

Ernesto Verdeja
Department of Government
Wesleyan University
Office: PAC 322
Everdeja at wesleyan dot edu



Genocide in the Twentieth Century

This course will examine organized mass murder in the twentieth century. Through the careful analysis of four modern genocides— the Jewish Holocaust, Armenia, Cambodia and Rwanda— we will investigate definitions and conceptions of genocide and consider its place in history. We will also discuss different theories of responsibility, guilt, justice and evil, issues of survivorship (both among victims and perpetrators) and gradations of political violence. The final part of the course will be devoted to considerations of humanitarian intervention, international criminal tribunals, truth commissions and human rights. If time is permitted we will discuss current events in Darfur, Sudan as well.

Goals of the Course

1. To acquire a basic understanding of specific instances of genocide in the twentieth century.
2. To engage theoretical and philosophical issues of evil, identity construction, responsibility, justice, forgiveness, vengeance and guilt in the context of political terror and extermination.
3. To develop critical and comparative historical and analytical skills.

Meeting with Me

I intend to be as accessible as possible. If you have any questions or concerns about the course, do not hesitate to contact me. *Do it sooner rather than later.* You can contact me via email at the address listed above, or you can meet with me during office hours.

A Note on the Readings

The course involves a great deal of reading for several reasons. First, studying a phenomenon like genocide requires a certain familiarity with specific cases, so as not to fall in to the trap of making broad, unfounded generalizations that don't always hold for every case. The nature of historical inquiry, or any social science for that matter, makes extensive reading essential; there is simply no other way to understand a case without gathering as much and detailed information as possible. Second, the countries we are dealing with, with the exception of Nazi Germany, receive

relatively little treatment in the United States, so our knowledge of their histories is limited from the start. This means that we will devote some time to learning about the political and social histories of these countries and not just jump into the larger theoretical debates from the beginning.

The philosophical and theoretical readings are shorter, but more difficult. These will require more attention on your part since the arguments can be complex. However, their shorter length will compensate for their difficulty.

You will be directed to maps of the different case study countries. You are expected to know the general geographical features of each case (for example, Armenia is in the eastern part of present day Turkey, formerly the Ottoman Empire; Cambodia has an extensive border with Vietnam; Rwanda is in central Africa and borders Zaire (now Congo) etc.). Geography plays an important part in every nation's history and politics, and it is particularly important for understanding genocide.

The most important point about the readings is... don't let them intimidate you. We will spend quite a bit of time on the assignments in class, and if you have any questions about them feel free to contact me.

Expectations and Evaluations

Your Grade:

1. A portion of your final grade depends on your overall contribution to the course. You should come to class having read the assignment and having given it some thought in preparation for discussion. **Participation** is part of your grade.

2. Over the course of the semester, you will write **three papers** that deal with the readings. The papers should discuss issues that you find interesting or provocative, and they should engage the readings directly. They are not research papers, but are intended to give you an opportunity to interrogate the assignments, challenge their assumptions, and practice critical thinking skills. I encourage you to develop issues or questions raised in class in these longer papers by comparing several texts on the same issue (say perpetrator behavior, or the nature of genocide, or revisionist history, etc.).

Each of the three essays should be devoted to one of the five sections listed on the syllabus, which means that you will elect not to write on two of the sections. *The papers must be turned in on the due dates listed below: no late papers will be accepted for any reason. If you miss a deadline for an essay, simply drop it and go on to the next one.* The papers should be six to eight pages, typed or word processed, double-spaced in font twelve. Papers will not be accepted via email.

Paper deadlines are:

<p>No. 1 – February 22 No. 2 – March 29 No. 3 – April 10 No. 4 – April 26 No. 5 – May 15</p>

Some points regarding your papers:

1. Establish a focus. A good paper has a thesis, a central idea or claim that it is making, and it presents an argument supporting that thesis. You should be able to make an outline of your paper, which will at the same time be the skeleton of the argument you are making. It is often helpful to

write out the outline – in sentence form, not simply as a list of topics – before writing the paper or, at least, the final draft. A good way to think about your paper is to ask yourself, “What do I want my readers to believe after they have read my paper? What reasons can I offer them to think that?” If you can answer these questions succinctly, you’re off to an excellent start.

