

CONF 399
PREVENTION OF GENOCIDE AND MASS ATROCITIES
Spring 2011

Class Time: Fridays
10:30am – 13:15pm
Location: IN 131 – Fairfax Campus
Instructor: Tetsushi Ogata
Office Hours: By appointment through togata@gmu.edu, 703-389-0413 (cell), or 703-993-4437 (office)

I. Background

Genocide and mass atrocities, while rare, are extraordinarily destructive once they emerge. They are the product of years or even centuries of human experiences and as such can be understood and shall be prevented. The 20th century was marked by several cases of genocides and mass atrocities that challenge us to learn lessons from such behavior. Too often signs of impending genocidal violence were not identified, acknowledged, or acted upon, thereby creating conditions for their recurrence in new forms.

Preventing genocide and mass atrocities is a collective enterprise of knowledge management, strategic ingenuity, and political will. The field of genocide prevention has been developing, and what we see today is the emergence of increasing scholarship, time-sensitive and space-specific datasets, legal doctrines and practices, and a growing number of institutions mandated to prevent genocide. These emerging resources enable us to analyze motivation, capacity, and conducive environment that allow genocidal processes to take shape.

This course sharpens students' understanding of genocide and/or mass killing as a phenomenon through analyzing the past cases, such as Metz Yegh ern, Shoa, Cambodia, and Itsembambo, in light of various theoretical and analytical perspectives. While different in many aspects, these phenomena offer an extraordinary opportunity to analyze systematically the causes and conditions of genocides and mass atrocities in the last century. To prevent them from happening in the future, the course will have constant reference to current trends in research and practice, and students will be invited to deepen their knowledge learned by focusing on a particular case of their choice during the semester.

II. Objectives

The objective of the course is to integrate the existing body of knowledge and theories of genocide and mass killing into a preventive approach that will have an impact on the actual prevention of mass violence. Genocide occurs over time and is subject to both internal and external dynamics that may escalate or diminish the possibility of a widespread experience of mass violence. Therefore, the course aims to:

- Understand the cases of 20th century genocides in depth
- Critically analyze them comparatively through theoretical perspectives
- Identify relevant insights to improve our knowledge of genocide as a distinct and yet a related phenomenon

- Contribute to the identification of current challenges and opportunities to prevent genocide
- Conceptualize and suggest proper course of action for the prevention of impending genocide and mass atrocities

III. Course Requirements

This is a seminar course and fulfills an elective requirement of the CAR major. After an introduction to genocide as a phenomenon and to the field of genocide prevention in the first 2 sessions, you will be exposed, as a start, to 2 chosen cases: Rwanda and Cambodia. Through these classes, the concepts and debates on understanding and preventing genocide will be presented and analyzed, opening to the last section of the course that will focus on specific cases of genocide or mass atrocities that you choose as a group. Each group will select a case and prepares for an interactive group presentation towards the end of the course. Each group will have selected readings relevant to their case, and these readings will also be available for all students specializing on other cases. The presentation in class will invite further analysis during and after the course. Literature and multimedia materials will be made available through the course website.

Participation (10%)

Class attendance is required. You are expected to come to class prepared to discuss the readings. This means that you should have completed all the assigned readings prior to each class. The goal in this class is to have respectful, open dialogue of the topic as part of learning. Be mindful of the sensitivities of others in your comments in class; however, open discussion and dialogue are our goals.

Reflection log (15%)

The course page on the Blackboard will be available. You will log in to the site and post your comments, reflections, critiques, puzzles, or questions about the readings for the week. Although brief comments are perfectly acceptable, the content of your posting needs to demonstrate your intellectual engagement with the texts. These posts will be shared on the discussion forum page, so other students will have a chance to read and react. Therefore, you are encouraged to do the posting well in advance of each week's class.

Mid-term essay (20%)

You will write a 7-15 page essay, double-spaced, Times New Roman 12 font, 1" margin. All written work should be properly cited in a standard citation format (MLA, Chicago, etc...). The mid-term paper is due on March 11 by email. Multiple essay questions will be handed out on March 4, and you will write an answer to one of the essay questions.

