PRESENTS

The 8 Stages of Genocide: Background Information Packet

Designed by:
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

**Genocide/Holocaust Background Information**  
2

**History of Atrocities and Genocides**  
- Genocide in Armenia (1915-1923)  
  3
- Genocide in the Darfur Region of Sudan (2004-Present)  
  4
  5
- Genocide in Cambodia (1975-1979)  
  6
- Genocide in Rwanda (1994)  
  7
- Atrocities in Argentina (1976–1983)  
  9
- Atrocities in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (1996–Present)  
  10

**The 8 Stages of Genocide By Dr. Gregory H. Stanton**  
12

**Prevention of Genocide**  
16

**Genocide Prevention Posters**  
19

**World Map 1 - Areas of Genocide Map**  
29

**World Map 2 – Areas of Genocide Activity Map**  
30

**Nazi Concentration Camps Map**  
31

**Map of Europe**  
32

**United States Map**  
33

**Discussion Questions**  
34

**Evaluation for Participants**  
35

**Holocaust and Genocide references**  
36

**Poster Image Citations**  
39
Genocide and the Holocaust

Genocide is defined by the Merriam-Webster dictionary as “…the deliberate and systematic destruction, in whole or in part, of a racial, political, or cultural group.” The word “genocide” contains the Greek word genos (meaning race, tribe, nation) and the Latin suffix cide (meaning killing), and was coined by a twentieth century Polish writer and attorney, Raphael Lemkin, who had escaped from the Nazi Regime during the Holocaust. He described the experience as “…a coordinated plan of different actions aiming at the destruction of essential foundations of the life of national groups with the aim of annihilating the groups themselves.”

Genocide has become an international human rights problem that has affected all races and all nationalities. The most infamous of all genocides was the Holocaust.

The term Holocaust means “sacrifice by fire” and refers to the Nazis’ merciless persecution and “…systematic destruction…” of the Jewish people under the dictatorship of Adolf Hitler. There were an estimated 11 million people killed during the Holocaust. Of those, six million were Jews. That was approximately two-thirds of all Jews living in Europe at that time. It is believed that there were as many as 1.1 million children were murdered during the Holocaust.

The inhumane treatment established during the Holocaust has caused the world to stand up and notice. Although “denial,” the final stage of genocide, still exists for some, the Holocaust gives us a startling view of how patriotic loyalty, peer pressure, fear, self-preservation, and blind obedience can be used to destroy the human spirit.

The Holocaust was a horrific tragedy that continues to affect lives today. This historical catastrophe is an example of what can happen when people are intolerant of the differences in others.
A Brief History of other Atrocities and Genocides

Genocide in Armenia (1915-1923)

The Armenians, a Christian group, had lived in the rugged mountain region of eastern Turkey within the Ottoman Empire for more than a thousand years. The Armenians had grown in size and power over the years. By the mid-1800s, the Ottoman Turks had become fearful about the Armenians’ growing independence and were determined to solve the “Armenian Question.” In 1908, a new group called the Young Turks overthrew the sultan and took control of the Ottoman Empire. The Young Turks seemed, at first, to reach out to the empire’s minorities, but then turned on the Armenians. The Young Turks believed the Armenians to be rejecting their rule and culture because they, having never converted to Islam, had their own culture and language.

During World War I, the Ottoman Empire joined forces with Germany and Austria-Hungary against Russia, Serbia, France and England. The Young Turks saw the war as an opportunity to take care of its “Armenian Question” without foreign influence. Some Armenians lived in Russia, just across the Ottoman border, and joined the Russian army. The Ottoman Turks feared the Armenians would help the Russian army invade, so in 1915, orders were given to resettle the Armenian people away from the borders. The Turks rounded up most of the military-age men and marched them to a remote location to be murdered. The other men and women were marched in caravans to unknown destinations through deserts with no food or water. Those that didn’t die from starvation or heat stroke were killed by bayonet.

Henry Morgenthau, the American ambassador in Constantinople, learned of the atrocities against the Armenians from survivors. In June 1915, Morgenthau wrote to make the U.S. government aware of the situation. Little was done to help the Armenians. Morgenthau spoke with Mehmet Talaat, leader of the Young Turks, about the atrocities, but to no avail. Other countries, such as France and Great Britain, issued statements declaring these actions “crimes [that were] were committed by Turkey.” In 1916, Morgenthau left Constantinople because, he said, “My failure to stop the destruction of the Armenians had made Turkey for me a place of horror.”
World War I ended in November 1918, with the defeat of Germany, Austria-Hungary and the Ottoman Empire. Out of the 2 million Armenians who lived in the Ottoman Empire at the start of the war, more than 1 million were murdered through actions now termed genocidal. Seven Turkish officials were tried and sentenced to death, but as they had fled the country, the sentences were not carried out. Since the creation of a United Nations convention to prevent and stop genocide, the survivors of the Armenian genocide and their families have sought to have these events recognized as genocide. Many scholars agree that this was the first genocide of the 20th century, and many countries have passed resolutions recognizing it as such. In the United States, attempts to pass just such a resolution in Congress have been limited as the government of Turkey refuses to recognize the events as genocide and works to halt discussion of the topic.

**Genocide in the Darfur Region of Sudan (2004-Present)**

Civil war has existed between the northern and southern regions of Sudan for more than a decade. The northern region, centered on the capital of Khartoum, is predominantly made up of Muslims who are ethnically Arab, while groups of Christians and animists live in the south. The Khartoum government under General Omar al-Bashir wished to create a more Islamic-based government that was opposed by the southern groups and led to civil war.

Not until 2005, and with heavy international influence, did the Comprehensive Peace Agreement end the two-decade-long civil war that had resulted in more than 2 million deaths and 4 million displaced persons in the south. In the western region of Darfur, a rebel group sought to have the same benefits and attacked a government outpost in 2003. The government of Sudan reacted with crushing brutality.

Although the Darfur region is predominantly Muslim, there were economic and tribal/ethnic differences in the region. Economically, the Arab groups had been nomadic herders while the African groups (such as the Fur, Maasalit and Zaghawa) were pastoralists. The Sudanese government exploited these differences by arming ethnic Arab militia groups, known as the “Janjaweed,” to attack the ethnic African groups. The government would attack from the air, and then, the Janjaweed forces would enact a scorched earth campaign, burning villages and poisoning wells. Nearly 400,000 people have been killed, women have been systematically raped, and millions of people have been displaced as a result of these actions.

