

# Research Agenda

The Uppsala  
Programme for Holocaust  
and Genocide Studies,  
Uppsala University

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and Genocide Studies

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## The Uppsala Programme for Holocaust and Genocide Studies

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## Preface

In a speech to the Swedish Parliament on November 27, 1997, Prime Minister Göran Persson proposed that a centre for Holocaust and genocide studies be established at Uppsala University. The government returned to this issue, and the Parliament appropriated means for this purpose in June 1998. The activities had, however, already begun under provisional circumstances after Rector Bo Sundqvist's decision to give the new unit its name, The Uppsala Programme for Holocaust and Genocide Studies (*Programmet för studier kring Förintelsen och folk mord*). The Programme is located at the Centre for Multiethnic Research in the Faculty of Humanities. A board (see page 117) and a director were appointed by the Rector on July 3, 1998, when it was also announced that the Rector committed himself to additional financing.

The present research agenda highlights the fundamental idea to establish research groups that will work with a number of key issues. It consists of four parts. The *first* part contains a survey of research concerning the Holocaust and genocide. The *second* part indicates a number of areas in which we believe that Swedish scholars will be able to contribute in cooperation with international scholarship. The *third* part contains discussions and conclusions concerning our priorities, and our views on how the research should be accomplished. A *fourth* part concerns education.

As in almost all work at universities, the relationship between research and education is organic. It is noteworthy that the first activity of the Uppsala Programme open to the public was a symposium that took place on June 9–11, 1998, entitled *The Uppsala Conference on Teaching the Holocaust*. It became an international meeting-place for scholars and educators. While the Swedish government's information campaign "Living History" (*Levande historia*) is focused on groups outside schools, the organization in Uppsala concentrates on formal education: the teachers' training colleges around the country, as well as middle and secondary schools. Many of the planned contributions to this area, especially courses at the teachers' training colleges, are presently waiting to be funded. One suggested area of research will focus on methodology and didactics in the teaching of history.

This research agenda has several functions. One is to provide information meant for scholars and interested laypersons. By

distributing this document we hope to establish dialogues with scholars, educators and others. Another function is to serve as a guide for the Programme's own search for knowledge. A document of this kind should be something of a navigation instrument. Experience, however, tells us that every person involved in the search for knowledge must also change directions. The goal of this research plan is, therefore, to provide flexible guidance.

This agenda includes research and formal education. We have chosen to join with existing structures, to make an inventory of the research now being done within the subject area, and to contact scholars in Sweden who have relevant experience and documented qualifications. We have already received a generous response, which indicates a readiness to cooperate with this newly established project.

We have consciously formulated an "expansive" research agenda, but due to financial reasons it is necessary to concentrate on certain themes. Priority will be given based on the following: contributing knowledge where the benefit is the greatest, maintaining a balance between main goals of the project, achieving a collegial research climate, facilitating a certain degree of interdisciplinary research, and forming a national network of scholars.

Dr. Kjell Magnusson has made a valuable contribution by writing the chapter "Survey of Previous Research" (pp. 8-54). A number of scholars have provided preliminary texts for certain project areas. For these contributions we would like to thank Gösta Arvastson, Uppsala; Stéphane Bruchfeld, Stockholm; Kristian Gerner, Uppsala; Erik Hedling, Lund; Suzanne Kaplan, Stockholm; Paul Levine, Uppsala; Anders Ohlsson, Lund; Omar Sheikmous, Stockholm; Peter Wallensteen, Uppsala; and Charles Westin, Stockholm. In addition there are many other people who have contributed their points of view.

Uppsala, Sweden  
November 1998

Dr. Harald Runblom, Associate Professor of History and  
Programme Director

## Objectives

*The Uppsala Programme for Holocaust and Genocide Studies* is established to serve as a national resource for research and higher education concerning the Holocaust and genocide.

The aims are:

- to pursue research and contribute to higher education,
- to link projects between Swedish universities and colleges,
- to initiate and coordinate research,
- to monitor international research and participate in international collaboration,
- to create a library and archive within the subject area, and
- to serve as a centre for information concerning research, formal education and public education.

The purpose of the Programme is to develop and disseminate knowledge of the Holocaust, and, in a comparative perspective, to study other occurrences of genocide and gross violations of human rights. The Programme begins with topics currently featured in international research and takes into consideration recent discussions of theory and methods. The Programme aims to encourage empirical examination as well as theoretically based syntheses by striving for depth of subject and by attempting to cross disciplinary boundaries. The Programme has a special responsibility to research the part Sweden played with regard to the Holocaust; at the same time the objectives of the project are to contribute to the comparative study of genocide. These goals embrace high quality research and the pursuit of new international perspectives.

The Programme maintains international standards of scholarship and is objective concerning ideologies and religious affiliations. It is not bound to any particular worldview. The teaching done within the framework of the Programme is rooted in critical methods, with the ultimate purpose of clarifying the circumstances and mechanisms leading to genocide and other gross violations of human rights. Through research results and ongoing discussions, the Programme will contribute to attempts to prevent genocide and to strengthen the protection of human rights.

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# Holocaust and Genocide Studies: Survey of Previous Research

## The Holocaust

The study of the Holocaust as an established field of scholarship is relatively new, which is evident in part by noting that as many works were published between 1985 and 1995 as between 1945 and 1985. The centres for Holocaust research are located in the United States, Germany and Israel, but the field is also represented in other countries.<sup>1</sup> Along with work being done at various universities, several research institutes primarily devote themselves to the study of the Holocaust and related problems. The most well known are *Yad Vashem* (Jerusalem), *The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum* (Washington), the *Institut für Zeitgeschichte* (Munich), and the *Institut für Antisemitismusforschung* (Berlin). In addition, many documentation centres and organizations collect material, organize research and devote themselves to moulding public opinion. Empirical and theoretical questions are discussed in a number of scholarly journals, information bulletins and yearbooks. Recently, an explosive development has taken place due to the wealth of information available on the Internet. Today the literature is almost impossible to encompass and treats the subject area from a multitude of aspects.<sup>2</sup>

The history of the Holocaust already had begun to be recorded during the Second World War. In the ghettos and camps of Eastern Europe, diaries and chronicles were being written that de-

1. See appendix: "Departments of Holocaust and genocide research."

2. For a survey of the research, see the following bibliographies: David M. Szonyi, ed., *The Holocaust: An Annotated Bibliography and Resource Guide* (New York: Ktav Publishing House Inc.; The National Jewish Resource Center, 1985). *Genocide: A Critical Bibliographical Review*, ed. Israel W. Charny (New York: Transaction Publishers, 1988). *Genocide: A Critical Bibliographical Review*, ed. Israel W. Charny (New York: Transaction Publishers, 1991). *The Widening Circle of Genocide*, ed. Israel W. Charny, *Genocide Vol. 3* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction Publishers, 1994) and historiographic outlines: Yisrael Gutman & Gideon Greif, eds., *The Historiography of the Holocaust Period: Proceedings of the Fifth Yad Vashem International Historical Conference. Jerusalem, March 1983* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1988). Michael R. Marrus, *The Holocaust in History* (Hannover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 1987). Michael R. Marrus, "Reflections on the Historiography of the Holocaust," *Journal of Modern History* 66 (March 1994), 92-116. Dieter Pohl, "Die Holocaust-Forschung und Goldhagens Thesen," *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte* 45: 1 (Januar 1997), 1-48.

picted persecution from the perspective of the victim. At the same time, Jewish organizations and individuals were trying to document events and influence public opinion. After the Second World War, documentation centres—with the ambition to organise and publish the first accounts of the murder of European Jews—were established in the Soviet Union, Poland, France and the United States.<sup>3</sup>

The first historical studies, in the proper sense, appeared during the 1950s with *Bréviaire de la haine* (1951) by Léon Poliakov and *The Final Solution* (1953) by Gerald Reitlinger.<sup>4</sup> At that time, research was dominated by individual historians or small Jewish institutions that specialised in documenting experiences and describing the background and the sequence of events that led to genocide. In 1957 *Yad Vashem* was founded and during the 1950s German research on the Second World War began.

At first, German scholars concentrated on the study of the fall of the Weimar Republic and on the special character of the Hitler regime; Jewish victims were analysed on a smaller scale. This question was dealt with mostly by survivors and exile scholars, for which *The Leo Baeck Institute* in New York became an important forum.<sup>5</sup> A number of important works were also published in which German antisemitism was discussed from a historical perspective, viewing Nazi Germany against the background of a specific cultural tradition.<sup>6</sup> A turning point came with

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3. Jakob Apenszlak, ed., *The Black Book of Polish Jewry* (New York, 1943). Ilya Ehrenburg & Vasily Grossman, *Chernaia kniga. The Black Book: The Ruthless Murder of Jews by German-Fascist Invaders Throughout the Temporary Occupied Regions of the Soviet Union and in the Death Camps of Poland During the War of 1941–1945*, trans. John Glad & James S. Levine (New York: Holocaust Library, 1981). *Faschismus – Getto – Massenmord: Dokumentation über Ausrottung und Widerstand der Juden in Polen während des 2. Weltkrieges* (Berlin: Jüdisches Historisches Institut in Warschau, 1961). J. Cassou, *Les Juifs en Europe (1939–1945): Rapports présentés à la première conférence européenne des commissions historiques et des centres de documentations juifs* (Paris: Centre de documentation juive contemporaine, 1949). *Activité des organisations juives en France sous l'occupation*, Études et monographies 4 (Paris: Centre de documentation juive contemporaine, 1947).

4. Léon Poliakov, *Bréviaire de la haine: Le Troisième Reich et les juifs* (Paris: Calmann-Levy, 1951). Gerald Reitlinger, *The Final Solution: The Attempt to Exterminate the Jews of Europe, 1939–1945* (New York: A.S. Barnes, 1961 [1953]).

5. Otto D. Kulka, "Major Trends and Tendencies in German Historiography on National Socialism and the 'Jewish Question,'" *The Historiography of the Holocaust Period: Proceedings of the Fifth Yad Vashem International Historical Conference, Jerusalem, March 1983*, eds. Yisrael Gutman & Gideon Greif (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1988), 1–52.

6. Paul Massing, *Rehearsal for Destruction: A Study of Political Antisemitism in Imperial Germany* (New York, 1949). Fritz R. Stern, *The Politics of Cultural De-*

the publication of Wolfgang Scheffler's work on the persecution of the Jews in the Third Reich<sup>7</sup> and an extensive collaborative work on the origins of German totalitarian society.<sup>8</sup>

At this time in Eastern Europe, a relatively comprehensive research and documentation venture began. It was strongly influenced, however, by political conditions and ultimately came to an end in the 1950s and 1960s. In the official historiography there was a clear tendency to minimise the situation of Jewish victims, if they were mentioned at all.<sup>9</sup> After the Soviet Union and the rest of Eastern Europe had taken sides against Israel, antisemitic public sentiments would flourish freely again within the framework of an anti-Zionist policy. It was not until the fall of Communism that research could be resumed.<sup>10</sup>

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*spair: A Study in the Rise of the German Ideology* (London, 1961). George L. Mosse, *The Crisis of German Ideology: Intellectual Origins of the Third Reich* (New York, 1966). Peter Pulzer, *The Rise of Political Anti-Semitism in Germany and Austria*, Revised edition (London: P. Halban, 1988 [1964]).

7. Wolfgang Scheffler, *Judenverfolgung im Dritten Reich* (Berlin, 1960).

8. Karl Dietrich Bracher, Wolfgang Sauer & Gerhard Schulz, *Die nationalsozialistische Machtergreifung: Studien zur Einrichtung des totalitären Herrschaftssystems in Deutschland, 1933-1934*, Schriften des Instituts für politische Wissenschaft 14 (Köln; Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1960).

9. A typical example is that in 1947 the Soviet authorities cancelled the publication of Ehrenburg and Grossman's *Black Book*, which was considered to have overemphasised the suffering of the Jews and to have depicted certain East European ethnic groups in a far too negative light. An English edition was published in 1981, and a French edition based on the original edition was published in 1995. See Ehrenburg & Grossman, *Chernaia kniga. The Black Book: The Ruthless Murder of Jews by German-Fascist Invaders Throughout the Temporary Occupied Regions of the Soviet Union and in the Death Camps of Poland During the War of 1941-1945* and Ilya Ehrenbourg & Vassili Grossman, *Le Livre noir: Sur l'extermination scélérate des juifs par les envahisseurs fascistes allemands dans les régions provisoirement occupées de l'URSS et dans les camps d'extermination en Pologne pendant la guerre de 1941-1945. Textes et témoignages*, trad. Yves Gauthier et al. (Paris: Solin; Arles: Actes Sud, 1995).

10. Regarding the Soviet Union, see Lucjan Dobroszycki & Jeffrey S. Gurock, eds., *The Holocaust in the Soviet Union: Studies and Sources on the Destruction of the Jews in the Nazi-occupied Territories of the USSR, 1941-1945* (Armonk, N.Y.; London: M. E. Sharpe, 1993) and Zvi Y. Gitelman, *Bitter Legacy: Confronting the Holocaust in the USSR* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1997). Conditions in Hungary and Romania are discussed in L. R. Braham, *The Politics of Genocide: The Holocaust in Hungary*, 2 Vols. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1981). Randolph L. Braham, *The Destruction of Romanian and Hungarian Jews during the Antonescu Era*, East European Monographs 483 (Boulder; New York: Columbia University Press, 1997). David Cesarani, *Genocide and Rescue: The Holocaust in Hungary 1944* (Oxford; New York: Berg, 1997). Regarding the Baltic States, see Nora Levin, *The Holocaust: The Nazi Destruction of European Jewry, 1933-1945* (Melbourne, Fla.: Krieger, 1990) and Andrew Ezergailis, *The Holocaust in Latvia, 1941-1944: The Missing Center* (Riga; Washington: The Historical Institute of Latvia; United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 1996).

