

A UNIT TO ACCOMPANY THE FILM

# DARFUR NOW

AND THE BOOK

# NOT ON OUR WATCH



Facing History and Ourselves is an international educational and professional development organization whose mission is to engage students of diverse backgrounds in an examination of racism, prejudice, and antisemitism in order to promote the development of a more humane and informed citizenry. By studying the historical development of the Holocaust and other examples of genocide, students make the essential connection between history and the moral choices they confront in their own lives. For more information about Facing History, please visit our website at [facinghistory.org](http://facinghistory.org).

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## ABOUT FACING HISTORY AND OURSELVES

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Facing History and Ourselves is a nonprofit educational organization whose mission is to engage students of diverse backgrounds in an examination of racism, prejudice, and anti-semitism in order to promote a more humane and informed citizenry. As the name Facing History and Ourselves implies, the organization helps teachers and their students make the essential connections between history and the moral choices they confront in their own lives by examining the development and lessons of the Holocaust and other examples of genocide. It is a study that helps young people think critically about their own behavior and the effect that their actions have on their community, nation and the world. It is based on the belief that no classroom should exist in isolation. Facing History programs and materials involve the entire community: students, parents, teachers, civic leaders, and other citizens.

Facing History and Ourselves provides educators with tools for teaching history and ethics, and for helping their students learn to combat prejudice with compassion, indifference with participation, myth and misinformation with knowledge. Through significant higher education partnerships, Facing History also reaches and impacts teachers before they enter their classrooms.

By studying the choices that led to a historical event, students learn how issues of identity and membership play out on the world stage. Facing History resource books provide a meticulously researched yet flexible structure for examining complex events and ideas. Educators can select appropriate readings and draw on additional resources available online or from our comprehensive lending library.

Our foundational resource text, *Facing History and Ourselves Holocaust and Human Behavior*, embodies a sequence of study which begins with identity—first individual identity and then group identities with their definitions of membership. From there the program examines the failure of democracy in Germany and the steps leading to the Holocaust—the most documented case of 20th century indifference, de-humanization, hatred, racism, anti-semitism, and mass murder. It goes on to explore difficult questions of judgment, memory and legacy, and the necessity for responsible participation to prevent injustice, ending with a section called “Choosing to Participate” that provides examples of individuals who have taken small steps to build just and inclusive communities and whose stories illuminate the courage, initiative and compassion that are needed to protect democracy today and in generations to come. Other examples of collective violence such as the Armenian genocide and the U.S civil rights movement expand and deepen the connection between history and the choices we face today and in the future.

Facing History’s outreach is global, with a website accessed world wide, online content delivery, a program for international fellows, and a set of NGO partnerships that allow for delivery of our resources in 80 countries. By convening conferences of scholars, theologians, educators and journalists Facing History’s materials are kept timely, relevant and responsive to salient issues of global citizenship in the 21st century.

For more than thirty years, Facing History has challenged students to connect the complexities of the past to the moral and ethical issues of today. Students explore democratic values and consider what it means to exercise one’s rights and responsibilities in the service of a more humane and compassionate world. They become aware that “little things are big”—seemingly minor decisions can have major impacts, and change the course of history.

For more about Facing History, visit our website at <http://www.facinghistory.org>.

## ABOUT THE PARTNERSHIPS

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Facing History and Ourselves has partnered with the ENOUGH project and Participant Media to create and disseminate educational resources that engage students in a discussion and examination of the ongoing genocide in Darfur. In particular, these lessons teach us about preventing mass violence and genocide today and in the future.

## ABOUT THE ENOUGH PROJECT

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ENOUGH is a project of the Center for American Progress to end genocide and crimes against humanity. With a focus on the crises in Sudan, Chad, eastern Congo, Somalia and northern Uganda, ENOUGH's strategy papers and briefings provide sharp field analysis and targeted policy recommendations based on a "3P" crisis response strategy: promoting durable peace, providing civilian protection, and punishing perpetrators of atrocities. ENOUGH works with concerned citizens, advocates, and policymakers to prevent, mitigate, and resolve these crises. To learn more about ENOUGH and what you can do to help, go to [www.enoughproject.org](http://www.enoughproject.org).

## ABOUT PARTICIPANT MEDIA

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Participant Media is the leading provider of entertainment that inspires and compels social change. It is a Los Angeles-based production company that focuses on socially relevant, commercially viable feature films and documentaries. Participant Media is headed by CEO Jim Berk and President Ricky Strauss and was founded in 2004 by philanthropist Jeff Skoll, who serves as Chairman. To learn more about Participant Media go to [www.participantmedia.com](http://www.participantmedia.com).



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## INTRODUCTION

### Rationale

According to the International Association of Genocide Scholars, “In the 20th century, genocides and state mass murder have killed more people than have all wars.”<sup>1</sup> When newspapers reported the mass murder of Armenians during World War I, the international community contributed humanitarian aid but did not intervene directly to stop the killing. At the dawn of the next world war, Adolph Hitler referred to this muted international response in justifying his decision to invade Poland. In a speech given in August 1939, Hitler asked rhetorically, “Who, after all, today speaks of the annihilation of the Armenians?”<sup>2</sup> Six years later, people around the world cried, “Never again,” when they learned about the intentional slaughter of nearly 12 million people, half of them Jews, during the Holocaust. Yet since that time, millions more have died as a result of genocide, in Cambodia, Bosnia, Rwanda, and now Darfur. In their book, *Not on Our Watch*, John Prendergast and Don Cheadle make an emphatic point: “There is one crucial difference between past genocides in Rwanda and Bosnia and the crisis unfolding today in Sudan . . . : THERE IS STILL TIME TO ACT TO END THE SUFFERING.”<sup>3</sup>

The film *Darfur Now* tells the story of six individuals who recognize that their actions can help end the suffering of innocent civilians in Darfur. The purpose of this unit is to help students not only to understand the motivations, goals, strategies, and tactics of these activists, but also to identify with them sufficiently to see themselves as capable of similar work—on an emotional, moral, and practical level. These complex times call for a new generation of global citizens who have the willingness and ability to protect the humanity of others. The resources they will explore in these lessons, based on the film *Darfur Now* and the book *Not on Our Watch*, provide compelling examples and practical suggestions that can help students develop their own identities as globally aware citizens.

### How to use this unit

This unit is not a scripted curriculum but is intended to be a stimulus for curriculum development. This approach allows teachers to adapt the activities and assignments suggested in these lessons to meet the needs of their own students and school context. In structuring the guide to accommodate teachers operating in different contexts (i.e., length of class period, number of students, skill level of students, etc.), we recognize that individual lessons will not necessarily fit neatly into one class period. Except for Lesson Two (which could take up to two hours), the lessons have been designed to fit within a one-hour time frame. Depending on your own classroom context, lessons might take more or less time. If you are concerned about running out of time, you can shorten the warm-up activity or assign the follow-through activity for homework. These lessons could easily engage students for more time, especially if you choose to implement any of the extension activities.

The lessons have been written to accompany the film *Darfur Now*. Teachers in the Facing History network can borrow the film from our library. Other materials, such as excerpts from the book *Not on Our Watch*, graphic organizers, film transcript excerpts, and handouts are included in each lesson, following the lesson plan section.

<sup>1</sup> International Association of Genocide Scholars. Homepage: <http://genocidescholars.org/> (accessed on March 11, 2008).

<sup>2</sup> Kevork B. Bardakjian, *Hitler and the Armenian Genocide* (Cambridge: The Zoryan Institute, 1985). <http://www.armenian-genocide.org/hitler.html> (accessed on March 11, 2008).

<sup>3</sup> Don Cheadle and John Prendergast. *Not on Our Watch*. (New York: Hyperion, 2007) 211.

### Use of a journal

We strongly recommend that students keep a journal while studying this unit. The journal serves as a diary of the learning experience, where students can record definitions of key terms and respond to questions during class and at home. By keeping their ideas in one notebook, students are better able to make connections between lessons and take stock of how their own understanding has developed.

## BACKGROUND ON THE CRISIS IN DARFUR, THE FILM, *DARFUR NOW*, AND THE LESSONS

These lessons focus on the film *Darfur Now*, which profiles the work of six individuals who have responded to the violence in Sudan in different ways.

**Pablo Recalde**, director of the World Food Programme in West Darfur, coordinates shipments of humanitarian aid to Displaced Person Camps throughout Darfur.

**Don Cheadle**, an Oscar-nominated actor, meets with heads of state in Egypt and speaks to groups throughout the United States to raise awareness of the dire situation in Darfur.

**Adam Sterling** organizes a campaign to pressure the state of California to divest from companies that do business with Sudan.

**Luis Moreno-Ocampo**, a prosecutor, works to bring perpetrators of war crimes to justice at the International Criminal Court (ICC).

**Hejewa Adam** joins the Sudan Liberation Army (SLA), a rebel group that opposes the Janjaweed<sup>4</sup> and Sudanese army.

**Sheikh Ahmed Mohammed Abakar** secures food and shelter for the 47,000 displaced Darfurians living in the Hamadea Displaced Persons Camp.

One of the goals of these lessons is to help students understand the work of these activists. However, connecting with people whose experiences seem removed from our own can be challenging. Although most students have probably never met with foreign diplomats or helped pass legislation, they are likely to have had similar feelings of caring about something so much that it roused them to take action. So, this unit begins by having students identify these moments and the factors—the feelings, the personal experiences, and the values—that inspired them to make an extra effort. At the end of the unit, students will compare the factors that inspired their commitment to act to the factors that motivated the six individuals in the film.

To understand the efforts of the activists profiled in *Darfur Now*, students also need to have a basic understanding of the conflict in western Sudan. Although ethnic groups living in Darfur have competed for essential resources (e.g., land and water) for centuries, this conflict reached a new level when rebels representing the three main African ethnic groups in the region (Fur, Massalit, and Zaghawa) attacked a government air force base in 2003. These primarily agrarian tribes felt marginalized by the central government in Khartoum, especially since the military

### DARFUR REGION



<sup>4</sup> The Janjaweed are government-supported militias, consisting of mostly Sudanese Arabs.

coup in 1989. This coup, led by Sudanese president Omar al-Bashir, created what is effectively an Islamic state which has favored Sudanese Arabs over Sudanese Africans (even though many of these Africans are also Muslims) and has ignored the basic needs of many of the people living in Darfur. Khartoum responded to the rebels' attack not only by targeting members of the rebel groups, but also by attacking Darfurians belonging to the tribes associated with the rebels (Fur, Massalit, and Zaghawa). International observers, journalists, and human rights organizations report that the Janjaweed and Sudan's own army are responsible for horrific war crimes: the raping of women is widespread; innocent civilians, especially men, have been killed en masse; children have been kidnapped and forced to be child soldiers; and wells have been poisoned.

One of the most widespread crimes being committed by the Janjaweed and Sudanese military is the burning of villages. Although many of the villagers survive, they are left homeless by these attacks and are deprived of their most basic amenities (e.g., their farms, jobs, animals, and cooking equipment). In the wake of the death and panicked flight caused by these fires, families and communities are splintered apart and scattered. Thus, many refugees arrive in camps without social or economic resources; they must depend completely on humanitarian groups, such as the World Food Programme, for aid. As of 2008 the United Nations reports at least 2.5 million refugees and internally displaced persons (IDPs) in the Darfur region.<sup>5</sup> Darfur is now considered to be the world's largest relief effort.<sup>6</sup>

Lesson One introduces students to the situation in Darfur and encourages them to process the gravity of these crimes—crimes that have been called genocide by the United States government and many international organizations. This lesson prepares students to understand the circumstances that have motivated the six individuals profiled in *Darfur Now* to take action to end the suffering of victims in Darfur. In Lesson Two, students watch or read the transcript of the remainder of the film to learn more about the work of these activists. The suggested activities in Lesson Three help students develop a deeper appreciation for the complexity of responding to an international crisis involving millions of victims, hundreds of organizations, multiple constituencies, conflicts over sovereignty, and unchartered legal territory. Lesson Four guides students in synthesizing the material they have learned about responding to the genocide in Darfur and in connecting what they have learned from the film to their own lives. Ultimately, we hope that a thorough examination of the motivations and inspirations of the individuals profiled in *Darfur Now* helps students understand how activists sustain their commitment to their work in the face of indifference, resistance, violence, and limited evidence of success.

<sup>5</sup> When people have been forced from their homes due to unsafe living conditions brought on by violence or natural disasters, they are referred to as either refugees or internally displaced persons (IDPs). Refugees flee to another country, whereas IDPs seek refuge within their homeland.

<sup>6</sup> "Peace elusive as security worsens." Reuters Foundation AlertNet. October, 24, 2007. [http://www.alertnet.org/db/crisisprofiles/SD\\_DAR.htm](http://www.alertnet.org/db/crisisprofiles/SD_DAR.htm) (accessed on March 11, 2008).

<sup>7</sup> Lydia Polgreen. "Scorched-earth strategy returns to Darfur." International Herald Tribune. March 2, 2008. <http://www.iht.com/articles/2008/03/02/africa/02darfur.php> (accessed on March 11, 2008).

As of the fifth anniversary, in 2008, of the commencement of violence against ethnic groups in Darfur, the atrocities continue unabated in the region. Recent reports indicate that nearly 75,000 people have been displaced in Darfur since the beginning of 2008, in large part because the Janjaweed have stepped up their “scorched-earth strategy” of burning villages and terrorizing residents.<sup>7</sup> At the same time, it is important to take stock of all that is being done, by so many people and on different fronts, to end this genocide. For example, students are organizing divestment campaigns on college campuses; celebrities and others are pressuring China, a major trading partner and arms supplier to Sudan, to use its relationship with Khartoum to help end the violence; and the United Nations has recently sent more peacekeepers to the region in a collaborative effort with the African Union. The activism of groups and individuals around the world, including those profiled in *Darfur Now*, brings us a step closer to saving lives, restoring peace to a conflict-torn region, and perhaps preventing future genocides.

### **ADDITIONAL RESOURCES**

This historical overview was written in February 2008. Go to [www.facinghistory.org/darfur](http://www.facinghistory.org/darfur) for updated articles, documents and resources related to Darfur. For other information about events in Darfur or for more background on the history of genocide and genocide prevention, refer to one of the following resources:

For information on what individuals and groups can do to respond to the violence in Darfur and other conflicts in Africa: The Enough Project [www.enoughproject.org](http://www.enoughproject.org)

For background information on genocide: International Association of Genocide Scholars [www.genocidescholars.org](http://www.genocidescholars.org)

For information on genocide prevention: Genocide Intervention Network [www.genocideintervention.net/educate/darfur](http://www.genocideintervention.net/educate/darfur)

For regularly updated reports on Darfur: PBS Online NewsHour—Crisis in Sudan [www.pbs.org/newshour/indepth\\_coverage/africa/darfur/index.html](http://www.pbs.org/newshour/indepth_coverage/africa/darfur/index.html)

For an online video providing more background on the genocide in Darfur: The Council on Foreign Relations, Crisis Guide: Darfur [www.cfr.org/publication/13129/crisis\\_guide.html](http://www.cfr.org/publication/13129/crisis_guide.html)

For a report on the conflict in Darfur presented to the United Nations Security Council on June 5, 2008: Statement by Mr. Luis Moreno-Ocampo, prosecutor of the International Criminal Court: <http://www.icc-cpi.int/library/press/pressreleases/ICC-OTP-ST20080605-ENG.pdf>

## LESSON ONE

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### Introduction to *Darfur Now*

#### Overview

This lesson introduces students to concepts and information that will help them better understand the film *Darfur Now*. The warm-up activity reminds students of the universal capacity we have to act, and to act in extraordinary ways, with the appropriate inspiration and determination. As students watch *Darfur Now* during Lesson Two, they will identify the sources of motivation for the six individuals profiled in the film.

In the main activity of the lesson, students are introduced to the tragic events in Darfur when they watch the first nine minutes of the film. If you want to supplement the information provided in the film by presenting a brief lecture, for example, or by having students do independent research or reading, we have included the handouts “Ten Basic Facts about Darfur” and “Timeline: Crisis in Darfur.” The introduction of this unit suggests Web resources that you or your students can review for additional information. Moreover, chapters three and four of *Not on Our Watch* describe the history of Sudan and the conflict in Darfur, as well as the current state of events as of 2007, when the book was published.

