

Contents

Preface	<i>ix</i>
Introduction	<i>1</i>
1. The Stakes of the Controversy	<i>9</i>
2. Habermas among the Historians	<i>34</i>
3. A Holocaust like the Others? Problems of Comparative History	<i>66</i>
4. German History as Case History	<i>100</i>
5. A Usable Past? Museums, Memory, and Identity	<i>121</i>
Epilogue: Whose Holocaust? Whose History?	<i>160</i>
Notes	<i>175</i>
Index	<i>219</i>

Index

- Abendroth, Wolfgang, 28
Abraham, David, 119
Action Française, 26, 27, 85
Adenauer, Konrad, 6, 15, 80, 143, 144
Adorno, Theodor, 39, 58, 139, 171
Akhmatova, Anna, 81
Alltagsgeschichte (history of everyday life),
36–37, 94, 119, 122, 149
Annales, 105
Anschluss, 145, 163
Anthropology, cultural, 118–119, 142, 155
Anticommunism, 45, 154
Antifascism, 45, 154
Anti-Semitism, 23, 97, 149; of left, 7, 46;
roots of, 17, 29, 31, 49, 73; and fascism, 85,
89, 91, 95; in different countries, 204n38
Arendt, Hannah, 69, 79, 80, 84, 135
Aristotle, 84
Armenians, massacre of, 16, 29, 52, 66, 67,
72–73, 76, 165, 192n27
Aron, Raymond, 51, 78, 84
Auden, W. H., “September 1, 1939,” 100
Augstein, Rudolf, 50, 51
Auschwitz, 29, 45, 53, 77, 87, 95, 97, 125, 135,
168, 170; and historical comparisons, 1, 2,
16, 18, 30, 31, 32, 50, 52, 68–69, 72, 75, 78, 82,
83, 98; legacy of, 55–56, 58, 59; understand-
ing of, 92. *See also* Genocide; Holocaust
Austria, 7, 145, 162–163, 215n9
Authoritarianism, 101, 109, 110, 111, 112
Babi Yar, shootings at, 75
Barbie, Klaus, 7, 163, 164
Baring, Arnulf, 129, 132
Battle of the Bulge, 22
Beard, Charles, 36
Becker, Boris, 144
Beirut, 75
Bender, Peter, 117
Benjamin, Walter, 99, 169, 171; *The Origin of
German Tragic Drama*, 159
Bergen-Belsen, concentration camp, 11, 57
Berlin: proposed museum in, 4, 38, 137;
Free University of, 88; political life in, 111;
750th anniversary of, 148
Berlin Wall, 61, 144
Bethmann Hollweg, Theobald von, 157
Beveridge Plan, 96
Biedermeier era, 109
Bielefeld historians, 36, 129, 146
Bismarck, Otto Leopold von, 28, 109, 116,
119, 131, 138, 140, 156, 157; unification
under, 6, 106, 110; and cooperation with
Russia, 24; biography of, 34, 148; and
modernization from above, 45, 117; con-
stitution of, 117; *Kleindeutschland* of, 143
Bitburg, 9–16, 50, 56, 57, 61, 90
Bizone, 7
Blackbourn, David, 105, 202n21
Black Hundreds (Russia), 73
Bloch, Marc, 70, 84, 111
Boehme, Heinrich, 35
Bolshevism, 31, 52, 57, 117; and fascism, 27,
30, 47, 49, 86; fear of, 67, 68, 73, 101
Bombings, 16, 59, 66
Bonapartism, 88, 89, 119
Bonn. *See* Federal Republic of Germany
Boockmann, Hartmut, 127, 128, 136
Borchardt, Knut, 37–38
Bracher, Karl Dietrich, 84–85, 87, 90, 93,
149; *Die deutsche Diktatur (The German
Dictatorship)*, 87, 100–101; *Die Auflösung
der Weimarer Republik* (The dissolution of
the Weimar Republic), 101; *Die National-
sozialistische Machtergreifung* (The Na-
tional Socialist seizure of power), 101

- Brandt, Willy, 6, 28, 61, 126, 143
 Brezhnev, Leonid, 35
 Broszat, Martin, 17, 18, 19, 25, 47, 52; and
 historicization, 91, 92, 93, 94, 96, 101
 Brüning, Heinrich, 37
 Bukharin, Nikolai, 149
 Burckhardt, Jakob, 110
 Burt, Richard, 12
- Cambodia, 72, 192n26. *See also* Khmer
 Rouge
 Camus, Albert, 51
 Capitalism, 24, 27, 36, 58, 87, 107, 166; and
 fascism, 88, 90, 91, 109. *See also* Organized
 capitalism
 Carter, Jimmy, 61
 CDU. *See* Christian Democratic Union
 Central Europe, 3, 23–24, 45, 130, 136, 139.
