

Love, Creativity, and Resilience During Genocide and Mass Atrocities INTS 4011 Spring 2020

Dr. Marie Berry

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Office Hours: Thursday via Zoom from 1-4 pm

This syllabus is still a draft

Welcome to INST 4011, Comparative Genocide (that is the official title).

Why study love, creativity, and resilience during genocide and mass atrocities?

To be honest, the thought of teaching a course on genocide while we are all watching the COVID19 pandemic unfold has been incredibly unsettling. We are in the middle of a global crisis; our lives, our families, our communities, our economy, and even our planet are being threatened. I go online and see so much pain. I talk to my friends and they are scared—and some are sick. The "social distancing" has created a tremendous sense of loss for all that we had imaged and hoped we would be doing. And we don't know how long this will last for, or what we will lose.

Thus, instead of teaching this class as I usually do—with a focus on the historical and political legacies of genocides from the past 70 years—I am pivoting slightly, to focus instead on love, resilience, and human creativity. This class will still cover the historical process of genocide over the past century, but will now focus on how individuals and communities have resisted such atrocities through solidarity, art, non-violent direct action, and other creative strategies to reclaim their humanity together. I will still offer pre-recorded lectures on the historical background of different cases of genocide, along with those readings, for you. But it is up to you the extent to which you engage with this content. During our time together (via Zoom), we will instead place the focus of our discussions on the idea of how we resist, stop, and move forward with love and care for each other in the context of mass atrocities.

Some background:

I first became interested in the study of genocide when I was in college. For three years, I worked for the Holocaust Center for Humanity in Seattle, WA. While there, I spent a year coordinating the speakers' bureau of Holocaust survivors, who shared their stories of survival with schools, churches, book clubs, community groups, and anyone else who wanted to listen. It was one of the greatest privileges of my life to get to know several of them very well, and you'll hear from some of them throughout the quarter. And while I learned a tremendous amount from them about the pain of what they experienced – the loss of family, indescribable fear while hiding, terror of detention, exhaustion of forced labor, and so on – what sticks with me even more today is how each of them had loved deeply, laughed, built families and communities, and not only *survived*, but even *thrived*. While many were not so lucky, their stories reminded me that stopping genocide and mass atrocities will require not only the solutions from policy makers, hegemonic powers, and justice institutions, but also a groundswell of kindness and recognition of our shared, interconnected humanity.

Thus, this class takes at its starting point that violence is a central feature of our social world. Despite repeated choruses of "never again," genocides and campaigns of widespread atrocities have occurred with alarming frequency since the Nazi Holocaust during World War II. This course examines the historical origins, patterns, and legacies of contemporary genocides around the world. We begin with the UN Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide in 1948, which legally codified the definition of genocide and compelled ratifying parties to prevent its reoccurrence. We will discuss the definitional and analytical challenges facing this subject, as well as academic and policy debates regarding how to define and prevent genocide. We will also pay particular attention to how mass atrocities end and how they might be prevented. We will also talk about how and when institutions, civil society, and a free press can serve as important bulwarks against such violence. And critically, we will understand how individuals, movements, and communities can resist violence and thrive amidst and after atrocities.

Course objectives:

Overall, the goal of this seminar is to introduce you to the how love, resilience, and creativity exist during and after genocide and mass atrocities—and how they are essential elements of disrupting oppressive systems. By the end of the course, students should be able to answer the following questions:

Core questions:

- What constitutes genocide? Why is there disagreement about what genocide is? Why did genocide occur in the cases we study?
- How do individuals and communities challenge genocide and other threats to their existence through non-militaristic and non-violent methods? How have different groups used art, beauty, song, joy, and other creative means undercut the dominant narrative in their communities?
- How do we understand harm to our bodies, to our families, communities, and societies? Why do we understand harm differently depending on how it is named, structured, or where it originates?

- How is genocide different from other forms of mass violence or grave human rights violations? Is it? What are the pros and cons of understanding it as a unique form of mass violence, particularly in broader contexts of suffering and despair?
- How does power operate in the process of naming some episodes of violence to be "genocide" while others are more "legitimate" forms of war? What hierarchies of victimhood may result, and how do they matter?
- What might be done to prevent genocide and other mass atrocities? How can violence be stopped once it starts?
- What are some strategies of imagining futures free of violence—and how can we cultivate solidarity to underscore the interconnectedness of our struggles, with the aim of preventing all forms of oppression in the future?

