

AGENTS OF ATROCITY: THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN WAR, ETHNIC KILLING, AND GENOCIDE IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

Scott Nicholas ROMANIUK*

Introduction

During the course of the 20th century, nearly 170 million men, women, and children were exterminated in genocides around the world as compared to an estimated 38 million killed in all domestic and foreign wars and conflicts combined.¹ Nobody can precisely say how many peoples of all types have been killed or died as a result of bloody wars and conflict. Taking into consideration the previous 100 years alone, the practice of genocide, intentional and systematized processes of mass slaughter of innocent peoples in times of war and in times of peace, might seem inevitable.

Genocide is not an unavoidable event. Oftentimes, it is seen as an act that chooses its victims based on opportunity and not out of biological imperative. Atrocities committed are seldom seen as products that can be justified through logical pretexts, or that can be considered beyond the boundaries of moralists' conceptions of a brutal and systematic nature. As the act stands in violation of all moral principles, it might seem justifiable by social systems and the environments in which violent offenders were raised and educated. In many cases, it seems as though the act of killing has been a manifestation of ancient hatred, and events that posed no direct, if any, benefit to the war or wars in which they were themselves waged. A week after Hitler's armies crossed the borders into Soviet Russia, Reinhard Heydrich (*SS-Obergruppenführer* or General), gave the order to his men to:

... place no obstacles in the way of autonomous cleaning efforts (*Selbstreinigungsbemühungen*) by anti-communist or anti-Jewish circles in the newly occupied territories. On the contrary they are to be intensified if necessary and directed into the right channels, to be sure, without leaving traces so that later these 'self-protection circles' [in inverted commas in the

* Master's of Research (MRes), University of Aberdeen (UK), e-mail: scott.n.romaniuk@gmail.com.

¹ Rummel 1994.

original '*Selbstschutzkreise*'] cannot claim that they acted on orders or were given political assurances.²

Genocide and ethnic massacre of various sorts have been no less prevalent in contemporary conflicts than they have in centuries previous; they are likely to remain a permanent feature of a great number of wars in the near and distant future. The term genocide is understood in this article as the systematic destruction, in whole or in part, of a particular group within any society. The first thing that can come to the surface when encountering the term is the idea of killing. The kind of killing that might escape rational explanation remains beyond the realms of logical discourse. Genocide is an activity that occurs both within and beyond the context of the modern battlefield. However, it is the emotional vantage point from which the act of killing is launched that is of particular interest in modern studies. In the Balkans, Croats killed Serbs because they hated them. In Poland, Germans killed Poles because they had no use for them, and murdered Jews because they cared nothing for them. In a number of documented cases, we find that German soldiers were so complacent and apathetic toward their prescribed tasks that they even stuck conversations with those Jews who were of German decent, only to blithely slaughter them sooner or later as if were a simple case of flicking a light switch. As Steiner remarks:

[T]he language and tone of the Wannsee Protocol remind[s] us that the uniqueness of Nazi genocide arises from its coldness, its lack of frenzy, its detached, correct, bureaucratic efficiency, its record-keeping and file reference, its memoranda and liaison officers, its timetables and gas canisters, its lists of men, women and children 'deloused', 'resettled', 'specially handled', 'sent east', as problems 'solved', 'settled', and 'clarified', as actions 'to cleanse', 'purify', and 'disinfect'.³

In every case, genocide is associated invariably with death, comprehensive and massive of scale, and uncompromising in victim selection.

Such perceptions, however, are both general and simplistic. Perceptions of the violent events that shaped the twentieth century usually reflect intuitive understandings of broader realities that relate to ongoing campaigns of genocide and mass murder. The reality of the twentieth century's destructive character should not be ignored, and as scholars continue in their efforts to make sense of it, many automatically explain it by reference to war – as if to suggest that genocidal devastation can only surface in such times. On the other end of the analytical spectrum, we find arguments that hold genocide inextricably riven from war.

² Steinberg 1994, p. 175.

³ *Ibidem*, p. 190.

Although genocidal campaigns have been perpetrated against a very broad range of members of society over the previous hundred years, the discussion in this article is limited to select cases of genocide and the impact of genocidal warfare, and ethnic cleansing. This focus enables an analytical scope necessary for an understanding of the relationship between such acts. In this analysis, the concepts of ethnic cleansing, genocide, and nationalism in the experience of the Second World War in Eastern Europe as well the Balkans allows for the establishment of a framework that can be used for judging whether or not the actions of a state against a people may be deemed genocide. Understanding the cornerstone of genocidal campaigns and their devastating effects on societal facets aids in the creation of a genocide prevention model (on a regional level) that is presented in the final section of this article.

From War to Genocidal Warfare

The targeting of civilians in times of war was not a new concept in European conflict and warfare. However, the sheer totality and butchery experienced during the First World War came as a shock to every state engaged at one point or another during the four years of conflict that enveloped much of the continent. The mechanization of war meant that killing of noncombatants could be accomplished on a large scale, quickly, and efficiently. This concept has never been more evident than during the Nazi's escalation of their murderous campaign against the Jews – the 'Final Solution'. After June 1941, the Germans put to use a vast number of killing styles to increase their victims' numbers. The *Einsatzgruppen* (mobile killing units) shot Jews *en masse*, while the Nazis experimented with hermetically sealed trucks with engine exhaust diverted into the interior compartment where Jews were kept. The process then included the deportation of selected people to concentration camps where they could be gassed in greater numbers. The number of camps continued to grow, eventually including such infamous camps as Chelmo, Belzec, Sobibor, Treblinka, and Auschwitz.⁴ In the aftermath of the wholesale destruction and devastation that followed the various powers' formal declarations of war, optimism regarding the use of warfare to solve international disputes and historical enmity lost a great deal of adherents. Few understood how Europe of 1918

⁴ Many other concentration camps that were not initially designed to kill select peoples by gassing were eventually equipped with gas chambers too. These included, for example, Stutthof, Mauthausen, Sachsenhausen, and Ravensbrueck. The gas chambers found at these sites were relatively small as compared to those in the aforesaid camps, and were primarily used to kill those deemed "unfit" to continue their duties as inmates.

could possibly survive another conflict such as the First World War. As a result, the shift transpired in the understanding of how states should conduct war. No longer was there an understanding of a state waging war against another state; instead, identifiable groups of *people* were seen as possible enemies. As Bartrop posits:

Now that people knew they could achieve million of death in war, it was much easier to imagine doing the same thing in a time of peace, where a perceived enemy would not be armed. Important in this respect was the realization that people now knew that millions could be killed deliberately. Between 1914 and 1918, such deaths could be explained by the war; but some began to wonder whether a time would come when equally large numbers, now targeted by the state as internal enemies, could be killed without a war.⁵

The onslaught of, and seemingly indiscriminate slaughter by the Nazis, during Europe's second major conflict of the 20th century, had given rise to Prime Minister Winston Churchill claiming, "we are in the presence of a crime without a name."⁶ Churchill delivered a live broadcast from London about the violence afflicting Europe on August 24, 1941 - two months after Nazi Germany invaded the Soviet Union on June 22. The dramatic barbarity that was taking place was difficult to label; the crimes being committed had many original characteristics that rendered them unique.