See also *Mitteleuropa*
 Character, national, 155–156. *See also* Iden-
 tity, national
 Chelmno (Kulm), extermination center, 75
 Christian Democratic Union (CDU), 10, 11,
 50, 56, 117, 124, 161
 Churchill, Winston, 20
 Civilization, European, 102–103
 Clausewitz, Karl von, 119, 158
 Cold War, 5, 8, 19, 21, 28, 47, 71, 117
 Collingwood, R. G., 98
 Common Market, 8
 Communism: and fascism, 27, 68, 71, 161;
 and Nazism, 78, 94; opposition to, 93, 154
 Communist Party, 21, 125
 Comparison, historical, 1, 3, 18, 31–32, 54,
 67–71, 82–84, 98–99, 191n16. *See also* His-
 tory: comparative
 Concentration camps, 56, 79, 81, 125; and
 Nazi troops, 10–11, 21–22; Nazi vs.
 Soviet, 30, 31, 32, 52, 53, 68–69, 78, 83, 86,
 166; death toll in, 73–74, 75
 Conquest, Robert, 74
 Constitutionalism. *See* Democracy
 Constitutional patriotism. *See* *Verfassungs-
 patriotism*
 Conze, Werner, 35
Cosmopolitanism, 141
 Crèvecoeur, M. G. Jean de (Hector St.
 John), 151
 Crimean Tatars, 16, 75
 Crimes, Nazi, 7, 14, 16, 74–75, 90, 153, 165;
 and Soviet crimes, 46, 52–56, 69, 74–75,
 77–78; uniqueness of, 50, 53, 54, 55, 57, 66,
 82; and German culture, 52, 59; and Fed-
 eral Republic, 55. *See also* Holocaust
Criticon, 148
 Croce, Benedetto, 98
- Dahrendorf, Ralph, 105, 108; *Society and De-
 mocracy in Germany*, 104
 D-Day commemoration (1984), 10
 Decisionism, 156–158
 Demjanjuk, John, trial of, 7
 Democracy, 27, 37–38, 63, 81, 85, 103, 169; in
 England, 104, 105; in Germany, 104, 112;
 and landlord power, 110; interwar chal-
 lenge to, 130; Western, 137, 145, 146, 161,
 170; fascist critique of, 158; spread of, 168
 Derrida, Jacques, 42, 170
Der Spiegel, 50, 132
 Deutsche Demokratische Republik (DDR),
 49. *See also* German Democratic Republic
 Dictatorship, 17, 31, 84, 85, 88, 161. *See also*
 Hitler, Adolf; Stalin, Joseph
Die Welt, 51
Die Zeit, 133, 152
 Dilthey, Wilhelm, 42, 98
 Diner, Dan, 8, 91, 92, 94
 Diwald, Helmut, 148
 Drancy, French Jewish detention center, 68
 Dregger, Alfred, 11, 56, 102
 Dresden, bombing of, 16, 50, 66
 Droysen, Johann Gustav, 25
 Duve, Freimut, 135, 137
- East Germany. *See* German Democratic Re-
 public
 East Prussia, defense of, 19–23, 42
 Eichberg, Henning, *National Identity*, 148
Einsatzgruppen (SS killing squads), 70
 Eley, Geoff, 105
 Emancipation, concept of, 26, 150, 178–
 179n26, 212n65
 Engels, Friedrich, 25, 46, 87, 103, 114
 Enlightenment, 12, 39–40, 41, 42, 48, 54,
 60, 71, 72, 73, 103, 141
 Erikson, Erik, 157
Erkenntnisinteresse (cognitive stake or “in-
 terest”), 40. *See also* Habermas, Jürgen
 Euthanasia, 69, 94
 Extraparliamentary Opposition (APO), 35,
 85, 88

- Fascism, 3, 25–27, 98; epoch of, 17, 68; Italian, 18, 25–26, 84, 85, 89, 130, 195n56; French, 25; German, 25, 51, 84, 89, 101, 125; and Marxism, 26, 46, 87; and transcendence, 26–27, 86, 87; and Zionism, 29; fear of, 84–91; theory of, 84–91, 107; and radical conservatism, 86, 87; and modernization, 104; opposition to, 154; and memory, 161–162. *See also* Marxism; Nolte, Ernst; Totalitarianism
- Fassbinder, Rainer, 7, 46
- Faurisson, Robert, 162, 190n11
- Febvre, Lucien, 142
- Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany), 1–3; conservatives in, 3, 6, 16–17, 18, 19, 24, 32, 59, 138, 143, 170; scholarly debates in, 4–5, 32–33, 34–65; national existence of, 5–6; relation to East Germany, 6, 85, 143–144, 148; left wing in, 6–7, 32–33, 45, 47, 48, 90–91, 158; economics in, 7–8, 37; and responsibility, 15; left-wing student movement in (1960s), 27, 48, 87–88, 90, 154; and American political culture, 39–40; neoconservatism in, 40, 46, 47, 48, 50, 51, 132, 133, 147, 154, 170, 171; and NATO, 45, 48, 49, 51, 142–143, 145; Social Democrats in, 48, 80, 88, 146, 147; and Great Britain, 105; museums in, 123–139; and German history, 139, 143, 147; absence of Jews in, 166–167; Greens in, 167; political analogies in, 168. *See also* Historians; Identity, national
