



Genocide and Human Rights University Program Summer 2023: July 31- August 11th

Day 1: Monday, July 31, 2023

<p><u>Introductions</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Introductory remarks from K.M. Greg Sarkissian (President) of the International Institute for Genocide and Human Rights Studies (A Division of the Zoryan Institute)• Program overview and directives from Megan Reid (Deputy Executive Director) of the International Institute for Genocide and Human Rights Studies (A Division of the Zoryan Institute)• Introductory remarks from Joyce Apsel (Course Director)• Student introductions	9:00-9:30 am
<p><u>Unit 1 – Development and Analysis of Human Rights and Links to Humanitarianism (von Joeden-Forgey)</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• What are human rights? Where do they come from? Who gives them? What are some of their religious and philosophical foundations?• Tracing the contested history of human rights from ancient times through the Western Enlightenment to the modern era.• Was there a modern human rights revolution and what norms and institutions became central to its development?• The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) 1948: creating a legal basis for rights.• How does Freeman link the politics of human rights and humanitarianism with issues of globalization, poverty and development?• Re-evaluation and Critique: human rights as western construct and contested discourse of the inevitable, progressive “triumph” of human rights• Ongoing gap between affirmation of basic rights and severe violations. The relationship between human rights and genocide.• “Do no Harm”— the challenges of humanitarianism and the role of NGOs. <p>REQUIRED READINGS</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Read: www.un.org: “The Universal Declaration of Human Rights”1948 & “Declaration on the Right to Development” (1986)• Craig Calhoun, “The Imperative To Reduce Suffering: Charity, Progress, and Emergencies in the Field of Humanitarian Action,” in Michael Barnett and Thomas G. Weiss, eds., Humanitarianism In Question: Politics, Power, Ethics (Ithaca, NY: Cornell UP, 2008), pp. 73-97.	9:30-11:00 am

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Mary B. Anderson, “You Save My Life Today, But for What Tomorrow? Some Moral Dilemmas of Humanitarian Aid,” in Jonathan Moore, ed. <i>Hard Choices: Moral Dilemmas in Humanitarian Intervention</i> (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 1998), pp. 137-156. ● Michael A. Freeman, <i>Human Rights: An Interdisciplinary Approach</i>, Chapters 1-3. ● Michael A. Freeman, <i>Human Rights: An Interdisciplinary Approach</i>, Chapters 7-9. <p>RECOMMENDED READINGS</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Costas Douzinas, <i>Human Rights and Empire: The Political Philosophy of Cosmopolitanism</i> (Milton Park, Abingdon: Routledge-Cavendish, 2007). ● Bonny Ibhawoh, <i>Human Rights in Africa</i> (Cambridge, Cambridge UP, 2018) ● Michael Barnett, ed. <i>Humanitarianism and Human Rights: A World of Difference?</i> (Cambridge, UK, Cambridge UP, 2020). 	
Break	11:00-11: 15 am
Unit 1 continued.	11:15 am – 1:00 pm
Lunch	1:00- 2:00 pm
<p><u>Unit 2 – Introduction to Genocide (von Joeden-Forgey)</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Brief overview of genocide in history, from ancient times to the present. “Seeing” and “Studying” Mass Targeted Violence against Civilian Populations. ● What is genocide? What is the relationship between human rights and genocide? ● How can one define genocide? Why are there so many different definitions? What is the effect of this? ● The UN definition and international law. Origins, criticisms. ● What is Genocide Studies? What case studies are included? Excluded? Emphasized? What theories of genocide have been developed? ● What is a “group?” What groups are included under the Genocide Convention? The significance and reinterpretations of the issues of groups, intent and destruction as total and in part. ● How does genocide differ from other types of mass violence, such as atrocity crimes, massacres, war crimes, crimes against humanity? Related terminology: ethnic cleansing, massacres, politicide, extremely violent societies, etc. What are the differences and their significance? ● What factors, from scarcity to environment to reordering populations, contribute to our understanding the nature of genocidal societies? ● What is the relationship between war and genocide? 	2:00-3:30 pm

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> From slavery to settler colonialism to subaltern genocides and structural violence how has genocide and atrocity crimes been situated in the continuum of violence? Significance? <p>ASSIGNMENT</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Each student be prepared with a short, written definition of genocide to discuss in class and link with one of Jones' discussions of disputed and debated genocides toward the end of Part I. <p>REQUIRED READING</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Adam Jones, "Origins of Genocide," in <i>Genocide: A Comprehensive Introduction</i>. Third edition (London and New York: Routledge, 2017), pp. 3-51. Read: www.un.org Convention on Prevention & Punishment of Genocide 	
Break	3:30-3:45 pm
Unit 2 continued.	3:45-5:00 pm

