

**Genocide Today**  
**New Course, Spring 2020**  
**Cornell University, Anthr 3552/6552 & Asian Studies 3365/6665**

Syllabus, final version [lightly revised Sept. 10, 2020].  
Includes a Course Bibliography, at the end.

*\* This syllabus made public September 2020 -- free to use; wherever feasible, please acknowledge the author, Magnus Fiskesjö, [nf42@cornell.edu](mailto:nf42@cornell.edu)*

*\* This course was developed in part with support from the Center for Advanced Genocide Research, USC-Shoah Foundation, Los Angeles, gratefully acknowledged. For more information on the CAGR and its Visual History Archive, see: <https://sfi.usc.edu/cagr> - and this: "Cornell library gains permanent access to genocide archive." By Jose Beduya, Cornell Chronicle, May 11, 2020. <https://as.cornell.edu/news/cornell-library-gains-permanent-access-genocide-archive>*

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The class meets Tuesdays and Thursdays, 1:25-2:40pm, in Morrill Hall 107 & online from April 7.

Instructor: Magnus Fiskesjö ([nf42@cornell.edu](mailto:nf42@cornell.edu), or: [magnus.fiskesjo@cornell.edu](mailto:magnus.fiskesjo@cornell.edu))  
Office hours: Wednesdays, 130-330pm; sign-up sheet on my door, McGraw 201  
(or drop by, or, email me if you can't make the regular hours)

Canvas site: All enrolled students will be enrolled on our course site at [www.canvas.cornell.edu](http://www.canvas.cornell.edu)  
There, you can download readings, see announcements, etc.; the latest version of the syllabus will also be posted on the Canvas site.

**Course Description** (adapted from the official course catalog): This course offers two things: an introduction to the global issue of genocide, ethnic cleansing, and other mass atrocities, and an in-depth look at two ongoing genocides in Asia: in China and in Burma (Myanmar). First, we will study how genocide works: its prerequisites, its warning signs, and how it is carried out. We also review the creation of the term genocide as a new crime in international law after WWII, the UN Genocide Convention, and the checkered history of failing to prevent genocides (Cambodia, Rwanda, etc.), but also some successes. Then, we focus on the new 21st century genocides under way in Xinjiang, China and against the Rohingya in Burma, respectively, analyzing the background, the events, the actors involved, the key role of media and propaganda, and why Burma expels people, while China forces people to be ethnically cleansed *in place*.

**Inclusivity and Diversity:** This course is itself about diversity in the world we are part of. In the course, we strive to create and sustain a welcoming, accessible, and supportive learning environment where diversity (ethnic or national belongings, gender, individual differences, and so on), is recognized and respected, and recognized as a source of quality and benefit to all. We envision a community free of bigotry, prejudice, or other infringements upon the freedom and respect that every person deserves. We are committed to advancing the Ezra Cornell idea of "Any person ... any study."

**Accommodations for Students with Disabilities:** We are open to accommodations, under Cornell University policies, and equal access laws. Students in need are welcome, and are encouraged to contact their instructor or TA for assistance, which can also be obtained through Cornell's Student Disability Services, <http://sds.cornell.edu>

**Academic Integrity:** Each student is expected to read & abide by the *Cornell University Code of Academic Integrity*, <http://theuniversityfaculty.cornell.edu/academic-integrity/>  
Please read, and try to do the exercises, at <https://plagiarism.arts.cornell.edu/tutorial/index.cfm>  
We encourage joint study and discussing with other students, and it is OK to quote other authors in your writing, but any time that the writing is not your own you must cite the source. You should never copy the work done by someone else and present it as your own, whether from the internet, from books, or from a fellow student's writings. In serious cases of plagiarism you might fail the course and face University disciplinary action.

**Student requirements and responsibilities:**

\* ***Attend lectures; be on time*** - lateness or absences may affect your grade. If you have a legitimate reason to be late or absent from a lecture or a section, tell your instructor, preferably in advance (e-mail), so she/he can include it in your record. If you are absent without excuse more than twice, it will affect your grade.

\* ***Read the required readings listed on the syllabus before lectures.*** If you want to read more on a topic brought up in class, on Canvas there is a Course Bibliography with further readings that might interest you (but are not required).

\* Also, ***for each reading write a summary***, a paragraph of at least a few sentences, of the authors' main argument, or the contents. You can also add questions that you think should be brought up. Then, post this to Canvas under "Discussions" before class time. This will be noted, but not graded.

\* ***In class, electronics like laptops are only allowed for class-related purposes.***

If we find that you drift off, in lectures or in sections, your grade may be affected (because it means you are not participating, and, it disturbs fellow students).

\* ***Stay in touch with course communications*** over the Canvas site, such as, if there are new changes to the syllabus, or other announcements.

\* There will also be a **midterm** in the form of short answers/essays; **two short writing assignments** (no more than 5 p, double-spaced), and a **final research paper** (15-20 p).

\* Grades: The midterm will count for **20%** and the final paper **30%**. you will have two writing assignments (3-5 pgs, double-spaced), each worth 15%, = **30%**. The remaining **20%** of your grade will be based upon your attendance and participation (reading notes).

## **COURSE OUTLINE - main themes listed per week**

Introduction. Experience, concepts, definitions of genocide  
Mass atrocities in history (examples: Carthage, Cayuga)

Emergence of laws of war  
Emergence of the Genocide Convention [1948]

The Holocaust in WWII: Buildup, execution and interruption  
Stalin's genocides/sociocides

Post-WWII genocides: Cambodia. I: Overview of events  
Post-WWII genocides: Cambodia. II: Ideology

Post-WWII genocides: Bosnia/Yugoslavia  
Post-WWII genocides: Rwanda, & the steps to genocide

Rohingya genocide, Burma (2017- ), overview of actors/parties and events  
Background: Burmese history and ethnopolitics  
Discrimination, exclusion and expulsion of the Rohingya  
Witness testimonies; information warfare  
The UN and global recriminations, incl. in the Muslim world; ICC trial (2019- )

China's Xinjiang genocide (2017- ), overview of actors/parties and events  
Background: Chinese history and ethnopolitics  
The policy shift and its implementation  
Surveillance; forced assimilation campaign; concentration camps  
Witness testimonies; information warfare  
Looking to the future

Last class: Student reports on draft final papers.

## **COURSE SYLLABUS**

*(will be revised/updated -- check Canvas for the latest version)*

### Week 1

January 21, Tuesday: Instruction begins.

Introduction to the course: **Experience, concepts, definitions of genocide**

Jan. 23, Thursday: Lecture. **Mass atrocities in history**

Required readings:

Kiernan, "The First Genocide: Carthage, 146 BC" (read and comment)

Washington, "Letter to Major General John Sullivan, 31 May 1779" (read and comment)

The Sullivan-Clinton Campaign of 1779, <http://sullivanclinton.com> (browse all)

### Week 2

Jan. 28, Tuesday: Lecture. **Emergence of laws of war**

Required readings:

Rousseau, "Principles of the Right of War" (read and comment)

Meiches, *Politics of Annihilation*, Ch. 1, 39-77 (read and comment)

Jan. 30, Thursday: Lecture. **Emergence of the Genocide Convention [1948]**

REQUIRED reading:

Genocide Convention [1948] (read and comment)

Moses, "Raphael Lemkin, Culture, and the Concept of Genocide" (read and comment)

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OPTIONAL reading (not required): Cooper, *Raphael Lemkin and the struggle for the Genocide Convention* (Introduction; Chapter 9-11, also uploaded online).

