

Coping with Violence: Experiences of the 20th Century

History 387, Section 005

Fall 2012

Mondays and Wednesdays, 9:00-10:15 a.m., Innovation Hall 131

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[Please note that e-mail is the preferred method to reach me.]

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Office Hours: Mondays 10:30-11:30 am and by appointment (or drop by if my office door is open).

Course Description:

Via video conference, this course will bring together two classrooms: one at George Mason University and one at the Higher School of Economics in Moscow, Russia, where the students take most of their courses in English. The twentieth century was marked by widespread state-sponsored and popular mass violence in countries around the world. When the violence is over, how do governments and societies deal with its aftermath? Should all perpetrators be punished? Should lists of informers be published? Should memorials be built? Or is it better to forget and avoid re-living the traumas of the past? The course will explore the aftermath of different forms of mass violence around the twentieth century world, including their continuing influences on the world today. Among others case studies will include: the United States after the lynching campaigns in the South, Europe after the Holocaust, South Africa after Apartheid, Russia and other former Communist states after the collapse of Communism. With this international classroom, students will confront and learn from their own and others' preconceptions about history and politics.

Course Goals:

Content (knowledge)

At the end of this course, students will be able:

1. to analyze the differential effects of mass violence, repression, and injustice on different parts of society,
2. to analyze the short and long-term impacts of that violence on societies.

3. to compare and contrast successful and unsuccessful attempts to overcome the effects of mass violence, repression, and injustice in different countries and different regions of the world.

Communication skills (skills)

At the end of this course, students will be able:

1. to participate in academic discussion of difficult issues in a multicultural and heterogeneous political environment, present their point of view to an international audience in both written and verbal form.
2. to demonstrate an ability to comprehend and interpret alternate points of view.

Mutual perceptions (attitude)

At the end of this course students will be able:

1. to demonstrate reflection on preconceptions about themselves and one another.

Course Assignments:

Group presentation (20% of final grade) – Combined groups of George Mason and HSE students will make presentations based on one of the case studies in the course. You will be assigned to your groups once we join up with the Russian students on approximately 9/12/2012. Students should expect to arrange a time for Skype or Blackboard Collaborate discussions with your Russian student colleagues. Further instructions for presentations will be given at that time.

Paper 1 (10% of final grade) – When you make your group presentation, you will be required to turn in a paper of 3-4 pages on the topic of the presentation. One page of the paper should be devoted to the process of creating the presentation and note any particular difficulties or things learned from the process itself. Papers should be turned in to the instructor via message on Blackboard **BEFORE** the class session at which you make your presentation.

Paper 2 (20% of final grade) – A final paper of 4-5 pages will be required on the last day of class. The paper will require a substantive comparison of at least two of the case studies from the class. Papers should be turned in to the instructor via message on Blackboard **BEFORE** the final class session.

Course discussion board postings (10% of final grade) – Students are required to respond to readings and discussions in the course via posts on the course Blackboard site. Specific instructions will be provided at a later date, but students

should expect to make regular postings (minimum 2 or 3 paragraphs) on a regular basis throughout the course.

Final exam (20% of final grade) – A final exam will take place on **Monday, December 17 at 7:30am**. Students should plan now to be available at that time, as an altered exam schedule will only be allowed in extreme situations.

Participation in classroom discussion (20% of final grade) – A substantial part of the learning in this class is entailed in the discussions we will have on a regular basis in class. Students should always come prepared for class discussion. Students may be called on at any time to discuss the required readings for class.

Grades:

Total		1,000
GRADE SCALE:	980-1,000	A+
	930-979	A
	900-929	A-
	870-899	B+
	830-869	B
	800-829	B-
	770-799	C+
	730-769	C
	700-729	C-
	600-699	D
	0-599	F

Course Policies – READ CAREFULLY:

Course Decorum: The subject matter of this course is inherently emotional and controversial, especially given the multicultural, multinational, and politically heterogeneous group of students that comprise this class. Students are expected to be prepared to defend their points of view with strength and conviction, while maintaining an openness to hear other points of view. Universities are dedicated to open, honest, and respectful debate. Unwillingness to participate on such a basis will lead to substantial deductions in participation grades. You may expect to become angry at times during the course of our discussions, and you may expect that your own opinions will at times anger others, but you are responsible for maintaining control over that anger and express your opposition to others' points of view in a respectful and intelligent fashion.

