaction within the DK was limited to only that which was needed to carry out orders. Any knowledge of a foreign influence was ruthlessly suppressed. Efforts to purify Cambodian society were directed towards political opponents, Buddhist monks, and ethnic minorities including the Chinese, the Vietnamese, the Thai, and Muslim Cambodians. From 1975-1979, these ethnic minorities and political groups were either killed or deported from urban areas to agricultural labor camps, often referred to as “killing fields.” Some reports mention laborers surviving on diets that consisted of only meager portions of rice, with workdays lasting up to eighteen hours. In addition, a famine resulting from the DK’s poor economic planning consumed Cambodia and killed millions of citizens indiscriminately. A former school, Tuol Sleng, was converted into a jail, with classrooms fashioned into prison cells with barred windows and barbed wire. Tuol Sleng was one of the largest centers of the genocide and has provided a multitude of evidence of the crimes against humanity committed by the DK.

The Vietnamese army invaded Cambodia in 1978 and took over Phnom Penh in 1979, ending the genocide. By this time, broad swaths of the minority populations had been executed. Of the targeted ethnic groups, approximately 50% of the 430,000 Chinese living in Cambodia had perished; 36% of the 250,000 Cham Muslim had perished; and virtually the entire Vietnamese population was exterminated. Of the 2,680 Buddhist monks, only 70 survived by 1979.

What was the response from the international community?

The international community’s response to the Cambodian genocide stalled. The four year period of genocide was obscured by the tumult of the Vietnam War. Many attribute the atrocities committed by Pol Pot’s regime as a product of Cold War politics, as members of the United Nation’s General Assembly fought for ideological supremacy. Vietnam, the United States, and China took advantage of the strategic position of Cambodia to further their interests in Southeast Asia.

In 1973, prior to the take over of the capital, Kenneth Quinn, a young U.S. foreign service officer, was stationed in the Vietnamese province of Chou Doc, bordering Cambodia. He recounted to the nearest U.S. consulate that when he hiked to the top of a mountain overlooking Cambodia, all he could see were the burning of villages for miles. Quinn began to interview Cambodian refugees living in Vietnam. He concluded that when the Khmer Rouge began in 1970, it was viewed as a peaceful political alternative; however, at this time in 1973, it had quickly turned into one of violence.

What was the aftermath of the genocide in Cambodia?

It was not until 1991 when the United Nations helped shape the lasting political structure that Cambodia has today. After Vietnam invaded Cambodia in November 1978, Cambodia had been occupied by numerous internal political organizations, many influenced by Vietnam, the Soviet Union, China, the United States, and Britain. These organizations were combined in 1991 when the United Nations Transnational Authority in Cambodia was established. Until his death in 1998, Pol Pot and other high-ranking leaders of the DK evaded justice by living in exile and continued to influence the political organizations in power in Cambodia.

In 2001, the United Nations established the Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia (ECCC) to prosecute crimes committed by the Khmer Rouge in the years between 1975 and 1979. Unlike the ICCR or ICCY, the ECCC is a Cambodian court and the trials take place in Cambodia.

In addition, there have been numerous institutions that have been created to aid the victims of the Cambodian genocide. Some of these include: the Cambodian Genocide Program at Yale University, the Documentation Center of Cambodia, and the Cambodian Association of Illinois. Tuol Sleng, the once school and later Khmer Rouge prison, is currently a museum where survivors and visitors can learn, remember and reflect upon the atrocities committed from 1975 to 1979.

Voice of an Eyewitness: Leon Lim

Leon Lim was a medical student living in Phnom Penh during the genocide in Cambodia. From early 1975 to 1979, Lim worked in a labor camp in the killing fields, often living off of small amounts of rice and working twelve-plus hour days. When the Khmer Rouge was taken out of power by the Vietnamese, Lim returned to his home in Siem Riep to discover his family had been killed. Feeling he had no place to go, he followed a map, drawn in a notebook by his uncle, which led him to the border of Thailand. There, he remained in a refugee camp for three years, working as a medic. Lim moved to the United States in 1981. Lim is currently a teacher at Northside College Preparatory High School in Chicago, Illinois and is also the co-founder of the Cambodian American Heritage Museum and Killing Fields Memorial in Chicago.

Comprehension Questions:

1. Define the Khmer Rouge and its goals.
2. Discuss the genocidal motives of Pol Pot.
3. Describe the prison, Tuol Sleng, and how it was transformed as a result of the genocide.
4. Identify two reasons why the reconciliation and judicial process has been frustrated.

Discussion Questions:

1. Thinking about the international events surrounding the Cambodian genocide (i.e. Cold War, Vietnam War, China's Revolution), examine other genocides and consider what factors may often contribute to a climate ripe for genocide.
2. List reasons and discuss why the Khmer Rouge might have censored communication locally as well as with the rest of the world.
3. Determine how the Cold War affected the response of the United States, Vietnam, and China and analyze how one's ideology may have shaped each response.

Title: Using Readers' Theater to Strengthen Connections

Grade Level: Grades 7 and above

Time: 45-60 minutes

Overview: Readers' Theatre not only deepens the students' understanding of the issues found in a study of the Cambodian Genocide, but also strengthens their emotional connection to the personal experiences of those who witnessed it. Furthermore, the activity develops a student's ability to read with prosody, a skill which greatly enhances the comprehension of any text for both the reader and the listener.

Standards:

Common Core Standards:

RL.(6-12).1, RL.(6-12).9, L.(6-12).1b, SL.(6-12).1, SL.(6-12).6, RI.(6-12).1, RI.(6-12).2, RI.(6-12).6, RH.(6-12).2, RH.(6-12).6

Ohio Social Studies Content Statements:

American History: 2,
American Government: 2
Modern World History: 24
Contemporary World Issues: 10

Objectives:

- In small groups, students will explore primary resources from various authors, relating to the same topic.
- In small groups, students analyze how specific words, constructions, and techniques affect the larger meaning of the passage.
- In small groups, students will be able to brainstorm, plan, and execute Readers' Theater.

Materials:

- Group sets of the individual passages (Teachers may want to provide all students with each passage at the conclusion of the activity.)
- Post-it notes (if possible, a different color for each group)
- Projector

Opening:

1. Ask students to brainstorm ways memories can be recorded and how we can explore these records.

Core Instruction:

2. Divide class into groups of three to seven students (depending on length and style of each passage). Provide each student with a copy of a different passage. Explain that in their groups, students should read the passage and discuss the questions below. Distribute post-it notes, encouraging students to record their interpretations as they read:
 - a. Summarize the narrator's thoughts and choose 1-2 quotes to illustrate your point.
 - b. Select two words or phrases in the text that are particularly significant and explain how they affect the meaning of the passage.
3. After they finish reviewing the passage in their groups, explain that they are now going to create a creative presentation of their passage. Explain that this presentation should be

a reading, not a skit. Possible techniques could include reading sections together or separately, reading with different emotions, or reading sections in a language other than English (for example, American Sign Language).

4. After each group has completed both parts of the activity in their groups, bring the class back together in a circle.
5. Ask each group to introduce their passage and perform their reading.

Closing:

6. Ask the class what the “readers’ theater” activity added to their understanding of the reading passages.

Reading #1:

(Loung Ung grew up in Phnom Penh, Cambodia. She was one of seven children and the daughter of a government official. When the Khmer Rouge invaded, she and her family fled to hide their identity. Eventually, the family split up to survive. Loung and her surviving siblings were eventually reunited, but both of her parents and two sisters had been murdered by the Khmer Rouge. This excerpt, from her memoir, First They Killed My Father: A Daughter of Cambodia Remembers describes the day the Khmer Rouge invaded Phnom Penh.)

It is the afternoon and I am playing hopscotch with my friends on the street in front of our apartment. Usually on a Thursday I would be in school, but for some reason Pa has kept us all home today. I stop playing when I hear the thunder of engines in the distance. Everyone suddenly stops what they are doing to watch the trucks roar into our city. Minutes later, the mud-covered old trucks heave and bounce as they pass slowly in front of our house. Green, gray, black, these cargo trucks sway back and forth on bald tires, spitting out dirt and engine smoke as they roll on. In the back of the trucks, men wearing faded black long pants and long-sleeve black shirts, with red sashes cinched tightly around their waists and red scarves tied around their foreheads, stand body to body. They raise their fists to the sky and cheer. Most look young and all are thin and dark-skinned, like the peasant workers at our uncle's farm, with greasy long hair flowing past their shoulders. Long, greasy hair is unacceptable for girls in Cambodia and is a sign that one does not take care of her appearance. Men with long hair are looked down upon and regarded with suspicion. It is believed that men who wear their hair long must have something to hide.

Despite their appearance, the crowd greets their arrival with clapping and cheering. And although all the men are filthy, the expression on their faces is of sheer elation. With long rifles in their arms or strapped across their backs, they smile, laugh, and wave back to the crowds the way the king does when he passes by.

"What's going on? Who are these people?" My friend asks me.

"I don't know. I'm going to find Pa. He will know." I run up to my apartment to find Pa sitting on our balcony observing the excitement below. Climbing onto his lap I ask him, "Pa, who are those men and why is everybody cheering them?"

"They are soldiers and people are cheering because the war is over," he replies quietly.

"What do they want?"

"They want us," Pa says.

"For what?"

"They're not nice people. Look at their shoes—they wear sandals made from car tires."

At five, I am oblivious to the events of war, yet I know Pa to be brilliant, and therefore he must be right.

"Pa, why the shoes? Why are they bad?"

I do not quite understand what Pa means. I only hope that someday I can be half as smart as he is.

Reading #2:

(David Scheffer, a law professor at Northwestern University, is the U.N. secretary general's Special Expert on United Nations Assistance to the Khmer Rouge Trials. He wrote this op-ed piece for The New York Times and it was published in the August 28, 2012 edition. The excerpt below is an abridged version of the full op-ed piece. Throughout his career, Scheffer has remained dedicated to holding perpetrators of genocide accountable for their actions.)

No Way to Fund a War Crimes Tribunal

After months of riveting testimony, a war crimes tribunal in Cambodia is struggling to continue its own Nuremberg-style trial of former senior Khmer Rouge leaders Khieu Samphan, Nuon Chea and Leng Sary.

It is inconceivable that the international community would imperil this historic trial midstream and undermine justice for the estimated 1.7 million Cambodians who perished under Pol Pot's rule from 1975 to 1979.

The survivors have not forgotten what they endured. An astounding 150,000 Cambodians have visited the trials of the tribunal in Phnom Penh — a number that exceeds the public spectators of all of the other war-crimes tribunals combined.

The tribunal, known as the Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia, is an internationalized Cambodian court partly staffed with foreign jurists, investigators and administrators, guided by principles of international law and managed through a treaty with the United Nations.

The governments that traditionally supported the Cambodia tribunal since it started operations in 2006 have been constrained by recession, the euro crisis and, in the case of the largest donor, Japan, the priority of recovering from the 2011 tsunami.

However, a decade ago the U.N. General Assembly insisted on voluntary contributions as the funding source for the Cambodia tribunal. Many key governments backed this plan with the clear expectation that they would generate sufficient financial support.

The tribunal could do its job much better, with strengthened independence for its mission of international justice, if it were not dangling on the financial precipice. Judges, prosecutors, investigators and defense counsel should be liberated to undertake their important work without the pressures of "donors' fatigue." The international standards of due process required in the work of the tribunal can only be met when sufficient funding enables all parts of the court to function efficiently.

Several nations have pledged sufficient funds to finance the tribunal for two more months, and that is good news. But at least \$4 million must be raised to cover November and December expenses. (The Cambodian Government's smaller portion of the budget has been covered with the help of foreign aid.) And then there is 2013 to worry about — immediately.

This is no way to fund a major war-crimes tribunal with a historic mandate to achieve accountability, finally, for one of the 20th century's worst slaughters of innocent civilians. Voluntary government assistance for war crimes tribunals is a speculative venture at best, and depends on so many unpredictable variables as years roll by that the original objective is sometimes forgotten.

To allow such a court to falter for lack of funds would fly in the face of the “no impunity” message that has developed progressively through nearly two decades of international criminal tribunals.

Such an outcome would send entirely the wrong message to would-be perpetrators of international crimes.

The major war crimes tribunals — covering atrocities in the Balkans, Rwanda, Sierra Leone, Cambodia and seven nations being investigated by the International Criminal Court — have been criticized as being too expensive for the seemingly small number of defendants prosecuted for genocide, crimes against humanity, war crimes and egregious domestic crimes.

The most acute challenge today is to sustain governments’ support for the Cambodia tribunal. A modern-day Andrew Carnegie also could help fund it. In 1903 Carnegie contributed \$1.5 million (equal to about \$35 million today) to construct the Peace Palace in The Hague where the Permanent Court of Arbitration and the International Court of Justice still resolve and adjudicate legal disputes. That is a legacy worth investing in, even more so today.

