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SUMMER 2000

2 May **PROFESSOR GÜNTHER LOTTES (Potsdam)**
'The Peculiarities of English History.' The British Archipelago and the European Historical Experience

Günther Lottes is director of the *Forschungszentrum europäische Aufklärung e.V.* His publications, covering many facets of early modern and modern British, European, and German history, include *Die politische Raumordnung Europas vom späten Mittelalter bis zum Wiener Kongreß* (1999) and *Kriminalität und abweichendes Verhalten. Deutschland im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert* (1999, ed. with Diethelm Klippel).

6 June **PROFESSOR CHRISTOPH KLESSMANN (Oxford/Potsdam)**
Contemporary History as Controversial History. Recent Debates in Germany

Christoph Kleßmann is this year's Visiting Professor at St Antony's College, Oxford, and director of the *Zentrum für Zeithistorische Forschung*, Potsdam. He has published extensively on many aspects of contemporary German history, most recently *1953, Krisenjahr des Kalten Krieges in Europa* (ed. with Bernd Stöver, 1999), and *Zeitgeschichte in Deutschland nach dem Ende des Ost-West-Konflikts* (1998).

21 June **(Wed.)** **DR HARTMUT BERGHOFF (Tübingen)**
A Question of Guns and Butter? The Politics of Consumption in the 'Third Reich', 1933-1942

Privatdozent Hartmut Berghoff specializes in German and British social and economic history, mainly of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. His *Habilitationsschrift* was published as *Zwischen Kleinstadt und Weltmarkt. Hohner und die Harmonika 1857-1961. Unternehmensgeschichte als Gesellschaftsgeschichte* (1997). He has edited *Konsumpolitik. Die Regulierung des privaten Verbrauchs im 20. Jahrhundert* (1999), and his latest book is *Fritz K. Ein deutsches Leben im zwanzigsten Jahrhundert* (2000, with Cornelia Rauh-Kühne).

Seminars are held at 5 p.m. in the Seminar Room of the GHIL. Tea is served from 4.30 p.m. in the Common Room, and wine is available after the seminars.

SPECIAL LECTURE

The Embassy of the Czech Republic
in co-operation with the German Historical Institute

PROFESSOR MILAN HAUNER

Madison and Prague

THE RED ARMY AND THE COMINTERN DURING THE SUDETEN CRISIS OF 1938 IN THE LIGHT OF NEW DOCUMENTS

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in co-operation with the German Historical Institute

PROFESSOR ROBERT MOELLER

University of California, Irvine

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'IN A THOUSAND YEARS, EVERY GERMAN WILL SPEAK OF THIS BATTLE': CELLULOID MEMORIES OF STALINGRAD

on Tuesday, 27 June 2000, at 6.30 p.m.

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REVIEW ARTICLES

BERLIN, BERLIN ...

by Friedrich Lenger

ALEXANDRA RICHIE, *Faust's Metropolis. A History of Berlin* (London: HarperCollins, 1998), lx + 1107 pp. ISBN 0 00 215896 5. £29.99
VOLKER WAGNER, *Die Dorotheenstadt im 19. Jahrhundert. Vom vorstädtischen Wohnviertel barocker Prägung zu einem Teil der modernen Berliner City*, Veröffentlichungen der Historischen Kommission zu Berlin, 94 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1998), xvii + 753 pp. ISBN 3 11 015709 8. DM 298.00
CHRISTOPH BERNHARDT, *Bauplatz Groß-Berlin. Wohnungsmärkte, Terraingewerbe und Kommunalpolitik im Städtewachstum der Hochindustrialisierung (1871-1918)*, Veröffentlichungen der Historischen Kommission zu Berlin, 93 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1998), xii + 379 pp. ISBN 3 11 015382 3. DM 220.00
JAY WINTER and JEAN-LOUIS ROBERT (eds), *Capital Cities at War: Paris, London, Berlin 1914-1919*, Studies in the Social and Cultural History of Modern Warfare, 2 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), xvii + 622 pp. ISBN 0 521 57171 5. £60.00 (US $90.00)
KARL HEINRICH KAUFHOLD (ed.), *Investitionen der Städte im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, Städteforschung, A / 42 (Cologne: Böhlau, 1997), xxix + 284 pp. ISBN 3 412 14596 3. DM 78.00
MARTIN H. GEYER, *'Verkehrte Welt'. Revolution, Inflation und Moderne: München 1914-1924*, Kritische Studien zur Geschichtswissenschaft, 128 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1998), 451 pp. ISBN 3 525 35791 5. DM 89.00
ANDREAS WIRSCHING, *Vom Weltkrieg zum Bürgerkrieg? Politischer Extremismus in Deutschland und Frankreich 1918-1933/39. Berlin und Paris im Vergleich*, Quellen und Darstellungen zur Zeitgeschichte, 40 (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1999), x + 702 pp. ISBN 3 486 56357 2. DM 148.00

'Berlin, Berlin' was the title of a fascinating exhibition held in 1987, in what was at that time West Berlin. The occasion was the city's putative seven hundred and fiftieth anniversary. While the exhibition did not

ignore the period of National Socialist dictatorship and Berlin's role as the headquarters of political terror and racial persecution, the main focus was Berlin's rise to become a modern big city. In line with the historiographical preoccupations of those years, the exhibition concentrated on certain aspects of the urbanization process: social history and the history of mentalities. The exhibition organizers could not guess that only two years later, with the opening of the Berlin Wall, political history would return to centre stage. This has affected research on urban history as a whole, which has looked more to twentieth-century political themes in general, and to the history of Berlin in particular.

This, it seems to me, justifies using Alexandra Richie's mammoth book to provide a structure for this research report. Her study can be read as a commentary on the issue of the capital, as an attempt to reveal the historical significance of moving the seat of government to Berlin. 'It may seem unfair', we read in the introduction, 'but Berlin will have to work hard to prove to the world that this "democratic phase" is not merely another passing trend' (p. xxx). Berlin here is not just short-hand for the much discussed Berlin Republic. As a Faustian metropolis, it has its own unique quality which is frequently evoked but never clearly spelled out: 'Berlin is a city which has never been at ease with itself' (p. xviii). This and other shortcomings are to be explained through not only the history of the city, but also considerable stretches of German, and even European, history. The author describes her work thus: 'It is not a local history, although it has elements of this, but is a history of Germany – even of Europe, including the often-neglected east – as seen through the "prism" of Berlin' (p. vii).

This sort of approach involves considerable problems. For one thing, closer investigation is required to demontrate how the history of Berlin as a capital can bring together central strands of German and European history. For another, most of Berlin's urban history contains no pointers to its future as the capital of a unified nation-state. As a result, Richie treats this 'pre-history' briefly. None the less, this period did contain important turning points that set the course for the future. Thus Berlin's rise under the Hohenzollern dynasty is described as 'a traumatic birth', and the Berliners, it is claimed, owe 'their often excessive devotion to authority' to the absolutist rule of this dynasty (pp. 39, 53). Richie does not ask herself how such a deformed mentality, evidence of which she also sees in hostility towards Huguenot immigrants, was passed on

from generation to generation, especially in a city largely shaped by immigrants. Instead, she introduces a recurring interpretative figure which sees cultural development as a compensation for political shortcomings. Romanticism thus appears as an answer to Napoleonic oppression, and Biedermeier culture as a flight from reactionary politics. And just as the city's inhabitants obviously possess psychic energy that they can choose to channel into politics or culture, so the city itself has a soul, which explains its fate: 'No European city rose from obscurity so quickly, and none would be so drunk on its success. ... But despite its success it was not a city at ease with itself' (p. 152).

This use of association and metaphor gives the account a somewhat old-fashioned air. This is further reinforced by the author's tendency to turn the few social history passages in her book, which are mostly written with scant regard for the most recent research on the subject, into genre paintings which are intended to move the 'general reader' to whom the book is addressed. Thus, for example, she combines a rather one-sided description of miserable housing conditions under the Kaiserreich with her own experience of living in a *Hinterhof*: 'I shudder to think of people in my dank, airless underground room with its walls glistening with slime and the numerous rats scurrying past in the dark' (p. 163).

The distance separating *Faust's Metropolis* and modern historical research and analysis becomes especially clear when we look at two current publications which deal with living conditions in nineteenth-century Berlin in quite a different way. Thus Volker Wagner, in his study of the Dorotheenstadt, not only concentrates on a carefully defined spatial segment of Berlin, but within this quarter he also frequently emphasizes the significant differences between the favoured addresses on 'Unter den Linden', and those on less salubrious streets. His real theme is the formation of the city, which he examines in three periods, always keeping in mind the context of the whole of Berlin. His source material, which includes Fire Society and Land Registry files, allows precise statements to be made for the years 1822, 1868, and 1914. Wagner describes the transformation of a wealthy residential quarter, which experienced a large degree of social mixing in the early nineteenth century, into a business and administrative district which almost ceased to be a residential area. The strength of his study lies in the precision and high degree of differentiation with which he captures the transformation of the socio-spatial and functional structure of the Dorotheenstadt. This

differentiation, however, is combined with a love of detail which can often be taxing for the reader. However interesting the explanation of the disappearance of an aristocratic family line, the discussion of the hotel industry's building plans at the turn of the century, or an analysis of the spatial distribution of cafés and restaurants – much of this is, ultimately, of no more than antiquarian significance.

Christoph Bernhardt's book, *Bauplatz Groß-Berlin*, by contrast, is much more consistent and stringent. Its point of departure is the lively debate – which Alexandra Richie does not seem to have noticed – on whether there was a housing shortage in the large cities of the Kaiserreich. An important finding of Bernhardt's study is that in Greater Berlin there was certainly no 'permanent and general shortage of housing during the era of high industrialization, even in the case of smaller accommodation' (p. 320). The author carefully demonstrates this finding by analysing the housing market in a way which explains its evolution out of the interplay between the expectations of profit on the part of commercial land developers, and the decisions taken by local councils on the opening up of new streets. A crucial factor in the highly cyclical movements of the housing market was the creation of a public transport system consisting of underground and suburban trains. Investors' expectations of these areas, which were made accessible by the new transport systems, were behind the collapse of the land market, the building market, and the housing market in Greater Berlin in 1912. Bernhardt has made an important contribution to our understanding of this event, going beyond the local context.

The studies by Wagner and Bernhardt testify to the lasting interest of German scholars in the spatial and architectural aspects of the urbanization process. No trace of this is to be found, however, in Richie's history of the city of Berlin. For her, the architectural shape of Berlin during the Kaiserreich is primarily important as an expression of a psychic state, which she illustrates primarily by reference to William II's cultural policies: 'William had wanted to make Berlin the greatest city in the world. He believed he had succeeded. He claimed to have "watched with sharp eyes" all developments in art and stated that although he had seen many great cities Berlin had now become the "most beautiful". Instead he made it at best a laughing stock and at worst a hated symbol of pomp, arrogance and Prussian militarism' (p. 232). The author leaves us in no doubt as to where such an exaggerated need for approval would lead: 'If he [William] could not do it through

culture, he could do it by force' (p. 232). Thus it is not surprising that the chapter on 'The Road to the First World War' is longer than the discussion of Berlin during the whole of the Kaiserreich.

Richie does not seem aware that recent work has repeatedly cast doubt on the universality of the enthusiasm for war. As far as she is concerned: 'The frenzied outpouring of emotion in Berlin made reactions in Petersburg or Vienna look bland by comparison' (p. 267). This enthusiasm waned not only because of the course of the war, which Richie describes in detail and inevitably without any reference to Berlin, but also because of the ever deteriorating supply situation on the home front. Richie here refers explicitly to a recent collection of essays edited by Jay Winter and Jean-Louis Robert, which systematically investigates developments in Paris, London, and Berlin. The general argument of the volume is 'that Allied adaptation and well-being reflected a more equitable and efficient distributive system than existed on the other side of the lines' (p. 11). The comparison shows that the more advantageous supply situation of London and Paris by comparison with Berlin only became clearly apparent during the second half of the war, and in the view of the editors, it was one of the causes of Germany's defeat in the war. This assessment is made on the basis of case studies comparing the cities on a large number of specific topics, ranging from wages and public assistance to the health services, supplies of food and fuel, and accommodation. The material brought together here is informative in individual cases, but a number of questions remain in relation to the general argument. First, it is irritating that certain contributions, such as that by Catherine Rollet, for example, accept this general thesis although it is not really confirmed by the material presented. Secondly, it should be noted that the comparisons undertaken are not of equal weight. Berlin, in particular, is often referred to only in passing. Thirdly, a large number of the essays do not go beyond quantifying the supply situation, although to address the question of the impact of this situation properly, attention should surely be paid to perceptions of the situation. Finally, it must be asked whether a city comparison really provides an adequate level at which to examine the question which the book addresses. Only a few essays, such as that by Armin Treibel on the coal supply, reflect this adequately. Thus it amounts to a self-criticism when the editors state, in their conclusion, 'that urban administrations had neither the resources nor the authority effectively to determine levels of well-being in these cities. Virtually all of the key decisions were taken elsewhere' (p. 548).

This also explains why, despite its comparative perspective, the book edited by Winter and Robert can provide no clear statement on a subject which has recently re-emerged as a topic of debate, namely, the efficiency of local administration during the Kaiserreich. The financial side of this administrative activity is the main theme of the volume edited by Karl-Heinrich Kaufhold. In addition to three survey accounts of investment activity by local councils (mainly during the Kaiserreich), it also contains a number of case studies on various areas in which local government was involved. Of particular interest are excellent case studies of Frankfurt and Mannheim, and two contributions on Berlin, one of which investigates the relationship between urban initiatives and state intervention 'in the development of local supplies in the Western suburbs of Berlin' (p. 181). The theme of this essay, namely, the relationship between the city and the state, is a problem that is totally neglected in *Faust's Metropolis*. Tensions between Berlin's city council, which was dominated by liberals, and William II, for example, have no place in this book. Until the end of the First World War, one could almost believe that Richie's Berlin consisted predominantly of the Prussian monarchy, a few well-known artists, and the mass of Berliners who hardly feature. For the time after the end of the First World War, which takes up almost two-thirds of the book, this 'conception' cannot be maintained. However, the account continues to concentrate on high culture and high politics. Revolutionary events are – graphically – described as quarrels between various leaders of parties of the left, and the attempt to expand the cultural history of the period of inflation into a history of mentalities is not convincing: 'As things grew increasingly dire Berlin threw itself into an orgy of dancing, drinking, pornography and prostitution with *je m'en fous* being the order of the day' (p. 323).

While for Richie the *Vergnügungssucht* of the immediate post-war years was no more than 'an insane dance of forgetting, a dance of despair' (p. 323), Martin H. Geyer has placed it into the context of an interesting analysis of the experience of inflation. He describes the inflation that began during the war, and accelerated until 1924, as the unrestrained monetarization of all social relations, expressed in the mobility of house-ownership and the forced sale of long-owned cultural goods. For Geyer, the unrestrained monetarization of all social relations also explains the dissolution of old patterns of order, which he sees expressed in the rapid rise of crime against property, and in the leisure-time behaviour of young people who had openly and offensively

rejected traditional morality. From this perspective, the author provides stimulating interpretations of the culture of the period of inflation. His explanation of the longing for leadership figures as the expression of a 'search for social systems of order', too, is plausible and well-documented (p. 399). Methodologically, the aim of his work is to 'link the everyday language of politics and society' (p. 26). Thus it is consistent for him to begin with a social history of the inflation period. It is only the limitation to a single city, Munich in this case, which permits the necessary differentiation. The author argues, quite rightly, that without taking into account the 'contemporary debates about law and justice, luxury and consumption', a reconstruction of the experience of inflation among various social groups can contribute little to an understanding of the political development of the times. His analysis of the discourse of usury with its anti-Semitic overtones exemplifies this. One methodological problem, however, is that the discourse analyses that mediate between urban social and political history always tend to go beyond the spatial limitation to Munich. None the less, this does not change the fact that the analyses presented under the title *Verkehrte Welt* advance the subject in terms of content, and should also stimulate urban history methodologically.

Richie has little interest in such methodological questions, even though her chapter on the Golden Twenties includes the area of popular culture in some detail for the first time. Once again, cultural history is merely juxtaposed with political history. In the sections devoted to political history, Richie lists some of the problems faced by the Weimar Republic. While mentioning the hostility of many intellectuals towards the republic, she does not mention the connection with Berlin (Heidegger!). The connection is established only when she takes recourse to basic principles: men make history. This time it is Joseph Goebbels, whose role in building up the Nazi Party is presented in detail. The lack of analytic profundity of *Faust's Metropolis* in this area, too, is pointed up by a comparison with a lengthy study by Andreas Wirsching. In it, he compares the development of political extremism in Berlin and Paris in the period from the end of the First World War to the Nazi seizure of power in the one case, and the outbreak of the Second World War in the other. This is not urban history in the narrow sense: 'Rather, general phenomena which are typical of the period are analysed in a specific and exemplary way, and are interpreted within the framework of national developments' (p. 4). This procedure involves a number of

problems. To take just one example, the broad treatment of the Komintern's discussions of theory is not linked with the basic political attitudes of the Berlin members of the German Communist Party (KPD). None the less, the problems of delimitation which Wirsching faces in his study are much less serious than those in *Faust's Metropolis*. This is because Wirsching's book has a consistent theoretical concept which gives his subject a clear profile. He interprets the extremist movements which he investigates as totalitarian. Among the characteristics which define such movements he identifies an ideology which divides the world into friend and foe, and the use of political force.

Wirsching maintains his dual comparative perspective between Berlin and Paris equally, but pays more attention to the Communist movement than to the extreme right-wing parties and associations, partly because he sees their development largely as a reaction to the threat from the left. Thus Lenin's adage that those who accept the class struggle must also accept civil war, and the Russian Revolution of 1917 take precedence, not only in a chronological sense, although the author is aware that the friend-foe thinking of the *Freikorps* fighters was directly connected to their experience of the war, and that the *völkisch* anti-Semitic ideology of the German right was already fully formed in the First World War. Wirsching's insistence on precisely this latter point is the basis for his rejection of Ernst Nolte's claim that the Gulag Archipelago is connected with Auschwitz. Regardless of whether the reader wants to endorse all of the author's assessments, his dual comparison proves to be extremely fruitful. Thus the metaphor of civil war, for example, was rooted in a much more real background in Berlin than in Paris. In the first half of 1919, more than 1,000 people in Berlin lost their lives in violent clashes, and subsequently the number of violent incidents, whether instigated by the left or the right, remained high. Yet despite this difference, Paris also possessed a high potential for extremism. Wirsching illuminates its social origins in systematic comparisons of the cost of living, strikes, the extent of unemployment, and the severity of the depression. If social developments were less critical in Paris than in Berlin, the political culture of Paris also prevented French Communism from being radicalized like German Communism. The PCF saw itself as part of the French revolutionary tradition, and in the 1920s and 1930s it was much more closely tied to the trade union movement and other social movements than the Moscow-orientated KPD. The French labour movement was also split, but the French socialists refused to enter

coalitions with the bourgeois parties, something which was natural to German Social Democracy. The thesis of social fascism, which dates back to 1928, was thus more plausible in Germany, especially as in the early years of the Weimar Republic the violence of the *Freikorps* and militias had been sanctioned by the state. The author's well-founded conclusion is that 'much more than the PCF in the Paris region, the Berlin Communists formed a "contrasting world", which especially predisposed them towards ideologization and revolutionary voluntarism' (p. 144).

The argument of this weighty book cannot be further summarized here, but two limitations can be mentioned. First, the emphasis on the reactive character of right-wing extremism perhaps pushes its original ideological content too far into the background. Secondly, the source material which Wirsching analyses permits him to make only qualified statements about the political awareness of the members and sympathizers of the movements under investigation. When, for example, the KPD in the early 1930s is described as resembling an omnibus 'which picked up more and more passengers, whose identities, however, changed from stop to stop', it is extremely difficult to speculate about which aspects of party propaganda were attractive. Nevertheless, these criticisms do not diminish the value of this stimulating book in any way.

In Richie's account, the decline of the Weimar Republic appears rather less complex, but she follows this with an informative outline of the structure of the Nazi terror apparatus. The location of the events in a specific city here, as in the description of *Kristallnacht* and the burning of the books, provides the connection with Berlin, which moves to centre stage in the discussion of the Berlin Olympics and Hitler's architectural ideas. The Second World War is treated in the following chapter, but Richie is unable to convey its dynamic comprehensibly. It appears exclusively as the product of Hitler's mania. 'Berlin', she writes, 'was now at the centre of a world war, a conflict which she herself had started' (p. 504). The connection with Berlin is a little more convincing when Richie points out that the Nazi policy of extermination, which she describes graphically, was planned and directed from Berlin. However, she soon completely loses sight of the city. Instead, she provides a detailed outline of war-time diplomacy, adorned with countless episodes from the lives of prominent Nazis. She vividly describes the Russian occupation of Berlin, but her inability to delimit her subject is soon in evidence again. Changes at the top in the Kremlin and life in the secret

services during the Cold War are simply juxtaposed with Berlin's architectural development during the 1950s. Again and again, the account degenerates into clichés: life in the eastern part of the city, it seems, consisted exclusively of spying and being spied on; and the protests of 1968 are seen not against the background of the repressive climate of the 1950s and 1960s, but as the precursors of the terrorism of the RAF. In any case, West Berlin seems to have been unattractive until well into the 1980s. It was characterized by 'a kind of dull provincialism punctuated by a much hyped, but not very interesting sub-culture' (p. 803) – a harsh judgement probably also prompted by the protests against American armament policy which are repeatedly criticized. Richie uses these protests in order to justify Western armament and foreign policy of the 1980s on many pages. Thus the West Berlin protesters obviously did not deserve reunification, and the same applies to the people of East Berlin, whose voting behaviour after the fall of the Wall Riche roundly condemns: 'Once again, Berlin was displaying that bizarre mixture of cynicism, self-interest, political naïveté and sheer petulance which has, throughout its entire history, stood in the way of clear-headed political decisions' (p. 842). It therefore comes as something of a surprise that, in the conclusion, the author endorses the choice of Berlin as the seat of government.

It hardly needs to be said that this reviewer does not find *Faust's Metropolis* a good choice – not because of specific grotesque misrepresentations (for example, the *Kulturkampf* and the federal tradition) or because large sections of it have been written without knowledge of the most recent research. Given the temporal and thematic scope of the work, this may be forgivable. More irritating is the lack of an analytical approach, which is replaced by loose association and metaphors. Its understanding of history as the actions of great men, and the extent of national stereotyping give this book a decidedly old-fashioned feel. It is difficult to believe that it goes back to an Oxford Ph.D. thesis, especially as none of it seems to be based on original research. This work is by no means typical of recent research on urban history. In any case, it can only be marginally attributed to this genre because of its lack of a clear focus. It is more symptomatic of what is demanded by the 'general reader', who is spared any intellectual effort by inadmissible psychologizing and simplifying personalization, and whose appetite for gossip from royal houses and Nazi bunkers is here richly satisfied. It is unusual for this to take the form of an urban history. Two tendencies

are more typical of recent developments in this field. First, social historical structural analyses continue to demonstrate their worth; and secondly, recognizable efforts are being made to expand into cultural history, while there is a clear trend towards repoliticization. Moreover, the fact that cities are being worked on comparatively can only be beneficial to the historiography of cities and of urbanization.

FRIEDRICH LENGER is Professor of Modern History at the Justus Liebig University in Giessen. He is the author of *Werner Sombart 1863-1941. Eine Biographie* (1994), and is currently working on a book on the Industrial Revolution and national unification in Germany, 1849-1871.

