

**THE ACTUAL PROBLEMS
OF THE WORLD TODAY**

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The Actual Problems of the World Today

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Kuprii T.

PhD of Historical Sciences, Assistant professor Department of Philosophy, Borys Grinchenko Kyiv University, Kyiv, Ukraine

Ovsiankina L.

PhD of Philosophy Sciences, Assistant professor Department of Philosophy Borys Grinchenko Kyiv University, Kyiv, Ukraine

Panasiuk L.

Dr. of Political Sciences, Assistant professor Department of Philosophy, Borys Grinchenko Kyiv University, Kyiv, Ukraine

ETHICAL POLITICAL CONSTRUCTIONS OF "COLLECTIVE MISCONDUCT" AND "COLLECTIVE RESPONSIBILITY": EXPERIENCE OF POST NATIONAL SOCIALISTIC GERMANY

Introduction. Tragic historical events do not only change the course of history but also change the self-consciousness of the nation, blamelessly or indirectly guilty of crimes against humanity. Indeed, the process of determination and realizing its blame for historical and political mistakes on a global scale requires a great moral effort from the entire nation. This, in turn, can serve as a positive lesson for future generations. The transition from dictatorship to democracy in Germany was an extremely difficult and lengthy process. 1945 did not become a symbolic reference point, which marked the beginning of an entirely new German history. There was no ready-made norm, an example, to which it would be possible to go, on which to lean. The Germans sought for material and psychological revival, displacing from the consciousness the reality of the Third Reich, which just passed away.

The state of consciousness of the nation in the "zero hour of German history" was like chaos on the streets of German cities. The Potsdam thesis of the "collective misconduct" of the German people for the crimes of the national socialistic regime, which has made the inevitable occupation of the country, was neglected by public opinion, but the painful questions about the causes of the catastrophe remained central to Germany. The intellectuals emphasized the fateful coincidence of circumstances, talked about the immaturity of the first German democracy, of Hitler as a newly emerging antichrist. In the masses, apathy and rejection of the Weimar Republic's policy prevailed, whose leaders were liable for behind-the-scenes fraud, which led to the NSDAP. It is clear that the Germans were on the verge of exhaustion of their physical and moral forces, but their behavior at the "zero hour" was surprisingly disconnected from reality. Actually, for Germany, the war (like Nazism as a whole) became a shame, and not only the fact that the war was a state of military defeat, but a moral defeat and a moral collapse that radically changed the nation's self-

consciousness. How did it happen that a man known for his unbridled religion and philosophy of individualism, turned his enslavement into a virtue by political power?"

"The problem of misconduct" in German consciousness after the Second World War. In the post-war society there was no solidarity regarding the main issue – the attitude towards the Nazi past. Few Germans believe that they carry the so-called moral responsibility for the resolution of the war, although the feeling of blame survived the majority. And this majority of the society would prefer to abandon the German identity and devalue the high achievements of their own culture. Therefore, patriotic feelings among the Germans were not widely spread until the 2000s. Important was the fact that not only a new post-war generation has been formed in the country. Young people were free from consciousness of their own, personal guilt, and this freedom allowed them to discuss complex issues, often in the form of confrontation with the older generations.

After the Second World War, Germany has been actively working to overcome the experience of National Socialism, which many experts consider to be one of the most successful examples in the field of "memory policy". The basis of this experience was the concept of misconduct. It is concerned that in order to attain some degree of "normalization", the German society with apathy or negative emotions reacted to the denationalization procedure, which, according to the plans of the victorious states, was supposed to play a surrogate role. However, in many respects its lack of thought and misconduct has led to the fact that many Germans had reason to believe that they had been wronged with them. There was no awareness of the total criminal nature of National Socialism. It was believed that everything that was happening was just the trial of the winners over the losers. The Nuremberg Tribunal, as well as the denationalization carried out by the occupation authorities, created the illusion of fixing the results of the war: the criminals were punished, others were acquitted. According to N. Frai, Professor of History of the University of Jena, "all other processes (with the exception of the tribunal over the main accused in Nuremberg) came from the very beginning on the reaction of hostility and protest. "The crimes of the Third Reich in the public consciousness were compared with the losses inflicted on the German cities by bombardment of the Allies, and the recognition of mass national-socialist organizations was perceived as criminal as an enormous collective accusation of all people [12,79].

