

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS 3180.80/POLITICAL SCIENCE 2990.80
CIVILIANS IN THE PATH OF WAR
The George Washington University

Spring 2012
Time: Tu/Th, 11.10AM – 12.25PM
Room: 1957 E St. NW, #214
Office Hours: Mon., 9.30 – 11.00AM

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COURSE DESCRIPTION AND OBJECTIVES

If—as Carl von Clausewitz famously put it—war is “a continuation of political intercourse, carried on with other means,” then the targeting and killing of civilians in war is often “a continuation of war by other means.” Noncombatants historically have comprised half of all war deaths, a statistic which shows few signs of changing in civilians’ favor. Indeed, more civilians were killed in twentieth century armed conflicts than in any previous century, and noncombatants have been the primary targets and suffered the vast majority of the deaths in several recent conflicts, such as the civil war in Darfur. What explains this carnage? Why do states and rebel groups put civilians in the cross-hairs in some wars but not others? What norms and laws protect civilians from harm, and why do they seem to be observed so rarely? What are some of the major cases of violence against civilians in the last one hundred years and why did they occur? Does targeting civilians help belligerents achieve their political or military goals? What leads people to participate in violence against noncombatants?

This course aims to answer some of these questions by examining the normative, ethical, and legal prohibitions against harming noncombatants and how they arose; the major social science theories for explaining the occurrence and effectiveness of large-scale violence against civilians in wartime; and a close study of several prominent cases of wartime victimization of noncombatants. The course begins by seeking a definition of civilians/noncombatants; it then proceeds to examine the origins of the principle of noncombatant immunity and how it eventually became codified as an international norm and the subject of increasingly specific international law. The second section of the course turns to theories of large-scale violence against noncombatants, examining a number of independent variables that have been used to explain why states or rebel groups target civilians: regime type, barbaric images of the enemy as sub-human or outside of the boundaries of civilization, military culture, parochial organizational interests in the military, cost-aversion and casualty-sensitivity, desperation to achieve victory, territorial annexation, and the dynamics of guerrilla warfare. After a brief section on whether civilian victimization is effective for achieving belligerents’ political/military goals, the course analyzes several cases of civilian victimization in detail in order to ascertain which factors led to the targeting of noncombatants and whether targeting civilians helped or hindered the perpetrators’ war effort. Finally, the class concludes by examining theories of individual participation in mass killing and how these theories apply to cases of massacre. Although civilian victimization is an ancient as well as a modern practice, most of the cases examined are from the last one hundred years, spanning colonial/imperial wars, the two World Wars, wars of decolonization, as well as recent counterinsurgency campaigns and ethnic killings.

COURSE REQUIREMENTS AND GRADE COMPUTATION

The course is organized into two one-hour and fifteen minute lecture/discussion periods each week. Grades will be based on the following set of criteria:

- **Peer Critique Memo (5%):** 3-5 page memo critiquing a rough draft of another student’s research paper, due in class on Thursday, April 26.
- **Attendance/Participation (10%):** Students are expected to attend all class meetings, do all of the required reading before each session, and be able to participate in discussion.
- **Midterm Examination (20%):** Tuesday, February 28. In-class, closed-book essay exam covering the first two sections of the course.

- **Final Examination** (25%): Tuesday, May 8, 10.20AM – 12.20PM. Cumulative, closed-book final exam, consisting of identifications and essays, emphasizing the last three sections of the course.
- **Research Paper** (40%): 20 pages, HARD COPY due at the instructor's office by 5.00PM on Friday, May 4. This is a *Writing in the Disciplines* (WID) course. See below for more details.

BOOKS

The following books have been ordered and are available at the George Washington University Bookstore in the Marvin Center. They are also on reserve at Gelman Library.

Paul Aussaresses, *The Battle of the Casbah: Terrorism and Counter-Terrorism in Algeria 1955-1957* (New York: Enigma Books, 2002).

Christopher R. Browning, *Ordinary Men: Reserve Police Battalion 101 and the Final Solution in Poland* (New York: HarperPerennial, 1992).

Alexander B. Downes, *Targeting Civilians in War* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2008).

