

HIST 138: War and Genocide in Twentieth-Century Europe

Spring 2019
Department of History
University of Pennsylvania
College Hall, Room 314

Instructor: A. Dirk Moses
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Course Description

Genocide has caused millions of deaths and untold suffering in twentieth-century Europe; so have the many wars fought on the continent and in European colonies. What is more, genocides mostly took place during armed conflict, while new technologies, especially aerial bombing, resulted in many civilian casualties. Legally categorizing, regulating, or criminalizing these practices occurred at the same time, meaning that the legality of killing non-combatants—whether by their own or another state—was uncertain and contested. What is more, the concept of genocide was invented only in 1944, well after events now often called genocide. This class poses basic questions about this violent period of European history:

- How and why did armed conflict and violence against civilians occur? How are war and genocide related?
- How, if at all, does localized violence (the micro-level) relate to broader (the macro-level) processes like state decomposition, formation, and consolidation? Or is racial hatred really the main factor?
- How were the categories of civilians (“innocent women and children”), war crimes, crimes against humanity, and genocide constructed in the history of the law of armed conflict (“international humanitarian law”)? How did contemporaries define and categorize violence excess?
- How is gender implicated in war and genocide?

In answering these questions, the class takes a long view of the twentieth century, beginning with the “eastern crisis,” decades before the First World War, when European powers sought to gain advantage in the anticipated demise of the Ottoman Empire. It proceeds chronologically by examining a new type of ethnic warfare waged in the Balkan Wars of 1912/13, and then the experience of civilians during the First World War and Second World Wars, including the Holocaust and other Axis victims. The class also covers the Soviet violence against perceived internal enemies. The question of postwar stability during the Cold War is set against the massive population expulsions of the mid-1940s, and Europeans’ subsequent use of violence to maintain their colonial empires. The class concludes by considering the reasons for the renewal of war and genocide in Europe after the Cold War.

We will view and discuss extracts from some films and documentaries. Given the subject matter, these will not make for easy viewing. Indeed, one of the films (“Come and See”) is designed to shock and disturb in its depiction of Nazi violence against Soviet villagers. No-one is compelled to view them.

Course Requirements and Assessment Schedule

Students attend two teaching sessions each week: on Tuesdays and Thursdays between 3:00pm and 4:20pm in College Hall, Room 314. The Tuesday session is a traditional lecture, although with interactive dimensions. I will post PowerPoint-slide notes on Canvas just before each lecture. The Thursday session is a recitation devoted to discussion of the set readings in seminar style. Students write and upload a response to the readings on Thursday before class, meaning everyone attends the tutorial prepared for active participation. Participation is also assessed. The assessment schedule is:

- 10 x 300-word Reading Posts (3% each = 30%), due on Thursdays at 11.00am before class (students select which 10). Posts should orient themselves to each week’s tutorial questions (choose one question if there are two) set out below, but should conclude by posing a question of their own: we will draw on these questions in our tutorial discussion. Posts are not graded but completing ten is required to pass the class. Serious, good-faith answers will receive full marks (3% each). The readings, which are set out below, are mostly scanned pdf documents available on Canvas or freely accessible on the internet. Optional reading means optional: if you want to pursue issues in greater depth.
- Class Participation: 10%—based on your contributions to tutorial discussion.
- Draft Paper Introduction and Annotated Bibliography (500 words): 20% due March 18 by 6.00pm (just after Spring Break). I will provide detailed instructions about writing an introduction and annotated bibliography in advance of the deadline.
- Paper (2,000 words, which includes footnotes but not the bibliography): 40% due May 1 by 6.00pm. The task is this:

Analyze Omer Bartov’s microhistory of genocide in the small town of Buczacz in his *Anatomy of a Genocide* in light of the perspectives, insights, and information you have learned in this class (that is, the lectures and tutorial readings, which are designed to equip you to evaluate this text). Include the macro-perspectives from the book *Political Violence in Twentieth Century Europe*, edited by Donald Bloxham and Robert Gerwarth (you are expected to purchase and read both books carefully). Do macro-perspectives help explain micro-processes in this case? Do you think Bartov provides a full account of the multi-directional violence in Buczacz in the first half of the twentieth century?

Texts for Purchase

Omer Bartov, *Anatomy of a Genocide: The Life and Death of a Town Called Buczacz* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2017).

