

## Index

- Aaronsohn, A.  
 (1916), 146  
*Abakiga*, 455–6  
 Abdulhamit II, Sultan, 118–19, 125, 130  
 Abu Sayyaf movement, 526  
 abuse, gender, 89, 152, 171. *See also*  
 rape  
*Accounting for Genocide* (Fein), 279  
 Aceh, 493–4  
 Acquitainians, 14  
 Act of Settlement (1652), 52  
 Act of Union (1536), 58  
 actor  
 ideological, 100  
 in interwar ethnic relations, 68  
 settler, in South West Africa, 102–6  
 in South West Africa, 100  
 Adana, 127–8  
 Addis Ababa, 309  
 Adler, 63  
 Adzic, General, 394  
 affectual action, 26  
 Africa, 11, 428–9  
 Agaoglu, 122  
 Agayev. *See* Agaoglu  
 age, 56–7  
 agriculture, collectivization of, in Soviet  
 Union, 323  
 Ahmici, 357, 406, 409, 410, 413–14  
 AK-47. *See* Kalashnikov  
 Akayesu, Mayor Jean Paul, 458, 469  
*Akazu*. *See* “little house”  
 Akcam, J.  
 (1992), 172  
 Akcam, Taner, 154  
 Akcura, 131  
*Aktion Reinhard* (death camps), 213, 251,  
 259–62, 291  
 Alai Bey, 160  
 Albania, 112  
 Albanians  
 in Kosovo, 356, 359, 363, 386, 416  
 and religion, 10  
 Albigenians, 42  
 alcohol, 65, 242, 262, 266, 271, 278, 287,  
 419, 420, 422, 462, 480  
 Aleksovski, Zlatko, 406, 414  
 Aleksynas, 285  
 Aleppo, 161  
 Alexander II, Tsar, 64  
 Alexander, King, 294  
 Alexander the Great, 38  
 Ali Muenif Bey, 160, 161  
 “Alia.” *See* Izetbegovic  
 Alilovic, 409  
 Allen, M.  
 (2002), 215  
 Allers, Dietrich, 260  
 Alodhya mosque, 481  
 Alp, Tekin, 131  
*Amasasu*, 445  
 Amdja, Hassan, 158  
 America  
 Indians, 505. *See also* specific tribes  
 Indians, perception of, 84  
 Indians, Plan A for, 89–90, 96  
 Indians, Plan B for, 90, 96  
 Indians, Plan C for, 92, 96–7  
 Indians, rationales for extermination of,  
 vii  
 native population in, 76  
 peoples of, 9  
 Spanish incursions into, 71  
 Anatolia, 112  
*And Quiet Flows the Don* (Sholokhov), 324  
 Anderson, B.  
 (1983), 30  
 “Angel of Death,” 218  
 Angka, 344, 345, 346, 348, 349, 350  
 Ankor Vat, 340

560

*Anschluss*, 194  
 anti-Semitism, 47, 183, 184, 190–1, 193  
 anti-Slav sentiments, 184  
 Antonescu, Marshal, 303, 304–7  
 Aosta, Duke of, 309  
 Apache Indians, 91, 96  
 Arad, Y.  
   (1987), 213  
 Arajs, Major Viktor, 283, 284, 292  
 Arapaho Indians, 98  
 Arendt, H.  
   (1965), 244  
   (1983), 29, 189  
 Arkan. *See* Raznatovic, Zeljko  
 Arkan's Tigers, 392, 404  
 Armenia  
   Armenian Problem, 6, 8  
   “the Armenian Question,” 141  
   genocide in, 140–79  
   peoples of, 8  
 Armenians, 115, 116, 117–18  
 arms sales, 526  
 Arrow Cross, 302  
 Artamen League, 213  
 Arunachal Pradesh, 489  
 Arusha Accords (1993), 441–2, 443, 451, 500  
 Ashdown, Paddy, 396, 407  
 Asia, 71  
 Asiatic-Bolshevism, 273  
 Assam, 489  
 assimilation, 72  
   in America, 87  
   aristocratic lateral, 72, 78  
   civic definition of, 181  
   coercive, in America, 88  
   coercive, in Ireland, 49, 53  
   coercive, in Ottoman Empire, 131  
   cultural, in Bulgaria, 307  
   forced, in Greater Serbia, 357–8  
   under Hapsburgs, 182  
   institutional, in South West Africa, 100  
   institutional, in Spain, 47  
   lateral, 35, 41  
   lateral aristocratic, 60  
   lateral aristocratic, in Australia, 79  
   lateral aristocratic, in South West Africa, 101  
   partial, in America, 89  
   voluntary, 13–14  
   voluntary, in America, 86

*Index*

voluntary, in Germany, 181  
 voluntary, partial, 508  
 Assyrians, 34, 39, 40–1  
 Ataturk, 130, 163  
 atrocities  
   “bottom-up,” 22  
   Bulgarian, 113  
   Croatian, in the Laska Valley, 405–16  
   four types of, in Yugoslavia, 356–7  
   Muslim, 416–18  
 Augustus, 38  
 Aumeier, Hans, 252  
 Auschwitz, 212, 216, 240  
*Ausrottung*, 191  
 Australia, 13, 79–83  
   Aboriginal population in, 76, 79–80, 83  
   peoples of, 9  
   Plan A in, 79  
   Plan B in, 79  
   Plan C in, 80  
   Plan D in, 82  
   Plan E in, 82  
 Austria, 63–4  
   Austrian Germans, and Slavic threat, 182  
   Austrian Germans, and Jewish threat, 182  
   and Slavic threat, 183  
   “Austrian Legion,” 216  
 Auxiliary Police Battalion 101, 215, 266–72  
 Auxiliary Police Battalion 309, 271  
 Ayodha, 484  
 Azeris, 9  
  
 Babic, 384, 387–8, 393, 400  
 Babylonian rebellion, 40  
 Bach-Zalewski, General von dem Erich, 199, 246–7, 268  
 Baer, Richard, 252  
 Bagasora, Colonel Theoneste, 443, 445, 447, 451  
 Baggesen, Mayor Ignace, 407  
 Baghdjian, K.  
   (1987), 170  
 Bagilishema, Mayor, 448, 455–6  
 Bagogwe, 447  
 Bajrang Dal, 479, 483  
 Baky, 300  
 Balkan states  
   Plan A in, 281  
   Plan B in, 282  
   Plan C in, 282  
 Balkan wars, 131

Cambridge University Press

052183130X - The Dark Side of Democracy: Explaining Ethnic Cleansing

Michael Mann

Index

[More information](#)

## Index

561

- Baltic states, 16, 19, 113, 281–6, 353
- Banach, J.  
(1998), 214
- Bandwagon Nazis, 235
- Bantu, 432
- Barbie, Klaus, 218, 222
- Barnett, A.  
(1983), 349
- Bartov, O.  
(1985), 273  
(1996), 29
- Bassiouni Report, 420
- Battle of Kosovo Field (1389), 19–20, 358, 361
- Bauchenwald, 200
- Baumann, Z.  
(1989), 21, 29, 240
- Beara, Colonel, 396
- “Beast of Belsen,” 218. *See* Kramer
- Becker, E.  
(1998), 349
- Being Muslim the Bosnian Way* (1995), 406
- Beissinger, M.  
(2002), 25, 355
- Bekir Sami Bey, 161
- Belarus, 286–8
- Belgium, 60
- Bell-Fialkoff, A.  
(1993), 69
- Belzec, 259, 292
- Benes, President, 353
- Berger, General, 199
- Berkday, Halil, 154
- Bernau, Mr., 111, 153
- Best, Werner, 202
- Beziers, 42
- Bianchi, 407–8
- Bigler, Governor, 91
- Bilinsky, Y.  
(1990), 291
- biological-racial reasoning, 185
- Birn, R.  
(1998), 189, 271
- Bisesero, 455, 460, 465
- “Bitch of Buchenwald,” 218
- BJP, 483
- Black-and-Tans, 15
- Black Hawk War, 93
- Blaskic, Colonel Tihomir, 406, 410, 411, 413
- “bloodlines” and mass murder, 342–3
- “Bloody Brygida.” *See* Lachert, Hildegard
- Blume, Walter, 264
- Bluttkit*, 263
- Boban, Mate, 378, 384, 408
- Bodo, 489
- Böhme, General Franz, 274
- Boljevic, Dusan and Jagoda, 420
- Bolshevik Revolution, 183
- Bolshevism, 5, 273, 321
- Bond, D.  
(1998), 20
- Book of the Courtier, The* (Guicciardini), 43
- border disputes, 355
- between Armenians and Azeris, 355
- between Georgians and Ossetians, 355
- in India, 488
- between Jammu and Kashmir, 486–8
- between Tajikistan and Uzbekistan, 355
- Boris, Czar, 307
- Bosnia, 368–9, 381
- Bosniaks in, 10, 369
- Bosnian Serb Party (SDS), 369
- Bosnian state, 7
- cantons of, 406
- Muslims, 416
- population in, 366
- Serb aggression against, 395–6
- Bosnia-Herzegovina, 356
- ethnic self-identification in, 363
- population in, 366
- Bosnian Croat army (HVO), 407, 409
- Bosnian Croat party (HDZ), 408
- Bosnian refugees, 116
- Brack, 210
- Bradford, William, 85
- Braeckman, P.  
(1994), 447
- Braham, R.  
(1981), 301
- Brandt, Karl, 257
- Brass, P.  
(1997), 22, 441, 475, 476
- Bratunac, 385
- Braunsteiner, Hermine, 253
- Bridgman, J.  
(1981), 107
- Bringa, Tone, 406–7, 414–16
- Britain, 13
- Broad, Corporal Perry, 254, 292
- Broszat, M.  
(1981), 190
- Browder, G.  
(1996), 214–15, 231