- Fest, Joachim, 30–31, 49, 51–54, 60, 71, 83, 91; on Nazi fear of Bolshevism, 30, 31, 49, 68; *The Face of the Third Reich*, 30, 51; and Habermas, 30, 51, 63; on German vs. Russian camps, 67, 76; on museum controversy, 122
- Fetscher, Iring, 88
- Fichte, Johann, 140
- Final Solution. *See* Holocaust
- Fischer, Fritz, 4, 24, 34, 35, 51, 106, 107
- Foucault, Michel, 42, 170
- Foundation for Science and Policy (Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik), Ebenhausen, 43
- France: collaboration in, 7, 162, 163–164; and Germany, 25, 92, 103, 105, 108, 116, 120, 145, 146, 163; liberalism in, 103; political parties in, 112–113; enemies of, 116; museums in, 123; and Gaullism, 162; theorists of, 171, 172
- Frank, Anne, 22
- Franke, Senator (Bremen), 133
- Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, 17, 29, 46, 51, 56, 60, 133
- Frankfurt school, 39, 43, 88
- Frederick the Great, 116, 141, 148
- French Revolution, 102, 109, 141
- Freud, Sigmund, 42
- Friedländer, Saul, 91–92, 94, 95, 149, 162
- Friedrich Ebert Foundation, 134, 135, 136
- Gadamer, Hans-Georg, 42–43
- Gall, Lothar, biography of Bismarck, 34
- Geiss, Immanuel, 35, 51
- Geisteswissenschaften. *See* Social sciences
- Genocide, 1, 11, 51, 55, 98, 122, 131; of Armenians by Turks, 16, 29, 52, 66, 67, 71, 72–73; distinctions in, 30, 53, 54, 69, 71–84, 166; Nazi, and Hitler, 95, 97; memorials of, 165, 166
- German Democratic Republic (GDR), 6, 28, 35, 88, 89, 124–125, 126, 143, 148
- German Historical Congress: Berlin (1984), 127; Trier (1986), 135
- German Historical Institute (London), 38, 54, 56
- German Historical Museum (Deutsches Historisches Museum, Berlin), 121, 127, 133; Concept (*Konzeption*) for, 122, 128–139, 147; criticism of, 132, 133
- German Labor Front (DAF), 96
- German National Museum (Nuremberg), 123
- Germany: historians of, 1–5, 24, 34–65; imperialism of, 4, 34, 106, 110; unification of, under Bismarck, 8, 106, 110; history of, 15, 24, 65, 72, 100–120, 129; division of, 20–21, 27, 85; Resistance movement in, 22, 32; and Great Britain, 23, 25, 103, 105, 107, 108, 110, 111, 113, 145, 146; central position in Europe, 23–24, 45, 55, 115–116, 117; and Israel, 28; and the West, 71–72, 102–103; and Herero war in Southwest Africa (1906), 73, 189n6; modernization of, 92, 104; militarism of, 106, 109, 110; Second Empire of, 106–107, 108; Junkers in, 109, 110, 114, 115, 124; political parties in, 112–113; bureaucracy in, 114; and Japan, 117; structured decisionism in, 156–159. *See also* Federal Republic of Germany; History; Prussia

- Gerschenkron, Alexander, 104
Geschichte in Wissenschaft und Unterricht, 47
Geschichte und Gesellschaft, 24
 Gestapo, 10
 Ginzberg, Eugenia, 77
 Glaser, Hermann, 135
 Goebbels, Joseph, 101, 116
 Goethe, Johann Wolfgang von, 110
 Great Britain: and Germany, 23, 25, 103, 105, 107, 108, 110, 111, 113, 145, 146; imperialism of, 110, 115; political parties in, 111–113; liberalism of, 115, 117; as museum, 138
 Great Depression, 133, 137, 171
 Greens (political party), 45
 Grossman, Vasily, 77
 Grotius, Hugo, 62–63
 Gulag Archipelago, 30, 31, 32, 52, 53, 68, 78, 83, 86, 166
 Gypsies, killing of, 75, 82
 Habermas, Jürgen, 1–2, 4, 7, 14, 34–65, 70, 85, 139, 158; critique of Hillgruber, 19; critique of Nolte, 30, 34; indictment of, 39–47; *Knowledge and Human Interests*, 40–41; *Theorie des kommunikativen Handelns (Theory of Communicative Action)*, 41–42, 57–60, 153–154; on identity, 43, 136, 137, 145, 146, 147, 150, 151–152, 153, 156, 171; Sonning Prize address of, 58, 61, 156; as liberal spokesman, 88, 105, 143, 168; and museum controversy, 133; on reflective memory, 161, 169; on *die Wende*, 170
