

## CHAPTER 30: DEHUMANIZING THE OTHER: MASSACRES AND GENOCIDES

1. Beck, A. T., *Prisoners of Hate: The Cognitive Basis of Anger, Hostility, and Violence*, Perennial, 2000, p. 17.
2. Quoted in Waal, F. B. M. de, *The Bonobo and the Atheist: In Search of Humanism Among the Primates*, W. W. Norton, 2013, p. 212.
3. Miller, S. C., *Benevolent Assimilation: American Conquest of the Philippines, 1899–1903*, Yale University Press, 1982, pp. 188–189, quoted by Charles Patterson. *Eternal Treblinka: Our Treatment of Animals and the Holocaust* (Kindle Locations 493–494). Kindle Edition.
4. Hatzfeld, J., *Machete Season*.
5. Suarez-Orozco, M., & Nordstrom, C. (1992). A Grammar of terror: Psychocultural responses to state terrorism in dirty war and post-dirty war Argentina. *The Paths to Domination, Resistance, and Terror*, 219–259. Quoted in Baumeister, R. F. (2001). *Op. cit.*, p. 226.
6. Binding, K., & Hoche, A., *Die Freigabe der Vernichtung lebensunwerten Lebens*, Bwv Berliner-Wissenschaft (original ed., 1920), 2006; Schank, K., & Schooyans, M., *Euthanasie, le dossier Binding and Hoche*, Le Sarment, 2002.

7. Quoted in Staub, E., *The Roots of Evil: The Origins of Genocide and Other Group Violence*, reprint, Cambridge University Press, 1992, note 21.
8. The Aktion T4 program concerned all patients suffering from schizophrenia, epilepsy, senility, incurable paralysis, weakness of mind, encephalitis, and terminal-phase neurological disorders, as well as patients who had been hospitalized since the age of at least five.
9. Chalk, F., & Jonassohn, K., *The History and Sociology of Genocide: Analyses and Case Studies*, Yale University Press, 1990.
10. Hatzfeld, J. (2005). *Op. cit.*, p. 53.
11. Pinker, S. (2011). *Op. cit.*, p. 326.
12. Chang, I., *The Rape of Nanking: The Forgotten Holocaust of World War II*, Basic Books, 1997, p. 56. Quoted in Charles Patterson, *Eternal Treblinka: Our Treatment of Animals and the Holocaust*, Lantern, 2002, p. 75.
13. Menninger, K. A., "Totemic Aspects of Contemporary Attitudes Toward Animals," *Psychoanalysis and Culture: Essays in Honor of Géza Róheim*, International Universities Press, 1951, pp. 42–74. Quoted in Patterson, C. (2008). *Op. cit.*, p. 70.
14. Sémelin, J., *Purify and Destroy: The Political Uses of Massacre and Genocide*, Columbia University Press, 2007, p. 243.
15. Hodgen, M., *Early Anthropology in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, vol. 1014, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011, p. 22.
16. Stannard, D. E., *American Holocaust: The Conquest of the New World*, Oxford University Press, 1992, p. 243. Quoted in Patterson, C. (2008). *Op. cit.* (Kindle Locations 448–452). Kindle Edition.
17. From a speech made in January 1886 in South Dakota. Hagedorn, H., *Roosevelt in the Bad Lands*, Houghton Mifflin, 1921, pp. 354–356; 2010 edition, Bilbio Bazar.
18. Patterson, C. (2008). *Op. cit.* (Kindle Locations 375–376). Kindle Edition.
19. Gould, S. J., *La Mal-mesure de l'homme*, Odile Jacob, 1996, p. 135. Quoted in Patterson, C. (2008). *Op. cit.*, p. 58.
20. Levi, P., *If This Is a Man: Remembering Auschwitz*, Little, Brown, 1997.
21. Staub, E. (1992). *Op. cit.*, p. 101.
22. Shirer, William L., *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich: A History of Nazi Germany*, Simon & Schuster, 2011, p. 236. William Shirer notes: "The great founder of Protestantism was both a passionate anti-Semite and a ferocious believer in absolute obedience to political authority. He wanted Germany rid of the Jews....[Luther's] advice was literally followed four centuries later by Hitler, Goering and