Knowing the basic facts of historical and current events is not the same as understanding the significance of these events. The follow-through section of this lesson provides an opportunity for students to reflect on the material presented in the film. After being exposed to examples of violence and injustice depicted in the beginning of *Darfur Now*, students need to have a safe space to process this information. If they move on too quickly to the next class or activity, they might miss the depth of this tragedy. Additionally, the images and other material in this film might provoke strong emotions in students; they might feel uncomfortable, sad, confused, or enraged after witnessing the violence humans can inflict on each other.

In the follow-through section, we first recommend giving students an open-ended opportunity for reflection. Then we suggest asking them to consider their own relationship to the situation in Darfur covered in the beginning of *Darfur Now*. Raphael Lemkin, the lawyer who coined the term “genocide” in the 1940s, was concerned that people did not feel connected or personally responsible when horrible human rights abuses occurred far away. He remarked, “If women, children, and old people were to be murdered one hundred miles from here, wouldn’t you run to help? Then why do you stop this decision of your heart when the distance is three thousand miles instead of one hundred miles?” As Lemkin theorized, some students, understandably, may watch the film as if it is unrelated to their life and their world. Others might feel connected to the people suffering in Darfur and want to take immediate action to help them. The purpose of asking students to consider how events in Darfur relate to their lives and decisions is not to pressure them to give a specific “right” answer, but to provide a space for them to reflect honestly on their own relationship to events in the world around them. As students continue watching the film, they can compare their own reaction to the violence in Darfur to the responses of others, including the six individuals profiled in *Darfur Now*. Furthermore, in the book *Not on Our Watch*, John Prendergast describes his own reaction as he became increasingly aware of the atrocities in Darfur. We have excerpted a section of this book, Handout 4: *Not on Our Watch* Excerpt 1 which can be assigned for homework or used as the basis for a class discussion.

Finally, we suggest two areas for discussions designed to deepen students' appreciation of the depth and scale of the crimes being committed in Darfur. First, students may not comprehend why creating millions of refugees and IDPs is considered to be a war crime. They might not grasp why people living in refugee camps must depend solely on humanitarian aid or what it means to live in such a state of uncertainty and vulnerability. What if the World Food Programme runs out of money? What if foreigners who work for the agency cannot safely work in the region? What if the aid stops coming? Unable to return to their homes and left with virtually no resources of their own, the 2.5 million displaced people have been rendered completely powerless by their own government. The questions in the follow-through section help students to understand this point.

Second, students may not understand why the conflict in Darfur has been termed a genocide by human rights organizations and the United States government. According to the United Nations Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (see Handout 3), because these attacks are carried out "with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group," the conflict qualifies as genocide, and international intervention is warranted. The adoption of the Genocide Convention was based on the premise that when innocent civilians cannot rely on their own government to protect them, and particularly if their own government is the perpetrator of crimes against them, then the only way to save them is through international action. An appreciation of the meaning, gravity, and implications of genocide will help students understand why the individuals in the film, and thousands of others, are working to end the violence in Darfur.

### **Learning goals**

The purpose of this lesson is to help students:

- Identify factors that motivate people to act or to sustain their action.
- Define the term "genocide."
- Understand why events in Darfur are being called a genocide.
- Recognize and process their own reactions (questions, emotions, thoughts, and ideas) to the genocide in Darfur.

### **Suggested duration**

At least one hour

### **Materials**

*Darfur Now* DVD, Introduction (0:41 – 6:07)

The following materials are optional:

Handout 1: 10 Basic Facts about Darfur

Handout 2: Introduction to *Darfur Now*: Comprehension Questions

Handout 3: Definition of Genocide

Handout 4: *Not on Our Watch* Excerpt 1

Handout 5: Crisis in Darfur Timeline

Handout 6: *Darfur Now* Key Terms

Map of Sudan and Darfur published by the U.S. Department of State<sup>1</sup> ([www.state.gov](http://www.state.gov))

*Note: Another way to help students develop an awareness of the geography of the Darfur region is through the Google Earth program, [www.earth.google.com](http://www.earth.google.com), which can be downloaded free of charge.*

<sup>1</sup> U.S. Department of State, "Map of Sudan," <http://www.state.gov/p/af/ci/su/81750.htm> (accessed on June 5, 2008).

## LESSON PLAN

### Warm up

- Ask students to identify a time when they have cared about something to the extent that it motivated them to act, especially in a manner above and beyond what they typically might do. Examples might include a school assignment, an athletic or artistic event, a special experience in one's family, a friend in need, or a situation in the community, nation, or world.
- In pairs, have students talk about this moment. Instruct students that their job is to help their partner identify one word that describes what inspired, motivated, and/or sustained this "above and beyond" action. Students might recognize that feelings such as pride, anger, love, or loyalty inspired their action. Or, they might identify a value that drove their commitment to act, such as justice or compassion.
- Have students report their words to the whole class and record these as a list on a large piece of paper. Save this list because it will be used again during Lesson Four. Briefly introduce *Darfur Now*, explaining that students will be watching a film about six individuals who were motivated to respond to extraordinary violence in Darfur.

### Main activity

- Before viewing the beginning of the film, activate students' existing knowledge of Darfur. Can they locate it on a map? Have they heard about it on the news? You could have students create a concept web of their prior knowledge of the situation in Darfur. You could also distribute the handout "Introduction to *Darfur Now*: Comprehension Questions." Students may be able to answer some of the questions on the handout before viewing the beginning of the film. By the end of this lesson, students should be able to answer all of these questions.
- Show the first 6 minutes of *Darfur Now* (0:41 – 6:07). Before viewing the film, caution students that this clip includes testimonies of the victims of violent crimes. You can invite students to record their reactions to the film in their journal or notebook as they watch.
- After this segment, give students a few minutes of silent writing time to reflect on what they have viewed. No specific prompt is needed. Students should just record what is on their minds after learning about the crimes being committed in Darfur. They should feel free to record any feelings, questions, and thoughts that the content of the film has provoked.
- Once students have had an opportunity for personal reflection, ask them to share one phrase, image, word, or question that stands out to them or is on their mind. In one possible approach to this exercise, after one student presents, he or she calls on the next student to present. This continues until all students have contributed one brief thought about the film.
- Before proceeding to a deeper discussion about the film, you may want to check the students' basic understanding of key facts about Darfur. One method is to review the students' answers to the questions on Handout 2: Introduction to *Darfur Now*: Comprehension Questions. The information on Handout 1: 10 Basic Facts about Darfur could help you form questions to pose to the students as a comprehension check.

### Follow-through

The students' initial reactions to the film will likely lead naturally to a discussion about specific events in Darfur or about what these events reveal about human behavior. In addition to the students' own questions and ideas, the following prompts may be used to guide a class discussion:

- As a segue to the main focus of the film (the responses of six individuals to the violence in Darfur), ask students to respond to the following prompt in their journal: Describe your relationship to the events in Darfur. In what ways, if any, are events there related to your own life and your own choices? Students could discuss their responses in small groups. You might also have them respond to this same question after viewing the entire film.
- Depending on students' prior knowledge about refugees and genocide, you might want to spend some time helping them view the introduction of *Darfur Now* through the lens of international law. Below are two options you can pursue:

Facilitate a class discussion about the implications of being a refugee or internally displaced person (IDP). Questions that can help students understand why driving people from their homes, though it may not kill them immediately or directly, is a violent act include the following: What resources do refugees have if they are forced to leave their village on foot, often without any warning? How can refugees feed themselves? How can they earn a living? How might it affect someone to have a family, a home, a job, and a community one day and to be completely without social or economic resources the next day? As the class discusses the implications of becoming a refugee, you might have them record a definition of the term refugee, as well as the term IDP.

**Refugee:** A person who leaves his or her country when threatened by unsafe living conditions, typically brought on by violence or by natural disaster. There are approximately 250,000 refugees from the Darfur region, most of them living in Chad.

**Internally displaced person (IDP):** A person who is forced to relocate within his or her own country when threatened by unsafe living conditions, typically brought on by violence or by natural disaster. Approximately 2.2 million IDPs have been created by the violence in Darfur. Most of these people are living in camps and surviving on humanitarian aid provided by over 75 nonprofit organizations, such as the United Nations World Food Programme. In the case of Darfur, the Sudanese government has made it difficult for food and other aid to reach IDPs by blocking the entry of humanitarian workers and by contributing to attacks on convoys carrying humanitarian aid.

Source: [http://www.alertnet.org/db/crisisprofiles/SD\\_DAR.htm](http://www.alertnet.org/db/crisisprofiles/SD_DAR.htm), statistics from 2007.

Distribute the definition of genocide as defined by the United Nations Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (Handout 5). Have students review their film notes and/or Handout 1: 10 Basic Facts about Darfur in order to find evidence to answer this question: Why are many people and international organizations, including the US government, referring to events in Darfur as genocide? Students should be able to identify the reasons, such as:

- People are being targeted because they belong to a specific ethnic group, namely the Fur, Massalit, or Zaghawa tribes.
- The crimes are intentional, not accidental.
- Hundreds of thousands of people have been killed.
- At least 2.5 million people have been displaced, and this displacement has made it impossible for them to survive without assistance.
- Rape and sexual assault of victims as a systematic weapon of ethnic cleansing is rampant.<sup>2</sup>

#### **Possible homework assignments**

- Assign Handout 4: *Not on Our Watch* Excerpt 1.
- Students can read the timeline “Crisis in Darfur” (Handout 5). They can write three questions that could be used on a quiz. At the beginning of the next class, students can quiz each other to review their understanding of the information on the timeline.
- Students can be assigned the task of defining the terms on Handout 6: *Darfur Now* Key Terms. At the beginning of the next class, students can review their definitions in small groups. A basic awareness of the terms on this handout will help students understand the film *Darfur Now*, which they view during Lesson Two.
- It can be difficult to contemplate large numbers such as 200,000 or 2.5 million. To help students grasp how many people have been affected by the conflict in Darfur, ask them to do research that helps put these numbers in perspective. For example, you might ask students to locate cities that have a population of approximately 2.5 million, the same number of Darfurians who have been driven from their homes. (Note: Chicago and Paris (proper) are two examples of cities with approximately 2.5 million residents.) Students could also find out how many people their local football stadium holds and calculate how many times over it would have to be filled in order to represent 200,000 people, the conservative estimate of the number of people who have been killed by violence in Darfur since 2003.

<sup>2</sup> The following article provides more information why human rights organizations, such as Refugees International, classify rape and sexual assault as a crime associated with genocide: Nora Boustany. “Janjaweed using rape as ‘integral’ weapon in Darfur, aid group says.” *Washington Post Foreign Service*. July 3, 2007, A9. <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2007/07/02/AR2007070201627.html> (accessed on June 5, 2008).

## HANDOUT 1

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### 10 Basic Facts about Darfur

1. Sudan is located in North Africa, south of Egypt.
2. Khartoum is the capital of Sudan.
3. The president of Sudan is General Omar al-Bashir.
4. Darfur is a region in western Sudan, about the size of Texas.
5. Most of the residents of Darfur are Muslims.
6. Some Darfurians speak Arabic and identify as Arabs; others speak African dialects and identify as Africans. Many of the African Darfurians belong to the Fur, Massalit and Zaghawa tribes.
7. The conflict in Sudan was sparked when rebels from Darfur attacked a government air force base in 2003. The rebels are mostly people from the Fur, Massalit and Zaghawa tribes. For years they have felt ignored by the central government in Khartoum.
8. In retaliation for this attack, Sudan's military and the government-backed militias, the Janjaweed, have attacked the African residents of Darfur. Reports indicate that they have burned villages, murdered and maimed residents, poisoned wells, raped women, stolen animals and other valuables, and kidnapped children.
9. The United Nations estimates that since 2003 at least 200,000 Darfurians have been killed.
10. The United Nations estimates that since 2003 at least 2.5 million Darfurians have been forced to leave their villages due to the violence in the region. Most of these people live in IDP camps in Darfur or refugee camps in Chad.

## HANDOUT 2

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### Introduction to *Darfur Now*: Comprehension Questions

1. Where is Sudan?
2. What is the capital of Sudan?
3. About how large is Darfur?
4. Who is Omar al-Bashir?
5. When do most people say the conflict in Darfur began? How did it start?
6. Who are the “rebels” referred to in the film?
7. Who are the rebels fighting against?
8. Who are the Janjaweed?
9. How many people does the United Nations estimate have been killed since 2003?
10. How many people have been driven from their homes because of the violence?
11. What other crimes have been committed against innocent people in Darfur?

## HANDOUT 3

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### Definition of Genocide

As defined in Article 2 of the United Nations Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide<sup>1</sup>

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.

**What evidence exists to support the claim that genocide is raging in Darfur?**

1.

2.

3.

4.

5.

<sup>1</sup> The full text of the UN Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide can be downloaded from the United Nation's website: <http://www.un.org/millennium/law/iv-1.htm>.

## HANDOUT 4

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### *Not on Our Watch* Excerpt 1 (pp. 80–82)

Don Cheadle and John Prendergast wrote *Not on Our Watch: The Mission to End Genocide in Darfur and Beyond* (2007)<sup>1</sup> to increase awareness of mass atrocities occurring in Sudan and other regions in Africa and to offer guidance on how individuals, groups, and nations can help to stop the violence. In the following excerpt, John Prendergast, an expert on genocide and conflict in Africa, shares his thoughts after a visit to Darfur in 2004.

#### Part 1

On one of the trips I took to Darfur with Samantha Power<sup>2</sup> in late spring 2004, we met a woman, Amina, cooking on the ground. She had fled her village during an attack. Her husband had been shot as soon as he left their hut. She had two of her children on her back and the other two in her arms as about twenty Janjaweed<sup>3</sup> chased her on camels. First they ripped her five-year-old, Adom, from her, and when she stopped running and begged for her child, they told her they would shoot her. So she continued running away from her village that was up in flames. The Janjaweed then tossed Adom into the fire. He was screaming and yelling her name, but she kept running. Despite her speed, her seven-year-old, Asam Mohamed, was then taken and shot, once in the side and once in his back. She was never able to bury her children.

Over the last three years on a number of trips to the region, I have spoken with countless other women who recounted<sup>4</sup> with surprising candor<sup>5</sup> how while collecting firewood for refugee camps, they were beaten by Janjaweed, threatened with knives, cut, and raped. The women went to the police to report the rapes, but nothing happened. Most victims don't trust the police and consider them as just another bunch of the government that will rape, torture, and murder them. The government has even hidden Janjaweed fighters within the police, creating a sickening scenario of the attackers "guarding" their victims. These women had no other option but to go out again to these unsafe areas on a daily basis in search of firewood.

#### Questions

1. What did Amina do after her children were attacked and killed?  
Who did she turn to for help?
2. What institutions do people often depend on when they need help or protection?
3. What happens when people cannot trust their government to protect them?
4. Record your reaction to this true story. What ideas or questions are in your mind?

<sup>1</sup> Don Cheadle and John Prendergast, *Not on Our Watch* first edition. (New York: Hyperion)

<sup>2</sup> Samantha Power is the author of the book *A Problem from Hell: America in the Age of Genocide*.

<sup>3</sup> The Janjaweed are armed gunmen (often Arab-speaking black African Muslims) who have been attacking the residents of Darfur, especially members of specific tribes, with the support of the Sudanese government.

<sup>4</sup> Recounted: shared, told the story

<sup>5</sup> Candor: honesty, openness

## Part 2

This fills me with an anger that can only be reduced when the genocide is halted and justice is served for the perpetrators, or at least those who orchestrated<sup>6</sup> this madness. Until that happens, I will not stop sounding the alarm. In fact, I cannot stop. I hope you will feel the same way. . . .

### Questions

1. What was Prendergast's reaction to Amina's story?
2. Compare your reaction to Amina's story to Prendergast's response. How is it the same? How is it different?
3. Why do people respond differently when faced with the same images and facts about the violence in Darfur?