### Week 3

Febr. 4, Tuesday: Lecture. **The Holocaust in WWII: Buildup, execution, interruption**

Required readings:

Stewart, "How does genocide happen" (read and comment)

Browning, "The Nazi Empire" (read and comment)

*Optional film*: The Wannsee Conference (Germany, 1984)

Febr. 6, Thursday: Lecture. **Stalin's genocides/sociocides**

Required readings:

Werth, "Mass Deportations, Ethnic Cleansing, & Genocidal Politics in the Later Russian Empire and the USSR" (read and comment)

Lemkin, "Soviet Genocide in the Ukraine" (1953)

#### Week 4

Febr. 11, Tuesday: Lecture. **Post-WWII genocides: Cambodia. I: Overview of events**

Required reading: Giry, "The Genocide That Wasn't"

*Optional:* Kiernan, *The Pol Pot Regime: Race, Power & Genocide in Cambodia Under the Khmer Rouge 1975-79*. [DS554.8 .K584, also as e-book: See the Course Bibliography]

Also recommended: *Funan* (2018) (animated film)

Febr. 13, Thursday: Lecture. **Post-WWII genocides: Cambodia. II: Ideology**

Required reading: Hinton, "Purity and Contamination in the Cambodian Genocide"

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Guest speaker: Hannah Phan, genocide survivor from Cambodia, now lecturer in Khmer (Cambodian language), in the Department of Asian Studies, at Cornell

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Guide to video testimonies from Cambodian genocide survivors recorded in the USC-Shoah Foundation's Visual History Archive: <https://newcatalog.library.cornell.edu/catalog/9295111>

#### Week 5

Febr. 18, Tuesday: Lecture. **Post-WWII genocides: Bosnia/Yugoslavia**

Required reading: Hayden, "Imagined communities and real victims"

*Optional:* Hemon, "The Bob Dylan of Genocide Apologists: Peter Handke"

*For more optional readings, as always, see the Course Bibliography, on Canvas.*

Febr. 20, Thursday: Lecture. **Post-WWII genocides: Rwanda, & the steps to genocide**

Required reading: Mamdani, "A Brief History of Genocide."

*Optional:* Samantha Power, "Bystanders to Genocide"

Also recommended: The film *Hotel Rwanda* (2005)

#### Week 6

Febr. 25, Tuesday: **No lecture; February Break (February 22-25).**

Febr. 27, Thursday: Lecture. **Rohingya genocide, Burma (2017- ). Overview of actors/parties and events [recorded lecture, in Powerpoint]**

Required reading:

Cheesman, "How in Myanmar 'National Races' Came to Surpass Citizenship & Exclude Rohingya"

*Optional:* Cheesman, "How Myanmar's 'national races' trumped citizenship"

#### Week 7

March 3, Tuesday: Lecture. **Background: Burmese history and ethnopolitics**

*Required reading:*

Walton, "'Wages of Burman-ness:' Ethnicity and Burman Privilege in Contemporary Myanmar"

*Optional:*

Walton, *Buddhism, Politics and Political Thought in Myanmar* (2017)

[+ Listen to: ] Walton, podcast audio interview about the book, *Buddhism, Politics and Political Thought in Myanmar*.

March 5, Thursday: Lecture. **Discrimination and exclusion of the Rohingya**

*Required reading:*

Towards a Peaceful, Fair and Prosperous Future for the People of Rakhine. Advisory Commission On Rakhine State, Final Report. August 2017. [http://www.rakhinecommission.org/app/uploads/2017/08/FinalReport\\_Eng.pdf](http://www.rakhinecommission.org/app/uploads/2017/08/FinalReport_Eng.pdf)

*[Read pp. 9-11, 18-19, 26-32; + more if you like]*

*Optional:*

"Analysis: Using the Term 'Rohingya'." *The Irrawaddy*, 21 September 2017. <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/analysis-using-term-rohingya.html>

Week 8

March 10, Tuesday: Lecture. **The expulsion of the Rohingya, 2017-**

*Required reading:*

1. "Tip of the Spear. The shock troops who expelled the Rohingya from Myanmar." Reuters, June 2018. <https://www.reuters.com/investigates/special-report/myanmar-rohingya-battalions/>

2. "They Gave them Long Swords." Fortify Rights report, July 2018. [https://www.fortifyrights.org/downloads/Fortify\\_Rights\\_Long\\_Swords\\_July\\_2018.pdf](https://www.fortifyrights.org/downloads/Fortify_Rights_Long_Swords_July_2018.pdf)

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*Optional: See the updated Course Bibliography.*

March 12, Thursday: Lecture. **Witness testimonies; information warfare**

Short clips from longer video testimonies from Morizan, Mohamad Hassan, and Ammad Hossen, from among the 11 testimonies recorded in 2018 in Bangladesh camps, for the USC-Shoah Foundation's Visual History Archive. See more here:

<https://newcatalog.library.cornell.edu/catalog/9295111> ].

*Required reading:* See Canvas: newspaper items that include Burmese government views.

Week 9

March 17, Tuesday: Lecture. **UN & global recriminations, incl. Muslim world; ICC trial (2019- )**

*Required reading:* two legal documents (written in legalese! Read carefully, to become familiar with how this kind of documents are written):

1. International Court of Justice document on the injunction against Burma (Myanmar), issued January 2020. <https://www.icj-cij.org/files/case-related/178/178-20200123-SUM-01-00-EN.pdf>

2. Transcript of the defence statement by the hired lawyer (and genocide scholar!) William Schabas' defence of Myanmar in the genocide trial: <https://elevenmyanmar.com/news/professor-william-schabass-full-transcript-in-myanmars-defense-in-genocide-trial>

*Optional:*

One on One: Exclusive interview with Aboubacarr Tambadou, Gambian Minister of Justice. Dec 18, 2019. TRT World. <https://www.trtworld.com/video/one-on-one-express/one-on-one-exclusive-interview-with-aboubacarr-tambadou-gambian-minister-of-justice/5df9c838b53db8001717d939>

Also here: [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DcNcfm4WLeA&feature=emb\\_logo](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DcNcfm4WLeA&feature=emb_logo)

*Also, see the updated Course Bibliography for more on the trial.*

March 19, Thursday: Lecture. **China's Xinjiang genocide (2017- ), overview of actors/parties and events.** Required reading: TBA *Postponed due to coronavirus pandemic. Spring Break.*

Week 10

March 24, Tuesday: Lecture. **Background: Chinese history and ethnopolitics** *Postponed.*

Required reading:

Fiskesjö, "Legacy of the Chinese Empires"

The Economist, "The Upper Han"

March 26, Thursday: Lecture. **The Chinese policy shift** *Postponed.*

Required reading:

Leibold, "China's Minority Report: When Racial Harmony Means Homogenization"

Leibold, "Planting the Seed: Ethnic Policy in Xi Jinping's New Era of Cultural Nationalism"

Week 11

March 31, Tuesday: **No lecture, Spring Break (March 28-April 5).**

Apr. 2, Thursday: **No lecture, Spring Break (March 28-April 5).**

Week 12

Apr. 7, Tuesday: Lecture. Online. First after the pandemic interruption.