Group Presentation (15%) and Case Analysis (10%)

The class will be divided into two groups at the beginning of the course. Each group will choose a single case of genocide or mass killing for the group presentation and the case analysis paper at the end of the course. Note that students may select a case of mass atrocities which may or may not be considered genocide by some scholars. The sample list of those cases include Herero, Armenia, the Soviet Purge, the Holocaust, China, Bangladesh, Burundi, Cambodia, East Timor, Bosnia and Kosovo, Rwanda, or Sudan, or indigenous peoples. During the semester the groups will be given in-class time to discuss and apply an analytical framework to their case. You will present as a group

your critical analysis of causes, circumstances, processes, contexts, etc of the given case, deciding how to frame the nature of the genocide and/or mass atrocities by drawing upon concepts, theories, readings, discussions and lectures from the course. The emphasis is placed on theoretical applications of your acquired knowledge to the case, which is different from recounting factual descriptions of what happened.

Each member of the group will complete an analytic essay of the case. This is an individualized reflection paper and it is not the collective essay written by the whole group members. This paper will be your own synthesis of the case you chose, theories and perspectives you employed to analyze, and your own critical reflections evaluating the lessons learned and ways forward. This should be around 5-8 pages.

Final-exam essay (30%)

You will write a research paper on the topic you choose. This should be around 15-20 page essay in which you demonstrate your knowledge of your chosen case(s), theories, practices of preventing genocide and mass atrocities you learned during the semester and synthesize them with your own critical thinking. This is not a summary or survey of the literature; it is your focused approach to a particular aspect of a case(s) or a specific area of genocide prevention, using the existing literature and past cases while illuminating new insights and directions the field of genocide prevention needs to take. 1-page proposal on your topic and your brief discussion on the topic is due on March 25.

IV. Readings

The following books are required and will be used as core texts. Other supplemental books listed below are designed to be reference to guide your further research on your group presentation and the final research paper. The reading materials in class other than the core texts will be available by the online course website on the Blackboard.

Required:

Adam Jones. 2011. *Genocide: A Comprehensive Introduction*. 2nd ed. London: Routledge.

Benjamin Valentino. 2004. *Final Solutions: Mass Killing and Genocide in the Twentieth Century*. Cornell studies in security affairs. Ithaca, N.Y: Cornell University Press.

James Waller. 2007. *Becoming Evil: How Ordinary People Commit Genocide and Mass Killing*. 2nd ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Supplemental:

Bellamy, Alex J. 2009. *Responsibility to Protect: The Global Effort to End Mass Atrocities*. Cambridge: Polity.

Bloxham, Donald, and A. Dirk Moses, eds. 2010. *The Oxford Handbook of Genocide Studies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Chalk, Frank, and Kurt Jonassohn. 1990. *The History and Sociology of Genocide: Analyses and Case Studies*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Goldhagen, Daniel Jonah. 2009. *Worse Than War: Genocide, Eliminationism, and the Ongoing Assault on Humanity*. 1st ed. New York: PublicAffairs.

- Kiernan, Ben. 2007. *Blood and Soil: A World History of Genocide and Extermination from Sparta to Darfur*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Levene, Mark. 2005. *Genocide in the Age of the Nation-State: The meaning of genocide*. Volume 1. London: I.B. Tauris.
- Midlarsky, Manus I. 2005. *The Killing Trap: Genocide in the Twentieth Century*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Power, Samantha. 2002. *A Problem from Hell: America and the Age of Genocide*. New York: Basic Books.
- Schabas, William. 2009. *Genocide in International Law: The Crime of Crimes*. 2nd ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Semelin, Jacques. 2007. *Purify and Destroy: The Political Uses of Massacre and Genocide*. The CERI series in comparative politics and international studies. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Staub, Ervin. 1989. *The Roots of Evil: The Origins of Genocide and Other Group Violence*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Totten, Samuel, ed. 2005. *Genocide at the Millennium*. Genocide v. 5. New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction Publishers.
- Rubenstein, Richard E. 2010. *Reasons to Kill: why Americans choose war*. 1st ed. New York: Bloomsbury Press.