Helen M. Kinsella, *The Image before the Weapon: A Critical History of the Distinction between Combatant and Noncombatant* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2011). **Recommended, not required.**

Benjamin A. Valentino, *Final Solutions: Mass Killing and Genocide in the Twentieth Century* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2004).

Michael Walzer, *Just and Unjust Wars*, 3rd ed. (New York: Basic Books, 2000).

ARTICLES AND BOOK CHAPTERS

All of the journal articles listed in the required reading below are available online in databases accessible through the George Washington University Library. From the library website (<http://www.library.gwu.edu/>), search "E-Journals" for the desired title and navigate to the correct volume and issue. If you are accessing the library website from off campus, you will need to enter your last name and your GWID to obtain access. For several class sessions I have assigned book chapters in addition to journal articles. These are placed on E-Reserve, and are indicated by the term "e-res" in parentheses after the citation. These texts are easily obtained through the Blackboard site that has been established for the class. Click on "Blackboard" from the "My GW" page (<http://my.gwu.edu>), log in, go to the page for this class, and click on "E-Reserves."

RESEARCH PAPER

Students are required to write a research paper of approximately 20 double-spaced pages on a topic of their choice related to civilian victimization. In past years, most students have chosen particular cases or campaigns of civilian victimization and sought to explain why they occurred. Others have looked at certain states or rebel groups and tried to explain consistency or variation in their treatment of civilians. Still other papers have investigated the origins of suicide terrorism, the effectiveness of civilian victimization, or compared Muslim and Christian views regarding morally permissible behavior in war. The topic, question, or case you write about is largely up to you, subject to three caveats: (1) it must be about some aspect of civilian victimization or the fate of noncombatants in armed conflict; (2) it must be approved by the instructor; and (3) it should not be a case we have examined in class (unless specific permission is received).

For papers about the causes of civilian victimization—the most common type of paper—there are several potential research designs. One approach, for example, is to test at least two theories against evidence from a single case to determine which theory (or combination of theories) provides the best explanation for why civilian victimization did or did not occur in that case. These single-case studies can also be divided up into several segments or decision points, a process which multiplies the number of observations and permits comparisons across time. A second method is to test one theory against evidence from at least two cases to see how well the theory holds up in multiple

instances. This design permits interesting across-case comparisons, but also requires greater historical knowledge on the part of the researcher. A third approach is to identify and try to explain puzzling variation in outcomes: why here and not there? Why this time but not that time? This method involves the comparison of at least two cases, one positive and one negative, and tries to locate the source of the divergence in outcome. Finally, students can also compare cases that appear quite different at first glance but have the same outcome. Why do such seemingly divergent cases end up turning out the same? Research design and other issues regarding the paper will be discussed in class on March 1.

In past years, papers written for this class have utilized between a dozen and two dozen sources of information each, and also used multiple types of information: secondary historical and analytical works, journal articles, newspapers, and reports by human rights organizations. Other papers used primary sources, such as U.S. government documents posted on web resources like the *Foreign Relations of the United States* (<http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ho/frus>) or the *National Security Archive* (<http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv>). This is not a paper, in other words, that can be written in a few days using one or two books. Nor can good papers be written simply by combing the internet: students must also consult reputable, scholarly, printed sources.

As this is a *Writing in the Disciplines* (WID) course, students will turn in – and receive feedback on – drafts of different sections of the paper over the course of the semester. These individual sections of the paper will not be graded, as the goal is to improve the final product by providing detailed feedback on students' writing. Failure to turn in paper sections by the specified deadlines, however, will be penalized by deducting points from the overall grade for the paper. You would be well advised to turn in what you have – even if incomplete – by the deadline rather than turning in more complete versions late. Students will be informed whether they are making adequate progress.

Students will receive written comments on each section of the paper from the instructor or the Teaching Assistant. Students will then revise that section of the paper, and turn it in with the next section that is due. For example, on April 5, students will turn in not only a case study, but also the revised version of the Introduction and Literature Review. In late April students will be paired up to read and comment on each other's rough drafts (see below for details). Students will also receive guidance from the instructor or the TA on the rough draft.

Here is the schedule for writing assignments. Unless otherwise noted, all writing assignments are due in **hard copy** at the start of class on the specified date.