- Brown, P.  
 (1996), 35
- Browning, C.  
 (1978), 215  
 (1978, 1985, 1993, 1994), 247–8  
 (1983), 248  
 (1993), 189, 215, 267, 270
- Brubaker, R.  
 (1996), 68, 360
- Bryce Report, 136, 150, 151, 153, 169
- Buchheim, H.  
 (1968), 270
- Buddhism, 42
- Bulgaria, 112, 307–8
- Bulow, Reich Chancellor von, 104, 105
- Bürckel, Josef, 246
- Burke, P.  
 (1978), 43–4, 58
- Burleigh, M.  
 (1994), 260  
 (2000), 183, 259
- Burnett, Governor, 91
- Burundi, 430, 431–2, 435, 438
- Busovaca, 410, 411
- Butare, 456
- “Caco.” *See* Topalovic, Musan
- Cahit, Huseyin, 144
- California Indians, 76, 87–8. *See also*  
 America, native population; America,  
 Indians
- callous class warfare, 324
- callous policies, 16
- callous warfare  
 and Albigenians, 42  
 in China, 337  
 in Holy Roman Empire, 48  
 in Ireland, 51  
 in Ottoman Empire, 113  
 against Poles, 185
- Cambodia, 339–42, 350  
 Plan A in, 341  
 Plan B in, 341
- Campbell, B.  
 (1998), 196
- Canaris, Admiral, 273
- Canby, General, 92
- Caribbean islands, 16
- Carthage, 34, 36
- Casas, Bartolome de las, 77
- Castillo, Bernal Diaz del, 77
- Cathar heresy, 42
- Caucasus, the, 98, 112, 114
- CCP, 337, 338–9
- Cefalonia, 274
- Celebici, 416–17
- Cerkez, Commander, 406, 411, 413
- Chandler, D.  
 (1999), 346, 347, 348  
 “Chaos Thesis,” 264
- Charny, I.  
 (1986), 9
- Chechia, 6, 99, 329
- Chechnya, 329, 355
- Cheka secret police, 65, 321
- Cherokee Indians, 86–7, 93, 94, 108
- Chetniks, 362, 392, 421
- Cheyenne Indians, 98
- Chickasaw Indians, 108
- China, 330–9  
 bureaucracy, 39  
 famine in, 336  
 “five black categories” in, 337  
 “five red categories” in, 337  
 inflation in, 334–5  
 land distribution in, 332  
 Plan A in, 333  
 Plan B in, 333–4  
 Plan C in, 334, 335, 337  
 Plan D in, 337  
 Red Guards in, 337
- Chinese Communist Party (CPP), 330–1, 332, 333
- chistka*. *See* purge
- Chivington, Colonel, 98
- Choctaw Indians, 93, 108
- Christendom, 16th-century Western, 48
- Christian Greeks, 115
- Christian Socialists, 63
- Christianity, 42, 75
- Christie, Debra, 415
- Chumash Indians, 18. *See also* American  
 Indians
- Churchill, Winston, 190, 353
- Ciano, 308
- Cigar, N.  
 (1995), 20, 360
- Cilicia, 127
- Circassians, 99–100
- citizenship, 56
- Citizenship Law, 193
- Civil Service Academy, 122
- civil society theory, 21

Cambridge University Press

052183130X - The Dark Side of Democracy: Explaining Ethnic Cleansing

Michael Mann

Index

[More information](#)

## Index

563

- Civil War  
 in England, 51  
 in Ireland, 50  
 Soviet, 321  
 civilian deaths, 2  
*Civilization and Its Discontents* (Freud), 18  
 class, 56, 57, 58, 59  
 “class-divided societies,” 36  
 and ethnicity, 60–1  
 classicide, 17, 320  
 in Cambodia, 340, 342  
 in China, 337  
 cleansing  
 biological, 15  
 colonial, 70–6, 107–8  
 ethnic, 522. *See also* power, networks  
 ethnic, defined, 11  
 ethnic, five steps of, in Yugoslavia, 361  
 ethnic, in Northern Europe, 506–9  
 ethnic, Plan A for, 7  
 ethnic, Plan B for, 7  
 murderous, 97  
 murderous, alternative scenarios for, 6–7  
 murderous, as Plan C, 7–8  
 murderous, danger zone of, 6  
 murderous, modernity of, 2–3, 502  
 murderous, perpetuation of, 7  
 Clifton, R.  
 (1999), 50  
 coercion, institutional, 14  
 in Germany, 181  
 on Iberian Peninsula, 45  
 during Thirty Years War, 49  
 Cohen, L.  
 (1995), 360  
 Cohen, Moses. *See* Alp, Tekin  
 Cold War, 511  
 “collective conscience” (Durkheim), 121  
 “collective madness,” 403  
 colony  
 economy, types of colonial, 71–2  
 expansion, Russian, 99–100  
 mixed, 71  
 occupation, 71  
 plantation, 71  
 pure settlement, 72  
 settler cases, 22  
 Comanche Indians, 97  
 Commissar Order, 187  
 “commitment problem,” 24  
 Committee of the Committee of Union and  
 Progress (CUP), 123, 126–7  
 common law (English), 43  
 Communist  
 deaths under regimes, 319  
 perceived enemies of, 318–21  
 “comprador capitalist,” 342  
 concentration camps, 200–2  
 confederal methodology, 13  
 confederalism, multicultural, under  
 Hapsburgs, 182  
 Conference of the Undersecretaries, 248  
 Congo, 7  
 Connolly, S.  
 (1992), 53  
 Connor, W.  
 (1994), 31, 59, 365  
 consociationalism, 13, 114, 118, 524  
 Constitution of 1850, 90  
 constructivism, 21  
 “contradictions of continuous revolution,”  
 197  
 conversion  
 forced, 16  
 forced, and Albigenians, 42  
 forced, of Serbs, 296  
*conversos*, 45–6  
 Convicts Brigade, 409  
*convivencia*, 45  
 Conwy, 58  
 Coote, Charles, 52  
 core constituencies, 20, 505–6  
 Corradini, 62, 309  
 Cortes, 76–7  
 Corwin, P.  
 (1999), 422  
 Cossacks, 15  
 Coster, W.  
 (1999), 52  
 CPP, 336, 337. *See* Chinese Communist  
 Party  
 CRD, 440  
 Creek Indians, 85, 92, 93, 108  
 Croatia, 294–8, 367, 376, 379  
 Chetniks, 295  
 Croatian army (HVO), 407  
 Croatian Community of Herceg-Bosna,  
 408  
 Croatian Democratic Party, 385  
 Croatian Party of Rights, 379  
 Croatian state, 7  
 Croats in, 10  
 ethnic self-identification in, 363  
 Tito’s Partisans, 295

- Crocker, M.  
 (1998), 98  
 Cromwell, Oliver, 50–2  
 Crook, General, 96  
 Crosby, A.  
 (1986), 76  
 CUP. *See* Committee of the Committee of  
 Union and Progress  
 Custer, General George Armstrong, 92  
 Cyahinda, 463  
 Czechoslovakia, 353
- Dachau, 200, 201, 213, 216, 252  
 Dadrian, V.  
 (1992), 127, 128  
 (1993), 174  
 (1996), 20  
 (1997), 133  
 Dahijas, 405  
 Dallaire, General Romeo, 449, 452, 527  
 Davidson, K.  
 (1985), 172  
 Davies, Consul, 152, 153, 162, 171  
 Dayaks, 5, 495–6  
 Dayton Agreement (1995), 387  
 Dean, M.  
 (2000), 271  
 death camps, 242  
*Death of a Nation* (BBC documentary), 370  
 Declaration on the Sovereignty and  
 Autonomy of the Serbian People, 387  
 Deir Zor, 146, 148  
 Del Boca, A.  
 (1969), 309–10  
 Delacic, Zejnil, 417  
 Delic, Hazim, 417  
 democracy, 3. *See also* demos  
 conceptions of, 68–9  
 liberal, 55  
 majoritarian, 22  
 settler, 4, 73, 88, 90  
 Democratic League of Kosovo, 387  
 democratic peace theory, 21–2, 108  
*demos*, i, 3–4, 55, 184, 502. *See also*  
 democracy  
 Deng, Xiaoping, 336  
 Department of Jewish Affairs, 307  
 Deportation Order, 158  
 deportations, 87, 90  
 Assyrian, 41  
 coerced, Jewish, 66  
 forcible, in America, 90  
 forcible, in Spain, 47  
 forcible, in the Ottoman Empire, 141  
 limited, in America, 89–90  
 in the Ottoman Empire, 131, 156  
 policed, 15  
 policed, Assyrian, 41  
 policed, in America, 87, 96  
 policed, in Australia, 79, 83  
 policed, in Cambodia, 341  
 policed, in Hungary, 299  
 policed, in Ottoman Empire, 113, 143  
 policed, in Poland, 281  
 policed, in Romania, 303  
 policed, in Russia, 282  
 policed, in South West Africa, 101  
 policed, in Spain, 47  
 policed, under Stalinism, 321, 323  
 violent, in Ottoman Empire, 144  
 violent, of Jews, 208  
 violent, of Poles, 208  
 wild, 15  
 wild, in Greater Serbia, 359  
 wild, in Hungary, 299  
 wild, in Ottoman Empire, 113  
 wild, in Yugoslavia, 357  
 wild, of Jews, 194  
 wild, of Poles, 182  
 wild, of Serbs, 296  
 wild, of Soviet Slavs, 186  
 Deronjic, 396  
 Des Forges, A.  
 (1999), 442, 463  
*Deutsche Volkspartei* (German People's  
 Party), 63  
 di Tiro, Hasan, 493  
 direct rule, 73  
 “Directive 7,” 395  
 discrimination, 14, 67, 509  
 and the anti-Catholic Penal Laws, 52  
 in Australia, 82  
 under Hapsburgs, 183  
 in Ireland, 53  
 in Macedonia, 368  
 in Romania, 303  
 in Rwanda, 435  
 in South West Africa, 100  
 under Stalinism, 322  
 in Yugoslavia, 355  
 disease, 74, 75–80, 85, 89  
 dispersal, 81  
 Dittrich, Erich, 249  
 Djemal Bey, 159–60