On Armenia:

- Akçam, Taner, *From Empire to Republic: Turkish Nationalism and the Armenian Genocide*, London: Zed Books, 2004.
- Balakian, Peter, *The Burning Tigris: The Armenian Genocide and America's Response*, New York: Harper Collins, 2003.
- Bloxham, Donald, *The Great Game of Genocide: Imperialism, Nationalism, and the Destruction of the Ottoman Armenians*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.
- Dadrian, Vahakn N., *Warrant for Genocide: Key Elements of Turko-Armenian Conflict*, New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 1999.

On the Holocaust:

- Bartov, Omer, *Germany's War and the Holocaust: Disputed Histories*, Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2003.
- Browning, Christopher, *Ordinary Men: Reserve Police Battalion 101 and the Final Solution in Poland*, New York: Perennial, 1993.
- Fein, Helen, *Accounting for Genocide*, Free Press, New York, 1979.
- Goldhagen, Daniel J., *Hitler's Willing Executioners: Ordinary Germans and the Holocaust*, New York: Vintage, 1997.

On Cambodia:

- De Nike, Howard J., John B. Quigley, and Kenneth J. Robinson, *Genocide in Cambodia: Documents from the Trial of Pol Pot and Ieng Sary*, Pennsylvania Studies in Human Rights, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000.
- Kiernan, Ben, *The Pol Pot Regime: Race, Power and Genocide in Cambodia under the Khmer Rouge*, New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1996.
- Hinton, Alexander Laban, *Why Did They Kill? Cambodia in the Shadow of Genocide*, Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2005.

On Rwanda:

- Dallaire, Roméo, *Shake Hands with the Devil: The Failure of Humanity in Rwanda*, New York: Carroll & Graf, 2004.
- Gourevitch, Philip, *We Wish to Inform You That Tomorrow We Will be Killed With Our Families: Stories from Rwanda*, New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1998.
- Prunier, Gérard, *The Rwanda Crisis: History of a Genocide*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1997.

V. Grading and Resources

The grading scale will be distributed as follows:

A: Outstanding work, creative and critical, and thoughts very well organized and well written

A 100-94

A- 93-90

B: Good work, well written, and interesting ideas. Some minor improvements will be needed in certain areas.

B+ 89-87

B 86-84

B- 83-80

C: Average work, lack of clarity in organizing ideas and thoughts, and/or lack of stylistic writing

C+ 79-77

C 76-74

C- 73-70

D: If you receive D, you need to schedule an appointment to see me immediately. D is close to a failing grade, where the student exhibits lack of understanding of the material and the basic principles.

D 69-60

F: Unacceptable grade and you would need to take the course again to pass it.

F Below 60

Honor Code and Plagiarism

All George Mason University students have agreed to abide by the letter and the spirit of the Honor Code. You can find a copy of the Honor Code at <http://academicintegrity.gmu.edu/>. The Honor Code is as follows:

“To promote a stronger sense of mutual responsibility, respect, trust, and fairness among all members of the George Mason University community and with the desire for greater academic and personal achievement, we, the student members of the university community, have set forth this honor code: *Student members of the George Mason University community pledge not to cheat, plagiarize, steal, or lie in matters related to academic work.*”

All violations of the Honor Code will be reported to the Honor Committee for review. With specific regards to plagiarism, three fundamental and rather simple principles are that: (1) all work submitted

be your own; (2) when using the work or ideas of others, including fellow students, give full credit through accurate citations; and (3) if you are uncertain about the ground rules on a particular assignment, ask for clarification.