## Part 3

On the first trip Samantha and I took . . . we found a book bag full of notebooks in a partially burned hut in one of the destroyed villages. . . . Two years later, it finally occurred to me . . . that we should try to find the kids to whom the notebooks belonged to see if he or she was still alive. We got the notebooks translated from Arabic to English and found that the name of the kid was Jacob. . . . Searching through the refugee camps in Chad . . . we finally found Jacob in a humble mud hut in the center of one of the refugee camps. . . . He was moved by the memories of his village and talked poignantly<sup>7</sup> about the difficult choice he was making in not joining the rebels (those fighting against the Janjaweed and Sudanese government), but instead pursuing education in order to help bring about a political solution to the conflict.

At the end of our discussion, when I asked him what he wanted to do with the notebooks, he urged that we return them to the museums to teach as many people as possible about what happened to his homeland.

### Questions

1. Why did Jacob decide not to join the rebels?
2. Why does he want museums to have his notebooks?
3. What difference do you think it might make if people outside of Sudan are able to read Jacob's notebooks?
4. Consider the choices Jacob describes: 1) he can join the rebel soldiers who are fighting the Janjaweed, 2) he can pursue an education to "bring about a political solution to the conflict," and 3) he can make his journals available to museums in the United States. What might be the impact of each of these choices on the violence in Darfur?

<sup>6</sup> Orchestrated: arranged, manipulated, controlled

<sup>7</sup> Poignantly: in a way that affects or moves the emotions

## HANDOUT 5

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### Crisis in Darfur: Timeline

For centuries the region of Darfur has been home to a multiethnic population (consisting mainly of Arab tribes and African tribes, such as the Fur, Massalit, and Zaghawa) of primarily traders, farmers, and herders. Most of the population are Muslims. Traditionally, the Arab tribes have tended to be nomadic herders and the African tribes have tended to be farmers.

**1917** The British make Darfur part of the “Republic of Sudan.” With Britain, and also Egypt, controlling events in the northern and southern regions of Sudan, the people of the western region of Sudan, Darfur, were largely left out of most decisions, and therefore did not get significant attention or resources from the government. This is a trend that continues to this day.

**1956** Sudan gains independence from Britain and Egypt. Northern and southern Sudan are unified as one nation, despite that there are religious, economic, and cultural differences between these two regions. The capital, Khartoum, is located in the north, and most of the new government’s power is assumed by northern Sudanese.

**1985** The discovery of oil in the South drives political leaders in Khartoum to seek more control of the region. The imposition of Islamic law by the North angers non-Muslims in the South. For these reasons (and others), civil war breaks out between the North and the South. Darfur continues to be neglected by the Sudanese government.

**1989** President al-Bashir leads a coup, thereby establishing a dictatorship and silencing opposition groups and dissenting voices in Sudan.

**1999** Sudan begins to export oil. China becomes its largest customer.

**2002** Civil war between the North and South ends formally, but tensions still exist.

**2003** Residents of Darfur have suffered after years of drought, famine, and destruction caused by the civil war. Yet the government has not used its resources to help Darfurians, especially the communities of the Fur, Massalit, and Zaghawa tribes. To express their outrage over years of neglect by the Sudanese government, the Sudanese Liberation Army (SLA),<sup>1</sup> representing these ethnic groups, attacks a government air force base. In retaliation, government-supported militias, called Janjaweed, in coordination with the Sudanese Armed Forces, burn villages, rape and kill civilians, and drive thousands of people from their homes. In December, UN Under-Secretary-General Jan Egeland calls Darfur “one of the worst humanitarian crises in the world.”

**2004** A UN report finds that the Sudanese military and the Janjaweed have been killing rebels and innocent civilians. In response to the mounting evidence against the Sudanese government, US President George W. Bush calls the crisis in Darfur a genocide. In August peacekeepers from the African Union (AU) are allowed into Darfur but are forbidden to use force.

<sup>1</sup> In 2003 and 2004 the rebels represent two groups: the SLA and the Justice and Equality Movement (JEM). Since then, they have fragmented into many more rebel groups.

**2005** The UN Security Council refers the situation in Darfur to the International Criminal Court. The violence continues.

**2006** The United Nations tries to send peacekeeping forces to Darfur. Sudanese President al-Bashir refuses to allow foreign peacekeepers into his country, saying this would be a violation of Sudan's sovereignty. At least 200,000 people have died since the onset of the conflict in the Darfur region, with some estimates placing the death toll as high as 400,000. In addition, approximately 2.5 million civilians have been driven from their homes by the violence; many live in refugee camps. In May one of the rebel groups, the SLA,<sup>2</sup> signs a peace agreement with the government. However, the violence continues; Janjaweed attacks increase in August. That same month, the UN Security Council passes Resolution 1706, aiming to send over 20,000 peacekeepers to Darfur. President al-Bashir refuses to allow the peacekeepers into Sudan.

**2007** The International Criminal Court issues arrest warrants for two Sudanese men suspected of war crimes in Darfur, but the Sudanese government does not hand over the suspects. The UN Security Council approves a resolution to send a peacekeeping force to Darfur. Sudan says it will cooperate with the United Nations-African Union Mission in Darfur (UNAMID). Meanwhile, relief workers and peacekeepers have been the target of violence. Food and medicine continue to be sent to refugee camps in Darfur, constituting the world's largest humanitarian aid effort.

**2008** The UNAMID mandate calls for a force of over 20,000 peacekeepers in the Darfur region. Yet early in the year less than a third of the peacekeepers are in place. Reports indicate that Janjaweed attacks on villages are on the rise, causing the displacement of an estimated 75,000 Darfurians since the beginning of the year. Relief workers in Darfur report that conditions for refugees are getting worse. For example, malnutrition is on the rise.

Sources: (all websites accessed in March 2008)

"Genocide in Darfur: Sudan Timeline." *The New York Inquirer*. August 1, 2006.

[http://www.nyinquirer.com/nyinquirer/2006/08/genocide\\_in\\_dar.html](http://www.nyinquirer.com/nyinquirer/2006/08/genocide_in_dar.html)

"Timeline Sudan: A Chronology of Key Events." *BBC News International Edition*. Updated on March 6, 2008.

[http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle\\_east/country\\_profiles/827425.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/country_profiles/827425.stm)

"Darfur." *Genocide Intervention Network*. Updated on March 6, 2008.

<http://www.genocideintervention.net/educate/darfur>

Jeffrey Gettleman. "Despite Aid, Malnutrition in Darfur Rises." *The New York Times*. December 27, 2007.

<http://www.nytimes.com/2007/12/27/world/africa/27darfur.html?ex=1356498000&en=9bc6a9bcf040d39f&ei=5124&partner=permalink&expprod=permalink>

Lydia Polgreen. "Scorched-earth strategy returns to Darfur." *International Herald Tribune*. March 2, 2008.

<http://www.iht.com/articles/2008/03/02/africa/02darfur.php>

<sup>2</sup> By this point, the SLA had split into two groups; only one of these groups signed the peace agreement.

## HANDOUT 6

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### *Darfur Now* Key Terms

Darfur

Diplomacy

Divestment

Genocide

Humanitarian

Internally displaced person (IDP)

International Criminal Court (ICC)

Janjaweed

Khartoum

Peacekeepers

President Omar al-Bashir

Refugee

Sovereignty

Sudan

Sudanese Liberation Army (SLA)

United Nations

World Food Programme

## LESSON TWO

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### Responding to the Violence in Darfur

#### Overview

As students learn about horrific events in the past or the present, including the genocide in Darfur, it is important that they grasp the human costs of genocide and other acts of violence. Lesson One helps students comprehend the scale and the depth of personal tragedy that has been inflicted on the people of Darfur for years. It is important, however, to balance a focus on the crimes with a focus on resistance and prevention. Learning about people who are trying to make a positive difference turns a story about victims and perpetrators into a story that also involves upstanders and bystanders, heroes, rescuers, and resisters. This more inclusive narrative provides greater opportunities for students to find a place for themselves.

In this lesson, students will continue to watch *Darfur Now*. (If you do not have time to view the entire film, students can read excerpts from the film transcript.) This film tells the stories of six individuals as they try to help the people of Darfur. Though they are all responding to the same conflict, they take action in different ways and with different goals in mind. For example, Hejewa Adam’s goal is to protect her people from Janjaweed attacks; she joins the rebel army. Luis Moreno-Ocampo’s goal is to punish the perpetrators of these crimes, and in doing so to deter future perpetrators of genocide. In telling their stories, the activists reveal what inspires their work and sustains their commitment to helping the people of Darfur. Adam Sterling is motivated by his own family’s history as survivors and victims of the Holocaust. He equates silence in response to events in Darfur to a sort of collusion, asserting that “Indifference is complicity.” Luis Moreno-Ocampo and Pablo Recalde also talk about how their personal histories inspire their work. As the stories of these six individuals unfold, we learn that they are using different strategies to achieve their goals. While Adam Sterling uses grassroots organization and legislation, Don Cheadle uses diplomacy. Ahmed Mohammed Abakar strives to make life sustainable for refugees, while Luis Moreno-Ocampo’s strategy is justice and punishment.

To enable students to understand activism in Darfur, and activism in general, this lesson will help them to identify the component parts of activism as exemplified by the six individuals profiled in *Darfur Now*. Activism is not just a single action; it is a series of actions based on a strategy that targets a specific goal. And the work of activism—the courage, the hours, the sacrifices—is often motivated by something personal, such as a family connection, a feeling, a value, or an experience.

In Lesson Three, students will analyze the work of one of these activists. In preparation for this task, students need to come away from Lesson Two familiar with the work of their assigned activist. This teaching guide offers two options for achieving this goal. In option one the students watch the entire film; in option two they read excerpts from the film transcript (Handout 8: Activist Profiles). Both options include note-taking templates, in addition to a “Viewing Guide” for option one and an “Activist Profile Chart” for option two, which are designed to help students take focused notes on their activist. The focused note-taking required in this lesson holds students accountable for active viewing and reading.

Another important learning goal for this lesson is for students to be able to distinguish between a strategy and a tactic. While the tactics used in responding to the violence in Darfur may be unique to this specific situation, the strategies the activists employ can be applied to address almost any problem, whether local, national, or global in nature. In Lesson Four, students will imagine how some of the same strategies used by *Darfur Now* activists might be applied to resolve problems in their communities.

### **Learning goals**

The purpose of this lesson is to help students:

- Distinguish between the terms *strategy* and *tactic*.
- Identify the motivations, strategies, and tactics of at least one activist who is responding to violence in Darfur.
- Identify important information when watching a film or reading a text.

### **Materials:**

*Darfur Now* DVD

The following materials are optional:

Handout 7: Activist Profile Chart

Handout 8: Activist Profiles (transcript excerpts from *Darfur Now*)

Handout 9: *Darfur Now* Viewing Guides

Handout 10: *Not on Our Watch* Excerpt 2

*Darfur Now* discussion guide

### **Suggested duration**

One to two hours, depending on whether the class watches the whole film.

## LESSON PLAN

### Warm up

- Ask a student to review briefly what he or she learned from the first six minutes of the film viewed earlier. Once this student finishes, other students can fill in any gaps.
- Have students respond to the following prompt: What are some things people are doing in response to the violence in Darfur? If you do not know how people are responding to the genocide in Darfur, brainstorm ideas of what people could be doing in response to those events.
- Show minutes (6:10 – 7:15) of *Darfur Now*. This short excerpt introduces the six activists profiled in the film and begins to provide some answers to the questions that the students addressed in this warm-up exercise.

### Main activity (Option one: Whole film viewing)

- Divide students into six groups and assign to each group one of the following activists: Luis Moreno-Ocampo, Adam Sterling, Ahmed Mohammed Abakar, Don Cheadle, Pablo Recalde, or Hejewa Adam.
- Distribute Handout 9: *Darfur Now* Viewing Guides and give students a few minutes to read over the questions they will be required to answer about their activist. Depending on the strengths of your students, you can also require that they record at least five interesting quotations made by their activist. We suggest pausing the film every 20 to 30 minutes to give students the opportunity to complete their viewing guides.
- The “*Darfur Now* Teacher’s Discussion Guide” highlights some particularly poignant moments when you might pause the film and facilitate a class discussion. You could also use the questions on the viewing guide to structure a discussion after students have watched the film.

### Main activity (Option two: Film transcript reading)

- Divide students into six groups and assign to each group one of the following activists: Luis Moreno-Ocampo, Adam Sterling, Ahmed Mohammed Abakar, Don Cheadle, Pablo Recalde, or Hejewa Adam. Give students the appropriate “Activist Profile” (Handout 8) for their group.
- Distribute Handout 7: Activist Profile Chart. Prompt the students, working individually or in groups, to use the information from the “Activist Profile” to complete this chart.

*Note: In order to successfully complete the “Activist Profile Chart,” students need to understand the terms goal, strategy, and tactic. You might provide them with the definitions and examples provided below. To assess students’ understanding of these terms, ask them to come up with an example from history or their own lives.*

Definitions

Goal: the objective

Strategy: the method used to achieve a goal

Tactic: the specific steps used to support a strategy

Example: The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

Goal: to strengthen the civil rights of all Americans

Strategy: nonviolence

Tactics: marches, speeches, civil disobedience, boycotts, and other acts of passive resistance

**Follow-through**

- After students finish watching the film, give them a few minutes of quiet writing time to think about what they just viewed. Questions that might promote reflection include: What moment in the film stands out for you? Why do you think this film was made? What message does it send?
- Have students talk with a partner about the film. Each pair might be responsible for turning in an “exit card” on which they record the following:
  - One moment from the film that stands out for them
  - One message expressed by the film
  - One question they have about the film or the situation in Darfur
- Students can share an idea from their exit card with the larger class, or you can use the ideas from the exit cards to begin the next lesson.

**Homework:**

- Assign *Not on Our Watch* Excerpt 2: “The three Ps of ending genocide.”
- Select several questions from the “*Darfur Now* Discussion Guide” and ask students to respond to at least one of these questions in their journals.

**(HANDOUT 7)**

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Activist Profile Chart

Name of Activist:

Record quotations and notes that answer these questions.

<b>Question</b>	<b>Quotations/Notes</b>
What is the activist's <b>goal</b> ?	
What factors <b>motivate</b> the activist's work?	
What is his or her <b>strategy</b> ?	
What <b>tactics</b> does he or she use?	
What <b>resources</b> does he or she use?	
What <b>challenges</b> does he or she face?	

## HANDOUT 8

### *Darfur Now* Activist Profile

**LUIS MORENO-OCAMPO<sup>1</sup> (Argentina)**  
**Prosecutor, International Criminal Court<sup>2</sup>**



#### **Part 1**

**“I have one goal: to do justice in Darfur.”**

The United Nations Security Council decided that lasting security and peace require justice in Darfur. . . . No one can investigate in Darfur today, because no one can protect witnesses there. So the only way to investigate in Darfur today is to do it from outside, and this is what we are doing. . . . [T]his is a very complex investigation. The problem is who is responsible. That is my question. We are collecting evidence, we are doing our judicial work. . . .

Local security committees<sup>3</sup> directed by different groups report to State Security committees<sup>4</sup> who report to Harun.<sup>5</sup> And Harun also was directly involved with their recruitment of Janjaweed militia. My investigators, they found eyewitnesses who saw Harun. My investigators, they found in his own helicopter transporting weapons to the Janjaweed people. They have witnesses who saw Harun paying, he has money in a box and was paying cash to the Janjaweed leaders. . . . The pictures show how those who report to Harun also work with the Janjaweed. . . .

<sup>1</sup> Luis Moreno-Ocampo investigates and prosecutes crimes committed in Darfur, at the request of the United Nations Security Council.

<sup>2</sup> The International Criminal Court was established in 2002, by treaty among 104 participating countries, to prosecute individuals for war crimes and genocide. It is headquartered in The Hague, Netherlands.

<sup>3</sup> These committees were organized by Sudan's government to protect villagers.

<sup>4</sup> These are government-sponsored militias.

<sup>5</sup> Ahmed Harun, Sudan's State Minister for the Interior.

Can we prove in trial that they are responsible, criminally responsible? We have a member of the government of Sudan involved in the crimes . . . can other members of the government arrest him or not? How to do it?

