

Watch. Learn. Act.

A Study Guide for the Documentary

The Devil Came on Horseback

A film by Annie Sundberg and Ricki Stern

A Break Thru Films production in association with
Global Grassroots and Three Generations

Prepared by

Karen Hinkes Levine

Vernoy Joret Paolini

Helen M. Simpkins

Colleen Tambuscio

Founding Members of the Council of Holocaust Educators

Table of Contents

Part 1. Questions on the Documentary	3
Part 2. Reading a Photograph	8
Part 3. Using the Internet as a Resource for Further Study	14
Glossary of Terms	18

Part 1. Questions on the Documentary

1. Brian Steidle was a Captain in the United States Marine Corps. How did his family background and his own interests lead Brian to join the Marine Corps? Why did Brian decide to leave the Marine Corps?
2. How did Brian arrive at his decision to apply for a job as a military observer with the African Union (AU) in Sudan? From the viewpoint of his employers, what did this job entail?
3. What do you think an observer should do? What is a bystander? Is there a difference between being an observer and a bystander? Explain your response.
4. Why does Brian say that he was “totally unprepared” for his experience in Sudan? What tools did Brian have with him when he arrived in Sudan?
5. Brian’s job was to be a “patrol leader in Sudan to monitor a cease fire.” Which regions of Sudan had been engaged in the fighting at that time? Identify the groups that were engaged in the fighting. How does Brian explain the reason(s) for the fighting between these two regions? What other area of Sudan was involved in a separate conflict?
6. According to Brian, why did Darfur enter into a struggle with the Arab government of Sudan? What was the government response to the resistance in Darfur?
7. What is the ethnicity and religious background of the people of the Janjaweed? Describe the role of the Janjaweed in the Darfur crisis. Why are the Janjaweed eager to be involved in attacks on the people of Darfur?
8. Why did the government seek to involve these Arab groups in the fighting in Darfur? How did they arrive at the decision to appeal to these particular groups to become involved?
9. What incentives and promises did the Khartoum (Sudan) government make to these Arab groups? How does the government assist the Janjaweed in their attacks on the people of Darfur? What incentives are there for the Janjaweed to participate in this conflict? Explain.
10. What does the Khartoum government claim about its relationship with the Janjaweed? What evidence do you see in the documentary to support or refute the government’s claims about the relationship? Is there other evidence that you would need to reach a conclusion? Explain.

11. How did the growing conflict in Darfur threaten the cease fire between the North and the South in Sudan?
12. June, 2004: What was Brian's belief about troops coming to Darfur in days if people saw the photos of what was happening? How did this statement reflect Brian's world view and his view of America's commitment to helping people? How could this statement be interpreted as a turning point for Brian in his status as an observer? Why did Brian leave his job as an observer with the Joint Military Commission's cease-fire unit in the Nuba Mountains to serve as a military observer with the African Union in Darfur?
13. What did Brian witness in a classified report that caused him to volunteer for Darfur? Why were those photographs classified? What does "classified information" mean? What reasons can you think of for photographs of human rights abuses to be kept classified? Why should or should they not be made public?
14. What is the African Union (AU)? What is their role in Sudan's struggles? The AU was called the "African solution to African problems." Do you think that this is a good description of the AU? Explain your response. Why does the AU have problems fulfilling their responsibilities in Sudan?
15. When he arrived in Darfur, Brian was greeted with the comment, "Welcome to Hell." What was the speaker trying to tell Brian and the other observers?
16. Why are many people from Darfur afraid to speak out to Brian? What does the confidential source tell him? What does the source mean when he says, "There is no gray area. It is either genocide or it is not."? Do you think it is genocide? What does genocide mean?
17. The United Nations is supposed to serve as an international organization working for peace and the improvement of people's lives worldwide. Why was the UN reluctant to challenge the Khartoum government? Why was the AU referred to as the only hope?
18. Are the members of the Janjaweed Sudanese? Are the Janjaweed African? Are they Arab? Are the African people of Darfur Sudanese? How do the members of each group explain the difference between the two groups if both groups are considered Sudanese?
19. According to the United Nations and other international agreements, what is their obligation in a situation like Darfur? In your opinion, how is the international community doing in meeting these obligations? What is meant by the statement that there is "no appetite in the international community to intervene."? What is

the impact of this attitude on Darfur and other places where ethnic cleansing and genocide occur?

