

INDEX

- 8 May 1945 as liberation day 218–219, 240–241
- 20+ generation 12, 35, 36–37, 66–67, 402
- anti-terror laws in West Germany 212
- East Germany 203–204
- Germany 262–263
- Spain 267, 268, 304–305, 309
- Turkey 363, 377, 386–387
- West Germany 203
- accountability 17–18, 79–82
- Germany post-war, lack of in 120–121
- international institutions 27
- Spain, lack of in 274
- acknowledgement of wrongdoings as TJ category 108109t. 4.1
- Action Reconciliation Service 202
- actor specific assessment 18–20
- Adenauer, K. 130, 136, 141–142, 146, 155–156, 164, 168
- Aguilar, P. 21, 63, 329
- Aiken, N.T. 101
- Aksoy, M. 388
- Allied atrocities 140–141
- Almond, G.A. 91, 178
- American Jewish Committee 168
- amnesties 61–63, 69, 86–88, 110
- East Germany 237
- Spain 271, 282, 283, 284, 288–289, 337
- West Germany 133–135, 142–143, 165, 172
- Amnesty International 321, 328
- anti-Semitism
- as continuing post-war in Germany 125, 149–150, 167, 168–169
- in other countries 182
- Antidemokratisches Denken in der Weimarer Republik* (Sontheimer) 201–202
- apologies for Nazi regime 207–208
- resistance to 156–157
- Armenian Church 374–375
- Armenian Genocide 344–347, 357–359, 366–367, 372–375, 378–379, 380, 381, 389
- artists/writers, past revisited by 149
- assassination attempt against Hitler 165–166, 218
- Association for the Dealing with Memory and History (*Asociación para la Recuperación de la Memoria Histórica*) (ARMH) 310–311
- Atatürk, K. 346, 347, 348
- Auschwitz Trials 1963–65 60, 172–174, 176–177, 178
- authoritarian regimes
- characteristics of 3
- civil society 4, 11–12, 43–44
- delegitimisation of previous regimes 65
- regime change 2
- return to 12
- steps towards democracy 3
- TJ measures in 44, 45, 61, 402
- TJ measures leading to 59–60
- transitional justice, use of for 1, *see also* Turkey
- autocratic regimes
- bias in use of TJ measures 35
- types of 4
- Aznar, J.M. 318–319

- balancing of TJ measures 96–97
 Balcells, L. 329
 Barcia-Castellon, M. 309
 Bardakci, M. 387
 Barkan, Elazar 105
 barometers of democracy/
 autocracy 33–35
 Barth, Heinz 218–219
 Basque Homeland and Freedom
 Movement 273, 283, 298–299,
 300–301, 305, 315, 327, 334
 Basque Memory (*Euskal Memoria*) 334
 Bauer, Fritz 60, 165–166, 172
 Baykam, B. 388
 behavioural dimension of regime
 consolidation 4
 belief in democracy 53
 Benda, E. 245
 Berlin as capital city, debate over
 237–239
 Berlin Wall, fall of 217, 228–230
 Bertelsmann Transformation Index
 (BTI) 33
 Besikci, I. 362–363
 bias in use of TJ measures 35
 Bloomfield, D. 404
 Bohlev, B. 246
 Borrell, J. 324–325
 bottom-up/top-down application of TJ
 71–72, 399
 Brahona De Brito, A. 21, 63
 Brandt, W. 176, 195, 205–206, 207,
 208–209
 Bühlmann, M. 89–90

 Campbell, T. 100–101
 Caney, S. 97, 100
 Carrillo, S. 334–335
 case studies
 comparative assessment of 116–117
 comparative design 13
 historical/economic contexts 114
 levels and stages of regime
 consolidation 10
 as methodology 30–31
 rankings, democratic 115–116
 regime changes in 6–7
 research questions 20–28
 spiral effect 10
 time for TJ impact to be seen 14–15
 time periods, TJ measures
 during 13–14
 TJ measures, use of 7
 in TJ research generally 106–107,
see also East Germany; Germany;
 Spain; Turkey; West Germany
 catharsis, national 58–59
 Catholic Church in Spain 269, 273,
 275, 298, 314, 320
 causality
 multi-causal cumulative
 process 8–9
 non-causal link, lack of 21
 two-way 15–16, *see also* spiral effect
 caution in using TJ 103, 405–406
 Cebolla-Boado, H. 329
 Cengiz, K. 348
Chain of Responsiveness, The
 (Powell) 49
 change, regime, *see* regime change
 citizens
 impact on democratic
 transformation 32, *see also* civil
 society; trust, civic
 civil society
 authoritarian regimes 43–44
 claims for restitution in West
 Germany 148–149
 democratic/authoritarian regimes
 4, 11–12
 democratic regimes 43–45
 as driving TJ measures 258
 East Germany 202, 227–228
 Germany post-war, lack of participa-
 tion 120–121
 growth of in West Germany 202
 institutional performance and civic
 trust 23–25
 as key to regime consolidation 43
 legitimacy of regimes 67
 participation in as key 37, 54, 90–94
 peace and environmental groups in
 East Germany 222–223
 perception of institutions 55–56
 as pivotal for consolidation 416
 redistribution of wealth 93

- civil society (*cont.*)
 responsiveness and citizen participation, spiral effect of 69
 Spain 294, 297, 306, 307, 312, 321–322, 338–339
 strength of and consolidation 417–418
 sub regimes, interaction between in Germany 178–179
 TJ measures as tools for 16–17
 transitional justice (TJ) 44–45
 Turkey 351, 362, 363–365, 378–379, 380–382, 394
 West Germany 172, 225, 227–228, *see also* trust, civic
 Civil Society Index 33
 Civil War Archives, Spain 327–328
 Cold War period 151–152
 collective guilt 185
 collective/individual responsibility 167
 collective guilt 185
 Germany 261–262
 West Germany 151, 163, 177, 185
 common narrative 104–106
 compromise 38–39
 concentration camps
 Auschwitz Trials 1963–1965 60, 172–174, 176–177, 178
 memorials 174–175
 Treblinka Trial 177–178
 conflicts, types and circumstances of 408–409
 consensus building 50–51
 consolidation of regimes, *see* regime consolidation
 Constitutional Court of West Germany 150, 152
 constitutions 16
 Germany, creation of new in 122–123
 referendum in Spain 288–289, 291
 West Germany's Constitutional Court 150, 152
 context, and choice of TJ measures 75–76, 78–79
 Cook, K. 57
 coup attempt against Hitler 165–166
 criminal justice
 as category of TJ measure 108t. 4.1, 109–110
 shift towards 103–104
 trials in immediate post-war Germany 118–121
 crises, democratic institutions' dealing with 320–321
 Crying Saturday Mothers, Turkey 363–364
 Cullell, J. Vargas 89
 cultural responses
 to SED 259
 Spain 305, 310, 323–324, 335
 Turkey 362–363, 366–367
 cumulative causal path, *see* spiral effect
 Cyprus, Turkey and 349–350, 359, 382–384, 385
 Dahl, Robert 49
 Dahrendorf, R. 196
 Dalton, R. 56
 Daly, E. 64
 delegitimation 18, 65
 Eastern Europe 67–68
 links with TJ measures 65–79
 Nazi regime 123, 179
 democratic regimes
 accountability 79–82
 belief in democracy 53
 civil participation in as key 37
 civil society 4, 11–12, 43–44
 conditions for consolidation of 264–265
 consensual/liberal 414–416
 consolidation of 43
 criteria for consolidation 52–56
 decades after conflict, TJ measures applied 45–47
 defective 12n. 23
 delegitimation of previous regimes 65
 fear of democracy 164–166
 flaws in 27–28
 governance changes 16–17
 how TJ is used as key 37–38
 increased number of 77
 legitimization of 4, 5–6, 18
 monitoring of 77–78
 past democratic experience 98–99
 quality of 23, 48, 276–277

