German Historical Institute London

Bulletin

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SEMINARS AT THE GHIL
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17 Sept.   **DR TILL VAN RAHDEN (Cologne)**
From Concord to Diversity: German Jews and the Paradoxes of Civil Society, 1800-1933
Till van Rahden teaches modern history at the University of Cologne. His research interests focus on the history of German Jews and, more recently, on the history of fatherhood in the FRG and the former GDR. Among his publications are: *Juden und andere Breslauer: Die Beziehung zwischen Juden, Protestanten und Katholiken in einer deutschen Großstadt von 1860 bis 1925* (2000). He has also co-edited *Bürger – Juden – Deutsche: Zur Geschichte von Vielfalt und Differenz seit dem späten 18. Jahrhundert* (2001).

15 Oct.   **DR MICHAEL WILDT (Hamburg)**
Generation of the Unbound. The Leadership Corps of the *Reichssicherheitshauptamt*
A Research Fellow at the *Hamburger Institut für Sozialforschung* and *Privatdozent* at the University of Hanover, Michael Wildt has published widely on the history of the Third Reich and the Federal Republic of Germany. Among other books he has co-edited *Der Dienstkalender Heinrich Himmlers 1941/42* (1999). His most recent book, *Generation des Unbedingten: Das Führungskorps des Reichssicherheitshauptamts* (2002), was received with great acclaim in the German media.

22 Oct.   **DR NICHOLAS HOPE (Glasgow)**
The German Church Conflict seen through British Eyes
Nicholas Hope, Reader in Modern History at the University of Glasgow, is one of the foremost experts on German and Scandinavian Protestantism from the eighteenth century to the present. His research interest has resulted in a large number of publications. Best known is *German and Scandinavian Protestantism 1700-1918* (1995; pbk 1999). He is also engaged in a major European research project on 'Churches in European Integration'.

Seminars

28 Oct.   **PROFESSOR RUDOLF SCHLÖGL (Constance)**
Secularization. German Catholicism on the Eve of
Modernity
Rudolf Schlögl is Professor of Early Modern History at the
University of Constance and at present also co-ordinator of a
research project on 'Norm and symbol. The cultural dimension of
social and political integration'. His publications, covering many
facets of early modern and modern German history, include
Bauern, Krieg und Staat: Oberbayerische Bauernwirtschaft und früh-
moderner Staat im 17. Jahrhundert (1988) and *Glauben und Religion in*
der Säkularisierung: Die katholische Stadt — Köln, Aachen, Münster —
1700-1840 (1995).

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.

THE 2002 ANNUAL LECTURE

The Triumph of Music in the Modern World

will be given by

PROFESSOR T. C. W. BLANNING (Cambridge)

at the German Historical Institute
on Friday, 15 November, at 5 p.m.

GERMAN HISTORICAL INSTITUTE LONDON

in co-operation with the

SEMINAR IN MODERN GERMAN HISTORY
INSTITUTE OF HISTORICAL RESEARCH
UNIVERSITY OF LONDON

DR HILDA ROMER CHRISTENSEN (Copenhagen)

will give a paper on

**When the YWCA entered the City.
The German YWCA in a Comparative Perspective, 1880-1940**

at the Institute of Historical Research
Senate House, Malet Street
London WC1E 7HU
International Relations Room

on Thursday, 5 December 2002 at 5.30 p.m.

ARTICLE

'BREAKTHROUGH IN THE CAUCASUS?'
*GERMAN REUNIFICATION AS A CHALLENGE TO CONTEMPORARY HISTORIOGRAPHY**

by Andreas Rödder

'We have made a breakthrough! What a sensation! We had not expected Gorbachev to give such clear assent. All the signals were positive, but who could have predicted such an outcome? These talks are an unbelievable triumph for the Chancellor. ... I am witnessing a historic moment.' This is what Horst Teltschik, foreign policy adviser to the German Chancellor, Helmut Kohl, notes for 15 July 1990 in his diary-like memoirs about the German–Soviet summit talks in Moscow,[1] which were continued that afternoon in the village of Archys in the Caucasus. 'That was the day that, quite correctly, is regarded as the breakthrough on the path to German unity', writes Helmut Kohl, too, in his memoirs published in 2000. 'At the end of our talks', which concerned mainly a unified Germany's membership of NATO and the EC, 'it was clear that the Soviet Union would agree to German reunification.'[2]

The many Germans who were involved in this German–Soviet summit all speak of a 'breakthrough'. Each of the 'agitated' participants was,[3] as former Finance Minister Waigel writes in his memoirs, 'happy at the outcome of the meeting in the Caucasus, and was glad to have been present at such a crucial moment of German and inter-

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[1] Horst Teltschik, *329 Tage: Innenansichten der Einigung* (Berlin 1991), p. 324.
[2] Helmut Kohl, *Mein Tagebuch 1998–2000* (Munich, 2000), p. 287.
[3] Hans-Dietrich Genscher, *Erinnerungen* (Berlin, 1995), p. 838.

national politics',[4] and, in Kohl's words, to have experienced the 'breakthrough in the Caucasus'.[5] This view drawn from the testimonies of the German politicians involved also dominates the public memory of the unification process as reflected in the media from *Informationen zur politischen Bildung* to the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*.[6] Similarly, the version of the 'breakthrough in the Caucasus' has shaped the historical image since created by German academics, both in overviews of the history of the Federal Republic of Germany and its foreign policy,[7] and especially in the monumental study *Außenpolitik für die deutsche Einheit*,[8] which concludes the four-volume *Geschichte der deutschen Einheit*.[9]

[4] Theo Waigel, 'Tage, die Deutschland und die Welt veränderten', in id. and Manfred Schell, *Tage, die Deutschland und die Welt veränderten: Vom Mauerfall zum Kaukasus. Die deutsche Währungsunion* (Munich, 1994), pp. 26–56, at 52.

[5] Helmut Kohl, *'Ich wollte Deutschlands Einheit'*, ed. Kai Diekmann and Ralf Georg Reuth (Berlin, 1996), p. 421.

[6] Cf., as three examples of many, Jochen Staadt, 'Dann den Zipfel der Strickjacke fassen: Wie Helmut Kohl von Michail Gorbatschow die entscheidenden Zusagen für die Wiedervereinigung erhielt', *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* (henceforth FAZ), 17 July 2000, p. 5; Werner Adam, 'Die große persönliche Tragödie des Michail Sergejewitsch', FAZ, 2 Mar. 2001, p. 8, and *Informationen zur politischen Bildung 250: Der Weg zur Einheit* (Bonn, 1996), pp. 43 f. The only exception among the productions to mark the tenth anniversary of reunification was the documentary film *Deutschlandspiel*, by Heinrich Breloer.

[7] Cf. Manfred Görtemaker, *Geschichte der Bundesrepublik Deutschland: Von der Gründung bis zur Gegenwart* (Munich, 1999), pp. 764 f.; Gregor Schöllgen, *Die Außenpolitik der Bundesrepublik Deutschland: Von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart* (Munich, 1999), p. 196; and Ulrich Schlie, 'Von Bonn nach Berlin. Die deutsche Wiedervereinigung', in Eckart Conze and Gabriele Metzler (eds), *50 Jahre Bundesrepublik Deutschland* (Stuttgart, 1999), pp. 365–81, at 374.

[8] Werner Weidenfeld with Peter M. Wagner and Elke Bruck, *Außenpolitik für die deutsche Einheit: Die Entscheidungsjahre 1989/90*, Geschichte der deutschen Einheit, 4 (Stuttgart, 1998), pp. 535–64, at 529 and 558: 'Working with the leadership in Moscow, Helmut Kohl, Hans-Dietrich Genscher, and Theo Waigel had cleared the path to reunification of all essential obstacles. ... The exhaustive talks conducted by the Chancellor and his delegation with President Gorbachev and his people in Moscow and Archys had resulted in the crucial political breakthrough in the unification process.'

[9] Vol. 1: Karl-Rudolf Korte, *Deutschlandpolitik in Helmut Kohls Kanzlerschaft: Regierungsstil und Entscheidungen 1981–1989* (Stuttgart, 1998); vol. 2: Dieter Grosser, *Das Wagnis der Währungs-, Wirtschafts- und Sozialunion: Politische*

The first part of this essay presents a source critical analysis of this view of a 'breakthrough in the Caucasus' (I). Substantive and methodological conclusions will be drawn, on the one hand about the international dimension of German reunification (II), and on the other about the legitimacy of contemporary historiography (III). In conclusion, the problem of finding the proper place for reunification in twentieth-century German history will be outlined (IV).

The term 'reunification', while not used exclusively, will generally be preferred to 'unification'. More than any other term (such as 'German unity' or 'unification') 'reunification' expresses the backwards looking character of the process. That the entire territorial *status quo* of 1937 was not restored does not alter the fact that it was at least the partial restoration of an earlier territorial entity, not a novel union between two states, which conferred national and international legitimacy on the process of 1990.

I 'Breakthrough in the Caucasus?'
The oft-quoted mining and military metaphor of a 'breakthrough' describes the moment at which an obstacle is removed, thus freeing the path to the objective. It does not necessarily imply that this path has been followed to the end. The crucial obstacle in the path towards German unity after the collapse of the GDR was the Soviet rejection of NATO membership for the whole of a unified Germany. Thus the overcoming of this rejection was seen as the 'breakthrough'.

In its Four Principles of 29 November 1989 the US government had elevated unrestricted NATO membership for a united Germany into one of its most central requirements.[10] This was the West's maximum demand, which, in principle, had not appeared in any model

Zwänge im Konflikt mit ökonomischen Regeln (Stuttgart, 1998); vol. 3: Wolfgang Jäger in co-operation with Michael Walter, *Die Überwindung der Teilung: Der innerdeutsche Prozeß der Vereinigung 1989/90* (Stuttgart, 1998). On this cf. also Helga Haftendorn's review article in *Politische Vierteljahresschrift*, 40 (1999), pp. 666–73; Kristina Spohr, 'German Unification: Between Official History, Academic Scholarship, and Political Memoirs', *Historical Journal*, 43 (2000), pp. 869–88, esp. 872–81; and Andreas Rödder, 'Zeitgeschichte als Herausforderung: Der Weg zur deutschen Einheit', *Historische Zeitschrift* (henceforth HZ), 270 (2000), pp. 669–87, at 677–87.

[10] Cf. Karl Kaiser, *Deutschlands Vereinigung: Die internationalen Aspekte* (2nd edn.; Bergisch Gladbach, 1993), doc. 14, p. 169.

for reunification since 1949. For the Soviet Union, which at that time did not even want to think about German reunification, it represented their worst nightmare. From the Kremlin's point of view, a unified Germany as a member of NATO would revise the outcome of 1945. As his adviser Shakhnazarov reports in his memoirs, Gorbachev, in an internal consultation in Moscow on 26 January 1990 concerning the German question, also considered that just German reunification alone would represent 'a considerable trauma' for Soviet 'social consciousness'.[11]

Therefore, throughout the winter and spring of 1990, the Soviet government categorically rejected NATO membership for the whole of Germany. If there was to be a united Germany—and from the end of January the Kremlin had to get used to this idea whether they liked it or not[12]—then certainly not in NATO.[13] In the face of this resistance, disagreements arose within the West German cabinet on the subject of a united Germany's membership of NATO. Formal membership as such was not open to discussion as far as the government was concerned, in contrast to the opposition of the SPD and the

[11] Georgi Schachnasarow, *Der Preis der Freiheit: Eine Bilanz von Gorbatschows Berater*, ed. Frank Brandenburg (Bonn, 1996), p. 150; on this meeting cf. also Michail Gorbatschow, *Erinnerungen* (Berlin, 1995), pp. 714 f.; id., *Wie es war: Die deutsche Wiedervereinigung* (Munich, 2000; 1st edn. Berlin, 1999) pp. 95–7; Anatoli Tschernajew, *Die letzten Jahre einer Weltmacht: Der Kreml von innen* (Stuttgart, 1993), pp. 296 f.; id., 'Gorbachev and the Reunification of Germany', in Gabriel Gorodetski (ed.), *Soviet Foreign Policy 1917–1991: A Retrospective* (London, 1993), pp. 158–69, at 166; cf. also Hannes Adomeit, 'Gorbachev, German Unification and the Collapse of Empire', *Post-Soviet Affairs,* 10 (1994), pp. 197–230, at 217–19; id., *Imperial Overstretch: Germany in Soviet Policy from Stalin to Gorbachev* (Baden-Baden, 1998), pp. 478–81; and Rafael Biermann, *Zwischen Kreml und Kanzleramt: Wie Moskau mit der deutschen Einheit rang* (Paderborn, 1997), pp. 388–92.

[12] Cf. Adomeit, *Imperial Overstretch*, pp. 463 and 568.

[13] Cf. the evidence cited for the Soviet government's constant repetition of statements to this effect in Andreas Rödder, 'Staatskunst statt Kriegshandwerk. Probleme der deutschen Vereinigung von 1990 in internationaler Perspektive', *Historisches Jahrbuch*, 118 (1998), pp. 223–60, at 224, note 6. Cf. also minutes of the meeting between Gorbachev and Kohl on 10 Feb. 1990 in Moscow, in Hanns Jürgen Küsters and Daniel Hofmann (eds), *Dokumente zur Deutschlandpolitik: Deutsche Einheit. Sonderedition aus den Akten des Bundeskanzleramtes 1989/90* (Munich, 1998), doc. 174, p. 804.

