

ETHR1016 –THE MORALITY OF MASSACRES AND GENOCIDES

DDr. Herman T. Salton
Assistant Professor of International Politics
Chair of Politics, Philosophy and Economics (PPE)
Co-Director, Center for International Programs (CIP)

1. ABOUT THE PROFESSOR

| | |
|---------------------|--|
| Email: | herman.salton@auw.edu.bd |
| Office: | H603 (H Bldg, 6 th Floor) |
| Office Hours: | Monday & Wednesday, 2-4pm <i>Please stick to these days and times. If you really cannot make them, please email me in advance to arrange an appointment. Thank you.</i> |
| Classes: | Monday & Wednesday, 4.30pm-5.50pm |
| Qualifications: | LLB (Trento), PhD (Auckland), MPhil (Oxford), PhD (Wales) |
| Areas of Expertise: | International Politics United Nations International History Human Rights Diplomacy and International Law |
| Profile: | Herman Tutehau Salton was educated at the universities of Trento, Auckland, Oxford and Wales. A Senior Fellow at the Ralph Bunche Institute, City University of New York (CUNY), he was also a visiting scholar at Sciences-Po, Paris (France) and TUJ, Tokyo (Japan); a human rights officer at the Icelandic Human Rights Centre, Reykjavík (Iceland); and an Associate with the Under-Secretary-General for Political Affairs, United Nations Headquarters, New York (USA). He publishes in the areas of international politics, international law, global history and human rights, and is fluent in English, French, Italian and Spanish. |

2. COURSE DESCRIPTION

Ethnic cleansing and genocides are seen as abhorrent acts committed by a deranged minority, the result of a 'dark side' of human behavior that is unethical, exceptional and incomprehensible. This course challenges this view, investigates the sources of mass killings in the modern world and asks the following question: "Why genocide?" Using the most tragic examples of ethnic cleansing (such as colonial genocides, Armenia, the Nazi Holocaust, Cambodia, Yugoslavia and Rwanda) as well as cases of lesser violence (such as Modern Europe, contemporary India and Indonesia), the course suggests that extreme political violence and ethnic extermination are not simply the work of 'evil elites' or 'primitives', but the result of complex interactions between leaders, militants and 'ordinary' persons. This aspect of 'ordinary' people becoming the perpetrators of 'evil' acts is important, for not only were most episodes of ethnic massacres and genocides seen as 'moral' at the time they were committed;

such an ethical perception was an essential condition for these massacres to take place. In the hope that our understanding of this process will help us avoid ethnic cleansing in the future, the course explores the causes, triggers, domestic and international context, implementation, nature and uses of genocide as a political phenomenon.

3. LEARNING OUTCOMES

By the end of the course, students should be able to:

- Understand the unique nature of the concept of ethnic massacres and genocides;
- Be familiar with the historical contexts of ethnic massacres and genocides;
- Understand the underlying logic of genocidal violence;
- Understand the role of nationalism and democracy in developing genocidal policies;
- Examine how political leaders and ordinary people come to make genocidal decisions;
- Understand the role of the media in legitimizing ethnic massacres and genocides;
- Understand the role played by ethics in the legitimization of genocide.

4. CLASS SCHEDULE

Week 1: Introduction

12 Jan – No classes

14 Jan – Introducing the course, the professor and the class

Week 2: Genocide & Nationalism

19 Jan – Ethnicity, Nation and Ethnic Cleansing

Readings: Mann, Preface + Chapter 1 (pp. 1 to 18)

21 Jan – The Perpetrators: Who Are the Killers?

Readings: Mann, Chapter 1 (pp. 18 to 33)

Week 3: Genocide & Democracy

26 Jan – ‘Liberal’ Democracy & Genocide

Readings: Mann, Chapter 3 (pp. 55 to 61)

28 Jan – ‘Organic’ Democracy & Genocide

Readings: Mann, Chapter 3 (pp. 61 to 69)

Week 4: Armenia (i): Preparing for Genocide

2 Feb – Turkish Nationalism

Readings: Mann, Chapter 5 (pp. 111 to 124)

4 Feb – Turkish Radicalization

Readings: Mann, Chapter 5 (pp. 124 to 139)

Week 5: Armenia (ii): Committing Genocide

9 Feb – The Genocidal Process

Readings: Mann, Chapter 6 (pp. 140 to 156)

11 Feb – Who Were the Killers?

Readings: Mann, Chapter 6 (pp. 156 to 179)

Week 6: Nazi Germany (i): Preparing for Genocide

16 Feb – The Radicalization

Readings: Mann, Chapter 7 (pp. 180 to 211)