Requirements:

Participation (20%): This online seminar will be driven by the active and thoughtful participation of all students. This grade will be assigned both from your participation in our live zoom sessions, as well as other quizzes and reflections I ask you to participate in during the quarter. I also expect you to read through the reading responses written by your classmates each week and encourage you to engage with them on the discussion board.

Book or Film Oral Review (20%): During the quarter, read one of the recommended (not required books) or watch one of the recommended films. And then record a video or an audio of yourself telling a fellow student about it. What did you like? What did you not like? What ideas did it generate? What did you learn? What is important for us to know about that book/film? These responses should be about 5-7 minutes long and you will share them with a peer for feedback. Your peer reviewer will then assign you a High Pass/Pass/Fail grade. These are due Week 7.

Reading Responses (3 at 10% each): You will write three short reading responses during the course of the quarter on the assigned readings or films for a given week. These will be approximately 500 words each. These reflections must not simply summarize the readings, but should rather select one or two themes presented by the readings and explore the theme in more depth. A critical approach is encouraged. While the responses should focus on the current week's readings, you are encouraged to make links between other weeks and readings. These three short responses may be submitted at any point during the quarter, but must be submitted via Canvas via the discussion tab by 12 pm on Tuesday before class on day the readings you write about are due.

For example, during week 4, you might choose to write your reading response on the social and economic conditions in Cambodia that led to the genocide; alternatively, you might apply some of the theories of genocide we learned about in weeks 1 and 2 to the Cambodia case.

Final paper (30%): The capstone assignment for the course is an analytical paper of approximately 3,500 words. This paper will critically engage one thematic topic (e.g. women as perpetrators of genocide, or the politicization of ethnic differences) across cases, or within one specific case of violence (e.g. Rwanda, Cambodia, Guatemala). This paper should not simply summarize the readings, but should rather make an argument. I will provide additional details in class, and I encourage each student to discuss your topic with me at some point in the quarter. DUE JUNE 10th by 5 pm online through Canvas. Each day late loses 10% of your final grade, no exceptions.

My classroom commitment:

This class will be intellectually rigorous and personally challenging for many of us, particularly in the context of the ongoing COVID19 pandemic. We will be critiquing reading materials about grave human rights violations, state-sanctioned murder, racism, and sexual violence. These topics can be intellectually and emotionally triggering and exhausting. I will do my best to add a "Content Note" ("*CN") to materials on the syllabus which may be particularly difficult for some students. That said, please be aware that the entire class deals with difficult topics related to violence—alongside the encouraging stories of those who resist it. I invite you to skip readings, take time out from class, skip class, and generally take care of yourself if the topics become too overwhelming or if you are experiencing any sort of distress. I am always available to discuss your needs further.

As your instructor, I unconditionally reject every form of bigotry, discrimination, hateful rhetoric, and hateful action, whether directed towards one's race, gender, gender identity, sexual orientation, religion, national origin, disability, citizenship, political views, socioeconomic status, veteran status, or immigration status, in class and out. For any member of this class (or the wider DU community) who may feel fear or oppression, my doors are open and I am ready to help.

I also affirm people of all gender expressions and gender identities. If you prefer to be called a different name than what is indicated on the class roster, please let me know. Please also inform me if you have a preference for particular pronouns (I prefer she/her/hers).

Finally, I acknowledge that we will hold classes on the University of Denver campus, which occupies the land of the Cheyanne and Arapaho people, who have stewarded this land for generations. We will discuss this at some length in this course.

Honor Code

All students are expected to abide by the University of Denver Honor Code. These expectations include the application of academic integrity and honesty in your class participation and assignments.

Students with Disabilities

If you have a disability/medical issue protected under the Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA) and Section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act and need to request accommodations, please visit the <u>Disability</u> <u>Services Program website</u>. You may also call (303) 871-2372, or visit them in person on the 4th floor of Ruffatto Hall; 1999 E. Evans Ave., Denver, CO.

