Index

Aaronsohn, A. (1916), 146
Abaza, 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
agr. 56–7
agriculture, collectivization of, in Soviet Union, 323
Ahmici, 317, 409, 410, 413–14
AK-47. See Kalashnikov
Akayesu, Mayor Jean Paul, 458, 469
Akar. See “little house”
Akcay, J. (1992), 172
Akcay, Taner, 154
Akcuna, 131
Aktion Reinhard (death camps), 213, 211, 239–62, 291
Alai Bey, 160
Albania, 112
Albanians
in Kosovo, 356, 359, 363, 386, 416
and religion, 10
Albigensians, 42
alcohol, 65, 242, 262, 266, 271, 278, 287, 419, 420, 422, 462, 480
Aleksandrovski, Zlatko, 406, 414
Alesynas, 285
Aleppo, 161
Alexander II, Tsar, 64
Alexander, King, 294
Alexander the Great, 38
Ali Muenif Bey, 160, 161
“Alia.” See Izetbegovic
Aliovic, 409
Allen, M. (2002), 213
Alders, Dietrich, 160
Aloulia mosque, 481
Alp, Tekin, 131
Amasasu, 445
Andja, 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 Flowsthe Don (Sholokhov), 324
Anderson, B. (1983), 30
“Angel of Death,” 218
Angola, 144, 345, 346, 348, 349, 350
Ankor Vat, 340
Index

Anschluss, 194
anti-Semitism, 47, 183, 184, 190–1, 193
anti-Slav sentiments, 184
Antonescu, Marshal, 301, 304–7
Aosta, Duke of, 309
Apache Indians, 91, 96
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
“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
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
Augustus, 38
Aumonier, Hans, 252
Auschwitz, 212, 216, 240
Austro-Hungarian, 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
Buch-Zalewski, General von der Erich, 199, 246–7, 268
Baer, Richard, 252
Bagosora, Colonel Theoneste, 443, 445, 447, 451
Bagusshen, Mayor Ignace, 407
Baghdjian, K. (1987), 170
Baglioshema, 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
www.cambridge.org
Baltic states, 16, 19, 213, 281–6, 353
Banach, J. (1998), 214
Bandwagon Nazis, 235
Bantu, 432
Barbie, Klaus, 218, 222
Barnett, A. (1983), 349
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.
Beki, Sami Bey, 161
Belarus, 286–8
Belgium, 60
Bell-Fialkoff, A. (1993), 69
Belizec, 259, 292
Benes, President, 353
Berger, General, 199
Berkay, Halil, 154
Bernau, Mr., 111, 153
Best, Werner, 202
Betzner, 42
Bianchi, 407–8
Bigler, Governor, 91
Bilinsky, Y. (1990), 294
biological-racial reasoning, 185
Boser, 455, 460, 465
"Bitch of Buchenwald," 218
BJP, 483
Black-and-Tans, 15
Black Hawk War, 93
Blassic, Colonel Tihoniu, 406, 410, 411, 413
"bloodlines" and mass murder, 142–3
"Bloody Brygida." See Lachert, Hildegard
Blume, Walter, 264
Blutkit, 263
Boban, Mate, 378, 384, 408
Bodo, 489
Böhme, General Franz, 274
Boljevic, Dusan and Jagoda, 420
Bolshevik Revolution, 183
Bolshevism, 5, 273, 321
Book of the Courtier, The (Gucciardini), 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, 359
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
Breuckman, P. (1994), 447
Braham, R. (1981), 301
Brandt, Karl, 257
Brass, P. (1997), 22, 441, 475, 476
Bratunac, 384
Braunstein, Hermine, 253
Bridgman, J. (1981), 127
Bringa, Tone, 406–7, 414–16
Britain, 15
Broad, Corporal Perry, 294, 122
Broschat, M. (1988), 190
Brown, P. (1996), 35
Browning, C. (1978), 215
(1985), 248
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
B¨urckel, Josef, 246
Burke, P. (1978), 43–4, 78
(2000), 183, 219
Burnett, Governor, 91
Burundi, 430, 431–2, 435, 438
Busovaca, 410, 411
Butare, 256
“Chaos Thesis,” 264
Charny, I. (1986), 9
Chechia, 6, 99, 329
Chechen, 349, 355
Cheka secret police, 65, 321
Cherokee Indians, 86–7, 93, 94, 108
Chechnya, 329, 355
Chetniks, 362, 392, 421
Cheyenne Indians, 98
Chickasaw Indians, 108
China, 330–9
bureaucracy, 59
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, 334–35, 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, 73
Christine, Debra, 415
Chuhum Indians, 18. See also American Indians
Churchill, Winston, 190, 353
Ciano, 308
Cigan, N. (1995), 10, 360
Cilicia, 127
Circassians, 39–100
citizenship, 36
Citizenship Law, 193
Civil Service Academy, 122
civil society theory, 21