 Halévy, Elie, 51
 Hamburg, bombing of, 16, 50
 Hanns Martin Schleyer Foundation, 134
 Hartz, Louis, 120, 206n60
 Hegel, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich, 25, 26, 41, 42, 85, 117, 141, 146–147; *The Phenomenology of the Spirit*, 14
 Heidegger, Martin, 26, 42, 46, 59
Heimat (film) (Edgar Reitz), 37, 118
 Heinemann, Gustav, 124
 Herder, Johann Gottlieb, *Another Philosophy of History (Auch eine Philosophie der Geschichte)*, 142
 Heydrich, Reinhard, 96
 Hildebrand, Klaus, 24, 32, 34, 35, 40, 47, 55, 66–67, 122; and Nolte, 29, 30; on German vs. Russian mass murder, 31, 76, 187n54; on Habermas, 48, 51, 53, 56, 185n35; on Hitler, 95
 Hilferding, Rudolf, 107
 Hillgruber, Andreas, 24, 25, 32, 83, 118–119, 122, 127, 140, 146, 154, 171; *Zweierlei Untergang* (Two sorts of demise), 19, 20, 21, 22–23, 34, 148; and Habermas, 40, 42, 44, 47–48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 56, 168, 185n34; *Aufklärung 1986*, 168
 Himmler, Heinrich, 10, 96
 Hintze, Otto, 25, 119, 146, 147
 Hiroshima, 16, 18, 75
 Historians, 2; German, 3–5, 25, 35–65, 104, 120, 141; American, 5, 38, 39; British, 5, 36, 38, 39; French, 5, 39, 42, 109; left-wing, 6–7, 32–33, 38, 39, 42, 43; Austrian, 7; conservative, 27, 34–39, 41, 43, 46, 47, 48, 50, 51, 58, 91, 95, 102, 104, 105–106, 109, 144; diplomatic, 34, 35, 51; Italian, 39; role of, 61–62; and ethical coherence, 97–98; German, in America, 104; East German, 148. *See also individual historians, e.g., Meinecke, Friedrich*
 Historical Museum (Frankfurt), 123–124
 Historicism (*Historismus*), 22, 43, 91–99, 119, 141, 147, 161, 169; Prusso-German, 140–141
 Historicization (*Historisierung*), 91–99, 101, 170–172, 197n84
Historikerstreit (historians' conflict), 1–8, 33, 34, 47–56, 64, 78, 90, 91, 92, 101, 139, 148, 160, 168, 169, 171. *See also individual historians, e.g., Stürmer, Michael*
 Historiography, 18, 39, 160–161; polarized, 16–25, 34; and ideology, 61; postmodern, 168–172; Anglo-American, 171. *See also Historians; History*
Historische Zeitschrift, 24, 34, 142
Historismus. See Historicism
 History: comparative, 18, 31–32, 54, 60, 66–99, 165–166; revision of, 34, 38, 40, 44, 47, 121; oral, 36, 118; social, 36–37, 38, 105, 140, 142; myth in, 44; limits of, 54–65; public use of, 60; structural, 93; German, as case history, 100–120; as identity, 139–156; and individuality, 141, 142; of class conflict, 147; and memory, 149, 160–161, 169, 171; critical, 152
 Hitler, Adolf, 6, 11, 17, 24, 25, 28, 45, 46, 56, 124; attack on Soviet Union, 19–20, 67, 69; attempt to assassinate, 20, 21, 22, 56, 79; and enemies, 29; biographer of, 30; and Russian atrocities, 30–31, 49, 52, 53, 67; and concentration camps, 31; and Jews, 50, 68, 78, 162; and euthanasia, 69;

- Reichstag speech of January 1939, 76; and military, 80; and terror, 80–82; administrative rivalry under, 94, 95; role of, in Holocaust, 95–96, 97; *Mein Kampf*, 97; political style of, 101, 157; and Roosevelt, 116; and historians, 122, 139
- Hobbes, Thomas, 62, 63
- Hofer, Walter, 89
- Holland, 68, 77
- Holocaust: comparability of, 1, 2, 3, 31, 54, 55, 66–99, 165–166; memories of, 10, 58; historians of, 19, 64, 95, 97; television series, 44, 118; and German identity, 58–59, 60; as response to Bolshevism, 67, 68; victims of, 71, 164; and transportation, 77; functionalist analysis of, 95–97; and museum planning, 135; denial of, 162; as asset, 164–168. *See also* Anti-Semitism; Auschwitz; Jews
- Holy Roman Empire, 109, 129, 148