Other Campus Resources:

Office of Disability Services

The <http://accessibility.gmu.edu/student-services.html> website provides information on the various services available to facilitate equal access for students with disabilities to ensure access to all university courses, programs, events, and services. Services include technology consultations, training and equipment/software for all students with disabilities. The accessible text project provides conversion of hard copy text into accessible electronic format. The university libraries have a variety of services and policies designed to ensure comparable access to all library services.

English Language Institute

The English Language Institute offers free English language tutoring to non-native English speaking students who are referred by a member of the GMU faculty or staff. For more information, visit <http://eli.gmu.edu/>, call 703-993-3660 or e-mail eli@gmu.edu.

The Writing Center

The Writing Center is a free writing resource that offers individual, group, and online tutoring. For general questions and comments, please visit the website at <http://writingcenter.gmu.edu/>, or e-mail wcenter@gmu.edu, or call 703-993-1200.

VI. Schedule of classes and readings:

January 28

Introduction

Course introduction

Conflict vs. genocide; conflict prevention & resolution vs. genocide prevention; theory, research & practice of conflict resolution and genocide prevention

February 4

Conception of genocide prevention: debates and development

Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide. Available electronically at www.hrweb.org/legal/genocide.html

Adam Jones, *Genocide*, Chapter 1

Helen Fein, *Genocide: a sociological perspective*, Chapter 2 & 3 (pp.8-50)

Alex Alvarez, *Governments, Citizens, and Genocide*, Chapter 2 (pp.28-55)

Recommended:

USIP Special Report, "The Genocide Convention at 50" by William Schabas, available electronically at <http://www.usip.org/publications/genocide-convention-fifty>

Mark Levene, "Definitional Conundrums," in *The Meaning of Genocide*, pp.36-89.

Jacques Semelin, *Purify and Destroy*, Chapter 6, pp.308-361.

February 11

The Rwandan case

Film showing: *Ghosts of Rwanda*

Adam Jones, *Genocide*, Chapter 9

Benjamin Valentino, "Review: Still Standing by: Why America and the International Community Fail to Prevent Genocide and Mass Killing." *Perspectives on Politics* 1, no. 3: 565-578.

Recommended:

Philip Gourevitch, *We wish to inform you that tomorrow we will be kill with our families*, Part 1.

February 18

Approaches to understand genocide

Benjamin Valentino, *Final Solutions*, Chapters 2 (pp.30-65)

Manus Midlarsky, *The Killing Trap*, Chapter 5 (pp.83-110)

Jacques Semelin, *Purify and Destroy*, Chapter 1 (pp.9-51) and also skim pp.320-347

Gregory Stanton, "8 stages of genocide," available at

<http://www.genocidewatch.org/aboutgenocide/8stagesofgenocide.html>

Recommended:

Adam Jones, *Genocide*, Chapter 11,

Frank Chalk and Kurt Jonaassohn, *The History and Sociology of Genocide*, Part I, pp. 3-39.

Ben Kiernan, *Blood and Soil*, Chapter 1, pp.1-40

Daniel Goldhagen, *Worse than War*, Chapter 1, pp.1-32

February 25

The Cambodian case

Film: the Killing Fields

Adam Jones, *Genocide*, Chapter 7

Recommended:

Alex Hinton, *Why did they kill? Cambodia in the Shadow of Genocide*

March 4

During genocide: psychological workings of agents

Adam Jones, *Genocide*, Chapter 10

James Waller, *Becoming Evil*, pp.137-140 and Chapter 6, 7 and 8

Ervin Staub, *The Roots of Evil*, Chapter 2 (pp.13-34)

Recommended:

Steven Baum, *the Psychology of Genocide*, Chapter 3, 4, and 5

Samantha Power, "Bystanders to genocide," *the Atlantic Monthly*, September 2001, available at <http://www.mtholyoke.edu/acad/intrel/power.htm>

Paul Slovic, "If I look at the mass I will never act": Psychic numbing and genocide." *Judgment and Decision Making* (2007) 2, no. 2: 79-95.