© 2012 Texas Holocaust and Genocide Commission, Eight Stages of Genocide
In 2004, the United States government recognized these actions as genocide under the United Nations (UN) Genocide Convention. Criminal proceedings have begun with the International Criminal Tribunal, and both the African Union and United Nations have sought to introduce forces to stop the violence and aid the internally displaced, as well as refugees who fled to Chad. In March 2009, the International Criminal Court issued an arrest warrant for Sudanese President Omar al-Bashir for directing a campaign of mass killing, rape and pillage against civilians in Darfur, in addition to the outstanding warrants for former Sudanese Minister of State for the Interior Ahmad Harun and Janjaweed militia leader Ali Kushayb. Despite this progress, according to UN estimates, 2.7 million Darfuris remain in internally displaced persons camps and more than 4.7 million Darfuris rely on humanitarian aid.

On July 9, 2011, South Sudan became the world’s newest country. While this is a major step toward ending the violence in Sudan, civilians across Sudan remain at risk. Systematic violence against the people of Darfur, as well as in the disputed Abyei area and Southern Kordofan, continues on a new political landscape altered by the independence of South Sudan.

**Genocide in Bosnia (1992-1995)**

Although many different ethnic and religious groups had resided together for 40 years under Yugoslavia’s repressive communist government, this changed when the country began to collapse during the fall of communism in the early 1990s. The provinces of Slovenia and Croatia declared independence, and war quickly followed between Serbia and these breakaway republics. Ethnic tensions were brought to the forefront, and people who had lived peacefully for years as neighbors turned against each other and took up arms. When Bosnia attempted to secede, Serbia – under Slobodan Miloševic’s leadership – invaded with the claim that it was there to “free” fellow Serbian Orthodox Christians living in Bosnia.

Starting in April 1992, Serbia set out to “ethnically cleanse” Bosnian territory by systematically removing all Bosnian Muslims, known as Bosniaks. Serbia, together with ethnic Bosnian Serbs, attacked Bosniaks with former Yugoslavian military equipment and surrounded Sarajevo, the capital city. Many Bosniaks were driven into concentration camps, where women and girls were systematically gang-raped and other civilians were tortured, starved and murdered.
In 1993, the United Nations (UN) Security Council declared that Sarajevo, Goradze, Srebrenica and other Muslim enclaves were to be safe areas, protected by a contingent of UN peacekeepers. But in July 1995, Serbs committed the largest massacre in Europe since World War II in one such area, Srebrenica. An estimated 23,000 women, children and elderly people were put on buses and driven to Muslim-controlled territory, while 8,000 “battle-age” men were detained and slaughtered. The so-called safe area of Srebrenica fell without a single shot fired by the UN.

In 1994, NATO initiated air strikes against Bosnian Serbs to stop the attacks. In December 1995, U.S.-led negotiations in Dayton, Ohio (The Dayton Peace Accords) ended the conflict in Bosnia, and a force was created to maintain the ceasefire. Since the end of the conflict, the International Criminal Tribunal for Yugoslavia (ICTY) at The Hague has charged more than 160 persons. Convictions have included Serb, Croat and Bosniaks, though Serbians and Bosnian Serbs have faced the majority of charges. In 2001, former-President Milošević was captured, but he died in his cell in 2006. Radovan Karadžić, the supreme commander of the Bosnian Serb armed forces, was captured in 2008, and is being tried in The Hague on genocide charges. Ratko Mladić, chief of staff of the Bosnian Serb Army, was captured in May 2011 and is charged with 11 counts, including genocide and crimes against humanity.

**Genocide in Cambodia (1975-1979)**

By April 1975, a Communist group known as the Khmer Rouge, led by Pol Pot, seized control of Cambodia, renaming the country Democratic Kampuchea. Civil war had existed in Cambodia since 1970. Between 1970 and 1973, during the Vietnam War, the United States bombed much of the countryside of Cambodia and manipulated Cambodian politics to support the rise of pro-West Lon Nol as the leader of Cambodia. The Khmer Rouge used the United States’ actions to recruit followers and as an excuse for the brutal policies they exercised when in power.

The Khmer Rouge’s polices were guided by its belief that the citizens of Cambodia had been tainted by exposure to outside ideas, especially by the capitalist West. The Khmer Rouge persecuted the educated — such as doctors, lawyers, and current or former military and police. Christian, Buddhist and Muslim citizens also were specifically targeted. In an effort to create a society without competition, in which people worked for the common good, the Khmer Rouge
placed people in collective living arrangements — or communes — and enacted “re-education” programs to encourage the commune lifestyle. People were divided into categories that reflected the trust that the Khmer Rouge had for them; the most trustworthy were called “old citizens.” The pro-West and city dwellers began as “new citizens” and could move up to “deportees,” then “candidates” and finally “full rights citizens”; however, most citizens never moved up. Those who refused re-education were killed in the fields surrounding the commune or at the infamous prison camp Tuol Sleng Centre, known as S-21. Over four years, the Khmer Rouge killed more than 1.7 million people through work, starvation and torture.

The Khmer Rouge was removed from power when communist Vietnam invaded in January 1979 and established a pro-Vietnamese regime in Cambodia. Many survivors fled to refugee camps in Thailand; of these, many went on to immigrate to the United States.

Despite the heavy casualties and injustices inflicted specifically on the Cambodian Muslim population — the Cham — many genocide scholars believe the events in Cambodia do not qualify as genocide under the United Nations Convention because intent to destroy one specific ethnic or religious group cannot be proven. Instead, many genocide scholars call these events an “auto-genocide” because it occurred across all of society instead of targeting one group.

More than 20 years later, the Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia (ECCC) is bringing the former leaders of the Khmer Rouge to trial for their crimes against humanity. On June 26, 2010, the ECCC found Kaing Guek Eav, alias Duch, guilty of crimes against humanity and grave breaches of the Geneva Conventions of 1949, sentencing him to 35 years in prison. Kaing Guek Eav, a Khmer Rouge deputy and chairman of S-21, is the first of four former leaders charged to stand trial before the ECCC.