In 1961 Raul Hilberg published his monumental *The Destruction of the European Jews*, which still is considered to be a standard work.<sup>11</sup> By meticulously investigating an enormous number of sources, Hilberg succeeded in describing convincingly the mechanics and dynamics of the process that led to genocide. He depicted a gigantic machine of destruction that step by step, and without mercy, resulted in the Holocaust. According to Hilberg, the Holocaust was actually a bureaucratic complex, including all levels and sectors of German society, and achieving its goals almost automatically, with Weber-like rationality.

Hilberg concentrated on describing and analysing the mechanisms of the institutional structure that made mass murder possible, and was less interested in the role of ideology or the situation of the victims. In the second edition, Hilberg broadened his perspective by taking post-1960 research into account.<sup>12</sup> Later, he summed up his views in a book in which he discussed the Holocaust from three perspectives, which ever since have served as guidelines for research on Holocaust in general: the perspective of the *perpetrators*, the perspective of the *victims* and the perspective of the *bystanders*.<sup>13</sup>

When the first edition of *The Destruction of the European Jews* appeared, Artur Eisenbach's "Hitler's Murder of the Jews" was published in Polish.<sup>14</sup> Today this book is considered to be one of the most important works on the Holocaust, but it has been overlooked for linguistic reasons.<sup>15</sup> Eisenbach's presentation is chronological and mainly concerns conditions in Poland and in the Soviet Union.

### Research and Explanatory Paradigms

Hilberg's work was hardly known outside a circle of specialists, but in the beginning of the 1960s the Holocaust received unprecedented attention because of the Eichman trial in Jerusalem and Hannah Arendt's shocking book on "the banality of evil."<sup>16</sup>

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11. Raul Hilberg, *The Destruction of the European Jews* (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1961).

12. Raul Hilberg, *The Destruction of the European Jews* [3 Vols.] (New York: Holmes and Meier, 1985).

13. Raul Hilberg, *Perpetrators, Victims, Bystanders: The Jewish Catastrophe, 1933-1945* (New York: Harper Collins, 1992).

14. Artur Eisenbach, *Hitlerowska polityka zagłady Żydów* (Warszawa, 1961).

15. Cf. Pohl, "Die Holocaust-Forschung und Goldhagens Thesen."

16. Hannah Arendt, *Eichmann in Jerusalem: A Report on the Banality of Evil*, Rev. and enl. ed. (New York: Penguin Books, 1977 [1964]).

The debate that followed resulted in intensified research on the Jewish resistance and the role played by the *Judenräte*.<sup>17</sup>

Research in Germany gained momentum during the 1960s when Nazi archives became available and when the trials of war criminals supplied new material. German research has contributed to our knowledge of the Holocaust and Nazi society. Along with general surveys and theoretical studies, there are a number of empirical studies on regional conditions and different sectors of society. There is also an extensive number of published documents of major interest.<sup>18</sup>

One example is a broad description of the lives of the German Jews—beginning in the nineteenth century—in the form of detailed, regional and historical investigations describing religious, cultural, social and economic conditions. A summary of research on Nazi Germany is found in *Die Juden in Deutschland, 1933–1945*.<sup>19</sup>

Resulting from public opinion and views given during the Nuremberg trials, early Holocaust scholars assumed that there was a direct connection between *Mein Kampf* and Auschwitz; that is, the antisemitism of Hitler and the Nazis was a sufficient explanation for the murder of the Jews. This view was questioned as research became more detailed and influenced by the social sciences of the 1970s and 1980s. The different perspectives are usually described as *intentionalism* and *functionalism*, but the terms *ideological* or *structurally orientated* views of history may also be used. The Intentionalists were of the opinion that from the beginning there was a definite intention to murder the Jews, and that Hitler was only waiting for the opportunity. Several renowned German historians—such as Holte, Krausnick, Hillgruber, Jäckel and Bracher—belong to this group. The developments of 1933 forward are described as a series

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17. Reuben Ainsztein, *Jewish Resistance in Nazi-occupied Eastern Europe* (London: Elek, 1974). Isaiah Trunk, *Judenrat: The Jewish Councils in Eastern Europe under Nazi Occupation* (New York: Macmillan, 1972). Isaiah Trunk, *Jewish Responses to Nazi Persecution* (New York: Stein and Day, 1979). For a discussion on this research, see Michael R. Marrus, "Jewish Resistance to the Holocaust," *Journal of Contemporary History* 30 (1995), 83–110.

18. For an introduction and summary, see Wolfgang Benz, Hermann Graml & Hermann Weiss, *Enzyklopädie des Nationalsozialismus*, 2. Aufl. (München: Deutscher Taschenbuch-Verlag, 1998).

19. Wolfgang Benz, ed., *Die Juden in Deutschland, 1933–1945: Leben unter nationalsozialistischer Herrschaft*, 2. Aufl. (München: Verlag C.H. Beck, 1989), 660–702.

of logically connected decisions based on antisemitic ideology, which led directly to Auschwitz.<sup>20</sup>

The Functionalists object that the situation was more complicated and that the Nazis actually did not have a clear picture of what was to happen to the Jews. Following isolation, persecution, emigration and the creation of the ghettos, the campaign against the Soviet Union provided the possibility to solve drastically the "problem of the Jews." This perspective was in agreement with a specific way of understanding the character of the political system. Questioning the idea of a monolithic society, scholars talked instead about "*polykratie*" and *authoritative anarchy*. Some considered Hitler a weak leader, while others doubted that he had ordered the extermination of the Jews.<sup>21</sup> These scholars introduced the picture of a "twisted road to Auschwitz."<sup>22</sup>

One consequence of these opposing views, to which both foreign and German historians made important contributions, was an intensive and fruitful study of the different roles of social institutions. These contributions include analyses of the *Wehrmacht*,<sup>23</sup> the military forces on the Eastern Front,<sup>24</sup> of the SS,<sup>25</sup>

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20. Klaus Hildebrand, *Das Dritte Reich* (München; Wien, 1979). Eberhard Jäckel, *Hitlers Weltanschauung: Entwurf einer Herrschaft* (Tübingen, 1969). Ernst Nolte, *Der Faschismus in seiner Epoche* (München, 1963). Gerald Fleming, *Hitler and the Final Solution* (Berkeley; Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1987). Andreas Hillgruber, *Endlich genug über Nationalsozialismus und Zweiten Weltkrieg: Forschungsstand und Literatur* (Düsseldorf: Droste Verlag, 1982).

21. Uwe Dietrich Adam, *Judenpolitik im Dritten Reich* (Düsseldorf: Droste, 1972). Richard Breitman, *The Architect of Genocide: Himmler and the Final Solution* (London, 1991). Martin Broszat, *Der Staat Hitlers: Grundlegung und Entwicklung seiner inneren Verfassung* (München: Deutscher Taschenbuch-Verlag, 1969). Arno J. Mayer, *Why Did the Heavens not Darken? The "Final Solution" in History* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1988).

22. Karl A. Schleunes, *The Twisted Road to Auschwitz: Nazi Policy towards German Jews, 1933-39* (London, 1972).

23. Omer Bartov, *Hitler's Army: Soldiers, Nazis, and War in the Third Reich* (New York; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991).

24. Helmut Krausnick & Hans-Heinrich Wilhelm, *Die Truppe des Weltanschauungskrieges: Die Einsatzgruppen der Sicherheitspolizei und des SD, 1938-1942, Quellen und Darstellungen zur Zeitgeschichte 22* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1981). Christopher R. Browning, *Ordinary Men: Reserve Police Battalion 101 and the Final Solution in Poland* (New York: Harper Collins, 1993). Dirk Welmoed de Mildt, *In the Name of the People: Perpetrators of Genocide in the Reflection of their Post-War Prosecution in West Germany. The "Euthanasia" and "Aktion Reinhard" Trial Cases* (Amsterdam: Martinus Nijhoff, 1996).

25. Hans Buchheim et al., *Anatomie des SS-Staates*, 2 Vols., Institut für Zeitgeschichte, Munich (Olten: Walter-Verlag, 1965). Ruth Bettina Birn, *Die höheren SS- und Polizeiführer* (Düsseldorf: Droste, 1986). Heiner Lichtenstein, *Himmlers*

the *Gestapo*,<sup>26</sup> the *Auswärtiges Amt*,<sup>27</sup> and public officials.<sup>28</sup> Other studies treated the question of euthanasia<sup>29</sup> and the participation of the medical profession<sup>30</sup> in genocide, as well as what was known as *Alltagsgeschichte*.<sup>31</sup> These studies shared a theoretical awareness influenced by political science and sociology.

In the mid-1980s the conflict between these opposing views seemed to subside. At a history conference in Stuttgart in 1984,<sup>32</sup> alternate views were presented and a clear effort was made to synthesize.<sup>33</sup> As Christopher Browning noted, there was no real conflict.<sup>34</sup> Although stressing different aspects, the Intentionalists and the Functionalists both consider the Holocaust and antisemitism to be central historical issues. According to Browning the Intentionalists rightly note that ideologies played an important role in German society, but they were not able nor willing to show *how* ideologies actually influenced German society. The

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*grüne Helfer* (Köln, 1990). Breitman, *The Architect of Genocide: Himmler and the Final Solution*.

26. Robert Gellately, *The Gestapo and German Society: Enforcing Racial Policy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992).

27. Christopher R. Browning, *The German Foreign Office and the Final Solution: A Study of Referat D III of Abteilung Deutschland, 1940–43* (New York: Holmes & Meier, 1978).

28. Hans Mommsen, *Beamtenum im Dritten Reich: Mit ausgewählten Quellen zur nationalsozialistischen Beamtenpolitik*, Schriftenreihe der Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte 13 (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlagsanstalt, 1966).

29. Michael Burleigh, *"Euthanasia" in Germany, 1900–1945* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994). Henry Friedlander, *The Origins of Nazi Genocide: From Euthanasia to the Final Solution* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995).

30. Ernst Klee, *Was sie taten – was sie wurden: Ärzte, Juristen und andere Beteiligte am Kranken- oder Judenmord* (Frankfurt a. M.: Fischer Taschenbuch-Verlag, 1990 [1986]). Robert Lifton, *The Nazi Doctors: Medical Killing and the Psychology of Genocide* (New York: Basic Books, 1986).

31. D. Peukert & J. Reulecke, eds., *Die Reihen fast geschlossen: Beiträge zur Geschichte des Alltags unterm Nationalsozialismus* (Wuppertal, 1981). Detlev J. Peukert, *Inside Nazi Germany: Conformity, Opposition, and Racism in Everyday Life*, trans. Richard Deveson (New Haven, Conn., 1987).

32. Eberhard Jäckel & Jürgen Rohwer, eds., *Der Mord an den Juden im Zweiten Weltkrieg: Entschlussbildung und Verwirklichung* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1985).

33. e.g. Krausnick & Wilhelm, *Die Truppe des Weltanschauungskrieges: Die Einsatzgruppen der Sicherheitspolizei und des SD, 1938–1942*.

34. Christopher R. Browning, "Approaches to the 'Final Solution' in German Historiography of the Last Two Decades," *The Historiography of the Holocaust Period: Proceedings of the Fifth Yad Vashem International Historical Conference, Jerusalem, March 1983*, eds. Yisrael Gutman & Gideon Greif (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1988), 53–78.

Functionalists, on the other hand, had gone too far in neglecting ideologies.

Certain aspects of the discussion reappear in what is known as the *Historikerstreit* of 1986, which treated the role of history as the creator of cultural identity instead of discussing the true meaning of a certain view of history. When Jürgen Habermas sharply criticized Ernst Nolte's article and Hillgruber's book *Zweierlei Untergang*,<sup>35</sup> a controversy began that attracted intensive attention in Germany and throughout the world. One of Nolte's main themes was that the *Final Solution* was not unique and had actually been inspired by Communist terror and "Asian" mentality. Another theme asserted that the Nazi era was a parenthesis in the history of Germany and that, in the long run, concentration on negative aspects was destructive for German identity. Moreover, Nolte came dangerously close to the Nazi's own historical viewpoint when he sought to explain Hitler's persecution of the Jews as a result of Chaim Weizmann's "declaration of war" in 1939. In other words, the controversy illustrated the traumatic legacy resulting from Nazism, and demonstrated a clear tendency to relativize the actual events.<sup>36</sup>

An echo of the controversy between the Intentionalists and the Functionalists came in the beginning of the 1990s when a group of scholars in Hamburg launched the theory that the Holocaust was the consequence of financial calculations, and that a decisive role was played by a middle class of young technocrats trying to cope with the problem of overpopulation and unemployment. This explanation has, however, met sharp criticism because its authors tend to ignore entirely the role of ideology.<sup>37</sup>

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35. Andreas Hillgruber, *Zweierlei Untergang: Die Zerschlagung des Deutschen Reiches und das Ende des europäischen Judentums* (Berlin: W.J. Siedler, 1986).

36. "Historikerstreit": *Die Dokumentation der Kontroverse um die Einzigartigkeit der nationalsozialistischen Judenvernichtung*, Serie Piper 816 (München; Zürich: Piper, 1991 [1987]). Peter Baldwin, ed., *Reworking the Past: Hitler, the Holocaust and the Historians' Debate* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1990). Alfred D. Low, *The Third Reich and the Holocaust in German Historiography: Toward the Historikerstreit of the mid-1980s*, East European Monographs 389 (Boulder; New York: East European Monographs; Columbia University Press, 1994).

37. Götz Aly & Susanne Heim, *Vordenker der Vernichtung: Auschwitz und die deutschen Pläne für eine neue europäische Ordnung* (Hamburg: Hoffmann und Campe, 1991). Götz Aly, *Endlösung: Völkerverschiebung und der Mord an den europäischen Juden*, 2. Aufl. (Frankfurt a. M.: S. Fischer, 1995). Götz Aly et al., *Sozialpolitik und Judenvernichtung: Gibt es eine Ökonomie der Endlösung?*, Beiträge zur nationalsozialistischen Gesundheits- und Sozialpolitik (Berlin: Rotbuch Verlag, 1987).