Day 2: Tuesday, August 1, 2023

<p><u>Unit 3 – Theories of Genocide (Ungör)</u></p> <p>An introduction to and analysis of some of the main theoretical explanatory models of genocide: elite, social psychology, political culture, regimes, ideology, modernization, collective identity construction. This unit also explores the goals of comparative analysis, controversies regarding comparison, and methodologies of comparison.</p> <p>REQUIRED READINGS:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Uğur Ümit Üngör, “Studying Mass Violence: Pitfalls, Problems and Promises.” <i>Genocide Studies and Prevention</i> 7, no. 1 (2012): 68-80. Hiebert, Maureen S. “Questioning Boundaries: What's Old and What's New in Comparative Genocide Theory.” In: <i>Genocide Matters: Ongoing Issues and Emerging Perspectives</i> (Routledge, 2013), edited by Joyce Apsel and Ernesto Verdeja, 16-41. Dan Stone, “The Historiography of Genocide: Beyond ‘Uniqueness’ and Ethnic Competition”. <i>Rethinking History</i> 8, no. 1 (March 2004): 127-142. Dirk Moses, "The Problems of Genocide," <i>Law Log</i>, WZB Center for Global Constitutionalism (June 2020), at: https://lawlog.blog.wzb.eu/2020/06/18/the-problems-of-genocide 	9:00-11:00 am
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<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Gary King, Robert Keohane, Sidney Verba, <i>Designing Social Inquiry</i> (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), Chapter 2, “Descriptive Inference”, pp. 34-75 	
Break	11:00-11:15 am
<p><u>Unit 4 – The Armenian Genocide (Manukyan)</u></p> <p>This segment of the Genocide and Human Rights University Program will outline the process that led to the extermination of Armenian Ottomans. Through first-person and other accounts as well as literature, art and other sources students will explore the history, context and political, social, and economic causes of the genocide, the process of implementation and the consequences of this crime against humanity.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ugur Ümit Üngör, <i>The Armenian Genocide, 1915, The Holocaust and Other Genocides: An Introduction</i> (ed.by Wichert ten Have and Barbara Boender), Amsterdam: NIOD Institute for War, Holocaust and Genocide Studies and Amsterdam University Press, 2012, pp. 44-70 • Rouben P. Adalian, <i>The Armenian Genocide, Centuries of Genocide. Essays and Eyewitness Accounts</i> (ed.by Samuel Totten, William S. Parsons), Routledge, 2012, pp.117-155 • Vahakn N. Dadrian, <i>Genocide as a problem of national and international law: The World War I Armenian case and its contemporary legal ramifications</i>, <i>Yale Journal of International Law</i>, 14(2), (1989), pp.221–334. <p>Section 1 – Context and Causes of the Armenian Genocide</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ottoman Empire and its minorities: Millet system and deprivation of rights. • Western Armenians in the empire: Reforms and the national question. • International politics and the Armenian Question: San-Stefano and Berlin treaties. • Hamidian massacres of 1894-96. • Young Turks and the Armenian elite. Revolution and Adana massacres. • Causes of the genocide: World War I and the ideology of pan-Turkism. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Vahakn N. Dadrian, <i>The History of the Armenian Genocide</i>, New York: Berghahn Books, 2004, pp. 3-7, 113-172 • Robert Melson, <i>Revolution and Genocide: On the Origins of the Armenian Genocide and the Holocaust</i>. University of Chicago Press, 1992, pp.43-69 • Bedross Der Matossian, <i>Shattered Dreams of Revolution: From Liberty to Violence in the Late Ottoman Empire</i>, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2014, pp. 23-48; 73-95. 	11:15-1:00 pm

<p>Section 2 – Course of the Genocide</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Stages of the genocide implementation: Extermination of Armenian soldiers, killing of the Armenian elite, the policy of deportation, concentration camps, and methods of killings. Medical experiments. ● Women and children as victims of the Armenian genocide: killing of identity. The destruction of cultural heritage. ● Resistance and self-defense. ● International response: Crime against humanity and civilization. Complicity of Germany. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Raymond Kévorkian, <i>The Armenian Genocide: A Complete History</i>. New York: I.B. Tauris, 2011, pp.289-317 ● Katharine Derderian, <i>Common fate, different experience: Gender-specific aspects of the Armenian genocide, 1915–1917</i>, <i>Holocaust and Genocide Studies</i>, 19 (1) (2005), 1–25. 	
Lunch	1:00 – 2:00 pm
<p>Section 3 – Aftermath of the Genocide</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Perpetrators and trials. Operation Nemesis. ● Missionaries and humanitarian activities: Middle East Relief. ● International politics and genocide: The Armenian question in the Sevres and Lausanne conferences. Fire of Smyrna. ● Post-Genocide society. The psychosocial impact of the genocide on survivors' families. The reconstruction of the nation. ● Collective memory and memorialization of the genocide ● Recognition and denial. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Vahé Tachjian, <i>Gender, nationalism, exclusion: The reintegration process of female survivors of the Armenian genocide</i>, <i>Nations and Nationalism</i>, 15(1), 2009, 60–80. ● Hans-Lukas Kieser, <i>From Patriotism to Mass Murder: Dr. Mehmed Reshid (1873-1919), A Question of Genocide: Armenians and Turks at the End of the Ottoman Empire</i> (Ronald Grigor, Fatma Müge Göçek, and Norman Naimark, eds.), New York, Oxford University Press, 2011, pp.126-150 ● Taner Akçam, <i>From Empire to Republic: Turkish Nationalism and the Armenian Genocide</i>, London: Zed Books, 2004, pp. 180-207 	2:00 – 3:30 pm
Break	3:30-3:45 pm
Making Connections (von Joeden-Forgey)	3:45-5:00 pm

