

# The Specter of Genocide

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## **Course Description:**

Genocide scholars often refer to the 20th century as “the century of genocide.” It is estimated that more than 150 million people were murdered by governments in the 20th century, 20-40 million of them in events that meet the legal definition of genocide in international law. In this course, we explore what a classic collection of essays has called “the specter of genocide.” We begin by discussing the history of the term, its ambiguities, its legal definition and the many controversies surrounding it. We then turn to discuss several case studies that will help us explore some key themes in genocide studies: Rwanda, Cambodia, East Timor, the Armenian genocide and the extermination of the Roma and Sinti by the Nazis.

## **Course Requirements:**

**Full attendance.**

**Weekly reading assignments:** Students are required to read the assigned items for every week.

**Response papers:** Students are required to submit two response papers, each three pages long. Each paper should address one of the main themes discussed in class (perpetrators’ motivations; the politics of genocide; genocidal sexual assaults; relations between genocide and war, etc.), integrating at least three sources from the syllabus.

The final grade is determined by attendance, participation in class that reflects engagement with the reading materials, and the response papers.

**Final paper:** Students may submit a final paper: a short, ten pages long paper or a seminar paper. Short papers are to be submitted by September 30, 2017. Seminar papers are to be submitted by the end of March 2018.

## **Reading List:**

### **1. What is Genocide?**

"Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide," *The United Nations Human Rights Website*:

<http://www.ohchr.org/EN/ProfessionalInterest/Pages/CrimeOfGenocide.aspx>

Raphael Lemkin, *Axis Rule in Occupied Europe: Laws of Occupation, Analysis of Government, Proposals for Redress* (New York: Howard Fertig, 1973), pp. ix-xv; pp. 79-95.

Scott Strauss, "Contested Meanings and Conflicting Imperatives: A Conceptual Analysis of Genocide," *Journal of Genocide Research* 3(3) (2001): 349-375.

Additional reading:

Rudolph J. Rummel, "Power, Genocide and Mass Murder," *Journal of Peace Research* 31(1) (1994): 1-10.

William A. Shabbas, *Genocide in International Law: The Crime of Crimes* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2000), pp. 1-13; 71-81.

### **2. Genocide in Rwanda**

Alison Des Forges, *'Leave None to Tell the Story': Genocide in Rwanda* (New York: Human Rights Watch, 1999), pp. 1-30; 31-64

Scott Straus, *The Order of Genocide: Race, Power, and War in Rwanda* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press 2006), pp. 122-152.

Additional reading:

Mahmood Mamdani, *When Victims become Killers: Colonialism, Nativism, and the Genocide in Rwanda* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2001), pp. 76-102.

Hassan Bubacar Jallow, "The Contribution of the United Nations International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda to the Development of International Criminal Law," in *After Genocide: Transitional Justice, Post-Conflict Reconstruction, and Reconciliation in Rwanda and Beyond*, eds. Philip Clark and Zachary Kaufman (Columbia/Hurst, 2009), pp. 261-279.

Phil Clark, "The Rules (and Politics) of Engagement: The Gacaca Courts and Post-Genocide Justice, Healing and Reconciliation in Rwanda," in *After Genocide: Transitional Justice, Post-Conflict Reconstruction, and Reconciliation in Rwanda and Beyond*, eds. Philip Clark and Zachary Kaufman (Columbia/Hurst, 2009), pp. 297-319.

Eric A. Heinze, "The Rhetoric of Genocide in U.S. Foreign Policy: Rwanda and Darfur Compared," *Political Science Quarterly* 122(3) (2007): 359-383.

### 3. **East Timor: A Forgotten Genocide**

John G. Taylor, "'Encirclement and Annihilation': The Indonesian Occupation of East Timor," in *The Specter of Genocide: Mass Murder in Historical Perspective*, eds. Robert Gellately and Ben Kiernan (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

Geoffrey Robinson, *'If You Leave Us Here, We Will Die': How Genocide was Stopped in East Timor* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2010), pp. 40-65.

#### **4. Auto-genocide in Cambodia?**

Ben Kiernan, "The Cambodian Genocide – 1975-1979," in *Century of Genocide: Critical Essays and Eyewitness Accounts*, eds. Samuel Totten, William S. Parsons and Israel W. Charny (New York and London: Routledge, 2004), pp. 339-359.

Alex L. Hinton, *Why did they Kill? Cambodia in the Shadow of Genocide* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 2005), 126-169.

Additional reading

Ben Kiernan, *Blood and Soil: A World History of Genocide and Extermination, from Sparta to Darfur* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2007), pp. 540-554.

#### **5. The Armenian Genocide**

Ronald G. Suny, "Religion, Ethnicity and Nationalism: Armenians, Turks, and the End of the Ottoman Empire," in *In God's Name: Genocide and Religion in the Twentieth Century*, eds. Omer Bartov and Phyllis Mack (New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2001).

Donald Bloxham, *The Great Game of Genocide: Imperialism, Nationalism, and the Destruction of the Ottoman Armenians* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), pp. 69-96.

Richard G. Hovannisian, "The Armenian Genocide: Wartime Radicalization or Premeditated Continuum?" in *The Armenian Genocide: Cultural and Ethical Legacies*, ed. Richard G. Hovannisian (New Brunswick and London: Transaction Publishers, 2007), pp. 3-15.

Taner Akcam, *A Shameful Act: The Armenian Genocide and the Question of Turkish Responsibility* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 2007), pp. 11-148.

Additional reading:

Richard G. Hovannisian, "Denial of the Armenian Genocide in Comparison with Holocaust Denial," in *Remembrance and Denial: The Case of the Armenian Genocide*, ed. Richard G. Hovannisian (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1999), pp. 201-231.

Robert F. Melson, "The Armenian Genocide as Precursor and Prototype of Twentieth-Century Genocide," in *The Genocide Studies Reader*, eds. Samuel Totten and Paul R. Bartrop (New York and London: Routledge, 2009), pp. 234-242.

## **6. The Extermination of the Roma and Sinti (Gypsies)**

Michael Zimmerman, "The National Socialist 'Solution of the Gypsy Question,'" in *National Socialist Extermination Policies: Contemporary German Perspectives and Controversies*, ed. Ulrich Herbert (New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2004).

Gilad Margalit, "The Uniqueness of the Nazi Persecution of the Gypsy," *Romani Studies* 10 (2) (2000): 185–210.

Michael Zimmerman, "Intent, Failure of Plans, and Escalation: Nazi Persecution of the Gypsies in Germany and Austria, 1933-1942," *The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Symposium 2002*: 9-21.

Additional reading:

Michael Zimmerman, "The Wehrmacht and the National Socialist Persecution of the Gypsies," *Romani Studies* 5, 11 (2) (2001): 111-135

Ian Hancock, "Responses to the Porrajmos: The Romani Holocaust," in Alan S. Rosenbaum (ed.), *Is the Holocaust Unique? Perspectives on Comparative Genocide* (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1996).

## **7. New Directions in Genocide Research**

Adam Jones, "Genocide and Structural Violence: Charting the Terrain," in *New Directions in Genocide Research*, ed. Adam Jones (London and New York: Routledge, 2012), pp. 132-148.