INDEX


AAA (Anti-Communist Alliance Argentina). See Triple A

Abyssinia, actus and potentia, 221n51

acusación popular, 181

“adaptation,” in concentration camps, 194–198

adiaphorization (Bauman), 145, 195, 209, 238n29

Adorno, Theodor, 2, 81, 138, 233n21; The Authoritarian Personality, 88

AEDD. See Association of Ex-Disappeared Detainees

Agamben, Giorgio, 48

Ageitos, Stella Maris, 237n8

Aguila, Gabriela, 155

AIDA (International Association for the Protection of Performers, Victims of Repression) report, 225n21

Aktion T4 operation (1939–1941), 108

Albornoz, Roberto (“One Eye”), 166

Alfonsín, Raúl, 139

alienation of society, 240n58

Alonso, Luciano, 240n60

AMIA bombing (1994), 246n6

anatomo-politics (Foucault), 232n10

Andersen, Martin Edwin, 224n21

Anti-Communist Alliance Argentina. See Triple A

anti-Semitism, 72, 112, 233n21

antitotalitarian thinking, 92

anti-uniqueness, 79

appeasement, 125

Aquinas, Thomas, 58

Aramburu, Mercedes, 242n2

Arendt, Hannah, 138, 230n5, 12, 234n37; Eichmann in Jerusalem, 88–89; The Origins of Totalitarianism, 90


Argentine Anti-Communist Alliance. See Triple A

Argentine Commission on Human Rights (CADHU), 145

Argentine genocide, 227n13, 234n24, 235n1, 240n38; context, 167; explanations, 176; labeled as such, 187; and language, 235n44; political nature, 179, 241n65; “reification,” 179

