



A/489853

JACQUES SEMELIN

Purify and Destroy

*The Political Uses of
Massacre and Genocide*

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH BY
CYNTHIA SCHOCH

HURST & COMPANY, LONDON

CONTENTS

<i>Foreword by Stanley Hoffmann</i>	page xii
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	xiv
INTRODUCTION: Understand?	1
<i>Chapters</i>	
I. THE IMAGINARY CONSTRUCTS OF SOCIAL DESTRUCTIVENESS	
Unpromising avenues	10
The power of imaginary constructs	
<i>Destructive fantasies</i>	17
<i>Between imaginary and real: the role of ideology</i>	21
From the identity narrative to the figure of Traitor	22
<i>The stigmatisation of 'minor' differences</i>	27
<i>Figures of the enemy within</i>	30
From the quest for purity to the figure of the Other in excess	33
<i>Identitarian purity and political purity</i>	38
From the security dilemma to the destruction of the enemy	41
<i>Conspiracy and paranoia</i>	43
<i>Delusional rationality</i>	45
<i>Destroy 'Them' to save 'Us'</i>	48
II. FROM INFLAMMATORY DISCOURSE TO SACRIFICIAL VIOLENCE	
The intellectual springboard	54
<i>The creation of scientific myths</i>	58
<i>Warmongering intellectuals?</i>	60
Reaching political legitimacy	62
<i>Hitler's rise to power</i>	63
<i>Milosevic and the dream of a 'Greater Serbia'</i>	65

<i>Kayibanda and the formation of a Rwandan state</i>	66
<i>Prophets of chaos</i>	68
<i>Feeding fear and resentment: the role of the media</i>	72
<i>The pernicious tree of propaganda</i>	77
From the religious to the sacrificial	81
<i>Germany: Dietrich Bonhoeffer's solitary crusade</i>	82
<i>The Orthodox Church and the 'Serbian martyr'</i>	85
<i>The Rwandan Catholic Church: between support for the regime and internal contradictions</i>	87
<i>The sacrificial regeneration of 'We'</i>	89
Societies torn between adhesion, consent and resistance	93
' <i>The spiral of silence</i> '	95
<i>The breakdown of social relations</i>	99
<i>The role of the third party</i>	102

III. INTERNATIONAL CONTEXT, WAR AND THE MEDIA

A structure of political opportunities	108
<i>Modern states and massacres</i>	110
<i>A legacy of ethnic violence</i>	113
<i>Massacres and population flows</i>	115
<i>State collapse and outbursts of extreme violence</i>	118
<i>Rwanda-Burundi: false ethnic twins</i>	120
<i>Serbia/Croatia: a fratricidal duo</i>	123
<i>Nazi Germany / the Soviet Union: two totalitarianisms clash</i>	124
<i>The passivity of the 'international community'</i>	125
Spilling into war	131
<i>The politicisation of war</i>	134
<i>Conquering 'living space'</i>	136
<i>War against civilians</i>	138
<i>Towards the destruction of the Inyenzi</i>	139
<i>Refusing the spiral of mass murder</i>	142
<i>The new universe of war</i>	145
Telling the world: a last resort?	147
<i>The extermination of the Jews: discovering the horror... and then doing nothing about it</i>	147

<i>Bosnia: knowing... and pretending</i>	152
<i>Rwanda: knowing... and leaving</i>	156
<i>The so-called 'CNN effect' and state indifference</i>	161

IV. THE DYNAMICS OF MASS MURDER

The decision-making process and the decision-makers	167
<i>Nazi Germany: the pre-eminence of Hitler</i>	168
<i>Rwanda, a public call to genocide</i>	171
<i>Yugoslavia: the dismemberment of the federal system</i>	174
<i>Pinpointing THE decision?</i>	177
The organisation of mass murder and the actors involved	182
<i>Nazi Germany: ideological warriors</i>	185
<i>Rwanda: 'Going to work'</i>	186
<i>Serbia: alternative armed forces</i>	190
<i>Organised practices and local initiatives</i>	193
<i>The symbol of Srebrenica</i>	195
From collective indifference to popular participation in massacres	198
<i>The fate of the Jews: between hostility and indifference</i>	199
<i>Rwanda: towards mass involvement in mass murder</i>	205
<i>The autism of the Serbian population</i>	213
<i>Territorial defence</i>	215
<i>Ordinary rescuers</i>	220
<i>Resistance: the energy of despair</i>	221
Morphologies of extreme violence	224
<i>When the threatened state becomes the threatening state</i>	225
<i>From partial to total destruction</i>	229
<i>Mass murder technologies</i>	233

V. THE VERTIGO OF IMPUNITY

Crossing the threshold into violence	240
<i>Massacre, pillage, business</i>	242
<i>Socialising into violence</i>	245
<i>Becoming a killer on the battlefield</i>	246
<i>What do killers think about during the massacre?</i>	248
<i>Cognitive dissonance and rationalisations</i>	252
<i>Divine legitimation</i>	255

The tipping mechanism	257
<i>The crime of obedience</i>	258
<i>Group conformity</i>	262
The dual learning process of massacre	266
<i>The murdering self</i>	267
<i>Task specialisation and the professionalisation of slaughter</i>	274
The killers' profiles: revisiting 'the banality of evil'	278
<i>Ordinary executioners</i>	279
<i>The involvement of women and children</i>	281
<i>The ambiguity of evil</i>	282
<i>The banality of evil revisited</i>	285
Sexual violence and other atrocities	289
<i>A variety of indefinite interpretations</i>	291
<i>Rational choice?</i>	293
<i>Towards orgiastic violence</i>	295
<i>Delighting in cruelty</i>	299
<i>The abyss of the 'grey zone'</i>	304

VI. THE POLITICAL USES OF MASSACRE AND GENOCIDE

Instrumentalisations of a word that is impossible to define?	310
<i>'Genocide': a legacy of international law</i>	313
<i>Pioneer studies in the social sciences</i>	316
Distancing genocide studies from the frame of law	320
<i>'Massacre' as unit of reference</i>	322
<i>Analysing destruction processes</i>	324
Destroying to subjugate	327
<i>From warfare to ruling over the population</i>	328
<i>Communist regimes: Reshaping the social body</i>	330
<i>The paradigm of 'Democratic Kampuchea'</i>	333
Destroying to eradicate	334
<i>Surgical practices in politics</i>	338
<i>The Holocaust paradigm</i>	340
<i>Politicial regimes?</i>	343
<i>From 'ethnic cleansing' to 'genocide'</i>	345
Destroying to revolt	347
<i>The rhetoric of terrorism</i>	348

<i>The 11 September 2001 paradigm</i>	352
<i>'Ordinary' candidates for sacrifice?</i>	358
CONCLUSION: The ' <i>Never Again</i> ' refrain	362
Crisis prevention: arguments and illusions	363
An ethics of responsibility	369
'The revenge of passions'	373
APPENDIXES	376
A. Investigating a massacre	376
B. Comparing massacres	379
<i>Bibliography</i>	384
<i>Notes</i>	392
<i>Name Index</i>	434
<i>Subject Index</i>	441