Survey of Previous Research

The study of the Holocaust as an established field of scholarship is relatively new, which is evident in part by noting that as many works were published between 1985 and 1995 as between 1945 and 1980. The Holocaust history already began to be recorded during the Second World War. In the United States, Germany and Israel, but the field is also represented in other countries.

From a historical perspective, the Holocaust can be divided into two major phases: the Holocaust of the Jews of Europe (1939–1945) and the Holocaust of the Jews of the Soviet Union (1941–1945). Each phase is characterized by its own specific features and dynamics.

The Holocaust of the Jews of Europe (1939–1945) was a systematic and planned extermination of six million European Jews by Nazi Germany and its allies. The Holocaust of the Jews of the Soviet Union (1941–1945) was a mass murder of Jews and other minorities by the Soviet Union during World War II.

The Holocaust is considered the most tragic event in the history of the Jewish people. The study of the Holocaust has become a crucial aspect of modern history and continues to be a subject of intense research and discussion.

The Holocaust and Genocide Studies:

...
The Holocaust

Research and Explanatory Paradigms

Hilberg's work was heavily influenced by a circle of specialists, but in the beginning of the 1960s the Holocaust received unprecedented attention because of Eichmann's trial in Jerusalem. Hilberg's work was published in 1961, and after Hilberg's edition, other important works followed. The first edition of The Destruction of the European Jews was published in 1961, and Hilberg's book was immediately recognized as the most important work on the Holocaust, but it had been overemphasized in the past. Hilberg's book was a turning point in Holocaust research, as it provided a solid foundation for further research.

The Holocaust 11
The developments of 1933 were described as a series of logically connected decisions based on antisemitic ideology, which led directly to Auschwitz.
The Holocaust

Survey of Previous Research

The Holocaust was the systematic mass murder of Europe's Jews by the Nazi regime during World War II. The event was part of the broader phenomenon of genocide, which has been defined as "the intentional destruction of a national, racial, political, or religious group, in whole or in part" by actions specifically aimed at the population of a specific group. The Holocaust is often cited as the most systematic and extensive genocide in history.

The Holocaust began in earnest in the 1930s with the rise of the Nazi Party in Germany. The party's leaders, including Adolf Hitler, instilled a sense of superiority and hatred towards Jews, which was reflected in their policies and actions. The Nazis sought to eliminate Jews from German society and to control or exterminate them as part of their broader goals of racial supremacy and territorial expansion.

The Holocaust reached its peak during World War II, when the Nazis established concentration camps and death camps in occupied territories. These camps were used to systematically exterminate Jews, as well as other groups deemed undesirable by the Nazis, such as Roma, homosexuals, and disabled people. The final number of Jews killed is estimated to be between 5 and 6 million, although the exact figure remains uncertain.

After the war, the Allies established the International Military Tribunal at Nuremberg to try Nazi war criminals. These trials, known as the Nuremberg trials, were significant in establishing the concept of genocide as a crime against humanity. Since then, the term "genocide" has been used to describe similar acts of mass murder in other contexts.

The Holocaust has been the subject of extensive research and debate, with scholars and historians attempting to understand the causes, motivations, and consequences of this event. The study of the Holocaust continues to be an active field of research, with new insights and perspectives being added to our understanding of this tragic event.
Although the controversy between intentionalism and functionalism centered mainly on political and ideological issues, there is another important aspect of the question of antisemitism, namely the extent to which the population as a whole supported the Nazi ideology. Lucy Dawidowicz very clearly employs this approach. The drawback here is that we can form a more distinct picture of the situation resulting from the relatively extensive participation in Holocaust-related events. While public life, including mass media and important cultural institutions, was characterized by Nazism, the ideology was perceived selectively by the population and was never fully accepted as a whole. This complex picture was questioned in 1996 by the young Harvard scholar Daniel Goldhagen, whose book *Hitler’s Willing Executioners* became a global media event. Goldhagen argues that German society was permeated by antisemitic ideas. During the twentieth century these ideas developed into a wave of mass murder, which led directly to genocide. Goldhagen’s theories have been rejected by almost all leading scholars in Germany and elsewhere.

In a long article, recently published in book form, Norman Finkelstein notes that Goldhagen used his sources in a way that is contrary to scholarly praxis and ethics. An interesting aspect of the case is that a book of this type nonetheless received a favourable response in serious contexts. In view of this perspective, the principally and theoretically pertinent question is how genocide was possible if a majority of the population was not associated with the Nazi Party. According to Michael Marrus, three models of explanation can be distinguished: antisemitism, the totalitarian society, and modern civilization. In various degrees and different combinations these models have all appeared in Holocaust research.

According to Hilberg’s work, the Holocaust was a decidedly modern phenomenon. It does not fit the accepted definition of barbarism, but rather was a systematic, industrial killing. The perpetrators were normally considered to be moral and responsible citizens. Studies done in connection with the postwar trials show that a minority of the perpetrators could be considered psychologically abnormal. The same idea is expressed in Hannah Arendt’s book *Eichmann in Jerusalem*, while Richard Rubenstein considered the Holocaust to have been a logical consequence of modern society. In the same way, the Polish sociologist Zygmunt Bauman rejects explanations based on individualism and refers instead to the social production of evil. According to Bauman’s view, the Holocaust was a manifestation of “the social implosion of modern civilization.” The Holocaust emerged as a result of the failure of modern civilization to produce a functioning society.

In the same way, the Polish sociologist Zygmunt Bauman remarks on the extent to which the Nazis and their collaborators were able to manipulate public opinion and control the media. The Nazis used propaganda to create a sense of national identity and to promote the idea of a pure Aryan race. This propaganda was instrumental in shaping public opinion and influencing the behavior of the population. The Nazis also used propaganda to create a sense of guilt among the German people and to justify their actions.

In conclusion, the Holocaust was a defining moment in the history of the world. It was a result of the failure of modern civilization to produce a functioning society. The Nazis used propaganda to control the media and to promote the idea of a pure Aryan race. This propaganda was instrumental in shaping public opinion and influencing the behavior of the population. The Nazis also used propaganda to create a sense of guilt among the German people and to justify their actions.