Reading #3

(Loung Ung grew up in Phnom Penh, Cambodia. She was one of seven children and the daughter of a government official. When the Khmer Rouge invaded, she and her family fled to hide their identity. Eventually, the family split up to survive. Loung and her surviving siblings were eventually reunited, but both of her parents and two sisters had been murdered by the Khmer Rouge. This excerpt, from her memoir, First They Killed My Father: A Daughter of Cambodia Remembers describes when she and her sister, Chou, reunited with her two brothers, Meng and Khouy, who had been in a labor camp.)

Our family sits near the fire that night listening to Meng tell their story. Khouy and he were together in a labor camp when the Youn invaded Kampuchea at the end of December. One night, rockets landed near their camp, and in the confusion, many people escaped and ran away, including Khouy's wife. But Meng and Khouy were unlucky and they found themselves confronted by Khmer Rouge soldiers just outside their hut. The soldier did not kill them because they needed them as porters. As the Youns moved closer and closer, Khmer Rouge soldiers pushed them farther into the jungle. When the Khmer soldiers stopped each night to rest, Khouy cut firewood while Meng cooked meals for them all. One night, Khouy told Meng they had to make their escape. The soldiers were moving them up the mountain where they would be under total Khmer Rouge control, isolated from the world and cut off from all the escape routes. If they did not make their break now, the chance might never come again.

While the soldiers were sleeping, Khouy and Meng pretended to go relieve themselves. Each stole a twenty-pound bag of rice, and they met in the woods. At first they proceeded down the trail, but fearing the soldiers' ability to track them, they took off back into the woods. There they followed the sound of rushing water to a stream and, once there, tied a few logs together to make a raft. With the rice bags on the raft, they floated downstream. The water was cold and rough, threatening many times to tear the raft apart, but with teeth chattering and bodies shivering, they managed to stay afloat all night. In the morning they arrived at the base camp of Pursat City, where we are now.

We are together again. Seeing my eyes slowing closing, Meng takes me to his cloth hammock. I climb in and suddenly feel very tired. Chou comes over and climbs in next to me. Our bodies press against each other as the hammock folds over us like a pod protecting its peas. Drifting off, I think of Pa and Ma; I miss them so much. By the fire, I hear Kim's voice quivering as he tells them about Pa, Ma, and Geak. They whisper to each other, as if trying to shield Chou and me from news we already knew. I shut my eyes, not wanting to see Meng and Khouy's faces as they receive the news. The remainder of our family is together again. With my brothers around me, I feel safe and relaxed.

GUATEMALAN GENOCIDE



Capital City: Guatemala City

Current Population: Approx.13.2 million

Land Area: 67,661square miles

Current Government: Democracy

What factors contributed to the genocide in Guatemala?

The genocide in Guatemala resulted from a broad range of factors, the first manifesting itself after the country's conquest by the Spanish. Almost immediately following their arrival, the Spanish enslaved the indigenous Mayan population, subjecting them to persecution and poverty that would last up to the present day. The European political and economic elite saw the Mayans as an inferior people and treated them accordingly; thus, perpetuating the marginalization of the Mayan community.

Even after Guatemala won its independence in 1821, the lives of indigenous Mayans did not drastically improve. Under the rule of several dictators, international investment in Guatemala boomed, especially by the American-owned United Fruit Company (UFCO). The economic climate peaked from 1931 to 1944, during the reign of Jorge Ubico; however, after a revolution, things began to change. The next two democratically-elected presidents, Juan Arevalo and Jacobo Arbenz, led many populist reforms, including the introduction of unions. These new laws, while benefiting the poor, threatened UFCO. Once a land reform act was put into place, Guatemala nationalized almost half of UFCO's land holdings, prompting the United States to act.

In order to combat what was seen as Communism, the United States provided training and arms to a militant group led by Carlos Castillo, which successfully rose to power in 1954. After cementing his rule, Castillo rescinded many of the reforms of the past ten years, rocketing the elite into even more wealth and plunging the lower classes into deeper poverty. Quickly thereafter, Castillo passed the Preventative Penal Law against Communism, legalizing the arrest and detention of anyone suspected of communist activities. Needless to say, this crackdown fomented the rise of leftist guerrilla movements, such as the National Revolutionary Unity (URNG). Tensions increased until the civil war broke out in 1960.

In response, the government made plans to exterminate those whom they saw as "subversive" members of society, openly or otherwise. According to the UN-sponsored Commission on Historical Clarification (CEH), the Guatemalan military and paramilitaries indiscriminately targeted indigenous communities, labor leaders, students, clergy, and even other civilians not

necessarily involved with the guerrilla movements under the theory that they formed an “internal enemy.” The belief that the Mayan population was racially inferior, a relic of the Spanish occupation, manifested itself into the Guatemalan government’s decision to label the majority of Mayans as “subversive,” despite the fact that few Mayans were involved in the guerrilla movement.

What happened during the genocide in Guatemala?

Countless atrocities committed over the first twenty years of the conflict were often and superficially perpetrated based on political affiliation. However, after the rise of Efraín Ríos Montt, a military dictator, the policy changed.

Counterinsurgency forces began carrying out genocide against the Mayan people. Although the primary focus of military resources was against guerrilla insurgencies, they often did not distinguish between political enemies and peaceful Mayan inhabitants. The army and its paramilitary teams, including “civil patrols” of forced civilians (often of Mayan heritage), systematically attacked over 400 Mayan villages. The armed forces were documented to cordon off villages, round up inhabitants, separate men from women and then kill them. In select instances, those who escaped were hunted from the air by helicopters. Torture, mutilation, and sexual violence were commonplace, as was violence against children.

The Truth Commission of 1997, set up by the UN, concluded that 83% of the estimated 200,000 individuals killed were Mayan and 17% Ladino. Furthermore, it stated that these murders were not perpetrated in response to the military, but rather a broader policy for extermination.

What was the response from the international community?

The response from the international community is often described as “silent.” The complexity of international legal rhetoric prevented intervention from the global community. Because the Guatemalan government hid its atrocities behind the label of “internal political enemies,” the international community could not justify involvement. It was not until 1996 that the UN moderated a peace negotiation between the Guatemalan President Alvaro Arzú Irigoyen and The Guatemalan National Revolutionary Unit (URNG), a leftist guerilla movement.

In the case of the United States, the decision of intervention depended on the administration in charge. While the Carter administration recognized the corruption of the Guatemalan government and cut foreign aid to the country in 1977, Reagan had other ideas. In 1980, he reinstated U.S. assistance to the Guatemalan government. Despite alarming reports of increasing violence, this military aid continued from 1981 to 1982 – the height of the genocide.

While law and apathy restrained international sovereignties, logistics impeded humanitarians. The de Jong Foundation, a Dutch philanthropic organization committed to the development of living standards in rural and improvised regions, dedicated a considerable amount of resources to the progression of rural Mayan communities. As with other humanitarian organizations, the de Jong Foundation found the political structure in Guatemala too unstable for any systemic change and the environment was simply too unsafe for relief efforts. As a result of the violence, the Foundation withdrew their initiatives from Guatemala from 1982-1985. The same issues that often drew the attention of humanitarian organizations also hindered their involvement.

What happened in the aftermath of the genocide in Guatemala?

Prosecutions for war-related crimes in Guatemala have been few. Until 2000 virtually all convictions were of junior officers, enlisted men, and leaders of the civil patrols. Because the Guatemalan judicial system lacked independence until the late 1990's, and is still underfinanced, prosecutions depend both on the families and friends of the victims and on international support. General Efraín Ríos Montt, the evangelical Protestant military dictator who organized the genocidal acts, had previously deterred reconciliation efforts. Despite overwhelming evidence that ties Montt to the atrocities, when his populist party won the 1999 presidential election, he was immune from prosecution. Montt ruled between 1982 and 1983 he had only ordered the military to pillage Mayan villages to drive out any guerilla groups, and the killings of civilians were only casualties of war. In January 2012, Montt's term in office expired, immediately opening him up for prosecution. Again, Montt denied any involvement in genocide and instead claimed that he was fighting guerilla groups aimed at destroying national security. Coinciding with the arrest of Montt, Pérez Molina, the current president of Guatemala sought aid from the United States to fight drug trafficking. Interestingly, the US government has promised aid only if Molina pursued human rights prosecutions for the crimes committed during the conflict.

Voice of an Eyewitness: Rigoberta Menchú

Rigoberta Menchú was born in 1959 into the Quiche Mayan tradition in the highlands of Guatemala. With her family, Menchú helped to farm and picked coffee until she became involved in social reform through the Catholic Church. Her family was targeted by the government and accused of participating in guerrilla activities in their area. After her father, Vicente, was imprisoned and tortured he joined the Committee of the Peasant Union (CUC), which Menchú also joined in 1979. In 1980, her father was killed by security forces and her mother was also killed soon after. Their deaths drove Menchú further into the work of the CUC. Because of her efforts Menchú was forced to flee to Mexico where she worked to organize resistance to Guatemalan repression and promote Indian rights. In 1983, the book, *I, Rigoberta Menchú*, was released which told her life story. In 1992, Menchú was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize and today she continues to hold perpetrators of the genocide accountable for their actions.

Comprehension Questions:

1. Describe how the international community did or did not intervene in Guatemala before, during and after the genocide.
2. Explain the growth of the guerilla movements and how the government targeted the Mayans.
3. List factors that prevented humanitarian aid from reaching Guatemala.
4. Identify what efforts have been taken to hold the perpetrators accountable for their actions during the Guatemalan genocide.

Discussion Questions:

1. Describe the different actions taken by the international community in response to the genocide. Evaluate the reasons how and why many of these agencies decided to intervene.

2. In the 8 Stages of Genocide, the third stage is described as “dehumanization.” Identify the ways the perpetrators attacked each victim’s individual identity. Consider how this could impact the response of the international as well as the local community.
3. Until the arrest of General Montt, the genocide in Guatemala received little media attention. Considering the response of the international community, determine why this genocide is often considered “silent.”

Title: The Decision to Intervene in Global Affairs: A Class Debate

Grade Level: Grades 7 and above

Time: 2-3 class periods

Overview: This activity begins with a small group discussion exploring three primary resources resulting from the genocide in Guatemala. Using evidence based on the texts and additional resources, students are then asked to debate the U.S. decision to intervene in the genocide. This activity is best conducted after students have gained general background knowledge on the genocide.

Standards:

Common Core Standards:

SL.(6-12).1, SL.(6-12).3, SL.(6-12).4, RI.(6-12).1, RI.(6-12).2, RI.(6-12).3, RI.(6-12).6,
RH.(6-12).2, RH.(6-12).6

Ohio Social Studies Content Statements:

American History: 2, 16, 24,
American Government: 2
Modern World History: 2, 10, 22, 24
Contemporary World Issues: 8, 9, 10

Objectives:

- Students will work collaboratively to discuss and interpret primary resources.
- Students will use text-based evidence to determine the United States' decision to intervene during the genocide in Guatemala.

Materials:

- Copies of each news article (one article per student)
- Class set of the Debate Platform Organizer
- Timer
- Computer(s) with Internet access

Opening:

Suggested writing prompts:

What specifics must a country consider before they intervene internationally?

Core Instruction:

1. Divide students into groups of four students. Provide each group an article to read and discuss. Explain that they will have to present their article to their classmates by doing the following:
 - a. Summarize the article and identify two central ideas.
 - b. Explain the author's point-of-view using evidence from the article.
 - c. Decide if the article is persuasive.
2. Allow each group the opportunity to present their work.
3. After presentations, split up current groups into three new ones identified as:
Group A, Group B, and Group C.

Each group will be assigned a stance to represent and debate on the decision of the United

States to intervene during the genocide in Guatemala. However, students should be reminded about the importance of preparing responses to the other side's arguments. Each group should base their arguments on the reviewed primary documents, but also on additional resources to build their case. Students may use the *Debate Platform Graphic Organizer* as a guide. Below are some brief descriptions of the positions. If helpful, these may be provided to the students.

Group A: Pro-Intervention

Description: Your group's position maintains the importance of the United States intervention in the conflict in Guatemala.

Tips for Debate:

- Make sure your position is clearly stated from the beginning.
- Describe what type of intervention you propose.
- If possible, bring in the voices of people experiencing the genocide.
- Be prepared to respond to the other group's position with your own arguments.

Group B: Anti-Intervention

Description: Your group's position maintains the importance of the United States policy of isolation in regards to the conflict in Guatemala.

Tips for Debate:

- Make sure your position is clearly stated from the beginning.
- If possible, bring in the voices of people who would be negatively affected by U.S. intervention.
- Be prepared to respond to the other group's position with your own arguments.

Group C: U.S. Government Agency/Moderator

Description: The role of the U.S. Government Agency is to determine whether or not the United States will intervene in Guatemala. Your responsibility during this debate is to pose questions to each side which will help make your decision clearer and easier and to decide what is best for America. As you are the moderator, your position must remain neutral until all questions have been asked and answered and your decision is made.