- Honecker, Erich, 148
- Horkheimer, Max, 39, 90
- Höss, Rudolph, 93
- House of History (Haus der Geschichte, Bonn), 121, 126–127, 132, 138
- Hubatsch, Walther, 35
- Humboldt, Wilhelm von, 140
- Hungary, 22, 68
- Identification, as historian's approach, 21–22
- Identity, national, 23, 44, 45, 49–50, 55, 56, 61, 91, 109, 122; and history, 4, 9, 18, 47, 65, 90, 120, 139–156; and Holocaust, 58–59; and museums, 128–129, 131, 136–137, 138; and conservatives, 149; and memory, 149, 169; American, 151
- Industrial Revolution, 27, 45, 87
- Institute for Contemporary History (Institut für Zeitgeschichte), Munich, 17, 126
- "Intentionalists," 95, 198nn88–89
- Israel, 7, 10, 28–29, 46, 53, 89; and Holocaust, 59, 164–165, 166; and fascism, 87, 91, 162; historians of, 91; and Six Day War, 164; and Palestinian issue, 167
- Italy, 5, 143, 158, 161, 162
- Jäckel, Eberhard, 52, 53, 54, 55, 75, 127
- Jaspers, Karl, 57, 59
- Jews, 3, 7, 8, 9, 10, 19, 29, 56, 67; and Ernst Nolte, 15; and Wehrmacht, 20, 21, 22; destruction of, 23, 30, 46, 48, 53, 55, 66, 70, 72, 73, 75, 76, 77, 135, 165, 166, 193n34; and German memory, 58–59, 125, 131, 160, 166, 167; and Nazism, 67, 68, 91, 94, 101; and terror, 80, 81; dehumanizing of, 82. *See also* Anti-Semitism; Holocaust
- Journal of Historical Revision*, 64
- Jünger, Ernst, 169
- Kafka, Franz, 81
- Kaiser, Jakob, 117
- Kaiserreich, 107. *See also* Second Empire
- Kaltenbrunner, Gerd-Klaus, 148
- Kamenets-Podolsk, shootings at, 75
- Kant, Immanuel, 12, 39, 60, 102, 154
- Kästner, Erich, 110
- Kehr, Eckart, 25, 36, 104, 107, 140, 146, 200n10
- Kennan, George F., 21, 117
- Kennedy, Paul, 111
- Keynesian theory, 37, 96
- Khmer Rouge, 16, 30, 52, 55, 66, 71, 72, 165, 166, 192n26
- Kierkegaard, Søren, 152, 156
- Kirchheimer, Otto, 156, 158
- Kissinger, Henry, 35
- Kocka, Jürgen, 36, 54, 55, 71–72, 104–105, 109, 146; and museum planning, 128, 130, 132, 133, 134, 138; on identity, 149–150
- Kohl, Helmut, 1, 50, 102; and Bitburg, 10, 11, 61; interest in history, 37, 43, 186n41; and museums, 121, 122, 126, 127, 136, 138; and identity, 150, 167
- Kolyma, Soviet labor camp, 82
- Koselleck, Reinhart, 38
- Kreisky, Bruno, 163
- Kristallnacht pogrom (1938), 29, 67, 73
- Kühnl, Reinhard, *Formen bürgerlicher Herrschaft* (Forms of bourgeois rule), 88
- Kulaks, 16, 55, 74, 76, 79
- Lamprecht, Karl, 142
- Lanzmann, Claude, 11, 77. *See also* Shoah
- Lassalle, Ferdinand, 87
- Lebensform* (life form), as Habermas concept, 57, 58, 59–60, 152, 153
- Lebensraum*, 19
- Lebensunwertes Leben* (life unworthy of life), 69, 76, 168
- Lenin, V. I., 68, 87, 88
- Lessing, Gotthold Ephraim von, 48
- Levi, Primo, 14
- Lévi-Strauss, Claude, critique of Sartre's views on history, 155

- Liberalism: American, 26, 39, 103; 19th-century, 27; Western, 43; bourgeois, 68, 103–104; and Enlightenment, 73, 103; and fascism, 86, 89; German, 102, 103; French, 103
 Lifeworld, as Habermas concept, 59, 153
 Łódź, ghetto, 68
 Löwenthal, Richard, 133
 Lübke, Hermann, 90
 Lubianka prison, 53
 Ludendorff, General Erich, 19
 Lueger, Karl, 31
 Luhmann, Niklas, 171
 Luther, Martin, 100, 101, 103, 148
 Lyotard, Jean-François, 42, 170

 Madagascar, and planned deportations, 76
 Maistre, Joseph-Marie de, 158
 Majdanek, extermination center, 75
 Malraux, André, 51
 Mandelstam, Nadezhda, 77, 81
 Mann, Golo, 166
 Mann, Heinrich, *Der Untertan*, 114
 Mann, Thomas, 8, 102, 144
 Mannheim, Karl, 41
 Markovits, Andrei, 167
 Marx, Karl, 25, 42, 46, 87, 103, 113–114, 147; *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Napoleon*, 88, 119
 Marxism, 24, 28, 40, 42, 43, 118, 146–147, 169; and fascism, 18, 26, 68, 86, 88, 89, 90; and transcendence, 27, 87; and interpretation of National Socialism, 88; and museum exhibits, 123; and democracy, 158