---

43. Marrus, “Reflections on the Historiography of the Holocaust.”
change in our view of society is necessary to understand the Holocaust since every step in the process leading to the mass-murder was in itself "normal" or known about earlier, all the while being incomprehensible in its entirety.

Christopher R. Browning’s book about Police Battalion 101 illustrates the problem of "the banality of evil." His theory is that "ordinary people" were involved—people who could not ... from these orders. The author is forced to conclude pessimistically that such occurrences could easily happen again.

Research on Nazi Germany and the Holocaust clearly shows that the different points of view are not exclusively due to inadequate sources and because certain issues are beyond ... theoretically based discussion of human conduct, the impact of ideologies and human willingness to commit acts of violence.

Bystanders An important and controversial area of research concerns reactions of the outside world to the extermination of the ... questions on how much was known, what measures were taken and how these measures were motivated. In his important book *The Terrible Secret*, Walter Laqueur maintains that to a great extent, keeping the secret was a matter of suppressing available information.

Similar issues appear in studies of the Roosevelt administration’s reactions, which give a penetrating and varied picture of the atmosphere in the United States.

Studies of French authorities and the attitude of the French public during occupation and the Vichy Regime have illuminated a past that many have wanted to forget.

The situation in Italy, which in several ways was unique, also has been thoroughly studied.

The situation in Poland has been the subject of dissenting interpretations, including those who stress domestic antisemitism as well as those who highlight the victimization of the Poles.

Much work is still waiting to be done, including ... the situation in Scandinavia.

Tony Kushner recently shed light on these problems in his book *The Liberal Imagination*, in which he discusses the inability of modern liberal society to envision that this type of violence could occur.

East European Archives The radical changes in eastern Europe since the late 1980s have made it possible to access archival material previously ... several interesting studies of regional conditions. Among these are pioneering studies by historians such as Dieter Pohl and Thomas Sandkühler. Pohl has been able to document in detail the chain of events of the Holocaust in Galicia and has made an in-depth analysis of people involved and local attitudes. One important conclusion is that the mass murder must have been known to the public in the area.

The author is forced to conclude pessimistically that such occurrences could easily happen again. The question on Nazi Germany and the Holocaust clearly shows that the different points of view are not exclusively due to inadequate sources and because certain issues are beyond reach. The author is forced to conclude pessimistically that such occurrences could easily happen again.

The Holocaust 19

Survey of Previous Research
Denial of the Holocaust

Historical work by Anthony C. Graber, for example, discusses that in the wake of World War II, a new movement in the social sciences, including law, economics, and sociology, emerged. This movement was characterized by a focus on the Holocaust as a historical event, and it led to a reevaluation of the traditional view that the Holocaust was a political rather than a social event.

Views of the Holocaust

Recent research on the Holocaust has focused on the ways in which the event has been remembered and interpreted. This has included an examination of the role of memory in shaping public perceptions of the Holocaust. For example, studies have shown that the ways in which the Holocaust is remembered can vary widely, depending on the cultural and historical context in which it is viewed. In addition, research has explored the ways in which the Holocaust has been used to shape political narratives, and how this has influenced public opinion.

In conclusion, the Holocaust is a complex event that has had a significant impact on the world. By examining the ways in which the event has been remembered and interpreted, researchers can gain a better understanding of the ways in which history is constructed and how it shapes our understanding of the world. This in turn can help us to better understand the ways in which history is used to shape our own lives and the lives of those around us.
The Holocaust

Survey of Previous Research

There are different degrees of revisionism, ranging from the idea that Hitler did not know what was happening in Poland to the denial that anything happened at all. As a rule, it is not a question of the anniversary of events but more of the anniversary of certain publications. The most famous of these are the Wannsee protocol, which is now considered a forgery. Much effort is made to discuss why it was technically impossible to kill people with gas.

The best known advocates of these ideas are from North America and France, but revisionists have also had their say in Germany and Sweden. Today the Internet is used to disseminate these ideas, often in the writing of certain authors a development from a neutral defence of the freedom of speech to open polemic.

Research on revisionism and denial is not extensive. Yet as a cultural and political phenomenon, revisionism is of importance through its connection to the extreme Right and nationalism in Europe and by the fact that certain ideas are spread outside strictly revisionist circles.

Vital Research

Based on this research survey, we consider the following areas to be of great importance:

Bystanders

- Comparative studies of how different European nations related to Nazi genocide
- Attitudes to genocide held by democracies and liberal political systems
- Attitudes held by non-Jewish societies in Eastern Europe (public institutions, churches, the civil population, anti-Jewish traditions, knowledge of the mass murders) and studies of the Baltic states, Belarus, and Ukraine
- Historical and sociological studies of rescue programmes

Victims

- Experiences of the victims
- Jewish victims (studies of small ghettos, actions taken by Jewish institutions)
- Regional studies (Ukraine, Romania, Russia)
- Holocaust war against the non-Jewish civilian population (the history of Soviet victims)
- Experiences of the survivors after the war

Perpetrators

- The role of antisemitism in Germany after 1918, especially among the elite, and in the German Democratic Republic
- Studies of perpetrators directly connected to acts of violence
- Studies on the micro-level (comparisons of actions taken in different contexts)
- The role of public administration and the local military
- The role of the police in Germany during the war
- Legal action against perpetrators

Publications and documents

- Inriduction of cases of torture and massacres
- The evidence in court cases
- The role of the BBC

Conclusion

The Holocaust was a genocide that affected all of Europe, and it is important to remember the victims and their stories. The Holocaust was a time of unprecedented cruelty and suffering, and we should remember the lessons learned from this tragic event.

References

Research on Other Cases of Genocide and Gross Violations against Human Rights

The breadth of literature written on other occurrences of genocide and genocidal massacres cannot be compared to Holocaust research. In recent decades the most attention has been given to the documentation of, and research into, other cases of genocide and gross violations against human rights.

The systematizing of biographical data concerning intermediate functionaries

The background of the perpetrators and the mechanisms of violence

Denial and revisionism

The political and ideological role of the Holocaust in Israel and the Diaspora

The Holocaust and the European self-image

The Holocaust within Christian theology and worldviews

The Holocaust in the cinema, literature and the media

Didactics

Research on Other Cases of Genocide and Gross Violations against Human Rights

The deportations and massacres by the young Turkish regime in 1915, which led to the decimation of more than half the Armenian population in Turkey, were met with dismay by the rest of the world. Cruelties were generally reported as serious events and the Turkish government's attitude were carefully documented by foreign diplomats and missionaries.

