**GE333: Germany and the Holocaust: Interpretations and Debates**

**Module Outline 2022-23, Term 1 (autumn)**

Please note: This plan is indicative, some details might change!

Tutor: Christine Achinger (c.e.achinger@warwick.ac.uk)

Seminars: time tbc

Lectures: uploaded to Moodle in advance

**Aims:** This module will give you the opportunity to gain a better understanding of the events often summarily referred to as ‘the Holocaust’ and its pre-history, and of the problems involved in writing the history of this event.

The **lectures** will consider the rise of National Socialism, Nazi racist and anti-Semitic ideology, the gradual development of social exclusion, persecution and finally the murder of the Jews and the system of the camps and its integration into German society. The lectures will use extracts from a range of historical documents such as propaganda posters, speeches, legal documents, photographs etc.

In the **seminars**, we will look at a number of historical approaches to these events, focusing on the mechanisms bringing about popular consent, the importance of antisemitic ideology, Hitler’s role, the impact of particular structural features of the Nazi regime on the development leading up to the Holocaust, the motivations of the lower-level perpetrators and the relationship of the Holocaust and modernity. We will also discuss central points of conflict between different historical interpretations and consider general problems of understanding of complex historical processes. The seminar group will be divided into sub-groups, who will each prepare a different aspect of the seminar reading for discussion.

**Please note that seminar discussions can only be effective if all participants have carefully prepared the required reading.**

**Reading:**

Articles and extracts for seminar reading are specified below in the week-by-week plan. For additional required and recommended general reading please see below (p. 5). Recommended background reading for each week is under the respective week in the schedule (below).

**Assessment:**

4000–4500-word essay (deadline tbc)

**WEEK BY WEEK SCHEDULE**

**\* = Seminar text - required reading**

**Week 1:**

**Lecture:** Introduction to the module, Anti-Semitism before 1933

Please read Hilberg’s ‘The Discovery of the Holocaust’ (available on Moodle)

**Seminar:** The ideological roots of Nazi racism and anti-Semitism

\*Michael Burleigh, Wolfgang Wippermann, “Barbarous Utopias: Racial Ideologies in Germany”, in *The Racial State*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991

*Recommended:*

Detlev Peukert, “The genesis of the ‘Final Solution’ from the Spirit of Science”, in Thomas Childers and Jane Caplan, *Reevaluating the Third Reich*, New York, London: Holmes and Meier, 1993: 234-252.

Zygmunt Bauman, *Modernity and the Holocaust*, Cambridge: Polity: pp. 62-72.

**Week 2:**

**Lecture:** The end of Weimar and the pre-war years 1933-39

**Seminar:** Social history – Sources of consent in the German population

\*Detlev Peukert, “Führermythos und Alltagskonsens” and following chapter, in *Volksgenossen und Gemeinschaftsfremde: Anpassung, Ausmerze und Aufbegehren unter dem Nationalsozialismus*, Köln: Bund-Verlag, 1982.

*Recommended:*

Ian Kershaw, *Popular Opinion and Political Dissent in the Third Reich* (1984)

Robert Gellately, *Backing Hitler: Consent and Coercion in Nazi Germany* (2001)

**Week 3:**

**Lecture:** Nazi population policy and Euthanasia

**Seminar:** Hitler’s role: **‘**Intentionalism’

\*Eberhard Jäckel: ch. 3 + 4 (extracts), in *Hitlers Weltanschauung: Entwurf einer* Herrschaft, München: DVA, 1981

*Recommended:*

Ian Kershaw, *The Nazi Dictatorship*, chapters 4-6, London: Arnold, 2000.

Omer Bartov, “Antisemitism, the Holocaust, and Reinterpretations of National Socialism”, in Michael Berenbaum and Abraham J. Peck, *The Holocaust and History*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press: 75-98.

**Week 4:**

**Lecture:** ‘War of extermination’ in the East; Wannsee conference; SS and other main agents

**Seminar:** Hitler’s role: ‘Structuralism/Functionalism’

\*Martin Broszat: “Hitler und die Genesis der ‘Endlösung’: Aus Anlaß der Thesen von David Irving”, in *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte*, no. 4 (Oct. 1977).(extracts)

*Recommended:*

Christopher Browning, “Beyond ‘Intentionalism’ and ‘Functionalism’: a Reassessment of Nazi Jewish Policy from 1939 to 1941”, in Thomas Childers and Jane Caplan, *Reevaluating the Third Reich*, NY, London: Holmes & Meier, 1993: 211-233.