In the autumn of 1945, according to a researcher H. Konih, among the German population began to spread a counterattack of the collective innocence of the Germans as *"a people who was inebriated, tempted and then betrayed by National Socialism"* [3, 146]. Thus, the point of view of the "collective misconduct" of the entire German people gave many an opportunity to completely deny their own fault. Perhaps that is why, in post-war Germany, the desire to explain the catastrophe of Nazism by the

action of irrational forces captured by the masses was often observed, thereby artificially creating an idea of the determination of the historical process.

The most consistently conservative line of post-war German historiography and accordingly, the "victim's perspective" was presented in the works of historian, professor at Freiburg University H. Ritter. In his 1946 work "History as a method of Education" [18], the researcher challenged the thesis of continuity between Nazism and the Prussian spirit, emphasizing the complete contrast between the figures of Bismarck and Hitler. The historian positioned Hitler as a "*foreign body*" in the "*healthy national history*" of Germany, as the unforeseen "*invasion of the demon*" and "*the new Genghis Khan*". In his view, Germany must restore "*self-confidence*", reject depression and national self-destruction. Ritter's theses were in harmony with the work of his famous colleague F. Meineke. In his book "The German Disaster" [15], the researcher wrote that Nazism was the result of deviation from the rational, progressive course of German history, and was a kind of "natural disaster." Particular importance of the discourse on the problems of German refugees was that it made it possible to focus on the suffering and need of the Germans and minimize the significance of the crimes committed by Germany.

The discourse of memory of war crimes and the responsibility of the Germans for them was a minority position. The most significant representatives of this minority in the political arena during the period of "communicative silence" were the leader of the West German Social Democrats Kurt Schumacher and the first post-war minister of culture Baden-Württemberg, and then the first president of Germany, Teodor Hois. In the spring of 1947, the Congress of the Social Democratic Party in Nuremberg, K. Schumacher, appealed for compensation for the moral and material damage to the Jewish people, and emphasized the mandatory participation of all Germans in it [21-91]. In turn, on November 30, 1952, President T. Hois made a speech at the former concentration camp Bergen-Belsen on the occasion of the opening of a monument to its victims, where he strongly criticized the attempts to obscure German crimes or to relativize their references to others. The Federal President of Germany, 1949-1959 said: "*1945 became a defeat for the Germans and a year of dismissal. There is no collective guilt, but there is a collective shame for what has happened. Worst of all what Hitler, along with his cousins, made for us - made us ashamed and wearing the name "German". Only those who recognize the past have the power to shape the future*". At the same time, despite the presence of such appeals, in the first government appeal of K. Adenauer, Jews as victims of Nazism were mentioned only in passing. At the heart of Adenauer's appeal were German victims: prisoners of war, deportees, citizens affected by bombardment.

Thus, the tone of West German historians has largely overlap with Adenauer's policy of "overcoming the past," which sought to separate a small group of criminals

from the numerous "satellites" of the regime, from which no responsibility was taken, and the definition of the symbolic congruence of the German "victim". This look dominated the interpretation of the role of the Wehrmacht in the Second World War.

About indifference to the Jewish victims of the war the first postwar years, according to well-known political scientist H. Arendt. Her observation was confirmed by the empirical data of the polls of the postwar period [9, 72]. Appeal to sociological data occurred in subsequent decades. British historian Yan Kershaw in his article "Hitler's Myth: The Image and Reality of the Third Reich" writes about various surveys conducted among the German population during the first post-war decade. The majority of those polled in 1945-49 stated that national socialism was a good idea, but poorly implemented. In 1945, 42% of young people and 22% of adult Germans believed that the revival of Germany would be best served by the "strong new Führer." In 1946, 6% (in 1950, there were 33%), the Germans said that the Nuremberg court was unfair. It became noteworthy that in 1946, 55% of the respondents complained of severe penalties for Nazi criminals, while in three years the number fell to 31%, as influenced by the transformation of the denationalization policy. In addition, it turned out that 37% emphasized that the Holocaust as "the destruction of Jews, Poles and other non-Aryans was necessary for the security of the Germans" (in 1960, 20% of Germans said that Jews were partly guilty of being burned and killed) This was aggravated by the fact that 1 out of 3 respondents in the occupation zone of the USA stated that Jews should not have the same rights as the Aryan race. One third of the population believed that the conspirators on July 20, 1944 - were traitors, not heroes. As for the personality of A. Hitler, seven years after the war, a third of the Germans still had a positive attitude towards the Nazi leader, 10% considered Hitler the most prominent statesman whose magnitude would be appreciated later, and 22% believed that he had made "some mistakes" but was an excellent leader and 14% of Germans would again vote for a similar authoritarian person. The public opinion poll showed that almost 70% categorically denied the responsibility of the Germans for the war. Significantly, the polls in 1995 showed substantially opposite results, when 80% of respondents stated that they considered the liberation of Nazism from time to time in 1945 [14, 134-136].