- Djema! Effendi, 160  
 Djema! Pasha, 118, 123, 129, 132, 144,  
 158–9, 164  
 Djevdet Bey, 147  
 Dolukhanov, P.  
 (1994), 35, 37  
 “Domovnica,” 382  
 Dorian, 305–6  
 Dortyol, 145–6  
 Draskovic, Vuk, 367, 371, 372, 374  
 Drina Army Corps, 396  
 “Driving while Black,” 14  
 Drogheda, 50–1, 52  
 Durkheim, Emil, 25  
 Duruy, 59  
 Dusan the Mighty, 392  
 Dusina, 409  
 Dutch, 44  
 dynastic empires  
   Hapsburg (Austria), 62  
   multiethnic, 62  
   Ottoman (Islamic, Turkey), 62  
   Romanov (Russia), 62  
 Eberl, Irmfried, 260  
 ecological imperialism, 76  
 Edip, Halide, 162–3  
 Ehlers, Ernst-Boje, 268  
 Eichmann, Adolf, 199, 208, 209, 218,  
 244–5, 260, 300  
 Eicke, Theodor, 201, 216, 252  
*Einsatzgruppen*, 215, 263–6  
 elections  
   German, 1928–32, 183–4  
   Serbia, 1990–91, 184  
 Elias, N.  
 (1996), 195  
 elites, 39–40  
 Emancipation of 1826, 88  
 emigration  
   coerced, 67  
   pressured, in Rwanda, 430, 434, 435,  
   440  
   pressured, in Yugoslavia, 357  
   pressured, of Jews, 193, 208  
*encomienda*, 77  
 Endre, 300  
*Entfernung*, 191, 240  
 Entress, Friedrich, 255  
 Enver Pasha, 123, 124, 125, 129, 131, 132,  
 135, 144, 155  
 Erdemovic, Drazen, 401–2  
 Eremija, Lieutenant Colonel, 394  
 Erzindjan, 171–2  
 escalation, 504  
 Essad Bey, 161  
 ethic of responsibility, 425  
 Ethiopia, 309–10  
 ethnic  
   confederalism, 321  
   conflict, antidotes to, 522–9  
   conflict, development of, 6  
   enemies, 328  
   hostility, 5–6  
   imperial revisionism, 183  
   “niche,” 31  
   niche economies, 516  
   revisionism, 227  
   victims, 328–9  
   wars, obstacles to thwarting, 527  
 ethnicity, 37, 79, 324–5, 383  
   and class, 60–1  
   defined, 11  
   German, 181, 214  
   revival of, in Southern Europe, 509–14  
   in Yugoslav republics, 362–6  
 ethnocide, 36, 72, 75  
   in America, 84, 88  
   in Australia, 80  
   defined, 16  
   in Mexico, 76, 78  
   in Ottoman Empire, 144  
 ethnocracy, 39, 502, 519  
 ethnonationalism, i, 5, 20, 515–18  
   Hindu, 482, 483–4  
*ethnos*, i, 3, 4, 55, 184, 502  
 ethnosymbolism, 19  
 EU, 507  
 Europe, 57–8, 61–2  
 “Euthanasia” project. *See* T4  
 Evans, A.  
 (1999), 488  
 Evans, Governor, 98  
 expulsion, forcible, 354  
   of Greeks and Turks from Cyprus, 354  
   of Greeks from Abkhazia, 354  
   of Greeks from Turkey, 354  
   of Turks from Bulgaria, 354  
 extraterritoriality, 72–3  
 Ezergailis, 284  
 factionalism, 503  
 Fanslau, Heinz-Karl, 235  
 fascism, defined, 180

- Fascist Union of Christian Romanian Students, 303–4  
*Fascists* (Mann, 2004), 65  
 Fearon, J.  
   (1995), 24  
 Fearon, J., and D. Laitin  
   (2000), 21  
   (2003), 4, 11, 516  
*fedais*, 124, 129  
 Fein, H.  
   (1984), 21, 279, 298  
 Feingold, H.  
   (1983), 240  
 Fetterman Massacre, 108  
 Fieldhouse, D.  
   (1965), 71, 72  
 Filbert, Dr. Alfred, 264, 269  
 Filipovic, Colonel, 411  
 “Final Solution,” 8, 18, 107, 187, 188, 195, 208–11, 240, 305, 499–500  
 Fischböck, Hans, 249  
 Fisher, Harriet, 162–3  
 Five Year Plan (1928), 322  
 Flick, Friedrich, 249  
 Florstedt, Hermann, 235  
 Flossenbürg, 200  
 Four Year Plan (1976), 343  
 France, 13  
   minorities in, 59  
 Franciscan Missions, 87–8  
 Frank, Hans, 246  
 Franz, Kurt, 261  
 fratricide, 320, 337, 340, 345  
 Frederickson, G.  
   (1988), 71, 72, 185  
*Freikorps*, 195–6, 203, 213, 234, 235, 237  
 French Revolution, 61  
 Frenzel, Karl, 262  
 Friedländer, H.  
   (1995), 259  
 Friedländer, S.  
   (1997), 192  
 Fritzsche, Karl, 252  
 Fuchs, Sergeant, 274  
 fundamentalism, 513–14  
 Furundzija, Commander, 411  
 Gagauz, 307  
 “Galahad of National Socialism.” *See*  
   Ohlendorf, Otto  
 Gandhi, Indira, 486  
 Gecas, Antanas, 285  
 Gellately, R.  
   (1990), 214  
 Gellner, E.  
   (1983), 36–7  
 genocide, 34  
   in America, 85, 91, 94, 98  
   Armenian, 499  
   attempted, of Gypsies, 181  
   in Australia, 83  
   “banality” of, 240–1  
   complicity of non-Nazi institutions in, 247  
   defined, 17  
   escalation of, in South West Africa, 106  
   of Jews, 185, 188  
   in Lithuania, 285  
   in the main Nazi camps, 251–6  
   Nazi, institutionalized, 240–78  
   in the Ottoman Empire, 149  
   partial, 17  
   in Rwanda, 430, 500  
   scale of Nazi, 184–91  
   scenarios required for, 503  
   statist, in the Ottoman Empire, 156  
   Yugoslav, 358, 500–1  
 Gerlach, C.  
   (1999), 209  
*German Ideology, The* (Marx), 347  
 “German Question, the,” 180  
 Germans  
   “ethnic,” 353–4  
   Sudetan, 353  
 Germany. *See also* Iberian peninsula;  
   *Deutsche Volkspartei*  
   Germans in, 6, 10  
 Gerstein, Kurt, 250  
 Gestapo, 202  
 Getty, J.A.  
   (1985), 330  
 Ghalib Bey, General, 164  
 “Ghengizism,” 132  
 Gisenyi, 436, 443, 447, 451, 453, 454  
 Gisovu, 459, 464  
 Gitarama, 436, 457  
 Glavas, 388  
 Glenn, M.  
   (1992), 359, 380  
   (1993), 400  
 Glina, 385  
 Globocnik, Odilo, 247  
 Glogova, 396  
 Glücks, Major-General Richard, 217, 243  
 Godhra, 484–5



Cambridge University Press

052183130X - The Dark Side of Democracy: Explaining Ethnic Cleansing

Michael Mann

Index

[More information](#)

## Index

567

- Goebbels, Joseph, 195, 208, 211  
 Goeth, Amon, 253  
 Gökalp, 120–2, 131, 132, 144  
 Goldhagen, D.  
   (1996), 20, 189, 190, 215, 267, 282  
 Gordy, E.  
   (1999), 374  
 Gorgass, Dr., 204–5  
 Goring, Herman, 193, 194, 195, 209  
 Gorski, P.  
   (2000), 44  
 Gourevitch, P.  
   (1998), 467, 469  
 grain expropriations, in Soviet Union, 324  
 Granada, 46, 47  
 Grant, Ulysses, 91  
 Graziani, General, 309  
 Great Famine, 324, 329  
 “Great Leap Forward” (China), 15–16, 334, 336, 339  
 Great Purge, 327  
 Great Terror (1937–38), 326–7  
 “Greater Serbia,” 365, 369, 372, 389  
 Greece, 112  
   Greek polis, 39  
   Greeks, 116, 117  
 Grese, Irma, 256  
 Grosscurth, Lt. Col., 250  
 Grude, 408  
 Guatemala, 512  
 Gujarat pogrom (2002), 484–5  
 Gurr, T.  
   (1993), 505  
   (2000), 20  
 gypsies, 185, 305, 307  
  