Although the controversy between intentionalism and functionalism centered mainly on political and ideological issues, there is another important aspect of the question of antisemitism, namely the extent to which the population as a whole accepted this ideology. Many took it for granted that, due to intensive government propaganda, Nazi ideology was a strong and pervasive force, which could explain how Auschwitz was at all possible. Lucy Dawidowicz very clearly employs this approach.<sup>38</sup> The drawback here is that we can form a more distinct picture of the situation resulting from the relatively extensive research on public opinion during the Third Reich. Support of Nazism was not as widespread as often believed. It actually fluctuated according to age, education and social status, and there were considerable regional differences. Moreover, support of Nazism varied over time. This applies to the acceptance of Nazi ideology as well as one's outlook on the war and attitude toward Jews. The impression is one in which a minority of the population actively supports the regime to varying degrees and still fewer resist, while most are indifferent or deny what is happening.<sup>39</sup>

While public life, including mass media and important cultural institutions, was characterized by Nazism, the ideology was perceived selectively by the population and was never accepted by a majority of Germans. The British historian Ian Kershaw has illustrated how people could disregard important parts of Hitler's message and at the same time support his politics in general.

This complex picture was questioned in 1996 by the young Harvard scholar Daniel Goldhagen, whose book *Hitler's Willing Executioners* became a global medial event.<sup>40</sup> Goldhagen argues

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38. Lucy Dawidowicz, *The War against the Jews, 1933-1945* (New York: Bantam, 1986).

39. Wolfgang Domarus, *Nationalsozialismus, Krieg und Bevölkerung* (München, 1977). Ian Kershaw, *Der Hitler-Mythos: Volksmeinung und Propaganda im Dritten Reich*, Schriftenreihe der Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1980). Ian Kershaw, *Popular Opinion and Political Dissent in the Third Reich: Bavaria, 1933-1945* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983). Ian Kershaw, *The Nazi Dictatorship: Problems and Perspectives of Interpretations*, 2nd ed. (London: Edward Arnold, 1989). D. Peukert & J. Reulecke, *Die Reihen fast geschlossen: Beiträge zur Geschichte des Alltags unterm Nationalsozialismus*. Peukert, *Inside Nazi Germany: Conformity, Opposition, and Racism in Everyday Life*. David Bankier, "The Germans and the Holocaust: What Did They Know?," *Yad Vashem Studies* 20 (1990). Sarah Gordon, *Hitler, Germans, and the "Jewish Question"* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984).

40. Goldhagen, *Hitler's Willing Executioners: Ordinary Germans and the Holocaust* (London: Little, Brown, 1996).

that German society was permeated by antisemitic ideas. During the twentieth century these ideas developed into what Goldhagen calls "eliminational antisemitism," which led directly to genocide. Goldhagen's theories have been rejected by almost all leading scholars in Germany and elsewhere.<sup>41</sup> In a long article, recently published in book form, Norman Finkelstein notes that Goldhagen used his sources in a way that is contrary to scholarly praxis and ethics.<sup>42</sup> An interesting aspect of the case is that a book of this type nonetheless received a favourable response in serious contexts.

In view of this perspective, the principally and theoretically pertinent question is how genocide was possible if a majority of the population was not associated with the Nazi Party. According to Michael Marrus, three models of explanation can be distinguished: antisemitism, the totalitarian society, and modern civilization.<sup>43</sup> In various degrees and different combinations these models have all appeared in Holocaust research.

According to Hilberg's work, the Holocaust was a decidedly modern phenomenon. It does not fit the accepted definition of barbarism, but rather was a systematic, industrial killing that was generally not based on animosity. In order to carry out the killing it was necessary to have the participation of people who were normally considered to be moral and responsible citizens. Studies done in connection with the postwar trials show that a minority of the perpetrators could be considered psychologically abnormal.<sup>44</sup> The same idea is expressed in Hannah Arendt's book on Eichmann, while Richard Rubenstein considered the Holocaust to have been a logical consequence of modern society.<sup>45</sup> In the same way, the Polish sociologist Zygmunt Bauman rejects explanations based on individuals and refers instead to *The Social Production of Evil*.<sup>46</sup> According to Bauman, a fundamental

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41. Rudolf Augstein & Julius H. Schoeps, *Ein Volk von Mördern? Die Dokumentation zur Goldhagen-Kontroverse um die Rolle der Deutschen im Holocaust*, Campe Paperback (Hamburg: Hoffmann und Campe, 1996).

42. Norman Finkelstein & Ruth Bettina Birn, *A Nation on Trial: The Goldhagen Thesis and Historical Truth*, Owl Books (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1998).

43. Marrus, "Reflections on the Historiography of the Holocaust."

44. George M. Kren & Leon Rappoport, *The Holocaust and the Crisis of Human Behavior* (New York: Holmes & Meier, 1980).

45. Richard L. Rubenstein, *The Cunning of History* (New York: Harper Collins, 1987).

46. Zygmunt Bauman, *Modernity and the Holocaust* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1989).

change in our view of society is necessary to understand the Holocaust since every step in the process leading to the mass murder was in itself "normal" or known about earlier, all the while being incomprehensible in its entirety.

Christopher R. Browning's book about Police Battalion 101 illustrates the problem of "the banality of evil." His theory is that "ordinary people" were involved—people who could not be singled out for their ideological fanaticism or their hatred of the Jews. Nevertheless, the majority of these middle-aged German reservists participated in brutal massacres of a large number of people during a long period of time. This they did in spite of the fact that they had the chance to be excused from these orders. The author is forced to conclude pessimistically that such occurrences could easily happen again.<sup>47</sup>

Research on Nazi Germany and the Holocaust clearly shows that the different points of view are not exclusively due to inadequate sources and because certain issues are beyond historical analysis. The discussions on intentionalism/functionalism or antisemitism/totalitarianism/modernism also illustrate the need for a theoretically based discussion of human conduct, the impact of ideologies and human willingness to commit acts of violence.

### Bystanders

An important and controversial area of research concerns reactions of the outside world to the extermination of the Jews. A growing interest deals with the emotionally charged questions on how much was known, what measures were taken and how these measures were motivated. In his important book *The Terrible Secret*, Walter Laqueur maintains that to a great extent, keeping the secret was a matter of suppressing available information.<sup>48</sup> Similar issues appear in studies of the Roosevelt administration's reactions, which give a penetrating and varied picture of the atmosphere in the United States.<sup>49</sup>

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47. Browning, *Ordinary Men: Reserve Police Battalion 101 and the Final Solution in Poland*.

48. Walter Laqueur, *The Terrible Secret: An Investigation into the Suppression of Information about Hitler's "Final Solution"* (London, 1980).

49. Arthur D. Morse, *While Six Million Died: A Chronicle of American Apathy* (New York: Overlook Press, 1985 [1967]). Henry Feingold, *The Politics of Rescue: The Roosevelt Administration and the Holocaust, 1938-1945* (New York: Schocken, 1980). David S. Wyman, *The Abandonment of the Jews* (New York: Pantheon, 1986).

Studies of French authorities and the attitude of the French public during occupation and the Vichy Regime have illuminated a past that many have wanted to forget.<sup>50</sup> The situation in Italy, which in several ways was unique, also has been thoroughly studied.<sup>51</sup> The situation in Poland has been the subject of dissenting interpretations, including those who stress domestic antisemitism as well as those who highlight the victimization of the Poles.<sup>52</sup> Much work is still waiting to be done, including an examination of the situation in Scandinavia.

Tony Kushner recently shed light on these problems in his book *The Liberal Imagination*, in which he discusses the inability of modern liberal society to envision that this type of violence could occur.<sup>53</sup>

### East European Archives

The radical changes in eastern Europe since the late 1980s have made it possible to access archival material previously unavailable. This has made possible several interesting studies of regional conditions. Among these are pioneering studies by historians such as Dieter Pohl<sup>54</sup> and Thomas Sandkühler.<sup>55</sup> Pohl has been able to document in detail the chain of events of the Holocaust in Galicia and has made an in-depth analysis of people involved and local attitudes. One important conclusion is that the mass murder must have been known to the public in

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50. Jacques Adler, *The Jews of Paris and the Final Solution: Communal Response and Internal Conflicts, 1940-1944* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987). André Kaspi, Annie Kriegel & Annette Wieworka, *Les Juifs en France dans la seconde guerre mondiale* (Paris: Cerf, 1992). Henry Rousso, *Le Syndrome de Vichy, 1944-1948* (Paris: Seuil, 1987). Annette Wieworka, *Déportations et génocide: Entre la mémoire et l'oubli* (Paris, 1992).

51. Susan Zucotti, *The Italians and the Holocaust: Persecution, Rescue, and Survival* (New York, 1987).

52. David Engel, *In the Shadow of Auschwitz: The Polish Government-in-Exile and the Jews, 1939-1943* (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1987). Yisrael Gutman & Shmuel Krakowski, *Unequal Victims: Poles and Jews during World War II* (New York: Holocaust Library, 1986). Richard C. Lukas, *The Forgotten Holocaust: The Poles under German Occupation, 1939-1944*, 2nd ed. (New York: Hippocrene, 1996).

53. Tony Kushner, *The Holocaust and the Liberal Imagination: A Social and Cultural History* (Oxford, Engl.: Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell, 1994).

54. Dieter Pohl, *Nationalsozialistische Judenverfolgung in Ostgalizien, 1941-1944: Organisation und Durchführung eines staatlichen Massenverbrechens* (München: Oldenbourg, 1996).

55. Thomas Sandkühler, *"Endlösung" in Galizien: Der Judenmord in Ostpolen und die Rettungsinitiative von Berthold Beitz, 1941-1944* (Bonn: Dietz, 1996).

general and could occur because "normal" social functions had ceased to exist.

Similarly, research in eastern Europe, which had been interrupted during the 1950s and the 1960s, has been resumed. Moreover, as Pohl has noted, there is a need to make East European literature available for scholars in the West by publishing documents and research surveys.<sup>56</sup> A somewhat similar situation applies to literature written in Hebrew and Yiddish, although Leni Yahil summarizes Israeli research in her excellent history of the Holocaust.<sup>57</sup>

### Views of the Holocaust

In addition to historical and social scientific research, there is extensive literature on the religious and philosophical aspects of the Holocaust. Within Jewish theology there is discussion of the implications of the Holocaust for traditional Judaism. How is it possible, after Auschwitz, to sustain a belief in a personal God and to continue to live according to religious commandments? Among Christian groups the discussion sometimes deals with the need for a revision of basic religious tenets.<sup>58</sup>

There are also empirical studies that examine how devout Jews reacted when they were confronted with the death camps and executions on the Eastern Front.<sup>59</sup>

An important issue is the bitter accusations by Orthodox Jews that Zionism was a tool employed by Hitler. Zionism has even

56. Dieter Pohl, "Nationalsozialistischer Judenmord als Problem von osteuropäischer Geschichte und Osteuropa-Geschichtsschreibung," *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas* 40 (1992), 96–119.

57. Leni Yahil, *The Holocaust: The Fate of European Jewry, 1932–1945* (New York: Oxford, 1991).

58. Emil L. Fackenheim, *God's Presence in History: Jewish Affirmations and Philosophical Reflections*, Deems lectures, 1968 (New York: New York University Press, 1970). Eva Fleischner, ed., *Auschwitz, Beginning of a New Era? Reflections on the Holocaust. Papers Given at the International Symposium on the Holocaust, held at the Cathedral of Saint John the Divine, New York City, June 3 to 6, 1974* (New York: Ktav Publ. Co., 1977). Otto Dov Kulka & Paul R. Mendes-Flohr, eds., *Judaism and Christianity under the Impact of National Socialism* (Jerusalem: Historical Society of Israel, 1987). Abraham J. Peck, ed., *Jews and Christians after the Holocaust* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1982). Jonathan Sacks, ed., *Crisis and Covenant: Jewish Thought after the Holocaust*, Sherman Studies of Judaism in Modern Times (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1992).

59. Eliezer Berkovits, *With God in Hell: Judaism in the Ghettos and Death Camps* (New York: Sanhedrin Press, 1979). Menashe Unger, *Der gaystiker viderstand fun Yidn in getos un lagern* /*[tsuzamengeshtelt fun] Menashe Unger* (Tel-Aviv: Ha-Menorah, 1970). Verena Lenzen, *Jüdisches Leben und Sterben im Nam-*

been accused of bearing chief responsibility for the genocide. This criticism has been heard in Israel and among the Diaspora, the main advocate being *der Satmarer rebbe*, Moshe Teitelbaum.<sup>60</sup>

Autobiographical works and fiction probably have the greatest impact on public opinion. Books like *The Diary of Anne Frank*, Primo Levi's *Se questo è un uomo*, and Elie Wiesel's memoirs have established an image of the Holocaust. Other examples are Ringelblum's journal from the Warsaw ghetto, and also literature in which perpetrator voices are heard, including Gitta Serenyi's books on Franz Stangl and Albert Speer, and Speer's own works.<sup>61</sup>

The study of this literature, as with the study of survivor testimonies, increasingly has come into focus.<sup>62</sup> Contrary to what most people believe, historians have until recently used eyewitness accounts and testimony from survivors to a lesser extent. The first comprehensive history of the Holocaust in which a conscious attempt is made to integrate such sources is the well-known work by Martin Gilbert.<sup>63</sup>

### Denial of the Holocaust

A strange aspect of the history of the Holocaust is the body of literature often euphemistically termed "revisionism," which in various ways contends that no mass murder of European Jews took place.<sup>64</sup> This notion, seemingly related to the truth being difficult to accept, is fuelled by the euphemistic language that surrounded Hitler's policy for the Jews, as well as the conscious

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*en Gottes: Studien über die Heiligung des göttlichen Namens (Kiddusch HaSchem)*, ed. Verena Lenzen (München: Piper, 1995).