Tips for Debate:

- Start off with general questions (i.e. what is your position and why?) and become more specific (i.e. how does your position help the United States?)
- Be ready to respond to answers with new questions.
- Avoid responding emotionally and stick to the facts.

4. Allow the opportunity for students to research their case.

5. After students have the opportunity to gather their notes, allow for opening statements from the moderators and both sides. After opening statements, allow the U.S. Government Agency to take over moderation. After all questions have been asked, allow each group to provide a closing statement. Immediately following the closing statements, give the moderators 1-3 minutes to draft their conclusion, which will then be read to the larger group.

Wrap-Up/Closing:

Ask students to compare their class decision to that made by the U.S. during the genocide.

Optional Debrief:

1. What was the most challenging part of the activity? What was the easiest?
2. What made an argument more effective?
3. Explain whether you personally agree with the decision made by your class.

“Genocide on Trial in Guatemala”

(Abridged news article: Laura Carlsen, The Nation, February 29, 2012)

Victims and human rights activists cheered when, on January 26, a Guatemalan court charged Gen. Efraín Ríos Montt with genocide and crimes against humanity. The decision to bring the 85-year-old former dictator to trial is the latest stage in a long odyssey, stretching back to the early 1980s, when Guatemala experienced the bloodiest repression of its thirty-six-year civil war. During Ríos Montt’s rule (1982–83), soldiers under his command—many of them US-trained and equipped—applied a scorched-earth policy to annihilate indigenous villages in the Mayan highlands where guerrilla insurgents were based.

The day the indictment was handed down, I was heading to Guatemala as part of a fact-finding mission organized by the Nobel Women’s Initiative and Just Associates to report on rising gender violence in Mexico and Central America. Two hundred thousand men, women and children were killed in Guatemala’s war, 83 percent of them Mayan, according to a 1999 report by the Commission for Historical Clarification. Some 100,000 women were raped as part of a strategy to destroy or suppress entire regions and cultures.

This is not the first attempt to bring Ríos Montt to justice. Guatemalan victims’ organizations filed a war crimes case against the general in 2001, but it got stuck in the country’s legal system. Years later, under the principle of universal jurisdiction, the Spanish Constitutional Court accepted a case that had been brought by Nobel laureate Rigoberta Menchú charging Ríos Montt and seven other commanders with genocide, terrorism and torture. A tenacious lawyer named Almudena Bernabeu began the investigation. In 2006 a Spanish court issued arrest orders for the general and others, but the Guatemalan government denied extradition. When Ríos Montt was later elected to Congress, he gained immunity from prosecution. Then another extraordinarily brave woman stepped in. After Claudia Paz y Paz became Guatemala’s attorney general in 2010, she filed a case against Ríos Montt and two other military commanders on charges of genocide, torture and terrorism. “If these crimes are not sanctioned, what message are we sending about justice?” she said. “This case is a symbol to society of what can and cannot be done.” It was only after his term ran out in January that Ríos Montt could be formally charged.

The legal definition of genocide and questions of “who knew what, when” are at the center of the Ríos Montt prosecution, explained Frank LaRue, UN special rapporteur on freedom of expression and a longtime Guatemalan human rights defender. “All crimes are solved from the bottom up—who shot who. But when you’re dealing with genocide, which is called a subjective crime, you’re dealing with intent.” No matter how much physical evidence accumulates—and forensic archeologists have dug up nearly 6,000 bodies from unmarked graves—if you can’t prove knowledge and intent, there’s no case.

For the victims and bereaved, these trials are absolutely necessary. Paul Menchú, associate director of the Rigoberta Menchú Tum Foundation, explained, “I think that when someone identified as part of the policy of genocide finally stands trial—after so many years of seeking justice—it’s a healing event for thousands and thousands of victims.”

“Reckoning With a Genocide in Guatemala”

(Abridged news article: Lauren Wolfe, The Atlantic, February 10, 2012)

A man in a mask opens a door. The smell of rot hovers in the air and everywhere there are piles of paper -- pink, yellow, white, all a bit aged and possibly very important. When searching through the 80 million documents dumped in the archives of the Guatemalan National Police, it's never clear what will turn up. What is contained here, however, in a sprawling building somehow hidden until 2005, reveals how the government of Guatemala committed grave human rights abuses from the 1970s through the 1990s in a war that left more than 200,000 dead and 100,000 women raped. Altogether, these files and crusaders have led the way to the first indictment of a former Latin American president on genocide charges. General Efraín Ríos Montt, a now-85-year-old mustachioed, seersucker-clad, banana republic dictator, was placed under house arrest on January 26, nearly 30 years after he allegedly ordered the annihilation of Guatemala's indigenous population and other "subversive" elements.

Latin America-watchers agree that the trial could be a complete paradigm shift for Guatemala, and a potentially history-setting precedent for the region. While there are no statutes of limitations on genocide crimes in most national and international courts, political will has been lacking when it comes to prosecuting grand-scale human rights abuses in Latin America.

"Just the fact that they've opened the prosecution against him is important," said Patricia Ardón, director of a Guatemalan feminist organization called Sinergia No'j. Ardón lost both her husband-to-be in 1979 and her first boyfriend, from when she was 15. "For justice just to recognize that this really happened is important." Ardón said it's not about vindication, nor is it about that for the other survivors I spoke to -- it's about a public reckoning with the men in power. It's about the realization that these men can no longer terrorize them.

"We feel it's a very, very strong case," Guatemala's pioneering attorney general, Claudia Paz y Paz, told a delegation from the Nobel Women's Initiative and Washington-based Just Associates in Guatemala City on January 30. She added that the charge of rape as a war crime is crucial to delivering justice to Guatemala's women: "For the first time, a judge said these rapes occurred. For these women it's like saying they have a real voice. It becomes finally clear that this is something that is not allowed, specifically."

With all the positivity running through the key characters in the Ríos Montt case, it's worth remembering that this trial has been 13 years in the making. Nobel Peace Prize Laureate Rigoberta Menchu Tum first filed a case on the genocide in 1999 in the Spanish National Court. Despite the efforts of a crusading attorney named Almudena Bernabeu, who has been leading the lawsuit in Spain, Guatemala refused to extradite Ríos Montt, then a sitting congressman, and the case stalled.

What changed? Newfound political will, the appointment of Paz y Paz, and Ríos Montt's recent loss of state-sponsored immunity as he retired from public office are just a few of the reasons the indictment came down against the former president on January 26.

“Guatemalans are Adding a few Twists to ‘Pacification’”

(Abridged news article, Marlise Simons, The New York Times, September 12, 1982)

In contrast, with United States military aid to Guatemala suspended since 1977 because of human rights concerns, the five month-old military regime of Gen. Efraim Rios Montt says it has developed its own counterinsurgency strategy emphasizing food distribution, creation of "civil defense" units and an unrelenting military offensive against the Indian communities that support the rebels. Results are encouraging, officials report.

"Early this year, we were losing," a Guatemalan colonel said. "Now the war is becoming more balanced." General Rios Montt, who imposed a state of siege July 1 to coincide with the start of the offensive, is predicting that the guerrillas will cease to be a major problem by December.

While the main guerrilla organizations challenge this official optimism, the human cost of the campaign is already huge and is continuing to mount. "We declared a state of siege so we could kill legally," the President, a born-again Christian, told a group of eight politicians Aug. 18, according to two members of the group. "Many people are being killed, but we have also lost many officers."

Reliable estimates of the number of victims so far are hard to find, although the army reported 452 deaths in July alone. Catholic workers and Guatemalan refugees arriving in Mexico also charge the army with responsibility for numerous massacres of Indian villagers in recent months. The country's traditionally conservative Conference of Bishops noted May 27 that "never in our history have such extremes been reached, with the assassinations now falling into the category of genocide."

The army insists that all massacres are carried out by the guerrillas and, since many Indians are executed before dawn by men dressed in civilian clothes, it is sometimes difficult to prove official responsibility. In the strategic area bordering Mexico, however, the army has sought to create a "free-fire zone" and refugees in the southern Mexican state of Chiapas assert that their villages have been attacked and burned by uniformed soldiers who landed in helicopters.

General Rios Montt, who at first brushed aside the suggestion of seeking American military assistance, recently said he would accept it under certain conditions. "The conditions would be that they come to give to their brothers, but not to their slaves, because we're not dogs," the President said in an interview. Guatemala's most urgent need appears to be for spare parts for its depleted military helicopter fleet.

Many officials in the State Department are also known to favor a resumption of military aid, although to date they have encountered resistance in Congress. Since the March 23 coup that toppled Gen. Romeo Lucas Garcia and brought General Rios Montt to power, the American officials have repeatedly argued in public that human rights conditions have improved in Guatemala.

DEBATE PLATFORM ORGANIZER

Category	Important Questions	Pro-Intervention	Anti-Intervention
Political (Domestic)			
Political (International)			
Economic			
Social			
Other			

ATROCITIES IN BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA AND THE GENOCIDE IN SREBRENICA



Capital City: Sarajevo

Current Population: Approx. 4.6 million

Land Area: 19,772 square miles

Current Government: Parliamentary Democracy

What factors led to the atrocities in Bosnia-Herzegovina?

Prior to its dissolution, the former Yugoslavia was made up of six republics: Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia, Macedonia and Montenegro. During this time, nationalist tensions began to rise, many of them stirred by the Serbian president Slobodan Milosevic. In 1991, Slovenia was the first to secede and Croatia attempted to do the same. However, due to the prominent Serbian population in Croatia, their secession was not as peaceful, and the conflict left many dead and hundreds of thousands individuals displaced. The diversity of the Bosnian population made the decision to secede from Yugoslavia a difficult one. It was clear that remaining in the Federal Republic would lead to discrimination of the non-Serbian population; yet the decision to secede could lead an even more violent conflict than the one for Croatian independence. In March 1992, 99.4% of the population in Bosnia voted to secede, but the Bosnian Serb members of the presidency boycotted the vote, backed by Milosevic. The Yugoslav National Army, made up of mostly Serbs, armed the new and nationalistic Bosnian Serb population, leading to an estimated army of 80,000 Serb troops. Fortunately, the United Nations, sensing conflict was on the horizon, banned any weapons being sent to the region. Then, on April 5, 1992, Bosnia declared its independence.

However, by this time, Bosnian Serb militia had already begun to compile lists of leading Muslim and Croat officials and intellectuals. Almost immediately, non-Serbs were rounded up, beaten and often executed. Non-Serbs were imposed curfews, told where and when they could visit various public places and denied basic human rights, such as selling property and freedom of travel.

What happened during the atrocities of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the massacre at Srebrenica?

The Serbs soon began expanding their policies to not only force the non-Serb population out of

their homes and into neighboring countries, but to completely eradicate any possibility of return. Rape became a frequent tool of war, insuring that all future generations would be Serbian blood, and fathers were forced to castrate their sons, denying the possibility of future generations. The term “ethnic cleansing” came to be used by the Serbian perpetrators, as well as politicians around the world, including United States President George H.W. Bush and the soon to be President Bill Clinton.

Bosniaks (Bosnian Muslims) and Croats were also sent to Serbian controlled detention camps in northern Bosnia. In August 1992, the Western media was given access to these camps. People of all professions and backgrounds were pushed together, living in unsanitary barracks and starving. It’s estimated that 10,000 people died in these camps. In July 1992, the International Committee for the Red Cross performed its first inspection of these camps, while journalists were given the opportunity to interview prisoners. Although prisoners were specifically chosen by the Serbian guards who escorted them through the camps, their testimonies still told of executions and rape, insuring their stories were delivered around the globe. Many newspapers throughout the United States, including the *Cincinnati Enquirer* referenced the camps and mass killing.

By 1993, approximately 70% of the country was controlled by the Serbian population. As the conflict progressed, the Muslim population began to arm themselves, forming their own nationalist army. In July 1993, the capital city of Sarajevo was attacked and thousands of shells fell on the city, killing and wounding thousands of civilians. In fact, after the bombing of Sarajevo in July 1993, three ranking officials in the U.S. State department began to speak out against the indifference in the agency. They resigned their positions citing their disagreement with the decision of the U.S. government to not intervene in Bosnia.

In the summer of 1995, three Bosnian towns, designated UN safe zones, remained outside of Serbian control. On July 11, 1995, the Bosnian town of Srebrenica, despite being one of the final United Nations safe areas in the country, was attacked, resulting in the worst massacre in Europe since World War II. The people of Srebrenica had been under the protection of Dutch United Nations forces, but as Serbian soldiers approached the area, their protection melted away. When Serbian troops, led by Commander Ratko Mladic, entered Srebrenica they quickly separated women and children, who were then bused to Muslim-held territory. However, the journey was not a peaceful one. The buses were stopped many times, and often women were taken off the bus to be raped or killed. The men, whose ages ranged from 12 to 77, were forced to remain in Srebrenica after the Dutch UN peacekeepers in charge of the base handed civilians over to the Serbian forces. Over the course of a week, a total of 8,000 Bosniaks were murdered, mostly men and boys. Their bodies were buried in mass graves but later moved to different parts of Bosnia in an attempt to cover up the crimes of Serbian forces.

