Democide: Nazi Genocide and Mass Murder
By R.J. Rummel

Truth always strange--stranger than fiction
----Byron. Don Juan XIV.ci

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This book is part of a comprehensive effort begun in 1986 to determine how much genocide and mass murder—what I call democide—have occurred in this century and why.

From 1984 to 1985, I did a preliminary and very limited assessment of democide, arriving at a total of 119,394,000 people killed by government (now seen as underestimating the toll by possibly as much as half again).\footnote{1} In 1988 I received a grant from the United States Institute of Peace to do a more detailed work on democide and to further test the theory that democracies were the least violent of all political systems. I had found this true for international and domestic war,\footnote{2} and in the preliminary study I found this true as well for democide. The proposed study also would thoroughly test this theory against comparative democide statistics. If the theory continues to hold true, then the conclusion would be inescapable that democracy is not only a method of governance stressing individual freedom and rights, but also an effective method of nonviolence and conflict resolution. That is, within the limitations of any predictions based on the past, democracy would be a path to a warless and least violent world.

The idea was to collect statistics and contextual material on democide and write them up as chapters for a projected monograph, one country or case of democide at a time. Once I completed the case studies I would aggregate their statistics, analyze them, and draw conclusions. The research started with what I call the megamurderers, those political regimes that have killed at least 1,000,000 of their own people in cold blood. The first of these was the Armenian genocide by the Turkish government during World War I. After I completed research on this, the statistics and description of the genocide were easy to contain in one chapter.\footnote{3}

However, when I finished research on the next case, the Soviet Union since 1917, the essential estimates, calculations, and contextual material were just too much to include in one
chapter. The Soviets had committed an incredible democide of 61,911,000 citizens and foreigners, and for the reader to understand this I had to put it all into a book, *Lethal Politics: Soviet Genocide and Mass Murder Since 1917*. The same thing was true of the material I collected on the Chinese warlord, nationalist and communist democide of 53,879,000 people--another book, *China's Bloody Century: Genocide and Mass Murder Since 1900*.

When I turned to Nazi Germany I was sure that since Nazi genocide and mass murder was so well known and researched I would easily be able to confine the essential material on this democide to a chapter. It didn't work out that way, as this book attests. The appendix and its table of estimates, calculations, and sources alone turned out to be longer by far than any appendix tables included in the books on Soviet or Chinese democide. Also, making sufficient sense of the different kinds of genocide and other forms of democide for the interested reader still demanded more space than that available in a chapter, even though the many popular historical, descriptive, and fictional accounts of Nazi Germany and the Holocaust made much background unnecessary. So, again, another book.

There is another reason for putting this material into a book. Regardless of all the work done on the Nazi period in Germany, the histories, the studies of Nazi aggression and occupation policies and terror during World War II, and the Holocaust, I know of no systematic accounting of the total number that the Nazis killed in cold blood.\(^4\) There are many studies, of course, that try to determine the toll among Jews, and there are some that do the same for Gypsies, Poles, homosexuals, or concentration camp prisoners. But these have yet to be totalled together, to include, for example, hostages shot, reprisal murders, forced labor dead, or those starved to death in intentional famines. The closest to this is Bohdan Wytwycky's *The Other Holocaust: Many Circles of Hell*.\(^5\) He pulls together mortality statistics on the number of
Jews, Gypsies, Poles, Byelorussians, Ukrainians, and Soviet prisoners to arrive at a figure of 15,450,000 to 16,300,000 lost.\(^6\) This figure alone is already huge, even though it omits other groups killed, including French, Dutch, Greeks, Serbs, and even Germans themselves.\(^7\) Were Wytwicky's study extended to include all the circles of Hell, we would find that probably 20,946,000 people were murdered by the Nazis.

Chapter 1 provides an executive summary of this killing. In the following three chapters I briefly sketch the well-known and documented Jewish Holocaust, treat more fully the less heard-of genocide of the Slavs, and outline the least known genocides of the Gypsies and homosexuals. In Chapter 5 I cover the Nazi's "euthanasia" program, killing of critics or opponents (politicide), and mass murder and reprisals in occupied countries. These substantive chapters describe the who of Nazi democide. The next two chapters look at two Nazi institutions through which much of this killing was carried out: the concentration and death camp system and the massive slave labor program. The two concluding chapters try to help understanding all this murder, particularly the how and why. Finally I present all the estimates, calculations, and sources in an appendix. The methods and perspective on the statistics are the same here as my previous books on democide, as described in their methodological appendices. Since I presented that in both books, I saw no need to repeat them here. I should, however, similarly qualify the Nazi totals.