When the Second World War erupted in Europe in the late summer of 1939, the term "genocide" had not yet been coined, nor was the use of the term "Holocaust" associated with the sweeping and systematic murder of millions of innocent people deemed undesirable by the racial architects of the German Reich. Polish-Jewish legal scholar Raphaël Lemkin heard Churchill's speech in the United States. He arrived from Europe only five months previously, in April 1941.⁷ The "crime without a name" to which Churchill was referring earned a name after Lemkin wrote *Axis Rule in Occupied Europe*.⁸ In the book's preface, dated November 15, 1943, Lemkin introduced this new term as the offence of exterminating discriminate groups of human beings. While Churchill referred to it as a "crime without a name," Lemkin simply called it "genocide." He dedicated a chapter of his book to the concept of genocide, which is described as a word that derived from the Greek word *genos* (race or tribe), and the Latin *cide* (killing).⁹ In its

⁵ Bartrop 2002, p. 522.

⁶ Lemkin 1944, p. 227.

⁷ Chalk, Jonassohn 1990, p. 9.

⁸ Lemkin 1944, p. 93.

⁹ Kuper 1982, p. 3.

modern application in civilized society, the doctrine means that war is conducted against states and armed forces and not against populations.”¹⁰ Lemkin contends, however, that the distinction between warfare and genocide is only as great as is the distinction between combatants and civilians.

Although it is clear that the origins of the idea of genocide exist within the context of war, Lemkin established the theory that genocide is not a war crime and that the inherent “evilness” of a crime like genocide should not be confused with the unethical conduct of war. Under Lemkin’s definition, genocide was the “coordinated and planned annihilation of a national, religious, or racial group by a variety of actions aimed at the foundations essential to the survival of the group.”¹¹ It implies the existence of total and systematized extermination, to be put into effect against individuals chosen as victims “purely, simply and exclusively because they are members of the target group.”¹²

Lemkin was preoccupied with establishing the concept of genocide as a general crime, subsuming many acts that constituted particular crimes *Jus ad bellum* and *Jus in bello*. His approach was very different from that of many legal contemporary authorities that regarded genocide as a particular crime alongside war crimes and crimes against humanity. Lemkin structured his case in terms of inadequacies in the laws of war, particularly with respect to the ideas of occupation:

We should not overlook the fact that genocide is a problem not only of war but also of peace ... An international multilateral treaty should provide for the introduction, not only in the constitution but also in the criminal code of each country, of provisions protecting minority groups from oppression because of their nationhood, religion, or race.¹³

Lemkin argued that genocide clearly represented something that should not be referred to as “normal” warfare; rather, it is a criminal enterprise that went beyond the conventional understanding and framework of war. He said that, “Genocide is not war! It is more dangerous than war!”¹⁴ Levene responded to Lemkin’s arguments about genocide claiming that, “the whole thrust of Lemkin’s conceptualization ... suggests a phenomenon which

¹⁰ Shaw 2007a, p. 463.

¹¹ Chalk, Jonassohn 1990, p. 8.

¹² Destexhe 1995, p. 8.

¹³ Lemkin 1944, p. 93.

¹⁴ Power 2003, p. 51.

does not simply take place within a war context but is itself a form of warfare.”¹⁵

Lemkin’s work became influential, and eventually reached the United Nations (UN). Aware that throughout history, genocide stood as the root of immense suffering and loss in human life, the UN recognized that in order to free the world from such a crime, international cooperation was critical to the achievement of this end. In 1948, a convention was negotiated that addresses the issues of genocide.¹⁶ This was a welcome and worthy gathering that took place amid the terror inflicted on Europe by the Nazis. It is important to note two characteristics of Lemkin’s definition of genocide. First, genocide not only retains a current of racist motivation, it is intended to completely exterminate the target group. Second, genocide cannot be launched without the participation or the complicity of the highest authorities of the state, and the ordinary soldiers complicit in the killing campaigns. Hitler’s racial policy was firmly entrenched in his application of the military forces of the Nazi state. Not only did Hitler intend to completely destroy Polish society, and eventually that of the Soviet Union, he had the support of nearly every level of the state as well as the military forces that backed it.

Debating Genocide

The original UN Resolution (no. 96-1), which declared genocide an international crime, was approved unanimously by the General Assembly on December 11, 1946, and was adopted on December 9, 1948.¹⁷ Over fifty years later, it is the only internationally recognized definition of genocide; although there is no single or universally accepted definition. The following articles illustrate some of the core parts of the definition established by the Convention:

Article II: In the present Convention, genocide means any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such:

(1) The *mental element*, meaning the “intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such,” and

¹⁵ Levene 2005, p. 51.

¹⁶ *International Action* 1982, p. 2.

¹⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 3.

(2) The *physical element* which includes five acts described in sections a, b, c, d and e. A crime must include *both elements* to be called “genocide.”

(3) (a) Killing members of the group;

(b) Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group;

(c) Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part;

(d) Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group;

(e) Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group.¹⁸

Article III: The following acts shall be punishable:

(a) Genocide;

Conspiracy to commit genocide;

Direct and public incitement to commit genocide;

Attempt to commit genocide;

Complicity in genocide.¹⁹

This resolution defines genocide as a “denial of the right of existence of entire human groups as homicide is the denial of the right to live of individual human beings.”²⁰ Just as the First World War – a war largely defined by nationalism and nationalist motivations – altered the collective understanding of targeting of civilians during warfare, the Second World War – a series of conflict fuelled by violent ideological convictions – altered what was considered necessary for genocide to take place. Genocide, the resolution recognized, could occur not only as the means to destroy an enemy’s ability and will to resist destruction, it could also occur as an end in and of itself, such as in Darfur, Rwanda, and Bosnia.

The UN definition of genocide provides a foundation for a general understanding of the nature of this activity even though it is not entirely precise. On one hand, the UN definition of genocide goes too far and overreaches in its definition to include cases that may not properly be referred to as genocide. On the other hand, the argument can be made that

¹⁸ Dunoff *et alii* 2006.

¹⁹ *International Action* 1982, p. 2.

²⁰ *Ibidem*.

the UN definition does not reach far enough. This is an important discussion, however, in the context of this article a focus is maintained on the extreme end of this act: intending to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, or racial group by killing the members of the group. Poles and Jews relate to many of the definitions that are presented in the following pages regarding genocide and the eradication of a targeted group or group.

Hitler sought nothing less than the direct and comprehensive elimination of the entire Jewish collective, which was otherwise considered harmless but defined by the perpetrator as inherently dangerous to the Nazi Party, state, and its people. The Poles, on the other hand, represent a collective that the Nazis sought to destroy substantial numbers of in both direct and indirect fashions. In both cases, one observes illogical but purposeful actions rooted in hatred that seek to destroy an obstacle, the removal of which is critical for the achievement of an ideological and political end. Thus, genocide and genocidal actions against the Poles and the Jews share a number of characteristics, yet several distinctions remain. Given the ambiguity of the Convention's definition of genocide, it should be incumbent upon all member of the analytic community to recognize and understand alternative definitions of this crime.