**China's Xinjiang genocide (2017- ), overview of actors/parties and events.**

*Required readings:*

1. "Fear and oppression in Xinjiang: China's war on Uighur culture." (2019).
2. "Eradicating Ideological Viruses" - China's Campaign of Repression Against Xinjiang's Muslims. Human Rights Watch report, Sept. 2018.
3. "Everything You Need To Know About The Camps In China," 2019. (See the embedded video by Feroza Aziz).

*Optional readings:* See Canvas, and for more, see my online bibliography, <https://uhrp.org/featured-articles/chinas-re-education-concentration-camps-xinjiang>

Apr. 9, Thursday: Lecture. **Background: Chinese history and ethnopolitics**

*Required reading:*

1. Fiskesjö, "Legacy of the Chinese Empires"
2. The Economist, "The Upper Han"

*Optional readings:*

Bulag, "Twentieth-Century China: Ethnic Assimilation and Intergroup Violence"

Leibold, "China's Minority Report: When Racial Harmony Means Homogenization"

Week 13

Apr. 14, Tuesday: Lecture. **Surveillance and society-wide forced assimilation**

*Required readings:*

Byler, "Ghost World: In northwest China, the state is using technology to pioneer a new form of terror capitalism"

"Mapping more of China's tech giants: AI and surveillance." ASPI report, 2019. (Read these sections: "Executive summary," "All roads lead to Xinjiang," and "Conclusion.")

"How Mass Surveillance Works in Xinjiang, China: 'Reverse Engineering' Police App." Human Rights Watch, 2019.

Byler, "China's Government Has Ordered a Million Citizens to Occupy Uighur Homes." 2018.

*Optional:*

See the new Frontline episode on Xinjiang (highly recommended): <https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/frontline/film/china-undercover/>

+ For more readings see: <https://uhrp.org/featured-articles/chinas-re-education-concentration-camps-xinjiang>

Apr. 16, Thursday: Lecture. **The concentration camps: Remote discovery & on-site reporting**

*Required readings:*

1. "Mapping Xinjiang's 're-education' camps." ASPI report, 2018.

2. List of Re-education Camps in Xinjiang. By Shawn Zhang, 2018-

3. "Chilling video shows Chinese police transferring hundreds of blindfolded, shackled prisoners." News.com.au, Sept., 2019. (Story, & video: *watch the version that is 1:45 long.* )

4. Zenz, "Brainwashing, Police Guards and Coercive Internment"

*Optional: (See Course Bibliography for full links! )*

Shawn Zhang, Student Activist. Armed with only Google Earth, Shawn Zhang, a student at the University of British Columbia, has taken on the full might of the Chinese government. Global Thinkers 2019.

What Satellite Images Can Show Us about 'Re-education' Camps in Xinjiang. Q&A w. Shawn Zhang.

Interview [with Nathan Ruser]: 'Video is a Very Stark Reminder of How Manicured Choreographed Access to Xinjiang [Has Been]'

Inside China's "thought transformation" camps. BBC, June 17, 2019.

"China's hidden camps," video, BBC News. Oct 24, 2018.

+ For more readings see: <https://uhrp.org/featured-articles/chinas-re-education-concentration-camps-xinjiang>

Week 14

Apr. 21, Tuesday: **Guest speaker: Uyghur activist Rukiye Turdush: Presentation and Q&A.**

*Required reading:*

Genocide In East Turkistan. By Rukiye Turdush. Report published by Uyghur Research Institute [Ankara, Turkey]. April 2019. Online + as PDF [under Modules-->Readings].

+ *Optional* - more writings by, or about, our guest: [links: under Modules-->Readings].

Exclusive: How Uighur activist Rukiye Turdush felt the long arm of the Chinese Communist party, in Canada. 2019.

Genocide as Nation Building: China's Historically Evolving Policy in East Turkistan. By Rukiye Turdush. *Journal of Political Risk*, 2019.

China is trying to erase the Uighurs and their culture: Uighurs are neither extremists nor separatists as Beijing claims. By Rukiye Turdush, 2018.



Apr. 23, Thursday: Lecture. **The concentration camps: Witness testimonies**

*Required readings:*

1. A Million People Are Jailed at China's Gulags. I Managed to Escape. Here's What Really Goes on Inside. Rape, torture and human experiments. **Sayragul Sauytbay** offers firsthand testimony from a Xinjiang 'reeducation' camp. 2019.
2. "Weather Report: Voices from Xinjiang. Untold stories from China's Gulag state." By Ben Mauk, *The Believer*, 2019 - Either **pick a few cases and read - take f.ex. Orynbek Koksebek, Rahima Senbai, and Gulzira Auyelkhan**; search for them in the text and read their personal accounts. Or, read the whole thing.
3. Watch: **Are Muslim Uyghurs being brainwashed by the Chinese state?** BBC Newsnight, Aug 30, 2018. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3DazSCxfUdE>
4. Browse the **Xinjiang Victims Database**, <https://shahit.biz/eng/>
5. Browse the **Uyghur Pulse youtube channel**: video testimonies for victims. <https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCxtHBfWaWYQPNgfvdvSDn4A/videos>

*Optional:*

Behind the Walls: Three Uyghurs Detail their Experience in China's Secret 'Re-education' Camps. RFA [Sept. 2018]. <https://www.rfa.org/english/news/special/uyghur-detention/>

"There was no learning at all." By Gene A. Bunin. *The Art of Life in Chinese Central Asia*, 2019. <https://livingotherwise.com/2019/12/13/there-was-no-learning-at-all/>

Kazakh family of writers and musicians caught in the Xinjiang vortex. *Global Voices*, 2020. <https://globalvoices.org/2020/01/22/kazakh-family-of-writers-and-musicians-caught-in-the-xinjiang-vortex/>

China's hidden camps. BBC News video, 2018. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qmvyjwLxC5I>

+ *More optional:*

For more new witness statements, see: <https://uhrp.org/featured-articles/chinas-re-education-concentration-camps-xinjiang> (incl. the 'highlights' section on eyewitnesses).

Week 15

Apr. 28, Tuesday: Lecture. **Family separation, sexual politics and Chinese-only orphanages**

*Required readings:*

1. "Break Their Roots: Evidence for China's Parent-Child Separation Campaign in Xinjiang." Adrian Zenz, 2019.
2. "Female Detainees at Xinjiang Internment Camps Face Sterilization, Sexual Abuse: Camp Survivor" [Tursunay Ziyawudun]. RFA, 2019.
3. "A Woman's Life Inside China's Digital Gulag." Video, with Gulbahar Jalilova, 2019.
4. "China's Jaw-Dropping Family Separation Policy." By Sigal Samuel. 2018.

+ *Optional:* For more related readings, see: <https://uhrp.org/featured-articles/chinas-re-education-concentration-camps-xinjiang> (incl. the highlights section on "Family separations; abuse of women; sterilizations, etc.")

