

# Understanding Perpetrator Motivation



**BABI YAR MASSACRE (29-30 SEP 1941)**

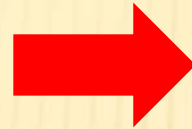
# THE ULTIMATE QUESTIONS

**Why do “ordinary men” become involved in mass murder?**

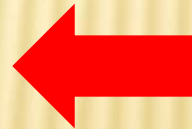
**Why did the men of the Uniformed Police participate as “willing executioners” in pursuit of the racial policies of the Third Reich?**



# Stanley Milgram-Shock Experiments (1961)



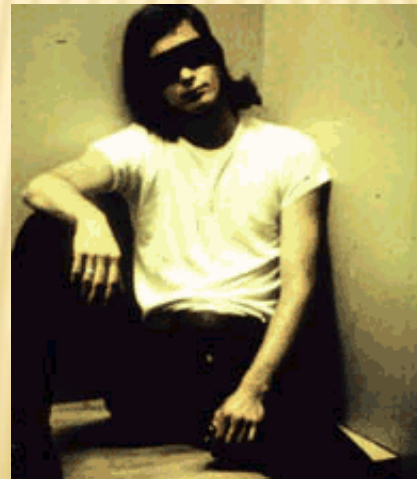
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xOYLCy5PVgM>



# Philip Zimbardo's Stanford Prison Study (1971)



**COOL HAND LUKE (1967)**



<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=760lwYmpXbc>

# Explaining Nazi Perpetrator Motivation

- Christopher Browning (1992)
  - “Ordinary Men”
  - Focus on peer group pressure, deference to authority, and instrumental factors
- Daniel Goldhagen (1996)
  - “Eliminationist anti-Semitism”
  - Focus on a pre-existing macro-cultural predisposition to annihilatory practice
- Claudia Koonz (2003)
  - The “Nazi Conscience”
  - Secular ethos extended to select community of ‘Aryan’ brethren



# Explaining Nazi Perpetrator Motivation

- James Waller (2007)
  - *Becoming Evil: How Ordinary People Commit Genocide and Mass Killing*
  - Focus on situational (external influences) and dispositional (internal influences) that lead “ordinary people” to commit mass murder
  - Comparison of genocide & atrocity in the Holocaust, Cambodia, Guatemala, & the Balkans
- Harald Welzer (2005)
  - *Täter: Wie aus ganz normalen Menschen Massenmörder werden.*
  - “social restructuring”
  - Focus on the identification of the Jews as the “other” or “out group” that furnishes Aryan Germans with necessary justification for a process of incremental radicalization

# Explaining Perpetrator Motivation

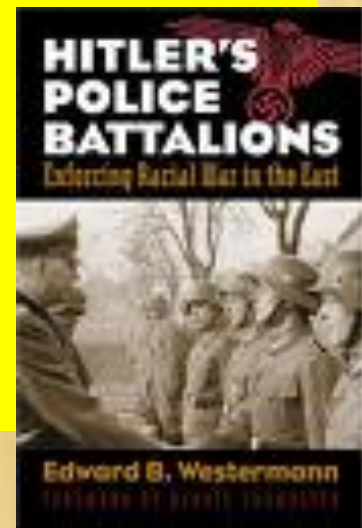
- **Organizational Culture**

**Definition-“basic assumptions and beliefs that are shared by members of an organization, that operate unconsciously, and that define in a basic ‘taken for granted’ fashion an organization’s view of itself and its environment.”\***

- **Role of Leadership**

- **Use of Symbols and Language**

*\*Edgar H. Schein, **Organizational Culture and Leadership** (Jossey-Bass, 1985)*