562

Index

Cathar heresy, 42
Caucasus, the, 98, 112, 114
CCP, 337, 338–9
Cefalonia, 274
Celebici, 416–17
Cerkez, Commander, 406, 411, 413
“Chaos Thesis,” 264
Charny, I. (1986), 9
Chechia, 6, 99, 329
Chechens, 349, 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, 59
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, 334–35, 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, 73
Christine, Debra, 415
Chuhum Indians, 18. See also American Indians
Churchill, Winston, 190, 353
Ciano, 308
Cigan, N. (1995), 10, 360
Cilicia, 127
Circassians, 39–100
citizenship, 36
Citizenship Law, 193
Civil Service Academy, 122
civil society theory, 21

© Cambridge University Press

Cambridge University Press
052183130X - The Dark Side of Democracy: Explaining Ethnic Cleansing
Michael Mann
Index
More information
### Index

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>563</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- Civil War in England, 51
- in Ireland, 50
- Soviet, 521
- civilian deaths, 2
- *Civilization and Its Discontents* (Freud), 15
- class, 56, 57, 58, 59
  - “class-divided societies,” 16
- and ethnicity, 60–2
- classicide, 17, 320
  - in Cambodia, 340, 342
  - in China, 337
- cleansing
  - biological, 15
  - colonial, 70–6, 107–8
  - ethnic, 322. See also power, networks
  - ethnic, defined, 16
  - ethnic, five steps of, in Yugoslavia, 361
  - ethnic, in Northern Europe, 526–9
  - Plan A for, 7
  - 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, 2–5, 502
  - murderous, perpetuation of, 7
- Clifton, R.
  - (1999), 50
- coercion, institutional, 16
  - in Germany, 181
  - on Iberian Peninsula, 45
  - during Thirty Years War, 49
- Cohen, L.
  - (1995), 362
- 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), 45, 365
- consociationalism, 11, 114, 118, 324
- Constitution of 1850, 40
- constructivism, 21
- “contradictions of continuous revolution,” 197
- conversion
  - forced, 16
  - forced, and Albigensians, 42
  - forced, of Serbs, 246
- *convivencia*, 45–6
- Convicts Brigade, 409
- “core constituencies,” 20, 505–6
  - core constituencies, 20, 505–6
  - Coretta, 76–7
  - Corwin, P.
    - (1999), 422
- Cossacks, 15
- Costa, 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 (HV), 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, 205
Cromwell, Oliver, 50–2
Crook, General, 96
Crozier, A. (1986), 76
CUP. See Committee of the Committee of Union and Progress
Custer, General George Armstrong, 91
Cyainda, 463
Czechoslovakia, 353
Dachau, 200, 201, 213, 216, 252
Dadrian, V. (1992), 127, 128
Davies, Consul, 152, 153, 162, 171
Dayak, 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
Delcev, Zeml, 417
Delic, Hazim, 417
democracy, democracy, 3. See also demos
c onceptions 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, 396
Department of Jewish Affairs, 307
Deportation Order, 158
deportations, 87, 90
Assyria, 41
c oerced, 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
polic ed, 15
polic ed, Assyria, 41
polic ed, in America, 87, 96
polic ed, in Australia, 79, 83
polic ed, in Cambodia, 341
polic ed, in Hungary, 299
polic ed, in Ottoman Empire, 113, 243
polic ed, in Poland, 281
polic ed, in Romania, 303
polic ed, in Russia, 282
polic ed, in South West Africa, 101
polic ed, in Spain, 47
polic ed, under Stalinism, 341, 353
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, 209
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
Index

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Entry</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>118</td>
<td>Djemal Pasha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>118</td>
<td>Djemal Effendi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>147</td>
<td>Djemal Effendi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>504</td>
<td>Eremija, Lieutenant Colonel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>433</td>
<td>Erzindjan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>201</td>
<td>Eichmann</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>350</td>
<td>Ermija, Lieutenant Colonel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>161</td>
<td>Essad Bey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>144</td>
<td>Erfan Pasha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>372</td>
<td>Dragojlova, Vuk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>367</td>
<td>Draskovic, Vuk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>355</td>
<td>Durkheim, Emil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>309</td>
<td>Dusina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>313</td>
<td>Eberl, Irmfried</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>455</td>
<td>Ethnic cleansing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>440</td>
<td>Ethnic cleansing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>504</td>
<td>Ethnic cleansing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>62</td>
<td>Ethnocide</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>509</td>
<td>Ethnic cleansing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>515</td>
<td>Ethnic cleansing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>509</td>
<td>Ethnic cleansing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>488</td>
<td>Ethnic cleansing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>527</td>
<td>Ethnic cleansing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>515</td>
<td>Ethnic cleansing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>527</td>
<td>Ethnic cleansing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>515</td>
<td>Ethnic cleansing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>527</td>
<td>Ethnic cleansing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>515</td>
<td>Ethnic cleansing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>527</td>
<td>Ethnic cleansing</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

