



THE POLITICS AND PREVENTION OF GENOCIDE AND OTHER MASS ATROCITIES

(IR202)

Course duration: 54 hours lecture and class time (Over three weeks)

LSE Teaching Department: Department of International Relations

Lead Faculty: Dr Jens Meierhenrich and Professor Karen E. Smith

Prerequisites: Students must have passed at least one introductory university-level course in the social sciences (politics, sociology, economics), history or law. The course is aimed at undergraduate students interested in international politics and international human rights policy and law. Students could also come from the policy-making and NGO communities, and from those wishing to embark on a career in the policy-making and/or NGO communities in this area.

Course content: Why do men (and women) kill? Why do they kill in large numbers? How do they kill? What, if anything, is gained by destroying, in whole or in part, a real or imagined enemy? And what can be done to eradicate this 'odious scourge' of humankind (as genocide has been described), which has claimed more than 100 million lives in the past century? This highly policy-relevant course explores these and related questions by providing an introduction to the study and prevention of genocide and other mass atrocities.

In the first part of the course, we cover the origins and development of major killing campaigns, their impact on the maintenance of international peace and security, and their consequences for the reconstruction and development of states and the building of nations. In the second part, we assess the prospects for preventing genocide and other mass atrocities, by analysing the role that domestic and international courts and tribunals have played in the punishment of international crimes (such as genocide and crimes against humanity); the development and spread of prevention norms, such as the responsibility to protect; and the creation of preventive policies by the international community, notably the United Nations, the United States and the European Union.

Throughout the course, we will discuss many empirical cases, ranging from colonial times to the present, and including the Americas, Australia, South West Africa, the Ottoman Empire, the Soviet Union, Germany, East Pakistan, Indonesia, Nigeria, Cambodia, Guatemala, Iraq, the former Yugoslavia, Rwanda, Sudan and Syria. We also will show selections from films, such as *The Act of Killing*, during the lectures to illustrate the complexity of genocide and mass atrocities.

Course structure: The course is taught over 12 sessions during the three-week term, comprising one three-hour lecture and one 1.5-hour class per session. Students are expected to participate actively in classroom discussions. Students must make one presentation to the class, on which they will be assessed, and must write one short essay in class at the end of week 1 (24 June), on which they will also be assessed. These assessments will not count towards the final mark, but will help students to gauge their academic progress during the term.

Assessment: Formal assessment is based on an essay of 1500 words, due at the end of week 2 (1 July), and one unseen two-hour written exam at the end of the third week. The essay mark is worth 25% of the final mark, and the exam mark is worth 75% of the final mark.

Course materials: All course materials are available via the LSE Library. However, students are advised to purchase Jens Meierhenrich, ed., *Genocide: A Reader* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), which contains many additional readings to which reference will be made.

Schedule of session topics and readings:

Part One: History and theory of genocide and mass atrocities

Session 1 Monday: Introduction and overview

Introduction to the course: discussion of course outline and course assessments. History of the word 'genocide' and of the international convention on genocide. Debates about the meaning of the term, in general and in relation to specific events. Definition of mass atrocities, and the international legal framework regarding mass atrocities.

Required readings:

Lemkin, Raphael, 'Genocide as a Crime under International Law', *The American Journal of International Law*, vol. 41, no. 1, 1947, pp. 145-151.

Meierhenrich, Jens, 'The Study and History of Genocide', in idem., ed., *Genocide: A Reader* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 1-55.

Schabas, William, *Genocide in International Law*, 2nd edition (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 173-206.

Primary sources:

Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, 9 December 1948. Available here: <http://www.ohchr.org/EN/ProfessionalInterest/Pages/CrimeOfGenocide.aspx>

Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court, available here: http://www.icc-cpi.int/NR/rdonlyres/EA9AEFF7-5752-4F84-BE94-0A655EB30E16/0/Rome_Statute_English.pdf

UN General Assembly Resolution 96 (1), 11 December 1946, 'The Crime of Genocide'. Available here: [http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=A/RES/96\(I\)](http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=A/RES/96(I))

Additional readings:

Cooper, John, *Raphael Lemkin and the Struggle for the Genocide Convention* (Houndmills: Palgrave, 2008).