THE INTEGRATION OF REFUGEES AND FOREIGN WORKERS IN THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY SINCE THE SECOND WORLD WAR

by Ian Connor

KLAUS J. BADE, HANS-BERND MEIER, and BERNHARD PARISIUS (eds), *Zeitzeugen im Interview. Flüchtlinge und Vertriebene im Raum Osnabrück nach 1945* (Osnabrück: Universitätsverlag Rasch, 1997), 216 pp. ISBN 3 930595 63 X. DM 48.00
VOLKER ACKERMANN, *Der 'echte' Flüchtling. Deutsche Vertriebene und Flüchtlinge aus der DDR 1945-1961*, Studien zur historischen Migrationsforschung, 1 (Osnabrück: Universitätsverlag Rasch, 1995), 318 pp. ISBN 3 930595 32 X. DM 56.00
KLAUS J. BADE (ed.), *Fremde im Land: Zuwanderung und Eingliederung im Raum Niedersachsen seit dem Zweiten Weltkrieg*, Schriften des Instituts für Migrationsforschung und Interkulturelle Studien (IMIS) der Universität Osnabrück, 3 (Osnabrück: Universitätsverlag Rasch, 1997), 336 pp. ISBN 3 950595 39 7. DM 48.00

As Klaus Bade points out in a stimulating introduction to *Fremde im Land*, the Federal Republic of Germany has since the Second World War experienced immigration on a scale unknown in any other western industrial state. Between May 1945 and October 1990, no fewer than 15 million German refugees, expellees, *Aussiedler*, and *Übersiedler* settled in the Bundesrepublik. This represented over 25 per cent of its German population prior to unification. By far the largest group were the German refugees and expellees from the East, some 7.8 million of whom were residing in West Germany by mid-1950. According to official statistics, a further 2.7 million refugees fled from the German Democratic Republic (GDR) to the Federal Republic between September 1949 and August 1961 although the real figure may be as high as 3.5 million; an additional 616,000 fled between 13 August 1961 and the end of 1988. Moreover, 1.6 million *Aussiedler* from eastern or south-eastern Europe arrived in West Germany in the period 1951-88. In addition to these German groups of population, there were no fewer than 5.2 million foreigners living in the former West Germany in 1990. There can be no doubt, then, that the Federal Republic is, as Bade puts it, one of the 'classic immigration countries' (p. 11).

The three books under review deal with different aspects of this immigration into Germany since the Second World War. They are all regional studies, focusing on *Länder* located in the former British Occupation Zone. *Zeitzeugen im Interview* and *Fremde im Land* look at Lower Saxony, while *Der 'echte' Flüchtling* concentrates on North Rhine-Westphalia. *Zeitzeugen im Interview* examines the integration of the German refugees and expellees from the East who came to Osnabrück in the period 1945-49. Volker Ackermann's study focuses on the refugees who fled from the GDR into the Bundesrepublik from 1945 to 1961. *Fremde im Land* covers a broader spectrum. It comprises six essays on various aspects of post-war immigration into Germany – general demographic trends, the refugees and expellees from the East, refugees from the GDR, *Aussiedler,* asylum seekers, and guest workers.

In the early post-war years a considerable volume of literature appeared on the refugee problem in West Germany, culminating in the publication in 1959 of a three-volume symposium, edited by Eugen Lemberg and Friedrich Edding, entitled *Die Vertriebenen in Westdeutschland*. During the 1960s and 1970s, when the economic, social, and political integration of the refugees appeared to be proceeding smoothly, the subject received much less attention. At that time the refugee question was a politically sensitive issue and scholars working in this field ran the risk of being accused of exacerbating the tense relations with the Soviet Union. However, the 1980s witnessed a dramatic increase in historical research on the refugee problem. This can be attributed primarily to the release from the mid-1970s onwards of a large quantity of British, American, and German archival material. It was also significant that the research was mainly undertaken by younger scholars who were able to view the subject in a more dispassionate way than their older colleagues, some of whom had experienced at first hand expulsion or flight from their homelands in 1944-45.

The focus of research on the refugee problem also underwent a significant change. While much of the literature published in the 1950s concentrated on the expulsion of the refugees or the measures introduced by the 'political élites' to promote their integration into West German society, the emphasis of studies published in the 1980s and 1990s was on the refugees and expellees themselves and their interaction with the indigenous inhabitants. It was, in other words, history from 'below' rather than 'above' and found expression in regional and, in particular, local studies such as Siegfried Schier's volume on Lübeck (1982), Karin

Mundhenke's work on Hameln (1988), and Thomas Grosser's project on Mannheim (1993). While these books or essays were mainly concerned with the economic, social, and political integration of the refugees, they also assessed the newcomers' impact on the areas where they had settled. Another feature of recent research has been the large number of local case studies of relations between the refugees and the native population – both in rural and urban areas. Rainer Schulze's work on the Rural District of Celle (1990) is of particular interest. It is also noticeable that the refugee problem has attracted the attention not only of historians and political scientists, but also of sociologists, demographers, and economists. Research on this subject has also been diversified by new methodological approaches, in particular, oral history, where pioneering work has been carried out by Lutz Niethammer and Alexander von Plato. The accessibility since the early 1990s of archival material from the former GDR has opened up new research perspectives and in recent years the Institut für Zeitgeschichte has organized two major conferences focusing primarily on the integration of German refugees in the SBZ/GDR in the period 1945-55.

Zeitzeugen im Interview has its origins in a research project under Klaus Bade investigating the integration of the refugees and expellees in the Rural and Urban Districts of Osnabrück in the post-war period. The book contains an introduction by Bade, a lengthy analysis of the refugee problem in Osnabrück by Bernhard Parisius, and a useful commentary by Jochen Oltmer and Adolf Wennemann on some thirty selected works on the refugee question with particular emphasis on local and regional studies of Lower Saxony. Oral history forms a central element of the book and extracts from interviews conducted in 1985-6 with thirty former refugees, as well as two longer interviews dating from 1995, offer a fascinating insight into their experiences in the early post-war years. The interviews are presented thematically and include sections on the refugees' flight or expulsion from their homelands, their efforts to find housing, food, clothes, and employment in Osnabrück, and their relations with the native population.

The essay by Bernhard Parisius, largely based on archival sources, reaches a number of interesting conclusions about the attitude of the municipal authorities in Osnabrück to the refugees. During the war, Osnabrück had suffered extensive bombing and was, in fact, the fourth most heavily damaged town in the British Zone. As a result, housing was in such short supply that neither refugees nor other groups were

theoretically permitted to settle there. In actual fact, however, the refugee population in Osnabrück increased from 4,100 in January 1946 to 9,000 in November 1948. Publicly, the municipal authorities, wary of upsetting the wartime evacuees who had not yet been able to return to Osnabrück, claimed that this was due to refugees living illegally in the town, but Parisius shows that local housing officials privately acquiesced in finding accommodation for newcomers who had already obtained employment. This policy enabled the authorities to select only those refugees who would contribute most to the town's economic recovery, such as industrial or construction workers. As Parisius notes, the actions of the municipal authorities in Osnabrück do not represent an isolated example since it has been established that Mannheim, Darmstadt, Heilbronn, and Kassel adopted a similar policy.

The failure of local government officials in Osnabrück to admit that they permitted 'economically valuable' refugees to settle in the town, as well as the tendency to portray them in public as a severe economic burden, meant that the new population groups were not given the credit they deserved for helping to bring about the town's economic recovery. Parisius shows that refugee construction workers were responsible for much of the rebuilding work carried out prior to June 1948 and many newcomers also found employment in the metal industry, as well as in business enterprises. In short, Parisius argues that the refugees not only played a major role in the Economic Miracle of the 1950s but also made a more important contribution than has previously been acknowledged to Osnabrück's economic growth in the early post-war years.

One of the most interesting sections of the book concerns the relations between the refugees and the indigenous inhabitants. Parisius concludes that, as a result of the more favourable employment situation, there was less tension between the two groups of population in the town of Osnabrück than in the neighbouring rural district. The interviews with the refugees reveal that the local people who displayed the greatest generosity towards them were invariably those who were least well off. It is interesting to note that some refugees did not feel fully accepted by the native inhabitants even though they had lived in Osnabrück for almost forty years and married into a local family. The interviews also provide evidence, seen from the refugees' perspective, of the main issues which provoked tension between the two population groups. Religion was one source of conflict. A Protestant refugee from East

Prussia recounted that, due to pressure from the parents of local Catholic school children, all Protestant refugee pupils, irrespective of their age, were put in the same class and a fence was constructed in the school playground to separate them from the native Catholic children. The decision to billet refugees with private householders was bitterly resented by many indigenous inhabitants, some of whom refused to accept the newcomers even after the intervention of the police. There is also evidence of discrimination against the refugees by housing officials and in November 1947 the *Oberkreisdirektor* in the Rural District of Osnabrück refused to appoint additional staff to monitor the availability of unoccupied rooms in private houses because 'their employment would only be on a temporary basis' (p. 44).

Parisius demonstrates effectively the deterioration in relations between the refugees and the farmers with whom they were billeted after the Currency Reform of June 1948. This, he argues, was not primarily due to the continuing arrival of new refugees, or to the decline in the economic position of many newcomers after the introduction of the Deutschmark. According to Parisius, the most contentious issue was that many of the refugees accommodated in farmhouses who had previously worked for the farmer in return for food, succeeded in securing better paid employment in the nearby town after the *Währungsreform.* In view of the acute housing shortage in Osnabrück, these refugees initially wanted to continue living in the farmhouse, a situation the farmer considered totally unacceptable because this prevented him from employing agricultural labourers since he could not offer them accommodation.

Zeitzeugen im Interview is a very readable and interesting book which provides a nice contrast between the integration of refugees in an urban and rural environment. The conclusions are clearly and concisely set out. The interviews are informative and have been skilfully edited. The decision to divide up the refugees' comments thematically helps the reader to gain a general impression of their views on a particular issue. However, there are, in my opinion, also some problems. Parisius does not refer to any of the numerous other local refugee studies carried out in Lower Saxony even though some of their conclusions differ from his. A more serious criticism is the absence of any critical analysis of oral history research. The reader is not told how the interviewees were selected or how reliable their recollection of events which had taken place forty or even fifty years previously is likely to be. After all, several

of those interviewed were over the age of 70 and one was 86. Memory loss appeared to be a particular problem with the 75-year-old Herr Ludwig but the reader is expected to take the refugees' comments at face value.

Volker Ackermann's *Der 'echte' Flüchtling* focuses on the large number of refugees and expellees who fled from the GDR into the *Bundesrepublik* in the period 1945-61. This is an important and interesting topic on which surprisingly little has so far been written. Siegfried Bethlehem's study entitled *Heimatvertreibung, DDR-Flucht, Gastarbeiterzuwanderung*, published in 1982, analysed the policy of the West German government towards the refugees from the GDR, but the author was unable to gain access to the archival material necessary to evaluate the motives behind their flight to the West. Helge Heidemeyer's book, *Flucht und Zuwanderung aus der SBZ/DDR 1945/1949-1961* (1994), concluded that the federal government in Bonn did not have a clear, consistent, or coherent policy towards refugees from the GDR, noting that it accepted them more readily in the early 1950s when they represented an economic burden than at the end of the decade when they constituted an important asset for the expanding West German economy. While Volker Ackermann's work covers some of the same ground, he concentrates in particular on young refugees from the GDR and, unlike Heidemeyer, assesses not only the attitude of the West German authorities to the refugee problem but also looks at it from an East German perspective. Although there is no indication in the title, Ackermann's study is regionally based, dealing with North Rhine-Westphalia, the *Bundesland* which bore the brunt of the influx of refugees from the GDR in the 1950s.

Der 'echte' Flüchtling has been impressively researched and Ackermann has evaluated material from no fewer than twenty-six archives. While the book is based predominantly on West German sources, he has also analysed East German documents held in the *Bundesarchiv* in Potsdam and the *Jugendarchiv beim Institut für Zeitgeschichte*, based in Berlin. This enables the author to see the issues from contrasting perspectives. Curiously, however, Ackermann did not carry out research in the Public Record Office in London, even though a significant amount of material on this topic is held there. The title of the book – *Der 'echte' Flüchtling* – is entirely appropriate because it does indeed represent the 'red thread' running through the work. All the refugees or expellees who fled or were expelled from the Eastern territories in the early post-war years were automatically classified as 'genuine' refugees but, after the establishment of the Bundesrepublik in 1949, a distinction was

made between different groups of refugees from the GDR depending on their motives for fleeing to the West. Ackermann's study focuses on who qualified as a 'genuine' refugee and was therefore entitled to preferential treatment. This issue is looked at from the perspective of the federal government in Bonn and the state government of North Rhine-Westphalia. Particular attention is paid to the treatment of young East German refugees in the 18-25 age group, members of the police force, and soldiers from the National People's Army. Ackermann illustrates how the concept of the 'genuine' refugee was incorporated into federal legislation introduced in the early 1950s. Those deemed to be 'genuine' refugees had suffered 'a direct threat to life and limb or their personal freedom' (p. 13). On the basis of surveys, questionnaires, and reports, Ackermann shows that very few GDR refugees were able to meet this criterion for recognition as an 'echter Flüchtling'.

The response of the Adenauer government to the influx of refugees from the GDR was heavily influenced by political pragmatism. While recognizing that few of them conformed to its definition of a 'genuine' refugee, it continued to accept the vast majority, maintaining in public that they had suffered political persecution in the GDR. This decision can be attributed to foreign policy considerations. As part of its strategy to bring about the unification of Germany, the federal government was anxious to demonstrate to international public opinion what it saw as the inhumanity of the political system in the GDR. It therefore attached great importance to portraying the refugees as victims of the 'overall political situation' (p. 35) in East Germany and was reluctant to concede that they may have fled to the West for economic, personal, or other reasons. In fact, there is even evidence that the government sought to suppress the publication of public opinion polls which refuted its argument that the exodus from the GDR was politically motivated. For example, in April 1957 it exerted pressure on journalists not to publish the findings of a survey by Infratest revealing that 29 per cent of GDR refugees had come to the West in order to improve their economic position.

Ackermann illustrates how the desire of the Bonn government to depict the East German refugees as victims of political persecution influenced the implementation of both the *Notaufnahmegesetz* of 22 August 1950 and the *Bundesvertriebenengesetz* of 15 May 1953. The majority of GDR refugees were accepted under the *Notaufnahmegesetz* throughout the 1950s even though no more than a tiny proportion of

them could prove 'a direct threat to life or limb or their personal freedom'. Thus, pragmatic political considerations rather than consistent, objective criteria determined who was to be regarded as a 'genuine' refugee, and it is hard to disagree with Ackermann's conclusion that the process bordered on a 'farce' (p. 113). While the *Bundesvertriebenengesetz* also laid down that recognition as a 'genuine' refugee should be dependent on evidence of political persecution, this stipulation was gradually relaxed during the 1950s in response to pressure from political and church leaders. On 27 July 1957, an amendment was introduced widening the criteria for recognition as a 'genuine' refugee to include a 'serious conflict of conscience'. More important still, economic reasons were finally recognized in an amendment passed on 29 June 1961, less than two months before the construction of the Berlin Wall. However, according to the Bonn government, such refugees were none the less victims of the political system in the GDR since economic and political factors were inextricably linked. As Ackermann noted: 'From this time onwards even the wish to improve one's standard of living was regarded as a political motive for fleeing [to the West]; the "fight for freedom" was officially interpreted as "the fight of the working population for a fair share in the gross national product" ' (p. 283).

Young people were heavily overrepresented among those who left the GDR and, according to one study, almost half of them were under the age of twenty-five. They were accommodated in camps and, on the basis of confidential reports drawn up by the camp authorities, Ackermann explores their motives for fleeing from East Germany. He outlines the difficulties in interpreting the reports since the refugees would not necessarily cite their real reasons for leaving the GDR but those they considered strong enough for them to be allowed to stay in the Bundesrepublik. Several camp administrators observed that an unusually large number of young refugees had an unstable family background and, according to a report from the Haus Elisabeth camp near Gießen in 1954, no less than 61.5 per cent of the occupants came from broken homes. It was noticeable that all the reports from camp officials interpreted 'political motives' in a very broad way. For example, the annual report in 1957 for the Sandbostel and Westertimke camps near Bremen concluded that 71 per cent of their inmates had fled to the Federal Republic for 'political' as opposed to 'personal' reasons. Later in the report it transpired that among those attributed 'political' motivation was a young East German woman who had come to the

West to marry her fiancé because 'the fulfilment of the most elementary human aspirations was made so difficult by the GDR' (p. 183). The same official noted in 1953 that pregnancy was a common cause of young women choosing to flee to the West. A representative survey commissioned by the *Bundesministerium für gesamtdeutsche Fragen* in 1956 concluded that political motives were of primary importance among only 29 per cent of refugees, while the majority were influenced by personal or economic factors. According to Ackermann, East German students came closest to the Bonn Government's vision of 'genuine' refugees who had suffered political discrimination and rejected the SED regime.

An important aspect of Ackermann's study deals with the efforts, both at federal and state level, to integrate the GDR refugees into West German society. In North Rhine-Westphalia, special homes were set up for young people, jointly financed by public and private money. They were initially concerned exclusively with the economic and social needs of the refugees but later assumed greater political significance due to the gradual recognition that the decision to flee to the Federal Republic did not necessarily imply acceptance of its political system. One study carried out by the Evangelische Heimstatthilfe in 1958 concluded that, while the refugees rejected the SED regime, they did not necessarily identify with the 'parlamentarisch-demokratische Grundordnung', preferring instead 'an ideal form of Communism' (p. 255). This view was borne out by the reaction of young East German refugees to the industrial unrest in Baden-Württemberg in the spring of 1963 when they supported the striking metal workers using 'radical Marxist arguments' (p. 249).

One of the most interesting sections of the book concerns the response of the SED to the flight of its citizens to the West. Initially, the regime adopted a relaxed attitude but the decision to close the border with the Federal Republic in May 1952 indicated its disquiet. This deepened in the mid-1950s as the East German economy began to experience the negative consequences of a dwindling work-force. Ackermann shows that SED officials admitted privately that not enough was being done to counter the exodus of East German citizens to the West, but there was a reluctance to debate the issue openly. In so far as it was discussed, the SED attributed the problem to a conspiracy on the part of the West. It argued that the Federal Republic was consciously attempting to attract economically valuable groups as a means of

slowing down the GDR's post-war recovery and weakening its military position. On the other hand, the SED did not consider even privately that the refugees were influenced by political motives. While the Bonn government viewed them as 'freedom fighters' and 'genuine political refugees' (p. 139) who left East Germany not because of the attractiveness of the Federal Republic but due to their dissatisfaction with the GDR, the SED saw the refugees as victims of the Adenauer government's propaganda campaign to lure them to the West to supplement the West German work-force.

Volker Ackermann has chosen an excellent topic and produced a very fine book. It is extensively based on primary sources and the author succeeds in presenting the results of empirical research within a clear conceptual framework. While the focal point of the book is the attitude of the Federal Government to the refugees from the GDR, it is by no means simply a political study, but also views the refugee problem in an economic and social context. Ackermann succeeds in placing the events he is describing in a wider historical perspective and draws parallels with the issue of asylum seekers in Germany in the early 1990s. He also illustrates the extreme political sensitivity of the refugee problem during the 1950s, showing how the Bonn government sought to suppress evidence of young East German refugees choosing to return to the GDR.

Ackermann's central argument is both original and convincing. He builds up a fascinating picture of the Bonn government's vision of a 'genuine' refugee who, after due reflection on the contrasting political systems in East and West Germany, decides to flee to the West. Ackermann's analysis of the refugees' motives for fleeing to the Federal Republic is the most interesting but also the most problematic section of the book. Although the author undoubtedly succeeds in showing that very few were able to meet the government's stringent definition of a 'genuine' refugee, he acknowledges the difficulties in interpreting the refugees' own statements about their motives for leaving the GDR since they had to convince the West German authorities that they had compelling reasons to remain in the Federal Republic. In fact, this is an area where oral history might have been employed to good effect since the refugees would have had no reason to withhold their true motives many years later.

Fremde im Land is an important publication which has a chapter devoted to the major groups of German and foreign immigrants who

have settled in the Federal Republic since the Second World War. Peter Marschalck's contribution provides an extremely detailed analysis of demographic trends in Lower Saxony since the Second World War. He assesses the impact on the state's population of the influx of German refugees and expellees in the period 1946-50, the GDR refugees during the 1950s, the guest workers during the 1960s, and the large number of *Aussiedler* and foreigners who have arrived in Germany since the mid-1980s. Although the arguments are apt to be obscured by the wealth of statistical information, this essay represents a useful introduction to the more detailed studies of the individual population groups which form the rest of the volume.

The first of Adolf Wennemann's two chapters focuses on the German refugees and expellees from the East who arrived in Lower Saxony during the second half of the 1940s. He concludes that, contrary to the widely held view at the time, their economic and social integration still had a long way to go at the end of the 1950s and was not, in fact, achieved until the 1970s or 1980s. He argues that, as a result of their mobility, willingness to work, and generally good educational qualifications, the refugees represented an important stimulus for the economy. In this way they 'accelerated the economic and social change of the Federal Republic into a modern industrial society' (p. 124). Wennemann also analyses the newcomers' political attitudes, maintaining that, despite widespread fears that they would succumb to political radicalization, they emphatically rejected the overtures of the KPD and became a source of political stability in post-war Germany. He concludes that the initially tense relations between the refugees and the native population improved during the 1950s and 1960s. Wennemann argues that, while this can be partly attributed to the gradual alleviation of the newcomers' material distress as they began to benefit from the 'economic miracle', another important factor was the arrival of the *Gastarbeiter* in rural areas of Lower Saxony in the 1960s since it prompted the refugees and indigenous inhabitants to establish closer relations in the face of this new 'external threat'. Although this chapter is based exclusively on secondary sources, it is nevertheless an excellent summary of the results of recent research on the refugee problem in Lower Saxony.

Wennemann's second contribution looks at a different but closely related topic, namely the refugees who fled from the SBZ/GDR. Due to its geographical position, Lower Saxony bore the brunt of this exodus until the GDR authorities sealed the border in May 1952. Wennemann

examines essentially the same issues as in Ackermann's more detailed study of North Rhine-Westphalia – the motives of the refugees, the attitude of the East German government to the loss of its citizens, and the policies of the federal government to the continuing influx of new population elements. However, the most interesting aspect of the essay concerns the integration of the GDR refugees in Lower Saxony. Wennemann argues that their economic integration proceeded more quickly than that of the German refugees from the East because they settled mainly in urban and industrial conurbations where employment prospects were more favourable. In addition, they were younger, better qualified and, unlike the refugees from the East, were often able to pursue the same career as in their original country of residence. Moreover, the overall economic situation in the 1950s was appreciably bettter than in the early post-war years. Nevertheless, the GDR refugees were not readily accepted by the native population who saw them as competitors for housing and jobs. Even though Wennemann's essay does not break new ground, it is none the less a very clear and substantive contribution to this volume.

Leonie Herwartz-Emden and Manuela Westphal investigate the topical issue of *Aussiedler*. About half of the 3 million *Aussiedler* who settled in the *Bundesrepublik* between 1950 and 1994, arrived in the period 1987-92. Most of them came from Poland, the former Soviet Union, and Rumania. The main focus of the essay concerns the response of the German political authorities at national, regional, and local level to the flood of *Aussiedler* in the late-1980s and early 1990s. It shows how the Federal and regional governments, under pressure to reduce public expenditure, increasingly delegated responsibility for the *Aussiedler* to the *Kommunen*. The resulting financial cutbacks have had adverse effects on the economic integration of the *Aussiedler*. Unemployment levels rose, partly because of the reduction in the duration of German language courses, while their housing situation also deteriorated in the early 1990s. The integration of this group was also impeded by their lack of contact with the German population and the fact that 'they consider themselves to be German but find themselves constantly regarded as foreigners in their host country' (p. 209). All in all, this is an original and stimulating chapter on a topic on which comparatively little has been written.

Susanne Benzler's essay is concerned with asylum seekers and other groups of foreign refugees. Benzler is critical of the response of the

CDU/CSU/FDP government in Bonn to the sharp increase in the number of asylum seekers following the collapse of the Soviet Union and argues that until 1994 the coalition government in Lower Saxony comprising the SPD and the Greens adopted a more constructive attitude on this issue. Despite the stipulation in the *Asylbewerberleistungsgesetz* of July 1993 that asylum seekers were in future to receive payments in kind rather than monetary assistance, the Lower Saxony government permitted the *Kommunen* to continue with monetary contributions if they wished. But, she concludes, financial considerations forced the state government to follow the policies of the federal government more closely from 1994 onwards.

The essay by Michael Bommes looks at the issue of 'guest workers' in Lower Saxony. He shows that, while the Bonn Government sought foreign workers in the 1950s and 1960s, they were to be granted a work permit only if there were no German applicants for the job. After the decision to stop the recruitment of *Gastarbeiter* following the oil crisis of 1973, the Federal Government introduced a series of measures designed to encourage foreign workers to return home. However, Bommes argues that this policy did not turn out to be successful in the long term and there were more *Gastarbeiter* in West Germany in 1980 than 1974. As a result, greater efforts were made to integrate those who decided to stay in the Federal Republic and Bommes focuses in particular on the education policy of the Lower Saxony Government towards 'guest workers'.

All the books under review are the product of meticulous research and have something worthwhile to say. *Der 'echte' Flüchtling* and *Zeitzeugen im Interview* are both important additions to the increasingly large number of regional and local studies on the refugee problem in the German Federal Republic. As yet, however, very little comparative research on this subject has been undertaken, although the release in the early 1990s of archival material relating to the former GDR has paved the way for comparative studies on the integration of the refugee population in the two parts of Germany. Several major research projects are already under way and their results will be awaited with interest.