© Cambridge University Press
Index

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
Fengold, 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
Fischb¨ock, Hans, 249
Fisher, Harriet, 162–3
Five Year Plan (1928), 322
Flick, Friedrich, 249
Florstedt, Hermann, 235
Flossenburg, 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, 234, 235, 237
French Revolution, 61
Frenzel, Karl, 262
Friedlander, H.
[1995], 259
Friedlander, S.
[1997], 192
Fritzsche, Karl, 252
Fuchs, Sergeant, 274
fundamentalism, 533–14
Funndzija, Commander, 411
Gagaauz, 307
“Galahad of National Socialism.” See Ohlendorf, Otto
Gandhi, Indira, 486
Gecas, Antanas, 285
Gellately, R.
[1990], 214
Gellner, E.
[1981], 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, 253–6
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 Volksparthei
Germans in, 6, 10
Gerstein, Kurt, 260
Getsepto, 262
Getty, J.A.
[1985], 330
Ghalib Bey, General, 164
“Ghengizism,” 132
Gisenyi, 436, 441, 447, 451, 453, 454
Gisovu, 459, 464
Gitarama, 436, 457
Glavas, 388
Glenny, M.
[1992], 359, 380
[1995], 400
Ghina, 385
Globocnik, Odilo, 247
Glogova, 386
Glicks, Major-General Richard, 217, 243
Godhra, 484–5
© Cambridge University Press
www.cambridge.org
### Index

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Entry</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>567</td>
<td>Hartl, Lieutenant Albert, 250, 269, 270</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>HDZ, 377, 379–80, 407, 409. See also</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bosnian Croat party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>187</td>
<td>Headland, R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>407</td>
<td>Heiner, R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>235</td>
<td>Heissmeyer, Kurt, 235</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58</td>
<td>Henry VII, King, 58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58</td>
<td>Henry VIII, King, 58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>108</td>
<td>Herero, 102, 103–6, 108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66</td>
<td>Hemans, 66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>480</td>
<td>Heyde, Werner, 258</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>204</td>
<td>Heydrich, Reinhard, 187, 195, 198, 202,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>209, 210, 242</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>411</td>
<td>Hezekial, King, 40–1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61</td>
<td>Highland Clearances, 61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>202</td>
<td>Hilberg, R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>303</td>
<td>Hill people, 342</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>305</td>
<td>Hina, 412</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Himmler, Heinrich, vii, 66, 195, 198, 199,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>201, 202, 209, 211, 215, 246</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42</td>
<td>Hindustan, 42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>474</td>
<td>Hintjens, H.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>442</td>
<td>Hinze, Günther, 254</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>183</td>
<td>Hitler, Adolf, vii, 183, 184, 185, 190, 191,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>204, 206–7, 211, 272, 307–8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>242</td>
<td>and the Poles, 209</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>233–4</td>
<td>Hlinka Slovak Populist Party, 233–4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>HO, See Croatia, Croatian army</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>252</td>
<td>Hocker, Karl, 252</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>171</td>
<td>hodja, 171</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>252</td>
<td>Hoffmann, Franz, 201–2, 252</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>360</td>
<td>Holbrooke, Richard, 360</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>409</td>
<td>Hollweg, Chancellor Bethmann, 173–4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>68</td>
<td>Holocaust. See “Final Solution” homeland states, 68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>428</td>
<td>Horowitz, D.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>480</td>
<td>(1983), 428</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>476</td>
<td>(2001), 476, 480</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>302</td>
<td>Horthy, Admiral, 498–500, 302, 306</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>409</td>
<td>HOS militia, 409</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>521</td>
<td>Höss, Major Rudolf, 175, 201, 212, 252</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>244</td>
<td>Höss, R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>87</td>
<td>(1978), 244</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hoxie, F.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>203</td>
<td>Harster, Wilhelm, 203</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>201</td>
<td>Harski, Wilhelm, 203</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>235</td>
<td>Halder, Army Chief of Staff, 209</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>268</td>
<td>Halil Bey, 158, 185, 166</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>158</td>
<td>Halil, Grand Vizer Said, 158</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>255</td>
<td>Hantl, Emil, 255</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>172</td>
<td>Hadjin, Mufti of, 172</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>250</td>
<td>Hagen, Dr. Wilhelm, 250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>209</td>
<td>Halder, Army Chief of Staff, 209</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>166</td>
<td>Halil Bey, 158, 185, 166</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>158</td>
<td>Halil, Grand Vizer Said, 158</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>255</td>
<td>Hantl, Emil, 255</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>181</td>
<td>Hapsburg, 181, 182</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>112</td>
<td>Hapsburg Empire, 112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>205</td>
<td>Harff, B.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>244</td>
<td>Hoxie, F.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>235</td>
<td>Halder, Army Chief of Staff, 209</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>185</td>
<td>Halil Bey, 158, 185, 166</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>158</td>
<td>Halil, Grand Vizer Said, 158</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>255</td>
<td>Hantl, Emil, 255</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>181</td>
<td>Hapsburg, 181, 182</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>112</td>
<td>Hapsburg Empire, 112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>203</td>
<td>Harster, Wilhelm, 203</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>201</td>
<td>Harshi, Wilhelm, 203</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>203</td>
<td>Harster, Wilhelm, 203</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Index

