THE PREVENTION OF GENOCIDE [HI 543 / IR 437]

PROFESSOR SIMON PAYASLIAN

Office hours: T 9:00–10:00am; 1:00–2:00pm  
Th 1:00–2:00pm | or by appointment
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Unless otherwise noted, your instructor checks his emails at least once a day.

COURSE DESCRIPTION

In response to the atrocities committed during World War II, which cost more than 60 million lives, and specifically in response to the Holocaust, the United Nations in December 1948 adopted the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide. The principal objective of the Genocide Convention was to criminalize genocide, an objective that the international community has accomplished. The Genocide Convention functions in an international legal environment with a substantial number of international human rights instruments, international criminal law, and international law in general. Yet, the international legal system as developed since World War II is premised upon deterrence rather than prevention, and the Genocide Convention has failed to prevent genocides since it entered into force in 1951—for example, Cambodia (1975–79), Rwanda (1994), and Darfur, Sudan (2003–10).

The UN Charter and the Genocide Convention place legal and moral obligations on the United Nations and the international community to prevent genocide, crimes against humanity, and egregious violations of human rights. The UN Security Council has authorized the creation of the international criminal tribunals for the genocides in the former Yugoslavia (ICTY) and in Rwanda (ICTR). The International Court of Justice (a principal UN organ) has decided that it (the ICJ) possesses the legal authority and jurisdiction to address matters pertaining to the crime of genocide. In 1998, the Rome Statute established a permanent international tribunal, the International Criminal Court (entered into force in 2002). The International Court of Justice and the International Criminal Court have confirmed the principle of international obligation to punish perpetrators of genocide.

As genocides in the past hundred years have demonstrated, the international community has failed to devise strategies to combat genocides. According to some observers, this failure is partly the result of unclear conceptualization of prevention and punishment. A familiar
The criticism of the Genocide Convention is its primary focus on punishment. In *The Prevention of Genocide* (1985, p. 11), Leo Kuper states that the Convention “makes only two perfunctory references to prevention. It is essentially directed to punishment of the crime,” with the objective to deter potential criminals. As a result, international documents and organizations have traditionally emphasized punishment at the expense of developing preventive mechanisms.

This course briefly surveys the history of genocides since the early twentieth century and the development of international norms and standards related to genocide and crimes against humanity. We then examine the existing institutional mechanisms for early warning and prevention of genocide. Finally, we explore the available unilateral and multilateral policy options at the UN and regional levels for military intervention to stop an unfolding genocide.

We address a number of key questions regarding issues pertaining to the prevention of genocide. For example:

- How can the international community strike a healthy balance between the principle of national sovereignty and international obligations?
- Does the international community possess the moral authority and/or the legal obligation to intervene in the internal affairs of a sovereign government when the latter is engaged in genocidal acts against its own citizens?
- To what extent can the UN prevent genocides? What are some of the obstacles that impede its involvement in preventive measures to stop genocides?
- Does R2P offer a roadmap to the more effective prevention and elimination of genocide than has been possible thus far?

**REQUIRED TEXTS**

*The following books will be available for purchase at the BU bookstore*


In addition, the course outline includes a number of articles and documents (see below).

The following books are on reserve at the Mugar Library. (*) indicates optional reading for undergraduate students, and required reading for graduate students.


**Course Requirements**

The final grade for the course will be assessed on the basis of the following:

**Undergraduate students:**
- Midterm exam: 30% 1,600 words, due Oct. 25
- Book review: 15% 1,000 words, due Nov. 22
- Term paper: 25% 4,000–4,500 words, due Dec. 8
- Final exam: 30% 1,600 words, due Dec. 20

**Graduate students:**
- Two analytical essays: 40% (20% each) 1,700 words each
  - Essay I, due Oct. 25
  - Essay II, due Dec. 20
- Book review: 15% 1,000 words, due Nov. 22
- Term paper: 45% 7,000–7,500 words, due Dec. 8

All written assignments must be typed in 12 font size and double-spaced, with 1 inch margins on all sides.

**Undergraduate Students:**
**Midterm Exam, 30% / Final Exam, 30% [total 60%]**
The midterm and the final are take-home exams. They cover the material presented in lectures and the assigned readings. A week in advance, your instructor will hand out a list of questions and you will be required to write on one of them. The essay must be 1,600 words in length, typed, double-spaced, and properly documented (e.g. footnotes or endnotes) if necessary. There is no need for footnotes/endnotes for the assigned books in this course; instead, insert references (in parentheses) in the text of your paper—for example: (Totten 50).