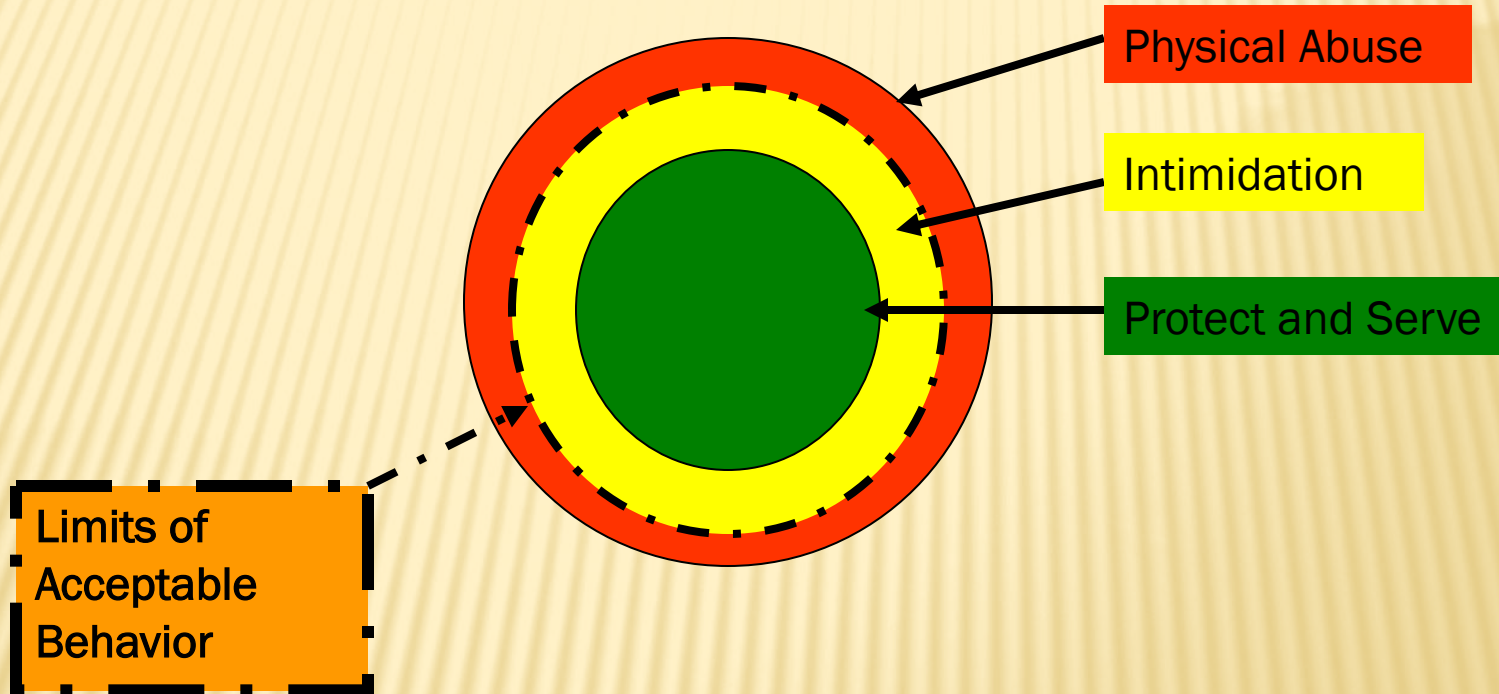


# The Role of Ideology

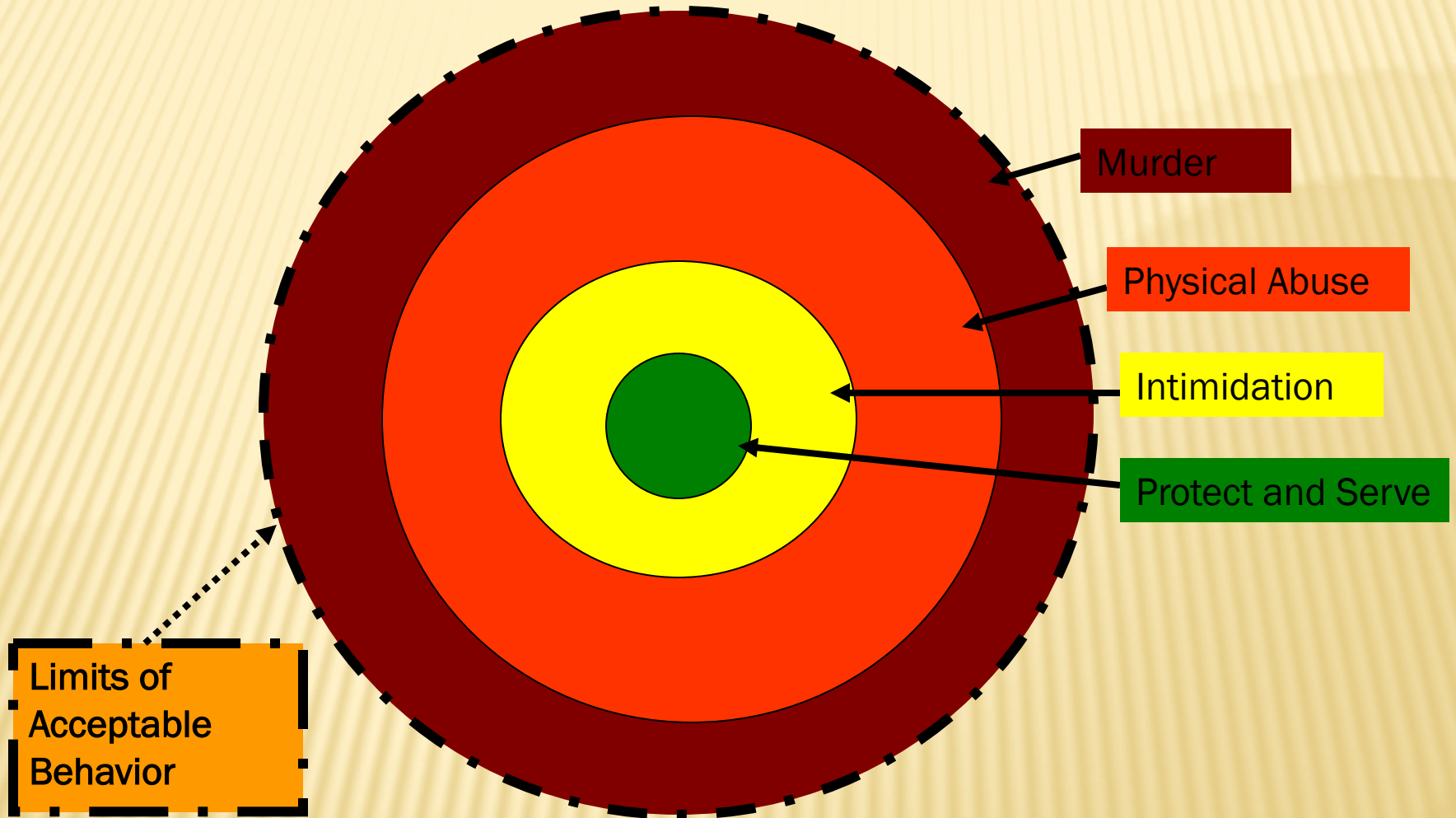
- Definition: “A manner of the content of thinking characteristic of an individual, group, or culture.”
- Interrelationship of Ideology and Org. Culture
- The National Socialist Message to the Police: Portrays the German people locked in an apocalyptic battle against Judaism and Bolshevism and glorifies the martial identity and the concept of the political soldier



# Notional Depiction of Police Behavior



# Police Behavior in the Third Reich



# The Nazi Conception of Crime

Under National Socialism the definition of crime expands to include *any act, either political or criminal, injuring or weakening the social and political fabric of the constructed 'Aryan' community.*

Metaphorically this leads to the equation of alternate political philosophies or other races with terms such as “disease,” “germs,” “plague,” or “parasite.”

# A New Image of the Police

- **The message**

- “Friend and Helper” and “The good uncle Schupo”
- The “political soldier”

- **The media**

- Radio, Newsprint, Books, Posters

- **The mechanisms**

- The Winter Welfare Drive
- The Day of the German Police
- The Use of Ceremony
- Sporting Competitions and Physical Fitness
- Military and Ideological Training