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BOOK REVIEWS

DIETER ALBRECHT, *Maximilian I. von Bayern 1573-1651* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1998), xiv + 1176 pp. ISBN 3 486 56334 3. DM 198.00

No German prince of the early seventeenth century, including the Emperor Ferdinand II, dominates the historiography of the Thirty Years War to the same extent as Maximilian of Bavaria. Maximilian undoubtedly exerted a very considerable influence on the course of the war, in particular during its first half, until the early 1630s. Yet the fact that his actions have been analysed much more thoroughly than those of other German princes is also due to the circumstance that Bavarian policy is comparatively well documented (there is, for example, no equivalent for imperial or for Saxon policy to the important multi-volume edition of *Briefe und Akten zur Geschichte des Dreißigjährigen Krieges* based on documents in the Munich archives). Moreover, Maximilian has remained an important figure in Bavarian regional – or possibly one should say 'national' – history, a tradition on which Albrecht's biography is partly based. Finally, many historians working on the history of the Thirty Years War have shown a particular interest in the history of the Catholic League led by Bavaria, whereas the Emperors Ferdinand II and III have been comparatively neglected, not least by Austrian historians themselves who might otherwise have been better qualified than anybody else to do research on the policy of the imperial court.

However, we have until recently lacked a truly definitive biography of the first early modern Prince Elector of Bavaria. Andreas Kraus's concise biography published in 1990, although undoubtedly valuable enough, is a less ambitious work than Albrecht's book and, by comparison, more impressionistic. More than thirty years ago, in 1962, Albrecht published a study of Maximilian's foreign policy from 1618 to 1635, and his interest in foreign policy continues to inform much of the present work. Nevertheless this is indeed a comprehensive biography which includes, for example, accounts of Maximilian's youth, education, and domestic policy, although foreign policy becomes very much the dominant issue for the years after 1618. The chapter on Maximilian's piety is a particularly successful analysis of the Elector's religious and political mentality. Maximilian could be a ruthless and at times

unscrupulous politician and for the modern observer it is tempting to assume that he used religion to legitimize a policy which was ultimately motivated by a quest for secular power and status. However, there is no doubt that Maximilian's religious zeal, which verged on the fanatical, was genuine enough, and was inspired by a typical counter-Reformation piety centred on the veneration of the Virgin Mary, as Albrecht demonstrates. In 1645, for example Maximilian dedicated himself entirely to Mary as the Virgin's 'slave' (*mancipium*), and deposited a letter written in his own blood in the tabernacle of the chapel in Altötting as a token of this act of personal devotion. Maximilian saw to it that his deep veneration for the Virgin Mary, whom he had proclaimed as 'patrona Bavaria' early on in his reign, was shared by his subjects. Here, as in other areas, his rule had a lasting impact on Bavaria.

Maximilian continued to hold a prominent place in the Bavarian 'national' pantheon well into the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, not so much because of his religious policy but because he managed to raise Bavaria to the status of a Prince Electorate and to acquire the Upper Palatinate in the 1620s. In fact, King Louis I of Bavaria (1825-48) created almost a 'cult' of his ancestor, as Albrecht mentions. For Maximilian himself, however, the electoral dignity was not just a symbol of the status of the Bavarian Wittelsbachs as the highest-ranking dynasty in the Empire after the Habsburgs. It was also a token of Bavaria's share and participation in the Holy Roman Empire, which he saw not merely as a secular, but as a sacred institution, a 'sacratissimum aedificium' like the Roman church, as Albrecht points out (p. 578). Essentially Maximilian's attitude remained ambivalent. He took pride in his position as a prince of the Empire, but he felt entitled to oppose the Emperor when he thought that the Habsburgs were threatening his own privileges and the liberties of the German princes. In the late 1620s he even contemplated active co-operation with the Habsburgs' traditional enemy, France. In fact Maximilian always possessed deep sympathy for France, whereas he never ceased to distrust Spanish policy. Spain's attempt to prevent or delay the transfer of the Palatine electoral dignity to Maximilian in 1621-23 was partly responsible for this attitude, but according to Albrecht, Maximilian's fundamental mistrust and even hatred of Spain cannot be explained in merely rational terms (p. 657).

In this as in other respects Maximilian shared the national sentiments and prejudices of many German Protestants in spite of his own fervent

Catholic piety. In fact, Maximilian was capable of co-operating with moderate Protestants such as the Elector of Saxony when he deemed this expedient, although he clearly saw the Thirty Years War primarily as a war of religion at least until the mid-1630s (p. 1116). But Maximilian's aversion to Protestantism was very much concentrated on Calvinism, which he regarded as incompatible with the Religious Peace of Augsburg of 1555 as Albrecht shows. This may explain why Maximilan could argue in 1629 that even a possible Swedish intervention in the Empire and an invasion of north-eastern Germany were acceptable as long as Swedish troops occupied only Mecklenburg and Pomerania and did not advance any further (p. 757). Nevertheless Maximilian clearly failed to realize how much the Edict of Restitution, which he supported so strongly, and which the Emperor had enacted in 1629 at least to some extent to satisfy Maximilian's own demands for a Catholic 'roll back' against the Protestants, would antagonize all Protestants, even those who had supported Ferdinand II in the past.

Albrecht devotes two chapters of his book to the Edict of Restitution and its aftermath ('Das Restitutionsedikt', pp. 693-712, and 'Ausgleichsverhandlungen über das Restitutionsedikt', pp. 761-74), and demonstrates that the Bavarian Elector supported the Edict against the advice of many of his own counsellors who clearly saw that the war would be prolonged indefinitely by this radical measure (pp. 696-7). It nevertheless remains unclear how a politician as astute as Maximilian could commit such a serious error of judgement which was to cost him dearly in the early 1630s. Although Albrecht's interpretation differs in some points from Robert Bireley's in his important study, published in 1975, of Maximilian's confessor Adam Contzen, one of the fathers of the Edict of 1629, Albrecht's analysis does not really supersede Bireley's book. Here as in other respects, the limits of Albrecht's biography become visible. Essentially it remains a somewhat conventional and one may even say old-fashioned work. A very solid and learned study undoubtedly, but not a book likely to create an entirely new image of its protagonists or to revise earlier accounts on a large scale, although Albrecht does correct many minor, and not so minor, misconceptions and erroneous interpretations of Maximilian's policy.

In his concluding chapter Albrecht offers an overall appraisal of the Elector's character and policy, an appraisal informed very much by a specifically Bavarian perspective, which dominates other sections of this book as well. He admits that Maximilian's claim to fame is based

more on his pertinacity and the single-mindedness with which he pursued his objectives than on any ability to solve political problems in a truly creative and innovative way, a gift which other princes or statesmen of his age, such as Gustavus Adolphus or Richelieu, clearly possessed. Nevertheless, Maximilian largely created the specifically Bavarian variety of Catholicism, thus becoming one of the 'fathers of Bavarian baroque culture' in strengthening the links between the Bavarian state and nation ('Staat und Volk') on the one hand, and the culture of the Romance countries of Europe on the other (p. 1120).

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RAINER LIEDTKE, *Jewish Welfare in Hamburg and Manchester, c. 1850-1914*, Oxford Historical Monographs (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), viii + 266 pp. ISBN 0 19 820723 9. £40.00

Comparative studies that go beyond the national context are extremely rare in Jewish historiography.[1] For this reason alone, the monograph by Rainer Liedtke stands out. The Jewish communities in the two cities were sustained by various welfare establishments at corporate and community level, and in the form of private and individual initiatives which gave rise to a lively system of associations. These were exclusively Jewish enterprises, run entirely by and for Jews. Thus activities in the welfare sphere helped to maintain a Jewish identity and a sense of belonging together. The author's main question is whether retention of a separate Jewish welfare system once Jews had been given the same legal status as the Christian majority promoted the further integration of the Jewish minorities into German or British society, or impeded it.

Liedtke does not spend long explaining how he came to select these two cities. In the nineteenth century both Hamburg and Manchester had Jewish communities whose histories are well documented. No further justification is required, he claims, adding that trying to find some sort of 'comparability' beyond purely technical issues often hinders comparative studies. First he traces the general development of the two cities in the nineteenth century and sketches the history of the Jewish minority in each. This is followed by a detailed description of Jewish welfare at community level, and then a chapter on co-operation

[1] Christhard Hoffmann, '"Ostjuden" in Westeuropa: Großbritannien und Deutschland im Vergleich (1881-1914)', in Alexander Demandt (ed.), *Mit Fremden leben. Eine Kulturgeschichte von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart* (Munich, 1995), pp. 200-219, is an exception for Britain and Germany. In addition there are essay collections in which individual contributions examine the development and historical experiences of Jewish communities and Jews in various countries. For the period of emancipation, an example is Pierre Birnbaum and Ira Katznelson (eds), *Paths of Emancipation. Jews, States and Citizenship* (Princeton, 1995). The same concept was explored from a comparative angle at a conference on Jewish histories in Britain and Germany held in Cambridge in 1997. The conference proceedings have been published as M. Brenner, R. Liedtke, and D. Rechter (eds), co-ordinated by Werner E. Mosse, *Two Nations. British and German Jews in Comparative Perspective* (Tübingen, 1999).

between the Jewish and municipal welfare institutions. Schools and hospitals had far greater physical presence than the abstract care for the needy administered by committees, and they were therefore of particular symbolic significance for the Jewish minority. Their concrete existence represented continuity and achievement, and a separate chapter is devoted to them. In the 1880s a mass emigration and an exodus set in from eastern Europe to the New World. Since Hamburg was the second largest German port after Bremen many passed through it, while Manchester was the destination of many immigrants. The Jewish community in Britain increased threefold between 1880 and 1914 as a result of immigration from eastern Europe, and the sixth chapter of the book deals with the reaction of the Jewish minorities and the welfare institutions to this influx, and the transformations of the Jewish communities it caused. A separate chapter is devoted to women's involvement in Jewish welfare. This section does not deal with women as carers, or look at their everyday, practical worries, but presents examples of enterprises led by women in each of the two cities. The study concludes with an analysis of support projects which were constituted as societies and based on private initiatives outside the established community agencies. In the case of Manchester Liedtke shows the particular significance of projects of this sort initiated by *nouveau riche* immigrants from eastern Europe for their compatriots. He argues convincingly that this was a way of asserting themselves alongside and against the established Anglo-Jewish élite, which did not open its doors to 'newcomers' from eastern Europe until the inter-war period, and of gaining status and respect.

The Jewish community in Hamburg was descended from Sephardim expelled from the Iberian peninsular at the end of the fifteenth century, some of whom had settled in Hamburg. They came as *conversos*, nominal Catholics, and took some time fully to rediscover their Jewish origin and tradition. This naturally delayed the establishment of a community. None the less, by the second half of the seventeenth century the Jewish community numbered 600 members. The first Ashkenazim went to Altona at the end of the sixteenth century. In 1671 the neighbouring Jewish communities in Altona, Hamburg, and Wandsbek were amalgamated into a *Dreigemeinde* and subjected to the Rabbinical law of Altona. The legal status of the Hamburg Jews was defined by the *Judenreglement* of 1710. According to this they could settle only in certain parts of the city and were obliged to take care of their own poor. In return the

Jewish community was granted far-reaching autonomy as far as regulating its own internal affairs was concerned, and it had the right to deny membership of the community to undesirables. By the beginning of the nineteenth century Hamburg's Jewish community had grown to 6,300. It was the largest in the German-speaking area, with Jews constituting about 6 per cent of the population.[2]

In contrast to Hamburg, the Jewish community in Manchester did not start to emerge until the early nineteenth century. Around 1800 there were only a handful of Jews in the city. In the following years the Jewish minority grew as a result of German-Jewish immigrants arriving in search of greater economic freedoms and opportunities than were available where they were born. In 1815 the Jewish community in Manchester numbered 150; at this time there was a total of 25,000 Jews in England, of whom 15,000 lived in London.

Jewish emancipation took a completely different course in the two cities. In Hamburg there was a lengthy struggle in which rights were granted and then (partially) withdrawn. Eventually, in 1860, a new constitution separated civil rights from religious affiliation and gave Jews the same legal status as the Christian majority. The majority of English Jews, on the other hand, took no part in the debate about Jewish emancipation. This was considered a matter for the élite, because discrimination against Jews was largely restricted to the political sphere, the right to vote and be elected at both local and national level, and exclusion from the universities of Oxford and Cambridge. In 1835 Jews in England finally gained the right to vote, and ten years later they were permitted to hold local government office. In 1858, finally, Baron Lionel de Rothschild entered Parliament as the first Jewish MP. In 1871 the Jewish minority in Manchester numbered about 3,500, more than a third of whom had been born in Russia or Poland.

In Hamburg at this time there were around 14,000 Jews. Since the beginning of the seventeenth century the Jewish minority in Hamburg had established various welfare institutions, the earliest being an orphanage, a hospital, and a poorhouse. From 1865 the Jewish community was no longer legally obliged to take care of its own poor and sick. In Manchester this had never been the case, nor had Jews ever been

[2] By comparison, around 3,000 Jews lived in Berlin at this time, accounting for just under 2 per cent of the population.

forced to join the Jewish community, an obligation which was abolished in Hamburg in 1867.

As the author shows, changes in the legal status of Hamburg Jews in the 1860s, specifically the fact that the *Deutsch-Israelitische Gemeinde* (DIG) no longer had to provide a separate welfare system for Jews, by no means caused the DIG to reduce, let alone stop, its activities in this sphere. For decades the administration of welfare was in the hands of the *Israelitische Armenanstalt*, founded in 1818 under the auspices of the *Armen-Collegium*. A statute of 1846 established the *Armenanstalt*'s spheres of activity: (1) financially to support the registered poor, (2) to provide financial and material support for people temporarily in need, and (3) to care for orphans and children who had no one to look after them. Those applying for and receiving support were visited regularly by supervisors from the *Armenanstalt* who formed an impression of their living conditions, and especially of the extent of their need. The DIG did not develop its own form of welfare system, but adopted the organization and structure of the local welfare establishment, the *Allgemeine Armenanstalt*, as its model. The *Israelitische Armenanstalt* had several departments, some of which had been founded independently and were gradually integrated. Rainer Liedtke points out that in the first half of the nineteenth century, before Jews had acquired equal legal status, the granting of aid was frequently linked to conditions in keeping with the demands constantly made by the majority society that the Jewish community become 'better citizens'. This clearly reflected the work of the *Armenanstalt*'s *Vorschuß-Institut*, which had originated in a group of wealthy community members who thought that giving loans to poor Jews in Hamburg would prevent them from having to beg on the streets of the city. The *Institut*'s express aim was to prevent poverty rather than to alleviate its symptoms. Those applying for loans had a good chance if, like artisans and labourers, for example, they were engaged in 'useful activities'. Anyone who had made their way in commerce was not considered. Thus it becomes clear that the Jewish community made use of the administrative means at its disposal to change the occupational structure of the Jewish minority. Not until the Hamburg Jews had become emancipated was this principle abandoned.

The Jewish community in Manchester in the first half of the nineteenth century was still small, and, because it had not been in existence very long by comparison with the one in Hamburg, had not yet developed a far-reaching welfare system. None the less, from 1826 onwards the

Manchester Hebrew Philanthropic Society of the Old Hebrew Congregation took care of the basic needs of the poor, widows, orphans, the old, and the sick. In the 1860s more Jewish immigrants from eastern Europe came to the city and in the years that followed there was a dramatic increase in the number of welfare cases. There was a desperate need to relieve the Philanthropic Society and to put welfare on a new organizational footing commensurate with the changed situation. The Manchester Jewish Board of Guardians (MJBG) was therefore founded in 1867, modelled on the London Jewish Board of Guardians dating from 1859. Its task was to take over care of the poor from the Old Hebrew Congregation. The only responsibilities the Manchester Hebrew Philanthropic Society retained were to provide help for Passover, for which there are special dietary requirements, and to subsidize other costs incurred as a result of religious stipulations.

In the early 1860s the Hamburg Senate set about amending the law to grant the Hamburg Jews complete legal equality. Various groups from the Jewish minority were involved in the preparations for this by submitting petitions proposing changes. A fierce debate developed within the Jewish minority as to whether a separate Jewish welfare system should be retained. As Liedtke demonstrates, this debate provides an insight into the significance of welfare provision for the self-image and identity of the Jewish minority in Hamburg. A minority of the congregation's elders were in favour of disbanding the DIG, but had no objections to retaining a separate welfare system. Most, however, took the view that a separate Jewish welfare system was essential for organized Jewish life to continue. The Senate eventually decided that every inhabitant of the city had the right to turn to the *Allgemeine Armenanstalt*, and made it illegal for Jews to be forced to use a separate welfare system. At the same time, however, the DIG was encouraged to continue to provide for needy Jews on a voluntary basis. Thus the work of the DIG continued. At the same time numerous independent welfare establishments developed, whose work was co-ordinated, from 1910 onwards, by the *Kommission für das Wohlfahrtswesen*.

In both Hamburg and Manchester attempts were made to prevent Jews, regardless of their legal entitlement, from becoming a 'burden' on public welfare and thus on the tax-payer. The MJBG pursued a dual strategy. At committee meetings it constantly stressed the right of Jews, as citizens with equal rights, to claim state aid. In practice, however, whenever it heard of Jews going into the local poorhouse, all cases were

checked and attempts made to have them transferred to the Jewish welfare system. This was not a rule, however, and if a Jew in the local poorhouse turned out to be a hopeless case, support was restricted to the provision of kosher food. Nor did the MJBG have any qualms about putting pressure on those claiming financial support if they refused to accept the MJBG's conditions. They pointed out that under English Poor Law anyone who could not look after themselves and relied on state aid had to go to the poorhouse. Liedtke describes the case of a woman who claimed weekly support from the Guardians in Manchester while her husband was in Brixton prison. She was granted financial aid only on condition that her son undertake training stipulated by the MJBG. As she refused, however, all her support was withdrawn and she had to go to the local poorhouse. This measure enabled the MJBG to decide on the young man's future without the mother's interference.

Training and education of the young generation was considered to be particularly important as it could pave the way into society and provide the basis for a career that would bring advancement and recognition by the Christian community. The example from Manchester shows just how far Jews were prepared to go to acquire what was regarded as an adequate education for a young person. In 1816 the *Israelitische Freischule* was founded in Hamburg, the first institution to educate lower-class Jewish boys in secular subjects, with particular emphasis on teaching the German language. This was soon followed by the *Talmud Tora*, which in 1822 first employed a Christian to teach German, and extended its curriculum to include the natural sciences, geography, and history. Liedtke traces the rapid changes in the Jewish school system from the 1920s onwards, a period in which the two Jewish girls' schools introduced subjects other than house-keeping. The director of the *Freischule*, Anton Rée, went considerably further in his attempts to promote integration into Christian society. He successfully proposed the idea that the school should admit non-Jewish pupils, for whom a special scholarship fund was set up. All in all, the role of Hebrew lessons and instruction in the Jewish religion diminished in the schools, becoming more a private affair taking place on Sundays and in the afternoons.

Manchester Jews' School, founded in 1842, provided needy pupils with free school equipment and clothes, and had a soup kitchen to dispense school meals and milk. For the pupils in question, however, this was a somewhat ambivalent experience. Based on reports by former pupils, Liedtke shows that no attempt was made to improve the

lot of those receiving alms by allowing them a certain degree of privacy and discretion. On the contrary, at the beginning of the school year they all had to stand in front of the class, with the result that a stigma became attached to receiving assistance. The declared aim of the school was to raise the children of poor immigrants out of the lowly and dependent circumstances in which their parents lived, and to stop them from being so visibly different from English children. For this reason the teaching of English, and of English history and geography, was central to the curriculum. Liedtke's book gives the impression that the benevolence practised in this way by the Anglo-Jewish élite was almost part of the education process, as it created a determination no longer to have to rely on alms.

At the *Freischule* members of the *Israelitischer Frauenverein zur Bekleidung armer Knaben* saw to it that the pupils were properly dressed for school. From 1853 onwards the Ladies Clothing Society fulfilled the same function in Manchester. Women, in any case, were 'of great importance for the Jewish welfare system in Hamburg and Manchester', as the author states at the beginning of his chapter on 'Female Spheres and Recognition: Jewish Women's Involvement in Welfare' (p. 164). This is initially a somewhat surprising statement since the six preceding chapters have dealt almost exclusively with men. This may be because Liedtke set the topic aside for a separate chapter. But it also derives from the fact that the author, as indicated in his introduction, largely excludes the sphere of everyday life, where it was mainly women who did the housework and cared for the old and sick. These women were, however, fairly low down on the social ladder. Liedtke is more interested in the organized welfare system, and in those who ran and financed it. In both cities this was the Jewish middle class. The very wealthy, incidentally, were hardly involved, except to make occasional donations. Chapter Seven therefore deals with associations in which women were not only involved, but were also leaders and directors. In 1893 the *Israelitischer-humanitärer Frauen-Verein* (IhFV) was founded and soon became one of the most important female organizations in the Jewish welfare system. Its particular concerns were women, young mothers, and children. In 1911 it set up a rest home for mothers with young children, and worked closely with the home for Jewish girls, opened in 1908, whose aim was to protect young women from social decline and prostitution. According to the IhFV's statutes only women could be on its board. Men were permitted only to be *ex officio* members. There was a noticeable eman-

cipatory approach on the part of these women who sought to make their mark as women working within the Jewish community. As Sidonie Werner, 'mother' of the girls' home and founding member of the IhFV, put it, the *Verein* sought to instil a 'Jewish-social mentality' in women by showing them that they were 'part of a living (Jewish) organism' (pp. 166 ff.).

In Manchester the Jewish Ladies Visiting Association (JLVA), founded in 1884, was the most important women's organization in the welfare sector. Its role-model was the Manchester and Salford Ladies' Public Health Society, whose aim was to increase knowledge about hygiene and to improve general morals and religiosity. Consequently the JLVA, unlike the IhFV in Hamburg, did not work in institutions but visited families regularly in their homes in those areas of the city inhabited by Russian immigrants. It must be said, however, that the ladies employed a woman for this; they rarely visited these families themselves. Attempts to introduce young women to English culture by means of organized trips to galleries or concerts followed by tea were not particularly successful.

In both Hamburg and Manchester, alongside the major welfare institutions run by the congregation, or, in the case of Manchester, one of the larger synagogues, there were numerous private initiatives and self-help groups. In Hamburg these ranged from organizations providing funeral expenses and compensation for loss of earnings during the seven-day period of mourning (*Shiwa*), to associations caring for the sick, providing meals for travellers on the Sabbath, finding jobs, and holding lotteries to generate dowries for young women without means.

In the case of Manchester the numerous associations of east European immigrants deserve particular mention, though unfortunately, as Liedtke complains, very little material on them has survived. The Manchester Jews' Benevolent Society is the only one whose achievements can be traced. The society was founded in 1905 as the Russian Jews' Benevolent Society. It changed its name six years later, but continued to work mainly in the immigrant milieu. The MJBS initially concentrated on giving interest-free loans and on distributing kosher food for Passover. In the context of discussing assistance for needy pupils, reference was made to the MJBG's lack of sensitivity. Similarly, Liedtke shows why the MJBS was far more popular with Russian Jews than the Anglo-Jewish élite. Unlike the MJBG, the MJBS made no attempt to Anglicize Russian-speaking Jews. While applicants to the MJBG had to appear before a

commission composed exclusively of English-speaking, acculturized members of the established community, anyone seeking a loan from the MJBS was visited at home by a Russian-speaking, relatively Orthodox member of the society. Liedtke cites numerous immigrants who complained bitterly about their humiliating experiences with the MJBG. Involvement in the welfare sphere was an important means by which *nouveau riche* immigrants could gain recognition by working in their own milieu. A desire to climb the social ladder motivated many to work in this sphere. The author uses the example of Eli Fox from Kamenetz in Poland to show that the Anglo-Jewish élite was slow to open its doors to the upwardly mobile from the immigrant milieu. For decades Fox was involved in all sorts of organizations that formed part of Russian-Jewish self-help projects, and was, amongst other things, Vice President of the *Talmud Tora*. It was not until the First World War that he joined the Manchester Shechita Board, his first appointment outside the immigrant community.