2. Title. The title should express the main idea or focus of your paper, preparing your reader to see immediately what you’re going to say, and why it’s interesting.

3. Structure and organization. The paper should have a clear structure, with an introduction presenting the central question or problem you are addressing, a body that sets out a logical development of the reasons and evidence you are offering, and a conclusion that ties the paper together. In longer papers it is often useful to provide section headings. The introduction should generally state your main thesis, and provide an overview of the structure of the argument, to make it easier for your reader to follow it.

Some specific points:

1. Please NUMBER your pages.

2. All quotations, paraphrases, and direct use of another's ideas (even if not quoted) MUST BE cited. Using in-text parenthetical references [author’s last name, year, page number; eg. (Adorno 1960: 45)] with a bibliography is fine; you do not have to use footnotes or endnotes. Footnotes can be used to present additional ideas, qualifications, or other points that would detract from the flow of the paper.

3. If you use secondary sources, make sure they are reliable. Avoid web reference sites like Wikipedia – these are not legitimate scholarly resources, and are often simplistic or just wrong.

4. Avoid common but egregious errors such as misuse of too, to or two; there, they're, or their; its or it's; affect or effect.

5. Stamp out sexism. If you mean men and women or he and she, say so. Don't assume that "man" or "men" refer to human beings generally. There are lots of ways of writing that avoid the awkwardness of, e.g., saying he or she over and over again. For help, you might consult Williams (see #6) or a more specialized guide such as *The Handbook of Nonsexist Writing* by Miller and Smith.

6. There are a number of excellent guides for good writing. Strunk and White *The Elements of Style* is a classic, especially for grammar and word usage; it also offers a useful set of “principles of composition.” I especially recommend Joseph Williams, *Style: Toward Grace and Clarity*. His work is particularly helpful in offering examples of how awkward passages can be rewritten, using rules or principles that are fairly concrete and address specific issues such as clarity, cohesion, emphasis, etc. (these are all chapter headings in his book). Anthony Weston, *A Rulebook for Arguments*, offers a helpful discussion of how to develop (and express) an argument in a tight, logical way.

.....

BREAKDOWN OF GRADES

Paper no. 1	30%
Paper no. 2	30%
Paper no. 3	30%
General participation	10%
Total	100%

No incompletes will be granted for this class.

A note on plagiarism: plagiarism, passing off someone else's work as your own, is a serious offence in academia and at Wesleyan in particular, and if a student is caught using the work of others without giving adequate credit to the original author he or she faces stiff disciplinary action from the school. See your student handbook on what qualifies as plagiarism at Wesleyan, and what its consequences are.

Films

Throughout the semester, I will show a few films that give poignancy and substance to the themes we will be studying. In general, these films will not be shown during class time. Rather, we will arrange other times to see them. It is not required for your grade that you see them; however, it is highly recommended. Films, both documentaries and more interpretative movies, bring an immediacy to the issue of genocide that is sometimes difficult to match in written texts.

Attendance:

My attendance policy is strict: each of you has three grace absences. For each absence beyond those three, regardless of the reason, your final grade will drop by one grade unit. Thus if you have a B+ and one unexcused absence, your final grade will be a B. If your grade is an A with one unexcused absence, you will receive an A- for the course.

However, if you have three or more unexcused absences you will fail the course. This policy comes from the belief that learning is a collective process as much as it is individual; as a result, if absences are common this cripples the learning process for everyone.

Likewise, arriving on time for class is expected. If you are late by five minutes or more, that will be considered an absence.

Texts for Class

Books:

The books listed below have been ordered for class and are also available on reserve in the library. I also recommend buying Strunk Jr., William and E. B. White *The Elements of Style* Macmillan Publishing (most recent edition), which every writer should own. It can be purchased at any decent bookstore.