After all, the German people had to realize their responsibility for the crime and acknowledge the guilt. For this purpose, posters bearing the image of the atrocities of war were published, the first German feature film of 1947, W. Shtaudte "The Killers are among us," was shown.



Figure 1. "These atrocities: your fault!", *The American occupation zone, 1945*

The first months after the capitulation of Germany, the character of the communication of the victors with the defeated influenced the idea of the collective guilt of the people. At this time, the "voluntary-compulsory" spectators were shown a documentary film about the concentration camps "Death Mills". The film was shown with a specific education and labor target. For example, in the Soviet-American occupation zones the administration issued cards for products only to those who had a mark on the visit to the cinema [10, 79].

Attempts to restore the dialogue, public discussion of the causes and consequences of the period of Nazism took place at the second stage of the policy of memory - "confrontation / business with German misconduct". In the late 1960s, qualitative changes occurred during the scientific study of the history of the Third Reich. In the writings of H. Fisher, who caused a lively discussion, which went far beyond the scientific sphere, revealed the most important problem of the continuity of economic and political structures of the Third Reich to the Bonn Germany. The married couple of psychoanalysts Micherlikh in 1967, in the book "Inability to Sorrow" [16], based on examples of the hostile attitude of individuals and the masses as a whole, to the recognition of guilt for complicity in political crimes, pointed to the lack of activity of the authorities in overcoming Nazi crimes during Adenauer's time [11, 210].

Not wanting to know anything about the shadows of the past, guilty and atonement, Germany approached the protest line, which ended with the participation of the students of the "generation 68" in shaping a new historical picture of the world and their homeland. Willy Brandt's Eastern policy, Hustav Heinmann's school initiatives, George Kizinger's dark past, and Richard von Weizsecker's speech sped up deep understanding of the alarming situation in the country related to the understanding of the inhumane nature of the Nazi dictatorship and the danger of its oblivion. The

West Germanic community found the strength and courage to hear and understand their spiritual leaders (Adorno, Jaspers, Weiss, Boll, Keppen, Grasse), whose views had a direct impact on the change of the vector of mass historical consciousness. In the leading mass media, the debate began to be debated, which had been pushed out of the consciousness of the past, which eventually led to the formation of the specific political culture of the Federal Republic of Germany, the most important element of which is the moral rejection of the Nazi past. First of all, the change of generations actively contributed to the fact that on the agenda of the "policy of the past" appeared the requirement of critical comprehension of the past.

By the beginning of the 1980s, the opinion of the German society was that the crimes of fascism were the essence of the regime itself, and that Hitler's decision was waged with an invariably aggressive character. Representatives of the conservative forces who won the parliamentary elections of 1982, called loudly "to get out of the shadow of the past", "normalize" German history, to liberate the Germans from the complex of national guilt and self-deception. H. Kol, having identified one of Germany's first places in an integrative European space, initiated the embedding of new meanings into the historical past. Planned exhibitions, public appearances, events devoted to the 50th anniversary of Hitler's coming to power were supposed to show the greatness of the state. However, the public reaction to these actions was unexpectedly debatable, the apogee of which was the so-called dispute between historians that broke out in 1986-1987 in connection with the discussion of the German past and doubts about the crimes of the Germans. Its initiators were philosopher Yu. Habermas and historian E. Nolte.

E. Nolte, being a disciple of M. Heidegger, a member of the NSDAP, in the work "The past, which does not pass," represented the war of Germany against the USSR in 1941-1945, primarily as a preventive defensive measure of the National Socialists against the threat of an "Asian crime". The idea of setting up concentration camps and death camps, as a reaction to the Stalinist GULAG and the "positive demographic policy" of the SS groups in Eastern Europe, was key in the theory of E. Nolte [17, 33]. Y. Habermas, denying the theory of the opponent of the crimes of Nazism, but who was guilty of these crimes, insisted that the search for the national identity of Germany should be in "constitutional patriotism" - the only possible form of patriotism that "does not alienate us from the West" [13, 54]. By that time, the notion of constitutional patriotism became the main in historical politics in the FRG, and the recognition of the genocide of European Jews as a historically unprecedented phenomenon was the basis of political self-consciousness.