In the nineteenth century the Jewish communities in Hamburg and Manchester supported complex welfare systems that were becoming increasingly professional. Welfare work played a crucial role in sustaining and re-defining the Jewish identity in the post-emancipatory period. It increased the feeling of belonging together and provided a way of being occupied in a 'Jewish' manner that was viewed positively by the wider public. In both cities, but especially in Hamburg, it is clear that the Jewish minority regarded caring for 'their poor' as an important way in which they could contribute to recognition and emancipation. As Liedtke stresses repeatedly, during the emancipation process it was the critics of the Jewish community, of all people, those who were always accusing the Jews of 'clannishness', who presented the Jewish welfare system as something especially positive and laudable. It does not seem to have occurred to either Jewish or non-Jewish contemporaries that by deliberately supporting a separate Jewish welfare system they were perpetuating social division between Jews and Gentiles in this sphere. The system was retained and expanded, the author concludes, in the firm, but false, belief that it was a way of promoting Jewish integration into society.

Rainer Liedtke has written a thorough and detailed study of the Jewish welfare system whose comparative approach is innovative. However, its richness of detail is also its weakness. For example, when dealing with the various organizations and societies the author includes

all the data on members and increases and decreases in membership subscriptions in the text. Liedtke would have been doing his readers a favour if he had restricted himself to assessing relative developments, and added a brief statistical appendix at the end. His presentation of the discussion within the MJBG for and against a separate Jewish hospital in Manchester reveals a similar sort of problem. The arguments, which went on for years, are reproduced on more than five pages, regardless of whether anything new was being said, or whether someone was simply repeating what had already been said (and quoted) on another page. The question arises as to whether it would not have been better to summarize the arguments and only to introduce new discussants if they really had something new to say, or if their contribution was of particular importance because of their position within the Jewish community. All this detracts from the book's readability and can sometimes make it very dry. It is irritating that when dealing with the Jewish hospital in Hamburg the author describes Heinrich Heine as a 'converted Jew' (p. 127). Liedtke here quotes the poet's well-known complaint that Judaism was a 'plague', a 'thousand-year family sickness' which the Jews had had to bear since their exile in Egypt, and which a hospital could not cure. As we know, Heinrich Heine was baptized, like many others for whom baptism was the only way of being accepted by Christian society. Thus he was a Christian of Jewish origin, but no longer a Jew. To describe his as a 'converted/baptized Jew' is to adopt the contemporary perspective of the Christian majority society from which Heine suffered all his adult life. This is an unnecessary, careless mistake, a cause of irritation when reading this informative monograph.

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KLAUS HILDEBRAND, *No intervention. Die Pax Britannica und Preußen 1865/66-1869/70. Eine Untersuchung zur englischen Weltpolitik im 19. Jahrhundert* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1997), 459 pp. ISBN 3 486 56198 7. DM 168.00

The writing of classical diplomatic history is not dead. Klaus Hildebrand in the book under review is one of its most distinguished practitioners. Without wishing to decry the legitimacy of many contemporary historians' concern with the history of leisure, custom, and other aspects of change, it remains fundamental to research diplomatic relationships and political history. Klaus Hildebrand has stuck to his last. In this substantial work based on the close study of archives, Hildebrand examines an apparently unglamorous period of British foreign policy, despite the efforts of a swashbuckling Palmerston. The years of relative non-intervention after the Crimean War on the continent of Europe have been seen as a missed opportunity for Great Britain, one of the four great powers of Europe. The argument goes that Great Britain allowed a German Empire to emerge too powerful for the good of the rest of Europe, imbued with an ideology of 'blood and iron' and the worship of Prussian militarism, with catastrophic consequences in the twentieth century. How could Great Britain simply have stood by?

Hildebrand shows how facile such a backward reading of history is. The consolidation of the German Empire was actually a major reason for the preservation of European peace among the great powers for more than half a century. The sins of the twentieth century therefore must not be simply visited on the nineteenth. The power relationship both in military and underlying economic terms was very different in 1870 compared to just thirty years later. France and Prussia appeared then more evenly matched; the expectations in 1870 were for a French not a Prussian victory. Even should Prussia win, the future did not inspire alarm. After all, Bismarck's Prussia had always shown restraint in victory; defeated Denmark was not occupied and lost only the disputed Duchies of Schleswig-Holstein. Victory over the Habsburg Empire had not led to the loss of any Habsburg territories to augment Prussia – only of Italian territories to satisfy the national aspirations of its ally, which enjoyed the sympathy of Great Britain. Prussia was a stable state, a conservative monarchy not endangered by the passions of revolutionary change and much admired in Britain. To create a strong centre in the heart of Europe, a region of stability to check the aggressive

tendencies of Russia and France, had been, moreover, an objective of Lord Castlereagh at the Congress of Vienna and since then had been regarded as best serving British interests. Prussian weakness not its strength were more feared in the mid-nineteenth century. Anglo-Prussian relations had one additional positive aspect, quite apart from royal family links; Prussia had no intention of challenging Great Britain's far flung imperial interests, nor did it have a navy worthy of the name. In contrast, the danger of Russian expansion in Asia, to the very frontiers of India where the British believed after the Mutiny that they were sitting on a powder keg which could be lit by the Russian fuse, was ever present and haunted the Foreign Office down to the eve of the First World War. As for France, the most unstable of the great powers, not only were its imperial ambitions and its navy a challenge to Great Britain in the wider world, but its ambitions in regard to Belgium were perceived as a strategic threat at home. Hildebrand has examined in rich detail the Belgian Question as it presented itself to British eyes in 1869. Here, on the issue of the Belgian railways and French influence, the Foreign Secretary Lord Clarendon intervened decisively and with resounding success to defuse the crisis. He was unsuccessful when he tried to achieve the same on the eve of the Franco-Prussian conflict in 1870. His mediation efforts to secure general disarmament failed. Bismarck had no intention of disarming on the eve of completing the unification of Germany.

Hildebrand, a knowledgeable and sympathetic student of British external policies in the nineteenth and twentieth century, in his first chapter clarifies the basic assumptions of British policies based on a parliamentary constitutional monarchy and the interests of the first economic power and premier trading nation in the world. Peace and stability were fundamental aims. The establishment of a *Pax Britannica* would allow not only Great Britain but all nations (as long as they were white) to prosper. That aim contrasts with that of the continental great powers enmeshed in the upheaval and change brought about by constitutional experiments at home and by revolution and war.

Hildebrand follows British policies from the end of the Crimean War through the Luxembourg crisis of 1867 to the eve of the Franco-Prussian war and then reflects on British attitudes to the newly united Germany after 1871. In the decade 1865 to 1874, Great Britain was more focused, he suggests, on the internal policies of parliamentary reform (1867) and the reforms of Gladstone's Great Ministry than on foreign affairs. Here

perhaps Hildebrand overestimates the reforming spirit of Disraeli and Gladstone. Only in retrospect did the progression to 'democracy' appear to have entered a final and dynamic phase. In truth Disraeli and Gladstone were profoundly conservative in intention but driven along by rivalry and the search for issues enabling their party to gain the upper hand. Their attitude toward continental strife was marked by the belief that the triumph of nationalism, whether in Italy or Germany, was inevitable and that intervention to try to halt it was both undesirable and useless. If the inevitable change, or progress, could not be achieved, preferably peacefully, there was no British interest in supporting one or the other side in war. Hence there was no point either in building up large military resources capable of intervening decisively in the land wars of the European continent, especially as a military threat from continental Europe was a remote possibility. What British policy was designed to ensure was that once the national wars were over, whoever proved the stronger should not resent the role Great Britain had played before the contest was decided. The British wished to live in peace with the 'new' Europe that would emerge. At no time could Great Britain hope to *dominate* continental Europe by its military strength. At best it might lead by example. In the meantime a predominant navy guarded the Empire with an Anglo-Indian army and a small force at home.

In the era of Gladstone, British statesmen suffered from the illusion of the inevitable progress of civilization. As the world's first economic power, Britain believed itself to be in the vanguard and that its experience and outlook would be followed by other nations once they had passed through their phase of national assertion. In an anonymous article Gladstone set out this view in the *Edinburgh Review* after the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian war, writing: 'Certain it is that a new law of nations is gradually taking hold of the mind, and coming to survey the practice of the world; a law which recognises independence, which frowns on aggression, which favours the pacific, not bloody settlement of disputes, which aims at permanent and not temporary adjustment; above all, which recognises as a tribunal of paramount authority, the general judgement of civilised mankind.' In western Europe the prophecy would take another eight decades before it became true. In most of the rest of the world that happy state of affairs has not yet come to pass. Nor was it even then true of British behaviour as an imperial power. It defended fiercely and ruthlessly its interest in the buffer countries in Asia which lay between British India and Russia, in Persia, Afghanistan,

and the Ottoman Empire; in Africa, the imperial contest was with France and in southern Africa with the Boers struggling for independence. The noble vision fell short when in the British Empire there were movements for independence. Hildebrand shows that 'splendid isolation' as a description of British policies during these years is a myth. Nor should we be too hard on Gladstone and his successors. Only utopians are able to follow what they preach without deviations as circumstances require.

Hildebrand has convincingly shown the logic of British policy in Europe from 1856 to 1871 and in that sense rightly characterizes it as a successful policy. The alternatives to intervention, when examined in depth, prove to have been unrealistic. Had British interests been perceived as in jeopardy, which they were not, Britain would have intervened, disappointment with the conduct of the Crimean War notwithstanding. Secure in its superior civilization Great Britain stood aloof, but when with the renewed deterioration of the 'eastern question', the Ottoman Empire once more faced defeat by Russia, Salisbury intervened decisively in the spring of 1878.

Hildebrand's study is a monument to years of scholarship and lays to rest many myths including that of British jealousy and enmity in its relations with the new German Empire. It is peculiar, however, that German scholarship, in general so meticulous in every respect, does not insist that publishers ensure adequate indexes for their work. But that is a minor criticism indeed. It is to be hoped that this splendid work will soon become available in an English translation.

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CHARLOTTE SCHOELL-GLASS, *Aby Warburg und der Antisemitismus. Kulturwissenschaft als Geistespolitik* (Frankfurt/Main: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, 1998), 317 pp. ISBN 3 596 14076 5. DM 29.90

When Peter Gay published his influential study *Weimar Culture: the Outsider as Insider* in 1968, the German-Jewish cultural and art historian Aby Warburg (1866-1929) was little known to historians of art, let alone historians of Germany. This was hardly surprising if, as Gay suggested, the library which Warburg founded in Hamburg in 1926, the *Kulturwissenschaftliche Bibliothek Warburg*, did its work in 'peaceful obscurity'.

Over thirty years of research have proved Gay's judgment inaccurate and lent this son of an eminent German-Jewish banking family a reputation of international proportions. Prompted principally by Ernst Gombrich's 'intellectual biography' of 1970, Warburg's work on the Italian and northern European Renaissance, astrological imagery, and cultural memory has attracted new interest and attained renewed importance for scholars in several fields of academic endeavour. With an interest in art as symbolic representation, Warburg is acknowledged as one of the early exponents of the iconological method in art history and as an important pioneer in the field of *Kulturwissenschaft*. His *Mnemosyne* project of the late 1920s – a never-completed picture atlas in which images of various dates and origins were arranged in relationships designed to illustrate the significance and mutation of expressive gesture in European cultural memory – has attracted the attention of scholars of various hues working in the field of collective memory. Transferred to England in 1933, his library has become a world-renowned institution for the study of those elements of European thought, literature, art, and institutions which derive from the ancient world: the Warburg Institute in the University of London.

With this 'Aby Warburg renaissance' has come a scholarly turn to what, except for a few telling insights, Gombrich expressly avoided: the exploration of Warburg's biography as the seedbed of his thought. Not surprisingly, most of this work has centred on his Jewish identity. Warburg broke from the religious prescriptions of his ancestral faith at a young age; all his life, he insisted on subjugating his Jewish self and emphasizing his acculturated German self. He was certainly not ashamed to be a Jew, but he could not simply jettison his Jewish origins; youthful religious experiences have been seen as significant in the formation of his academic method and questions. Understandably, his longed-for

assimilation of German Jews as full members of German society left him sensitive to the presence of anti-Semitism. It is this sensitivity that has inspired Charlotte Schoell-Glass's book, the most ambitious work to date on the Jewish aspect of Warburg's biography.

Schoell-Glass begins her essay from the contention that Warburg's Jewishness has been, in part, central to his scholarly reception, central to the delays, misunderstandings, and omissions which have characterized scholarly attention to his life's work. Her question is a pointed, yet far-reaching one: how and to what extent did Warburg's experience of anti-Semitism shape his life's work? Her answer is emphatic: sensitivity to anti-Semitism is closely bound to Warburg's theory of culture and was an important motive force behind the construction and operation of his library. The persistence of irrational forces in civilization, a central concept in Warburg's thought, was equated in his mind, she explains, with the permanence of anti-Semitism in European society.

Most of Warburg's work charted humanity's psychological development through its use of symbols. He saw humanity evolving from magical and metaphorical thought patterns to logical, abstract and conceptual ones. But he also conceived of logical and illogical modes of thought as an ahistorical constant in humanity's mental makeup. He was sensitive to the manifestations of unreason in his own lifetime and always hoped their effects could be mitigated, if not ultimately defeated. According to Schoell-Glass, 'Warburg's concept of the study of civilization can be interpreted as the attempt for a second Enlightenment ... the necessity of which arose, for him, from his own and early experience of anti-Semitism which withstood all enlightenment'(p. 25). The need for a new Enlightenment – in Warburg's words the saving of Athens from Alexandria – was impressed upon him by events like the excessively violent murder of *Ostjuden* at the end of the First World War. Like Freud, his research into the 'eternal beast' in civilization was born of 'a real and existential experience of threat through the hatred of Jews' (p. 93).

Getting at this truth has involved, Schoell-Glass explains, breaking a code of silence, breaking through the reticence of the German-Jewish economic élite to speak of and confront anti-Semitism. This was a degrading experience and Warburg rarely did so. That is, at least not openly. Instead, much of his published work, the author insists, contains an inexplicit subtext of anti-Semitic sensitivity which can be properly discerned only through recourse to his private papers. Schoell-Glass describes her reading of these as taking the study of Aby Warburg

beyond the psychological and subjective reasons for his scholarly interests – the frequently referred to mental illness that Gombrich considered not completely intelligible and therefore avoided – to objective and discernible facts about his psychological and intellectual makeup.

It was this makeup, the author argues, that impressed itself upon the family-funded *Kulturwissenschaftliche Bibliothek Warburg*, the vast collection of books which Warburg opened as a semi-public library and research institute in 1926 with himself as director. The author explains that Warburg's 'tactic of silence about his strategy of enlightenment' (p. 130) has led to the characterization of the library as an apolitical institution. Unlike his brother Max, Aby distanced himself from political activity. But again, Schoell-Glass insists, only overtly. She claims that Warburg conceived of and directed his library as a fortress for the protection of reason and a weapon to be wielded against anti-Semitism. As the book's subtitle implies, the study of civilization became the exercise of intellectual politics. Two important points underpin this interpretation. The first is that in early-twentieth-century Germany, there was no such thing as an apolitical *Kulturbegriff*. Warburg coupled the development of culture not, like many other intellectuals, with a notion of a German nation from which he became conscious of exclusion as a Jew, but with the development of the state. The second is that if Aby held no seat in Hamburg's citizens' assembly, as Max did, no university appointment, and was not involved in directing the family bank, he was also no scholarly hermit. On the contrary, he was, as Michael Diers has described him and his correspondence reveals, a 'man of the world', a veritable chronicler of contemporary history often closely and actively connected with the events of his day, especially in Hamburg.

As sources for her research, Schoell-Glass takes Warburg's published works, working papers, note-card files, correspondence, and the contents of his library. The most important unpublished sources are usefully reproduced in an appendix. Her account begins with a chapter devoted to a concise and critical review of the literature that has attempted to deal with Warburg's Jewish identity. It then proceeds through five chronologically-ordered chapters, case studies showing how sensitivity to anti-Semitism impressed itself on various aspects of Warburg's work.

The second chapter elucidates two letters written by Aby to his mother while he was a student in Bonn and Strasburg in the late 1880s. They reveal the young Aby distancing himself from the orthodox

practice of his parents, yet struggling to come to terms with his consciousness of belonging to a minority group within the Empire. In his youthful zeal, Warburg thought of turning his efforts against the problem of anti-Semitism. Many of the political and social developments in turn-of-the-century Europe struck a dissonant chord with this champion of reason. Prominent among these, as Schoell-Glass argues in chapter three, were allegations of ritual murder levelled against Jews and the pogroms these triggered, like those in the West Prussian town of Konitz in April and May 1900. While admitting the difficulty of reconstructing the meaning of these events for Warburg, the author suggests that press cuttings collected by him indicate a long preoccupation with the theme of ritual murder and desecration of the Christian host by European Jews. More importantly, outbursts of anti-Semitism gave shape to Warburg's ideas regarding the dangers of uncontrolled forms of expression in the essay 'Dürer and the Italian Antique' of 1905.

Chapter four reconstructs a foray by Warburg into the realm of national politics in 1916. This came over the issue of the granting of reserve officer commissions to German-Jewish one-year volunteers during the First World War. 'The Jewish question in the framework of German politics' was the title of a memorandum penned by Max Warburg with the assistance of Aby. Distributed by Max in the official circles of Berlin, it argued that the government's attitude on the equal treatment of Jewish soldiers was of critical importance for Germany in terms of its international reputation and its legitimization of its war effort. But this, Schoell-Glass explains, was 'a document of helplessness', whose tragic character is born of the authors' blindness for the uselessness of rational and moral argument to influence prejudice and hate (p. 141).

The First World War heightened Warburg's obsession with humanity's return to primitive states of mind and he turned his attention, in 'Pagan-antique prophecy in word and image in Luther's time' (1920) to the role of the media as purveyor and reinforcer of anti-Semitism. Finally, in 1926, Warburg's methods were institutionalized in the founding of his library under the guiding principle of *Sachlichkeit*, the subject of chapter five. From this scholarly fortress, the weapon of academic objectivity was wielded against the forces of unreason, against the irrationality of anti-Semitism. Thus Warburg's Rembrandt lecture of 1926 is read by Schoell-Glass as a belated reply to Julius Langbehn's *Rembrandt als Erzieher*, the scholar's 'highly-developed means of professional, art-historical picture analysis' confronting 'the *völkisch*,

pan-Germanic appropriation of tradition'(p. 209). Warburg set Rembrandt's clarity and rationality against the dark, inner prophecy of a Germanic Rembrandt; he opposed the modern and international to *Heimatkunst*.

Schoell-Glass provides ambitious new readings of some of Warburg's texts. She has used the complementary nature of his note-card files and the library to good effect and turned her attention to recondite sources like Warburg's glosses in Nietzsche's *The Birth of Tragedy*. But recourse to such documents points to the major weakness of the book: the paucity of substantial and coherent sources the author is able to muster in support of her argument. Much of chapter three, for example, is built around an article of 1905 from the *Frankfurter Zeitung* which Warburg filed, entirely without comment, with his manuscript version of 'Dürer and the Italian Antique'. This documented how Russian Cossacks murdered a young teacher shouting 'strike the students and Jews dead!' (p. 89) and is taken by the author as evidence of a link between anti-Semitic outrages and Warburg's analysis of a drawing depicting the death of Orpheus at the hand of raging Maenads.

These are, undoubtedly, the exigencies of establishing a 'subtext' in an author's work; Schoell-Glass's research amounts mostly to a process of accumulating circumstantial evidence around texts and events already well known to Warburg scholars. But in little of this do we hear Warburg's voice speak expressly of anti-Semitism; in the case of the press cuttings he collected, we do not hear him at all. Perhaps the best sources employed by the author, and the ones where we hear Warburg's voice most clearly, are the letters written as a student and the memorandum of 1916 which he helped Max to compose. But apart from these, the reader is left with the sense that Warburg's papers do not speak with the clarity that the author suggests, a clarity that would make the notion of a subtext in his published works much more credible. The great intervals between the episodes analysed also make it difficult to build a convincing picture of consistent and sustained sensitivity to anti-Semitism.

Further, the dearth of substantial material on anti-Semitism in Warburg's own hand cannot simply be explained by an unwillingness, on his part, to speak openly of anti-Semitism. Firstly, it is not certain that Warburg's hesitancy to confront these issues directly in a public forum was as strong as the author suggests. Quite apart from the memorandum of 1916, we know that, as early as 1900, Warburg planned to write essays

on anti-Semitism for *Der Lotse*, a Hamburg journal. This fact makes the advantages of delving more deeply into Warburg's extensive correspondence quite clear. Secondly, it is difficult to imagine that a scholar who was constantly grappling with the theoretical structures that underpin his essays could have omitted, in the private realm of his extensive notes, any significant discussion of anti-Semitism if it was one of the major motivations for his scholarly efforts.

In many ways, Schoell-Glass is recapitulating an argument made by George Mosse almost fifteen years ago in *German Jews Beyond Judaism*. Mosse insisted that Warburg's work was a response to 'the challenges of the times', thereby transforming the scholar into an anti-fascist hero. Schoell-Glass hitches her work to this argument when she quotes Michael Steinberg's assertion that the anti-aesthetic art analysis of Warburg 'stands militantly on the critical side of European intellectual life, next to Benjamin, and opposite, ultimately, the fascist energies that proceed according to the aestheticization of politics' (p. 49). But this assertion leads to the incorrect notion that, as a reaction to their appropriation by *völkisch* ideologues, Warburg defiantly emphasized the non-German characteristics of the work of Rembrandt and Dürer. On the contrary, Warburg was aware that Rembrandt had recourse to traditions of northern European symbolism while it was Dürer's 'native Nuremberg calmness' that reacted against the excesses of pictorial rhetoric current in Italy.

There is no doubt that anti-Semitism offended Warburg's deeply-felt patriotism. But the complexities of Warburg's life and thought demand a more discriminating assessment. To her credit, Schoell-Glass does not ignore Warburg's patriotism. But a much more evenly balanced picture of his political and cultural sympathies could be attained through greater attention to biographical detail and historical context. Particularly important would be a consideration of Aby's immediate environment, Hamburg, a city generally seen as less anti-Semitic than others. From this, a more nuanced picture of the social and cultural context of the Kaiserreich and Weimar Germany would emerge, one that is more accurate than an image of ubiquitous anti-Semitism. This seems to have had little to do, for instance, with Warburg's reluctance to take up an academic job.

There is no question that Aby Warburg was threatened by dramatic expressions, early in this century, of the permanence of unreason in the mental makeup of European society. It is widely accepted that he

conceived of his library as a weapon in the battle against the forces of unreason. The value of *Aby Warburg und der Antisemitismus* is its emphasis on the component of anti-Semitism in Warburg's conception of these forces. But this must be matched by a recognition of the many complex threads interwoven in Warburg's complex mind. The phobias, delusions, anxieties, and obsessions from which he suffered suggest that his idiosyncratic intellectual development was more the product of personal struggles than any preoccupation with anti-Semitism. His notes show that his scholarly vision went far beyond a preoccupation with the condition of German and European Jewry.

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HERMANN BUTZER, *Diäten und Freifahrt im Deutschen Reichstag. Der Weg zum Entschädigungsgesetz von 1906 und die Nachwirkung dieser Regelung bis in die Zeit des Grundgesetzes*, Beiträge zur Geschichte des Parlamentarismus und der politischen Parteien, 116 (Düsseldorf: Droste, 1999), 515 pp. ISBN 3 7700 5217 X. DM 118.00

In his essay on 'Politics as a Vocation', delivered as a lecture at Munich in 1918 and published in 1919, Max Weber explored the nature of the calling of politics in his three ideal types of legitimation of domination: traditional, charismatic, and legal-rational. He concludes that, just as only in the Occident has a formally rational system of law evolved, only there has the professional politician emerged. In a melancholy tone, Weber distinguishes between two ways of making politics one's vocation: by living 'for' politics and by living 'off' politics. Government by those who live 'for' politics is necessarily plutocratic; in order to open the political process to the propertyless, it is necessary to provide a salary to the professional politician, to let that person live 'off' politics, a need that Weber transparently lamented as he castigated German professional politicians for having formed narrow and insular parties that amounted to 'guilds' of notables.

Weber's essay encapsulates a fundamental tension within the liberal conception of representative government since the nineteenth century. On the one hand, voters want their elected officials to represent the electorate independent of their own personal and financial interests, including the universal human need to earn a living; on the other hand, parliamentary deputies *must* somehow earn a living, and if they are not all to be independently wealthy, they must receive recompense from public funds for time and effort spent on public affairs which otherwise would have been devoted to employment.

Starting from Weber's famous essay, Hermann Butzer exhaustively and ably traces the constitutional and legal theory and practice of the provision of compensation to Reichstag deputies from the Constitution of the North German Confederation in 1867, through various regime changes and across numerous caesuras, to the *Grundgesetz* and the Federal Republic. Although the great bulk of the book is devoted to pre-1906 efforts by Reichstag deputies to attain formal recognition of their need for just compensation, Butzer argues convincingly that continuity of practice was the hallmark of the issue of compensation until the final and thorough public acceptance of the profession-

alization of politics in 1958-61 and 1975, long after Weber's pessimistic account.