## **Part 2**

**“You know what? The same happened in Argentina.”**

Most people, we care about our family, our neighborhood. We cannot care about the world. I care about the rule of law in Darfur because it's my work. I was teaching international law. And then suddenly, I received the offer to be the Chief Prosecutor of the International Criminal Court. This is my dream. My mandate<sup>6</sup> is to investigate and prosecute the worst crimes in Darfur now. And to do this . . . I need witnesses, I need evidence to show my case beyond doubt. . . .

I believe in the law because I am from Argentina. In [19]70, when I was eighteen, the killing started. The military killed thousands of people. . . . Two guys I knew just disappeared. Then the dictatorship collapsed, and the military junta<sup>7</sup> trials started. The top generals were prosecuted for mass murders. And I was a deputy prosecutor, so it was a huge challenge. And I saw how the information we provided . . . changed everything. Changed the life of the victims. Changed the life of the military, who learned they cannot destroy democracy. . . . Everything changed. So, I believe, because I learned this in my country . . . the truth will prevail, and we unveil the truth.

Our justice effort should contribute to the protection and to the prevention of further crimes. . . . If this court<sup>8</sup> is successful probably the world will be similar to Argentina, in which . . . nothing's perfect, but we're not killing each other. If the court is not working well, in twenty-five years the world will be like Darfur. As my office moves toward the presentation of evidence, it sends a signal to those who are considering committing further crimes that they cannot do so with impunity.<sup>9</sup>

## **Part 3**

**“Of course there are bad guys, but it's a bureaucracy committing crimes.”**

I don't know where it's coming from . . . [t]his idea [that] we are slow. . . . Compared with any complex national investigation, I will tell you, this is very fast. We did it in less than a year and a half . . . really it was a very fast investigation in very impossible circumstances. . . . We cannot satisfy people, we have to learn this. We never will be fast enough. Never, because what happened is a catastrophe. And then you pretend to do justice, and you are used to have a good justice system. You hope [for] something different, but this is just so complicated. And so big.

<sup>6</sup> Mandate: authorized duty

<sup>7</sup> Junta: a military group that uses force to overthrow a government

<sup>8</sup> Refers to the International Criminal Court.

<sup>9</sup> With impunity: without being punished

Normally, we are thinking . . . in [terms of] criminals, bad guys who are trying to break the law. When you are dealing with massive crimes, it's different. Of course there are bad guys, but it's a bureaucracy committing crimes. I was shocked in my country, the torturers were bureaucrats. They were public servants. They were members of the army or the police, and they were trained to torture people to get information. And that produced fear in me. Because that means that these crimes could be repeated. Because they were not monsters. It's the same in the Sudan. It's a bureaucracy committing the crimes. For them, the killing [of] civilians, okay it's bad but when you drop a bomb, some people die. It's not a crime, it's just a counterinsurgency<sup>10</sup> operation . . . to win the battle. That's it. That's why we need the law. In my country, in 1976, General Videla<sup>11</sup> was the most important person, supported by the entire world and society. Just nine years later, he was in the bench.<sup>12</sup> I was telling him, in his face, the crimes he committed and he went to jail. So, that happens all the time. People who believe they have the power, they lose the power.

#### **Part 4** **“They have to face justice.”**

We investigated massive crimes, getting information from all the sources, and presenting a very solid case. . . . I have submitted to the judges a one hundred page document containing my evidence. The prosecution has concluded that Ahmed Harun and Ali Kushayb bear criminal responsibility of alleged crimes against humanity and war crimes. After Ahmed Harun was appointed Minister of State for the Interior of the Government of Sudan he incited the militia Janjaweed to attack the Fur, Zaghawa, and Masalit people. The attackers did not target any rebel presence. Rather, they targeted civilian residents. Thousands of civilians died in Darfur either from direct violence or as a result of disease, starvation and the condition of life imposed by the crimes. . . .

Imagine this is a place for the audience. Imagine one day, the people from Darfur sitting there. . . . The same people who today are the victims, one day will watch what happens here, in which those who believe they have the right of life or death are facing justice. . . . People who believe they have the power, they lose the power, and they will be in the bench, in the dock.<sup>13</sup> But one day, this chair will be for Ahmed Harun. This chair will be for Ali Kushayb. They have to face justice.

<sup>10</sup> A counterinsurgency operation is generally a military operation intended to kill or silence people who are against the government.

<sup>11</sup> Jorge Rafael Videla Redondo was the military ruler of Argentina from 1976 to 1981, after ousting Isabel Péron.

<sup>12</sup> The “bench” refers to being prosecuted in court. Videla was prosecuted for large-scale human rights abuses and use of torture against Argentine citizens.

<sup>13</sup> “In the bench” and “in the dock” refer to sitting as defendants on trial in court.

## **Part 5**

### **Responses**

*Abdalmamood Mohamad (Sudanese Ambassador to United Nations):* Of course it is needless for me to reemphasize again that . . . the referral by the Security Council<sup>14</sup> . . . this issue to the ICC<sup>15</sup> has been . . . very much politically motivated. The judiciary in Sudan is very well-known for its integrity and competence, and we think that it is within the competence of our system that we will prosecute whoever is committing crimes in Darfur. . . . The irony of the situation is that the ICC has never visited Darfur. The evidence was gathered from people outside Sudan. So, we question the credibility of ICC. As far as Harun and Kushayb are concerned, we are in no way going to hand over any of our citizens to the ICC. In this situation when you are fighting rebels, you have to be very tough on that. The government has a monopoly [on] the use of force. And, the government subsidizes<sup>16</sup> its authority to protect its own citizens.

*Sheikh Ahmed Abakar:* When we heard the news about the two men who were indicted,<sup>17</sup> we expected that the announcement of names would continue on an hourly basis until about 200 names or more were declared. We are certain that all of the Sudanese government is involved.

<sup>14</sup> “Security Council” refers to the United Nations Security Council.

<sup>15</sup> Abbreviation for International Criminal Court.

<sup>16</sup> Subsidizes: pays for. The government funds operations to protect its citizens.

<sup>17</sup> “Indicted” refers to having an arrest warrant issued, in this case by the International Criminal Court.

## HANDOUT 8

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### *Darfur Now* Activist Profile

**HEJEW A ADAM (Darfur)**

**Fur woman and rebel fighter, Sudan Liberation Army**



#### **Part 1**

**“His name was Nasareldeen.”**

I was married for ten years . . . then finally I bore a child. His name was Nasareldeen. After his birth, I lay on a bed under the biggest tree in our village. I breast-fed my child there as people came to congratulate me. My child lived for another year. That’s when the Janjaweed attacked us. They took a stick and beat me . . . with my son on my back. I still have the scars from that beating. My son died from that beating. . . . After I lost my child I felt very lonely in the world. I was very confused. My tears ran even after forty days of mourning. . . . I knew I had to fight back, to *free* Darfur.

#### **Part 2**

**“We won’t bow to Janjaweed.”**

My home village is Shatia. It was a beautiful place with fresh air, orchards and hills. We drank milk and ate fresh vegetables. We were very comfortable. I was home cooking . . . when I heard explosions. They hit us. Some kids lost their legs . . . and mothers were separated from children. Boys under five were killed . . . and the girls were taken away. I remember my friends whose throats were slit in front of my eyes. I lived in my village for 15 years. And now my child is dead. My home is burned down and now I have nothing.

The massacre in Shatia humiliated me and convinced me to join the rebel army. . . . I decided that I must help liberate our homes. I have learned how to fight. It is very normal, like drinking water. If God grants me a long life, I will battle against our enemies. . . . The government still gives the Janjaweed weapons. If we go out by the water pump . . . they chase us and beat us up. It's hard to imagine how they humiliate women. . . .

President Bashir ordered the black people to be wiped out and to surrender Darfur to the Arabs. Janjaweed and Bashir followers are doing what he wants, so everything can be theirs. If the Arabs try to attack us here with their trucks and camels . . . we will all fight equally with our male comrades. [Chanting] *Omar Bashir, we're looking for you to make you wish you were dead. Omar Bashir, we're looking for you to take out your eye. Omar Bashir, we're looking for you but we can't find you.* Give up or run. We're the killers of those that exploit Sudan. We won't bow to Janjaweed. We won't bow to President Bashir. We won't bow to anyone!

### **Part 3**

#### **A conversation among the rebels.**

- If the Janjaweed were not here, we could be home with our sons now.
- Right now the black people are dying.
- Once we return to our villages, we will cultivate our farms. But for now we are in the jungle and we don't have a place to rest. We sleep with stones as pillows.
- Now we are just waiting for the international troops to come. The international troops will catch the war criminals and send them to The Hague.<sup>1</sup> When they take them away our troubles will end.
- We must be patient until the white people come. They will pave our streets. And build homes like they do for other people. And they will connect electricity and dig wells.
- Sisters, things like applying make-up and wearing precious things . . . the time for that will come. We can do that when we have freedom.
- There is a guy named Ocampo.<sup>2</sup> He will catch those criminals and hold them accountable and we will get our rights. . . .

### **Part 4**

#### **“But fighting with guns, that will not solve it.”**

Ocampo. . . . He will arrest the enemies. But the priority is deployment of international peacekeeping forces. Hopefully, in less than a month they'll be in Darfur. God help them get here sooner! We need relief. Yes, we will get relief. If the peacekeepers don't arrive in a month, we are ready to fight . . . even if it means going all the way to Khartoum, God willing.

Those people who go to school and get an education are the ones who will solve the problem. But fighting with guns, that will not solve it. Even in a hundred years.

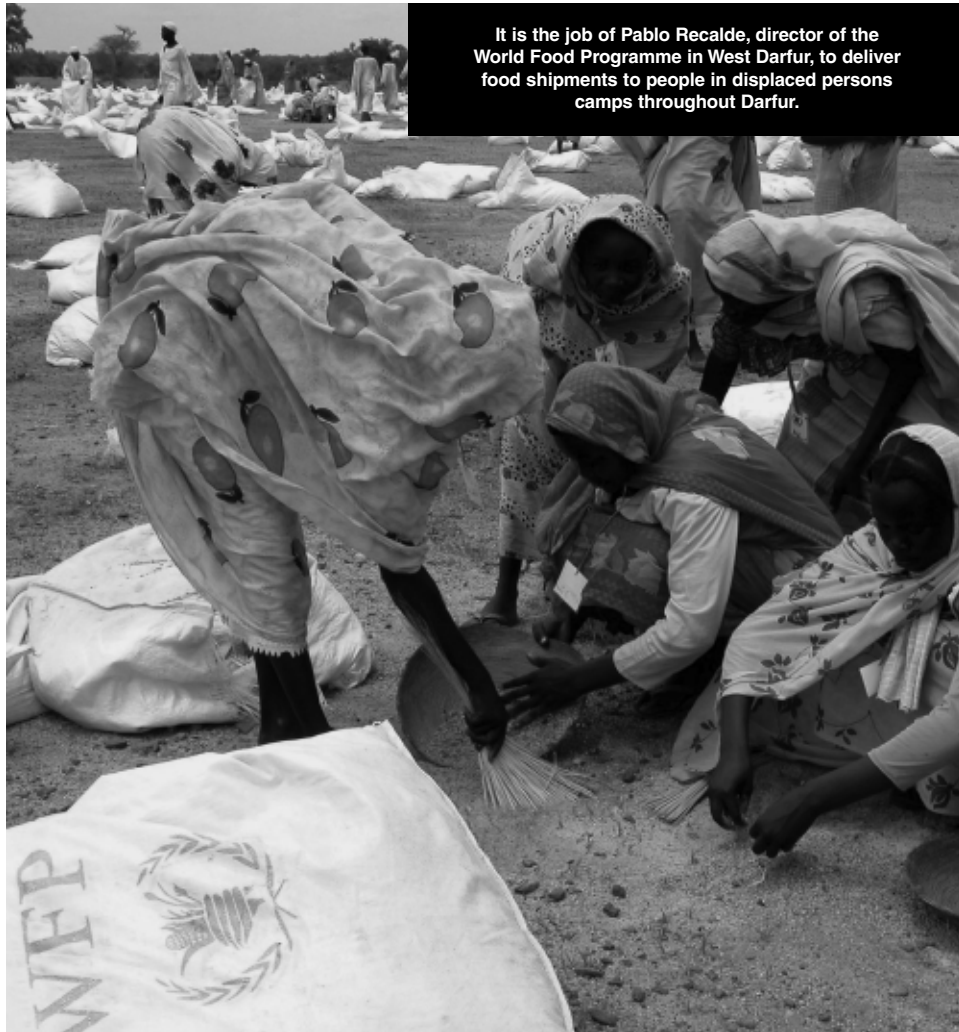
<sup>1</sup> The Hague, in the Netherlands, is the headquarters for the International Criminal Court.

<sup>2</sup> Luis Moreno-Ocampo is a prosecutor for the International Criminal Court.

## HANDOUT 8

### *Darfur Now* Activist Profile

**PABLO RECALDE** (Ecuador)  
Head of Office, West Darfur, World Food Programme<sup>1</sup>



#### **Part 1**

**“If they give us food, we will eat.”**

*Woman in displaced person camp in Darfur:* Our country has nothing. It is finished. We fled and will stay here. If they give us food, we will eat. If not, we will die . . . that’s all.

<sup>1</sup> The world’s largest food aid organization, and a part of the United Nation’s Food and Agriculture Organization.

## **Part 2**

**“My job as a humanitarian is to provide food to save lives.”**

Power, despair . . . I think if you put the two of them together you have what the Darfur crisis is about. My job as a humanitarian is to provide food to save lives. And this we're doing. We're feeding almost three million people around Darfur. But the harsh reality about it is, at the moment, the food resource is not available in the way in which it should. People that don't eat will try to find it some way. We get riots, we'll get violence. Eventually, if the food is not available anywhere else, these people will start dying.

I come from a family of development workers. We've always talked about the fact that we need to all try to improve the planet. For me, it's pretty much of a motivation. . . .

## **Part 3**

**“...a situation which the world has to solve.”**

We have a lot of assessments to plan where the priorities are going to be.<sup>2</sup> We need to think about it. For me, the first one would be this area here [pointing to a place on a map of Sudan], and basically we never went there. All of this area has not received food in days. A drought is going on here. And if we do not help them, they will migrate down with their cattle. We don't want those people to come down. Just no way. We need to actually put the food there, get them to stay in the area, and do whatever we need in order to improve the condition of those that are poor.

It certainly provides you with a very strong sense of doing something in a situation which the world has to solve. Because one cannot just think that you can, that we can, just continue to see burnt villages and dead people.

## **Part 4**

**“We do have problems in terms of security.”**

Governments around the world have always used proxy fighters to fight wars that have political implications for them. The Janjaweed are basically an Arab militia. Some people say that they are a proxy force . . . but it's not just Janjaweed. There's an enormous amount of tribal violence which is getting the situation increasingly worse. I think that it's the responsibility of the government of having opened this Pandora's Box.<sup>3</sup> I don't think now they have the capacity to close [it], in order to bring peace to this area.

We do have problems in terms of security. There's been a lot of attacks on humanitarian convoys. These jobs<sup>4</sup> take an enormous amount of risks being shot at, being burnt, even been attacked with bazookas.<sup>5</sup> The African Union protection force has its limitations. They cannot support deliveries . . . and, at the same time, provide protection to their camps [against Janjaweed attacks].

<sup>2</sup> This sentence refers to meetings to decide where to send the food.

<sup>3</sup> Refers to a Greek myth about a box containing unforeseen troubles.

<sup>4</sup> Refers to delivering aid in war zones.

<sup>5</sup> Bazookas: large portable weapons

I just got the message about the hijacking.<sup>6</sup> No one got hurt, I hope. That's the most important thing. We must diminish the number of convoys that we're sending. It is getting to be such a nightmare anyway. Just recently there was a shootout, one vehicle from the NGOs,<sup>7</sup> the passenger side of the car received twelve bullets and only one of the people there got hit—on the leg. Just luck! They could've been all killed.

## **Part 5**

### **“Now I know why I'm here.”**

I miss my wife. My little girl . . . we miss each other quite a lot. With Manuel . . . Now he's very protective of me. Amazing. He's taller, big guy. Puts his arms around me and he always says, “Don't worry, Dad, I'll take care of you.” Yeah, I miss all that.