 Haberer, E.  
   (2002), 267  
 habitual action, 25  
 Habyarimana, President, 435, 436, 439, 440, 441  
 Hadjin, Mufti of, 172  
 Hagen, Dr. Wilhelm, 250  
 Halder, Army Chief of Staff, 209  
 Halil Bey, 158, 163, 166  
 Halim, Grand Vizier Said, 158  
 Hantl, Emil, 255  
 Hapsburg, 181, 182  
 Hapsburg Empire, 112  
 Harff, B.  
   (1998), 20  
 Harster, Wilhelm, 203  
  
 Hartl, Lieutenant Albert, 250, 269, 270  
 HDZ, 377, 379–80, 407, 409. *See also*  
   Bosnian Croat party  
 Headland, R.  
   (1992), 187  
 Hefner, R.  
   (2000), 497  
 Heissmeyer, Kurt, 235  
 Henry VII, King, 58  
 Henry VIII, King, 58  
 Herero, 102, 103–6, 108  
 Hetmans, 66  
 Heuze, G.  
   (1992), 480  
 Heyde, Werner, 258  
 Heydrich, Reinhard, 187, 195, 198, 202, 209, 210, 242  
 Hezekial, King, 40–1  
 Highland Clearances, 61  
 Hilberg, R.  
   (1978), 187, 213, 263, 303  
 Hill people, 342  
 Hima, 432  
 Himmler, Heinrich, vii, 66, 195, 198, 199, 201, 202, 209, 211, 215, 246  
 Hinduism, 42  
*Hindutva*, 474  
 Hintjens, H.  
   (1999), 436, 442  
 Hinze, Günther, 254  
 Hitler, Adolf, vii, 183, 184, 185, 190, 191, 204, 206–7, 211, 272, 307–8  
   and the Poles, 209  
 Hlinka Slovak Populist Party, 293–4  
 HO. *See* Croatia, Croatian army  
 Höcker, Karl, 252  
*hodja*, 171  
 Hoffman, Franz, 201–2, 252  
 Holbrooke, Richard, 360  
 Hollweg, Chancellor Bethmann, 173–4  
 Holocaust. *See* “Final Solution”  
 homeland states, 68  
 Horowitz, D.  
   (1983), 428  
   (2001), 476, 480  
 Horthy, Admiral, 298–300, 302, 306  
 HOS militia, 409  
 Höss, Major Rudolf, 175, 201, 212, 252  
 Hoss, R.  
   (1978), 244  
 Hoxie, F.  
   (1984), 87

Cambridge University Press

052183130X - The Dark Side of Democracy: Explaining Ethnic Cleansing

Michael Mann

Index

[More information](#)

568

Huber, Irmgard, 258  
 human action, types of (Weber), 25–6  
 “Human Beast, The.” *See* Wagner  
 Hungary, 298–302  
   the “Jewish Question” in, 300  
   Plan A in, 298  
   Plan B in, 299  
 Huntington, S.  
   (1996), 519  
 Huron, 84  
 Hutu, 5, 7, 10, 17, 18, 430, 431,  
   443  
 HVO. *See* Bosnian Croat army  
  
 Iberian peninsula, 45–53  
 ICTR. *See* Rwanda, UN International  
   Criminal Tribunal for  
 IG Farben, 249  
 Ilias, Hodja, 166  
 “imperial nation,” 133, 431  
*Impuzamugambi*, 446  
 Independent Republic of the South  
   Moluccas, 494  
 Independent State of Croatia, 295  
 India, 474–90  
   Bombay riot of 1992–93, 476  
   Congress Party in, 475, 483  
   East Bengal riots (1950), 486  
   Gujarat pogrom (2002), 476  
   intercaste violence in, 483–4  
   languages of, 474, 486  
   multiethnicity of, 474–5  
   partition of, 485–6  
   religions of, 474–5  
   “seven sisters” of, 489  
   Sikh/Hindu conflict in, 486  
 Indian Bureau, 90  
 Indians, 108  
*indios*, 78  
 indirect rule, 73  
 individualism, 55  
 Indo-Europeans, 35  
 Indonesia, 490–8  
   anti-Chinese riots in, 497  
   difficulties faced by nationalists in, 491–2  
   Dutch in, 490, 496  
   East Timor, 492–3  
   Irian Jaya, 495  
   martial law declared (1959) in, 491  
   massacre of Communists (1965) in, 491  
   the Moluccas, 494–5  
   Sulawesi, 494–5

*Index*

West Kalimantan, 495–6  
 West Papua, 495  
 Industrial Revolution, 79  
 in-group policing, 21  
 information failure, 25  
 Ingushi, 329  
 Innocentists, 305  
 Institute of National Remembrance, 281  
 instrumentally rational action, 25  
*Interahamwe*, 445, 446, 448, 452, 454, 455,  
   460, 461, 462, 464, 470  
 International Criminal Court, 528  
 Ioanid, R.  
   (1990), 303  
   (1991), 304  
   (2000), 302  
 Iran, 511  
 Ireland, 49–53, 58, 61  
   1845 famine, 336  
 Ireton, 52  
 “Iron George.” *See* Sorge, Gustav  
 Iron Guard, 304. *See also* Legion of the  
   Archangel Michael  
 Iron Wolf, 283, 285  
 Iroquois Indians, 84, 85  
 Islam, 42  
 Italian Socialist Republic. *See* Salo  
 Italy, 308–11  
*Ittihadist*, 125, 172  
 Izetbegovic, 367, 368, 388, 395  
  
 JA, 393  
 Jackson, Andrew, 93  
 Jackson, Consul, 153, 171  
 Jaeger, Emil, 276  
 Jaffrelot, C.  
   (1996), 475, 476, 480  
 Jamaat-i-Islami, 479  
 Jarolin, Josef, 252  
 Jasenovac, 377  
 Jassy, 304  
 Java, 491  
 Jedwabne, 281  
 Jefferson, Thomas, vii, 70, 92–3  
 Jelisic, Goran, 402  
 Jesenovac, 296  
 Jevdet, Tahir, 160  
 “Jew, the,” 207  
 Jews, 310–11. *See also* Judeo-Bolshevism  
   Judaism  
   atrocities by, 9  
   and Auxiliary Police Battalion 101, 266

Cambridge University Press

052183130X - The Dark Side of Democracy: Explaining Ethnic Cleansing

Michael Mann

Index

[More information](#)

## Index

569

- and the Bolshevik Revolution, 183  
 in Bulgaria, 307–8  
 and *conversos*, 46–7  
 in Croatia, 297  
 in death camps, 262  
 in Estonia, 282, 283  
 exterminated because of foreign  
   entanglements, 184  
 genocide of, 8, 263  
 in Germany, 25  
 in the Hapsburg Empire, 182  
 in Hungary, 302  
 in Italy, 308  
 “Jewish Question” and population  
   transfers, 69  
 “Jewish subhumanity,” 273  
 in the *Kaiserreich*, 181  
 in Latvia, 282, 283  
 linked to Bolshevik uprisings, 192–3  
 in Lithuania, 282, 283  
 oppression of, by Roman Empire, 19  
 perceptions of, 254, 256, 316–17  
 and perpetrators, 231  
 in Poland, 280  
 and Poles, 208–9  
 as “privileged” victims, 184  
 rationales for extermination, 265, 267  
 in Romania, 302–7  
 in Russia, 64–6, 209–10  
 and salvation religions, 42, 43  
 shooting of, 272  
 in the Soviet Union, 187  
 in Spain, 45, 46–7  
 as targets of resentment, 64–6  
 in the Ukraine, 66, 289, 290  
 as *Untermenschen*, 272  
 variables in killing of, 279  
*Jihad*, 171, 518  
 JNA, 380–1. *See* Yugoslavia, Yugoslav army  
 JNR, 434  
 Jokers, 409  
 Jovic, State Council President, 376, 381  
 Judah, T.  
   (2000), 386–7  
 Judaism, 38, 187. *See also* Jews  
 Judeo-Bolshevism, 9, 65, 66, 183, 191, 196,  
   207, 209, 210, 211, 273, 280, 281, 290,  
   301, 305, 306  
*Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, 218  
 Kadets, 66  
 Kadir, Hilme Abdul, 161–2  
 Kaiser, H.  
   (1999a), 150, 153  
   (1999b), 174  
   (2001a), 145  
*Kaiserreich*, 62  
 Kajmovic, Professor, 413  
 Kakwenzire, J. and D. Kumukama  
   (1999), 447  
 Kalashnikov, 521  
 Kallay, Prime Minister, 299  
 Kaltenbrunner, Ernst, 243–4  
 Kalyvas, S.  
   (1999), 24  
 Kambanda, Prime Minister Jean Alphonse,  
   456  
 Kamil, General, 147, 168  
 Kamilindi, Thomas, 453  
*Kangura*, 443  
 Kanyabashi, Mayor Joseph, 457  
 Kaornik, 414  
 Karadzic, Radovan, 384, 388–9, 393, 395–6,  
   517  
 Karamira, 452  
 Karay, F.  
   (1996), 291  
 Karemera, 452  
 Kashmir, 6, 475, 487  
 Kashubians, 185  
 Katschenka, Anna, 259  
 Katz, J.  
   (1988), 28, 383, 399  
   (1993), 29, 212–13, 466  
 Katzmann, Friedrich, 247  
 Kavazovic, 412  
 Kayishema, Clément, 454–5  
 Kazakhs, 99–100  
 Kazakhstan, Russian minority in, 23–4  
 Keane, F.  
   (1995), 469  
 Keitel, Field Marshal Wilhelm, 274  
 Kemal, Mustapha. *See* Atatürk  
 Kershaw, I.  
   (1984), 206  
   (1997), 194  
 Kevorkian, 127, 128, 158  
 Khairi, Shaikh-ul-Islam, 158  
 Khmer Rouge, 17, 339–47  
 Kiazim, Musa, 158  
 Kiebach, 266  
 Kiernan, B.  
   (1996), 343, 346, 349  
 Kigali, 453