After nearly six decades of latent period, which was needed to experience this psychological trauma, in Germany, increased attention was paid to a topic that was in the background due to the actions of protective mechanisms. In the press and on

television in Germany, a discussion was launched on the war on the destruction of the German people, on bombing. The reason for the debate was the publication of Yorh Fridrikh's book "Fire", lectures by historian V.H. Zebalt and public speeches by writer Martin Walter. The last one in 1998 put forward the thesis that it is necessary to put an end to constant controversy, not to remind Auschwitz every minute and to give the German people the opportunity to become "a normal people and a normal society" [22, 167]. Germans are subtle metaphysics, they share the collective misconduct and personal responsibility or collective responsibility and personal misconduct. If the "historic responsibility" for the decision of the Second World War was taken by the Germans, then the unilateral responsibility for the destruction and loss in the war for Germany would remain during all 73 years of a controversial, painful and unpublished debate.

In the decade and a half that have passed since the unification of Germany, the debate unfolded in the country with the publication of the diaries of Victor Klemperer and the books of the American scientist D. Goldhagen "Voluntary Assistance of Hitler" issued in 1996. The main idea of the works was the Holocaust was not only a matter for the Nazi leaders, but for its implementation a wide network of manuals and performers was needed. According to D. Goldhagen, the main prerequisite and motive of the Holocaust was the willingness of the majority of ordinary Germans in the 1930s to be patient, to support and participate in the persecution of Jews, which was nothing but a manifestation of "eliminational anti-semitism". D. Goldhagen categorically rejects the thesis of the collective misconduct of the Germans, and only argues that "the number of committed acts of the Germans was significant". As a result of the "Goldhagen controversy", the researcher called Germany "a positive model and benchmark that other states must impose. ... I do not know another country, so open and consistent with the ignorant and terrible personal pages of the past" [4, 71].

The Federal Republic of Germany successfully passed the phase of political constitution, the elimination of the material consequences of the war, the social integration of refugees from former German territories and the improvement of socio-economic conditions for the development of the state. In this way, the preconditions for rethinking the Western Germans to the problem of the past have been created, which positively influenced the awareness of the black and white pages of their own history.

Escape from the misconduct and its consequences. At the time of silence, when the state of compassion for themselves and self-justification was acceptable, only some recognized their responsibility for the horrors of the Nazi regime. Such socially significant figures and politicians as philosopher Carl Jaspers, Protestant pastors Martin Niemöller and Karl Barth, and psychologist Carl Jung, began to discuss the problems of collective misconduct and collective shame, the collective responsibility

of the German people for the Holocaust, with the need to acknowledge their guilt and the duty of her redemption.

Public opinion of Germany after the war illuminated two cardinal excellent positions. On the one hand, defeat in the war was perceived as a humiliating surrender, suppression of German cultural and political aspirations. The supporter of this point was the philosopher Martin Heidegger. On the other hand, the liberation of Germany with the help of the Allies was seen as an opportunity for spiritual and political renewal and revival. This idea was followed by Carl Jaspers. It was he who led the socio-political debate, aimed at developing a unified approach to the totalitarian past and ways to overcome it.

The most consistent proponent of the purification of the nation through the confession of his guilt, K. Jaspers, was called "Teacher of Germany", "a symbol of the times and evaluations that have changed". In his lectures and philosophical works, he defended the idea of repentance, humiliation, and responsibility for the Nazis. Not all Germans would decide at that time to openly support the unpopular occupation policy of the Allies, the need for enormous reparations and deportations. *"People behind me are denigrating me: communists call me a desperate supporter of national-socialism; nationalists - a traitor to their country and, according to writer Karl Schmitt [20, 101], - in initiating the officially sanctioned allies of the culture of guilt"* - described his own position Jaspers. In a secret report, Capt. American counterintelligence Daniel Pennham described how Jaspers' performance was met at a university audience in February 1946: *"During the lecture by Professor Jaspers, students began to ridicule, kick their feet on the floor in remembrance of democracy, in connection with the spiritual situation in Germany, which could not remain unnoticed by all parties"* [7, 87].