The Sudanese people are such sweet people, I'm telling you. That's why it's so incredible to hear about such violence around. You know, it's completely shocking. . . . On the other side, you just basically realize that that has actually been the story of the world . . . forever. Sixty years ago in Europe, we did the same thing to millions of people in ovens. So, you know, sometimes you actually just try to put it in the balance of power, greed, and. . . . Just, for me, makes my engagement to try and help to change that while I am here. And I just don't mean here in Sudan, but in the world. It's part of my responsibility as a human being. *Punto*.<sup>8</sup>

Yeah, we've done it once more! Nobody got shot! We delivered. We delivered! That's . . . the issue, you know, we managed to give people the food they need in a place like this. Now I know why I'm here. Now it makes me proud. You know, I'll talk to my family and say to my kids, “Guys, look. This is what Daddy is doing.”

<sup>6</sup> A UN supply convoy was hijacked by the Janjaweed or others.

<sup>7</sup> Nongovernmental organizations

<sup>8</sup> Punto: Spanish for “period,” referring to the punctuation mark. It is an expression used to end a discussion or argument decisively.

## HANDOUT 8

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### *Darfur Now* Activist Profile

**DON CHEADLE (United States)**

Actor and coauthor (with John Prendergast), *Not on Our Watch: The Mission to End Genocide in Darfur and Beyond*



#### **Part 1**

**“I guess every experience changes you.”**

I guess every experience changes you. But, you know, . . . as an actor, and the son of a psychologist, and the son of an educator, I think I am predisposed to want to know, and to want to investigate and to understand, and sometimes you come up against something that you just can't understand. . . .

The first time I went to Africa was for the filming of the movie, *Hotel Rwanda*. Maybe because I've been sensitized by that experience, I was struck by the similarities to what's happening in Darfur. I was invited along with a Congressional delegation to the area.<sup>1</sup> [In February 2005] we flew in and then went to see the camps.<sup>2</sup> I was just kind of getting hit by this wave of hopelessness. Then I just tried to engage . . . with these kids [in Darfur]. All the kids had drawings depicting bombers, soldiers and Janjaweed people. . . . And then you start feeling like, well, I wouldn't want horsemen riding down on me and killing my children, and maybe their plight is in some way tied into my plight, or their journey is in some way tied into my journey on this planet. . . .

<sup>1</sup> Darfur

<sup>2</sup> Refers to the camps for refugees or IDPs.

You can see that . . . kids really are just kids. And that that spirit is that same spirit everywhere. It's so sad when you just see that light just get dimmed down, and it's just gone, and you don't know if it will ever come back or what that's going to turn into. But . . . you know, you fight for that light, because it's right there. And, in everything that they've dealt with, and everything that they've seen, and everything that they've come through . . . [the children still say] I'm here, I'm alive, I'm here, my spirit is here. You know? That's you. That's me.

## **Part 2**

### **“Do something.”**

[The displaced people in Darfur] were saying, you know, We need help. We need support. We need you to do something. Do something.

My friend, John Prendergast, for twenty-two years has been dealing with conflict in Africa. When that trip to Darfur came up, he was one of the first people that popped into my head. And when we came back from Darfur, I think we both thought at the same time, “Well, that could be a book.”

The whole point of the book . . . is you can go about your life, but you can still . . . get it done. . . . You don't just have to be sitting there going, with your hands up in the air like, “I don't know what to do.” And that was me. And then we started figuring it out. I looked at myself and said, “Well, what can you do?” I thought, “Well, the best asset really that I have right now is that . . . for the moment, I am a celebrity.” People stick a mic<sup>3</sup> in front of me and say, “What's going on?” And while I'm talking about George Clooney and Brad Pitt, I can also talk about Darfur. Going to Capitol Hill, we know that the wheels of bureaucracy and politics move very slowly. But one of these people may be the new leader of the so-called Free World, and this is an opportunity to make them state their position.

## **Part 3**

### **“We wonder what these diplomatic discussions are going to do.”**

I got an email from George Clooney explaining that he was . . . going on a trip to China and then on to Egypt to meet with some heads of state to discuss the situation in Darfur. But given the lack of time, we couldn't get a crew together, so I took it upon myself to be the interim sound guy, DP<sup>4</sup>, all of that. China is Sudan's largest trading partner and imports 60% of all Sudanese oil. They have huge economic ties to Sudan and don't want to do anything to threaten that relationship. There's been a real reticence<sup>5</sup> to even acknowledge that there is a humanitarian crisis in Sudan.

The bottom line is protection for civilians . . . who are not soldiers, who are not combatants, but who are innocents literally, in the way, in between [the fighting]. We met with a foreign minister. . . . And that was a good meeting, I guess as good as can be expected. We weren't really imagining that we were gonna walk out of there with anything very substantive as far as him agreeing to do anything.

<sup>3</sup> Mic: microphone

<sup>4</sup> DP: director of photography

<sup>5</sup> Reluctance: reticence, restraint, unwillingness

Egypt borders Sudan, has close religious and political ties with it, and is Sudan's primary trading partner in Africa. We just had a meeting with Carnal Mubarak, the President's son and the heir apparent. He spoke about how to work with the government of Sudan and not force solutions down their throat. There's not a lot of time left. We wonder what these diplomatic discussions are going to do. We're the highest level delegation to go to Egypt to discuss the crisis in Darfur. That shouldn't be. That's embarrassing.

#### **Part 4**

**"We think there has been a deafening silence."**

We think there has been a deafening silence. Very recently, there were aide [sic] workers that were attacked. A convoy was overcome and supplies burned that were strictly for humanitarian aid. We need to press that these stories not be small paragraphs on page seventeen. We need these stories out. Yes, we're trying to speak in a loud voice now so that people cannot say, "I was unaware." They can only say, "I either acted or I stood by." You just have to start making those inroads, and I think the answers will come to you. You guys, we really do see you as the instruments of change—what is going to take this grassroots, collective movement, and create enough noise and create enough pressure that we finally push our leaders to do what we want them to do. If we can, you know, bottle the same enthusiasm and interest that people have to call into "American Idol," we can knock this out<sup>6</sup> pretty fast. A lot of people want to know how to inject themselves into this process. . . . I don't know. But more than nothing. A lot more than nothing. . . . And even if it's tilting at windmills,<sup>7</sup> I think it's better to fight it than to go, "Well, what can I do?"

Our greatest asset will be our ability as a race, the human race, to reach within ourselves to find the courage to move toward peace and balance.

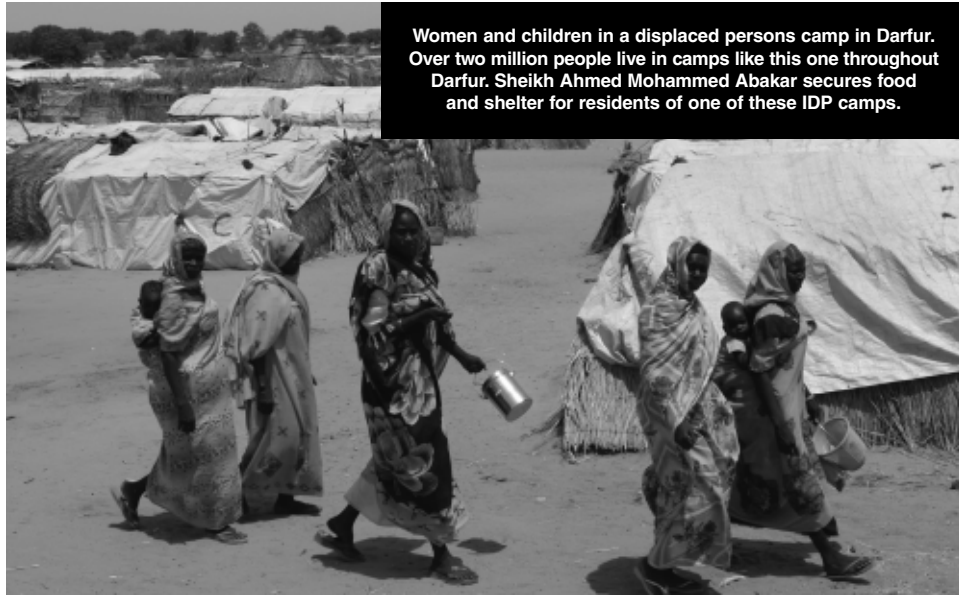
<sup>6</sup> Refers to ending the genocide.

<sup>7</sup> An expression that means taking on a seemingly impossible task.

## HANDOUT 8

### *Darfur Now* Activist Profile

**AHMED MOHAMMED ABAKAR<sup>1</sup> (West Darfur)**  
**Chief Sheikh,<sup>2</sup> Hamadea Displaced Persons Camp**



Women and children in a displaced persons camp in Darfur. Over two million people live in camps like this one throughout Darfur. Sheikh Ahmed Mohammed Abakar secures food and shelter for residents of one of these IDP camps.

© AP Photo/Nasser Nasser

#### **Part 1**

**“I never thought, in my entire life, that I would be in this camp.”**

I never thought, in my entire life, that I would be in this camp. And I never thought I'd be made the Chief Sheikh here. I came here after Janjaweed attacked our village with weapons. They assaulted me at night in my own house. While they were beating me, my little daughter and son got frightened and ran away. I found them only the next morning on the road to town. I cried for three days. I thought I was going to lose my mind. We knew when we were displaced that we had to organize ourselves. Because the Sudanese government poses a great danger to us. I have 127 Sheikhs who work under my supervision. They help provide the services that keep us safe until peace is achieved.

#### **Part 2**

**“...the world will stand witness as you described what happened to you.”**

*Sheikh Ahmed Mohammed Abakar:* We know Darfur is for all of us. It doesn't belong to just one person. When this meeting is watched in the future . . . the world will stand witness as you describe what happened to you.

<sup>1</sup> Ahmed Mohammed Abakar is a displaced farmer from a Darfur village who now serves as a leader for the

<sup>2</sup> 47,000 displaced Darfur residents now living in the Displaced Persons Camp in Hamadea.

Sheikh (also Sheikh) is a title of respect for the leader of an Arab village or community.

*Refugees:*

Those who did not run fast enough were killed, sometimes 200, 300, sometimes more. Now we are here. One by one, they are killing us like dogs. Where do you go to complain?

They killed all our strong men.

There are many orphans among us. Poor and helpless women are trying to raise all these children.

We are orphans. We don't have fathers. We don't have brothers. They killed our mothers. Oh God, is he crying?

Yes, he's crying.

Look at what is happening to the Fur.<sup>3</sup>

As a man you'd be in your house while your wife is being raped out in the open.

This is not right. This is not right. . . .

Our villages were burned. Our possessions were taken.

If you complain, there's no justice.

280 bodies left in the village with no one to bury them.

The government allows weapons in Darfur, but carrying . . . bamboo sticks is illegal.

They<sup>4</sup> came on horseback and attacked our village. They took all our animals.

We were rejected and thrown away.

We don't want Omar Bashir at all!

They<sup>5</sup> place spies among us. They don't help us at all.

We need immediate protection

We have been completely destroyed.

### **Part 3**

#### **"Whatever your needs are, tell me."**

*Sheikh Ahmed Mohammed Abakar:* Whatever your needs are, tell me or have your Sheikh tell me.

*Refugees:*

I don't have a card and they say my name is not on the rations list.

That lady needs plastic sheeting.<sup>6</sup>

If other people get, and you don't, it makes you feel bad.

We told you about our problems last week. I am Fur like you, but you don't help us to get anything.

You sleep inside, while we sleep outside.

We are oppressing Ahmed with our problems . . . giving him headaches with our problems.

*Abakar:* Let me tell you, we cannot pressure the relief organizations. If you take a stick and hit the person who's traveled across the world . . . to find you and give you things . . . do you think I can accept you in this camp?

<sup>3</sup> Refers to the Fur people, one of the three ethnic tribes being killed and displaced by the Janjaweed.

<sup>4</sup> Refers to the Janjaweed.

<sup>5</sup> Refers to the Sudanese government.

<sup>6</sup> The residents of the camp use plastic sheeting for shelter.

#### **Part 4**

**“We ended up here because we were forced to.”**

We are not here because we want to eat, drink and make babies. We ended up here because we were forced to. We were robbed of our possessions. All our land is occupied. The government doesn't want us to exist. It recruits killers who come to our houses and attack us at night. . . . It is unbelievable. Last week they sent three people. They parked their car outside the camp and attacked a guy . . . right under that tree. Over there . . . that's his shop. He died right there. He was shot six times. What are you going to say? We protested, but where is the media to cover it? The government threatens the relief organizations if they report these incidents. Whenever more truth is exposed, the government makes more arrests and sends more spies. That's their method. For that reason we feel really in danger. After the people of Darfur die, who will inherit the land? The government. They will have achieved their goal.

We, as people of Darfur, our position is clear. We are determined to defend our land until we are all dead.

## HANDOUT 8

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### *Darfur Now* Activist Profile

**ADAM STERLING (United States)**  
**Cofounder, Sudan Divestment Task Force**



#### **Part 1** **“Indifference is complicity.”**

As we sit here today, we are all complicit<sup>1</sup> in the genocide. Indifference is complicity. I think you need to ask yourself, “What’s the threshold?” I mean, at what point are you going to not make excuses? And I think, for me, it’s genocide. That’s the bar. This is the first time in history that our government has declared genocide while it’s still actually happening. . . . That’s another level. I mean, that’s a level of, you know, inhumanity that affects us all, and I think, requires us to do something.

I grew up learning about the family members that escaped the Holocaust, but it always wasn’t real for me. . . . In college, there were certain students that were the activist type and I definitely didn’t consider myself one of them. . . . You know, back then I felt that I had perfected the art of walking through without taking a single flyer. It involved avoiding eye contact. I would pretend to make a cell phone call. . . . And then I took a class in what happened in Rwanda,<sup>2</sup> and it opened my eyes. And then, you know, for my last two years at school I was the person passing out flyers every day.

It’s mind-blowing that . . . you learn about what’s happened in the past, what happened in Nazi Germany, what happened in Rwanda, and here we’ve got a chance to make it right, and we’ve just fallen flat on our faces. . . . It makes me angry.

<sup>1</sup> Complicit: guilty for allowing, sharing responsibility for

<sup>2</sup> In 1994 over the span of only three months, approximately 800,000 people were murdered in Rwanda, during what is now referred to as the Rwandan genocide.

## **Part 2**

### **“The question is, ‘Where does Sudan get all this money to fund the genocide?’”**

The question is, “Where does Sudan get all this money to fund the genocide?” And it’s through foreign oil companies who provide [the] Sudanese government with billions of dollars in revenue. . . . Since oil extraction began in Sudan, the money that’s coming in from these companies is going straight to [the Sudanese] military. . . . And it turns out that these companies themselves then rely on investors, like a state pension fund, to continue their operations in Sudan. . . . And now we’re asking the State of California to say to those companies, “You need to get out, and if you don’t do that, California’s going to sell its investments in your company.” So, we’re going to use the weight of billions and billions of dollars of state pension fund money as financial leverage on the Sudanese government. . . . To make this happen we have to get the legislation that we wrote through the state legislature and then signed by the governor.

## **Part 3**

### **“What did I know about making laws?”**

Prior to this, the only thing I’d organized was bus trips down to Tijuana. You know, I was barely voting in elections. I mean, what did I know about making laws?

I always felt that if I just passed out a few more flyers, convinced a few more people that divestment’s a good idea, that we’d get it to a level where the experts, I didn’t know who they were, I just assumed there was divestment experts, Sudan experts, you know, big NGOs<sup>3</sup> that would, you know, basically come in, shake my hand and say, “Good job, we’ll take it from here.” And I quickly learned that that’s not the case, and that you have to become your own expert.

We made . . . thousands of these postcards. People are signing them and sending them back to us. Then [we] wanted to bring 2,941 of them for Assembly Bill 2941 . . . to the governor’s office.

Assembly Bill 2941 is gonna set us on the path to finally ending this genocide.

## **Part 4**

### **“So, what do you gauge success against?”**

There’s been reports that if humanitarian aid was completely cut off, which it’s gotten close to or is getting close to that, the death toll would skyrocket. So, what do you gauge success against? You know, people say, “You’re doing a great job.” But it’s still, you know, the ultimate goal isn’t divesting from Sudan, it’s ending the genocide in Darfur. And part of it is guilt. I don’t want to look back in ten years and say I didn’t do everything I could. It’s hard, you know? I’m scared ’cause I don’t see the light at the end of the tunnel.