20. Describe life in an Internally Displaced Person's (IDP) camp. Explain how the situation in Darfur has impacted on the neighboring country of Chad. Why is the situation in Darfur and other areas of Sudan a threat to much of neighboring Africa?
21. In one scene in the documentary, a Darfurian woman asks, "If today I say I am a teacher, can you believe me?" Why does she ask this? How does she describe what has happened to her and the situation in which she now finds herself? What do you think this woman is trying to communicate when she weeps, "My country...my country...my country...?"
22. How does the Janjaweed defector describe their preparation to attack a Darfurian village? What is the role of the government in this preparation according to this defector? What is the slogan that the Janjaweed chant as they prepare to attack the Darfur villages?
23. According to the documentary, intelligence officials said that Africa has become a recruiting ground for Islamic extremists and they expressed concern about the impact of political instability and poverty on the fight against terrorism in Africa. What comments were made by Osama Bin Laden about UN intervention in Darfur? What was the response of the Khartoum government to Bin Laden's comments? What has been the response of the government to the possibility of UN intervention in Darfur?
24. Why are the people of Darfur and Brian optimistic when they hear that the President of the United States and other government officials have declared what is happening in Darfur a genocide? What do they expect to happen as a result of the statements?
25. Brian experiences a personal conflict set off by his Marine Corps training to protect people v. the job assigned as an observer in Darfur, Sudan. What evidence of this conflict can be found in Brian's comments in the documentary?
26. Why does Brian say that it was time for him to leave Darfur? Why did he take with him everything he could?
27. What role does Brian's sister Gretchen play in getting Brian's photographs out to the public? Why is Brian torn by the question of publishing the photos v. keeping the photos private? What risks did he face? Why might he experience backlash from his colleagues, humanitarian aid groups or the United States government?

28. Brian is introduced to the audience by Jerry Fowler, staff director of the Committee on Conscience (COC), at a meeting sponsored by the COC at the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum (USHMM). How do several people in the audience who identify themselves as Sudanese attempt to discredit Brian and his photos? Why would the Sudanese government want to have people in the audience to challenge what was being said? How does Brian respond?
29. Brian met with Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice and other US government officials and talked with them about his experiences and shared his photos with them. What government responses followed these meetings? Why might the US State Department want Brian to cease publishing and sharing his photos with others?
30. Why does Brian take his sister Gretchen to Chad? Why were they so cautious in their planning and offering information about where they intended to go?
31. Why is firewood such a problem for the refugees in the camps in Chad? What impact is this having on the environment? Why is collecting wood a special problem for the women?
32. What do the women mean when they say that they were “beaten up” by the Janjaweed? Why is sexual assault used as a tool of war? What does this suggest about the way women and girls are viewed in their culture and by their attackers? What are some of the long-term impacts that result from this violence? What are some ways that these women can be protected?
33. How do the people in the camps struggle with the problem of water?
34. Why does the African Darfurian man say he sends his warm thanks to the American people? Why is he disappointed and frustrated with the Arabs and Islamists? What is it he believes the Arab Muslims want of the African Darfurian people? What does this man hope America and the international community will do?
35. Brian was invited to go to Rwanda to view the commemoration of the genocide that had occurred there. One of the places he visited was the Murambi Technical School. What did he see and hear during his visit to the school? How did the visit to Rwanda affect Brian and his views of what he had seen in Darfur? What can we learn from Rwanda in terms of our response to on-going genocide and the needs of the people after genocide?
36. Elie Wiesel, a Holocaust survivor and Nobel laureate, expressed his definite views on what the UN needs to do in Darfur. What did he say needs to be done? Do you agree or disagree with the views expressed by Elie Wiesel? Explain your response.