Argentine military: genocidal actions (1970s), 150; and Nazism, 64

Argentine society, 153, 213, 249n7

armed conflict vs. oppression, 30

armed leftist organizations, 141–143, 153, 174, 237n17, 238n20.22, 242n3; stereotypes, 157–158
Armenian genocide, 3
Armony, Ariel, 155–156, 165
asamblea movement, 176
Ashcroft, Bill, 232n35
“asocials,” 107, 243n14
assimilation structures, 234n36
Association of Ex-Disappeared Detainees (AEDD), 239n45, 246n9; seminars (1996, 1997), 177, 190, 245n32
Ast, Gabriele, 235n42
Auschwitz, 185, 202, 247n11
“authenticity,” 54–65
authority vs. autonomy, 60
Auto-amnesty Law, Argentina, 136
autonomy, 57–67; for bourgeois societies, 59, breakdown of, 191; as dangerous, 62, 107; persecution of, 161, 197; postmodern approach, 65; vs. responsibility, 65; and social control, 59
Barcesat, Eduardo, 180
Barta, Tony, 101, 232n27
Barthes, Roland, 229n25
Bartov, Omer, 226n3
Basualdo, Eduardo, 246n3
Bauer, Yehuda, 91
Bauman, Zygmunt, 225
Basualdo, Eduardo, 180
Báez, Héctor J., 237n9
“being-in-itself” and “being-for-itself” (Hegel), 33, 221n51
Bek, Werner, 107
Bignone, Reynaldo Benito, 135, 182; El último de facto, 136; El último de facto II, 136–138
binary logic (Calveiro), 151–152
biopolitics (Foucault), 232n10
biopolitics (Foucault), 56, 106
Björnland, Matthias, 12, 241n5
Blood, Philip W., 222n62, 243n14
Bonamin, Vitorio, 162–163
Borges, Jorge Luis, 84
Borkenau, Franz, 91
Borovinsky, Tomás, 49, 227n14
Boulainvilliers, Henri de, comte de, 113
breakdown of personality, 191–195
Broszat, Martin, 226n1
Brown, Christopher, 226n13; Ordinary Men, 72, 89; The Path to Genocide, 96, 98–99, 234n24
Buchenwald, 194, 247n11
Buenos Aires [province], 233n22, 244n21; Comisión Provincial de la Memoria, 227n13
Bulgaria, Jewish population, 113
bullying, 113
bureaucratic authoritarian state, 148
Burrin, Philippe, 78
CADHU (Argentine Commission on Human Rights), 145
Calveiro, Pilar, 147, 151–152, 192, 193, 239n39
Cambodia, genocide (1975–1979), 4, 43, 80, 216–217n11, 228n19
Camelli, Eva, 242n2, 248n24
Cámpora, Héctor J., 237n9
La Cámpora [youth movement], 176
Camps, Ramon J., Caso Timerman, 135
capitalism and colonialism, 101
Castelli, Juan Jose, 107
Catella, Silva, 137
Catholic Church, 242n6
Cattaruzza, Alejandro, 242n3, 244–245n28
causal explanations, 131, 235n1, 236n1
Celan, Paul, 81
Chalk, Frank, 27, 40, 219–220n27, 221n48; and Kurt Jonassohn, The History and Sociology of Genocide, 40–41
Charny, Israel W., 27, 41, 222n4
Chile, genocidal practices, 232n7, 248n23
Christian Church, 57, 242n6
Churchill, Ward, 15
citizenship, 111
civil war discourse, 143, 144, 146, 179
CLA (Comando Liberales de América), 166
class rule, Argentina, 148–149
Cold War, 91
collaboration, 196, 213
collective action, 66
collective memory, 159
collective punishment, 64
collective responsibility,” 126
“collective victimization,” 141
Colombia, 24, 220n30
colonial genocide, 47
colonialism, 5, 90, 91, 101, 156
“Colores,” Juan Carlos del Cerro, 244n24
Comando Liberales de América (CLA), 166
Comando Nacionalista del Norte, 166
Comisión Nacional sobre la Desaparación de Personas, See CONADEP
commemoration, 176
comparative studies, 2, 3, 26–28, 74, 79–81, 184
CONADEP (Comisión Nacional sobre la Desaparación de Personas), 180; report 1983, “Nunca Más,” 130, 139–140, 173, 237n16
concentration camps, 6, 48–49, 237n15, 236n3, 244n25; 1933–1934, 107; 1936–1938, 108; in Argentina, 50, 134, 172, 196; in Germany, 197; influence, 191; “initiation,” 193; in public imagination, 247n21; as reorganizing tool, 151–152, 195, 197–198; survivors, 190, 212; uses of, 185, 186–203
confusion, 211–212, 248n26; effects, 249n7; and inaction, 199–201; of survivors, 208
conspiracy theories, 233n22
constituent (foundational) genocide, 46–47, 222–223n10
“consuming experiences,” 65
conversion, 201
cooperation, 105