# The Twin Pillars of Police Culture

- Militarization of the Police

- Hierarchical structure
- Concept of military duty and absolute obedience tied to higher purpose
- Vision of apocalyptic struggle

- Merging of the Police with the SS

- The SS as “Party Soldiers”
- Symbolic union of the NS Movement with the Police
- Physical and psychological aspects of merger promote shared “corporate mindset”

# Building a Martial Identity

- Historical Predisposition

- Accession of ex-military officers & NCOs
- Freikorps association

- Symbols

- Glorification of the Prussian Model
- Military salute between police and Wehrmacht (1933)
- Standardized police uniform
- Introduction of the police sword and bayonet
- Authorization to wear military badges & decorations

- Organizational Measures

- Transfer of military conscripts into Police
- Himmler orders training on “military foundation” (1936)
- Creation of the Police Battalions
- Equipping the Police

# Instilling the SS Ethic

- The SS “virtues”

- Loyalty, obedience, bravery, truthfulness, honesty, fellowship, acceptance of responsibility, industry, and abstinence

- Symbols

- Introduction of “German Salute” and Hitler Oath (1934)
- “Blood Banner” Ceremony (Nuremberg Party Rally, 1937)
- Introduction of SS runes and SS-Police Sword (1937, 1938)
- SS rank for policemen in the SS