37. Brian was invited to go to the International Criminal Court (ICC) at The Hague to offer his evidence of the genocide occurring in Darfur to the chief prosecutor. What is the ICC and how does it operate? How will Brian's evidence be used? Does the US cooperate with the ICC and what is the debate on this topic? What was the response of the chief prosecutor to the evidence from Brian and others?
38. Brian concluded that he was naïve before he went to Darfur. Why does he believe this? How have Brian's experiences as a witness to genocide affected his life plans?
39. How did Brian describe himself in response to the question about being a whistleblower? How do you feel about Brian's description of himself?
40. What is the responsibility of a first-hand witness? What is the responsibility of someone who learns from a witness? What is the responsibility of the international community and our government? What is your responsibility?

Part 2. Reading a Photograph

Study the photograph for two minutes. Form an overall impression of the photograph and then examine individual items in the photograph. Answer the questions about the photograph. After completing the questions, continue to the next photograph and follow the same process. Do this for each photograph.



(Photograph by Brian Steidle)

Subject of the photograph: _____

Are there people in the photograph? Are they children or adults?

Describe their clothing and general appearance:

Describe their facial expressions.

What are the people doing?

Look around the people. What objects do you see? List any objects.

Describe the surrounding area (or room) in as much detail as possible

Describe any activity that you see.

What ideas or conclusions do you draw from your analysis of this photograph?

What questions does your study of this photograph raise in your mind?

Write a caption (a short description or explanation) for this photograph. Would your view or interpretation of this photograph be influenced if you saw it in an Arab newspaper? A Chinese newspaper? A French newspaper? A Darfurian government-controlled newspaper?

Apply the same process and questions to each of the following photos.



(Photograph by Brian Steidle)



(Photograph by Brian Steidle)



(Photograph by Brian Steidle)



(Photograph by Brian Steidle)



(Photograph by Brian Steidle)



(Photograph by Brian Steidle)



(From the film The Devil Came on Horseback)



(From the film The Devil Came on Horseback)



(From the film The Devil Came on Horseback)

Part 3. Using the Internet as a Resource for Further Study

There are many resources on the web to learn more about Darfur. The film's educational website, www.thedevilcameonhorseback.com/action is a great starting point for learning about Darfur, finding ways to take action and locating resources and links for further information. Use the Internet to investigate the following questions.

1. The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum web site has much information and many photos about the Holocaust and about genocides and ethnic cleansing. Go to the USHMM website at www.ushmm.org. Click on Conscience. Click on *Photos* after going to the USHMM page on the Committee on Conscience. Scroll down the page to *Staring Genocide in the Face*. Click on this and go to the article written by Jerry Fowler with the accompanying photos. Examine the photos carefully. Describe the land revealed in the photos. (What plant life is visible? What evidence of readily available water is there? What is the nature of the shelters where people are living?) What do the photos reveal about the conditions of life for the people living there? What do the photos reveal about the physical and emotional condition of the people themselves? (Look at the eyes and faces, body language, clothing, etc.)
2. After examining the photos, read the article *In Sudan, Staring Genocide in the Face* by Jerry Fowler, Committee on Conscience, staff director. What evidence is provided by Jerry Fowler through the photos and his article that genocide and ethnic cleansing are occurring in Darfur? Many Darfurians fled their land to try to survive in refugee camps across the border in Chad. For those displaced Darfurians remaining in Sudan, what devastating problems do they face? Why are international aid groups having problems reaching those Darfurians remaining in Sudan? What does Jerry Fowler say the United Nations and other nations who signed the Genocide Convention must do? Do you agree with Fowler? What do you believe the obligations and responsibilities of the United States (as a signer of the Genocide Convention) are?
3. Brian Steidle took his sister Gretchen Steidle Wallace on a return trip to Chad and Sudan with him because of her interest in what was happening to the Darfurian people and especially her concern for the situation of the women. Describe actions that Gretchen took that give evidence of her concern and desire to help the people. Gretchen founded the organization Global Grassroots to try to assist the women of Darfur. Using the Internet and other resources available to you for information, research and describe the work of Global Grassroots at www.globalgrassroots.org. How does promoting social entrepreneurship and local ideas for social change differ from humanitarian aid? How can such work support the psychological healing of genocide trauma? Why is Global Grassroots focused on the support of women? What project is Global Grassroots supporting involving the Darfurian refugee man featured in the film?