Meierhenrich, Jens, ed., *Genocide: A Reader* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), chapter 1.

Shaw, Martin, *What is Genocide?* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2007), pp. 153-171.

Class questions:

1. What are the differences between genocide and crimes against humanity?
2. Is there anything wrong with the definition of genocide in the 1948 Convention?

Session 2 Tuesday: Why do genocide and mass atrocities happen?

Required readings:

Gerlach, Christian, *Extremely Violent Societies: Mass Violence in the Twentieth-Century World*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. 1-15.

Harff, Barbara, 'No Lessons Learned from the Holocaust? Assessing Risks of Genocide and Political Mass Murder since 1955', *American Political Science Review*, vol. 97, no. 1, 2003, pp. 57-73.

Valentino, Benjamin, 'Final Solutions: The Causes of Mass Killing and Genocide', *Security Studies*, vol. 9, no. 3, 2000, pp. 1-59.

Additional readings:

Mann, Michael, *The Dark Side of Democracy: Explaining Ethnic Cleansing* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

Meierhenrich, Jens, ed., *Genocide: A Reader* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), chapter 2.

Weits, Eric, *A Century of Genocide: Utopias of Race and Nation*, Updated edition (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2015).

Film excerpts from 'Triumph of the Will'

Class questions:

1. What are the causes of genocide and mass atrocities?

Session 3 Wednesday: How do genocide and mass atrocities unfold?

Required readings:

Browning, Christopher R, *The Origins of the Final Solution: The Evolution of Nazi Jewish Policy, September 1939-March 1942* (London: Heinemann, 2004), pp. 374-423.

Hinton, Alexander Laban, 'A Head for an Eye: Revenge in the Cambodian Genocide', *American Ethnologist*, vol. 25, no. 1, 2009, pp. 352-377.

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Straus, Scott, *The Order of Genocide: Race, Power, and War in Rwanda* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006), pp. 17-64.

Additional readings:

Hagan, John and Joshua Kasier, 'The Displaced and Dispossessed of Darfur: Explaining the Sources of a Continuing State-Led Genocide', *British Journal of Sociology*, vol. 62, no. 1, 2011 (see also the replies to this article by Tim Allen, Michael Mann, and Martin Shaw).

Kalyvas, Stathis N, *The Logic of Violence in Civil War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

Meierhenrich, Jens, ed., *Genocide: A Reader* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), chapter 3.

Film excerpts from 'The Act of Killing'

Class questions:

1. Is the Holocaust unique?

Session 4 Thursday: How is genocide reported?

Required readings:

Cushman, Thomas and Stjepan G. Meštrović, 'Introduction', in Thomas Cushman and Stjepan G. Meštrović, eds., *This Time We Knew: Western Responses to Genocide in Bosnia* (New York: New York University Press, 1996), pp. 1-38.

Murphy, Deborah, 'Narrating Darfur: Darfur in the U.S. Press, March-September 2004', in Alex de Waal, ed., *War in Darfur and the Search for Peace* (Cambridge: Global Equity Initiative, 2007), pp. 314-336.

Zelizer, Barbie, *Remembering to Forget: Holocaust Memory through the Camera's Eye* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), pp. 86-140.

Additional readings:

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Gutman, Roy, *A Witness to Genocide: The First Inside Account of the Horrors of 'Ethnic Cleansing' in Bosnia* (Shaftesbury: Element, 1993).

Philip Gourevitch, 'The Life After', *The New Yorker*, 4 May 2009.

Meierhenrich, Jens, ed., *Genocide: A Reader* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), chapter 4.

Class questions:

1. Do journalists have particular responsibilities to identify and report mass atrocities?

Session 5 Friday: What happens after genocide and mass atrocities? (I)

Required readings:

Card, Claudia, 'Genocide and Social Death', *Hypatia*, vol. 18, no. 1, 2003, pp. 63-79.

Gooder, Haydie and Jane M. Jacobs, "'On the Border of the Unsayable": The Apology in Postcolonizing Australia', *Interventions*, vol. 2, no. 2, 2000, pp. 229-247.