No one knows or can give the precise democide figure. Probably even that for the Jewish Holocaust is wrong. Experts who have painfully sifted through the Nazi archives, extensively interviewed survivors, and taken detailed depositions of witnesses have been unable to agree among themselves on the final total. In his thoroughly documented and comprehensive work, Raul Hilberg concluded that 5,100,000 Jews died;\(^8\) based on her detailed country-by-country analysis Lucy Dawidowicz arrived at a figure of 5,933,900 annihilated.\(^9\) Gerald Reitlinger calculated the toll at
4,204,400 to 4,575,400 Jews.\textsuperscript{10} Taking all such studies into account and making his own calculations for his \textit{Atlas of the Holocaust}, Martin Gilbert arrived at a total of just over 5,750,000 deaths.\textsuperscript{11} In the latest such work, the appendix to the \textit{Encyclopedia of the Holocaust}, Israel Gutman and Robert Rozett estimated total losses at from 5,596,029 to 5,860,129.\textsuperscript{12}

Just among these five thorough studies of the available evidence and statistics, the variation from the lowest to the highest figure is 41 percent. This is for a genocide carefully administered by a regime that was better than most about keeping records and statistics, whose surviving archives and secrets were completely available after the Nazi defeat, and about which there has been for nearly half a century many historians dedicated to uncovering the truth. If then the estimate of the Jewish Holocaust can vary so much, we should hardly expect to get the true figure on other genocides or mass murder; nor, of course, the overall democide.

The statistical problem is clear, if not easily resolvable. It is how to determine within some range of error the most likely Nazi democide, given different published estimates, different kinds of killing, different events, and different time periods. The approach has to be one of reasonable approximation. This involves successively narrowing the range of estimates to what a hypothetical, reasonable analyst would arrive at from the available information, and then defining within this range a prudent figure that somewhat reflects the central thrust of the statistics and historical events.

Thus, I present a low-high democide range, with a probable mid-range estimate, for all the calculated totals and most consolidations in appendix table A. The low of a range results from aggregating all the lows of the various estimates; the high comes from similarly accumulating the highs. Since it is exceedingly unlikely that all the lows or highs will be correct,
this approach gives us a low-high bracketing of the most likely true democide figure.

As this is apparently a first effort to determine an overall democide total for the Nazi regime, I have tried to present in the appendix all the material a researcher might need to judge, replicate, or build on this study, including presenting, where needed, the reasoning involved in calculating the various totals. I hope that this will facilitate and encourage future research on this incredible democide.

The various chapters describing the genocides and mass murder are not meant to be historically comprehensive in detail or outline. Much literature is already available on these events. In these chapters I only intend to provide sufficient detail and coverage for the general reader to understand the how, what, and why of such a statistic as "10,547,000 Slavs murdered," and provide some examples of the killing that contributes to such totals.

NOTES


2. Rummel (*Understanding Conflict and War*, "Libertarianism and International Violence", "Libertarianism, Violence Within States, and the Polarity Principle", "Libertarian Propositions on Violence Within and Between Nations: A Test Against Published Research Results").

3. I will include this in my *Death By Government* (1994), which will pull all this together and present the analysis.
4. From his own research on genocide, including that in the German literature, Professor Manfred Henningsen of the University of Hawaii has also found this true (personal communication). He checked at The Institut für Zeitgeschichte in Munich and could find no reference there, nor did the librarian know of any work on the overall number of people killed by the Nazis.


6. Ibid., pp. 91-92.

7. For a regime so thoroughly studied, on which the horror of genocide has become so indelibly written, it is indeed remarkable that no work on its overall democide has been done. The reason for this scholarly hole is worthy of a study in itself. Perhaps this is a reflection of the postwar loss of memory in Germany and among Western elites over this democide and refusal to recognize the historical failure to stop it. On postwar Germany, see Henningsen (1988, 1989).


For citations see the Democide: Nazi Genocide and Mass Murder
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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I am indebted to the United States Institute of Peace for a grant to my project on comparative genocide, of which this book is a part. The views expressed here are those of the author and do not necessarily reflect those of the Institute of its officers.