4. Brian Steidle refers to the rape of the women as a tool of war. The COC, the United Nations, and other organizations, individuals, and government officials of different nations have reached the same conclusion regarding the rape of women in the genocides that occurred in the Balkans and in Rwanda. Why have government and military officials carrying out ethnic cleansing and genocide adopted the rape of women as part of their actions? What does the rape of the women do to the families? How does it affect the society? How does this suggest women and girls are viewed by their attackers and society? How does being a victim of rape – a tool of war - impact a woman's future life in that society even if she survives the rape and the war? How have the women of Darfur who have been raped attempted to avoid the added consequences of being an innocent victim of this violence? What can be done to end rape as a tool of war?
5. The USHMM has established a Committee on Conscience (COC). What is implied about the COC by its title? Based on your reading and information gathered from the documentary and the USHMM web site, do you think the COC is attempting to live up to its name? Give evidence to support your view. Explain how the COC web page offers encouragement for students to become involved in the struggle against human rights violations, ethnic cleansing, and genocide. (Hint: Type in "Students" in the space after "About Us" on the COC page for additional information.)
6. At the USHMM website, pull down the heading *photographs* from the search engine at the top of the page and type in "Children Forced Labor." Pages of photographs showing children during the Holocaust will be drawn up. Study the photographs carefully. Think about the photos of children during the Rwandan genocide and in Darfur as well as those that can be found by researching genocide in Armenia, Cambodia, Kosovo, etc. Explain how genocides, ethnic cleansing actions, mass murders and pogroms cause children to assume adult responsibilities. Give specific examples. Describe ways in which these same children will sometimes struggle to hold on to some part of their childhood. What are some of the long-lasting affects of genocide and ethnic cleansing even on those children who somehow manage to survive?
7. In the documentary *The Devil Came on Horseback*, the Arab defector says that the Janjaweed chanted their slogan in preparation for attacking the Darfurian villages. He said the slogan is "Kill the slaves." In Rwanda, the perpetrators chanted "Kill the cockroaches" before attacking their victims. Why do leaders of ethnic cleansings and genocides adopt and encourage the use of such slogans? How does it influence the attitudes of the people carrying out the attacks on their victims? How does the use of such slogans attempt to rob the victims of their humanity in the eyes of the perpetrators? How do they use these slogans and dehumanizing labels to justify what they are doing? Give other examples of words and slogans used to describe victims of other genocides. Explain how the power of language becomes part of a

campaign of genocide and ethnic cleansing. Offer examples from daily life in your own society of such use of language to attempt to justify violence by one person or group against another.

8. In the documentary, one person, in referring to the genocide in Darfur, says it is our “chance to redeem ourselves for Rwanda and we are failing yet again.” Explain what he means by this statement. Do you agree or disagree with him? How do you think we could change this?
9. The headline for the story written by Nicholas Kristof of *The New York Times* carrying Brian Steidle’s photographs of the actions in Darfur was “*The Secret Genocide Archive*.” Do you think this was a good headline to describe the publication of these photographs at that time? How did the publication of the photographs bring change? People often talk about the “Power of the Press.” What does this mean? How can the press demonstrate its influence in situations of impending genocides, ethnic cleansing, and other acts of inhumanity? Do you think the press (written and broadcast) uses its power and influence enough in such situations? In a free society, does the press have an obligation and responsibility to report such matters as the events in Rwanda and Darfur that go beyond the interest of their readers or the financial impact on their profits? Explain your answer.
10. After World War II and the Holocaust, two phrases frequently heard were “Never Again” and “We didn’t know.” Brian uses the phrase “Never again” when he is talking to the people at the large rally for Darfur. Apply both of these phrases to Darfur. From the knowledge you gained from Brian’s documentary, what conclusions do you draw when you apply these phrases to the events in Darfur and the international response to it?
11. *Google Earth*. USHMM and Google have partnered to provide an up-to-date picture of what is happening in Darfur. Go to www.ushmm.org and click on “conscience.” When the page comes up, click on **ushmm + Google Earth**. Examine the *Crisis in Darfur* mapping initiative and work through some of the actions that you can take at the site to gather information about the situation in Darfur. Explain some of the insights and information about the genocide in Darfur that is available to millions of people worldwide through the use of this technology.
12. Noted historian and Holocaust scholar Raoul Hilberg developed a diagram illustrating the steps a government or group takes in moving to a program of organized genocide against a targeted group of people. Others have said that actions fitting the description of each of the steps can be used as warning signs of an impending genocide or ethnic cleansing. Where such warning signs are noted, the world can choose to intervene **before** the genocide actually occurs. Examine the diagram below. Drawing upon the information that you have gained about Darfur,