Required Books:

Gourevitch, Philip *we wish to inform you that tomorrow we will be killed with our families* Picador Books 1997

Staub, Ervin *The Roots of Evil* Cambridge 1997

Levi, Primo *Survival In Auschwitz* First Collier Books (MacMillan) 1993

Miller, Donald and Lorna Miller *Survivors: An Oral History of the Armenian Genocide* University of California 1993

Borowski, Tadeusz *This Way to the Gas, Ladies and Gentlemen* Penguin 1959

Lipstadt, Deborah *Denying the Holocaust: The Growing Assault On Truth and Memory* Plume Books 1994

Wiesenthal, Simon *The Sunflower: On the Possibilities and Limits of Forgiveness* Schocken Books 1998

Chandler, David *Voices From S-21: Terror and History in Pol Pot's Secret Prison* California 1999

Chalk, Frank and Kurt Jonassohn (eds.) *The History and Sociology of Genocide: Analysis and Case Studies* Yale 1990

There are also a number of articles available electronically for this course.

General References

In addition to the standard humanities and social science journals, the following journals frequently cover issues that we will discuss in class:

Human Rights Quarterly
Journal of Genocide Research
Human Rights Review
Journal of Human Rights
Journal of Peace Research
Harvard Human Rights Journal
Columbia Human Rights Review
Holocaust and Genocide Studies

The following websites also cover issues we will discuss in class:

Amnesty International
<http://amnesty.org/>

Human Rights Watch
<http://www.hrw.org>

Human Rights First
<http://www.humanrightsfirst.org/index.html>

The International Center for Transitional Justice
<http://www.ictj.org/>

International Crisis Group
<http://crisisgroup.org>

.....

Schedule

Readings should be completed by the date on which they are listed. I recommend reading the texts in the order assigned, since in many cases the first text provides an overview, followed by more detailed readings. The dates are subject to change.

PART I

Session 1 January 25 Wed.

Introduction.

Etiology of Genocide

Session 2 January 30 Mon.

“Part I: The Conceptual Framework” Chalk, Frank and Kurt Jonassohn *The History and Sociology of Genocide: Analysis and Case Studies* Yale 1990. Pp. 3-56.

Mann, Michael 'The Dark Side of Democracy: The Modern Tradition of Ethnic and Political Cleansing' in *New Left Review* no. 235 May-June 1999

Recommended:

'PART I: The Conceptual Dimensions of Genocide' Andreopoulos, George (ed.) in *Genocide: Conceptual and Historical Dimensions*. Includes essays by Leo Kuper, Frank Chalk, Israel Charney and Helen Fein.

Center for Holocaust and Genocide Studies at the University of Minnesota
<http://www.chgs.umn.edu/index.html>

Montreal Institute for Genocide and Human Rights Studies
<http://www.migs.org/>

Institute for the Study of Genocide
<http://www.isg-ags.org/>

Session 3 February 1 Wed.

Staub, Ervin *The Roots of Evil* Cambridge 1997 Chs. 1-6

Recommended:

Milgram, Stanley *Obedience to Authority*

Sabini, John and Maury Silver 'On Destroying the Innocent With a Clear Conscience' in *Moralities of Everyday Life*

Nazi Germany and the Shoah

Session 4 February 6 Mon.

Maps: see maps available at
<http://fcit.coedu.usf.edu/holocaust/resource/gallery/maps.htm>

Kogon, Eugene 'The Training of the Nazi Elite' in *The History and Sociology of Genocide: Analysis and Case Studies* (eds.) Chalk, Frank and Kurt Jonassohn Yale 1990

Marrus, Michael 'Hitler's Anti-Semitism' in *The History and Sociology of Genocide: Analysis and Case Studies* (eds.) Chalk, Frank and Kurt Jonassohn Yale 1990

Bauer, Yehuda 'The Evolution of Nazi Jewish Policy, 1933-1938' in *The History and Sociology of Genocide: Analysis and Case Studies* (eds.) Chalk, Frank and Kurt Jonassohn Yale 1990

Mosse, George 'Eugenics and Nazi Race Theory in Practice' in *The History and Sociology of Genocide: Analysis and Case Studies* (eds.) Chalk, Frank and Kurt Jonassohn Yale 1990

Hilberg, Raul 'The Anatomy of the Holocaust' in *The History and Sociology of Genocide: Analysis and Case Studies* (eds.) Chalk, Frank and Kurt Jonassohn Yale 1990

Tyrnauer, Gabrielle 'Mastering the Past: Germans and Gypsies' in *The History and Sociology of Genocide: Analysis and Case Studies* (eds.) Chalk, Frank and Kurt Jonassohn Yale 1990