West Kalimantan, 493–6
West Papua, 495
Industrial Revolution, 79
in-group policing, 21
information failure, 25
Ingushi, 329
Innocents, 305
Institute of National Remembrance, 281
instrumentally rational action, 25
Interahamwe, 445, 446, 448, 452, 454–55, 460, 461, 462, 464, 470
International Criminal Court, 528
Ismail, R. (1990), 303
(1991), 304
(2000), 302
Iran, 351
Ireland, 49–51, 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, 193
Jackson, Andrew, 93
Jackson, Consul, 153, 171
Jaeger, Emil, 276
Jajfretot, C. (1996), 475, 476, 480
Jamaat-i-Islami, 479
Jaroslav, Josef, 252
Jasenovac, 377
Jassy, 304
Java, 491
Jedwabne, 281
Jefferson, Thomas, vii, 70, 92–3
Jelisc, 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

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, 308
Plan B in, 399
Huntington, S. (1996), 519
Huron, 84
Hutu, 5, 7, 10, 17, 18, 430, 431, 445
HVO. See Bosnian Croat army
Iberian peninsula, 45–53
ICTR. See Rwanda, UN International Criminal Tribunal for
IG Farben, 249
Ilia, 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, 473, 483
East Bengal riots (1950), 486
Guarhat pogrom (2002), 476
intercaste violence in, 483–4
languages of, 474, 486
multienicity of, 474–5
partition of, 485–6
religions of, 474–5
“seven sisters” of, 489
Sikh/Hindu conflict in, 485
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

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, 165, 267
in Romania, 302–7
in Russia, 64–6, 209–10
and salvation religions, 44, 45
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 Yugoslav, Yugoslav army
JNR, 434
Joker, 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
(2000a), 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.
in (1999), 24
Kambanda, Prime Minister Jean Alphonse, 456
Kamil, General, 147, 168
Kamlindi, Thomas, 453
Kangura, 447
Kanyabashi, Mayor Joseph, 457
Kollarik, 414
Karadzic, Radovan, 584, 388–9, 393, 395–6, 517
Karamira, 452
Karay, F.
in (1996), 291
Karemera, 452
Kashmir, 6, 475, 487
Kashubians, 185
Katschenka, Anna, 259
Katz, J.
in (1988), 28, 381, 399
(1993), 29, 212–13, 466
Katzmann, Friedrich, 247
Kavazovic, 412
Kayishema, Clement, 454–5
Kazakhs, 99–100
Kazakhstan, Russian minority in, 23–4
Keane, F.
in (1995), 469
Kettle, Field Marshal Wilhelm, 274
Kemal, Mustapha. See Ataturk
Kershaw, I.
in (1984), 206
(1997), 194
Kevorkian, 127, 128, 138
Khairi, Shaikh-ul-Islam, 158
Khmer Rouge, 17, 339–47
Kizim, Musa, 178
Kiebach, 266
Kierman, B.
in (1996), 345, 346, 349
Kigali, 453
Index