Apr. 30, Thursday: Lecture. **Forced labor as an instrument of genocide**

*Required readings:*

1. "Uyghurs for sale: 'Re-education', forced labour and surveillance beyond Xinjiang." ASPI, 2020.
2. "Uyghurs & Other Muslim Minorities Forced into Labor Programs to Work in Chinese Factories." DemocracyNow, Jan. 09, 2020. (Video).

3. "Beyond the Camps: Beijing's Long-Term Scheme of Coercive Labor, Poverty Alleviation and Social Control in Xinjiang." By Adrian Zenz, 2019.
- + *Optional*: For more related readings, see: <https://uhrp.org/featured-articles/chinas-re-education-concentration-camps-xinjiang> (incl. the highlights section on forced labor, foreign companies' involvement in cotton, etc.).

## Week 16

May 5, Tuesday: Lecture. **On global reactions and the "information war" over Xinjiang**

*Required readings*: (three news items; plus one private investigator's analysis):

1. U.N. rights boss expected in China, including restive Xinjiang region, this year: envoy. Reuters, Feb 26, 2020. <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-china-xinjiang-rights/un-rights-boss-expected-in-china-including-restive-xinjiang-region-this-year-envoy-idUSKCN20K1ZE>
2. China Wants the World to Stay Silent on Muslim Camps. It's Succeeding. New York Times, Sept. 25, 2019. <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/09/25/world/asia/china-xinjiang-muslim-camps.html>
3. Which Countries Are For or Against China's Xinjiang Policies? Last week, two coalitions sent competing letters to the UN Human Rights Council criticizing or backing China's Xinjiang policies. The Diplomat, July 15, 2019. <https://thediplomat.com/2019/07/which-countries-are-for-or-against-chinas-xinjiang-policies/>
4. Comparison of Universal Periodic Review (UPR) recommendations made by various governments to Myanmar and to China concerning the persecution of Muslim minorities [in the United Nations, 2018]. By Shiwei Ye, 7 Dec. 2018. [https://drive.google.com/open?id=1uK79iJ52jRcZQYTa\\_CeZ1L5ofXrP5PB9](https://drive.google.com/open?id=1uK79iJ52jRcZQYTa_CeZ1L5ofXrP5PB9)

*Optional brief video protests*:

Princess Hend Al Qassimi, @LadyVelvet\_HFQ. 10:31 AM · Apr 26, 2020. [https://twitter.com/LadyVelvet\\_HFQ/status/1254417926083547136](https://twitter.com/LadyVelvet_HFQ/status/1254417926083547136)

UN Official Gay McDougall Speaks on China's Detention of Uighur Muslims. Now This, Oct. 16, 2018. <https://nowthisnews.com/videos/news/uns-gay-mcdougall-speaks-on-chinas-detention-of-uighur-muslims>

More optional: see the Course Bibliography, and my online bibliography, which has much more on the way the Xinjiang issue is playing out in countries like Turkey, Pakistan, Indonesia, Malaysia, the US, the EU, etc.: <https://uhrp.org/featured-articles/chinas-re-education-concentration-camps-xinjiang>

May 7, Tuesday: Lecture. **Looking to the future in Xinjiang**

*Required readings*:

Burns, Rachael. "Genocide: 70 years on, three reasons why the UN Convention is still failing." The Conversation. December 18, 2018. <https://theconversation.com/genocide-70-years-on-three-reasons-why-the-un-convention-is-still-failing-108706>

Matthews, Kyle, and Allan Rock. "The world's disturbing inaction as the Genocide Convention turns 70." The Conversation, December 4, 2018. <https://theconversation.com/the-worlds-disturbing-inaction-as-the-genocide-convention-turns-70-107783>

Dieng, Adama [United Nations Special Adviser on the Prevention of Genocide]. "70 years of the Genocide Convention — demonstrating our commitment to the promise of 'never again'." United Nations, *Medium*, Oct 5, 2018. <https://medium.com/we-the-peoples/70-years-of-the-genocide-convention-demonstrating-our-commitment-to-the-promise-of-never-again-6d97ec7ba424>

Week 17

May 12, Tuesday: Last Day of Classes. **Student presentations of paper outlines.**

**+ *New end-of-semester dates as communicated by the university:***

Last day of drop/grade change: Tuesday, April 21

Last day of online instruction: Tuesday, May 12

Study days: May 13-15

Exam period: May 16-23

**+ \*In our class: Final paper due May 19, by email to the instructor.\***

***Next pages: Course Bibliography***

**Genocide Today**  
**Anthr 3552/6552, Asian Studies 3365/6665**  
**Cornell University, Spring 2020**

**Course Bibliography**

**[Free to copy]**

**Revised MAY 5, 2020, final version. [+ Some additions Sept. 10]**  
**Suggestions always welcome: Magnus Fiskesjö, [nf42@cornell.edu](mailto:nf42@cornell.edu)**

**Arranged by course topic, + at the end, a collection of general materials.**

**Contents**

- I. Literature on course topics**
- II. More literature on genocide**
- III. More literature on specific instances of genocide**
- IV. Other resources**

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**I. Literature on course topics**

**Mass atrocities in history**

*Carthage*

Kiernan, Ben. "The First Genocide: Carthage, 146 BC." *Diogenes* 51.3 (2004), 27–39.

*Carthage: The Roman Holocaust*. MagellanTV, n.d. [2018?].

[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=p9\\_o6quvJgM](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=p9_o6quvJgM) [Documentary film]

*The Cayugas around Ithaca*

The Sullivan-Clinton Campaign of 1779, <http://sullivanclinton.com>

Washington, George. "Letter to Major General John Sullivan, 31 May 1779."

<https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Washington/03-20-02-0661>

[President Washington's order to his general to kill and to drive away the native people of the Ithaca area]

*Native Americans more broadly*

- Hinton, Alexander Laban; Andrew Woolford, and Jeff Benvenuto, eds. *Colonial Genocide in Indigenous North America*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2014.
- Lewy, Guenter. Were American Indians the victims of genocide? *History News Network*, 2004. <https://historynewsnetwork.org/article/7302>
- Todorov, Tzvetan [1939-2017]. *The Conquest of America: The Question of the Other*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1999. [E123 .T6313x]
- Davidson, Lawrence. "Cultural genocide and the American Indians." In: L. Davidson, *Cultural Genocide*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 2012. <https://newcatalog.library.cornell.edu/catalog/10029324>

### **Emergence of laws of war, and the concept of human rights**

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- Rousseau, Jean-Jacques. (1755/56). "Principles of the Right of War." Edited and translated by Victor Gourevitch, in: *Rousseau: The Social Contract and Other Later Political Writings*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 166-180. [Olin Library JC179 .R7 2019b]
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### **Rohingya genocide: The expulsion of the Rohingya, 2017-**

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## Rohingya genocide: Witness testimonies; information warfare

Video testimonies from among the 11 people recorded in 2018 in Bangladesh camps, for the USC-Shoah Foundation's Visual History Archive. See more here: <https://newcatalog.library.cornell.edu/catalog/9295111> [we saw clips from the testimonies of Morizan, Mohamad Hassan, and Ammad Hossen; discussed how to incorporate witness testimonies in student final papers, Rohingya, Khmer, or others].