Donald Bloxham and Robert Gerwarth, eds., *Political Violence in Twentieth Century Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

Thursday Recitation

Our class is an opportunity to become acquainted with one another intellectually, to pose questions, together to generate answers, and, finally, to decide what you think about the issues raised by the class. The expectation is that everyone completes the readings before class and participates in discussion throughout the semester in an informed, responsive way. By “informed,” I mean informed by a close reading of the texts, and by “responsive” I mean responsive to each other, responding constructively to one another’s observations, analyses, and questions. If speaking in class makes you nervous, consider the Canvas post an opportunity to prepare an idea to share with the group. Active participation in discussion means posing thoughtful questions as well as proposing good answers. Attendance is required. The readings are discussed in each tutorial class, so please bring them with you.

Disability

If you have a documented disability that requires accommodation, please let me know at the beginning of the semester.

Academic Integrity

Plagiarism and other violations of academic honesty can result in suspension and expulsion from Penn. Please review the university’s guide on academic integrity (www.upenn.edu/academicintegrity). Confer with me if you have any questions about the definition of plagiarism and academic honesty. If in doubt, use a footnote, even when paraphrasing.

Weekly Schedule of Topics

Week 1

Introduction

January 17: lecture

Week 2

The Eastern Question

January 22: lecture

January 24: recitation

Question:

What is Bloxham’s macro-historical background to the “eastern crisis” before the First World War? How did (mainly European) states regulate land warfare in the Hague Conventions of 1899 and 1907, particularly regarding civilian protection?

Reading:

Donald Bloxham, *The Great Game of Genocide: Imperialism, Nationalism and the Destruction of the Ottoman Armenians* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), chap. 1 (CANVAS).

Convention (II) with Respect to the Laws and Customs of War on Land and its annex: Regulations concerning the Laws and Customs of War on Land. The Hague, 29 July 1899, <https://ihl-databases.icrc.org/ihl/INTRO/150?OpenDocument> (note articles pertaining to treatment of civilian population).

Convention (IV) respecting the Laws and Customs of War on Land and its annex: Regulations concerning the Laws and Customs of War on Land. The Hague, 18 October 1907, <https://ihl-databases.icrc.org/ihl/INTRO/195> (note articles pertaining to treatment of civilian population).

Optional Reading:

Fikret Karcic, "The Eastern Question — A Paradigm for Understanding the Balkan Muslims' History in the 20th Century," *Islamic Studies* 21, no. 4 (2002): 635–650.

Week 3

The Balkan Wars

January 29: lecture

January 31: recitation

Question:

How and why did civilian populations become the objects of military violence?

Reading:

Report of the International Commission to Inquire into the Causes and Conduct of the Balkan Wars (Washington, DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1914), preface, introduction, chaps. 4 and 5.

<http://www.pollitecon.com/html/ebooks/Carnegie-Report-on-the-Balkan-Wars.pdf>

Darko Majstorovic, "The 1913 Ottoman Military Campaign in Eastern Thrace: A Prelude to Genocide?," *Journal of Genocide Research* 21, no. 1 (2019). (CANVAS)

Optional Reading:

Nadine Akhund, "The Two Carnegie Reports: From the Balkan Expedition of 1913 to the Albanian Trip of 1921 A Comparative Approach," *Balkanologie* 14, nos. 1-2 (2012):

<https://journals.openedition.org/balkanologie/2365>

Week 4

The First World War and Violence against Civilians, including the Armenian Genocide

February 5: lecture

February 7: recitation

Questions:

How and why did the Ottoman state and some of its citizens turn on Armenians and other Christians during the war? Was this "crime against humanity and civilization" (as the Allies called it in 1915) illegal? How and why did the American and Japanese delegation disagree with the majority viewpoint in the "Commission on Responsibility" report? What does the report say about what we now called the Armenian Genocide?

Reading:

Hans-Lukas Kieser, and Donald Bloxham, "Genocide," in Jay Winter, ed., *The Cambridge History of the First World War*, 3 Vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 1: 585–614. (CANVAS).

France, Great Britain and Russia Joint Declaration, May 24, 1915: https://www.armenian-genocide.org/Affirmation.160/current_category.7/affirmation_detail.html

"Commission on the Responsibility of the Authors of the War and on Enforcement of Penalties," *American Journal of International Law* 14, nos. 1-2 (1920): 95-154. (CANVAS).

Optional Reading:

Vahé Tachjian, *Daily Life in the Abyss: Genocide Diaries, 1915–1918* (New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2017).

Karnig Panian, *Goodbye, Antoura: A Memoir of the Armenian Genocide* (Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 2015).