Mental Health & Wellness

As part of the University's Culture of Care & Support we provide campus resources to create access for you to maintain your safety, health, and well-being. We understand that as a student you may experience a range of issues that can cause barriers to learning, such as strained relationships, increased anxiety, alcohol/drug concerns depression, difficulty concentrating and/or lack of motivation. These stressful moments can impact academic performance or reduce your ability to engage. The University offers services to assist you with addressing these or ANY other concerns you may be experiencing. If you or someone you know are suffering from any challenges, you should reach out for support. You can seek confidential mental health services available on campus in the Health & Counseling Center (HCC). Another helpful resource is Student Outreach & Support (SOS), where staff work with you to connect to all the appropriate campus resources (there are many!), develop a plan of action, and guide you in navigating challenging situations. If you are concerned about one of your peers you can submit a report through our Pioneers Care System. More information about HCC, SOS, and Pioneers CARE can be found at:

Health & Counseling Services

Student Outreach & Support and Pioneers Care reporting

Religious Accommodations

University policy grants students excused absences from class or other organized activities or observance of religious holy days, unless the accommodation would create an undue hardship. Please notify me by the end of the second week of classes if you have any conflicts that may require an absence. It is your responsibility to make arrangements with me in advance to make up any missed work or in-class material. This Fall, the first two days of classes fall on Rosh Hashanah, and so I am particularly open to working with students to arrange for a way to make up these classes as needed.

Title IX

Gender violence can happen to anyone regardless of race, class, age, appearance, gender identity, or sexual orientation. The University of Denver is committed to providing an environment free of discrimination on the basis of sex (gender), including sexual misconduct, sexual assault, relationship violence, and stalking. The Center for Advocacy, Prevention and Empowerment (CAPE) provides programs and resources to help promote healthy relationships, teach non-violence and equality, and foster a respectful and safe environment for all members of the University of Denver community. All services are confidential and free of charge. For assistance during business hours, call 303-871-3853 and ask to speak to the Director of CAPE. After hours, please call the Emergency & Crisis Dispatch Line at 303-871-3000and ask to speak to the CAPE advocate on call.

Additional Research Resources:

International Crisis Group: www.crisisweb.org

Genocide Prevention Task Force, US Institute of Peace: http://www.usip.org/publications/genocide-prevention-task-force

Atrocities Prevention Board: http://endgenocide.org/learn/preventing-future-genocides/theatrocities-prevention-board/ Amnesty International: www.amnesty.org

Human Rights Watch: www.hrw.org

International Criminal Court: http://www.icc-cpi.int/en_menus/icc/Pages/default.aspx

Online Encyclopedia of Mass Violence: http://massviolence.org/

Electronic Information System for International Law: http://www.eisil.org/index.php?sid=4ails&cat=492&t=sub_pages

The National Security Archive: https://www2.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/

Yale Genocide Program: http://gsp.yale.edu/

PART I: WHY GENOCIDES AND MASS ATROCITIES OCCUR

Week 1 (April 1st): Introduction to Genocide: Past to Present

Questions: What is genocide? How do different people define it? What is the history of the term, and how has the term affected policy? Where does the concept come from? How was it defined in 1948, and why? Why is considering love important in our thinking about how we might stop genocide and other mass atrocities from ever happening in the future?

"Without an ethic of love shaping the direction of our political vision and our radical aspirations, we are often seduced, in one way or the other, into continued allegiance to systems of domination—imperialism, sexism, racism, classism." – bell hooks

In class: Klaus & Paula

Please familiarize yourself with the following readings before class:

bell hooks. "Love as the Practice of Freedom."

Rafael Lemkin (1945). "Genocide: A Modern Crime," *Free World* 4, pp. 39-43. Available at: http://www.preventgenocide.org/lemkin/freeworld1945.htm

United Nations Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, December 9, 1948. Available at: www.hrweb.org/legal/genocide.html

Gareth Evans & Mohamed Sahnoun (2002). "The Responsibility to Protect," *Foreign Affairs*, 81(6), pp. 99-110. http://www.jstor.org/stable/20033347

Optional:

Genocide Prevention Task Force (2008). "Preventing Genocide: A Blueprint for U.S. Policymakers." Washington, DC: American Academy of Diplomacy, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, and US Institute for Peace.

Ben Kiernan (2003). "Twentieth Century Genocides: Underlying Ideological Themes from Armenia to East Timor," in Robert Gellately and Ben Kiernan, eds. *The Specter of Genocide*, pp. 29-52.