Day 3: Wednesday, August 2, 2023

<p><u>Unit 5 – The Holocaust (Bergen)</u></p> <p>Introduction: Integrated histories and a human timeline.</p> <p>REQUIRED READINGS:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Doris Bergen, "Studying the Holocaust: Is History Commemoration," in <i>The Holocaust and Historical Methodology</i>, ed. Dan Stone (2012) [pdf attached] • Edward Kissi, Tom Lawson, Ulrike Lindner, and Mirjam Zadoff, "Roundtable," in <i>Colonial Paradigms of Violence: Comparative Analysis of the Holocaust, Genocide, and Mass Killing</i>, ed. Michelle Gordon and Rachel O'Sullivan (2022) [pdf attached] • Molly Applebaum, <i>Buried Words: The Diary of Molly Applebaum</i> (2016) [pdf attached] <p>SUGGESTED READINGS:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Doris Bergen, "Key Themes in Holocaust History," in <i>Essentials of Holocaust Education: Fundamental Issues and Approaches</i>, ed. by Samuel Totten and Stephen Feinberg (New York: Routledge, 2016), 17-33. 	<p>9:00-11:00 am</p>
<p>Break</p>	<p>11:00-11:15 am</p>
<p>Unit 5 continued</p>	<p>11:15 am-1:00 pm</p>
<p>Lunch</p>	<p>1:00-2:00 pm</p>
<p>Unit 5 continued</p>	<p>2:00-3:45 pm</p>
<p>Break</p>	<p>3:45-4:00 pm</p>
<p>Making Connections (Bergen and von Joeden-Forgey)</p>	<p>4:00-5:00 pm</p>

Day 4: Thursday, August 3, 2023

<p><u>Unit 6 – Indigenous Peoples of North America (Woolford)</u></p> <p>In light of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada's charge that Canadian settler colonialism amounts to cultural genocide, this unit offers comparative analysis of a key institution of settler colonialism: the assimilative boarding school. Situating this institution in the broader history of North American colonialism and settler colonialism, we will compare and contrast Indigenous boarding school experiences in the United States and Canada in relation to the genocide concept. In so doing, the analytical tools of genocide research, such as</p>	<p>9:00-11:00 am</p>
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<p>definitions of genocide and other key concepts will be complicated to better attend to the specific social, cultural and historical context of settler colonial assimilative boarding schools.</p> <p>REQUIRED READINGS:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Adam Jones, “Genocides of Indigenous Peoples” in <i>Genocide: A Comprehensive Introduction</i>, pp. 147-199. • Andrew Woolford and Jeff Benvenuto, “Canada and Colonial Genocide,” <i>Journal of Genocide Research</i>, 17, 4 (2015). • National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls, "Supplementary Report on Genocide" (2019). • Tasha Hubbard, "Buffalo Genocide in Nineteenth Century North America: 'Kill, Skin, Sell'" in <i>Colonial Genocide in Indigenous North America</i>. Edited by Andrew Woolford, Jeff Benvenuto, and Alexander Hinton. Durham: Duke University Press. • Andrew Woolford. Forthcoming 2023. “Decolonizing Genocide.” <i>Routledge Handbook on Decolonizing Justice</i>. Edited by Chris Cunneen, Antje Deckert, Amanda Porter, Juan Tauri, and Robert Webb. London: Routledge. 	
Break	11:00-11:15 am
Unit 6 continued.	11:15-1:00 pm
Lunch	1:00-2:00 pm
<p><u>Unit 7 – Psychology of Genocide (Waller)</u></p> <p>This unit will provide an introduction to, and analysis of the psychological causes of large-scale conflict with a particular focus on the role of social identity theory. In our century, the questions that fill people with emotion are “Who are we?” and, more ominously, “Who are we not?” Social identity theory helps us understand the strength of group memberships and the ways in which social identity matters as a source of intergroup conflict. The violence of large-scale conflict is multi-directional and one of those directions can be genocidal. Genocidal conflict, in particular, is most often identity-based. This unit also explores the psychology of perpetrator behavior by unpacking the process by which ordinary people become capable of committing genocide and atrocity crimes. Central to that exploration are the implications of the research for genocide and atrocity crimes prevention.</p> <p>REQUIRED READINGS:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • James E. Waller, <i>The Ordinariness of Extraordinary Evil: The Making of Perpetrators of Genocide and Mass Killing</i>. In O. Jensen & C. W. Szejnmann (Eds.) <i>Ordinary People as Mass Murderers: Perpetrators in Comparative Perspectives</i>. Palgrave MacMillan, 2008. 	2:00 – 3:30 pm

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> James E. Waller, <i>A Troubled Sleep: Risk and Resilience in Contemporary Northern Ireland</i> (pp. 25-35). Oxford University Press, 2021. 	
Break	3:30-3:45 pm
Unit 7 continued.	3:45-5:00 pm