Greens. Foreign Minister Genscher, however, was prepared to accept that the territory of the GDR would, in reality, be neutral.[14] Defence Minister Stoltenberg and the Secretary General of NATO, Wörner, by contrast, insisted on full membership of NATO with, at most, exceptional regulations for the territory of the GDR.[15] In February 1990 Kohl decided the dispute by endorsing Genscher's position.[16] This led to considerable doubts on Washington's part because in the late 1980s Germany's Western integration was an extremely difficult problem.

American doubts about West German loyalty to the Western alliance were nothing new. Henry Kissinger had suspected Willy Brandt's *Ostpolitik*, and especially Egon Bahr, of pursuing a leftist national-neutralist tendency,[17] and political relations between Bonn and Washington reached a low point at the end of Helmut Schmidt's period in office. At the beginning of the 1980s, when East–West relations had suddenly cooled, the Federal Chancellor attempted to mediate between the superpowers in negotiations on middle-range nuclear weapons and thus to save *détente* for Europe by means of a 'balancing act between the USA and the USSR, which, in American

[14] Cf. speeches given by Genscher in Stuttgart on 6 Jan. and in Tutzing on 31. Jan. 1990, in Richard Kiessler and Frank Elbe, *Ein runder Tisch mit scharfen Ecken: Der diplomatische Weg zur deutschen Einheit* (Baden-Baden, 1993), p. 78, and Kaiser, *Deutschlands Vereinigung*, doc. 23, p. 191.

[15] On this cf. the minutes of the meeting at which the *Arbeitsgruppe Außen- und Sicherheitspolitik* of the Cabinet Committee *Deutsche Einheit* was set up on 14 Feb. 1990 and the memorandum by I. Kaestner, dated 15 Feb. 1990, in Küsters and Daniel Hofmann (eds), *Dokumente zur Deutschlandpolitik*, doc. 182, pp. 830 f. and doc. 184, pp. 833 f.; and the report of a conversation between Wörner and Bush on 10 Feb. 1990 in Philipp Zelikow and Condoleezza Rice, *Germany Unified and Europe Transformed: A Study in Statecraft* (Cambridge, Mass., 1995) pp. 195 f.; on this also Robert Blackwill, 'Deutsche Vereinigung und amerikanische Diplomatie', *Außenpolitik: Zeitschrift für internationale Fragen*, 3 (1994), pp. 211–25, at 216; and George Bush and Brent Scowcroft, *A World Transformed* (New York, 1998), pp. 242 f.

[16] Cf. Kohl's government declaration of 15 Feb. 1990 and the same declaration issued jointly by Genscher and Stoltenberg, under duress by Kohl, on 19 Feb. 1990 in Kaiser, *Deutschlands Vereinigung*, docs 27 and 28, pp. 198–200; for what happened in Cabinet, cf. Teltschik, *329 Tage*, pp. 148–52.

[17] Cf. Henry Kissinger, *Die Vernunft der Nationen: Über das Wesen der Außenpolitik* (Berlin, 1994), p. 811; cf. also id., *White House Years* (London, 2000; 1st edn 1979), pp. 409–11 and 529 f.

eyes, sometimes cast doubt on his loyalty to the alliance', while Washington wanted to show its strength and was in favour of confrontation after the Soviet Union took Afghanistan and Poland was placed under martial law.[18]

But not even Kohl's government, which ostentatiously demonstrated that it was on Washington's side,[19] was immune to the high-handedness of the Reagan administration. This was demonstrated in respect of American economic, financial, and monetary policy, which affected the whole world economy on account of the unpredictable swings in the value of the dollar,[20] and of its INF treaty with the Soviet Union in December 1987. This treaty manœuvred the Federal Republic back into the situation which, in the autumn of 1977,

[18] Klaus Schwabe, 'Entspannung und Multipolarität: Die politischen Beziehungen in der zweiten Hälfte des Kalten Krieges 1968–1990', in Detlef Junker *et al.* (eds), *Die USA und Deutschland im Zeitalter des Kalten Krieges 1945–1990*, vol. ii: *1968–1990* (Stuttgart, 2001), pp. 11–34, at 19. On NATO's dual track decision and the attitude of the West German government cf. Dennis L. Bark and David R. Gress, *A History of West Germany*, vol. ii: *Democracy and its Discontents* (2nd edn; Oxford, 1993), esp. pp. 303–20; Helga Haftendorn, 'Das doppelte Mißverständnis. Zur Vorgeschichte des NATO-Doppelbeschlusses von 1979', *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte*, 33 (1985), pp. 244–87; ead., *Deutsche Außenpolitik zwischen Selbstbeschränkung und Selbstbehauptung 1945–2000* (Stuttgart, 2001), pp. 264–96; Stefan Layritz, *Der NATO-Doppelbeschluß: Westliche Sicherheitspolitik im Spannungsfeld von Innen-, Bündnis- und Außenpolitik* (Frankfurt/M., 1992), esp. pp. 377–82; Thomas Risse-Kappen, *Null-Lösung: Entscheidungsprozesse zu den Mittelstreckenwaffen 1970–1987* (Frankfurt/M., 1988), and id., *Die Krise der Sicherheitspolitik: Neuorientierungen und Entscheidungsprozesse im Politischen System der Bundesrepublik Deutschland 1977–1984* (Mainz, 1988); Klaus Wiegrefe, 'Wider die Politik der Supermächte: Helmut Schmidts Ringen um die Entspannungspolitik 1977–1982', in Arnold Sywottek (ed.), *Der Kalte Krieg – Vorspiel zum Frieden?*, Jahrbuch für historische Friedensforschung, 2 (1994), pp. 102–27.

[19] Cf. Christian Hacke, *Die Außenpolitik der Bundesrepublik Deutschland: Weltmacht wider Willen?* (revised new edn.; Frankfurt/M., 1997), pp. 283–5.

[20] On this cf. Wolfram Hanrieder, *Deutschland, Europa, Amerika: Die Außenpolitik der Bundesrepublik Deutschland 1949–1989* (2nd edn.; Paderborn, 1995), pp. 336–42 and 352–5; Haftendorn, *Deutsche Außenpolitik,* pp. 255–60; Harold James, *Rambouillet, 15. November 1975: Die Globalisierung der Wirtschaft* (Munich, 1997), pp. 212–20, and James C. Sperling, 'West German Foreign Economic Policy during the Reagan Administration', *German Studies Review*, 13 (1990), pp. 85–109.

Schmidt had objected to as representing a breach in security, and which the NATO dual track decision had been built upon. After middle-range nuclear weapons had been decommissioned, what remained in Europe was short-range nuclear weapons, and they threatened only the territory of the Federal Republic of Germany. While the American and British governments wanted to modernize them in order to prevent the complete denuclearization of Europe, large sections of West German political opinion, and in particular, the Foreign Minister, Genscher, advocated their removal. His genuinely pro-disarmament attitude was supported by national conservative opinion around Alfred Dregger, which rejected the retention of short-range nuclear weapons for reasons of German domestic policy, pointing out that 'the shorter the range the deader the Germans'.

The fact that Genscher prevailed in the government earned West German foreign policy the US charge of 'Genscherism' — a lack of solidarity with the national, neutralist tendency.[21] It precipitated a serious crisis of confidence within the alliance in 1988–9, at which nothing less than the role of the Federal Republic within NATO was at stake.[22] The government in Washington had noted that Helmut Kohl's 'ten point programme to overcome the division of Germany and Europe' of 28 November 1989 did not mention Germany's alliance membership.[23] For its part, the American government had built the condition of a united Germany's continuing membership of NATO into its 'four principles'.

When the West German government quarrelled about the issue of NATO membership for the whole of Germany in February 1990, Kohl publicly took Genscher's part. Kohl was due to join US

[21] Cf. Emil Kirchner, 'Genscher and what lies behind "Genscherism" ', *West European Politics,* 13 (1990), pp. 159–77, at 172 f.

[22] Cf. Hanrieder, *Deutschland, Europa, Amerika*, p. 353. On the crisis about short-range nuclear weapons cf. Bark and Gress, *Democracy and its Discontents*, pp. 522, 538 f., 542–50, and 569–76; Haftendorn, *Deutsche Außenpolitik*, pp. 296–305; Stefan Fröhlich, *'Auf den Kanzler kommt es an.' Helmut Kohl und die deutsche Außenpolitik: Persönliches Regiment und Regierungshandeln vom Amtsantritt bis zur Wiedervereinigung* (Paderborn, 2001), pp. 142–86; and Michael Broer, 'Zwischen Konsens und Konflikt: Der NATO-Doppelbeschluß, der INF-Vertrag und die SNF-Kontroverse', in Junker *et al*. (eds), *Die USA und Deutschland*, ii., pp. 234–44.

[23] Cf. Kaiser, *Deutschlands Vereinigung*, doc. 13, pp. 158–68.

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President Bush and his foreign minister for talks in Camp David on 24 and 25 February. In a submission for the President, Bush's security adviser, Brent Scowcroft, proposed a 'historic bargain: Kohl's pledge not to alter the form and substance of Germany's security commitments to NATO in exchange for a U.S. promise that the Two Plus Four process will not interfere with German unity'.[24] In other words, full German membership of NATO in exchange for America's external protection of the unification process. These talks held at Camp David at the end of February 1990 were of the utmost significance for the reunification process,[25] because this is where the governments of the Federal Republic and the USA co-ordinated their positions and procedures. Bonn took responsibility at national and economic level, while Washington took on this role at international and security policy level. Now at the latest, decisions on the unification process were made at Two Plus One level, within the triangle Washington–Bonn–Moscow. The Two Plus Four process, by contrast, never at any time shaped developments.

Throughout the spring of 1990, the Soviet government continued almost daily to repeat its mantra-like *nyet* to the American and now also the West German *sine qua non*. The fronts in the central dispute on German unity hardened. But when was the 'breakthrough' to a united Germany's full membership of NATO achieved? On the German side the matter seemed clear, as has already been suggested. 'The crucial steps towards German unity', as Hans Klein, government spokesman, entitled his memoirs of the German–Soviet summit talks of 15 and 16 July 1990,[26] were taken first in Moscow and then in Gorbachev's home in the Caucasus. That is where the 'miracle' happened, as Horst Teltschik exulted.[27]

[24] Zelikow and Rice, *Germany Unified and Europe Transformed*, p. 211.

[25] On the talks cf. Bush and Scowcroft, *A World Transformed*, pp. 250–7; Zelikow and Rice, *Germany Unified and Europe Transformed*, pp. 212–17; Küsters and Hofmann (eds), *Dokumente zur Deutschlandpolitik*, docs. 192–4, pp. 860–77; Kohl, *'Ich wollte Deutschlands Einheit'*, pp. 303–11; and Teltschik, *329 Tage*, pp. 158–62.

[26] Hans Klein, *Es begann im Kaukasus: Die entscheidenden Schritte in die Einheit Deutschlands* (Frankfurt/M., 1991).

[27] Teltschik, *329 Tage*, pp. 324 and 313.

We now know what happened at the negotiations in Moscow and Archys from the respective governments' minutes. Gorbachev himself published a number of 'summit talks',[28] and in 1998, while Helmut Kohl was still in office, a 'special edition' of 430 documents from the Federal Chancellor's Office was published as *Deutsche Einheit*. Although permission to publish was refused for a small percentage of the material for which this was requested,[29] we can none the less assume that this did not result in any substantive or falsifying omissions. Rather, this must be considered a serious and reliable edition of central holdings.[30]

Thus scholars have access to three types of sources on German reunification. First, selected official documents, such as the special edition of German documents just described; secondly, an extraordinary wealth of memoirs and ego documents, written not only by Germans, but also by international actors: Thatcher, Mitterrand, Bush and Baker as well as Gorbachev and Shevardnadze and their advisers and various members of their staffs — a total of at least thirty-three important participants;[31] and thirdly, there are the *ipso facto* public documents.

[28] Michail Gorbatschow, *Gipfelgespräche: Geheime Protokolle aus meiner Amtszeit* (Berlin, 1993).

[29] Cf. the foreword by Klaus Hildebrand, Hans-Peter Schwarz, and Friedrich P. Kahlenberg, in Küsters and Hofmann (eds), *Dokumente zur Deutschlandpolitik*, p. 10.

[30] Cf. Rödder, 'Zeitgeschichte als Herausforderung', pp. 670–6.