Green, Linda, 'Fear as a Way of Life', *Cultural Anthropology*, vol. 9, no. 2, 1994, pp. 227-256.

Additional readings:

Alexander, Jeffrey C, Ron Eyerman, Bernhard Giesen, Neil J Smelser and Piotr Sztoimpka, eds., *Cultural Trauma and Collective Identity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004).

Meierhenrich, Jens, ed., *Genocide: A Reader* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), chapter 7.

Shapiro, Carla Rose, 'Visual Advocates: Depicting Darfur', in Amanda Grzyb, ed., *The World and Darfur: International Response to Crimes against Humanity in Western Sudan* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2009), pp. 215-253.

Film excerpts from 'My Neighbor, My Killer' and 'S-21'

Class questions:

1. Can one come to terms with genocide and other mass atrocities?

In class: short essay (30 minutes): EITHER: Describe, critique and defend the legal conception of genocide OR Is the Holocaust relevant for understanding the Rwandan genocide?

Session 6 Monday: What happens after genocide and mass atrocities? (II)

Required readings:

Prunier, Gérard, *Africa's World War: Congo, the Rwandan Genocide and the Making of a Continental Catastrophe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), pp. 1-36.

Sivanandan, A., 'An Island Tragedy: Buddhist Ethnic Cleansing in Sri Lanka', *New Left Review*, no. 60, 2009, pp. 79-100.

Zürcher, Erik Jan, 'Renewal and Silence: Postwar Unionist and Kemalist Rhetoric on the Armenian Genocide', in Ronald Grigor Suny, Fatma Müge Göçek and Norman N Naimark, eds., *A Question of Genocide: Armenians and Turks at the End of the Ottoman Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 306-316.

Additional readings:

Blitz, Brad K, ed., *War and Change in the Balkans: Nationalism, Conflict and Cooperation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

Gottesman, Evan, *Cambodia after the Khmer Rouge: Inside the Politics of Nation Building* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003).

Meierhenrich, Jens, ed., *Genocide: A Reader* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), chapter 5.

Film excerpts from 'Yugoslavia: Death of a Nation'

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Class questions:

1. Consider the ways in which genocide and other mass atrocities affect states and their neighbours.

Part Two: Domestic and international responses to genocide and mass atrocities

Session 7 Tuesday: Responses to genocide in the 1990s and early 2000s; case studies of Rwanda; Srebrenica; Darfur.

Required readings:

Power, Samantha, 'Bystanders to Genocide', *The Atlantic Monthly*, September 2001; available at: http://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2001/09/bystanders-to-genocide/304571/?single_page=true

United Nations General Assembly, 'Report of the Secretary-General pursuant to General Assembly resolution 53/35: The fall of Srebrenica', United Nations General Assembly document A/54/549, 15 November 1999 (especially part XI, 'Assessment', pp. 102-110); available here: http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=A/54/549

Williams, Paul D. and David R. Black, 'Introduction: International Society and the Crisis in Darfur', in David R. Black and Paul D. Williams, eds, *The International Politics of Mass Atrocities: The Case of Darfur* (Routledge, 2010).

Additional readings:

Barnett, Michael, *Eyewitness to a Genocide: The United Nations and Rwanda* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2002).

Dallaire, Roméo, *Shake Hands with the Devil: The Failure of Humanity in Rwanda* (London: Arrow Books, 2003).

Grzyb, Amanda, ed., *The World and Darfur: International Response to Crimes against Humanity in Western Sudan* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2009).

Kuperman, Alan J., *The Limits of Humanitarian Intervention: Genocide in Rwanda* (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, 2001).

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United Nations Security Council, 'Report of the Independent Inquiry into the Actions of the United Nations during the 1994 Genocide in Rwanda', 16 December 1999, S/1999/1257; available here: http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/1999/1257

Class questions:

1. What lessons did the UN learn from its experiences with mass atrocity situations in the post-Cold War world?

Session 8 Wednesday: Understanding UN responses to genocide and mass atrocities

Structure and operation of the UN. How has the UN responded to purported genocides and other mass atrocities? What can the UN do? What prevents UN action?