Day 5: Friday, August 4, 2023

<p><u>Unit 8 – The Rwandan Genocide (Straus)</u></p> <p>The segment on the genocide in Rwanda will cover 1) pre-genocide political and social history, with brief discussions of Rwanda’s precolonial, colonial, and post-colonial periods; 2) a discussion of the immediate period of change and turmoil that preceded the genocide, from 1990-1994; 3) the onset and dynamics of genocide at the national, regional, and local level; 4) the drivers of participation in violence; 5) controversies over labeling and counting; 6) contributions to genocide studies scholarship and 7) post-genocide politics and rule by the RPF.</p> <p>REQUIRED READINGS:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Scott Straus, <i>Making and Unmaking Nations: War, Leadership, and Genocide in Modern Africa</i> (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2015), pp. 273-321. Scott Straus, <i>The Order of Genocide: Race, Power, and War in Rwanda</i> (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006), pp. 95-152. Hollie Nyseth Brehm, “Subnational Determinants of Killing in Rwanda,” <i>Criminology</i> 55:1 (2017), pp. 5-31. Marie Berry, “From Violence to Mobilization: Women, War, and Threat in Rwanda,” <i>Mobilization: An International Quarterly</i> 20:2 (2015), pp. 135-156. 	9:00 – 11:00 am
Break	11:00-11:15 am
Unit 8 continued.	11:15-1:00 pm
Lunch	1:00-2:00 pm
<p>Unit 9 - Guatemala (Sanford)</p> <p>In the second half of the 20th century, Guatemala began to “disappear” its own citizens, a new stage in a long history of repressing its people. Over the course of three decades, military regimes disappeared political activists, opposition leaders, union leaders, and indigenous citizens, eventually culminating in the genocide of the Maya. All told, 200,000 people were</p>	2:00-3:30 pm

killed, 1.5 million people were internally displaced and 50,000 people disappeared. This unit traces the history of this brutal practice and shows how it was instrumental in the perpetration of the genocide in Guatemala in the late 20th century and how these same structures of violence are responsible for contemporary femicide in Guatemala.

REQUIRED READINGS:

- Sanford, Victoria; Dill, Kathleen and Sofia Duyos-Alvarez. “Women as State Targets: Systematic Gender Violence during the Guatemalan Genocide,” reprint, Bemporad, Elissa and Joyce Warren, Eds., *Women and Genocide*, Indiana University Press, 2018.
- Sanford, Victoria. “Si Hubo Genocidio – Yes, There Was a Genocide in Guatemala” in Stone, Dan, Ed., *The Historiography of Genocide*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008.
- Sanford, Victoria. “Command Responsibility and the Guatemalan Genocide: Genocide as a Military Plan of the Guatemalan Army under the Dictatorships of Generals Lucas Garcia, Rios Montt, and Mejia Victores,” *Genocide Studies International* 8, 1 (Spring 2014): 86–101. © 2014.
- Sanford, Victoria. “From Genocide to Femicide: Impunity and Human Rights in 21st Century Guatemala,” in *Journal of Human Rights*, vol. 7, no. 2, April-June 2008, pp. 104-122. Special Issue on "Human Rights in Conflict: Interdisciplinary Perspectives" Edited by John Wallach.
- Sanford, Victoria. “Friends Who Disappear ~Reflecting in the Time of COVID-19,” *ReVista*, Harvard Review of Latin American Studies, Jan.27, 2022.
<https://revista.drclas.harvard.edu/friends-who-disappear/>

RECOMMENDED READINGS:

- Burt, Jo-Marie. 2019. "Gender Justice in Post-Conflict Guatemala: The Sepur Zarco Sexual Violence and Sexual Slavery Trial." *Social Science Research Network*. doi: 10.2139/ssrn.3444514.
<https://genderandsecurity.org/projects-resources/research/gender-justice-post-conflict-guatemala-sepur-zarco-sexual-violence-and>
- Impunity Watch and Alliance to Break the Silence and Impunity (ECAP, MTM, UNAMG). (2017). Changing the face of justice: Keys to the strategic litigation of the Sepur Zarco case. Authors.
https://www.impunitywatch.org/docs/Changing_the_face_of_justice_final.pdf
- International Justice Monitor, Sepur Zarco Trial Blog:
<https://www.ijmonitor.org/2016/02/?cat=4531>

Break	3:30-3:45 pm
Unit 9 continued.	3:45-5:00 pm

Day 6: Monday, August 7, 2023

<u>Unit 10 - Gender and Genocide (von Joeden-Forgey)</u>	9:00 – 11:00 am
Genocide is a deeply gendered process. By examining the gendered dimensions of the crime, we can gain important insights into its roots, proximate causes, patterns, long-term impact, and prevention. In this unit, we will use various case studies to discuss the implications of	