In the opinion of Jaspers, the "problem of misconduct" from the philosophical point of view requires a profound spiritual and moral rethinking and analysis of awareness, connected not only with physical punishment for crimes, but also with the internal updating of man. In public lectures on "Is there a German people guilty?" And in the book "The question of misconduct" [7], he advocated the idea that the formation of the consciousness of the German nation was the answer to the identity crisis in the first post-war years. *"Misconduct it is not what others consider guilty - this is what the Germans have to admit to themselves. However, people do not want to hear about misconduct, about the past, they are not worried about world history. They just want to stop suffering, they want to escape from poverty, they want to live and not to think"* [8, 37].

At the same time, personal awareness of moral and ethical and metaphysical responsibility opens opportunities for a real revival of society. From moral misconduct, consciousness is born, and from it - repentance and renewal. And this seemingly purely

internal process leads to real changes in the external world. Metaphysical misconduct, in his opinion, allows you to change the consciousness of the people, to see those dangerous features of the nation that are hidden in its traditions.

K. Jaspers develops the view expressed in the "Spiritual situations of time", linking the causes of the disaster that exploded with the spiritual "*crisis of mankind*", "*the loss and transformation of all kinds of faith*". Turning to Germany, K. Jaspers raises the question of the Germans' blame and seeks to subdue the fate of his people "historically, and, consequently, to ethical self-examination". This process must take place, first of all, because of the fact that the entire German nation was on the verge (*Grenzsituation*). In millions of Germans, this situation was the death of loved ones, the suffering of the people. Due to the border situation, it became possible to realize the fragility and transience of its existence, to raise the question of the meaning of life. It is important that the tragedy of the Second World War opened up the possibility for the Germans to look at their own lives not from the point of view of the greatness of the nation, racial superiority, class enmity or political convictions - it enabled everyone to treat themselves as human beings. "The war has become the borderline situation in which all the final - illusions, passions, military battles turned into a corpse, and the German people were alone in the face of infinity. In these difficult circumstances, the key was recognition and awareness of one's own fault". The philosopher convinced that the question of guilt is a vital issue for the German soul. *The fact that the winners condemned us is a political fact that has significant consequences for our lives, but this does not help us in a decisive issue, in our inner spiritual rebirth*". From this position follows the understanding of the objections of K. Jaspers to the thesis of "collective misconduct" of the German people and the recognition of "collective responsibility", rather political responsibility for the crimes committed [5].

The merit of the thinker lies not only in the fact that he was able to put people in front of his own conscience, but also that in many respects, thanks to his ideas, the basis of the consciousness of the German people was the sense of responsibility and awareness of the crimes of Nazism, since Germany still develops in line with this paradigm of thinking. The sense of responsibility for his past for K. Jaspers is inextricably linked with the assertion of a Christian outlook that does not imply the senselessness of events that have taken place and occur. Ideas of the thinker were imbued with a deep Christian feeling, which together with him shared (and developed) many representatives of the public and the political establishment of Germany. The result of their efforts was the increase in the socio-political weight of the post-war parties, the Christian Democratic Union and the Christian Social Union, which still play a key role in formation German politics.

By analyzing the social climate in post-war Germany, Jaspers' contemporary, world-renowned German psychiatrist, Carl Gustav Jung emphasized the importance of

recognizing collective guilt for success in personal psychotherapy: "*All of them, consciously or unknowingly, actively or passively, are involved in horrors; they did not know anything about what was happening, and at the same time they knew. Today, the Germans are like a drunken man who wakes up in the morning with a hangover. They do not know what they did and do not want to know. There is only one sense of unlimited misfortune. They will make spasmodic efforts to justify themselves in the face of accusations and hatred of the outside world, but this will be the wrong way. Atonement, as I have already noted, lies only in the full recognition of own misconduct*" [6].

In particular, Carl Jung defined the main problem of military European nations - the lack of conscience. What happened to the Germans - is a disease, and sick Germans are all and immediately equally independent of political passions, attitude towards Hitler and membership in the NSDAP. If a nation wants to be cured - it must admit its misconduct. The psychiatrist emphasized: "*Any nation that believes in its infallibility will become a prey, and others will become victims of obsession if in their disgust for German misconduct they forget about their own imperfections*".

The psychologist personally passed the evolution from fascination with Nazism to critical thinking. After the war, he explained his loyalty to Hitler with the demands of time. This conformistic position of the argument "There was such time!" characterizes the following words by K. Jaspers: "*A person endures political reality as something alien, it seeks to outwit it for the sake of its personal benefits or lives in a blind capture of self-sacrifice*".