- re-education in democracy 144–145, 167–168
- responsiveness 49–51
- steps towards 3
- TJ as not main cause of 12
- TJ measures in 44–45, 402
- transitional justice, use of for 1, 2
- transparency 82–90
- unconsolidated pockets of
 - democracy 25, 72–74, 180–181, 196–197, *see also* Spain; Turkey; West Germany
- democratisation 2
- Deng, Francis 370
- Der SS-Staat* (Kogon) 131
- Diamond, L. 4, 53
- Dink, H. 376–377
- Dutschke, R. 204–205
- East Germany
 - 8 May 1945 as liberation day 218–219, 240–241
 - 20+ generation 203–204
 - before 1949 118–121
 - amnesties for perpetrators 239
 - amnesty law 237
 - anti-Semitism as continuing post-war in 167
 - Barth trial 218–219
 - Berlin Wall, fall of 228–230
 - central organisation of TJ 191
 - citizen participation 90–91
 - citizens' attitudes towards TJ 121–122
 - civil society 202, 227–228
 - communism, TJ as furthering 197–198
 - comparative design 13
 - compensation only to socialist countries 158
 - competing narrative with West Germany 170–171
 - consolidation of dictatorship 207
 - constitutions, creation of new 122–123
 - democratisation in the West, reaction to 208
 - denial of justice post-war 120
 - dissatisfaction with democracy after reunification 235–236
 - end of democratisation process in 126–127
 - evidence of Nazi atrocities, withholding of 175
 - exclusionary use of TJ measures 127
 - human rights 153–154, 227
 - increased control over citizens 183
 - inquiry into dictatorship 234
 - lack of freedom, complaints concerning 198
 - memorials 174–175
 - migration of citizens from 127, 183
 - mistrust of new institutions 140–141
 - Nazi regime, legacy of 130–131
 - Nazi regime, narrative contrasted with West Germany 153
 - neo-Nazi movement 218, 225, 227
 - opening of evidence archives 176
 - peace and environmental groups 222–223
 - phases of consolidation 118
 - political purpose of TJ 139–140
 - post-reunification, TJ measures applied to 231–232
 - prevention of citizen-driven TJ 163–164, 210
 - re-education programmes 145
 - reactions to TJ claims, political doctrine and 130
 - rebuilding, restitution goods needed for 129
 - regime changes 6–7
 - reintegration of Nazi elites 136–137, 157
 - resistance to regime change 121
 - responses to citizen claims 191–192
 - restitution claims 127–130, 154
 - as semi-sovereign state 126
 - shift in TJ priorities 183–184
 - show trial of Horst Fischer 174
 - Soviet troops, withdrawal of 237
 - Stalin-Note of 1952 126
 - Stasi files on individuals 239–240
 - summary 262–265
 - tactical and strategic use of TJ 157–158, 225–226
 - time for TJ impact to be seen 14
 - time periods, TJ measures during 13
 - TJ measures in 61, 152–153

- East Germany (*cont.*)
 top-down approach to TJ 225–226
 trials in after reunification 85–86
 trials in immediate post-war period 120
 Waldheim trials 137–139
 wall, impact of 171–172, *see also*
 Germany; reunification of
 Germany; West Germany
- Eastern Europe
 delegitimation of previous regimes
 in 67–68
 German reparations to 199–201
 education sector in Spain 275, 298
 egalitarian power sharing 69–70
 Elster, J. 140, 224, 231–232
 Élysée Treaty 181
 Encarnacion, O. 319
 environmental groups in East Germany
 222–223
 equal rights 25–26
 Erdogan, R.T. 340
 Espindola, J. 232, 234
 ETA (Basque Homeland and Freedom
 Movement or *Euskadi Ta
 Askatasuna*) 21, 273, 283,
 298–299, 300–301, 305, 315,
 327, 334
 Etxebarria, P. 329
 Europa Barometer 33
 Europe
 legal and political framework 104
 transitional processes 1950s and 1980s
 104, *see also* European Union
- European Convention on Human
 Rights (ECHR) 150–151, 179, 341
 European Court of Human Rights
 (ECtHR) 88–89, 112, 359, 384
 European Union
 External Action Service (EEAS) 104
 membership of and democratic
 transformation 32
 Spain, support/pressure on from
 290–291, 295–296, 324–325
 Turkey 339, 341, 350–351, 354, 356–
 357, 358, 359–360, 365–366, 371,
 382–384, 393–394, *see also* inter-
 national institutions
Everyone Dies Alone (Fallada) 131
 exclusionary measures 20–21, 400, *see*
also East Germany; Turkey
 External Action Service (EEAS) 104
 external pressures, *see* European
 Union; international institutions
- Fallada, Hans 131
 false myths about the past, confronting
 via TJ 21
 Federal Republic of Germany 1, 14,
 118, 263
 Fernandez de la Vega, M. T. 319
 Fethullah Gülen movement 395–396
 Filmmakers' responses to SED 259
 forced labourers
 compensation fund for 255–257
Germany v. Italy 261
 Frankfurter School 187
 Freedom House Index 33
 freedom of expression 69, 165,
 168–169, 181
 Freeman, Mark 87
 Fulbrook, M. 172, 259
- GAL (*Grupo Antiterrorista de
 Liberacion*) 303, 309
 Garzón, B. 309, 328–329, 331–333
 Gauck, J. 234, 253
 generational patterns 16, 18–19
 20+ generation 12, 35, 36–37, 66–67,
 203–204, 212, 262–263, 267, 304–
 305, 309, 363, 377, 386–387, 402
 anti-terror laws in West
 Germany 212
 change/consolidation as
 intergenerational 47
 East Germany 203–204
 Germany 262–263
 moral obligation to use TJ
 measures 66–67
 past, discussion of in Spain 329
 Spain 267, 268, 304–305, 309
 spiral effect 20
 TJ as intergenerational 47
 Turkey 363, 377, 386–387
 Ulm trials, Germany 162
 West Germany 203
 German Democratic Republic (GDR)
 1, 67, 118, 232, 239, 251, 263