**Genocide in Rwanda (1994)**

Rwanda, a central African country, had been a Belgian colony. The Belgians divided the people into various ethnic groups – the Hutu, Tutsi and Twa – and gave preference to the Tutsis, who were a minority group. Identity cards were issued, a practice that continued even when independence was gained in the 1960s. Although intermarriage was common, the perception of who was Hutu and who was Tutsi remained.
The Hutus gained control of the country after independence, and a more extremist group of Hutus worked to seize power. By reminding Hutus that Tutsis once held power over them and forwarding a belief that Tutsis would one day try to take control again, the Hutus instilled a sense of fear. These fears were heightened when a group of Tutsis who had been refugees in Uganda began to return to Rwanda. This began a series of battles, and the United Nations (UN) stepped in to try to negotiate a ceasefire and peace agreement. When the president of Rwanda’s plane was shot down in 1994, the extremist Hutus called for other Hutus to murder the Tutsis within Rwanda. They had been preparing for this opportunity through the use of hate radio, formation of militia groups (interhamwe) and the dispersal of machetes.

Starting in April 1994, within a three-month period, more than 800,000 people were murdered because of their ethnic identity. Women were systematically raped. Moderate Hutus who attempted to help their fellow Rwandans also were murdered. Many sought refuge in churches, feeling asylum would be granted, as the majority of the country was Christian. Instead, many churches became sites of mass murder. The killings ended when a Tutsi army, the Rwanda Patriotic Front (RPF), seized control.

Although UN forces led by General Romeo Dallaire had been in Rwanda at the start of the killings, they were prevented from acting by the organization. Many Western countries recalled their citizens through an emergency airlift. Many diplomats, like the United States’ then-Secretary of State Warren Christopher, refused to call the actions “genocide” for fear the United Nations Genocide Convention would require greater action. These actions, and the silence of the world despite many news reports of the killings, led the extremist Hutus to act with a feeling of impunity.

A criminal tribunal was established by the UN, and for the first time, rape was recognized as a tool of genocide. The work of the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda continues to this day. A more traditional form of justice, known as Gacaca, has also been implemented to help combat the backlog of cases and bring a sense of justice for all who acted in the genocide. In 1998, U.S. President Bill Clinton visited Rwanda and apologized for not acting at the time.
Atrocities in Argentina (1976–1983)

On March 24, 1976, a military junta led by General Jorge Rafael Videla seized power from President Isabel Peron. Between 1976 and 1983, an estimated 10,000 to 30,000 people the new government suspected of involvement with left-wing activities were “disappeared” by authorities in what is now called the “Dirty War.” Citizens were kidnapped, detained, tortured, executed and occasionally dumped out of airplanes — dead or alive — over the Atlantic Ocean. Those taken came to be known as the Desaparecidos, the Spanish word for "Disappeared."

The United States was a key provider of economic and military assistance to the Videla regime. In 1982, the military junta invaded the British-controlled Falkland Islands. Argentina’s crushing defeat increased public outrage with the ruling government and forced then-leader General Leopoldo Galtieri to resign. A combination of factors caused the junta to dissolve, and a civilian government was returned to power in 1983 with the election of Raul Alfonsin.

As early as April 1977, mothers of the Disappeared began demanding to know where the children had been taken. They organized a group, Madres de Plaza de Mayo, and marched every Thursday afternoon at half past three, for 30 years, on the Plaza de Mayo, a major square in Buenos Aires. Many of the Disappeared women were pregnant when they were taken; babies who were born in captivity were often adopted by families of the junta. The grandmothers searched for this next generation of lost children. To date, they've located more than 80 grandchildren. The Madres de Plaza de Mayo stopped marching in 2006, but have not given up the fight to bring the military leaders of the junta to justice.

In 1983, the National Commission on the Disappeared (CONADEP) was appointed to investigate the fate of the Disappeared. Its report revealed the systematic abductions of men, women and children, the existence of about 340 well-organized secret detention centers, including the infamous ESMA Navy Mechanics School in Buenos Aires, and the systematic use of kidnapping, torture and murder. CONADEP found “the repressive practices of the military were planned and ordered by the highest levels of military command.”

In 2005, the Argentine Supreme Court lifted the immunity granted to regime officials, and as of October 2010, 748 people were facing charges, and 81 had been convicted, including former military President General Reynaldo Bignone, who received 25 years in prison for the kidnapping and torture of 56 people at the Campo de Mayo military camp on the outskirts of Buenos Aires.

© 2012 Texas Holocaust and Genocide Commission, Eight Stages of Genocide
Atrocities in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (1996–Present)

The country now known as the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) has undergone many changes in the past 125 years. As a Belgian Colony, it was known as the Congo Free State. King Leopold of Belgium, and those he sponsored, undertook many projects in this region. Ultimately, however, millions of Congolese died as a result of disease and brutal colonial policies. The Belgian Parliament took over the colony after international pressure; and in 1960, the colony gained independence and the country’s name changed to the Republic of the Congo. After a coup by Mobuto Sese Seko, the country was renamed Zaire.

After the 1994 Rwandan genocide, millions of Hutu refugees — both guilty and innocent — fled into eastern Zaire, disrupting ethnic relations in the region. The genocidaire Hutus (FDLR) allied with the army of Zaire and attacked ethnic Tutsis. A Tutsi militia group, organized with the Rwandan and Ugandan armies to fight against the Hutus, worked to seize control of the region’s resources and establish a Tutsi-friendly government. This group (AFDL) was led by Laurent-Désiré Kabila. En route to the capital city of Kinshasa, Kabila’s forces and the Rwandan army murdered approximately 200,000 Hutus in eastern Congo. In September 1997, Kabila declared himself president of the new Democratic Republic of the Congo.

After a year of failing to address issues that led to the 1996 war, the new Congolese army — backed by Rwanda and Uganda — rebelled, sparking a second war known as the Great War of Africa. Zimbabwe, Angola and Namibia sent troops to aid Kabila. In the east, fighting had never ended; a range of armed forces continued to perpetrate violence, including forced displacement, abductions, looting, forced recruitment and use of child soldiers, and massive sexual assaults. A ceasefire agreement was signed in 1999 by all six African nations, as well as the Movement for the Liberation of Congo and Congolese Rally for Democracy rebel groups. In 2001, Laurent-Désiré Kabila was assassinated; his son Joseph Kabila took power. That spring, the United Nations (UN) introduced a peacekeeping mission, to oversee the ceasefire negotiated. In 2006, the DRC held its first multi-party elections since 1960, maintaining Joseph Kabila’s power.

Despite the ceasefire and several peace agreements brokered by the UN and the United States over the last decade, violence continues across the DRC. Continued hostility, fed by inter-group violence, produced an environment where groups fear their existence is under threat and
engage in pre-emptive attacks, resulting in a repeating cycle of violence. The conflict is complicated by a focus on gaining control of significant natural resources, including diamonds, copper, zinc and coltan. According to the UN, 27,000 sexual assaults were reported in 2006 in South Kivu Province alone. In addition, the International Rescue Committee estimates 5.4 million people have died since 1998, most from preventable diseases as a result of the collapse of infrastructure, lack of food security, displacement and destroyed health-care systems.