- **February 7:** Paper Topic Memo. Students will turn in a memo of no more than 3 double-spaced pages. Memos will not be graded, but must be approved by the instructor for students to proceed. Memos should answer the following questions:
 - What is the question you intend to answer in your paper? Which case or cases will you examine?
 - What potential hypotheses or explanations have you identified?
 - What potential sources of information and evidence have you identified? Include a short bibliography.
- **March 8:** Introduction and Literature Review due
- **April 5:** Case Study (or empirical section) due (along with revised Introduction and Literature Review)
- **April 19:** Rough Draft of entire paper due to instructor and student commentator
- **Week of April 23:** Paper Conferences. Students will exchange rough drafts with a partner. Each pair will meet at their convenience during the week of April 23-27 to discuss each other's papers. Written (typed) comments **must** be provided on the model of a journal article review (to be demonstrated in class). These comments will be given not only to your partner but also turned in to the instructor.
- **April 26:** Peer Critique Memo due. The memo constitutes 5 percent of your grade.
- **May 4:** Final Draft due, 5.00PM

TEACHING ASSISTANT

The teaching assistant for the course is **Dina Bishara**, a Ph.D. candidate in the Department of Political Science.

POLICIES AND RESOURCES

- **Class Policies.** Students are expected to attend every class session, do all the reading before class, and come prepared to discuss it. Exceptions will of course be made for religious holidays. Students who know they will miss class owing to observance of a religious holiday need to notify the instructor during the first week of the semester. Late final papers will be accepted up to 72 hours after the deadline, but one letter grade will be deducted for each 24 hour period that the paper is late. Papers that are more than 72 hours late will not be accepted. Exceptions will be made only in cases of extraordinary personal or family emergency; if you find yourself in such a situation, consult the instructor as soon as possible. Students must take the final exam at the time and date assigned by the Academic Scheduling Office. Students who have three final exams on one day may petition for one of them to be rescheduled. Note that this must be done at least three weeks prior to the last day of classes: see http://www.gwu.edu/~regweb/web-content/scheduling/exam_policies.html. Laptops are allowed in class for note-taking purposes, not for checking e-mail, Facebook, or surfing the web. The only cell phones allowed in class are those that have been turned off.
- **Plagiarism, Cheating, and Academic Integrity.** According to the university's Code of Academic Integrity, "Academic dishonesty is defined as cheating of any kind, including misrepresenting one's own work, taking credit for the work of others without crediting them and without appropriate authorization, and the fabrication of information." For the rest of the code, see <http://www.gwu.edu/~ntegrity/code.html>. In general, I expect that you will not lie, cheat, steal, or otherwise conduct yourselves dishonorably, and will do something if you observe others engaging in such conduct. All work you submit for this course must be your own. I will not tolerate any form of academic dishonesty. Suspected cases will be referred to the Office of Academic Integrity. If you have questions about what constitutes proper use of published or unpublished sources, please ask the instructor.
- **Disabilities.** Any student who may need an accommodation based on the potential impact of a disability should contact the Disability Support Services office at 202.994.8250 in the Marvin Center, Suite 242, to establish eligibility and to coordinate reasonable accommodations. For additional information please refer to: <http://gwired.gwu.edu/dss/>.
- **Counseling.** The University Counseling Center (UCC, 202.994.5300) offers 24/7 assistance and referral to address students' personal, social, career, and study skills problems. Services for students include crisis and emergency mental health consultations, confidential assessment, counseling services (individual and small group), and referrals (see <http://gwired.gwu.edu/counsel/CounselingServices/AcademicSupportServices>).
- **Security.** In the case of an emergency, if at all possible, the class should shelter in place. If the building that the class is in is affected, follow the evacuation procedures for the building. After evacuation, seek shelter at a predetermined rendezvous location.