Krajina, 379, 382, 384, 393, 399, 405
Kraljevic, Darko, 411, 412
Kramer, Josef, 273
Kremenets, 289
Kremer, Johann Paul, 255
Kretschmer, Lieutenant Karl, 265
Kripo, 202
Kristallnacht, 194, 198, 201, 206
Kritzingen, 248
Krstic, General, 358, 396
Krumey, 245
Krupp, Gustav, 249
Kubananda, 433
Kube, Wilhelm, 150–1
kulak, 323, 325
Kurds, 114
Kuzmanovic, B. (1995), 360
labor concentrated, 71–2
disbursed, 71
nonnative, 72
Lachert, Hildegard, 255
Lahousan, General, 185, 273
Latin, D. (1999a, 1999b), 23–4
Lakota Indians, 92
LANC, 303
land, 31, 72, 79, 84, 92, 95
Landau, Sergeant-Major Felix, 265
Landro, Esai, 417
Langenbergh (1990), 497
language, 37, 43, 57, 58–9, 223, 328
Lasic, A. (1994), 213, 214
Laska Valey. See atrocities, Croatian
Laskar Jihad, 495
Lasun, Father Fermin, 87
Lavva, 409
Latin America, 515
Latvia
Plan B in, 284
Plan C in, 284
Latvian Auxiliary Police battalions, 285
Law on Croatian Citizenship (1991), 379
Lazar, Prince, 361–2
Leadership Principle, 194, 199
Leththaler, Major Franz, 266
Legion of the Archangel Michael, 302. See also Iron Guard

© Cambridge University Press  
www.cambridge.org
## Index

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Entries</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 571  | Madurese, 493–6  
Maeghalaya, 489  
Magdeburg, 48–9  
Magill, Sergeant, 265  
Maharaja, 486–7  
Maharerau, Samuel, 103  
“majority people,” 434  
Makhulu, Archbishop, 521  
Maksudov, S.  
Malaga, 46  
Malaparte, C., 186, 304  
Malik, L.  
Mamdani, M.  
Mao, 334, 335, 337  
Maoists, 5, 17  
Markovic, Mirjana, 391, 420  
Maronite Christian community, 118  
Marsovan, 150–1, 168  
Martin, 384, 387–8  
Marticevic, 385  
Martincic, 421  
Marxian theory, and social transformation, 318–19  
Mathausen, 200  
Maududi, Maulana, 514  
Mauer, Gerhard, 243  
Maurer, Wilhelm and Johann, 265  
“Mauser.” See Savic, Dinko  
Mbonimpa, M.  
McCarthy, J.  
McDougall, Governor, 91  
McElroy, 95  
Medjugorje, 386  
Melson, R.  
Memorandum, Serb Academy of Sciences and Arts (1986), 364–5, 366  
Mengele, Josef, 218, 256  
Mennecke, Friedrich, 256  
Mentz, Willy, 261  
Mesic, 594  
Mesopotamia, 77, 315  
Mexico, 76–8  
Madurese, 493–6  
Maeghalaya, 489  
Magdeburg, 48–9  
Magill, Sergeant, 265  
Maharaja, 486–7  
Maharerau, Samuel, 103  
“majority people,” 434  
Makhulu, Archbishop, 521  
Maksudov, S.  
Malaga, 46  
Malaparte, C., 186, 304  
Malik, L.  
Mamdani, M.  
Mao, 334, 335, 337  
Maoists, 5, 17  
Markovic, Mirjana, 391, 420  
Maronite Christian community, 118  
Marsovan, 150–1, 168  
Martin, 384, 387–8  
Marticevic, 385  
Martincic, 421  
Marxian theory, and social transformation, 318–19  
Mathausen, 200  
Maududi, Maulana, 514  
Mauer, Gerhard, 243  
Maurer, Wilhelm and Johann, 265  
“Mauser.” See Savic, Dinko  
Mbonimpa, M.  
McCarthy, J.  
McDougall, Governor, 91  
McElroy, 95  
Medjugorje, 386  
Melson, R.  
Memorandum, Serb Academy of Sciences and Arts (1986), 364–5, 366  
Mengele, Josef, 218, 256  
Mennecke, Friedrich, 256  
Mentz, Willy, 261  
Mesic, 594  
Mesopotamia, 77, 315  
Mexico, 76–8 |
Index