After the First World War and new developments in top-level politics, however, the protests lessened, and the genocide of the Armenian people became known. In 1918, in the aftermath of the Soviet Revolution in Russia, the new Soviet government, which included a number of Armenians, denounced the Ottoman government's policy towards the Armenians. This led to a larger role in research and the influencing of public opinion.

The Armenian genocide was the culmination of a series of massacres that took place in the Ottoman Empire during the period of nation-building in the nineteenth century. These massacres were planned and carried out with the ideological motives. These were aimed at a culturally divergent minority.


Survey of Previous Research

Comparative and Theoretical Studies

In addition to the above-mentioned publications, new avenues of research have opened up in the field of comparative and theoretical studies. These new avenues include the exploration of the role of religion and cultural identity in the process of mass violation, as well as the examination of the role of international law in preventing and punishing such violations. Some recent studies have focused on the relationship between religion and violence in the context of mass violation, while others have explored the role of cultural identity in shaping the dynamics of mass violation. These studies have provided valuable insights into the complex interplay between religion, culture, and violence in the process of mass violation.

A more social scientific study of genocide and other forms of mass violation is needed. The capacity of social science to explain the processes and outcomes of mass violation is limited by the current social scientific understanding of the mechanisms that lead to mass violation. Efforts are needed to develop a more comprehensive and integrated framework for understanding the processes and outcomes of mass violation. This framework should take into account the role of social, cultural, and political factors in shaping the dynamics of mass violation. Such a framework would provide a more nuanced and accurate understanding of the processes and outcomes of mass violation and allow for more effective prevention and response to such violations.

Much of the literature in this area is of a descriptive character, focusing on the sequence of events and the number of victims. Not only has the number of victims increased, but the number of victims has also increased. The capacity of social science to explain the processes and outcomes of mass violation is limited by the current social scientific understanding of the mechanisms that lead to mass violation. Efforts are needed to develop a more comprehensive and integrated framework for understanding the processes and outcomes of mass violation. This framework should take into account the role of social, cultural, and political factors in shaping the dynamics of mass violation. Such a framework would provide a more nuanced and accurate understanding of the processes and outcomes of mass violation and allow for more effective prevention and response to such violations.

Comparative and Theoretical Studies

In addition to the above-mentioned publications, new avenues of research have opened up in the field of comparative and theoretical studies. These new avenues include the exploration of the role of religion and cultural identity in the process of mass violation, as well as the examination of the role of international law in preventing and punishing such violations. Some recent studies have focused on the relationship between religion and violence in the context of mass violation, while others have explored the role of cultural identity in shaping the dynamics of mass violation. These studies have provided valuable insights into the complex interplay between religion, culture, and violence in the process of mass violation.

A more social scientific study of genocide and other forms of mass violation is needed. The capacity of social science to explain the processes and outcomes of mass violation is limited by the current social scientific understanding of the mechanisms that lead to mass violation. Efforts are needed to develop a more comprehensive and integrated framework for understanding the processes and outcomes of mass violation. This framework should take into account the role of social, cultural, and political factors in shaping the dynamics of mass violation. Such a framework would provide a more nuanced and accurate understanding of the processes and outcomes of mass violation and allow for more effective prevention and response to such violations.

Much of the literature in this area is of a descriptive character, focusing on the sequence of events and the number of victims. Not only has the number of victims increased, but the number of victims has also increased. The capacity of social science to explain the processes and outcomes of mass violation is limited by the current social scientific understanding of the mechanisms that lead to mass violation. Efforts are needed to develop a more comprehensive and integrated framework for understanding the processes and outcomes of mass violation. This framework should take into account the role of social, cultural, and political factors in shaping the dynamics of mass violation. Such a framework would provide a more nuanced and accurate understanding of the processes and outcomes of mass violation and allow for more effective prevention and response to such violations.
Comparative and Theoretical Studies 31

Survey of Previous Research 30

targeted at their own people or at certain political or social groups. 9

Another controversial question concerns the atomic bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and the bombings of Dresden and Hamburg in the final stages of the Second World War. Some consider this type of military violence to be genocide 10 while others assert that, although the number of victims was enormous, it was an act of war during which the intent was not to wipe out a particular national group.

It has also been noted that through the terminology it employed, the Convention created a troublesome ambiguity concerning the point at which pogroms or massacres are actually genocide.

A greater problem is that in reality it has been impossible to adhere to the Convention, as the responsibility for adherence lies with sovereign states. It was not until the events in Bosnia and Rwanda that the Genocide Convention became the subject of legal examination.

Despite its shortcomings, most leading scholars have accepted the definition of the Convention, 13 or a somewhat broader definition. The problem of definition is central because of the special nature of this research. Issues that scholars must consider are the following:

1. What specifically constitutes a genocide? Are the acts committed in these countries considered genocidal?

2. The scope and Champagne description of the Convention’s provisions in each country.

3. The most common criticism of this definition is that it excludes certain crimes against humanity such as those practised by the Soviet and Chinese governments or the incidents in Cambodia. The acts committed in these countries were randomly

4. The most common criticism of this definition is that it excludes certain crimes against humanity such as those practised by the Soviet and Chinese governments or the incidents in Cambodia. The acts committed in these countries were randomly

5. The scope and Champagne description of the Convention’s provisions in each country.

6. The most common criticism of this definition is that it excludes certain crimes against humanity such as those practised by the Soviet and Chinese governments or the incidents in Cambodia. The acts committed in these countries were randomly

7. The scope and Champagne description of the Convention’s provisions in each country.

8. The most common criticism of this definition is that it excludes certain crimes against humanity such as those practised by the Soviet and Chinese governments or the incidents in Cambodia. The acts committed in these countries were randomly

Survey of Previous Research

The idea of genocide has been debated since the 1950s. Some early authors, such as Raphael Lemkin, proposed the concept of genocide as a distinct crime. However, the United Nations defined genocide in 1948, and this definition has been widely accepted. Since then, many scholars have contributed to the understanding of genocide and its manifestations. Here are some key contributions:

- **Helen Fein**, in *Genocide: A Sociological Perspective* (1990), names four types of genocide: ideological, retributive, developmental, and despotic. Ideological genocide is related to what happened to the Armenians in 1915 or to the Jews during the Second World War. The second category refers to what can happen in ethnic conflicts, such as the genocide of the Tutsi in Rwanda. The third category is represented by the mass murder of political enemies or social groups. Fein points out that the typologies of Vahakn Dadrian, Barbara Harff & Ted R. Gurr, Roger Smith, and Chalk & Jonassohn are based on a similar categorization, although with somewhat different terms (see Table 2).