***Mid-term Paper questions handed out**

March 11

Development of legal doctrines

Adam Jones, *Genocide*, Chapter 15

William Schabas, *Genocide in International Law*, (2nd ed), Chapter 8 (pp.400-490)

Recommended:

Samuel Totten (ed), *Genocide at the Millennium*, Chapter 8, 9, and 10

***Mid-term Paper due by email submission only**

March 18 – Spring Break

March 25

Development of international norms

International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty. 2001. *The Responsibility to Protect*.

Ottawa: IDRC, available at <http://www.iciss.ca/report-en.asp>. Read Synopsis

Alex Bellamy, *Responsibility to Protect*, Chapter 1 (pp.1-34) and pp.51-65

Gareth Evans, *The Responsibility to Protect*, Chapter 3 (pp.55-76)

Browse through the website of the International Coalition for the Responsibility to Protect (ICR2P)

at <http://www.responsibilitytoprotect.org/index.php/about-rtop/the-un-and-rtop>

Recommended:

Thomas Weiss, *Humanitarian Intervention*, Chapter 1, 3 and 4

Jeremy Sarkin, "Why the Responsibility to Protect (R2P) as a Doctrine or (Emerging) Norm to Prevent Genocide and Other Massive Human Rights Violations is on the Decline," *Politorbis*, pp.51-64, available at

http://www.genocidewatch.org/images/Resources_10_03_01_Politorbis_Genocide_Prevention_Final.pdf

***1-page Final Paper Proposal due**

April 1

Development of early warning & risk assessment

- Barbara Harff. 2009. "How to Use Risk Assessment and Early Warning in the Prevention and De-escalation of Genocide and other Mass Atrocities." *Global Responsibility to Protect* 1, no. 4: 506-531.
- Christoph O. Meyer, Florian Otto, John Brante, and Chiara De Franco. 2010. "Recasting the Warning-Response Problem: Persuasion and Preventive Policy." *International Studies Review* 12, no. 4 (12): 556-578.
- Barbara Harff. 2003. "No Lessons Learned from the Holocaust? Assessing Risks of Genocide and Political Mass Murder since 1955." *The American Political Science Review* 97, no. 1: 57-73.
- Browse through the website of the Fund for Peace at http://www.fundforpeace.org/web/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=324&Itemid=489

Recommended:

- Rodik, Petra and Drazen Penzar and Armano Srblijinovic. "An Overview of Databases of Conflicts and Political Crisis" In *Interdisciplinary Description of Complex Systems*, 2003. Available electronically at <http://indecs.znanost.org/2003/indecs2003-pp9-21.pdf>

April 8

Case of prevention – Nigeria

Guest lecture (to be confirmed) – William Ferroggiaro, Senior Associate, the Fund for Peace

April 15

Post-genocide: recovery, reconciliation, and denial

Adam Jones, *Genocide*, Chapter 14

Ervin Staub and Laurie Anne Pearlman, "Healing, Reconciliation, and Forgiving after Genocide and Other Collective Violence," in *the Psychology of Good and Evil*, pp.432-450.

Israel Charny, "Templates for Gross Denial of a Known Genocide: A Manual," in *The Encyclopedia of Genocide*, volume 1, page 168.

Film: Gacaca

April 22

Policymaking of genocide prevention

Guest lecture (to be confirmed) – Lawrence Woocher, Senior Program Officer, USIP

Genocide Prevention Task Force (GPTF), *Preventing Genocide*

Montreal Institute for Genocide and Human Rights Studies (MIGS), *Mobilizing the Will to Intervene*, pp.1-63.

Lawrence Woocher, "A Reflection from the United States: Advancing Genocide Prevention through a High-Level Task Force," *Politorbis*, pp.135-147,

http://www.genocidewatch.org/images/Resources_10_03_01_Politorbis_Genocide_Prevention_Final.pdf

April 29

Group 1 presentation & Group 1 case analysis paper due

May 6

Group 2 presentation & Group 2 case analysis paper due

*May 13 – Final Paper due by email submission only