As is well known, nineteenth-century conservatives bore an ancient antipathy to 'gainful parliamentarism' (p. 48). In 1849 Bismarck, writing in the *Kreuzzeitung*, blasted delegates to the Prussian *Haus der Abgeordneten* as 'filthy drawers of salaries, who confuse their own hunger for the people's thirst for freedom' (p. 437), and in 1867 he called parliamentary salaries 'pay for a cultivated proletariat for the purpose of the gainful pursuit of demagogy' (p. 48). But he found reinforcement in the political writings and theories of representation of John Stuart Mill, who argued in *Considerations on Representative Government* (1865) that parliamentary salaries would attract 'adventurers of lower rank' and debase political discourse. German liberalism as well harboured an ambivalence to salaried politicians, with noted theorists such as Rudolf von Gneist openly admiring the pre-Reform Act English system of unpaid public service in 'honorary office', despite the provision for parliamentary salaries in the still-born Constitution of 1849.

The Constitution for the North German Confederation presented to the constituent Reichstag in 1867 contained an article which provided: 'Members of the Reichstag may not as such draw any salary or compensation.' During the debates, Progressive and National Liberal leaders repeatedly tried to replace this prohibition with an express *right* to compensation, but Bismarck let it be known that this was utterly unacceptable. Facing defections from the right-wing of the National Liberal Party, and fearing that Bismarck would simply decree a Constitution, Rudolf von Bennigsen read into the parliamentary record his conviction that this provision did not prohibit reimbursement of deputies from *private* (meaning party) sources. After Bismarck Delphicly endorsed this interpretation, the Reichstag ratified a Constitution whose Article 32 consisted of the language of the original draft. This article was carried forward unchanged into the Reich Constitution of 1871.

Progressive and National Liberal deputies, supported after 1879 by those of the Zentrum, sought almost every year to amend the Constitution to provide for compensation, but each year their efforts foundered against the rock of Bismarck's opposition and control of the Bundesrat. After 1871, focus shifted to the right of deputies to free travel on German railways, which was enacted in 1873 by a statutory amendment of the Constitution with Bismarck's assent. Over time, retention of free rail passes and attainment of compensation became a 'fundamental

interest' (*Ur-Interesse*) (p. 207) of the Reichstag, and the party base of support for such a constitutional revision widened, after 1900 including even the Conservatives and Free Conservatives.

What emerged was a parliamentary system in which deputies either possessed the independent wealth envisioned by liberal *Honoratioren* theories of representation, or survived in one of two ways: they drew private salaries provided through their parties (either collected from party supporters in their constituencies or contributed by wealthy party supporters, or through employment as party functionaries, or particularly in the case of the SPD, journalists for party newspapers), or they held 'double-mandates' in state parliaments that *paid* compensation. Particularly important here was the Prussian *Haus der Abgeordneten*, in which compensation had been paid since 1850 and whose convenient location in Berlin made it especially attractive for Reichstag deputies.

This practice of informal private salaries or dependence upon income from serving as a state legislator, so different from the theory of Article 32 which formally denied compensation to Reichstag members, had two perverse and paradoxical effects. First, it hampered the work of the Reichstag by discouraging attendance of delegates from constituencies far removed from Berlin, and of delegates who served in state parliaments and who had to attend *there* in order to draw their per diem salaries. This often prevented there being a quorum in the Reichstag, and it also meant that plenary sessions in which votes were *not* scheduled saw very poor attendance that hindered the free exchange of ideas in debate. Second, dependence upon private salaries paid by the parties, or upon election to the Prussian parliament, distorted the internal distribution of power within the political parties, greatly strengthening the hand of party leadership, especially the *Fraktion* leadership who decided placement on the party list. Perversely, a measure designed to *prevent* the professionalization of politics actually *promoted* it by centralizing control over the livelihoods of deputies in the hands of central party bosses in Berlin (pp. 141-58). Moreover, it promoted a Berlin-centred, Prussia-focused structure of politics, as south German Reichstag members either stayed away to avoid costs of living so far from home, or actually resigned state parliamentary mandates in their native states and moved to Berlin and stood for election to the Prussian *Haus der Abgeordneten*. The absence of some system of public compensation for Reichstag deputies promoted the

professionalization of politics and the power of party leadership, eliminating the *Honoratiorenpolitik* it was intended to enshrine.

So long as Bismarck continued in office he maintained his opposition to compensation for Reichstag deputies. When political conjuncture suited, as it did in 1884-85, he again restricted free railway passage, arguing (correctly) that Reichstag deputies had been using (and thus abusing) the privilege to travel about on party business (pp. 158-81). He also upset the system that had emerged in practice by having the Prussian treasury in July 1885 file civil actions against seven deputies (four Progressives and three Socialists) under the Prussian General Law Code to recover the private salaries they had received from their parties. Although all seven suits were dismissed initially, Bismarck's position prevailed on appeal in five of six cases. But the practice of private salaries being paid by parties resumed, and even this civil law threat to deputies' livelihood was removed with the enactment of the Civil Law Code in 1900 (p. 187), which superseded the Prussian General Law Code.

Bismarck's departure from the political scene eliminated the staunchest opponent of compensation for Reichstag deputies, but the power of conservative parties, and fear of the rising Social Democratic presence in the Reichstag after 1890, meant that recurrent efforts to amend the Constitution met no success under Caprivi or Hohenlohe. The Reich Ministry of the Interior practised a gradual expansion of the right of free railway passage by a more generous administration than the narrow reform of 1884, but cash compensation was not forthcoming. After 1900, Bernhard von Bülow faced a Reichstag in which even the Conservatives and Free Conservatives favoured reform of Article 32, and in 1906, in order to win Zentrum support for his great finance reform, he agreed to an amendment to Article 32, which now read: 'Members of the Reichstag may not as such draw any salary. They will receive compensation as provided by law.' A simultaneous implementing law provided for unlimited free railway passage plus an 'expense compensation' of 3,000 marks per year, subject to deductions for days of unexcused absence from Reichstag sessions. With this breakthrough, the long struggle for public compensation for Reichstag deputies ended.

The remaining pre-war years and the war-time era saw both adjustments of how deputies registered their presence in order to avoid deductions, adjustments of payment schedules, and corrections to account for inflation. The Revolution of 1918 and the drafting of the

Weimar Constitution represented no profound discontinuity in policy; Article 40 provided: 'Members of the Reichstag receive the right to free travel on all German railways as well as compensation as provided by national law.' Continuity on this issue was so pronounced that even the same ministerial files simply continued unchanged. Since the adoption of a republican form of government had obviated the contradiction between government and parliament, conflicts over visions for compensation for deputies were far less tense and fundamental, even as important external pressures such as hyperinflation until 1924 and austerity programmes after 1928 forced modification to the level and form of payments. The National Socialists, too, continued to recognize the right of deputies to compensation, although the sinecure-like salaries of Nazi Reichstag members were subject to deductions for Party dues and welfare programmes. And continuity marked the transition to the Federal Republic, as Article 48, Paragraph 3 provided: 'Representatives have a claim to an appropriate compensation that secures their independence. They have the right to free use of all state-owned means of transport. Federal law will regulate particulars' (p. 416).

The long continuity of theory of compensation of deputies ended only in 1958, when the implementing law was amended to link Bundestag salaries to a fixed proportion of those of ministers, and in 1975, when a decision of the Federal Constitutional Court required salaries to be set at a 'full maintenance' level for all deputies. These steps finally coordinated the constitutional and legal theory that viewed deputies as 'amateurs' with practice that had long treated them as professionals (p. 427).

The greatest virtue of this book is its contribution to the history of politics in the Kaiserreich. Its painstaking reconstruction of the battles over the issue of compensation traces the emergence of a view of the Reichstag as an independent institution among deputies and the structure of political parties, particularly that of the SPD. It highlights the contradictions and inadequacies of mid-century liberal notions of representation and of the formal focus of liberal thought, which excluded from consideration vulgar and venal issues like that of compensation for parliamentary representatives. One would like to have seen more treatment of the social reality that lay behind the political debates over compensation, more discussion of the financial lives of the Reichstag deputies who served before 1906, but the author's decision to rely upon ministerial and parliamentary records makes that an inquiry for an-

other book. Finally, this book points out again the dangers of over-reliance upon traditional periodizations of the history of Germany since its first unification in 1871; not only does this issue pre-date the great decisions of 'blood and iron' and outlast the Empire, Weimar Republic, Third Reich, and 'Stunde Null', dates enshrined by political historians, but it transcends the 'conservative re-foundation', the 'dropping of the pilot', the growth of the interventionist state, and other turning points so dear to social historians. In its historicist particularism, Butzer's work shows that particular, seemingly particularist and narrow, issues can shed light far more broadly on the workings of political, constitutional, legal, and social change.

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DAVID F. CREW, *Germans on Welfare. From Weimar to Hitler* (New York and Oxford: OUP USA, 1998), x + 287 pp. ISBN 0 19 505311 7. £42.00

For some time the vast field of welfare policy has been one of the focal points of international research on the history of the Weimar Republic. This is not surprising, as the architects of the Weimar Constitution gave the new state hitherto unprecedented responsibilities in the area of welfare policy. The provision of a minimum of social security was part of the legitimation of the republic: 'The political commitment to the idea of the "social state" was a cornerstone of the Weimar social contract' (pp. 10-11). This close connection between democracy, welfare, and legitimation makes it possible to see the crisis of the welfare state as a 'structural event' in the Weimar Republic. Welfare policy was a central, and therefore hotly disputed issue, especially as the economic and social malaise made the promise of social security a precarious one.

Crucial factors in the stability and disintegration of the social contract, however, were the expectations and disappointments of the clientele. Here the gaps in the historical research are striking. Most previous work has concentrated on the discourse of specialists or on how the various welfare institutions worked. The social history of recipients of welfare (and of the staff administering welfare) has only exceptionally featured. David F. Crew's study remedies this situation. None the less, he does not write a 'separate' history of the clientele; rather he shifts interaction between those in need of public assistance, and those who provided it, into the foreground of his account, and with good reason. Building on the work of Georg Simmel, Crew assumes that the 'poor' are produced by the existence of 'poor relief': 'the actual welfare clientele was produced less by these people's needs than by the decisions of welfare officials to grant the status of welfare clients to some of these applicants while denying it to many others' (p. 71). The interaction between need and welfare marks precisely the interface at which the welfare state materialized. This is where everyday life happened; this is where legitimation succeeded or failed.

In his attempt to reconstruct the 'politics of everyday life' (p. 206) in the welfare state Crew draws upon local journalism on welfare policy and a fascinating but hitherto hardly noticed type of source: the letters of complaint written by disappointed and angry clients, and their letters to the labour movement's newspapers. Crew includes in his study not only the services which the welfare state provided, or refused

to provide, for the clientele, but also the direct experience of those who needed help – hunger, homelessness, unemployment. There is hardly an area of modern welfare provision that is not mentioned: assistance for those disabled by war, children in care, fostering, those on small pensions, pensioners on social security, those required to work in exchange for public assistance (*Pflichtarbeiter*), and the unemployed receiving welfare are as much a part of the scenario presented by Crew as male welfare professionals (*Berufspfleger* and *Ermittler*), badly paid female social workers, Catholic guardians, Communist commissions on unemployment, and Social Democratic officials.

Analysing their interaction, Crew arrives at a number of subtle insights which provide information about the difficulties and potential for conflict in the everyday world of welfare provision. The official line that welfare should be 'individualized' produced a considerable degree of terminological confusion. While the clientele wanted 'individualization' to mean a guarantee that their needs would, in fact, be met, for the workers at the 'front', the term signified no more than their desire to assess cases and work independently, without interference from superiors or the clients themselves. The welfare workers' view of their clients was characterized by 'contradictory gendered expectations'. From the welfare authorities' point of view, the recipient of welfare could appear only in a 'female subject position – subordinate and acquiescent', while they were also expected to display 'values and behavior considered masculine: self-reliance and a rational approach to the conduct of their daily lives' (p. 207). Of course, Crew does not use the term 'gender' in a simple way; he correctly warns the reader against simplifications such as 'women and welfare', and points out that other factors, for example, class, age, and religion, must also be taken into account: 'We need to distinguish a variety of quite different types of gendered encounters with the welfare state' (p. 134). The highlight of this book, however, is the section on violence in welfare offices at the end of the Weimar Republic. Some welfare clients in the big cities tried to press home their demands by using threats and physical violence. Added to this were political demonstrations, mostly led by the KPD, in the welfare offices. Indigence and aggression on the part of the clients; steadily dwindling financial resources and open fear on the side of the welfare providers: in the welfare offices the net of support and loyalty broke.

Despite his sensitive insights into the tears and fractures in the relationship between the welfare state and its clients, however, Crew's

attempt to replace a 'master narrative' with a 'thick description … of individual cases' (pp. 12, 15) does not always completely avoid the danger of being sidetracked while narrating interesting examples in the letters of complaint and administrative files. A certain lack of clarity sometimes results. Examples are his comments on welfare for young people, in which he concludes by admitting that it is impossible to find out whether children were really 'rescued', or whether they and their parents simply learned to present themselves in such a way that they were no longer noticed by the authorities. However sympathetic this restraint, a (sideways) glance at the interaction between clientele and institutions, an analysis of welfare provision for young people and its effectiveness as expressed in the relation between social ideal (the institution) and actual life (of the clients), which is susceptible of statistical analysis in selected areas such as the success or failure of vocational training in welfare-run educational institutions, could have produced a clearer picture.

A few other shortcomings could be mentioned. Crew provides a wealth of local views, but Hamburg plays the leading part in the book. In many respects, however, Hamburg is untypical, even by comparison with other large cities. The salient characteristic of welfare policy throughout Germany – the struggle between public and private provision, and in particular, that offered by the different religions – was hardly in evidence in Hamburg, where there was no challenge to the primacy of public welfare. Added to this was the strong position of Social Democracy, whose own workers' welfare organization, the *Arbeiterwohlfahrt*, provided a good two-thirds of honorary welfare workers in Hamburg in 1928. This, too, was a special case, but Crew does not take adequate account of the uniqueness of the situation in his analysis of the 'Germans'. Despite such reservations, this book will maintain its place in the literature on the history of the German welfare state. It is no mean achievement to have allowed the clientele of the welfare state to speak so clearly.

Like a number of authors before him, Crew does not think much of the historical pessimism view of welfare policy which was pioneered in Germany in the late 1980s under the influence of Detlev Peukert's work. The landscape of Weimar welfare is too complex to serve as an example of the 'pathologies of modernity', and the interests of those involved in welfare policy were too diverse to allow National Socialist anti-welfare to appear as something inevitable, as the consequence precisely of

'progress' in welfare. Indeed, Crew's steady pragmatism seems to be a feature of American research on the history of the German welfare state in general. If we compare recent stimulating American work (for example, Derek S. Linton, *'Who Has the Youth, Has the Future'. The Campaign to Save Young Workers in Imperial Germany*, 1991; Edward Ross Dickinson, *The Politics of German Child Welfare from the Empire to the Federal Republic*, 1996; and Young-Sun Hong, *Welfare, Modernity, and the Weimar State, 1919-1933*, 1998) with equivalent German studies, the extent to which the German researchers still tend to take sides on the welfare policy decisions of the past is striking. The German scholars see themselves as part of a milieu, whereas the recognizable sympathies in the works of US historians are toned down by the positivist hue of the scholarly culture. In addition, German researchers still orientate themselves by the master narratives, in particular, the models of argument and explanation, whereas on occasion US scholars (and Crew is a good example) tell stories in an almost uninhibited fashion.

Above all, however, German researchers on Weimar can hardly take their eyes off the Kaiserreich and National Socialism. Greg Eghigian has recently noted, quite justifiably, that the attention of many historians of Weimar is 'diverted by the specter of National Socialism' (writing in *Central European History*, 31, 1998, p. 461). He is certainly referring to German historians. Crew, by contrast, is an example of a tendency among many American historians to interpret the Weimar Republic as a 'wilful' undertaking, and to regard aberrations, in the main, neither as the consequence of a lack of modernization, nor as mere anticipations of Nazi practice. As a result, Weimar occasionally appears somewhat isolated, and yet, at the same time, as of greater intrinsic value.

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FELIX BLINDOW, *Carl Schmitts Reichsordnung. Strategie für einen europäischen Großraum*, Acta humaniora. Schriften zur Kunstwissenschaft und Philosophie (Berlin: Akademie, 1999), 209 pp. ISBN 3 05 003405 X. DM 98.00

Felix Blindow introduces his book with the now almost obligatory reference to the sheer scale of the literature on Carl Schmitt. He might also have added that recent additions to the literature have tended to grow in size without reducing the heat of the controversy that continues to surround the would-be crown jurist of the Third Reich. Blindow justifies adding to the literature by claiming that Schmitt's concept of the Reich has been comparatively neglected as, more specifically, has his *Völkerrechtliche Großraumordnung mit Interventionsverbot für raumfremde Mächte*, first published in 1939 and republished several times during the war. Both claims are partially justified. Schmitt's concept of the Reich, as Blindow notes, has been examined in Andreas Koenen's massive study, *Der Fall Carl Schmitt* (1995), though Blindow disagrees sharply with Koenen's interpretation. The neglect of *Völkerrechtliche Großraumordnung*, and more broadly of international law in the Third Reich was even more striking. As recently as 1990 one commentator referred back to John H. Herz's *Die Völkerrechtlehre des Nationalsozialismus*, published under the pseudonym of E. Bristler in 1938, as still the most valuable work on the topic. That, too, has begun to change, most notably with Mathias Schmoeckel's *Die Großraumtheorie. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Völkerrechtwissenschaft im Dritten Reich, insbesondere der Kriegszeit* (1994), a work which Blindow cites but to which he does not take any explicit position.

Blindow's disagreement with Koenen, announced in the Introduction, is central to part 1 of the book, *Auf dem Weg zum Reich: Der Kronjurist bis zu seinem Sturz*. Koenen, Blindow complains, sees Schmitt as a religious thinker, deeply influenced by his Catholicism, who joined the chorus of enthusiasm for the ideology of the Reich and the *Abendland*, whose high point occurred in the years 1932 and 1933. Not so, claims Blindow. He readily concedes that personally Schmitt was a 'deeply believing Catholic' (p. 9) and that the emphasis in Schmitt's work changed significantly between *Römischer Katholizismus und politische Form* (1923) and 1933 (p. 19). Nevertheless, he suggests that even the earlier work was not as religiously motivated as the title might suggest. More forcefully, he argues that Schmitt was primarily a political thinker, not

a religious one, indeed that he was an étatist whose hostility to any form of *potestas indirecta* had to set him at odds with Catholicism. Blindow quotes a 1938 letter from Schmitt's one-time friend Erik Peterson making exactly this point: 'the polemic against the *potestas indirecta* only has a meaning if one has renounced being a Christian and has decided for paganism' (p. 16) The nuances of Schmitt's attitude to Catholicism are undoubtedly better covered by the much longer work by Manfred Dahlheimer, *Carl Schmitt und der Deutsche Katholizismus 1888-1936* (1998), but the final point Blindow makes in his conclusion is difficult to deny: there was no place in Schmitt's theory for the dictates of conscience, nor for universalism and natural law (p. 171).

In Part 2, *Das Reich als völkerrechtliche Konzeption*, Blindow turns to Schmitt's discussion of changes in the concept of war, including his criticism of the concept of wars of aggression. Here he notes that '"Universalism" is the concrete "ideological" opponent at which Schmitt takes aim', and that Schmitt saw this opponent as being of Anglo-Saxon provenance (p. 52) This is an important point. As is well known, from the perspective of Schmitt's theory the central decision is that between friend and foe. Yet if we ask, as John Herz has done, which foe Schmitt had in mind, the answer is not immediately clear. Only if we turn to his work on the international agenda does it become clear how strong a candidate Germany's Anglo-Saxon nemesis in the First World War was for this role. Although Blindow frequently mentions the anti-western animus in Schmitt's work, and in that of his friend Giselher Wirsing, to whom a brief excursus is devoted, this is not made into a key theme in *Carl Schmitts Reichsordnung*. Instead, he sets Schmitt's *Völkerrechtliche Großraumordnung* in its immediate context of the *Anschluß*, the Munich agreement and the dismemberment of rump Czechoslovakia, and the associated dispute over the notion of the protection of minority rights by the League of Nations versus the rights of national groups as defended by the relevant mother country. Here Schmitt had found a use for the concept of the Reich. This was still different from the earlier ideology of the Reich to which Schmitt had declined to subscribe. It was not universal. It presumed the existence of more than one Reich, each prohibiting intervention within its own sphere of influence. Having made this point, Blindow elaborates on the context of the notion, considering the economic background, the influence of geopolitical conceptions and of Friedrich Naumann's *Mitteleuropa*, and Schmitt's use of the Monroe Doctrine.

Amidst his survey Blindow provides clear answers to two contentious, and related, issues: what kind of political structure did Schmitt understand by the term Reich, and how did his vision relate to that of Adolf Hitler? On the first Blindow holds consistently to his interpretation of Schmitt as an étatist. Schmitt's Reich is a 'superstate' (p. 89): 'The Reich takes over in international law the task which Schmitt previously wanted to ascribe to the "total state": the overcoming of indirect power' (p. 87). On the second he concludes that Schmitt's vision was one of German hegemony but was not one of 'racial purity' and the pursuit of *Lebensraum* (p. 109). Indeed, Schmitt's critics, including Werner Best of the SS, had complained of his insufficient attention to *völkisch* principles. As Blindow rightly insists, Schmitt had explicitly linked to his concept of a *Großraum* a 'politically awakened people' and a 'political idea', but Blindow argues that the latter was never spelled out by Schmitt. That is true. It is also true that the political idea could have been nothing other than National Socialism. What could not be determined, at least by ideologues of the New Order like Schmitt, was what National Socialism meant in terms of the internal structure of the *Großraum*, and it was this that interested Schmitt. Schmitt had been forced by his critics to emphasize that there was a difference between the Reich proper and the *Großraum* that also included other political entities. But what those entities would be, in detail, and what their relationship to the Reich would be, in detail, had simply not been decided. Here it is notable that Schmitt's *völkisch* critics were little more precise than he was. Schmitt may well have been the étatist that Blindow describes him as being, but he had signed up to a 'political idea' with an overt racist agenda and had made his own minor contribution to the anti-Semitic climate, as Blindow notes. Even before then he had explicitly sanctioned what now goes under the name of ethnic cleansing. Quite how one summarizes the resulting connections is inherently difficult and Blindow's choice is appropriate to his stress on the consistent étatism of Schmitt. Yet it is also arguable that something slips through the net here. In signing up to the 'political idea' Schmitt had signed more than a blank cheque, even if the numbers had not been clearly filled in.

In Part 3, *Die Politische Theologie des Reiches*, Blindow deals with what he sees as the demythologization of legal concepts. The underlying cause is ascribed to the increasing discrepancy between Schmitt's vision of the *Großraum* and the actual reality of occupied Europe. In this part Blindow deals with Schmitt's Manichaean contrasts between land

power and sea power, his *Der Nomos der Erde*, and the elusive notion of the *kat-echon*. In all three cases Blindow is adept at illuminating Schmitt's sleights of hand and his evasiveness. He notes, for example, that Schmitt's attempt to hold England solely responsible for hollowing out the classic conceptions of the laws of war was dubious history. When Schmitt points to English use of indiscriminate naval blockade, Blindow cites Napoleon's continental blockade, and when Schmitt points to English radicalization of prize law Blindow points out that France and the Netherlands were not far behind (pp. 128-9). In the case of Schmitt's comments on the theological concept of the *kat-echon* Blindow argues, as he does throughout, that it is the political implications of this notion, not its religious significance that really interests Schmitt. Again he suggests Schmitt's mythological turn hides an evasiveness. Who, he asks, is the *kat-echon* supposed to be and, equally important, who is the anti-Christ that the *kat-echon* is to hold at bay (p. 159)?

Blindow notes that Schmitt gives greater emphasis to the Manichaean opposition of land and sea and to the doctrine of the *kat-echon* precisely as the war in the east turned into that total war which Schmitt supposedly wanted to avoid (p. 168). He does not seem to find this strange, but surely it is. Why, when German armies were committed predominantly against Soviet forces, when one land power was pitted against another, did he persist with the opposition of land power and sea power? In part the answer may lie in a letter, quoted by Blindow, from Giselher Wirsing, dated as early as 1 June 1939. There, Wirsing wrote: 'In a word, I see as the decisive, cardinal point of the situation, the possibility of American intervention' (p. 121). As that possibility grew closer and then became reality Schmitt's persistent circling around the antagonism of land power and sea power makes sense. When the United States rejected the logic of Schmitt's *Völkerrechtliche Großraumordnung* and strayed beyond its own *Großraum* all he could do was to demonize it.