Friedlander, Saul 'Ch. 3 Redemptive Anti-Semitism' in *Nazi Germany and the Jews, Vol. 1: The Years of Persecution, 1933-1939* Harper Perennial 1998

Recommended:

Hilberg, Raul *The Destruction of the European Jews*

Arad, Yitzhak *Bełżec, Sobibor, Treblinka - the Operation Reinhard Death Camps*

Rubinstein, R. and J. K. Roth *Approaches to Auschwitz: The Holocaust and Its Legacy*

Browning, Christopher *Ordinary Men: Reserve Police Battalion 101 and the Final Solution in Poland*

Evans, Richard J. *The Coming of the Third Reich*

Bauer, Yehuda *Rethinking the Holocaust*

Riefenstahl, Leni *Triumph of the Will* (film)

The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum
<http://www.ushmm.org/>

Yad Vashem
<http://www.yad-vashem.org.il/>

Session 5 February 8 Wed.

Barnett, Victoria *Bystanders: Conscience and Complicity During the Holocaust* Greenwood Press 1999
Chs.1, 9

Jaspers, Karl *The Question of German Guilt* (selections)

Recommended:

Lang, Berel 'Ch.2 The Knowledge of Evil and Good' in *Act and Idea in the Nazi Genocide*

Hallie, Philip *Lest Innocent Blood be Shed*

Hilberg, Raul *Perpetrators, Victims, Bystanders: The Jewish Catastrophe 1933-1945*

Fogelman, Eva *Conscience and Courage: Rescuers of the Jews During the Holocaust*

Tec, Nechama *When Light Pierced the Darkness: Christian Rescue of Jews in Nazi Occupied Poland*

Urmson, J O "Saints and Heroes" in A I Melden (ed.) *Essays in Moral Philosophy*

Session 6 February 13 Mon.

Levi, Primo *Survival in Auschwitz* First Collier Books 1993 (all)

Session 7 February 15 Wed.

Borowski, Tadeusz *This Way for the Gas, Ladies and Gentlemen* Penguin 1959

‘This Way to the Gas, Ladies and Gentlemen’

‘A Day at Harmenz’

‘Auschwitz, Our Home’

Levi, Primo ‘The Gray Zone’ in *The Drowned and the Saved*

Recommended:

Delbo, Charlotte *None of Us Will Return*

Kovály, Heda *Under a Cruel Star: A Life in Prague 1941-1968*

Klemperer, Victor *I Will Bear Witness* (2 vol. diary)

Langer, Lawrence *Holocaust Testimonies: The Ruins of Memory*

PART II

The Aghed: The Armenian Genocide

Session 8 February 20 Mon.

Maps: see maps available at

<http://www.armenian-genocide.org/map-full.html>

Melson, Robert 'Provocation or Nationalism?: An Inquiry into the Armenian Genocide of 1915' in *The History and Sociology of Genocide: Analysis and Case Studies* (eds.) Chalk, Frank and Kurt Jonassohn Yale 1990

Hovannisian, Richard 'The Historical Dimension of the Armenian Question, 1878-1923' in *The History and Sociology of Genocide: Analysis and Case Studies* (eds.) Chalk, Frank and Kurt Jonassohn Yale 1990

Recommended:

Akçam, Taner *From Empire to Republic: Turkish Nationalism and the Armenian Genocide*

Dadrian, Vahakn *Warrant for Genocide: The Key Elements of the Turko-Armenian Conflict*

Dadrian, Vahakn "Genocide as a Problem of National and International Law: The World War I Armenian Case and Its Contemporary Legal Ramifications," *Yale Journal of International Law*, vol. 14. No. 2. (Summer, 1989).

Zoryan Institute

<http://www.zoryaninstitute.org/>

Session 9 February 22 Wed.

PAPER DEADLINE NO. 1

Libaridian, Gerard 'The Ultimate Repression: The Genocide of the Armenians, 1915-1917' in *Genocide and the Modern Age: Etiology and Case Studies of Mass Death* (eds.) Walliman, Isidor and Michael Dobkowski Syracuse Press 1987

Astourian, Stephan 'Genocidal Process: Reflections on the Armeno-Turkish Polarization' in *The Armenian Genocide* (ed.) Richard Hovannisian St Martin's Press 1992

Recommended:

Ambassador Morgenthau's Story

<http://www.cilicia.com/morgenthau/MorgenTC.htm>

Session 10 February 27 Mon.