Despite setbacks, the International Criminal Court is working to bring perpetrators to justice. In 2006, Warlord Thomas Lubanga was accused of forcing children into active combat. In 2010, DRC former Vice President Jean-Pierre Bemba was charged with letting his troops rape and kill in the Central African Republic, and Callixte Mbarushimana, the alleged executive secretary of the FDLR, was charged with five counts of crimes against humanity and six counts of war crimes. In 2011, Rwandan Hutu rebel Ignace Murwanashyaka, head of the FDLR, and his deputy Straton Musoni were charged with 26 counts of crimes against humanity and 39 counts of war crimes.
The 8 Stages of Genocide
By Dr. Gregory H. Stanton

The International Convention for the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide defines "genocide."

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

Acts of genocide

During the Rwandan genocide, the U.S. State Department’s lawyers infamously directed U.S. diplomats to avoid use of the word genocide. Only “acts of genocide” were being committed, they said. It was a distinction without a difference. The crime of genocide is defined by the Genocide Convention as "acts of genocide." It does not exist apart from those acts. A pattern of acts of genocide is frequently called "genocide" and evidence of such a pattern of ethnic, racial, or religious massacres is strong evidence of genocidal intent.

The Convention declares the following acts punishable:
- "(a) Genocide;
- (b) Conspiracy to commit genocide;
- (c) Direct and public incitement to commit genocide;
- (d) Attempt to commit genocide;
- (e) Complicity in genocide."

The Genocide Convention is sometimes misinterpreted as requiring the intent to destroy in whole a national, ethnical, racial or religious group. Some genocides have fit that description, notably the Holocaust and Rwanda. But most do not. Most are intended to destroy only part of a group. The Genocide Convention specifically includes the intentional killing of part of a group as genocide. It reaffirms this definition when it includes as among the acts that constitute genocide "deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part". Those who shrink from applying the term "genocide" usually ignore the "in part". Intent can be directly proven from statements or orders by the perpetrators. But more often, it must be deduced from the systematic pattern of their acts, a pattern that could only arise out of specific intent.

Criminal law distinguishes intent from motive. A murderer may have many motives -- gaining property or eliminating a rival for power. But his intent is determined by the purpose of his act: Did he purposely kill the victim? Genocidal intent is determined by the specific purpose of the
act: Did the killer purposely kill the victim as part of a plan to destroy a national, ethnic, racial, or religious group, at least in part? The motive of the killer to take the victim's property or to politically dominate the victim's group does not remove genocidal intent if the victim is chosen because of his ethnic, national, racial, or religious group. A plan for genocide doesn't need to be written out. An act of genocide may arise in a culture that considers members of another group less than human, where killing members of that group is not considered murder. This is the culture of impunity characteristic of genocidal societies. In Burundi, Tutsis who kill Hutus have seldom been convicted or even arrested. Massacres are ethnic, intended to destroy parts of the other ethnic group. Leo Kuper calls such mass killings genocidal massacres. They are acts of genocide even if only a part of a group (the intellectuals, officers, leaders) is targeted.

THE GENOCIDAL PROCESS

Prevention of genocide requires a structural understanding of the genocidal process. Genocide has eight stages or operational processes. The first stages precede later stages, but continue to operate throughout the genocidal process. Each stage reinforces the others. A strategy to prevent genocide should attack each stage, each process. The eight stages of genocide are classification, symbolization, dehumanization, organization, polarization, preparation, extermination, and denial.

Classification
All languages and cultures require classification - division of the natural and social world into categories. We distinguish and classify objects and people. All cultures have categories to distinguish between “us” and “them,” between members of our group and others. We treat different categories of people differently. Racial and ethnic classifications may be defined by absurdly detailed laws -- the Nazi Nuremberg laws, the "one drop" laws of segregation in America, or apartheid racial classification laws in South Africa. Racist societies often prohibit mixed categories and outlaw miscegenation. Bipolar societies are the most likely to have genocide. In Rwanda and Burundi, children are the ethnicity of their father, either Tutsi or Hutu. No one is mixed. Mixed marriages do not result in mixed children.

Symbolization
We use symbols to name and signify our classifications. We name some people Hutu and others Tutsi, or Jewish or Gypsy, or Christian or Muslim. Sometimes physical characteristics - skin color or nose shape - become symbols for classifications. Other symbols, like customary dress or facial scars, are socially imposed by groups on their own members. After the process has reached later stages (dehumanization, organization, and polarization) genocidal governments in the preparation stage often require members of a targeted group to wear an identifying symbol or distinctive clothing -- e.g. the yellow star. The Khmer Rouge forced people from the Eastern Zone to wear a blue-checked scarf, marking them for forced relocation and elimination.

Dehumanization
Classification and symbolization are fundamental operations in all cultures. They become steps of genocide only when combined with dehumanization. Denial of the humanity of others is the step that permits killing with impunity. The universal human abhorrence of murder of members
of one's own group is overcome by treating the victims as less than human. In incitements to genocide the target groups are called disgusting animal names - Nazi propaganda called Jews "rats" or "vermin"; Rwandan Hutu hate radio referred to Tutsis as "cockroaches." The targeted group is often likened to a “disease”, “microbes”, “infections” or a “cancer” in the body politic. Bodies of genocide victims are often mutilated to express this denial of humanity. Such atrocities then become the justification for revenge killings, because they are evidence that the killers must be monsters, not human beings themselves.

**Organization**
Genocide is always collective because it derives its impetus from group identification. It is always organized, often by states but also by militias and hate groups. Planning need not be elaborate: Hindu mobs may hunt down Sikhs or Muslims, led by local leaders. Methods of killing need not be complex: Tutsis in Rwanda died from machetes; Muslim Chams in Cambodia from hoe-blades to the back of the neck ("Bullets must not be wasted," was the rule at Cambodian extermination prisons, expressing the dehumanization of the victims.) The social organization of genocide varies by culture. It reached its most mechanized, bureaucratic form in the Nazi death camps. But it is always organized, whether by the Nazi SS or the Rwandan Interahamwe. Death squads may be trained for mass murder, as in Rwanda, and then force everyone to participate, spreading hysteria and overcoming individual resistance. Terrorist groups will pose one of the greatest threats of genocidal mass murder in the future as they gain access to chemical, biological, and even nuclear weapons.