What was the response from the international community?

Immediately after Bosnia gained its independence in 1992, Aryeh Neier, executive director of Helsinki Watch sent a team of lawyers into Bosnia. Their report found that systematic killing was already taking place. Despite their findings, the UN Security Council, including the United States refused to respond with force. As the months continued and despite the ongoing reports of detention camps and mass killing, it was not until August 13, 1992 that the Security Council authorized the use of any measures to deliver humanitarian aid.

The term “ethnic cleansing” became more widely used and provided a curtain for the international community to hide behind and avoid intervention. When President Clinton was

elected in November 1992, many felt that he would be more energized to intervene. At the time of his election, 58% of Americans believed that intervention was the right choice. In fact, on April 22, 1993, a year after the killing in Bosnia began, the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum was opened. Holocaust survivor, Elie Wiesel spoke at the event and proclaimed to President Clinton in front of the crowd that something must be done about the atrocities in Bosnia. But it was not until October 13, 1993, long after the atrocities had begun that the U.S. government recognized “acts of genocide” occurring in the Balkans. Then finally, just less than two years after this declaration, in August 1995, after the massacre at Srebrenica and the years of shelling in Sarajevo, NATO began bombing Serbian locations, bringing the Serbs back to the negotiating table.

What was the aftermath of the atrocities in Bosnia-Herzegovina?

Notably, in May 1993 even before the invasion of Sarajevo, and the genocide at Srebrenica, the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia was quickly established to try the war crimes that occurred in the Balkans. Not since the Nuremberg Tribunals had the world seen a Tribunal of this kind.

The war between Bosnia-Herzegovina and Serbia ended as a result of the Dayton Peace Accords, which were agreed upon at the Wright-Patterson Air Force Base in Dayton, Ohio on November 21, 1995. The Dayton Accords split the country into two entities: Republika Srpska and the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina. The Accords also allowed for intervention from NATO and UNHCR to enforce the agreements until Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Serbia were able to live peacefully. The Accords went into full effect after they were signed and millions of people returned to their homes, although few Bosniaks (Bosnian Muslims) have returned to Srebrenica.

On April 1, 2001, Milosevic was arrested and taken to The Hague where he faced three indictments for atrocities committed in Kosovo, for crimes in Croatia, and genocide in Bosnia. Milosevic represented himself during his trial but was found dead in his cell of cardiac arrest on March 11, 2006 before the world could hold him accountable for his crimes. Ratko Mladic, the leader of the massacres in Srebrenica, was arrested on May 26, 2011 for crimes of genocide and taken to The Hague to face trial.

Voice of an Eyewitness: Christiane Amanpour and Ron Haviv

Christiane Amanpour reported on the atrocities that occurred in Bosnia-Herzegovina from 1992 until 1995 for CNN. Although stunned by many of the things she saw while reporting on the conflict, one of her most vivid memories was witnessing United Nations trucks that brought injured people from the siege of Srebrenica, the majority of whom were frightened and wounded children. The images of the scene spread all over the world. Amanpour said, “I do actually think that when journalists do their duty, and report the truth, that it does eventually make a difference.”

Ron Haviv is an award-winning photojournalist who is most notable for taking photos of humanitarian conflicts around the world. In April 1992, the Serbian army permitted him to accompany them as they invaded the first of many Bosnian towns. As a result, Haviv was witness to some of the first atrocities of the conflict. His photo collection, *Blood and Honey: A Balkan War Journal* captured some of the horrific scenes. One of his most memorable photographs is an image of a Serbian soldier kicking an elderly woman on the ground. Next to

her are two men bleeding out of their heads. Haviv once said, “I had to make sure there was a document, that there had to evidence of this crime, of what was happening.”

Comprehension Questions:

1. Describe how the rise of nationalism contributed to the tension in the former Yugoslavia and the genocide.
2. Identify Slobodan Mislosevic and Ratko Mladic and their roles in the genocide.
3. Briefly describe what happened in Srebrenica.
4. Describe the process of reconciliation in the aftermath of the atrocities in Bosnia.

Discussion Questions:

1. Determine the motivation behind the United States’ hesitancy to intervene during the war in the Balkans, beginning when Bosnia gained its independence.
2. Consider how the Serbian government limited or co-opted the efforts of many humanitarian organizations, determine strategies for NGOs to avoid or surmount governmental pressure.
3. Evaluate the actions taken by the United Nations surrounding the massacre in Srebrenica.

Title: Everyone is Born Free: The Universal Declaration of Human Rights

Grade Level: Grades 7 and above

Time: 90 minutes

Overview:

This activity explores the articles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights within the context of the atrocities committed in Bosnia. Students will gauge the significance of these rights and which rights may have been violated in Bosnia. In addition, students will compare the two historical documents, the UDHR and the Genocide Convention.

Standards:

Common Core Standards:

SL.(6-12).1, SL.(6-12).4, RI.(6-12).4, RI.(6-12).9, RH.(6-12).1, RH.(6-12).2, RH.(6-12).4

Ohio Social Studies Content Statements:

American Government: 1,

Modern World History: 2, 19, 22, 24

Contemporary World Issues: 1, 8, 10, 13

Objectives:

- Working in groups, students will examine individual Articles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and The Genocide Convention.
- Students will compare and contrast different Articles of the UDHR and determine their significance.
- Students will determine which Articles may have been violated within the context of the atrocities committed in Bosnia.

Materials:

- 5 Envelopes of Pre-divided Articles of the UDHR
- Masking Tape
- Internet Access and Projector
- Post-Its

Opening:

1. Screen the short video from Amnesty International on the Universal Declaration of Human Rights: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=x9_lvXFEyJo
2. Ask students to brainstorm the concept of “universal rights.”

Core Instruction:

3. Divide the students into five groups and distribute an envelope to each group. The Articles may be divided in various ways:
 - a. Each group receives a different set of six Articles so that all 30 are addressed.
 - b. The teacher may select specific Articles to use during the activity.
4. Ask students to discuss each of the Articles assigned to their group and answer the following questions:
 - a. How can we reword the Article in everyday terms? Rewrite each Article on a separate Post-it.
 - b. What does this Article mean and why is it significant?

5. Provide the opportunity for students to share their discussion with the rest of the class.
6. Next, ask students to work as a group and place each Article in order of their significance.
7. Place a piece of masking tape one full length of the classroom. Designate one end as “most important” and the other end as “not important.” Explain that as a group, students should choose the top three significant Articles in their envelope.
8. Then, one at a time, students read their Article aloud and place the post-it on the barometer.
9. Ask students to return to their groups and brainstorm which of these rights discussed were violated during the atrocities committed in Bosnia.
10. Students can report their findings to the full class, citing specific historical events as evidence for their reasoning.
11. After students have situated their Articles on the barometer, ask students to determine why a document like the UDHR was created and why it remains important.
12. Project a copy of the Genocide Convention to the front board. Ask a student to summarize the importance of the Genocide Convention. Remind students that the Convention was meant to stress the importance of accountability.

Closing:

13. One of the limitations of the UDHR is that it is not enforced. As a conclusion, ask students to consider how we might better enforce the UDHR on the global level as well as on the local level in the United States.

Articles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights

Article 1: All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood.

Article 2: Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, color, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status.

Article 3: Everyone has the right to life, liberty and security of person.

Article 4: No one shall be held in slavery or servitude; slavery and the slave trade shall be prohibited in all their forms.

Article 5: No one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment.

Article 6: Everyone has the right to recognition everywhere as a person before the law.

Article 7: All are equal before the law and are entitled without any discrimination to equal protection of the law. All are entitled to equal protection against any discrimination in violation of this Declaration and against any incitement to such discrimination.

Article 8: Everyone has the right to an effective remedy by the competent national tribunals for acts violating the fundamental rights granted him by the constitution or by law.

Article 9: No one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest, detention or exile.

Article 10: Everyone is entitled in full equality to a fair and public hearing by an independent and impartial tribunal, in the determination of his rights and obligations and of any criminal charge against him.

Article 11: Everyone charged with a penal offence has the right to be presumed innocent until proved guilty according to law in a public trial at which he has had all the guarantees necessary for his defense.

Article 12: No one shall be subjected to arbitrary interference with his privacy, family, home or correspondence, nor to attacks upon his honor and reputation. Everyone has the right to the protection of the law against such interference or attacks.

Article 13: (1) Everyone has the right to freedom of movement and residence within the borders of each state. (2) Everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his country.

Article 14: (1) Everyone has the right to seek and to enjoy in other countries asylum from persecution. (2) This right may not be invoked in the case of prosecutions genuinely arising from non-political crimes or from acts contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

Article 15: (1) Everyone has the right to a nationality. (2) No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his nationality nor denied the right to change his nationality.

Article 16: (1) Men and women of full age, without any limitation due to race, nationality or religion, have the right to marry and to found a family. They are entitled to equal rights as to marriage, during marriage and at its dissolution. (2) Marriage shall be entered into only with the free and full consent of the intending spouses. (3) The family is the natural and fundamental group unit of society and is entitled to protection by society and the State.

Article 17: (1) Everyone has the right to own property alone as well as in association with others. (2) No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his property.

Article 18: Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion; this right includes freedom to change his religion or belief, and freedom, either alone or in community with others and in public or private, to manifest his religion or belief in teaching, practice, worship and observance.

Article 19: Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers.

Article 20: (1) Everyone has the right to freedom of peaceful assembly and association. (2) No one may be compelled to belong to an association.

Article 21: (1) Everyone has the right to take part in the government of his country, directly or through freely chosen representatives. (2) Everyone has the right of equal access to public service in his country. (3) The will of the people shall be the basis of the authority of government; this will shall be expressed in periodic and genuine elections which shall be by universal and equal suffrage and shall be held by secret vote or by equivalent free voting procedures.

Article 22: Everyone, as a member of society, has the right to social security and is entitled to realization, through national effort and international co-operation and in accordance with the organization and resources of each State, of the economic, social and cultural rights indispensable for his dignity and the free development of his personality.

Article 23: (1) Everyone has the right to work, to free choice of employment, to just and favorable conditions of work and to protection against unemployment. (2) Everyone, without any discrimination, has the right to equal pay for equal work. (3) Everyone who works has the right to just and favorable remuneration ensuring for himself and his family an existence worthy of human dignity, and supplemented, if necessary, by other means of social protection. (4) Everyone has the right to form and to join trade unions for the protection of his interests.

Article 24: Everyone has the right to rest and leisure, including reasonable limitation of working hours and periodic holidays with pay.

Article 25: (1) Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and of his family, including food, clothing, housing and medical care and necessary social services, and the right to security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability, widowhood, old age or other lack of livelihood in circumstances beyond his control. (2) Motherhood and childhood are entitled to special care and assistance. All children, whether born in or out of wedlock, shall enjoy the same social protection.

Article 26: (1) Everyone has the right to education. Education shall be free, at least in the elementary and fundamental stages. Elementary education shall be compulsory. Technical and professional education shall be made generally available and higher education shall be equally accessible to all on the basis of merit. (2) Education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial or religious groups, and shall further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace. (3) Parents have a prior right to choose the kind of education that shall be given to their children.

Article 27: (1) Everyone has the right freely to participate in the cultural life of the community, to enjoy the arts and to share in scientific advancement and its benefits. (2) Everyone has the right to the protection of the moral and material interests resulting from any scientific, literary or artistic production of which he is the author.

Article 28: Everyone is entitled to a social and international order in which the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration can be fully realized.

Article 29: (1) Everyone has duties to the community in which alone the free and full development of his personality is possible. (2) In the exercise of his rights and freedoms, everyone shall be subject only to such limitations as are determined by law solely for the purpose of securing due recognition and respect for the rights and freedoms of others and of meeting the just requirements of morality, public order and the general welfare in a democratic society. (3) These rights and freedoms may in no case be exercised contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

Article 30: Nothing in this Declaration may be interpreted as implying for any State, group or person any right to engage in any activity or to perform any act aimed at the destruction of any of the rights and freedoms set forth herein.

RWANDAN GENOCIDE



Capital City: Kigali

Current Population: Approx. 11.7 million

Land Area: 16,367 square miles

Current Government: Republic

What factors led to the genocide in Rwanda?