Micas, 400
microethnicity, 10, 37
middlemen ethnicities, 516
Migonis, Motejus-Prunas, 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, 398–9, 424, 425, 426
core constitutiences of, 391–2
Plan A for Serbia, 370, 371, 373, 390, 414
Plan B for Serbia, 371, 372, 373, 390, 414
Plan C for Serbia, 390, 414
Plan D for Serbia, 391, 414
minorities, 64, 67
“Minorities in Danger,” 428
Mizoram, 489
Mladic, Ratko, 396, 404–5
Modi, Narendra, 484
Modoc Indians, 92
mohadjis, 114, 172
Moluccas Christian/Muslim riots, 498
monorheism, 42
Montenegro, 363, 368
Moorhead, B.D., 82
Morgenthau, Ambassador, 129, 154–5
Morley, Bertha, 150–1
Moro Liberation Front, 527
Morsuk, Colonel, 409
Moser, Lieutenant-General, 250
Mostar, 385
MRND, 440, 441, 442, 445
MSVN, 311
Mucic, Zoravko, 417
Muehl, J. (2000), 360, 397
Mugabe, 459
Mugera, 444
Mujadinovic, Dr., 415, 412
Mulkay, See Civil Service Academy
Muller-Claudius, Michael, 194
Müller, Heinrich, 203
multiculturalism, 11–13
Munster, 51
Munyanzea, 464, 466, 467
Münzeberger, Gustav, 261
Muratovic, 422
Muscowry, 112
Musuma, Alfred, 459–60
Musial, B. (1999), 249
Musuuveni, President, 439
Muslim Chams, 342
Muslim refugees, See mobadisi
Muslim Skanserbeg SS regiment, 362
Muslims, 42, 45, 47, 113–16, 483, 490
Musuloni, Benito, 308–9, 310
mustard gas, 309
Naga, 489
Nagaland, 489
Namark, N. (2001), 21
Naletilic, 414
Nama, 103–6
narod, 362
narodny, 318
Nash, G. (1992), 84, 89
Nastorian Christian villages, 136
nation defined, 11
national minorities, 68
national self-determination, 67
nationalizing states, 68
-state, 11, 45, 325
-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
Index

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, Dk., 127, 132, 144
Ndagijimana, Mayor,
Ndimbati, Mayor, 464
Neolithic revolution, 37
NEP. See New Economic Policy
Netherlands, 44
Neuengamme, 200
Neurath, Ottovo von,
New Economic Policy (NEP), 322
New Liberals (Great Britian), 62
Newbury, C., (1998), 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,
Ntakirutimana, Pastor, 464
Ntahobari, Pauline, 462
Ntahobari, Shalom, 462
Numantia, 34, 36
Nuremberg Laws, 193, 206
Nyandwi, Mayor, 458–9
Oberschall, A., (1998), 418
Obrenovic, General, 405
Oded, B., (1979), 41
Ognjenovic, Colonel, 595
Ohlendorf, Otto von, 35, 263
Old Nazis, 235, 237–9
Omarska, 397
ONU, 288, 289
Operation Barbarossa, 209, 210
Opium Wars, 73
Orić, Naser, 147–18
Osijek, 384, 385, 388
Ostojic, 386
Ottoman Empire, 113–15
descent to murderous cleansing, 137–9
and the Entente Powers, 173
etnicity in, 177
and Germany, 173–5
mono-religiousness of, 114–16
Plan A in, 127, 134, 177
Plan B in, 130, 131, 143, 145, 147, 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
Paris, 267, 409
Paraga, 367
Paragraph 47, German Army Code, 268
paramilitaries, 8–9, 164–7, 281–5, 419–20, 421–2, 460–3, 468, 479, 493, 497
221
German, postwar, 193–6
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, 349
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, 72–3
core constituencies of, 8–9
elite, in the Ottoman Empire, 156–72
factionalized official, in the Ottoman Empire, 158–63
factionalized 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, 418–39
paramilitary, 164–7
samples of, 216–39
statist view of, 320–21
persecution, 257–9
Philippine, 526–7
Philve, 64
Plains Indians, 97
Plan C, 503
Plavac, Biljana, 388–9, 420
plunder (and tribute taking), 71
pogroms, 15, 36, 43, 64–6, 194, 284
in Byelorussia, 286
Polish, 280–1
Pol Pot, 340, 341, 344, 345, 346, 349
Poland, 183–6, 280–1
Poles, Hitler’s justification for killing, 375
Poles in, 17, 272
Poles in the Kaiserreich, 181
political violence against Poles, 186
political enforcement, types of, 72–3
instability, forms of, 7
power relations, 6
“political soldier,” 163
political, 16–17, 71, 186
Assyrian, 40–1