- killer. *See also* perpetrator  
 bigoted, 27, 189  
 bigoted, in Cambodia, 349  
 bigoted, in death camps, 202  
 bigoted, in Germany, 198  
 bureaucratic, 29  
 bureaucratic, in Germany, 189  
 careerist, 28  
 careerist, in death camps, 202  
 careerist, in Germany, 189, 194  
 comradely, 28–33  
 comradely, in death camps, 202  
 comradely, in Germany, 189, 198  
 disciplined, 28  
 disciplined, in death camps, 202  
 disciplined, in Germany, 189, 194  
 elite desk, 242–51  
 fearful, 28  
 fearful, in Germany, 189  
 ideological, 27, 239  
 ideological desk-, 243  
 materialist, 28  
 materialist, in Germany, 189  
 violent, 28  
 violent, in Cambodia, 349  
 violent, in Germany, 198  
 Kinyarwanda language, 432, 439  
 Kirschbaum, 64  
 Kiseljak, 410, 412  
 Kishwar, M.  
 (1998a), 466  
 KL officers, 1945, 217  
 KLA, 387  
 Klehr, Josef, 253  
 Kljucic, President, 408  
 Klujic, 384  
 Kneissler, Pauline, 205  
 Knights of Serbia, 392  
 Knin, 385, 387, 418  
 Koch, Ernst, 246  
 Koch, Karl, 252  
 Koehl, R.  
 (1983), 214  
 Koljevic, 384  
 Komeno, 276  
 Konia, 146, 148  
 Kordic, 408, 411, 413  
 Kosiy, Bohdan, 290  
 Kosovo, 1, 357, 359, 363, 364, 386, 393,  
 418  
 Kovacevic, Milan, 403–4  
 Krahner, Josef, 265  
 Krajina, 379, 382, 384, 393, 399, 405  
 Kraljevic, Darko, 411, 412  
 Kramer, Josef, 253  
 Kremenets, 289  
 Kremer, Johann Paul, 255  
 Kretschmer, Lieutenant Karl, 265  
 Kripo, 202  
*Kristallnacht*, 194, 198, 201, 206  
 Kritzinger, 248  
 Krstic, General, 358, 396  
 Krumej, 245  
 Krupp, Gustav, 249  
 Kubamanda, 458  
 Kube, Wilhelm, 250–1  
 kulak, 323, 325  
 Kurds, 114  
 Kuzmanovic, B.  
 (1995), 360  
 labor  
 concentrated, 71–2  
 disbursed, 71  
 nonnative, 72  
 Lachert, Hildegard, 255  
 Lahousan, General, 185, 273  
 Laitin, D.  
 (1999a, 1999b), 23–4  
 Lakota Indians, 92  
 LANC, 303  
 land, 31, 72, 79, 84, 92, 95  
 Landau, Sergeant-Major Felix, 265  
 Landzo, Esad, 417  
 Langenberg  
 (1990), 497  
 language, 37, 43, 57, 58–9, 123, 328  
 Lasik, A.  
 (1994), 213, 214  
 Laska Valey. *See* atrocities, Croatian  
 Laskar Jihad, 495  
 Lasuen, Father Fermin, 87  
 Lasva, 409  
 Latin America, 515  
 Latvia  
 Plan B in, 284  
 Plan C in, 284  
 Latvian Auxiliary Police battalions, 283  
 Law on Croatian Citizenship (1991), 379  
 Lazar, Prince, 361–2  
 Leadership Principle, 194, 199  
 Lechthaler, Major Franz, 266  
 Legion of the Archangel Michael, 302. *See also* Iron Guard

Cambridge University Press

052183130X - The Dark Side of Democracy: Explaining Ethnic Cleansing

Michael Mann

Index

[More information](#)

## Index

571

- Lemkin, Raphael, 17
- Lenin, 322
- Lepanto, battle of (1572), 53
- Letica, S.  
(1996), 360
- Leutwein, Major Theodor, 102, 105
- liberal representative states, 5
- liberalism, and neo-liberalism, 119–20, 510,  
512–13
- Libya, 309, 310
- Liebenhenschel, Arthur, 252
- Lieven, D.  
(1998), 329  
(2000), 112, 113
- Lifton, R.  
(1986), 256
- Likic, Milan, 397
- Liman von Sanders, General, 171
- limited property franchise, 61–2
- limpieza se sangre*, 47
- Lincoln, Abraham, 93–4
- List, Field Marshal Wilhelm, 274
- List, Friedrich, 123
- Lithuanian Activist Front, 283, 284
- Lithuanian 2nd Battalion, 285
- “little house,” 442–7, 450–70
- Litzmann, Karl-Siegmund, 250
- Liu, Shaoqi, 333, 336
- Loewenberg, P.  
(1983), 222
- Lolling, Enno, 255
- Lon Nol, General, 339
- Longman, T.  
(1999), 442
- Losowick, Y.  
(2000), 245
- lost territories, 194, 195–6
- Loughridge, Stella, 157
- Lüdke, Corporal, 269
- Luger, 63
- Lukic, Milan, 402–3
- Lupher, M.  
(1996), 333
- Luther, 247
- Ly, Heng, 346
- Maas, Peter, 398
- Macartney, Charles, 67
- Macedonia, 356, 363, 368
- macroethnicity, 10–11, 37, 515
- Macura, Deputy Mayor, 387
- madrassas*, 487
- Madurese, 495–6
- Maeghalaya, 489
- Magdeburg, 48–9
- Magill, Sergeant, 265
- Maharaja, 486–7
- Mahareru, Samuel, 103
- “majority people,” 434
- Makhullo, Archbishop, 521
- Maksudov, S.  
(1993), 187
- Malaga, 46
- Malaparte, C., 186, 304
- Malkki, L.  
(1995), 471
- Mamdani, M.  
(2001), 463, 465
- Manipur, 489
- Manstein, General von, 273
- Mao, 334, 335, 337
- Maoists, 5, 17
- Markovic, Mirjana, 391, 420
- Maronite Christian community, 118
- Marsovan, 150–1, 168
- Martic, 384, 387–8
- Marticevci, 385
- Martinovic, 421
- Marxian theory, and social transformation,  
318–19
- Mathausen, 200
- Maududi, Maulana, 514
- Maurer, Gerhard, 243
- Maurer, Wilhelm and Johann, 265
- “Mauser.” *See* Savic, Dinko
- Mbonimpa, M.  
(1999), 434
- McCarthy, J.  
(1995), 113
- McDougall, Governor, 91
- McElroy, 95
- Medjugorje, 386
- Melson, R.  
(1992), 174
- Memoir* (Höss), 212
- Memorandum, Serb Academy of Sciences  
and Arts* (1986), 364–5, 366
- Mengele, Josef, 218, 256
- Mennecke, Friedrich, 256
- Mentz, Willi, 261
- Mesic, 394
- Mesopotamia, 37
- mestizo*, 78, 515
- Mexico, 76–8

Micas, 400  
 microethnicity, 10, 37  
 middlemen ethnicities, 516  
 Migonis, Motiejus-Pranus, 285  
 migrants, European, 59  
 Mildt, D. de  
   (1996), 214, 259  
 Milgram, Stanley, 26–7  
 militants, Islamic, in India, 487  
 “Military Line, the.” *See* Milosevic,  
   Slobodan, plan B for Serbia  
 “military Keynesianism,” 206  
 Military Medical College, 122  
 Miliutin, General, 99, 109  
*millet*, 114, 135, 136  
 Milosevic, Slobodan, 184, 369–76, 381, 387,  
   390, 396–7, 424, 425, 426  
   core constituencies of, 391–2  
   Plan A for Serbia, 370, 371, 373, 390,  
     424  
   Plan B for Serbia, 371, 372, 373, 390,  
     424  
   Plan C for Serbia, 390, 424  
   Plan D for Serbia, 391, 424  
 minorities, 64, 67  
 “Minorities in Danger,” 428  
 Mirkovic, D.  
   (1993), 295, 297  
 Mizoram, 489  
 Mladic, Ratko, 396, 404–5  
 Modi, Narendra, 484  
 Modoc Indians, 92  
*mohadjis*, 114, 172  
 Moluccas Christian/Muslim riots,  
   498  
 Mommsen, H.  
   (1991, 1997), 190  
 monotheism, 42  
 Montenegro, 363, 368  
 Moorehead, B.D., 82  
 Morgenthau, Ambassador, 129,  
   154–5  
 Morley, Bertha, 150–1  
 Moro Liberation Front, 527  
 Morsnik, Colonel, 409  
 Moser, Lieutenant-General, 250  
 Mostar, 385  
 MRND, 440, 441, 442, 445  
 MSVN, 311  
 Mucic, Zsranko, 417  
 Mueller, J.  
   (2000), 360, 397