coping strategies, 200
Coronil, Fernando, 157
Corradi, Juan, 234n24
Correa, Alejandra, 249n8
corruption, post-dictatorship, 244n21; social context, 189–190
counter-genocidal, 210
counterinsurgency: doctrine, 47, 162; warfare, 133, 156
counterrevolution, 96
Cribb, Robert, 206, 231n20
crimes against humanity, 21, 23
criminal acts, 17
criminal guilt, 210–212
criminality, Argentina, 244n21
“criminal” Other, 222n62
cruses, 96
Dachau, 197, 247n11
Dadrian, Vahakn, 236
Daidar, Vahan, 3, 26, 41–42, 74, 216n5
Daián, Verónica, 242n24, 248n24
Daleo, Graciela, 245n32, 246n9
D’Andrea Mohr, José Luis, 225n16, 243n11
Darfur, 24
Davidowicz, Lucy, 72, 74
death, as means of social change, 171–172
death camps, 77, 171, 217n15, 244n25
death squads, 167
defeat, 198–200
“defenselessness,” 30–31
degenerative racism (Gobineau), 113
dehumanization, 209
De Ipola, Emílio, 248n30
“democratist” discourse, 150, 154, 240n58
demonization, of Nazis, 72–73
demonstrations, Argentina, 175
denial: of identity, 172–173; of the past, 173–176
Denmark, Jewish population, 113
depersonalization, 120
de politicization,” 158
Des Forges, Alison, 219n25
destruction/subjugation” (Semelin), 31
detention centers, 172, 219n43
Díaz Bessone, Ramón Genaro, 135, 236–237n6
Dimitroff, Georgi, 93
DIPBA (Intelligence Directorate of the Police of the Province of Buenos Aires) file, 243n17
“Dirty War” [term], 131–135
disciplinary institutions, 59
disenfranchisement, 114
dissembling, 195–196
distrust as tool, 178
“divide and rule” strategy, 63–64, 118
Dobkowski, Michael N., 232n27
doctrine of the three levels, 140
“domestic genocide,” 222–223n10
domestic Other, 225n15
Dreizik, Pablo, 221n50
Drukaroff, Elsa, 198, 141, 245n32
Due Obedience Law (1987), 140, 180, 245n34
Duhalde, Eduardo Luis, The Terrorist Argentine State, 145–147, 238n30, 242n5
Dürkheim, Émile, 181
Dussel, Inés, 244–245n28
Dwyer, Leslie, 231n20
East Timor, Indonesian military occupation, 4, 231n20
Edelman, Gerald, 292n8
Edelman, Mark, 232n1
Edelmann, Lucila, 222n12
East Timor, Indonesian military occupation, 4, 231n20
Edelman, Mark, 232n1
Edelmann, Lucila, 247n14
education: in Argentina, 64, 164; in Nazi Germany, 63
egalitarianism, 148–149
Eichmann, Adolf, 138
Ejército Revolucionario del Pueblo (ERP), 61, 132, 153
En salvador, civil war, 179
ENOGS (European Network of Genocide Scholars), 227n8
ERP (Ejército Revolucionario del Pueblo), 61, 132, 153
ESMA Navy Mechanics School, 138, 168, 196
equality, 53–56. See also egalitarianism;
“symmetrical treatment”
equality before the law, 17
Escuela de Famaillá, 134
Etchecolatz, Miguel Osvaldo, 25, 181, 211
ethnic identity, 209
ethnic essentialism, 173
“ethnicity” [term], 21
ethnocentrism, Jewish, 74
eugenics, 55
euphemisms, 236n3
European: colonialism, 91; regimes, complicity, 124
European Network of Genocide Scholars (ENOGS), 227n8
evil: as insulating, 103; “specialness,” 122
exclusion, 114
exemplary memory, 85
exile, 167
extermination, 120, 171–172
extermination camps, 217n15. See also death camps
eyewitness testimony, 82
Ezeiza massacre (1973), 166, 236n5
Fagen, Patricia Weiss, 234n24
Falcón, Ricardo, 203
fascism, 93
Fein, Helen, 27, 42, 79–80
Feierstein, Daniel, 7, 225n17, 233n19, 243n33–35, 235n41
Feitlowitz, Marguerite, 235n44
Ferreira, Marcelo, 220n30
Figari Layús, Rosario, 223n16, 242n2
Figueredo Ibarra, Carlos, 223n18, 243n10
“Final Document” (1983), 136
Finchelstein, Federico, 226n3
Finocchio, Silvia, 244–245n28
FLACSO, 246n3
Flaskamp, Carlos, 153
Fleisch, Günter, 226n3
Foucault, Michel, 16, 56, 94–95, 106–107, 120, 183, 202, 217n13, 224n1, 227n6, 232n10, 246n37
foundational genocide, 46–47
France, 13; Jewish community, 118, 123
Frank family, 124–125
Frankl, Viktor, 192
Frenkel-Brunswik, Else, 233n21
Freud, Sigmund, 62
Friedländer, Saul, 226n1
Full Stop Law (1986), 180, 236n4, 245n34
functionalism, 95