Rwanda is a small country in Central Africa, about the size of Vermont. It gained its independence from Belgium in 1962 when Tutsis made up about 15% of the population of 8 million. Prior to independence, the Belgian colonization had placed the Tutsi elite in power, creating tension between the Hutu and Tutsi communities. In addition, in 1933, the Belgian authorities had implemented an ID card policy, forcing every Rwandan to identify with an ethnic group. Animosity grew within the Hutu majority as they lived in a society defined by Tutsi privilege. Eventually, during the later stages of the occupation, a number of anti-colonial Tutsi elitist groups began to form, thus shifting Belgian favor toward the Hutus. The rise of Hutu power resulted in a number of attacks against Tutsi citizens in the early 1960's, which led to thousands of deaths and left even more individuals displaced into Uganda and Burundi. The genocide in Rwanda grew out of ethnic conflict between the Hutu and Tutsi populations; yet, often seen as distinct tribes, Hutus and Tutsis actually share a common language, religion, race and culture. Leading up to the genocide, Tutsis and Hutus coexisted, married each other, prayed together and lived side by side.

In December 1990 the Hutu paper, *Kangura* ("Wake Up!") had published its "Ten Commandments of the Hutu," which demonized Tutsi women and idealized all Hutus. Propagandist politicians instilled extreme fear among the Hutus, many of whom feared for their own safety. This led to extreme hatred directed towards the Tutsi as Hutu civilian military groups such as the *Interahamwe* ("Those Who Stand Together") and *Impuza Mugambi* ("The Single-Minded Ones") gained impressive numbers of participation.

During the ongoing civil war, displaced Tutsis took refuge in Uganda, Rwanda's neighbor to the east, and coalesced into the Rwanda Patriotic Front (RPF). The RPF invaded Rwanda and initiated a civil war, demonstrating the RPF's impressive military ability. Rwandan forces, though assisted by the French military, could not defeat the RPF, and diplomacy was needed for the Hutu-dominated government to survive.

August 1993 brought the Arusha Accords, which were peace negotiations that sought to democratize Rwanda by allowing multiple political parties and holding democratic elections. However, the Arusha Accords inspired a wave of paranoia among the extreme Hutu population,

who feared renewed oppression at the hands of the Tutsis. Much of this fear over power, safety, and property is what prompted many Hutus to transform into murderers during the genocide less than a year later.

After years of institutionalized prejudice and government-controlled information, propaganda from the radical radio station “Radio Television Libre Des Millies Collines (RTL)M)” and *Kangura* began to incite mass violence against the Tutsis. By explicitly stating that such acts were Hutu responsibility, and by making comparisons of the Tutsi ethnicity to cockroaches, snakes and other vermin, these broadcasts allowed for the Hutu-Tutsi conflict to a boiling point by 1994. Even so, it’s important to note that by 1992, Hutu extremists had purchased, stockpiled and began to distribute to other militiamen an estimated 85 tons of munitions, in addition to 581,000 machetes.

What happened during the genocide?

On April 6, 1994, Rwandan president Juvenal Habyarimana, along with the second Hutu president of Burundi, was killed when their plane was shot down. There is no consensus on who was responsible: some believe that it was the RPF furthering their attempts to take over the government; others argue that it was members of President Habyarimana’s inner circle who were displeased with his decision to sign the Arusha Accords.

Some of the most horrendous acts of violence ensued just hours later. The Rwandan military immediately established roadblocks in order to control the movement of people. Tutsi politicians, along with moderate Hutus, were imprisoned or killed. Within forty-eight hours of the plane crash, the military and civilian militia such as the *Interahamwe* were given free-reign to kill any Tutsi on sight. Every ordinary citizen was called upon to kill their neighbor, and those who refused to kill were often killed themselves. One of the most remarkable findings was that 66% of those who perpetrated the murders had a Tutsi family member. The militia members mostly killed their victims with machetes. Several accounts described hundreds of Tutsi taking refuge in churches, stadiums, and other large structures only to be surrounded by Hutu militias who threw grenades and killed any Tutsi that attempted to flee. By April 21, approximately 250,000 Tutsi were murdered in the prior two weeks. The chaos lasted until July with violence beginning in urban areas and spreading to the countryside. The Rwandan genocide would be seen as the fastest slaughter of individuals in the twentieth century. In 100 days, approximately 800,000 Tutsis and moderate Hutus were murdered.

What was the response from the international political community?

A number of factors impeded the international political community’s ability to respond to the Rwandan genocide; however, this silence was not because they were unaware of its preparation, organization and occurrence. The UN had been present in Rwanda before the genocide began in the form of the United Nations Assistance Mission in Rwanda (UNAMIR) to encourage the transitional government agreed upon in the Arusha Accords. However, it was not brought to Rwanda to prevent genocide and thus, was ill-equipped to stop the large-scale genocidal operation.

On January 11, 1994, Major General Roméo Dallaire, commander of the UN peacekeeping forces in Rwanda, faxed a memo to the United Nations outlining his conversations with an informant in the *Interahamwe*, nick-named “Jean-Pierre.” This informant provided details about stockpiles of weapons and potential plans for extermination. Dallaire’s memo was met with a response that he should instead focus on protecting his own troops, and no force could be used.

After the 1993 Black Hawk disaster during the Battle of Mogadishu in Somalia, the Clinton administration of the United States was receiving pressure to cut back on peacekeeping missions and Rwanda was not given high priority. In Rwanda, medical supplies were running out, vehicles were breaking down and there was no money coming in to resupply. By February 1994, Rwandan political advisors were being assassinated. Dallaire's hands were tied. Then on April 7, only a day after the plane crash, and just as "Jean-Pierre" warned, ten Belgian peacekeepers were viciously murdered by extremist Hutus, leading the UNAMIR to withdraw all of their personnel from what was believed to be a civil war. Consequently, the UNAMIR had little presence as the genocidal violence quickly increased in the first two weeks.

As news about the dire condition in Rwanda became clearer, however, some of the international community began to pressure the UN to take action. On May 17, UNAMIR II was authorized, and 5,500 troops were sent into Kigali to sustain peace in the now stabilized capital city. However, at this point, most of the atrocities had already taken place.

Humanitarian organizations could do little to prevent or stop the genocide from April to July. However, once knowledge of the genocide was widespread, many humanitarian organizations advocated for military intervention by the UN and powerful states. Traditionally grounded in similar ideals of impartiality and neutrality as the UN, humanitarian organizations such as Médecins sans Frontières (Doctors Without Borders) were frustrated that these values impeded life-saving action. Phillipe Gaillard, the head of the International Red Cross was one of the few foreigners to remain in Rwanda throughout the genocide, and did a great deal to aid victims. Unable to motivate the international political community, humanitarian aid refocused their efforts on helping the millions of refugees fleeing Rwanda. Fearing retribution, many Hutus joined refugees in the makeshift camps, and humanitarians saw no difference--to them, they were all victims.

What was the aftermath of the genocide?

The genocide ended in July 1994 as a result of the RPF, headed by Paul Kagame, who seized control of the Rwandan government. The international community immediately labeled the new government under the RPF as transitional, moving from a dictatorship to a democracy, with Kagame as president. Seeking support from regional and international powers, the RPF formed the new government according to the Arusha Accords that had been signed in 1993.

In the aftermath of the genocide, Kagame's government placed reconciliation at the top of their list of priorities. Due to the relatively young state legislation system in Rwanda, the prosecution process was slow and subject to corruption. To counteract this inefficiency, *gacaca* law and courts were developed as a method to quicken the reconciliation process. *Gacaca* tribunals were established to prosecute perpetrators in a traditional form of community-based conflict resolution. Its aim was to promote community healing by making punishment of perpetrators faster and less expensive to the state. However, not everyone was eligible for *gacaca*. Those accused of planning the genocide or of sexual crimes could not participate. Communities chose persons that were believed to be of excellent moral standard to head each *gacaca*, and these chosen individuals were responsible for determining sentencing and retributions for individual cases. During the court sessions, victims confronted their perpetrators and chose whether they wanted to offer forgiveness. The jails in Rwanda were overcrowded and with no way to prosecute everyone who participated in the genocide in traditional courts, *gacaca* became an alternative. With *gacaca* proceedings, the power rested in the hands of the victims. However, with such an emphasis on reconciliation placed upon them by the government, some victims were often forced into this process of forgiveness regardless of whether they are ready. The

community tribunal was established in 2002 to speed up genocide trials and it ended in 2012 after disposing of close to two million cases, with about 37,000 convicts serving their sentences in various prisons.

The international community quickly moved forward with setting up the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR) on November 8, 1994. In 1995, the court became located in Arusha, Tanzania. The tribunal had jurisdiction over genocide, crimes against humanity and war crimes. The UN Tribunal continued at a slow pace until 2003, when the international court convicted Hassan Ngeze, the owner of the newspaper, *Kangura*, Ferdinand Nahimana, who managed RTLM radio and Jean-Bosco Barayagwiza, who co-founded the radio station. The three men were charged with three counts of genocide and two counts of crimes against humanity. In June 2011 the first woman ever was convicted of genocide for her participation. Pauline Nyiramasuhuko, her son, Aresène Shalom Ntahoboli, and four others were convicted for crimes of genocide, war crimes and crimes against humanity. In her position as minister in charge of family and women's affairs, Nyiramasuhuko was directly responsible for the abduction and murder of an uncounted number of Tutsi civilians in Butare, located in southern Rwanda. ICTR is set to officially close in 2014.

Voice of an Eyewitness: Clemantine Wamariya

Clemantine Wamariya was a young child when the genocide in Rwanda began. Along with her sister, Claire, she was able to survive, but was separated from her parents and lost many members of her extended family. She spent seven years moving from various refugee camps before coming to the United States in 2000. In 2006, she was reunited with her parents and other siblings on *The Oprah Winfrey Show* after winning an essay contest. She continues to speak out and once said, "We need to teach our kids that you're not better than that other person – you are just the same."

Comprehension Questions

1. Explain the significance of the Arusha Accords, as well as both the Hutu and Tutsi reaction to them.
2. Identify factors that created animosity between the Hutu and Tutsi populations.
3. What was the impact of the plane crash carrying President Habyarimana?
4. Describe and compare the court systems created to further the reconciliation process.

Discussion Questions:

1. Describe the role local media played in instigating the genocide in Rwanda. Often, the media shapes our actions and beliefs. Consider laws surrounding freedom of speech in the United States. How does the U.S. distinguish between the right to voice one's opinions and promoting hate?
2. Consider Rwanda's history of colonization and discuss how the ethnic distinctions of Hutu and Tutsi were created.
3. Identify the major factors a humanitarian organization must weigh before deciding to intervene. Determine whether you would have supported military intervention in Rwanda.

Title: From Inaction to Action: Intersecting Narratives of Upstanders

Grade Level: Grades 9 and above

Time: 60 minutes

Overview: This activity explores how two individuals: General Romeo Dallaire and Carl Wilkens took positive action during the Rwandan Genocide. First, students will work together to create a general timeline of the Rwandan Genocide. Next, in small groups, students will work together to create an individual timeline for Dallaire and Wilkens. These timelines will be connected, highlighting how their actions intersected during the Genocide.

Standards:

Common Core Standards:

SL.(6-12).1, SL.(6-12).4, SL.(6-12).5, RI. (6-12).3, RH. (6-12).6

Ohio Social Studies:

Modern World History: 24

Contemporary World Issues: 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11,

World Geography: 1

Objectives:

- Students will work collaboratively to place key events of the Rwandan Genocide and upstanders of the Rwandan Genocide in chronological order.
- Students will examine how different historical narratives intersect.

Opening:

1. Ask a student to point out Rwanda on a map, globe, atlas, etc.
2. Conduct a brief conversation to draw out students' prior knowledge about Rwanda.
3. Read the excerpt below from journalist Philip Gourevitch's *We Wish to Inform You That Tomorrow We Will Be Killed with Our Families: Stories from Rwanda*. Gourevitch visited Rwanda in 1995 to interview eyewitnesses to the genocide. This excerpt is from when he interviewed Pastor Elizaphan Ntakirutimana, who was accused of overseeing the murder of Tutsis at the Mugonero Adventist complex. Survivors recall that he had encouraged Tutsis to gather there only a few days before the massacre. The excerpt is written in the first person (of Philip Gourevitch).

He said, "They are saying I killed people. Eight thousand people." The number was about four times higher than any I had previously heard. The pastor's voice was full of angry disbelief. "It is all one hundred percent pure lies. I did not kill any people. I never told anybody to kill any people. I could not do such things."

When the "chaos" began in Kigali, the pastor explained, he didn't think it would reach Mugonero, and when Tutsis began going to the hospital, he claimed he had to ask them why. After about a week, he said, there were so many refugees that "things started turning a little weird." So the pastor and his son Gerard held a meeting to address the question "What are we going to do?" But at that moment two policemen showed up to guard the hospital, and said, "We didn't have the meeting, because they had done it without our asking."

Then, on Saturday, April 16, at seven in the morning, the two policemen from the hospital came to Pastor Ntakirutimana's house. "They gave me letters from the Tutsi pastors there," he said. "One was addressed to me, another to the mayor. I read mine. The letter they gave me said, 'You understand they are trying to kill us, can you go to the mayor and ask him to protect us?'" Ntakirutimana read this, then went to the mayor, Charles Sikubwabo. "I told him what my message from the Tutsi pastors said, and gave him his letter. The mayor told me, 'Pastor, there's no government. I have no power. I can do nothing.'"