Maria Jacobsen, *Diaries of a Danish Missionary: Harpoot, 1907-1919* (Princeton: Gomidas Institute Books, 2001).

Peter Englund, *The Beauty and the Sorrow: An Intimate History of the First World War* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2011).

Annie Deperchin, "The Laws of War," in Jay Winter, ed., *The Cambridge History of the First World War*, 3 Vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 1: 615 – 638.

Robert Gerwarth, "The Continuum of Violence, in Jay Winter, ed., *The Cambridge History of the First World War*, 3 Vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 2: 638–662.

Peter Gatrell and Philippe Nevit, "Refugees and Exiles," in Jay Winter, ed., *The Cambridge History of the First World War*, 3 Vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 3: 186–215.

Panikos Panayi, "Minorities, in Jay Winter, ed., *The Cambridge History of the First World War*, 3 Vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 3: 216–214.

Jay Winter, ed., *America and the Armenian Genocide* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

Week 5

The Russian Civil War, the Early Bolshevik Regime, and the Ukrainian Famine-Genocide

February 12: lecture

February 14: recitation

Question:

What was the Soviet conception of foreign threat, indeed international conflict (warfare), and how does it pertain to Ukrainian famine-genocide of the early 1930s (the Holodomor)?

Reading:

William G. Rosenberg, "Paramilitary Violence in Russia's Civil Wars, 1918-1920," in Robert Gerwarth and John Horne, eds., *War in Peace Paramilitary Violence in Europe after the Great War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 21–39. (CANVAS).

Nicolas Werth, "Mass Deportations, Ethnic Cleansing and Genocidal Politics in the Later Russian Empire and the USSR," in Donald Bloxham and Dirk Moses, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of Genocide Studies* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 386-406. (CANVAS).

James Harris, "Encircled by Enemies: Stalin's Perceptions of the Capitalist World, 1918–1941," *Journal of Strategic Studies* 30, no. 3 (2008): 513–545. (CANVAS).

Optional Reading:

Jacques Steinberg, "Times Should Lose Pulitzer From 30's, Consultant Says," *New York Times*, October 23, 2003, <https://www.nytimes.com/2003/10/23/us/times-should-lose-pulitzer-from-30-s-consultant-says.html>

Anne Applebaum "How Stalin Hid Ukraine's Famine From the World," *The Atlantic*, October 13, 2017, <https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2017/10/red-famine-anne-applebaum-ukraine-soviet-union/542610/>

Week 6

Regulating Warfare and Protecting Minorities Between the Wars

February 19: lecture

February 21: recitation

Question:

How did and why did states attempt to regulate warfare after World War 1, including in light of the new potential of aerial bombing? To what extent were national minorities legally protected?

Reading:

The Hague Rules of Air Warfare, 1923 (not adopted):

https://wwi.lib.byu.edu/index.php/The_Hague_Rules_of_Air_Warfare

Kellogg-Briand Pact (Pact of Paris), 1928:

http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/kbpact.asp

<https://history.state.gov/milestones/1921-1936/kellogg>

Frank E. Quindry, "Aerial Bombardment of Civilian and Military Objectives," *Journal of Air Law and Commerce* 2, no. 4 (1931): 474–509. (CANVAS).

Minorities Treaties, YIVO Encyclopedia of Jews in Eastern Europe:

http://www.yivoencyclopedia.org/article.aspx/Minorities_Treaties

Optional Reading:

Paul Whitcomb Williams, "Legitimate Targets in Aerial Bombardment," *American Journal of International Law* 23, no. 3 (1929): 570-581.

Week 7

The Nazi Empire and Local Genocides

February 26: lecture with Professor Raz Segal, Stockton University

February 28: recitation

Question:

What roles do local (endogenous) and outside (exogenous) factors play in local dynamics of mass violence? To what extent are racial hatreds, national visions, security anxieties, fast-changing military and diplomatic contexts, political resentments, and personal interests salient factors?

Reading:

Raz Segal, "Imported Violence Carpatho-Ruthenians and Jews in Carpatho-Ukraine, October 1938–March 1939," *Polin: Studies in Polish-Jewry* 26 (2014): 313–336. (CANVAS).

Max Bergholz, *Violence as a Generative Force: Identity, Nationalism, and Memory in a Balkan Community* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2016), intro., chap. 2. (CANVAS).

Spring Break: March 2-10

Week 8

March 12: lecture – film screening of *"Come and See"* (final part)

March 14: recitation

Question:

How does the film deal with the question of collaboration and the Holocaust?