La Gaceta, 169
Galileo Galilei, 57
García Prudencio, 225n21
García Rolando, 234n36
Garretón, Manuel Antonio, 234n24
Garzón, Baltasar, 19, 181, 187, 242n6
Gellately, Robert, 63, 107, 217n15, 224n14, 243n14, 247n21
Gelman, Juan, 186
General Union of the Israelites of France (UCIF), 118
genocidal potential, 214
ngenocidal processes, 32, 56–57, 120, 122, 154–155, 208
genocidal social practices, 14, 80; as control, 107; definitions, 36; distancing, 91; impact, 248n24; as law and order, 167–168; periodization, 110–126; political content, 164–166; vs. political repression, 154; prevention, 209–214; as social engineering, 39, 67, 144; as social narrative, 121; “symbolic enactments,” 131; typologies, 45, 46; victims, 122; vs. war, 152
genocidal states, 4–5
ngenocide, 205–210; casualty figures, 75; vs. civil war, 144; classifications, 39–51; and colonialism, 47, 90; comparative studies, 2, 3, 26–28, 184; as defeat, 201; definitions, 11–36, 42, 231n20; depoliticized, 147–148; dismissed, 158; effects, 38, 67, 137, 178; efficiency, 243n12; enabling, 113, 161; historical roots, 93; and imperialism, 93–94; of indigenous peoples, 79; “in part,” 18–20; as label, 24–36; and law, 13–16, 21, 32, 183; modern, 12; and modernity, 78, 91, 102; “moral participation,” 127; nature of, 6–7; and Nazism, 95; objectives, 67, 144, 146, 168; as pathology, 72–73; political and ideological, 4, 20, 31–32, 126, 154–155, 165, 206, 241n65; postcolonial and reorganizing, 156; racist, 172; and revolution, 37; and social changes, 12; social consequences, 178; social context, 148; social narratives, 172; as social practice, 14, 25, 109–110, 126, 181; as “social relationship,” 101; and social reorganization, 156, 172, 214; symbolic, 120–121, 126, 172–176, 181, 182, 198; as technology of power, 1, 32; and terrorism, 147, 171; typologies, 45, 76; victims, 75, 125; and war, 143–145, 150. See also colonial genocide; constituent genocide; modern genocide; Nazi genocide; postcolonial genocide; reorganizing genocide; symbolic genocide
“genocide” [term], 11–32, 79–81, 206, 239n33
ngenocide studies, 26, 76, 227n8, 228n19
Gens, Jacob, 125
“German disease,” 227n5
Germany; concentration camps, 197, 247n21; history, 72, 81, 88, 230n7, 8
ghettos, 115–116; function, 234n25. See also name/location
Giussani, Pablo, Montoneros, 141, 173
giving up, 200
Goffman, Erving, Asylums, 192, 200, 248n26
Gojman, Silvia, 241n68, 244–245n28
Goldhagen, Daniel Jonah, Hitler’s Willing Executioners, 2, 72, 221n60, 226n3, 227n5
Gomez, Andrei, 220n30
González Bombal, Inés, 236n2
González Jansen, Ignacio, 243n19
Gordon, Aníbal, 168
Gori, Esteban de, 236n2
Gramsci, Antonio, 66, 226n28
Granda, Beatriz, 248n26
Green, Barbara, 228n19
Greer, William F., Jr., 235n42
Grin, François, 228n19
Grossman, Jaika, 118, 234n19
group identities, 33, 35
group work, as dangerous, 63
Guatemala, ethnopolitical conflict, 47, 164, 245n33
 Guerrero organizations, 158
guerrillas: as army, 152; as victims, 141
See also survivor guilt
“guilty victims,” 174
Gurr, Ted, 27
Gutiérrez, Marina, 223n14
Gutman, Israel, 234n31
Gypsies, 124
Habermas, Jürgen, 228n18
harassment, 113–115, 166–168
Harff, Barbara, 27, 44–45, 223n11
Harguindeguy, Albano, 165
Haskalah, 109
hedonism, 65
Hegel, Friedrich, 33, 221n51
helplessness, 198
militants, older and younger, 169, 245n29
military government, protection, 136
“minority,” 94
mistrust as tool, 178
modern genocide, 45–48
modernity, 52–53; and Nazi genocides, 87
Molinari, Lucrecia, 223n17
Mommsen, Hans, 226n3
Montoneros, 141–142, 168, 236n5
moral: guilt, 210, 213; paralysis, 177; responsibility, 210–214; sense, destruction/reduction, 144–145
morality of cooperation (Piaget), 105
“mortification,” 248n26
Movimento Peronista Montonero (MPM).
See Montoneros
MPM. See Montoneros
Muleiro, Vicente, 244n20
museums, 176