**Week 5:**

**Lecture:** The SS and the system of the camps

**Seminar**: The perpetrators: ‘Ordinary men’ or ‘Hitler’s willing executioners’?

\* Daniel J. Goldhagen: Introduction and ch. 1, *Hitler’s willing executioners: Ordinary Germans and the Holocaust*, New York: Knopf, 1997

*Recommended:*

Daniel J. Goldhagen, *Hitler’s willing Executioners: Ordinary Germans and the Holocaust*, New York 1996, ch. 1, 3, 15-16

Ian Kershaw, *The Nazi Dictatorship: Problems & Perspectives of Interpretation* (4th edition), London: Arnold, 2000, 251-262

Geoff Eley (ed.), *The "Goldhagen effect": history, memory, Nazism--facing the German past*. Ann Arbor : University of Michigan Press, 2000, ch. 1-3.

Johannes Heil, Rainer Erb (eds.), *Geschichtswissenschaft und Öffentlichkeit: der Streit um Daniel J. Goldhagen*, Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, 1998 (various chapters)

Julius H, Schoeps (ed.), *Ein Volk von Mördern? : die Dokumentation zur Goldhagen-Kontroverse um die Rolle der Deutschen im Holocaust*, Hamburg: Hoffmann und Campe, 1996 (various chapters)

**Week 6: Reading week**

**Week 7:**

**Lecture:** Life and death in an ‘*Arbeitslager*’ – the example Neuengamme

**Seminar:** The perpetrators: ‘Ordinary men’ or ‘Hitler’s willing executioners’?

\*Christopher Browning, “One Day in Jozefow: Initiation to Mass Murder”, in Peter Hayes (ed.), *Lessons and Legacies: The meaning of the Holocaust in a changing world*, Evanston/Ill.: Northwestern University Press, 1991

\*Christopher Browning, “Ordinary Germans or Ordinary Men? Another look at the perpetrators”, in Donald G. Schilling (ed.), *Lessons and Legacies: Teaching the Holocaust in a changing world*, Evanston/Ill.: Northwestern University Press, 1998

*Recommended:*

Daniel J. Goldhagen, *Hitler’s willing Executioners: Ordinary Germans and the Holocaust*, New York 1996, ch. 6-9 (on police battalion 101)

Daniel J. Goldhagen, “Ordinary Men or Ordinary Germans?”, Berenbaum and Peck (eds.) *The Holocaust and History*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press: 301-307

Christopher Browning, “Die Debatte über die Täter des Holocaust”, in Ulrich Herbert (ed.) *Nationalsozialistische Vernichtungspolitik 1939-45: Neue Forschungen und Kontroversen*, Frankfurt/M.: Fischer: 148-65

Christopher Browning, *Ordinary Men: Reserve Police Battalion 101 and the final solution in Poland*, London: Penguin, 2001 (first published 1992)

**Week 8**:

**Lecture:** Extermination camps - the example Auschwitz*.*

**Seminar:** Life and death in the camps

**\*** Primo Levi, *Survival in Auschwitz,* trans. Stuart Woolf, New York: Touchstone / Simon & Shuster, 1993 [there are several English editions of this book, also under the original title ‘If this is a man’ – please make sure to get the Woolf translation]

**Week 9:**

**Lecture:** Film (extracts from Claude Lanzmann’s *Shoah*)

**Seminar:** Discussion of issues raised by the film

\*Dan Diner: “Historical Experience and Cognition: Juxtaposing Perspectives on National Socialism”, in: *Beyond the Conceivable: Studies on Germany, Nazism, and the Holocaust*, Berkeley, Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2000: 160-170.

**Week 10:**

**Lecture:** The aftermath, antisemitism today.

**Seminar:** National Socialism - **‘**relapse into barbarity’ or ‘the dark side of modernity’?

\*Zygmunt Bauman, *Modernity and the Holocaust*, 1989, chapter 1

**LITERATURE**

Further optional reading for each week’s seminar topic will be specified in class.

**STRONGLY RECOMMENDED**

Saul Friedländer, *Nazi Germany and the Jews, 1933-1945* (abridged edition), New York: Harper Perennial, 2009, 512 pp.