[31] A selection for the Federal Republic of Germany: Kohl, *'Ich wollte Deutschlands Einheit'*; Teltschik, *329 Tage*; Genscher, *Erinnerungen*; Kiessler and Elbe, *Ein runder Tisch mit scharfen Ecken*; Klein, *Es begann im Kaukasus*; Waigel, 'Tage, die Deutschland und die Welt veränderten'; Wolfgang Schäuble, *Der Vertrag: Wie ich über die deutsche Einheit verhandelte* (Stuttgart, 1991). A selection for the USA: Bush and Scowcroft, *A World Transformed*; James Baker, *Drei Jahre, die die Welt veränderten: Erinnerungen*, (Berlin, 1996; first published in English, 1995); Blackwill, 'Deutsche Vereinigung und amerikanische Diplomatie'; Zelikow and Rice, *Germany Unified and Europe Transformed*; Robert J. Hutchings, *American Diplomacy and the End of the Cold War: An Insider's Account of the U.S. Policy in Europe, 1989–1992* (Washington D.C., 1997); Don Oberdorfer, *The Turn: From the Cold War to a New Era. The United States and the Soviet Union 1983–1990* (New York, 1991); Michael R. Beschloss and Strobe Talbott, *At the Highest Levels: The Inside Story of the End of the Cold War* (Boston, 1993), German edition *Auf höchster Ebene: Das Ende des Kalten*

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A source critical comparison produces four findings. First, the official documents and the memoirs largely and substantively agree on facts; the special edition, which was published later than most of the memoirs, does not have anything substantially new to add. Second, the memoirs also generally agree on facts, without any collusion between the politically and nationally highly diverse authors being likely. Third, central facts can, as a rule, be confirmed by several pieces of independent evidence. And fourth, substantial differences arise with regard to the evaluation, assessment, and classification of these facts.

When Gorbachev came to the 'immediate issues' during the first talks in Mocow, the official German minutes noted that as the 'most important question' he named 'the membership of a united Germany in NATO. *De jure,*' he said 'the matter was clear. ... The position was that transitional regulations had to be found. Membership in NATO continued to be valid. However, so long as Soviet troops were stationed in the GDR, NATO's jurisdiction could not be expanded to include the territory of the GDR. President Gorbachev repeated that NATO membership continued, but that for a transitional period

Krieges und die Geheimdiplomatie der Supermächte 1989–1991 (Düsseldorf, 1993); Raymond L. Garthoff, *The Great Transition: American–Soviet Relations and the End of the Cold War* (Washington D.C., 1994). A selection for the Soviet Union: Gorbatschow, *Erinnerungen*; id., *Wie es war*; Eduard Schewardnadse, *Die Zukunft gehört der Freiheit* (Hamburg, 1991); Tschernajew, *Die letzten Jahre einer Weltmacht*; id., 'Gorbachev and the Reunification of Germany'; Schachnasarow, *Der Preis der Freiheit*; Wjatscheslaw Daschitschew, 'On the Road to German Unification. The View from Moscow', in Gabriel Gorodetski (ed.), *Soviet Foreign Policy 1917–1991: A Retrospective* (London, 1993), pp. 170–9; Valentin Falin, *Politische Erinnerungen* (Munich, 1993); id., *Konflikte im Kreml: Zur Vorgeschichte der deutschen Einheit und Auflösung der Sowjetunion* (Munich, 1997); Julij A. Kwizinskij, *Vor dem Sturm: Erinnerungen eines Diplomaten* (Berlin, 1993); Wjatscheslaw Kotschemassow, *Meine letzte Mission: Fakten, Erinnerungen, Überlegungen* (Berlin 1994); Igor F. Maximiytschew, 'Die DDR-Politik der UdSSR 1987–1990. Moskau und die letzte Phase der deutschen Zweistaatlichkeit', *Potsdamer Bulletin für Zeithistorische Studien*, no. 20/21 (2000), pp. 19–28. A selection for Britain: Margaret Thatcher, *The Downing Street Years* (London, 1993); George A. Urban, *Diplomacy and Disillusion at the Court of Margaret Thatcher: An Insider's View* (London, 1996); Hans-Hermann Hertle, ' "Reservations about German Reunification were widespread". Interview with Sir Charles Powell, private secretary to former

NATO would have to take into consideration that its jurisdiction would not be transferred to the territory of the GDR because Soviet troops were stationed there.'[32]

In Moscow and then in Archys, tough and protracted negotiations were held about specifics: the timeframe and modalities for the Red Army's withdrawal from Germany; the legal arrangements for NATO membership for the territory of the GDR and transitional regulations for these four years; the maximum strength of the *Bundeswehr*; and guidelines for a big bilateral treaty and a transitional treaty.[33] This was all extraordinarily important, controversial, and indispensable for the Soviet acceptance of reunification. But it was not the 'breakthrough', because Gorbachev presupposed a united Germany's full membership of NATO.

Thus in the accounts of the Soviet participants, the Soviet–German summit of July 1990 is overshadowed by the American–Soviet summit held in Washington six weeks earlier,[34] at which, as Bush recalled,

British Prime Minister Mrs. Margaret Thatcher', *Potsdamer Bulletin für Zeithistorische Studien*, no. 18/19 (2000), pp. 39–44. A selection for France: François Mitterrand, *De l'Allemagne, de la France* (Paris ,1996); by contrast (with considerable difference) Jacques Attali, *Verbatim*, vol. iii: *Chronique des années 1988–1991* (Paris, 1995); Roland Dumas, *Le fil et la Pelote: Mémoires* (Paris 1996); Hubert Védrine, *Les mondes de François Mitterand: À l'Elysée 1981–1995* (Paris, 1996). By contrast, few memoirs by politicans from the DDR after the elections of 18 Mar. 1990 have been published: Lothar de Maizière, *Anwalt der Einheit: Ein Gespräch mit Christine de Maizière* (Berlin, 1996); Ulrich Albrecht, 'Die internationale Regelung der Wiedervereinigung. Von einer 'No-win'-Situation zum raschen Erfolg', *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, 40 (1996), pp. 3–11.

[32] Minutes of the meeting between Gorbachev and Kohl on 15 July 1990 in Moscow, in Küsters and Hofmann (eds), *Dokumente zur Deutschlandpolitik*, doc. 350, pp. 1345 f.; cf. also Gorbachev's own record of his statement, in Gorbatschow, *Gipfelgespräche*, pp. 161–77, at 173: 'Germany's membership in NATO—here the question is clear. *De facto* no NATO troops can be on the territory of the present-day GDR. This applies for a transitional period; after that, the problem is no longer acute.'

[33] Cf. Küsters and Hofmann (eds), *Dokumente zur Deutschlandpolitik*, docs. 351 and 353, pp. 1348–52 and 1355–67.

[34] Cf. Gorbatschow, *Erinnerungen*, pp. 721–3 as compared with 724 f.; id., *Wie es war*, pp. 136–8 and 140–50, Tschernajew, *Die letzten Jahre einer Weltmacht*, p. 298 as compared with 305 f.; id., 'Gorbachev and the Reunification of

Gorbachev gave 'an amazing performance'.[35] Discussion in the plenary session on 31 May had gone back and forth for a while, and had brought to light the well-known differences in attitudes towards Germany's membership of NATO, when Bush, as he wrote, tried 'a new way'.[36] He pointed out that under the terms of the Helsinki Final Act of the CSCE process, all states had the right freely to choose which alliance to join. Thus Germany, too, had the right to decide which alliance it wanted to join. 'To my astonishment, Gorbachev shrugged his shoulders and said yes, that was correct.'[37] This produced disquiet in the White House Cabinet Room. Soviet representatives, reported Zelikow and Rice, were startled and shifted uneasily in their chairs, while American officials pressed Bush to get Gorbachev to repeat his statement[38] — with success. As Gorbachev's adviser Chernyaev reported, the Soviet President expressed his opinion that 'a united Germany itself should choose which alliance it wants to be a member of'.[39] Bush pushed further, and suggested an even wider formulation, quoted here from Gorbachev's memoirs: 'The USA clearly supported a unified Germany's membership in NATO. But if Germany chose something else, the USA would not intervene, but respect this choice.'[40] As James Baker reports, Gorbachev replied briefly: 'Agreed.'[41]

The Soviet President had obviously reversed his position at the negotiating table—a most unusual manoeuvre, politically and diplomatically. Nor is it a popular finding among academics, sounding suspiciously like a confirmation of Treitschke's dictum: 'Männer machen Geschichte.' And yet the sources force us to come to this con-

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Germany', p. 168, and the record of his statements in Zelikow and Rice, *Germany Unified and Europe Transformed*, pp. 275–80; and Kotschemassow, *Meine letzte Mission*, pp. 252 f. Cf. also Adomeit, *Imperial Overstretch*, pp. 518–20, and Biermann, *Zwischen Kreml und Kanzleramt*, pp. 606–11.

[35] Bush and Scowcroft, *A World Transformed*, p. 283.

[36] Ibid. 282.

[37] Ibid; Zelikow and Rice, *Germany Unified and Europe Transformed*, p. 277: Gorbachev 'nodded and agreed matter-of-factly that this was true'.

[38] Cf. Zelikow and Rice, *Germany Unified and Europe Transformed,* pp. 277 f.

[39] Tschernajew, *Die letzten Jahre einer Weltmacht*, p. 298.

[40] Gorbatschow, *Erinnerungen*, p. 723.

[41] Baker, *Drei Jahre, die die Welt veränderten*, p. 226.

clusion. In fact, the whole unification process was a thorough demonstration of the significance of politics and political decision-making in such heightened situations of crisis.

The American participants in the talks were so surprised that before the final press conference, they checked again with the Soviet side whether the formulation agreed with Gorbachev could be incorporated into the American declaration—the Soviets agreed.[42] In retrospect, Gorbachev's adviser Chernyaev described these talks as the moment when Moscow agreed to a united Germany's membership in NATO[43]—the 'breakthrough' on the path to German unity. There are two main factors supporting this thesis. First, both Soviet and American participants described the course of the talks in the White House and their implications in great detail and unanimity and the outcome was made public in a communiqué,[44] although at the time, its implications were hardly noticed, at least in Germany.[45] And secondly, this was entirely within the logic of the political process, whose crucial level was, ultimately, that of the super powers.

Things had turned out as Kohl had predicted in talks with Bush and Baker at Camp David on 25 February: 'In Gorbachev's view, the Soviet Union has only one true partner, the USA. ... Gorbachev wanted to come to terms with the other world power. ... He wanted it to be said that Gorbachev had made this concession in talks with President Bush.'[46] When exactly this happened, Bush rang the German Chancellor in Ludwigshafen to tell him about the Soviet head of state's surprising agreement in Washington. But Kohl so often turned the conversation to other subjects that the American officials finally came to the conclusion that 'Kohl had not caught the point'.[47]

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[42] Cf. Zelikow and Rice, *Germany Unified and Europe Transformed*, pp. 281 f.

[43] Cf. Adomeit, 'Gorbachev, German Unification and the Collapse of Empire', p. 221 note 28.

[44] Cf. Zelikow and Rice, *Germany Unified and Europe Transformed*, p. 281: 'The statement would help nail down Gorbachev's assent.'

[45] Cf., e.g., the article 'Differenzen über Deutschland und Litauen zum Auftakt des Washingtoner Treffens', FAZ, 1 June 1990, p. 1 f.

[46] Minutes of the meeting between Bush and Kohl on 25 Feb. 1990 at Camp David, in Küsters and Hofmann (eds), *Dokumente zur Deutschlandpolitik*, doc. 194, p. 877.

[47] Zelikow and Rice, *Germany Unified and Europe Transformed*, p. 280.

From a contemporary perspective, this was not even surprising. In June 1990, what in retrospect seems so clear was by no means certain, namely, that Gorbachev, who in Washington had given the green light for a way out of the most difficult bottleneck on the path to German unity, would not switch it back to red.[48] The Soviet President had to face a difficult Communist Party conference at the beginning of July, which did not make him any more willing to make concessions. NATO, for its part, had security policy confidence-building work to do in Moscow, which it did at the summit which was brought forward and thus also held at the beginning of July. And finally, a number of crucial problems remained, including that of Germany's financial contribution. It was certainly the subjective perception of those involved on the German side that the 'breakthrough' had occurred in the Caucasus.

A historiographical explanation always has to take contemporary and subjective perspectives into account, and must integrate them into the picture it draws. But historians cannot just intuitively reconstruct the course of events from the point of view of those involved. They must do more, and look for explanations with the knowledge of the wider context. And from this vantage point, the 'breakthrough' to German unity—this is my first substantive argument—happened not in the middle of July 1990 between the Soviets and the Germans in the Caucasus, but six weeks previously, between the Americans and the Soviets in Washington. This finding is not simply a trivial point in the diplomatic history of the unification process. It points far beyond it—and this is my second point—to a crucial dimension of reunification.

[48] Cf. also Scowcroft's words in Bush and Scowcroft, *A World Transformed*, pp. 283 and 289: 'I could scarcely believe what I was witnessing .... We thought that, for the moment, we had gotten all we could from the Soviets on this subject.' 'The summit had been a success. ... But there were still problems. ... There was an air of uncertainty over Germany. Like Kohl, I had expected Gorbachev to want to solve the final reunification issues at the summit. His statement on the matter had been encouraging, as had the Soviet acquiescence in the President's summation at his press conference. Yet both had been ambiguous and inconclusive. There was still significant light between our positions.'