La Nación [newspaper], 163
Namibia, 5
naming, 149
narratives, 84
National Commission on the Disappearance of Persons. See CONADEP
“national group,” definition, 20
nationalism, 123
“National Reorganization Process,” Argentina, 134, 187–188
National Security Doctrine, 5
National Socialists. See Nazis
natural law, 58
Nazi genocide, 120, 171; analyses, 96; as “apolitical,” 241n65; causes, 87–103; and modernity, 87, 90
Nazi ideology, 97, 112; in Argentina, 21; and politics, 35, 98; racial, 98–99, 172
Nazis: anti-Communist campaign, 97; biological doctrines, 33; demonization, 73–74; 122; intelligence systems, 243n16; labor camps, 108; policies, 107–109, 114–115, 235n38; victims, 109, 233–234n23; in world history, 96–97
Nazism: applied in Argentina, 64; causal explanations, 89; and genocide, 95; as exclusively German, 89; history of, 226n1; indoctrination, 63; and modernity, 88–91; origins, 5; and racism, 49–50; as “reaction” to Bolshevism, 230n7; as regression, 93; and Stalinism, 80, 91, 216–217n11; studies, 215n3; victim groups, 60–61
“Nazi terror” [term], 234n24
negative Otherness, 106, 110, 112, 161–163, 209
negativized figures, 209, 242n3
Netherlands, Jewish population, 123
“neutral Darwinism” (Edelman), 229n28
“new” Argentine left, 143
“new politics,” Argentina, 149–150
news media, 35, 163
INDEX 257