**Polarization**
Genocide proceeds in a downward cycle of killings until, like a whirlpool, it reaches the vortex of mass murder. Killings by one group may provoke revenge killings by the other. Such massacres are aimed at polarization, the systematic elimination of moderates who would slow the cycle. The first to be killed in a genocide are moderates from the killing group who oppose the extremists: the Hutu Supreme Court Chief Justice and Prime Minister in Rwanda, the Tutsi Archbishop in Burundi. Extremists target moderate leaders and their families. The center cannot hold. The most extreme take over, polarizing the conflict until negotiated settlement is impossible.

**Preparation**
Preparation for genocide includes identification. Lists of victims are drawn up. Houses are marked. Maps are made. Individuals are forced to carry ID cards identifying their ethnic or religious group. Identification greatly speeds the slaughter. In Germany, the identification of Jews, defined by law, was performed by a methodical bureaucracy. In Rwanda, identity cards showed each person's ethnicity. In the genocide, Tutsis could then be easily pulled from cars at roadblocks and murdered. Throwing away the cards did not help, because anyone who could not prove he was Hutu, was presumed to be Tutsi. Hutu militiamen conducted crude mouth exams to test claims of Hutu identity. Preparation also includes expropriation of the property of the victims. It may include concentration: herding of the victims into ghettos, stadiums, or churches. In its most extreme form, it even includes construction of extermination camps, as in Nazi-ruled Europe, or conversion of existing buildings – temples and schools – into
extermination centers in Cambodia. Transportation of the victims to these killing centers is then organized and bureaucratized.

**Extermination**
The seventh step, the final solution, is extermination. It is considered extermination, rather than murder, because the victims are not considered human. They are vermin, rats or cockroaches. Killing is described by euphemisms of purification: “ethnic cleansing” in Bosnia, “ratonade” (rat extermination) in Algeria. Targeted members of alien groups are killed, often including children. Because they are not considered persons, their bodies are mutilated, buried in mass graves or burnt like garbage.

**Denial**
Every genocide is followed by denial. The mass graves are dug up and hidden. The historical records are burned, or closed to historians. Even during the genocide, those committing the crimes dismiss reports as propaganda. Afterwards such deniers are called “revisionists.” Others deny through more subtle means: by characterizing the reports as “unconfirmed” or “alleged” because they do not come from officially approved sources; by minimizing the number killed; by quarreling about whether the killing fits the legal definition of genocide (“definitionalism”); by claiming that the deaths of the perpetrating group exceeded that of the victim group, or that the deaths were the result of civil war, not genocide. In fact, civil war and genocide are not mutually exclusive. Most genocides occur during wars.
PREVENTION OF GENOCIDE

A full strategy for preventing genocide should include attack on each of genocide's operational processes.

**Classification** may be attacked either through devaluation of the distinctive features used to classify (e.g. amalgamation of regional dialects and accents by exposure to mass media, standardized education, and promotion of a common language) or through use of transcendent categories, such as common nationality or common humanity. Promotion of mixed categories, such as the financial incentives for inter-caste marriages in Tamil Nadu, India, may help break down group endogamy, but do not combat genocide in bipolar societies where mixed categories have no recognition. In bipolar societies, transcendent institutions like the Catholic Church should actively campaign against ethnic classifications. Special effort should be made to keep such institutions from being captured and divided by the same forces that divide the society, e.g. through hierarchical discipline from Rome for the Roman Catholic Church.

**Symbolization** can be attacked by legally forbidding use of hate symbols (e.g. swastikas) or ethnic classification words... racial expletives may be outlawed as "hate speech." Group marking like tribal scarring may be outlawed, like gang clothing. The problem is that legal limitations on hate speech will fail if unsupported by popular cultural enforcement. Though Hutu and Tutsi were forbidden words in Burundi until the 1980's, the prohibition had little effect, since other euphemisms and code-words replaced them. Prohibition may even become counter-productive, as part of an ideology of denial, which prevents people from naming, discussing and overcoming deep cultural divisions. However, without symbols for our classifications, they would become literally insignificant. Yellow stars became insignificant in parts of France and Bulgaria because many Jews refused to wear them and were not turned in by their Christian neighbors, who rejected the Nazi's classification system. In cultures that reject negative symbolization, resistance can be a powerful preventive tactic. In Denmark, the popular resistance to Nazi classification and symbolization was so strong that the Nazis did not even dare to impose the yellow star, and Danish “fishermen” smuggled ninety-five percent of Danish Jews to safety in Sweden.

**Dehumanization** should be opposed openly whenever it shows its ugly face. Genocidal societies lack constitutional protection for countervailing speech, and should be treated differently than democracies. Hate radio stations should be shut down, and hate propaganda banned. Although restrictions on free speech are not necessary in a healthy polity, even in democracies hate speech should be actively exposed and publicly opposed. Direct incitements to genocide should be outlawed. Incitement to genocide is not protected speech. Hate crimes and atrocities should be promptly punished. Impunity breeds contempt for law, and emboldens genocidists, who can literally get away with murder.

**Organizations** that commit acts of genocide should be banned, and membership in them made a crime. Freedom of association in a democratic society should not be misconstrued as protecting membership in criminal organizations. At Nuremberg, membership in the SS was
itself prosecuted. Similarly the Interahamwe and other genocidal hate groups should be outlawed, and their members arrested and tried for conspiracy to commit genocide. The UN should impose arms embargoes on governments or militias that commit genocide. Because arms embargoes are difficult to enforce, for Rwanda, the UN established an international commission to investigate and document violations of the arms embargo. The UN may also require member states to freeze the assets of persons who organize and finance genocidal groups.

**Polarization** can be fought by providing financial and technical aid to the moderate center. It may mean security protection for moderate leaders, or assistance to human rights groups. Assets of extremists may be seized, and visas for international travel denied to them. Coups d'état by extremists should be immediately opposed by targeted international sanctions on their leaders.

**Preparation**: Identification of victims considerably speeds genocide. When ID cards identify victims' ethnic or religious group, or when victims are forced to wear yellow stars, the killing is made efficient. As soon as such symbolic markers are imposed, a Genocide Watch should be declared and diplomatic pressure should demand their abolition and impose targeted sanctions on regime leaders. When death lists are drawn up, the international community should recognize that genocide is imminent, and mobilize for armed intervention. Those identified should be given asylum, and assistance in fleeing their persecutors. Had the U.S. or Britain in Palestine accepted all Jewish immigrants, millions of lives might have been saved from the Holocaust.