I also wish to thank Manifred Henningsen for his thorough reading and helpful comments on the draft manuscript; and George Kent and Douglas Bond for their critiques of certain chapters. I owe many thanks to my wife Grace for her honesty, comfort, and thorough editing. I must add that I alone am responsible for what follows.
Chapter 1

20,946,000 Victims:
Nazi Germany
1933 To 1945*

By R.J. Rummel

Hitler told Himmler that it was not enough for the Jews simply to die; they must die in agony. What was the best way to prolong their agony? Himmler turned the problem over to his advisers, who concluded that a slow, agonizing death could be brought about by placing Jewish prisoners in freight cars in which the floors were coated with...quicklime...which produced excruciating burns. The advisers estimated that it would take four days for the prisoners to die, and for that whole time the freight cars could be left standing on some forgotten siding.... Finally it was decided that the freight cars should be used in addition to the extermination camps.

----Robert Payne, The Life and Death of Adolf Hitler

By genocide, the murder of hostages, reprisal raids, forced labor, "euthanasia," starvation, exposure, medical experiments, and terror bombing, and in the concentration and death camps, the Nazis murdered from 15,003,000 to 31,595,000 people, most likely 20,946,000 men, women, handicapped, aged, sick, prisoners of war, forced laborers, camp inmates, critics, homosexuals, Jews, Slavs,
Serbs, Germans, Czechs, Italians, Poles, French, Ukrainians, and many others. Among them 1,000,000 were children under eighteen years of age.¹ And none of these monstrous figures even include civilian and military combat or war-deaths.

Figure 1.1 presents the range in this democide--genocide and mass murder--and the most probable figure; table 1.1 subdivides the democide in various ways, sorts them, and compares this democide to the war-dead for Germany and other European nations. The table first lists the various major genocides carried out by the Nazis and the numbers likely murdered: 16,315,000 victims overall. Then is shown the 11,283,000 people the Nazis killed through institutional practices, such as forced "euthanasia," forced labor, and the processing of prisoners of war; or in Nazi institutions, particularly prisoner of war and concentration or death camps. Much of this institutionalized killing was pursuant to one Nazi democide program or another, and the totals therefore overlap with those for genocide. Finally, the table lists those occupied nations that suffered democide. Clearly the Soviet Union and then Poland endured the most.

Shown at the bottom of the table is the number of civilians and military killed in the war, presumably exclusive of democide.² In total, the war killed 28,736,000 Europeans, a fantastic number. But the democide of Hitler alone adds 20,946,000 more. Were Stalin's democide during the war of 13,053,000 people³ to be included, the number of people murdered by just the Nazis and Soviets alone would exceed the total European war-dead.

When we think of Nazi killing, genocide immediately comes to mind, particularly that of "6,000,00 Jews." But they also murdered for reasons other than race or religion. For one, the Nazis slew those who opposed or hindered them, whether actually or potentially. This was why Hitler assassinated hundreds of top Nazi SA's (Sturmabteilung)⁴ in June and July 1934, who under Ernst Rohm were becoming a strong competitor to the SS (Schutzstaffel); or executed perhaps 5,000 Germans after the 1944 plot on his life and attempted coup d'etat. Indeed, it is why critics, pacifists, conscientious objectors, campus
rebels, dissidents, and others throughout the twelve-year history of the regime in Germany, were executed, disappeared, or slowly died in concentration camps. The Nazis thus killed some 288,000 Germans, not counting Jews, homosexuals, and those forcibly "euthanized." If these are included, then the Nazis murdered at least 498,000 Germans, probably 762,000. As shown in table 1.2, this was one out of every hundred Germans.

If one includes the 5,200,000 German civilian and military war-dead, the average German's likelihood of dying from the regime was slightly better than one out of eleven--extremely low odds for a life.

As high as this human cost of the Nazis was for the Germans, it was higher for the countries they invaded and occupied, particularly in the East. Not only did the Nazis eliminate actual critics and opponents as a matter of course, but they also prevented any serious potential opposition by simply exterminating the top leadership, intellectuals, and professionals. Besides Jews, the Germans murdered near 2,400,000 Poles, 3,000,000 Ukrainians, 1,593,000 Russians, and 1,400,000 Byelorussians, many of these among the best and the brightest men and women. The Nazis killed in cold blood nearly one out of every six Polish or Soviet citizens, including Jews, under their rule.

Moreover, the Nazis murdered as an administrative device. They used terror and mass reprisals to maintain their control, prevent sabotage, and safeguard their soldiers. For the partisans or underground to kill a German soldier could mean that the Nazis would round up and execute all the men in a nearby village, burn the village to the ground, and send all the women and children off to concentration camps. In retaliation for sabotage, they would shoot dozens and even hundreds of hostages.