II The International Dimension

The international level was the source not only of the greatest difficulties and the most dangerous potential conflicts of reunification, but also of its first causes. The term 'cause' is used in a Weberian sense here to refer to causally essential circumstances without which a process is unthinkable, but whose absence is thinkable.[49]

Developments in the Soviet Union, that is, the crisis and collapse of Soviet Communism, come first in every respect. Given the ever increasing economic, social, and ideological crisis in the Soviet Union, Gorbachev embarked on a course of reform soon after coming to power as Secretary-General of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in March 1985. His intention was to preserve socialism through economic reforms.[50] This reform policy soon created wider ripples, at home and abroad, and they proved to be uncontrollable. In order to gain room for manœuvre at home, he was soon looking for relief from external pressures. This involved, first, reducing the expensive control mechanisms over the satellite states in the Warsaw Pact countries, and secondly, rolling back the systemic conflict with Western democracies, as expressed in his slogans concerning the 'European home' and the 'de-ideologizing of international relations'.[51] This amounted to taking an axe to the roots of the Soviet Empire. Freed from the rigid pressure to conform, and from the omnipresent threat of intervention as expressed in the Brezhnev doctrine, formally revoked in July 1989, the bloc states of eastern central and south eastern Europe broke away from the formerly hegenomic

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[49] Cf. Max Weber, 'Objektive Möglichkeit und adäquate Verursachung in der historischen Kausalbetrachtung (1906)', in id., *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Wissenschaftslehre*, ed. Johannes Winckelmann (7th edn.; Tübingen, 1988), pp. 266–90, at 273–7 and 288–90.

[50] On this cf. Adomeit, *Imperial Overstretch*, pp. 17 and 193–215; C. J. Bartlett, *The Global Conflict: The International Rivalry of the Great Powers, 1880–1990* (London, 1994), pp. 362–85; Helmut Altrichter, *Kleine Geschichte der Sowjetunion 1917–1991* (2nd edn.; Munich, 2001), pp. 175–91, and Manfred Hildermeier, *Geschichte der Sowjetunion 1917–1991: Entstehung und Niedergang des ersten sozialistischen Staates* (Munich, 1998), pp. 1019–52.

[51] On this cf. the Delhi declaration of 27 Nov. 1986 and Gorbachev's speech to the United Nations on 7 Dec. 1988. Gorbatschow, *Erinnerungen*, pp. 665 and 684, and *Europa-Archiv*, 44 (1989), D 23–37, at 27.

power, both domestically and in terms of foreign policy. In 1989, Moscow lost control over developments in its sphere of power.

By then, however, Gorbachev's programme, the product of necessity, had brought him enormous international popularity, and his constant charm offensives, as James Baker put it,[52] had clearly put Washington on the defensive. Against this background, the Bush government's first few months in office were fully occupied in determining its foreign policy position. At the end of this process was—second cause—a clearly offensive strategic orientation.[53] Whether this was over-rationalized after the event by the Americans involved, that is, once again, Zelikow and Rice, remains to be seen. In any case, Bush's slogans of a state order 'based on Western values',[54] and of a 'Europe whole and free',[55] which he pronounced in public at the end of May 1989, were a clear rejection of Gorbachev's notion of the 'European home' within which different systems could co-exist. In any case, the Bush government took a more offensive attitude towards the Soviet Union than the Reagan government had during its second term. It was prepared for a final show-down with the Soviet system, in order, as George Bush put it, to win the game once and for all.[56] Approval and support for German unification was a by-product of this general world-political disposition.

This global constellation was necessary for further, genuinely German causes to become effective. The third cause was the collapse of the GDR, which was rotten from the inside and had lost the Soviet

[52] Baker, *Drei Jahre, die die Welt veränderten*, p. 93.

[53] On this cf. Bush and Scowcroft, *A World Transformed*, pp. 29–56 and 83 f.; Baker, *Drei Jahre, die die Welt veränderten*, pp. 85–8, 90–3, and 150; Blackwill, 'Deutsche Vereinigung und amerikanische Diplomatie', p. 213; Hutchings, *American Diplomacy and the End of the Cold War*, pp. 6–11, 27–38, and 46 f.; Zelikow and Rice, *Germany Unified and Europe Transformed*, pp. 24–32; Beschloss and Talbott, *At the Highest Levels*, quoted from the German edition *Auf höchster Ebene,* pp. 28–37, 58–68, and 92–104; and Garthoff, *The Great Transition*, pp. 375–8.

[54] Press release by Bush after the NATO summit in Brussels on 30 May 1989, *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: George Bush* (henceforth cited as: *Public Papers Bush*), 1989/I (Washington D.C., 1990), p. 638.

[55] See the speech Bush gave in the Rheingoldhalle in Mainz on 31 May 1989, *Public Papers Bush*, 1989/I, p. 651.

[56] Cf. Zelikow and Rice, *Germany Unified and Europe Transformed*, p. 216.

Union's essential supports. The civil rights movement was the final straw. While the forces which wanted to preserve a reformed second German state were unable to prevail, the vast majority of the population, fourthly, favoured unification with the Federal Republic as soon as possible, as the demonstrations and especially the *Volkskammer* elections held on 18 March 1990 showed. Without this will, and thus against the GDR people's right to self-determination, there would have been no reunification. The US government expressed this clearly, and the Kohl government had increasingly also taken this line in its approach to German policy.[57]

The actions of the government of the Federal Republic of Germany did not follow any automatic mechanism; nor were they inevitable. Rather, other options were discussed, as shown by the serious reservations which the SPD around Oskar Lafontaine and the Greens held about reunification. The energetic and purposeful political leadership demonstrated by the government of the Federal Republic, and primarily by Helmut Kohl, even in the face of national and especially international resistance was an essential variable circumstance and thus should be named as the fifth cause.

The list of causes presented here gives priority to international factors. This perspective presents a marked contrast to the view of reunification as a primarily national project which is dominant in Germany. This national viewpoint is expressed in two forms. First, the pro-Kohl myth of the 'breakthrough in the Caucasus'. To overstate the case, this 'Caucasus myth' can be called the narrative of the

[57] On this cf. the first of the US government's four points on German reunification of 29 Nov. 1989 on the right of self-determination, and Kaiser, *Deutschlands Vereinigung*, doc. 14, p. 169; cf. also Kohl's report to the government of the Federal Republic on the situation of the nation in divided Germany in the *Bundestag* on 8 Nov. 1989, and his 'Zehn-Punkte-Programm zur Überwindung der Teilung Deutschlands und Europas' of 28 Nov., Kaiser, *Deutschlands Vereinigung*, docs. 11 and 13, pp. 154 and 158. During the 1980s, the Kohl government had changed the rhetorical emphasis of its demands for German policy from 'reunification' to 'self-determination'. Cf. Matthias Zimmer, 'Konzeptionelle Dilemmata und operative Deutschlandpolitik in den achtziger Jahren', in Gustav Schmidt (ed.), *Ost–West–Beziehungen. Konfrontation und Détente 1945–1989* (Bochum, 1993), ii. p. 424, and Matthias Zimmer, *Nationales Interesse und Staatsräson: Zur Deutschland-Politik der Regierung Kohl 1982–1989* (Paderborn, 1992), p. 231.

ultimate success of German grand policy after the devastating fail-
ures of German *Weltpolitik* in the twentieth century.[58] The other vari-
ant of this national perspective, the left-wing version, I shall call,
politically most incorrectly, the 'civil rights movement myth'. By this
I mean a narrative of German unification which places the main
stress on the GDR's 'peaceful revolution'. In academic circles, Konrad
Jarausch, Charles S. Maier, and Heinrich Potthoff, for example, argue
that this movement itself brought about the collapse of the Socialist
Unity Party's regime, and that unity came about as a mere automat-
ic consequence of this, as Chancellor Schröder has also stated in an
official capacity.[59] This view, however, overlooks the fact that the
GDR collapsed in the first instance as a result of the withdrawal of
Soviet support and of its comprehensive guarantee for the GDR's
existence. Again to overstate the case, it can be interpreted as the nar-
rative of the success of the democratic revolution in Germany.

Both variants, therefore, fundamentally present German reunifi-
cation as the culmination of Germany's deepest social and political
desires dating back to the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. This
'Whig interpretation' of German history is built into the normative
narrative of the Westernized Federal Republic as a 'success story',[60]

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[58] The arguments in this section are largely derived from discussions with
Andreas Wirsching, Augsburg.

[59] Cf. Konrad H. Jarausch, *Die unverhoffte Einheit 1989–1990* (Frankfurt/M.,
1995), pp. 311–13, and id., 'Zehn Jahre danach: Die Revolution von 1989/90
in vergleichender Perspektive', *Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft*, 48 (2000),
pp. 909–24, esp. 912–14 and 917 f.; Charles S. Maier, *Das Verschwinden der
DDR und der Untergang des Kommunismus* (Frankfurt/M., 1999; original
English edition, 1997), e.g., p. 26; Heinrich Potthoff, *Im Schatten der Mauer:
Deutschlandpolitik 1961 bis 1990* (Berlin, 1999), e.g., p. 343, Görtemaker,
Geschichte der Bundesrepublik Deutschland, e.g., p. 787; or Jürgen Faulenbach's
editorial 'Deutschland in den 70er/80er Jahren', *Informationen zur politischen
Bildung*, 270 (2001), p. 2. Thus also Gerhard Schröder's government declara-
tion of 11 Nov. 1999, quoted from *Archiv der Gegenwart*, 69 (1999), p. 43,908:
'It is thanks to the determination and the courageous initiatives of the East
German civil rights movement ... that we can today ... debate in a parliament
of all the German people. The peaceful revolution of 1989 has made Germany
a sovereign partner with equal rights in a Europe that is growing together.'

[60] Axel Schildt, *Ankunft im Westen: Ein Essay zur Erfolgsgeschichte der Bundes-
republik* (Frankfurt/M., 1999).

which thus receives its highest accolade. To pour cold water on this lies in the blood of academic historiography.

III The Mission and Legitimacy of Contemporary Historiography
Against the background of these myths, it is clear that the field of public memory must not be left to the actors, those involved, and contemporaries so that they sow it with their memories, opinions, and judgements, from which the public view of history will grow.

Historiography must therefore take a share in the general histori-cal culture *ab initio* in order to counter the tendency to make subjec-tive, tendentious, or at least truncated memories absolute, and to offer methodologically critical and independent, disinterested reflec-tion to work against the creation of social-cultural myths which are even more difficult to revise after the event. But even within the pro-fession, contemporary historiography is regarded with serious reser-vations. One objection concerns the lack of available sources, and another the temporal proximity of events. As long ago as 1809, Arnold Heeren wrote that 'it is impossible to describe the history of one's own time as satisfactorily as that of the past ...; for which read-er does not bring his *own* views, his *own* opinions, and his *own* feel-ings to the former?'[61] Is it, therefore, to quote Barbara Tuchman, pre-cipitous to write history while it is still smoking?[62] Or, as Martin Broszat asked in his assessment of Arnulf Baring's *Machtwechsel*, is it not 'hopelessly entangled in its situation, personal and political prej-udices; does it not suffer at every turn from a lack of clarifying dis-tance', and is it not, therefore, over hasty?[63]

[61] Qutoed from Gerhard Schulz, *Einführung in die Zeitgeschichte* (Darmstadt, 1992), p. 32.
[62] Barbara Tuchman, 'Wann ereignet sich Geschichte', in ead., *In Geschichte denken: Essays* (Düsseldorf, 1982), pp. 31–9, at 31, quoted from Hans Günter Hockerts, 'Zeitgeschichte in Deutschland. Begriff, Methoden, Themenfelder', *Historisches Jahrbuch,* 113 (1993), pp. 98–127, at 99.
[63] On the methodological-theoretical discussion of contemporary historiog-raphy after Hans Rothfels, 'Zeitgeschichte als Aufgabe', *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte*, 1 (1953), pp. 1–8, see first Eberhard Jäckel, 'Begriff und Funk-tion der Zeitgeschichte' [1975], in id., *Umgang mit Vergangenheit: Beiträge zur Geschichte* (Stuttgart, 1989), pp. 133–50, then, influenced by the events of 1989–90, Schulz, *Einführung in die Zeitgeschichte*; Hockerts, 'Zeitgeschichte in

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The availability of sources on the 'Epoche der Mitlebenden' is undoubtedly variable,[64] and in temporal and thematic respects accessability is quite uneven. As a rule, archival material is available for events of more than thirty years ago, and often for more recent periods, but it is not complete. By contrast, after only ten years the source situation on reunification is very favourable, and even more so for the history of the GDR. And especially for the twentieth century, the information value of public sources should not be underestimated. After all, in democratic states in particular, politics to a large extent takes place in public. Karl Dietrich Bracher's standard work on the dissolution of the Weimar Republic,[65] for example, and Peter Graf Kielmansegg's magisterial interpretation of post-war German history,[66] are both largely based on public sources. And lack of archival sources is more of a problem for political and diplomatic history than for social and especially cultural history approaches.

A fragmentary source basis — and this is the crucial point — is not a problem specific to contemporary history. It simply becomes particularly potent because new sources are constantly being added, and because the protagonists have the power of disposal over their own

Deutschland'; and Matthias Peter and Hans-Jürgen Schröder, *Einführung in das Studium der Zeitgeschichte* (Paderborn, 1994); Anselm Doering-Manteuffel, by contrast, concentrates on research topics and the history of research in his 'Deutsche Zeitgeschichte nach 1945. Entwicklung und Problemlagen der historischen Forschung zur Nachkriegszeit', *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte,* 41 (1993), pp. 1–29; Eric J. Engstrom, 'Zeitgeschichte as Disciplinary History — On Professional Identity, Self-Reflexive Narratives, and Discipline-Building in Contemporary German History', *Tel Aviver Jahrbuch für deutsche Geschichte*, 29 (2000), pp. 399–425, is also orientated towards practical research and history-writing. Friedrich Tenbruck's essay 'Zeitgeschichte als Vergangenheitsbewältigung?', in Thomas Nipperdey, Anselm Doering-Manteuffel, and Hans-Ulrich Thamer (eds), *Weltbürgerkrieg der Ideologien: Antworten an Ernst Nolte. Festschrift zum 70. Geburtstag* (Berlin, 1993), pp. 482–95, deals with connections between contemporary historiography after 1945 and the work done on National Socialism.