Reading:

A. N. Trainin, "The Responsibility of Hitler Germany for the Crimes and Damages Caused by Aggression," *Voks Bulletin*, no. 8 (1943): 5–16. (CANVAS)

Roger D. Petersen, *Understanding Ethnic Violence: Fear, Hatred, and Resentment in Eastern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), intro., chap. 6. (CANVAS).

Leonid Rein, "Local Collaboration in the Execution of the "Final Solution" in Nazi-Occupied Belorussia," *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 20, no. 3 (2006): 381–409. (CANVAS).

Week 9

The Soviet Union and Deportation of "Punished Peoples" During and After the War

March 19: lecture

March 21: recitation

Question:

Compare and contrast the wartime deportation of Soviet citizens ("punished peoples") with the expulsion of ethnic Germans from eastern and central Europe at the end of the war. Find and evaluate youtube clips on these topics, and prepare to present your findings to

class. Ask yourself: who made these clips and for what purpose? Do they seem historically accurate or tendentious?

Reading:

Norman M. Naimark, *Fires of Hatred: Ethnic Cleansing in Twentieth-Century Europe* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2001), chaps. 3 and 4. (CANVAS).

UNHCR, "Punished Peoples: The Mass Deportations of the 1940s," May 1, 1996, <https://www.unhcr.org/publications/refugeemag/3b5555124/unhcr-publication-cis-conference-displacement-cis-punished-peoples-mass.html>

Joanna Lillis, "Kazakhstan: Memories of the Chechen Exodus Don't Fade," *Eurasianet*, February 23, 2017, <https://eurasianet.org/kazakhstan-memories-chechen-exodus-dont-fade>

Week 10

Learning from the War? The Nuremberg Trials and the "Human Rights Revolution"

March 26: lecture

March 28: recitation

Question:

What were the states of the UN prepared to criminalize—and what acts of state and war did they not want to subject to legal scrutiny?

Reading:

Raphael Lemkin, "Genocide: A Modern Crimes," *Free World* 4 (April 1945): 39–43, <http://www.preventgenocide.org/lemkin/freeworld1945.htm>

UN General Assembly Resolution 96(1), December 11, 1946, "The Crime of Genocide," <https://documents-dds-ny.un.org/doc/RESOLUTION/GEN/NR0/033/47/IMG/NR003347.pdf?OpenElement>

Secretariat Draft: First Draft of the Genocide Convention, May 1947, <http://www.preventgenocide.org/law/convention/drafts/>

UN Convention on the Punishment and Prevention on Genocide, 9 December 1948, <https://www.ohchr.org/en/professionalinterest/pages/crimeofgenocide.aspx>

UN Universal Declaration on Human Rights, December 10, 1948 <https://www.ohchr.org/EN/UDHR/Pages/UDHRIndex.aspx>
[http://undocs.org/A/RES/217\(III\)](http://undocs.org/A/RES/217(III))

Boyd van Dijk, "Human Rights in War: On the Entangled Foundations of the 1949 Geneva Conventions," *American Journal of International Law* 112, no. 4 (2018): 553–582. (CANVAS)

Week 11

Gender, War, and Genocide

April 2: lecture

April 4: recitation

Question:

How are masculinity and femininity mobilized or implicated in warfare and genocide?

Reading:

Dagmar Herzog, "Introduction: War and Sexuality in Europe's Twentieth Century," in Dagmar Herzog, ed., *Brutality and Desire War and Sexuality in Europe's Twentieth Century* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 1–15. (CANVAS).

Regina Mühlhäuser, "Between 'Racial Awareness' and Fantasies of Potency: Nazi Sexual Politics in the Occupied Territories of the Soviet Union, 1942–1945," in *ibid.*, 197–220. (CANVAS).

Janet Halley, "Rape in Berlin: Reconsidering the Criminalisation of Rape in the International Law of Armed Conflict," *Melbourne Journal of International Law* 9, no. 1 (2008). (CANVAS).

Optional Reading:

Joshua S. Goldstein, *War and Gender: How Gender Shapes the War System and Vice Versa* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

John Tosh, "Hegemonic Masculinity and the History of Gender," in Stefan Dudink et al, eds., *Masculinities in Politics and War: Gendering Modern History* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004), 41-60.

Kimberly Hutchings, "Making Sense of Masculinity and War," *Men and Masculinities* 10, no. 4 (2008): 389- 404.

Elisa von Joeden-Forgey, "Gender and Genocide," in Donald Bloxham and Dirk Moses, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of Genocide Studies* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), chap. 3.