in Burundi, 438
in Cambodia, 340, 341
in China, 357
in Ethiopia, 309, 310
in Indonesia, 497
in Ottoman Empire, 144, 148
in Rwanda, 430, 431, 440
of Serbs, 296
in Tibet, 358
in Yugoslavia, 357
Pomaks, 307
Pomiankowski, Vice-Marshall, 153
“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, 50
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
proto-labour nation,” 62
Pruca, E. (1994), 93
Prunier, G. (1995), 442
Prussian Germany, 181
“psychology of hard times,” 219, 223
“psychosis of disappearance,” 133
Punjab, 485
“purge,” 315–6
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, of “ordinary Germans,” 206–8
Rahmi Bey, 159
“RAM.” See Milosevic, Slobodan, Plan C for Serbia
Ramer, S.P. (1992), 420
Ramsey, Governor, 91, 94
rape, 80, 84, 102, 156, 158, 166, 287, 357–8, 420–1, 422, 462, 463, 481, 528. See also abuse, gender
Ras-al-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
Rasul-Ain, 171
Rasch, Otto, 268
rasbota, 474
Raskovic, Jovan, 380, 384, 387, 388
“ratio of representation,” 223
rational choice theory, 23, 24, 26
rationality
instrumental, 188
value, 188
Rasule-Helmuth, 265
Ravenbruch, 200
Ravens, 287
Raw Nazis, 235, 237–9
Raznatovic, Zeljko, 404
Red Berets, 390, 394
“redemptive anti-Semitism,” 192
Reš, Kerim, 160
refugee camp/associations, 196–7
refugees, 67–8, 223–8
Regat, 501, 506
Reichenau, General, 273
Reichl-Kir, 384, 388
Reichleimer, 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
Renn, 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
policied, 15
policied, in Rwanda, 435
policied, total cultural, 15
selective, in the Ottoman Empire, 130, 131
selective, of Jews, 185
selective policied, 15
selective policied, in Cambodia, 341
selective policied, in China, 337
selective policied, 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, 332
revolutionary projects
callous, 320
mistaken, 15, 88, 319, 310, 316
Reyntjens, F. (1996), 444
Reza, Atil, 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
Rohn, Ernest, 197, 201
Rohrbach, Dr. Paul, 101–2, 105, 107
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), 593
Roosevelt, Theodore, vii, 94
Rosenberg, 198
Ross, 51
Roth, N. (1995), 45
Rowley, C. (1972), 81, 83
RPE, 440, 441, 443, 466, 470
RSHA, 241
RSK. See Serb Republic of Krajina
RSS, 440, 441, 443, 445, 447, 448, 450, 459
Rutaganda, George, 461–2
Ruzindana, Obed, 460
Rwanda, 6, 430, 475
African Rights (1994) report on, 449
army death squads in, 447
Belgian colonial rule in, 433
casualties in, 450
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
paramilitaries in, 446
Plan A in, 442
premeditated genocide in, 442–8
refugees from, 430
sources documenting genocide in, 449
Structural Adjustment Programme for, 459
Tutsi invasion of 1990, 419
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, 190
Sachsenhausen, 200
Safa, Ismael, 161
Satria, H. (1993), 215
Sakir, Dr. Bahaeddin, 144
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
Scarritt, J. (1993), 22
Schacht, 193
Scharf, M. (1997), 418
Schechtman, J. (1962), 354
Schellenberg, Walter, 203–4
Scherpe, Herbert, 253
Schleffen, Chief of Staff von, 104, 106
Schonerer, 65
Schoepe, Kurt, 249
Schulz, Erwin, 268
Schwannberger, Josef, 254
Scots, 11. See also Protestant Scots
Scott, Winfield, 94
SD, the, 102–4
officers in 1945, 217–18
SDA, 407
SDB. See Serb Security Police
SDP, 380
secularism, 510
security dilemma, 24
Index

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 Jelisic, Goran
Serb nationalist parties, 389
Serb Radical Party, 392
Serb Republic of Krajina (RSK), 387
Serb Security Police (SDB), 374
Serbia, 112, 182, 187, 196, 203, 207, 209, 212
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
Sershago, Oman, 454
Sewelj, 367, 380, 391, 392
settler, democracy, 107, 108–10
Shakir, Dr., 160
Shari'a, 513–14
Shastry, Professor Keshavram, 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
Silber, 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
Slovakia, 293–4
1938 Manifesto, 294
Plan A in, 294
Slovenia, 367, 374, 376
ethnic self-identification in, 363
Smirčina, Lieutenant, 353
Smith, A. (1986), 19
Smith, L. (1997), 34, 36, 40, 71
Snyder, J. (2000), 12
Sobibor, 259
Social Darwinism, 79, 81, 98, 180, 181
Social Democrats (Germany), 63
socialism, 310, 311–12
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
Sonderweg, 176
Sorbiins, 183
Sorge, Gustav, 186–7
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, 342, 344
Plan B in, 343
Plan C in, 343
Plan D in, 344
Plan E in, 344
Spain. See Iberian peninsula during the Inquisition, 46–47
and Plan A, 77
Index