**Graduate Students:**
**Two analytical essays, 1,700 words each [20% each essay, total 40%]**
Graduate students are required to write two analytical essays instead of the exams. These analytical essays will focus on a specific aspect of the prevention of genocide covered in the texts and class discussions. About a week or so before the due date, your instructor will
hand out three or four questions. Students will write on one of them. The essays, each 1,700 words in length, must be typed and double-spaced. No outside research is necessary for these essays; however, if you do use sources other than the assigned readings in this course, be sure to include proper documentation (e.g., footnotes or endnotes).

**Book Review Essay [1,000 words] (15%)**
Students are required to submit a book review. A book review guide appears at the end of this syllabus, but in general a book review examines the author's approach to the topic, his/her analytical framework and methodology, ideological orientation, and interpretations. Full bibliographical information of the book reviewed should appear at the end of the paper. If you do use other sources, be sure to include documentation in footnotes or endnotes. There is no need for footnotes/endnotes for the book being reviewed; instead, insert references (in parentheses) in the text of your paper—for example: (Kuper 50).

**Term Paper & Presentation**
Undergraduate students: 4,000–4,500 words [25%]
Graduate students: 7,000–7,500 words [45%]

The research paper examines in some detail a specific aspect of the prevention of genocide. The research paper must integrate material from primary sources if the student wishes to receive an “A” on the paper. This means four or five short quotes—in addition to usual references to primary sources. Students should discuss their paper topics with the instructor as soon as possible. The paper topic is due on Thursday, September 29, and a preliminary paper outline and bibliography are due on Tuesday, November 1.

The term paper requires proper documentation (that is, footnotes or endnotes) and a bibliography—for example, see Kate Turabian’s *Manual for Writers of Term Papers, Theses, and Dissertations*. Before submitting the final draft of your paper, you should reserve sufficient time to reread and revise it. Students are encouraged to become familiar with Mary Lynn Rampolla’s *A Pocket Guide to Writing History* and the classic handbook, *The Elements of Style*, by William Strunk Jr. and E.B. White. These manuals are not “required texts” for this course, but they should remain on your desk during your college education and long thereafter.

**Presentation of Paper**
Each student will have an opportunity to present his/her paper in class for 15 minutes. There are several reasons for this assignment. First, class presentations provide an opportunity to share your findings with your colleagues in the class. Second, you learn how to present papers before your colleagues at major scholarly conferences (for example, the American Historical Association, the American Political Science Association) and professional small-group meetings. Finally, class presentations encourage students—as leaders-in-training—to practice and improve on their public speaking skills. The development of both written and oral communication skills is an essential part of education, and the more you practice these skills, the more successful you will be in your career.
Students with Documented Disabilities
If you have a disability that requires extra time for exam, assignments, or any other accommodations, please bring a note from the BU Office of Disabilities Services by September 20.

Note on Extensions & University Academic Conduct Code
Extensions for written assignments are strongly discouraged and will be allowed in extremely urgent emergencies only and with adequate documentation. Otherwise, 10 points will be subtracted from the grades for each day delayed after the scheduled due dates. Students must adhere to all university standards of academic conduct. Please consult the Boston University Code of Academic Conduct. Plagiarism and other forms of academic misconduct will not be tolerated. Students violating the rules of academic conduct will automatically fail the course. Please become familiar with the University’s Code of Academic Conduct by visiting the following page: http://www.bu.edu/academics/resources/academic-conduct-code/.

COURSE OUTLINE

(*) Indicates books on reserve at the Mugar Library.
Undergraduate Students: Optional readings
Graduate Students: Required readings

All journal articles are available online via Mugar Library.

Sept. 6 INTRODUCTION

Sept. 8 HISTORY OF GENOCIDE
Totten, Impediments, pp. vii–x
Carnegie, pp. 3–9 [undergraduate and graduate students]

Sept. 13-15 UN CONVENTION ON THE PREVENTION AND PUNISHMENT OF THE CRIME OF GENOCIDE
Rittner, Part I, pp. 21–62
Lupel and Verdeja, Chs. 1–2, pp. 1–46
(*) Hamburg, Ch. 1, pp. 2–18

Sept. 20-22 WHAT CAN BE DONE ABOUT GENOCIDE?
http://media.usip.org/reports/genocide_taskforce_report.pdf
Rittner, Part III, pp. 111–157
Totten, Prevention and Intervention, Chs. 1–2, pp. 7–61
(*) Hamburg, Chs. 7–10, pp. 98–177
Sept. 27-29  **The Principle of Sovereignty and Genocide Prevention**

Lupel and Verdeja, Ch. 10, pp. 241–255.


Totten, *Prevention and Intervention*, Ch. 6, pp. 145–160.