Week 2 (April 8th): WWII, the Nazi Holocaust, and Cultivating Resistance

Questions: How has the Nazi Holocaust shaped the understanding of genocide in its aftermath? Is it possible to compare genocides? How have people resisted genocide and other mass atrocities? What might their experiences teach us about resilience and resistance to other forms of oppression? What does Frankl argue is our primary drive in life?

Readings due:

Viktor Frankl (1946). Man's Search for Meaning. (any edition)

Rachel L. Einwohner (2003). "Opportunity, honor, and action in the Warsaw Ghetto uprising of 1943," *American Journal of Sociology* 109(3), pp. 650-675.

Nechama Tec (2008). Defiance: The Bielski Partisans. Oxford University Press OR Film (available via Netflix).

Watch:

- Benjamin Ferencz. *Benjamin Ferencz: Watcher of the Sky:* https://www.facinghistory.org/watchers-of-the-sky/benjamin-ferencz
- Three short clips from the Holocaust Center for Humanity:
 - o https://youtu.be/PPiz8Jb4cRo
 - o https://youtu.be/PZ2jfdiWi80
 - o https://youtu.be/MVgrsxQRJCU

Optional readings:

Fatma Muge Gocek (2014). Denial of violence: Ottoman past, Turkish present, and collective violence against the Armenians, 1789-2009. Oxford University Press.

Benjamin Valentino (2013). "Introduction: Mass Killing in Historical and Theoretical Perspective" and Chapter 1, "Mass Killing and Genocide," in *Final Solutions*. pp. 1-29.

Scott Straus (2015). *Making and Unmaking of Nations*. "Introduction" and "Part I: Concepts and Theory", pp. 1-88.

Max Bergholz (2016). Violence as a generative force: Identity, nationalism, and memory in a Balkan community. Cornell University Press.

Michael Mann (2005). The Dark Side of Democracy, New York: Cambridge University Press.

Christopher R. Browning (1993). Ordinary Men: Reserve Police Battalion 101 and the Final Solution in Poland. New York: Harper Collins.

Optional Films:

Europa, Europa (1990) - available to rent from the DU library; purchase from Criterion Collection

Prosecuting Evil (2018) - available on Netflix

Life is Beautiful (1997) - available to rent from the DU library; rent from streaming services

PART II: SPECIFIC CASES

WEEK 3: April 15th -- Settler Colonialism and Indigenous Genocide

Roxanne Dunbar-Ortiz (2014). *An Indigenous People's History of the United States*. New York: Beacon Press. Introduction ("This Land) and Chapter 4.

Patrick Wolfe (2006). "Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native," *Journal of Genocide Research*, 8(4), pp. 387-409.

Leanne Betasamosake Simpson's *Emma Talk: Decolonial Love: Building Resurgent Communities* of Connection. <u>http://emmatalks.org/video/leanne-simpson/</u>

Ramona Beltran et. al. (Graduate School of Social Work). *The Source of the Wound*. https://youtu.be/oHer-CUPnjY

Gregg Deal. The Last American Indian on Earth. https://vimeo.com/164478711

Optional Readings to come

WEEK 4: April 22_{ND} Cambodia + Guatemala

Theme: US Foreign Policy

*This week choose to focus on either Cambodia or Guatemala, or you can choose both and selectively pick the readings and films you'd like to engage with.

Cambodia:

Questions: What allowed the Khmer Rouge to come to power in Cambodia? What explanations to scholars, survivors, and perpetrators offer for these events, and how did US military policy in Vietnam play in? What has been the legacy of genocide in Cambodia?

Readings and videos due:

Alex Laban Hinton (2005). Why Did They Kill? Cambodia in the Shadow of Genocide, University of California Press. "Chapter 1."

Molyda Szymusiak (1999). *The Stones Cry Out: A Cambodian Childhood 1975-1980*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

The Killing Fields (1984) - available on HBO; rent on streaming services

David Hutt (2016). "Revealing Cambodia's Secrete Khmer Rouge Resistance." http://genocidewatch.net/2016/03/21/cambodia-revealing-secret-khmer-rouge-resistance/

Optional additional readings/resources:

Alexander Laban Hinton (2016). Man or monster?: The Trial of a Khmer Rouge Torturer. Duke University Press.

Benjamin Valentino (2004). "Communist Mass Killings," in Final Solutions, pp. 91-152.

Michael Mann (2005). Chapter 11, "Communist Cleansing: Stalin, Mao, and Pol Pot," in *The Dark Side of Democracy*, pp. 318-352.