Required readings:

Annan, Kofi, 'Two Concepts of Sovereignty', *The Economist*, 16 September 1999; available here: <http://www.economist.com/node/324795>

Bellamy, Alex J. and Charles T. Hunt, 'Twenty-first century UN peace operations: protection, force and the changing security environment', *International Affairs*, vol. 91, no. 6, 2015.

Gallagher, Adrian, *Genocide and its Threat to Contemporary International Order* (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), chapter 5 (pp. 89-121).

Hehir, Aidan, 'The special adviser on the prevention of genocide: adding value to the UN's mechanisms for preventing intra-state crises?', *Journal of Genocide Research*, 13: 3, 2011.

Additional readings:

Barnett, Michael N. and Martha Finnemore, 'The Politics, Power, and Pathologies of International Organizations', *International Organization*, Vol. 53, No. 4 (October 1999), pp. 699-732

Hanhimäki, Jussi M., *The United Nations: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).

Weiss, Thomas G. and Sam Daws, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of the United Nations* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).

Weiss, Thomas G., *What's Wrong with the United Nations and How to Fix It* (Cambridge: Polity, 2009).

Class questions:

1. Who or what is to 'blame' if the UN does not prevent or stop mass atrocities?

Session 9 Thursday: Understanding responses by states and regional organisations to genocide and other mass atrocities

Responsibilities of states to prevent or stop mass atrocities. Cold War: the role of neighbouring states in East Pakistan (Bangladesh) and Cambodia; the role of former colonial powers and the superpowers. Post-Cold War: the role of 'great powers', former colonial powers, and neighbours. The role of the African Union, the European Union, and the League of Arab States in responding to genocide and other mass atrocities.

Required readings:

Dembinski, Matthias and Berenike Schott, 'Regional security arrangements as a filter for norm diffusion: the African Union, the European Union and the responsibility to protect', *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, vol. 27, no. 2, 2014.

International Panel of Eminent Personalities, *Rwanda the Preventable Genocide* (July 2000), chapters 11, 15 and 21. Available here: <http://www.peaceau.org/uploads/report-rowanda-genocide.pdf>

Shaw, Martin, *Genocide and International Relations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), chapter 10 (pp. 193-206).

Additional readings:

Allen, Tim and David Styan, 'A Right to Interfere? Bernard Kouchner and the New Humanitarianism', *Journal of International Development*, vol. 12, no. 6, 2000.

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Heinze, Eric A., 'The Rhetoric of Genocide in U.S. Foreign Policy: Rwanda and Darfur Compared', *Political Science Quarterly*, vol. 122, no. 3, 2007

Kroslak, Daniela, *The Role of France in the Rwandan Genocide* (London: Hurst & Company, 2007).

Melvern, Linda, and Paul Williams, 'Britannia Waived the Rules: The Major Government and the 1994 Rwandan Genocide', *African Affairs*, vol. 103, no. 410, 2004.

Power, Samanta, *'A Problem from Hell': America and the Age of Genocide* (New York: Perennial, 2002).

Smith, Karen E., *Genocide and the Europeans* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

UN Secretary-General, 'The role of regional and subregional arrangements in implementing the responsibility to protect', document no. A/65/877, 28 June 2011. Available here: <http://www.un.org/en/ga/president/65/initiatives/Report%20of%20the%20SG%20to%20MS.pdf>

Wheeler, Nicholas, *Saving strangers: humanitarian intervention in international society* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).

Class questions:

1. Can states be forced to prevent or stop mass atrocities?
2. Are regional organisations better placed to prevent or stop mass atrocities than the UN?

Friday – ESSAY DUE by 3 pm

No lecture or class

Session 10 Monday: Lessons learned I: Domestic and international responses: holding individuals to account in domestic and international tribunals. Who puts genocide and other mass atrocities on trial? History and functioning of international tribunals, from Nuremberg to the ICC. History and functioning of domestic tribunals and truth commissions. Assessments and critiques of tribunals.

Required readings:

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Akhavam, Payam, 'Are International Criminal Tribunals a Disincentive to Peace? Reconciling Judicial Romanticism with Political Realism', *Human Rights Quarterly*, vol. 31, no. 3, 2009, pp. 624-654.

