

Genocide Today
Cornell University, Anthr 3552/6552 & Asian Studies 3365/6665

Syllabus for Fall 2021. *Version revised Dec. 12, 2021*

Course Bibliography included at the end

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<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>

*** If referring to this syllabus outside class, please acknowledge the author:
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The class meets Tuesdays & Thursdays, 11:25am-12:40pm, in [Academic Surge A 109](#)

Instructor: Magnus Fiskesjö (nf42@cornell.edu, or: magnus.fiskesjo@cornell.edu)

Office hours: Wednesdays, 11:15am-1:15pm; sign-up sheet on my door, McGraw 201
(or drop by, or, email me, incl. if you can't make the regular hours)

Canvas site: All enrolled students will also be on our course site, www.canvas.cornell.edu
There, you can download readings, see announcements, etc.; the latest version of the syllabus, bibliography, and more, 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 set of readings, 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 writing assignment*** (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%**. The remaining % of your grade will be based upon your attendance and participation — incl. reading notes.

COURSE OUTLINE - main themes

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

Historical development of laws of war, on "crimes against humanity"
Development of the Genocide Convention [1948], omission of 'cultural genocide'

The Nazi Holocaust in WWII: Buildup, execution, interruption
Stalin's genocides/sociocides (Soviet Union)

Post-WWII genocides: Cambodia. Ideology and events
Post-WWII genocides: Bosnia/Yugoslavia
Post-WWII genocides: Armenian genocide continuing today
Post-WWII genocides: Rwanda, & the steps to genocide

Genocide prevention: Policies and practices, some real successes

Rohingya genocide, Burma (2017-). Overview of actors, events; Burmese history and ethnopolitics

Setting the stage for the Rohingya genocide.

Targeted discrimination and exclusion of the Rohingya ahead of the 2017 genocide

Witness testimonies; information warfare

The UN and global recriminations, incl. in the Muslim world; ICJ trial (2019-)

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

Background I: Chinese history and ethnopolitics

Background II: The recent policy shift and its implications

Surveillance; forced assimilation campaign

The concentration camps

Witness testimonies

Forced sterilisations, family separations, sexual politics etc .

Forced labor as a weapon of genocide

World reactions; propaganda/information warfare

Looking to the future of genocide

Last class: Student reports on draft final papers.

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

ALL READINGS LISTED (w. links, etc.) in the Course Bibliography at the end

Week 1

August 26, 2021, Thursday: Instruction begins.

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

Optional reading:

"How do you define genocide?" BBC, 17 March 2016 - updated 11 March 2021. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-11108059>

Week 2

Aug. 31, Tuesday: 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 & comment)

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

For optional readings, films, etc., see the Course Bibliography.

Sept. 2, Tuesday: Lecture. **Emergence of laws of war, and the "crimes against humanity"**

Required reading:

"Crimes against humanity." International Crimes Database project, 2013 (Read & comment)

Optional reading:

Moir, "Crimes Against Humanity in Historical Perspective"

Week 3

Sept. 7, Tuesday: Lecture. **Emergence of the Genocide Convention [1948]**

Required reading:

Genocide Convention [1948] (read and comment)

Cooper, *Raphael Lemkin and the Struggle for the Genocide Convention* (esp. Introduction; Chapter 9-11), also uploaded online on Canvas.

+

Optional reading:

Luck, "Cultural Genocide and the Protection of Cultural Heritage" --> *Sept. 23 reading*

Sept. 9, Thursday: 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)

Optional reading: Fripp, "Why we should compare current events to the Holocaust."

Week 4

Sept. 14, Tuesday: Lecture. **Soviet genocides/sociocides (Soviet Union)**

Required readings:

1. Werth, "Mass Deportations, Ethnic Cleansing, & Genocidal Politics in the Later Russian Empire and the USSR" (read & comment)
2. Lemkin, "Soviet Genocide in the Ukraine" (1953) [on the Holodomor] (read & comment)

Optional readings:

1. Snyder, "Hitler vs. Stalin: Who Killed More?" (copy on Canvas)
2. if you have time: "History Buffs: *The Death of Stalin*." Oct. 13, 2018.
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TG-tG-Wo0Do> (= a short, humorous, but mostly accurate, introduction to the Soviet Union + in the 2nd half, intro. to *The Death of Stalin*, the wonderful British feature comedy film)

Sept. 16, Thursday: Lecture. **Post-WWII genocides: Cambodia.**

~~Guest speaker to be confirmed.~~ Sorry, the visitor could not come.

Required readings:

1. Giry, "The Genocide That Wasn't" (read & comment)
2. Hinton, "Purity and Contamination in the Cambodian Genocide" (read & comment)

Optional readings / film:

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, now as DVD 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

Sept. 21, Tuesday: Lecture. **Post-WWII genocides: Bosnia/Yugoslavia & genocide denialism. Class guest: Prof. Edin Hajdarpašić, Dept. History, Loyola Univ. Chicago**
Please come prepared with your questions for him!

Required reading:

1. Dwerryhouse, "Denial and Silence: Modern Genocide Denial in the Western Balkans" (read and comment)
2. Hajdarpašić, "A Literary Consecration of Genocide Denial" (read and comment)
3. Hemon, "The Bob Dylan of Genocide Apologists: Peter Handke" (read and comment)

Optional:

Hayden, "Imagined communities and real victims"

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

Sept. 23, Thursday: Lecture. **Post-WWII genocides, genocide denialism, and and "cultural genocide": How the Armenian genocide (1915-16) continues even today**

Required readings:

"The Armenian Genocide (1915-16): In Depth." United States Holocaust Memorial Museum (read as background)

Maghakyan, "Declassified satellite images show erasure of Armenian churches" (read and comment)

Luck, "Cultural Genocide and the Protection of Cultural Heritage" (read and comment)

Optional readings:

Bloxham & Göçek, "The Armenian genocide"

Week 6

Sept. 28, Tuesday: Lecture. **Post-WWII genocides: Rwanda, & the steps to genocide**

Required readings:

Mahmod, "Rwanda's Genocide: A Brief History" (as background on Rwandan genocide)

Mamdani, "A Brief History of Genocide" (deeper background -- read and comment)

and

Stanton, "The Ten Stages of Genocide" [scroll, open, and read #1-10] (read and comment:

Does it make sense for Rwandan genocide?)

Optional readings:

Samantha Power, "Bystanders to Genocide"

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

Sept. 30, Thursday: Lecture. **Genocide prevention: Policies and practices, failures and successes**

Required readings:

UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan, "Action Plan to Prevent Genocide" (read and comment)

Akhavan, "Preventing Genocide: Measuring Success by What Does Not Happen" (read and comment)

Optional readings:

Anderson & Anderson. *Warning Signs of Genocide: An Anthropological Perspective*

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BBC, "Ivory Coast's hate media" (*Ivory Coast is also mentioned by Akhavan, above*)

Arnaut, "'Out of the race': The poiesis of genocide in mass media discourses in Cote d'Ivoire"

Week 7

Oct. 5, Tuesday: Lecture. **Rohingya genocide, Burma (2017-). Overview of actors/parties and events; focus on Burmese history and ethnopolitics**

Required readings:

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

Optional readings:

Walton, *Buddhism, Politics and Political Thought in Myanmar* (2017), + Listen to Walton's, podcast audio interview about his book, *Buddhism, Politics and Political Thought in Myanmar*.

[+ this video is good background on the genocide - it's from 2017, not up to date, but gives a good view of how the genocide got started: *The Rohingya Exodus*. Aljazeera, 101 East. Nov 9, 2017. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IFS5avTXtp4>]

Oct. 7, Thursday: Lecture. **Rohingya genocide: Background: setting the stage for the Rohingya genocide.**

Required reading:

Cheesman, "How in Myanmar 'National Races' Came to Surpass Citizenship & Exclude Rohingya" (read and comment)

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

Week 8

Fall Break: October 9, Saturday, to October 13, Wednesday. = No class on Oct. 12.

Oct. 14, Thursday: Lecture. **Rohingya genocide: Targeted discrimination and exclusion of the Rohingya ahead of the 2017 genocide**

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

[Read at least pp. 9-11, 18-19, 26-32; + more if you like] (read and comment)

Optional reading:

"Analysis: Using the Term 'Rohingya'." *The Irrawaddy*, 21 September 2017. = *on how many Burmese refused to even say the name Rohingya.*

Compare this, from after the military coup 2021, when many people changed their mind:

"Anti-junta protesters in Myanmar show support for Rohingya." TRT World, 13 June 2021.