Nicaragua, civil war, 179
_La noche de los lápices_ [film], 244–245n28
Nolte, Ernst, 5, 80, 89, 216–217n11, 230n17
nonconformists as Others, 106
“normalizing society” (Foucault), 72–73.
94–95
Noufouri, Hammurabi, 222–223n10, 232n26, 249n3
Obregon, Martin, 242n6
O’Donnell, Guillermo, _Counterpoints_, 148–149, 189
Operation Barbarossa (1941), 97
Operation Independence, 61, 132–135, 154
Other: in Argentina, 161–163; for Nazis, III;
repression of, 107–109; responsibility toward, 213–214. See also colonial Other;
domestic Other
Otherness, 213–214; ethnic and political,
161–162; negative, 106, 110, 112, 161–163, 209
Padilla Ballesteros, Elias, 248n23
Paladino, Jorge, 203
“Pale of Settlement,” Jewish, 123
Paoletti, Alipio, 235n1
Papiernik, Charles, 111, 184–185, 202, 225n22, 232n1, 233n20
paramilitary forces, Argentina, 167, 233–234n23
Paris Commune (1871), 225n15
partial destruction of national groups, 25
past, denied, 173–176
Paz, Pedro, 246n3
peer relationships, 60–62
penal codes, national, 219n12.17
People’s Revolutionary Army. See ERP
Perón, Isabel, 132, 135
Perón, Juan Domingo, 166, 168, 236n5, 237n9
Peronism, 29, 148, 169, 170, 236n5
perpetrators of genocide, 236n1; as
irrational, 173; and victims, 146, 150, 155, 159–160
Piaget, Jean, 59, 105, 234n36
“picket” movement, Argentina (2001),
226n24
“Plan Andinia,” 233n22
“poetics of history” (White), 3
pogroms, 225n15
Pohl, J. Otto, 228n18
Pohl, Michaela, 228n19
Poland, pogroms (1881–1884), 225n15
political: actions, 198; artifacts, 171, 244n26;
commitment, withering, 189; conflict, and
“armed actions,” 144; and criminal, 243n14;
dissidents, under Nazism, 247n21; enemy,
constructed, 163; genocide, 241n65;
guilt, 210–212; movements, and social
organizations, 167, 244–245n28;
opposition, 187–188; organizations, as
targets, 189, 206, 235n1; prisoners, 197
politicide and genocide, 27, 31–32
politics: and social relations, 188; as suspect,
178
positivism, 71
postcolonial genocide, 11, 47, 156, 222–223n10
postgenocidal societies, 126, 210
_potentia_ and _actus_, 221n51
Pozi, Pablo, 203
prejudices as tool, 112
_La Prensa_ [newspaper], 163
Presman, Bettina, 242n2
press, role of, in Argentina, 158
“primitive accumulation” of capital (Marx), 144
print media, Argentina, 158, 163
prisons, Argentina, 248n30
“Process of National Reorganization,”
Argentina, 50
propaganda, Nazi, 112
_Prosecutor v. Musema_, 219–220n27
_The Protocols of the Elders of Zion_, 112
psychoanalytic concepts in politics, 142
quasi-governmental forces, 166–169
Quiroga, Hugo, 235n1
racial: reorganization, 98; segregation, 55
racism, 4, 35, 54–56, 97–99, 231n16;
degenerative, 113, 235n38; and genocide,
104, 243n12; in modern societies, 72; in
Nazi policies, 6, 49, 98–99; political, 20,
35, 164
Radical party, Argentina, 139
Ravensbruck, 247n11
“reappeared,” 186–187, 190
reciprocity and solidarity, 178
“reeducation,” 235n38
Reich Central Office for Jewish Emigration,
114
“relations of destruction” (Barta), 101
“reorganization” of society, in Germany, 6
reorganizing genocide, 47–51, 164, 186,
222–223n10; in Argentina, 176; nature of,
187, 205; process, 190–195; purpose, 179,
182, 187; resistance to, 201–203; and social
engineering, 60–64
repentance, 211
representation, 84
repression: in Argentina, 162; “defensive,”
158
Republika Cromañón fire (2004), 246n7
repudiation, 62
resettlement policies, 227n15
resignation, 198–202
resistance, 125–126, 202–203
responsibility: constructed, 125–127; evasion
of, 65
revisionism, 62, 91, 230n7
revolution vs. genocide, 37
Revolutions of 1848, 60
INDEX