(Alternatively, you could read the shorter overview by

**Wolfgang Benz,** Der Holocaust, München: C.H. Beck, 2008, 126 S.

- in my view, though, this is not as rich and thoughtful as Friedländer. If you use this book, please use the original GERMAN version, not least because the English translation contains some factual errors!)

**Recommended additional / background reading**

Survivor memories:

Améry, Jean, *Jenseits von Schuld und Sühne*, Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2002.

Delbo, Charlotte, *Auschwitz and after*, New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 1995.

Friedländer, Saul, *When memory comes*, New York: Farrar Straus Giroux, 1979.

Frister, Roman, *The cap: the price of a life*, New York: Grove Press, 1999.

Klüger, Ruth, *weiter leben: Eine Jugend*, München: dtv, 1994.

Wander, Fred, *Der siebente Brunnen*, München: dtv, 2006.

History and pre-history of National Socialism in general

Ayçoberry, Pierre, *The Social History of the Third Reich, 1933-1945*, New York: The New Press, 1999.

Broszat, Martin and Norbert Frei (ed.) *Das Dritte Reich im Überblick: Chronik, Ereignisse, Zusammenhänge*; in Verbindung mit Wolfgang Benz [et al.]. München: Piper, 1999.

Burleigh, Michael and Wolfgang Wippermann, *The Racial State: Germany 1933-1945*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991.

Burleigh, Michael, *The Third Reich: A New History*, New York: Hill and Wang, 2000.

Crew, David F., ed., *Nazism and German Society, 1933-1945*, London; New York: Routledge, 1994.

Frei, Norbert, *National socialist rule in Germany: The Führer State 1933 -1945* (trans. Simon B. Steyne), Oxford, UK: Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell, 1993.

**Frietsch, Elke, Christina Herkommer, eds.., *Nationalsozialismus und Geschlecht : zur Politisierung und Ästhetisierung von Körper, "Rasse" und Sexualität im "Dritten Reich" und nach 1945*,** Bielefeld: Transcript, 2009.

Fritzsche, Peter, *Rehearsals for Fascism: Populism and Political Mobilization in Weimar Germany*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1990.

Fritzsche, Peter, *Germans into Nazis*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1998.

Gellately, Robert, *Backing Hitler: Consent and Coercion in Nazi Germany*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001.

Johnson, Eric A., *Nazi Terror: The Gestapo, Jews, and Ordinary Germans*, New York: Basic Books, 1999.

Kershaw, Ian, *Weimar: Why did German democracy fail?*, London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1990.

Kershaw, Ian, *Hitler, 1936-45: Nemesis*, New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2000.

Kershaw, Ian, *Popular Opinion and Political Dissent in the Third Reich, Bavaria 1933-1945*, Oxford; New York: Clarendon Press; Oxford University Press, 1983.

Koch, H.W.,ed., *Aspects of the Third Reich*, New York: St. Martin's Press, 1985.

Koonz, Claudia, *The Nazi Conscience*, Cambridge, MA; London: Belknap Press, 2003.

Koonz, Claudia, *Mothers in the Fatherland:* **women, the family and Nazi politics,** London : Jonathan Cape, 1986.

Kundrus, Birthe, “Colonialism, Imperialism, National Socialism. How Imperial was the Third Reich?”, in: Naranch, Bradley and Geoff Eley (eds.), *German Colonialism in a Global Age*, Durham, London, 2014, pp. 330-346.

Leitz, Christian, *The Third Reich: The essential readings*, Oxford, UK; Malden, Mass.: Blackwell Publishers, 1999.

Mommsen, Hans, ed., *The Third Reich Between Vision and Reality: New Perspectives on German History 1918-1945*, Oxford; New York: Berg, 2001.

Mühlhäuser, Regina,

Peukert, Detlev, *Inside Nazi Germany: Conformity, Opposition and Racism in Everyday Life* (trans. Richard Deveson), New Haven : Yale University Press, 1987.

Reichardt, Sven, “Praxeologie und Faschismus. Gewalt und Gemeinschaft als Elemente eines praxeologischen Faschismusbegriffs”, in: Karl H. Hörning, Julia Reuter (eds.), *Doing Culture. Neue Positionen zum Verhältnis von Kultur und Praxis*, Bielefeld 2004, pp. 129–153

**Steber, Martina, and Bernhard Gotto (eds.), *Visions of community in Nazi Germany: social engineering and private lives*,** Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014.