Miller, Donald and Lorna Touryan Miller (eds.) *Survivors: An Oral History of the Armenian Genocide* Berkeley 1993 Chs. 3-9.

Session 11 March 1 Wed.

Langer, Lawrence 'The Alarmed Vision: Social Suffering and Holocaust Atrocity' in *Social Suffering* (ed.) Kleinman, Arthur and Veena Das and Margaret Lock California 1997

FILM: Mr. Death

Denying Genocide: The Shoah and the Aghed

Session 12 March 6 Mon.

Lipstadt, Deborah *Denying the Holocaust: The Growing Assault on Truth and Memory* Plume Books 1994 Chs. 1, 6-10

Holocaust denial site:

Committee for the Open Debate on the Holocaust

<http://www.codoh.com/>

Recommended:

Evans, Richard J. *History, Holocaust, and the David Irving Trial*

Vidal-Naquet, Pierre *Assassins of Memory*

Session 13 March 8 Wed.

Hovannisian, Richard 'Denial of the Armenian Genocide in Comparison with Holocaust Denial' in *Remembrance and Denial: The Case of the Armenian Genocide* (ed.) Richard Hovannisian Wayne State University Press 1998

Smith, Roger, Eric Markusen, Robert Jay Lifton 'Professional Ethics and the Denial of the Armenian Genocide' in *Remembrance and Denial: The Case of the Armenian Genocide* (ed.) Richard Hovannisian Wayne State University Press 1998

Turkish denial site:
Assembly of Turkish American Associations
<http://www.ataa.org/>

SPRING BREAK. March 11-26.

PART III

Genocide in Cambodia

Session 14 March 27 Mon.

Maps: see maps available at
<http://www.yale.edu/cgp/maps.html>

Weitz, Eric 'Ch. 4: Racial Communism: Cambodia Under the Khmer Rouge' in *A Century of Genocide: Utopias of Race and Nation*

Recommended:

Chandler, David *A History of Cambodia*

_____. *Brother Number One: A Political Biography*

Kiernan, Ben *The Pol Pot Regime: Race, Power and Genocide*

_____. *How Pol Pot Came to Power: A History of Cambodian Communism 1930-1975*

_____. (ed.) *Genocide and Democracy in Cambodia: The Khmer Rouge, the United Nations and the International Community*

Cambodia Genocide Program
<http://www.yale.edu/cgp/>

Session 15 March 29 Wed.

PAPER DEADLINE NO. 2

Pran, Dith (ed.) *Children of Cambodia's Killing Fields: Memoirs by Survivors* (selections)

Recommended:

Mam, Kaylanee 'The Endurance of the Cambodian Family Under the Khmer Rouge Regime: An Oral History' in Cook, Susan E. (ed.) *Genocide in Rwanda and Cambodia: New Perspectives*

Session 16 April 3 Mon.

Chandler, David *Voices from S-21: Terror and History in Pol Pot's Secret Prison* California 1999
Preface, Chs. 1-2, 5-6

Scarry, Elaine 'Ch.1 The Structure of Torture: The Conversion of Real Pain into the Fiction of Power' in *The Body in Pain: The Making and Unmaking of the World* Oxford 1985

Session 17 April 5 Wed.

Crimes of the Khmer Rouge: Genocide or Not? Articles from *Searching for the Truth: The Magazine of the Documentation Center of Cambodia*. Includes pieces by William A. Schabas, Gregory H. Stanton, Raymund Johansen, Suzannah Linton.

PART IV

Genocide in Rwanda

Session 18 April 10 Mon.

PAPER DEADLINE NO. 3

Maps available in the Gourevitch text.

Gourevitch, Philip *we wish to inform you that tomorrow we will be killed with our families* Picador Books 1997 All.

Recommended:

Des Forges, Alison, [Human Rights Watch] *Leave None To Tell the Story*

Mamdani, Mahmood *When Victims Become Killers*

Adelman, Howard and Astri Suhrke (eds.) *The Path of a Genocide: The Rwanda Crisis From Uganda to Zaire*

Session 19 April 12 Wed.