- **Rummel**, in *Death by Government* (1997), allows the term democide to be a main concept, while genocide, politicide, mass murder/massacre, and terror are variations of large-scale violence. His criteria are the number of victims and the intensity of the violence. A similar division where democide is called generic genocide has been suggested by Israel W. Charny.

- Some authors regard definition problems as secondary or morally dubious, while others stress that scholarly research demands a thorough system of concepts, especially in cases when the term genocide might be misused.

- **Typology**

In order to solve the problem of definition, a series of categories has been suggested: genocidal massacres, ideological massacres, and political massacres. Some authors have included non-military violence in their definition of genocide, while others have excluded it.

- **Holocaust and Genocide Studies**

The study of the Holocaust and genocide has been characterized by methodological challenges, especially in cases where the term genocide might be misused.

- Some authors have proposed alternative definitions of genocide, such as including unintentional environmental effects.

- The term genocide is often associated with mass murder, especially in cases where the term genocide might be misused.

- Some authors have proposed alternative definitions of genocide, such as including unintentional environmental effects.
In an important article from 1994, Fein discusses questions of definition within the framework of issues of gross crimes against humanity. She mints the concept of **Violations of Life Integrity Rights**, that is, different types of violations of the biological and social integrity of individuals and groups: the right to create and cohabit with family, the right to move freely, the right to work, the right to education, the right to health care, and the right to receive adequate information and protection of the physical and mental health of the individual and groups. These types of offences are distinct crimes that ought not be confused.

Explanations

In her well-recognized research survey, Fein observes that there is no systematic research or developments in sociology, anthropology, political science, or psychology of genocide and other types of collective violence. The same problem is discussed in other fields of social science. Fein notes that the classification of genocide has been a source of much controversy. The definitions of genocide vary widely from one to another, and there is no clear consensus on what constitutes genocide. Fein argues that the concept of genocide is not a universal concept but rather a culturally specific one.

According to Fein, the problems in defining and conceptualizing genocide are significant. The concept of genocide is ideologically loaded, and its definition is often used for propaganda purposes. The fact that defining the term genocide is ideologically loaded is made clear in a newly published anthology. The publisher obviously wants to stress the futility of a discussion whereby the study of one type of genocide, implicit or explicit, is based on lack of appreciation for the others.

Destexhe argues that there is an inflation in the classification of genocide. He is of the opinion that there are only three genuine cases of genocide in our century: the Armenians in 1915, the Jews and the Gypsies during the Second World War, and the Tutsis in Rwanda in 1994. The question of definition may seem overly academic, but there is also a moral significance. Since it is impossible to evaluate the suffering of the victims or equate the number of victims, there is reason to stress that genocide is not simply a statistical category. It is used for propaganda purposes or in sometimes totally inappropriate contexts. Therefore, it is important to clarify the meaning of the term genocide.

Explanations

Fein has expressed this point in a number of her articles. In an important article from 1994, Fein discusses the problem of the choice of classification of types of genocide. She argues that the choice of classification is ideologically loaded, and it is often used to support a particular political agenda. Fein contends that the classification of genocide should be based on a systematic and scientific approach that takes into account the biological, social, and cultural aspects of the phenomenon.

Fein also emphasizes the importance of understanding the historical context of the phenomenon. She argues that the classification of genocide should be based on a historical and cultural perspective that takes into account the specific features of each case. Fein contends that the classification of genocide should be based on a systematic and scientific approach that takes into account the biological, social, and cultural aspects of the phenomenon. Fein argues that the classification of genocide should be based on a historical and cultural perspective that takes into account the specific features of each case.
Survey of Previous Research

In a 1996 article Melson writes that during the twentieth century there have been four cases of serious crimes against human rights, all of which can be related to political decay and the development of revolutionary regimes.

The first is the collapse of the Ottoman Empire at the beginning of the century and the genocide of the Armenians in 1915. The second case began in 1933 with the rise of the Nazi party, which led to the murder of millions of Jews and others. The third example is the wars in the Balkans and in the former Soviet Union after the disintegration of the socialistic regimes.

Melson also notes certain differences. The case of the Armenians concerned a minority group demanding autonomy, while the case of the (German) Jews concerned an assimilated group that was targeted for its racial identity. The cases of Cambodia and Niger remind us of the Armenian genocide, while the events in Cambodia are more similar to the mass murder in Cambodia.

This would mean that we are dealing with one type of mass murder that is mostly caused by utopian ideologies, and with another related to nationalism and ethnic conflicts, which, when combined, can lead to mass murder. Fein has noted that the period of Stalin's terror and the Holocaust belong to the same category.

One question, highlighted previously, is to what extent the mass murders during the twentieth century can be characterized as modern. Ever since Hilberg described the bureaucratically perfected extermination machine, scholars have discussed whether the Holocaust is a genuinely modern phenomenon, a development that has taken place in modern society.

Although traditional social sciences take a lesser interest in genocide and in violence generally, scholars who have studied these phenomena have not been able to avoid an empirical investigation of the causes of genocide. They have found that certain conditions are necessary for genocide to occur, such as a lack of control by the state, a lack of international intervention, and a lack of protection for the intended victims.

Many note that a pluralistic society (i.e. ethnically differentiated or stratified) means a primary risk factor—an issue that has been discussed by Kuper. He does not write that the existence of a multiethnic society will lead to genocide, even though the risk is greater in modern-day circumstances.

Melson notes that the genocide of the Jews and the Armenians were related to specific historical circumstances. The Jews were targeted because of their ethnicity, while the Armenians were targeted because of their political beliefs.