(= A remarkable shift in public opinion about the Rohingya, after the military coup)

Week 9

Oct. 19, Tuesday: Lecture. **Rohingya genocide: The violent expulsion of the Rohingya + ALSO: Class guest: Wai Wai Nu, Rohingya activist; Founder and Executive Director, Women Peace Network; Founder, Yangon Youth Leadership Center (from 12 to 12:40pm, remote by Zoom). For more on our class guest, see links on Canvas.**

Required reading:

1. "Tip of the Spear. The shock troops who expelled the Rohingya from Myanmar." Reuters, June 2018. (read and comment)

2. "They Gave them Long Swords." Fortify Rights report, July 2018. (read and comment)

+ *For more optional readings see Canvas, and the updated Course Bibliography.*

Oct. 21, Thursday: Lecture. **Witness testimonies & information warfare**

Introduction to the **USC-Shoah Foundation's Visual History Archive**, and the Rohingya testimonies there. In class we see clips from video testimonies of Morizan, Mohamad Hassan, and Ammad Hossen, among 11 Rohingya testimonies recorded in 2018, in Bangladesh camps.

Required reading: (read and comment)

1. Watch the introductory video, "The USC Shoah Foundation Story": <https://sfi.usc.edu>

2. As an introduction to the testimonies archive as a research resource, log in with your Cornell net-ID and read the two "About Us" pages for the "USC Shoah Foundation" and also on "The Archive."

+ To watch actual genocide survival victims' testimonies, follow instructions to set up an additional account for the USC-Shoah Foundation's Visual History Archive. Start here:

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

Optional readings:

"Cornell library gains permanent access to genocide archive." *Cornell Chronicle*, May 11, 2020.

+ On Canvas, several news items that include Burmese government views.

Week 10

Oct. 26, Tuesday: Lecture. **UN & global reactions, incl. Muslim world; the ICJ trial 2019-**
Required reading/viewing:

1. "One on One: Exclusive interview with Aboubacarr Tambadou, Gambian Minister of Justice." *TRT World*, Dec. 18, 2019. [Video] (read & comment)
2. International Court of Justice document on the injunction against Burma (Myanmar), issued January 2020. (read & comment)
(Note: Written in legalese! Read to become familiar with this kind of document. More updates from the court are here: <https://www.icj-cij.org/en/case/178>).
3. Statement Regarding Professor William Schabas' Role in the Defense of Myanmar Against the Charge of Genocide. Five IAGS Presidents Rebuke Schabas for Genocide Denial Advocacy. International Association of Genocide Scholars, May 20, 2021.

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

Oct. 28, Thursday: Lecture. **China's Uyghur genocide (2017-)**, overview of actors/parties and events, *including Uyghur terrorism and its use as the pretext for state terror.*

Required readings:

1. *Worse than Death: Reflections on the Uyghur Genocide*. By Mamtimin Ala (2021). Selection: Chapters 1 and 2. (read & comment)
2. "Everything You Need to Know About the Camps in China," 2019. (See video by and with Feroza Aziz -- on Canvas). (See & comment)

+ Optional:

"The Uyghur Genocide: An Examination of China's Breaches of the 1948 Genocide Convention." Newlines Institute for Strategy and Policy. March 8, 2021.

Optional readings: See the Course Bibliography, on Canvas, incl. section on Uyghur terrorists; and for more, see my online bibliography (periodically updated), <https://uhrp.org/bibliography/>

Week 11

Nov. 2, Tuesday: Lecture. **Uyghur genocide: Background - I: Chinese history, ethnopolitics, and settler colonialism**

Required readings:

1. Fiskesjö, "Legacy of the Chinese Empires"
2. Fiskesjö, "Racism with Chinese Characteristics: How China's imperial legacy underpins state racism and violence in Xinjiang"

Optional readings:

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

McGranahan, "Chinese Settler Colonialism: Empire and Life in the Tibetan Borderlands"

Herman, "From land reclamation to land grab: Settler colonialism in SW China, 1680-1735"

Nov. 4, Thursday: **Uyghur genocide: Background - II: The current Chinese policy shift on ethnic minorities**

Required readings:

1. *The Economist*, "The Upper Han" (read & comment)
2. *The Economist*, "The Chinese Communist Party's model emperor" (read & comment)

Optional readings:

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"

Mullaney, "How China went from celebrating ethnic diversity to suppressing it"
Lopsang Gurung, "Puning Temple: Why Xi Jinping Celebrated a Genocide"
Clarke, "Colonialism and cultural erasure in Xinjiang. The ideology behind the CCP's "re-education" of the Uighur"

Week 12

Nov. 9, Tuesday: Lecture. **Uyghur genocide: Surveillance and society-wide forced assimilation**

Required readings:

1. "'Surveillance' doesn't begin to describe what Beijing is doing to Uyghurs." *Coda Story* (2021) (read & comment)
2. Byler, "Ghost World: In Northwest China, the state is using technology to pioneer a new form of terror capitalism" (2019) (read & comment)
3. Byler, "China's Government Has Ordered a Million Citizens to Occupy Uighur Homes." (2018) (read & comment)
4. Fiskesjö, "Bulldozing Culture: China's Systematic Destruction of Uyghur Heritage Reveals Genocidal Intent" (2021) (read & comment)

Optional readings:

The Economist, "Poetry from the Gulag" (2021)

The Guardian, "Chinese effort to gather 'micro clues' on Uyghurs laid bare in report" (2021)

ASPI, *The Architecture of Repression: Unpacking Xinjiang's Governance* (2021), <https://www.aspi.org.au/report/architecture-repression> + this is part of the larger online Xinjiang Data Project, <https://xidp.aspi.org.au/>

Cain, *The Perfect Police State: An Undercover Odyssey into China's Terrifying Surveillance Dystopia of the Future* (2021)

ASPI, "Mapping more of China's tech giants: AI and surveillance." (2019)

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

PBS Frontline TV episode on Xinjiang, <https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/frontline/film/china-undercover/>

More optional: See the Course Bibliography, on Canvas; and, for more, see my online bibliography (periodically updated), <https://uhrp.org/bibliography/>

Nov. 11, Thursday: Lecture. **Uyghur genocide: The concentration camps: Remote discovery & on-site reporting**

Required readings:

1. Byler, "China's internment camps in Xinjiang are a horror. Survivors and participants alike must reconcile with the truth" (2021) (read & comment)
2. Shawn Zhang, "List of Re-education Camps in Xinjiang," 2018- (read & comment)
3. "Chilling video shows Chinese police transferring hundreds of blindfolded, shackled prisoners." News.com.au, Sept. 2019. (Story, & video: *watch the 1:45 min. long version.*)

Optional:

Zenz, "Brainwashing, Police Guards and Coercive Internment"

Byler, *In the Camps: China's High-Tech Penal Colony* [Excerpted above, Byler 2021]

Fiskesjö, "Forced Confessions as Identity Conversion in China's Concentration Camps" (2020)

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

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 with 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.

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Detained and Disappeared: Intellectuals Under Assault in the Uyghur Homeland. Uyghur Human Rights Project, 2019

"Dear Teacher" (Söyümlük Muellim) [music video] by Ablajan Awut Ayup (2016).

More optional: See the Course Bibliography, on Canvas; and, for more, see my online bibliography (periodically updated), <https://uhrp.org/bibliography/>

Week 13

Nov. 16, Tuesday: Lecture: **Uyghur genocide: The concentration camps: Witness testimonies**

Required readings:

1. Uyghur Tribunal: Read the "About" page on the tribunal's main website: <https://uyghurtribunal.com/abouttribunal/> (read & comment)
2. Watch a sample from the hearings (4-7 June & 10-13 Sept. 2021). *Video selection: watch Qelbinur Sediq, from 47:50-1:39:00, or as much as you can* (& comment)
3. Sayragul Sauytbay, *The Chief Witness: Escape from China's Modern-Day Concentration Camps*. Chapters 1 and 6. [Read in the full ebook on our e-reserve on Canvas = **link under Library Reserves, on left on Canvas**] (read & comment)
4. Behind the Walls: Three Uyghurs Detail their Experience in China's Secret 'Re-education' Camps. RFA 2018 (Illustrated account; read esp. #2 & #3): <https://www.rfa.org/english/news/special/uyghur-detention/> (read & comment)

Optional:

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

Browse the Xinjiang Victims Database, <https://shahit.biz/eng/>

Browse the Uyghur Pulse youtube channel: video testimonies for victims.

<https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCxtHBfWaWYQPNgfvdvSDn4A/videos>

+ *Optional:*

"Weather Report: Voices from Xinjiang. Untold stories from China's Gulag state." By Ben Mauk, *The Believer*, 2019 (either read just a few cases, f.ex. Orynbek Koksebek, Rahima Senbai, and Gulzira Auyelkhan; or, read the whole thing, which is quite long.

A Million People Are Jailed at China's Gulags. I Managed to Escape. Here's What Really Goes on Inside. Sayragul Sauytbay (interview, 2019)

"There was no learning at all." *Art of Life in Chinese Central Asia*, 2019

Kazakh family of writers and musicians caught in the Xinjiang vortex. *Global Voices*, 2020

China's hidden camps. BBC News video, 2018.

+ *More optional:* For more new witness statements, see my online bibliography (periodically updated), <https://uhrp.org/bibliography/> (esp. the eyewitnesses highlights' section).