Social scientists have posed opposing definitions of genocide from each other and from the definition written as international law. The varying points of view are a direct result of the divergence between generic concepts and legal definition, dissimilarities in purpose of the definer, and due to the political process involved in drafting an international convention.²¹ The following are select definitions presented by social scientists with expertise on the topic of genocide and are provided by the Institute for the Study of Genocide:

Frank Chalk and Kurt Jonassohn:

Genocide is a form of one-sided mass killing in which a state or other authority intends to destroy a group, as that group and membership in it are defined by the perpetrator.

Israel W. Charny:

Genocide in the generic sense is the mass killing of substantial numbers of human beings, when not in the course of military forces of an avowed enemy, under conditions of the essential defenselessness and helplessness of the victims.

Helen Fein:

²¹ http://www.isg-ags.org/definitions/def_genocide.html.

Genocide is sustained purposeful action by a perpetrator to physically destroy a collectivity directly or indirectly, through interdiction of the biological and social reproduction of group members, sustained regardless of the surrender or lack of threat offered by the victim.

Barbara Harff and Ted R. Gurr:

By our definition, genocides and *politicides* are the promotion and execution of policies by a state or its agents which result in the deaths of a substantial portion of a group. The difference between genocides and *politicides* is in the characteristics by which members of the groups are identified by the state. In genocides the victimized groups are defined primarily in terms of their communal characteristics, i.e., ethnicity, religion or nationality. In *politicides* the victim groups are defined primarily in terms of their hierarchical position or political opposition to the régime and dominant groups.

Steven T. Katz:

The concept of genocide applies *only* when there is an actualized intent, however successfully carried out to physically destroy and *entire* group (as such a group is defined by the perpetrators).

In addition to the aforementioned citations on genocide, experts in the field of genocide studies offer conflicting but unique perspectives on this crime. Accordingly, Shaw states, “killing plays a central part in war, but the logic of war in general does not dictate killing all of the enemy’s troops: rather killing is a means along with others, directed to the aim of destroying power.”²² Shaw defines genocide as a “violent social conflict or war, between armed power organizations that aim to destroy civilian social groups and those groups and other actors who resist this destruction.”²³ He explains:

Genocidal action is action in which armed power organizations treat civilian social groups as enemies and aim to destroy their real or putative social power, by means of killing, violence and coercion against individuals whom they regard as members of the groups.²⁴

This definition differs from that of Horowitz, who argues that, “genocide involves the systematic destruction of innocent people by a state or a bureaucratic apparatus.”²⁵ Horowitz also states that, “genocide means the physical dismemberment of and liquidation of people on large scales.”²⁶ Simply put, Baker states that genocide is “[t]he deliberate and systematic destruction of a racial, political, or cultural group,” and adding that ethnic

²² *Ibidem*.

²³ Shaw 2007b, p. 154.

²⁴ *Ibidem*.

²⁵ Jones 2006, p. 18.

²⁶ *Ibidem*.

cleansing is “[t]he elimination of an unwanted group from a society, as by genocide or forced migration.”²⁷ It may be clear from the definitions that ethnic cleansing is seen in this case as something broader than genocide; but it serves the purpose of avoiding the restrictive application of the term that might not be useful in multiple cases of killing.

When looking at the Nazi invasion of Poland genocide may be understood in terms of a political tool in which a person or group of people intend to remove, in whole or in part, a targeted group or set of groups that are seen as an obstacle to a political or ideological aim. Removal of the target groups or groups may involve complete or partial physical destruction directly or indirectly. In this case, a conscious choice by others is made to become involved either directly or indirectly in genocidal acts. With the elimination of the targeted group or groups being built on irrational hatred, the removal of the obstacle is sought in order to achieve the ultimate aim or aims.

Horowitz’s definition appears to neglect the individual victim in genocidal situations. More importantly, it considers the victim as innocent. His definition, when applied to the German campaign in Poland raises the question of whether Germany’s actions were committed initially against large populations or only select members of Polish society. More importantly, it compels one to consider whether Germans viewed Poles as innocent or guilty of crimes against the German state and its people.

Bering and Shackelford discussed the development of the perpetrator as it pertains to genocide in war.²⁸ Sternberg posits that perpetrators use “just-world thinking,” which means that they “explain and interpret their violence toward others as a response to the actions, intentions, or character of their victims.”²⁹ Sternberg further explains that as their aggressive actions continue, they are likely to increasingly devalue their victims. The perpetrator may also engage in a moral execution, whereby the moral standards and values that they believe apply to everyone else are no longer seen as applying in behavior toward their victim.³⁰ Societies can become altered as a whole in such ways that increasingly encourage hateful and harmful acts.

Victim innocence is not necessarily the main difference with respect to German violence in Poland. German soldiers’ perceptions of Poles as perpetrators would not have depicted them as innocent; rather, they were

²⁷ <http://www.munfw.org/archive/50th/4th1.htm>.

²⁸ Bering, Shackelford 2004.

²⁹ Sternberg 2003, p. 318.

³⁰ Bering, Shackelford 2004, p. 239.

seen as enemies of National Socialist Germany and the German people. Depending on how these concepts are applied, German behavior in Poland may be considered genocidal in some instances but not necessarily in the same instances under a different definition. A main difference would be in terms of physical genocide. Was it the intention of the Nazis to destroy all Poles? Poles were not subjected to complete and total physical annihilation as a racial group. Whereas the Jews did not figure in the Nazis' New Order at all, Poles and other Slavs were to serve an economic purpose in the Nazi empire. The Hamburg Institute for Social Research describes the role that Poles and Slavs would fulfill in Nazi-conquered Europe:

- (1) Western Poland was to be "cleansed" of Poles and Jews, incorporated into the German Reich, and settled by ethnic Germans.
- (2) The Polish élite (nobility, priests, and intellectuals) were to be exterminated and the Poles considered "racially useful" were to be "Germanized."
- (3) The remaining Poles were to serve the German "master race" as uneducated slaves in Eastern Poland.
- (4) The Jewish population was to be decimated.³¹

The Nazis sought to kill select groups of Poles and enslave the rest of the population, and permanently erase Poland from the map. Thus, if the destruction of all Poles was not the immediate aim of the Nazis, their annihilation was an eventual aim in their greater plans for the "Germanization" of Polish lands.

It is also necessary to address the difference between massacre, mass murder, and genocide, though one may include another that promotes a distinction that sets genocide apart as an entirely different category. There are at least three characteristics of acts of genocide that when all three are present, distinguish genocidal acts from massacres, and mass murders. Genocide is distinguished by its:

- (1) Magnitude and comprehensiveness.
- (2) Discriminate and indiscriminate nature.
- (3) Systematic and extended methods of application and accomplishment.³²

The existence of these three features in a particular set of actions marks the act as genocide. All three elements are easily observed in Poland. First, acts of atrocity and mass murder were such that Polish society in its entirety was encompassed. Second, while the Nazis appeared to have discriminated

³¹ *The German Army* 1999, p. 23.