I asked him whether he remembered the precise language of the letter addressed to him by the seven Tutsi pastors who were killed at Mugonero. He opened the folder in his lap. "Here," he said, and held out the handwritten original and a translation...It was dated April 15, 1994.

Our dear leader, Pastor Elizaphan Ntakirutimana,

How are you! We wish you to be strong in all these problems we are facing. We wish to inform you that we have heard that tomorrow we will be killed with our families. We therefore request you to intervene on our behalf and talk with the Mayor. We believe that, with the help of God who entrusted you the leadership of this flock, which is going to be destroyed, your intervention will be highly appreciated, the same way as the Jews were saved by Esther.

We give honor to you.

Core Instruction:

4. Allow students 1-2 minutes to write and reflect on what it means to be a bystander and an upstander. How would you characterize Pastor Ntakirutimana and Mr. Gourevitch? Suggest there were many individuals who collaborated and participated in the genocide, there were also some individuals who chose to be upstanders and help in different ways.
5. Distribute a timeline to each student. Explain that this timeline lists some of the major events which occurred during the genocide in Rwanda. Review the timeline and expand on any topics that trigger questions.
6. Divide students into 4 or 6 groups. Explain that each group will have one of two individuals who took positive action during the genocide to try to bring about its end.
 - a. Roméo Dallaire: He is a Canadian Major General who commanded the United Nations peacekeeping force in Rwanda.
 - b. Carl Wilkens: As an American humanitarian aid worker with the Adventist Church, he moved with his wife, Teresa, and their three children to Rwanda in 1990. He remained as an aid worker in Rwanda during the genocide and was the only American to do so.
7. Using each upstander's timeline below, divide the events into pieces. Give each group an envelope with the events. Ask students to use their general Rwanda timeline as a guide and place the individual's timeline in chronological order.
8. Review each upstander's timeline as a full class and place them in order on the front board (students could also recite each event and stand at the front).

9. Instruct students to review some of the suggested discussion questions below in their groups:
 - a. When and how do these narratives intersect with the general timeline?
 - b. Do you find a disconnect between any of the narratives?
 - c. Compare the experiences and perspectives of Dallaire and Wilkens throughout the genocide.
 - d. Did the response of the international community impact the experiences of Wilkens and Dallaire?

Extension: The timelines could also be enhanced by connecting each event to an image or artifact, creating a “photograph timeline.”

Closing:

10. To conclude, ask students to discuss where these narratives intersect with each other and fit into the general timeline.

Timeline of Rwandan Genocide

October 1990: The Rwanda Patriotic Front (RPF) invades Rwanda and the country goes into a civil war. Shortly after, troops from Zaire (now Democratic Republic of Congo), Belgium and France intervene to contain the violence. Belgium and Zaire withdraw, leaving France to train the Rwandan army.

December 1990: The Hutu newspaper, *Kangura* publishes its "Ten Commandments of the Hutu," which vilify Tutsis.

January 1993: CIA report from the United States warns of large-scale ethnic violence in Rwanda.

August 4, 1993: The Arusha Accords are signed, creating a power sharing agreement and the transitional government. This signing brings the first United Nations troops to Kigali, Rwanda under the command of Roméo Dallaire.

October 3-4, 1993: Battle of Mogadishu in Somalia takes place, leading to the death of American soldiers and hundreds of Somalian civilians.

December 1993: Only a few months later, a CIA study finds that 4 million tons of small arms had been transferred to Rwanda.

March 1994: Medical supplies in Rwanda run out, and no additional funding is provided.

April 6, 1994: The plane carrying presidents Habyarimana of Rwanda and Ntaramira of Burundi is shot down by an unknown source.

April 7, 1994: 10 Belgian paratroopers are killed by the Presidential Guard.

April 9-10, 1994: French and Belgian forces arrive to rescue all their citizens. American citizens are also taken out of Rwanda. No Rwandans are permitted to be rescued.

April 14, 1994: Belgium withdraws its troops from Rwanda.

April 16, 1994: The massacre of Tutsis at the Mugonero Adventist complex takes place, many of whom were led there by their Pastor. This is reported in the *New York Times*.

April 21, 1994: UN Security Council reduces the size of troops in Rwanda 2500 to 270 men.

Mid- May 1994: The International Red Cross estimates 500,000 Rwandans have been killed.

June 23, 1994: Operation Turquoise begins and deploys French troops until the UNAMIR (United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda) II arrives.

Mid-July 1994: The genocide ends when the RPF seizes control.

Late 1994: UN Security Council establishes the International tribunals for Rwanda.

Timeline of Roméo Dallaire

August 4, 1993: Dallaire, a 47 year old French Canadian, begins command of UN peacekeeping troops in Kigali, Rwanda by making a short visit to Rwanda.

October 5, 1993: The United States reluctantly approves Dallaire's mission in Rwanda. He is officially posted in Rwanda that month.

January 1994: A Hutu informant tells Dallaire that the militia planned to murder a number of Belgium peacekeepers and that there were stockpiles of machetes and arms which the informant suspected would be used to exterminate the Tutsi population. Dallaire sends a fax to New York and concludes the fax with, "Let's go." Dallaire was not only ignored, but was told he should avoid any use of force.

February 23, 1994: Dallaire reports information about targeted death lists.

April 6, 1994: The plane carrying the presidents of Rwanda and Burundi is shot down by an unknown source. Dallaire and his assistant, Brent Beardsley, meet with Colonel Théoneste Bagosora, the army staff director and radical Hutu.

April 8, 1994: Dallaire sends a cable to New York detailing the killing of ten Belgian peacekeepers and Prime Minister Agathe Uwilingiyimana. He described the killing was determined by ethnicity and that the violence was "well-planned, organized, deliberate."

April 10, 1994: Dallaire telephones New York and asks to double his troop size to 5,000 soldiers and is denied.

April 25, 1994: Most of Dallaire's troops are evacuated, leaving him with 503 peacekeepers (he was supposed to keep 270, but more remained).

April 30, 1994: Dallaire is quoted as referring to Rwanda as a genocide.

February 1998: Dallaire is asked to testify at the war crimes tribunal for Rwanda. He continued to blame the international community for not doing anything to help.

April 2000: Dallaire is medically discharged from the Canadian armed services.

2004: Dallaire testifies at the trial of Colonel Théoneste Bagosora, who is later convicted of genocide.

Timeline of Carl Wilkens

March 1990: Carl Wilkens arrives in Rwanda with his wife, Teresa, and three children to be the country director of ADRA, the humanitarian arm of the Seventh-day Adventist Church.

March 1994: Carl calls a meeting with the other American Adventist missionaries to discuss what to do if fighting between the RPF and Rwandan government breaks out.

April 6, 1994: The electricity goes out. Carl learns that the Presidents' plane has been shot down. They hear gunfire outside their home.

April 7, 1994: Machine-gun fire breaks out in their neighborhood. Carl receives notice from the American embassy of no evacuations and everyone should stay in their homes. Carl and Teresa teach their kids a new "game" about avoiding gunshots.

April 8, 1994: Carl learns that the Interahamwe came to their home the previous night, armed with machetes. His neighbors stood between the militia and their house and told them they were not Belgian and recounted some of the good work they did in Rwanda. Carl learns his neighbors told the militia, "This family's children play with our children." The Wilkens family is saved. A 72-hour ceasefire begins to evacuate all foreigners.

April 9, 1994: Carl decides to stay in Rwanda to protect his Tutsi Rwandan colleagues, Anitha and Janvier. Pastor Seraya and his wife, both Hutu, stay with them, as well.

April 21, 1994: Carl receives a letter from the President of the Adventist Church insisting he leave Rwanda. He refuses unless the safety of all Rwandans, including Anitha and Janvier can be protected.

April 27, 1994: Carl finally leaves his home to get a travel pass to cross through checkpoints and sees Prefect Renzaho, in charge of greater Kigali. Carl introduces himself and explains that the ADRA is here to help. Carl is quickly given a travel pass.

First week in May 1994: Carl's neighbor and two men come to his home with a rifle, demanding to see ID cards. Carl and Pastor Seraya refuse to hand Anitha and Janvier over. The neighbor tells Carl he was sent there and cannot return empty-handed. Carl pays him the equivalent of \$100. The neighbor is killed by the Interahamwe.

May 1994: Carl meets Marc Vaiter and Damas Gisimba, directors of orphanages. The three work together until the end of the genocide to bring food, water and supplies to the orphans.

May 27, 1994: Carl learns the Interahamwe is after him and remains in the house.

June 28, 1994: Carl and his colleague, Gasigwa, go out to bring supplies to the orphans. They arrive to see the militia has surrounded the orphanage. Carl radios the UNAMIR to help, but learns most of the UN soldiers have been pulled out. Carl calls the Red Cross who offers to call the police for help. Carl is told by the Rwandan soldiers to leave and return with more soldiers to help. Carl is faced with an agonizing dilemma, worrying that as soon as he leaves, everyone could be killed. Carl leaves, but is denied help by the Rwandan army. Then, he confronts the genocidal Prime Minister Kambanda and gets the courage to ask him for help to save the orphans. The dialogue below ensues:

“Hello, Mr. Prime Minister. My name is Carl Wilkens, and I am the director of ADRA.”

“Yes, I know who you are and about your work. Thank you for your work you have been doing.”

“Mr. Prime Minister, I am coming from Gisimba Orphanage, and it is surrounded by militia. I’m afraid there is going to be a massacre there, if one hasn’t happened already. They all had assault rifles.”

“No, no. Everything’s going to be all right there. We are aware of the situation. And the Burgermeister will see to it that everybody is OK.”

All the orphans survive.

ATROCITIES IN THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF CONGO*

*Formerly Zaire (1971-1997)



Capital City: Brazzaville

Current Population: Approx. 6.9 million

Land Area: 905,568 square miles

Current Government: Republic

What factors led to the massacres in the Democratic Republic of Congo?

The Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) is located in Central Africa and gained its independence from Belgium in 1960. While under Belgian control, King Leopold II colonized the Congo in 1878, ruling with terror in his efforts to gain power and money over mineral deposits in the region. It is estimated that ten million were killed through forced labor camps established during this time. After its independence, the Congo was subject to Cold War politics and Western interests in Africa. As a result, Joseph Désiré Mobutu, a prominent military figure in the Belgian-Congolese army, was supported by the United States and other Western powers. When Mobutu took over the presidency in 1971, he renamed the nation, Zaire, which it remained until 1997.

As president, Mobutu took over all aspects of society through military intimidation. This allowed him to take advantage of the country's vast natural resources, leading to economic instability which continued until 1996 when his regime could no longer be supported by foreign powers. Offensives against Mobutu began in November 1996, predominately by the Alliance of Democratic Forces of the Liberation of Congo (AFDL), but also by the Kagame government in Rwanda. Years of underdevelopment and instability created a sense of nationalism that recognized the detrimental effects that Mobutu's rule had on society. In addition, throughout and following the Rwandan genocide, Zaire housed thousands of ex-Hutu militiamen in refugee camps. This inflamed ethnic tensions between Hutu and Tutsi tribes.

In 1996 the new Rwandan government invaded then Zaire aided by the Ugandan army and militias under the direction of Congolese leader Laurent Kabila. Kabila took over the presidency and renamed the country, Democratic Republic of Congo. Then, in 1998, Kabila turned on his Rwandan allies and began bringing in perpetrators of the Rwandan genocide to his military. As a result, Rwanda and Uganda re-invaded the DRC, with Zimbabwe, Angola and Namibia quickly coming to join in the DRC's defense. The result is a violent civil war that has included attacks against the refugee camps in eastern Congo and caused the death of 200,000 refugees by May of 1997.

What happened during the massacres in the Democratic Republic of Congo?

As of 2009, it is estimated that 5.4 million people have died and 2 million people are internally displaced as a result of the violence in DRC. Nearly half of those killed are children under the age of five. The ongoing conflict in the DRC has resulted in atrocities being committed by multiple sides. In addition, rape has become a common tool of war to physically and psychologically damage both women and men. The number of victims of rape is undocumented and, often the taboos surrounding rape cause men and women to remain silent. To highlight the rise of sexual assaults, in her remarks at the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum's 2012 symposium on genocide prevention, Secretary of State Hillary Clinton recently spoke about the phenomenon known as "gendercide" and mass rapes in the Congo.

Throughout the conflict, different militias and rebel groups have developed. Often these groups target the general population seeking political gain. The Pretoria Accord ended the war in Congo in 2002, and forced all armed groups to come together to form one group, the Armed Forces of the Democratic Republic of Congo (FARDC). But the fragmentation continued and some groups splintered off, gaining support from neighboring countries. The Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Rwanda (FDLR) is one of the largest armed groups and made up mostly of Hutu perpetrators from the genocide in Rwanda. In addition, the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA), a Ugandan armed group once led by Joseph Kony, has existed since the 1980s. Many of these armed groups kidnap children and recruit them into their armies. The use of child soldiers has become an ongoing problem during the DRC conflict.