<p>gendered research for the definition of the crime; the interpretation of genocidal ideologies, perpetrator behavior, and victim experiences; the development of an early warning system; approaches to restitution and social healing after the fact; and the long-term prevention of the crime.</p> <p>REQUIRED READINGS:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Elisa von Joeden-Forgey, "Women and the Herero Genocide," Ch. 3 in Elissa Bemporad and Joyce Warren (eds), <i>Women and Genocide: Victims, Survivors, Perpetrators</i> (Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2018), 36-57 • Elisa von Joeden-Forgey, "Beyond the Binaries: Gender and the Future of Genocide Studies and Prevention," in Amy Randall (ed), <i>Gender and Genocide in the Twentieth Century</i> (London: Bloomsbury, 2022) • Andrea Smith, <i>Conquest: Sexual Violence and American Indian Genocide</i> (New York: South End Press, 2005), Ch. 1, "Sexual Violence as a Tool of Genocide" 7-33. 	
Break	11:00-1 1:15 am
Unit 10 continued.	11:15 – 1:00 pm
Lunch	1:00 – 2:00 pm
<p><u>Unit 11 – Methods & Language of Destruction by Attrition and Othering (Joyce ApSEL)</u></p> <p>This section explores the <i>processes</i> involved in genocide and other mass atrocities focusing on <i>destruction by attrition</i>. Key is looking at how state and other actors through uprooting, displacement to sexual violence along with denial of access to food, healthcare, livelihood and other necessities create conditions to weaken, stunt and destroy targeted peoples. From the Ibo in Nigeria, Holodomor in the Ukraine to the Great Chinese Famine how “death from natural causes” provides a cover for taming and/or eliminating “disposable peoples is discussed.. Analytic lenses such as necropolitics help expand understanding of how the state and its accomplices decide who lives and who dies, and add new insights into the methods and pervasiveness of targeted destruction “in whole or in part.”</p> <p>Read: Sheri Rosenberg and Everita Silina, “Genocide by Attrition: Silent and Efficient,” in <i>Genocide Matters: Ongoing Issues and Emerging Perspectives</i>, eds. Joyce ApSEL and Ernesto Verdeja (London & New York: Routledge, 2013), 106-126.</p> <p>RECOMMENDED READINGS</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Alex De Waal, <i>Mass Starvation: The History and Future of Famine</i> (Cambridge, UK and Medford, MA: Polity, 2018). • Lasse Heerten, <i>The Biafran War and Postcolonial Humanitarianism: Spectacles of Suffering</i> (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2017). • Simone Hutter, <i>Starvation as a Weapon: Domestic Policies of Deliberate Starvation as a Means to an End under International Law</i> (Leiden: Brill/Nijhoff, 2015). 	2:00 - 2:30

<p>The rest of the session will examine two case studies: The Uyghurs and Ukraine.</p> <p>The Uyghurs (Ruslan Yusupov) 2:30-3:30</p> <p>On 9th December 2021, the Uyghur Tribunal hearings in London concluded with a verdict about genocide perpetrated by Chinese government against Uyghurs, Kazakhs, and other Turkic Muslim minorities. This segment will contextualize the ongoing Uyghur crisis in relation to the broader socio-political history of the region. We will then talk about some of the official policies that make the case of Uyghurs distinctive from the comparative perspective. Finally, we will look at the judgment of Uyghur tribunal to understand the legal logics that seek to capture the evolving nature of genocidal violence in our interconnected yet profoundly divided world today.</p> <p>REQUIRED READINGS:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Zenz, Adrian. “The Xinjiang Police Files: Re-Education Camp Security and Political Paranoia in the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region”. <i>Journal of the European Association for Chinese Studies</i>, vol. 3 (2022): 263-311. DOI: https://doi.org/10.25365/jeacs.2022.3.zenz 	
<p>Break</p>	<p>3:30 - 3:45 pm</p>
<p>Ukraine (Leshychshyn)</p> <p>This section will focus on Ukraine as a case study, exploring how the 1932-1933 Soviet Famine in Ukraine, known as the Holodomor, was possible, and what implications it has for Ukrainian history. Silenced almost until the very dissolution of the USSR, this man-made famine claimed lives of millions and shaped power relations on all levels and carved itself deep into cultural memory.</p> <p>In this seminar, we will also discuss the mechanism of the Holodomor on the ground. Who were men and women who facilitated policies that led to the famine? Like in other cases of mass violence, many people participated in the Holodomor, so prepare for unexpected discoveries as we explore the past of Soviet general secretaries, female Stakhanovites, famous dissidents and humblest collective farmers. In this session, you will be able to place this famine within the broader context of Ukrainian and European history.</p> <p>REQUIRED READINGS</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Andrea Graziosi, “The Impact of Holodomor Studies on the Understanding of the USSR” in Andriy Makuch and Frank Sysyn, eds. <i>Contextualizing the Holodomor: Impact of Thirty Years of Ukrainian Famine Studies</i> (Toronto: CIUS Press, 2015). • Nicolas Werth, <i>The Great Ukrainian Famine of 1932-1933</i> (Online Encyclopedia of Mass Violence, 2008) 	<p>3:45 – 5:00 pm</p>