- German Reich Party 169–170, 201
 Germany
 8 May 1945 as liberation day
 240–241
 20+ generation 262–263
 before 1949 118–121
 1949–1959 124–171
 1960–1969 171–206
 1970–1979 207–215
 1980–1989 216–230
 1990–1999 230–253
 2000 and following 253–262
 Allied atrocities 140–141
 anti-Semitism as continuing post-war 125, 150
 attitudes to democracy
 post-reunification 233
 Auschwitz Trials 1963–1965 60
 Berlin as capital, debate over
 237–239
 Berlin Wall, fall of 217, 228–230
 bias in use of TJ measures 35
 citizen-driven initiatives 243
 citizens' attitudes towards TJ 121–122, 124–125, 146–147
 citizens' claims for reparation 123
 collective/individual responsibility
 261–262
 commemoration day for
 reunification 242
 commemorations, continued
 257–258
 comparative design 13
 comparison of post-war/post-communism TJ 254–255
 constitutions, creation of new
 122–123
 debates over dealing with the past
 131–133
 decades after conflict, TJ measures
 applied 45, 46
 delegitimation of Nazi regime 123
 democracy, initial
 understanding of 125
 democratic flaws 27–28
 dissatisfaction with democracy after
 reunification 235–236, 246
 first official reconciliation ceremony
 240–241
 forced labourers, compensation fund
 for 255–257
 immediate post-war period
 118–121
 individual/collective
 responsibility 167
 national catharsis 123
 Nazi regime, attitudes towards 124
 Nazi regime, legacy of 130–131
 opening of evidence archives 176
 Poland, relationship with 217
 political elites remaining in office in
 new regime 26
 post-reunification, TJ measures
 applied 230–232
 priorities 50
 private initiatives for TJ 131–133
 racist attacks in 1990s 247–248
 ranking, democratic 115, 116,
 123–124
 responsibility, shared, acceptance of
 124–125
 restitution claims, impact of division
 on 127–130
 reunification, *see* reunification of
 Germany
 revenge as type of reparation
 118–119
 Spain, comparison with 269
 split TJ measures 235
 state-centrism re. reparations
 261–262
 summary 262–265
 time periods, TJ measures during 13
 trials following reunification
 244–246
 trials in after reunification 85–86
 trials in immediate post-war period
 118–122
 trust in democracy, winning
 246–247
 unconsolidated pockets of
 democracy 25
 understanding of Nazi/SED regimes
 260–261
 Unity Treaty 233–234, 236–237
 victims, citizens seen as 131,
 146–147, *see also* East Germany;
 Holocaust, The; West Germany

- Germany v. Italy* 261
 'Germany's Second Chance'
 (Sa'adah) 230
 Gibson, J. 62, 99–100, 140
 Globke, H. 159–160
 Gonzales-Enriques, C. 21, 63
 Goschler, H. 71
 governance, changes in 16–17
 GRAPO (*Grupo de Resistencia
 Anti-Fascista Primero de Octubre*)
 282–283
 grassroots democracy 167–168
 Gready, P. 418
 Greece, Turkey and 349–350, 351–352,
 382–384
 Green Party, West Germany 222, 250
 Guckes, U. 254–255
 guilt, collective 185, *see also* collective/
 individual responsibility
 Gurr, T.R. 34–35
 Gutzeit, M. 253, 260
- Hallstein Doctrine 127, 160–161
 Hardin, R. 57
 Hayner, P.B. 99
 Hazan, P. 58, 59, 105, 112, 142, 170
 Historical Memory Law (Spain) 308,
 319, 326–328, 330–331
 historical truth 104–106
 Holmes, L. 67
 Holocaust, Spanish 335
 Holocaust, The
 anti-Semitism as continuing in
 Germany post-war 125
 claims from survivors 135–136
 denial of in Germany 124–125
 globalisation of 257–258
 International Holocaust
 Remembrance Day 257–258
 Law on Holocaust Denial
 168–169, 257
 memorials 174–175
 as not immediate concern
 post-war 123
Holocaust, The (film) 213–214
 Holocaust Memorial in Berlin 243, 258
 Honecker, Erich 207, 221, 242
 Horne, Cynthia 55
- human rights
 East Germany 227
 European Convention on Human
 Rights (ECHR) 150–151
 European Court of Human Rights
 (ECtHR) 88–89, 112
 implementation of standards of 102
 retrospective justice, pursuit of 83–84
 transparency and 89–90
 Universal Declaration of Human
 Rights (UDHR) 154
 West/East Germany 153–154
 West Germany 179
 Human Rights Association, Turkey 363
- Iazzetta, O.M. 89
Impossibility to Mourn (Mitscherlich
 and Mitscherlich) 177
 impunity for perpetrators 61–63, 68,
 69, 86–88, 110
 incentives, international 111–112
 indices of democracy/autocracy, *see*
 ranking, democratic
 individual/collective responsibility 167
 collective guilt 185
 Germany 261–262
 West Germany 151, 163, 177, 185
 inequality, overcoming 101
 institutions
 changes in 16–17
 civic trust and performance of 23–25
 conditions for good performance 22
 engagement with individuals in West
 Germany 208
 independence of 82–90
 international 24
 perception of 55–56
 quality of democratic regimes 23
 research question 20
 spiral effect 8–10, *see also* European
 Union; international institutions;
 individual case studies
 integration in society, measurement
 of 25–26
 International Centre for Transitional
 Justice (ICTJ) 96
 International Holocaust Remembrance
 Day 257–258