 Mason, Tim, 94–95
 Mastering the past. *See* *Vergangenheitsbewältigung*
 Maurras, Charles, 46, 158
 Mauthausen, II. *See also* Concentration camps
 Max Planck Institute (Göttingen), 118
 Mayer, Arno, 108
 McNeill, William H., 44
 Mehring, Franz, 25
 Meier, Christian, 49, 54–56, 58, 61, 63, 135, 137
 Meinecke, Friedrich, 25, 141–142, 143, 144–145; *Weltbürgertum und Nationalstaat* (*Cosmopolitanism and the National State*), 140, 141; *Die Idee der Staatsräson* (*Machiavellism*), 141
 Memory, 121–139, 163; and history, 149, 160–161, 169, 171; and identity, 149, 169; Jewish, 162. *See also* Identity, national; Museums, history
 Mertes, Alois, 10
Methodenstreit, 139
 Michels, Robert, 112
Mitteleuropa, 45, 55, 117
Modell-Deutschland, 8
Mode retro, 162, 172
 Mohler, Armin, 148
 Mommsen, Hans, 16–17, 18, 19, 25, 52, 91, 95, 101, 127–128, 133, 134
 Mommsen, Wolfgang, 38
 Moore, Barrington, Jr., 104
 Morgenthau Plan, 20
 Munich Beer Hall Putsch (1923), 29
 Munich Soviet Republic, 68
 Murder: class, 30, 76; mass, 30, 66, 69–84; racial, 30, 31, 82. *See also* Genocide
 Museum for German History (East Berlin), 124–125, 126
 Museums, history, 4, 38, 44, 121–139, 165, 208n16. *See also* German Historical Museum
 Musil, Robert, *The Man without Qualities*, 99
 Mussolini, Benito, 84, 161
Mut, 148
 My Lai, 75

 Nagasaki, 16
 Napoleon, 15, 109, 119
 National Democratic Party (NPD), 87, 100, 148
 Nationalism, 26, 140–142, 147–148, 169; neoconservative, 32, 38, 41, 47, 58, 133, 141. *See also* Identity, national
 National Socialism, 1, 3, 5, 11, 13, 16, 25, 106, 118, 122; and Western democracies, 17, 108; and capitalism, 18, 88, 109; ideology of, 19, 78, 95–96; controversy over, 25; defeat of, 27, 45; and repudiation of past, 47, 90; and German people, 48; and historians, 51, 58, 66, 67; legacy of, 55, 59; rise of, 68, 84, 86, 114, 133; courts under, 78–79; terror under, 80–82, 96; and eugenics, 93–94; and *Resistenz*, 93, 94, 163–164; centers of power in, 94–97
 NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization). *See* Western alliance
 Neo-Machiavellianism, 119–120

- Nietzsche, Friedrich, 42, 148, 156, 161
- Nigeria, suppression of Biafrans (1967–1969), 73
- Night and Fog decree (December 7, 1941), 81
- Night of the Shooting Stars, The (La notte di San Lorenzo; film)*, 161
- Nipperdey, Thomas, 38, 50, 109, 119–120, 139, 146; on morality of scholarship, 12; on scholarly disputes, 34, 39, 60, 61, 63
- Nisci, California, 68
- Nolte, Ernst, 15, 17, 19, 25–33, 88, 122, 149, 154, 167, 171; on *Shoah*, 11, 12; approach to comparison of, 18, 82–83; *Der Faschismus in seiner Epoche (Three Faces of Fascism)*, 25–27, 84, 85–86; *Deutschland und der kalte Krieg* (Germany and the Cold War), 27–28, 87; and Israel, 28–29, 190n10; and “Asiatic Deed,” 29–30; “Vergangheit, die nicht vergehen will” (The past that will not pass away), 29, 34, 46; and Habermas, 44, 46–47, 49, 50, 51, 52–53, 54, 55, 56, 60, 63, 64; and historicization, 66, 91, 93; on Holocaust, 67, 68, 71, 76, 78, 82, 83, 162; change in emphasis of, 87; influence of, 101; theory of right-wing conspiracy, 122; *Der europäische Bürgerkrieg*, 127; use of ideal types, 188–189n2; and opponents, 191n22
- Normalization, of Nazi crimes, 17–18, 70, 83, 167
- Novalis (Baron Friedrich von Hardenberg), 140
- Nuremberg war crime trials, 11
- Nuremberg laws (1935), 23, 67
- Obrigkeitsstaat* (authoritarian state), 115
- Odessa-Dalnik, shootings at, 75
- OECD, 8
- Ophuls, Marcel, 162
- Oradour-sur-Glane, 11
- Organized capitalism, 24, 36, 107, 202–203n27
- Ory, Pascal, 162
- Ostpolitik*, 28, 143
- Ostrogorsky, Moisei, 112