- Himmler.” The Nazis celebrated their *Luthertag* (Luther Day) and Fahrenhorst, a member of the Organization Committee for Luthertag, dubbed Luther “the first German spiritual Führer.”
23. Sémelin, J. (2007). *Purify and Destroy*. *Op. cit.*
  24. Glass, J. M. (1997). Against the indifference hypothesis: The Holocaust and the enthusiasts for murder. *Political Psychology*, 18(1), 129–145.
  25. Sémelin, J., (2007). *Op. cit.*, p. 269.
  26. *Ibid.*, p. 41.
  27. Jean Hatzfeld, *Machete Season*.
  28. Letter from Walter Mattner dated October 5, 1941, in Ingrao, C. (2002). Violence de guerre, violence de génocide. Les pratiques d’agression des *Einsatzgruppen*, pp. 219–241. In Audoin-Rouzeau, S., & Asséo, H. (2002). *La Violence de guerre, 1914–1945: Approches comparées des deux conflits mondiaux*. Complexe. Quoted in Sémelin, J. (2007). *Op. cit.*, p. 250.
  29. Hoess, R., *Commandant at Auschwitz: Autobiography*, Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 1959.
  30. Browning, C. (2007). *Op. cit.*
  31. *Ibid.*, p. 75.
  32. Sémelin, J. (2007). *Op. cit.*, p. 246.
  33. Bandura, A., Barbaranelli, C., Caprara, G. V., & Pastorelli, C. (1996). Mechanisms of moral disengagement in the exercise of moral agency. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 71(2), 364.
  34. Todorov, T., *Facing the Extreme: Moral Life in the Concentration Camps*, Holt, 1997.
  35. Tillon, G., *Ravensbrück*, Seuil, 2d ed., 1997, p. 109.
  36. Langbein, H., *Hommes et femmes à Auschwitz*, Tallandier, 2011, p. 307. Quoted in Todorov, T. (1991). *Op. cit.*, p. 157.
  37. Lifton, R. J., *The Nazi Doctors: Medical Killing and the Psychology of Genocide* (new ed.), Basic Books, 1988, pp. 418–422.
  38. Arendt, H., *Eichmann in Jerusalem: A Report on the Banality of Evil*, Penguin, 2006, p. 125. Quoted in Todorov, T. (1991). *Op. cit.*, p. 163.
  39. Expression suggested by the American psychologist Léon Festinger, Festinger, L., *A Theory of Cognitive Dissonance*, Stanford University Press, 1957. See also Gustave-Nico, F., *La Psychologie sociale*, Seuil, 1997, p. 160. Quoted in Sémelin, J. (2007). *Op. cit.*, p. 301.
  40. According to Sémelin, J. (2007). *Op. cit.*, p. 304.
  41. Sereny, G., *Into That Darkness: An Examination of Conscience*, Vintage Books, 1983, p. 164.

42. *Ibid.*, p. 200.
43. *Ibid.*, p. 412.
44. Mark F. No hard feelings. Villagers Defend Motives for Massacres, Associated Press, May 13, 1994.
45. Grmek, M. D., Mirko D., Gjidara, M., & Simac, N., *Le Nettoyage ethnique*, Fayard, 1993, p. 320. Quoted in Sémelin, J. (2009). *Op. cit.*, p. 253.
46. Intercepted telephone conversation between Colonel Ljubisa Beara (former head of military security for the *Republika Srpska* from 1992 to 1996) and General Krstic. See Srebrenica: quand les bourreaux parlent, *Le Nouvel Observateur*, March 18–24, 2004. Quoted in Sémelin, J. (2007). *Op. cit.*, p. 254.
47. Sémelin, J. (2007). *Op. cit.*, p. 254.
48. According to Sémelin, J. (2007). *Op. cit.*, p. 312.
49. *Ibid.*, p. 313.
50. Des Forges, ed., *Aucun témoin ne doit survivre: Le génocide au Rwanda*, Karthala, 1999, p. 376. Quoted in Sémelin, J. (2007). *Op. cit.*, p. 313.
51. Tillion, G., *Ravensbruck*, Seuil, 1973, p. 214. Quoted in Todorov, T. (1991). *Op. cit.*, p. 140.
52. Zimbardo, P., *The Lucifer Effect*, Ebury Digital, 2011, pp. 5001–5002.
53. *Ibid.*, pp. 5013–5015.
54. Browning, C. R., *Ordinary Men*, Harper Perennial, 1993, p. 170.
55. Staub, E. (1992). *Op. cit.*
56. Malkki, L. H., *Purity and Exile: Violence, Memory, and National Cosmology Among Hutu Refugees in Tanzania*, University of Chicago Press, 1995.
57. Straus, S. (2004). How many perpetrators were there in the Rwandan genocide? An estimate. *Journal of Genocide Research*, 6(1), 85–98. Quoted in Sémelin, J. (2005).
58. Mueller, J. (2000). The banality of “ethnic war.” *International Security*, 25(1), 42–70.
59. Langbein, H. (2011). *Op. cit.*, p. 274. Quoted in Todorov, T., *Facing the Extreme*, p. 122.
60. Hatzfeld, J. (2005). *Op. cit.*, p. 13.
61. See Chapter 28, “At the Source of Violence: De-Valuing the Other.”
62. Borowski, T., *This Way for the Gas, Ladies and Gentlemen*, Penguin, 1976, p. 168. Quoted in Todorov, T. (1991). *Op. cit.*, p. 38.
63. Levi, P., *Survival in Auschwitz*, CreateSpace Independent Publishing Platform, 2013, p. 101.
64. *Ibid.*, p. 106.