+ *Samples of Burmese viewpoints:*

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## Rohingya genocide: UN & global recriminations, incl. Muslim world; ICJ trial (2019- )

- *At the International Court of Justice, The Hague, Netherlands:*

Application of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (The Gambia v. Myanmar). **Request for the indication of provisional measures.** International Court Of Justice, 23 January 2020. <https://www.icj-cij.org/files/case-related/178/178-20200123-SUM-01-00-EN.pdf>

One on One: Exclusive interview with Aboubacarr Tambadou, Gambian Minister of Justice. Dec 18, 2019. TRT World. <https://www.trtworld.com/video/one-on-one-express/one-on-one-exclusive-interview-with-aboubacarr-tambadou-gambian-minister-of-justice/5df9c838b53db8001717d939>

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*For more of the "latest developments" at the International Court of Justice, see:*

Application of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (The Gambia v. Myanmar). **LATEST DEVELOPMENTS.** International Court of Justice, The Hague, Netherlands. <https://www.icj-cij.org/en/case/178>

*Also this curious statement, from a genocide scholar hired by Myanmar to defend it against the charges!:*

Professor William Schabas's Full Transcript in Myanmar's defense in genocide trial. Eleven Myanmar, 12 DECEMBER 2019. <https://elevenmyanmar.com/news/professor-william-schabass-full-transcript-in-myanmars-defense-in-genocide-trial>

+ at the other UN court, proceedings may also start:

Myanmar: War crimes court approves inquiry into violence against Rohingya. Myanmar is accused of mass persecution and 'ongoing genocide' of Muslim minority. Owen Bowcott, Legal affairs correspondent, The Guardian. 14 Nov. 2019. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2019/nov/14/war-crimes-judges-approve-investigation-violence-against-rohingya-icc-myanmar>

*More commentary:*

"Gambian minister brought Myanmar to The Hague 'in the name of humanity'." The World, PRI. December 12, 2019. <https://www.pri.org/stories/2019-12-12/gambian-minister-brought-myanmar-hague-name-humanity>

Carlson, Kerstin, and Line Engbo Gissel. "Why the Gambia's plea for the Rohingya matters for international justice." *The Conversation*, January 14, 2020. <http://theconversation.com/why-the-gambias-plea-for-the-rohingya-matters-for-international-justice-129365>

"Key Figures Assess the Myanmar Legal Team's Performance in The Hague." *The Irrawaddy*, 12 December 2019. <https://www.irrawaddy.com/specials/key-figures-assess-myanmar-legal-teams-performance-hague.html>

Beyer, Judith. "Harmony ideology at The Hague: Myanmar before the International Court of Justice." December 14, 2019. <http://publicanthropologist.cmi.no/2019/12/14/harmony-ideology-at-the-hague-myanmar-before-the-international-court-of-justice/>

"U.N. Court Orders Myanmar to Protect Rohingya Muslims. The injunction was issued by the International Court of Justice at The Hague." Richard C. Paddock, New York Times, Jan. 23, 2020; Updated 7:26 a.m. ET. <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/01/23/world/asia/myanmar-rohingya-genocide.html>

"U.N. Security Council Fails to Agree on Statement Urging Myanmar to Follow ICJ Measures in Genocide Case." *The Irrawaddy*, 5 February 2020. <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/un-security-council-fails-agree-statement-urging-myanmar-follow-icj-measures-genocide-case.html>

Maung Zarni. "Why Myanmar's genocide denial will come back to haunt it." Washington Post, Jan. 15, 2020. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/2020/01/15/aung-san-su-kyi-must-be-held-account/>

**Postscript Sept. 2020**

***The stalemate continues, with the massive Bangladeshi refugee camps, the Burmese military's further acts to complete the genocide in Burma, in the context of further conflict in the Rakhine region. The ICJ trial against Burma continues; and even more testimony has emerged, incl. from soldiers:***

Beech, Hannah, Saw Nang and Marlise Simons, 'Kill All You See': In a First, Myanmar Soldiers Tell of Rohingya Slaughter. New York Times, Sept. 8, 2020, Updated. <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/09/08/world/asia/myanmar-rohingya-genocide.html>

## **China's Xinjiang genocide (2017- ), overview**

### *Required readings:*

1. "Fear and oppression in Xinjiang: China's war on Uighur culture." By Christian Shepherd, Financial Times, 12 Sept. 2019. <https://www.ft.com/content/48508182-d426-11e9-8367-807ebd53ab77>
2. "Eradicating Ideological Viruses" - China's Campaign of Repression Against Xinjiang's Muslims. Human Rights Watch, Sept. 2018. <https://www.hrw.org/report/2018/09/09/eradicating-ideological-viruses/chinas-campaign-repression-against-xinjiangs>
3. "Everything You Need To Know About The Camps In China, As Told By A TikTok Beauty Tutorial. 'I knew I had to say something,' Feroza Aziz told MTV News. 'People need to know'." MTV news, 27 Nov. 2019. <http://www.mtv.com/news/3147409/uyghur-muslim-camps-china-tiktok-makeup-tutorial/>

*Optional readings:* See my own online bibliography, which is 900+ pages but also has lists of highlight selections by topic: <https://uhrp.org/featured-articles/chinas-re-education-concentration-camps-xinjiang>

*+ a few more BBC news videos with good insight into what's been going on, as an overview:*

Inside China's "thought transformation" camps. BBC, June 17, 2019. <https://www.bbc.com/news/av/world-asia-china-48667221/inside-china-s-thought-transformation-camps>

Faith in ruins: China's vanishing beards and mosques. BBC China Correspondent John Sudworth, 20 Jun 2019. <https://www.bbc.com/news/av/world-asia-china-48696184/faith-in-ruins-china-s-vanishing-beards-and-mosques>

China Muslims: Xinjiang schools used to separate children from families. By John Sudworth. BBC News, Xinjiang. 4 July 2019. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-china-48825090>

China's hidden camps - BBC News. Oct 24, 2018. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qmvyjwLxC5I>

Xinjiang: China, where are my children? - BBC News. July 5, 2019. <https://www.bbc.com/news/av/world-asia-china-48873934/xinjiang-china-where-are-my-children>

Or, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VRS5cdcsUOc>

Are Muslim Uyghurs being brainwashed by the Chinese state? BBC Newsnight, Aug 30, 2018. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3DazSCxfUdE&feature=youtu.be>

## **Xinjiang: Background: Chinese history and ethnopolitics; the Chinese policy shift**

### *Required readings:*

Fiskesjö, Magnus. "The Legacy of the Chinese Empires: Beyond 'the West and the Rest.'" Education About Asia 22.1 (Spring 2017), 6-10.

"Who is Chinese? The upper Han: The world's rising superpower has a particular vision of ethnicity and nationhood that has implications at home and abroad." The Economist, Nov 19, 2016. <http://www.economist.com/news/briefing/21710264-worlds-rising-superpower-has-particular-vision-ethnicity-and-nationhood-has>

+ Powerpoint, uploaded under Readings: Background on China's ethnics, 9apr2020.rev.pptx

### *+ Optional readings:*

Bulag, Uradyn E. "Twentieth-Century China: Ethnic Assimilation and Intergroup Violence." In: *The Oxford Handbook of Genocide Studies*. Edited by Donald Bloxham and A. Dirk Moses. Published 2010; Online: 2012 DOI: 10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199232116.013.0022 [+ as PDF on Canvas]

Leibold, James. "China's Minority Report: When Racial Harmony Means Homogenization." *Foreign Affairs*, March 23, 2016. <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/china/2016-03-23/chinas-minority-report>

+ More readings available on request.