Nov. 18, Thursday: Lecture. **Uyghur genocide: Family separation, sexual politics, and Chinese-only orphanages + Class guest, Canada-based Uyghur activist Rukiye Turdush**
Required readings:

1. Turdush & Fiskesjö, "Dossier: Uyghur Women in China's Genocide," (2021) (read & comment)
2. Zenz, "'End the Dominance of The Uyghur Ethnic Group': Beijing's population optimization strategy in southern Xinjiang" (2021) (read & comment)

Optional:

"Drop in Xinjiang birthrate largest in recent history: report." AP, 2021

"China policies could cut millions of Uyghur births in Xinjiang." Reuters, 2021.

Ruser, Nathan & Dr James Leibold. *Family De-planning: The Coercive Campaign to Drive Down Indigenous Birth-rates in Xinjiang*. ASPI, May 2021.

The Independent. "They are concentration camps': What life is really like inside China's orphanages for Uighur children." 8 Sept. 2020.

"China fails to meet promises on missing Xinjiang children." BBC, 22 June 2021

"China's Jaw-Dropping Family Separation Policy," By Sigal Samuel. 2018.

"Female Detainees at Xinjiang Internment Camps Face Sterilization, Sexual Abuse: Camp Survivor" [Tursunay Ziyawudun]. RFA, 2019.

"A Woman's Life Inside China's Digital Gulag." Video, with Gulbahar Jalilova, 2019.

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More writings by, or about, our class guest: [links on Canvas].

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.

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More optional: See the Course Bibliography, on Canvas; and, for more, see my online bibliography (periodically updated), <https://uhrp.org/bibliography/> (esp. the highlights section on "Family separations; abuse of women; sterilizations, etc.")

Week 14

Nov. 23, Tuesday: Lecture. **Uyghur genocide: Forced labor as an instrument of genocide**
Required readings:

1. "Uyghurs For Sale: 'Re-education', Forced Labour & Surveillance Beyond Xinjiang." ASPI (2020) (read & comment)
2. Zenz, "Beyond the Camps: Beijing's Long-Term Scheme of Coercive Labor, Poverty Alleviation and Social Control in Xinjiang" (2019) (read & comment)

Optional readings / video:

"The American Crackdown on China That Is Working." *The Atlantic*, September 20, 2021.

"In Broad Daylight: Uyghur Forced Labour and Global Solar Supply Chains." Helena Kennedy Centre, Sheffield Hallam University. [May 2021].

"'Virtually entire' fashion industry complicit in Uighur forced labour, say rights groups." *The Guardian*, 23 July 2020.

Coalition to End Forced Labour in the Uyghur Region. "End Uyghur Forced Labour in China Now: Call to Action" (2020)

'Black gold' - How global demand for hair products is linked to forced labor in Xinjiang. CNN [Oct 9, 2020].

"Uyghurs & Other Muslim Minorities Forced into Labor Programs to Work in Chinese Factories." DemocracyNow, Jan. 09, 2020. (Video).

"How China is creating the world's largest prison." Four Corners, ABC News In-depth [Australia], July 15, 2019. [From 36:40; the horrific story of the Urumchi nurse Dilnur]

+ *Optional:* See the Course Bibliography, on Canvas; and, for more, see my online bibliography (periodically updated), <https://uhrp.org/bibliography/> (esp. the highlights section on forced labor, foreign companies' involvement in cotton, etc.).

Nov. 25, Thursday: **No lecture. Thanksgiving break, November 24-28.**

Week 15

Nov. 30: Tuesday: **Uyghur genocide: On global reactions and the "information warfare"**
Required readings:

1. Global Condemnation of Chinese Government Abuses in Xinjiang. 43 Countries Join Unprecedented UN Declaration. October 21, 2021. (read & comment)
2. "2020 Edition: Which Countries Are For or Against China's Xinjiang Policies?" *The Diplomat*, Oct. 9, 2020. (read & comment)
3. "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. (read & comment)

Optional:

"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.

"China Wants the World to Stay Silent on Muslim Camps. It's Succeeding." *New York Times*, Sept. 25, 2019.

"U.N. rights chief Bachelet takes on China ... in first speech." Reuters, Sep 10, 2018.

Optional brief video reactions:

Princess Hend Al Qassimi, @LadyVelvet_HFQ. Apr 26, 2020.

UN Official Gay McDougall Speaks on China's Detention of Uighur Muslims. *Now This*, 2018.

Optional: See the Course Bibliography, on Canvas; and, for more, see my online bibliography (periodically updated), <https://uhrp.org/bibliography/> with many more items on the way the Xinjiang issue is playing out in countries like Turkey, Pakistan, Indonesia, Malaysia, the US, the EU, etc).

Dec. 2, Thursday:

The future of genocide: In the context of rising intolerance, wars, and the looming climate crisis. + *Student presentations of final paper outlines. [Five students]*

Optional reading:

Feierstein, *Genocide as Social Practice: Reorganizing Society under the Nazis and Argentina's military juntas*. [Selection: Conclusions]. Read here [= Open Access]: <https://library.oapen.org/handle/20.500.12657/31787>

Burns, "Genocide: 70 years on, three reasons why the UN Convention is still failing."

Matthews, et al. "The world's disturbing inaction as the Genocide Convention turns 70."

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'." *Medium*, Oct 5, 2018.

Also see the Course Bibliography.

Week 16

Dec. 7, Tuesday (**Last Day of Instruction**): **Student presentations of final paper outlines.**
No other readings.

End-of-semester dates as set by the university:

December 8 - 10, Wednesday - Friday = Study Period

December 11 - 18, Saturday - Saturday = Scheduled Exams

+ In our class: no final exam. But final paper due Dec. 16, by email to the instructor.

NEXT PAGE: Course Bibliography

Genocide Today
Anthr 3552/6552, Asian Studies 3365/6665
Cornell University, Fall 2021

Course Bibliography

Most recently revised Dec. 12, 2021. Last time this semester.
Suggestions always welcome: Magnus Fiskesjö, nf42@cornell.edu

Arranged by course topics, + at the end, a collection of general materials.
This bibliography is for reference, NOT a list of required readings. For that, see the
syllabus.

Contents

- I. Literature on course topics (*follows the syllabus, more or less*)
- II. More literature on genocide (general, *not on the syllabus*)
- III. More literature on specific genocides *not on the syllabus*
- IV. Other resources

* * *

I. Literature on course topics

Introduction

"How do you define genocide?" BBC, 17 March 2016; updated 11 March 2021. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-11108059>

Mass atrocities in history

Carthage

Kiernan, Ben. "The First Genocide: Carthage, 146 BC." *Diogenes* 51.3 (2004), 27–39.
Carthage: The Roman Holocaust. MagellanTV film, n.d. [2018?].
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=p9_o6quvJgM [Documentary film]

The Cayuga Iroquois (Haudenosaunee) Indians 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 peoples of the Ithaca area]

Native Americans more broadly [there is a much larger literature on this. Samples only]

Colonisation and the Persecution of Native Americans. Evie Robinson, Yet Again (UK). October 10, 2020. <https://yetagainuk.com/colonisation-and-the-persecution-of-native-americans/>

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>

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>

Todorov, Tzvetan [1939-2017]. *The Conquest of America: The Question of the Other*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1999. [E123 .T6313x]

Woolford, Andrew. *This benevolent experiment: Indigenous boarding schools, genocide, and redress in Canada and the United States*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2015.

The emergence of laws of war, "war crimes," "crimes against humanity," and concepts of human rights (*idiosyncratic overview -- not a systematic overview*)

History of laws (the codification of morals):

Romijn, P. "History: War Crimes in the Past and Present—A Historian's Perspective." In: *War Crimes Trials and Investigations*. St Antony's Series. Palgrave Macmillan, Cham, 2018. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-64072-3_6
https://link.springer.com/chapter/10.1007/978-3-319-64072-3_6

Bryant, Michael S. *A World History of War Crimes From Antiquity to the Present*. London, UK ; New York, NY, USA: Bloomsbury Academic, an imprint of Bloomsbury Publishing Plc, 2016. Law Library (Myron Taylor Hall) KZ7145 .B79 2016 --> Uris Library Reserve.

Wolf, van der, René; and Willem-Jan van der Wolf, eds. *Laws of War and International Law*. Oisterwijk [Netherlands]: Wolf Legal Publications, 2002, Vol. 1: "History of laws and customs of war." [KZ6385 .L42x], Uris Library Reserve.

Moir, Lindsay. "Crimes Against Humanity in Historical Perspective." 3 *New Zealand Yearbook of International Law* 101 (2006).
<http://www8.austlii.edu.au/nz/journals/NZYbkIntLaw/2006/6.html>

Mettraux, Guénaél. *International Crimes and the Ad Hoc Tribunals*. Oxford ; New York : Oxford University Press, 2005. Law Library (Myron Taylor Hall) KZ7139 .M48 2005 Print ISBN-13: 9780199207541.

+ Published to Oxford Scholarship Online: January 2010.

DOI: 10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199207541.001.0001

Crimes against humanity. International Crimes Database project, 2013.