[64] Rothfels, 'Zeitgeschichte als Aufgabe', p. 2.

[65] Karl Dietrich Bracher, *Die Auflösung der Weimarer Republik: Eine Studie zum Problem des Machtverfalls in der Demokratie* (6th edn.; Königstein, 1978; first published 1955).

[66] Peter Graf Kielmansegg, *Nach der Katastrophe: Eine Geschichte des geteilten Deutschland* (Berlin, 2000).

personal sources. On the other hand, an extraordinary range of sources is available for the most recent history, from the data of empirical social research to TV and radio reports and interviews with those involved (each raising its own specific problems of source criticism).[67] Thus particular methodological care is required in dealing with the available sources, and in assessing the reliability of information and statements gleaned from them. This means also saying clearly what cannot be said.

The picture of history thus gained is necessarily provisional. Yet this is the fate of all historiography, as the saying that every generation writes history anew acknowledges. In contrast to the enlightened rationalism of the eighteenth century and the scientistic positivism of the nineteenth century, the (late) twentieth and twenty-first centuries can, as Albert Camus put it, imagine 'Sisyphus as a happy man'. To ensure that being provisional does not imply hastiness is a matter of methodological care. The problems of contemporary historiography simply present an exaggerated case of problems that apply to all historiography. In respect to the problem of sources and of distance,[68] the differences are of degree, not of substance, as is shown by at least three aspects.

First, the open end of the historical topic and the historian's lack of knowledge of its medium and long-term consequences make it impossible to classify it historically. This is, indeed, the main problem facing contemporary historiography. There is a certain compensation in the fact that the inherent lack of awareness of the end of the historical process heightens awareness of its openness. Conversely, present-day changes also affect our view of the much earlier past and might alter historical classifications. For example, German reunification influences assessments of the establishment of the German Empire in 1870–1, and European unification changes the way in which we see the Holy Roman Empire, or Charlemagne. Thus the

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[67] On this cf. also Hockerts, 'Zeitgeschichte in Deutschland', pp. 106–10, here esp. 106 f., and Gerhard A. Ritter, 'Auswirkungen neuer Medien der Kommunikation auf den historischen Prozeß und die quellenorientierte Forschung in der Zeitgeschichte', in Horst Fuhrmann (ed.), *Die Kaulbach-Villa als Haus des Historischen Kollegs: Reden und wissenschaftliche Beiträge zur Eröffnung* (Munich, 1989), pp. 145–52.

[68] Cf. also Hockerts, 'Zeitgeschichte in Deutschland', pp. 110–15.

problem of perspective is a general one, although it is especially acute in contemporary historiography. Proximity to the subject, secondly, means that it is impossible to classify one's own interpretation of history within a wider tradition. This unavoidable shortcoming, however, also exerts a specific fascination, namely, that of doing pioneering work.

The objection of lack of distance, however, points to a third circumstance: the lack of 'temporal distance' whose 'hermeneutic productivity' has been emphasized by Hans-Georg Gadamer in particular. This 'temporal distance', he suggests, helps us to distinguish between 'true prejudices, which help us to understand' (in the value-neutral sense of pre-existing knowledge or understanding which form the essential basis of all cognition) and 'false' or 'misleading' prejudices, 'which make us misunderstand' (in the colloquial, negative sense of unconsidered opinions and convictions lacking an adequate factual basis).[69] However, as Jean Grondin has remarked, this thought seems rather one-sided.[70] Gadamer therefore revised this argument himself in the new edition of *Wahrheit und Methode* for the collected works.[71]

The crucial problem of distance is not a temporal one, but a heuristic one. It lies in the productive tension between distance and proximity of all historiography to its subject — to Kohl and Lafontaine as much as to Emperor Henry IV and Pope Gregory VII, to élite social groups and to marginal ones, to men and to women. This is the challenge, to use Hegel's words, of elevation above oneself into a general sphere,[72] or, as one might say with Heidegger, the making aware of the inevitable structures of prejudice of all our understanding. This turns in hermeneutic circles, constantly making us aware of our own, ubiquitous prejudices.[73]

[69] Hans-Georg Gadamer, *Wahrheit und Methode: Grundzüge einer philosophischen Hermeneutik* (6th edn.; Tübingen 1990; 1st published 1960) = *Gesammelte Werke*, vol. i; pp. 270–305, esp. 273–5, 280 f., 302, and 304, quotations at 302 and 304.

[70] Jean Grondin, *Einführung in die philosophische Hermeneutik* (Darmstadt, 1991), p. 146; cf. also id., *Einführung zu Gadamer* (Tübingen 2000), pp. 140–4.

[71] Cf. Gadamer, *Wahrheit und Methode*, p. 304, note 228.

[72] Here quoted from ibid., pp. 18 and 22.

[73] Cf. Martin Heidegger, *Sein und Zeit* (14th edn.; Tübingen, 1977; 1st published 1927), p. 153, and the summary in Grondin, *Einführung in die philosophische Hermeneutik*, pp. 124–7.

However, these problems are common to all the humanities. All historical knowledge is a construction of meaning, not the reproduction of an object. This results in the specific and typical tension in contemporary historiography between the 'explanatory horizon of the contemporary historian', and the 'horizon of memory of the contemporary witness'.[74] And this in turn is connected with the structure of the human brain and its ability to perceive and remember. Wolf Singer speaks of the 'constructivistic activity of our brains'.[75] According to this, the human perceptual apparatus is not only extremely limited and thus dependent on the selective perception of signals, but it is also programmed to find coherent interpretations and to confirm its own opinions.[76] Not only perceptions, but also memories are, ultimately, 'data-based inventions', as every process of remembering brings memories up-to-date, inscribes them anew in the memory store, and thus changes the stored connections. This is not the result of any intention to deceive, but is inherent in human cognitive processes. Thus those who were involved certainly have a subjectively authentic memory of the 'Caucasus'. But it cannot be the same as an academic picture of history.

Scholarly knowledge does not make any claim to absolute truth, but achieves only approximations of 'truth'. This can only be arrived at by discursive consensus in academic discussions, and is always provisional. The methodological-theoretical productivity of a problem-orientated hermeneutics in Gadamer's sense lies in this perspective.[77] On the one hand, post-modern deconstructivism fundamentally questions the sovereignty of the individual over meaning con-

[74] Hockerts, 'Zeitgeschichte in Deutschland', p. 109.

[75] Wolf Singer, 'Wahrnehmen, Erinnern, Vergessen. Über Nutzen und Vorteil der Hirnforschung für die Geschichtswissenschaft', in id., *Der Beobachter im Gehirn: Essays zur Hirnforschung* (Frankfurt/M., 2002), pp. 77–86, this and the next quotation on p. 86.

[76] On this cf. also, from a psychological point of view, Christoph Bördlein, 'Die Bestätigungstendenz. Warum wir (subjektiv) immer Recht behalten', *Skeptiker*, 13 (2000), pp. 132–8.

[77] Gadamer's hermeneutics was generally critically rejected by historians at first. Cf., e.g., Karl-Georg Faber, *Theorie der Geschichtswissenschaft* (5th edn; Munich, 1982), pp. 109–46, and Wolfgang J. Mommsen, 'Wandlungen im Bedeutungsgehalt der Kategorie des "Verstehens"', in Christian Meier and Jörn Rüsen (eds), *Historische Methode*, Theorie der Geschichte: Beiträge zur

veyed by language and thus the possibility of understanding.[78] On the other hand, modern research on the brain gives the reliability of human perception and knowledge a disastrous report. Yet, in this epistemological quicksand, a reflected hermeneutics provides a solid floor of historical and historiographical sense on the basis of discussions between experts and common sense with a limited, but specific claim to truth in the humanities.[79]

Against the background of these fundamental epistemological problems marked by post-modernism, the differences between 'classical' and contemporary historiography appear marginal. The differences are of degree, not substance, and the methodological standards of contemporary historiography are those of a general historiography. By this I mean a serious attitude towards what can be said and the verifiability of statements (for example, not citing 'information from government sources' as evidence[80]), and making honest efforts to be as unprejudiced (in the normal sense of the word) as possible towards subjects as the 'regulative idea' in the sense of the 'ethics of the community of investigators'.[81]

Historik, 5 (Munich, 1988), pp. 200–26, at 214–16 and 221–4; on the discussion cf. Chris Lorenz, *Konstruktion der Vergangenheit: Eine Einführung in die Geschichtstheorie* (Cologne, 1997), pp. 147–53. Cf. now, however, in general Grondin, *Einführung zu Gadamer*, esp. pp. 125–92, as well as his lengthy biography, *Hans-Georg Gadamer: Eine Biographie* (Tübingen, 2000), and his *Einführung in die philosophische Hermeneutik*, eps. pp. 138–59 and 174–8, as well as Ute Daniel, *Kompendium Kulturgeschichte: Theorien, Praxis, Schlüsselwörter* (Frankfurt/M., 2001), pp. 103–14.

[78] See, as merely one path into the jungle of discussions and positions: Daniel, *Kompendium Kulturgeschichte*; ead, 'Clio unter Kulturschock. Zu den aktuellen Debatten der Geschichtswissenschaft', *Geschichte in Wissenschaft und Unterricht*, 48 (1997), pp. 195–218 and 259–78, at 259–64 and 275–7; Ernst Hanisch, 'Die linguistische Wende. Geschichtswissenschaft und Literatur', in Wolfgang Hardtwig and Hans-Ulrich Wehler (eds), *Kulturgeschichte Heute*, Geschichte und Gesellschaft, Sonderheft 16 (Göttingen, 1996), pp. 212–30; and Lorenz, *Konstruktion der Vergangenheit*, pp. 153–70 and 177–87.

[79] Cf. Gadamer, *Wahrheit und Methode*, pp. 3, 29, and 494.

[80] Cf. Weidenfeld, Wagner, and Bruck, *Außenpolitik für die deutsche Einheit*, pp. 646 and 862.

[81] Thomas Nipperdey, 'Kann Geschichte objektiv sein?', *Geschichte in Wissenschaft und Unterricht*, 30 (1979), pp. 329–42, at 341 (first quotation), and id., 'Zum Problem der Objektivität bei Ranke', in Wolfgang J. Mommsen

And this intention, indispensable for the legitimacy of contemporary history, means that this discipline in particular (for the temptation is greatest here) must renounce party politicization. For, to speak with Pierre Bourdieu, the fact that actors in the political field reach for the 'symbolic capital' of the cultural field,[82] which willing historians gladly hand out to them, in order to employ it in political disputes is a problem which cannot be overlooked, not least in the area of German policy and reunification. However, the humanities as an intellectual field are legitimized only by their disinterested autonomy,[83] especially *vis-à-vis* the interests of a market to which universities and academia are exposed for the sake of a 'vulgar liberal', application-orientated economizing and an unquestioned modernization.[84] The epistemology and methodology of the discipline thus lead back to its socio-political origins. This applies in particular to contemporary historiography, for the social policy debates as well as the historiographical debates about the 1970s and 1980s have yet to be held. And one of the main questions that will be posed will concern the place of German division and reunification in twentieth-century German history.

(ed.), *Leopold von Ranke und die moderne Geschichtswissenschaft* (Stuttgart, 1988), pp. 215–22, at 222 (second quotation).

[82] Cf. Pierre Bourdieu, *Satz und Gegensatz: Über die Verantwortung des Intellektuellen* (Frankfurt/M., 1989; 1st published in French 1982), pp. 28 f. and 39; id., 'Über die Beziehungen zwischen Geschichte und Soziologie in Frankreich und Deutschland', *Geschichte und Gesellschaft*, 22 (1996), pp. 62–89, at 81; id., *Zur Soziologie der symbolischen Formen* (Frankfurt/M., 1970), pp. 59, 62, and 66; id., 'Ökonomisches Kapital, kulturelles Kapital, soziales Kapital', in Reinhard Kreckel (ed.), *Soziale Ungleichheiten*, Soziale Welt, Sonderband 2 (Göttingen, 1983), pp. 183–98, and in general: id., *Sozialer Raum und 'Klassen': Leçon sur la leçon. Zwei Vorlesungen* (2nd edn.; Frankfurt/M., 1991), pp. 9–15, esp. 1f., and 30–7; cf. also the summary in Sven Reichardt, 'Bourdieu für Historiker? Ein kultursoziologisches Angebot an die Sozialgeschichte', in Thomas Mergel and Thomas Welskopp (eds), *Geschichte zwischen Kultur und Gesellschaft: Beiträge zur Theoriedebatte* (Munich, 1997), pp. 71–93, esp. pp. 75–80; and Ingrid Gilcher-Holtey, 'Kulturelle und symbolische Praktiken: das Unternehmen Pierre Bourdieu', in Hardtwig and Wehler (eds.), *Kulturgeschichte Heute*, pp. 111–30.