60. Dina Porat, "Amalek's Accomplices': Blaming Zionism for the Holocaust. Anti-Zionist Ultra-Orthodoxy in Israel during the 1980s," *Journal of Contemporary History* 27 (1992), 695-729.

61. Gitta Serenyi, *Into that Darkness: From Mercy Killing to Mass Murder* (London: Pimlico, 1995 [1974]).

62. James E. Young, *Writing and Rewriting the Holocaust: Narrative and the Consequences of Interpretations* (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 1988). Saul Friedlander, ed., *Probing the Limits of Representation: Nazism and the Final Solution* (Cambridge, Mass.; London, Engl.: Harvard University Press, 1992). Samuel Totten, William S. Parsons & Israel W. Charny, eds., *Genocide in the Twentieth Century: Critical Essays and Eyewitness Accounts* (New York; London: Garland Publishing, 1995).

63. Martin Gilbert, *The Holocaust: A History of the Jews in Europe during the Second World War* (New York: Henry Holt & Company, 1986).

64. Paul Rassinier, *Le Mensonge d'Ulysse* (Paris: La Vieille Taupe, 1980 [1950]). Robert Faurisson, *Mémoire en défense contre ceux qui m'accusent de falsifier l'histoire* (Paris: La Vieille Taupe, 1980). Serge Thion, *Vérité historique ou Vérité poli-*

attempt on the part of the Nazis to keep the "Final Solution" secret.

There are different degrees of revisionism, ranging from the idea that Hitler did not know what was happening in Poland to the denial that anything happened at all. As a rule, it is admitted that there were victims, but these were supposedly the natural consequence of war. The numbers are said to be grossly exaggerated. The existence of concentration camps is acknowledged, but the existence of extermination camps is flatly refused. According to the revisionists, the purpose of the gas chambers was to disinfect while the crematories were used to burn people who died because of epidemics or starvation. An attempt is made to show that pertinent documents, like the Wannsee protocol, are forgeries. Much effort is made to discuss why it was technically impossible to kill people with gas.

The best known advocates of these ideas are from North America and France, but revisionists have also had their say in Germany and Sweden. Today the Internet is used to disseminate revisionist information, and much literature has been published on American, French and Swedish homepages. Another interesting aspect is the variety of the content and linguistic styles used in the literature: from coarse antisemitic rhetoric to more sophisticated texts where the authors try to appear as reasonable and detached seekers of truth. All the while, however, it is possible to detect the theme of Jewish (Zionist) dominance or conspiracy and in the writing of certain authors a development from a neutral defence of the freedom of speech to open polemic.

Research on revisionism and denial is not extensive.<sup>65</sup> Yet as a cultural and political phenomenon, revisionism is of importance through its connection to the extreme Right and nationalism in Europe and by the fact that certain ideas are spread outside strictly revisionist circles.

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*tique? Le Dossier de l'affaire Faurisson. La Question des chambres à gaz* (Paris: La Vieille Taupe, 1980). A.R. Butz, *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century* (Torrance, Calif.: Institute for Historical Review, 1985). Richard Harwood, *Did Six Million Really Die? The Truth at Last*, Historical Fact 1 (Brighton: Historical Review Press, 1987 [1974]). Fred Leuchter, *The Leuchter Report: The First Forensic Examination of Auschwitz* (London: Focal Point, 1989). Roger Garaudy, *Les Mythes fondateurs de la politique israélienne* (Paris: La Vieille Taupe, 1996).

65. Nadine Fresco, "Les Redresseurs de morts. Chambres à gaz: la bonne nouvelle. Comment on révisé l'histoire," *Les Temps Modernes* 407 (juin 1980), 2150-2211. Pierre Vidal-Naquet, *Les Assassins de la mémoire: "Un Eichmann de papier" et autres essais sur le révisionnisme* (Paris: La Découverte, 1987). Deborah

### Vital Research

Based on this research survey, we consider the following areas to be of great importance:

#### Bystanders

- Comparative studies of how different European nations related to Nazi genocide
- Attitudes to genocide held by democracies and liberal political systems
- Attitudes held by non-Jewish societies in Eastern Europe (public institutions, churches, the civil population, anti-Jewish traditions, knowledge of the mass murders) and studies of the Baltic states, Belarus, and Ukraine
- Historical and sociological studies of rescue programmes

#### Victims

- Experiences of the victims
- Jewish victims (studies of small ghettos, actions taken by Jewish institutions)
- Regional studies (Ukraine, Romania, Russia)
- Holocaust war against the non-Jewish civilian population (the history of Soviet victims)
- Experiences of the survivors after the war
- The Holocaust and Jewish identity

#### Perpetrators

- The role of antisemitism in Germany after 1918, especially among the elite, and in the German Democratic Republic, *Ostgebiete*
- Studies of perpetrators directly connected to acts of violence
- Studies on the micro-level (comparisons of actions taken in different contexts)
- The role of public administration and of the local military command
- The Gestapo in eastern Europe
- Individual cases of outrage and massacres
- Publication of documents

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E. Lipstadt, *Denying the Holocaust: The Growing Assault on Truth and Memory* (New York: Free Press, 1993). Stéphane Bruchfeld, *Förnekandet av Förintelsen: Nynazistisk historieförfalskning efter Auschwitz, förord av Håkan Holmberg* (Stockholm: Svenska kommittén mot antisemitism, 1996a). Florent Brayard, *Comment l'idée vint à M. Rassiner: Naissance du révisionnisme* (Paris: Fayard, 1996).

- Procurement through translation of eastern European historiography
- The systematizing of biographical data concerning intermediate functionaries
- The background of the perpetrators and the mechanisms of violence

#### **Views of the Holocaust**

- Denial and revisionism
- The political and ideological role of the Holocaust in Israel and the Diaspora
- The Holocaust and the European self-image
- The Holocaust within Christian theology and worldviews
- The Holocaust in the cinema, literature and the media
- Didactics

## **Research on Other Cases of Genocide and Gross Violations against Human Rights**

The breadth of literature written on other occurrences of genocide and genocidal massacres cannot be compared to Holocaust research. In recent decades the most attention has been devoted to the Armenian genocide. Parallel to basic historical studies and the publication of documents and eyewitness accounts, there is an increasing interest in comparative studies based on the distinction between victims, perpetrators and bystanders. As to the Armenian genocide research has been conducted mainly in connection to Armenian centres and organizations. But today it is an established area of study within Armenian history and culture at American and European universities. Scholars such as Richard G. Hovannisian, Vahakn N. Dadrian and Robert Melson have played a prominent role.<sup>1</sup>

The deportations and massacres by the young Turkish regime in 1915, which led to the decimation of more than half the Armen-

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1. For a survey of the research see Richard G. Hovannisian, "The Armenian Genocide," *Genocide: A Critical Bibliographical Review*, ed. Israel W. Charny (New York: Transaction Publishers, 1988), 89-115, and the literature of Vahakn N. Dadrian, *The History of the Armenian Genocide: Ethnic Conflict from the Balkans to Anatolia to the Caucasus* (Providence; Oxford: Berghahn Books, 1995). For other sources, see Richard G. Hovannisian, *Armenia on the Road to Independence*,

ian population in Turkey, were met with dismay by the rest of the world. Cruelties were generally reported as serious violations against human rights. Details of events and the Turkish government's attitude were carefully documented by foreign diplomats and missionaries.<sup>2</sup> After the First World War and new developments in top-level politics, however, the protests lessened, and the genocide of the Armenian people became known of as "the forgotten genocide." Since Turkey still refuses to admit that genocide occurred, denial has come to play a comparatively large role in research and the influencing of public opinion.

The Armenian genocide was the culmination of a series of massacres that took place in the Ottoman Empire during the period of nation-building in the nineteenth century. Christians and Muslims were involved both as victims and as perpetrators. At the same time, certain events signalled the future due to their extent, their well-planned organisation and the ideological motives. These were aimed at a culturally divergent minority

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4th ed. (Berkeley; Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1982 [1967]). Richard Hovannisian, ed., *The Armenian Genocide in Perspective* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction Press; Rutgers University, 1986). Richard G. Hovannisian, ed., *The Armenian Genocide: History, Politics, Ethics* (London: Macmillan, 1992). Vahakn N. Dadrian, "Documentation of the Armenian Genocide in German and Austrian Sources," *The Widening Circle of Genocide*, ed. Israel W. Charney, Genocide Vol. 3 (New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction Publishers, 1994), 77-125. Taner Akçam, *Armenien und der Völkermord: Die Istanbul Prozesse und die türkische Nationalbewegung*, 1. Aufl. (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 1996). G.S. Graber, *Caravans to Oblivion: The Armenian Genocide, 1915*, Foreword by Roger W. Smith (New York: John Wiley & Sons Inc., 1996). Donald E. Miller & Lorna Touryan Miller, *Survivors: An Oral History of the Armenian Genocide* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993). Concerning methods, see for example Vahakn N. Dadrian, *The Methodological Components of the Study of Genocide as a Sociological Problem: The Armenian Case* (Cambridge, Mass.: Armenian Heritage Press, 1972). Vahakn N. Dadrian, "Ottoman Archives and Denial of the Armenian Genocide," *The Armenian Genocide: History, Politics, Ethics*, ed. Richard G. Hovannisian (London: Macmillan, 1992). Florence Mazian, *Why Genocide? The Armenian and Jewish Experiences in Perspective* (Ames, Iowa: Iowa State University Press, 1990) as well as Robert Melson, *Revolution and Genocide. On the Origins of the Armenian Genocide and the Holocaust* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), and Robert Melson, "Paradigms of Genocide: The Holocaust, the Armenian Genocide, and Contemporary Mass Destructions," *The Holocaust: Remembering for the Future*, Vol. 548 of *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, eds. Franklin H. Littell et al. (Thousand Oaks: SAGE Periodical Press, 1996), 156-68.

2. Henry Morgenthau, *Ambassador Morgenthau's Story* (New York: Doubleday-Page, 1918). Arnold J. Toynbee, *Armenian Atrocities: The Murder of a Nation* (Toronto: Hodder and Stoughton, 1915). Johannes Lepsius, *Rapport secret sur les massacres d'Arménie (1915-1916)* (Paris: Edition Payot, 1987 [1918]). Johannes Lepsius, *Deutschland und Armenien, 1914-1918: Sammlung diplomatischer Aktenstücke* (Potsdam: Tempel Verlag, 1919).

that, similar to the Jews, lived scattered in different regions. Not having a geographical state, they were particularly vulnerable. Consequently, the Armenian catastrophe, next to the extermination of the Jews, has become an example of genocide at the same time that such a comparison with the Holocaust sometimes has led to an ideological and emotional debate.

In the beginning, the study of terror and genocide in Communist regimes was difficult to defend because it took place within internationally recognized nations that periodically had the support and sympathy of large groups of people around the world. The Soviet Union was one of the victorious powers after the Second World War and took part in the trials against the Nazi war criminals.<sup>3</sup> Because of this, events within the borders of Soviet influence were often considered "taboo" far outside the ranks of active Communists. This was even true in the sphere of research. Access to source material was limited, a situation that changed dramatically after the breakdown of Communism. Another factor was the definition of genocide that was used in the United Nations Genocide Convention (see below).

For a long time it was taken for granted that there was a decisive difference between Nazism and Communism in ideological terms. The reception of Solzhenitsyn's work and other autobiographical testimonies is germane in this context.<sup>4</sup> In a historical perspective, similarities have tended to become visible,<sup>5</sup> and with the passing of time both movements appear as examples of destructive utopias, as defined by Norman Cohn.<sup>6</sup> To be sure, Communism was not racist, but since the time of Lenin there was an ominous categorizing of "enemies" that gave rise to expulsive mechanisms, dehumanization and an obvious tendency to use violence. Moreover, the terror was also directed toward eth-

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3. For a summary see Mikhail Heller & Aleksandr Nekrich, *Utopia in Power: The History of the Soviet Union from 1917 to the Present* (New York: Summit Books, 1986). Aleksandr Nekrich, *The Punished Peoples: The Deportation and Tragic Fate of Soviet Minorities at the End of the Second World War* (New York: Norton, 1978) and Nikolai Dekker & Andrei Lebed, eds., *Genocide in the U.S.S.R.: Studies in Group Destruction* (New York: Scarecrow Press, 1958).

4. Aleksander M. Solzhenitsyn, *The Gulag Archipelago*, 3 Vols. (New York: Harper and Row, 1974-1978).

5. Ian Kershaw & Moshe Lewin, eds., *Stalinism and Nazism: Dictatorships in Comparison* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

6. Norman Cohn, *The Pursuit of the Millennium: Revolutionary Millenarians and Mystical Anarchists in the Middle Ages* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970). Norman Cohn, *Europe's Inner Demons: An Enquiry Inspired by the Great Witch Hunt* (New York: Basic Books, 1975).

nic groups. It is significant to note that toward the end of his life Stalin had evidently planned a large scale persecution of the Jews.<sup>7</sup>

A pioneering work in the examination of Soviet violations of human rights was done by Robert Conquest, who studied the "great terror," the intentionally evoked famine in the Ukraine, and the deportation of entire ethnic groups.<sup>8</sup> Conquest's books were initially received with skepticism. In the same way, reports of the Communist regime's terror in Cambodia and China were questioned.<sup>9</sup> Rudolph Rummel has shown that as to numbers of deaths (through executions, planned persecution, mass famine and forced labour), Communism is in its own class during the twentieth century.<sup>10</sup> The sensitivity of this issue is demonstrated by the reactions in France to the newly published *Le Livre noir du communisme*.<sup>11</sup>

7. Louis Rapoport, *Stalin's War against the Jews: The Doctors' Plot and the Soviet Solution* (New York: Free Press, 1990). Gennadi Kostyrchenko, *Out of the Red Shadows: Anti-Semitism in Stalin's Russia* (Amherst, N.Y.: Prometheus Books, 1995).