Mugabe, 429  
 Mugesera, 444  
 Mujezinovici, Dr., 411, 412  
*Mulkiye*. *See* Civil Service Academy  
 Muller-Claudius, Michael, 194  
 Müller, Heinrich, 203  
 multiculturalism, 11–13  
 Munster, 51  
 Munyaneza, 464, 466, 467  
 Münzberger, Gustav, 261  
 Muratovic, 422  
 Muscovy, 112  
 Musema, Alfred, 459–60  
 Musial, B.  
   (1999), 249  
 Musiuveni, President, 439  
 Muslim Chams, 342  
 Muslim refugees. *See* *mohadjis*  
 Muslim Skanserbeg SS regiment, 362  
 Muslims, 42, 45, 47, 113–16, 483, 490  
 Mussolini, Benito, 308–9, 310  
 mustard gas, 309  
  
 Naga, 489  
 Nagaland, 489  
 Naimark, N.  
   (2001), 21  
 Naletilic, 421  
 Nama, 105–6  
*narodi*, 362  
*narodny*, 328  
 Nash, G.  
   (1992), 84, 89  
 Nestorian Christian villages, 136  
 nation  
   defined, 11  
   national minorities, 68  
   national self-determination, 67  
   nationalizing states, 68  
   -state, 11, 45, 525  
   -statism, 188  
   statism, 233, 320  
 nationalism  
   civic, 180  
   ethnic, 180  
   German, in the late 19th century, 181  
   leftist version of, 62  
   organic, 180  
   organic, potential vices of, 63–4  
   types of, 180–1  
*Nationalism and Contemporary Europe*  
   (Jasenovac), 377

- Nazi, 17, 180–211, 212–39  
   core constituencies of, 206, 214, 219, 223–8  
   genocide, 9  
   hierarchical comradeship, 191  
   hierarchical radicalization, 191–5  
   paramilitary comradeship, 191, 200  
   paramilitary radicalization, 195–208  
   and Plan A, 191, 193, 210  
   and Plan B, 191, 194  
   and Plan C, 208  
   and Plan D, 210, 211  
   radicalization, 189–1  
   state, 7  
   violence, career in, 234–9
- Nazim, Dr., 127, 132, 144
- Ndagijimana, Mayor
- Ndimbati, Mayor, 464
- Neolithic revolution, 37
- NEP. *See* New Economic Policy
- Netherlands, 44
- Neuengamme, 200
- Neurath, Otto von, 248
- New Economic Policy (NEP), 322
- New Liberals (Great Britain), 62
- Newbury, C.  
   (1988), 434  
   (1998), 467
- Ngor, H.  
   (1988), 347
- Nikolic, Captain, 405
- NKVD, 289
- Nogales, Major Rafael de, 136, 147, 154, 163, 170
- noncolonial regimes, 4
- non-Nazi elites, 193
- North African colonies, 308–10
- Nouri Bey, 161
- Nsabimana, Sylvain, 456
- Ntaganzwa, Ladislas, 456–7
- Ntahobari, Pauline, 462
- Ntahobari, Shalom, 462
- Ntakirutimana, Pastor, 464
- Nteziyayo, 456
- Numantia, 34, 36
- Nuremberg Laws, 193, 206
- Nyandwi, Mayor, 458–9
- Oberschall, A.  
   (1998), 418
- Obrenovic, General, 405
- Oded, B.  
   (1979), 41
- Ognjenovic, Colonel, 395
- Ohlendorf, Otto von, 30, 263
- Old Nazis, 235, 237–9
- Omarska, 397
- ONU, 288, 289
- Operation Barbarossa, 209, 210
- Opium Wars, 73
- Oric, Naser, 417–18
- Osijek, 384, 385, 388
- Ostojici, 386
- Ottoman Empire, 113–15  
   descent to murderous cleansing, 137–9  
   and the Entente Powers, 173  
   ethnicity in, 177  
   and Germany, 173–5  
   mono-religiousness of, 114–16  
   Plan A in, 127, 134, 177  
   Plan B in, 130, 131, 143, 145, 178  
   Plan C in, 141, 145  
   Plan D in, 144–5, 149
- Ottoman Turkish state, 111. *See also* Ottoman Empire
- Palestine  
   cause, proletarian tone of, 5  
   Palestinians in, 5
- Pan-German Party, 63
- Paraga, 367, 409
- Paragraph 47, German Army Code, 268
- paramilitaries, 8–9, 164–7, 391–5, 419–20, 421–2, 460–3, 468, 479, 493, 497, 521  
   German, postwar, 195–6
- pariah states, 68
- Parikh, S.  
   (1998), 481
- Paris, E.  
   (1961), 297
- Partisans, 421
- party-states, 22
- Pasa, Ahmet Izzet, 147
- Peace Treaties of 1918, 66
- Peasants into Frenchmen* (Weber, 1976), 59
- peasants, under Stalinism, 329
- Peng, Dehuai, 335–6
- “people, the,” 3, 502  
   and the American Constitution, 55–69  
   liberal version of, 55–61  
   organic, 55  
   stratified, 55

- Pequot War, 84
- Perez-Diaz, V.  
(1993), 62
- perpetrator, 213–15. *See also* killer; named individual perpetrators
- backgrounds, in Ottoman Empire, 172–3
- core constituencies of, 8–9
- elite, in the Ottoman Empire, 156–72
- functionalized official, in the Ottoman Empire, 158–63
- functionalized soldier, in the Ottoman Empire, 163–4
- levels of, 8–9
- levels of, in Rwanda, 449
- ministerial elite, in the Ottoman Empire, 156–63
- motives, in the Ukraine, 290
- motives of, 27–9, 504
- motives of Nazi, 188–95
- ordinary, in the Ottoman Empire, 167
- ordinary, in Yugoslavia, 418–23
- paramilitary, 164–7
- samples of, 216–39
- statist view of, 320–21
- persecution, 527–9
- Philippines, 526–7
- Phleve, 64
- Plains Indians, 97
- Plan C, 503
- Plavsic, Biljana, 388–9, 420
- plunder (and tribute taking), 71
- pogroms, 15, 36, 43, 64–6, 194, 284  
in Byelorussia, 286
- Polish, 280–1
- Pohl, D.  
(1996), 243, 289
- Pol Pot, 340, 343, 344, 345, 346, 349
- Poland, 185–6, 280–1
- Poles, Hitler's justification for killing, 175
- Poles in, 17, 272
- Poles in the *Kaiserreich*, 181
- politicide against Poles, 186
- political
- enforcement, types of, 72–3
- instability, forms of, 7
- power relations, 6
- “political soldier,” 163
- politicide, 16–17, 71, 186
- Assyrian, 40–1
- in Burundi, 438
- in Cambodia, 340, 341
- in China, 337
- in Ethiopia, 309, 310
- in Indonesia, 497
- in Ottoman Empire, 144, 148
- in Rwanda, 430, 431, 440
- of Serbs, 296
- in Tibet, 338
- in Yugoslavia, 357
- Pomaks, 307
- Pomiankowski, Vice-Marshall, 133
- “populace, the,” 56
- population
- exchanges, 15
- exchanges, in Greater Serbia, 359
- in the Holy Roman Empire, 48
- transfers, 354
- Porsche, 249
- Portugese, 71
- Potocari, 395
- power
- biological, 74, 75
- economic, 30–2, 38–9, 71–2
- ideological, 30, 37–8, 74
- military, 32, 39, 74, 96
- networks, and ethnic cleansing, 30
- political, 32, 39–40, 72–4
- social, sources of, 6, 37–40
- pre-Columbian Indians, 76
- Prijedor, 403, 418
- Proctor, R.  
(1988), 215
- professional ideologists, 75
- “proletarian nation,” 62
- Hutu as a, 431
- proletariat*, 4
- protectorates, 73, 80
- Protestant Scots, 15. *See also* Scots
- Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, 66
- Provincals, 14
- Prucha, F.  
(1994), 93
- Prunier, G.  
(1995), 442  
(1997a), 434
- Prussian Germany, 181
- expansion in, 182
- “psychology of hard times,” 219, 223
- “psychosis of disappearance,” 133