³² Bering, Shackelford 2004, p. 239.

against Jews more than Poles, neither was spared the harsh punishment as part of the Nazis' pacification campaign. Third, Nazi methods of punishment and execution extended far beyond conventional means and were conceived of in a totally systematic nature. Other forms of violence may have elements of the various characteristics, but it is in genocide that we observe all three fully and simultaneously.

Polish historians have described the German occupation as "a merciless and systematic campaign of biological destruction."³³ The concept of genocide as a means to render an entire category of individuals extinct can be safely applied to the Jews, yet a different form of genocide may be used when describing Nazi intentions regarding Poles. While Jews were to be eliminated outright, Poles were to be used as slave labor until they would eventually share the same fate as the Jews. Lukas explains that, "extermination by execution was only one method in the Nazi arsenal; extermination by working the Poles to death had the advantage of deriving economic value from them before they died."³⁴ In this sense, the economic property of the Poles would only be seen as a temporary value.

The Nazis sought a variety of methods by which the extermination of every Pole could be achieved much like the complete extermination of the Jews. Another such measure that was undertaken was the annihilation of certain age groups, thus inhibiting the reproduction of the entire race. This act correlates with the definition of genocide presented by Fein, who discusses the interdiction of the biological and social reproduction of group members. Lukas describes the interference of the biological production of Poles as a means of extermination:

As the Academy of German Law suggested, the Poles should be removed temporarily by the hundreds of thousands and employed for a few years in the old Reich; thereby their native biological propagation would be hampered.³⁵

Harff and Gurr put forward their definition of genocide, in which a substantial portion of a group is subjected to death and that can be applied to the incredible reduction of populations in towns and cities across Poland. Both authors present two distinct forms of genocide that include (1) hegemonic genocide, and (2) xenophobic genocide. They explain the two types of atrocities accordingly:

³³ Gumkowski, Leszczyński 1961, p. 54.

³⁴ Lukas 1992, p. 4.

³⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 12.

Hegemonial Genocide:

The racial, ethnic, national or religious groups are being forced to submit to the authority of the state. This may happen when a new state is formed or when a state expands. Examples of this type of genocide include actions of the USSR against various ethnic groups of the North Caucasus region between 1943 and 1957 and the campaign of the People's Republic of China against Tibetan nationalists in 1959.

Xenophobic Genocide:

Murder campaigns are part of a state policy of national protection or social purification where victims are defined as alien or threatening. Examples of this kind of genocidal campaign between 1945 and 1988 include the campaigns against the Ache Indians in Paraguay (1962-1972), against the Ibo in Nigeria in 1966 and against Muslims in the border region of Burma in 1978.³⁶

Harff and Gurr's definitions may be applied to the extermination of substantial portions of professional groups as well. Interviews conducted after the war share the sentiments of Poles, that the scale of Hitler's policies against them "inevitably meant the Polish Christians would have been exterminated if the war had been prolonged."³⁷ In spite of the fact that some historians may not lend a responsive ear to the argument, Lukas asserts:

Had the war continued, Poles would have been ultimately obliterated either by outright slaughter in gas chambers, as most Jews had perished, or by a continuation of the policies the Nazis had inaugurated in occupied Poland during the war – genocide by execution, forced labor, starvation, reduction of biological propagation, and Germanization.³⁸

Each separate characteristic also makes comprehensible how genocide is not merely an act of multiple murders, but is something significantly more and different than basic murder. When the goal is to kill an entire group it is not a situation of just intending to murder multiple individuals; the intention is to murder or exterminate the group itself. The perpetrators of genocide are seeking to cause an entire category of individuals to become extinct, but the perpetrators are not necessarily seeking the immediate extinction of the target people. The Nazis employed a variety of measures,

³⁶ Harff, Gurr 1988, p. 363.

³⁷ Lukas 1992, p. 5.

³⁸ *Ibidem*.

all with the aim of eventual extermination of the Polish population, and the destruction of Polish society. Though the Nazis actively sought the systematic annihilation of the Jews, they did not undertake measures to comprehensively wipeout every single Pole. However, Hitler, as well as Nazi ideology frequently referred to the complete destruction of the Polish nation and every Pole within it. Instead, the Nazi élite referred to the eventual dissolution of Polish society and the use of Poles as labor until they also disappeared.

Although the focus is on the direct form of genocide, considering the goal of group extinction provides a way of understanding how less direct forms could also be considered genocide. Direct forms of genocide seek the extermination of the targeted group through the direct killing of the individuals composing that group. Indirect forms of genocide should also be seen as seeking the extermination of the targeted group, but may be pursuing it through less immediate and more gradual means

In Poland, the Nazis first targeted specific members of Polish society, including clergy, teachers, physicians, lawyers, military officers, businessmen, landowners, and writers. In this sense, the Nazis' policy against Poland upon the Wehrmacht's invasion of the country was to initiate cultural genocide. Instead of seeking the immediate extermination of all Poles, or physical genocide of the entire Polish population, the Nazis undertook a systematized campaign of eliminating specific elements of Polish society. The annihilation of select groups within Polish society made possible the conceptualization and implementation of even further indiscriminate and widespread extermination throughout Poland during the long and brutal occupation campaign as well as military and occupation campaigns elsewhere in Europe.

Recognizing Genocide and Acts of Atrocity

Although genocide and war often occur together, they do not have to be inextricably linked. How then can one recognize the difference between a state using force against a minority group living within the state's boundaries in order to quell nationalist or separatist desires and outright genocide? According to Stanton, genocide is a systemic process comprised of eight identifiable stages – and action can be taken at any stage to stop it. The eight stages include, (1) classification, (2) symbolization, (3) dehumanization, (4) organization, (5) polarization, (6) preparation, (7) extermination, and (8) denial.³⁹

³⁹ <http://www.genocidewatch.org/images/8StagesBriefingpaper.pdf>.

Stages of Genocide

Classification

This stage illustrates the taxonomy or categorization of various peoples, distinguishing between ethnicity, race, religion, and nationality. In this regard, states with bipolar societies display a greater probability of playing host to instances of genocide and ethnic cleansing. “The main preventive measure at this early stage” according to Stanton, “is to develop universalistic institutions that transcend ethnic or racial divisions, that actively promote tolerance and understanding, and that promote classifications that transcend the divisions.”⁴⁰

Specific institutions and organizations such as education and religion have the ability to shape societies and impact institutional arrangements. They also possess the capacity for providing stable frameworks for peaceful and democratic interaction. However, in certain cases the possibility exists for the same dividing forces to impact the institutions that would otherwise be candidates for making pluralistic societies more cohesive. In the Soviet Union and the former Yugoslavia, the establishment of a common national identity and official language served as two significant factors that maintained a peaceful chord in society for some time. In Rwanda, however, the divisions seen within the Catholic Church represented one of the failures to bring together a divided society.