8. Robert Conquest, *The Great Terror: Stalin's Purge of the Thirties* (New York: Collier, 1968). Robert Conquest, *The Nation Killers: The Soviet Deportation of Nationalities* (New York: Macmillan, 1970). Robert Conquest, *Kolyma: The Arctic Death Camps* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978). Robert Conquest, *The Harvest of Sorrow: Soviet Collectivization of Agriculture and the Terror Famine* (London: Hutchinson, 1986). Robert Conquest, *The Great Terror: A Re-assessment* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990).

9. John Barron & Paul Anthony, *Murder of a Gentle Land: The Untold Story of a Communist Genocide in Cambodia* (New York: Reader's Digest Press, distributed by Crowell, 1977). François Ponchaud, *Cambodia Year Zero* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1978). Ramses Amer, *The General Assembly and the Kampuchean Issues: Intervention, Regime Recognition and the World Community, 1979 to 1987*, Report/Department of Peace and Conflict Research 31 (Uppsala: Department of Peace and Conflict Research, Uppsala University, 1989). Ramses Amer, Johan Saravanamutti & Peter Wallensteen, *The Cambodian Conflict, 1979-1991: From Intervention to Resolution* (Penang; Uppsala: Research and Education for Peace, School of Social Sciences, Universiti Sains Malaysia; Department of Peace and Conflict Research, Uppsala University, 1996). Ben Kiernan, *How Pol Pot Came to Power: A History of Communism in Cambodia, 1930-1975* (London: Verso, 1985). Ben Kiernan, *The Pol Pot Regime: Race, Power, and Genocide in Cambodia under the Khmer Rouge, 1975-1979* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 1996).

10. Rudolph J. Rummel, *Lethal Politics: Soviet Genocide and Mass Murder Since 1917* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction Publishers, 1990). R. J. Rummel, *Death by Government*, With a foreword by Irving Louis Horowitz (New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction Publishers, 1994). R. J. Rummel, *Death by Government* (New Brunswick, N.J.; London: Transaction Publishers, 1997).

11. Stéphane Courtois, ed., *Le Livre noir du communisme: Crimes, terreurs, répression* (Paris: Robert Laffont, 1997).

Not only totalitarian regimes have been promoters of massacres and genocide. The coercive measures, brutal methods and direct acts of cruelty that European colonial powers directed against indigenous populations of North and South America, Africa and Australia, which led to the decimation of entire ethnic groups, have drawn increasing attention.<sup>12</sup> It is also evident—due to occurrences after the Second World War in Indonesia, East Timor, Bangladesh, Burundi, Afghanistan,<sup>13</sup> as well as recently in Iraq, Rwanda and in Bosnia<sup>14</sup>—that massacres and genocide do not belong only to the past.

Much of the literature in this area is of a descriptive character, written by historians, social scientists, diplomats and journalists. The primary aim is to describe the sequence of events and the number of victims, to study the social and ideological

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12. Robert K. Hitchcock & Tara M. Twedt, "Physical and Cultural Genocide of Various Indigenous Peoples," *Genocide in the Twentieth Century: Critical Essays and Eyewitness Accounts*, eds. Samuel Totten, William S. Parsons & Israel W. Charny (New York; London: Garland Publishing, 1995), 138–66.

13. Leo Kuper, "Other Selected Cases of Genocide and Genocidal Massacres: Types of Genocide," *Genocide: A Critical Bibliographical Review*, ed. Israel W. Charny (New York: Transaction Publishers, 1988), 155–71. Robert Cribb, "The Indonesian Massacres," *Genocide in the Twentieth Century: Critical Essays and Eyewitness Accounts*, eds. Samuel Totten, William S. Parsons & Israel W. Charny (New York; London: Garland Publishing, 1995), 299–334. James Dunn, "The East Timor Genocide," *The Widening Circle of Genocide. Genocide: A Critical Bibliographical Review*, ed. Israel W. Charny (New Brunswick, N.J.; London: Transactions Publishers; Institute on the Holocaust and Genocide (Jerusalem), 1994), 192–216. James Dunn, "Genocide in East Timor," *Genocide in the Twentieth Century: Critical Essays and Eyewitness Accounts*, eds. Samuel Totten, William S. Parsons & Israel W. Charny (New York; London: Garland Publishing, 1995), 335–70. Kalyan Chaudhuri, *Genocide in Bangladesh* (Bombay: Orient Longman, 1972). Robert Payne, *Massacre* (New York: Macmillan, 1973). Leo Kuper, *The Pity of It All: Polarisation of Racial and Ethnic Relations* (London: Duckworth, 1977). René Lemarchand & David Martin, *Selective Genocide in Burundi*, Report 20 (London: Minority Rights Group, 1974). René Lemarchand, *Burundi: Ethnocide as Discourse and Practice*, ed. René Lemarchand, Woodrow Wilson Center Series (Washington; New York: Woodrow Wilson Center Press; Cambridge University Press, 1994). Gabrielle Tyrnauer, "Genocide in Afghanistan, 1978–1992," *The Widening Circle of Genocide. Genocide: A Critical Bibliographical Review*, ed. Israel W. Charny (New Brunswick; London: Transactions Publishers; Institute on the Holocaust and Genocide (Jerusalem), 1994), 217–42.

14. Martin van Bruinessen, "Genocide of the Kurds," *The Widening Circle of Genocide. Genocide: A Critical Bibliographical Review*, ed. Israel W. Charny (New Brunswick; London: Transactions Publishers; Institute on the Holocaust and Genocide (Jerusalem), 1994a), 165–91. Alain Destexhe, *Rwanda and Genocide in the Twentieth Century*, translated by Alison Marschner and foreword by William Shawcross (New York: New York University Press, 1995). Gérard Prunier, *The Rwanda Crisis, 1959–1994: History of a Genocide* (London: Hurst & Company, 1995).

conditions, and to stir up opinion. Even in cases in which authors have taken a more analytical perspective and discuss institutional or psychological mechanisms, there is often a lack of connection to any social theory. During the past decade, however, there has been a distinct reorientation in this respect. Another type of literature, increasing in number, is the continuous reporting of crimes against human rights compiled by Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch and others.

## Comparative and Theoretical Studies

A more social scientific study of genocide and other gross crimes against human rights was initiated in the 1980s and based on the concept of genocide developed by Raphael Lemkin.<sup>1</sup> In Jerusalem, New York and Montreal, research institutes were founded with comparative studies as an objective. Similar institutes were established in other parts of North America and Australia. The leading scholars have diverse backgrounds. Some previously studied the Holocaust or Armenian genocide. Others, as historians or social scientists, began with an interest in comparison and prevention.

Much scholarly discussion has dealt with basic concepts and general explanatory models. Valuable work has been devoted to systematizing previously done research and initiating comparative and interdisciplinary studies.<sup>2</sup> Even though empirical research until now has been less extensive, certain innovative studies have been completed; for example Chalk and Jonassohn's outline of the history of genocide,<sup>3</sup> Helen Fein's quantitative study of the character of the Holocaust in different European countries,<sup>4</sup> Rummel's analysis of mass murder during the twentieth century<sup>5</sup> and Harff and Gurr's examinations of ethnic con-

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1. Raphael Lemkin, *Axis Rule in Occupied Europe: Laws of Occupation, Analysis of Government, Proposals for Redress* (Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Endowment of International Peace, 1944).

2. *Genocide: A Critical Bibliographical Review* (1988). *Genocide: A Critical Bibliographical Review* (1991). *The Widening Circle of Genocide* (1994).

3. Frank Robert Chalk & Kurt Jonassohn, *The History and Sociology of Genocide: Analyses and Case Studies* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990).

4. Helen Fein, *Accounting for Genocide: National Responses and Jewish Victimization during the Holocaust* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984).

5. Rummel, *Death by Government*.

flicts and minorities at risk.<sup>6</sup> An increased interest in the use of survivor testimonies<sup>7</sup> can also be noted, as well as new methods for analysing such data.<sup>8</sup>

### Definitions

The problem of definition is central because of the special nature of this research. Issues that scholars must consider are complicated and often emotionally charged: How do we distinguish genocide from the violence that is a "normal" part of war or that occurs during times of political upheaval? To what degree is genocide a modern phenomenon? Can the Holocaust be considered unique?

We still do not have a generally accepted definition. The most important criteria used to differentiate genocide from other types of collective violence are the intentions of the perpetrators, the role of government, the possible resistance of the victims, the character of the vulnerable group and, to a certain extent, its magnitude. Most people agree that the Genocide Convention, drawn up by the United Nations in 1948 and based on differing political interests, lacks many dimensions.

In the present Convention, genocide means any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group as such: (a) Killing members of the group; (b) Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group; (c) Deliberately inflicting on the group's conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part; (d) Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group; (e) Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group. (UNGC, Fein 1993:10)

The most common criticism of this definition is that it excludes certain crimes against humanity such as the terror practised by the Soviet and Chinese governments or the incidents in Cambodia. The acts committed in these countries were randomly

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6. Ted Gurr & Barbara Harff, *Ethnic Conflict in World Politics* (Boulder; San Fransisco; Oxford: Westview Press, 1994). Ted Robert Gurr, *Minorities at Risk: A Global View of Ethnopolitical Conflicts* (Washington, D.C.: United States Institute of Peace Press, 1995).

7. Totten, Parsons & Charny, *Genocide in the Twentieth Century: Critical Essays and Eyewitness Accounts*.

8. Peter Suedfeld, "Thematic Content Analyses: Nomothetic Methods for Using Holocaust Survivor Narratives in Psychological Research," *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 10: 2 (Fall 1996), 168-80.

targeted at their own people or at certain political or social groups.<sup>9</sup>

Another controversial question concerns the atomic bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and the bombings of Dresden and Hamburg in the final stages of the Second World War. Some consider this type of military violence to be genocide<sup>10</sup> while others assert that, although the number of victims was enormous, it was an act of war during which the intent was not to wipe out a particular national group.<sup>11</sup>

It has also been noted that through the terminology it employed, the Convention created a troublesome ambiguity concerning the point at which pogroms or massacres are actually genocide.<sup>12</sup> A greater problem is that in reality it has been impossible to adhere to the Convention, as the responsibility for adherence lies with sovereign states. It was not until the events in Bosnia and Rwanda that the Genocide Convention became the subject of legal examination.

Despite its shortcomings, most leading scholars have accepted the definition of the Convention,<sup>13</sup> or a somewhat broader de-

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9. From the beginning there was a wording that included mass murder based on political or other grounds: "any of the following *deliberate* acts committed with the *intent* to destroy a national, racial, religious or political group, *on grounds of the national or racial origin, religious belief, or political opinion of its members.*" It was, however, rejected by the UN. Leo Kuper, *Genocide: Its Political Use in the Twentieth Century* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981), 32.

10. Kuper, *Genocide: Its Political Use in the Twentieth Century*. Israel W. Charny, "Toward a Generic Definition of Genocide," *The Conceptual and Historical Dimensions of Genocide*, ed. George Andreopoulos (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1994), 64-94.

11. Chalk & Jonassohn, *The History and Sociology of Genocide: Analyses and Case Studies*. Helen Fein, *Genocide: A Sociological Perspective* (London; Newbury Park; New Delhi: SAGE Publications, 1993).

12. The phrase in *whole or in part* that was in the draft of the text of the Convention was deleted, only to appear again in the final version. Kuper, *Genocide: Its Political Use in the Twentieth Century*, 31. Kuper writes in his commentary: "I will assume that the charge of genocide would not be preferred unless there were a 'substantial' or an 'appreciable' number of victims. I would have no difficulty in applying the term to the slaughter of a stratum of the educated of a racial or ethnic group, a common enough occurrence, provided there are 'appreciable' numbers. In other cases, as for example the obliteration of a village or villages by the French in Algeria after the riots in Sétif in 1945, or the slaughter of fifty French hostages, the martyrs of Châteaubriant, or the destruction of Lidice and Ležáky as reprisals for the assassination of German officials in the Second World War, I will use the term 'genocidal massacre.'" Kuper, *Genocide: Its Political Use in the Twentieth Century*, 32.

13. Kuper, *Genocide: Its Political Use in the Twentieth Century*. Jack Nusan Porter, "What is Genocide? Notes toward a Definition," *Genocide and Human Rights*:

finition that includes political and social groups.<sup>14</sup> Others have chosen more comprehensive definitions of genocide, including cases of unintentional environmental effects.<sup>15</sup>

According to the first group, genocide is a process whereby a state or other actor consciously and systematically tries to exterminate a group that is in a vulnerable position. Some scholars talk explicitly about national, ethnic or religious groups while others use the concept of collectivity or refer to the perpetrators' own definitions. Others believe that the term "genocide" should be limited to those cases for which a state is the perpetrator. Here, however, they fail to recognize that perpetrators sometimes act with the indirect consent of the government, or that there are cases of "mutual genocide" in civil wars, for example.

The latter group resists defining perpetrator and victim, and it does not make a distinction between massacres and genocide. But it excludes military violence that is contrary to international conventions or that is aimed at defenceless groups.

Some authors regard definition problems as secondary or morally dubious<sup>16</sup> while others stress that scholarly research demands a thorough system of concepts,<sup>17</sup> especially in cases when the term genocide might be misused.

### Typology

In order to solve the problem of definition, a series of categories has been suggested: genocidal massacres,<sup>18</sup> ideological massa-

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*A Global Anthology*, ed. Jack Nusan Porter (Washington, D.C.: University Press of America, 1982), 2-33. Barbara Harff & Ted R. Gurr, "Genocides and Politicides Since 1945: Evidence and Anticipation," *Internet on the Holocaust and Genocide* 13 (1987), 1-7.

14. Irving Louis Horowitz, *Taking Lives: Genocide and State Power*, Third edition (augmented) (New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction Books, 1982), 17-18. Chalk & Jonassohn, *The History and Sociology of Genocide: Analyses and Case Studies* 13 (1979), 7-52. Helen Fein, "Genocide: A Sociological Perspective," *Current Sociology* 38: 1 (1990).