Continue and finish Gourevitch.

Session 20 April 17 Mon.

Keohane, Robert and JL Holzgrefe 'The Humanitarian Intervention Debate' in *Humanitarian Intervention: Ethical, Legal and Political Dimensions* Cambridge 2003.

Power, Samantha 'Bystanders to Genocide' *Atlantic Monthly* September 2001

Kuperman, Alan 'Rwanda in Retrospect' *Foreign Affairs* January/February 2000

Film: *The Triumph of Evil*

Recommended:

Melvorn, L. R. *A People Betrayed: The Role of the West in Rwanda's Genocide*

_____. *Conspiracy to Murder: The Rwanda Genocide and the International Community*

Session 21 April 19 Wed.

Rieff, David 'Ch. 5 Rwanda' from *A Bed for the Night: Humanitarianism in Crisis* Simon and Schuster 2002.

Follow up on Rwanda, possible discussion of Darfur, Sudan.
Readings TBA.

PART V

Human Rights and International Justice

Session 22 April 24 Mon.

Ball, Howard *Prosecuting War Crimes and Genocide: The Twentieth Century Experience*
Kansas 1999

'Ch.1 War Crimes and Genocide: 1899-1939'

'Ch.2 World War II in Europe and the Nuremberg Tribunal'

'Ch.3 World War II in Asia, the Far East Tribunal, and Post-War Developments in
International Law

United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights [1948] [excerpts]

United Nations Convention on Genocide [1948]

Session 23 April 26 Wed.

PAPER DEADLINE NO. 4

Minow, Martha *Between Vengeance and Forgiveness: Facing History After Genocide and Mass Violence* Boston
1998 Ch. 3 'Trials'

Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court [1998] [excerpts]

Recent Human Rights Watch and Amnesty International Reports on ICTY and ICTR (specific
readings TBA).

Recommended:

International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia
<http://www.un.org/icty/index.html>

International Criminal Court for Rwanda
<http://www.ictt.org/>

Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court (full text)
<http://www.un.org/law/icc/index.html>

Session 24 May 1 Mon.

Cobban, Helena 'The Legacies of Collective Violence: The Rwandan Genocide and the Limits of
Law' *Boston Review of Books* April/May 2002

Roth, Kenneth and Alison DesForges 'Justice or Therapy? A Response to Helena Cobban' *Human
Rights Watch* June 2002.

Sarkin, Jeremy 'The Necessities and Challenges of Establishing a Truth and Reconciliation Commission in Rwanda' *Human Rights Quarterly* 21.3 (1999)

Recommended:

Robertson, Geoffrey *Crimes Against Humanity*

Ratner, Steven and Jason Abrams *Accountability For Human Rights Atrocities in International Law: Beyond the Nuremberg Legacy*

Universal Declaration of Human Rights (complete)
<http://www.un.org/Overview/rights.html>

Avalon Project at the Yale School of Law (Nuremberg Tribunal documents)
<http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/imt/imt.htm>

United Nations Treaties Archive
<http://untreaty.un.org/>

Vengeance, Forgiveness and Justice

Session 25 May 3 Wed.

Wiesenthal, Simon *The Sunflower: On the Possibilities and Limits of Forgiveness* Schocken Books 1998

Part I [all]

Part II [following selections]

Jean Améry
Robert McAfee Brown
The Dalai Lama
Eugene J. Fisher
Hans Habe
Theodore M. Hesburgh
Susannah Heschel
Rodger Kamenetz
Lawrence L. Langer
Primo Levi
Cynthia Ozick
Dith Pran
Matthieu Ricard
Sidney Schachnow
Albert Speer
Tzvetan Todorov
Desmond Tutu
Arthur Waskow
Harry Wu

Arendt, Hannah *The Human Condition* Chicago 1989

'Ch. 33 Irreversibility and the Power To Forgive' [pp. 236-43]

Recommended:

Digeser, P. E. *Political Forgiveness*

Murphy, Jeffrie and Jean Hampton *Mery and Forgiveness*

Session 26 May 8 Mon.

Final Class.

May 15 Mon.

PAPER DEADLINE NO. 5. Put paper in my lockbox for Govt 354, 1st floor PAC, outside Government Department, no later than noon.

END.