Symbolization

Symbolization involves names and recognizable symbols to depict members of a specific group or classification of peoples and practices within a society. The Nazis employed a variety of symbols to classify the prisoners that were sent to concentration camps. Such symbols as the pink triangle, red triangle, and yellow star were instrumental in identifying homosexuals, political prisoners, and Jews respectively. Symbols have been used in this fashion for centuries, which in combination with channeled emotions such as hatred, represents a significant force in the isolation and potential oppression of a specific group or groups in society. However, the significance of symbolization has been combated in certain instances, particularly during the Second World War, whereby Danes choosing to wear the yellow star even if they were not of Jewish background ultimately neutralized its significance as a symbol employed by the Nazis. “The problem is” according to Stanton, “that legal limitations will fail if unsupported by

⁴⁰ *Ibidem.*

popular cultural enforcement. Though Hutu and Tutsi were forbidden words in Burundi until the 1980s, code words replaced them.”⁴¹

Dehumanization

Dehumanization includes the simple process or act of denying the humanity of a target group. This stage may be interpreted as a precondition for successfully waging genocide against a specific group within society because of the ability of dehumanizing to weaken the negative perceptions of physically harming members of another group. Stanton explains that, “at this stage, hate propaganda in print and on hate radios is used to vilify the victim group.”⁴² Thus, if a select number of individuals were deemed animalistic and regarded as sub-humans then committing violent acts against them might be properly accepted by other members of the society not participating in the atrocities. However, those not participating in violence or even genocidal acts can be safely regarded as complicit in the act as those directly involved.

Organization

Genocide is always a systematic and comprehensive process and practice. It is a joint function in every case. In most cases, genocide is a program organized and initiated by the state in which it takes place. In the Third Reich, clear evidence of such organization is the creation of the SS (*Schutzstaffel*, Nazi Party Defence Organization or the Führer’s “Praetorian Guard”). Although it is typically seen as a state sanctioned or state organized initiative, groups operating beyond the state have also been at the center of genocidal killing programs. Terrorist networks such as Al Qaeda is one such example as well as paramilitary organizations and militias operating within the state represent further cases in which genocide has been organized by entities other than official government.

Polarization

As extremist activity is seen as the impetus for societal divisions in conflict regions, “hate groups” according to Stanton, “[are highly capable of] broadcast[ing] polarizing propaganda” thereby augmenting any political, social, cultural, religious, or ethnic cleavages that previously existed within a state or community.⁴³ This process is easier to implement within divided societies, or those considered polarized. Unlike states considered unified by

⁴¹ *Ibidem.*

⁴² *Ibidem.*

⁴³ *Ibidem.*

forces such as national language, including Côte d'Ivoire, pluralist societies such as Rwanda, Israel, and many countries in Eastern Europe are more susceptible to planned polarization in order to achieve a mandate of ethnic cleansing or genocide.

Preparation

Preparation for genocide involved the systematic identification of targeted members of society. It also involved the separation of those targets from the rest of society. At this stage, according to Stanton, “members of victim groups are forced to wear identifying symbols. They are often segregated into ghettos, forced into concentration camps, or confined to a famine-struck region and starved.”⁴⁴

Extermination

During the extermination phase, wholesale killing of targeted members of society becomes “genocide.” The term extermination is employed by the perpetrators of the atrocity given the mandate under which they operate and considering the nature of their intended targets. To those committing the act of genocide, an emotional and moral disconnect is established in a manner that facilitates the process of collective and state sanctioned killing through the legitimization of the act. Stanton explains, “When it is sponsored by the state, the armed forces often work with militias to do the killing. Sometimes the genocide results in revenge killings by groups against each other, creating the downward whirlpool-like cycle of bilateral genocide (as in Burundi).”⁴⁵

Denial

Following the extermination of the social group, the eighth and final stage begins – one of “denial.” According to Stanton this stage occurs whether or not the initial genocide was considered successful or not. He further argues that once the process reaches this stage, this is “among the surest indicators of further genocidal massacres. The perpetrators of genocide dig up the mass graves ... [and] try to cover up the evidence.” The perpetrators attempt to deny what has occurred outright, or else to blame what did occur on the victims themselves by blocking investigations into what occurred.

Glancing at the stages of genocide we find a clear connection between the events briefly covered in the previous pages. These stages have helped make it possible to kill, or exterminate large numbers of peoples

⁴⁴ *Ibidem.*

⁴⁵ *Ibidem.*

(millions in some cases). Although not all wars should be seen as genocidal, from the scenarios addressed here and with the understanding established through the exploration of the term, there can be little room for counterclaim that genocide and ethnic cleansing are either conducted in times of war or are orchestrated as wars in and of themselves.

Utilizing the Genocide Framework

The employment of this framework should assist in determining whether or not a particular conflict can be deemed genocide. However, as Stanton is careful to illustrate that, the absence of any one, or more, particular phase should not be taken to mean that genocide is not occurring. For example, Stalin did not engage in the polarization of attitudes between “them and us” prior to committing genocide against Ukrainians in 1932–1933. He simply used additional force to initiate the genocide. Likewise, the presence of multiple phases outlined by Stanton does not preclude the occurrence of genocide. An inextricable and undeniable link that can be established is that murder is prevalent in each category of violence presented in this work: war, ethnic cleansing, and genocide. In each of these cases, murder is the norm rather than an exception, aberration, infrequent event, or occasional affair. This is perhaps one of the primary reasons why those issuing orders to kill or those taking upon themselves to proliferate the killing already taking place cannot or are unwilling to conceive of any reason why their targets should be treated any differently.

A continuance of the first phase is necessary for the second phase, and a continuance of both phases is necessary for the third phase, and so on. For if, as an example, there is no longer a division between “them and us,” it is difficult to see how polarization of these groups could occur, or how mass killings of one or more of the groups could also occur. However, a general linear progression from one stage to the next is a good indication that genocide is occurring, or is about to occur.

An incredibly operable spectrum of cases now exists in which genocide has been rampant and almost “allowed” to occur. Rwanda is one of the clearest examples in which international interventionist strategies were late in coming, and resulted in nearly one million victims, and many traumatized “survivors.” Darfur (Sudan) stands as a second strong example of international apathy, complacency, and inability to pull together in a concerted effort to put a halt to rampant crimes against humanity in that region of the world. Still, there are many more cases that provide ample evidence with which to be compelled to act in the name of human rights, human decency, and human security. One of the latest examples of targeted

killing stems from the ongoing violence gripping Côte d'Ivoire where women have been selected for execution. This case illustrates the act of targeted and systematic killing. Even though it may be on a much smaller scale than the cases presented in this previously, the experience demonstrates that genocide can be an active process on a localized level. It also shows in clear light that genocide is an activity that need not include a sweeping range of targets.