Well, we got legislation lined up in fifteen other states in January. . . .

To the Sudanese government: we are coming after you. Your genocide will not occur on our watch, and it will not occur on our dime.

Note: Assembly Bill 2941 was signed into law by Governor Arnold Schwarzenegger of California on September 25, 2006.

<sup>3</sup> NGOs: nongovernmental organizations

**HANDOUT 9**

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*Darfur Now* Viewing Guide: Adam Sterling

**ADAM STERLING (United States)**  
**Cofounder, Sudan Divestment Task Force**

Directions: Use this guide to record notes about your assigned activist. Your answers to the following questions will help you present information about your activist to the rest of the class.

<b>Answer these questions as you watch the film.</b>	<b>Record facts, phrases, words, and images that represent Sterling.</b>
<p>What motivated Adam Sterling to become an activist?</p> <p>What is Assembly Bill 2941?</p> <p>What did Adam Sterling do to help get this bill made into law?</p> <p>To whom did Adam Sterling go for help and support in his efforts to get AS 2941 passed?</p>	

**HANDOUT 9**

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*Darfur Now* Viewing Guide: Don Cheadle

**DON CHEADLE (United States)**  
**Actor and coauthor of *Not on Our Watch***

Directions: Use this guide to record notes about your assigned activist. Your answers to the following questions will help you present information about your activist to the rest of the class.

<b>Answer these questions as you watch the film.</b>	<b>Record facts, phrases, words, and images that represent Cheadle.</b>
<p>What did Don Cheadle see during his first visit to Darfur? What impact did this experience have on him?</p> <p>What has Don Cheadle done to draw attention to the situation in Darfur?</p> <p>To whom does Don Cheadle direct his message? Who, in his opinion, can influence events in Darfur?</p> <p>Cheadle expresses disappointment and frustration several times during the film. Who or what disappoints and frustrates him?</p>	

## HANDOUT 9

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### *Darfur Now* Viewing Guide: Hejewa Adam

#### **HEJEW A ADAM (Darfur)**

#### **Fur woman and rebel fighter, Sudan Liberation Army**

Directions: Use this guide to record notes about your assigned activist. Your answers to the following questions will help you present information about your activist to the rest of the class.

<b>Answer these questions as you watch the film.</b>	<b>Record facts, phrases, words, and images that represent Adam.</b>
<p>What motivated Hejewa Adam to join the Sudan Liberation Army?</p> <p>Who is Adam fighting?</p> <p>What do the rebels hope to achieve?</p> <p>Does Adam think she has the ability, as a rebel fighter, to solve the crisis in Darfur? Explain.</p>	

**HANDOUT 9**

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*Darfur Now* Viewing Guide: Pablo Recalde

**PABLO RECALDE (Ecuador)**  
**Head of Office, West Darfur, World Food Programme<sup>1</sup>**

Directions: Use this guide to record notes about your assigned activist. Your answers to the following questions will help you present information about your activist to the rest of the class.

<b>Answer these questions as you watch the film.</b>	<b>Record facts, phrases, words, and images that represent Recalde.</b>
<p>What is Pablo Recalde's job in Darfur?</p> <p>What happens if Recalde and those who work with him do not succeed?</p> <p>What challenges does he face as head of office of the World Food Programme in West Darfur?</p> <p>How does Recalde explain why he works in Darfur even though he is far away from the family he loves?</p>	

<sup>1</sup> The world's largest food aid organization, and a part of the United Nation's Food and Agriculture Organization.

## HANDOUT 9

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### *Darfur Now* Viewing Guide: Luis Moreno-Ocampo

**LUIS MORENO-OCAMPO<sup>1</sup> (Argentina)**  
**Prosecutor, International Criminal Court<sup>2</sup>**

Directions: Use this guide to record notes about your assigned activist. Your answers to the following questions will help you present information about your activist to the rest of the class.

<b>Answer these questions as you watch the film.</b>	<b>Record facts, phrases, words, and images that represent Ocampo.</b>
<p>What does Luis Moreno-Ocampo do as lead prosecutor at the International Criminal Court?</p> <p>How has Ocampo's experience in Argentina influenced his work and his beliefs?</p> <p>Why does Ocampo believe that it is important to bring criminals to justice?</p> <p>Why haven't any of the perpetrators of war crimes in Sudan been arrested yet?</p>	

<sup>1</sup> Luis Moreno-Ocampo investigates and prosecutes crimes committed in Darfur, at the request of the United Nations Security Council.

<sup>2</sup> The International Criminal Court was established in 2002, by treaty among 104 participating countries, to prosecute individuals for war crimes and genocide. It is headquartered in The Hague, Netherlands.

**HANDOUT 9**

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*Darfur Now* Viewing Guide: Sheikh Ahmed Mohammed Abakar

**AHMED MOHAMMED ABAKAR<sup>1</sup> (West Darfur)  
Chief Sheikh,<sup>2</sup> Hamadea Displaced Persons Camp**

Directions: Use this guide to record notes about your assigned activist. Your answers to the following questions will help you present information about your activist to the rest of the class.

<b>Answer these questions as you watch the film.</b>	<b>Record facts, phrases, words, and images that represent Abakar.</b>
<p>Why is Sheikh Abakar living in the Hamadea Displaced Persons Camp?</p> <p>What is his responsibility as sheikh of the camp?</p> <p>What makes it difficult for Abakar to meet the needs of the people in Camp Hamadea?</p> <p>What does he hope will happen in the future?</p>	

<sup>1</sup> Ahmed Mohammed Abakar is a displaced farmer from a Darfur village who now serves as a leader for the 47,000 displaced Darfur residents now living in the Displaced Persons Camp in Hamadea.

<sup>2</sup> Sheikh (also Sheik) is a term of respect for the leader of an Arab village or community.

## HANDOUT 10

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### *Not on Our Watch* Excerpt 2 (pp. 211–221)

Don Cheadle and John Prendergast wrote *Not on Our Watch* to increase awareness of mass atrocities occurring in Sudan and other regions in Africa and to provide guidance about what individuals, groups, and nations can do to stop the violence. In the following excerpt, they describe three strategies for preventing genocide in Darfur and elsewhere.

#### **The Three Ps of Confronting Mass Atrocities**

...There is one crucial difference between past genocides in Rwanda and Bosnia and the crisis unfolding today in Sudan....: THERE IS STILL TIME TO ACT TO END THE SUFFERING. . . . The killing could stop tomorrow if the United States led the world in pressing forward the agenda encapsulated in the Three Ps of genocide prevention: Protection, Punishment, and Peacemaking. . . .

#### **Protecting the People**

The inability to protect human life when it is threatened en masse is the most significant failure of the international community. In Darfur and elsewhere, the world usually defers to the state authority to carry out that protection function in the context of the international legal principle of state sovereignty.<sup>1</sup> But it is often the states themselves that are perpetrating the mass atrocities, or at least encouraging them or standing idly by while they happen. It is like the fox guarding the hen house. . . .

Sometimes, protection of civilians can be achieved without the use of force. The presence of human rights monitors . . . can, in some cases, provide limited protection to potential victims. . . . Many of us peace and human rights advocates are rightly reluctant<sup>2</sup> about the use of force.<sup>3</sup> We need to get over it. There is such a thing as evil in this world, and sometimes the only way to confront evil is through the judicious<sup>4</sup> use of military force. As long as the use of force is accountable,<sup>5</sup> multilateral,<sup>6</sup> and focused on stopping the further suffering of victims, then we advocates of peace and justice need to be prepared to support the legitimate and discriminate<sup>7</sup> use of force.

#### **Questions**

1. What does “state sovereignty” mean?
2. How might sending in peacekeepers to protect civilians be interpreted as a violation of state sovereignty?
3. According to Prendergast and Cheadle, when is it justifiable to use military force to protect civilians?
4. Do you agree with their argument? Why or why not?
5. Which of the activists in the film represent the strategy “protecting the people”?

Extension: If citizens cannot turn to their own government for protection, what else can they do? Identify another moment in history when a government did not protect its own citizens from abuse. What happened?

<sup>1</sup> Sovereignty is the right to govern a particular area. National governments claim to have sovereignty that is, the ability to create and enforce laws within their own borders.

<sup>2</sup> Reluctant: unsure

<sup>3</sup> In this context, “use of force” refers to military force, such as using soldiers and weapons.

<sup>4</sup> Judicious: careful and thoughtful

<sup>5</sup> Accountable: responsible

<sup>6</sup> Multilateral: involving many nations

<sup>7</sup> Discriminate: not widespread, limited only to specific situations

### **Punishing the Perpetrators**

For sixty years, the international community has struggled to find the means to punish the perpetrators of genocide, war crimes, and crimes against humanity. . . . But now we have a historic opportunity to chart a new legal course through the newly created International Criminal Court (ICC). . . .<sup>8</sup>

In addition to the ICC, two other tools of punishment are key to ensuring that would-be future war criminals are deterred from their atrocities: targeted sanctions<sup>9</sup> and divestment.<sup>10</sup> The UN Security Council can impose sanctions that are targeted on specific individuals accused of war crimes. This usually involves freezing assets and banning travel. . . . Divestment involves campaigning to convince institutions, governments, and mutual funds to divest themselves of all stock holding in companies doing business with governments committing mass atrocities. . . . Again, at a minimum, we must make them pay for their crimes.

### **Questions**

1. Why is it important that the perpetrators of crimes are punished? What might happen if crimes went unpunished?
2. Who is usually responsible for bringing criminals to justice? In this case, why is it necessary to involve the International Criminal Court?
3. In what ways are targeted sanctions a form of punishment?
4. Who is punished by successful divestment campaigns?
5. Which of the activists in the film represents the strategy of “punishing the perpetrators”?

Extension: The US government does not officially support the creation of the ICC. Can you think of any reasons why?

### **Promoting the Peace**

US influence and diplomacy can have profoundly positive consequences in resolving deadly conflict, and the most cost-effective initiative the United States could undertake in the entire arena of foreign policy worldwide would be to put a few more seasoned peacemakers in action in conflicts around the globe. . . . Diplomats<sup>11</sup> can also do more to prevent atrocities by making use of the incredible amount of information available at their fingertips and engaging in preventative diplomacy. . . . The United States and other nations knew exactly what was happening in Darfur in 2003, yet, for a number of reasons (the counterterrorism partnership between the United States and the Sudanese regime foremost among them), they failed to take the necessary steps to put diplomatic pressure on the government of Sudan to end the killing.

<sup>8</sup> For more information on the ICC, refer to its website: <http://www.icc-cpi.int/>

<sup>9</sup> Sanctions: a form of punishment used by governments to pressure another government to act in a certain way. The United States has issued sanctions against specific individuals and companies in Sudan, such as by barring US companies from doing business with them.

<sup>10</sup> Divestment: taking money out of companies, such as by selling stock. Activists have successfully convinced states such as California and universities such as Harvard to remove any money they have invested in Sudanese companies or other companies that continue to do business with Sudan.

<sup>11</sup> Diplomat: a person who handles negotiations and relationships between countries.

**Questions**

1. What is diplomacy?
2. What do you think Prendergast and Cheadle mean by the phrase “preventative diplomacy”?
3. What is “diplomatic pressure?”
4. Why do you think the United States and other countries might not be putting enough diplomatic pressure on the leadership in Sudan to stop the violence against its own citizens?
5. Which of the activists in the film represents the strategy “promoting the peace”?

Extension: Identify an example of when talking things out was used to resolve a conflict in your own life. Compare this example from your own life to the use of “diplomacy” to resolve the conflict in Darfur. What do these situations have in common, if anything? How are they different?

## *Darfur Now* Teacher's Discussion Guide

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Below are suggested moments when you might pause the film and allow students to reflect on the material presented in *Darfur Now*. Students can use this time to write in their journals and/or discuss ideas with a partner or the whole class. Pausing the film several times also gives students another opportunity to complete their Activist Profile Chart. We suggest picking three to five moments that you think would most resonate with your students, including moments that may not be included on this viewing guide. Alternatively, you might use these questions to guide a discussion after students have watched the film, to structure a homework assignment, or to design an essay test.

(9:50) *Adam Sterling describes his experience handing out flyers to draw attention to the genocide in Darfur.*

- Why do you think people are passing Sterling without taking a flyer? What reasons might they give?
- Have you ever walked past someone who was trying to get your attention for a particular cause? Why didn't you stop?
- What might compel someone to take a flyer and read it?

(13:51) *Refugees describe their desperate living conditions.*

- What does this portion of the film tell you about how violence has affected the lives of Darfurians?
- Who is protecting and taking care of these people who can no longer provide for their own basic needs?
- Who do you think should be caring for these people?
- What should be the role of the Sudanese government in caring for these people?
- Can you think of events in your country or community that caused citizens to lose their homes and their possessions? Who helped them? What are the similarities and differences to the situation in Darfur?

(14:29) *Pablo Recalde says, "Most people, we care about our family, our neighborhood. We cannot care about the world."*

- To what extent do you agree with Recalde's statement that most people "cannot care about the world"?
- What do you think it means to "care about the world?" How is that caring reflected in people's decisions and behaviors?
- Do you know anyone who "cares about the world?" What does this person do?
- Why might it be easier for individuals to care about their family or neighborhood than about people who live far away?

(19:58) *Don Cheadle explains his connection to the people in Darfur.*

- What does Cheadle mean when he says "maybe their plight is in some way tied into my plight"?
- What helps people feel connected to one another?
- What helps Cheadle feel connected to the people in Darfur?
- What might help others feel connected to the people in Darfur?

(26:29) *Hejewa Adam describes her evolution from a mother to a victim to a rebel soldier.*

- Adam explains that fighting is “very normal, like drinking water.” Do you think she always felt this way? Why do you think she feels this way now?
- Why do you think the filmmakers included the quotation, “I have learned how to fight. It is very normal, like drinking water” in the film? What does it reveal about the situation in Darfur? What does it say about how cruelty can change people?
- Hundreds of thousands of Darfurians have been victims of violence. Yet most of them have not chosen to become soldiers or retaliate against the Janjaweed by using violence. How might you explain why these victims of violence have chosen not to become perpetrators of violence?

(29:41) *By this point in the film, many individuals, including Sudan’s ambassador to the United Nations, Abdalmahmood Mohamad, have divided the people of Darfur into distinct categories: Africans and Arabs, nomads and farmers, Janjaweed and rebels, victims and perpetrators, etc. They have also acknowledged that most people in Darfur share the same faith, Islam.*

- What categories have been used to describe the people who live in Darfur?
- How have the individuals mentioned above succeeded in dividing the people of Darfur into distinct groups?
- What common characteristics do the people of Darfur share?
- Can you identify examples in history or in your life of how dividing people into distinct groups has contributed to misunderstanding, hate, or violence?

(32:42) *Luis Moreno-Ocampo reflects on his personal history as a boy growing up in Argentina and as a prosecutor for war crimes against Argentina’s top generals.*

- When Ocampo remarked, “I saw how the information we provided . . . changed everything,” what do you think he means? What changed?
- How does punishing individuals for war crimes, or any crime, affect the victims?
- What are the implications if crimes go unpunished?
- As of 2008 the United States is not a member of the International Criminal Court (ICC) What arguments might Ocampo present to the US Congress and president to urge them to join the International Criminal Court? Why is the ICC important, and to whom?

(39:53) *Sheikh Ahmed Mohamad Abakar vents his frustration about the injustice being inflicted on the people of Darfur.*

- Abakar states that his people feel “really in danger.” What reasons does he give to explain why his people are in a vulnerable position?
- What keeps the people who live in the refugee camps from doing more to protest the violence and improve their quality of life?
- How does Abakar describe the role of the Sudanese government in the lives of his people?

(56:03) *All of the activists are encountering obstacles to achieving their goals. For example, Adam Sterling lacks confidence that he will gather sufficient support to pass Assembly Bill 2941.*

- Adam Sterling asks his father, “What do you gauge success against?” How would you answer his question? What would be a successful outcome for Sterling? What is his short-term goal? What is his long-term goal?
- What would be a successful outcome for the other activists profiled in *Darfur Now*?
- Should success be measured by short-term victories, such as saving one life, or long-term triumphs, such as preventing future genocides?