<http://www.internationalcrimesdatabase.org/Crimes/CrimesAgainstHumanity>

Of related interest: Enlightenment thinkers on the scourge of war and its innocent victims:

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]

Bachofen, Blaise. "The Paradox of 'Just War' in Rousseau's Theory of Interstate Relations." *American Political Science Review* 109.2 (2015).
https://www.researchgate.net/publication/276167725_The_Paradox_of_Just_War_in_Rousseau's_Theory_of_Interstate_Relations

Kant, Immanuel. *Perpetual Peace: A Philosophical Sketch* (1795).
<https://www.mtholyoke.edu/acad/intrel/kant/kant1.htm>

Of related interest: the post-Columbus debates over the humanity or not, of Native Americans:

Las Casas, Bartolomé de [1474-1566]. *In Defense of the Indians: The defense of the Most Reverend Lord, Don Fray Bartolomé de las Casas, of the Order of Preachers, late Bishop of Chiapa, against the persecutors and slanderers of the peoples of the New World discovered across the seas*. Translated and edited by Stafford Poole. DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1992. [F1411.C33 I3]

Turner, Terence. "Human Rights, Human Difference: Anthropology's Contribution to an Emancipatory Cultural Politics." *Journal of Anthropological Research* 53.3 (1997), 273-291.

[A sophisticated discussion of the apparent contradiction between individual rights and group's rights, specifically the right of a group/people/nation to decide its own affairs]

Emergence of the Genocide Convention

Genocide Convention [United Nations, 1948].
<https://www.un.org/en/genocideprevention/genocide-convention.shtml> (Text, background, history)

Watchers of the Sky. Belzberg, Edet, filmmaker. Documentary film about Lemkin and the problem of genocide. Originally produced by Music Box Films in 2014. At Cornell: Kanopy Streaming Video: <https://newcatalog.library.cornell.edu/catalog/13293443>

Raphael Lemkin and the "Genocide" word. Interview [USA, 1950s? No date]. Video uploaded Apr 11, 2019, by Aram Asryan - LAWYER / Арам Асрян - АДВОКАТ.
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=18m7K8s5A4s>

Lemkin, Raphael, 1900-1959. *Totally Unofficial: The Autobiography of Raphael Lemkin*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013. [Online in CUL, + Law Library (Myron Taylor Hall) KKP110.L46A3]

[See also Lemkin's writings on the *The Holodomor in Ukraine*, also see the section on Armenia, below]

- Balakian, Peter. Raphael Lemkin, Cultural Destruction, and the Armenian Genocide. *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 27.1 (2013), 57–89. <https://doi.org/10.1093/hgs/dct001>.
- Cooper, John. *Raphael Lemkin and the Struggle for the Genocide Convention*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008. [HV6322.7.C67]. (esp. Introduction; Chapter 9-11, also uploaded online).
- Eylon, Lili. "My Encounters With Rafael Lemkin, the Penniless, Persistent Hero Who Coined the Term 'Genocide'." *Haaretz*, Jan. 19, 2020. <https://www.haaretz.com/world-news/premium-meeting-rafael-lemkin-the-penniless-persistent-hero-who-coined-the-term-genocide-1.8407518>
- Meiches, Benjamin. *Politics of Annihilation: A Genealogy of Genocide*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2019. [Olin Library HV6322.7 .M44] (esp. Ch. 1, 39-77).
- Moses, A. Dirk. "Raphael Lemkin, Culture, and the Concept of Genocide." In: Donald Bloxham and A. Dirk Moses, eds. *The Oxford Handbook of Genocide Studies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010.
[Footnote: Moses and Meiches don't share Lemkin's and others concern with the fate of culturally self-defined nations or "groups"]
- Schabas, William A. "The Law and Genocide." In: Donald Bloxham and A. Dirk Moses, eds. *The Oxford Handbook of Genocide Studies*. Print Publication Date: 2010; online 2012. DOI: 10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199232116.013.0007 <https://newcatalog.library.cornell.edu/catalog/9425461>
- Schabas, William A. *Genocide in International Law: The Crime of Crimes*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2000.
[Footnote: Schabas recently hired himself out to the Burmese regime, to defend it against charges of genocide in Haag, prompting widespread concern and protests from colleagues, see below]
- Totten, Samuel, and Henry C. Theriault. *The United Nations Genocide Convention: An Introduction*. Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 2019.
- On the omission of "Cultural Genocide" from the Convention:*
- Luck, Edward C. *Cultural Genocide and the Protection of Cultural Heritage*. J. Paul Getty Trust Occasional Papers in Cultural Heritage Policy, Number 2, 2018. https://www.getty.edu/publications/pdfs/CulturalGenocide_Luck.pdf
- Fiskesjö, Magnus. Genocide and Cultural Genocide in China. Paper for the conference "Uyghur Crisis-Genocide, Ethnocide, or Crimes Against Humanity?" Newcastle, England, 1 September 2021. [Recording](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zDNBdfrlh-4) (from 3:00-17:00): <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zDNBdfrlh-4>
- Cooper, John. *Raphael Lemkin and the Struggle for the Genocide Convention*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008. [HV6322.7.C67]. (esp. Introduction; Chapter 9-11, also uploaded online).
- Tams, Christian J., Lars Berster, and Björn Schiffbauer, *Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide: A Commentary*. Munich: C. H. Beck, 2014.
- Pryor, Riah. "China's Destruction of Uyghur Cultural Property Evidence of 'Genocidal Intent', UK MPs declare." *The Art Newspaper*, June 2, 2021.

<https://www.theartnewspaper.com/news/chinese-destruction-of-cultural-property-evidence-of-genocidal-intent>

International Criminal Court (ICC), Office of the Prosecutor. Policy on Cultural Heritage. June 2021. <https://www.icc-cpi.int/itemsDocuments/20210614-otp-policy-cultural-heritage-eng.pdf>

The Nazi Holocaust in WWII: Buildup, execution, interruption

Browning, Christopher R. "The Nazi Empire." *The Oxford Handbook of Genocide Studies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010. (Olin Library Oversize HV6322.7 .O97+ ; also as ebook).

Stewart, Michael. "How Does Genocide Happen?" Ch. 10, in: Rita Astuti, Jonathan Parry, and Charles Stafford, eds. *Questions of Anthropology*. Oxford, UK; New York: Berg, 2007, 249-280.

Kertész, Imre. *The Holocaust as Culture*. London: Seagull Books, 2012.

Schafft, Gretchen Engle. *From Racism to Genocide: Anthropology in the Third Reich*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2004.

Lower, Wendy. *Hitler's Furies: German Women In The Nazi Killing Fields*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2013). (Review: <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2432620/Hitlers-Furies-The-Nazi-women-bit-evil-men.html>)

Kakel, Carroll P. *The American West and the Nazi East: A comparative and interpretive perspective*. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011.

Snyder, Timothy. *Black Earth: The Holocaust as History and Warning*. xx: Tim Duggan Books, 2015.

(See this review: <https://www.nybooks-com.proxy.library.cornell.edu/articles/2015/10/08/new-vision-holocaust/>)

Snyder, Timothy. Hitler vs. Stalin: Who Killed More? NYRB, March 10, 2011 issue. <https://www.nybooks-com.proxy.library.cornell.edu/articles/2011/03/10/hitler-vs-stalin-who-killed-more/>

Whitman, James Q. *Hitler's American Model: The United States and the Making of Nazi Race Law*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2017.

Karlsson, Klas-Göran; Johan Stenfeldt; and Ulf Zander. *Perspectives on the entangled history of Communism and Nazism: A comnaz analysis*. Lanham: Lexington Books, 2015.

Gellately, Robert. *Backing Hitler: Consent and coercion in Nazi Germany*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001. [Olin Library DD256.5 .G45x 2001]

"Thou Shalt Not Be Indifferent." Marian Turski, speech at the 75th anniversary of the liberation of Auschwitz-Birkenau, 27th January 2020. Translated by Ben Stanley. *Medium*, Jan 28, 2020. <https://medium.com/@BDStanley/thou-shalt-not-be-indifferent-ce039cc83182>

"Auschwitz survivor draws praise, but also criticism in Poland with WWII speech. Marian Turski says the Holocaust didn't 'fall from the sky' but came after growing acceptance for discrimination against minorities; remarks seen as aimed at nationalist government." By Vanessa Gera, *Times of Israel*, 29 January 2020, 10:35

pm. <https://www.timesofisrael.com/auschwitz-survivor-draws-praise-but-also-criticism-in-poland-with-wwii-speech/>

Fripp, Deborah. Why we should compare current events to the Holocaust. *Israel Times* blog, June 25, 2018. <https://blogs.timesofisrael.com/why-we-should-compare-current-events-to-the-holocaust/>

+ *Optional film*: The Wannsee Conference (Germany, 1984). <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3ave9RHTqkl> [Excellent film, based on meeting records. Reveals the hit-and-miss development of Nazi extermination techniques]

+ Many Nazi sites in Germany, including at Nürnberg, Munich, and so on, have excellent museums and preserved sites with accompanying websites easy to find online. See f.ex. the site of the first concentration camp, Dachau: <https://www.kz-gedenkstaette-dachau.de/en/>

+ on Italian fascism as a force of genocide: [and, on how the Holocaust should be remembered]

Life is Beautiful [La vita e bella]. Film. Directed by Roberto Benigni. [Video 2464].