Ethnicity, sex, gender, race, religion, nationality, political orientation, and many other identifying elements can add or detract from a group or individual's vulnerability. The push factors that are found behind various atrocities and crimes against humanity cannot be far removed from genocide. Individual harm prefigures strongly and palpably in community harm, and stronger still in national and international harm. The damage is merely conceptually altered depending on the crime or crimes covered, and the subsequent response to them.

War, Genocide, and Ethnic Cleansing

The Second World War in Eastern Europe depicts ethnic cleansing as a part of genocide. Snyder demonstrates this relationship in terms of the Holocaust and the boundaries of ethnic cleansing. He argues that, "the totality of its [the Holocaust's] exterminatory intention limits the value of the comparison it elicits."⁴⁶ Examples of ethnic cleansing fall below the horrible threshold of intention to exterminate when compared to the brutality experienced during the German orchestrated genocide across the European continent.⁴⁷ Given the fuzzy boundaries produced between these two concepts, Snyder states that ethnic cleansing may be described as a violent policy or policies aiming to clear territories of national enemies, though not to kill every man, woman, and child.⁴⁸ In Germany, the ethnic cleansing of Jews was followed by their extermination. Snyder points out one of the stark differences between the two acts:

Ethnic cleansers may take Hitler seriously without sharing his commitment to total elimination. Ethnic cleansing is far easier than the murder of an entire group, and serves most nationalist programmes just as well. Nationalists who wish to build a nationally homogenous state need not kill all member of a minority population: killing many to remove most is sufficient.⁴⁹

⁴⁶ Snyder 2003, p. 197.

⁴⁷ *Ibidem*.

⁴⁸ *Ibidem*.

⁴⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 200.

Ethnic cleansing, according to Snyder, became a term of art that provided the basis for fresh investigations of central events within 20th century European history.⁵⁰ One such episode is the experience of national and ethnic atrocities between Germans, Russians, Poles, and Ukrainians in Western Ukraine during the Second World War. The concept of an ethnically “clean state” has been presented by Berkhoff, who presents a novel approach by exploring the responses, sentiments, and various needs of the Soviet Ukrainians during their experience under German rule. Nazi leadership perceived Ukraine merely as a “clean slate” or a breadbasket, a pool for a cheap labor force, and geographical space for future German settlers.⁵¹

Despite the limited choice of action, the population of occupied Ukraine was not left without any power of its own. While some individuals took advantage of the socio-economic opportunities created by the murder of so-called sub-humans, others joined various German-controlled organizations and institutions such as the notorious *Schuma* – the auxiliary police.⁵² Fuelled by the effects of ethnic cleansing, the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) that strove to build an independent Ukraine found that what was impossible before the war seemed within reach in wartime. Initially the OUN collaborated with the Germans, but after the failure to establish an independent Ukrainian state, many OUN activists went underground.⁵³ In 1943, they used the rapidly changing situation on the front to “Ukrainize” the multiethnic regions of western Ukraine and launched a brutal cleansing campaign against the Polish minority in Volhynia (and later in East Galicia, a part of Ukraine integrated into the General Government), killing thousands of people and forcing many more to leave their homeland for the west.⁵⁴

Snyder and Berkhoff offer the overarching institutional framework for a causal explanation of one episode of ethnic cleansing or perhaps state cleaning. The case of German occupation of Volhynia provides a striking example of the atrocities that surfaced as a result of undertaking campaigns of ethnic cleansing. The German invasion of the Soviet Union in 1941 showed that what elements ethnic cleansing could surface: these include notions of legitimate authority, those willing to undertake the policies of the cleansing, the idea of social self destruction, and national consciousness.

⁵⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 197-198.

⁵¹ Berkhoff 2004, p. 205-206.

⁵² *Ibidem*, p. 208.

⁵³ *Ibidem*, p. 217.

⁵⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 217-218.

The idea of ethnic homogeneity was a prevailing idea that resonated in the pre-war era. Resistance, such as the OUN, became aware that the experience of directed killing combined with political indoctrination could make loyal and even committed fighters out of apolitical peasants.⁵⁵ Another change that came about as a result of the multiple occupations of Ukraine from 1941 to 1943 was the manner in which Eastern Europeans, particularly Poles and Ukrainians, understood ethnicity or nationality, what it really meant, and what impact it had on life. The existence of Ukrainian subgroups suggests this but significance placed in the vaguely defined group “our people” rather than in the notion of *Ukrainianess* conflicts with other scholarly perspectives.

What sort of territorial identity did these people have? Berkhoff questions the idea of patriotism in this case, asking, “if they were patriots, of what were they patriots?”⁵⁶ If the question of whether Ukrainians were nationalistic in the sense of wishing for a Ukrainian state is difficult to answer, then perhaps the initial phase of the war, even the war as a whole can shed some light on this confusion. The Soviet Union’s initial setbacks in 1941 and 1942 show a profound connection between Ukrainians living in Ukraine Soviet Socialist Republic (SSR) and the Soviet Union, taking the initial failures of the Red Army personally.

A degree of consciousness, whether centering on nationality, ethnicity, or cultural awareness, existed in orders large enough for the formation of conceptions regarding a rich country. The term “our rich country” was used in reference to the Soviet Union, whereas the term “Galician region” was used in reference to Poland.⁵⁷ The idea that nationalism cannot exist without a sense of grievance against a real or imagined oppressor assumes that an even level of national consciousness and broader historical awareness exists among the general population of Poles and Ukrainians. An interesting point to consider is the facilitation that ethnic conflict, particularly ethnic cleansing provided to bring these sentiments to the fore. The majority of Ukrainians living in Dnieper Ukraine did not blame “the Russians” yet this should not imply that grievance or blame was absent in Ukraine, and it could have been difficult to channel.

Nazi barbarism contributed to the formation of national consciousness and identity. For Ukrainians, nearly all of whom in Kiev hated the German administration felt a sharp contrast form between

⁵⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 217.

⁵⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 216.

⁵⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 219.

German and Soviet treatment in a way that pushed them to identify with the term Soviet.⁵⁸ Developments at the battlefield also seemed to play a role in the way people identified themselves in that there was an innate fear about the Bolsheviks returning. As the front moved, so too did inhabitants' view of where the Soviet Union lay, but what was beyond that territorial line or how people perceived the occupied territory remained conceptually fragmented and interpretively fluid.

The term "ethnic cleansing" came into common parlance during the war in Bosnia in the spring of 1992.⁵⁹ It was initially used to describe the attacks by Serbs on Bosnian Muslims, which were undertaken for the purposes of driving the Muslims out of targeted Bosnian territory that was claimed by the Serbs. Eventually, the term was used to describe similar attacks undertaken by Croats against Bosnian Muslims. The term has also been applied retroactively such as when Croats and Serbs launched attacks against each other during the fighting of the late summer and fall of 1991. In the winter of 1998-1999, ethnic cleansing was used to refer to the assaults of Serbian forces against Kosovar Albanians. The product of the aggression prompted an enormous refugee crisis and subsequently military intervention by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) was considered necessary to bring order to the region and resolve the situation.