That Schmitt's conceptions can be put to other uses is illustrated by Blindow's second excursus, entitled *Alexandre Kojèves Wiederbelebung der Schmittschen Reichskonzeption für den römisch-katholischen Mittelmeerraum*. Kojève's conception, drawn up after the end of the war, envisaged a French dominated alliance, or Reich, incorporating Italy and Spain, united by their Catholicism. Blindow is evidently not impressed by this scheme, some of whose aspects he describes as 'unintentionally comical, indeed naïve' (p. 164). Yet he seems less sceptical about other uses. The Cold War is presented as an obvious candidate, as, too, is Samuel P.

Huntington's clash of cultures (*The Clash of Civilization and the Remaking of World Order*, 1996). Contemporary China's hostility at any hint of intervention in its internal affairs and regional ambitions is offered as another possible application of Schmitt's theory. So, too, more broadly, is the backlash against 'human rights universalism'. Echoing Schmitt, Blindow adds that this universalism too often amounts to an 'empty rhetoric' behind which lie commercial interests (p. 167). Given his earlier criticism of Schmitt, the note on which he ends the book, one might have expected a more overtly critical discussion of such potential applications of Schmitt's notions. Nevertheless this is a welcome addition to the literature on Schmitt. It is forcefully argued and if it raises as many questions as it answers that is testimony to Blindow's ability to focus attention on the neuralgic aspects of the would-be crown jurist of the Third Reich.

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CHARLES S. MAIER, *Dissolution. The Crisis of Communism and the End of East Germany* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1997), xx + 440 pp. ISBN 0 691 07879 3. $21.95
JOHN P. BURGESS, *The East German Church and the End of Communism* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), xiv + 185 pp. ISBN 0 19 511098 6. £33.50

Charles Maier's aim is to examine and explain in a 'synthetic history' the complex factors that led to the 'dissolution' of the GDR. By 'dissolution' he does not mean 'implosion' or 'collapse'. Maier's approach is to analyse both 'long-term pressures' on the one hand, and 'conscious choices' on the other, and to demonstrate their interdependence. The book is based on sources from the former GDR stored in the Federal Archives (Potsdam and Berlin), SED party files, oral history interviews in the Hoover Institution archive, and the author's own interviews with members of the civil rights movement and politicians. He was supported by the *Zentrum für Zeithistorische Forschung* in Potsdam.

Maier arranges his material in six major chapters. He examines the external and internal constitution of the GDR as it developed until 1989. Then he analyses the peculiar 'German revolution' and its consequences, culminating in reunification, including great mental and economic problems for the whole of Germany. His account ranges from the *Treuhand* and the Gauck Authority ('a sort of Treuhand for the historical record', p. 312) to the restructuring of the academic scene in eastern Germany, which is described in great detail. Maier includes in this, clearly from a positive perspective, the founding of the Potsdam *Zentrum* where historians of the former SED had the opportunity to do their research.

In the first chapter Maier shows how the *Nomenklatura* and the GDR population lost their belief in the ideals of 'actually existing socialism'. Supported by the Soviets, the German Communists and some Social Democrats, from 1946 jointly in the eastern zone, had started to build their better Germany with great enthusiasm. When telling this story Maier constantly keeps an eye on developments in the other satellite states of the eastern superpower. There were parallels in the way in which power was established – and in the traumas too. The GDR's trauma was 17 June 1953, which was to haunt the 'authoritarian state' with its 'totalitarian society' (cf. pp. 53, 314-15), placing a question-mark over its legitimacy to the very end. 'East Germany's claim to statehood

was always in question, whether in 1949, 1953 or 1989' (p. 16). Pulling the strings on all three occasions were not the German socialists, but the Russians. On 16 June 1953 'the SED meeting dissolved in dispute', and the same thing happened in 1989. But this time the Soviets did not intervene. It would certainly have been possible for the GDR leaders to have prevented the external collapse of their state by force. But they made no attempt to do so. The socialist practice of carrying out purges amongst adherents always shattered the faith of true believers as well. This applies to all revolutions – even right-wing military dictatorships. Maier points to parallels in Greece, Spain, Portugal, and Latin America in this and other respects. When the Berlin Wall was built in 1961 the East Germans were prevented from fleeing to the 'capitalist' West. On the eastern side this border created further segmentation and division. The private sphere had nothing to do with the public one; scholars worked within the compartment allocated to them, beavering away on their own intellectual and political allotment to the end, despite a certain degree of liberalization.

According to 'progressive' intellectuals in West Germany in the mid-1980s, the GDR could look back on a unique success story. Maier analyses the economic misjudgements contained in this view in his second chapter, 'The Economic Collapse'. Incapable of modernization, the regime sought to keep the loyalty of its subjects in balance by granting privileges on the one hand, and by threats on the other. 'Socialism corrupted the public sphere through privilege; it corrupted the private sphere through secrecy' (p. 45). By the end of 1989 'most authoritarian rulers no longer believed in their own original vision' (p. 57). This may well be true. But 'Western society', not least because of the ideological work of eastern bloc specialists, had also lost much of its attraction. Maier has no answer to this universal loss of ideals.

The author paints a broad picture and all in all presents an accurate over-all impression. His left-liberal perspective (cf. his views on the *Historikerstreit*, p. 335), sometimes distorts his view of the other side of the coin. For example, he asserts that comparisons between the Nazi regime and the SED regime after 1989 'were sometimes deployed to delegitimize East German public figures and set limits on political participation' (p. 315). This political instrumentalization may well have occurred, though it was often unnecessary because many GDR politicians delegitimized themselves by their personal behaviour. In any case, surely the stubborn academic emphasis on the differences between the

two dictatorships also had political uses? The categorization of the GDR as a 'moderate' dictatorship benefited its agents.

Just as Maier is indebted to the Potsdam *Zentrum für Zeithistorische Forschung*, John P. Burgess was supported by the *Kirchliche Hochschule* in East Berlin, previously the language seminary. This has pros and cons in both cases. Between 1984 and 1991, Burgess initially spent a year as a guest of the language seminary, and then returned regularly for a few months or weeks at a time. He is convinced that the churches offered the harassed dissidents a free space, and that the deeper reasons why this protection was allowed are to be found in the theology of Barth and Bonhoeffer, and the 1934 theological declaration of Barmen. The theologians of the language seminary are in this tradition. In fact, other theological approaches, such as the cultural-theological tradition of German liberal theology, had at least an equal impact in the GDR, but the reader is told virtually nothing about them, nor about religious socialism.

Burgess's book is a collection of revised essays, which were first published between 1986 and 1997. It is based on oral eye-witness reports, 'underground publications' (p. viii), and literature published up to 1993; he does not use unpublished archival sources. In the first section the author seeks to demonstrate that from the mid-1980s the church, within its Marxist environment, developed a 'language of liberation' (p. viii) that provoked a public debate on GDR taboos. Although the church avoided confrontation with the state, he says, the language in which it described incidents such as 8 May 1985 differed from the official version without directly contradicting it. The church, he goes on, constantly dwelt on guilt and reconciliation. 'In thus broadening the parameters of public language, the church represented a free space. This free space attracted dissent, alternative groups, and the church's language helped legitimate them and their concern for truth and peace' (pp. 40-1).

In part two the church is presented as a political and religious force in the GDR which, because of these qualities, contributed to the 'peaceful revolution'. This assessment does not, however, entirely exclude gentle criticism: 'The church, anxious to preserve the privileges it had won for itself over the years, may have succumbed in some cases to state pressure, but it generally maintained a distinctive political identity. It sought to protect its institutional interests without accommodating itself. Yet it was constantly tempted to define itself primarily in terms set

by the state, whether of opposition or partnership' (p. 58). This description hardly takes account of the criticism often made by the civil rights movement, namely that church leaders co-operated with the state with the aim of strangling the opposition. It is not surprising, therefore, that hardly any of the opposition groups saw themselves as a 'church group'. Burgess even calls one member of the opposition, the Thuringian vicar Ehrhart Neubert who worked for the *Kirchenbund* in East Berlin, a 'West German sociologist' (p. 67), presumably because Neubert used Niklas Luhmann's sociological categories in his interpretations of the church's position.

All in all, it is not entirely clear whom Burgess means when he speaks of 'the church', which allows him to move people who belong, at best, on the periphery of the church, to the centre of the religious or political action. This approach becomes especially apparent in the third section, where Burgess turns three theologians from the language seminary into standard-bearers of the peaceful revolution, and attributes roles to them in the democratization of 'postcommunist east Germany' (p. viii) which they never really had. He describes Wolfgang Ullmann and Richard Schröder as 'political leaders', and Wolf Krötke as a leading GDR theologian. But Ullmann and Schröder were a political episode lasting just a few months. It is certainly debatable whether their political-philosophical discourse 'shaped East German politics' (p. 102), as Burgess claims, and whether they will go down in German political history as 'the Ullmann-Schröder debate' (p. 103). What about Lothar de Maizière and other politicians whose careers likewise came to an abrupt end because of Stasi collaboration, but who had an incomparably greater influence on the initial transformation of East German society? Today Ullmann (now, incidentally, far from 'the church') is a 'bank-bencher' in the European Parliament, and Schröder, although still a member of the SPD, has no political role at all. In fact, there is only one successful politician from eastern Germany with a church background, Manfred Stolpe. Schröder, to his credit, defended him tirelessly against all Stasi accusations. Burgess does mention Stolpe, but not in his central role as a unique political talent with the ability to survive.

Burgess devotes an entire chapter to 'The Theology of Wolf Krötke'. To what extent this theologian, barely known even in Germany, gave Protestant theology an independent impulse going beyond Karl Barth, Dietrich Bonhoeffer, and Eberhard Jüngel, still needs clarification by historians of theology.

These two books are an interesting reflection of recent German history from a point of view which is sympathetic to Germany, but not German. They thus make an important historiographical contribution to an appropriate account of the events. It is striking, however, that the 'outside perspective' of the authors is hardly different from the view of their respective German hosts.

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JEFFREY ANDERSON, *German Unification and the Union of Europe. The Domestic Politics of Integration Policy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 227 pp. ISBN 0 521 64355 4. £35.00. $54.95 (hardback). ISBN 0 521 64390 2. £12.95. $12.95 (paperback)

How reunified Germany's European policy was changed and adapted in the 1990s is an important topic of research in political science. Far too little is known so far about how and why, after the collapse of the GDR in 1989-90, the Federal Republic managed to adapt its European policy to the new circumstances with relative ease. Jeffrey Anderson has undertaken to analyse in more detail the implications for domestic politics and to trace aspects of both continuity and change.

The study addresses three main questions. To what extent did the process of reunification influence Germany's European policy? In which political areas can continuities be discerned, and where was there change? What was the significance of this for Europe? Anderson seeks to explain which factors in the domestic sphere, in particular, economic ones, ensured that an enlarged and politically strengthened Germany remained committed to European integration. In so doing he unwittingly raises one of the most important issues in transformation theory: how does a socialist planned economy become a market economy, and one, moreover, which claims to be 'social'?

The author concentrates on seven areas: trade, the internal market, energy, environment, agriculture, the structural fund, and competition, but astonishingly, leaves out the central issue of the currency. Without considering the (not coincidentally) simultaneous introduction of the *Deutschmark* in the GDR and the beginning of the first stage of European economic and currency union on 1 July 1990, the link between German reunification and European integration cannot be understood. The author uses only secondary literature and does not refer to publications such as the 124-volume documentation on reunification published by the Federal government's press and information office, *Deutschland 1989/1990* (1994-96), or the special edition of *Deutsche Einheit* (1998), drawn from the files of the Federal Chancellor's Office. Nor does he take any account of the memoirs written by many leading politicians in both East and West. Whatever reservations one may have about accounts of this sort, which can be personal and one-sided, they do provide insights into the various political decisions taken.

Anderson's hypotheses are formulated in an extremely general way, and as a result, do not contribute much to political science. For example, anyone who maintains that unless East German decision-makers insisted on a change in European policy, the government would not make a change, and vice versa, if the East German actors demanded change, the government bureaucracy would try to adapt its policy to these interests, does not really understand the processes and structures of decision-making during and after reunification. This very first thesis already creates the impression that there was a uniform representation of interests between the GDR government under de Maizière and East German cabinet members in the Kohl/Genscher government after reunification. This was by no means the case, as published documents show. In fact, the German Federal bureaucracy decided on the line to take with the Brussels institutions. There was never any question of changing its policy on Europe at this time. The only choice open to the GDR was either to accept the Federal government's European policy completely, or not at all. Reservations about over-hasty integration into the West expressed by Social Democrats in the coalition agreements of the de Maizière government were noted in Bonn with a frown, but never really taken seriously.

Anderson rightly points out that ever since the European Community came into existence the Federal Republic, unlike France or Britain, had intended to transform its economic system on to a European level. The Federal Republic therefore logically wanted to extend its own economic and social system to the former GDR. But what took place was by no means one-sided expansion. The people in the East also wanted to the enjoy the advantages of German EC membership. Just like the citizens in the western part of Germany they did not see the integration process as instrumental, but as a precondition for adaptation. Anderson sees this as the first important reason why reunified Germany adhered to the Federal Republic's previous line on Europe. Moreover, apart from environmental and energy policy, the new *Länder* did not want any policy change because they were benefiting from EU subsidies to rebuild the East. When it came to government intervention in agricultural policy, or money from the structural fund, the Federal Economics Ministry was generally forced to agree, but mostly did so with a bad conscience. Finally – and this is Anderson's third conclusion – it was primarily the West German élite which continued to hold the line on European integration and ensured a friction-free continuity in policy. It

recognized from the start that reunification and Western integration were two sides of the same coin. And the Federal Republic profited from EC payments for rebuilding the East.

The political institutions of the Federal Republic, long-since ideologically pre-formed for Western integration, and the lack of any opposition from the decision-makers in the eastern part of reunited Germany are, according to Anderson, the crucial reasons for the success of adaptation. But such observations ignore important aspects central to the way in which Germany's European policy was judged at home. The decision-makers in eastern Germany did not really have a choice since the GDR was bankrupt and grateful for any economic and financial aid. Against opposition from the *Bundesbank* Helmut Kohl and the CDU/CSU-FDP coalition government pushed for the introduction of European currency union before many people had realized the financial implications of building up the East (*Solidaritätsbeitrag*), or the budgetary, social, and political consequences of achieving the European convergence criteria. Anderson does not give due attention to these interdependences and the intensifying disputes over distribution in his study because the currency question is largely ignored. Nor does he pay much attention to what German decision-makers had in mind for European policy and its objectives. Germany's European policy cannot be explained, for example, without examining Helmut Kohl's integration philosophy. After all, he was one of the most prominent advocates of continuing integration in the Council of Europe.

Anderson illustrates the problems of Germany's European policy in a few selected areas. Unfortunately, however, he has not included all the relevant fields. His conclusions, which are certainly plausible, need further underpinning if the background to continuity in policy is to be fully explained.

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ROGER BARTLETT and KAREN SCHÖNWÄLDER (eds), *The German Lands and Eastern Europe. Essays in the History of their Social, Cultural and Political Relations*, Studies in Russia and East Europe (London: Macmillan Press in association with the School of Slavonic and East European Studies, University of London, 1999), ix + 288 pp. ISBN 0 333 72086 5. £45.00

About a hundred years ago the universities of Vienna and Berlin established the first professorships in East European history. Since then, this historical sub-discipline has concentrated primarily on researching the changeable relations between the Germans and their neighbours to the east. Despite all the profound political changes of the twentieth century, little has changed in this respect. The historical role which the Germans have played in Eastern Europe for more than a thousand years still attracts a broad public and official interest in Germany today. It is therefore not surprising that, on the look-out for secure funding, historians of East Europe turn to this topic. In many of Germany's *Bundesländer*, ministries maintain their own research institutes, or are setting up special chairs for the study of the history of the Germans in Eastern Europe. The specialist literature on the subject, therefore, already fills whole libraries.

Until well into the 1960s, German historians were completely bound by traditional research approaches to East European history. They wrote histories of the 'common German-Slav destiny', concentrating on how much the Germans, as bearers of culture, had brought to Eastern Europe in their role of colonizers and civilizers. They had thus, it was argued, earned the historical right to settlement areas which, unfortunately, was denied them after the end of both world wars. Scholars in the field described this constant transfer of population and culture as the German 'Drang nach Osten', thus emphasizing the conflicts and tensions which arose out of the co-existence of peoples and nations.

This approach to a common history did not change until *détente* and the Eastern treaties to which it gave rise. A new generation of historians on both sides of the river Elbe rejected traditional, national ways of thinking, provoking protest on the part of many older scholars and politicians. The new generation of scholars professionalized East European history by adopting new approaches drawn from political, social, and intellectual history. In the process, it became apparent that many of the treasured old doctrines, shaped by national stereotypes,

were completely untenable. Moreover, an impartial 'look back without anger' showed that in addition to the catastrophes that overshadow relations between the Germans and their eastern neighbours, the history of East Europe also has many aspects of peaceful co-operation to be investigated. Today, in the context of the European Community's eastern expansion, book titles alluding to the struggle between the Teutons and the Slavs for power in East Europe have long since given way to much more peaceful-sounding titles. Scholars now are more interested in the role of the Germans as mediators between East and West Europe.

The collection of essays under review sums up modern research on the history of relations in this area. Based on sound scholarship, it provides a balanced picture of the exciting areas east of the Elbe. The essays, mostly by well-known experts in their fields, are surveys, only a few pages long, of wide-ranging topics such as German settlement in the High Middle Ages (Martyn Radyn), one thousand years of Polish-German camaraderie (Norman Davies), and relations between the Germans and Czech statehood in the twentieth century (Hans Lemberg). There is no space for discussion of methodology, the investigation of new, innovative approaches, or the exploration of interesting partial aspects. Ultimately, this collection of essays presents what has long been known using well tried approaches. Even the inclusion of fashionable terms such as 'fluidity of identity', 'intercommunal communications', and 'centrality of linguistic and cultural community' cannot hide this.

The editors, in their introduction, have already done the reviewer's job by pointing to the volume's weaknesses. They write: 'the relationship between German speakers and German states, on the one hand, and their non-German counterparts in Central and Eastern Europe, on the other, ... [is] a complex and multifaceted phenomenon which defies easy definition. ... The title chosen here uses simple words to encompass the complexities of the subject. Geographical terms stand metonymically for the people involved, mainly because such terms find easier acceptance in a situation where no single set of defining criteria matches the historically recorded phenomena on the ground' (p. 1). Thus the editors admit straight away that this collection of essays, which grew out of a seminar series held at London University's School of Slavonic and East European Studies in 1994/5, lacks a unifying concept.

Dispensing with the 'Habsburg lands and Viennese Germandom', the editors have tried to focus on 'the North and Berlin', but they do not

succeed in imposing any uniformity on the diversity. The individual contributions, which attempt to cover the history of relations between nations from the Baltic to the Danube, the Rhine to the Volga, from the Middle Ages to the present, get lost in time and space. They cannot be related to each other via common methods or thematic areas because the volume attempts to encompass social, cultural, and political relations.

Thus in the first part we read about German burghers in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (Karin Friedrich), German specialists in Petrine Russia (Lindsey Hughes), and state-sponsored immigration into Eastern Europe in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (Roger Bartlett and Bruce Mitchell). The editors claim that these essays 'all address in different ways the question of how people came to live in mixed regions and the degree to which host communities were the prime movers in these migrations' (p. 6). Karen Schönwälder's contribution about migrants from the East in Germany from 1890 to 1990 serves to remind the reader 'that the traffic between east and west has been by no means only in one direction' (p. 6). However, it opens no new perspectives on the history of relations, providing instead only commonplaces of scholarship.

The second 'general theme', concerning the way in which mixed communities co-existed, collaborated, and conflicted, can hardly be distinguished from the first. It comprises, in addition to the essays by Davies and Lemberg mentioned above, a contribution on the fate of the German minority in Poland 1945-95 (Keith Sword).

The third part of the volume looks at the question of cultural influence and national perceptions. It consists of essays on monarchical relations between Prussia, the German Empire, and Russia in the nineteenth century (Johannes Paulmann), Herder's conception of nationhood and its influences in Eastern Europe (H. Barry Nisbet), and Germany and German Jews through East European eyes (John D. Kier). As these topics have long been sufficiently researched, these authors are simply sending more coal to Newcastle. For all their efforts to give this volume a structure, the editors were unable to fit into it Theo J. Schulte's journalistic account of the ongoing German debate about the *Wehrmacht* in the Second World War.

After reading these contributions, the reviewer must ask what readership this volume is actually intended for. Most experts would have liked to find out more about subjects which, according to the editors in their introduction, 'await treatment elsewhere' (p. 6). These

subjects include the role of economic networks, the importance of German universities for the development of East European culture, and the sociological dimensions of migration and diaspora, which can adequately be dealt with only by micro-historical studies based on archival research. To be sure, there is a broad readership outside the academic community, especially in Britain where there is still great suspicion of the new Germany's role in Europe, which will want impartial information about how the Germans got on with their neighbours to the east over the last millennium. These readers will certainly find important contexts and pointers for orientation in the turbulent history of Eastern Europe in these compressed essays. But unfortunately this collection has come out with an academic publisher, with the result that it will hardly reach the buyers who could profit from reading it. As a cheap and widely distributed paperback, or as a series of articles in an English journal, this collection could have reached readers and reviewers who would have appreciated its merits. However, as an expensive hardback destined for a specialist audience, it must be measured by the yardsticks appropriate for academic publications. And unfortunately, it does not match up to these.

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CONFERENCE REPORTS

Migration Controls in Nineteenth-Century Europe and America. Conference of the Centre Nationale de la Recherche Scientifique, with the German Historical Institute London, held in Paris, 25-26 June 1999.

The institutions involved in organizing this conference leave no doubt as to its international character. The driving force was the Centre d'Etude des Politiques de l'Immigration, de l'Integration et de la Citoyenneté (CEPIC). Support was given by the CNRS, the German Historical Institute London (GHIL) and the German Marshall Fund of the United States. And, as ever, it was individuals whose input was crucial, in this case Patrick Weil and Olivier Faron (Sorbonne), and Andreas Fahrmeir (GHIL).

The starting point was the influence of the French Revolution on the birth of a new concept of nationality and citizenship. In a most enlightening paper Peter Sahlins (Berkeley) described the defining characteristics of the transformation process. During the revolutionary period it was not nationality as such that was decisive, but political loyalty to the new state. The civil and political rights of the citizen were formalized in the Code Napoleon (1804). Laurent Dubois (Harvard) discussed the contradictory treatment of slaves ('African citizens') before and during the French Revolution. The settings were the French possessions in the Caribbean and metropolitan France. Brigitta Bader-Zaar (Vienna) dealt with the laws on citizenship and foreigners in Austria in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In fact there was no all-encompassing legislation, just numerous decrees and decisions dictated by the case in question. Margrit Schulte-Beerbühl (Düsseldorf) examined the effects of the French Revolution on British citizenship law (1793-1818). Until 1792 there was no control or registration of foreigners. The first immigration law, aimed against disruptive elements from abroad, immediately preceded the war with France. Victims of suppression and refugees were still given asylum in England, especially those fleeing the *terreur* of the French Revolution. Only very few foreigners could afford the expensive procedures involved in acquiring the rights of citizenship.

The second session was devoted to the numerous controls to which foreigners were subjected, starting with a paper by Leo Lucassen (Amsterdam) on procedures in the Netherlands. It was the national

state created by the French Revolution that first defined the foreigner and led to the introduction of the modern passport system. The Netherlands largely retained the model introduced by the Batavian Republic under the influence of the French Revolution. Franck Caestecker (Gent) looked at the situation in Belgium. Until about 1860 foreigners were controlled and, where appropriate, returned at the border; after that they were kept under surveillance in the country. Andrea Komlosy (Vienna) discussed the conflict between central and regional interests in the Habsburg monarchy. What was important was internal migration, that is, people moving from the country to the town. Until the mid-eighteenth century permission had to be sought from the landlord. With Maria Theresa's new passport rules, rights of residence and migration were defined by the state for the first time. It was not until 1857 that passports were no longer required for internal migration. Andreas Fahrmeir (GHIL) raised the question of the law and its application. He questioned the assumption that there was a liberal migration policy in the second half of the nineteenth century and maintained that legislation, that is, the abolition of border controls, should not be confused with reality. In Germany, in particular, the police had great discretionary powers.