In his comparison between the genocide of the Jews and the Armenians, Robert Melson notes four issues. Both were disdained and persecuted minority groups; they were groups that had been treated unfairly and were seen as a threat to the dominant group; they were associated with outside enemies; and the nations suffered military and political catastrophes with serious consequences for their worldview and social stability.

Holocaust and Modern Society
Comparative and Theoretical Studies

Survey of Previous Research

Other explanations are based on the idea that the denial of one's own death leads to tensions that give rise to destructive behaviour, or that the killing of one's fellow beings gives an enhanced sense of life. Still another explanation is the supposed existence of pathological societies.

Psychologist and genocide scholar Israel Charny has formulated a theory of aggression, which assumes that life-maintaining and life-destroying principles are dialectically integrated. If imbalance should arise, tensions and aggressions result.

Charny has also made a plea for a "revision of psychopathology." To maintain credibility, says Charny, the psychology of those who torment and kill others must be classified as abnormal.

Robert Lifton has presented another answer to the question on how people who have committed human rights crimes appear normal. In his examination of German doctors Lifton ... self commits acts that the individual normally would not do, at the same time as the original self remains intact.

In his book Roots of Evil, Staub presents a model aimed at integrating psychological, cultural and social factors. The basic idea is that "a difficult life situation" combined with an authoritarian personality, and strengthened by an ... behaviour. Even if the theory considers social psychological aspects and is aware of contextual reasons for changes in conclusion that of course would have profound consequences for our worldview.

Bauman has emphasized that mass murders of this magnitude would be impossible if they were of the pogrom type and were motivated by what he calls "heterophobia." In order to explain the atrocities committed during the Second World War, and the mass murder of the Armenians, he writes:

We must not, however, exaggerate the modern aspects of the Holocaust or other contemporary genocides. Sometimes a comparison is made between what happened during the Second World War and other massacres, such as those that took place during the civil war in Cambodia and in Bosnia.

The Question of Evil

One of the central issues in the search for explanations, and a question that always lingers in public consciousness, is how people could behave the way they did during the Second World War, in Cambodia and in Bosnia.

The discussion was dominated for a long time by psychopathological explanations. In recent years, however, more attention has been paid to the psychological, cultural and social factors that contribute to aggression and violence.

In his book Roots of Evil, Staub presents a model aimed at integrating psychological, cultural and social factors. The basic idea is that "a difficult life situation" combined with an authoritarian personality, and strengthened by an ... behaviour. Even if the theory considers social psychological aspects and is aware of contextual reasons for changes in conclusion that of course would have profound consequences for our worldview.

Bauman has emphasized that mass murders of this magnitude would be impossible if they were of the pogrom type and were motivated by what he calls "heterophobia." In order to explain the atrocities committed during the Second World War, and the mass murder of the Armenians, he writes:

We must not, however, exaggerate the modern aspects of the Holocaust or other contemporary genocides. Sometimes a comparison is made between what happened during the Second World War and other massacres, such as those that took place during the civil war in Cambodia and in Bosnia.

The Question of Evil

One of the central issues in the search for explanations, and a question that always lingers in public consciousness, is how people could behave the way they did during the Second World War, in Cambodia and in Bosnia.

The discussion was dominated for a long time by psychopathological explanations. In recent years, however, more attention has been paid to the psychological, cultural and social factors that contribute to aggression and violence.
Comparative and Theoretical Studies

Survey of Previous Research

In an article he wrote in 1997, Zukier returns to the same theme, but here he stresses the relationship between psychology and history. The chasm that exists between both branches of scholarship can lead to an incorrect understanding of historical events. The dispute between the Intentionalists and the Functionalist argument did not contradict the role of ideology at the same time that the Intentionalists had no basis for ideas on the impact of ideologies.

The consequence of Zukier's reasoning is that Nazism was a precondition for genocide in the sense that it contributed to the rise of a totalitarian regime and a society characterized by moral blindness. The majority of individual perpetrators simply did not have to be motivated by the ideas that guided Hitler himself.

A social-psychological approach was formulated in the beginning of the 1970s by Kelman, who maintained that three related processes contribute to making "sanctioned massacres" possible. First, the individual situation is defined as a reality in which current moral principles, or the idea of personal responsibility, is no longer valid. Second, there is a routinization process in which the ordinary individual no longer questions the procedures that govern his behavior, there is a clear dependence on Adorno's psychoanalytic ideas and traditional concepts of national character. The problem with these types of explanation is the concentration on the individual and on doubtful assumptions about culture and ideology. They also come close to being philosophical discourses that elude empirical examination.

A productive method for tackling the problem of integrating (social) psychological and structural levels recently has been outlined by Henri Zukier. He bases his method on cognitive psychology and uses a perspective of interactionism and the sociology of knowledge. On both theoretical and empirical grounds, he rejects the position that mass murders can be explained by referring to cultural traditions, propaganda, or coercion. Zukier's theory is that extraordinary behavior and events can be explained by ordinary psychological processes. We know from historical research—accounted for earlier in this document—that ordinary human beings were directly involved in the Holocaust. There is a clear dependence on Adorno's psychoanalytic ideas and traditional concepts of national character.


Zukier's thoughts are supported in an article by James E. Waller, "Perpetrators of the Holocaust: Divided and Unitary Self Conceptions of Evil Doing," Holocaust and Genocide Studies 10: 1 (Spring 1996), 11–33. According to Waller, Lifton's theory on the divided self is not really needed to explain the cruelties that occurred. The behavior is better explained as the result of a basic change in attitude. Like Zukier, Waller bases his ideas on dissonance theoretical reasoning.
One obstacle is that the perspectives have different theoretical and methodological bases, but this is not an insurmountable difficulty.

Prevention

Many scholars have been involved in the question of how genocide can be prevented. Institutes with a comparative studies profile also state prevention as a goal. Apart from basic problems such as the nature of the international system and the ... example is the research done by Ted Gurr and Barbara Harff within the framework of the "Minorities at Risk" project.

Efforts have been made to find quantifiable criteria that would automatically trigger a course of action in a dangerous situation. Many are skeptical, however, of the possibility that such a system could be created. Besides all the difficulties in correctly classifying data, problems always exist in comparative ... problems related to criteria, the responsibility for sanctions and defining who should be the target of possible warning.