Ben Kiernan (2012). "The Cambodian Genocide 1975-79," in Totten and Parsons, eds. *Century of Genocide*, pp. 341-411.

Cambodian Genocide Program at Yale University, curated by Ben Kiernan. http://www.yale.edu/cgp/

Guatemala

What happened in Guatemala between 1981-1983? What explanations to scholars, survivors, and perpetrators offer for these events? What has been the legacy of genocide in Guatemala today? How have people resisted and moved forward after the violence?

Skim:

UN Commission on Historical Clarification in Guatemala Report: <u>https://hrdag.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/01/CEHreport-english.pdf</u>

Read one:

- 1. Greg Grandin (2000). *The Blood of Guatemala: A History of Race and Nation*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- 2. Victor Montejo (1987). Testimony: Death of a Guatemalan Village. Curbstone Press.
- 3. Kirsten Weld (2014). Paper Cadavers: The Archives of Dictatorship in Guatemala. Duke University Press.

Diane M. Nelson (2019). "Low Intensities," Current Anthropology 60(19), pp. 122-S133.

Jackie McVicar (2017). Guatemalan Female Hip Hop Artist Raises Voice Against State Femicide. *The LAB*. https://lab.org.uk/guatemalan-feminist-hip-hop-artist-raises-voice-against-state-femicide/

Thousand Currants (2016). "We Resist Through Art", https://thousandcurrents.org/impact/we-resist-through-the-art/ and "Textiles are the Books that the Colony Was Not Able To Burn", https://thousandcurrents.org/textiles-are-the-books-that-the-colony-was-not-able-to-burn/

Watch:

Finding Oscar (2012) - available on Amazon Prime & Kanopy

OR

This American Life Podcast (you pick): https://www.thisamericanlife.org/465/what-happened-at-dos-erres with http://findingoscar.com/

OR

Granito: How to Nail a Dictator (2011) - available on Amazon Prime & Kanopy

Additional optional readings:

Diane M. Nelson (1999). A finger in the wound: Body politics in quincentennial Guatemala. University of California Press.

Robert Carmack (1988). Harvest of violence: The Maya Indians and the Guatemalan crisis.

Roddy Brett (2016). "Guatemala: The Persistence of Genocidal Logic Beyond Mass Killing," in *Why* Mass Atrocities End, pp. 29-55.

Elizabeth Oglesby & Amy Ross (2009). "Guatemala's Genocide Determination and the Spatial Politics of Justice, Space and Polity", *Space and Polity: Geographies of Genocide* 13(1), pp. 21-39.

National Security Archive: http://nsarchive.gwu.edu/guatemala/genocide/index.htm & http://nsarchive.gwu.edu/NSAEBB/NSAEBB15/index.html

Michelle J. Bellino (2017). Youth in postwar Guatemala: Education and civic identity in transition. Rutgers University Press.

Michael Steinberg, Carrie Height, Rosemary Mosher, and Matthew Bampton (2006). "Mapping massacres: GIS and state terror in Guatemala." *Geoforum* 37, pp. 62-68.

Benjamin Valentino (2004). "Counterguerrilla Mass Killings: Guatemala and Afghanistan" In Final Solutions, pp. 196-233.

Shoah Foundation, Short survivor testimonies: https://sfi.usc.edu/collections/guatemalan

Week 5 (April 29th): Rwanda

Questions: What happened in Rwanda in 1994? What explanations to scholars, survivors, and perpetrators offer for these events? What has been the legacy of genocide in Rwanda? In neighboring DRC? What have been the implications of the genocide and civil war for international law?

Guest lecture: Nicole Fox

Read:

Marie E. Berry (2018). War, Women, and Power: From Violence to Mobilization in Rwanda and Bosnia-Herzegovina. Cambridge University Press. Rwanda sections – chapters 2, 3, 4

Pick One:

*Marie Beatrice Umutesi (2004). *Surviving the Slaughter: The Ordeal of a Rwandan Refugee in Zaire.* Chapters 1-3 required, whole book recommended. Book available online through DU library.

*Jean Hatzfeld (2005). Machete Season: The Killers in Rwanda Speak. New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux.