- Punjab, 485  
 “purge,” 325–6
- qital*, 518
- Quakers, 86
- Qur’an, 513–14
- Rabushka A., and K. Shepsle  
 (1972), 24
- race, 85
- racial-genetic notions of human progress,  
 180
- Rademacher, Franz, 248
- radical elites, 8–9
- Radical Republicans (France), 62
- radicalization, 503  
 of “ordinary Germans,” 206–8
- Rahmi Bey, 159
- “RAM.” *See* Milosevic, Slobodan, Plan C for  
 Serbia
- Ramet, S.P.  
 (1992), 420
- Ramsey, Governor, 91, 94
- rape, 80, 102, 136, 152, 166, 287, 357–8,  
 420–1, 422, 462, 463, 481, 528. *See*  
*also* abuse, gender
- Ras-ul-Ain, 171
- Rasch, Otto, 268
- rashtra*, 474
- Raskovic, Jovan, 380, 384, 387, 388
- “ratio of representation,” 223
- rational choice theory, 23, 24, 26
- rationality  
 instrumental, 188  
 value, 188
- Rauca, Sergeant Helmut, 265
- Ravenbruch, 200
- Ravens, 287
- Raw Nazis, 235, 237–9
- Raznatovic, Zeljko, 404
- Red Berets, 390, 394
- “redemptive anti-Semitism,” 192
- Refi, Kerim, 160
- refugee camps/associations, 196–7
- refugees, 67–8, 223–8
- Regat, 305, 306
- Reichenau, General, 273
- Reichl-Kir, 384, 388
- Reichleitner, Franz, 260
- Reichstag*, 62
- Reinecke, General, 273
- Reitlinger, G.  
 (1968), 263
- religion, 37–8  
 salvation religions, 42–5, 57
- religious warriors, 518–21
- Removal Act of 1830, 93
- Renfrew, C.  
 (1972), 35
- Renno, Georg, Dr., 205
- repression  
 exemplary, 16, 77, 99, 509  
 exemplary, in America, 94, 96, 98  
 exemplary, in the Caucasus, 113  
 exemplary, in Ethiopia, 309  
 exemplary, in Indonesia, 494  
 exemplary, in Ireland, 50, 51  
 exemplary, in the Ottoman Empire, 113,  
 147, 148  
 exemplary, in Yugoslavia, 357  
 policed, 15  
 policed, in Rwanda, 435  
 policed, total cultural, 15  
 selective, in the Ottoman Empire, 130, 131  
 selective, of Jews, 185  
 selective policed, 15  
 selective policed, in Cambodia, 341  
 selective policed, in China, 337  
 selective policed, under Stalinism, 323
- Republic of Herceg-Bosna, 408, 409, 410
- Republika Srbska, 393, 395
- Resid, Dr., 172
- Reuter, Paul, 205
- “Revenge Operations,” 275
- “revenge-people,” 347
- Revolutionary Fascist Party, 311
- revolutionary projects  
 callous, 320  
 mistaken, 15, 88, 319, 320, 336
- Reyntjens, F.  
 (1996), 442
- Reza, Atif, 144
- Rhineland Missionary Society, 100
- Riggs, Reverend, 168
- “riot circle,” 475–81
- riots, escalating, 481–2, 499–501
- Ritz, Lieutenant Hans, 266
- Robinson, George, 83
- Röhm, Ernest, 197, 201
- Rohde, D.  
 (2001), 494–5
- Rohrbach, Dr. Paul, 101–2, 105, 107

Cambridge University Press

052183130X - The Dark Side of Democracy: Explaining Ethnic Cleansing

Michael Mann

Index

[More information](#)

576

Roman Senate, 39  
 Romania, 112, 302–7  
   Iron Guard in, 282  
   Plan A in, 303  
 Romanov Empire, 112  
 Romans, 16  
 Rome, 36, 39  
 Ron, J.  
   (2000), 393  
 Roosevelt, Theodore, vii, 94  
 Rosenberg, 198  
 Ross, 51  
 Roth, N.  
   (1995), 45  
 Rowley, C.  
   (1972), 81, 83  
 RPF, 440, 441, 443, 466, 470  
 RSHA, 243  
 RSK. *See* Serb Republic of Krajina  
 RSS, 480, 481, 483, 485  
 RTLM, 469  
 Rugova, Ibrahim, 387  
 Ruhengeri, 436, 447, 453  
 Rummel, R.  
   (1994), 22  
 Rupert, Prince, 52  
 Rusengeri, 443  
 Russians, 273  
 Rutaganda, George, 461–2  
 Ruzindana, Obed, 460  
 Rwanda, 6, 430, 473  
   African Rights (1994) report on, 449  
   army death squads in, 447  
   Belgian colonial rule in, 433  
   casualties in, 430  
   and the “cult of obedience,” 468–9  
   destabilizing pressures in, 438–42  
   French influence in, 449  
   Human Rights Watch (1999) report on, 449  
   international pressures on, 439–42  
   mass media in, 444  
   massacre of 1959, 438  
   Organization of African Union (2000) report on, 449  
   paramilitaries in, 446  
   Plan A in, 442  
   premeditated genocide in, 442–8  
   refugees from, 430  
   sources documenting genocide in, 449  
   Structural Adjustment Programme for, 439  
   Tutsi invasion of 1990, 439

*Index*

two economies in, 459  
 UN International Criminal Tribunal for, 450  
 U.S. influence in, 449  
 youth groups in, 445–6  
  
 S-21, 346–7, 348–9  
 SA, the, 197–8  
 Sabrin, B.  
   (1991), 189, 290  
 Sachsenhausen, 200  
 Safa, Ismael, 161  
 Safrian, H.  
   (1993), 215  
 Sakir, Dr. Bahaeddin, 144  
 Salo, 311  
 Salonika, 127  
 salvation religions, 513  
*Samiti*, 481  
 Sanborn, General, 97  
 Sand Creek, 98  
 Sandberger, Dr. Martin, 269  
 Santee Sioux Indians, 91  
 Santic, Ivan, 411  
 Santic, Vladimir, 414  
 Sarajevo, 385  
 Savic, Dinko, 296–7, 421  
 Scarrit, J.  
   (1993),  
 Schacht, 193  
 Scharf, M.  
   (1997), 418  
 Schechtman, J.  
   (1962), 354  
 Schellenberg, Walter, 203–4  
 Scherpe, Herbert, 253  
 Schlieffen, Chief of Staff von, 104, 106  
 Schönerer, 63  
 Schroeder, Kurt, 249  
 Schulz, Erwin, 268  
 Schwammberger, Josef, 254  
 Scots, 11. *See also* Protestant Scots  
 Scott, Winfield, 94  
 SD, the, 202–4  
   officers in 1945, 217–18  
 SDA, 407  
 SDB. *See* Serb Security Police  
 SDP, 380  
 secularism, 510  
 security dilemma, 24  
 Segev, T.  
   (1987), 215

- segregation, 14, 72  
 in America, 88, 90, 96  
 in Australia, 82  
 in Ethiopia, 310  
 of Germans, 185  
 of Jews, 193  
 of Poles,  
 in South West Africa, 100  
 of Soviet Slavs, 186
- Self-Defense Force, 283
- Semanza, Laurent, 455
- Semites, Middle Eastern, 35
- Sennacherib, 40
- September 11, 2001, 3
- Serafinowicz, Szymon, 287
- “Serb Adolf, the.” *See* Jelusic, Goran
- Serb nationalist parties, 389
- Serb Radical Party, 392
- Serb Republic of Krajina (RSK), 387
- Serb Security Police (SDB), 374
- Serbia, 112, 363, 366, 376, 379,  
 390–405  
 ethnic self-identification in, 363
- Serbian Guard, 392
- Serbian National Council, 387
- Serbian Renewal Party, 388
- Serbian Volunteer Guard, 392
- Serbs, 10, 16, 18, 19–20, 274  
*precani*, 363–4, 365
- Serushago, Omar, 454
- Seselj, 367, 380, 391, 392
- settler, democracy, 107, 108–10
- Shakir, Dr., 160
- shari’a*, 513–14
- Shastri, Professor Kesharram, 484
- Sheridan, General, 96, 97
- Sherman, General William Tecumseh, 92,  
 96–7, 109
- Shiragian, 171
- Shiv Sena, 480, 481, 483
- “Shoah.” *See* “Final Solution”
- Sholokhov, Mikhail, 324
- Shukru, 157
- Shukru Bey, 161
- Shulgin, 66
- Siber, I.  
 (1993), 367
- Sibley, General, 91
- Sikavica, 392
- Sikh *jathas*, 485
- Silica, 411
- Simpson, Sir George, 88
- Sindikubwabo, President Théodore, 456
- Sioux Indians, 91, 94
- slaves, American, 89
- Slavka, 415
- Slavonia, 357
- Slavs, 185  
 and the Bolshevik Revolution, 183  
 in the Soviet Union, 187
- Sliwinski, M.  
 (1995), 342–3
- Slovakia, 293–4  
 1938 Manifesto, 294  
 Plan A in, 294
- Slovenia, 367, 374, 376  
 ethnic self-identification in, 363
- Smircina, Lieutenant, 353
- Smith, A.  
 (1986), 19
- Smith, L.  
 (1997), 34, 36, 40, 71
- Snyder, J.  
 (2000), 22
- Sobibor, 259
- Social Darwinism, 79, 81, 98, 180, 181
- Social Democrats (Germany), 63
- socialism, 510, 511–12
- Socialist Party (SPS), 370, 371, 372–3, 389,  
 391
- Socialists of the Chair (Germany), 62
- “societal paranoia,” 133
- societies, stages of historical development in,  
 121
- Sofsky, W.  
 (1997), 216
- Sonderweg*, 176
- Sorbians, 185
- Sorge, Gustav, 196–7
- South Africa, 6, 14
- South West Africa, 100  
 Plan A in, 106  
 Plan B in, 106  
 Plan C in, 106
- sovereign claims, 382–3
- Soviet Union, 186–8  
 Plan A in, 322, 324  
 Plan B in, 323  
 Plan C in, 323  
 Plan D in, 324  
 Plan E in, 324
- Spain. *See* Iberian peninsula  
 during the Inquisition, 46, 47  
 and Plan A, 77