18 Feb – Who Were the Killers?

Readings: Mann, Chapter 8 (pp. 212 to 239)

Week 7: Nazi Germany (ii): Committing Genocide

- 23 Feb – Genocidal Careers (i): Career Route 1, 2 and 3
Readings: Mann, Chapter 9 (pp. 240 to 262)
- 25 Feb – Genocidal Careers (ii): Career Route 4, 5 and 6
Readings: Mann, Chapter 9 (pp. 263 to 278)

Week 8: Revision Week + MEMO DUE

- 2 Mar – Revisions [no classes]
- 4 Mar – MEMO DUE [no classes]

Week 9: Communist Cleansing

- 9 Mar – Marxism and Stalinism
Readings: Mann, Chapter 11 (pp. 318 to 330)
- 11 Mar – Maoism and Khmer Rouge
Readings: Mann, Chapter 11 (pp. 330 to 352)

Week 10: Yugoslavia (i): Preparing for Genocide

- 23 Mar – The Balkans: Into the Danger Zone
Readings: Mann, Chapter 12 (pp. 353 to 366)
- 25 Mar – Milosevic and Balkan Nationalism
Readings: Mann, Chapter 12 (pp. 367 to 381)

Week 11: Yugoslavia (ii): Committing Genocide

- 30 Mar – The Serbs
Readings: Mann, Chapter 13 (pp. 382 to 405)
- 01 Apr – The Croats
Readings: Mann, Chapter 13 (pp. 405 to 427)

Week 12: Rwanda (i): Preparing for Genocide

- 6 Apr – The Colonial Era
Readings: Mann, Chapter 14 (pp. 428 to 438)
- 8 Apr – Genocidal Planning
Readings: Mann, Chapter 14 (pp. 438 to 448)

Week 13: Rwanda (ii): Committing Genocide + CLASS DEBATE

- 13 Apr – The Role of the Elites & Ordinary Hutus
Readings: Mann, Chapter 15 (pp. 449 to 473)
- 15 Apr – RWANDA DEBATE
Readings: As Above + TBA

Week 14: Revisions + FINAL ESSAY

- 20 Apr – Revisions (no classes)
Readings: Mann, Chapter 16 (pp. 474 to 501)
- 22 Apr – FINAL ESSAY (in Class)
Readings: None

Week 15: Counterfactuals & Conclusions

- 27 Apr – Counterfactuals: India & Indonesia
Readings: Mann, Chapter 16 (pp. 474 to 501)
- 29 Apr – Eight Conclusions
Readings: Mann, Chapter 17 (pp. 502 to 529)

5. CLASS FORMAT

The course involves a mixture of lectures and debates. All classes will be interactive: in my view, the role of the teacher is not to offer answers but to ask probing questions, especially in a course like this that deals with controversial topics which rarely have definitive answers. So it will not be enough for you to come to class: you will need to be proactive and participate in the discussion. Naturally some of you will be shyer than others, which is fine (the best students are not always the most talkative). But you do need to interact with me and your peers.

The subjects discussed are hotly debated and some of you will have strong opinions about them. Others will find the materials alien. Both situations are normal—genocide and ethnic cleansing are highly contested concepts. Yet this is also why I expect you to come to class having done the readings and ready to ask questions about materials or concepts that are unclear to you. I make a conscious effort to invite discussion, so I will raise provocative questions and you should be prepared to engage with them.

During our discussions, it is imperative that you interact respectfully with your peers. As we will be covering topics for which there are no easy answers, it is important that you understand that we all come to the class with different life experiences which shape our beliefs and different levels of prior exposure to the ideas and events discussed in this class. I will thus expect—and I will not condone anything other than—an attitude of collegial respect.

6. TEXTBOOK

The book from which the readings are taken is:

Michael Mann

The Dark Side of Democracy: Explaining Ethnic Cleansing

Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.

This is a superb but demanding book. Because of the nature of the topic, it is critical that you acquire a good historical understanding of the basic facts underpinning the genocidal killings considered in this course. While I and the above volume will certainly help you in this, you may want to also consult search engines such as ‘Google’, ‘Yahoo’ and ‘Wikipedia’, if and when you have doubts about a certain historical event. Bear in mind, however, that online information on some of the topics covered in this course is highly politicized and one-sided. Course packs with the assigned text will be distributed to you in Week 1.

7. ASSESSMENT

- 1) Individual Presentation (20%): This will be a short, 10-minute presentation that each of you will deliver to the class on an issue of your choice related to the course. This is your chance to explain an aspect of genocide that you find interesting. After the presentation, the class and I will ask you questions. While some students are nervous about public speaking, this is a key part of your development and the sooner you start, the better you will become. So do not be afraid: you are here to learn!
- Date: One presentation per class, beginning from Week 3. You will be able to sign up for a slot in Week 1 and 2.