- Otto Suhr Institute, 88
- Palestine Liberation Organization, 28–29
- Patriotism, constitutional. *See Verfassungspatriotismus*
- Peace movement (1980s), 6, 85
- Pellepoix, Darquier de, 162
- Pleukert, Detlev J. K., 92
- Plato, 26, 41
- Pohl-Wever, Mrs., 135
- Poland, 21; partition of, 24, 117; Jews of, 29, 149; extermination centers in, 75; relationship to Holocaust, 165, 216n12
- Political culture, 39, 45, 47
- Pol Pot, 55
- Pompidou Center (Paris), 123, 130
- Potsdam, 21
- Poulantzas, Nicos, 119
- Primat der Aussenpolitik* (primacy of foreign policy), 24, 25, 116
- Primat der Innenpolitik* (primacy of internal politics), 24, 35, 116, 117
- Prisoners of war, killing of, 75, 194n35
- Prussia, 4, 102, 109, 114, 119, 140, 141, 142; Great Elector of, 103; bureaucracy of, 105, 146; failure of liberalism in, 111; and German history, 116, 148; museum exhibits on, 123, 124, 126; class suffrage in, 139. *See also* East Prussia, defense of
- Puhle, Hans-Jürgen, 36
- Racism, 26, 44, 68, 71, 76, 87
- Ranke, Leopold von, 25, 35, 65, 139, 140, 142
- Rastatt exhibit, 124. *See also* Museums, history
- Reagan, Ronald, 6, 61; at Bitburg, 9–10, 11, 14, 57
- Reichstag building, 132, 134
- Reitz, Edmar. *See Heimat*
- Resistance, German, 22, 124, 125, 141. *See also* National Socialism: and *Resistenz*
- Responsibility, 40–41, 153, 171; collective, 14–15, 57, 58, 59, 90, 95; individual, 14, 16, 57; mutual, 58, 59; and comparability, 60, 69
- Revisionist theses, historical, 2
- Revolutions of 1848, 45
- Ricci, Matteo, 121
- Riefenstahl, Leni, 101
- Riga, shootings at, 75
- Ritter, Gerhard, 106, 141, 210n45
- Römerberg Conversations, Frankfurt, 29, 137
- Roosevelt, Franklin D., 20
- Röpke, Wilhelm, 51
- Rorty, Richard, 170, 183n17
- Rosenberg, Hans, 36, 104, 119
- Rothfels, Hans, 106

- Rouso, Henry, 162
 Rovno, shootings at, 75
 Rudolph, Hermann, 9, 90
 Rühle, Günther, 177n9
 Rügen, Jörn, 136, 212n65
 Russia, 24, 72, 116; civil war in, 27, 52, 66, 68, 69, 71, 73, 76, 86. *See also* Soviet Union
- St. Augustine, 152
 Sartre, Jean-Paul, 97, 155
 Scheel, Walter, 126
 Scheubner-Richter, Erwin, 29, 67
 Schickel, Alfred, 67
 Schieder, Theodor, 36
 Schiller, Friedrich, 140
Schlussstrich ("bottom line"), 163
 Schmidt, Helmut, 6, 15
 Schmitt, Carl, 62, 141, 156, 158
 Schneider, Peter, 6, 144
 Schopenhauer, Arthur, 8
 Schulze, Hagen, 49, 53, 54, 115, 116, 127, 150
 Schumacher, Kurt, 143
 Second Empire, German, 43, 106
 Seelye, Sir John, 116
 Seiffert, Wolfgang, 148
Shoah (film) (Claude Lanzmann), 11–12, 77
 Siedler, Wolf Jobst, 127, 128
 Smith, Adam, 69
 Smith, Walter Bedell, 21
 Smithsonian Museum of American History (Washington, D.C.), 125–126
 Sobibor, extermination camp, 75
 Social Darwinism, 165–166
 Social Democratic Party (SPD), 113, 117, 127–128, 129, 132, 133, 134, 135, 137, 143
 Socialism, 86, 87, 141. *See also* Marxism
 Social sciences, 4, 38, 60, 63, 99, 101, 105, 107, 118, 154–155, 168, 171
 Sociology, political, 119, 170
Soldatenzeitung, 64
 Solzhenitsyn, Alexander, 20, 51, 77
Sonderweg (divergence from the West), 36, 102, 105, 106, 107, 108, 117, 130, 141; and authoritarianism, 109, 111, 113; and development, 114, 115; reaction against, 118; American, 120
Sorrow and the Pity, The (Le chagrin et la pitié); (film) (Marcel Ophüls), 162, 164
 Soviet Union, 1, 2, 18, 19–20; kulaks in, 16, 76, 79, 91; and division of Germany, 21. *See also* Kulaks; Russia; Stalin, Joseph
 Speer, Albert, 22, 132
 Spence, Jonathan, 121
 Spengler, Oswald, 117
 Springer-Verlag, 89, 91
 SS (Schutzstaffel), 10, 12, 70, 72
 Stalin, Joseph, 130; terror under, 1, 80–82, 86; purges by, 16, 66, 67, 69, 73–75, 76–77, 78, 149; and Germany, 18, 20, 24, 31, 49, 52, 53, 54; mass deportations by, 77; courts under, 78–79; executions under, 79