- International Institute for Democracy
 and Electoral Assistance
 (IDEA) 78–79
- international institutions
 Amnesty International 321
 cooperation with 74
 EU/US pressure on Spain for
 reforms 275–276
 European framework 104
 impact on democratic
 transformation 32
 monitoring of democratic
 regimes 77–78
 NATO, Spanish membership of
 275–276
 pressure from 111–112
 retrospective justice, pursuit
 of 83–84
 role of 412, 413–414
 Spain 322–323, 324–325
 Spain, support/pressure on from
 290–291, 295–296, 316–317
 spiral effect, role in 26–27
 support for TJ concept 106
 transparency and 85, 88–89
 trust in 24
 Turkey 341
 West Germany's integration into 164,
 209–210, *see also* European Union
- Iribarne, M.F. 279
- Jaspers, K. 177, 185, 187–188
- Jenninger, P. 221
- judiciary
 Auschwitz Trials 1963–1965, impact
 of 176–177
 growth of trust in 163
 repercussions faced by in Turkey
 391–392
 transparency and independence of
 82–90, 288
 Turkey, control over in 395
- Kansiz, C. 391
- Kiesinger, Kurt 176
- Kirchheimer, M. 186–187
- Kishon, E. 209
- Klarsfeld, B. 176
- Kneuer, M. 301
- Kogon, E. 131
- Kohl, H. 217–218, 240–241
- Krenz, E. 245–246
- Kritz, N.J. 82
- La Guernica* (Picasso), return of to
 Spain 294–295
- Lauth, H.-J. 34
- Law on Holocaust Denial 168–169, 257
- leadership in using TJ 103
- Leebaw, A. 62
- legal framework, setting up 81
- legitimacy of regimes
 civil society 67
 defined 65–66
 definition of consolidation
 through 74–75
 links with TJ measures 65–79
 top-down/bottom-up application of
 TJ 71–72
 unconsolidated pockets of
 democracy 72–74
 use of TJ measures for 65f. 3.1, *see
 also* individual case studies
- legitimation of democratic regimes 4,
 5–6, 11, 18, *see also* individual
 case studies
- Levi, M. 57
- Lijphart, A. 50
- Linz, J.J. 3, 10, 66, 74–75, 266, 272–273,
 280, 293, 301
- Lipset, S.M. 65
- literature review 30
- Lowe, K. 140
- lustration procedures 55–56
 East Germany 231, 239–240,
 248–249
 federal states 157
 future elites 35
 as start for TJ measures 76
- Luxembourg Accord 145–147
- Majdanek Trials 210–211
- McAdams, J. 103, 203, 232–233,
 242, 253
- McCloy, J. 156
- McLaren, L. M. 51, 351

- memorials
 concentration camp 174–175
 Holocaust Memorial in Berlin
 243, 258
 Kars memorial, Turkey 379,
 388–389
 private memorials in Spain 278
 Unity Treaty 237
 West and East Germany 174–175
 memory and TJ 251–252
 Merkel, W. 5, 10, 11, 47, 65, 66, 263,
 266, 275, 396, 400
 methodology
 actor specific assessment 18–20
 analytical framework 38
 case studies 30–31
 indices of democracy/
 autocracy 33–35
 literature review 30
 mixed method 29–30
 narrative approach 32–33
 process tracing 32–33
 qualitative data 30, 31
 quantitative data 30, 31
 responsiveness of political leadership
 as key variable 34
 TJ and regime change,
 correlation of 17
 triangular approach 29–30, 32
 Michelson Institute, Bergen 63
 Minow, M. 99, 102
 Mitscherlich, A. 177
 Mitscherlich, M. 177
 mix of TJ measures
 as recommended 418
 research question 20
 mixed method 29–30
 Moncloa Pact, Spain 272, 288
 Monedero, J.C. 317
 monitoring
 of democratic regimes 77–78
 implementation of TJ measures
 112–113
 Morlino, Leonardo 48, 68, 266
 Mothers of Peace, Turkey 363–364
 multi-causal cumulative process 8–9,
see also spiral effect
 Munck, G. 76
 Myrdal, Gunnar 9–10
 myths about the past, confronting
 via TJ 21
 Naef, M. 208
 narrative approach 32–33
 national catharsis 16, 42, 58–59, 61,
 90–91, 123, 125, 170, 187–188,
 304, 307
 National Centre of Competence in
 Research (NCCR) Democracy
 Barometer 33
 Nazi regime
 apologies for 156–157, 207–208
 Auschwitz Trials 1963–1965 178
 camp survivors, compensation for
 not prioritised 158–159
 coup attempt against Hitler 165–166
 evidence of Nazi atrocities, request
 for 175
 German attitudes towards 124
 legacy of 130–131
 moral acknowledgement of 207–208
 physicians, cases against 143–144
 reintegration of Nazi elites 136–137,
 144, 157–158, 159–160
 Treblinka Trial 177–178
 West/East Germany narratives com-
 pared 153, *see also* East Germany;
 Germany; West Germany
 negotiated democracy, Spain 265, 277,
 280–281
 neo-Nazi movement 225, 226–227
 Newton, K. 57
 Neyzi, L. 386–387
 normative dimension of regime
 consolidation 4
 Norris, P. 57
 North Atlantic Treaty Organization
 (NATO), Spanish membership of
 275–276, 297
 Oberländer, T. 188–189
 Öcalan, A., capture of 365
 O'Donnell, G. 34, 43, 89
 Olivio, C. 204
 Olson, T. 82, 418
 Oran, B. 386

- pacted/negotiated democracy, Spain
 265, 277, 280–281
- Pamuk, O. 375
- Parliamentary Assembly of the Council
 of Europe (PACE) Resolution No.
 1096 252
- past, the
 dealing with 61
 silence regarding 61–63, 68, 75, 87–88,
 108–110, 272–273, 284–285
 unconsolidated pockets of
 democracy 72–74
- Payne, L. 82, 418
- peace and environmental groups in
 East Germany 222–223
- perceptions, influence of TJ on
 107–108
- Pham, P. 30
- Pharr, S. 56
- physicians, cases against Nazi 143–144
- Poland
 German reparations to 199–201
 Germany's relationship with 217
- political elites
 inclusion of old, in new
 regimes 51–52
 remaining in office in new regime
 26, *see also* individual case studies
- Polity IV democracy and autocracy
 scales 34–35
- Powell, Bingham 49, 52
- power sharing 69–70
- prioritisation 50
 concentration camp survivors,
 compensation for not prioritised
 158–159
 victims' groups, competition
 between 190
- process tracing 32–33
- prudence in using TJ 103
- Puhle, H.-J. 11, 47, 65, 396
- Putnam, R. 53, 56, 93
- qualitative data 30, 31
- quality of democratic regimes 23, 48
 Spain 276–277
 Turkey 352, *see also* ranking,
 democratic
- quantitative data 30, 31
- Quiet Help 201
- Rafti, Marina 47
- ranking, democratic 115–116
 civic trust and 116
 Germany 115, 116
 Germany since reunification
 123–124
 indices 33–35
 Spain 115, 116
 Turkey 115–116, 355–356
- re-education in democracy in West
 Germany 144–145, 167–168
- re-migration to West Germany
 134–135
- Red Army Faction (RAF) 180–181,
 196–197, 211
- redistribution of wealth 93
 as goal of TJ 101
- Reemtsma Institute for Social Research
 exhibition 251–252
- regime change
 from authoritarian regime 2
 bias in use of TJ measures 35
 case studies 6–7
 catalyst for, TJ as 403–409
 defined 41
 to democratic/authoritarian
 regime 2–3
 early years of 66, 70, 84–85
 governance changes 16–17
 impact of TJ on 56–57
 mutual reinforcement 20
 past democratic experience 98–99
 period of 7–8
 rapid, and resistance to 72
 Rwandan 46–47, 71
 timeline 41
 and TJ 412–419
 types of 43
 use of term 7–8, *see also* regime con-
 solidation; individual case studies
- regime consolidation
 accountability 79–82
 catalyst for, TJ as 403–409
 citizen participation as key 43
 civil society as pivotal for 416