+

Siporin, Steve. "Life is Beautiful: Four riddles, three answers." *Journal of Modern Italian Studies* 7.3 (2002), 345-63.

Kertész, Imre. "Who Owns Auschwitz?" *Yale Journal of Criticism* 14.1 (2001), 267-72).

Stalin's genocides/sociocides

Werth, Nicolas. "Mass Deportations, Ethnic Cleansing, & Genocidal Politics in the Later Russian Empire and the USSR" In: Donald Bloxham and A. Dirk Moses, eds. *The Oxford Handbook of Genocide Studies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010.

Budryté, Dovilė. "We call it genocide": Soviet deportations and repression in the memory of Lithuanians. Chapter 6, in: Frey, Robert Seitz, ed. *The Genocidal Temptation: Auschwitz, Hiroshima, Rwanda, and Beyond*. Dallas [Tex.]: University Press of America, 2004.

Applebaum, Anne. *Gulag: A history*. New York: Doubleday, 2003. [HV8964.S65 A67x]

Applebaum, Anne. *Iron Curtain: The crushing of Eastern Europe, 1944-1956*. New York: Doubleday, 2012. (Good on Stalin's and Hitler's joint ethnic cleansing and genocide in Europe before, during and after WWII)

Snyder, Timothy. *Bloodlands: Europe between Hitler and Stalin*. New York: Basic Books, 2010.

Nathans, Benjamin. Stalin's Lawyers at Nuremberg. *New York Review of Books*, Sept. 23, 2021.

<https://www.nybooks.com.proxy.library.cornell.edu/articles/2021/09/23/stalins-lawyers-at-nuremberg/>

= Review of *Soviet Judgment at Nuremberg: A New History of the International Military Tribunal after World War II*, by Francine Hirsch. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2021.

[Excellent on Soviet influence on post-WWII Nuermberg trial, and international law]

The Holodomor in Ukraine, 1932-33

Remembering the Holodomor: Ukraine's Forgotten Genocide. Flaminia Luck. Yet Again (UK). November 28, 2020. <https://yetagainuk.com/remembering-the-holodomor-ukraines-forgotten-genocide/>

Lemkin, Raphael. *Soviet Genocide in the Ukraine*. Kingston, Ontario: Kashtan Press, 2014 (orig. 1953).

Lemkin, Raphael. "Soviet Genocide in the Ukraine" (1953). http://history.org.ua/LiberUA/RaphaelLemkin_1953/RaphaelLemkin_1953.pdf (From the webpages of the Інститут історії України, Institute of Ukrainian History, Ukraine)

"Lemkin: Holodomor 'classic' genocide." By Lubomyr Luciuk. *Kyiv Post*, Nov. 19, 2009. <https://www.kyivpost.com/article/opinion/op-ed/lemkin-holodomor-classic-genocide-53243.html>

Steven, Jacobs. "Raphael Lemkin and the Holodomor: Was it genocide?" In: Lubomyr Y. Luciuk, ed. *Holodomor: Reflections on the Great Famine of 1932-1933 in Soviet Ukraine*. Kingston: Kashtan Press, 2009.

Zuroff: Israel should not recognize Holodomor as genocide: The Holodomor "is definitely not a genocide," said Zuroff, the head of the Jerusalem office of the Simon Wiesenthal Center. By HERB KEINON, *Jerusalem Post*, JANUARY 22, 2019 22:13. <https://www.jpost.com/Israel-News/Zuroff-Israel-should-not-recognize-Holodomor-as-genocide-578308>

Post-WWII genocides: Cambodia

Giry, Stéphanie. "The Genocide That Wasn't." *New York Review of Books*, Aug. 25, 2014. <http://www.nybooks.com/blogs/nyrblog/2014/aug/25/khmer-rouge-genocide-wasnt/>

Hinton, Alexander Laban. "Purity and contamination in the Cambodian genocide." In Judy Ledgerwood, ed. *Cambodia Emerges from the Past: Eight essays*. DeKalb: Southeast Asia Publications, Center for Southeast Asian Studies, Northern Illinois University, 2002, 60-90.

Hinton, Alexander L. *Why Did They Kill?: Cambodia in the Shadow of Genocide*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004.

Hinton, Alexander L. "Oppression and Vengeance in the Cambodian Genocide." In: Nicholas A. Robins and Adam Jones, eds. *Genocides by the Oppressed: Subaltern Genocide in Theory and Practice*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2009. [HV6322.7 .G488]

Hinton, Alexander. *Man or Monster?: The Trial of a Khmer Rouge Torturer*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2016.

Chandler, David. *Voices From S-21: Terror and History in Pol Pot's Secret Prison*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000. Now online at Cornell: <https://newcatalog.library.cornell.edu/catalog/12198896>

- Kiernan, Ben. *The Pol Pot Regime: Race, Power & Genocide in Cambodia Under the Khmer Rouge 1975-79*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008. 2nd Edition. [DS554.8 .K584]. Also e-book: <https://newcatalog.library.cornell.edu/catalog/8418218>
- Kiernan, Ben. *Genocide and Resistance in Southeast Asia: Documentation, Denial & Justice in Cambodia & East Timor*. New Brunswick : Transaction Publishers, 2008
- Freeman, Michael. *Cambodia*. London: Reaktion, 2004. (esp. Chapter IV: "The Gall Harvest: The road to the Killing Fields," 94-123).
- Lim, Alvin Cheng-Hin. "Reassembling Memory: Rithy Panh's S-21: The Khmer Rouge Killing Machine." In: Samson Opondo, Michael Shapiro, eds. *New Violent Cartography: Geo-Analysis after the Aesthetic Turn*. Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon; New York: Routledge, 2012. [JC319 .N458]
- Long, Colin and Keir Reeves. "Dig a hole and bury the past in it": Reconciliation and the heritage of genocide in Cambodia. In: William Stewart Logan; Keir Reeves, eds. *Places of Pain and Shame: Dealing With 'Difficult Heritage'*. London; New York: Routledge, 2009.
- Maguire, Peter. *Facing Death in Cambodia*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2005.
- Straus, S. "Organic purity and the role of anthropology in Cambodia and Rwanda." *Patterns of Prejudice* 35:2 (2001), 47-62, DOI: 10.1080/003132201128811142
- Thompson, Ashley. "Forgetting to Remember, Again: On Curatorial Practice and 'Cambodian Art' in the Wake of Genocide." *Diacritics* 41.2 (2013), 82-109. <http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/diacritics/toc/dia.41.2.html>
- Puangthong Rungswasdisab. "Thailand's Response to the Cambodian Genocide." In: Susan E. Cook, ed. *Genocide in Cambodia and Rwanda: New Perspectives*. London: Routledge, 2006. -- Also in: <https://gsp.yale.edu/thailands-response-cambodian-genocide> [incomplete copy].

+ *Film on the Cambodian experience:*

- Funan*. Directed by Denis Do. Animated film, 84 min. 2018. DVD at Cornell: Uris Library Dean Room Videodisc 7711. <https://newcatalog.library.cornell.edu/catalog/11108009> (About the beginning of the Khmer Rouge period, April 1975). Trailer: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OZ3aYu183Vk> Trailer and review: <https://cinemapolis.org/film/funan/> Recommended: "FUNAN" Director Denis Do on Representing the Events in the Film, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Crn3Ihw5-M0>

- + on the Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia: <https://www.eccc.gov.kh/en>
 + Video: "The Khmer Rouge Tribunal explained in 7 minutes. A brief introduction to the Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia." [posted March 18, 2011]. https://www.youtube.com/watch?time_continue=34&v=b99IkHqt6aQ&feature=emb_logo

Post-WWII genocides: Bosnia (Yugoslavia)

Denial and Silence: Modern Genocide Denial in the Western Balkans. By Serena Dwerryhouse, Yet Again (UK), August 8, 2021. <https://yetagainuk.com/denial-and-silence-modern-genocide-denial-in-the-western-balkans/>

Hayden, Robert M. "Imagined communities and real victims: Self-determination and ethnic cleansing in Yugoslavia." In: Alexander L. Hinton, ed. *Genocide: An Anthropological Reader*. Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2002, 231-253.

Becirevic, Edina. *Genocide on the Drina River*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014.

MacDonald, David B. "From Jasenovac to Srebrenica: Subaltern genocide and the Serbs." In: Nicholas A. Robins and Adam Jones, eds. *Genocides by the Oppressed: Subaltern Genocide In Theory And Practice*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2009, 103-121. [HV6322.7 .G488]

Morrocco, Richard. "Yugoslavia-Prisoners of Myth and History." In Richard Morrocco, *The Psychology of Genocide and Violent Oppression: A Study of Mass Cruelty from Nazi Germany to Rwanda*. Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland & Co., 2010, 47-61.