Kofi A. Annan, Ch. 3 in Moore, *Hard Choices*, pp. 55–69 [available online via Mugar Library]


**Paper topic due:** Thursday, Sept. 29

Oct. 4-6  **Early Warning System: Conceptual and Practical Issues**


Lupel and Verdeja, Ch. 4, pp. 85–110.


(* Heidenrich, Ch. 4, pp. 73–92.

Oct. 11  **Tuesday scheduled as Monday**


Oct. 18-20  **The Role of the United Nations in the Prevention of Genocide**

Lupel and Verdeja, Chs. 6, 8–9, pp. 135–155, 181–239.

Totten, *Impediments*, Ch. 6, pp. 133–165.


(*) Chesterman, Ch. 4, pp. 112–162.
Oct. 25-27  
**Regional Arrangements and the Prevention of Genocide**
Lupel and Verdeja, Ch. 7, pp. 157–179.
Carnegie, Ch. 6, pp. 129–149. [undergraduate and graduate students]
**Undergraduate Students: Midterm exam, & Graduate Students: Analytical Essay I due:** Tuesday, Oct. 25

Nov. 1-3  
**Punishment as Deterrence**
**Preliminary Paper outline and bibliography due:** Tuesday, Nov. 1

Nov. 8-10  
**The Responsibility to Protect (R2P)**
International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty (ICISS),
*The Responsibility to Protect* (2001), pp. 1–76,
(*) Thakur, Ch. 9, pp. 126–143; Ch. 10, pp. 144–160.

Nov. 15-17  
**Structural Prevention**
Carnegie, Chs. 4–5, pp. 69–127. [undergraduate and graduate students]
(*) Heidenrich, Ch. 5, pp. 93–111.
(*) Hamburg, Ch. 12, pp. 192–202.
**Term paper presentations begin**

Nov. 22  
**Military Intervention to Stop Genocide**
J. Bryan Hehir, Ch. 2: “Military Intervention and National Sovereignty,” in Moore, *Hard Choices*, pp. 29–54 [available online via Mugar Library]
(*) Chesterman, Ch. 1, pp. 7–44.
**Book Review due [undergraduate & graduate students]:** Tuesday, Nov. 22
Thanksgiving Recess, Nov. 23–27

Nov. 29-Dec. 1  RETHINKING INTERVENTION
    Totten, Impediments, Ch. 10, pp. 247–274.
    Totten, Prevention and Intervention, Ch. 11, pp. 281–302.
    (*) Thakur, Chs. 5–7, pp. 74–111.
    (*) Lepard, Ch. 7–8 & 11, pp. 220–283, 333–370.

Dec. 6  DEVELOPING A GLOBAL GENOCIDE PREVENTION REGIME
    (*) Heidenrich, Ch. 6 & 13, pp. 113–130, 233–250.
    (*) Carnegie, Ch. 7, pp. 151–165.

Dec. 8  COURSE SUMMARY: GENOCIDE PREVENTION
    Last day of class
    Term Paper Due [Undergraduate & Graduate Students]

Undergrad. Final Exam & Grad. Analytical Essay II:
    Due date: Tuesday, Dec. 20, 2016  |  Time: 12:30–2:30pm
Book Review Guide

The purpose of this essay is to write a critical analysis of a book. Unlike a “book report” (which merely summarize its contents), the review essay examines the author's approach to specific issues presented in the book, the author's analytical framework and methodology, and his/her ideological orientation toward and interpretations of events and personalities examined in the book.

The following is to guide you in preparing your outline:

I. Introduction
1) What is the book about?

2) What is the author's purpose in writing the book? Usually, but not always, this is clearly stated in the preface or in the introduction. Who is the intended audience—for example, the general public, university students/scholars?

3) What are the principal theses presented in the book?

II. Analysis
1) What are the major components of the book—for example, how many chapters (mention some examples of chapter titles), maps, charts, and tables? If the author does include maps, charts, and tables, are they useful? Are they consistent with the material presented in the text?

2) How does the book support the theses? This is done by answering the following:
   ▪ What are some of the major arguments regarding specific issues, events, etc.?
   ▪ What evidence does the author present to support his/her theses?
   ▪ What type of primary sources does the author rely on—for example, government archives, personal papers, interviews? And secondary sources?
   ▪ Does the author mention other authors’ works that confirm or refute his/her arguments and findings?

3) What is the general mode of analysis used by the author—descriptive, explanatory?

III. Conclusion
1) After reading the book, how successful was it in accomplishing what the author promised in the preface or introduction?

2) How useful do you think is the book—for example, for the general public, university students/scholars? Would you recommend them to your friends? Why or why not? Explain.