 Stalingrad, 69
 Stamokap (state monopoly capitalism) analysis, 88. *See also* Fascism
 Stern, Carola, 90
 Sternhell, Ze'ev, 25
 Stiftung Preussischer Kulturbesitz, 128
 Stölzel, Christof, 138
 Strauss, Franz Josef, 89
 Sturmabteilung (SA), 79, 80
 Stürmer, Michael, 32, 43–46, 47, 50, 51, 61, 101, 119, 122, 171, 175n4; on Germany as "land of the middle," 24, 55, 115, 116, 117; and museums, 44, 123, 127, 128, 129, 134–135; and national identity, 44, 45, 65, 142–143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 149, 151, 154, 184n24; on Bismarckian regime, 119; on elites, 169
 Sybel, Heinrich von, 25
- Taviani brothers, 161
 Teheran, 21
Tendenzwende (shift in trend), 13, 37, 39
 Tenfelde, Klaus, 38
 Terror, 80–84
 Thälmann, Ernst, 125
 Theresienstadt, concentration camp, 68
 Third Reich, 5, 6, 7, 9, 16, 28, 48, 125; Foreign Office of, 11; and German history, 17–19, 37, 39, 44, 56, 67, 92, 100, 130, 134, 135, 136; and Soviet Union, 18, 73; final months of, 19–22; executions in, 79; and power, 94; policies of, 96. *See also* Germany; National Socialism
 Tocqueville, Alexis de, 108, 120
 Tokyo, bombings of, 16
 Totalitarianism, 3, 31, 71, 94, 98, 101, 195n56; and terror, 79–82, 84
 Transcendence, 26–27, 46, 86–87, 166, 178n26. *See also* Nolte, Ernst
 Treblinka, 72, 75, 77, 125
 Tucholsky, Kurt, 190n10
 Turner, Frederick Jackson, 120

- Ukrainian famine (1932–33), 73
- United States: Enlightenment tradition in, 39; and Germany, 53, 103, 105, 108, 111, 158; and Vietnam, 108, 120; and Watergate, 108; political parties in, 111–112; theories of history of, 120; Holocaust museums in, 165
- Veblen, Thorstein, 104, 105, 114
- V-E Day, 9
- Vereine*, 109
- Verfassungspatriotismus* (constitutional patriotism), 45, 55, 57, 58, 60, 151, 152–153
- Vergangenheitsbewältigung* (mastering the past), 7
- Vernunftrepublikaner*, 145
- Verstehen* (understanding), as historical methodology, 22, 42–43, 98
- Vichy, 162, 164
- Volksgemeinschaft*, 80, 81
- Volksgerichte, 78. *See also* National Socialism: courts under
- Vorkuta, Soviet labor camp, 82
- Wahlen* (elections), 158
- Waldheim, Kurt, 7, 162–163
- Warsaw, 29, 68
- Weber, Max, 25, 58, 87, 114, 146, 147, 155; and typologies, 65; on subjective orientations, 71; on bourgeois modernization, 104, 105; on parliaments, 112; and decisionism, 156; American interpretation of, 201n13
- Wehler, Hans-Ulrich, 35, 36, 38, 104, 107, 146, 147, 150
- Wehrmacht, 19–22, 25, 32, 42, 91, 119, 176n3, 194n35
- Weimar Republic, 43, 62, 88, 110, 114, 115, 117, 144–145, 157; fall of, 5, 37–38, 84, 133–134, 157; and Bonn Republic, 32, 149; historians of, 43, 84, 104, 119, 148; and constitutional patriotism, 49; and museum exhibits, 130, 132, 133–134; constitution of, 158
- Weizmann, Chaim, 29, 46, 50, 67, 190n11
- Weizsäcker, Ernst von, 11
- Weizsäcker, Richard von, 11, 127
- Weltpolitik*, 4
- Wende, die*. *See Tendenzwende*
- Wertfreiheit* (freedom from prejudicial values), 13, 60
- Westerbork, concentration camp, 77
- Western alliance: and Federal Republic of Germany, 6, 10, 45, 48, 60–61, 117; and national identity, 47, 145, 147, 154
- West Germany. *See* Federal Republic of Germany
- Wiesel, Elie, 10
- William II, 106, 113
- Willms, Bernard, 148
- Winkler, Heinrich August, 104
- Wittgenstein, Ludwig, 42
- Wolf, Christa, 66, 92
- World War I, 21, 49, 68, 102, 104, 112, 113, 130; German expansionism in, 4, 34, 106; German defeat in, 109, 146; historians and, 141, 146
- World War II, 6, 7, 9, 35, 57, 145; German defeat in, 6; historians of, 19, 31, 135, 141; East Prussian front in, 20
- Yalta conference, 20
- Zionism, 29, 164
- Zyklon B, 67, 177n14