Carol Cohn, ed. *Women and Wars: Contested Histories, Uncertain Futures* (Cambridge: Polity, 2012).

Janet Halley, "Rape at Rome: Feminist Interventions in the Criminalization of Sex-Related Violence in Positive International Criminal Law," *Michigan International Law Journal* 30, no. 1 (2008): 1–123.

Joanna Bourke, "Gender Roles in Kills Zones," in Jay Winter, ed., *The Cambridge History of the First World War*, 3 Vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 3: 153–178.

Week 12

No Class: working-on-your-paper-time

Week 13

European Empires, Decolonization, and Colonial Violence

April 16: lecture

April 18: recitation

Question:

In his review of books on the British suppression of the Kenyan Mau Mau insurgency in the 1950s, the historian Bernard Porter asks "how did they get away with it?" by which he

means the fact that the scale of the British violence attracted little moral and legal sanction. Did European powers in fact “get away with it” in violently suppressing independence movements? Distinguish between legal and political consequences.

Reading:

Rémy Limpach, “Business as Usual: Dutch Mass Violence in the Indonesian War of Independence 1945-1949,” in Bart Luttikhuis and A. Dirk Moses, eds., *Colonial Counterinsurgency and Mass Violence: The Dutch Empire in Indonesia* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2014), 65–90. (CANVAS).

Fabian Klose, “The Colonial Testing Ground: The International Committee of the Red Cross and the Violent End of Empire,” *Humanity: An International Journal of Human Rights, Humanitarianism, and Development* 2, no. 1 (2011): 107–126. (CANVAS).

David French, *The British Way in Counter-Insurgency, 1945-1967* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), chap. 3. (CANVAS).

Bernard Porter, “How Did They Get Away With It?,” *London Review of Books*, March 3, 2005, <https://www.lrb.co.uk/v27/n05/bernard-porter/how-did-they-get-away-with-it>

Optional Reading:

Pascal James Imperato “Differing Perspectives on Mau Mau” (review article), *African Studies Review* 48, no. 3 (2005): 147–154.

Martin Thomas, “Colonial Violence in Algeria and the Distorted Logic of State Retribution: The Sétif Uprising of 1945,” *Journal of Military History* 75, no. 1 (2011): 1-33.

Brian Drohon, *Brutality in an Age of Human Rights: Activism and Counterinsurgency at the End of the British Empire* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2017).

Week 14

1990s: The Break-Up of Yugoslavia

April 23: lecture – documentary screening tba.

April 25: recitation

Question:

Is genocide the right concept for the conflicts in the Balkans during the 1990s? What the pros and cons of using it?

Reading:

Robert M. Hayden, “Genocide in Bosnia,” in Dan Stone, ed., *The Historiography of Genocide* (Houndmills, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 487–516. (CANVAS).

Christian Axboe Nielsen, “Surmounting the Myopic Focus on Genocide: The Case of the War in Bosnia and Herzegovina,” *Journal of Genocide Research* 15, no. 1 (2013): 21-39. (CANVAS).

Kate Ferguson, “Masking Genocide in Bosnia,” in Cathie Carmichael and Richard C. Maguire, eds., *The Routledge History of Genocide* (London and New York: Routledge, 2015), 309–320. (CANVAS).

Optional Reading:

- Norman M. Naimark, *Fires of Hatred: Ethnic Cleansing in Twentieth-Century Europe* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2001), chap. 5. (CANVAS).
- Cathie Carmichael, "Genocide and Population Displacement in post-Communist Eastern Europe," in Donald Bloxham and Dirk Moses, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of Genocide Studies* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), chap. 3. (CANVAS).
- Wendy Bracewell, "Rape in Kosovo: Masculinity and Serbian Nationalism," *Nations and Nationalism* 6, no. 4 (2000): 563–590.
- Elissa Helms, "Rejecting Angelina: Bosnian War Rape Survivors and the Ambiguities of Sex in War," *Slavic Review* 73, no. 3 (2014): 612–634.
- Mike Bowker, "The Russian State and the War in Chechnya," in Cathie Carmichael and Richard C. Maguire, eds., *The Routledge History of Genocide* (London and New York: Routledge, 2015), 257–274.
- Teresa Iacobelli, "The 'Sum of Such Actions': Investigating Mass Rape in Bosnia-Herzegovina through a Case Study of Foca," in Dagmar Herzog, ed., *Brutality and Desire War and Sexuality in Europe's Twentieth Century* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 261–283.