15. Israel W. Charny, "Understanding the Psychology of Genocidal Destructiveness," *Genocide: A Critical Bibliographical Review*, ed. Israel W. Charny (New York: Transaction Publishers, 1988), 191-208. John L. Thompson & Gail A. Quets, "Genocide and Social Conflict: A Partial Theory and Comparison," *Research in Social Movements, Conflicts and Change* 12, ed. Louis Kriseberg (Greenwood, Conn.: JAI Press, 1990).

16. Charny, "Toward a Generic Definition of Genocide."

17. Fein, *Genocide: A Sociological Perspective*.

18. Kuper, *Genocide: Its Political Use in the Twentieth Century*.

cles,<sup>19</sup> ethnocide,<sup>20</sup> politicicide<sup>21</sup> and democide.<sup>22</sup> Typologies have also been suggested. Helen Fein names four types of genocide: ideological, retributive, developmental and despotic.<sup>23</sup> Ideological genocide is related to what happened to the Armenians in 1915 or to the Jews during the Second World War. The second category refers to what can happen in ethnic conflicts, often during the process of nation-building (e.g. East Pakistan, Burundi). The third type describes what happens to indigenous populations during modernization, while the fourth is represented by the mass murder of political enemies or social groups. Fein points out that the typologies of Dadrian,<sup>24</sup> Kuper,<sup>25</sup> Smith,<sup>26</sup> and Chalk and Johassohn<sup>27</sup> are based on a similar categorization, although with somewhat different terms (see Table 2).

Another differentiation is made by Harff and Gurr, who use the Genocide Convention definition of genocide, and by politicicide mean mass murder of the type that occurred in the Soviet Union, China, Cambodia and other countries.<sup>28</sup>

Rummel<sup>29</sup> allows the term democide be a main concept, while genocide, politicicide, mass murder/massacre and terror are variations of large-scale violence. His criteria are the intention, the type of victims and perpetrators, and the extent and intensity of the violence. A similar division where democide is called generic genocide has been suggested by Charny.<sup>30</sup>

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19. Fein, *Accounting for Genocide: National Responses and Jewish Victimization during the Holocaust*.

20. Vahakn Dadrian, "A Typology of Genocide," *International Review of Modern Sociology* 5: 2 (1975), 201-212.

21. Harff & Gurr, "Genocides and Politicides Since 1945: Evidence and Anticipation."

22. Rummel, *Death by Government*.

23. Fein, *Genocide: A Sociological Perspective*.

24. Dadrian, "A Typology of Genocide."

25. Kuper, *Genocide: Its Political Use in the Twentieth Century*.

26. Roger Smith, "Human Destructiveness and Politics: The Twentieth Century as an Age of Genocide," *Genocide and the Modern Age: Etiology and Case Studies of Mass Death*, eds. Isidor Walliman & Michael Dobkowski (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1987).

27. Chalk & Jonassohn, *The History and Sociology of Genocide: Analyses and Case Studies*.

28. Harff & Gurr, "Genocides and Politicides Since 1945: Evidence and Anticipation." Barbara Harff & Ted R. Gurr, "Toward an Empirical Theory of Genocides and Politicides: Identification and Measurement of Cases Since 1945," *International Studies Quarterly* 37: 3 (1988), 359-71.

29. Rummel, *Death by Government*.

30. Charny, "Toward a Generic Definition of Genocide."

Apart from the choice of classification or typology, many scholars believe that the extermination of European Jews has several specific features, not only because of the huge portion of the population that was killed, in certain areas between 90 and 100 percent. Still, in most of the typologies, the murder of the Jews and the genocide of the Armenians are placed in the same category. The historian Yehuda Bauer, however, differentiates between genocide and holocaust because of the special characteristics of the Holocaust.<sup>31</sup> The first term means genocide according to the definition of the Convention (partial annihilation), while the second means extermination (total annihilation). For Bauer, who is critical of the tendency to mystify the Holocaust, the term "holocaust" is an open category. Up until now, he says, it is only the Armenian genocide that comes close to its definition other than the extermination of the Jews. He stresses in this context that the similarities between both cases of genocide are larger than the differences.<sup>32</sup>

The fact that defining the term genocide is ideologically loaded is made clear in a newly published anthology.<sup>33</sup> The publisher obviously wants to stress the futility of a discussion whereby the study of one type of genocide, implicit or explicit, is based on lack of appreciation for the others.

According to Alain Destexhe,<sup>34</sup> there is an inflation in the classification of genocide. He is of the opinion that there are only three genuine cases of genocide in our century: the Armenians in 1915, the Jews and the Gypsies during the Second World War, and the Tutsis in Rwanda in 1994.

The question of definition may seem overly academic, but there is also a moral significance. Since it is impossible to evaluate the suffering of the victims or equate the number of deaths, it is easy to sympathize with those who find the discussion of concepts inappropriate. But considering that the Genocide Convention is used for propaganda purposes or in sometimes totally inappropriate contexts, there is reason to stress that genocide is

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31. Yehuda Bauer, "The Place of the Holocaust in Contemporary History," *Studies in Contemporary Jewry*, ed. Jonathan Frankel (1984), 201-24.

32. Bauer's standpoint has been criticized, for example, by researchers studying the genocide of the Armenians. See Fein, *Genocide: A Sociological Perspective*, 70-71.

33. Alan S. Rosenbaum, *Is the Holocaust Unique? Perspectives on Comparative Genocide* (Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1996).

34. Destexhe, *Rwanda and Genocide in the Twentieth Century*.

a specific crime. A definition that is too broad would allow relativizing, and this is difficult to accept.

Perhaps Helen Fein has expressed this most clearly. Aware of the problems created by the discrepancy between the legal character of the Convention and the scholarly aims of researchers, Fein's ambition has been to provide a definition compatible with both the text of the Convention and social science theory (see Table 3). She also has created a paradigm that can be used to distinguish genocide from other types of violence, including violence that occurs during war (see Table 3). To illustrate the processes that can lead to genocide, Fein has created a number of typical scenarios.<sup>35</sup>

In an important article from 1994, Fein discusses questions of definition within the framework of issues of gross crimes against humanity.<sup>36</sup> She mints the concept *Violations of Life Integrity Rights*, that is different types of violations of the biological and social integrity of individuals and groups: the right to create and cohabit with family, the right to move freely, the right to work, the right to own one's body, the right to live without fear of arbitrary seizure, detention and punishment, the right not to be subjected to physical and psychological damage, and the right to life (see Table 4). Fein's aim is allow for increased clarity in the genocide discussion. She notes that crimes against integrity involve a scale of violations that represent increasing intensification, which in historical situations often precede genocide. There is thus a clear relationship between different types of offences. Her classification also shows that these offences are distinct crimes that ought not be confused.

### Explanations

In her well-recognized research survey, Fein observes that there is no systematic research or developments in sociology, anthropology, political science or psychology of genocide and other types of collective violence.<sup>37</sup> The same problem is discussed in

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35. Helen Fein, "Scenarios of Genocide: Models of Genocide and Critical Responses," *Toward the Understanding and Prevention of Genocide: Proceedings of the International Conference on the Holocaust and Genocide*, ed. Israel W. Charny (Boulder, Colo.; London: Westview Press, 1984), 3–31.

36. Helen Fein, "Genocide, Terror, Life Integrity, and War Crimes: The Case for Discrimination," *The Conceptual and Historical Dimensions of Genocide*, ed. George Andreopoulos (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1994), 95–108.

37. Fein, *Genocide: A Sociological Perspective*.

depth in Bauman's book on the Holocaust and modern society.<sup>38</sup>

Although traditional social sciences take a lesser interest in genocide and in violence generally, scholars who have studied these phenomena have not been able to avoid an empirical discussion of the conditions and dynamics of violence. In addition to ideological tendencies, socioeconomic crises, sudden changes in society, defeat in war, a totalitarian political system, and even cultural traditions are treated.<sup>39</sup> A fundamental precondition is that the intended victims are cast out of the common social and value system.<sup>40</sup>

Many note that a pluralistic society (i.e. ethnically differentiated or stratified) means a primary risk factor—an issue that has been discussed by Kuper.<sup>41</sup> He does not write that the existence of a multiethnic society will lead to genocide, even though the risk is greater in modern-day circumstances.

Florence Mazian, Jack Nusan Porter and Helen Fein attempt to summarize the different circumstances that precede or are related to genocide. They have a similar view in spite of certain differences: a minority is defined as a group of outsiders and is excluded; there is a serious crisis in society caused by a military collapse, inner conflicts or cultural anomie; new leadership with nationalist or expansionist goals comes to power at the same time as the risk for intervention by neutral nations is at a minimum (see Table 5).

In his comparison between the genocide of the Jews and the Armenians, Robert Melson notes four issues. Both were disdained and persecuted minority groups; they were groups that had been modernized earlier than the majority of the population and were passing through a period of rapid social mobility; the groups were labelled as traitors and seen as allied with outside enemies; and the nations suffered military and political catastrophes with serious consequences for their worldview and social stability.<sup>42</sup>

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38. Bauman, *Modernity and the Holocaust*.

39. On the basis of such criteria, Holowitz has created a typology where the genocidal society is one of the extremities. See Horowitz, *Taking Lives: Genocide and State Power*.

40. This is known as *the universe of obligation* in Fein, *Genocide: A Sociological Perspective* or *the web of mutual obligations* in Chalk & Jonassohn, *The History and Sociology of Genocide: Analyses and Case Studies*.

41. Kuper, *Genocide: Its Political Use in the Twentieth Century*.

42. Melson, *Revolution and Genocide: On the Origins of the Armenian Genocide and the Holocaust*.

In a 1996 article Melson writes that during the twentieth century there have been four cases of serious crimes against human rights, all of which can be related to political decay and the development of revolutionary regimes.<sup>43</sup> The first is the collapse of the Ottoman Empire at the beginning of the century and the genocide of the Armenians in 1915. The second case began with the dissolution of the German and Habsburg Empires and ended with the Holocaust. After the Second World War there were a number of ethnic conflicts in connection with decolonization, which resulted in genocide or genocidal situations. Recent examples are the wars in the Balkans and in the former Soviet Union after the disintegration of the socialistic regimes.

Melson also notes certain differences. The case of the Armenians concerned a minority group demanding autonomy, while the case of the (German) Jews concerned an assimilated group that wanted to be integrated. In terms of ideological conditions, on the one hand, antisemitism was connected to a universal utopian world view and, on the other hand, a nationalistic ideology. Still another difference can be seen if the special nature of violence is examined. The genocide of the Armenians was in the form of massacres, deportations and mass starvation, while the characteristic feature of the extermination of the Jews was factory-like execution in gas chambers. Melson also makes an interesting comment that the massacres in Bosnia and Nigeria remind us of the Armenian genocide, while the events in Cambodia are more similar to Nazi-occupied Europe.

This would mean that we are dealing with one type of mass murder that is mostly caused by utopian ideologies, and with another related to nationalism and ethnic conflicts, which, under certain conditions, may develop into mass murder. From this perspective, the period of Stalin's terror and the Holocaust belong to the same category.

One question, highlighted previously, is to what extent the mass murders during the twentieth century can be characterized as modern. Ever since Hilberg described the bureaucratically perfected extermination machine,<sup>44</sup> scholars have discussed whether the Holocaust is a genuinely modern phenomenon, a

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43. Melson, "Paradigms of Genocide: The Holocaust, the Armenian Genocide, and Contemporary Mass Destructions."

44. Hilberg, *The Destruction of the European Jews* [3 Vols.].

conclusion that of course would have profound consequences for our worldview.<sup>45</sup>

Bauman has emphasized that mass murders of this magnitude would be impossible if they were of the pogrom type and were motivated by what he calls "heterophobia." In order to kill so many so quickly it was necessary to have the logistics of a modern society and to make decisions in a rational manner. It is more difficult to answer the question of whether the risk for mass murder is greater today than before. According to Gellner's theory on nationalism, there is (for purely structural reasons) a tendency in modern society to move toward cultural conformity, exposing minorities and diaspora groups to risk. A typical example is the Ottoman Empire, which was a somewhat stable multi-ethnic society. It was not until our own times, with modern nationalism as a political force, that the mass murder of the Armenians occurred.

We must not, however, exaggerate the modern aspects of the Holocaust or other contemporary genocides. Sometimes a comparison is made between what happened during the Second World War and the conflict in the Balkans. Instead of industrialized killing, the events in the Balkans are considered a barbaric slaughter: an expression of a primitive nationalism, violence, and related to specific characteristics of the Balkan culture. According to another opinion, common among intellectuals both in Western Europe and in the Balkans, the conflict is between a backward country culture and a cosmopolitan civil society. It is important to remember that a large number of the people were murdered during the Second World War in massacres on the Eastern Front. The view offered by German historians does differ from recent events in the Balkans.

### The Question of Evil

One of the central issues in the search for explanations, and a question that always lingers in public consciousness, is how people could behave the way they did during the Second World War, in Cambodia and in Bosnia.

The discussion was dominated for a long time by psychoanalytically orientated patterns of thought; particularly Adorno's idea that authoritarian personalities are related to specific traditions

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45. Bauman, *Modernity and the Holocaust*. Tzvetan Todorov, *Face à l'extrême*, 2. éd. (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1994). Rubenstein, *The Cunning of History*.

of upbringing.<sup>46</sup> Other explanations are based on the idea that the denial of one's own death leads to tensions that give rise to destructive behaviour,<sup>47</sup> or that the killing of one's fellow beings gives an enhanced sense of life.<sup>48</sup> Still another explanation is the supposed existence of pathological societies.<sup>49</sup>

Psychologist and genocide scholar Israel Charny has formulated a theory of aggression, which assumes that life-maintaining and life-destroying principles are dialectically integrated. If imbalance should arise, tensions and aggressions result.<sup>50</sup> Charny has also made a plea for a "revision of psychopathology." To maintain credibility, says Charny, the psychology of those who torment and kill others must be able to be classified as abnormal.<sup>51</sup>

Robert Lifton has presented another answer to the question on how people who have committed human rights crimes appear normal. In his examination of German doctors Lifton observed how many of them seemed morally unaware. According to Lifton this has to do with "doubling, that is, the appearance of a split psyche, in which a new parallel self commits acts that the individual normally would not do, at the same time as the original self remains intact."<sup>52</sup>

In his book *Roots of Evil*, Staub presents a model aimed at integrating psychological, cultural and social factors.<sup>53</sup> The basic idea is that "a difficult life situation" combined with an authoritarian personality, and strengthened by an authoritarian bound cultural tradition, results in defense mechanisms that evoke destructive behaviour. Even if the theory considers social psychological aspects and is aware of contextual reasons for changes in

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46. Theodor W. Adorno et al., *The Authoritarian Personality* (New York: Harper, 1950).