<p>https://www.sciencespo.fr/mass-violence-war-massacre-resistance/fr/document/great-ukrainian-famine-1932-33.html</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • From the diary of the teacher Oleksandra Radchenko. In Rozsekrechena pam'iat' (2007). Excerpts, pp. 542–43, 545–48. Translated by Bohdan Klid in Bohdan Klid and Alexander J. Motyl eds., (Toronto: CIUS Press, 2012), pp. 180-183. https://em3byzx68tj.exactdn.com/wp-content/uploads/2020/05/6_HR_Survivor_Testimonites_Memoirs_Diaries_and_Letters.pdf – pp. 6-9. • From the memoirs by Anastasiia Lysyvets (Spomyny, Kyiv, K.I.S., 2008). Excerpts, pp. 28-30. Translated by Alexander J. Motyl in Bohdan Klid and Alexander J. Motyl eds., Holodomor Reader, pp. 203-205. https://em3byzx68tj.exactdn.com/wp-content/uploads/2020/05/6_HR_Survivor_Testimonites_Memoirs_Diaries_and_Letters.pdf – pp. 28-30. • An unpublished letter from Ivan Litvinov to the newspaper Izvestiia, 1932. In Tragediia sovetskoi derevni (2001). Excerpt, p. 312. Translated by Bohdan Klid. https://holodomor.ca/wp-content/uploads/2020/04/Political-summary-of-unpublished-letters-from-the-Reading-Office.pdf <p>RECOMMENDED READINGS</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Anne Applebaum, Red Famine: Stalin’s War on Ukraine (London: Allen Lane, 2017). • Mark Edele, Debates on Stalinism (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2020). • Lynne Viola, ‘Stalin’s Empire’ in Brandon, Ray, and Snyder, Timothy, eds. Stalin and Europe: Imitation and Domination, 1928-1953 (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014). • Graziosi, Andrea and Frank Sysyn, eds. Communism and Hunger: The Ukrainian, Chinese, Kazakh, and Soviet Famines in Comparative Perspective (Toronto: CIUS Press, 2016). https://ewjus.com/index.php/ewjus/issue/view/8 • Scott Straus, Ukraine and the Politics of Political Violence (2022). Violence: An International Journal, 3(1), 3-10 • Andrea Graziosi, “The Impact of Holodomor Studies on the Understanding of the USSR” in Andriy Makuch and Frank Sysyn, eds. Contextualizing the Holodomor: The Impact of Thirty Years of Ukrainian Famine Studies (Toronto: CIUS Press, 2015). 	
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Day 7: Tuesday, August 8, 2023

<p><u>Unit 12 –International Law and Genocide (Schabas)</u></p> <p>Development of the legal concept of genocide:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Raphael Lemkin • International Military Tribunal (Nuremberg). • GA Resolution 96(I). • 1948 Genocide Convention. • The Eichmann trial. • International Criminal Tribunals for former Yugoslavia/Rwanda. • International Criminal Court. • Commission of Inquiry on Darfur. 	<p>9:00 – 11:00 am</p>
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<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Case law of the International Court of Justice. ● Contemporary allegations of genocide: Yazidis, Uyghur, Rohingya, Ukraine conflict. <p>REQUIRED READINGS:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Agreement for the Prosecution and Punishment of Major War Criminals of the European Axis, and Establishing the Charter of the International Military Tribunal (I.M.T.) ● Draft resolution on genocide presented to United Nations General Assembly. ● General Assembly Resolution 96(I). ● Convention on the Prevention & Punishment of the Crime of Genocide. ● A.-G. Israel v. Eichmann (District Court, Jerusalem) (excerpts). ● Revised and updated report on the question of the prevention and punishment of the crime of genocide, Prepared by Mr. B. Whitaker. ● Crimes Against Humanity and War Crimes Act. ● Prosecutor v. Krstic, Judgment, 19 April 2004 (excerpts). ● Report of the International Commission of Inquiry on Darfur to the United Nations Secretary-General. ● Declaration on Prevention of Genocide, Committee for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination. ● International Court of Justice, Case Concerning the Application of the Crime of Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (Bosnia and Herzegovina v. Serbia and Montenegro), Feb. 26, 2007. ● Bashir Arrest Warrant decision (read paras. 35-45, 110-205). ● Genocide Prevention Task Force, Preventing Genocide: A Blueprint for U.S. Policymakers (Washington, DC: American Academy of Diplomacy, United Holocaust Memorial Museum, and United States Institute of Peace, 2008), pp. xxi-xxii. ● William Schabas, ‘Genocide and Ukraine: Do Words Mean What We Choose Them to Mean?’, (2022) Journal of International Criminal Justice 1-15. 	
Break	11:00-11:15 am
Unit 12 continued.	11:15 am – 1:00 pm
Lunch	1:00 – 2:00 pm
Unit 12 Continued.	2:00 – 3:30 pm
Break	3:30 - 4:00 pm
Unit 12 Continued.	4:00 - 5:00 pm