(1:00:06) *Don Cheadle reflects on his trips to China and Egypt to pressure the leaders of those nations to engage with the Sudanese government on behalf of the innocent civilians in Darfur.*

- When Cheadle says, “That’s embarrassing,” what does he mean? Who does he think should feel embarrassed? Why?
- Why do you think Don Cheadle and George Clooney were the highest level Americans to meet with Egypt’s leader to discuss Egypt’s neighbor, Sudan?
- What should be the role of celebrities, such as Cheadle or Clooney, in international diplomacy and peacemaking? Do they have advantages over other advocates? Should any citizen be allowed to meet and negotiate with foreign leaders?

(1:12:22) *Sudan’s ambassador to the United Nations, Abdalmahmood Mohamad, explains why his government will not hand over the men accused of war crimes to the International Criminal Court (ICC).*

- Why does the ambassador say that the Sudanese government questions the credibility of the ICC?
- What does he mean when he says, “The government has a monopoly on the use of force”? To what extent do you agree with this statement? Should individuals or groups outside of a nation’s government be permitted to exercise the use of force within that country? If so, under what circumstances?
- The ambassador states that Sudan’s government is exercising its “authority to protect its own citizens.” What does this statement reveal about how Sudan’s government defines who is a citizen and who is not a citizen? What are the implications for the people living in Sudan who the government does not recognize as citizens?
- Can you identify examples in history when a government did not recognize people living within its borders as citizens? What happened as a result?

(1:17:03) *Luis Moreno-Ocampo makes a case for the importance of law and justice in preventing mass murder and genocide.*

- Ocampo explains that in Argentina and Sudan “it’s a bureaucracy committing crimes.” What does this phrase mean? How can a bureaucracy commit crimes?
- Why does Ocampo think it is particularly dangerous when crimes have been committed by members of the bureaucracy—such as members of the army or the police?
- What is the significance of Ocampo’s statement, “That’s why we need law”? How can the law (treaties, rules, and courts) be used to stop and prevent genocide and other atrocities?

(1:17:58) *Hejewa Adam shares her belief that the problems in Darfur will not be solved through violence.*

- Adam remarks, “Those people who go to school and get an education are the ones who will solve the problem. But fighting with guns, that will not solve it. Even in a hundred years.” What do you think she means?
- Do you agree with Adam? Why or why not? Can you identify any examples of when “fighting with guns” has solved problems?
- Why do you think Adam has joined the rebels even if she does not think “fighting with guns” is the solution?

(1:21:13) *Pablo Recalde explains why he works in Darfur, despite missing his family and putting his own life at risk.*

- When Recalde says “It’s part of my responsibility as a human being. *Punto*,” what do you think he means? What does it mean to have a responsibility “as a human being”?
- Do you agree with the theory that we all share responsibilities as human beings? If so, what are these responsibilities? Should they be shared equally by everyone, or should some people shoulder more of this responsibility than others?
- Why do some people act on this responsibility while others do not?
- What are the consequences for not acting on our responsibility as human beings?

(End of film) *Assembly Bill 2941 becomes law. Pablo Recalde successfully and safely delivers food to an IDP camp. Luis Moreno-Ocampo has indicted two Sudanese on war crimes charges and speaks about justice for the victims in Darfur. Sheikh Abakar waits for more indictments to be announced. Hejewa Adam carries a child, perhaps an orphan of the genocide, on her back. The postscripts at the end emphasize that the violence in Darfur continues.*

- Describe the end of the film. What type of music did you hear? What images stick with you? What tone do you think the filmmakers were trying to create?
- How is activism portrayed in this film? What messages about activism do you think the filmmakers tried to express?
- Compare the images and sounds toward the end of the film to the final screens of text. Do they tell the same story?
- If you were producing a film called *Darfur Now*, what choices would you make about how to end the film?

## LESSON THREE

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### Understanding Activism

#### Overview

In Lesson Two, students were exposed to six examples of activism on behalf of the people in Darfur. The purpose of Lesson Three is to help students think more deeply about the complexity of activism. They will accomplish this goal as they design a poster representing the work of the activist assigned to them during Lesson Two and as they listen to the presentations of their peers.

First, most of the activists describe personal experiences, biographical information, and/or deeply felt values that have inspired their activism. Students will distill this information in order to present one quotation or paraphrase that represents a significant source of motivation for the activist's work. This step will help students appreciate that the same factors that might motivate their own actions have also inspired the work of these activists. They will reflect further on this point in Lesson Four.

Second, each of the activists adopts a specific strategy to achieve his or her goal. To communicate this approach to the rest of the class, students will create a visual symbol representing this strategy; for example, Pablo Recalde's strategy might be symbolized by a horn of plenty or a sack of grain, and Adam Sterling's might be represented by a dollar sign. Then students will analyze this strategy by listing the benefits and drawbacks of this approach as it relates to ending the violence in Darfur and preventing future genocides. Students' discussions might focus on the short-term and long-term consequences of a particular strategy. For example, Hejewa Adam's strategy to join the rebels in fighting the Janjaweed might yield short-term benefits, such as protecting her people from further violence. Yet the long-term consequence may be to exacerbate the conflict and make a peaceful resolution more difficult. Even Hejewa explains that the conflict in Darfur will not be settled by guns, "not even in a hundred years," but by people who "go to school and get an education."

Third, students' posters will include one important quotation by the activist. Throughout the film, the activists share many thought-provoking ideas, but students should choose the statement that they think would be most likely to inspire their classmates to think about their own choices in relation to the genocide in Darfur. In order to make this selection, students must step back and look at the big picture of their activist's work and ideas. Then they must consider their audience when answering the question, "Which of the activist's words might get our classmates to think deeply about activism, Darfur, and their own choices?"

While the group work helps students develop their understanding of activism by focusing closely on the work of one activist, the presentations are intended to help students appreciate the breadth and variety of activism. The six individuals profiled in *Darfur Now* demonstrate that there are various motivations, goals, and strategies that can be applied toward addressing a common cause. Ending a genocide, or any other regional or ethnic conflict, is a massive task requiring work on many levels (humanitarian, judicial, economic, etc.). An awareness of the scale and complexity involved can help students appreciate why, despite the efforts of so many individuals, the genocide has not ended. At the same time, acknowledging the depth and breadth of activists' work also highlights the progress that is being made to end the violence, punish the perpetrators, and take care of the victims. Students learning about historical atrocities that are a testament to cruelty and indifference can come away from this study feeling pessimistic or cynical about human behavior. Therefore, a thoughtful discussion about efforts to help the people of Darfur can emphasize the progress made possible by compassion and determination, despite the scale and complexity of the problem.

Finally, a discussion synthesizing the ideas from the presentations might focus on how to evaluate the success of these activists' efforts. In this conversation, students might debate whether success is measured by small victories, such as the passage of Assembly Bill 2941 which required the state of California to divest from any companies doing business with the government of Sudan, or by larger triumphs, such as a complete halt to the violence in Darfur or the prevention of future genocides.

### **Learning Goals**

The purpose of this lesson is to help students:

- Develop a deeper understanding of the complexity of antigencide and humanitarian activism.
- Recognize that activists can apply different goals and different strategies as they work to address the same problem (in this case, violence and human rights abuses in Darfur).

### **Suggested duration**

At least one hour

### **Materials**

Large posters and markers

The following materials are optional:

Handout 11: *Darfur Now* Activist Presentation Worksheet (optional)

Handout 12: *Darfur Now* Activist Presentation Notes (optional)

Handout 13: *Not on Our Watch* Excerpt 3 (optional)

## LESSON PLAN

### Warm up

- Begin this lesson by reviewing ideas from the film. If students completed exit cards at the end of Lesson Two, you can begin Lesson Three by referring to some of the questions or ideas students recorded on their cards.
- You can also begin this lesson by reviewing the main ideas found in *Not on Our Watch* Excerpt 2. This can be as simple as listing “The 3 Ps of Genocide Prevention” (Protection, Punishment, and Peacekeeping), and then asking students to match activists from the film with the strategy they represent. If you have more time, you can review students’ answers to the questions on the handout.

### Main activity

- The main activity of this lesson involves small groups designing, and then presenting, a poster containing information about their activist. Before they prepare their presentation, it is important that students review their understanding of their assigned activist. To help with this step, have students review their Activist Profile Charts from Lesson Two. If students did not complete an Activist Profile Chart earlier, they can do so now.
- Once each group’s Activist Profile Chart has been checked for accuracy, the group can begin preparing their poster. Ideally, students will have enough time to design their poster creatively so that it provides an attractive and thoughtful visual representation of their activist. Students can draw on information from their Activist Profile Charts and/or Viewing Guides as well as the Activist Profiles when preparing their presentations. The information on these posters will be useful to students as they write their “found poems” during Lesson Four. Each presentation poster should include the following (these steps are described on the *Darfur Now* Activist Presentation Worksheet included with this lesson):
  1. A quotation or paraphrase that represents a factor or factors that motivate, inspire, and/or sustain the activist’s commitment to the people of Darfur.
  2. A symbol that represents this person’s strategy for responding to the violence in Darfur.
  3. Potential benefits and drawbacks to using this strategy.
  4. An important or thought-provoking quotation by this activist (this quotation can be used during the “Big Paper Activity” in the next lesson).
- During the presentations of posters, students can take notes on important ideas about each activist. For example, they might record a brief description of each activist, an interesting idea about the activist, and one question they would like to ask the activist. (Handout 8 is an example of a note-taking template designed to go along with these presentations.)

**Follow-through**

- After the presentations, a large class discussion might begin with the question, “What would you consider to be a good outcome in Darfur?” Encourage students to consider both short-term and long-term outcomes.
- A list of positive outcomes to the conflict in Darfur can help students answer the question, “What criteria might we use to evaluate the strategies used by these activists?” Criteria students might suggest include the following: saving of lives, increasing public awareness of the genocide, more sanctions on the Sudanese government, more peacekeepers working in Darfur, or increasing donations to nonprofit organizations working to end the violence in Darfur.
- The presentations can also inform a discussion or a writing assignment about the questions, “What message or messages does the film *Darfur Now* express about what is required to end the violence in Darfur?” and “What message or messages does the film *Darfur Now* express about activism in general?”

**Homework**

- Students can read Handout 13: *Not on Our Watch* Excerpt 3 and respond to the questions on the handout.
- Students can select two of the activists and write an essay comparing and contrasting their goals, motivations, and strategies.

## HANDOUT 11

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### *Darfur Now* Activist Presentation Worksheet

The poster your group designs should help your classmates better understand your assigned activist. Posters should incorporate the images and ideas from your answers to the following questions:

- What factors motivated or inspired your activist's work on behalf of the people of Darfur? Quote or paraphrase the activist's own words.
- Design a symbol that represents this activist's strategy for responding to the violence in Darfur.
- What are the potential benefits of using this strategy? What can it accomplish that will help the people of Darfur? What can it accomplish that will help prevent future genocides?
- What are potential drawbacks or challenges associated with using this strategy?
- Identify an important or thought-provoking quotation by this activist. Select a quotation your group thinks would generate the most interesting discussion among students in your class.

## HANDOUT 12

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### *Darfur Now* Activist Presentation Notes

<b>Activist</b>	<b>Description (goal, motivation, strategy, etc.)</b>	<b>What I find most interesting about this activist is...</b>	<b>If I could ask him or her any question, it would be...</b>
Adam Sterling			
Pablo Recalde			
Hejewa Adam			
Luis Moreno-Ocampo			
Don Cheadle			
Sheikh Ahmed Mohammed Abakar			

## HANDOUT 13

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### *Not on Our Watch* Excerpt 3 (p.233-p.244)

Don Cheadle and John Prendergast wrote *Not on Our Watch*<sup>1</sup> to increase awareness of mass atrocities occurring in Sudan and other regions in Africa and to provide guidance about what individuals, groups, and nations can do to stop the violence. In the following excerpt, Prendergast and Cheadle respond to the argument that ending the genocide in Darfur is an impossible task.

#### **Excerpt from John Prendergast's journal entry (p. 233)**

I have worked in the White House, State Department, Congress and the UN. . . . When citizens write letters and press their agendas in a coordinated way, Congress responds. . . . When citizens are silent in the face of the world's horrors, as they were during the Rwandan genocide, it is almost certain that the president will not act. . . . If we stand idly by, the responsibility for the continuation of these tragedies will be all of ours. . . . Not all of us have to be human rights or peace activists who risk their lives in harrowing trips to the field to get the truth out. . . .

On one of my plane rides crisscrossing the country to speak to audiences about these issues, I sat next to a man who was really into his movies. . . . At one point, though . . . the guy began to check out what I was reading out of the corner of his eye. He finally broke and said, "How do you take it? Going over there to those places? It just seems hopeless!" I pondered his question for a moment, and then told him it was just the opposite. "I see people struggling to survive, to prevail, with courage and determination that would shame us for any thought we might have of hopelessness. During every one of my visits, one person after another tells me: 'This is unacceptable. We are human beings! Go back and tell your people to help us end this horror.'"

#### **Questions**

1. According to Prendergast, who is responsible for the continuing violence in Darfur? Do you agree with him? Who do you think is responsible if more innocent people in Darfur continue to die? Do some people or groups bear a greater responsibility for the genocide? Explain.
2. Why do you think the man said, "It just seems hopeless," when referring to the situation in Darfur? What might make him think that?
3. What are the implications of this statement? What might happen if everyone thought that the situation in Darfur was hopeless?
4. Why doesn't Prendergast think that the situation in Darfur is hopeless?
5. What can be done to convince people that the genocide can be stopped?

#### **Excerpt from Don Cheadle's journal entry (p.244)**

Times like this, it's easy to feel powerless, easy to feel alone. But when I take off those blinders and look around I see that I am actually surrounded by many people . . . hoping against hope to make a difference in their time. . . . Millions of lives hang in the balance, their futures determined in part by whether or not we act. Ultimately, I pray that we not stand down from our post. Not us. Not now. Not on our watch.

#### **Questions**

1. Why might one of the activists in the film, such as Don Cheadle, feel powerless at times?
2. What power do these people have?
3. What does the phrase "not on our watch" mean? Who does the "our" refer to in that statement?

<sup>1</sup> Don Cheadle and John Prendergast, *Not on Our Watch*, 1st edition (New York: Hyperion)

## LESSON FOUR

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### The Messages of *Darfur Now*

#### Overview

In the foreword to *Not on Our Watch*, Nobel Prize winning author and Holocaust survivor Elie Wiesel writes:

I am a Jew who remembers when my people in German-occupied Europe were condemned to isolation, hunger, humiliation, unspeakable terror, and death. Until almost the end of the war, nobody came to our rescue. . . . For the sake of our humanity, SAVE DARFUR!

Wiesel's personal connection to the plight of the people of Darfur is easy to trace: As a survivor of the worst genocide of the twentieth century, Wiesel understands what it means to be persecuted because of one's membership in a particular group. As a captive who watched innocent people die in concentration camps while the world did nothing, he recognizes the urgency of the situation in Darfur. Every day that the genocide continues is another day of lives lost. As an antigencide activist himself, Wiesel can also relate to the commitment and the frustration of the individuals profiled in *Darfur Now*.

Although most students may not draw such a direct connection between their experiences and those of the activists in *Darfur Now* or the people of Darfur, they can connect to specific motivations, values, feelings, and ideas expressed by individuals in the film. For example, students may be motivated to take action because of an event from their family's history, just as Adam Sterling's activism is inspired in part by his family's experience during the Holocaust. Or students may be driven by a similar passion for justice that fuels the work of Luis Moreno-Ocampo. Lesson Four is designed to help students find these connections between their beliefs and experiences and the material presented in *Darfur Now*. Identifying these connections can help students gain a deeper understanding of themselves and the role they hope to play in their community and in the larger society.