Development of Nazi Antisemitism and the Holocaust

Arendt, Hannah, *The origins of totalitarianism*, New York: Schocken Books, 2004 [1951].

Bajohr, Frank, and **Andrea Löw, eds., *The Holocaust and European societies: social processes and social dynamics*, London: Palgrave, 2016**

Bankier, David, ed., *Probing the Depths of German Antisemitism: German Society and the Persecution of the Jews, 1933-1941*, New York: Berghahn Books, 2000.

Bankier, David, *The Germans and the Final Solution: Public opinion under Nazism*, Oxford: Blackwell, 1992.

Bartov, Omer, (ed.), *Holocaust: Origins, implementation, aftermath.*  
London : Routledge, 2000.

Bein, Alex, *The Jewish question: Biography of a world problem* (trans. Harry Zohn), Rutherford, N.J.: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1990.

Browning, Christopher, *The Path to Genocide: Essays on Launching the Final Solution*, Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992.

Brustein, William I., and Ryan D. King. “Anti-Semitism in Europe before the Holocaust”, in: *International Political Science Review / Revue Internationale De Science Politique*, 25: 1 (2004), 35–53.

Cesarani, David, ed., *The Final Solution: Origins and Implementation*, London; New York: Routledge, 1994.

Friedländer, Saul, *Nazi Germany and the Jews*, vol. 1: *The years of persecution*, New York: Harper Collins, 1997; vol. 2: *The Years of Extermination*, New York: Harper Collins, 2007 [original full-length version of Friedländer 2009, above].

Gellately, Robert, *Backing Hitler: Consent and Coercion in Nazi Germany*, Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2001.

Gigliotti, Simone and Berel Lang (eds.), *The Holocaust: a reader*, Malden, MA : Blackwell, 2005.

Gilbert, Martin, *Atlas of the Holocaust*, Oxford; New York: Pergamon Press, 1988.

Herbert, Ulrich, ed., *National-Socialist extermination policies: contemporary German perspectives and controversies*. New York : Berghahn Books, 1999.

Hilberg, Raul, *The Destruction of the European Jews* (3rd ed.), New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003.

Hochstadt, Steve (ed.), *Sources of the Holocaust*, Basingstoke (UK); New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004.

Longerich, Peter. *Politik der Vernichtung : eine Gesamtdarstellung der nationalsozialistischen Judenverfolgung*. München: Piper, 1998.

Longerich, Peter, *Holocaust: The Nazi persecution and murder of the Jews*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010.

Mosse, George L., *The crisis of German ideology: Intellectual origins of the Third Reich*,New York: Grosset & Dunlap, 1964.

Pulzer, Peter, *The rise of political anti-semitism in Germany & Austria*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1988.

Sartre, Jean-Paul, *Anti-Semite and Jew* (trans. George J. Becker), New York: Schocken Books, 1995 [1947].

Stone, Dan, *Concentration Camps: A Short History*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017

Tewes, Henning, and Jonathan Wright (eds.) *Liberalism, anti-semitism, and democracy : essays in honour of Peter Pulzer*, Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2001.

Volkov, Shulamit, *Germans, Jews, and antisemites: Trials in emancipation*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006.

Wistrich, Robert S., *Antisemitism: the longest hatred*, New York: Pantheon Books, 1991.

Historiography of National Socialism and debates about representation

Bartov, Omer, *Murder in our midst: the Holocaust, industrial killing, and representation***,** Oxford University Press, 1996.

Bartov, Omer, *Mirrors of Destruction: War, genocide and modern identity*, Oxford University Press, 2000.

Bartov, Omer, “Antisemitism, the Holocaust, and reinterpretations of National Socialism”, in Michael Berenbaum and Abraham J. Peck, eds., *The Holocaust and History*, Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1998, chapter 8.

Bauer, Yehuda, *Rethinking the Holocaust*, New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2001.

Bauer, Yehuda, *The Holocaust* *as historical experience*, New York; London: Holmes & Meier, 2001.

Berenbaum, Michael, and Abraham J. Peck, eds., *The Holocaust and History*, Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1998.

Burleigh, Michael, ed., *Confronting the Nazi past: new debates on modern German history*. London: Collins & Brown, 1996.

Childers, Thomas, and Jane Caplan, *Reevaluating the Third Reich*, New York: Holmes & Meier, 1993.