Snyder, Jack, and Leslie Vinjamuri, 'Trials and Errors: Principle and Pragmatism in Strategies of International Justice', *International Security* 28, no. 3, 2003/04.

Additional readings:

Beth Dougherty, 'Right-Sizing International Criminal Justice: The Hybrid Experiment at the Special Court for Sierra Leone', *International Affairs*, vol. 80, no. 2, 2004, pp. 311-328

Meierhenrich, Jens, ed., *Genocide: A Reader* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), chapter 6.

Sikkink, Kathryn, *The Justice Cascade: How Human Rights Prosecutions are Changing World Politics* (New York: W W Norton and Co, 2011).

Class questions:

1. What are the pros and cons of prosecuting individuals for mass atrocities?

Session 11 Tuesday: Lessons learned II: the development of R2P

The responsibility to protect (R2P). The implementation of R2P by the UN, states, and regional organisations.

Required readings:

Bellamy, Alex J., 'From Tripoli to Damascus? Lesson learning and the implementation of the Responsibility to Protect', *International Politics*, 51: 1, 2013

Gallagher, Adrian, 'The promise of pillar II: analysing international assistance under the Responsibility to Protect', *International Affairs*, vol. 91, no. 6, 2015.

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International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty (2001), 'The Responsibility to Protect'. Available here: <http://responsibilitytoprotect.org/ICISS%20Report.pdf>

Additional readings:

Bellamy, Alex J., *Responsibility to Protect* (Cambridge: Polity, 2009).

Claes, Jonas, 'Protecting Civilians from Mass Atrocities: Meeting the Challenge of R2P Rejectionism', *Global Responsibility to Protect*, vol. 4, no. 1, 2012, pp. 67–97.

Evans, Gareth, *The responsibility to protect: ending mass atrocity crimes once and for all* (Washington, DC: Brookings Institutions, 2008)

Class questions:

1. Assess the utility and desirability of R2P.

Session 12 Wednesday: What can really be done about genocide and other mass atrocities? The development of the international prevention agenda.

Required readings:

Cushman, Thomas, 'Is Genocide Preventable? Some Theoretical Considerations', *Journal of Genocide Research*, vol. 5, no. 4, 2003.

Genocide Prevention Task Force, *Preventing genocide: a blueprint for U.S. policymakers* (US Holocaust Memorial Museum, American Academy of Diplomacy, US Institute for Peace, 2008); available here: <http://www.usip.org/publications/genocide-prevention-task-force>

Smith, Karen E., '[Mass Atrocity Prevention: Forever Elusive or Potentially Achievable?](#)', *Politics and Governance*, vol. 3, no. 3, 2015. See also the other articles in vol. 3 nos 3 and 4 of *Politics and Governance*.

Additional readings:

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Bellamy, Alex J., 'Mass Atrocities and Armed Conflict: Links, Distinctions, and Implications for the Responsibility to Prevent', Policy Analysis Brief, The Stanley Foundation, February 2011. Available here: <http://www.stanleyfoundation.org/resources.cfm?id=445>

Hamburg, David A., *Preventing genocide: practical steps toward early detection and effective action* (Boulder, CO: Paradigm Publishers, 2010)

Task Force on the EU Prevention of Mass Atrocities, *The EU and the prevention of mass atrocities: an assessment of strengths and weaknesses* (Budapest Centre for the International Prevention of Genocide and Mass Atrocities, 2013); available here: <http://www.genocideprevention.eu/task-force-on-the-european-union-prevention-of-mass-atrocities/>

Zartman, I. William, 'Preventing identity conflicts leading to genocide and mass killings' (New York: International Peace Institute, November 2010)

Class questions:

1. 'It is impossible to prevent genocide'. Discuss.

Thursday– no lecture: time for revision

Friday - EXAM

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Credit Transfer: If you are hoping to earn credit by taking this course, please ensure that you confirm it is eligible for credit transfer well in advance of the start date. Please discuss this directly with your home institution or Study Abroad Advisor.

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