Watch:

Sweet Dreams (2012) - available on Kanopy

The Courage of Neighbors: https://vimeo.com/10535965?fbclid=IwAR1mixBWx-BNiWNqXgHeyrAtEJmYpHVuNov7g3p95u4kyTa6P8cPmREAbvE

Optional Readings and Films:

Sometimes in April (2005) - available for streaming on Amazon Prime & HBO; available to check-out from the DU Library

Nicole Fox, and Hollie Nyseth Brehm (2018). ""I Decided to Save Them": Factors That Shaped Participation in Rescue Efforts during Genocide in Rwanda," *Social Forces* 96(4), pp. 1625-1648.

Sara E. Brown (2017). Gender and the genocide in Rwanda: Women as rescuers and perpetrators. Routledge.

Susan Thomson (2013). Whispering truth to power: Everyday resistance to reconciliation in post-genocide Rwanda. University of Wisconsin Press.

Catherine Newbury. (1995). "Background to Genocide." *Issue: A Journal of Opinion*, 23(2): 12-17. (via course reserves)

Lee Ann Fujii. (2009). Killing Neighbors: Webs of Violence in Rwanda. Ithaca: Cornell University Press 2009.

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

Alison Des Forges (1999). "Leave None to Tell the Story": Genocide in Rwanda. New York: Human Rights Watch.

Adam Jones (2002). "Gender and Genocide in Rwanda," Journal of Genocide Research/

Gérard Prunier (1997). The Rwanda Crisis: History of a Genocide. New York: Columbia University Press.

René Lemarchand (2012). "The 1994 Rwanda Genocide," in Totten and Parsons, eds. Century of Genocide, p. 483-504.

Week 6 (May 6th): Bosnia-Herzegovina

Themes: Formal, international justice initiatives; art and resistance

Questions: What happened in Bosnia in between 1992-1995? Was it a civil war or genocide? What are acts of genocide? Was Srebrenica unique in Bosnia? What explanations to scholars, survivors, and perpetrators offer for these events? What has been the legacy of genocide in and war in Bosnia? For international law?

Read:

Marie E. Berry (2018). War, Women, and Power: From Violence to Mobilization in Rwanda and Bosnia-Herzegovina. Cambridge University Press. Bosnia sections – Chapters 5, 6, and 7

Ivana Maček (2009). Sarajevo Under Siege: Anthropology in Wartime. University of Pennsylvania Press.

Suada Kapic (1993). The Sarajevo Survival Guide. (Under files).

Staša Zajović, Slavica Stojanović i Miloš Urošević (2013). Women For Peace. Women in Black, Belgrade.

And Watch:

Scream for Me Sarajevo (2017) - available to check-out from the DU Library; rent from streaming services

Short clips:

- Hamdija (password in class) https://vimeo.com/98932493
- Electricity / Struja (Director: SRDJAN VULETIC): https://vimeo.com/75637961
- 8th March / Osmi mart (Director SRDJAN VULETIC) https://vimeo.com/73843486
- Top Lista Nadrealista: Kako nas vidi Evropa https://youtu.be/Xo9PhQB7TlU

Optional Additional Reading and Films:

Jessica M. Smith. (2018). Njena Mudrost, Njena Krila (Her Wisdom, Her Wings): http://www.herownwings.org/projects

Bosnia's Invisible Children: https://youtu.be/xIBf48PP9hI

The Perfect Circle (1997)

Grbavica (2006) - available to check-out from the DU Library

Calling the Ghosts: A Story about Rape, War, and Women (1997) - available on Kanopy

Women, War & Peace: I Came to Testify (2011) – https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ayMCtiVzG2s&t=1s

No Man's Land (2001) - rent from streaming services; available to check-out from the DU Library

Bridget Conley-Zilkic, (2016). "Bosnia-Herzegovina: Endings Real and Imagined," in *How Mass Atrocities End*, Chapter 5, pp. 150-180.

Annika Bjorkdahl, (2012). "A Gender-Just Peace? Exploring the Post-Dayton Peace Process in Bosnia." *Peace & Change*, 37(2), pp. 286-317. (via course reserves)

Jessica M. Smith, (2018). "Snaga Žene: Disrupting Discourses of Victimhood in Bosnia-Herzegovina." International Journal of Conflict Engagement and Resolution, 4(2): 172-189.

Michael Mann, Chapters 12 & 13, "Yugoslavia I & II," in The Dark Side of Democracy, p. 353-428.

Eric Weitz, "Serbia and the Bosnian War," in A Century of Genocide, pp. 190-236.