- Organizational Measures

- Accession of SS and SA into the police (1933)
- Appointment of Himmler (1936)
- Graduates of SS-Junkerschulen into the Uniformed Police
- Creation of the Higher SS and Police Leaders (1937)
- Transfer of ideological indoctrination to SS Training Office (1938)
- Creation of the SS Police Division (1939)

# **Promoting the Ideal**



# Pre-War Image of the Police



# Pre-War Image of the Police



## Der gute „Onkel Schupo“

Marichen und Margreithen  
Sind liebe, kleine Mädchen,  
Die jeder leiden mag.  
Sie geh'n mit frohen Sinnen  
Als fleiß'ge Schülerinnen  
Zur Schule jeden Tag.

Wenn nicht zu viel Verkehr ist,  
Und, wenn die Straße leer ist,  
Geh'n schnell die beiden dann  
Hinüber ohne Säumen,  
Weil man nicht ruh'n noch träumen  
Im Großstadttubel kann.

Obwohl an manchen Tagen,  
Wenn sie allein nicht wagen  
Den Gang durch das Gewühl,  
Hört man die beiden Ritten  
Den Onkel Schupo bitten:  
„Ach, bring uns doch zum Ziel.“

Der lacht: „Das tu' ich gerne!“  
Winkt mit der Hand von ferne,  
Und still steht der Verkehr.  
Was würde mancher machen,  
Wenn nicht für solche Sachen  
Der Onkel Schupo wär! Martin Selt.