**Extermination** whether carried out by governments or by patterned mob violence, can only be stopped by force. Armed intervention must be rapid and overwhelming. Safe areas should be established with real military protection. An intervention force without robust rules of engagement, such as UNAMIR in Rwanda in April, 1994 or UNPROFOR in Bosnia, is worse than useless because it gives genocide victims false hope of security in churches or unsafe "safe areas", delaying their organization for self-defense. In bipolar societies, separation into self-defense zones is the best protection for both groups, particularly if international troops create a buffer zone between them. Experience with UN peacekeeping has shown that humanitarian intervention should be carried out by a multilateral force authorized by the UN, but led by UN members, rather than by the UN itself. The Military Staff Committee envisioned in Article 47 of the UN Charter has never been organized, and the UN does not have a standing army. The strongest member states must therefore shoulder this responsibility in conjunction with other UN members. The U.S. is now promoting the organization of an African Crisis Response Initiative composed of African military units coordinated and trained by the U.S., Europeans, and other powers. Regional forces such as those of NATO, ECOWAS, or the EU, or mandated by the African Union or Organization of American States may also effectively intervene if given strong support by major military powers.
Denial, the final stage of genocide is best overcome by public trials and truth commissions, followed by years of education about the facts of the genocide, particularly for the children of the group or nation that committed the crime. The black hole of forgetting is the negative force that results in future genocides. When Adolf Hitler was asked if his planned invasion of Poland was a violation of international law, he scoffed, "Who ever heard of the extermination of the Armenians?" Impunity - literally getting away with murder -- is the weakest link in the chains that restrain genocide. In Rwanda, Hutus were never arrested and brought to trial for massacres of Tutsis that began years before the April, 1994 genocide. In Burundi, Tutsi youth gangs have never been tried for killing Hutus. Burundi judges are nearly all Tutsis, as are the army and police. They seldom, if ever, convict their own. Social order abhors a legal vacuum. When courts do not dispense justice the victims have no recourse but revenge. In societies with histories of ethnic violence, the cycle of killing will eventually spiral downward into the vortex of genocide. In such societies, the international community should fill the legal vacuum by creating tribunals to prosecute and try genocide. That has been done for the former Yugoslavia and Rwanda and will soon be done for Cambodia. We finally have the International Criminal Court (ICC) that will have world-wide jurisdiction to try genocide, war crimes, and crimes against humanity. But the ICC still has no jurisdiction over genocide committed in nations that contain over half of the world’s population because their nations have not become parties to the Rome Treaty of the ICC. The Court must be supported by effective institutions to arrest and imprison those indicted and convicted by the Court. Only such a permanent court will provide a deterrent to those planning future genocides. The strongest antidote to genocide is justice.

* This article was originally written in 1996 and was presented as the first Working Paper (GS 01) of the Yale Program in Genocide Studies in 1998.
1. Gregory H. Stanton is the James Farmer Professor of Human Rights, The University of Mary Washington, Fredericksburg, Virginia; President, Genocide Watch; Chairman, The International Campaign to End Genocide; Director, The Cambodian Genocide Project; Vice President, International Association of Genocide Scholars.
“IF BULLYING GROWS UNCHECKED, WHAT COULD IT LEAD TO?”

LEARN TO RECOGNIZE, COMPREHEND, AND ACT AGAINST THE EIGHT STAGES OF GENOCIDE.
THE CHOICE IS YOURS & THE TIME IS NOW

‘IT NEVER HAPPENED’
‘WHAT ARE YOU TALKING ABOUT’
‘YOU JUST DON’T UNDERSTAND’

THEY TREAT US LIKE ANIMALS
‘THEY REFUSE TO LOOK US IN THE EYE’
‘THEY’RE DIFFERENT THAN WE ARE’

THEY SYSTEMATICALLY SCARRED US, WE’RE FOREVER BRANDED
‘YOU’RE EITHER WITH US OR AGAINST US’
‘OUR FIRST STEPS ARE TO IDENTIFY AND CATEGORIZE’

RECOGNIZE COMPREHEND ACT!

© 2012 Texas Holocaust and Genocide Commission, Eight Stages of Genocide
CLASSIFICATION

VICTIMS ARE SINGLED OUT AND CATEGORIZED
- “We’ve been thrown into the lowest class”
- “They don’t think much of any of us”

PERPETRATORS WILL THEN DISCRIMINATE AGAINST THOSE BEING CLASSIFIED
“They’re barely useful even for menial labor”

WHAT WILL IT TAKE TO STAND ON COMMON GROUND?

THE CHOICE IS YOURS & THE TIME IS NOW

RECOGNIZE COMPREHEND ACT!

© 2012 Texas Holocaust and Genocide Commission, Eight Stages of Genocide
SYMBOLIZATION

VICTIMS ARE SCARRED & MARKED WITH HATE SYMBOLS
- "They intentionally and maliciously scarred us. They branded us!"
- "In their eyes, we’re the problem"

GOVERNMENTS, STATES, AND/OR ORGANIZATIONS START TARGETING EFFORTS
"They have to carry documents at all times"

How do I Stand Up for DIVERSITY & DIFFERENCES?

THE CHOICE IS YOURS & THE TIME IS NOW

RECOGNIZE COMPREHEND ACT!

- Visit genocidewatch.org
- See video: Symbolization

WHAT IS GENOCIDE | WHAT ARE THE SOLUTIONS | WHAT ARE THE PREVENTATIVE MEASURES | STAGE 2 OF 8

© 2012 Texas Holocaust and Genocide Commission, Eight Stages of Genocide
DEHUMANIZATION

VICTIMS ARE DENIED IDENTITIES, SEEN AS UNIMPORTANT, CALLED NAMES, AND ANIMALIZED
- "They treat us like animals"
- "We're called cockroaches"
- "They refuse to look us in the eye"

STATES, SCHOOLS, FAMILIES, AND SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS EASILY DISTANCE THEMSELVES
"They're very different than we are"

Is CRUELTY to another HUMAN BEING EVER JUSTIFIED?

THE CHOICE IS YOURS & THE TIME IS NOW

RECOGNIZE COMPREHEND ACT!

© 2012 Texas Holocaust and Genocide Commission, Eight Stages of Genocide
Polarization

Those in the middle, moderates, who could slow the cycle, are eliminated.
"You’re either with us or against us. There is no middle or neutral ground."