- regime consolidation (*cont.*)
 compromise and respect 38–39
 conditions for 3–4
 definition 11, 42–43
 democratic, characteristics of 5–6
 factors important for 10
 impact of TJ on 56–57
 interaction of TJ with 399–403
 levels and stages of 10
 multi-causal cumulative process 8–9
 mutual reinforcement 20
 normative/behavioural dimensions 4
 phases/levels of 41–42, 400
 quality of 48
 through legitimacy of regimes,
 definition of 74–75
 and TJ 412–419
 transitional justice as driver of 1
 transparency 82–90
 types of 43, *see also* regime change;
 individual case studies
 regional circumstances 104
 rehabilitation laws 110
 reintegration laws 110
 reintegration of Nazi elites 159–160
 East Germany 157
 West Germany 136–137, 144, 157–158
 Reiter, A. 82, 418
 research questions 20–28
 respect 38–39
 responsibility, individual/collective
 151, 163, 167, 177, 185, 261–262
 responsiveness 17–18, 401
 accountability and 79–82
 and citizen participation, spiral
 effect of 69
 to citizen's claims 38, 69
 democratic regimes 49–51
 horizontal variables 76–77
 international institutions 27
 measuring 80
 of political leadership 34
 Spain, lack of in 276
 to truth commissions 68–69
 Turkey 364–365
 restoration as category of TJ measure
 108t. 4.1, 109
 retroactive justice
 future likelihood of 111
 pursuit of 83–84
 'Return' (*Volver*) (Almodovar) 323–324
 reunification of Germany 228–230
 8 May 1945 as liberation day
 240–241
 amnesties for East German
 perpetrators 239
 attitudes to democracy after 233
 commemoration day for 242
 cultural responses to SED 259
 democracy, difficulties with 249
 dissatisfaction with democracy after
 235–236, 246
 Green Party 250
 individuals, reparations to 253
 left, electoral success of 254
 light-handed approach to SED
 members 254
 moral duty to learn from history 241
 opening of evidence archives 176
 political parties after 250–251
 racist attacks in 1990s 247–248
 reintegration of former regime
 elites 251
 rule of law not seen as justice
 249–250
 satisfaction with democracy 252, 255
 SED history not prioritised 247
 Socialist and Communist Party
 250–251
 Soviet troops, withdrawal from East
 Germany 237
 spiral effect 253
 split TJ measures after 235
 Stasi files on individuals 239–240,
 247, 248–249
 TJ measures applied after 230–232
 trials following 244–246
 trust in democracy, winning
 246–247
 Unity Treaty 233–234, 236–237
 revenge as type of reparation 118–119
 Ridaó, J.M. 76, 413
 right to truth 104–106
 Rose, R. 67
 rule of law, transparency of 82–90
 Rustow, D.A. 21, 35–36, 46, 47, 66,
 185–186
 Rwandan regime change 46–47, 71, 112

- Sa'adah, A. 230, 253
 Sakharov Prize awarded to Leyla Zana 359
 Sanchez Leon, P. 271–272
 Sarkin, J. 64
Savage Continent (Lowe) 140
 Scheel, W. 189
Schindler's List (film) 243
 Schmid, Carlo 132
 Schmitter, P. 32, 34, 43, 50, 80, 89–90, 93
 Schumacher, Kurt 132
 Schupp, J. 208
 separatist groups 72–74, 273, 276, 282–283, 287–288, 298–301, 305, *see also* unconsolidated pockets of democracy
 sequence of measures 78, 405–406, 407–408
 research question 20
 Serbia 111–112
 Sikking, K. 228, 418
 silence regarding the past 61–63, 68, 75, 87–88
 as category of TJ measure 108t. 4.1, 110
 Spain 272–273, 284–285, *see also* amnesties
 Silva Barrera, Emilio 310–311
 Simmons, B. 228
 social capital, civic trust and 58
 social inequality, overcoming 101
 Socialist German Student Union 180
 society
 integration, measurement of 25–26
 levels of 4
 Solidarity with the Victims of Terrorism Act (Spain) 308
 Sontheimer, K. 201–202, 205
 South Africa 62, 99–100, 101
 Soviet countries, survivors living in 195
 Spain
 11-M attack as catalyst 318–319
 20+ generation 267, 268, 304–305, 309
 1975–1984 277–302
 1985–1994 302–307
 1995–2004 307–317
 2005–2014 317–337
 accountability, lack of 274
 amnesties 271, 282, 283, 284, 288–289, 337
 Amnesty International 321, 328
 Autonomous Communities 290
 Aznar, mistake made by 318–319
 balancing act of transitional government 303
 Basque country, governmental change in 333–334
 Basque Memory (*Euskal Memoria*) 334
 Catholic Church 269, 273, 275, 298, 314, 320
 civil society 294, 297, 306, 307, 312, 321–322, 338–339
 Civil War Archives 327–328
 Commission to Repair the Dignity and Restore the Memory of the Victims of Francoism 319
 common narrative, lack of 289
 comparative design 13
 constitutional referendum 288–289, 291
 coup, attempted, in 1981 292–294
 crises, democratic institutions' dealing with 320–321
 cultural responses 305, 310, 323–324, 335
 decades after conflict, TJ measures applied 45–46
 delegitimisation of past regime, lack of 276, 285
 democratic culture and behaviour, lack of 270
 democratic flaws 27–28
 discontent with reforms 281
 discussion of the past 329–330
 economic and social reforms during Franco's regime 266n. 319
 economic crisis 283–284
 education sector 275, 298
 elections, first 285–286
 elites during Franco's regime 266n. 319
 ETA (*Euskadi Ta Askatasuna*) 21, 273, 283, 298–299, 300–301, 305, 315, 327, 334
 EU pressure/support 290–291, 295–296