COURSE SCHEDULE

1. Introduction and Course Overview January 17
- No assigned readings

Part I. Normative and Legal Protections for Noncombatants

2. War by Other Means? January 19
- William Eckhardt, "Civilian Deaths in Wartime," *Bulletin of Peace Proposals* 20, no. 1 (March 1989): 89-98 (**e-res**).
 - *Human Security Report 2009/2010: The Causes of Peace and the Shrinking Costs of War*, Part III: "Trends in Human Insecurity"; available online at <http://www.hsrgroup.org/human-security-reports/human-security-report.aspx>.
 - Mark Grimsley and Clifford J. Rogers, "Introduction," in *Civilians in the Path of War*, ed. Mark Grimsley and Clifford J. Rogers (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2002), ix-xxvi (**e-res**).
 - Helen Fein, "Genocide, Terror, Life Integrity, and War Crimes: The Case for Discrimination," in *Genocide: Conceptual and Historical Dimensions*, ed. George J. Andreopoulos (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1994), 95-107 (**e-res**).
 - Valentino, *Final Solutions*, 10-15, 66-90.
 - Downes, *Targeting Civilians in War*, 13-21.
3. Defining Civilians/Noncombatants January 24
- Walzer, *Just and Unjust Wars*, 34-47, 127-175.
 - Theodore J. Koontz, "Noncombatant Immunity in Michael Walzer's Just and Unjust Wars," *Ethics & International Affairs* 11, no. 1 (March 1997): 55-82.
 - John C. Ford, "The Morality of Obliteration Bombing," in *War and Morality*, ed. Richard A. Wasserstrom (Belmont, Calif.: Wadsworth, 1970), 15-26 (**e-res**).
 - Nils Melzer, *Direct Participation in Hostilities* (Geneva: ICRC, 2009), 20-40; available online at <http://www.icrc.org/eng/assets/files/other/icrc-002-0990.pdf>.
4. Origins of Noncombatant Immunity January 26
- James Turner Johnson, *Just War Tradition and the Restraint of War: A Moral and Historical Inquiry* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1981), 121-150 (**e-res**).
 - Richard Shelly Hartigan, *The Forgotten Victim: A History of the Civilian* (Chicago: Precedent Publishing, 1982), 65-115 (**e-res**).
 - **Recommended:** Kinsella, *The Image before the Weapon*, 24-81.
5. Legal Codifications of Noncombatant Immunity January 31
- Adam Roberts, "Land Warfare: From Hague to Nuremberg," in *The Laws of War: Constraints on Warfare in the Western World*, ed. Michael Howard, George J. Andreopoulos, and Mark R. Shulman (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1994), 116-139 (**e-res**).
 - Tami Davis Biddle, "Air Power," in *The Laws of War*, 140-159 (**e-res**).
 - Yoram Dinstein, *The Conduct of Hostilities under the Law of International Armed Conflict* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 121-155 (**e-res**).
 - Nils Melzer, *Direct Participation in Hostilities* (Geneva: ICRC, 2009), 41-85; available online at <http://www.icrc.org/eng/assets/files/other/icrc-002-0990.pdf>.
 - **Recommended:** Kinsella, *The Image before the Weapon*, 104-154.

6. Arguments about the Morality of Killing Civilians February 2

- Walzer, *Just and Unjust Wars*, 176-196, 225-232, 251-268.
- Barry Buzan, "Who May We Bomb?" in *Worlds in Collision: Terror and the Future of Global Order*, ed. Ken Booth and Tim Dunne (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), 85-94 (e-res).
- Henry L. Stimson, "The Decision to Use the Atomic Bomb," *Harper's Magazine*, February 1947, 97-107 (e-res).
- Michael Walzer, "Political Action: The Problem of Dirty Hands," *Philosophy and Public Affairs* 2, no. 2 (Winter 1973): 160-180.

Part II. Theories of Civilian Victimization7. Regime Type February 7
Research Paper Memos Due

- Barbara Harff, "No Lessons Learned from the Holocaust? Assessing Risks of Genocide and Political Mass Murder since 1955," *American Political Science Review* 97, no. 1 (February 2003): 57-73.
- Gil Merom, *How Democracies Lose Small Wars* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 3-32 (e-res).
- Dan Reiter and Allan C. Stam, *Democracies at War* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2002), 144-163 (e-res).

8. Instructor Traveling: No Class February 99. Race and Identity February 14

- Samuel P. Huntington, "The Clash of Civilizations?" *Foreign Affairs* 72, no. 3 (Summer 1993): 22-49.
- John W. Dower, *War without Mercy: Race and Power in the Pacific War* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1986), 33-93 (e-res; 2 parts).
- Tanisha Fazal and Brooke Greene, "A Particular Difference: European Identity and Compliance with *Jus in Bello*," unpublished manuscript, Columbia University (e-res).
- **Recommended:** Kinsella, *The Image before the Weapon*, 82-103, 155-186.