- 2) Nazi Memo (20%) As an expert on ethical issues, you have been asked by the Government of Nazi Germany to write a 1,000-word piece of advice on how to handle the ‘Jewish question’. The aim of your memo should be to influence the German leader’s decisions about—and the perception of—the ‘Jewish question’: should the Nazi Government do something about it and, if so, what? Is it an issue of human rights? And what are its ethical implications? Your piece should be persuasive and well-argued, but cannot be longer than 1,000 words. More guidance will be given closer to the date.
Date: 4 March 2015
- 3) Rwanda Debate (20%) During this in-class event, we will debate the Rwandan Genocide. You will be divided into groups and your position on the issue will be assigned randomly, which means that you and your group may be asked to defend a position that you do not necessarily agree with. The purpose of this exercise is to push you to build an argument regardless of your opinion on the issue, and to encourage you to see the ethical implications of the Rwanda issue. Your group, its designated position and more information for preparation will be given closer to the date.
Date: 15 April 2015
- 4) Final Essay (20%) This in-class essay will test your knowledge of the key topics covered in the course. You will be given a choice of five essay questions, of which you will have to answer two. This is a pre-seen assessment, so the five questions will be emailed to you 24 hours before the scheduled event, so that you can organize your answers more logically. However, no cheat sheet or note will be allowed into the classroom.
Date: 22 April 2015
- 5) Participation (20%) Your participation grade will depend on the regularity of your class attendance, on your punctuality and on your contribution to class debate (such as engaging with me when I ask questions and asking questions when your colleagues present). Unjustified absences will result in penalties as per AUW’s policy.
Date: Your performance will be monitored from Day 1, but your final participation grade will be communicated to you in late April.

8. KEY DATES

Spring Break: 15-19 March 2015 (no classes)

Individual Presentations: One per class from Week 3 (sign up in Weeks 1 and 2)

Nazi Memo: 4 March 2015

Rwanda Debate: 15 April 2015

Final Essay: 22 April 2015

Participation: Monitored from Week 1

Attendance: Monitored from Week 1

9. GRADING SCALE

| | | | |
|----------------|------------|------------|-----------------|
| 97 to 100 = A+ | 87-89 = B+ | 77-79 = C+ | 67-69 = D+ |
| 93-96 = A | 83-86 = B | 73-76 = C | 63-66 = D |
| 90-92 = A- | 80-82 = B- | 70-72 = C- | 60-62 = D- |
| | | | < 60 = F (Fail) |

Important: While marks do matter and you should strive to obtain the best possible grade, the way you study is even more important. In this course, factual knowledge is essential but insufficient to perform well; critical thinking is what will make the difference not only in terms of marks but also—and more importantly—in terms of your development. Consequently, the mere regurgitation and memorization of facts will not take you far—only the critical assessment of them will. What I am interested in is *your* approach to a problem. However, you will only be able to acquire this analytical capacity if you do the readings **before** coming to class and participate in the discussions. Remember: analytical reasoning without facts is impossible, but facts without any analytical framework are useless! Both are needed and will be required.

10. PLAGIARISM

Academic honesty is critically important and is expected of all of you at all times. For your information, definitions of and policies about academic honesty are detailed in the AUW Hand-out. Please read *carefully* the section on academic integrity on pages 13-16. Violations of academic honesty will result in failing grades for assignments and/or the entire course.

11. CLASS BEHAVIOUR

My assumption will be that each student in this class is motivated, intelligent and considerate of the opinions of others, and my expectations of you reflect this assumption.

I would like to ask you to please come to class on time and participate while you are there. Exceptionally, circumstances may prevent your timely arrival—in these cases, please enter quietly and sit by the door. If you need to leave early, please sit by the door and leave quietly. If you will frequently need to arrive late or leave early, please speak to me about it. I am committed to starting and ending every class *exactly* on time, so please do not prepare to leave before I have ended class. It is disrupting to your colleagues and to myself.

Also, please ensure that you do not read, use electronic devices or sleep in class, nor talk to students around you without good reason. Please also be sure to turn off all phones and beepers. It is not appropriate to leave class in order to answer a call: if you feel that you have extenuating circumstances (e.g., a family emergency), please see me before class to discuss it.

I strongly encourage you to stop me during class if you have a question or relevant comment. If you feel uncomfortable talking during class, please approach me after class. It is my job to help you understand the material and I will do whatever I can to make sure that you do.

12. RELEVANT PUBLICATIONS

‘International Ethics’
‘Global Governance’
‘The Economist’
‘Survival’