Nazi hunter: Comparing Srebrenica and Holocaust is "absurd". Efraim Zuroff, one of the best known Nazi hunters, says it is "absurd" to compare the Holocaust and the Rwanda genocide with the crimes committed in Srebrenica. B92/com / Tanjug, June 17, 2015.

https://www.b92.net/eng/news/politics.php?yyyy=2015&mm=06&dd=17&nav_id=94472

MacKenzie, LEWIS. The real story behind Srebrenica. Special to The Globe and Mail. July 14, 2005. <https://www.theglobeandmail.com/amp/opinion/the-real-story-behind-srebrenica/article737584/>

+ Film / TV:

The killing fields of Srebrenica – BBC Newsnight archives (1996). In January 1996, Newsnight was one of the first teams to reach the killing sites of the Srebrenica massacre of July 1995. This is Mark Urban and Maria Polachowska's award-winning film from 1996. BBC. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=P8EhPrCS6lQ> (Recommended film shown partly in class).

Srebrenica massacre: A survivor's fight for justice – BBC Newsnight, May 4, 2017. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=60m7X-djtiQ> (Highly recommended film - more recent - not shown in class.)

Radovan Karadzic: guilty of genocide in massacre of Bosnians. Channel 4 News, March 24, 2016. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=j9hqmwbRFMo> (shown in class)

Ratko Mladic disrupts court with angry outburst, gets life sentence for war crimes. CBC News. Nov 22, 2017. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=e_15VklhH7Y (shown partly in class)

+ On the Nobel Prize in Literature to Peter Handke, 2019:

Hajdarpašić, Edin. A Literary Consecration of Genocide Denial: A mere quarter century after the Srebrenica massacre, Peter Handke, a leading revisionist of the Bosnian genocide, was awarded the Nobel Prize, adding insult to unhealed injury. *Newlines Magazine*, July 12, 2021. <https://newlinesmag.com/review/a-literary-consecration-of-genocide-denial/>

- Maass, Peter. "How the Nobel Prize Succumbed to the Literary Art of Genocide Denial." *The Intercept*, October 26, 2019. <https://theintercept.com/2019/10/26/nobel-prize-literature-peter-handke-genocide/>
- Hemon, Aleksandar. "'The Bob Dylan of Genocide Apologists' - Peter Handke, the Austrian writer, who was awarded the Nobel Prize in Literature, is an apologist for Slobodan Milosevic." *NYT*, Oct. 15, 2019. <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/10/15/opinion/peter-handke-nobel-bosnia-genocide.html>
- Aleksandar Hemon: The Balkans is just close enough to being Europe to perpetually fail at being Europe. One of the most acclaimed writers and thinkers of our times speaks on genocide denial, Western societal arrogance and a lifetime of displacement. Interview by Bronwyn Jones, K2.0 [Kosovo Two Point Zero], 16 feb 2020. <https://kosovotwopointzero.com/en/aleksandar-hemon-the-balkans-is-just-close-enough-to-being-europe-to-perpetually-fail-at-being-europe/>
- Vulliamy, Ed. "Peter Handke's Nobel prize dishonours the victims of genocide: Whatever his literary merits, the author's dismal morals should have disqualified him." *The Guardian*, 12 Oct 2019. <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2019/oct/12/a-nobel-prize-that-dishonours-the-victims-of-genocide-peter-handke>

On genocide denialism also see this (and more items further below):

- Twelve Ways To Deny A Genocide. By Dr. Gregory H. Stanton, President, Genocide Watch. <https://www.genocidewatch.com/twelve-ways-to-deny-genocide>

Post-WWII genocides: Armenian genocide continuing today

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+ More notes on the situation in Myanmar, Fall 2021

After the military coup on Febr. 1, 2021, the Rohingya stalemate continues with the same massive refugee camps in Bangladesh. The Burmese military has also committed further acts of violence to against Rohingya inside Myanmar territory. At the same time, to deflect blame from themselves, the military has tried to blame the entire Rohingya problem on Aung San Suu Kyi — the elected civilian leader whom they have imprisoned since their coup on Feb. 1.

Meanwhile, the ICJ trial against Burma continues (slowly); and even more testimonies have emerged, now including from soldiers (see items above, incl.: 'Kill All You See': In a First, Myanmar Soldiers Tell of Rohingya Slaughter. *New York Times*, Sept. 8, 2020. <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/09/08/world/asia/myanmar-rohingya-genocide.html>).

After the Febr. 1, 2021 military coup, in response to military violence, civilians have set up a shadow government, which now vies with the military junta for legitimacy on the world stage.

The National Unity Government has its own web page, where it has announced support for the Rohingya -- a remarkable change from earlier years when most politicians in Myanmar seemed to accept the military's expulsion of them.

Also, the NUG has launched a "People's War" (a civil war) against the military, apparently with hundreds of casualties on both sides, already in October 2021. *See f.ex.:*

Myanmar Resistance Claims Rising Junta Casualties, Destruction of Telecom Towers.

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#WhatsHappeningInMyanmar. Bloomberg Quicktake. @Quicktake. 7:50 AM · Oct 21, 2021. <https://twitter.com/Quicktake/status/1451153986355146758>

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Kazi Mohammad Jamshed, a strategic affairs and foreign policy analyst, works as an assistant professor at the Department of International Business, University of Dhaka.

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+ example from Twitter: 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>
- PBS 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>
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Uyghur genocide: The concentration camps: Remote discovery & on-site reporting

China's internment camps in Xinjiang are a horror. Survivors and participants alike must reconcile with the truth. Since as early as 2014, thousands of Uyghurs have been locked up for 're-education,' but many others in Xinjiang have become low-level functionaries in the camps. Both groups want to bear witness to the crimes they've seen. Darren Byler. Special to the *Globe and Mail*. Published [22 Oct 2021]. Updated. <https://www.theglobeandmail.com/opinion/article-chinas-internment-camps-in-xinjiang-are-a-horror-survivors-and/>
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Optional:

+ Browse the **Xinjiang Victims Database**, <https://shahit.biz/eng/>

+ Browse the **Uyghur Pulse youtube channel**: video testimonies for victims uploaded in batches on a monthly basis. <https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCxtHBfWaWYQPNgfvdvSDn4A/videos>

+ More readings, videos, etc. in my updated online bibliography: <https://uhrp.org/bibliography/>

Uyghur genocide: Forced sterilizations, sexual politics, family separations and Chinese-only orphanages

ps. late addition: At the Uyghur Tribunal - Virtual Third Hearing, Saturday 27 November 2021, further evidence for sterilization and "population optimization" [decreasing Uyghur population] was discussed with expert witness Dr. Adrian Zenz. See: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=v4wgg8W4uKw> [3:03:45 total]

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

More readings, videos, etc. in my updated online bibliography: <https://uhrp.org/bibliography/>

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Compare Canada/US Indigenous "residential schools" - See section above.

+

Compare forced sterilization of Indigenous women in Peru - see f.ex.:

Carranza Ko, Ñusta P. "Making the Case for Genocide: The Forced Sterilization of Indigenous Peoples of Peru." *Genocide Studies and Prevention: An International Journal* 14.2 (2020): 90-103. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.5038/1911-9933.14.2.1740>
Peru forced sterilisations case: "They could get away with it.' Victims of mass forced sterilisations in the 1990s fear upcoming Peru presidential runoff results could close door to justice. By Simeon Tegel. AlJazeera.com, 19 May 2021. <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2021/5/19/peru-forced-sterilisations-case-fears-they-could-get-away-with>

Uyghur genocide: Cultural erasure/genocide; 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)
+ updated report 2021 counting 312 such detainees, some having been released (often into house arrest):

"The Disappearance of Uyghur Intellectual and Cultural Elites: A New Form of Eliticide." Uyghur Human Rights Project, December 8, 2021. <https://uhrp.org/report/the-disappearance-of-uyghur-intellectual-and-cultural-elites-a-new-form-of-eliticide/>

"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
[= 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]

+
Fiskesjö, Magnus. "Bulldozing Culture: China's Systematic Destruction of Uyghur Heritage Reveals Genocidal Intent." *Cultural Property News*, June 23, 2021. <https://culturalpropertynews.org/bulldozing-culture-chinas-systematic-destruction-of-uyghur-heritage-reveals-genocidal-intent/>

Leibold, James. Beyond Xinjiang: Xi Jinping's Ethnic Crackdown. The shifts in ethnic policy go well beyond Xinjiang. This is fundamental rethink of how the CCP manages ethnocultural diversity and its colonial possessions. *The Diplomat*, May 1, 2021. <https://thediplomat.com/2021/04/beyond-xinjiang-xi-jinpings-ethnic-crackdown/>

ASPI. Cultural Erasure: Tracing the Destruction of Uyghur and Islamic Spaces in Xinjiang. By Nathan Ruser, Dr James Leibold, Kelsey Munro & Tilla Hoja. 24 Sep 2020. <https://www.aspi.org.au/report/cultural-erasure> [Companion website: <https://xjdp.aspi.org.au/>]