10. Organization Theory February 16

- Jeffrey W. Legro, *Cooperation under Fire: Anglo-German Restraint during World War II* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1995), 17-29 (e-res).
- Isabel V. Hull, "Military Culture and the Production of 'Final Solutions' in the Colonies: The Example of Wilhelminian Germany," in *The Specter of Genocide: Mass Murder in Historical Perspective*, ed. Robert Gellately and Ben Kiernan (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 141-162 (e-res).
- Colin H. Kahl, "In the Crossfire or the Crosshairs? Norms, Civilian Casualties, and U.S. Conduct in Iraq," *International Security* 32, no. 1 (Summer 2007): 7-46.

11. Desperation and Annexation February 21

- Downes, *Targeting Civilians in War*, read 1-56, 180-183; skim 57-82.
- Lisa Hultman, "Battle Losses and Rebel Violence: Raising the Costs for Fighting," *Terrorism and Political Violence* 19, no. 2 (Summer 2007): 205-222.
- Laia Balcells, "Rivalry and Revenge: Violence against Civilians in Conventional Civil Wars," *International Studies Quarterly* 54, no. 2 (June 2010): 291-313.

12. Guerrilla Warfare/Insurgency February 23

- Review Walzer, *Just and Unjust Wars*, 176-196.
- Benjamin A. Valentino, Paul Huth, and Dylan Balch-Lindsay, "'Draining the Sea': Mass Killing and Guerrilla Warfare," *International Organization* 58, no. 2 (Spring 2004): 375-407.
- Stathis N. Kalyvas, "Wanton and Senseless? The Logic of Violence in Civil Wars," *Rationality and Society* 11, no. 3 (August 1999): 243-285.
- Jeremy Weinstein, *Inside Rebellion: The Politics of Insurgent Violence* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), read 1-24 and 198-239; skim 239-258 (**e-res**; 2 parts).

13. MIDTERM EXAM February 2814. Research Papers in Political Science March 1

- Readings TBD

Part III. Does Civilian Victimization Work?15. Assessing the Effectiveness of Targeting Civilians March 6

- Alexander B. Downes and Kathryn McNabb Cochran, "Targeting Civilians to Win? Assessing the Military Effectiveness of Civilian Victimization in Interstate War," in *Rethinking Violence: States and Non-State Actors in Conflict*, ed. Erica Chenoweth and Adria Lawrence (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2010), 23-56 (**e-res**).
- Matthew Adam Kocher, Thomas B. Pepinsky, and Stathis N. Kalyvas, "Aerial Bombing and Counterinsurgency in the Vietnam War," *American Journal of Political Science* 55, no. 2 (March 2011): 201-218.
- Jason M. Lyall, "Does Indiscriminate Repression Incite Insurgent Attacks? Evidence from Chechnya," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 53, no. 3 (2009): 331-362.

16. Assessing the Effectiveness of Terrorism March 8
Introduction and Literature Review Due

- Robert A. Pape, "The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism," *American Political Science Review* 97, no. 3 (August 2003): 343-61.
- Max Abrahms, "Why Terrorism Does Not Work," *International Security* 31, no. 2 (Fall 2006): 42-78.

17. Spring Break: No Class March 1218. Spring Break: No Class March 14**Part IV. Historical Cases**

A. CONVENTIONAL WARS OF ATTRITION

19. World War I: Starvation Blockades March 20

- Avner Offer, "Morality and Admiralty: 'Jacky' Fisher, Economic Warfare and the Laws of War," *Journal of Contemporary History* 23, no. 1 (January 1988): 99-118.
- C. Paul Vincent, *The Politics of Hunger: The Allied Blockade of Germany, 1915-1919* (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 1985), 27-59 (**e-res**).
- Downes, *Targeting Civilians in War*, 83-114.

20. Instructor Traveling: No Class March 22

21. World War II: The Bombing of Germany March 27

- Stephen A. Garrett, *Ethics and Airpower in World War II: The British Bombing of German Cities* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1993), 3-22, 183-209 (**e-res**).
- Max Hastings, *Bomber Command* (New York: Dial Press, 1979), 106-140 (**e-res**).
- Downes, *Targeting Civilians in War*, 142-155.