Day 8: Wednesday, August 9, 2023

<p><u>Unit 13 – The Cambodian Genocide (Hiebert)</u></p> <p>The Cambodian Genocide refers to the period 1975-79, when the country was under the control of the Khmer Rouge Communist Party, under the rule of Pol Pot. The estimated death toll of the genocide is over 2 million. A civil war preceded the genocide, in which the Khmer Rouge emerged on top, as well as intense conflict brought to Cambodia by the Vietnam War, which was underway at the time. As soon as Pol Pot came to power, the Khmer Rouge set about an extreme program of violently reshaping Cambodia to fit their extreme collectivist and exclusionary conception of revolutionary Kampuchea. Intellectuals and other urbanites, along with ethnic and religious minorities were targeted for destruction as alleged “counter-revolutionary elements.” As the genocide progressed, the Khmer Rouge turned its violence inward in a parallel terroristic purge of “suspect” Khmer Rouge cadres.</p> <p>Readings:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Adam Jones, “Cambodia and the Khmer Rouge,” in <i>Genocide: A Comprehensive Introduction</i>, pp. 283-309. • Alexander Laban Hinton, <i>Why Did They Kill: Cambodia in the Shadow of Genocide</i>, Chapter 4, "The DK Social Order," pp. 182-210; Chapter 5, "Manufacturing Difference," pp. 211-250. • David Chandler, <i>A History of Cambodia</i> (Boulder, CO: Westview, 2000), Chapter 13, pp. 227- 247. • Maureen S. Hiebert “Genocide, Revolution, and Starvation Under the Khmer Rouge,” <i>Genocide Studies International</i>, Volume 11, Issue 1, 2017, pp. 68-86. 	<p>9:00 – 11:00 am</p>
<p>Break</p>	<p>11:00 – 11:15 am</p>
<p>Unit 13 continued. <u>Making Comparisons, Drawing Conclusions (Hiebert and von Joeden-Forgey)</u></p>	<p>11:15 – 1:00 pm</p>
<p>Lunch</p>	<p>1:00 – 2:00 pm</p>
<p><u>Unit 14 - Memory and Representation (Sodaro)</u></p> <p>Genocide and other forms of mass violence are often met with denial and silence, which constitute their own forms of violence and are deeply entrenched and ongoing in many cases. One of the most important counterpoints to denial is memory and the acknowledgement and representation that it entails. Memory projects intended to acknowledge genocide and human rights abuses come in many forms, from official apologies, reparations and truth commissions to the creation of memorials and museums. But while remembering and commemorating violence is generally agreed to be an ethical obligation, memory is also political, and memory politics increasingly play a central role in contemporary political, social and ethical debates and decisions. This unit considers the role and limits of memory and representation, in particular in memorial museums, in acknowledging genocide and human rights abuses, contributing to justice and repair, healing victims and collectives, and preventing future violence.</p> <p>REQUIRED READINGS:</p>	<p>2:00 – 3:30 pm</p>

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Blustein, Jeffrey. 2015. "How the Past Matters: On the Foundations of an Ethics of Remembrance," in Historical Justice and Memory. Eds. Neumann, Klaus, and Janna Thompson. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, pp. 74-92. ● Michael Rothberg, Multidirectional Memory: Remembering the Holocaust in an Age of Decolonization (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2009), "Theorizing Multidirectional Memory in a Transnational Age," pp. 1-29. ● Amy Sodaro, "Museums and the Memory of Genocide" in Handbook of Genocide Studies, Eds. Leora Kahn and David Simon, Edward Elger Press, forthcoming <p>RECOMMENDED READINGS</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Joyce Apsel & Amy Sodaro, "Museums and Sites of Persuasion: Politics, Memory and Human Rights."(Routledge, 2019). ● Alexander Laban Hinton and Kevin Lewis O'Neill (eds), Genocide: Truth, Memory, and Representation, Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2009. ● Amy Sodaro, Exhibiting Atrocity: Memorial Museums and the Politics of Past Violence, New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2018. ● Susan Sontag, Regarding the Pain of Others, New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2003. 	
Break	3:30 - 3:45 pm
Unit 14 continued.	3:45 - 5:00 pm

Day 9: Thursday, August 10, 2023

<p><u>Unit 15: Genocide Prevention (Alvarez)</u></p> <p>More than seventy years after the United Nation Genocide Convention defined genocide as a crime under international and mandated its prevention and punishment, genocide remains a significant problem on the world stage and genocide prevention an elusive goal. This unit contextualizes and explores the theories, realities, and complexities of genocide prevention, assesses, and critiques pre-existing strategies, and challenges us to reimagine genocide prevention in terms of what we know about the etiology and nature of genocide and what we understand about the obstacles to effective prevention.</p> <p>REQUIRED READINGS</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Herbert Hirsch, "Preventing Genocide and Protecting Human Rights: A Failure of Policy," Genocide Studies International 8, no. 1 (Spring 2014): 1-22. ● Alexander Mayer-Rieckh, Karim Kamel, and Sabrina Stein, "Atrocity Prevention In a Nutshell: Origins, Concepts, and Approaches," Conflict Prevention and Peace Forum, January 2016. ● Ervin Staub, "A World without Genocide: Prevention, Reconciliation, and the Creation of Peaceful Societies," Journal of Social Issues 69, no. 	9:00 – 11:00 am
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<p>1 (2013): 180-199.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Elisa von Joeden-Forgey, “Paths Not Traveled: Genocide Prevention, the Global Grassroots, and the Power of Dialogism,” <i>Genocide Studies International</i>, Volume 14, no. 1 (Spring 2022): 45-64. <p>RECOMMENDED READINGS</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Responsibility To Protect: Report of the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty. Ottawa: International Development Research Centre, 2001. • Scott Straus, <i>Fundamentals of Genocide and Mass Atrocity Prevention</i>. Washington, DC: United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2016. • Henry C. Theriault, “The Albright-Cohen Report: From Realpolitik Fantasy to Realist Ethics,” <i>Genocide Studies and Prevention: An International Journal</i> 4, no. 2 (2009). http://scholarcommons.usf.edu/gsp/vol4/iss2/11. 	
Break	11:00 – 11:15 am
Unit 15 continued.	11:15 – 1:00 pm
Lunch	1:00 – 2:00 pm
<p>Unit 16: Looking Forward at Future Genocide and Mass Atrocity: Climate Change, Artificial Intelligence, and Non-Conventional Warfare (Alvarez, Hiebert, Xu)</p> <p><u>Alvarez</u></p> <p>Climate change will challenge the ability of human communities to cope and adjust to the stresses and strains imposed by a warming world. These challenges will be occurring in a world in which authoritarianism has experienced a dramatic resurgence. This unit explores the ways in which the stresses and strains imposed by climate change will increase the risk for the development of communal and ethnic violence, war, and genocide and examines the ways in which issues such as state failure, authoritarianism, resource scarcity, and population displacement relate to xenophobia, prejudice, and intolerance and the etiology and dynamics of collective violence, including and especially genocide.</p> <p>REQUIRED READINGS</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Early Warning Project, “Countries at Risk For Mass Killing 2021-22: Statistical Risk Assessment Results,” United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Simon-Skjodt Center For the Prevention of Genocide, Nov. 2021. • International Committee of the Red Cross, “When Rain Turns to Dust: Understanding and Responding to the Combined Impact of Armed Conflicts and the Climate and Environmental Crisis on People’s Lives,” July 2020 	2:00 – 3:30 pm