The National Congress for the Defense of the People (CNDP) is a Tutsi-led Congolese group that has committed atrocities against civilians and rebel groups, such as the massacre of civilians in Kiwanja in November 2008. The CNDP dissolved in 2009 and the leader of the CNDP, Laurent Nkunda has been held under house arrest in Rwanda. The atrocities in the DRC have not been labeled a genocide, as both sides are committing random atrocities aimed to instill fear.

What was the response from the international community?

The close relationship between the genocide in Rwanda and the massacres in the DRC has made international intervention a complicated issue. The United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of Congo (MONUSCO) created "joint protection teams" to send to dangerous areas in the DRC; however, with little funding the violence continues.

Notably, the vast natural resources of the DRC (i.e. diamonds, gold, coltan, cobalt, copper and timber) have contributed to the violence. Many of these minerals are found in modern day technology, such as cell phones and computers. There has been a grassroots movement to hold manufacturers accountable for using these resources in hopes of curbing some of the violence in DRC.

What has been the aftermath of the massacre of refugees in the DRC?

July 10, 1999 brought about the signing of the Lusaka Agreement, which sought to end hostilities between political parties, disarm the active insurgents, allow the UN to assist in the enormous refugee displacement, and initiate the Congolese National Dialogue. In addition, the DRC receives support from the international community through foreign aid, financial assistance

from the International Monetary Fund, as well as continued military assistance from the United States.

On June 23, 2004, the ICC announced it would investigate crimes committed in the DRC. In March 2006, Thomas Lubanga became the first person arrested under the warrant. He was charged with war crimes for his recruitment of child soldiers during the late 1990s. Interestingly, two commanders, Germain Katanga and Mathieu Ngudjolo Chui, both of whom fought *against* Lubanga's forces were also brought up on crimes against humanity and war crimes, further highlighting the conflict's complexity. In May 2008, Jean-Pierre Bemba was arrested by Belgian forces and transferred to The Hague for leading war crimes and crimes against humanity against civilians during 2002-2003. In 2009, Bosco Ntaganda was indicted on war crimes by the ICC, but he remains operating with impunity as a General in the Congolese army. In 2006, DRC held its first multi-party elections in over 40 years with 25 million citizens coming out to vote. The elections were considered fair and Joseph Kabila continued to hold on to his place as president. Yet, despite measures taken for development and peace, the DRC continues to be plagued with conflict.

Voice of an Eyewitness: Immaculée Birhaheka

In 1992, Immaculée Birhaheka, an advocate for women's rights, began PAIF (promotions and support of women's initiatives) in Goma, Democratic Republic of Congo. The organization educates women about political issues and works with government officials to educate women about international law and human rights. After hearing from survivors of rape, Birhaheka began to focus her efforts on advocating for survivors of rape. In 2006, she pushed for the passage of a stringent law on rape in the DRC. Although she receives constant threats because of her work, Birhaheka continues to advocate for women and survivors of sexual assault in DRC.

Comprehension Questions:

1. Identify Joseph Mobutu. Describe the international community's relationship with him.
2. Describe the conflict currently occurring in the DRC.
3. Determine any connection between the genocide in Rwanda and the violence in the DRC.
4. Describe the international community's response to the atrocities in the DRC.

Discussion Questions:

1. Why has the use of child soldiers during conflict become an issue of international concern? Consider other case studies of genocide and how perpetrators have taken advantage of youth.
2. Sexual assault and rape have become some of the cornerstones of attacks in the DRC. Considering Secretary Clinton's use of the term, "gendercide" in her 2012 speech, how does the increasing number of sexual assaults in the DRC frame our understanding of the conflict?
3. Leaders on both sides of the conflict were eventually indicted for war crimes. Examine the role of international law in holding both sides accountable while the conflict continues.

Title: Marketing Justice: Exploring the Psychology of Compassion

Grade Level: Grades 9 and above

Time: 50 minutes

Overview:

In the DRC, atrocities are a daily fact of life, and the country's turmoil is well known even in the United States. While there are many reasons why people fail to act, there are also many reasons why they do, and we need to understand these motivations to organize our communities to fight for justice.

Standards:

Common Core Standards:

SL.(6-12).4, RI.(6-12).3, RI.(6-12).8, RH.(6-12).1, RH.(6-12).2, RH.(6-12).6,
WHST.(6-12).1, WHST.(6-12).4, W.(6-12).1

Ohio Social Studies Content Statements:

American Government: 1, 2, 4
Modern World History: 1, 2, 24
Contemporary World Issues: 4, 5, 6, 10, 11

Materials:

- Class set of "Would You Let This Girl Drown?" article
- Writing materials
- Markers, Colored Pencils, Construction Paper, Other Art Supplies

Objectives:

- Students will brainstorm and explore the many diverse reasons that cause people to act both in their everyday lives and in response to genocide and atrocity.
- Working in groups, students will evaluate the effectiveness of an editorial.
- Students will implement their new understandings of human motivation and persuasive writing to create a human rights ad campaign, as well as a letter to the editor.

Opening:

1. Individually or as a class, create a mind map highlighting the reasons why people might intervene when they see bad things happening to another person.

Core Instruction:

2. Divide students into small discussion groups.
3. Next, pass out the editorials face down to each student. Explain that each student will receive an editorial describing some of the challenges to helping others.
4. Ask each student to read through the editorial.

5. Display the following discussion questions to the class. Invite them to start discussing whenever they're ready.
 - a. What does Kristof say motivates people?
 - b. What does he say de-motivates people?
 - c. Do any of these match the ones you wrote down?
 - d. Would you add anything to Kristof's list? Defend your suggestion with evidence.
6. Bring the class back together and ask students present their group discussions.
7. Next, explain that they're going to become marketing experts for their own human rights organization. Their goal is to create a public service announcement to motivate people to become involved in the struggle against genocide and atrocity. Before they begin, ask each group to answer these questions:
 - a. What is Kristof arguing?
 - b. Is Kristof persuasive? Why or why not?
 - c. What does Kristof recommend humanitarian organizations do?
8. Finally, have each group present their PSA.

Closing:

9. For a conclusion, homework, or a related activity, provide students with the opportunity to write a "letter to the editor."

“Would You Let This Girl Drown?”

By Nicholas D. Kristof, July 9, 2009, published in the *New York Times*

It's the Group of 8 summit in Italy, and world leaders are strolling along when they spot a girl floundering in a pond, crying out and then dipping beneath the surface.

There are no cameras around. The leaders could safely rescue the girl, but they would get drenched and risk damaging their \$600 shoes. A rescue would also delay the group's discussion of Very Important Issues.

In that situation, I'm convinced, the presidents and prime ministers would leap into the water to save the girl. So would you or I.

(The difference is that the G-8 leaders would then hold a televised press conference to spotlight their compassion, perhaps canceling their session on humanitarian aid to do so.)

This raises an interesting question: If the G-8 leaders are so willing to save one child, why are they collectively so far behind in meeting humanitarian aid pledges to save other children?

A few countries, including Canada and the United States, will meet the aid targets for 2010 that they set in 2005. But France is falling short, and Italy — the host of the G-8 summit this year — is disastrously far behind.

In a thoughtful book published this year, “The Life You Can Save,” Professor Peter Singer of Princeton University offers the pond example and explores why we're so willing to try to assist a stranger before us, while so unwilling to donate to try to save strangers from malaria half a world away.

One of the reasons, I believe, is that humanitarians are abjectly ineffective at selling their causes. Any brand of toothpaste is peddled with far more sophistication than the life-saving work of aid groups. Do-gooders also have a penchant for exaggeration, so that the public often has more trust in the effectiveness of toothpaste than of humanitarian aid.

There's growing evidence that jumping up and down about millions of lives at stake can even be counterproductive. A number of studies have found that we are much more willing to donate to one needy person than to several. In one experiment, researchers solicited donations for a \$300,000 fund that in one version would save the life of one child, and in another the lives of eight children. People contributed more when the fund would save only one life.

“The more who die, the less we care.” That's the apt title of a forthcoming essay by Paul Slovic, a psychology professor at the University of Oregon who has pioneered this field of research.

Yet it's not just, as the saying goes, that one death is a tragedy, a million a statistic. More depressing, appeals to our rationality actually seem to impede empathy.

For example, in one study, people donate generously to Rokia, a 7-year-old malnourished African girl. But when Rokia's plight was explained as part of a larger context of hunger in Africa, people were much less willing to help.

Perhaps this is because, as some research suggests, people give in large part to feel good inside. That works best when you write a check and the problem is solved. If instead you're reminded of larger problems that you can never solve, the feel-good rewards diminish.

Another factor is personal responsibility: How many people share it? Professor Singer notes that in one experiment, students filled out a market research study while a young woman went behind a curtain and then appeared to climb on a chair to get something — and fell down. She then moaned and cried out that her ankle was injured.

When the person filling out the form was alone, he or she helped 70 percent of the time. But when another person was in the room, also filling out the survey and not responding, then only 7 percent tried to help.

In the case of fighting poverty, there are billions of other bystanders to erode a personal sense of responsibility. Moreover, humanitarian appeals emphasize the scale of the challenges — 25,000 children will die today! — in ways that are as likely to numb us as to galvanize us.

I also wonder if our unremitting focus on suffering and unmet needs stirs up a cloud of negative feelings that incline people to avert their eyes and hurry by. Maybe we should emphasize the many humanitarian successes, such as the falling child mortality rates since 1990 — which mean that 400 children's lives are saved every hour, around the clock.

There are no easy answers here, but if a toothpaste company had these miserable results in its messaging, it would go back to the drawing board. That's what bleeding hearts need to do as well.

GENOCIDE IN DARFUR, SUDAN



Capital City: Khartoum

Current Population: Approx. 6 million (pre-2003)

Land Area: 190,418 square miles

Current Government: Republic

**Please note the borders of Sudan and South Sudan are currently disputed. This map is included solely to provide visual context.*

What factors led to the genocide in Darfur?

Darfur is a region in northwest Sudan roughly the size of Texas. In 1899, Britain and Egypt ruled over Sudan, with Britain maintaining authority over the southern region and Egypt over the north. As a result, many differences began to develop. In 1916, the British government expanded their rule to include the Darfur region to the west. Thus, although situated in the north, Darfur's population demographics closely resembled the south, consisting mostly of agricultural indigenous tribes made up of those with Christian beliefs. Britain placed most political power in the hands of the north, allowing it to flourish economically and intellectually, while the south remained comparably under-developed.

Following Sudan's independence on January 1, 1956, civil war between the north and south regions continued for the next decade. With the threat of secession, in March 1972, the two sides came together and signed the Addis Ababa peace agreement which would keep Sudan united. Darfur, although actually part of the northern region, remained neglected by the Khartoum government and extremely impoverished.

Peace in Sudan and the Darfur region did not last long after the signing. The agreement was ratified in 1983 and violent conflict between the north and south continued. If the politically hostile environment was not enough, the series of droughts that Darfur experienced in the 1970s changed the social dynamic. The region received a detrimental decrease in grazing area and nomadic Arab tribes began to graze on farmers' land. In addition, Darfur experienced a drastic increase in population, which spread the already diminishing amount of resources among more people. A once-balanced region now saw conflicting lifestyles competing for the same land and resources.

Furthermore, once Hassan al-Turabi took control, an extreme Islamist influence spread over Sudan, marginalizing the non-Arab tribes in Darfur. The Islamic Revolution of 1989 instigated these tensions further as al-Turabi's regime sought to make Sudan a theocracy. In 1989, Omar

al-Bashir took power in a military coup, co-facilitated by al-Turabi, and enforced Islamic law on all of Sudan. With *sharia law* in place, Arab-Muslim tribes felt justified, according to its government's ideology, that their "black African" agricultural neighbors were racially inferior. The government exploited these tensions to further their aspirations to be part of the Arab world. President al-Bashir and The National Islamic Front attempted to convert all Sudanese to Islam, even if by force. As a result, the 1990's marked the beginning of small conflicts in Darfur that would escalate to a rebellion in 2003 and then to genocide from 2003 to 2005.

What happened during the genocide in Darfur?

Darfur is home to at least 36 tribes, identifying as Arab or non-Arab, and lived peacefully and coexisted leading up to the genocide. The three largest non-Arab tribes, soon to become the targets of genocide, are the Fur, the Zaghawa and the Massaleit. It's important to note that the identities of "Arab" and "non-Arab" are not so much racial as they are cultural and political. After decades of intermarriage and cohabitating, these labels are quite blurred; nevertheless, still stressed as separate.