The existentialist philosopher Martin Heidegger (Jaspers' opponent), all 12 years of Hitler's control, was a member of the NSDAP and had other approaches to misconducts of German people in general and, in particular. As M. Heidegger has reasonably noticed, one can be guilty without doing anything bad: "*... a person can be guilty to others, without being guilty to himself. Someone else can "make a debt" for another "for me"*". The winners led the Germans to self-destruction, and the Germans willingly followed them. Self-destruction refers to the voluntary (under the leadership of the winners) movement of the Germans against its own, primordial essence. Considering "*... that the Germans' betrayal of their essence, the rejection of their destiny is an immeasurably more terrible "collective fault" than that which the Germans bear for the "horrors of gas chambers" and others publicly called "crimes" and that now the German people and the country is one single concentration camp*" [2, 327]. These views reveal an understanding by the philosopher of not recognizing social reality as a philosopher and repenting for his conscious or unconscious deeds.

Denial of the Nazi past, according to Jaspers, gave rise to a neurotic fault that has no direct relation to the fault of the real or metaphysical. Neurotic fault does not only contribute to ethical purification and transformation, but, on the contrary, can lead to destructive acts, those who at the unconscious level tend to overcome it. It is possible

that it was precisely the reason caused the periodic recurrence of Nazi sentiment in German society. The philosopher T. Adorno described this phenomenon as: *"From time to time they refer to the so-called 'complex of misconduct', often hinting that it actually arose only as a result of constructing the representation of Germans collective misconduct"*.

It was from the awareness of responsibility for continuity and discontinuity in the culture and society that the concept of "processing the past" was born. The overcoming of the past is aimed at reevaluating its historical past, associated with dictatorial methods of government, and forming a relation to it. As T. Adorno wrote, *"the clarification of an event must counteract oblivion, which is very easy to connect with the justification of forgotten"* [1, 43]. Concerning overcoming anti-Semitism as a component of Nazi ideology, he emphasized: *"To the extent that we want to fight it within the subjects, one should not expect much from referring to facts that are often neutralized, with their exceptions. Most likely, the subject of argumentation must be done by the subjects, whom we address to, reinforcing their self-confidence and thus their 'I'. To their consciousness should prove the mechanisms that form in them racial prohibitions"*.

Overcoming the Nazi past in confessing guilt is a process, not a result, and can be interpreted one-dimensionally: neither in the category of "permanent failures" nor in the category of "inevitable successes".

CONCLUSION

Consequently, comprehension and systematic study of the phenomenon of man's fault in the world and the nation as a whole is an important philosophical problem, which acquires a special relevance in modern conditions. Indeed, the collective guilt of the German people - a phenomenon ambiguous. It arose as a result of tragic historical events preceded by the slogans of a charismatic leader about building a strong, stable Germany and a happy future for every citizen.

However, in all generations of the German people, regardless of their participation in hostilities, there was an unexpected fault and a shame for the atrocities of politicians. This controversial phenomenon has become the subject of sharp scientific discussions of historians, politicians, philosophers, sociologists, psychologists, and others like that. Researchers have shown that collective responsibility has two forms of manifestation: hatred and guilt. Moreover, these conflicting feelings can go one and the other back and forth. Paradoxically, the ideology of the "collective victim", broadcast by subsequent generations, may be an ideal justification for further aggression and the search for victims. If the psychology of collective guilt serves the interests of the victorious empires, then from the psychology of a collective victim in the future new wars of world empires, new victims and new executioners are born.

In the postwar years, the Germans clearly showed the desire to protect themselves from the trauma of "collective guilt." For this purpose, the collective self-consciousness of the nation was shaped by such psychological mechanisms of protection as silence, as well as a clear distinction between the Nazi regime and the German people. The Nazi regime, associated with the group of political leaders of the Third Reich, was positioned as a criminal, while the people acted as a victim of deception and manipulation of this criminal group. The responsibility of the German people for Nazism was not recognized, but, conversely, in public discourse the main focus was on the suffering of the Germans as the main victims of the war. Thus, instead of "collective guilt", the idea of "collective innocence" was defended, which took responsibility for the anti-human policy of the German authorities. This interesting social phenomenon is a manifestation of shame for its own history and a silencing of the historical truth that negatively characterizes the nation in a certain period.

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