Elissa Helms (2013). Innocence and victimbood: Gender, nation, and women's activism in postwar Bosnia-Herzegovina. University of Wisconsin Press.

Burg, Steven L., and Paul S. Shoup (1999). The war in Bosnia-Herzegovina: Ethnic conflict and international intervention. ME Sharpe.

Week 7 (May 13th): You pick a case: Indonesia + The Sudans

Theme: International Intervention

*This week choose to focus on either Indonesia/East Timor or The Sudans, or you can choose both and selectively pick the readings and films you'd like to engage with.

Indonesia:

Read:

Geoffrey Robinson (2010). 'If You Leave Us Here, We Will Die" – How Genocide Was Stopped in East Timor. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Michele Turner (1992). *Telling East Timor: Personal Testimonies, 1942-1992*. Kensington Australia: NSW University Press, pp. 109-12, 171-74.

Claire Smith, (2016). "Indonesia: Two similar civil wars; two different endings," in *Why Mass Atrocities End*, p. 83-120.

Watch one:

The Act of Killing (2012) - on Amazon Prime

The Look of Silence (2014) - rent on streaming services; available to check-out from the DU Library)

Balibo (2009) - https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZMw9gjiBU1o

Optional:

Christine Mason. "Women, violence and nonviolent resistance in East Timor." *Journal of Peace Research* 42.6 (2005): 737-749.

Amnesty International (1985). *East Timor: Violations of Human Rights*, London: Amnesty International Publications.

National Security Archive. "East Timor Revisited: Ford, Kissinger and the Indonesian Invasion, 1975-76." http://nsarchive.gwu.edu/NSAEBB/NSAEBB62/ *Contains declassified information about US involvement with Indonesia during the 1970s

The Sudans

Read:

Rene Lemarchand (2006). "Unsimplifying Darfur," Genocide Studies and Prevention, 1(1), pp. 1-12.

Alex De Waal (2016). "Sudan: Patterns of Violence and Imperfect Endings," in *Why Mass Atrocities End*, pp. 121-149.

Scott Straus, Chapter 8, "Endangered Arab-Islamic Nationalism in Sudan," in *Making and Unmaking Nations*, pp. 232-272.

Roxani Krystalli, Elizabeth Stites, Alex Humphrey, Vaidehi Krishnan (2019). "The Currency of Connections: The impact of weddings and rituals on social connections in Bentiu, South Sudan," Washington, DC: Mercy Corps. https://fic.tufts.edu/wp-content/uploads/CC_Weddings_Final_092519.pdf

Maria Stephan and Nicholas Zaremba (2019). "In South Sudan, Non-Violent Action is Essential to Building Peace." https://www.usip.org/publications/2019/02/south-sudan-nonviolent-action-essential-building-peaceTop of Form

Jo Dodd (2019). "Non-violence Wins the Day in Sudan." https://www.peacedirect.org/us/non-violence-wins-sudan-bashir/

And this: https://twitter.com/ItsBuddhaBlaze/status/1116361555896086529?s=20 and https://twitter.com/UNICEFSudan/status/1197246948807467015?s=20

Optional:

All About Darfur (2005) - on Kanopy; available to check-out from the DU Library

Alex De Waal. "When kleptocracy becomes insolvent: Brute causes of the civil war in South Sudan." *African Affairs* 113.452 (2014): 347-369.

Samuel Totten. "The Darfur Genocide," in Totten and Parsons, eds. Century of Genocide, p. 587-602.

Gérard Prunier (2005). Darfur: The Ambiguous Genocide. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

John Hagan and Wenona Rymond-Richmond (2008). "The Collective Dynamics of Racial Dehumanization and Genocidal Victimization in Darfur." *American Sociological Review*.

PART III: WHY MASS ATROCITIES END & WHAT HAPPENS NEXT

Week 8 (May 20th): Grappling with the "politics of naming," victim versus survivor, the genocide debate

Readings due:

Martin Luther King, Jr. (1963). Letter from a Birmingham Jail.

Mahmood Mamdani. "Responsibility to Protect or Right to Punish?" Journal of Intervention and Statebuilding 4(1), 53-67.

Alex De Waal. (2016). "Writing Human Rights and Getting It Wrong." Boston Review.

Alex Hinton, (2012). "Critical Genocide Studies." Genocide Studies and Prevention: An International Journal, 1(3), pp. 4-15.