If students have problems with this aspect of the course, they are encouraged to come discuss them with the professor after class.

Policy on Late Work: No extension on assignments will be granted under any conditions. Papers are due at the beginning of class on their due date. Grades on assignments will be reduced by 5 percent for each day of lateness.

Email Addresses: The professor will communicate with students via email. Therefore, all students must activate and check their official GMU email addresses frequently. You may forward it to another account, but you are responsible for the information that is sent via your official account. If class should need to be canceled (other than for university-wide cancellations), I will communicate that to you via e-mail and will do everything in my power to send an e-mail as early as possible on the day of class.

ADA: Students with any disabilities who need special accommodation must present appropriate documentation to me by the third week of class. Contact the Disability Resource Center (<http://www.gmu.edu/student/drc>) to obtain documentation.

Cheating and Plagiarism: All work in this class must be your own unless otherwise directed by the professor. In addition, all work submitted in this class must be unique to this class (i.e. no “double submission” of the same or substantially the same work to this class and another class whether this semester or prior to this semester). For purposes of this course, cheating and plagiarism are defined as follows:

☐ Cheating encompasses the following:

1. The willful giving or receiving of an unauthorized, unfair, dishonest, or unscrupulous advantage in academic work over other students.
2. The above may be accomplished by any means whatsoever, including but not limited to the following: fraud; duress; deception; theft; trick; talking; signs; gestures; copying from another student; and the unauthorized use of study aids, memoranda, books, data, or other information.
3. Attempted cheating.

☐ Plagiarism encompasses the following:

1. Presenting as one's own the words, the work, or the opinions of someone else without proper acknowledgment.
2. Borrowing the sequence of ideas, the arrangement of material, or the pattern of thought of someone else without proper acknowledgment.

All George Mason University students have agreed to abide by the letter and the spirit of the Honor Code. You can find a copy of the Honor Code at <http://academicintegrity.gmu.edu>. All violations of the Honor Code will be reported to the Honor Committee for review. For first time violations of the Honor Code, I always recommend failure of the course. If you have any questions on what constitutes cheating or plagiarism after reviewing these materials, please talk to me. If you are unsure when completing an assignment, ask me. Do not take a chance of your case winding up before

the Honor Board.

Cell phones, e-mail, etc.: No student shall use the internet, e-mail, cell phones, text messaging, computer games or other devices during class. Class is not a place to sleep or eat. (Drinks are permitted.) Lectures are not a time for discussions with fellow classmates. Students engaging in any of these activities will be asked to leave class for the day. If I find that students using laptops are routinely engaging in activities other than note-taking, I will enact a laptop ban on the entire class.

Counseling and Psychological Services (CAPS): George Mason University's Counseling and Psychological Services (CAPS) provides a wide range of services to students, faculty, and staff. Services are provided by a staff of professional counseling and clinical psychologists, social workers, and counselors. The Center provides individual and group counseling, workshops and outreach programs -- experiences to enhance a student's personal experience and academic performance. If you are in a crisis, please contact them via <http://caps.gmu.edu/> or 703-993-2380 or at their new office SUB I, Room 3129.

Required Materials:

The following books are required and available (or soon will be) for purchase at the GMU Bookstore:

Vasily Grossman, *Everything Flows*

Most of the readings will come from open-access online sources. You should plan whenever possible to bring readings to class—whether in electronic or printed form. If bringing readings to class is not possible, you should make sure that you have taken notes on the readings that you can refer to in our class discussions.

Many recommended readings are available either online or at the Johnson Center Library reserves. Students should plan on doing some additional reading to that assigned when preparing in-class presentations.

Students are urged to follow news coverage related to the course topic. Feel free to forward articles or topics of interest that you might like to discuss in class, or feel free to bring them up in discussions on the course discussion board on Blackboard.

Schedule of Classes:

The course will operate as a combination of lecture, discussion and student presentations. Participation in class discussion is an integral part of the learning process in this class and will therefore form a substantial portion of the participation grade. Students should be prepared to be called on at any time by the instructors.