[83] Bourdieu, *Satz und Gegensatz*, pp. 28 f.

[84] Thus the cutting polemics of Jan Roß, *Die neuen Staatsfeinde: Was für eine Republik wollen Schröder, Henkel, Westerwelle und Co.?* (Berlin, 1998), p. 37. The chapter is entitled 'Was ist Vulgärliberalismus?', pp. 37–46.

Article

IV Reunification in Twentieth-Century German History

German history after 1945 is the history of two states which emerged out of one. For forty years they developed separately, but with reference to each other, against each other and with each other. Ultimately, the smaller of the two states collapsed, and joined the other one. Historiography now faces the problem of linking this double contemporary history 'without pushing it together inappropriately', of opening the perspective of an 'inner reunification of German contemporary history',[85] without exposing it to an unhistorical teleology, while preserving its contemporary openness and integrating the particular German question into general historical developments. This intellectual and artistic challenge is much easier said than done. And this intention, which has not been fulfilled by existing German postwar historiography, poses a fundamental artistic and factual problem.

In the Federal Republic, the German question with its specific social and political problems always remained alive, albeit sometimes subconsciously, in spite of a seemingly comfortable arrangement with the notion of two states. The history of the two German states remained an 'asymmetrically intertwined parallel history and history of demarcation'.[86]

Even if the GDR was much more strongly orientated towards the Federal Republic than vice versa, there was always competition between the two systems and the Federal Republic always claimed to be the 'better' Germany. German policy as an independent political subject indicated that however accustomed people became to the situation, relations between the two Germanies never represented 'normality', especially with respect to the situation on the border within Germany and Berlin, the killing of refugees on the border until 1989, Bahnhof Friedrichstraße, and the buying free of dissidents. And in the realm of foreign and security policy, the controversy about short-range nuclear missiles in 1988–9, for example, when arguments relating to disarmament combined with arguments relating to German domestic policy against alliance considerations, illustrates the continuing potency of the German question.

[85] Hans Günter Hockerts (ed.), *Das Adenauer-Bild in der DDR*, Rhöndorfer Gespräche, 15 (Bonn, 1996), pp. 6 f.
[86] Martin Sabrow, 'Die DDR im nationalen Gedächtnis', in Jörg Baberowski et al., *Geschichte ist immer Gegenwart: Vier Thesen zur Zeitgeschichte* (Stuttgart, 2001), p. 99.

And yet, central developments in the history of the Federal Republic took a completely different direction, especially in the 1980s. They directed the Federal Republic away from the German question, the GDR, and the nation as a framework for political order, as Karl Dietrich Bracher put it when he wrote of 'post-national democracy'.[87] Developments in the Federal Republic were shaped, first, by a process that can be described as 'globalization', for all vagueness of this term. International integration and interlinking is not a novel phenomenon of the late twentieth century. Yet it is clear that economic, communications, and socio-cultural developments were crossing borders on a new scale and spanning the world: from finance, goods, production processes and increased international competition, under whose influence the highly praised 'German model' lost its sheen, to new forms of communications and transport, the high mobility of more and more people, and the dissemination of mass culture.

A second influential force, especially from the second half of the 1980s on, was the process of Europeanization, including a transferral of the responsibilities and sovereign rights of national states to the European Community or European Union. Added to this was a new stage of technological development: digitalization, the spread of the computer, electronic data processing, and other new media which changed the lives and the working lives of people so comprehensively that the 'information society' has been seen as the third stage of the Industrial Revolution (although it is no longer 'industrial' in the classic sense). This change affected, in principle, only the West as did, fourthly, a 'process of revolutionary change in the social structure' from the 1960s.[88] This involved a comprehensive dismantling of authority and 'a sense of duty', and increasing internal liberalization. But more than this, and more even than the term 'Westernization' suggests,[89] it covers a process of increasing individualization and radical pluralization in association with a fundamental loss of norms

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[87] Karl Dietrich Bracher, Wolfgang Jäger, and Werner Link, *Republik im Wandel 1969–1974: Die Ära Brandt*, Geschichte der Bundesrepublik Deutschland, 5/I (Stuttgart, 1986), p. 406.

[88] Kielmansegg, *Nach der Katastrophe*, pp. 416 and 428.

[89] Cf. Anselm Doering-Manteuffel, *Wie westlich sind die Deutschen? Amerikanisierung und Westernisierung im 20. Jahrhundert* (Göttingen, 1999);

described as a 'change of values'.[90] It also encompasses a general decline in social ties, a turning away from the churches, a fundamental change in relations between the sexes and in sexual morality, and the dissolution of the nuclear family as a social model, a dramatic reduction in birth rates and the serious impact that this will have on demographic and social developments and social security systems. German reunification and the restitution of the nation-state as a model for order were at odds with these powerful currents in the history of the Federal Republic in the 1970s and especially 1980s, which only came to the surface in the 1990s.

Two opposing arguments concerning the position of reunification in German history can be derived from this. Europeanization, globalization, digitalization, and post-modernism altogether were not strong enough to prevent an unforeseen reunification from forcefully breaking into a history which was apparently pursuing a completely different course. This would suggest that the German question, the national question, was a basic stream central to post-war German history. This argument, however, can also be reversed. If reunification was contrary to the trends which emerged fully in the 1990s, and if these trends are considered to have made a lasting impression on the 1990s and should thus be seen as historically relevant, then perhaps reunification was not as crucial as Europeanization, globalization, digitalization, and post-modernism for the 'old' Federal Republic and for unified Germany as a whole. Then the turning point of 1989–90, which we all take on trust, was not so important after all.

All the problems outlined here, their potential for controversy, and the debates which have yet to be held on matters of principle are what makes German reunification an especially attractive challenge to contemporary historiography.

Heinrich August Winkler, *Der lange Weg nach Westen*, vol. ii: *Deutsche Geschichte vom 'Dritten Reich' bis zur Wiedervereinigung* (Munich, 2000). Also critical of the concept of the 'West' is Philipp Gassert, 'Die Bundesrepublik, Europa und der Westen', in Baberowski et al., *Geschichte ist immer Gegenwart*, pp. 69–84.

[90] Helmut Klages and Peter Kmieciak (eds), *Wertewandel und gesellschaftlicher Wandel* (Frankfurt/M., 1979); Ronald Inglehart, *Kultureller Umbruch: Wertewandel in der westlichen Welt* (Frankfurt/M., 1989).

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REVIEW ARTICLES

HANNAH ARENDT IN GERMANY

by Dean Hammer

ALOIS PRINZ, *Beruf Philosophin oder Die Liebe zur Welt: Die Lebens-geschichte der Hannah Arendt* (Weinheim and Basle: Beltz & Gelberg, 1998), 327 pp. ISBN 3 407 80853 4. EUR 18.00

CLAUDIA ALTHAUS, *Erfahrung denken: Hannah Arendts Weg von der Zeitgeschichte zur politischen Theorie*, Formen der Erinnerung, 6 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000), 412 pp. ISBN 3 525 35425 8. EUR 42.00

JULIA KRISTEVA, *Hannah Arendt,* transl. by Ross Guberman, European Perspectives. A Series in Social Thought and Cultural Criticism (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001), 288 pp. ISBN 0 231 12102 4. £20.00. $27.95 (vol. 1 of *Female Genius: Life, Madness, Words – Hannah Arendt, Melanie Klein, Colette,* a trilogy by Julia Kristeva)

MICHAEL WEINGARTEN (ed.), *Warum Hannah Arendt? Aufklärungsversuche linker Mißverständnisse (*Bonn: Pahl-Rugenstein, 2000), 192 pp. ISBN 3 89144 226 2. DM 29.90

German scholars have been somewhat slow to acknowledge the work of Hannah Arendt, owing to any number of factors: her criticism of a Marxian and psychoanalytic tradition that is very much a part of German intellectual life; her odd brand of thinking that does not fit easily into traditions of philosophy, politics, history, or sociology; her embrace of the American revolutionary tradition; her critique of the German student movement; the often unfair and uninformed denunciations of Arendt's analysis of Eichmann and the 'banality of evil' (that preceded the publication of her book in Germany); and her scepticism about whether West Germany could maintain itself as a republic.

The last decade, though, has seen nothing short of a land-grab to stake out a claim to Arendt's thought. The trails were blazed in the late 1970s by Jürgen Habermas, whose work on Arendt identified a

commonality in their respective understandings of the communicative basis of power, and in the 1980s by a German reissue of and new foreword to *Eichmann in Jerusalem* and by the translation into German of Elisabeth Young-Bruehl's seminal biography of Arendt, published by Yale University Press in 1982. By any measure—articles, dissertations, books, symposia—the 'Arendt cult' that Walter Laqueur decries has caught hold in Germany. Certainly, controversy about *Eichmann* rages on. But Arendt now seems to offer something to everyone: the prurient can find happiness in her love affair with Heidegger; liberals can savour her critique of Marx; conservatives can find solace in her defence of tradition; the left can locate in Arendt a critique of bourgeois capitalism at a time when Marx has fallen somewhat out of fashion; postmoderns can applaud her declaration of the end of metaphysics; feminists can only with great reluctance ignore the most gifted woman thinker of the twentieth century; classicists can find sustenance in Arendt's revisiting of a Homeric, Athenian, and Roman political world; and ethicists can take up Arendt's attempt to establish new ethical ground, beginning with her dissertation on Augustine.

The plight of originality, though, is that one's ideas do not fit easily into established modes of thinking. Through the lens of dichotomies—left/right, radical/conservative, socialism/capitalism, private/public, masculine/feminine, ancient/modern—Arendt's thought cannot help but succumb to simplified formulae, stand accused of hopeless confusion, or be drawn into fruitless debate. Thus, Laqueur cites approvingly those philosophers who have found Arendt's ideas 'devoid of originality, depth and a systematic character' (*Journal of Contemporary History*, 33, 1998, p. 484). Martin Jay accuses Arendt of succumbing to the 'charms' of fascism (*Partisan Review*, 45, 1978, p. 368). And the recitation of a mantra of Arendt's contributions and shortcomings in a series of introductions to her life and thought—with some notable exceptions—have managed to do what none of her critics could: rob her of vitality.

I

Academic and ideological controversies aside, the real sadness is that Arendt loved a good story—one that revealed without telling once-and-for-all. And she would no doubt love good stories to be told about her. Alois Prinz does just that in his biography of Hannah

Arendt, *Beruf Philosophin oder Die Liebe zur Welt*. Even though the book is directed toward a younger audience, it provides a remarkably textured weaving of Arendt's life, letters, and work. The true challenge of an intellectual biography is to resist reading the end into the beginning, so that one's life experiences appear as the ineluctable path of one's intellectual trajectory. What Prinz captures is the extraordinary vulnerability, paradox, and indeterminacy of Arendt's own life that lends poignancy to her reflections on human action. Arendt's philosophy is not reduced to her life, but is given life.

Arendt as a child appears variously precocious and sullen but, most of all, caught in a struggle with her own Jewishness that refused both the outrage of submission and the outlet of political radicalization. Prinz shows how these early experiences continued to find life in her later reflections. Her notion of her fatedness as a Jew, for example, would carry similarly complex implications, imposing wandering without the solace of redemption, and necessitating the demand for political visibility on behalf of a group without being dissolved into that group. And Arendt's reaction to the role of the children in the turmoil at Little Rock, stirred by a photograph in *Life Magazine*, appears not as a groundless outrage but as tempered by similar experiences of childhood (pp. 199–200).

Prinz continually gives insight into how Arendt's personal concerns became the impetus for her own philosophic reflections: of the distinction between covetous and achieved love in the wake of her affair with Heidegger; of the struggle with fate, including one's place in the world as a Jew, that Arendt explores with Rahel Varnhagen; of her emerging political consciousness worked through in her writings on Zionism and the Jewish state; of her attempt to understand the conditions that gave rise to the barbarism of totalitarianism and the evil of Eichmann; and of her own search for the foundations of political life, explored variously by looking at the revolutionary tradition of her new country and, later, by her participation in discussions with the student movement. However unsympathetic Arendt appeared to her critics, she did not duck from applying the implications of her thought—or her often terse language—to her own life. Arendt's time in the internment camp of Gurs reveals how, even in crisis, her philosophic categories resonated in her own life. Responding to talk in the camp of committing suicide as a form of protest, Arendt, she would recant later, saw suicide as a private deci-

sion to alleviate one's suffering. As a form of political protest, this statement of powerlessness was 'comical', particularly, as she and some others remarked to the internees at the time, since they may have been sent to the camp 'to be done in' anyhow (pp. 100–1).

The intersection of Arendt's life and work reveals a person who is as paradoxical as her thought: a 'schoolgirl sentimentality' that seems out of place with her intellectual defiance (p. 62); a homelessness in a world she loved; self-doubt without self-pity; and a seemingly unflagging willingness to stake out public positions even when the cost, as in the wake of *Eichmann*, was personal attack, strained friendships, and exhaustion. Such moments of vulnerability seem to clarify what Karl Jaspers once affectionately noted: her 'hidden soul, which is not thick-skinned at all', ill-prepares her for the risks of public life (p. 253).