+ see my Online bibliography (periodically updated) on the genocide in the Uyghur region (East Turkestan): <https://uhrp.org/featured-articles/chinas-re-education-concentration-camps-xinjiang>

### **Xinjiang: Surveillance and society-wide forced-assimilation campaign**

*Required readings:*

Byler, Darren. "Ghost World: In northwest China, the state is using technology to pioneer a new form of terror capitalism." *Logic Magazine*, April 2019. <https://logicmag.io/07-ghost-world/>

"Mapping more of China's tech giants: AI and surveillance." By Danielle Cave, Fergus Ryan & Vicky Xiuzhong Xu. Australian Strategic Policy Institute. 28 Nov 2019. <https://www.aspi.org.au/report/mapping-more-chinas-tech-giants>  
- Read these sections: "Executive summary," "All roads lead to Xinjiang," and "Conclusion."

"How Mass Surveillance Works in Xinjiang, China: 'Reverse Engineering' Police App Reveals Profiling and Monitoring Strategies." Human Rights Watch, May 2, 2019. <https://www.hrw.org/video-photos/interactive/2019/05/02/china-how-mass-surveillance-works-xinjiang>  
+ <https://www.hrw.org/news/2019/05/01/interview-chinas-big-brother-app>

Byler, Darren. "China's Government Has Ordered a Million Citizens to Occupy Uighur Homes." 2018. <http://www.chinafile.com/reporting-opinion/postcard/million-citizens-occupy-uighur-homes-xinjiang>

+ example from Twitter mentioned in class, of Chinese men posting video of themselves sleeping in the same bed as an Uyghur woman they are visiting: <https://twitter.com/WBYeats1865/status/1191736565342425088>

+ example from Twitter mentioned in class, of a Chinese man visiting a household where the son asks his mom in Uyghur, "If this guy leaves, can dad come home? (=from the camps?): <https://twitter.com/parlabest/status/1191241192530464768>

*Optional:*

See the new Frontline episode on Xinjiang (highly recommended): <https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/frontline/film/china-undercover/>

+ see Darren Byler 's Cornell lecture on March 11, 2019: "Terror Capitalism: Uyghur "Reeducation" and the Chinese Security Industrial Complex." Cornell Contemporary China Initiative series, Spring 2019. Video: <https://vimeo.com/325022128>

+ More readings, videos, etc.in my own online bibliography: <https://uhrp.org/featured-articles/chinas-re-education-concentration-camps-xinjiang>

### **Xinjiang: The concentration camps: Remote discovery & on-site reporting**

*Required readings:*

Mapping Xinjiang's 're-education' camps. This report by ASPI's International Cyber Policy Centre collates and adds to the current open-source research into China's growing network of extrajudicial 're-education' camps in Xinjiang province. By Fergus Ryan, Danielle Cave &



- Nathan Ruser. 1 nov 2018. <https://www.aspi.org.au/report/mapping-xinjiangs-re-education-camps>
- List of Re-education Camps in Xinjiang. By Shawn Zhang. May 20, 2018. <https://medium.com/@shawnwzhang/list-of-re-education-camps-in-xinjiang-%E6%96%B0%E7%96%86%E5%86%8D%E6%95%99%E8%82%B2%E9%9B%86%E4%B8%AD%E8%90%A5%E5%88%97%E8%A1%A8-99720372419c> + updated: <https://medium.com/@shawnwzhang> [Browse to learn about Shawn Zhang's pioneer work]
- Zenz, Adrian. Brainwashing, Police Guards and Coercive Internment: Evidence from Chinese Government Documents about the Nature and Extent of Xinjiang's "Vocational Training Internment Camps." *Journal of Political Risk* 7.7, July 2019. <http://www.ipolrisk.com/brainwashing-police-guards-and-coercive-internment-evidence-from-chinese-government-documents-about-the-nature-and-extent-of-xinjiangs-vocational-training-internment-camps/>
- "Chilling video shows Chinese police transferring hundreds of blindfolded, shackled prisoners. Australia's Foreign Affairs Minister has described chilling footage showing hundreds of blindfolded and shackled men in China as "deeply disturbing". Frank Chung, news.com.au, September 23, 2019, 9:01am. <https://www.news.com.au/world/asia/chilling-video-shows-chinese-police-transferring-hundreds-of-blindfolded-shackled-prisoners/news-story/67a3f1742b261c6dc78334ff16b6d775> (Story, & video: watch esp. the 1:45 long version. )
- Optional:*
- Interview [with Nathan Ruser]: 'Video is a Very Stark Reminder of How Manicured Choreographed Access to Xinjiang [Has Been]'. RFA, 2019-09-24. <https://www.rfa.org/english/news/uyghur/interview-ruser-uyghur-korla-transfer-09242019172041.html>
- Shawn Zhang, Student Activist. Armed with only Google Earth, Shawn Zhang, a student at the University of British Columbia, has taken on the full might of the Chinese government. *Global Thinkers* 2019. *Foreign Policy*, January 2019. <https://foreignpolicy.com/2019-global-thinkers/>
- What Satellite Images Can Show Us about 'Re-education' Camps in Xinjiang. A Q&A with Shawn Zhang. *ChinaFile*, August 23, 2018. <http://www.chinafile.com/what-satellite-images-can-show-us-about-re-education-camps-xinjiang>
- Inside China's "thought transformation" camps. BBC, June 17, 2019. <https://www.bbc.com/news/av/world-asia-china-48667221/inside-china-s-thought-transformation-camps>
- "China's hidden camps," video, BBC News. Oct 24, 2018. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qmvyjwLxC5I>
- + More readings, videos, etc. in my own online bibliography: <https://uhrp.org/featured-articles/chinas-re-education-concentration-camps-xinjiang>

### **Xinjiang: The concentration camps: Witness testimonies**

1. A Million People Are Jailed at China's Gulags. I Managed to Escape. Here's What Really Goes on Inside. Rape, torture and human experiments. Sayragul Sauytbay offers firsthand testimony from a Xinjiang 'reeducation' camp. *Haaretz*, Oct 17, 2019.