list actions and policies for each step that were taken by the Sudanese government, the Janjaweed, and others that led to the genocide that is occurring.

Steps to Organized Genocide

Denial of Justice

Isolation

Propaganda

Persecution

Dehumanization

Violence

Execution

13. People sometimes talk about the *power of one* to change things. Brian Steidle is one person working to change things. Gretchen Steidle Wallace is one person working to change things. Jerry Fowler is one person working to change things. A college student helping to organize a rally about Darfur is one person working to change things. You are one person. What can you do to try to change things and to bring help to the people of Darfur and other areas of human devastation? Explain. Consider *The Devil Came on Horseback's* web resources for advocacy and action. Answer this for yourself: **As a person of conscience, what will you do?**

Glossary of Terms

African Union (AU) an international organization founded to promote cooperation among the independent nations of Africa. The goal of the pan-African organization is to work toward peace, prosperity, unity and cooperation among the African nations. With limited resources and support, the AU has been seriously hampered in its efforts to monitor the violence in Darfur.

Committee on Conscience (COC) a committee established by the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum to “alert the conscience, influence policy makers, and stimulate worldwide action to confront and work to halt acts of genocide or related crimes against humanity.” The COC has been active in the efforts to bring worldwide attention to the genocide occurring in Darfur and to action(s) to help the people of Darfur.

Ethnic cleansing refers to the use of force and intimidation to remove or displace or deport an ethnic group from a territory or nation

Genocide violent crimes committed against national, ethnical, racial and/or religious group(s) with the intent to destroy the very existence of the group(s).

Internally Displaced Person (IDP) is a term used to describe people who have been forced to leave their home or traditional geographic region because of conflicts including war, ethnic cleansing, genocide, and other acts of violence. IDPs continue to live in the same nation or state but in new places – often camps or similar gathering places. These locations are referred to as IDP camps. In Darfur, the IDPs in these camps have continued to be the target of attacks by the Janjaweed and frequently are forced to flee once again.

International Criminal Court (ICC) is an independent, permanent court, based on a treaty signed by 41 countries, that tries persons accused of the most serious crimes of international concern, namely genocide, crimes against humanity and war crimes.

Janjaweed refers to the groups of “Arab” militias who have attacked Darfurian villages and groups to wrest the land away from the “Africans” and to drive them out of the area. The government of Sudan works side-by-side with the Janjaweed in addition to supplying them with funds, weapons, training, and military support in their attacks against the Darfurian people. The Janjaweed have also targeted the IDP camps as the displaced remaining in Darfur have moved into these camps.

Justice and Equality Movement (JEM) is a Darfur opposition or rebel group that opposes the policies and practices of the government of Sudan that they see as discriminatory.

Non-Governmental Organization (NGO) is a term used for non-profit civilian groups whose activities may include humanitarian, cultural, educational, religious, economic and other work designed to aid people who are suffering and in desperate need. NGOs engaging in this work often face difficult situations and dangerous obstacles.

Sudan Liberation Army/Movement (SLA/M) is the largest opposition force in Darfur that opposes the current government of Sudan. It is a secularist (not religiously organized) group.

United Nations A global membership organization established in 1945 to maintain international peace and security; to develop friendly relations among nations; to cooperate in solving international problems and in promoting respect for human rights; and to be a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations. The United Nations is not a world government. It does not make laws, but provides the means to help resolve international conflicts and formulate policies on matters affecting all of us.