One begins to appreciate, as well, the difficulty of tracing Arendt's intellectual lineage because the influences on her thinking expressed themselves more like the influences of friends, both literally and metaphorically. Friends were enjoyed for what they offered (rather than what they lacked), and what Arendt enjoyed in friends was their companionship in conversation and discovery. Arendt never seemed to extract the idea and abandon the person, even if (as with Heidegger) the person abandoned her. Nor was she willing to make the person into an idea, expressed most clearly (and controversially) in her response to Gershom Scholem that she could not love 'a people' as an abstraction, but only her friends (p. 201). Arendt's philosophic world, consequently, was one inhabited by the peculiarities and inconsistencies of individuals, not the logic of abstraction. That lends a certain intimacy to her philosophy, as conveyed in her close relationship with Jaspers, Heidegger, Hans Jonas, Kurt Blumenfeld, and Mary McCarthy and her intellectual companionship with Rahel Varnhagen, Franz Kafka, and even Augustine. And it leads to some odd choices that become more explicable once the personal relationship is understood. The remembrance by Hannah Arendt of her mother's adoration of Rosa Luxemburg comes to mind. Arendt, herself, would explain, by way of Lessing, the close connection between love of the world and the life of the mind: humans are rescued not through truth but through the 'warmth' of human relationships (p. 212). It is precisely on this note of philosophic intimacy, spoken in Hans Jonas's eulogy for Arendt, that Prinz closes his book: 'The

world has become colder without your warmth' (p. 310). Prinz makes Arendt a companion who we come to miss.

<div align="center">II</div>

Besides philosophers, historians have been the slowest to warm to Arendt. Perhaps we should not be surprised. 'Old-fashioned story-telling', as Arendt describes her activity, has not sat well with the philosophic community, at least since Plato. And Arendt's description of herself as a political theorist cannot help but arouse the suspicions of historians. Arendt's works have been criticized by historians because of the seeming carelessness with which Arendt mingles speculation and conceptualization with observation. Claudia Althaus, speaking as a historian, enters this fray in her book, *Erfahrung denken: Hannah Arendts Weg von der Zeitgeschichte zur politischen Theorie*. The book, written as a dissertation, is an engaging, thoroughly researched (including extensive use of archival material), and thoughtful exploration of the relationship between experience, thought, and history. Once past a somewhat cumbersome literature review — the stuff of dissertations — the reader will encounter an argument that is at once biographical, historical, and conceptual.

Althaus argues that the trajectory of Arendt's thought can be located in (without being reduced to) the experiences of a particular generation: that of inter-war Prussian Jews. For Althaus, the formative experience that informs Arendt's work — and the consciousness of a generation — is that of a break in tradition. The break, itself, has several dimensions: the sense of worldlessness and wandering imposed on Jews; the horror of the Holocaust that cannot be explained by what comes before; and the loss of any reliability of either tradition or metaphysics as standards of judgement. These experiences, in turn, show up as ongoing themes in Arendt's own work. The experience of worldlessness appears both in Arendt's reflections on the dilemmas of Jewish identity and in her diagnosis of the 'loneliness' (p. 114) and alienation of modern mass society, expressed most virulently in totalitarianism. The incomprehensibility of the Holocaust and the distinctiveness of totalitarianism leads Arendt to reject traditional historical approaches that focus on discerning the continuity and causal relations within historical processes. And the sense that tradition and metaphysics could no longer orientate human action and judgement leads Arendt to ask, in Althaus's

apt formulation, what can bring people to judge their deeds as crimes and to recognize their victims as neighbours (p. 210)?

The relationship between history, experience, and thought is not just the basis for a set of themes explored by Arendt, but for a larger argument about what Arendt saw as the role of the historian. Althaus introduces this aspect of Arendt's argument by way of the 'linguistic turn' in postmodern scholarship that sees knowledge and understanding as situated in, and constituted by, discourse. We, and history, are linguistic artefacts that can be known only through the language that constitutes us. It is certainly the case that Arendt, like later postmoderns, would reject as epistemologically suspect any claims to a historical method that, itself, stands outside history. That having been said, Arendt's interest in 'the formation of meaning' from the fragmented present is quite different from Derrida's delight in the fragmentation of meaning, for example, or Lyotard's embrace of the incommensurability of discourse. Althaus seems to recognize this, ultimately drawing on the work of Paul Ricoeur to illuminate the relationship between time and narrative in Arendt's work.

The real oddity of Althaus's use of the postmoderns is that they seem to distract from the force of her argument. Althaus's claim is that Arendt's sense of history is shaped by the experience of rupture that is so immediate and encompassing as to make flight into contemplation untenable, and so complete that traditional appeals to the past no longer have authority. Arendt's historical project is inextricably connected to her task of reconstructing, from the fragments of the past, a shared, public realm. The historian's role is that of observer and judge who brings the past into dialogue with the present. Through thought and recollection, the historian occupies a distance from the world that allows him or her to grasp together, and form judgements about, the events of the past. Through memory, the historian provides a relationship with the ruptured past. Through narration, the historian reveals the suffering that arises from contingency while lending coherence to the chaos of events and intentions. And by recounting the words and deeds of the past, the historian restores humanness to the world, showing how individuals, as distinctive actors, are able to start again and create a durable realm (p. 268). Although each generation must tell its own stories, the stories, themselves, point to a universal political ethic because they reveal the worth of humans through action (p. 344). Stories contribute to the

possibility of a life together in freedom by making visible, shared, and distinct the things of the world (p. 374).

III

The dust jacket of Julia Kristeva's biography of Hannah Arendt proclaims: *'Hannah Arendt* offers a major breakthrough in the understanding of an essential thinker.' Intentional or not, the words speak with delightful ambiguity, for it seems that the biography may be less a breakthrough in our understanding of Arendt than of Kristeva. Whether justly or unjustly, Kristeva came to live out Arendt's prophecy: that the cost of group ideology may be one's identity. As Kristeva said in a *New York Times* interview, in the most Arendtian of language: 'I can no longer recognize myself' (14 July 2001, A17). Kristeva's biography of Arendt is part of her series of studies of female 'geniuses', including Melanie Klein (a psychoanalyst) and Colette (a writer). Their greatness, according to Kristeva, lies in forcing us to 'discuss their story because it is so closely bound up with their creations, in the innovations that support the development of thought and beings, and in the onslaught of questions, discoveries, and pleasures that their creations have inspired' (p. xi).

There are some moments, particularly in the earlier sections of the book, when Kristeva seems more to intrude than engage. From a remark made when Hannah Arendt was eight, after the death of both her father and grandfather, Kristeva constructs an entire inner dialogue about 'the absent man—a desire to have this man, to be this man'. Arendt's young mind apparently worked something like this: 'Since Paul and Max are dead, where is the man? Who is the man? You? Me? A stranger? Does he exist? Who might know him and who will ever know for sure? Who could provide us (me) with a child? You? Me? Nobody?' (p. 12). Sometimes Kristeva's intrusions appear as psychoanalytic diagnoses that are neither developed nor defended but simply asserted: Arendt's 'sublimated passivity' (p. 17), the 'pseudofemininity that Arendt detected' in Eichmann (p. 26), or of Arendt's 'psychic bisexuality' and her image as a 'girl-phallus' that Kristeva identifies, with great interpretative liberty, in selected photographs (p. 30). And sometimes the intrusions appear as unnecessary parenthetical asides: 'Despite here mother's disapproval (or was it precisely because of that disapproval?), Hannah was satisfied [with Blücher]' (p. 22).

But for whatever reason, these moments mercifully recede (though never completely disappear), giving way to a thoughtful, engaging discussion of Arendt. Kristeva seems interested in emphasizing how Arendt reshapes an intellectual tradition through her reworking of Aristotle, Kant, and Heidegger. Kristeva identifies what she calls the 'missing link' between Arendt's early work on Rahel Varnhagen and her analysis of totalitarianism. The link is, not surprisingly, narration, which bridges Arendt's Aristotelianism and Kantianism with Heidegger's Platonism. From Heidegger, Arendt derives her interest in disclosure, unveiling, and publicness but, by way of a reworking of Aristotle, places these activities in a political context (p. 70). The value of the narrative lies not in language itself (as for Heidegger) but in its ability to 'condense' action into an exemplary space, removing achievement and action from the flow of events so that a 'who' can be recognized (p. 73). Applied to the study of totalitarianism, only the narratives that flow from the 'fearful imagination' of those who have encountered the terror make possible a contemplation of the incomprehensible (p. 96, also p. 144). It seems, though Kristeva does not make this argument, that totalitarianism stands as the denial of the possibility of narration because of its worldless quality, both as life is subordinated to a relentless logic of movement and as individuals, themselves, as in the case of Eichmann, defy thought.

Kristeva takes up Arendt's exchange with Eric Voegelin, as well, about the origins of totalitarianism and (for Voegelin) the spiritual crisis of the West. The payoff of this discussion lies in Kristeva's exploration of Arendt's 'faith' (p. 169), which ties together Arendt's notion of the miracle of action with her 'apocalyptic' vision of a loss of a common world (p. 159). The greatest evils for Arendt are no longer explicable by sin, but by the loss of the human spontaneity to begin. Kristeva aptly notes that 'Arendt preserved for herself, during her entire life and throughout a body of work that never stopped beginning anew, a confidence in the unpredictability that may well have been the most successful—and the most trying—manifestation of her "faith … in humankind" ' (p. 169). Kristeva probably overplays her hand by concluding that Arendt was 'without doubt a woman of God—and of a certain God that she would eventually call, as did Kant, *Menschenverstand:* a "humanity" adorned with "judgment" ' (p. 169). Arendt did transfer a religiously charged language to the human world, but she did not, in turn, suggest that 'God' and 'humanity' were interchangeable terms.

This language of faith wends its way, in interesting ways, through the final section of the book. Of identity and the physical body, Kristeva provides a sympathetic assessment of Arendt's argument: the body is not irrelevant to the constitution of a 'who' but is a given, 'a gift and an act of grace' for which we should give 'thanks' and 'affirmation' (pp. 182–3). Of the will, Kristeva traces Arendt's exploration of early Christian thought, showing how Arendt sees the will as reactualizing 'for man the possibilities of rebirth in the form of spontaneity and freedom' (p. 209). And to the vulnerability that arises from the irreversibility and unpredictability of human action, Arendt develops the complex notions of forgiveness and the promise. Somewhat surprisingly, Kristeva does not look to Arendt's dissertation on Augustine, which would have likely mitigated the 'radical mutation' that Kristeva ascribes to Arendt's writings. Kristeva's suggestion that Arendt's view of 'life' changes from a 'trap of reification' to an interplay between sense and thought (201), seems too narrowly to restrict 'life' to biological life in Arendt's earlier writings, on the one hand, and to understate the phenomenological undercurrents that pervade her thought, on the other.

IV

As Kristeva's biography seems to testify, Arendt's language has the ability to infuse one's thoughts, quite without one realizing it. How well this language translates into a diagnosis and a programme for approaching concrete problems of the day, though, is less clear. *Warum Hannah Arendt?* takes up this issue, seeking to clarify attempts by the political left to appropriate Arendt. The reader, as an Arendtian pearl diver searching for treasures, should take a deep breath before plunging into this book. The pearls often seem more like Marxian amulets that the authors have tossed into the water and have asked Arendt (or us, by way of Arendt) to retrieve.

Michael Weingarten, in his introduction, sets out what he sees as an unsystematic use of Arendt to address the essential questions of political self-understanding raised with the unification of Germany (p. 8). Taking his cue from Habermas, Weingarten asks whether Arendt's political thought, particularly her notion of republican foundations, provides critical insight into how to construct mediating relations that both bind a people together nationally and integrate a people globally. In the introduction Weingarten focuses on

the first of these issues, taking up the question of globalization in a later essay. Weingarten sets out the limitations (perhaps even untenability) of Arendt's approach by way of Gramsci. Where Gramsci looks for new forms of economic, civil, and political arrangements, Arendt focuses on articulating ontologically distinct sorts of action that define what it means to be human (p. 10). In looking to the model of the Greek polis, Weingarten suggests, Arendt seeks to elevate the political into something more than an instrument of necessity but, in the process, removes from politics the difficult, real world struggle for recognition and social justice. Seemingly without irony (against the backdrop of Gramsci), Weingarten concludes that Arendt's political philosophy does not provide a 'guide' for solutions to the difficult problems that face Germany (p. 17). Weingarten does suggest that Arendt's work, particularly her notion that the individual is only free when acting with others in a political realm, can be used in a critique of neo-liberalism (p. 17).

In a later essay, Weingarten takes up the issue of globalization that he raised in his introduction. His focus is specifically on the neo-liberal use of the notion of globalization to claim as outdated the modern welfare state. Taking as his point of departure Habermas's discussion of the future of the welfare state, Weingarten challenges the Arendtian distinction between politics and economics, generally, and labour–work–action, specifically, concluding that questions of economic purpose and direction that arise from globalization can only be addressed through community (that is, political) discourse (pp. 82–3). Against the backdrop of this essay, the question raised in the title of the volume, 'Warum Hannah Arendt?', appears to yield the answer: 'No particular reason.' Weingarten does not mine Arendt for what might be her distinctive contributions to our thinking about globalization—notions of statelessness, for example, or world alienation, or the implications of the spread of technology. Instead, he places Arendt on the ground established by others and then shows either her fit or lack of fit into these analytic categories. Some evidence of this is suggested in the organization of the essay in which Arendt appears neither in the first seven pages (which are devoted to Habermas), nor the last five pages (which are devoted primarily to Marx).