In 1983, the Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA) had formed, bringing John Garang, a member of the Dinka tribe, the largest of southern Sudan, as its leader. The Khartoum government armed Arab tribes in Darfur to fight against the SPLA, instigating the use of the *janjaweed* (translated as "devil on horseback") - government-funded tribal militias to target non-Arab tribes. The Fur, the largest group in Darfur, fought back for the next two years. In 1996, the *janjaweed*, backed and armed by the Khartoum government now targeted the Massaleit tribes killing hundreds of villagers, and driving an estimated 100,000 villagers from their homes into neighboring Chad. However, the worst of atrocities were yet to come. In late 2002, the United States pressed the SPLA and the Khartoum government into peace talks. Yet, these talks excluded any groups from Darfur, who had already been targeted and slaughtered by the *janjaweed* in the last decade, reinforcing to rebel groups in Darfur that they were the only ones who could protect themselves. In 2003, the conflict in Darfur continued to escalate when the SPLA and the Justice and Equality Movement (JEM) attacked the government military in order to combat the mistreatment and marginalization of non-Arab tribes in Darfur. The Khartoum government responded with military raids and continued attacks by the *janjaweed*.

The *janjaweed*, often accompanied by Sudanese soldiers, are known to receive funding, weapons, training, and intelligence from the al-Bashir government. Their goal is to carry out genocide, not only through mass killing and fear, but insuring the villages are destroyed and no one is able to return. Soldiers and militia are known to raid villages at night or early morning: killing the men, raping women, abducting children, and burning entire communities. Then, they often contaminate the water wells, insuring no one may rebuild these villages for future generations. By the end of 2003, it is estimated that the *janjaweed* and the Sudanese military murdered 70,000 people and forced 700,000 people to flee their homes. By 2005, experts estimate that at least 300,000 individuals had died. The number of displaced persons from Darfur is approximately four to five million people, many of whom are Internally Displaced Persons (IDP). Not categorized as refugees, these are individuals forced from their home, but remain displaced within their own country's borders.

What was the response from the international community?

In October 2002, the Bush Administration passed the "Sudan Peace Act," which authorized millions of dollars per year from 2003 to 2005 to help develop the southern region of Sudan, but did little to curb the violence in Darfur. The Sudanese government denied any crisis in Darfur

and, although humanitarian organizations fought to receive visas to help those displaced, they were met with extra regulations and restrictions.

In the early stages of the genocide, there was little response from the international community. As the genocide continued, the international response to the crisis in Darfur grew stronger among grassroots movements. When al-Bashir announced that the rebellion forces had been subdued in early 2004, the media had been covering the atrocities almost from the beginning; although, arguably not at the forefront of the public's attention. Al-Bashir's announcement motivated numerous demonstrations and protests in the United States and Europe, many of which were started by youth activists. This resulted in the creation of many non-governmental movements, such as the Save Darfur Coalition and the Genocide Intervention Network. In addition, Students Take Action Now-Darfur (STAND) and the Darfur Dream Team (of The Enough Project) specifically targeted students and aimed to create an energized anti-genocide youth constituency. Similarly, the most powerful humanitarian organizations - International Crisis Group, Amnesty International, the International Red Cross, Doctors without Borders, and the United Nations - led efforts to intervene and stop the genocide.

Then United States' Secretary of State Colin Powell described the events as genocide in September 2004 and in June 2005, President George W. Bush did the same. This was the first time a sitting president had used the term during an ongoing conflict. Only a few months prior, on January 9, 2005, President Bush successfully initiated the signing of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA), ending the decade long conflict between the north and south regions. Notably, this agreement stipulated that in 2011, the south would be able to vote for secession from Sudan. However, this agreement did little to end the genocide in Darfur.

In March 2009, the International Criminal Court issued a warrant for al-Bashir's arrest. Although not for crimes of genocide, he was charged with "crimes against humanity" and "war crimes." As a response, al-Bashir expelled over a dozen humanitarian aid groups that provided food, water, medicine and resources to survivors of the genocide in Darfur, as well as in neighboring Chad. Many Darfurians had sought safety in refugee camps established on the border, awaiting for the point when it was safe to return. Then, in July 2010, a second arrest warrant was issued, but this time al-Bashir was charged with three counts of genocide. Today he remains the current President of Sudan, despite the over 40 charges against him.

As expected, in July 2011, the south seceded from Sudan establishing the world's youngest country. The capital of South Sudan is Juba and the current president is Salva Kiir. However, the decision to secede did not end the violence. Some of the largest oil reserves are located in South Sudan, yet the pipeline runs through Sudan, leading to violent conflict and intensified militarization at the border. Most recently, in September 2012, al-Bashir and Kiir came together at the negotiating table and agreed upon a demilitarized buffer zone; however, they did not agree on how to settle disputes over the Abeyei area, which is directly on the border and rests upon oil deposits. In addition, it is home to herdsmen in support of Sudan and other tribal groups connected to the south.

Voice of an Eyewitness: Halima Bashir and Luol Deng

Halima Bashir was born in the Darfur region of Sudan to a family that valued education. She attended medical school and returned to her village to serve as its first professionally trained doctor. After making critical comments about the Sudanese government's treatment of Darfuri tribes, Bashir was sent to Mazkhaba in northern Darfur. It was there that she witness the terror caused by the *janjaweed* militias as children with injuries from attacks poured into her clinic.

Following an attack on a school and its female students, Bashir spoke to the United Nations about what she saw. Soon after speaking to the United Nations, she was kidnapped by soldiers and repeatedly attacked. After being released only to experience a militia attack on her village, Bashir fled the country and found refuge in the United Kingdom. Bashir wrote about her experiences with reporter, Damien Lewis, in the 2008 memoir, *Tears of the Desert: A Memoir of Survival in Darfur*.

Chicago Bulls basketball player, Luol Deng was born in what is now South Sudan and part of the Dinka tribe. Deng's father was a member of parliament in Sudan and was then the Minister of Transportation before the family fled to Egypt to escape the conflict in Sudan. In Egypt, Deng was first taught how to play basketball by ex-NBA player, Manute Bol. Four years later, the Deng family relocated to the United Kingdom. Today, Deng has his own foundation, the Loul Dang Foundation which has projects in the United States, United Kingdom and Africa. The organization's main focus is to provide Africans with access to basic needs, such as shelter, water, health and access to education. His mission to insure everyone has access to an education makes him a proud member of the Darfur Dream Team, a project of the Enough Project, which engages young people around the world to help build schools in the refugee camps in Chad. In 2011, Deng returned to Sudan to witness his country gain its independence.

Comprehension Questions:

1. Describe some of the different factors that contributed to socio-economic changes in Darfur.
2. Identify the CPA and its significance as part of the larger conflict in Sudan.
3. Name and describe two NGO's that were stationed inside Darfur, and determine their impact.
4. Identify how the international community has attempted to reconcile and prosecute the crimes committed in Darfur.

Discussion Questions:

1. While the *Janjaweed* did commit mass murders, they also poisoned wells, sexually assaulted women, abducted children, and instilled constant fear. Explain how their methods illuminate that genocide is not only about murder, but rather about the destruction of a people.
2. Undoubtedly, the public response to the genocide in Darfur was much greater than during previous genocides. Discuss some of these different movements, particularly among the youth, that occurred throughout the United States. How did these affect the United States's actions towards the genocide in Darfur?
3. During the ongoing conflict in Sudan, thousands of "Lost Boys" and "Lost Girls" fled Sudan in hopes of a better life. Research the journey, motivation and challenges of the Lost Boy and Girl communities throughout the United States.

Title: Enough: Taking Effective Action

Grade Level: Grades 7 and above

Time: 60 minutes

Overview:

This activity is ideal as a culmination of a unit on genocide. Having already gained a great deal of background knowledge on genocide, atrocity, and genocide prevention, this activity explores how students can take this knowledge and turn it into positive action. The Darfur Dream Team of The Enough Project, and similar organizations provide youth the opportunity to leverage their unique talents and skills to make a sustainable impact on the world.

Standards:

Common Core Standards:

SL.(6-12).4, RI.(6-12).1., RI.(6-12).5, RH.(6-12).1, RH.(6-12).2, RH.(6-12).6, RH.(6-12).9

Ohio Social Studies Content Statements:

American Government: 1,

Modern World History: 1, 2, 24

Contemporary World Issues: 4, 5, 6, 7, 10

Objectives:

- Working in groups, students will explore the role of ENOUGH moments in spurring people to action.
- Students will examine how the Darfur Dream Team and other similar organizations engage students to work towards rebuilding nations recovering from atrocity.

Materials:

- Class set of exposition, “A Choice”
- Projector and Computer (if available)

Opening:

1. Divide students up into small groups and distribute copies of “A Choice.” In their groups,
 - a. Ethan’s ENOUGH moment happened in a classroom. Have you had an ENOUGH moment? Where did it happen?
 - b. It took a question to spark Ethan’s fight for justice. What do you think makes people have ENOUGH moments?
 - c. Even after people have ENOUGH moments, they might have trouble staying optimistic and motivated. How can we keep ourselves empowered and hopeful?
2. Ask students to present their discussions to the rest of the class.
3. Next, distribute a piece of chart paper to each group. Have them draw a line down the middle and create two columns labeled “Leadership” and the other “Obstacles.” In their groups, ask students to brainstorm some of the qualities often found in an effective leader and list those under the column, “Leadership.” Next, ask students to brainstorm some of the obstacles that an individual may face when wanting to be a leader and advocate for human rights.
4. Ask students to present some of the major themes of their discussion.

Core Instruction:

5. Bring the class back together and explain that often one of the best ways to create effective change is to bring like-minded individuals together, and various organizations have provided ways to do that.
6. If possible, introduce students to the Darfur Dream Team website and view the introduction video found here: <http://darfurdreamteam.org/about>
7. Discuss as a class:
 - a. What was Tracy McGrady's motivation?
 - b. Compare McGrady's motivation with Ethan's ENOUGH moment.
 - c. Why is continuing education such a priority for those living in refugee camps?
 - d. The Darfur Dream Team goes beyond fundraising and attempts to actually connect American schools with schools in the refugee camp. Is it important that as we continue to create this global connections?

Closing:

8. Suggest to students that they begin a partnership with a school in Chad and begin as a class to take the necessary steps to do so. For more information, visit <http://www.darfurdreamteam.org/>

Ethan Barhydt “A Choice”

In the seventh grade, Ethan took a class at his Jewish congregation on the Holocaust. Rather than focusing on mere dates and facts, Ethan's instructor, Dick Strauss, attempted to explain what might have happened if the United States and neighboring countries had stepped in before the Holocaust took so many lives. What could have happened if people had chose to say ENOUGH?

Ethan's instructor ended the class with a one-question final exam: “Your final exam is how you conduct the rest of your lives. Can it happen again? The answer is up to YOU and to YOUR CHOICES. Will YOU CHOOSE to get involved, or will you be a bystander?”

It was that exact moment when Ethan decided he would no longer remain a bystander but would instead make a life-long commitment to help end mass atrocities and crimes against humanity. In 2007, Ethan created the organization Youth United for Darfur in the Chicago area. This organization was a coalition of ten student groups, which until then had not been collaborating very much. Being able to work together, the Youth United for Darfur organized a conference focused not only on educating students about genocide but also on providing effective advocacy techniques.

By January 2009, their efforts had expanded to forty student organizations. It was then that Youth United for Darfur decided to host the Darfur Rally in Chicago. Reaching out to political figures, musical groups, high schools, and colleges, the rally became the biggest rally for Darfur in the United States outside of Washington, D.C., and New York that year. With thousands of students supporting the rally, they gathered in Chicago to advocate for peace in Sudan and celebrate their month-long fundraising campaign that had raised \$17,000 for Illinois's Sudanese Community Center and the Darfur Dream Team's Sister Schools Program.

Ethan graduated from high school in 2009, deferred enrollment to Macalester College, taught English to middle school students in Tibet for a semester, and then headed to Washington, D.C., to join the Darfur Dream Team. Ethan stresses that he has learned the value of fostering relationships to promote awareness and action, and to bring people together for a common purpose.

(Source: From John Prendergast and Don Cheadle, *The Enough Moment: Fighting to End Africa's Worst Human Rights Crimes*. New York: Three Rivers Press. pp. 81-82.)

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Web resources

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The Enough Project: www.enoughproject.org

Genocide Watch: www.genocidewatch.org

Human Rights Watch: www.hrw.org

Institute for the Study of Genocide – International Association for Genocide Scholars:
www.isg.agis.org

United States Holocaust Memorial Museum: www.ushmm.org

United to End Genocide: www.endgenocide.org

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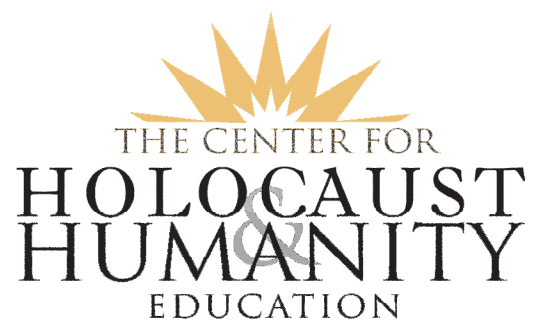
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