Optional:

Diane M. Nelson (2015). Who Counts?: The Mathematics of Death and Life After Genocide. Duke University Press.

Kate Cronin-Furman (2017). "Calling a genocide a genocide." *Slate*: http://www.slate.com/articles/news_and_politics/foreigners/2017/10/the_word_genocide_is_overused_b ut_it_applies_to_what_s_happening_to_the.html

Symposium on Benjamin Meiches's *The Politics of Annihilation: A Genealogy of Genocide* https://thedisorderofthings.com/2019/07/03/the-politics-of-annihilation-a-symposium/

Bridget Conley-Zilkic (2016). When Mass Atrocities End, Chapter 1, pp. 1-28)

Alex J. Bellamy (2012). *Massacres and morality: Mass atrocities in an age of civilian immunity*. Oxford University Press.

Week 9 (May 27th): Resilience and Solidarity

Read:

Audre Lorde (1985). Poetry is not a luxury.

Vaclav Havel (1978). The Power of the Powerless.

Mikołaj Achremczyk; Piotr Czekierda; Małgorzata Fałkowska-Warska Michał Gawriłow; Paweł Łączkowski; Maria Szymborska (2015). *Solidarity, Step by Step*. Fetzer Institute.

Nadia Murad (2017). The Last Girl: My Story of Captivity, and my Fight Against the Islamic State. Penguin Random House.

Watch:

Arundhati Roy: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LVqbJ4rugXs

and

Pray the Devil Back to Hell (2008) – on Amazon Prime; free on https://www-filmplatformnet.du.idm.oclc.org/product/pray-devil-back-hell

Or

Naila and the Uprising (2018). https://www.justvision.org/nailaandtheuprising/about

Optional:

Riverbend (2005). Baghdad Burning: Girl Blog from Iraq. The Feminist Press at CUNY.

Farida Khalaf & Andrew C. Hoffman (2016). The Girl Who Escaped Isis. Atria Books.

Fanar Haddad (2016). "Iraq: Atrocity as Political Capital," in Why Mass Atrocities End, pp. 181-210.

Benjamin Valentino. Conclusion, "Anticipating and Preventing Mass Killings," in Final Solutions, p. 234-253.

Scott Straus (2015). Chapter 6 and 7: "The Politics of Dialogue in Mali" and "Pluralism and Accommodation in Senegal." In *Making and Unmaking Nations*, pp. 169-204; 205-231.

Week 10 (June 3rd): Moving Forward: Hope, Futurism, and Liberation

Read one:

- 1. Rebecca Solnit (2009). A Paradise Built in Hell: The Extraordinary Communities That Arise in Disaster. Penguin.
- 2. adrienne maree brown (2017). Emergent Strategy: Shaping Change; Changing Worlds. AK Press.
- 3. Angela Davis (2016). Freedom is a Constant Struggle. Haymarket Books.

And:

Adrienne Keene (2018). "Wakanda Forever: Using Indigenous Futurisms to Survive the Present" *Native Appropriations*. https://nativeappropriations.com/2018/02/wakanda-forever-using-indigenous-futurisms-to-survive-the-present.html

Mihaela Drăgan, (2020). "Roma Futurism, and the Future of Roma Theater." https://howlround.com/roma-futurism-and-future-romatheatre?fbclid=IwAR0Vkb412MW7u2TDkPaJZaZC1bAZ34yAc21ZhX-9ehityXvP0kfwk-gyA90

Barbara Hilton (2019). Afrofuturism: A Language of Rebellion. https://cifs.dk/topics/culture-ideas/afrofuturism/

Optional:

Rebecca Solnit (2004). Hope in the Dark. Penguin.

Octavia E. Butler (2012). Parable of the Sower Vol. 1. Open Road Media.

Kathryn Sikkink (2014). Justice Cascade: How Human Rights Prosecutions are Changing World Politics. New York: W. W. Norton & Co.

Martha Minnow (1999). Between Vengeance and Forgiveness: Facing History after Genocide and Mass Violence. Beacon. Selections.

Claire Moon (2009). "Healing Past Violence: Traumatic Assumptions and Therapeutic Interventions in War and Reconciliation." *Journal of Human Rights* 8, pp. 71-91.

FINAL PAPER DUE via Canvas on June 10th at 5 pm.