The third session focused mainly on technical and legal problems in controlling migration. The introductory paper by John Torpey (Irvine/California) discussed the passport system in the North Atlantic area. He sketched general developments: the abolition of the internal travel pass, required during the *ancien régime*, the gradual abolition of border controls in the nineteenth century, and the re-introduction and intensification of the passport system after the First World War. William O'Reilly (Galway) returned to eighteenth-century Germany, in particular, emigration both to the New World and to the eastern parts of the Habsburg Empire. Germans from the south-west (the Palatinate) were sought-after as settlers. Kim Carpenter (Brussels) drew attention to how Munich dealt with would-be immigrants, particularly the uncontrolled influx of poor journeymen. The reaction of both state and city was to increase police surveillance. Piero-D. Galloro (Metz) turned to the problem of migration in terms of the workers in the Lorraine metal industry before 1914. There was no passport control for local frontier traffic to Germany. The relationship between employer and employee was more important than state control. According to David Feldman (London) the regime was very liberal throughout the nineteenth

century. It was the large-scale immigration of Jews from Eastern Europe that led to the restrictive Aliens Act of 1905. Olivier Faron (Paris) returned once again to the eighteenth century, and looked at how Paris dealt with its foreigners. During the *ancien régime* foreigners were not especially targeted, but this changed with the French Revolution and in 1792 identity cards were made obligatory. This is a useful source of social data on emigration for historians.

The fourth session sought to discover the economic reasons for migration. Maria Ioannis Baganha (Coimbra) dealt with the political sanctioning of migration in Portugal. Generally speaking, emigration occurred in secret, against the will of the authorities. It was not until 1834 that emigration was officially permitted. Katja Wüstenbecker (Marburg) examined why Hamburg became the most important transit port for emigration to the New World. The shipping companies built up a diverse network of agents, particularly in Eastern Europe. The only way to overcome the crisis caused by the outbreak of cholera was for the shipping companies to set up clinics, thereby controlling the selection process in Eastern Europe. Denis Schneider (Metz) looked at migration movements in the *départements* of Moselle and Meurthe, and in Luxemburg (1815-70). Drew Keeling (Berkeley) made it clear in his paper that we should not consider only emigration to the USA, but also remigration, in fact, the generally increased traffic in both directions. Ewa Morawska (Philadelphia) examined emigration from Eastern Europe to the USA between 1880 and 1914. Before 1914 more than two-thirds of the population of Eastern Europe lived in the countryside. At the turn of the century, 40 to 60 per cent of the rural population had to earn a living by working abroad. Immigration generally took place according to the 'foot-in-the-door' principle, whereby individual migrants were followed by whole groups. Cultural connections with the homeland therefore tended to delay the assimilation process.

The fifth session was devoted to transatlantic migration. Alan Kessler (Austin) demonstrated how the political organization and income trends of workers in the New World influenced immigration. When wages stagnated or fell, trade union demands for greater restrictions dramatically increased. Catherine Collomp (Paris) dealt with the same topic in a detailed analysis of trade union policy in the USA. She argued, however, that ethnic-cultural factors played a more important role in the acceptance of immigrants than economic ones. Uneducated workers from China were particularly affected by this

(Chinese Exclusion Act, 1855). Michael Berkowitz (London) focused on the Jewish trade union organization in North America and its immigration policy. He stressed that in the end the Jewish trade unions reluctantly had to accept an immigration ban and sought to express their sense of identity and solidarity in other ways. Jair de Souza Ramos (currently Paris) dealt with the category of 'undesirable immigrants' in Brazil. The main thing to be prevented was the immigration of entire ethnic groups, especially blacks from the USA and Japanese. To avoid giving the impression of racial discrimination a quota system was introduced, as in the USA, orientated towards the national immigrant groups in the country (2 per cent p.a.).

The topic of the final session was the implementation of migration controls. Gerald Neuman (New York) pointed out that although there were no quantitative restrictions in the USA until 1920, there were qualitative selection criteria. The categories rejected were convicted criminals, paupers, deserters from the Navy, and later, slaves. It was not until after the Civil War that Washington was able to implement a unified and co-ordinated immigration system. Aristide Zolberg (New York) drew attention to the 'remote control' of immigration. He confirmed and illustrated Neuman's thesis. Patrick Weil (Paris) described the final phase of American immigration policy and compared it to practice in France. Between 1899 and 1952 the most decisive factor was ethnic and racial origin, and the question of assimilation into American society. France's policy was based on similar criteria. The U.S. Immigration Bureau classified all immigrants according to origin (Germans, Britons, and North Europeans were put into the 'Teutonic Division'), and according to level of education (illiteracy). The introduction of the quota system after the Second World War was clearly to the advantage of the Anglo-Saxon and West European proportion of the population. It was only the Second World War and the Nazi ideology that ultimately put an end to the immigration authorities' racial discrimination.

A publication of the conference proceedings is planned.

LOTHAR KETTENACKER

The Federal Republic at Fifty: Mature and Poised or in Mid-Life Crisis? One-day Symposium at the German Historical Institute London, 1 October 1999.

To give the precise birth-date of the Federal Republic is not easy: it is either the promulgation of the Basic Law on 23 May 1949, or the constitution of the first parliament in September of the same year. However, there is no doubt that in 1999 the Federal Republic had reached the mature age of fifty, or rather, forty plus ten, to be more precise. This is a long span within the context of German history since 1871. The purpose of this symposium was not to praise the Federal Republic; it was not a propaganda exercise, as the director, Peter Wende, pointed out. Rather it was a kind of stock-taking, an unravelling of the trends of the past in order to analyse the present. After all, the Bonn Republic was about to be transformed into the Berlin Republic. Would change or continuity be the predominant feature? The one-day symposium was composed of four papers in the morning, followed by a panel discussion in the afternoon.

Christian Hacke from the University of the Federal Forces at Hamburg emphasized the gulf between the first and the second half of the twentieth century as far as German foreign policy is concerned. Previously German vitality had posed an immediate threat to its neighbours. The German Reich had lacked both a continental backyard and an attractive vision beyond the national self-interest. The Federal Republic was the brainchild of the Cold War, arising out of disaster. Hacke referred to it as a 'Rationalstaat' rather than a 'Nationalstaat'. Priority was given to security within the framework of the Atlantic alliance and to the consolidation of democracy. German unification was of secondary importance. Hacke highlighted the achievements of three Chancellors, Adenauer ('Westpolitik'), Brandt ('Ostpolitik'), and Kohl (unification). In his mind there was no doubt that the new Germany would follow the path of the old Federal Republic, continuity being the outstanding feature of German foreign policy.

Volker Hentschel (Mainz) outlined the performance of the West German economy over the last forty to fifty years on the basis of a number of charts. His conclusion was that the German economy is mature, but also in mid-life crisis. Real GDP per head of the West German population increased almost five-fold, whereas the number of working hour p.a. decreased by more than a third over this period. In

comparison with both the previous period and Anglo-Saxon statistics, this is quite staggering. Hentschel then addressed the questions of what caused growth and why the initially high rates were not sustained. The so-called German economic miracle only lasted for twelve years. By the 1970s the economy had caught up with secular trends. Exports were the saving grace inasmuch as they increased twice as much as home consumption. In recent years the economy has started falling further behind, especially in the field of high-quality technology. Another problem is lack of demand at home. Under the prevailing circumstances, above all a financial policy geared towards consolidation, small growth, and mass unemployment must be tolerated for the time being.

Wolfgang Benz, Director of the Berlin Centre for Research into anti-Semitism, surveyed the value patterns of German society. National consciousness is not very developed among present-day Germans. Only ten per cent think they belong to 'one people'. In spite of the provincial character of Bonn and what has been labelled 'Rhineland capitalism', a secularization of German politics and a liberalization of sexual morals can be observed. Tolerance, though, is not universal and does not always include ethnic minorities. Nevertheless, since 1968 and the late 1970s human rights and environmental issues have received public recognition. It is a different story in the former GDR. People experienced social displacement on a large scale after 1990 and were not prepared for the influx of foreigners. Xenophobia is widespread among youngsters who have not been taught how to come to terms with the Nazi past. However, all foreign predictions about the foundations of German democracy crumbling have been proved wrong in the past. Neo-Nazism is now a world-wide phenomenon.

Dieter Grimm, formerly a judge at the Federal Constitutional Court and now a professor at Berlin, pointed out that it was the Basic Law which gave birth to the Federal Republic. No previous German constitution lasted that long. It has been frequently amended (almost once a year) and has thus proved relevant to the present day. The Constitutional Court, upholding the Basic Law, has been equally effective (ninety-nine volumes of decisions). Constitutional patriotism is now a more acceptable platform than national consciousness, at least in western Germany. With the incorporation of the GDR, according to §23, the Basic Law has stood the greatest test of time so far. The East Germans, however, feel less attached to the constitution, inasmuch as social security is more important to them than liberty. Grimm concluded by

stressing that the rule of law is always in danger of being undermined, for instance, by the blocking power of the *Bundesrat* or by the deals struck between government and private interest groups.

The afternoon was dominated by the five panellists and their statements. Elisabeth Noelle-Neumann, the grand old lady of German public opinion polls (Allensbach Institute) summarized the changing value patterns by distinguishing between three periods: 1949 to 1967, 1968 to 1989, and 1990 to 1999. The shift within five years after 1968, which was described as a 'breakdown of civil values' (thrift, punctuality, sexual attitudes, religious attachment etc.), was the most distinctive change. After 1990 West and East Germans became aware of their different values, with liberty and equality at opposite ends of the spectrum. However, on the whole, unification is not questioned.

David Marsh, the well-known author on Germany, contributed a British view. Anglo-German relations have worsened since 1989-90. However, Tony Blair, belonging to a younger generation, has more understanding of continental mentalities. Although European integration is now a major issue in British politics, especially the common currency, most Britons are more European than they were fifty years ago, because of increased trade, the flow of tourism, and the exchange of students.

Jürgen Krönig (*Die Zeit*) thought that the Federal Republic has just grown up. His general theme was the process of acceptance and normalization as far as the enlarged Federal Republic is concerned. However, the shadows of the past continue to be cast over the Germans.

Norbert Frei (Bochum) dealt with the crucial question of how successive German governments have come to terms with the past. The attitude towards the Nazi past is a vital element in German national identity. The 1950s were characterized by the full reintegration of former collaborators through *Bundestag* legislation. With the Auschwitz trial and 1968, a critical debate re-emerged and is now part of the political culture (Frei: 'historical self-supervision').

Lothar Kettenacker (GHIL), who stepped in for Kurt Sontheimer, discussed the impact of party politics. The three-party system, for so long a dominant feature, has greatly contributed to the stability of the Federal Republic. Change occurred only on the fringes. The electorate tended to gravitate towards the middle ground. The 'neue Mitte' is no new discovery. Centrist does not mean centralized: power has always been shared with Brussels and the *Länder*. Kettenacker's guess was that

the Federal Republic might end up with a two-party system as in Britain and the United States, though without dramatically affecting the political culture. The process of secularization in the wider sense is unstoppable.

The question of publishing the proceedings is still under consideration.

LOTHAR KETTENACKER

Science and Empire (1850-1950): Britain, Germany, France, the Netherlands. Conference of the German Historical Institute London, held in London, 25-27 November 1999.

The aim of this three-day conference was to investigate the relationship between science and West European imperialism from the period of high imperialism to the beginning of decolonization. Issues relating to the history of science and the history of imperialism were discussed in the context of four different colonial systems (Britain, Germany, France, the Netherlands) in order to emphasize the plurality of colonial backgrounds. The comparison was intended to cast light on the similarities and differences in the understanding of science on the part of these colonial powers, and on the reception, transfer, or rejection of Western science on the non-European, colonial 'periphery'. The significance and function of colonial expansion for the political, social, and institutional roles of a selection of sciences was also discussed. The conference was attended by forty scholars (historians of imperialism and historians of science) from Britain, Germany, France, the Netherlands, the USA, South Africa, and India.

After a welcome by Peter Wende, director of the German Historical Institute London, Benedikt Stuchtey (GHIL) introduced the concept of the conference. The differences between the four imperial powers, he said, meant that the chronological framework of the conference could be set only loosely. For the British Empire, it covered approximately the time from the Great Exhibition of 1851 to Indian independence in 1947, in other words, from the heyday of British imperialism to its gradual decline. Not until after the Second World War, when political relations between the European and the non-European world changed fundamentally under the impact of decolonization, could any historical attempt be made to examine the colonial dimension of science. From a South American, African, or Asian perspective, this involved not only grasping Western science as the bearer of colonial rule and domination, but also articulating the pre-colonial, indigenous structures of scientific knowledge. Taking as examples German scientists who worked in South America, Africa, and Asia, Stuchtey enumerated some of the criteria relevant to the approach adopted by the conference.

How can the large and powerful international empires of Britain and France be compared with the relatively small German and Dutch colonial holdings? In what areas was imperial rivalry concentrated,

stimulating specific research projects? Did scientists have any professional influence on the making of imperial policy at the European centres and in the colonial administrations? To what extent did their research programmes reflect political interests? Given the existence of popular imperialism, was there any public interest in their research, which provided insights into the mechanisms of colonial expansion and cultural life at home, and into the nature of imperialism and metropolitan culture?

The conference necessarily had to be restricted to a selection of natural and cultural sciences, in this case, eugenics, anthropology, ethnology, tropical medicine, pharmacology, bacteriology, Oriental studies, botany, forestry, and agricultural science. Within these fields, the intention was to address issues concerning the institutionalization (museums, laboratories, clinics, universities, research institutes, and research associations) and internationalization (UNESCO, International African Institute) of science, big science, and the research initiatives of individuals, such as travellers. This could lead to an understanding of the cultural mission of imperialism in its various guises – of what was known in the British sphere as the 'white man's burden', in the French as the 'mission civilisatrice', and in the Dutch as a type of 'Ethiek'. Orientalism, a Westernized scientific discourse and the way in which it was overcome, similarly played a significant part in this context. Stuchtey showed that scientists could also be critics of imperialism. One example was that of the pathologist and anatomist Rudolf Virchow who, when he came across cases of maladministration and military despotism in the German protectorates, raised his voice against German imperialism and rejected further European colonial expansion because he feared that Africa would be exploited, resulting in famine and epidemics. Virchow warned against colonial dreams because, he argued, the tropical climate was unhealthy for Europeans.

In his keynote address, Lewis Pyenson (University of Louisiana at Lafayette) argued that while the 'exact' sciences, which are based on mathematics and precise data, had promoted European cultural imperialism and legitimized its inherent, 'natural' logic of expansion, they were, in essence, untouched by imperialism. Not all those who took part in the ensuing discussion accepted that the exact sciences did not necessarily carry the colonial stamp, and had sometimes remained quite isolated. They pointed out that disciplines such as geophysics and astronomy, for example, could hardly have been developed without the

research of the non-European world. Paul Weindling (Oxford Brookes) also suggested that a sharper distinction needs to be drawn between the exact and the applied sciences. Pyenson proposed a programme to explore in detail contacts between Western science and South America, Japan, and South-East Asia. This would involve compiling statistics of scientists working in those geographical areas in the nineteenth century, and of students who went to Europe to study from these areas.

The first session of the conference, a comparison of the internationalization of science in France and Germany, was chaired by Peter Alter (Duisburg). Stefan Kühl (Munich) gave a paper on the politicization and institutionalization of German eugenics as a scientific discipline in the first half of the twentieth century. Kühl drew out the connections between eugenics and racial hygiene, and emphasized its globalization both as a discipline and as a political and social movement. He investigated the tension between national particularization as expressed in attempts by eugenicists to integrate national social movements and to invest them with a political agenda, and international co-operation evidenced in the efforts of eugenicists to make their discipline scientific by means of international exchange, and to promote a 'Europeanoid race'. In eugenics, the international approach was developed after the First World War, that is, much earlier than in any other science, and with heavy German involvement. As Wolfgang Eckart (Heidelberg) pointed out in the ensuing discussion, the extent to which the national agenda of eugenics actually differed from the international one needs to be examined.

Patrick Petitjean (Paris), speaking on 'French Scientists and Empire', asked how the sciences reconciled colonial enterprises and international co-operation within the framework of UNESCO between 1900 and 1950. Initially attributing particular significance to the French 'mission civilisatrice', and explaining it in terms of the close relationship between state and science in France, Petitjean also contrasted it with a universalism that had been specifically French since 1789. However, shaped as they were by Eurocentric thinking, neither the etatist nor the universalist approach were receptive to the scientific knowledge gained by scientists living in the colonies. Science was centrally directed from Paris, and research institutes were not set up in the colonies until the late 1930s. Under the direction of the botanist Auguste Chevalier, the *Association colonies-sciences* created a colonial network among the scientific community, which held its first conference in 1931 during the Paris

Colonial Exhibition. The first conference of colonial scientists took place in 1937, the same year in which the *Office de la Recherche Scientifique Coloniale* was founded. Gradually, the balance changed away from the scientific wing of the colonial party and in favour of the colonial wing of the scientific community. When Joseph Needham, author of the famous *Science and Civilization in China* and from 1946 to 1948 head of UNESCO's science division, tried to increase international co-operation and to promote science in the colonies striving for independence, the French side gave him hardly any support. Science policy and colonial policy were both still considered to be a national priority, and only to a limited extent subject to organized internationalism. Andrew Porter (London), however, remarked in the discussion that scientific relations had been cultivated intensely at an international level as early as the eighteenth century, although they had largely functioned through personal and informal rather than institutional contacts. Thus, among other things, two core problems emerged, which were repeatedly addressed throughout the conference: the significance of the increasing professionalization of the sciences for imperialism, and the split between formal and informal imperialism.

The four-way comparison between Britain, Germany, France, and the Netherlands could be carried through fully with reference to medicine. With Michael Worboys (Sheffield) in the chair, Molly Sutphen (San Francisco) spoke about British tropical medicine (1890-1914), and Michele Thompson (Southern Connecticut State University) discussed French colonial medicine and pharmacology in Indo-China (1802-1954). In the second part of this session, chaired by Paul Weindling, Wolfgang Eckart spoke about German tropical medicine under the Kaiserreich (1884-1914), and Godelieve van Heteren (Nijmegen) reported on Dutch colonial medicine.

According to Molly Sutphen, around the turn of the century British doctors were increasingly interested in entering the service of Empire at the invitation of Joseph Chamberlain. In this respect, they were merely imitating the Germans, French, and Dutch. Thus, for example, Patrick Manson, as medical adviser in the Colonial Office, selected a considerable number of experts to send to the colonies. Although tropical medicine was never politically of the first-rank in importance, and by no means all doctors were sympathetic to the idea of imperialism, important centres of tropical medicine were soon set up in London and Liverpool. Sutphen stressed the significance of Scottish medicine which, she

claimed, could not be overestimated. Remarkably, she pointed out, the Scots had been able to assume the role of colonizer as well as colonized. The Highlands provided a test of the colonial frontier between nature and civilization; anyone who passed it was suited to imperial service. In the discussion John MacKenzie (Lancaster) noted that in the course of the nineteenth century the originally negative image held by the English of the Scots became an increasingly positive one. This was certainly connected with Scotland's support for the Empire. Yet despite the excellent training centres in Aberdeen, Edinburgh, and Glasgow, only in England was tropical medicine institutionalized separately from the universities.

Michele Thompson looked at the specific influence of French medicine on science policy developments in Indo-China. The institutionalization of medicine in Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam was crucially shaped by the connection with France, as was the intellectual world view of the scientific community, and this influence is still felt today. In fact, she pointed out, contact between European, and in particular, French, scientists and the ruling élite in these countries preceded political colonization. Thus Jean Marie Despiau was the private doctor of Gia Long, founder of the Nguyen dynasty in Vietnam, for more than twenty years. While the royal family and the colonizers were treated with the methods of Western medicine, the majority of the indigenous population had access only to highly inadequate care, especially as traditional medicine had been suppressed. Generations of French scientists systematically studied the countries and the peoples of South-East Asia, set up medical experimental stations (in Saigon in 1890, the Hanoi School of Medicine in 1902), tried out vaccinations, and trained indigenous researchers. These, in turn, published in French journals and supported the colonial project in which they were integrated, until they eventually joined the struggle for independence.

Wolfgang Eckart painted a different picture of German tropical medicine from 1884 to the outbreak of the First World War. The German Reich, he argued, had not only embarked upon a colonial course when all others had already planted their flags in the maps of Africa and Asia, but it also ran the risk of venturing on to scientific terrain that had long since been conquered. Germany suffered a much more widespread feeling of having to catch up with what other European colonial powers had already achieved than did either Britain or France. Eckart started by describing the institutionalization of tropical medicine and its scientific

and political aspects for the German Reich, and then went on to discuss the political objectives at the colonial 'periphery', taking the example of Cameroon. The German *Kolonialgesellschaft* had a strong interest in supporting tropical medicine, he argued, and the institute for the study of marine and tropical illnesses set up in Hamburg in 1901 should be seen also as a political instrument in the competition for colonial positions. These positions were secured in Douala, capital of the German protectorate of Cameroon, where, from 1901 to 1916, scientific support legitimized the racist separation of blacks and whites in the town, and made it possible for medical experiments to be conducted with vaccinations, among other things. German colonial policy and colonial medicine seemed to be closely connected.

Similar findings apply to the colonial history of the Netherlands, but according to Godelieve van Heteren, Dutch historiography has not really addressed these issues clearly. In her historiographical survey, she looked for reasons why the colonial historiography of the Netherlands generally portrays the country's imperialism as weak and even inconsistent. Since the famous novel *Max Havelaar* (1860) by Multatulis (Eduard Douwes Dekker), which is critical of colonialism, there has been a tradition which presents Dutch imperialism as extremely reticent. While at present colonial history is popular, what little work has been done on the role of medicine and public health in the colonies is mostly too undifferentiated. Has tropical medicine as the agent of colonial expansion been pushed out of the history books? Van Heteren pointed to the tension which existed between those with power and those without it in the realm of colonial policy-making. Medicine was a good example, and thus also functioned as a source of disappointment.

The next session, chaired by John MacKenzie, looked at the institutionalization of science from the late nineteenth century to the First World War against the colonial background. Markus Kirchhoff (Leipzig) spoke about the British, German, and French societies for the study of Palestine, which also provide insights into the scientific traditions of these countries, such as German philology, and British pragmatism. The establishment of the Palestine Exploration Fund in London (1865), the German *Verein zur Erforschung Palästinas* (1877), and the French *École Biblique* (1890) marked a fundamental shift in the European reception of Palestine. Previously, individual travellers and scholars had been the most frequent visitors researching the country. Now, studies of the country were undertaken by institutionalized and

officially financed sources. Archaeology, ethnography, historical geography, and other disciplines were supported by these scientific societies. They could also be used by those with political interests, as the significance of historical atlases in the geographical division of Palestine in the peace conferences of 1919 demonstrates. Although institutionalized research on Palestine did not directly encourage colonial expansion, its research findings cannot have been without consequences for the European understanding of imperialism – at least for its cultural dimension, and for what Edward Said has called 'Orientalism'.

In his paper on French 'agronomie coloniale', Christophe Bonneuil (Paris) returned to the natural sciences. When the *Jardin Colonial* was founded in Paris in 1899, it was soon supplemented by an agricultural section in the French colonial office, and in 1902 by the *École Nationale Supérieure d'Agriculture Coloniale*. The central issue which it addressed was how to deal with the tropics 'correctly', and how they could be put to scientific use, as the advocates of 'agronomie coloniale' demanded. Scientists, trading companies, the colonial lobby, and theoreticians of imperialism engaged in a discourse about the consequences of colonial exploitation and its impact on nature, the use of natural resources by indigenous peoples, and, finally, about the role of the French 'mission civilisatrice', the mandate of Western (scientific) domination, which was meant to justify colonialism on the grounds of technical superiority. In this debate, Bonneuil argued, the tropics were treated as a geographical unit, and the primeval forest as an untouched space, lacking in culture and history, where evolution and civilization encountered each other under the eyes of the invaders. As a response to the scientific demands of the agronomists, the founding of the *Jardin Colonial* in Paris marked the shift from a classical botanical garden run by amateurs to a professional research station.

The third paper in this session dealt with the *Seminar für Orientwissenschaften* in Berlin, which was founded in 1888 as an institution connected with the university, but independent of it. Lothar Burchardt (Constance) put forward a number of theses, including that the *Seminar* was not, initially, the result of a political plan, but the outcome of solid lobbying, especially by its director, Eduard Sachau, and of *ad hoc* decisions. Its strongest supporters were drawn not from government circles, but from the press. The *Seminar* quickly – certainly by 1914 – developed far beyond its original mission of teaching languages. This made the Prussian government highly suspicious of it. On the whole it preferred

the colonial institute in Hamburg. And after all, there was no real political reason for the *Seminar*'s existence, and there is no evidence that it had any significant impact on German colonial policy. Burchardt emphasized the *Seminar*'s practical, linguistic orientation, which was intended to benefit merchants trading in the Middle and Far East, for example, by teaching them the languages of these areas.