578

Spain (*cont.*)  
 and Plan B, 78  
 unification of, 45–6  
 “Special Organization.” *See Teskilat-I Mahsusa*  
 Spenser, Edmund, 50  
 SPS. *See* Socialist Party  
 Srebrenica, 356, 358, 395, 405, 417  
 SRS, 391  
 SS, The, 198–200  
   Galician Division, 290  
 Stahlecker, 269, 283, 284  
 Stalinism, 321–30  
   phases of, 322  
 Stalinists, 17  
 Stange, General, 165  
 Stangl, Franz, 260–1, 262  
 Stark, Johannes, 254  
 state elites, 21  
 statist, 6  
 Statute of Kilkenny (1366), 49  
 Staub, E.  
   (1992), 219  
 Stauffenberg family, 250  
 Stedman, S.  
   (2002), 527  
 Steinberg, J.  
   (1990), 311  
 “Stela.” *See* Martinovic  
 Strauch, Colonel, 251  
 Straus, S.  
   (2004), 449, 453, 463–4, 465, 466, 467, 469  
 structural adjustment programs, 512  
 Student, General, 275  
 Stuermer, H.  
   (1917), 123, 172, 174  
 Suad, Ali, 160  
 Suchomel, Franz, 262  
 Sudan, 429  
 Sudetenland, 227–8  
 Sudetic, 398–9  
 “Sugarfoot Jack,” 8  
 Sukru, Midhat, 144  
 Sultania, 146  
 Sumatra, 491  
 Sunstein, C.  
   (2000), 25  
 superiority, ideologies of, 74–5  
 suppression  
   cultural, 14, 17

*Index*

cultural, in America, 87  
 cultural, in Romania, 303  
 Susak, 386, 408  
 Switzerland, 60  
 syncretic religion, 37  
 Szalasi, 302  
 Szeged Idea, 300  
 T4, 185, 204–5, 214, 241, 256–60  
 Tadic, Dusko, 401  
 Tahsin Pasha, 147  
*taifa*, 114  
 Talaat Pasha, 123, 129, 132, 141, 144, 148, 149–50, 154–5  
 Tambiah, S.  
   (1996), 22, 466, 476, 477, 479, 481  
   (1998), 441  
 Tamil Tigers, 481  
 Tanic, 396  
 Tanzania, 428  
 Tartars, 329  
 Tasmania, 82–3  
 Taylor, Zachary, 94  
 Tekinalp, 131  
 Tenochtitlan, 77  
 Tepeaca, 77  
*terra nullius*, 84  
*Teskilat-I Mahsusa*, 144, 164–7  
 Teslic, 400  
 theo-democracy, 513, 514  
 Theodoric, King, 35  
 Theresianstadt, 293  
 Thion, S.  
   (1983), 349  
   (1993), 341  
 Third Spanish Republic (1930s), 60  
 Thirty Years War (1618–48), 48, 49  
 Thompson, T.  
   (1992), 380, 399  
 “Three Mountains, the,” 348  
 Thunder Cross, 282  
 Tibet, 338–9  
   “cultural genocide” in, 338  
   Plan A in, 339  
   Plan C in, 339  
 Tiso, 63  
 Tito, Marshall, 366  
 toleration, 13  
 Tomasic, Professor, 354  
 Topalovic, Musan, 418  
 Torkildsen, 391  
 Torquemada, 46

- Tothill, Colonel, 52  
 trade, 71  
 Trail of Tears, 93  
 Trapp, Major, 267, 270  
 Trawnicki training camp, 291  
 Treaty of San Stefano (1878), 117  
 Treblinka, 259  
 triangle of tension, 81  
 tribute taking. *See* plunder  
 Trieste, in Italy, 310  
 Trifan, Valerian, 303–4  
 Trigger, B.  
   (1994), 74  
 Tripura, 489  
 Trotha, General von, 104, 106, 107, 109  
 Trumpener, U.  
   (1968), 158  
 Tudjman, 367, 377–8, 379, 380, 388, 390,  
   407, 425, 426  
 “Tula.” *See* Naletilic  
 Tuol-Sleng. *See* S-21  
 Turan, 132  
 Turikinkiko, 464, 466  
 Turkish nationalism, 119–24  
 Turkish refugees, 116  
 Turks, 6, 114–15, 307  
 Turner, Colonel, 275  
 Tutsts, 8, 10, 17, 430, 431, 432–48
- Udovicki, J.  
   (1997), 359  
 Uganda, 439  
 Ukraine, 288–93, 327  
   Plan A in, 288  
   Plan B in, 288  
   Plan C in, 289  
 Ukrainian Auxiliary Police Battalions, 290  
 UN War Crimes Tribunals, 527–8  
 United States, 13, 83–98. *See also*  
   America  
 UNO, 305  
*Untermenschen*, 187, 272  
 Ustasha, 16, 294–8, 362, 363, 377, 379, 380,  
   386, 394, 404, 421  
 utilitarian genocide, 71  
 Uwizeye, Prefect, 457, 459
- vacuum domicilium*, 84  
 Vajpayee, Prime Minister Atal Behari, 484  
 Valencia, 47  
 Valenta, Anto, 408, 411  
 value-rational action, 26, 88
- Van, 147  
 Vance-Owen Plan (1992), 391, 406, 410,  
   423  
 Vaps, 282  
 Varshney, A.  
   (2002), 475, 478  
 Vasiljevic, General, 394  
 Veessenmayer, Edmund, 245  
 Vekic, Ivan, 421  
*Verbannung*, 191  
*Vernichtung*, 191  
 Versailles, 67  
 Vickery, M.  
   (1983), 349  
   (1984), 347  
 Virginia, 84  
 Visnjica, 406  
 Visogoths, 35  
 Vitez, 385, 406, 408, 410  
 Vitezi, 409  
 Vivitsky, B.  
   (1990), 291  
 “Voja Chetnik,” 398  
 Vojvodina, 354, 363  
 Vucevik, 385, 388  
 Vukcevic, 388  
 Vukovar, 356  
 Vulliamy, E.  
   (1994), 359, 408, 410  
   (1996), 403–4
- Waffen-SS, 271, 279  
 Wagner, Gustav, 261  
 Wagner, M.  
   (1998), 431, 460, 468  
 Waldheim, Kurt, 275  
 Wales, 57–9  
 Wallace, A.  
   (1999), 98  
 Walter, Bernhard, 254  
 War Academy, 122  
 “war communism,” 321  
 war criminals  
   and disrupted employment, 222  
   economic data on, 232–4  
   and life traumas, 222–3  
   and prewar criminal marginality, 223  
   renegade Catholics as, 228–32  
   samples of, 218–39  
   from threatened border regions, 223–8,  
   232  
 wartime Nazis, 237–9

580

wartime patriotism, 194  
 Washington, George, 92  
 Watkins, S.  
   (1991), 59  
 Weber, Eugene, 59  
 Weber, Max, 25–6, 72, 188, 425  
 “weekend Chetniks,” 421  
 Wegner, B.  
   (1990), 200  
 Wehrmacht, 272–6  
 Wehrverbände, 195  
 Weingast, B.  
   (1998), 24  
 Weinman, Ernst, 235, 264  
 Weinman, Erwin, 264  
 Welsh people, 14  
 Werner, Hans-Ulrich, 266  
 Werth, N.  
   (1999), 330  
 Western Slavonia, 405  
 Wexford, 51  
 White Eagles, 392, 403  
 Whitlam, Gough, 82  
 Wilson, Woodrow, 67  
 Wimmer, A.  
   (2002), 3  
 Windhoek, 102  
 Winkelman, Lieutenant-General Otto,  
   245  
 Winthrop, John, 85  
 Wirth, Christian, 260, 269  
 Wirths, Eduard, 256  
 Wisliceny, Dieter, 244, 245  
 World War I, 134, 135–6, 138  
 World War I, changes to Germany as a  
   result of, 182–3  
 WVHA, 243

*Index*

Xinyiang, 338  
 Yalcin. *See* Cahit, Huseyin  
 Yalman, A.E.  
   (1972), 159  
 Yathay, P.  
   (1987), 341, 345  
 Yevdokimov, Count, 100  
 Yiftachel, O.  
   (1999), 22, 519  
 Young Nazis, 235, 237–9  
 “Young Turks,” 111–20, 124–31, 139  
 Young Turks Congress (1902), 120  
 Yozgat Special Forces, 166  
 Yugoslavia, 6, 353, 356, 423  
   casualties in, 356  
   economic conflict in, 364  
   elections of 1990, 367–9, 384  
   organic nationalism in, 376–81  
   Yugoslav army (JNA), 376, 377, 389, 390,  
     393–4, 395  
 Zagreb, 379  
 ZANU, 429  
 ZAPU, 429  
 Zeco, Dr., 411, 412  
 Zeitun, 146  
 Zeki, Salh, 160  
 Zelko, 420  
*zemstvo*, 62  
 Zenica, 409  
 “Zero Network,” 447  
 Zimbabwe, language in, 429  
 Zionism, 65  
 Zucotti, S.  
   (1987), 311  
 Zyklon B gas, 187, 241