INTRODUCTION TO COURSE, TECHNOLOGY, ASSIGNMENTS (August 27, 29, September 5, 10)

The meaning and significance of political violence. Specific features of violence in the 20th century. Aspects of this problem that the course looks at: mass violence mostly by the state against its citizens. The meaning of the term “to cope with violence” as seen by the course creators. The explanation of the selection of case studies.

Required reading:

Boraine, Alexander, “Retributive Justice and Restorative Justice: Contradictory or Complimentary,” in *Genocide and Accountability: Three Public Lectures*, edited by Nanci Adler. (Available via the GMU library website as an e-book.)

Assignment 1 (due prior to August 29 class): Prepare an introduction to student life at George Mason University for presentation to our Russian colleagues.

Assignment 2 (due prior to September 5 class): Write a 2-3 paragraph response (approximately 250 words) to the Alexander Boraine reading, AND write a 1-2 paragraph reaction (approximately 150 words) to a fellow student’s response.

Assignment 3 (to be completed for presentation at September 10 class) – In groups of five students, prepare maximum 5-minute multi-media presentations for our Russian colleagues on daily life of George Mason students. You will present these to our Mason class on September 10. A vote will be held and the top three groups will make the presentation again to our Russian colleagues on September 12.

INTRODUCTION TO OUR COLLEAGUES AT THE NATIONAL RESEARCH UNIVERSITY – HIGHER SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS (First video conference session. September 12)

CASE STUDIES

1. Post-Apartheid South Africa (September 17, 19, 24, 26)

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission, was created by Nelson Mandela, South Africa’s first black president, to deal with the crimes of the apartheid regime which killed and tortured dozens of thousands of its opponents, removed and dispossessed hundreds of thousands, and denied education, health care and decent living conditions to millions. The Commission was more a public forum than a judicial body, yet it helped to de-legitimise apartheid’s practices and ideology and to assist, for a certain period, the process of national reconciliation. This section of the course will look into the work of the TRC and its effect on the South African society, as well as into the reasons why its original impact was not to last.

Required reading:

BBC Special Report on the Truth and Reconciliation Commission //

http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/special_report/1998/10/98/truth_and_reconciliation/203134.stm (Read all subsections)

Jeffery Anthea (1999). *The Truth about the Truth Commission*. Johannesburg: South African Institute of Race Relations. Available online:

<http://www.scribd.com/doc/32954016/Jeffery-Anthea-The-Truth-About-the-Truth-Commission>

Recommended reading:

- * Bell, Terry, Ntsebeza, Dumisa (2005). *Unfinished Business: South Africa, Apartheid and Truth*. London, New York: Verso Publishers.
- * Boraine, Alex (2001). *A Country Unmasked: Inside South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission*. Cape Town: Oxford University Press South Africa.
- * Tutu Desmond (1999). *No Future Without Forgiveness*. New York: Doubleday.

Documents (recommended):

Truth and Reconciliation Commission. TRC Report // <http://www.justice.gov.za/trc/report/index.htm>

Assignment 1 (prior to September 19 class session): Write a 2-3 paragraph response (approximately 250 words) to the readings for this session.

Assignment 2 (prior to September 24 class session): Write a 1-2 paragraph reaction (approximately 150 words) to a fellow student's response.

2. Post-Holocaust Europe. (October 1, 3, 9, 10) [NOTE TUESDAY MEETING ON OCTOBER 9]

The Holocaust, or Shoah, saw the execution of approximately six million Jews by Nazi Germany, some two-thirds of the Jewish population of Europe. This section of the course will focus on judicial punishment via the Nuremberg Trials, divided historical memory in the two post-war Germanys, and the question of non-German participants in the Holocaust through the case of the destruction of the Jewish population of Jedwabne, Poland.