Reyes Mate, Manuel, 73
Richardson, Curtis, 228
Rico, Aldo, 137–138
Rodríguez, Ana Lía, 242
Roffinelli, Gabriela, 169, 242n2, 244
Rome Conference (1998), 23
Romero, Luis Alberto, Brief Contemporary History of Argentina, 154–155, 240
Rome Statute (1998), 23–25
Roose, 155
Rousseau, Jean-Jacques, 58
Rozitchner, León, 149
Rozanski, Carlos, 89
Ruggeri, Andres, 223
Ruhashyankiko Report (1978), 219
rules of war, replacement of, 133
Rwandan genocide, 21–22
Sabato, Ernesto, 139, 173
SAEDD, 246
Sanford, R. Nevitt, 155
Sarmiento, Ernesto, 221
Sartori, Giovanni, 231n6
scapegoats, 176
Scarsi, María Cristina, 242
Schabas, William, 24
Schleunes, Karl, 78
Schmucler, Héctor, 221n50
schools, in Argentina, 63–64
Scilingo, Adolfo, 181
Scilingo, Adolfo, 181
Scilingo, Adolfo, 181
semi-diary, Jewish, 123–124
self-interest vs. solidarity, 189
self-victimization, 212
Semelin, Jacques, 28, 31
seminars, 216
Sempri, Jorge, 81
sensory deprivation, 192
Seoane, María, 244n20
Shaw, Martin, 13
Shoa as metaphysical, 234n37
Sigal, Silvia, 227n13
Simon, Hector Julio, 211
singularity vs. exclusivity, 74
Skurski, Julie, 157
Slepoy, Carlos, 181
Smith, Adam, 54
Smith, Roger, 43–44, 222n8
Sobibor extermination camp, 203
social: changes, and genocide, 39;
consensus, and genocide, 113; contract, in bourgeois state, 58; control through education, 63; discipline through terror, 197; engineering, 1, 6, 60, 207; facilitation, 188; forces as armies, 179; groups, 66; identity, "reorganized," 20; integration in Argentina, 243n13; movements, 66, 170; networks, destroyed, 63; order, 121, 183; organizations, and political movements, 244–245n28; practices, 14, 164–166; processes, 77, 92; reorganization, 1, 172, 201–203, 205; sciences, 26; self-determination, destroyed, 124. See also genocidal social practices; social relations
Social Darwinism, 55
"social facts" (Durkheim), 18
socialism, 43
social relations: destruction and replacement, 48, 60, 164–166; and politics, 188; restoration, 176; transformation, 156, 187, 190
"social violence" (Vezzetti), 157
"sovereignty" [term], 56
Soviet revolution and the Holocaust, 80
Soviet Union, 231n20
Spain: law, 18–19, 181; nation-state, 218n2; Penal Code, 21, 21n17; state religion, 225n15
Spencer, Herbert, Principles of Psychology, 54
Spengler, Oswald, 33
Spiegelman, Art, Maus, 83, 229n22
Stalin, Joseph, 80, 228n19
Stalinism and Nazism, 80, 91
Stanton, Gregory, "Eight Stages of Genocide," 110
state: discrimination, 111; repression, vs. "war," 156
state terrorism, 147, 157, 233–234n23; vs. "left-wing terrorism," 147. See also terrorist state
statistical norms, 94
Steiner, George, 81
stereotyping, 112; and genocide, 209; of Other, 111; political, 157, 164–165; of victims, 179
sterilization law (1933), 108
stigmatization, 106, 110–113, 222–223n10
storytelling, 84
students, in Argentina, 63
Sturmabteilung (SA), 108, 166
Stutthof, 247n11
"subjective abteilung," 247n14
subjective experience and sociological analysis, 83
subjugation processes, 31
"subversion," 61, 62, 158, 161–164
"subversive crime," 34, 161–164, 242n3
Sudan, 24
surveillance, 166
survivor guilt, 127
survivors, 186–187, 190; confusion of, 201; and guilt, 213; psychological mandate, 177; testimonies, 150–151, 184, 186–187
“symbolic enactment,” 62, 172–176, 245n30; challenged, 176; of genocide, 131, 172–176, 182, 198; of history, 174; of social processes, 92, 131
symbolic genocide, 120–121, 125–126
“symbolic walls” for detainees, 248n33
“symmetrical treatment” of victims and perpetrators, 139–142
“systematic weakening,” 116–120, 172