Spain (*cont.*)

- EU/US pressure for reforms 275–276
- evidence to justify TJ 292
- exclusionary measures 21
- external support 297, 322–323
- fear and tension 284
- Francoist public servants, continued employment of 287
- Franco's burial place 274–275, 327, 334–335
- GAL (*Grupo Antiterrorista de Liberación*) 303, 309
- Garzón case 331–333
- generational patterns 329
- Germany post-war, comparison with 269
- GRAPO (*Grupo de Resistencia Anti-Fascista Primero de Octubre*) 282–283
- heroisation of Franco 302–303
- Historical Memory Law 308, 319, 326–328, 330–331
- Holocaust, Spanish 335
- impunity, demands for end of 315–316
- individual compensation 330–331
- insurgencies 287
- international pressures 322–323, 324–325
- international TJ developments 306–307, 316–317, 330–331
- judiciary, independent, lack of 288
- king, role of 286, 303, 326
- La Guernica*, return of 294–295
- left-wing political opposition 270–271
- left-wing supporters, TJ measures for 296
- liberation policies during Franco's regime 266n. 319
- limited use of TJ 312–313
- local TJ initiatives 298, 312
- mass graves, exhumation of 327
- Moncloa Pact 272, 288
- NATO membership 275–276, 297
- official acknowledgement of atrocities 311–312
- ombudsman, creation of office of 294
- pacted/negotiated democracy 265, 277, 280–281
- paramilitary police, reform of 274
- past, coming to terms with 304, 305, 307
- pensions 292, 303–304
- People's Party, TJ slowdown under 307
- political divide 268, 319
- political elites remaining in office in new regime 26
- political parties 279, 285–286
- political reforms 271, 279
- priorities 50
- private claims 321–322
- private memorials 278
- private TJ initiatives 306
- proxies for TJ 292
- PSOE government 295, 296–297, 317
- PSOE party 286
- PSOE proposed bill on compensation 307–308
- public/governmental engagement, lack of 278–280
- public inclusive TJ, first instance of 303
- quality of democracy 276–277
- radical movements 339
- ranking, democratic 115, 116
- regime change 6
- regions, preference for 281–282
- Remembrance, law of 319–320
- reparations 287
- resistance to democracy 291
- responsiveness, lack of 276, 314–315
- 'Return' (*Volver*) (Almodovar) 323–324
- revision of death sentences for Franco opponents, claims for 322–323
- satisfaction with democracy 301–302, 305–306, 317, 320
- separatist/underground movements 273, 276, 282–283, 287–288, 298–301, 305
- silence regarding the past 272–273, 284–285
- Silva Barrera, Emilio 310–311
- slow and sporadic TJ measures 338

- Solidarity with the Victims of
 Terrorism Act 308
- Southern European countries
 and 266
- spiral effect 268, 269
- sporadic use of TJ 114–115
- statues of Franco 314–315
- strikes 283–284
- successful regime change and
 consolidation 265–266
- summary 337–339
- tactical use of TJ 115, 267, 287,
 294–295, 312–313
- time for TJ impact to be seen 14
- time periods, TJ measures
 during 13–14
- TJ measures, use of 266–269,
 277–278
- top-down/bottom-up application of
 TJ 71–72
- transparency, lack of 86
- trials, first attempts at 309
- trust, civic, lack of 276
- UN Working Group on Enforced or
 Involuntary Disappearance 336
- unconsolidated pockets of
 democracy 25, 266, 270, 277,
 298–301, 315, 339
- Valle de los Caídos* 274–275, 327,
 334–335
- vetting 297
- victim of previous regime 267,
 271–272, 273–274
- victims/victimisers as
 side-by-side 272
- Spinner-Halev, J. 59, 105, 140
- spiral effect 21–22, 409–412
- beginnings of in Germany 159
- case studies 10
- citizen participation 90–94
- civic trust 54
- generational patterns 20
- Germany, beginnings of in 156, 159
- human rights, democracy and citi-
 zen claims 89
- increased civil society
 involvement 225
- interaction of TJ and consolidation
 399–403
- international institutions 26–27
- phases/levels of regime
 consolidation 42
- research questions 20–28
- responsiveness and citizen
 participation 69
- reunification of Germany 253
- second decade visibility 403
- Spain 268, 269, 337
- timeline 39–40
- TJ, actors and institutions, relation-
 ship between 8–10, 55–56
- TJ measures 6
- TJ measures and
 consolidation 63–64
- transparency and accountability
 17–18, 84
- Turkey 396–398
- two-way causality 15–16
- Ulm trials, Germany 162
- use of term 401–402
- Waldheim trials 139
- West/East Germany 198–199
- West Germany 159, 208, 225
- sporadic use of TJ 59–60, 68, 114–115
- Springer Press 224–225
- Stalin-Note of 1952 126
- state-centrism re. reparations 261–262
- statute of limitations
 crimes against humanity 83
- overturning 111
- West Germany 111, 141, 172,
 179, 215
- Stepan, A. 3, 10, 66, 74–75, 266,
 272–273, 280, 293, 301
- sub-regimes 11
- tactical use of TJ 59–60, 68, 115
- East Germany 157–158, 225–226
- Spain 115, 267, 287, 294–295,
 312–313
- Turkey 343, 351, 380, 381, 384,
 388, 389
- West Germany 147–148, 157–158
- Tamarit, J. 296, 325–326
- Teitel, R. 99, 100, 103, 258, 398
- The Call* (film) 149, 149n. 73
- theory of transitional justice 97–100
- Tilly, C. 53–54, 93