Students begin Lesson Four by participating in a warm-up activity that asks them to compare the factors that motivated the activists in *Darfur Now* to the factors that have inspired their own "above and beyond" actions. Students will continue drawing connections between their experiences and the material in *Darfur Now* through a silent conversation activity called "Big Paper." The class discussion that emerges out of the Big Paper activity might focus on the choices students make as members of a school, community, and larger world. Students will discuss how their own skills, qualities, and talents can be used to make a positive difference in their own communities and the world at large. Throughout this lesson students will consider what psychologist Helen Fein refers to as our "universe of obligation." She defines this term as the circle of individuals and groups "towards whom obligations are owed, to whom rules apply, and whose injuries call for [amends]."<sup>1</sup> How we prioritize our obligations to others has significant implications for the larger society, and can have life-or-death consequences—illustrated historically, as during the Armenian Genocide and the Holocaust, and today, in places like Darfur. Thinking about how the activists in *Darfur Now* have defined their universe of obligation can encourage students to answer the question, "Who is included in my universe of obligation?"

<sup>1</sup> Helen Fein, *Accounting for Genocide*, (Free Press, 1979), 4.

One of the key messages of *Darfur Now* and *Not on Our Watch* is that as members of the global community we all have some level of responsibility to affect the situation in Darfur, and that it is possible for each of us, in large and small ways, to act on this responsibility (e.g., by pressuring our elected representatives, by being informed, by joining an organization, etc.). Students may also glean a different message from the material in this unit—one that connects to their own experiences and beliefs. At the end of this lesson, students will create “found poems.” This activity allows students to draw from the material they explored in this unit in order to express their own ideas about themes such as social responsibility, activism, justice, and violence prevention.

### Learning goals

The purpose of this lesson is to help students:

- Compare the motivations of *Darfur Now* activists to their own motivations for action.
- Identify how the ideas represented in *Darfur Now* connect to the choices they make in their own lives.
- Synthesize and express their understanding of themes presented in *Darfur Now*.

### Suggested duration

One hour (two hours if students are given time to work on their found poem during class)

### Materials

Large sheets of paper

Tape

Suggested quotations for Big Paper activity

Handout 14: Writing a Found Poem

## LESSON PLAN

### Warm up

- Begin by asking students to respond to the following prompt in their journals: *Based on what you know about all six activists, what do you think motivated them to do their work?* Encourage students to review their work from Lesson Three, such as the activist posters and their presentation notes, when answering this question.
- Once students have finished writing, have them pair up to talk about the motivations they recognized in the activists. Instruct each pair to come up with one or two words that describe what inspired, motivated, and/or sustained the actions of the individuals profiled in the film. As pairs present their words, record the list on a large sheet of paper. (This is similar to the exercise students completed at the beginning of Lesson One.)
- Post this list next to the list that students made at the beginning of the lessons. Facilitate a brief discussion focused on a comparison of these lists. Prompts for this discussion include: *What strikes you about the lists? What can you learn from identifying the motivations of activists?*

### Main Activity

The Big Paper activity described below provides a structured way for students to respond personally to ideas expressed in *Darfur Now*. When transitioning to this activity, explain to students that the purpose of this lesson is to help them to consider how the ideas presented in the film *Darfur Now* connect to the choices they make in their own lives. You might refer to a particular moment from the warm-up activity conversation to illustrate how studying the lives of others, in this case the *Darfur Now* activists, can help us think about our own actions.

## Big Paper Directions

### *Step One: Importance of silence*

Before beginning this activity, clarify that during the first two parts of this process there is to be absolute silence. All communication is done in writing. Students will have time to speak in small groups and with the whole class later. To minimize the chance that students will interrupt the silence once the Big Paper activity begins, be sure to answer any questions about the directions prior to step two. To help students keep track of the directions, we also suggest writing the five steps of the Big Paper activity on the board.

### *Step Two: Response to quotation*

Each small group (two to four students) receives a large sheet of paper with a quotation written in the center of the page. (Alternatively, you can print out the quotations and tape them to the middle of the paper.) Quotations might come from students' posters from Lesson Three, from the list of suggested quotations included with this lesson, or from other *Darfur Now* materials (e.g., excerpts from the film transcript or from *Not on Our Watch*). Ask students to respond to the quotation by silently writing questions or comments on the paper. Then students respond to each other's questions or comments, also in writing. We suggest giving students at least 10 minutes for this step, as it often takes a few minutes for the written conversation to develop.

Since the purpose of this lesson is to help students connect the material from *Darfur Now* to their own lives, you might want to direct students to address how the quotation makes them think about their own behavior and choices. Some prompts to direct students' thinking include: *How do the ideas in these quotations relate to your own choices and behavior in your school and in your community? How do the ideas in these quotations shape your understanding of your role in local events? Global events?*

### *Step Three: Written conversations*

Still working in silence, students leave their small groups and walk around reading the other big papers. They should bring their pens with them so that they can write comments or questions on other big papers.

### *Step Four: Silence is broken*

Returning to their own big paper, small groups now read comments written by other students in the class. Then they can have an oral conversation about the text, their own ideas, what they read on other papers, and comments their peers wrote back to them.

### *Step Five: Class discussion*

Begin a general discussion about themes and ideas noted on the big papers.

**Follow-through**

Students can begin creating a found poem to synthesize their understanding of the material in this unit. Handout 14: Writing a Found Poem has been designed to take students through the following steps:

- First, ask students to review the texts posted around the room, including the big papers, the list of motivations, and the posters from Lesson Three. As they study these texts, they should record any language that they find particularly moving or thought-provoking. To provide more structure, you might require students to write at least 20 words, phrases, or quotations on their list. In addition, you might direct students to review other written materials from this unit (such as homework assignments, journal entries, or film notes) to find ideas to add to their list.
- Instruct students to write a poem drawing from the list of words and phrases they have just recorded. The poem should express a message related to a theme from this unit, such as genocide, violence prevention, or activism. Remind students that, except for prepositions and articles, their poems should only consist of words found in texts from this unit. Students do not have to use all of the words on their list. As they construct their poems, students might need to return to particular texts to find additional language to express their message or theme.
- Finally, give students the opportunity to share their poems with the rest of the class.

**Homework**

To accompany their found poem, you can ask students to write an “artist’s statement.” In the artist’s statement, students explain the message of their poem and how the words they chose express that message. Students can also reveal some of the difficult artistic choices they encountered while writing the poem, as well as any personal connections to the ideas in the poem.

### **Suggested quotations for use with the Big Paper activity**

In addition to the quotations students selected during Lesson Three, you can use any of these quotations as prompts for the Big Paper activity.

Most people, we care about our family, our neighborhood. We cannot care about the world.  
– Pablo Recalde

And then you start feeling like, well, I wouldn't want horsemen riding down on me and killing my children, and maybe their plight is in some way tied into my plight, or their journey is in some way tied into my journey on this planet.  
– Don Cheadle

Those people who go to school and get an education are the ones who will solve the problem. But fighting with guns, that will not solve it. Even in a hundred years.  
– Hejewa Adam

As we sit here today, we are all complicit in the genocide. Indifference is complicity.  
– Adam Sterling

The world will stand witness as you describe what happened to you.  
– Sheikh Ahmed Mohammed Abakar

It's a bureaucracy committing the crimes. For them, the killing civilians, okay it's bad but when you drop a bomb, some people die. It's not a crime, it's just a counterinsurgency operation . . . to win the battle. That's it. That's why we need the law.  
– Luis Moreno-Ocampo

I am a Jew who remembers when my people in German-occupied Europe were condemned to isolation, hunger, humiliation, unspeakable terror, and death. Until almost the end of the war, nobody came to our rescue. . . . For the sake of our humanity, SAVE DARFUR!  
– Elie Wiesel

If women, children, and old people were to be murdered one hundred miles from here, wouldn't you run to help? Then why do you stop this decision of your heart when the distance is three thousand miles instead of one hundred miles?  
– Raphael Lemkin (creator of the word "genocide")

## HANDOUT 14

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### Writing a Found Poem

#### 1. Create a list of words, phrases, and quotations

Review any text that relates to *Darfur Now*. As you look over these texts, record any words, phrases, or quotations that are particularly interesting to you. For example, the language you select might represent ideas you agree with or thoughts that puzzle you. Try to identify at least 20 different words or phrases so that you have plenty of ideas from which to choose when writing your poem.

#### 2. Determine a theme and message

Look over your list. Try to identify a theme and message that is represented by the language you have selected. A theme is a broad concept such as *activism* or *genocide*. A message is a specific idea you would like to express about this theme. For example, looking over the language you have selected, you might realize that *hope* is a theme that emerges. “Even in horribly violent circumstances, there are still reasons to have hope that the situation will improve,” is an example of a message that relates to this theme. Often it is helpful to do this step with a partner. Trade lists. Then describe the themes or main ideas you see in your partner’s list.

#### 3. Select additional language

Once you select a theme, you may need to review the texts again to collect additional language that fits this idea.

#### 4. Compose your poem

Now arrange the language you have selected. One approach is to write all of the words and phrases on slips of paper, so you can move them around until you find a composition that pleases you.

## ASSESSMENT SUGGESTIONS

The following assignments and projects represent different ways (artistic expression, essay writing, research project, etc.) for students to demonstrate their understanding of material from this unit.

- Found poem and artist's statement (see Lesson Four for description).
- Students can create a product—a poster, song, action plan, brochure, play, etc.—designed to motivate people to take action to stop the violence in Darfur, or to take action for a different cause. Students given a similar task during a Facing History and Ourselves symposium produced a film about the genocide in Darfur called *Projections*. Showing your class this four-minute film can give them a concrete idea of what other high school students have done to draw attention to the atrocities occurring in Darfur and perhaps inspire them to take a chance in expressing their ideas creatively.
- Students can write an essay to demonstrate what they have learned in this unit. You could allow students to choose a topic from one of the following (You can also refer to Handout 9: *Darfur Now* Viewing Guide for other questions that could be used to structure an essay assignment):
  - Write a personal essay about how the film has affected and influenced you and what you have learned from it.
  - Write a letter to one activist from the film. Or write a fictional letter from one activist to another activist in the film.
  - Compare and contrast the work of different activists in the film.
  - Develop a thesis about activism and use evidence from the film to support this thesis. Examples of possible theses are:
    - Activists do not work alone to achieve their goal.*
    - Activists do not only work on behalf of others; they are also working for themselves.*
    - Activists' personal histories inspire their work.*

### Extensions

The following lessons, projects and additional resources can be used to deepen students' understanding of Darfur, genocide, and activism.

### Project ideas

- The film *Darfur Now* focuses on individuals who are responding to the violence in Darfur. These individuals are working with organizations that are also committed to helping the people of Darfur. To gain a deeper understanding of the complexity of antigenocide work, students can research one the following organizations associated with these activists and present their research to the class of:

Enoughproject.org

International Criminal Court: [www.icc-cpi.int](http://www.icc-cpi.int)

Sudan Divestment Task Force: [www.sudandivestment.org/home.asp](http://www.sudandivestment.org/home.asp)

The Sudan Liberation Movement and Army: [www.slma.tk/](http://www.slma.tk/)

World Food Programme: [www.wfp.org/english/](http://www.wfp.org/english/)

International Committee of the Red Cross in Sudan

[www.icrc.org/Web/Eng/siteeng0.nsf/htmlall/sudan?OpenDocument](http://www.icrc.org/Web/Eng/siteeng0.nsf/htmlall/sudan?OpenDocument)

United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR)

[www.unhcr.org](http://www.unhcr.org)

- The film *Darfur Now* presents one model of how to raise awareness of an issue: Through the stories of activists. Following this example, groups of students can identify five or six activists working on a different cause and create their own presentation called \_\_\_\_\_ Now. Each student in the group can do research about a particular activist and then the group can come together to synthesize what is being done to address the problem, highlighting the goals, motivations, and strategies involved. Students can present their work in various media (PowerPoint, panel discussions, public exhibition, website, research paper, etc.).
- “Building a Toolbox for Difference” is a project designed to help students connect their study of current events and history with their sense of civic obligation and their desire to help prevent future outbreaks of violence and intolerance. Students will create a three-dimensional “toolbox” for making a difference in their community and/or the world, write an accompanying essay explaining the design and components of the toolbox, and relate this creative experience to their studies of violence and genocide.

#### **Related lessons available on Facing History’s website**

##### **Raphael Lemkin: Exploring Lemkin’s Actions-The Invention of the Word “Genocide”**

**<http://www.facinghistory.org/resources/lessons/raphael-lemkin-exploring-lemkins>**

This lesson helps students understand Raphael Lemkin’s definition of genocide, while they also consider their own definitions of crimes against humanity and civilization.

##### **Raphael Lemkin: Continuing Lemkin’s Legacy: What Can We Do to Prevent and Stop Genocide?**

**<http://www.facinghistory.org/resources/lessons/raphael-lemkin-continuing-lemkin>**

Although the United Nations Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide was adopted in 1948, genocides have continued around the world. Whereas Lemkin worked to create a law when one did not exist, today’s activists focus on pressuring politicians to use this law as a means to prevent and stop genocide. This lesson asks students to consider questions such as, “If we have a Genocide Convention, why does genocide still happen?” and “What can individuals and nations do to prevent and stop genocide?”

##### **It’s About Time: Responding to Darfur**

**<http://www.facinghistory.org/resources/lessons/its-about-time-responding-crisis>**

It is one thing to learn about a genocide after the fact, when we already have sufficient evidence to label the event a genocide. It is a different experience to learn about a crisis as it is developing. At what point do we have enough information to act? How do our responses change as events unfold and we learn new information? Featuring articles about atrocities in Darfur from three points in time, this lesson helps students explore these questions.

##### **Building a Toolbox for Difference**

**<http://www.facinghistory.org/resources/lessons/building-a-toolbox-difference>**

## **Additional resources available on Facing History's website**

### **Totally Unofficial-Raphael Lemkin and the Genocide Convention** (study guide-pdf)

**<http://www.facinghistory.org/resources/publications/lemkin>**

Born in 1900, Raphael Lemkin devoted most of his life to a single goal: Making the world understand and recognize a crime so horrific that there was not even a word for it. Lemkin took a step toward his goal in 1944 when he coined the word *genocide*. This case study challenges all of us to think deeply about what it will take for individuals, groups, and nations to continue Lemkin's work in the area of genocide prevention. It includes a historical essay, primary documents, and discussion questions.

### **Be the Change** (website)

**<http://www.facinghistory.org/bethechange>**

This interactive, multimedia website profiles the stories of five activists from around the world who have been awarded the Reebok Human Rights Award. It combines educational resources for students and teachers with a dynamic interface designed for middle and high school.

### **Building a Permanent Anti-genocide Constituency** (video)

**<http://www.facinghistory.org/video/rebecca-hamilton-building-a-permanent-anti-g>**

In this clip from Facing History's conference on the legacy of the Nuremberg trials, Harvard student and Darfur Action Group cofounder Rebecca Hamilton discusses her experiences in building and expanding a campaign to help end the genocide in Sudan.

### **The Crime of Genocide** (reading and discussion questions)

**<http://www.facinghistory.org/resources/facingtoday/the-crime-genocide>**

*Genocide* is not just a word to describe massacres. It is an important legal term that many see as the foundation for international human rights law. Samantha Power writes about the legal scholar Raphael Lemkin, who was forced to flee when the Nazis invaded Poland, and later coined the word genocide.

### **A Toolbox for Preventing Genocide** (reading and discussion questions)

**<http://www.facinghistory.org/resources/facingtoday/a-toolbox-genocide>**

On the influential Op-ed page of *The New York Times*, Samantha Power wrote a column titled "Remember Rwanda, but Take Action in Sudan." After describing the situation on the ground, Power outlined three lessons from the Rwandan Genocide that she felt could guide responses to the crisis in Darfur.

### **Responding to Darfur** (video)

**<http://www.facinghistory.org/video/don-cheadle-john-prendergast-discuss-their-b>**

At an event organized by Facing History and Ourselves and the Allstate Foundation, Don Cheadle and John Prendergast spoke about their book *Not on Our Watch: The Mission to End Genocide in Darfur and Beyond*, as well as the ongoing problems in Sudan.

### **John Prendergast speaks with students** (video)

**<http://www.facinghistory.org/video/john-prendergast-speaks-with-facing-history>**

During an Allstate Community Conversation organized by Facing History and Ourselves, a leading antigencide and human rights activist answers students' questions about activism, Darfur, and choosing to participate.