Hayden provides a useful ontological mechanism for the study of genocide that assists in understanding how and why genocide and ethnic cleansing occupy adjacent positions on a spectrum of attacks on national, religious, and ethnic groups. At one extreme, ethnic cleansing is akin to forced deportation or what has been called "population transfer;" the idea, according to Hayden, is to induce the movement of people. The means are meant to be legal and semi-legal. At the other extreme, ethnic cleansing and genocide are distinguishable only by the ultimate intent. Here, both literally and figuratively, ethnic cleansing bleeds into genocide, as mass murder is committed in order to rid the land of a people; therefore, once again we see the emergence of fuzzy boundaries between ethnic cleansing and genocide. However, in order to mitigate some of the ambivalence generated, Hayden offers a definition of ethnic cleansing as "rendering an area ethnically homogenous by using force or intimidation to remove from a given area persons of another ethnic or religious group."⁶⁰ This perspective of ethnic cleansing seems, in fact, "an essential element in the program of many state

⁵⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 223.

⁵⁹ Hayden 1996, p. 731.

⁶⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 72.

builders and national liberation movements.⁶¹ He reinforces his explanation with the points of view of Brubaker, who noted, the “unmixing of peoples” is a common concomitant of the collapse of empires.⁶²

Further complicating the distinction between ethnic cleansing and genocide is the misconception that forced deportation often takes place in the violent context of war, civil war, or aggression. At the same time, people do not leave their homes peacefully. They often have deep roots in the locales; their families are buried in local graveyards. The result is that forced deportation, even in times of peace, quickly turns to violence, as local peoples are forcibly evicted from their native towns and villages and killed when they try to stay.

Ethnic cleansing takes on genocidal overtones, not merely at the initial point of violence.⁶³ Victims often die in transit or in refugee camps at their final destinations. The history of ethnic cleansing is replete with cases where transportation on foot in long treks, in rail cars, in the holds of ships, or in crowded buses causes severe deprivation, hunger, starvation, and death by disease. When international or state organizations are allowed to step in to help, they are often late and erratic with relief. As a consequence, the victimization of the ethnically cleansed cannot be said to cease once they have been chased from their homes.⁶⁴

Many of the characteristics common to ethnic cleansing over the course of the twentieth century are exemplified by the wars in former Yugoslavia in the 1990s. As Hayden underscores, war itself serves as a cover for ethnic cleansing, offering the means and the strategic justification for its perpetrators.⁶⁵ However, the violence of ethnic cleansing goes beyond the rules of war and involves the brutalization, humiliation, and torture of victims, which suggests something else at work. This is exemplified through studies of conflict in the former Yugoslavia the way the brutality of genocide is depicted in Nazi-occupied Ukraine, and the manner in which Polish-Ukrainian ethnic cleansing was perpetrated in Volhynia.

In the campaigns to expel all Bosnian Muslims, (Serbs, Croats, or Kosovar-Albanians), the authors of ethnic cleansing in the Balkans also mimic the totalist preoccupations of earlier perpetrators. Attacks on women and mass rape, most notable in the case of the Serbian assault on Bosnian Muslims, similarly is often part of the general process of ethnic cleansing.

⁶¹ *Ibidem*.

⁶² *Ibidem*, p. 733.

⁶³ *Ibidem*, p. 731.

⁶⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 734-734.

⁶⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 737.

Instances of robbery, theft, the killing of animals, the burning of homes, and extortion accompany ethnic cleansing, whether in the Balkans or elsewhere. The Yugoslav cases demonstrate that ethnic cleansing involves the forceful deposition of a people or peoples as well as the eradication of their culture, architectural monuments, and artifacts. The idea is to eliminate entire civilizations from targeted territories, along with the peoples who represent them.

Preventing Future Atrocities

Genocide Committed

The conceptual model for the prevention of genocide and future atrocities, illustrated in Figure 1, is divided into six distinct steps. It begins with the act or massacre itself. When genocide is committed it is done so with an intended target, or pre-selected group based on a specific identity. As illustrated in the previous examples, genocidal acts can assume a variety of forms and exist within the context of war. The first step provides the basis for understanding the nature of the genocide. The implications of such combine with the second stage of the model.

Recognition

The second stage underscores the need for recognition of both perpetrators and victims as well as survivors of the atrocities committed. This stage retains an exigency that ultimately rests in an interventionist policy or strategy. Intervention may take a variety of forms, including the deployment of peacekeepers, or a multinational party with the means to mediate, intervene, and protect potential victims.

Response

Responding to genocidal situations means fulfilling the primary objective of safeguarding potential human targets against would be perpetrators. The overriding concern is to distance bystanders and perpetrators. However, in most cases, there exists a very blurry demarcation between the two groups, therefore, this step requires quick and decisive action in order to implement the fourth step of the prevention model.

Deterrence

The establishment of distributive and restorative processes of justice provides part of the groundwork for strong and credible deterrence. The UN provides a suitable base for the application of legal processes that can

serve a dual role of responding to acts of atrocity and deterring future acts of genocide. This application becomes a substantial deterrent in combination with the deployment of forces on the ground.

Protection

The protection stage provides a suitable setting for conflict analysis as the employment of military and interventionist forces on the ground should be considered an extended endeavor. This was a vital step in the amelioration of ethnic conflict that threatened to eviscerate the social and cultural foundations of Rwanda during the 1990s. An apparent lack of ground forces and military intervention in Darfur was the cornerstone to ongoing violence that resulted in the death of over 300,000 people. In 2007, Africa was seen as a “lost cause” in terms the establishment of a sustainable peace in many countries. The portrayal of Africa as a disaster zone was directly linked to the argument put forward during the first decade of the new millennium that an insufficient number of peacekeepers were employed to overcome incredible challenges.

Restoration

Restoration begins when the previous stages have been successfully implemented or passed. It is at this point that restoration of damaged and traumatized communities can take place unimpeded. Education plays a primary role in the restoration phase of the process. It is both an immediate and enduring developmental procedure that addresses and acknowledges the perpetrators as well as the victims and survivors. The conceptual model addresses primary areas essential for the prevention of genocidal activity in a manner that is not region-specific.

Conclusion

Many scholars have considered the impact and effects of genocide and other atrocities in distinct cases. Ethnic cleansing has been shown to bring about the modern overlap of language and land. This is achieved not only by removing peoples from territory, but also by making alterations to the manner in which those peoples view themselves and view the land. Ethnic cleansing is also seen much a process in nation building as is national histories. The same can be said about the Nazi occupation of Ukraine as the basis for analyzing the processes of genocide and ethnic cleansing. Ethnic cleansing and genocide have the ability to awaken a national consciousness in people, whether these elements have existed in those people or not. This is not to say that national consciousness was not awakened or fuelled during

the Yugoslavian Wars. A look at the Polish-Ukrainian ethnic cleansing in Volhynia illustrates how “ethnic cleansing supplies painful or triumphant personal experiences that link to nationality.”⁶⁶

It does not make sense to discuss war and genocide or ethnic cleansing as separate events. There are separate literatures of the Bosnian War and the Bosnian ethnic cleansing/genocide as well as examples of genocide and ethnic cleansing during the Second World War but these were not separate historical processes. In the past, genocide and ethnic cleansing have been major aims in war, but they are not always the systematic reasons for nations waging war. However, the development and continual pursuit of genocide studies and studies of ethnic cleansing should be seen not just as an end in itself. Rather, they should be seen as the source of a critical thrust that should unsettle studies of armed conflict and indeed the human and social sciences in general.