Media is controlled by hate groups. Laws are implemented curbing individual freedom.
- “We have to try to make them see reason”
- “They live in a world of absolutes and they see us as ‘in the way’”

How do you discern between right & wrong?

The choice is yours, and the time is now.

Recognize, Comprehend, Act!

- Visit: genocidewatch.org
- See video: Polarization

What is genocide, what are the solutions, what are the preventative measures.

Stage 5 of 8

© 2012 Texas Holocaust and Genocide Commission, Eight Stages of Genocide
PREPARATION

WHEN PREPARING, VICTIMS ARE TRACKED IN LISTS, BY MARKING HOUSES, AND BY ISSUING SPECIFIC I.D. CARDS
“They keep records and maps on all our comings and goings. We’re tracked at all times.”

BUREAUCRACY DIRECTS THE TRANSPORTATION OF VICTIMS TO ORGANIZED KILLING CENTERS
- “It’ll be easier to concentrate them all together”
- “We’ll keep meticulous records and archives, ensuring efficiency”

Do you want to be a BYSTANDER?

THE CHOICE IS YOURS & THE TIME IS NOW

RECOGNIZE COMPREHEND | ACT!

VISIT GENOCIDEWATCH.ORG
SEE VIDEO: PREPARATION

WHAT IS GENOCIDE | WHAT ARE THE SOLUTIONS | WHAT ARE THE PREVENTATIVE MEASURES | STAGE 6 OF 8
What are you going to do to STOP IT?

Extermination

Intervene before the seventh step, "The Final Solution," which is extermination. "This is the eleventh hour and we have to do something now to stop this."

Those committing genocide will often describe the killing as "purification." "We must bring about the final cleansing!"

Victims' bodies are buried in mass graves or burnt like garbage. "They're trying to wipe us off the face of the Earth."

The choice is yours & the time is now.

Recognize, Comprehend, ACT!

© 2012 Texas Holocaust and Genocide Commission, Eight Stages of Genocide
Denial

Every genocide is followed by the denial of those involved
"Those are all lies; it didn’t at all happen like that!"

Accounts by the victims are dismissed as “unconfirmed” or “alleged”
"Those days will forever live in our memories"

Some bystanders will even dismiss reports as propaganda
"Those are all gross exaggerations"

Are you going to let them get away with that?

The Choice is Yours & the Time is Now

Recognize Comprehend Act!

- Visit GenocideWatch.org
- See Video: Denial
- Read: The 12 Ways to Deny Genocide

What is Genocide What are the Solutions What are the Preventative Measures Stage 8 of 8

© 2012 Texas Holocaust and Genocide Commission, Eight Stages of Genocide
It Starts with You

RECOGNIZE COMPREHEND & ACT!

What will it take TO STAND ON COMMON GROUND?

How do I stand up for DIVERSITY & DIFFERENCES?

IS CRUELTY TO ANOTHER HUMAN BEING EVER JUSTIFIED?

When is it necessary TO ASK WHY?

How do you discern BETWEEN RIGHT & WRONG?

Do you want to be a bystander?

What are you going to do to stop it?

ARE YOU GOING TO LET THEM GET AWAY WITH THAT?
Discussion Questions - Genocide

These questions are intended to provide guidance and suggestions for discussion about genocide and the Holocaust. The 8 Stages of Genocide posters should be used in conjunction with the questions, as they are the core of the lesson. These questions can be modified and adapted to satisfy the needs of all learners.

- What is genocide?
- Why did the Holocaust happen?
- How do people get “stuck” in stages of genocide?
- What genocide and atrocities are happening currently? Why?
- What is your commitment to prevention?
- Do you agree with the sequence in the 8 stages of genocide?
- Compare communication and technological resources of today to those during the Holocaust.
- Is “freedom” a human right? How do you feel about bullying? If you were being bullied or saw someone else being bullied what would you do?
- Who should correct perceived “rights” and “wrongs”? Should it be a personal or collective decision?
- If Allied troops had not discovered “evidence” of the Holocaust, how would the world have known about it? Would it have been believed?
- Is “Man” intrinsically good or evil? What are the pros and cons of “authority”?
- How did Hitler “control” the masses into believing he was doing good, when they witnessed him doing evil?
- Examine the psychological and emotional position of the “by-stander” vs. the “up-stander.”
- What are the positive and negative behaviors associated with obedience, conformity, and silence?
- What were the survivors lives like after liberation from the concentration camps?
- How would you begin to locate lost family members after liberation?
- What level of complicity do bystanders have during genocide? What about when witnessing an episode of bullying?
Evaluation for Participants – Genocide and the Holocaust

Name (optional)____________________________________

Please answer the following: Yes  No
1. Was the lesson effective in teaching you about the Holocaust during World War II? _____  _____

2. Did the lessons help you teach the genocide-related TEKS to your students? _____  _____

3. Were you able to express your thoughts, feelings, and opinions in a safe and comfortable environment? _____  _____

4. Did the activities help educate you about genocide and the Holocaust? _____  _____

5. Did lessons provide differentiation for varied learning styles and multiple intelligence? _____  _____

Did you find this lesson meaningful and purposeful?
__________________________________________________________________________________________
__________________________________________________________________________________________
__________________________________________________________________________________________
__________________________________________________________________________________________

How did the posters help you learn about genocide?
__________________________________________________________________________________________
__________________________________________________________________________________________
__________________________________________________________________________________________
__________________________________________________________________________________________

What recommendations do you have for improvement of this lesson?
__________________________________________________________________________________________
__________________________________________________________________________________________
__________________________________________________________________________________________
__________________________________________________________________________________________
Holocaust and Genocide References

YouTube Poster Video Links - Dr. Stanton Explaining each stage of genocide

Classification  http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_F1OmD481ql
Symbolization  http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iPUSlzcH5A
Dehumanization  http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=A5myv_XQu3g
Organization  http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zj_eVuxZx40
Polarization  http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9r0jR_8d6i8
Preparation  http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iPt3GPMwEzQ
Extermination  http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VoqVKtLEQGw
Denial  http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xoQOj3TzLE4

YouTube Videos

http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JeC6S6bDTXI

Created @ Emory University in 2006 as part of Campus MovieFest, the Sudan: The Silent Genocide documents the destruction of life in the Darfur region of Sudan.

http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UMBZpGRF4tg

Personal account of an American witness to genocide in Darfur.

http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1-SI8RF6wDE

Photographs of Cambodian Genocide.