Richard Brown (Brighton) looked at another institution with an international reputation. In the session devoted to anthropology and chaired by Adam Jones (Leipzig), Brown discussed the International African Institute, founded in London in 1926. According to Brown the initiative for its establishment went back not to the colonial administration, but primarily to missionaries, although philologists, anthropologists, ethnologists, and, not least, philanthropic societies were associated with it. Given the institute's focus on Africa, and the particular colonial division of the continent, the institute took great care to balance its national, religious, and intellectual interests. In practice this included the appointment of its directors, the German Diedrich Westermann, and the Frenchman Maurice Delafosse. The discipline of anthropology, professionalized under the influence of Bronislaw Malinowski, was the institute's most important field of work. It aspired to have a political as well as a public function, and claimed to produce practical knowledge useful for colonial administration and education. With the outbreak of the Second World War the IAI did not lose its international orientation, but it became more British in substance.

The paper by Emmanuelle Sibeud (Marseilles) on colonial ethnography or cultural anthropology in France at about the same time looked at the impact of French colonial officials who, thanks to their local experience, had acquired ethnographic and anthropological knowledge in Africa. Some were in scholarly competition with the established disciplines, although they published in the recognized journals, supported the existing research communities, and were widely read. Maurice Delafosse, the colonial administrator already mentioned above, who worked first on the Ivory Coast and later in the Sudan, was outstanding in this respect, as were Charles Monteil and Henri Labouret, to mention only the best known. Sibeud's paper looked in detail at Delafosse, who founded the subject of 'négrologie', contributed to the journal *Revue des études ethnographiques et sociologiques*, and played a major part in the foundation of the *Institut d'ethnologie*, where he taught ethnography until his death in 1926, thus establishing a new discipline.

In his paper on 'Fraternity in the Age of Jingoism', Donal McCracken (Durban-Westville) returned to the international dimension of the scientific network by looking at institutes and organizations in the fields of botany and forestry which, despite the aggressive imperialism of the years from 1870 to the First World War, promoted cosmopolitan thinking. Thus quite a few continental Europeans achieved high positions within the 120 stations and gardens, the Indian Forestry Service, etc. investigated by McCracken, and a lively exchange of plants and seeds was maintained between the colonial institutions. Whereas botany became more nationalistic from the 1920s, the period prior to this was dominated by a spirit of co-operation – a refutation of the hitherto accepted thesis that the centre was more liberal, the periphery more conservative in scientific matters? Deepak Kumar (Delhi) rejected this, pointing out in the discussion that jingoism and scientific co-operation ruled each other out. Yet according to McCracken, the botanists were not pursuing an imperial mission, but were interested solely in good academic and curatorial work.

This first part of the session called 'Science in the Colonies' and chaired by Andrew Porter also contained a paper by Christoph Gradmann (Heidelberg), who looked at bacteriology and Robert Koch's scientific expeditions to Egypt and India (1883-4), and German East Africa (1906-7). These journeys, and medical expeditions in general, are particularly instructive in illustrating the interaction between science, public opinion, and imperial interests. Koch's research on cholera and sleeping sickness attracted much more public interest than laboratory work would have done. In addition, he had the chance to undertake medical investigations which were not possible in Germany, where there would have been much greater competition with other scientists. As Gradmann explained, competition between Germany and France made it easier for Koch to apply for state support, and when he returned from his Indian expedition his scientific successes were celebrated like Germany's military victory over France in 1871. By contrast, his trip to German East Africa was financially shaky from the start and proved to be unsuccessful. The German government did indeed hesitate to support expeditions to places which had become German colonies. And the political regimes in the colonies did not appear to feel an automatic national pride in the achievements of European science outside Europe.

The second part of this session, which concluded the conference, was chaired by Peter Marshall (London). In it, Suzanne Moon (Ithaca)

introduced the Dutch scholar J. H. Boeke, who studied the economics of development in the East Indies, focusing in particular on social problems. Boeke attempted to set up an economic model specifically for the Dutch colony, one which did not see the economy in terms of universal laws that could be arbitrarily applied, but that was adapted to local conditions and thus drew clear distinctions between Western and non-Western economic systems. Deepak Kumar concluded the conference with an agenda for a comparative analysis between the East Indies and British India, and placed it into the perspective of the colonized cultures. What, for them, did the field of tension between 'Science and Empire' mean in political, economic, cultural, etc. terms? It must also be remembered that, in contrast to Dutch colonial policy, British policy in India set up centralized rule, and this applied also to scientific development. But how did the colonial rulers respond to indigenous scientific traditions? How did the indigenous people react to the Western science that was imposed upon them? What role did scientific discourse play for political and economic goals? Many more questions must still be asked. But, as Kumar pointed out, one of the central findings of the conference was that the applied rather that the exact sciences were of great significance for the common approach to 'Science and Empire'. Medicine, botany, agricultural science, and many others, in addition to their academic and political roles, had an economic aspect without which any imperialism – whether in the Western European models under investigation here or elsewhere – is unthinkable.

The German Historical Institute plans to publish the conference proceedings.

BENEDIKT STUCHTEY

NOTICEBOARD

Research Seminar

The GHIL regularly organizes a research seminar at which recipients of grants from the Institute and other scholars report on the progress of their work. Any postgraduate or postdoctoral researchers who are interested in the subjects are welcome to attend. As a general rule, the language of the papers and discussion is German.

The following papers will be given in May, June, and July. Further meetings may also be arranged. Future dates will be announced on each occasion, and are available from the GHIL. For further information contact Professor Lothar Kettenacker on 020 7404 5486. Please note that meetings begin promptly at the new time of 4 p.m.

9 May	Annette Meyer Die Wissenschaft von Menschen. Zum Verhältnis von Geschichte und Anthropologie in der Spätaufklärung
23 May	Dr Andreas Eckert Afrikanische Bürokraten und Dekolonisation. Tansania, 1920er – 1960er Jahre
30 May	Gregor Pelger Deutsch-jüdische Orientalisten im viktorianischen England
13 June	Christiana Brennecke Das liberale spanische Exil der Jahre 1823-1833 in England
4 July	Sebastian Küster Dettingen – eine Schlacht im Licht der Öffentlichkeit

As a matter of interest to readers, we record the following papers which were given before the publication date of this **Bulletin**.

1 February	Anja Ingenbleek-Kuhn Die Gewerkschaftspolitik der Briten in der britischen Besatzungszone 1945-1949
15 February	Torsten Riotte Die Entstehung der Königlich-Deutschen Legion 1803-1806. Hannoversche Truppen in britischen Diensten während der Napoleonischen Kriege
22 February	Astrid M. Eckert Der Kampf um die Akten. Die Rückgabeverhandlungen um die beschlagnahmten deutschen Archive 1949-1960
21 March	Karsten Behrndt Konzeptionen von Nation in deutschen und britischen Enzyklopädien und Lexika im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert

Scholarships awarded by the GHIL

Each year the GHIL awards a number of research scholarships to German postgraduate students and *Habilitanden* to enable them to carry out research in Britain, and to British postgraduates for research visits to Germany. The scholarships are generally awarded for a period of up to six months, depending on the requirements of the research project. British applicants will normally be expected to have completed one year's postgraduate research, and be studying German history or Anglo-German relations. The scholarships are advertised in the *Times Higher Educational Supplement* and *Die Zeit* every September. Applications may be sent in at any time, but allocations are made for the following calendar year. Applications, which should include a CV, educational background, list of publications (where appropriate), and an outline of the project, together with a supervisor's reference confirming the relevance of the proposed archival research, should be

addressed to the Director, German Historical Institute London, 17 Bloomsbury Square, London WC1A 2LP.

During their stay in Britain, German scholars present their projects and the initial results of their research at the Institute's Research Seminar, and English scholars do the same on their return from Germany (see above for the current programme).

For the year 2000 the following scholarships have been awarded for research on British history, German history, and Anglo-German relations.

Ph.D. Scholarships

Karsten Behrndt (Berlin): Konzeptionen von Nation in deutschen und britischen Enzyklopädien und Lexika im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert

Christiana Brennecke (Berlin): Das liberale spanische Exil der Jahre 1823-1833 in England

Kaspar Dreidoppel (Berlin): Griechenland 1943/44: der Kampf zwischen Widerstand und Besatzungsmacht

Astrid Eckert (Berlin): Der Kampf um die Akten. Die Rückgabeverhandlungen um die beschlagnahmten deutschen Archive 1949-1960

Ulrike Ehret (London): Catholicism and Anti-Semitism in Britain and Germany, 1918-1939

Alexander C. T. Geppert (Göttingen): London versus Paris. Imperial Exhibitions, Urban Space and Metropolitan Identities 1886-1931

Patrick Germann (London): Germans on the Witwaters Rand in the Nineteenth Century. Social Factors in Anglo-German Estrangement in the Age of Imperialism

Anselm Heinrich (Hull): The Function of Theatre. Two Provincial Theatres in England and Germany and their Programmes during the Second World War. The Städtische Bühnen in Münster and the Theatre Royal in York between War Politics, Cultural Ambition and Public Taste

Anja Ingenbleek-Kuhn (Düsseldorf): Die Gewerkschaftspolitik der Briten in der britischen Besatzungszone 1945-1949

Sebastian Küster (Göttingen): Dettingen – eine Schlacht im Licht der Öffentlichkeit

Josie McLellan (Oxford): East German Memories and the International Brigades

Annette Meyer (Cologne): Die Wissenschaft von Menschen. Zum Verhältnis von Geschichte und Anthropologie in der Spätaufklärung

Dan Parkinson (Cambridge): Drawing a Veil of Tradition over the Fragility of Urban Order. Invented Traditions as a Response to Modernity in Five Middle-Class Communities in Germany *c.* 1900-1925

Gregor Pelger (Cologne): Deutsch-jüdische Orientalisten im viktorianischen England

Leon R. Quinn (Bristol): The Politics of Pollution? Environmentalism and Governance in Eastern Germany 1971-1994

Torsten Riotte (Cologne): Die Entstehung der Königlich-Deutschen Legion 1803-1806. Hannoversche Truppen in britischen Diensten während der Napoleonischen Kriege

Dirk Sasse (Münster): Europa und der Rif-Krieg – Abd el-Krims europäische Verbindungen während des Rif-Aufstandes 1921-1926

Christoph Schröer (Munich): 'To the King over the Waters': Ideen und Lebenswelten der Jakobiten (1688 – ca. 1750)

Habilitation Scholarships

Dr Andreas Eckert (Berlin): Afrikanische Bürokraten und Dekolonisation. Tansania, 1920er – 1960er Jahre

Dr Ulrike Jureit (Hamburg): Die Sozialgeschichte deutscher Auswanderer nach Südafrika 1850-1920

Postgraduate Students' Conference

The German Historical Institute London held its fourth postgraduate students' conference on 10-11 January 2000. Its intention was to give postgraduate research students in the UK and Ireland working on German history an opportunity to present their work-in-progress, and to discuss it with other students working in the same field. The Institute also aimed to present itself as a research centre for German history in London, and to introduce postgraduates to the facilities it offers as well as to the Institute's Research Fellows.

In selecting students to give a presentation, preference was given to those in their second or third year who had possibly already spent a period of research in Germany. Students in their first year were invited to attend as discussants. Eighteen projects in all were introduced in

plenary sessions held over two days. Sessions were devoted to the sixteenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries, the First World War, the inter-war period, and the post-1945 period in both East and West Germany.

As well as discussing their subjects and methodologies, the participants exchanged information about practical difficulties such as language and transcription problems, how to locate sources, and finding one's way around German archives. Many comments came from the floor, including information about language courses and intensive courses for the reading of German manuscripts, references to literature already published on the topic, and suggestions about additional sources. Information about institutions that give grants for research in Germany was also exchanged. The German Historical Institute can offer support here by facilitating contact with German archives and providing letters of introduction which may be necessary for students to gain access to archives or specific source collections. In certain cases it may help students to make contact with particular German universities and professors. The German Historical Institute also provides scholarships for research in Germany (see above).

The GHIL is planning to hold the next postgraduate students' conference early in 2001. For further information, including how to apply, please contact the Secretary, German Historical Institute, 17 Bloomsbury Square, London WC1A 2LP.

Prize of the German Historical Institute London

The German Historical Institute London awards an annual prize of DM 6,000, known as the Prize of the German Historical Institute London, for an outstanding work of historical scholarship. The prize is sponsored by Veba Oil and Gas UK Limited, and was initiated in 1996 to mark the twentieth anniversary of the founding of the GHIL.

To be eligible a work must be:

1 a Ph.D. thesis written at a UK or German university and, as a rule, submitted to the university within the 12 months prior to the closing date

2 on a subject matter taken from the field of UK or German history or UK-German relations or comparative studies in the nineteenth or twentieth century
3 unpublished.

An entry which has been submitted to a UK university must be in English and on German history or UK-German relations or a comparative topic; an entry which has been submitted to a German university must be in German and on British history or UK-German relations or a comparative topic.

To apply, please send the following to reach the Director of the German Historical Institute, 17 Bloomsbury Square, London WC1A 2LP, by 1 September 2000:

1 the complete text
2 all relevant reports from the university to which it is being submitted
3 a declaration that, if a work in German is awarded the prize, the author is prepared to allow the work to be considered for publication in the series *Veröffentlichungen des Deutschen Historischen Instituts London*, and that the work will not be published elsewhere until the judges have reached their final decision
4 the applicant's current *curriculum vitae*.

The Prize will be presented on the occasion of the Institute's Annual Lecture in November 2000. Future awards will be advertised in the *Bulletin* of the GHIL.

No member of the Committee of Judges and no employee or blood relative of an employee or ex-employee of the Sponsor or the Institute or any member of the Committee shall be eligible as a candidate for the Prize.

Staff News

The academic staff of the Institute changes from time to time, as most Research Fellows have fixed-term contracts of three to five years' duration. During this time, along with their duties at the Institute, they work on a major project of their own choice, and as a result the Institute's areas of special expertise also change. We take this opportunity to keep our readers regularly informed.

ANDREAS FAHRMEIR joined the GHIL as a Research Fellow in 1997. He studied medieval and modern history, English, and history of science at the University of Frankfurt/Main, obtaining an M.A. in 1994, and was a visiting student at McGill University, Montreal in 1991/92. His Cambridge Ph.D. was published in April 2000 as *Citizens and Aliens: Foreigners and the Law in Britain and the German States, 1789-1870*. He is currently working on the history of municipal self-government in the Corporation of London in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

SABINE FREITAG joined the GHIL as a Research Fellow in 1997. She studied history, philosophy, and German literature in Frankfurt/Main and Rome. Her main fields of interest are nineteenth-century German, British, and American history. She is currently editing a multi-volume series, *Reports by British Ambassadors to Germany (1815-1870/71)*, which the GHIL is publishing in conjunction with the Royal Historical Society. At the same time she is working on a comparative history of criminal law, culture, and policy in England and Germany before, during, and after the First World War. She is the author of *Friedrich Hecker. Biographie eines Republikaners* (1998).

LOTHAR KETTENACKER is Deputy Director of the Institute. From 1973 he ran the London office of the Deutsch-Britischer Historikerkreis, which was later to develop into the GHIL. His Ph.D. (Frankfurt 1968) was on Nazi occupation policies in Alsace (1940-44), and he also completed a B. Litt. at Oxford in 1971 on Lord Acton and Döllinger. He has written a major study of British post-war planning for Germany during the Second World War, as well as various articles on National Socialism and on British history in the 1930s and 1940s. He is currently working on German unification for the Longmans series, Turning

Points in History. His most recent publication is *Germany since 1945* (1997).

REGINA PÖRTNER, who joined the GHIL in 1998, took an M.A. in History (Medieval, Modern, Economic) and German at the University of Bochum. She was a visiting student at Trinity College, Oxford in 1988-89, and took her D.Phil. (Oxford) as a Rhodes Scholar in 1998. Now a Research Fellow at the GHIL, she is editing the current issue of the Institute's bibliography, *Research on British History in the Federal Republic of Germany*, and preparing her D.Phil. thesis on Counter-Reformation in Inner Austria for publication. At the GHIL she is working on aspects of British intellectual history in the eighteenth century.

MICHAEL SCHAICH, who joined the GHIL in 1999, was a student of history and media studies at the University of Munich. After completing his M.A. he became a research assistant in the history department. He is currently preparing the publication of his Ph.D. thesis on Enlightenment and Counter-Enlightenment in Bavaria. During his time at the Institute he will be working on a comparative history of the Anglican clergy in England and the Protestant clergy in Germany in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

BENEDIKT STUCHTEY joined the GHIL in 1995 after studying in Münster, Freiburg, and Trinity College Dublin. His main research interests are the history of historiography and of European imperialism. He is currently working on anti-colonialism in the twentieth century in a comparative perspective. He is the author of *W.E.H. Lecky (1838-1903). Historisches Denken und politisches Urteilen eines anglo-irischen Gelehrten* (1997), and has edited, with Peter Wende, *British and German Historiography, 1750-1950. Traditions, Perceptions, and Transfers* (2000). As well as editing the *Bulletin of the GHIL*, he is on the editorial committee of *European Review of History. Revue Européenne d'Histoire.*

Carsten Bequest

Francis L. Carsten (1911-1998), who was one of the founding fathers of the GHIL, bequeathed his entire scholarly library of 4,500 volumes to the Institute. About 1,500 volumes of this bequest have now been integrated into the library's holdings. Reflecting Carsten's own fields of research, most of these books are on the history of the labour movement, Communism and Socialism, the history of Prussia, and the history of revolutions in general. The library's holdings on the French Revolution, the 1848 revolution in Europe, the Russian Revolution of 1917, and the German Revolution of 1918-19 have therefore been enriched by Carsten's donation.

A large part of the bequest consists of pamphlets on the history of the labour movement. There are approximately 280 pamphlets, dating from 1885 (Karl Marx, *Enthüllungen über den Kommunisten-Prozeß zu Köln*) to 1957 (Walter Wimmer, *Das Betriebsrätegesetz von 1920 und das Blutbad vor dem Reichstag*). The majority, however, are from the period 1919 to 1932. Authors represented include August Bebel, Eduard Bernstein, Friedrich Engels, Karl Kautsky, Paul Levi, Karl and Wilhelm Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg, Karl Marx, Wilhelm Pieck, Leon Trotsky, and Clara Zetkin. This kind of political literature is not fully catalogued, but a complete list with short-title entries consisting of author, title, place and year of publication, and number of pages is available in the library and in the basement where the pamphlets are kept.

Thanks to the Carsten bequest the library now possesses some old and interesting editions of collected works by the following German poets: Ludwig Börne (14 vols, 1832-40), Heinrich Heine (22 vols, 1867-69), Gotthold Ephraim Lessing (10 vols, 1883-90), and Friedrich Schiller (15 vols, *c*. 1922). The library now also holds an edition of Milton's *Prose Works* (1848-53).

A few volumes in the bequest date from the eighteenth century. Among the most interesting is Carl Friedrich von Pauli's *Allgemeine Preußische Staatsgeschichte* (8 vols, 1760-9). The plain quarto volumes are in excellent condition. Each ruler dealt with is depicted in a one-page etching. Further eighteenth-century volumes are Bolingbroke's *Letter to Sir William Windham* (1753), the first part of the *Histoire du Vicomte de Turenne* (1759), and, perhaps of special interest, Tissot's *Von der Gesundheit der Gelehrten* (1768), the German translation of a contemporary French bestseller which deals with the negative effects of excessive scholarship on health. However, it also suggests remedies.

There are also some valuable nineteenth-century books in Carsten's donation: Ludwig Wieland's *Gibt es gegenwärtig in Deutschland eine revolutionäre Partei und wie kann man wider Willen eine machen?* (1819), Friedrich Raumer's *König Friedrich II. und seine Zeit* (1836), Ernst Moritz Arndt's *Erinnerungen aus dem äußeren Leben* (1840), and *Urkundensammlung zur Geschichte der auswärtigen Verhältnisse der Mark Brandenburg und ihrer Regenten* (2 vols, 1843-5). Another source for Prussian history is Christian August Ludwig Klaproth's *Der königlich Preußische und Churfürstl. Brandenburgische Wirklich Geheime Staats-Rath an seinem zweihundertjährigen Stiftungstage den 5ten Januar 1805*. Among the dictionaries is George's *Ausführlich Lateinisch-Deutsches Handwörterbuch* (1879-80). The library now also holds three volumes of Friedrich von Coelln's *Vertraute Briefe über die innern Verhältnisse am Preußischen Hofe seit dem Tode Friedrichs II* (1807-8), the 1865 edition of Samuel Pepy's diaries and his correspondence, and an 1869 edition of the *Nibelungenlied*.

An illustrated history of the German 1918 Revolution, *Illustrierte Geschichte der deutschen Revolution* (1929), is of special interest because John Heartfield was involved in the typographical design.

Many of the books in the bequest were review copies, and contain clippings of Carsten's reviews, which have been attached to the books.

Ulrike Beermann

European Immigrants in Britain 1933-50. Conference organized by the German Historical Institute London, the University of Wolverhampton, and the University of North London, to be held on 7-8 December 2000, at the GHIL.

Between 1933 and 1950, Britain experienced a large-scale inward migration of about 1 million people. This was the result of European refugee movements of the pre-war, war, and post-war periods, of governmental or individual recruitment, of Irish immigration, and of British subjects returning from colonies and dominions.

International academic research has mainly been concerned with the refugees from Nazi Germany. With a few significant exceptions

there has been little academic interest in other European immigrant groups. These consisted of:

- around 173,000 employees who entered Britain during the immediate post-war period on individual labour permits.
- 80,000 displaced persons recruited under the 'Westward Ho!' scheme.
- 10,000 German women recruited under the 'North Sea' scheme.
- more than 100,000 members of the Polish Army and Air Force and their families.
- 15,000 German, 1,400 Italian, and 8,000 Ukrainian former Prisoners-of-War who remained in Britain.

The aim of the conference is to bring together academics and scholars who have been working in the field and 'taking stock' of current research. The conference should also provide stimuli and strengthen interest in the research area, particularly amongst young academics and research students.

The conference will concentrate on one or more aspects of the following:

- the social, economic, cultural, and political situation of migrants in the country of origin and migrants' motives for leaving.
- British immigration policy and immigrant policy.
- migrants' perception of self and others.
- reaction of the receiving communities.

For further information please contact: Dr J.-D. Steinert, University of Woverhampton, Division of History; JDSteinert@t-online.de

German History Society

The German History Society's AGM will take place on 2 December 2000 at the German Historical Institute London. The topic is: 'The Confessional Divide in Germany.' For further information contact: Dr Mark Allinson, Dept. of German, University of Bristol, 14 Woodland Road, Bristol BS8 1TE.

LIBRARY NEWS

Recent Acquisitions

This list contains a selection of recent publications in German and English, primarily on German history, acquired by the Library of the GHIL in the past year.

Albrecht, Thomas, *Für eine wehrhafte Demokratie. Albert Grzesinski und die preußische Politik in der Weimarer Republik*, Politik- und Gesellschaftsgeschichte, 51 (Bonn: Dietz, 1999)

Alvarez, David and Robert A. Graham, SJ, *Nothing Sacred. Nazi Espionage Against the Vatican, 1939-1945*, Studies in Intelligence (London and Portland, Or.: Cass, 1997)

Amlung, Ullrich, *'... in der Entscheidung gibt es keine Umwege'. Adolf Reichwein 1898-1944. Reformpädagoge, Sozialist, Widerstandskämpfer*, 2nd revised edn (Marburg: Schüren, 1999)

Andrzejeweski, Marek and Hubert Rinklake, *'To live, you have to be well-informed'. Erich Brost, Danzig Editor, Man of Resistance, Publisher and Editor-in-Chief of the 'Westdeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, (Warsaw: Institute of History, Polish Academy of Science, 1999)

Angenendt, Steffen (ed.), *Asylum and Migration Policies in the European Union*, Research Institute of the German Society for Foreign Affairs (Bonn: Europa Union Verlag, 1999)

Arendt, Hannah and Martin Heidegger, *Briefe 1925 bis 1975*, ed by Ursula Ludz, 2nd revised edn (Frankfurt/M.: Klostermann, 1999)

Armitage, David (ed.), *Theories of Empire, 1450-1800*, An Expanding World, 20 (Aldershot etc.: Ashgate, 1998)

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