65. Shalamov, V., *Kolyma*, François Maspero, 1980, pp. 11, 31. In Todorov, T. (1991). *Op. cit.*, p. 38.
66. Guinzbourg, E. S., *Le Ciel de la Kolyma*, Seuil, 1980, pp. 21, 179. In Todorov, T. (1991). *Op. cit.*, p. 38–39.
67. Marchenko, A., *Mon témoignage. Les camps en URSS après Staline*, Seuil, 1970, pp. 108–109. In Todorov, T. (1991). *Op. cit.*, p. 45.
68. *Ibid.*, pp. 45–66, 164.
69. Levi, P. *Survival in Auschwitz*, *op. cit.*, p. 128.
70. Laks, S., and Coudy, R., *Musiques d'un autre monde*, Mercure de France, 1948. Republished under the name *Mélodies d'Auschwitz*, Cerf, 2004. Quoted in Todorov, T. (1991). *Op. cit.*, p. 41.
71. Todorov, T. (1991). *Op. cit.*, p. 41.
72. Frankl, V. E., *Viktor Frankl. Un psychiatre déporté témoigne*, Éditions du Chalet, 1967, p. 114. Quoted in Todorov, T. (1996). *Op. cit.*, p. 61.
73. Borowski, T. (1964). *Op. cit.*, p. 135. Quoted in Todorov, T. (1991), *Op. cit.*, p. 40.
74. Baumeister, R. F., *Evil: Inside Human Cruelty and Violence*, Barnes & Noble, 2001, p. 304.
75. Terestchenko, M., *Un si fragile vernis d'humanité: Banalité du mal, banalité du bien*, La Découverte, 2007.
76. Sereny, G., *Into That Darkness: An Examination of Conscience*, Vintage, 2011.
77. *Ibid.*, p. 39.
78. *Ibid.*, p. 37.
79. *Ibid.*, p. 51.
80. *Ibid.*, p. 136.
81. *Ibid.*, p. 157.
82. *Ibid.*, p. 160.
83. Terestchenko, M. (2007). *Op. cit.*, p. 94.
84. *Ibid.*, p. 96.
85. Chalamov, V., & Mandelstam, N., *Correspondance avec Alexandre Soljenitsyne et Nadejda Mandelstam*, Verdier, 1998.
86. See Chapter 11, “Unconditional Altruism.”
87. Broz, S., *Good People in an Evil Time: Portraits of Complicity and Resistance in the Bosnian War*, Other Press, 2005.
88. Since he willingly surrendered to the International Criminal Tribunal in The Hague, his case was the first to be tried by that court. See the report of his trial on the Internet: <http://www.un.org/icty>.
89. The NGO African Rights published, in 2002, a brochure presenting profiles of nineteen Rwandan “Just Ones” who selflessly saved Tutsis

- during the genocide: *Tribute to Courage*, African Rights, August 2002. Quoted in Sémelin, J. (2007). *Op. cit.*, p. 266.
90. Alexander, E., *A Crime of Vengeance: An Armenian Struggle for Justice*, The Free Press, 1991.
  91. Baumeister, R. F. (2001). *Op. cit.*, p. 292.
  92. Sémelin, J. (2007). *Op. cit.*, p. 200. After Kristallnacht “not a single voice from the religious hierarchy was raised in protest against what had happened, either from the Protestant or from the Catholic side” (p. 85). This silence in 1938 “bears witness to a collapsing of religion: religion was no longer capable of calling the population to order by reminding them that murder is prohibited.” The same would be true for the Orthodox Church in Serbia and with the Catholic Church in Rwanda.
  93. Sémelin, J. (2007). *Op. cit.*, p. 204, translation modified.
  94. Sémelin, J. (2007). *Op. cit.*, pp. 149–150.
  95. Harff, B., “Assessing Risks of Genocide and Politicide,” in Marshall, M. G., & Gurr, T. R., *Peace and Conflict 2005*, Center for International Development and Conflict Management, 2005, 57–61.
  96. Harff, B. (2003). No lessons learned from the Holocaust? Assessing risks of genocide and political mass murder since 1955. *American Political Science Review*, 97(1), 57–73.
  97. Levi, P., *The Drowned and the Saved*, Vintage, 1989, p. 44.
  98. Mao Zedong Li, Z., *The Private Life of Chairman Mao: The Memoirs of Mao's Personal Physician*, new ed., Arrow Books, 1996, p. 217.
  99. A concept initially proposed by my late father, the philosopher and political writer Jean-François Revel.