47. Ernest Becker, *The Denial of Death* (New York: The Free Press, 1973).

48. *How Can We Commit the Unthinkable? Genocide: The Human Cancer*, ed. Israel W. Charny (Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1982).

49. Ronald Aronson, "Societal Madness: Impotence, Power and Genocide," *Toward the Understanding and Prevention of Genocide: Proceedings of the International Conference on the Holocaust and Genocide*, ed. Israel W. Charny (Boulder, Colo.; London: Westview Press, 1984), 137-46.

50. Charny, *Genocide: A Critical Bibliographical Review*.

51. Israel W. Charny, "Genocide and Mass Destruction: Doing Harm to Others as a Missing Dimension in Psychopathology," *Psychiatry* 49: 2 (1986), 144-57.

52. Lifton, *The Nazi Doctors: Medical Killing and the Psychology of Genocide*.

53. Ervin Staub, *The Roots of Evil: The Origins of Genocide and Other Group Violence*, ed. Ervin Staub (Cambridge, Engl.; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989).

behaviour, there is a clear dependence on Adorno's psychoanalytic ideas and traditional concepts of national character.

The problem with these types of explanation is the concentration on the individual and on doubtful assumptions about culture and ideology. They also come close to being philosophical discourses that elude empirical examination.

A social-psychological approach was formulated in the beginning of the 1970s by Kelman, who maintained that three related processes contribute to making "sanctioned massacres" possible.<sup>54</sup> First, the individual situation is defined as a reality in which current moral principles, or the idea of personal responsibility, is no longer valid. Second, there is a routinization process in which moral questions are not asked. The third process is a dehumanization of the victims, depriving them their status as human beings.

At roughly the same time, in an experiment which has become classic, Milgram demonstrated emphatically the importance of a social environment for human behaviour, showing that in certain conditions normal people are ready to go extremely far in hurting others.<sup>55</sup>

A productive method for tackling the problem of integrating (social) psychological and structural levels recently has been outlined by Henri Zukier.<sup>56</sup> He bases his method on cognitive psychology and uses a perspective of interactionism and the sociology of knowledge. On both theoretical and empirical grounds he rejects the idea of pathological monsters or that the murderers could have been a specially-selected, primitive type of human being. For the same reasons he rejects the position that mass murders can be explained by referring to cultural traditions, propaganda or coercion.

Zukier's theory is that extraordinary behaviour and events can be explained by ordinary psychological processes. We know through historical research—accounted for earlier on in this docu-

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54. Herbert Kelman, "Violence Without Moral Restraint," *Journal of Social Issues* 29: 4 (1973), 25–61.

55. Stanley Milgram, *Obedience to Authority* (New York: Harper & Row, 1974).

56. Henri Zukier, "The Twisted Road to Genocide: On the Psychological Development of Evil during the Holocaust," *Social Research* 61: 2 (Summer 1994), 423–55. Henri Zukier, "The Essential 'Other' and the Jew: From Antisemitism to Genocide," *Social Research* 63: 4 (Winter 1996), 1110–53. Henri Zukier, "The 'Mindless Years?' A Reconsideration of the Psychological Dimensions of the Holocaust, 1938–1945," *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 11: 2 (Fall 1997), 190–212.

ment and upon which Zukier bases his reasoning—that only a small number of Germans could be described as conscious Nazis, and that “ordinary human beings” were directly involved in the mass murders to a great extent. How can this be explained if we are not dealing with deeply rooted and aggressive impulses? Zukier’s answer is that it has to do with a learning process. When people choose a course of action under extreme conditions, they are undergoing a change. Readiness to kill arises in an individual when he or she, by committing violent acts, is drawn into an inner conflict that leads to attitude changes because of an innate tendency to conquer the cognitive dissonance resulting from the violence. A certain exterior pressure can be necessary at an initial stage, but the process then continues through its own dynamics. The difference between every separate phase in the process is minute, making it difficult to retreat.<sup>57</sup>

In an article he wrote in 1997, Zukier returns to the same theme, but here he stresses the relationship between psychology and history.<sup>58</sup> The chasm that exists between both branches of scholarship can lead to an incorrect understanding of historical events. The dispute between the Intentionalists and the Functionalists is based on a simplified understanding of human behaviour, which partially made the controversies concerning the *Final Solution* pointless. The Functionalist argument did not contradict the role of ideology at the same time that the Intentionalists had no basis for ideas on the impact of ideologies.

The consequence of Zukier’s reasoning is that Nazism was a precondition for genocide in the sense that it contributed to the rise of a totalitarian regime and a society characterized by an ideology of violence. At the same time, ideological indoctrination does not explain genocide. Even if a considerable part of the population sympathized with Nazism, the relationship between ideology and actions (genocide) was indirect at the individual level. The majority of individual perpetrators simply did not have to be motivated by the ideas that guided Hitler himself.

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57. Zukier’s thoughts are supported in an article by James E. Waller, “Perpetrators of the Holocaust: Divided and Unitary Self Conceptions of Evil Doing,” *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 10: 1 (Spring 1996), 11–33. According to Waller, Lifton’s theory on the divided self is not really needed to explain the cruelties that occurred. The behaviour is better explained as the result of a basic change in attitude. Like Zukier, Waller bases his ideas on dissonance theoretical reasoning.

58. Zukier, “The ‘Mindless Years?’ A Reconsideration of the Psychological Dimensions of the Holocaust, 1938–1945.”

This does not mean that Nazi ideology was insignificant or that the responsibility of the perpetrators was lessened. Rather, this points to one of the most shocking aspects of the Holocaust: Ordinary people are guilty. This hypothesis has been the most difficult to accept ever since Hannah Arendt's book on the *banality of evil*.<sup>59</sup> Zukier's point is that universally applicable social-psychological mechanisms—which allowed genocide to occur—indicate a considerable risk for recurrence.<sup>60</sup>

Zukier's reasoning is interesting in part because he uses historical sources to support his theories. It is also interesting that the material was available and research on the Holocaust and the Nazi social system was so extensive and contained such a wealth of details, which made it possible to compare different explanations. Zukier was therefore able to question generally espoused conceptions through historical research *and* social-psychological theory.

Although Zukier's discussion does not constitute an all-embracing explanation as to why genocide occurs—it would be difficult to find one such theory—it does signal the need for an interdisciplinary approach. Even theories that dwell on institutional conditions and social processes have to be based on insight into the mechanisms that guide behaviour and perceptions of reality on a (socio-) psychological level. New theories of social movements are of great interest in this context. There is a more complex understanding of cultural factors and the meaning of cognitive mechanisms, as well as obvious connections to discourse analysis, media studies and modern literature research.

On the whole, one needs an understanding of the set of problems surrounding genocide as well as a discussion of different theoretical traditions: attitude and prejudice research, theories of nationalism and ethnic conflicts, and general conflict theory. Until now there has been no connection between the latter two mentioned areas. Another interesting aspect, recently pointed out by Susan Olzak, is the relationship between internal ethnic

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59. Arendt, *Eichmann in Jerusalem: A Report on the Banality of Evil*.

60. "The focus remains on the Holocaust ravages rather than on its psychological roots. Hence, a plea for genocide: to begin taking it seriously in the social sciences. Genocide was not merely an aberration of the past; it is a threat of the future whose psychological dynamics must be elucidated." Zukier, "The Twisted Road to Genocide: On the Psychological Development of Evil during the Holocaust," 445.

conflicts and the global perspective represented by "world systems analysis."<sup>61</sup>

One obstacle is that the perspectives have different theoretical and methodological bases, but this is not an insurmountable difficulty.

### Prevention

Many scholars have been involved in the question of how genocide can be prevented.<sup>62</sup> Institutes with a comparative studies profile also state prevention as a goal. Apart from basic problems such as the nature of the international system and the question of intervention in the affairs of sovereign states, there are considerable methodological difficulties, illustrated by the aforementioned problems of definition. What criteria should be used? When has a situation come to the point that it could lead to genocide? In the last few years, the development of "early warning systems" has given great hope. One well-known example is the research done by Ted Gurr and Barbara Harff within the framework of the "Minorities at Risk" project.<sup>63</sup> Efforts have been made to find quantifiable criteria that would automatically trigger a course of action in a dangerous situation.

Many are skeptical, however, of the possibility that such a system could be created. Besides all the difficulties in correctly classifying data, problems always exist in comparative studies because of lack of sources and language barriers. This all influences research on warning instruments, and there are more fundamental problems related to criteria, the responsibility for sanctions and defining who should be the target of possible warning

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61. Susan Olzak, "Ethnic Protest in Core and Periphery States," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 21: 2 (1998), 187-219.

62. *How Can We Commit the Unthinkable? Genocide: The Human Cancer*, ed. I. W. Charny. *Genocide: A Critical Bibliographical Review*, ed. I. W. Charny. Kuper, *Genocide: Its Political Use in the Twentieth Century*. Kumar Rupesinghe & Michiko Kuroda, *Early Warning and Conflict Resolution* (New York: St. Martins Press, 1992). Ben Whitaker, *Revised and Updated Report on the Question of the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide*, E/CN.4/Sub.2/1985/6 (2 July, 1985). Leo Kuper, *The Prevention of Genocide* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985). Franklin Littell, "Essay: Early Warning," *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 3: 4 (1988), 483-90. Samuel Totten, ed., *First-person Accounts of Genocidal Acts Committed in the Twentieth Century: An Annotated Bibliography*, *Bibliographies and Indexes in World History* 21 (New York: Greenwood Press, 1991). Fein, *Genocide: A Sociological Perspective*.

63. Gurr, *Minorities at Risk: A Global View of Ethnopolitical Conflicts*. Gurr & Harff, *Ethnic Conflict in World Politics*.

systems. It is also impossible to create automatic warning systems since these are always dependent on the central actors in society. This does not mean that prevention and systematic studies are not needed. Attention of an international level must be given to the behaviour of these central actors.

### Vital Areas of Research

Attempts to examine closely the social situations that lead to genocide are of central interest today and are necessary if we wish to obtain criteria that can be used for supervision and prevention. Consequently, comparative studies must include genocidal massacres and other gross crimes against human rights.

Historical research is also necessary for the future. A theoretical discussion is also important, based on an interdisciplinary effort in which different perspectives and methods are confronted and clarified.

In her research outline, Helen Fein discusses the need for a comparative research that systematically examines historical and contemporary situations on actual genocide or when it is an imminent threat.<sup>64</sup> She names a number of particularly vital research areas, admitting that such a programme is ambitious and demanding, but also challenging. She suggests:

#### **1) Studies of strategies and processes that can lead to genocide in (connection with)**

- colonial societies
- multiethnic societies with minority groups in the risk zone
- postrevolutionary and totalitarian governments
- social and political movements
- war situations, inner conflicts, political upheaval

#### **2) Systematic examination and surveillance of**

- threats to the indigenous population
- gross violations of human rights in different countries

#### **3) Studies of the prevention of genocide**

- strategies for change aimed at lessening conflicts in high risk societies
- attitude studies of social checks against violence in high risk societies

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64. Fein, *Genocide: A Sociological Perspective*, 102-03.

**4) Studies of preventive measures on an international level**

- international support for (resistance to) violent regimes
- the importance of international reprimands
- the inability to take measures against crimes to the Genocide Convention

According to Fein, different methods and attack strategies are necessary to accomplish the programme:

- Historical examinations where cases of genocide are put in relation to periods of time, types of civilization, and development of nation-states
- Macro-studies of societies at the same level of development that are confronted by (or inflict on others) the same type of problem at the same point of time
- Comparative case studies where similar preconditions indicate that there has been a potential for genocide
- Case studies where genocide was feared to occur, but was prevented, as well as cases where violence broke out
- Empirical and longitudinal studies of the extent of collective violence in a number of nations
- Comparative studies of the more or less peaceful settlement of ethnic differences
- Policy studies aimed at methods for genocide prevention

## Tables

Table 1.
Definitions of genocide
<p><b>Fein</b> Genocide is sustained purposeful action by a perpetrator to physically destroy a collectivity directly or indirectly, through interdiction of the biological and social reproduction of group members, sustained regardless of the surrender or lack of threat offered by the victim. (Fein 1993: 24)</p>
<p><b>Dadrian</b> Genocide is the successful attempt by a dominant group, vested with formal authority and which preponderant access to overall resources of power, to reduce by coercion or lethal violence the number of a Minority group whose ultimate extermination is held desirable and useful and whose respective vulnerability is a major factor contributing to the decision for genocide. (Dadrian 1974: 123 in Fein 1993: 13)</p>
<p><b>Chalk &amp; Jonassohn</b> Genocide is a form of one-sided mass killing in which a state or other authority intends to destroy a group, as that group and membership in it are defined by the perpetrators. (Chalk &amp; Jonassohn 1990: 23)</p>
<p><b>Charny</b> Genocide in the generic sense is the mass killing of substantial numbers of human beings, when not in the course of military action against the military forces of an avowed enemy, under conditions of the essential defenceless and helplessness of the victims.</p>
<p><b>Bauer</b> [The] planned physical annihilation, for ideological or pseudo-religious reasons, of all the members of a national, ethnic, or racial group. (Bauer 1984: 204)</p>
<p><b>Lemkin</b> [G]enocide does not necessarily mean the immediate destruction of a nation. It is intended rather to signify a coordinated plan of different actions aiming at the destruction of essential foundations of the life of national groups, with the aim of annihilating the groups themselves. (Lemkin 1944: 79)</p>
<p><b>Thompson &amp; Quets</b> Genocide is the extent of destruction of a social collectivity by whatever agents, with whatever intentions, by purposive actions, which fall outside the recognised conventions of legitimate warfare. (Thompson &amp; Quets 1987: 11)</p>