<https://www.haaretz.com/world-news/.premium.MAGAZINE-a-million-people-are-jailed-at-china-s-gulags-i-escaped-here-s-what-goes-on-inside-1.79942162>

2. "Weather Report: Voices from Xinjiang. Untold stories from China's Gulag state" By Ben Mauk. *The Believer*, Vol 16, No. 5, Oct./Nov. 2019, 70-110. <https://believermag.com/weather-reports-voices-from-xinjiang/> (either pick a few cases and read - take f.ex. **Orynbek Koksebek, Rahima Senbai, and Gulzira Auyelkhan**; search for them in the text and read their personal accounts. Or, read the whole thing. )
3. **Watch: Are Muslim Uyghurs being brainwashed by the Chinese state? BBC Newsnight, Aug 30, 2018.** <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3DazSCxfUdE>
4. Browse the **Xinjiang Victims Database**, <https://shahit.biz/eng/>
5. Browse the **Uyghur Pulse youtube channel**: video testimonies for victims uploaded in batches on a monthly basis. <https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCxtHBfWaWYQPNgfvdvSDn4A/videos>

*Optional:*

Behind the Walls: Three Uyghurs Detail their Experience in China's Secret 'Re-education' Camps. RFA [Sept. 2018]. <https://www.rfa.org/english/news/special/uyghur-detention/>

"There was no learning at all." By Gene A. Bunin. *The Art of Life in Chinese Central Asia*. Dec. 13, 2019. <https://livingotherwise.com/2019/12/13/there-was-no-learning-at-all/>

Kazakh family of writers and musicians caught in the Xinjiang vortex. Three siblings in camps and nobody to care for their elderly mother. Mehmet Volkan; Chris Rickleton. *Global Voices*, 22 Jan. 2020. <https://globalvoices.org/2020/01/22/kazakh-family-of-writers-and-musicians-caught-in-the-xinjiang-vortex/>

China's hidden camps - BBC News. Oct 24, 2018. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qmvvjwLxC5I>

+ More readings, videos, etc. in my online bibliography: <https://uhrp.org/featured-articles/chinas-re-education-concentration-camps-xinjiang>

**By/about our guest speaker April 21:**

Genocide In East Turkistan. By Rukiye Turdush. Uyghur Research Institute [Ankara, Turkey], April 2019. <https://www.uysi.org/en/?p=559>. As PDF: [Genocide Report 2019-.pdf](#)

Exclusive: How Uighur activist Rukiye Turdush felt the long arm of the Chinese Communist party, in Canada. Holmes Chan, HKFP, 3 March 2019. <https://www.hongkongfp.com/2019/03/03/exclusive-uyghur-activist-rukiye-turdush-felt-long-arm-chinese-communist-party-canada/>

Genocide as Nation Building: China's Historically Evolving Policy in East Turkistan. By Rukiye Turdush, Uyghur Research Institute. *Journal of Political Risk*, Vol. 7, No. 8, August 2019. <http://www.jpolarisk.com/genocide-as-nation-building-chinas-historically-evolving-policy-in-east-turkistan/>

China is trying to erase the Uighurs and their culture: Uighurs are neither extremists nor separatists as Beijing claims. They just want their rights. Rukiye Turdush, *AlJazeera*, 13 Oct. 2018. <https://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/china-erase-uyghurs-culture-181012155613937.html>

## Xinjiang: Family separation, sexual politics and Chinese-only orphanages

Zenz, Adrian. "Break Their Roots: Evidence for China's Parent-Child Separation Campaign in Xinjiang." *Journal of Political Risk* 7.7, July 2019. <http://www.jpolarisk.com/break-their-roots-evidence-for-chinas-parent-child-separation-campaign-in-xinjiang/>

"Female Detainees at Xinjiang Internment Camps Face Sterilization, Sexual Abuse: Camp Survivor." [Tursunay Ziyawudun]. RFA, 2019-10-30. <https://www.rfa.org/english/news/uyghur/abuse-10302019142433.html>

"A Woman's Life Inside China's Digital Gulag. Gulbahar Jalilova, a citizen of Kazakhstan, spent fifteen months in one of China's concentration camps for ethnic Uyghurs and other Muslim minorities." *Coda Story*, May 9, 2019. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kAlEc6OCQjg&feature=youtu.be>

China's Jaw-Dropping Family Separation Policy. Children and parents are being ripped apart on a massive scale. It may rob an entire generation of their Muslim identities. Sigal Samuel. *The Atlantic*, Sept. 4, 2018. <https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2018/09/china-internment-camps-uyghur-muslim-children/569062/>

### Optional:

China Muslims: Xinjiang schools used to separate children from families. By John Sudworth. BBC News, Xinjiang. 4 July 2019. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-china-48825090>

Xinjiang: China, where are my children? - BBC News. July 5, 2019. <https://www.bbc.com/news/av/world-asia-china-48873934/xinjiang-china-where-are-my-children>

Or, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VRS5cdcsUOc>

+ More readings, videos, etc. in my own online bibliography: <https://uhrp.org/featured-articles/chinas-re-education-concentration-camps-xinjiang>

## Targeting of cultural figures in Xinjiang:

Detained and Disappeared: Intellectuals Under Assault in the Uyghur Homeland. May 21, 2019. Uyghur Human Rights Project. <https://uhrp.org/press-release/uhrp-update-435-intellectuals-detained-and-disappeared-uyghur-homeland.html>

*(At least 435 Uyghur and other ethnic minority intellectuals detained since early 2017)*

"Dear Teacher" (Söyümlük Muellim) [music video] by Ablajan Awut Ayup (2016). <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yPmdkB8Ww3Y>

*The Art of Life in Chinese Central Asia: Publ 5 June 2017. "Dear Teacher (Söyümlük Muellim)" is a song from Ablajan's most recent album. Here it is presented with English subtitles. -- Ablajan later disappeared into the camps, is said to have been given an 18 year prison term; unconfirmed.*

"Ana yurt" - Ablajan Awut Ayup Vs All Stars. 307,085 views. July 12, 2015. [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=E0\\_eYklnw9w](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=E0_eYklnw9w)

[= When the artist still ran his own Youtube channel]

[This song is an all-stars homage to their homeland, East Turkestan, "Ana yurt"]

Wu Man and Sanubar Tursun. Nov 8, 2015, by the Aga Khan Music Initiative Channel. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MNrBAWjEkUI>

*[The disappeared Uyghur traditional music star Sanubar Tursun, here performing together with Chinese pipa player Wu Man]*

## **Xinjiang: Forced labor as an instrument of genocide**

"Uyghurs for sale: 'Re-education', forced labour and surveillance beyond Xinjiang." By Vicky Xiuzhong Xu, Danielle Cave, Dr James Leibold, et al. @ASPI\_ICPC. 1 March 2020. <https://www.aspi.org.au/report/uyghurs-sale>

"Uyghurs & Other Muslim Minorities Forced into Labor Programs to Work in Chinese Factories." DemocracyNow, January 09, 2020. Part 1: [https://www.democracynow.org/2020/1/9/china\\_uyghurs\\_muslim\\_minorities\\_workers](https://www.democracynow.org/2020/1/9/china_uyghurs_muslim_minorities_workers); + Part 2: "Modern-Day Slavery": China Is Forcing Muslims into Forced Labor, Prison & Indoctrination Camps. [https://www.democracynow.org/2020/1/9/inside\\_chinas\\_push\\_to\\_turn\\_muslim](https://www.democracynow.org/2020/1/9/inside_chinas_push_to_turn_muslim)

"Beyond the Camps: Beijing's Long-Term Scheme of Coercive Labor, Poverty Alleviation and Social Control in Xinjiang." By Adrian Zenz. *Journal of Political Risk* 7.12, December 2019. <https://www.jpolrisk.com/beyond-the-camps-beijings-long-term-scheme-of-coercive-labor-poverty-alleviation-and-social-control-in-xinjiang/>