# Pre-War Image of the Police



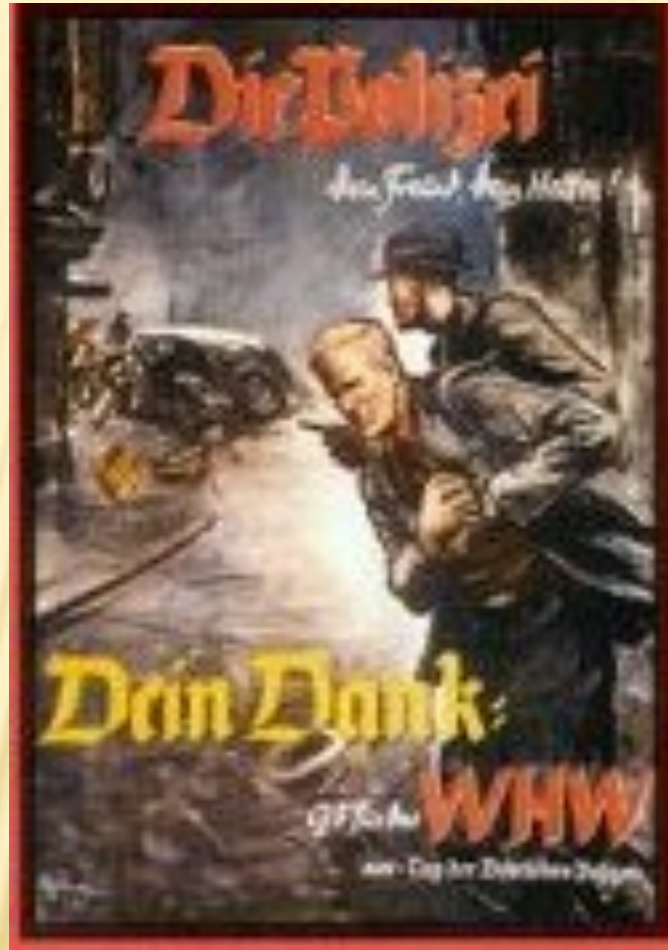


# Pre-War Image of the Police





# Pre-War Image of the Police





# Pre-War Image of the Police



# **The Use of Ceremony**



# Linking Police and Party “Martyrs” in the Battles against the Left



Wreath Laying by Himmler at the Horst Wessel Square in Berlin, January 1937



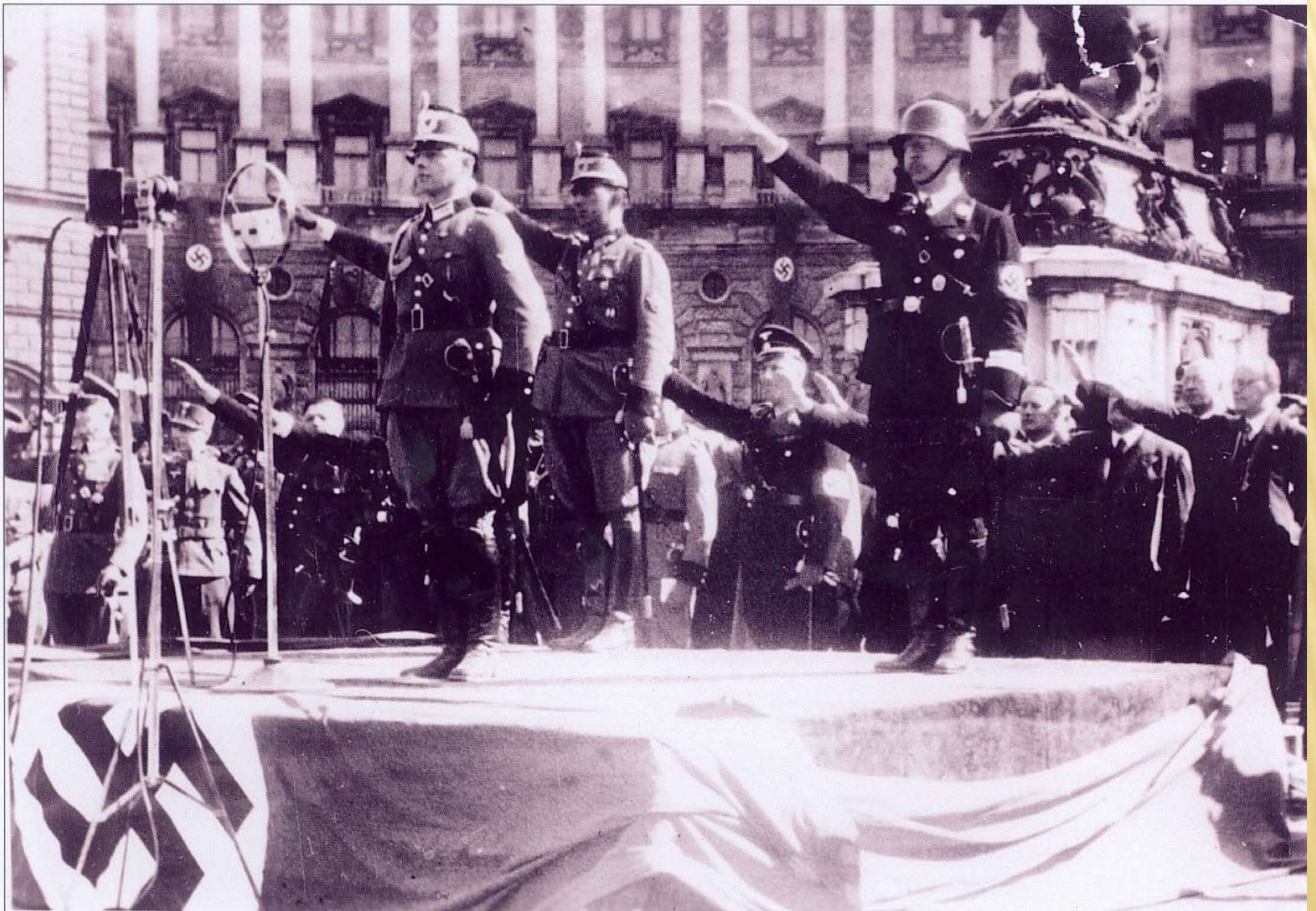
# Associating the Police with the Martyrs of the Movement



Police Parade in front of the Feldherrnhalle in Munich, Aug 1938



# Taking the Oath to Hitler



The Heldenplatz in Vienna, March 17, 1938



# Wartime Image of the Police





# Wartime Image of the Police



# From Theory to Reality





# Wartime Image of the Police





# Wartime Image of the Police



## The Shadow War- War Against the Partisans

- Waffen-SS and Police forces combine in “anti-partisan” war
  - From 27 Jul – 27 Aug 1941, SS forces murder at least 1,294 and police battalions kill 4,905 persons (94% of whom are Jews)
- Ultimately, German police forces murder over 500,000 men, women, and children while the notorious Einsatzgruppen murder over another 1,000,000 Russian Jews alone

# **The Paperwork of Annihilation**



*Saslaw*

Berichte  
über abgebrannte Dörfer während der Aktionen gegen Banditen.