In some occupied areas in which the Nazis had to contend with well organized and active guerrilla units, they applied a simple rule: they would massacre one hundred nearby civilians for every German soldier killed; fifty for every one wounded. Often this was a minimum that might be doubled or tripled. They thus killed vast numbers of innocent peasants and townsfolk, possibly as many as 8,000 in Kraguyevats.\(^5\)
1,755 in Kraljevo, and overall 80,000 in Jajinci, to name just in a few places in Yugoslavia alone. Most executions were small in number, but day by day they added up. From an official German war diary: 16 December 1942, "In Belgrade, 8 arrests, 60 Mihailovich [the guerrilla Chetnik leader] supporters shot;" 27 December, "In Belgrade, 11 arrests, 250 Mihailovich supporters shot as retaliation." A German placard from Belgrade announced that the Nazis shot fifty hostages in retaliation for the dynamiting of a bridge. On 25 May 1943 the Nazis shot 150 hostages in Kraljevo; in October they shot 150 hostages in Belgrade; fifty hostages in Belgrade in August 1943; 150 Serbs at Cacak in October; and so on. In Greece, as another example, the Nazis may have burned and destroyed as many as 1,600 villages each with populations of 500 to 1,000 people, no doubt massacring many of the inhabitants beforehand. Overall, the Nazis thus slaughtered hundreds of thousands in Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Greece, and France; and millions overall in Poland and the Soviet Union.

But many other regimes have also killed opponents and critics, or used reprisals to maintain power. What distinguished the Nazis above virtually all others was their staggering genocide: people were machine gunned in batches, shot in the head at the edge of trenches, burned alive while crowded into churches, gassed in vans or fake shower rooms, starved or frozen to death, worked to death in camps, or beaten or tortured to death simply because of their race, religion, handicap, or sexual preference.

Most Nazis were absolute racists, especially among the top echelon; they believed utterly in the superiority of the "Aryan" race. They had no doubt that they were the pinnacle of racial evolution, that eugenically they were the best. So science proved, as many German and non-German scientists told them. And therefore they could not allow inferior groups to pollute their racial strain. Inferior races were like diseased appendixes that had to be surgically removed for the health of the body. Therefore they must exterminate the Jew and Gypsy. So also must they liquidate the homosexual and handicapped. So eventually they must also eliminate the Slavs, after exploiting their slave labor. Slavs were not only biologically inferior, but also inhabited
territory that Germany needed for the superior race to expand and grow.

But then the Nazi program ran into the problem of numbers. Exterminating millions of Jews would be hard enough. But the Slavs numbered in the tens of millions. Therefore they envisioned a two-part approach: reduce their number through execution, starvation, and disease. And then after the war that the Nazis would of course win, deport the remaining 30,000,000 or 40,000,000 Slavs to Siberia.

These genocides cost the lives of probably 16,315,000 people. Most likely the Nazis wiped out 5,291,000 Jews, 258,000 Gypsies, 10,547,000 Slavs, and 220,000 homosexuals. They also "euthanized" 173,500 handicapped Germans. Then in repression, terrorism, reprisals, and other cold-blooded killings done to impose and maintain their rule throughout Europe, the Nazis murdered more millions including French, Dutch, Serbs, Slovenes, Czechs, and others. In total, they likely annihilated 20,946,000 human beings.

Annually, as shown in table 1.2, the Nazis killed six to seven people out of every hundred in occupied Europe. The odds of a European dying under Nazi occupation were about one in fifteen. As table 1.2 points out, this is twice the odds of an American dying from one of the nine worst diseases, specifically stroke, heart disease, diabetes, chronic obstructive lung disease, lung cancer, breast cancer, cervical cancer, colorectal cancer, and liver disease.

Moreover, even though the Nazis hardly matched the democide of the Soviets and Communist Chinese as shown in table 1.3, they proportionally killed more. Figure 1.2 illustrates this. The annual odds of being killed by the Nazis during their occupation were almost two-and-a-half times that of Soviet citizens being slain by their government since 1917; over nine times that for Chinese living in Communist China after 1949. In competition for who can murder proportionally the most human beings, the Japanese militarists come closest. The annual odds of being killed by the Japanese during their occupation of China, Korea, Indonesia, Burma, Indochina, and elsewhere in Asia was one in 101. Given the years and population available to this gang of
megamurderers, the Nazis have been the most lethal murderers; and Japanese militarists next deadliest.

NOTES


2. According to the source, the civilian component of World War II deaths given in table 1.1 resulted "directly from the war . . . and war-borne epidemics" (Wright, 1965, p. 1543).


4. This was a private, quasi-military organization of storm troopers that Hitler began to organize as his private army in 1921, long before he came to power.