This does not mean that Nazi ideology was insignificant or that the responsibility of the perpetrators was lessened. Rather, this points to one of the most shocking aspects of the Holocaust: Ordinary people are guilty. This hypothesis has been the most difficult to accept ever since Hannah Arendt's book on the banality of evil.

Zukier's reasoning is interesting in part because he uses historical sources to support his theories. It is also interesting that the material was available and research on the ... different explanations. Zukier was therefore able to question generally espoused conceptions through historical research and social-psychological theory.

Although Zukier's discussion does not constitute an all-embracing explanation as to why genocide occurs—it would be difficult to find one such theory—it does signal the need for more research. It points to the need for more examination of the cognitive mechanisms, as well as a discussion of different areas. Another interesting aspect, recently pointed out by Susan Olzak, is the relationship between internal ethnic conflicts and the global perspective represented by "world systems analysis."
Vital Areas of Research

Attempts to examine closely the social situations that lead to genocide are of central interest today and are necessary if we are to prevent and take steps to stop the crime in its early stages. Consequently, comparative studies must include genocidal massacres and other gross crimes against human rights.

Historical research is also necessary for the future. A theoretical discussion is also important, based on an interdisciplinary effort in which different perspectives and methods are confronted and clarified.

In her research outline, Helen Fein discusses the need for a comparative research that systematically examines historical and contemporary situations on actual genocide or when it is an imminent threat. She names a number of particularly vital research areas, admitting that such a programme is ambitious and demanding, but also challenging. She suggests:

1) Studies of strategies and processes that can lead to genocide in connection with colonial societies, multiethnic societies with minority groups in the risk zone, postrevolutionary and totalitarian governments, social and political movements, war situations, inner conflicts, political upheaval.

2) Systematic examination and surveillance of threats to the indigenous population, gross violations of human rights in different countries.

3) Examination of interregional political upheaval, political developments and counterrevolutionary and counterregime governments, multinational societies with minority groups in the risk zone, national societies.

4) Studies of preventive measures on an international level, including studies of social changes, preventing violence in high risk areas, building peace in multicultural societies, the importance of preventive measures on an international level.

5) Studies of the prevention of genocide.

6) Studies on the prevention of human rights in different countries.

7) Surveys of the condition and surveillance of the international population.

In her research, Fein discusses the need for different methods and techniques in the conduct of research, which are necessary to accomplish the programme. According to her, these methods and techniques are:

- Comparative research on a number of cases, with analysis of the different processes at work.
- Historical examinations where cases of genocide are studied in depth.
- Comparative case studies where similar conditions indicate that potential situations of genocide may occur.
- Case studies where genocide was feared to occur, but was prevented.
- Case studies where genocide was feared to occur, but was prevented.
- Comparative case studies where similar conditions indicate that potential situations of genocide may occur.
- Historical examinations where cases of genocide are studied in depth.

In her research, Fein discusses the need for a comparative research that systematically examines historical and contemporary situations on actual genocide or when it is an imminent threat. She names a number of particularly vital research areas, admitting that such a programme is ambitious and demanding, but also challenging. She suggests:

1) Studies of strategies and processes that can lead to genocide in connection with colonial societies, multiethnic societies with minority groups in the risk zone, postrevolutionary and totalitarian governments, social and political movements, war situations, inner conflicts, political upheaval.

2) Systematic examination and surveillance of threats to the indigenous population, gross violations of human rights in different countries.

3) Examination of interregional political upheaval, political developments and counterrevolutionary and counterregime governments, multinational societies with minority groups in the risk zone, national societies.

4) Studies of preventive measures on an international level, including studies of social changes, preventing violence in high risk areas, building peace in multicultural societies, the importance of preventive measures on an international level.

5) Studies of the prevention of genocide.

6) Studies on the prevention of human rights in different countries.

7) Surveys of the condition and surveillance of the international population.
Definitions of genocide

Fein
Genocide is sustained purposeful action by a perpetrator to physically destroy a group, with the aim of annihilating the group as that group and membership in it are defined by the perpetrator. (Fein 1993: 13)

Dadrian
Genocide is the successful attempt by a dominant group, vested with formal authority and which preponderantly controls overall resources of power, to reduce the number of a minority group through coercion or lethal violence. (Dadrian 1974: 123 in Fein 1993: 13)

Chalk & 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 perpetrators. (Chalk & Jonassohn 1990: 23)

Charny
Genocide in the generic sense is the mass killing of substantial numbers of human beings, when not in the course of military action against an avowed enemy, under conditions of the essential defencelessness and helplessness of the victims. (Charny 1990: 24)

Bauer
[The] planned physical annihilation, for ideological or pseudo-religious reasons, of all the members of a national, ethnic, or racial group. (Bauer 1984: 204)

Lemkin
Genocide does not necessarily mean the immediate destruction of a nation. It is intended rather to signify a coordinated plan of different actions aimed at the destruction of essential foundations of the life of national groups, with the aim of annihilating the groups themselves. (Lemkin 1944: 79)

Thompson & Quets
Genocide is the extent of destruction of a social collectivity by whatever agents, with whatever intentions, by purposive actions, which fall outside the recognized conventions of legitimate warfare. (Thompson & Quets 1987: 11)

Table 2. Typologies

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Types of Genocides</th>
<th>I</th>
<th>II</th>
<th>III</th>
<th>IV</th>
<th>Other</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Holocaust, Armenian gen.</td>
<td>East Pak. 1971, Burundi 1972</td>
<td>Paraguay, Brazil 1970–</td>
<td>Other</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Dadrian (1975)</td>
<td>Optimal</td>
<td>Retributive</td>
<td>Utilitarian</td>
<td>Latent</td>
<td>Cultural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Kuper (1981)</td>
<td>Against hostage or scapegoat groups</td>
<td>Following decolonization of a two-tier system of domination</td>
<td>Against indigenous peoples</td>
<td>Genocidal massacres (Hiroshima; Dresden; Vietnam)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Chalk &amp; Jonassohn (1990)</td>
<td>To implement a belief, ideology or theory</td>
<td>To eliminate a real or potential threat</td>
<td>To acquire economic wealth</td>
<td>To spread terror among real or potential enemies</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Helen Fein, Definition

Genocide is sustained purposeful action by a perpetrator (assuming an actor organized over a period) to physically destroy a collectivity: "acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or part a national/ethnic/racial or religious group"; Art. 2 directly (through mass or selective murders and calculable physical destruction—e.g. imposed starvation and poisoning of food, water, and air; Art. 2, a–c) or through interdiction of the biological and social reproduction of group members (preventing births [Art. 2, d] and forcibly transferring children of the group to another group; Art. 2, e), systematically breaking the linkage between reproduction and socialization of children in the family of origin. "In other words, genocide consists in deliberately inflicting on a group, in whole or in part, of the following..." (Art. 2, f).