N	Dorf	Gemeinde	Gesamt ha						Bemerkungen
			Zahl d. Höfe	Zahl d. liquid. Einwohner	Garten	Acker	Wiese	Weide	
1	Salamaretschje	Gotowino	27	101	16,2	108,6	26,6	7,2	Sommerkulturen
2	Bulaschi	"	16	64	9,2	50,4	12,6	4,2	" "
3	Kolonizi	"	52	198	30,3	199,8	48,1	12,9	" "
4	Wischkowo <sup>2</sup>	"	47	210	25,3	248,5	54,6	22,6	Sommerkult.
5	Bachmetowka	Scharschuni	32	183	19,2	144,2	63,9	9,0	- 2 -
6	Trusowotschi	"	12	59	7,2	84,2	23,7	12,5	" "
7	Kamenez	"	87	410	52,2	368,7	130,0	32,5	Sommerkult. v.
8	Dubrowa	Stare-Selo	6	17	3,0	42,0	9,0	-	" "
9	Schtscharhini	Sloboda	20	83	11,6	102,4	39,5	3,8	" "
10	Agarki	Rogowa	4	27	3,8	39,4	9,2	-	" "
11	Rogowa	Rogowa	-	12	1,8	20,7	5,9	-	" "
12	Stare-Selo	Stare-Selo	-	24	3,0	30,5	5,7	-	" "
13	Koslowka	"	-	31	2,5	27,4	6,0	-	" "
Summa			317	1419	185,3	1466,8	434,8	105,2	

Saslawl, den 4.6.1943.

Leiter der Landabteilung  
/ Zaslonek / - -

# EUPHEMISM AND CHOICE

Res.-Pol.-Batt. (mot) 133/6  
1. Kompanie

Rawa Ruska, den 12. August 1942.  
Warschauer-Str. 17  
Poln.-Handels-Res.-Pol.-Batt. (mot) 133  
Tel.-Nr. 136

Eing. 12. AUG. 1942  
Beil. Nr.

1.) In der Zeit vom 2. mit 8. August 1942 wurden beobachtet:

a) Banditen	-
b) Bettler	3 (hiervon 1 Jude, 1 Frau)
c) Asoziale	5 (4 Frauen u. 1 Kind)
d) Juden (Arbeitsscheu, Seuchengefahr)	7
<b>zusammen:</b>	<b>15</b>

In der gleichen Zeit wurden außerdem festgenommen:

a) Kriegsgefangene	: 4
b) Bettler	: 3
c) Diebe	: 2
d) politische Verdächtige	: 1
e) Schleichhändler	: 5
f) Landstreicher nur Zwangs- arbeit dem Arbeitsamt überstellt	: 1
g) Juden	: 10
h) Helfershelfer	: 2
i) Asoziale	: 5
<b>zusammen</b>	<b>: 33</b>

- a) Bandits
- b) Beggars
- c) Asocials
- d) Jews (Work shy,  
epidemic danger)

- a) Prisoners of War
- b) Beggars
- c) Thieves
- d) Politically Suspect
- e) Black Marketeers
- f) Vagrants

# EUPHEMISM AND CHOICE

Sicherungsbezirk Nord  
5. / Pol. 24

Rawa Ruska, den 22. August 1942.  
Warschauer-Straße 17  
Poln.-Handelschule  
Tel.-Nr. 136

1.) In der Zeit vom 16. mit 22. August 1942 wurden befolgsam  
behandelt:

a) Banditen	-
b) Bettler	1
c) Geisteskrank	2
d) Juden (Landstreicherei)	2
zusammen:	5

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In der gleichen Zeit wurden festgenommen:

a) Banditen	-
b) Helfershelfer	3
c) Geisteskrank	2
d) Juden	2
e) Zigeuner	6
f) Arbeitsscheue	1
zusammen :	14

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An Sipo. Sokal übergeben:	1 (politisch)
An Arbeitsamt Rawa Ruska überstellt:	2
An Gend.-Zug Rawa Ruska überstellt:	2 (Ernteebstahl)
Entlassungen :	5

Res.-Pol.-Bau. (46.) 153  
Eing. 25. AUG. 1942  
Nr.

- a) Bandits
- b) Beggars
- c) Mentally Ill
- d) Jews (Vagrants)

- a) Bandits
- b) "Bandit" Helpers
- c) Mentally Ill
- d) Jews
- e) "Gypsies"
- f) Work Shy



# **The Face of Annihilation**