http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dchqJ7bhCBA

After the Holocaust, world leaders proclaimed, "Never Again!" Then: Cambodia, Bosnia, Rwanda, and now Darfur, where more than 400,000 have been killed. Join the first permanent anti-genocide movement at www.GenocideIntervention.net

http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EJedvAEfHeQ

Armenian Genocide

http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=n3Few4FDDxo

Rwandan Genocide
Print:


**Internet Resources:**
http://www.hmh.org/au_texas_hg.shtml

http://www.state.nj.us/education/holocaust/curriculum/genslave.pdf
http://www.holocaustresearchproject.org/ghettos/warsawghetto.html
http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/Holocaust/lodz.html
http://www.holocaustresearchproject.org/survivor/index.html
http://fcit.coedu.usf.edu/holocaust/people/survivor.htm
http://cghs.dade.k12.fl.us/holocaust/French_resistance.htm
http://www.oskarschindler.com/
http://www.holocaustsurvivors.org/survivors.php
http://history1900s.about.com/cs/rescuers/
http://holocaustforgotten.com/rescuers.htm
kate.murraystate.edu/media/kate/tick/.../lesson_1_holocaust_HS.doc
www.state.nj.us/education/holocaust/curriculum/genslave.pdf
genocidewatch.org,
Protecting Students from Harassment and Hate Crime: A Guide For Schools
http://www.cde.state.co.us/cdeprevention/download/pdf/harassment.pdf
http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/teach/divided/
www.youtube.com/watch?v=Hqp6GnYqJjQ
http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=viRxQ_X3igU&feature=related
THE EIGHT STAGES OF GENOCIDE POSTER SERIES
IMAGE CITATIONS

PRECAP POSTER

Background Images:

Africa Map Property of Art In History, Inc.
Photograph #08184 Archives United States Holocaust Museum
http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Cambodia_1997_CIA_map.jpg
img007 Photograph purchased from The Veterans’ Museum
img024 Photograph purchased from The Veterans’ Museum
img036 Photograph purchased from The Veterans’ Museum
img043 Photograph purchased from The Veterans’ Museum
img060 Photograph purchased from The Veterans’ Museum
Photograph #07078 Archives United States Holocaust Museum

POSTER 1 CLASSIFICATION

Background Images:

Africa Map Property of Art In History, Inc.
Photograph #08184 Archives United States Holocaust Museum
http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Cambodia_1997_CIA_map.jpg
mg007 Photograph purchased from The Veterans’ Museum
img024 Photograph purchased from The Veterans’ Museum
img036 Photograph purchased from The Veterans’ Museum
img043 Photograph purchased from The Veterans’ Museum
img060 Photograph purchased from The Veterans’ Museum
Photograph #07078 Archives United States Holocaust Museum

Foreground Image:

file0001768498808 morgueFile Free License http://www.morguefile.com/license/morguefile/

POSTER 2 SYMBOLIZATION

Background Images:

49821 Archives United States Holocaust Museum
63208FalseIDCard Archives United States Holocaust Museum
Africa Map Property of Art In History, Inc.
POSTER 3 DEHUMANIZATION

Background Images:

Africa Map Property of Art In History, Inc.
Photograph #08184 Archives United States Holocaust Museum
http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Cambodia_1997_CIA_map.jpg
img007 Photograph purchased from The Veterans’ Museum
img024 Photograph purchased from The Veterans’ Museum
img036 Photograph purchased from The Veterans’ Museum
img043 Photograph purchased from The Veterans’ Museum
img060 Photograph purchased from The Veterans’ Museum
Photograph #07078 Archives United States Holocaust Museum

Foreground Image:

101.rwanda cholera child Photograph courtesy of Kevin Weaver, www.kevenweaver.co.uk

POSTER 4 ORGANIZATION

Background Images:

64438NaziSalute Archives United States Holocaust Museum
77533HitlerMarching Archives United States Holocaust Museum
Africa Map Property of Art In History, Inc.
Photograph #08184 Archives United States Holocaust Museum
img007 Photograph purchased from The Veterans’ Museum
img024 Photograph purchased from The Veterans’ Museum
POSTER 5 POLARIZATION

Background Images:

Africa Map Property of Art In History, Inc.
Photograph #08184 Archives United States Holocaust Museum
http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Cambodia_1997_CIA_map.jpg

Foreground Image:

file000445745763 morgueFile Free License http://www.morguefile.com/license/morguefile/

POSTER 6 PREPARATION

Background Images:

Africa Map Property of Art In History, Inc.
Photograph #08184 Archives United States Holocaust Museum
http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Cambodia_1997_CIA_map.jpg

Foreground Image:

file0381291239055 morgueFile Free License http://www.morguefile.com/license/morguefile/
POSTER 7 EXTERMINATION

Background Images:

Africa Map Property of Art In History, Inc.
Photograph #08184 Archives United States Holocaust Museum
http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Cambodia_1997_CIA_map.jpg
img007 Photograph purchased from The Veterans’ Museum
img024 Photograph purchased from The Veterans’ Museum
img036 Photograph purchased from The Veterans’ Museum
img043 Photograph purchased from The Veterans’ Museum
img060 Photograph purchased from The Veterans’ Museum
Photograph #07078 Archives United States Holocaust Museum

Foreground Image:

file7451271878605 morgueFile Free License http://www.morguefile.com/license/morguefile/

POSTER 8 DENIAL

Background Images:

Africa Map Property of Art In History, Inc.
Photograph #08184 Archives United States Holocaust Museum
http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Cambodia_1997_CIA_map.jpg
img007 Photograph purchased from The Veterans’ Museum
img024 Photograph purchased from The Veterans’ Museum
img036 Photograph purchased from The Veterans’ Museum
img043 Photograph purchased from The Veterans’ Museum
img060 Photograph purchased from The Veterans’ Museum
Photograph #07078 Archives United States Holocaust Museum

Foreground Image:

shutterstock_26396620 Image purchased from www.shutterstock.com
Background Images:

Africa Map Property of Art In History, Inc.
Photograph #08184 Archives United States Holocaust Museum
http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Cambodia_1997_CIA_map.jpg
img007 Photograph purchased from The Veterans’ Museum
img024 Photograph purchased from The Veterans’ Museum
img036 Photograph purchased from The Veterans’ Museum
img043 Photograph purchased from The Veterans’ Museum
img060 Photograph purchased from The Veterans’ Museum
Photograph #07078 Archives United States Holocaust Museum