Uyghur genocide: Forced labor as an instrument of genocide

- The American Crackdown on China That Is Working. *The Atlantic*, September 20, 2021. <https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2021/09/us-china-human-rights/620112/>
- Reports of forced labor are driving brands to abandon Chinese cotton. *Fortune*, July 18, 2021. <https://fortune.com/2021/07/18/china-cotton-forced-labor-xinjiang/>
- "In Broad Daylight: Uyghur Forced Labour and Global Solar Supply Chains." Helena Kennedy Centre, Sheffield Hallam University. [May 2021]. <https://www.shu.ac.uk/helena-kennedy-centre-international-justice/research-and-projects/all-projects/in-broad-daylight>
- Coercive Labor and Forced Displacement in Xinjiang's Cross-Regional Labor Transfer Program. A Process-Oriented Evaluation. Adrian Zenz. Jamestown Foundation, March 2021. <https://jamestown.org/product/coercive-labor-and-forced-displacement-in-xinjiangs-cross-regional-labor-transfer-program/>
- "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; + 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
- 'Black gold' - How global demand for hair products is linked to forced labor in Xinjiang. CNN [Oct 9, 2020]. <https://edition.cnn.com/interactive/2020/10/asia/black-gold-hair-products-forced-labor-xinjiang/>
- "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/>
- 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
- How China is creating the world's largest prison. Four Corners, ABC News In-depth, July 15, 2019. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=t-axd1Ht_J8
From 36:40; the horrific story of the Urumchi nurse Dilnur who helped reveal the slave labor camps, by telling her sister Gulnar, in Melbourne, about the conditions.
- Coalition to End Forced Labour in the Uyghur Region, 2020. "End Uyghur Forced Labour in China Now: Call to Action." <https://enduyghurforcedlabour.org/>
- + More readings, videos, etc. in my updated online bibliography: <https://uhrp.org/bibliography/>

Uyghur genocide: Global opinion, global reactions, information warfare

- "Global Condemnation of Chinese Government Abuses in Xinjiang. 43 Countries Join Unprecedented UN Declaration." Louis Charbonneau, United Nations Director, HRW. October 21, 2021. <https://www.hrw.org/news/2021/10/21/global-condemnation-chinese-government-abuses-xinjiang#>
+ Statement text: <https://onu.delegfrance.org/we-call-on-china-to-allow-immediate-meaningful-and-unfettered-access-to>
- Fiskesjö, Magnus. "Michelle Bachelet should not go to Xinjiang on Chinese government terms." *New Europe*, May 6, 2021. <https://www.neweurope.eu/article/michelle-bachelet-should-not-go-to-xinjiang-on-chinese-government-terms/>
- Fiskesjö, Magnus. "How Beijing is using the Nazi propaganda playbook to justify its concentration camps to the world." *Hong Kong Free Press*. 27 October 2018, 10:11. <https://www.hongkongfp.com/2018/10/27/beijing-using-nazi-propaganda-playbook-justify-concentration-camps-world/>
- China's Scary Forced Confession YouTube Channels. [Why is this allowed on Youtube?]. laowhy86, Youtube, March 10, 2021. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nWo2-Y1n1x0> [Excellent explainer video about fake coerced videos from Xinjiang
+ see also: The Death of Reality in China. laowhy86, Youtube, Feb 17, 2021. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Oo3ovqClut8>
- 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>
- Putz, Catherine. "2020 Edition: Which Countries Are For or Against China's Xinjiang Policies?" *The Diplomat*, Oct. 9, 2020. <https://thediplomat.com/2020/10/2020-edition-which-countries-are-for-or-against-chinas-xinjiang-policies/>
- 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/>
- 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
- In full: How the world responded to China's human rights record at the UN. Ye Shiwei, HKFP, 25.11.2018. <https://www.hongkongfp.com/2018/11/25/full-world-responded-chinas-human-rights-record-un/>
- U.N. rights chief Bachelet takes on China ... in first speech. *Reuters*, Sep. 10, 2018. <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-un-rights/u-n-rights-chief-bachelet-takes-on-china-other-powers-in-first-speech-idUSKCN1LQ0QI>
- Palestinian public opinion report shows the public wants solidarity with Uyghurs in China and *do not* believe Chinese propaganda that the camps are for "eradicating extremism" <https://twitter.com/lnachman32/status/1351143417355632646>
+ Full report: Palestinian Center for Policy and Survey Research, Survey Research Unit, 15 September 2020. <https://t.co/2p82Zju6AF?amp=1>
- When Scholars Talk About How Effective China Is at "Elite Capture" in Africa, This Is It What It Looks Like. By Eric Olander. *China-Africa Project*, June 3, 2021. <https://chinaafricaproject.com/2021/06/03/when-scholars-talk-about-how-effective-china-is-at-elite-capture-in-africa-this-is-it-what-it-looks-like/>
- Why Are Some African Governments Shielding China Over Xinjiang? Turkic Muslims Need Africa's Solidarity Too. Carine Kaneza Nantulya, *Africa Advocacy Director*, Human

Rights Watch. <https://www.hrw.org/news/2021/03/29/why-are-some-african-governments-shielding-china-over-xinjiang>

Optional - brief video protests:

Princess Hend Al Qassimi, @LadyVelvet_HFQ. 10:31 AM · Apr. 26, 2020. 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: For more, see the Course Bibliography, and my updated 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/bibliography/>

Uyghur genocide: Update Fall 2021:

* After further revelations of mass forced sterilizations and other abuse came to light during 2020, more voices were raised to identify the atrocities as genocide; several governments and Parliaments publicly declared this a genocide (Canada, the UK, the US, Netherlands). Some countries, incl. the US and the EU, adopted limited sanctions against Chinese perpetrators [government officials], and against Chinese companies profiting from forced labor.

* Also, Uyghur activists in exile have proposed a genocide case against China at the UN International Criminal Court.

* **An Uyghur Tribunal <https://uyghurtribunal.com/> held hearings in London on June 4-7, and Sept. 10-13, 2021:** All hearings are recorded on the tribunal's Youtube video channel, https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCt4uc8LsgxsTDK_0dChZm5A + **Uyghur Tribunal Judgment. Delivered Dec. 9, 2021.** <https://uyghurtribunal.com/wp-content/uploads/2021/12/Uyghur-Tribunal-Summary-Judgment-9th-Dec-21.pdf>

* An important conference was held at Newcastle University, England, Sept 1-3, 2021: "The Xinjiang Crisis: Genocide, Crimes Against Humanity, Justice." The program: <https://research.ncl.ac.uk/asianstudiesresearchgroup/newsandevents/thexinjiangcrisisgenocidecrimesagainsthumanityjustice.html> ; video channel with recordings of all speakers: https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCIZNSOEhibYY_EsRYu-0wRA

Dec. 8, 2021, the US Congress passed a resolution condemning the Chinese government's "ongoing genocide and crimes against humanity" against the Uyghurs and other Turkic Muslim peoples in China (H.Res. 317, <https://www.congress.gov/bill/117th-congress/house-resolution/317/actions>). See: "U.S. Congress Condemns Uyghur Genocide, Gives Hope to Uyghurs Around the World," Uyghur Human Rights Project, Dec. 8, 2021. <https://uhrp.org/statement/u-s-congress-condemns-uyghur-genocide-gives-hope-to-uyghurs-around-the-world/>

On the same day, the US House of Representatives also passed the Uyghur Forced Labor Prevention Act, to block imports from the Uyghur region where forced labor is used. A version of the law was already passed by the Senate, and there has been speculation as to whether US corporate lobbying caused the serious delay. Now, the House and Senate

versions must be reconciled before it can become US law. See: "House votes to ban imports from Xinjiang over forced labor concerns." Axios, [8 dec 2021].

<https://www.axios.com/uyghur-forced-labor-prevention-act-cb313edd-7f38-4f12-a788-f2482fe4db96.html>

Also, House of Representatives Resolution 837, criticizing the International Olympic Committee for failing to adhere to its own human rights commitments, came just days after President Biden declared the US government will boycott the Beijing Olympics ceremonies in February, because of the genocide. See: "White House announces US diplomatic boycott of 2022 Winter Olympics in Beijing," CNN, December 6, 2021.

<https://www.cnn.com/2021/12/06/politics/us-diplomatic-boycott-winter-olympics/index.html> ; see also <https://www.axios.com/diplomatic-boycott-beijing-olympics-list-countries-73e1240f-b925-40bf-ae67-648e774971c8.html>

+ On all these fronts and more, see updates in my Online Bibliography (periodically updated) on the genocide in the Uyghur region (East Turkestan):
<https://uhrp.org/bibliography/>

Looking to the future / The future of the Genocide Convention, and 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>

II. More literature on genocide (general)

Anton, Diana, Deputy Director, Strategic Policy. Technology & Genocide: The Good, The Bad & The Ugly. STAND Canada, August 25, 2020.