*Optional:*

Your Gadgets Are Made by Re-Education Camp Prisoners in China. A new report from the Australian Strategic Policy Institute alleges that Beijing is using Uyghur prison labor in factories producing goods for Apple, Sony, Microsoft, Nintendo, and others. VICE, 3 March 2020. [https://www.vice.com/en\\_in/article/939z87/report-your-gadgets-are-made-by-re-education-camp-prisoners-in-china](https://www.vice.com/en_in/article/939z87/report-your-gadgets-are-made-by-re-education-camp-prisoners-in-china)

+ More readings, videos, etc. in my own online bibliography: <https://uhrp.org/featured-articles/chinas-re-education-concentration-camps-xinjiang>

## **Xinjiang: Global opinion, global reactions, information warfare**

U.N. rights boss expected in China, including restive Xinjiang region, this year: envoy. Reuters, Feb 26, 2020. <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-china-xinjiang-rights/un-rights-boss-expected-in-china-including-restive-xinjiang-region-this-year-envoy-idUSKCN20K1ZE>

China Wants the World to Stay Silent on Muslim Camps. It's Succeeding. New York Times, Sept. 25, 2019. <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/09/25/world/asia/china-xinjiang-muslim-camps.html>

Which Countries Are For or Against China's Xinjiang Policies? Last week, two coalitions sent competing letters to the UN Human Rights Council criticizing or backing China's Xinjiang policies. *The Diplomat*, July 15, 2019. <https://thediplomat.com/2019/07/which-countries-are-for-or-against-chinas-xinjiang-policies/>

4. Comparison of Universal Periodic Review (UPR) recommendations made by various governments to Myanmar and to China concerning the persecution of Muslim minorities [in the United Nations]. By Shiwei Ye, 7 Dec. 2018. [https://drive.google.com/open?id=1uK79iJ52jRcZQYTa\\_CEz1L5ofXrP5PB9](https://drive.google.com/open?id=1uK79iJ52jRcZQYTa_CEz1L5ofXrP5PB9)

*Optional - brief video protests:*

Princess Hend Al Qassimi, @LadyVelvet\_HFQ. 10:31 AM · Apr 26, 2020. [https://twitter.com/LadyVelvet\\_HFQ/status/1254417926083547136](https://twitter.com/LadyVelvet_HFQ/status/1254417926083547136)

UN Official Gay McDougall Speaks on China's Detention of Uighur Muslims. Now This, Oct. 16, 2018. <https://nowthisnews.com/videos/news/uns-gay-mcdougall-speaks-on-chinas-detention-of-ughur-muslims>

*Optional:* For more, see the Course Bibliography, and my online bibliography, which has much more on the way the Xinjiang issue is playing out in countries like Turkey, Pakistan, Indonesia, Malaysia, the US, the EU, etc.: <https://uhrp.org/featured-articles/chinas-re-education-concentration-camps-xinjiang>

### **Xinjiang: Looking to the future / the future of genocide worldwide**

Burns, Rachael. "Genocide: 70 years on, three reasons why the UN Convention is still failing." The Conversation. December 18, 2018. <https://theconversation.com/genocide-70-years-on-three-reasons-why-the-un-convention-is-still-failing-108706>

Matthews, Kyle, and Allan Rock. "The world's disturbing inaction as the Genocide Convention turns 70." The Conversation, December 4, 2018. <https://theconversation.com/the-worlds-disturbing-inaction-as-the-genocide-convention-turns-70-107783>

Dieng, Adama [United Nations Special Adviser on the Prevention of Genocide]. 70 years of the Genocide Convention — demonstrating our commitment to the promise of “never again”. United Nations, Medium, Oct 5, 2018. <https://medium.com/we-the-peoples/70-years-of-the-genocide-convention-demonstrating-our-commitment-to-the-promise-of-never-again-6d97ec7ba424>

+ More readings, videos, etc. in my own online bibliography: <https://uhrp.org/featured-articles/chinas-re-education-concentration-camps-xinjiang>

### **Postscript Sept. 2020:**

**In the summer of 2020, with further stark revelations of mass forced sterilizations and other abuse, more voices are being raised to identify the Chinese government's atrocities as genocide. Some countries, such as the US, have adopted limited sanctions against Chinese perpetrators [government officials], and Chinese companies; Uyghur activists in exile have proposed a genocide case at the UN International Criminal Court. On all this, see my online bibliography (periodically updated) on the genocide in the Uyghur region (East Turkestan): <https://uhrp.org/featured-articles/chinas-re-education-concentration-camps-xinjiang>**

\* \* \*

### **II. More literature on genocide**

Anderson, E. N. and Barbara A. Anderson. *Warning Signs of Genocide: An Anthropological Perspective*. Lanham, Md.: Lexington Books, 2013.

Annan, Kofi. "UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan's Action Plan to Prevent Genocide." Prevent Genocide International, 07/04/2004. <http://www.preventgenocide.org/prevent/UNdocs/KofiAnnansActionPlantoPreventGenocide7Apr2004.htm>

Arnaut, Karel. "'Out of the race': The poiesis of genocide in mass media discourses in Cote d'Ivoire. In Gerd Baumann and Andre Gingrich, eds. *Grammars of Identity/Alterity: A structural approach*. New York: Berghahn Books, 2004, 112-141.

- BBC. "How do you define genocide?" 17 March 2016. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-11108059>
- Beaubien, Jason. Is Genocide Predictable? Researchers Say Absolutely. NPR, Weekend Edition. Dec. 20, 2018:47 AM ET. <https://www.npr.org/sections/goatsandsoda/2018/12/20/675582639/is-genocide-predictable-researchers-say-absolutely>
- Davidson, Lawrence. *Cultural Genocide*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 2012. <https://newcatalog.library.cornell.edu/catalog/10029324>
- El-Affendi, Abdelwahab, ed. *Genocidal Nightmares: Narratives of Insecurity and the Logic of Mass Atrocities*. New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2015. [Olin Library HV6322.7 .G436 ]
- Frey, Robert Seitz, ed. *The Genocidal Temptation: Auschwitz, Hiroshima, Rwanda, and Beyond*. Dallas [Tex.]: University Press of America, 2004.
- Fripp, Deborah. "Why we should compare current events to the Holocaust." *Times of Israel*, June 25, 2018. <https://blogs.timesofisrael.com/why-we-should-compare-current-events-to-the-holocaust/>
- Gallagher, Adrian. *Genocide and its Threat to Contemporary International Order*. Basingstoke, Hampshire; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013. [HV6322.7.G35 2013]
- Hinton, Alexander Laban. "Introduction: Genocide and Anthropology." In: A.L. Hinton, ed. *Genocide: An Anthropological Reader*. Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2002, 1-24.
- Hinton, Alexander Laban, ed. *Genocide: An Anthropological Reader*. Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2002.
- Hinton, Alexander Laban, ed. *Annihilating Difference: The Anthropology of Genocide*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002.
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### **III. More literature on specific instances of genocide (which we could not get to in the course)**

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### **IV. Other resources**

**Visual History Archive, USC Shoah Foundation / Center for Advanced Genocide Research.**

<https://sfi.usc.edu/vha>

[https://sfi.usc.edu/archive\\_sites/cornell-university](https://sfi.usc.edu/archive_sites/cornell-university)

= <https://newcatalog.library.cornell.edu/databases/show/9295111>

[Includes testimonies from Hitler's Holocaust, from Rwanda, Cambodia, the Rohingya, etc.]