8. Quoted in ibid., p. 47.


10. Ibid., p. 70.

11. Ibid., p. 78.


13. I am trying to express these odds in the most understandable way. Technically, since the probability of a European dying from Nazi
occupation is .065 and that of surviving is .935, then the odds of dying are 65 to 935, or 1 to 14.38; the odds of surviving are 14.38 to 1. The 1 in 15 shown in the table is simply determined from the finding that 6.5 people died out of every 100, or 1 in 15.38.

14. As reported in a study by the national Centers for Disease Control, 427 Americans out of every 100,000 died from these nine diseases in 1986 (Honolulu Star-Bulletin, 28 November 1990, p. 1).
**Figure 1.1**
Nazi Democide Range

- **LOW**
- **MID**
- **HIGH**

- Prudent Estimate

- RANGE
# Table 1.1

## Nazi Democide

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GROUP/INSTITUTION/NATION</th>
<th>DEMOCIDE [1]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td>20,945,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>GENOCIDE</strong></td>
<td>16,315,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Homosexuals</td>
<td>220,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gypsies</td>
<td>258,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jews</td>
<td>5,291,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slavs (Eastern)</td>
<td>10,547,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>INSTITUTIONAL KILLING [2]</strong></td>
<td>11,283,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forced Euthanasia</td>
<td>172,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forced Labor</td>
<td>1,861,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prisoners of War</td>
<td>3,100,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Concentration/Death Camps</td>
<td>6,063,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>DEMOCIDE IN OCCUPIED EUROPE</strong></td>
<td>19,315,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Denmark</td>
<td>700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Norway</td>
<td>1,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luxembourg</td>
<td>2,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bulgaria</td>
<td>7,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belgium</td>
<td>51,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>64,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rumania</td>
<td>70,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Austria</td>
<td>133,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greece</td>
<td>140,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Netherlands</td>
<td>176,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Czechoslovakia</td>
<td>214,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baltic States</td>
<td>255,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>256,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hungary</td>
<td>406,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yugoslavia</td>
<td>625,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poland</td>
<td>5,400,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>USSR</td>
<td>12,250,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>WORLD WAR II EUROPEAN WAR-DEAD [3]</strong></td>
<td>26,736,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany [4]</td>
<td>5,200,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Europe [5]</td>
<td>23,536,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

1. All democide figures are the prudent, mid-figures, from appendix table A. Figures may not add up due to round off or the exclusion of some sub-totals.
2. Includes the killing of Jews, Gypsies, etc.
3. Exclusively of democide.
4. From appendix table A.
5. Excludes all non-European nations, including the U.S. From Wright (1965, p. 1542–3).
Table 1.2

Nazi Democide Rates

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>OVERALL</td>
<td>ANNUAL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>1.08</td>
<td>0.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occupied Europe</td>
<td>6.50</td>
<td>1.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overall</td>
<td>5.46</td>
<td>0.91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nine Chronic Diseases</td>
<td>2.56 [3]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. Democide rates are from appendix Table A. Overall is calculated as (democide/population) X 100. Annual is: (overall rate)/(6 years); for Germany the division is by 12.42 years.
2. Diseases are stroke, heart disease, diabetics, chronic obstructive lung disease, lung cancer, breast cancer, cervical cancer, colorectal cancer, liver disease.
3. Rate is 426 per 100,000 for U.S. in 1986; multiplied by 6 for comparability to above overall rates that are for six years.
4. Based on the overall rate.

Table 1.3

Comparison of Nazi Democide to That of Other Regimes [1]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Soyiet Union</td>
<td>cit./for.</td>
<td>1917-87</td>
<td>61,911</td>
<td>.45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communist China</td>
<td>citizens</td>
<td>1949-87</td>
<td>35,236</td>
<td>.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nazi Europe</td>
<td>Europe [3]</td>
<td>1939-45</td>
<td>20,946</td>
<td>1.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nationalist China</td>
<td>citizens</td>
<td>1929-49</td>
<td>10,214</td>
<td>.29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nazi Germany</td>
<td>citizens</td>
<td>1933-45</td>
<td>762</td>
<td>.08</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. Citizens and foreigners.
3. Occupied Europe, excluding Germany.
4. Occupied Asia, excluding Japan.
5. Percentage annual rate. Soviet rate for citizens only.
6. Calculated using the annual democide rate: 1 in (100/(% annual rate)).
Figure 1.2
Nazi Democide Compared to That of Others

NOTE: All figures from Table 1.3
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**NOTES**

* For the list of this book's contents, and the text of its preface, click note [3]