timeline

- Germany 118
- regime change 41
- retroactive application of measures 45–47, 111
- spiral effect 39–40
- for TJ impact to be seen 14–15
- of TJ measures 22, 32, 405–406, 407–408
- TJ measures, *see* transitional justice (TJ)
- Tokyo Trials 1946–48 95–96
- top-down approach to TJ 71–72
 - West Germany 190
- transitional justice (TJ)
 - accountability 79–82
 - actor specific assessment 18–20
 - authoritarian regimes 44, 45
 - balancing of measures 96–97, 101–102
 - bias in use of 35
 - case studies 7
 - as catalysts for change and consolidation 403–409
 - categories of measures 108–110
 - caution in using 103, 405–406
 - changes in definition and scope 95–96, 405
 - civil society 44–45
 - conflicts, types and circumstances of 408–409
 - context, and choice of measures 65–79
 - cumulative causal relationship to regimes 6
 - delegitimisation of previous regimes 18
 - democracy or authoritarianism as outcome 419
 - democratic/authoritarian regimes, use of in 1, 8
 - democratic regimes 2, 44–45
 - early years of regime change 66, 70
 - exclusionary measures 20–21
 - exclusive use of 59–60, 68
 - first decade of 406–408
 - how used as key 8, 12, 37–38
 - impact on regime change/consolidation 56–57
 - inclusive use of 6, 60–61
 - as independent variable 403
 - integration of victims and victimisers 408
 - interaction of with consolidation 399–403
 - as intergenerational 47
 - links with legitimacy of regimes 65–79
 - long-term aspect of 16n. 27
 - mix of measures 20
 - multi-causal cumulative process 8–9
 - mutual reinforcement 20
 - as not main cause of democracy 12
 - origin of term 95
 - and prioritisation 50
 - redistribution of wealth as goal of 101
 - and regime change and consolidation 412–419
 - sequence of measures 78
 - spiral effect 6, 8–10
 - sporadic use of 59–60, 68, 114–115
 - theory of 97–100
 - time for impact to be seen 14–15
 - timing of measures 22, 45–47, 405–406, 407–408
 - as tools for civil society 16–17
 - top-down/bottom-up application of 71–72, 399
 - transparency, accountability and responsiveness 17–18
 - two-way causality 15–16
 - UN guidelines 96
 - use of mix of, differences in 110–111
 - varied set of 418
 - way established and supported 82, *see also* tactical use of TJ
- transparency 17–18, 82–90
 - Germany post-war, lack of in 120–121
 - implementation of TJ measures 112–113
 - international institutions 27
 - Treaty of Lausanne 343, 347
 - Treblinka Trial 177–178
- triangular approach 29–30, 32
- trust, civic
 - impact of TJ measures on 56–59

- institutional performance and 23–25
 level of 22–23, 52–56
 rankings, democratic 116
 social capital and 58
 Spain, lack of in 276
 spiral effect 54
 transparency and 84
 Turkey 342, 370, 379, 385–386, 390
 truth, historical 104–106
 truth commissions, responsiveness
 to 68–69
 Turan, I. 367, 394
 Turkey
 20+ generation 363, 377, 386–387
 1990–1999 356–365
 2000–2009 365–381
 2010 and after 381–396
 AKP 367–369
 armed forces charter,
 amendment of 393
 Armenian Church 374–375
 Armenian Genocide 344–347, 357–
 359, 366–367, 372–375, 378–379,
 380, 381, 389
 Atatürk, Kemal 346, 347, 348
 authoritarian governance, return to
 392–393, 401
 Bilgi University conference 374
 citizen-driven pressure 363–365,
 380–381
 civic trust 342, 370, 379,
 385–386, 390
 civil society 351, 362, 378–379,
 381–382, 391–392, 394
 comparative design 13
 compensation laws 370–372
 consensus, unwillingness
 towards 370
 coup d'états 340, 349–353, 361
 Criminal Code 355, 378
 Crying Saturday Mothers 363–364
 cultural responses 362–363, 366–367
 Cyprus 349–350, 359, 382–384, 385
 ‘deep state’ 342, 349, 360–361
 demands for TJ 362, 367, 381–382
 democratic flaws 27–28, 344
 democratic reforms 339, 340, 341,
 343–344, 347, 348, 350–351, 353–
 356, 367–368
 Dersim, massacres in 362–363
 Dink, murder of 376–377
 dissatisfaction with institutions
 394–395
 dissemination of information
 360, 379
 earlier introduction of TJ,
 potential of 386
 ECtHR, impact of demands
 from 88–89
 Erdogan, R. T. 340
 Ergenekon group, trials of 353–354,
 380, 384–385, 391–393
 EU Harmonisation Packages 367
 EU membership 339, 341, 350–351,
 354, 356–357, 358, 365–366, 371,
 382–384, 393–394
 European Convention on Human
 Rights (ECHR) 341
 European Court of Human Rights
 (ECtHR) 359, 384
 European Union 359–360
 exclusionary measures 20
 external pressure 381, 387–388, 392,
 see also EU membership
 Fethullah Gülen movement 395–396
 foreign policy, proactive 357
 Greece 349–350, 351–352, 382–384
 Hafiza Markezî 392
 Human Rights Association 363
 human rights movement 362
 impunity, culture of 340–341, 342
 increased TJ 365–366, 377–378
 international institutions 112, 341,
 see also EU membership
 JITEM 360–361
 judiciary, control over 395
 Kars memorial 379, 388–389
 killing in the name of nationalism,
 concerns over 377
 Kurdish community 362–363
 Kurdish issue, TJ efforts on 377
 Kurds, suppression of 351
 military, balancing of reforms
 with 362
 Military Museum in Istanbul 389
 minorities and opposition move-
 ments 342–343
 Mothers of Peace 363–364

- Turkey (*cont.*)
 nationalism and unity as priority
 342, 343, 348, 355
 neighbouring countries demands for
 reparations 342
 New Resolution Process 390–391
 NGOs in 364
 normalisation protocols with
 Armenia 387–388
 Öcalan, capture of 365
 overview 115
 Party for Justice and Peace 340
 priorities 50
 quality of democratic regimes 352
 ranking, democratic 115–116,
 355–356
 regime change 6–7
 religious and minority political
 parties 369
 responsiveness to demands 364–365
 Sakharov Prize awarded to Leyla
 Zana 359
 security sector 340–341, 362
 soap opera, government
 prevention of 391
 spiral effect, test case for 396–398
 state violence 340, 342, 344, 359
 summary 396–398
 Susurluk case 360–361
 tactical use of TJ 343, 351, 380, 381,
 384, 388, 389
 as ‘test-case’ 115
 time for TJ impact to be seen 15
 time periods, TJ measures during 14
 TJ measures in 61
 Treaty of Lausanne 343, 347
 Turkish-Armenian Reconciliation
 Commission (TARC) 373
 Turkish Cypriot Immovable
 Property Commission
 (TRNC) 383
 UN Special Rapporteur for
 Disappearances 370
 unconsolidated pockets of
 democracy 25
 victims’ groups 363–364
 writers, bans on 362–363
 writers and judiciary, repercussions
 faced by 391–392
- You Rejoice My Heart* (Yalcin)
 366–367
- 20+ generation 12, 35, 36–37,
 66–67, 402
 anti-terror laws in West
 Germany 212
 East Germany 203–204
 Germany 262–263
 Spain 267, 268, 304–305, 309
 Turkey 363, 377, 386–387
 West Germany 203
- Ulm trials, Germany 162–163
- UN Special Rapporteur for
 Disappearances 370
- UN Working Group on Enforced or
 Involuntary Disappearance 336
- unconsolidated pockets of democracy
 25, 72–74, 416–417
- Spain 266, 270, 277, 298–301,
 315, 339
 use of TJ measures 400–401
 West Germany 180–181,
 196–197, 211
- UNDP-Human Development Report
 on Democracy 33
- United Nations, guidelines on TJ 96
- Unity Treaty 233–234, 236–237
- Universal Declaration of Human Rights
 (UDHR) 154
- Valle de los Caidos*, Spain 274–275, 327,
 334–335
- Vanhanen Index 33
- vengeance as type of reparation
 118–119
- Verba, S. 91, 178
- vetting procedures 55–56
 1990s Germany 251
 arbitrary application of 136
 consequences of 142–143
 East Germany 188, 231, 235, 239–
 240, 248–249
 federal states 157
 future elites 35
 NSDAP members 157
 public support for 2006/2008 259
 Spain 297
 as start for TJ measures 76