Eschebach, Insa et al., eds., **Gedächtnis und Geschlecht: Deutungsmuster in Darstellungen des nationalsozialistischen Genozids, F**rankfurt; New York: Campus, 2002.

Friedländer, Saul, ed., *Probing the Limits of Representation*, Cambridge, MA; London: Harvard University Press, 1992.

Kershaw, Ian, *The Nazi Dictatorship: Problems & Perspectives of Interpretation* (4th ed.), London: Arnold, 2000.

Laqueur, Walter (ed.), *Fascism - a reader's guide: analyses, interpretations, bibliography*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976.

Marrus, Michael, *The Holocaust in History*, Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1989.

Michman, Dan, ed., *Remembering the Holocaust in Germany, 1945-2000: German strategies and Jewish responses*, New York: P. Lang, 2002.

Niven, Bill, *Facing the Nazi past: United Germany and the legacy of the Third Reich*, London; New York: Routledge, 2002.

Stone, Dan, *The Holocaust and Historical Methodology*, New York: Berghahn Books, 2012.

Stone, Dan, ed., *The Holocaust, Fascism, and memory: essays in the history of ideas*, Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013.

**Debates**

Intentionalism vs. functionalism

Hildebrand, Klaus, *The foreign policy of the Third Reich*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973 [1971].

Jäckel, Eberhard, *Hitler’s World View: A Blueprint for Power*, Cambridge, MA; London: Harvard University Press, 1981 [1969].

Mommsen, Hans, *From Weimar to Auschwitz: Essays in German history* (trans. Philip O'Connor), Cambridge: Polity, 1991.

Dawidowicz, Lucy S., *The War Against the Jews, 1933-1945*, New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1976.

Historians’ Dispute

Baldwin, Peter (ed.), *Reworking the past: Hitler, the Holocaust, and the historians' debate*, Boston: Beacon Press, 1990.

Pulzer, Peter, “Erasing the Past: German Historians debate the Holocaust”, *Patterns of Prejudice* 21:3 (1987).

Aschheim, Steven, “History, Politics, and National Memory*:* The German Historikerstreit”, in *Survey of Jewish Affairs 1988*, Associated University Presses, 1989.

‘Ordinary Germans’ or ‘ordinary men’?

Alford, C. Fred. “‘Hitler's Willing Executioners’: What Does ‘Willing’ Mean?”, in *Theory and Society* 23: 5 (1997), 719–738.

Browning, Christopher R., Ordinary men : Reserve Police Battalion 101 and the final solution in Poland, New York : HarperCollins, 1992

Eley, Geoff (ed.), *The "Goldhagen effect": History, memory, Nazism – facing the German past*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2000.

Finkelstein, Norman G. and Ruth Bettina Birn,*A nation on trial : the Goldhagen thesis and historical truth*, New York : Metropolitan Books, 1998.

Goldhagen, Daniel Jonah, *Hitler’s Willing Executioners: Ordinary Germans and the Holocaust*, New York: Vintage Books, 1996.

Kautz, Fred, *The German historians: Hitler's willing executioners and Daniel Goldhagen*, Montréal, London: Black Rose, 2003.

Schoeps, Julius H. (ed.), *Ein Volk von Mördern? : die Dokumentation zur Goldhagen-Kontroverse um die Rolle der Deutschen im Holocaust*, Hamburg: Hoffmann und Campe, 1996.

Shandley, Robert R. (ed.), *Unwilling Germans? : The Goldhagen debate*, Minneapolis : University of Minnesota Press, 1998.

**Pegelow, Thomas, Jürgen Matthäus, Mark W. Hornburg, eds., *Beyond "Ordinary men": Christopher R. Browning and Holocaust historiography*, Leiden, Boston: Fredinand Schöningh, 2019.**

Holocaust and Modernity

Bauman, Zygmunt, *Modernity and the Holocaust*, Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1989.

Fine, Robert, and Charles Turner, eds., *Social Theory after the Holocaust*, Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2000.

Peukert, Detlev, “The genesis of the ‘Final Solution’ from the Spirit of Science”, in Thomas Childers and Jane Caplan, *Reevaluating the Third Reich*, New York, London: Holmes and Meier, 1993: 234-252.

Katz, Steven T., “The Uniqueness of the Holocaust”, in Alan S. Rosenbaum (ed.), *Is the Holocaust unique?: Perspectives on comparative genocide* (2nd ed.), Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2001.