22. World War II: The Bombing of Japan March 29

- Thomas R. Searle, "'It Made a Lot of Sense to Kill Skilled Workers': The Firebombing of Tokyo in March 1945," *Journal of Military History* 66, no. 1 (January 2002): 103-133.
- Conrad C. Crane, *Bombs, Cities, and Civilians: American Airpower Strategy in World War II* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1993), 120-142 (**e-res**).
- Ronald Schaffer, *Wings of Judgment: American Bombing in World War II* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 149-176 (**e-res**).
- Downes, *Targeting Civilians in War*, 115-141.

B. COUNTERINSURGENCY

23. The Boer War April 3

- Valentino, *Final Solutions*, 196-233.
- Ivan Arreguín-Toft, *How the Weak Win Wars: A Theory of Asymmetric Conflict* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 72-108 (**e-res**).
- Downes, *Targeting Civilians in War*, 156-177.

24. France in Algeria April 5
Case Study Due

- Aussaresses, *Battle of the Casbah*, all.
- Darius Rejali, *Torture and Democracy* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2007), 480-493 (**e-res**).
- Adam Shatz, "The Torture of Algiers," *New York Review of Books* (November 21, 2002), 53-57 (**e-res**).
- Movie, time TBD: *The Battle of Algiers*.

25. Darfur April 10

- Scott Straus, "Darfur and the Genocide Debate," *Foreign Affairs* 84, no. 1 (January/February 2005): 123-133.
- Gérard Prunier, *Darfur: The Ambiguous Genocide*, rev. and exp. edition (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2007), 81-123 (**e-res**).
- Julie Flint and Alex de Waal, *Darfur: A New History of a Long War*, rev. and updated ed. (London: Zed Books, 2008), 116-149 (**e-res**).

C. CLEANSING

26. Instructor Traveling: No Class April 12
27. World War I: The Armenians April 17
- Valentino, *Final Solutions*, 152-166.
 - Guenter Lewy, *The Armenian Massacres in Ottoman Turkey: A Disputed Genocide* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2005), ix-xiii, 150-161, 233-257 (**e-res**).
 - Justin McCarthy, *Death and Exile, The Ethnic Cleansing of Ottoman Muslims, 1821-1922* (Princeton, N.J.: Darwin Press, 1995), 179-196 (**e-res**).
28. World War II: The Killing Machine April 19
Rough Draft Due
- Valentino, *Final Solutions*, 166-178.
 - Daniel Jonah Goldhagen, *Hitler's Willing Executioners: Ordinary Germans and the Holocaust* (New York: Vintage Books, 1996), 131-163 (**e-res**).
 - Raul Hilberg, *The Destruction of the European Jews*, Student ed. (New York: Holmes & Meier, 1985), 99-153 (**e-res**).
29. Rwanda April 24
Paper Conferences This Week
- Valentino, *Final Solutions*, 178-87.
 - Gérard Prunier, *The Rwanda Crisis: History of a Genocide* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995), 213-280 (**e-res**; 2 parts).
 - Scott Straus, *The Order of Genocide: Race, Power, and War in Rwanda* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2006), 41-64, 153-174 (**e-res**; 2 parts).

Part V. Individual Participation

30. Theories of Individual Participation April 26
Peer Critique Memo Due
- Valentino, *Final Solutions*, 30-65.
 - Herbert C. Kelman, "Violence without Moral Restraint: Reflections on the Dehumanization of Victims and Victimiziers," *Journal of Social Issues* 29, no. 4 (1973): 25-61 (**e-res**).
 - Philip G. Zimbardo et al., "A Pirandellian Prison," *New York Times Magazine*, April 8, 1973 (**e-res**).
 - Andrew Wolfson, "A Hoax Most Cruel," *Louisville Courier-Journal*, October 9, 2005 (**e-res**).
31. Make-Up Day: Reserve Police Battalion 101 in Poland and Course Wrap-Up May 1
- Browning, *Ordinary Men*, all.
32. Final Paper Due: 1957 E St. NW, #605B May 4, 5.00PM
33. FINAL EXAM May 8, 10.20AM