Required reading:

Taylor, Telford. Nuremberg Trials—Synthesis and Projection // http://images.library.wisc.edu/History/EFacs/GerRecon/omg1949n162/reference/history_omg1949n162.taylornuremberg.pdf

Herf, Jeffrey. Legacies of Divided Memory for German Debates about the Holocaust in the 1990s // http://www1.yadvashem.org/yv/en/education/international_projects/chairmanship/jeffrey_herf.pdf

Holc, Janine. Working through Jan Gross's 'Neighbors' // http://www.timeandspace.lviv.ua/files/session/Forum_on_Jan_Gross_1_145.pdf

Roszkowski, Wojciech. After 'Neighbors': Seeking Universal Standards //

http://www.timeandspace.lviv.ua/files/session/Forum_on_Jan_Gross_2_146.pdf

Hagen, William. A 'Potent, Devilish Mixture' of Motives: Explanatory Strategy and Assignment of Meaning in Jan Gross's Neighbors //

http://www.timeandspace.lviv.ua/files/session/Forum_on_Jan_Gross_3_147.pdf

Naimark, Norman. The Nazis and 'The East': Jedwabne's Circle of Hell //

http://www.timeandspace.lviv.ua/files/session/Forum_on_Jan_Gross_4_148.pdf

Gross, Jan. A Response //

http://www.timeandspace.lviv.ua/files/session/Forum_on_Jan_Gross_5_149.pdf

Documents (required):

Mr. Justice Jackson's Opening Statement, Nuremberg Trials. November 21 1945
// <http://law2.umkc.edu/faculty/projects/ftrials/nuremberg/Jackson.html>

Assignment 1 (prior to October 3 class session): Write a 2-3 paragraph response (approximately 250 words) to the readings for this session.

Assignment 2 (prior to October 9 class session): Write a 1-2 paragraph reaction (approximately 150 words) to a fellow student's response.

3. Coping with Genocide Legacy in Cambodia. (October 15, 17, 22, 24)

The number of victims of the Khmer Rouge regime during its time in power in the 1970s is thought to amount to 2 million – about a third of the whole population. But the trials of some prominent members of that regime started only decades later, in 2007. This part of the course looks into the main reasons for this delayed justice, into the ways the Cambodians treated the legacy of violence and commemorated it, into the trials themselves and their aftermath.

Required reading:

Chandler, David. The Khmer Rouge in a Cold War Context //
http://groups.google.com/group/camnews/browse_thread/thread/9af513285d67a33f

Dy, Khamboly. Teaching Genocide in Cambodia: Challenges, Analysis and Recommendations //
<http://www.hurights.or.jp/archives/pdf/education12/hreas-12-12-cambodia.pdf>

Kelly, Mills, Where the Present Lies Heavily on the Past, Edwired Blog,
<http://edwired.org/2007/03/14/where-the-present-lies-heavily-on-the-past/>

Kelly, Mills, Where the Present Lies Heavily on the Past, Edwired Blog,
http://edwired.org/2007/03/15/tuol_sleng/

Kelly, Mills, Images of Genocide, Edwired Blog, and related Flickr albums
<http://edwired.org/2007/04/13/images-of-genocide/>
<http://www.flickr.com/search/?q=tuol&w=33393854%40N00&z=t>
<http://www.flickr.com/search/?q=choeung&w=33393854%40N00&z=t>

Documents (required):

Cambodia Tribunal Monitor // <http://www.yale.edu/cgp/news.html>
Yale University Cambodian Genocide Programme //
<http://www.yale.edu/cgp/news.html>

Documentary (required):

Sambath T. Enemies of the people (a documentary). 2009 //
<http://www.enemiesofthepeoplemovie.com/>. (On order for George Mason Libraries).

Recommended reading:

Short, Philip (2004). Pol Pot: Anatomy of a Nightmare. New York: Henry Holt and Company.

Assignment 1 (prior to October 17 class session): Write a 2-3 paragraph response (approximately 250 words) to the readings for this session.

Assignment 2 (prior to October 22 class session): Write a 1-2 paragraph reaction (approximately 150 words) to a fellow student's response.