- supporters of SED regime 251
 - trust as benefit of 55, 56–57
- victor's justice, TJ measures seen as
 - 140, 143, 151
- Vinck, P. 30
- Voight, S. 49

- Waldheim trials 137–139
- West Germany
 - 8 May 1945 as liberation day
 - 218–219, 240–241
 - 20+ generation 203
 - before 1949 118–121
 - abroad, attitudes to Germans living
 - 182–183
 - Action Reconciliation Service 202
 - Allies, strengthening of ties with 181
 - amnesty law 133–135, 142–143,
 - 165, 172
 - anti-Semitism as continuing post-war
 - 150, 168–169, 186
 - anti-terror laws 212, 213
 - apologies for Nazi regime 156–157,
 - 207–208
 - Auschwitz Trials 1963–1965 172–174,
 - 176–177, 178
 - benefits of TJ 214
 - camp survivors, compensation for
 - not prioritised 158–159
 - citizens' attitudes towards TJ 121–
 - 122, 146–147
 - civil claims for restitution 148–149
 - civil society 172, 227–228
 - claims from veterans, refugees and
 - Holocaust survivors 135–136
 - coalition government of
 - 1966–1969 176
 - Cold War period 151–152
 - collective guilt 185
 - collective/individual responsibility
 - 151, 163
 - comparative design 13
 - competing narrative with East
 - Germany 170–171, 189–190
 - Constitutional Court 150, 152
 - constitutions, creation of new
 - 122–123
 - Criminal Code 161, 257
 - delegitimisation of Nazi regime 179
 - democracy seen as imposed 209
 - dissatisfaction with democracy 213
 - East Germany, change in policy
 - towards 206
 - Eastern Europe, reparations to
 - 199–201
 - economic growth, compensation
 - payments and 191
 - Emergency Act 1968 197
 - European Convention on Human
 - Rights (ECHR) 150–151, 179
 - evidence of Nazi atrocities 175, 176
 - exclusionary measures 20–21
 - fear of democracy 164–166
 - four Ds 118
 - Frankfurter School 187
 - freedom of expression 165,
 - 168–169, 181
 - German Reich Party 169–170, 201
 - grassroots democracy 167–168
 - Green Party 222
 - Hallstein Doctrine 160–161
 - history museum 218
 - Holocaust, The* (film) 213–214
 - human rights 153–154, 179
 - increased civil society
 - involvement 225
 - individual/collective responsibility
 - 151, 163, 167, 177
 - individual/institutions
 - engagement 208
 - integration into Western
 - alliances 164
 - intellectuals asking for more TJ 166
 - international institutions, pressure
 - from 111
 - inward/outward policies 142–143
 - judge/lawyers, Nazi-trained 161
 - judiciary, growth of trust in 163
 - Law on Holocaust Denial
 - 168–169, 257
 - left-wing groups post-war 150, 180–
 - 181, 182, 196–197, 203, 204–205,
 - 211, 213
 - Luxembourg Accord 145–147
 - Majdanek Trials 210–211
 - memorials 174–175
 - mistrust of new institutions
 - 140–141

- West Germany (*cont.*)
 moral acknowledgement of Nazi regime 207–208, 213–214
 Nazi regime, legacy of 130–131
 Nazi regime, narrative contrasted with East Germany 153
 neo-Nazi movement 225, 226–227
 non-alliance with Nazis, proving 160
 phases of consolidation 118
 physicians, cases against 143–144
 radicalisation of left/right wing groups 203, 205–206
 re-education in democracy 144–145, 167–168
 re-migration 134–135
 reactions to TJ claims, political doctrine and 130
 Red Army Faction (RAF) 180–181, 196–197
 refugees, German, as prioritised 154–156, 158
 regime changes 6–7
 reintegration of Nazi elites 144, 157–158, 159–160
 reparation paid post-war 121
 resistance to regime change 121
 responses to citizen claims 191–192
 restitution claims, approach to 154–157
 restitution claims, impact of division on 127–130
 right-wing parties/movements 169–170, 181, 201–202, 203
 self-reflection on the past, lack of 205
 as semi-sovereign state 126
 shift in TJ priorities 183–184
 slow down in prosecutions 141, 142
 Socialist German Student Union 180
 Soviet countries, survivors living in 195
 spiral effect 159, 208
 state doctrine, TJ move towards 217–218
 statute of limitations 111, 141, 172, 179, 215
 sub regimes, interaction between 178–179
 summary 262–265
 tactical and strategic use of TJ 147–148, 157–158
 time for TJ impact to be seen 14
 time periods, TJ measures during 13
 TJ opportunities missed post-reunification 232
 top-down/bottom-up approach to TJ 71, 190
 Treblinka Trial 177–178
 trials 1970–1989 207, 221–222
 trials in after 1949 85
 trials in immediate post-war period 120, 121–122
 trust in democracy of, other countries' 184
 Ulm trials, Germany 162–163
 unconsolidated pockets of democracy 180–181, 211
 victims' groups, competition between 190
 victims' groups, lobbying by 148–149
 victor's justice, TJ measures seen as 140, 143, 151
 writers/artists, past revisited by 149, *see also* East Germany; Germany; reunification of Germany
 white spots of history 105
 Whitehead, L. 43
 Wiebelhaus-Brahm, E. 63
 Winter, S. 46, 97–98, 100, 404
 World Bank 106
 World Development Report on Transitional Justice, Security and Development 56
 writers/artists, past revisited by 149
 Yalcin, K. 366–367
You Rejoice My Heart (Yalcin) 366–367
 Zana, L., Sakharov Prize awarded to 359
 Zapf, W. 46, 66, 185–186