Agents of Atrocity: The Relationship between War, Ethnic Killing, and Genocide in the Twentieth Century

(Abstract)

Scholars have long debated the social products of genocide, its roots, and its relationship with war and society. Perceptions of the violent events that shaped the 20th century usually reflect intuitive understandings of broader realities that relate to ongoing campaigns of genocide, mass murder as well as a *corpus* of other atrocities that take place within the conduct of warfare and during campaigns of systematic killing. Since the 20th century’s destructive character and the likeliness of future architects of genocide emerging on the world stage cannot be ignored, scholars continue in their efforts to make sense of this area of studies. The sheer totality and butchery experienced during the First World War came as a shock to every state engaged at one point or another during the four years of conflict that enveloped much of the continent. The mechanization of war meant that killing of noncombatants could be accomplished on a large scale, quickly, and efficiently. Although genocide and war often occur together, they do not have to be inextricably linked. However, it does not make sense to discuss war and genocide or ethnic cleansing as completely separate events. Even though genocide was first recognized in the context of war, a myriad of socio-political landscapes provide the impetus for their conduct. The concepts of war and genocide also span a variety of epistemological frameworks that ultimately allow social scientists to understand them as different types of actions and grasp the nature of their relationships that they share with one another and their environments. Beginning with an analysis of terms frequently employed in the field of genocide studies, this study investigates instances of genocide, the impact of genocidal warfare, and ethnic cleansing. A framework for judging whether atrocities should be considered genocide enhances the examination of distinct instances of extreme collective violence and organized

⁶⁶ Snyder 2003, p. 233.

killing. The final section of this study provides a conceptual model for the prevention of genocide and atrocities.

**Agenți ai atrocității:
raportul război, crimă etnică și genocid în secolul al XX-lea**

- rezumat -

Produsele sociale ale genocidului, rădăcinile și relația cu războiul și societatea sunt probleme îndelung dezbătute de către cercetători. Percepția asupra evenimentelor violente ce au marcat secolul al XX-lea reflectă de regulă o înțelegere intuitivă a realităților mai ample legate de campanii de genocid, crime în masă precum și o serie de alte atrocități produse sub umbrela războiului și în cadrul campaniilor de ucidere sistematică. Întrucât caracterul destructiv al secolului al XX-lea și posibilitatea ca pe scena mondială să își facă apariția noi arhitecți de genocid sunt imposibil de ignorat, cercetătorii continuă în eforturile lor de a desluși acest domeniu de studiu. Prin simpla sa amploare, masacrul trăit în timpul primului război mondial a venit ca un șoc pentru fiecare stat implicat într-un moment sau altul în acel conflict ce a durat patru ani și a cuprins aproape întreg continentul. Mecanizarea războiului a însemnat că uciderea noncombatanților putea fi realizată la scară largă, rapid și eficient. Chiar dacă genocidul și războiul apar adeseori asociate, ele nu trebuie să se afle într-o legătură de interdependență. Pe de altă parte, însă, nu are sens să se discute despre război și genocid sau purificare etnică ca despre niște evenimente fără absolut nicio legătura unul cu celălalt. Chiar dacă genocidul a fost recunoscut mai întâi în contextul de războiului, există o multitudine de contexte socio-politice care împing spre acest gen de comportament. Conceptele de război și genocid cuprind o întreagă varietate de cadre epistemologice care, într-un final, le permit oamenilor de știință să le vadă drept niște modalități distincte de acționare și să înțeleagă natura relațiilor dintre ele și față de mediul lor. Începând cu o analiză a termenilor cu utilizare frecventă în studiul genocidului, această lucrare investighează instanțe de genocid, impactul războiului de genocid și a purificării etnice. Studiarea unor instanțe distincte de violență colectivă extremă și crimă organizată este îmbogățită de crearea unui cadru pentru stabilirea posibilității de echivalare a genocidului cu atrocitatea. Secțiunea finală a acestui studiu furnizează un model conceptual pentru prevenirea genocidului și atrocităților.

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Keywords: aggression, Holocaust, recognition, systematic killing, warfare.

Cuvinte-cheie: agresiune, Holocaust, recunoaștere, exterminare sistematică, ostilități.

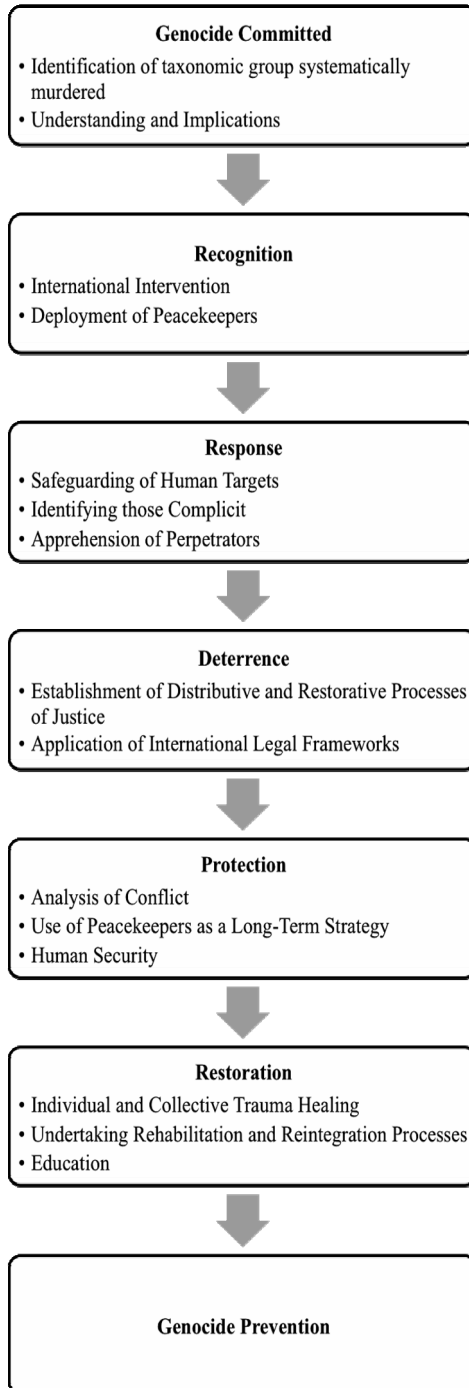


Fig. 1. Conceptual Model for Genocide Prevention