<https://www.standcanada.org/information-and-communication-technologies-icts/>

Barnett, Ruth. Reflections on Genocide and Racism. Ruth Barnett MBE, Yet Again (UK), September 6, 2020. <https://yetagainuk.com/ruth-barnett-mbe-reflections-on-genocide-and-racism/>

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>
- Doel, Emilia. Sexual Violence as a Tool of Genocide. August 15, 2020.
<https://yetagainuk.com/sexual-violence-as-a-tool-of-genocide/>
 Note: "This article contains sensitive content."
- 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]
- Feierstein, Daniel. *Genocide as Social Practice: Reorganizing Society under the Nazis and Argentina's military juntas*. Translated by Douglas Andrew Town. Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2014.
<https://library.oapen.org/handle/20.500.12657/31787> [= Open Access]
 (First published in Spanish as *El genocidio como práctica social: Entre el nazismo y la experiencia argentina*, Buenos Aires: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2007).
- 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.
- Hinton, Alexander Laban. *It can happen here: White power and the rising threat of genocide in the US*. New York: New York University Press, 2021.
- Jones, Adam, ed. *Genocide*. Los Angeles: SAGE, 2008. (4 volumes: v.1: Genocide in theory and law; v.2: Genocide in history; v.3: Perpetrators, victims, bystanders, rescuers; v.4. Prevention, intervention, and accountability)
- Kaye, James, and Bo Stråth. *Enlightenment and Genocide, Contradictions of Modernity*. Bruxelles; New York: P.I.E.-Peter Lang, 2000.
- Kiernan, Ben. *Blood and soil: A world history of genocide and extermination from Sparta to Darfur*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007. [Olin Library HV6322.7.K54 2007]
- Levene, Mark. *Genocide in the Age of the Nation State. Vol. I: The Meaning of Genocide*. London: Tauris, 2005. ISBN 1 85043 752 1.
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- Lindner, Evelin G. "Genocide, Humiliation, and Inferiority: An Interdisciplinary Perspective." In Nicholas A. Robins and Adam Jones, ed.: *Genocides by the Oppressed: Subaltern Genocide in Theory and Practice*. Bloomington: Indiana U. Press, 2009. [HV6322.7 .G488]
- Mann, Michael. *The Dark Side of Democracy: Explaining Ethnic Cleansing*. Cambridge: Cambridge U. Press, 2005. ISBN 0 521 53854 8

- Mayersen, Deborah, and Annie Pohlman, editors. *Genocide and mass atrocities in Asia: legacies and prevention*. Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon; New York, NY: Routledge, 2013.
- Meierhenrich, Jens, ed. *Genocide: A reader*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2014. [Olin Library Oversize HV6322.7 .G447+]
- Morrock, Richard. *The Psychology of Genocide and Violent Oppression: A Study of Mass Cruelty from Nazi Germany to Rwanda*. Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland & Co., 2010.
- Moses, A. Dirk, and Dan Stone. "Eugenics and genocide." In Alison Bashford; Philippa Levine, eds. *The Oxford Handbook of the History of Eugenics*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2010, Ch. 10.
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- Provost, René & Payam Akhavan, eds. *Confronting Genocide*. Dordrecht: Springer, 2011.
- Roth, John K. *Genocide and human rights: A philosophical guide*. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005. [HV6322.7 .G453]
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- Short, Damien. *Redefining genocide: Settler colonialism, social death, and ecocide*. London, UK: Zed Books Ltd, 2016.
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- Uğur Ümit Üngör, ed. *Genocide, New Perspectives on its Causes, Courses and Consequences*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2016.
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- Veracini, Lorenzo. *The Settler Colonial Present*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015.
- Valentino, Benjamin A. *Final Solutions: Mass killing and genocide in the twentieth century*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2004.
- Weitz, Eric D. *A Century of Genocide: Utopias of Race and Nation*. Princeton, N.J. : Princeton University Press, 2003. [Olin Library HV6322.7.W45]

III. More literature on specific instances of genocide (which we could not get to in the course)

Americas (South / Central)

- Carranza Ko, Ñusta P. "Making the Case for Genocide: The Forced Sterilization of Indigenous Peoples of Peru." *Genocide Studies and Prevention: An International Journal*: Vol. 14: Iss. 2 (2020): 90-103. <https://scholarcommons.usf.edu/gsp/vol14/iss2/8>
Also see: <https://theconversation.com/forcibly-sterilized-during-fujimori-dictatorship-thousands-of-peruvian-women-demand-justice-155086>
- Cuelenaere, Laurence, and José Rabasa. "Ethnocide, science, ethnosuicide, and the historians of the vanishing: The extirpation of idolatries in the colonial Andes and a few contemporary variants." *Critique of Anthropology* 38:1 (March 2018). <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/0308275X17745140>

Barreto, Bill. Search for remains of indigenous children killed in Guatemala massacre blocked by residents. September 29, 2021. Updated.
<https://www.reuters.com/world/americas/search-remains-indigenous-children-killed-guatemala-massacre-blocked-by-2021-09-29/>

Yazidis / Yezidi (Iraq/Syria)

Isakhan, Benjamin; Sofya Shahab. "The Islamic State's destruction of Yezidi heritage: Responses, resilience and reconstruction after genocide." *Journal of Social Archaeology*. Nov 5, 2019, OnlineFirst.
<https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/1469605319884137>

Australia

Krieken, Robert. "The barbarism of civilization: cultural genocide and the 'stolen generations'." *British Journal of Sociology* 50.2 (1999), 297-315. [about Australian Aborigines]

Lawson, Tom. *The Last Man: A British genocide in Tasmania*. London: I.B. Tauris, 2014.

Indonesia / West Papua (Irian Jaya)

Anderson, Kjell. "Colonialism and Cold Genocide: The Case of West Papua." *Genocide Studies and Prevention: An International Journal* 9.2 (2015), Article 5. ("Time, Movement, and Space: Genocide Studies and Indigenous Peoples").
<https://scholarcommons.usf.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1270&context=gsj>

Africa other than Rwanda and Ivory Coast (both mentioned above):

Mahoney, Michael R. "The Zulu Kingdom as a Genocidal and Post-Genocidal Society, c. 1810 to the Present". *Journal of Genocide Research* 5.2 (2003): 251-68.

Mamdani, Mahmood. "A Brief History of Genocide." *Transition* [Kampala, Uganda] 10.3 (2001) 26-47. (On the Herero genocide in Southwest Africa, now Namibia; and, on Rwanda)

Germany's First Genocide Looked a Lot Like China's. The killing of the Herero has disturbing parallels with the treatment of Uyghurs. By Konstantin McKenna. *Foreign Policy*, Dec. 4, 2021. <https://foreignpolicy.com/2021/12/04/germany-china-genocide-xinjiang-uyghurs-herero-nama/>

Becker, Heike. "Surviving genocide: a voice from colonial Namibia at the turn of the last century." *The Conversation*, January 26, 2020.
<https://theconversation.com/surviving-genocide-a-voice-from-colonial-namibia-at-the-turn-of-the-last-century-130546>

Germany and Namibia: What's the right price to pay for genocide? By Tim Whewell, BBC News, Namibia. [1 april 2021]. <https://www.bbc.com/news/stories-56583994>

When Scholars Talk About How Effective China Is at "Elite Capture" in Africa, This Is It What It Looks Like. By Eric Olander. China-Africa Project, June 3, 2021.
<https://chinaafricaproject.com/2021/06/03/when-scholars-talk-about-how-effective-china-is-at-elite-capture-in-africa-this-is-it-what-it-looks-like/>

[On Namibia's ambassador Elia George Kaiyamo on a fake tour in Xinjiang, praising China while a genocide is under way, AND while Namibia is asking Germany for reparations for the Herero genocide in Namibia, in 1904-08.]

Also see items on Ivory Coast (Côte d'Ivoire) above, in the section on genocide prevention.

IV. Some 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://newcatalog.library.cornell.edu/databases/show/9295111>

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

U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum, 100 Raoul Wallenberg Place, SW, Washington, DC 20024-212. <https://www.ushmm.org/>

+ with the online Holocaust Encyclopedia, <https://encyclopedia.ushmm.org/en>
(a number of other similar encyclopedias are available over Cornell's library page)

Institute for Genocide and Mass Atrocity Prevention (I-GMAP), Binghamton University.

<https://www.binghamton.edu/i-gmap/index.html>

Yet Again (UK). <https://yetagainuk.com>

(has many good, sharp summaries of genocide hotspots and issues around the world)

Genocide Watch. <https://www.genocidewatch.com/>

Auschwitz Institute for the Prevention of Genocide and Mass Atrocities.

<http://www.auschwitzinstitute.org/>

Yale University, Genocide Studies Program.

<https://gsp.yale.edu/>

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ps. On both Burma, China, and Asia-general, I can also share more comprehensive bibliographies, on request. On Xinjiang/East Turkistan genocide, see:

<https://uhrp.org/bibliography/>