- Department of Defense, Office of the Undersecretary for Policy (Strategy, Plans, and Capabilities). 2021. Department of Defense Climate Risk Analysis. Report Submitted to National Security Council.

RECOMMENDED READINGS

- Gary A. Haugen and Victor Boutros, *The Locust Effect: Why the End of Poverty Requires the End of Violence*.
- Christian Parenti, *Tropic of Chaos: Climate Change and the New Geography of Violence* (Nation Books, 2011)
- Alex Alvarez, *Unstable Ground: Climate Change, Conflict, and Genocide* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2017).

Hiebert

The future of humanity will see our current use of artificial intelligence (AI) driven by increasingly sophisticated machine learning, robotics, and cyber capabilities explode in ways that will likely dominate almost all aspects of our lives. This will include conflicts in the physical and cyber domains among and within states, with both states and other armed groups deploying these technologies in conflicts above and below the threshold of war. In our discussion we will explore the kinds of autonomous weapon systems and technological enhancement of human soldiers that are already being developed, what these systems might look like in the near to medium future, how they may be deployed, and the ethical, legal, and human rights implications of their development and use, including whether they could facilitate atrocity prevention while at the same time providing genocidal actors with new methods and means of group destruction.

REQUIRED READINGS

- Noel Sharkey, “The Evitability of Autonomous Robot Warfare,” *International Review of the Red Cross* (Summer 2012) Vol. 94, No. 886, pp. 787-799
- Ashley Deeks, Noam Lubell, Daragh Murray, “Machine Learning, Artificial Intelligence, and the Use of Force by States,” *Journal of National Security Law and Policy* (2019) Vol. 10, pp. 1-25.

Xu

Since the end of the Second World War and the Cold War, non-conventional warfare, especially insurgencies, have become the dominant method of armed conflict across the world and this trend shows no sign of abating. In this context of intrastate violence, it is important to understand how the interactions between state and non-state actors facilitate the genocidal process. How have the state leveraged its asymmetric power in order to counter what it perceives of as an internal threat that can lead to genocidal outcomes? How have the state decentralized violence to other non-state actors in order to engage in genocidal acts against minority groups in the name of counterinsurgency and

<p>counterterrorism? This unit explores the ways in which the changing nature of armed conflict, as well as the international security environment have enabled the state to commit mass violence as an exercise of sovereignty. Furthermore, it examines both the rhetoric and mechanisms by which state and non-state actors engage in violence and genocide with the view of consolidating state power.</p> <p>REQUIRED READINGS</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Alex Alvarez, "Militias and genocide." <i>War Crimes Genocide & Crimes against Humanity</i>. 2 (2006): 1-33. • Joanne Smith Finley, "Why scholars and activists increasingly fear a Uyghur genocide in Xinjiang." <i>Journal of Genocide Research</i> 23, no. 3 (2021): 348-370. • Cheng Xu "Draining the Sea: Counterinsurgency as an Instrument of Genocide." <i>Genocide Studies International</i> 12, no. 1 (2018): 6-25. <p>RECOMMENDED READINGS</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ariel I. Ahram, "The role of state-sponsored militias in genocide." <i>Terrorism and political violence</i> 26, no. 3 (2014): 488-503. • Stathis N. Kalyvas, and Laia Balcells, "International system and technologies of rebellion: How the end of the Cold War shaped internal conflict." <i>American Political Science Review</i> 104, no. 3 (2010): 415-429. • Rick Orth, "Rwanda's Hutu Extremist Genocidal Insurgency: An Eyewitness Perspective." <i>Small Wars and Insurgencies</i> 12, no. 1 (2001): 76-109. • Martin Shaw, "Darfur: counter-insurgency, forced displacement and genocide." <i>The British journal of sociology</i> 62, no. 1 (2011): 56-61. 	
Break	3:30 - 3:45 pm
Unit 16 continued.	3:45 - 5:00 pm

Day 10: Friday, August 11, 2023

Student Evaluation Forms	9:00 – 10:30 am
Student Presentations	10:30 – 11:30 am
Break	11:30 – 11:45 am
Student Presentations	11:45 am – 1:00 pm
Lunch	1:00 - 2:00 pm
Student Presentations	2:00 - 3:30 pm
Break	3:30-3:35 pm
Student Presentations	3:35-5:00 pm