4. Post-Lynching USA (October 29, 31, November 5, 7)

From the end of the American Civil War and the freeing of the slaves in the United States in 1865 until the beginning of World War II, lynching of African Americans happened year after year in large numbers, especially though not exclusively in the American South. Lynchings slowed but did not end after 1940. Ostensibly punishment for alleged crimes, lynchings were used as a way to maintain white domination of African Americans in the years of "Jim Crow" segregation. Not uncommonly, lynchings were mass public spectacles in the South. Photo postcards were made of many lynchings. In this section of the course, we will consider the history of lynchings in the United States, looking at issues like popular participation in mass violence, and the extent to which such mob violence was allowed, encouraged, or sponsored by local, state, and federal governments. We will also look at how the United States in general and the U.S. South in particular has dealt with and not dealt with the legacies of lynching and racial injustice.

Required reading:

The end of the 2006 Cold Case Initiative initially aimed to investigate lynchings from the Civil Rights era. <http://thegrio.com/2011/11/28/closing-civil-rights-era-cold-cases-could-haunt-black-america/>

Historical reenactments of lynching cases.
<http://www.southernspaces.org/2010/holding-those-who-cant-be-held-reenacting-lynching-moores-ford-georgia>

Labuda, Patryk I. Racial Reconciliation in Mississippi: An Evaluation of the

Proposal to Establish a Mississippi Truth and Reconciliation Commission // http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=1937874

Documents (required):

List of Lynchings: <http://www.autopsis.org/foot/lynch.html>
Account of May 1927 lynching of John Carter in Arkansas:
<http://www.encyclopediaofarkansas.net/encyclopedia/entry-detail.aspx?entryID=2289>
Accounts of 1916 and 1930 lynchings of Jesse McCorkle and John Willie Clark in 1930 in Cartersville, Georgia:
<http://www.valdostamuseum.org/hamsmith/CartersvilleLynchings.html>

Photos and Film (required):

Photo postcards and film // <http://withoutsanctuary.org/main.html>

Assignment 1 (prior to October 31 class session): Write a 2-3 paragraph response (approximately 250 words) to the readings for this session.

Assignment 2 (prior to November 5 class session): Write a 1-2 paragraph reaction (approximately 150 words) to a fellow student's response.

5. Post-Stalinism in Russia and the Former Soviet Union (November 12, 14, 19, 26)

Josef Stalin's rule saw the starvation, execution, and mass death of millions of Soviet citizens. Questions of guilt, justice, and memory have swirled around this era from the time of Nikita Khrushchev's initial steps toward de-Stalinization to the divided memories of the new nation-states that have emerged from the collapse of the Soviet Union. This section of the course will focus on the different ways in which the peoples and states of the former Soviet Union cope with the legacies and memories of Stalinist violence.

Required reading:

Grossman Vasily (2011). *Everything Flows*. London: Vintage Books. Chapters 1-7.
Toymontsev Sergey, "Legal but Criminal: The Failure of the 'Russian Nuremberg' and the Paradoxes of Post-Soviet Memory," *Comparative Literature Studies*, Vol. 48, Number 3, 2011, pp. 296-319.

Documents:

Gorbachev M. The First Steps Towards a New Era:
<http://www.guardian.co.uk/theguardian/2007/apr/26/greatspeeches4>
N. Khrushchev. The Cult of the Individual // <http://www.guardian.co.uk/theguardian/2007/apr/26/greatspeeches2>
Memorial Society Web Page: <http://www.memo.ru/eng/index.htm>

The Virtual Museum of the Gulag: <http://gulagmuseum.org>

G. Ziuganov on Destalinization:

<http://news.in.msn.com/international/article.aspx?cp-documentid=5258568>

Assignment 1 (November 14 class session): Write a 2-3 paragraph response (approximately 250 words) to the readings for this session.

Assignment 2 (prior to November 19 class session): Write a 1-2 paragraph reaction (approximately 150 words) to a fellow student's response.

Part III: Concluding: Transitional Justice, Reconciliation or Muddling Through? (November 28, December 3, 5)

It is clear that there is no one perfect way of coping with the legacy of violence: they have to be different for different countries. But how effective are they in each of the case studies? What practices are good and what are not from the point of view of reconciliation? Should there be a complete or partial exposure of perpetrators, or none at all? Is a special set of rules of transitional justice needed for such cases? Or is it better to muddle through, leaving the horrible past behind? These questions will be covered in the concluding lecture and the following seminar discussion.

Final paper due prior to December 5 class session.

Final exam: December 17, 7:30am in class