### Table 3. Crimes against human rights (Helen Fein)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rights</th>
<th>Violations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. The right to life</td>
<td>Genocidal mass killing, summary executions, starvation, poisoning, extermination</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. The right to be free from</td>
<td>Abolition of Forced Labour, debt slavery, and equivalent institutions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. The right to personal inviolability / Torture, rape, and sexual abuse</td>
<td>Abolition of Forced Labour, debt slavery, and equivalent institutions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. The right to be free from fear of arbitrary seizure, detention, and punishment</td>
<td>Abolition of Forced Labour, debt slavery, and equivalent institutions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. The right to create and cohabit with family</td>
<td>Abolition of Forced Labour, debt slavery, and equivalent institutions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. The right to own one's body and labor</td>
<td>Abolition of Forced Labour, debt slavery, and equivalent institutions</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**International Law Against Violation**

**Date in Force**

- UN Genocide Convention, 1951: UDHR II, ICPR 9
- Convention Concerning the Abolition of Slavery, 1927: ICPR 9, UDHR 2
- Convention on the Abolition of Employment of Child Labor, 1948: ICPR 9, UDHR 2
- Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women, 1979: ICPR 9, UDHR 2
- Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women, 1979: ICPR 9, UDHR 2
- Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women, 1979: ICPR 9, UDHR 2
- Convention on the Promotion and Protection of the Rights of Every Child, 2007: ICPR 9, UDHR 2

**Date of Force**

- Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women, 1979: ICPR 9, UDHR 2
- Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women, 1979: ICPR 9, UDHR 2
- Convention on the Promotion and Protection of the Rights of Every Child, 2007: ICPR 9, UDHR 2
- Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women, 1979: ICPR 9, UDHR 2
- Convention on the Promotion and Protection of the Rights of Every Child, 2007: ICPR 9, UDHR 2
- Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women, 1979: ICPR 9, UDHR 2
- Convention on the Promotion and Protection of the Rights of Every Child, 2007: ICPR 9, UDHR 2
- Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women, 1979: ICPR 9, UDHR 2
- Convention on the Promotion and Protection of the Rights of Every Child, 2007: ICPR 9, UDHR 2
- Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women, 1979: ICPR 9, UDHR 2
- Convention on the Promotion and Protection of the Rights of Every Child, 2007: ICPR 9, UDHR 2
- Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women, 1979: ICPR 9, UDHR 2
- Convention on the Promotion and Protection of the Rights of Every Child, 2007: ICPR 9, UDHR 2
- Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women, 1979: ICPR 9, UDHR 2
- Convention on the Promotion and Protection of the Rights of Every Child, 2007: ICPR 9, UDHR 2
- Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women, 1979: ICPR 9, UDHR 2
- Convention on the Promotion and Protection of the Rights of Every Child, 2007: ICPR 9, UDHR 2
- Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women, 1979: ICPR 9, UDHR 2
- Convention on the Promotion and Protection of the Rights of Every Child, 2007: ICPR 9, UDHR 2
- Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women, 1979: ICPR 9, UDHR 2
- Convention on the Promotion and Protection of the Rights of Every Child, 2007: ICPR 9, UDHR 2
- Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women, 1979: ICPR 9, UDHR 2
Survey of Previous Research

Table 5. Genocide. Conditions and processes

Mazian

1. Creation of 'outsiders.'
2. Internal strife.
3. Destructive uses of communication (composed of aggressive ideology and propaganda war).
4. Powerful leadership with territorial ambitions forming a monolithic and exclusionary party.
5. Organisation of destruction.
6. The failure of multidimensional levels of social control [powerlessness and weakness of the victim and lack of checks by the state committing genocide, other states and religious institutions].

Porter

a) Minority groups have previously been and are presently defined outside the universe of moral obligation by the dominant group.
b) Pervasive racialist ideologies and propaganda are found in the nation-state’s society.
c) There is a strong dependence on military security.
d) Powerful, monolithic exclusionary political parties are present.
e) The leadership has strong territorial ambitions.
f) The power of the state has been reduced by defeat in war/and or internal strife.
g) The possibility of retaliation for genocidal acts by the victims or of interference by neutral nations is at a minimum.

Fein

1. Victims previously defined outside the universe of obligation of the dominant group.
2. The rank of the state has been reduced (defeat in war/internal strife, political or cultural crisis).
3. An elite that adapts a new political formula to justify the nation’s domination and/or expansion, idealising the singular rights of the dominant group, rises to power.
4. The calculus of costs of exterminating the victim [...] changes as perpetrators instigate or join a (temporarily) successful coalition at war.

Research In Sweden

Previous Research in Sweden

Organisations

The major part of international research is taking place at institutes where the Holocaust is of central importance. Other research focuses on special areas: the Armenian genocide, the intentionally evoked famine catastrophe in the Ukraine, the prevention and/or perpetration of genocide, the place of the Holocaust in the identity formation of the perpetrators, the nature and causes of the Holocaust, the crimes of the perpetrators, the role of education in the prevention of genocides. The major part of international research is taking place at institutes that are focused on the Holocaust and genocide.

Institutes vary concerning size and resources. The large research institutes mainly focus on the study of the Holocaust and on the history of Nazism, and often have access to a rich documentation and experience. Most of the smaller institutes have to rely on their own documentation and research. They are often located in universities and have a more limited focus on the Holocaust and other genocides.

Since 1986 there has been an international journal in circulation, Holocaust and Genocide Studies, which is devoted to these issues. In 1999 the Journal of Genocide Research was initiated with a comparative profile. Two other scholarly organizations are the Association of Genocide Scholars and the Association of Holocaust Organizations.

In Sweden

The study of genocide and genocidal situations is a new area of research. The few dissertations and scholarly works that have been published in Sweden have dealt with the persecution of the Jews and the actions of the state during World War II. However, recently there has been an increased interest in the study of the Holocaust in Sweden and the persecution of the Jews.