<b>Table 2. Typologies</b>					
<b>Types of Genocides</b>	<b>I</b>	<b>II</b>	<b>III</b>	<b>IV</b>	<b>Other</b>
	<b>Holocaust, Armenian genoc.</b>	<b>E. Pakistan 1971, Burundi 1972</b>	<b>Paraguay, Brazil 1970-</b>		
<b>1. Dadian (1975)</b>	Optimal	Retributive	Utilitarian	Latent	Cultural
<b>2. Kuper (1981)</b>	Against hostage or scapegoat groups	Following decolonization of a two-tier system of domination	Against indigenous peoples	Genocidal massacres (Hiroshima; Dresden; Vietnam)	
<b>3. Fein (1984)</b>	Ideological	Retributive	Developmental	Despotic	
<b>4. Smith (1987)</b>	Ideological	Retributive Monopolistic	Utilitarian	Institutional	
<b>5. Chalk &amp; Jonassohn (1990)</b>	To implement a belief, ideology or theory	To eliminate a real or potential threat	To acquire economic wealth	To spread terror among real or potential enemies	
	<b>Genocides</b>			<b>Politicides</b>	
<b>6. Harff and Gurr (1988)</b>	Xenophobic (Ache Indians, Paraguay, Ibois, Nigeria)	Hegemonial (Soviet nationalities)		Retributive, Repressive, Revolutionary, Repressive/Hegemonial	
<b>7. Harff and Gurr (1987)</b>	G: "genocide, victims defined communally" (includes examples in classes above)	PG: "politicides against politically-active communal groups" (Burundi, East Pakistan, E. Timor)		GP: "episodes with mixed communal and political victims" (Uganda, Equatorial Guinea, Kampuchea)	
<b>8. Rummel (1997)</b>	<b>Democide</b> Genocide			Politicide	Mass murder

**Table 3.****Helen Fein. Paradigm**

1. There was a sustained attack or continuity of attacks by the perpetrator to physically destroy group members.
2. The Perpetrator was a collective or organised actor or commander of organised actors.
3. Victims were selected because they were members of a collectivity.
4. The victims were defenceless or were killed regardless of whether they surrendered or resisted.
5. The destruction of group members was undertaken to kill and murder was sanctioned by the perpetrator.
6. Consistency of sanctions for killing group members.
7. Ideologies and beliefs legitimating genocide.
8. Contexts of genocide.
9. Bystanders' responses.
10. Victims' responses.
11. Interactions.
12. Effects on victims.
13. Effects on the perpetrators.
14. Effects on the world system.

**Helen Fein. Definition**

**Genocide is sustained purposeful action** [thus excluding single massacres, pogroms, accidental deaths] **by a perpetrator** (assuming an actor organized over a period) **to physically destroy a collectivity** ["acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or part a national/ethnic/racial or religious group"; Art. 2] **directly** (through mass or selective murders and calculable physical destruction—e.g. imposed starvation and poisoning of food, water, and air [see Art. 2, a-c]) **or through interdiction of the biological and social reproduction of group members** (preventing births [Art. 2, d] and ["forcibly transferring children of the group to another group"; Art. 2, e], systematically breaking the linkage between reproduction and socialization of children in the family or group of origin).

Table 4. Crimes against human rights (Helen Fein)

Rights	Violations	International Law Against Violation/Date in Force
1. The right to life	Genocide; mass killing; summary/extrajudicial executions; "disappearances"	UN Genocide Convention, 1951; UDHR**3, ICPR**6
2. The right to personal inviolability / not to be hurt	Torture; rape and sexual abuse; inhuman and degrading treatment and punishment	UN Torture Convention, 1987; UDHR 5; ICPR 7
3. The right to be free from fear of arbitrary seizure, detention, and punishment	No due process or any process; arbitrary detention; lack of fair trial	UDHR 3; ICPR 9
4. The right to own one's body and labour	Slavery; forced labour; debt slavery, and equivalent institutions	Slavery Convention, 1927; Supplementary Convention, 1957; Convention Concerning Abolition of Forced Labour, 1959
5. Group macro-segregation (apartheid); microsegregation; group detention; and forced resettlement		Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid, 1976; International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, 1969; ICPR 9, 13
6. The right to create and cohabit with family	No marriage or family formation permitted; kidnapping and adoption or involuntary transfer of children	UDHR 3; ICPR 9

**Table 5.****Genocide. Conditions and processes****Mazian<sup>65</sup>**

1. Creation of 'outsiders.'
2. Internal strife.
3. Destructive uses of communication (composed of aggressive ideology and propaganda war).
4. Powerful leadership with territorial ambitions forming a monolithic and exclusionary party.
5. Organisation of destruction.
6. The failure of multidimensional levels of social control [powerlessness and weakness of the victim and lack of checks by the state committing genocide, other states and religious institutions].

**Porter<sup>66</sup>**

- a) Minority groups have previously been and are presently defined outside the universe of moral obligation by the dominant group.
- b) Pervasive racist ideologies and propaganda are found in the nation-state's society.
- c) There is a strong dependence on military security.
- d) Powerful, monolithic exclusionary political parties are present.
- e) The leadership has strong territorial ambitions.
- f) The power of the state has been reduced by defeat in war/and or internal strife.
- g) The possibility of retaliation for genocidal acts by the victims or of interference by neutral nations is at a minimum.

**Fein<sup>67</sup>**

1. Victims previously defined outside the universe of obligation of the dominant group.
2. The rank of the state has been reduced (defeat in war/internal strife, political or cultural crisis).
3. An elite that adapts a new political formula to justify the nation's domination and/or expansion, idealising the singular rights of the dominant group, rises to power.
4. The calculus if costs of exterminating the victim [...] changes as perpetrators instigate or join a (temporarily) successful coalition at war.

65. Mazian, *Why Genocide? The Armenian and Jewish Experiences in Perspective*, ix-x.

66. Porter, "What is Genocide? Notes toward a Definition."

67. Fein, *Genocide: A Sociological Perspective*, 71-72.

## Research Institutes

The major part of international research is taking place at institutes where the Holocaust is of central importance.<sup>68</sup> Other research focuses on special areas: the Armenian genocide, the intentionally evoked famine catastrophe in the Ukraine, the events in Cambodia and the persecution of indigenous populations. The most well-known institutes that emphasize comparative research are the Institute on the Holocaust and Genocide (Jerusalem), the Montreal Institute for Genocide Studies and the Institute for the Study of Genocide (New York).

Institutes vary concerning size and resources. The large research institutes mainly focus on the study of the Holocaust and on the history of Nazism, and often have access to extensive sources from German, Soviet and Central European archives. (Note that the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington is planning a study of Eastern Europe through scholarships and guest researchers.) The institutes that focus on comparative research are usually relatively small, and with some exceptions devote themselves to library-based research, conferences and education.

Since 1986 there has been an international journal in circulation, *Holocaust and Genocide Studies*, which is devoted to these issues. In 1999 the *Journal of Genocide Research* was initiated with a comparative profile. Two other scholarly organizations are the *Association of Genocide Scholars* and the *Association of Holocaust Organizations*.

## Previous Research in Sweden

The study of genocide and genocidal situations is a new area of research in Sweden. The few dissertations and scholarly works that have been produced have dealt with topics related to the Holocaust: Sweden and the persecution of the Jews, the actions of Swedish diplomacy,<sup>2</sup> Swedish refugee politics,<sup>3</sup> Jewish refu-

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68. See appendix: "Departments of Holocaust and genocide research."

1. Steven Koblik, *The Stones Cry Out: Sweden's Response to the Persecution of Jews, 1933-1945* (New York: Holocaust Library, 1988).

2. Paul A. Levine, *From Indifference to Activism: Swedish Diplomacy and the Holocaust*, *Studia Historica Upsaliensia* 178 (Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, 1996).

3. Hans Lindberg, *Svensk flyktingpolitik under internationellt tryck, 1936-1941*

gee children in Sweden,<sup>4</sup> Lund University during the Second World War,<sup>5</sup> and a summary, "Sweden and the Holocaust."<sup>6</sup> Other areas include antisemitism, Nazism and neo-Nazism,<sup>7</sup> and the denial of the Holocaust.<sup>8</sup> A dissertation on Jewish refugees from Poland can also be included in this category.<sup>9</sup>

Other topics have been researched at Swedish universities. The Armenians, the situation of the Jews in Central Europe and persecutions during Stalin's rule are examples of topics that have been studied in different contexts, but in most cases this is not research based on primary sources. The situation in Cambodia, including measures taken by the UN, has been studied at Uppsala University.<sup>10</sup> A recently published report on genocide in Rwanda, by scholars at the Nordic Africa Institute, is another exception.<sup>11</sup>

Currently, literature on the war in Bosnia is relatively extensive in Sweden, and several projects analyse the situation of the Bosnian refugees. Still, there are few scholarly studies (even on an international level) that treat the war or the background of the violence. At the Department of Cultural Anthropology and Ethnology in Uppsala, a dissertation on identity changes in Sarajevo during the war is announced to appear in the year 2000.<sup>12</sup> At

(Stockholm: Allmänna förlaget, 1973).

4. Ingrid Lomfors, *Förlorad barndom – återvunnet liv: De judiska flyktingbarren från Nazityskland*, Avhandlingar från Historiska institutionen i Göteborg (Göteborg: Historiska institutionen vid Göteborgs universitet, 1996).

5. Sverker Oredsson, *Lunds universitet under andra världskriget: Motsättningar, debatter och hjälpinnsatser* (Lund: Lunds universitetshistoriska sällskap, 1996).

6. Ingvar Svanberg & Mattias Tydén, *Sverige och Förintelsen: Debatt och dokument om Europas judar, 1933–1945* (Stockholm: Bokförlaget Arena, 1997).

7. Heléne Lööv, *Hakkorset och Wasakarven: En studie av nationalsocialismen i Sverige, 1924–1950*, Avhandlingar från Historiska institutionen i Göteborg (Göteborg: Historiska institutionen vid Göteborgs universitet, 1990).

8. Bruchfeld, *Förnekandet av Förintelsen: Nynazistisk historieförfälskning efter Auschwitz*.

9. Julian Ilicki, *Den föränderliga identiteten: Om identitetsförändringar hos den yngre generationen polska judar som invandrade till Sverige under åren 1968–1972* (Åbo: Sällskapet för judaistisk forskning, 1988).

10. Amer, *The General Assembly and the Kampuchean Issues: Intervention, Regime Recognition and the World Community 1979 to 1987*. Amer, Saravanamutti & Wallenstein, *The Cambodian Conflict 1979–1991: From Intervention to Resolution*.

11. Tor Sellström & Lennart Wohlgenut, *Historical Perspective: Some Explanatory Factors, The International Response to Conflict and Genocide. Lessons from the Rwanda Experience* (Steering Committee on the Joint Evaluation of Emergency Assistance to Rwanda, 1996).

12. Ivana Maček, *War Within: Everyday Life in Sarajevo under Siege*, Uppsala Studies in Cultural Anthropology 28 (Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, forthcoming 2000).

the Department of Peace and Conflict Research, a project has recently been initiated on the outbreak of war in Bosnia. And the Centre for Multiethnic Research has a project, since 1997, concerning the ethnic and religious mobilization that preceded the war in the Balkans.

Even if research in Sweden has been relatively limited until now, it should be stressed that a number of disciplines can play an important role in the study of genocide and gross crimes against human rights because of their research profile and previous work within related areas. Examples are legal science, subjects within the humanities, social sciences, theology, and some branches of medical research.

A number of departments within and outside Uppsala University are of interest during the first stages of this programme. The Department of Peace and Conflict Research, where the reasons for conflicts and methods of solving conflicts are studied, supports comparative studies. Scholars there study international efforts to find *early warning systems*. Professor Ted Gurr was a guest lecturer at the department in the 1996–7 academic year, and while he was there he provided access to data bases from the *Minorities at Risk* project. At present, the department gives attention to prevention and reconciliation processes; scholars are using qualitative and quantitative methods. The conflict data base at their disposal is of primary interest.

The Department of Eastern European Studies has considerable experience and competence in the study of historical and social processes in the former Soviet Union, Central Europe and the Balkans. The department has expressed an interest in the history of Eastern European Judaism, as well as in the study of ethnic conflicts, and has great potential for interdisciplinary studies of crimes against human rights during Stalinism and in postsocialist society. Widespread scholarly connections result in qualified research from the perspectives of historical, legal, social and cultural studies.

At the Department of Cultural Anthropology and Ethnology, several scholars are involved in the study of the anthropology of war, including different aspects of cultural violence. There is detailed information on regions in the Third World where massacres and genocide could occur.

A group of scholars at the Faculty of Law is studying aspects of the problem of human rights within the framework of international law. Other legal disciplines are also of interest.

At Lund University, a research group consisting of historians, and literature and cinema historians, considers the Holocaust within the framework of a project on history as fiction.

Research at the Centre for Research in International Migration and Ethnic Relations (CEIFO) at Stockholm University is relevant in several respects, partly because of certain projects concerning neo-Nazi tendencies in Sweden that are funded by the government, and partly because of a series of interesting attitude studies of xenophobia and the view of immigrants. Above all, these have an important theoretical competence and a clear methodological breadth, as well as a knowledge of the languages spoken in Eastern Europe, the Caucasus, the Middle East and Latin America.

Within the Uppsala–Stockholm area there are many good possibilities for creating a Swedish research centre of international stature.