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
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
statists, 6
Statute of Kilkenny (1366), 49
Staub, E. (1992), 219
Staufenberg 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
Stroessner, General, 275
Stuermer, H. (1917), 123, 172, 174
Suad, Ali, 160
Suchomel, Franz, 262
Sudan, 429
Sudetenland, 227–8
Sudetic, 398–9
“Sugerfoot Jack,” 98
Sukru, Midhat, 144
Sultania, 146
Sumatra, 493
Sunstein, C. (2000), 25
superiority, ideologies of, 74–5
suppression

cultural, in America, 87
cultural, in Romania, 303
Susa, 386, 408
Switzerland, 60
syncretic religion, 37
Szalasi, 302
Szeged Idea, 300
T, 14, 185, 204–5, 214, 241, 256–60
Tadic, Dusko, 401
Tahsin Pasha, 147
tafia, 114
Talai Pasha, 123, 129, 132, 141, 144, 148, 149–50, 154–5
Tambiah, S. (1996), 21, 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
Theresiantstadt, 493
Thion, S. (1985), 349
(1995), 341
Third Spanish Republic (1931), 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
Tito, 63
Tito, Marshall, 266
tolerations, 13
Tomicic, Professor, 354
Topalovic, Musan, 418
Torkildsen, 391
Torquemada, 46

Cambridge University Press
052183130X - The Dark Side of Democracy: Explaining Ethnic Cleansing
Michael Mann
Index
More information

© Cambridge University Press www.cambridge.org
Index

Tohill, Colonel, 52
trade, 71
Trail of Tears, 93
Trapp, Major, 267, 270
Trawnicki training camp, 291
Treaty of San Stefano (1878), 117
Treblicka, 239
triangle of tension, 81
tribute taking. See plunder
Trieste, in Italy, 310
Trifan, Valerian, 303–4
Trigger, B. (1994), 74
Trawnicki training camp, 291
Treaty of San Stefano (1878), 117
Treblinka, 259
triangle of tension, 81
tribute taking. See plunder
Tudjman, 367, 369, 377–8, 380, 388, 390, 407, 425, 426
“Tula.” See Naletilic
Tuol-Sleng. See S-21
Turan, 132
Turkmenistan, 579
Turkish nationalism, 119–24
Turkish refugees, 116
Turks, 6, 114–15, 307
Turner, Colonel, 273
Tutsis, 8, 10, 17, 430, 431, 432–48
Udovicki, J. (1997), 359
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, 304
Untermensch, 187, 272
Ustasha, 16, 294–8, 362, 363, 377, 379, 380, 386, 394, 404, 421
utilitarian genocide, 71
Uwezeye, 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
Veesenmayer, Edmund, 245
Velić, Ivan, 421
Verbannung, 191
Vernichtung, 191
Versailles, 67
Vickery, M. (1983), 349
(1984), 347
Virgin Islands, 406
Visnjica, 356
Visogorči, 35
Vitez, 385, 406, 408, 410
Vitez, 409
Vivitsky, B. (1990), 291
“Voja Četnik,” 398
Vojvodina, 354, 363
Vucević, 385
Vukcevic, 388
Vukovar, 356
Waffen-SS, 271, 279
Wagner, Gustav, 265
Wagner, M. (1998), 431, 460, 468
Waldheim, Kurt, 273
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
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
Wehrverbande, 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
Wirz, Eduard, 156
Ziko, Salh, 160
Zelko, 420
Zemstvo, 62
Zec, 411, 412
Zeitun, 146
Zekic, 124–5
Zentrum, 139
"Zero Network," 447
Zimbabwe, language in, 429
Zionism, 65
Zucotti, S. (1987), 311
Zyklon B gas, 187, 244

Xinyang, 338
Yalcin. See Cahit, Huseyin
Yalman, A.E. (1972), 159
Yarhay, 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 (1901), 120
Yougoslavia, 6, 353, 356, 423
Yougoslavia, 6, 353, 356, 423
casualties in, 356
economic conflict in, 364
elections of 1990, 367–9, 384
organic nationalism in, 376–81
Yougoslav army (JNA), 376, 377, 389, 390, 393–4, 395
Zagreb, 379
ZANU, 429
ZAPU, 429
Zec, 411, 412
Zemstvo, 62
Zenić, 409
"Zero Network," 447
Zimbabwe, language in, 429
Zionism, 65
Zucotti, S. (1987), 311
Zyklon B gas, 187, 244