Previous Research in Sweden

Survey of Previous Research

53

Other legal disciplines are also of interest. The conference of legal researchers has a regular section on the protection of human rights, which the Department of International Law is working on. Further, the conference on human rights at the Faculty of Law in Uppsala focuses on different aspects of cultural violence. There is an arrangement of cultural anthropology and ethnology in connection to the Nordic Africa Institute. The Department of Peace and Conflict Research at Uppsala has recently initiated a project on the outbreak of war in Bosnia. The Department of Cultural Anthropology and Ethnology has a group of scholars studying violence, especially cultural violence. The conflict database at their disposal is of primary interest.

A recent project at the Department of Peace and Conflict Research, since 1997, concerns the ethnic and religious mobilization that preceded the war in the Balkans. The project is called the Ethnic and Religious Mobilization Project. Professor Ted Gurr was a guest lecturer at the department in the 1996–7 academic year, and while he was there he provided access to data bases from the Minorities at Risk project. At present, the department gives attention to prevention and reconciliation processes; scholars are studying patterns and support mechanisms for conflict and conflict resolution. The Department of Peace and Conflict Research supports comparative studies. Scholars there study international efforts to find early warning systems. Professor Tord Sellström was a guest lecturer at the department in the 1996–7 academic year, and while he was there he provided access to data bases from the Minorities at Risk project. At present, the department gives attention to prevention and reconciliation processes; scholars are using qualitative and quantitative methods. The conflict database at their disposal is of primary interest.

The Department of Eastern European Studies has considerable experience and competence in the study of historical and social processes in the former Soviet Union, Central Europe, and the Balkans. The connections result in qualified research from the perspectives of historical, legal, social, and cultural studies. The Department of Cultural Anthropology and Ethnology has several scholars involved in the study of war, including different aspects of cultural violence. There is an arrangement of cultural anthropology and ethnology in connection to the Nordic Africa Institute. The Department of Peace and Conflict Research at Uppsala has recently initiated a project on the outbreak of war in Bosnia. The Department of Cultural Anthropology and Ethnology has a group of scholars studying violence, especially cultural violence. The conflict database at their disposal is of primary interest.

A recent project at the Department of Peace and Conflict Research, since 1997, concerns the ethnic and religious mobilization that preceded the war in the Balkans. The project is called the Ethnic and Religious Mobilization Project. Professor Ted Gurr was a guest lecturer at the department in the 1996–7 academic year, and while he was there he provided access to data bases from the Minorities at Risk project. At present, the department gives attention to prevention and reconciliation processes; scholars are using qualitative and quantitative methods. The conflict database at their disposal is of primary interest.

A recent project at the Department of Peace and Conflict Research, since 1997, concerns the ethnic and religious mobilization that preceded the war in the Balkans. The project is called the Ethnic and Religious Mobilization Project. Professor Ted Gurr was a guest lecturer at the department in the 1996–7 academic year, and while he was there he provided access to data bases from the Minorities at Risk project. At present, the department gives attention to prevention and reconciliation processes; scholars are using qualitative and quantitative methods. The conflict database at their disposal is of primary interest.

A recent project at the Department of Peace and Conflict Research, since 1997, concerns the ethnic and religious mobilization that preceded the war in the Balkans. The project is called the Ethnic and Religious Mobilization Project. Professor Ted Gurr was a guest lecturer at the department in the 1996–7 academic year, and while he was there he provided access to data bases from the Minorities at Risk project. At present, the department gives attention to prevention and reconciliation processes; scholars are using qualitative and quantitative methods. The conflict database at their disposal is of primary interest.

A recent project at the Department of Peace and Conflict Research, since 1997, concerns the ethnic and religious mobilization that preceded the war in the Balkans. The project is called the Ethnic and Religious Mobilization Project. Professor Ted Gurr was a guest lecturer at the department in the 1996–7 academic year, and while he was there he provided access to data bases from the Minorities at Risk project. At present, the department gives attention to prevention and reconciliation processes; scholars are using qualitative and quantitative methods. The conflict database at their disposal is of primary interest.

A recent project at the Department of Peace and Conflict Research, since 1997, concerns the ethnic and religious mobilization that preceded the war in the Balkans. The project is called the Ethnic and Religious Mobilization Project. Professor Ted Gurr was a guest lecturer at the department in the 1996–7 academic year, and while he was there he provided access to data bases from the Minorities at Risk project. At present, the department gives attention to prevention and reconciliation processes; scholars are using qualitative and quantitative methods. The conflict database at their disposal is of primary interest.

A recent project at the Department of Peace and Conflict Research, since 1997, concerns the ethnic and religious mobilization that preceded the war in the Balkans. The project is called the Ethnic and Religious Mobilization Project. Professor Ted Gurr was a guest lecturer at the department in the 1996–7 academic year, and while he was there he provided access to data bases from the Minorities at Risk project. At present, the department gives attention to prevention and reconciliation processes; scholars are using qualitative and quantitative methods. The conflict database at their disposal is of primary interest.

A recent project at the Department of Peace and Conflict Research, since 1997, concerns the ethnic and religious mobilization that preceded the war in the Balkans. The project is called the Ethnic and Religious Mobilization Project. Professor Ted Gurr was a guest lecturer at the department in the 1996–7 academic year, and while he was there he provided access to data bases from the Minorities at Risk project. At present, the department gives attention to prevention and reconciliation processes; scholars are using qualitative and quantitative methods. The conflict database at their disposal is of primary interest.
At Lund University, a research group consisting of historians, and literature and cinema historians, considers the Holocaust within the framework of a project on history as fiction. Research at the Centre for Research in International Migration and Ethnic Relations (CEIFO) at Stockholm University is relevant in several respects, partly because of a series of international conferences on migration and the view of immigrants, above all, those held in cooperation with institutions in Sweden that are involved in research concerning recent immigrants in Sweden. There are several reasons for the recent interest in these issues, partly because of certain policies adopted in Sweden, partly because of certain policies adopted in the European Union, and partly because of certain policies adopted in the United States. Within the framework of a project on history as fiction, literature and cinema historians consider the Holocaust in relation to other historical events.