Task Force 3.3.2, 168
Taylor, Charles, 226n25
Taylor, John, 231n20
Tcach, César, 233n1

technologies of power (Foucault), 6, 53, 77, 224n1
terror, 169–172; as reorganizing tool, 127, 156, 171–172, 197, 234n24; “selective,” 244n22
“terrorism” vs. state violence, 141, 237n17
“terrorist” [term], 161, 241n66
terrorist state (Duhalde), 146–148, 157

textbooks, 244–245n28

“theory of the two demons,” 139–142, 148, 157, 173, 176
Thirty Years’ War (1618–1648), 96

Timmerman, Jacobo, 233n22
Todorov, Tzvetan, 85, 127
Tornay, María Laura, 240n60
torture, functions of, 193

totalitarianism, 48, 90–92
“total war” [term], 96

Tozzi, Veronica, 229n23

“Tragic Week” (Buenos Aires, 1919), 233n22
“trait theory” of identity, 33


“transitive” writing (Barthes), 229n25

trauma, effects, 127

Traverso, Enzo, 91, 221n50, 228n17, 19; The Marxists and the Jewish Question, 94; The Origins of Nazi Violence, 5, 75, 90
“Trial of the Juntas,” 148
trials, Argentina, 180–182

Triple A, 166, 233–234n23, 236n15, 243n19
Trotsky, Leon, 93
Tucumán, 61, 132–135, 169
“two demons” theory, 139–142, 148, 157, 173, 176

UGIF (General Union of the Israelites of France), 118
Ukraine: famine (1930), 228n19; pogroms (1881–1884), 225n15
unassimilable elements, 112
uniqueness theories, 73–82, 227n8
United Nations, 18, 219n14; General Assembly Resolution 96, 15; Human Rights Council, 219n13; Security Council, 220n29; Whitaker Report, 18, 218n1

United States: and Europe, 92; security doctrines, 237n17
University of Buenos Aires, 151, 242n2
“unpeachable,” 81–83
Uruguay, genocide, 232n7
Vabres, Donnedieu de, 15, 183, 219n15
Venice, ghetto, 234n25

Verbitsky, Horacio, 242n6, 243n15, 18

Vergez, Héctor, 166
Vezzetti, Hugo, 157, 241n65

victim groups, separation, 36

“victimization” of society, 140–141

victims, 140–141, 150–151; as army, 183; as “criminals,” 222n62; definitions, 219–220n27; depoliticized, 173; discourse about, 246n2; guilt and innocence, 122, 125, 147; indirect, 179; and perpetrators, 146, 157, 159–160; physical traits, 165; socially autonomous, 61; as social force, 143; as social subjects, 124. See also genocide: victims

“victim selection,” 165–166

Vidal-Naquet, Pierre, 118

Videla, Jorge Rafael, 160
Vilib, Acdél, 61, 132–134, 219n19
Villani, Mario, 184, 196
Villarreal, Juan, 246n3
Vinna ghetto, 125
Viola, Roberto Eduardo, 162
violence: causal explanations, 143–144; symbolic and physical, 113
Volkam, Vamik, 235n42

Wagner, Gerhard, 55
Wallmann, Isidor, 232n27
Wallman, S., 21

“walls,” for detainees, 248n33

war: concept of, 159, 241n65; and genocide, 143–145; vs. social confrontation, 146–147

“war” [term], 146, 149–150, 153; polarizing, 152; political nature, 153

“war against subversion,” Argentina, 136, 158
Warsaw ghetto, 117
Weber, Max, 247n12
Weiss, Aharon, 217n15
Weitz, Eric, 216–217n11

Wernich, Christian von, 25

Werth, Nicolas, 228n19
“Western Christianity,” in Argentina, 162
Whitaker, Benjamin, 18; Revised and Updated Report . . . . 1985 (Whitaker Report), 18, 218n1

White, Hayden, 3, 83–84, 215n4, 216–217n11, 229n23, 25
Wiesel, Elie, 81
Williams, Brian, 228n19
Winner, Langdon, 244n26
witch hunts, 218n2
Wittenberg, Yitzhak, 125
Wolf, Robert Paul, 106
writing, “transitive” and “intransitive” (Barthes), 229n25

youth movements, 175–176, 244–245n28
Zaffaroni, Eugenio Raúl, 218n17
Žižek, Slavoj, 91
Zylberman, Lior, 242n2