Rainer Kattel's essay, which focuses primarily on Arendt's books *The Human Condition* and *On Revolution*, explores what he aptly iden-

tifies as one of the central questions raised by Arendt: what does it mean to be human (p. 19)? In the introduction to the essay, Kattel places his argument in the context of Leon Botstein's claim, from a 1978 article in the *Partisan Review*, that any assessment of Arendt requires a 'biographical and historical context for each of her writings' (p. 19). Except for the next sentence, in which Kattel defines this context as the events from the First World War to the Vietnam War, no other mention is made of how this context deepens, clarifies, and corrects our understanding of Arendt. The essay is essentially a summary of Arendt's concepts of natality, plurality, power, and freedom. Kattel is particularly interested in Arendt's notion of power. Power emanates from humans acting together, and thus connects our existential realm—that we are meant to act and appear before others—with a political realm—that power arises when we appear and act with each other. In locating power and possibility in human action, Arendt's philosophy, Kattel concludes, seeks not to flee from the world, but to make the world into a home (p. 32).

Andreas Eisenhauer takes up the question of whether the enthusiastic embrace of Arendt by the left in the wake of 1989 is justified. Eisenhauer covers issues already well-trodden in Arendtian scholarship: Arendt's use of the polis as a model of politics, her association of labour with biological necessity; her diagnosis of the rise and dangers of a labouring society; her elevation of the American Revolution over the French Revolution, and even her discussion of race in the controversial article on Little Rock. The absence of any engagement with the scholarship on any of these issues (but for one quote from Benhabib) results, not surprisingly, in an overly simple rendering of Arendt's thought. What Eisenhauer seems to object to most is Arendt's élitism, which he sees reflected in her conception of the polis (which excludes women, slaves, and labourers), Arendt's approval of the American over the French Revolution, her understanding of race, and her separation of social claims from the realm of the political. The argument turns, though, on some simplistic characterizations of Arendt's thought. The title, itself, 'Polis: Ein Modell für die Zukunft?', should alert us to the simplicity of the approach. Though Arendt did draw on the Greek polis as a source of insight, she was hardly uncritical of it, hardly sought to smuggle back into contemporary society the oppression of women, slaves, and labourers (a claim that Martin Jay also advances in the *Partisan Review,* p. 361),

and hardly appropriated it as the only model of politics, any more than the Homeric warrior culture, the Roman republic, the American founding, and the Hungarian councils. Arendt does distinguish between the social and political but in doing so, she does not maintain that social questions are thereby unimportant. In fact, if Arendt can be accused of anything on this score, it is that she places certain social questions outside of politics because of an overly optimistic belief that their answers are beyond debate and their solution is resolvable through administration. All social issues have political aspects that should be debated, Arendt notes in response to a question by Albrecht Wellmer, but all aspects of a social issue are not subject to debate. Using the example of housing, Arendt notes: 'There shouldn't be any debate about the question that everybody should have decent housing.' How to provide this housing is 'something which we really can figure out' (in Melvyn Hill, ed., *Hannah Arendt: The Recovery of the Public World*, New York, 1979, pp. 318–19). However problematic the distinction, Arendt's articulation of a notion of politics is not meant to ignore questions but to identify a realm of human action that is not reducible to these questions.

Eisenhauer's concluding characterization of Arendt as a 'conservative' thinker (and thus, of little interest, given the abundance of conservative thinkers, in addressing the present social situation) does not seem entirely charitable (p. 45). Arendt's understanding of the relationship between the past and future is too nuanced and the influences on her thinking—encompassing Homer, Socrates, Aristotle, Virgil, Cicero, Augustine, Machiavelli, Montesquieu, Jefferson, Adams, Hegel, Nietzsche, Heidegger, and Jaspers—too varied to allow for such easy characterizations.

In a thoughtfully developed essay, Torsten Niechoj next explores the relationship between economics and politics in Arendt's thought. Rather than criticizing Arendt for not being Gramsci, or Habermas, or Marx, Niechoj uses Arendt's analysis, language, and concerns to show the ambiguities, limitations, and blindspots of her position. Arendt separates these two realms in an attempt to shield human freedom and action from the instrumental, automatic processes of work and labour. Niechoj argues that Arendt's separation of economics and politics stands in need of revision, not only because solving social questions of need serves as a prerequisite for Arendt's notion of the political, but because the economic realm is, itself, the

result of human action and community decision (p. 56). Niechoj, however, does not make use of a rather significant body of already existent scholarship, much of it translated into German, that explores precisely these issues.

Michael Schöngarth next provides a challenging discussion of Arendt's analysis of totalitarianism. Following Benhabib's interpretative strategy to leave behind the pieties of textual analysis and be ready to provide non-Arendtian answers to Arendtian texts (p. 85), Schöngarth seeks to extend Arendt's discussion of totalitarianism, showing how total control is an economic, as well as political, phenomena. The reader, though, will confront almost impenetrable abstractions in the final section of the essay, such as: 'Was uns bei Hannah Arendt hier vorliegt, ist der dialektische Umschlag, der Übergang des Nicht-Identischen in das Identische, somit ist der Totalitarismus als die totale Form als Identität von Identität und Nicht-Identität bestimmt' (What we have with Hannah Arendt is a dialectical transition, the transformation of the non-identical into the identical, which defines totalitarianism, the total form, as the identity of identity and non-identity) (p. 102). This sort of formulation only seems to feed Arendt's fear, as she writes in 'What is Authority?', that we have become 'caught in a maze of abstractions, metaphors, and figures of speech in which everything can be taken and mistaken for something else'. The power of Arendt's discussion of totalitarianism, as Althaus reminds us in her analysis, lies in its urgent tangibility.

Thomas Schneider, in his lengthy contribution to the volume, locates Arendt within a tradition of civic republicanism (namely, Montesquieu and Tocqueville) and the contemporary, communitarian critique of liberalism. Though the association of Arendt with communitarianism is familiar enough, and problematic in its own right, Schneider thoughtfully employs the analysis to examine the task facing Germany. The euphoria of unification has not yielded a new foundation, in an Arendtian sense, for democracy and civic integration. What Schneider does is to show the salience of Arendt's analysis—not only of the problem of fragmentation but of the necessity of rethinking what we mean by the political—for German and European politics. In reading Schneider's essay, one may be reminded, as well, of Václav Havel's similar efforts to forge from the forces of fragmentation, disillusionment, and interest a community discussion of the ends of political life.

Christiane Kroll, in the final essay in the volume, provides a reflection on the concept of sovereignty as a principle of public life. The essay proceeds through a comparison of Habermas's and Arendt's interpretation of the significance of the American and French Revolutions. The essay seems only secondarily about Arendt, though. Six pages into the essay, Arendt disappears (except for one brief mention) for the next twenty one pages, reappearing only for a final page and a half (in a section appropriately titled 'Nochmals Hannah Arendt'). The upshot of the argument is that Arendt and Habermas are both interested in the communicative production of power. Arendt emphasizes a public realm that lies outside formal institutional mechanisms whereas Habermas examines how formal structures (parliament, political parties) supplement informal public opinion formation in the public realm (p. 177). Somewhat surprisingly, Kroll does not make use of Benhabib's excellent and thorough exploration of this same comparison (*Situating the Self,* New York, 1992).

The volume is uneven in the quality of the pieces, its editing (for example, citations do not always match up with the bibliography), its engagement with scholarship on Arendt, and thematic orientation. That having been said, this volume points both to how different scholarly traditions can raise new questions of Arendt and to some of the frustrations of teasing out the concrete implications of her arguments. We will search in vain through Arendt's texts for a blueprint for the future. But we will find in the conjuncture of Arendt's life and work a model of what it means, as she sets out in the preface to *The Human Condition*, to 'think what we are doing'. Arendt brought to political thinking a Socratic love (and dread) of public life; a willingness not just to think out loud, but to risk herself by thinking against the crowd. Hannah Arendt will continue to have something to say if we continue to ask what we are doing.

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CULTURAL ASPECTS OF THE COLD WAR

by Dominik Geppert

SCOTT LUCAS, *Freedom's War: The American Crusade Against the Soviet Union* (New York: New York University Press, 1999), xii + 296 pp. ISBN 0 8147 5159 8. $45.00

FRANCES STONOR SAUNDERS, *Who Paid the Piper?* (London: Granta Books, 2000), 544 pp. ISBN 1 86207 327 9. £9.99 (paperback). German edition published as: *Wer die Zeche zahlt ... Der CIA und die Kultur im Kalten Krieg,* trans. by Markus P. Schupfner (Berlin: Siedler, 2001), 478 pp. ISBN 3 88680 695 2. EUR 24.95

MARKO MARTIN (ed.), *Fenster zur Welt: Die Zeitschrift 'Der Monat' — Beiträge aus vier Jahrzehnten* (Weinheim: Beltz Athanäum Verlag, 2000), 591 pp. ISBN 3 89547 720 6. EUR 49.00

ARCH PUDDINGTON, *Broadcasting Freedom: The Cold War Triumph of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2000), xix + 358 pp. ISBN 0 8131 2158 2. £21.95

JESSICA C. E. GIENOW-HECHT, *Transmission Impossible: American Journalism as Cultural Diplomacy in Postwar Germany, 1945-1955,* Eisenhower Center Studies on War and Peace (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1999), 230 pp. ISBN 0 8071 2310 2. £39.95 (hardback). ISBN 0 8071 2409 5. £18.95 (paperback)

VOLKER R. BERGHAHN, *America and the Intellectual Cold Wars in Europe: Shepard Stone Between Philanthropy, Academy, and Diplomacy* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2001), xx + 373 pp. ISBN 0 691 07479 8. £27.95

TONY JUDT, *The Burden of Responsibility: Blum, Camus, Aron and the French Twentieth Century* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 203 pp. ISBN 0 226 41418 3. $17.50. £13.95

ULRIKE ACKERMANN, *Sündenfall der Intellektuellen: Ein deutsch-französischer Streit von 1945 bis heute* (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2000), 269 pp. ISBN 3 608 94278 5. EUR 20.00

DETLEF JUNKER (ed.), *Die USA und Deutschland im Zeitalter des Kalten Krieges 1945–1990: Ein Handbuch,* vol. 1: *1945-1968,* 977 pp. ISBN 3 421 05299 9; vol. 2: *1968-1990,* 874 pp. ISBN 3 421 05299 9 (Stuttgart and Munich: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 2001), EUR 76.00 for both volumes.

The Cold War was fought not only with the weapons of classic power politics, but also with words and culture. It could even be argued that ideas, rhetoric, and symbolism were the actual battlefields of the Cold War. After all, was it not different from other conflicts precisely because, in Europe at least, it was not conducted by force of arms? For a long time historical research tended to neglect this dimension of the conflict and concentrated on the economic, military, and diplomatic contest between the USA and the Soviet Union. Only quite recently has interest started to focus on the cultural aspects of the Cold War. Historians are now paying more attention to the ideological self-perception of the combatants. They are examining the networks of personal and institutional contacts on both sides of the Atlantic, and increasingly looking beyond the circles of leading politicians and diplomats, for example, at contacts between artists, writers, and intellectuals. At the same time attention is focusing on the forms and consequences of psychological warfare. State and private public relations work—regardless of whether this is described as cultural diplomacy or propaganda—and its influence are attracting increasing attention. Thus a new chapter has opened in the history of Cold War historiography, which from the start has been characterized by a series of unchanging questions and a wealth of the most varied, indeed contradictory answers. What was the Cold War about? What caused and perpetuated it? When did it begin and when did it end? Which powers and which social groups were responsible for the conflict? Who were the crucial actors?[1]

In the first two decades after the Second World War, the traditional view, first formulated in George F. Kennan's 'long telegram' of February 1946, prevailed. After 1945 the Soviet Union was not satisfied with the power and territory it had gained in the Second World War, but had tried to export its own social model as far as possible and to bring the entire continent of Europe under its domination.[2] In this interpretation the Cold War was regarded not as a traditional power-political conflict, but as an existential confrontation between

[1] For a survey of older research up to the early 1980s see Wilfried Loth, 'Der „Kalte Krieg" in der historischen Forschung', in Gottfried Niedhart (ed.), *Der Westen und die Sowjetunion* (Paderborn, 1983), pp. 155–75.
[2] Published in George F. Kennan, *Memoirs 1925–1950* (Boston, 1967), pp. 581–98.

two opposing social systems–one pluralistic-democratic and the other totalitarian-collectivist.[3] This interpretation reflected the threat felt by a generation which had experienced the establishment of Communist dictatorships in Eastern and East Central Europe, and the bloody suppression of anti-Soviet uprisings in 1953 in Berlin and in 1956 in Hungary. Moreover, the thesis of the totalitarian nature of Bolshevik rule made it possible to see the fight against the Soviet Union as a seamless continuation and logical consequence of the fight against National Socialism.

As memory of the deprivations of the war and the post-war period began to fade, and also under the influence of the Vietnam War, the second half of the 1960s saw a widespread critical revision of this traditional interpretation. The origin of the conflict was no longer the expansionist aspirations of the USSR, but 'American imperialism'. Based on their analysis of American economic and trade policy the revisionists came to the conclusion that the US government's containment policy derived from a desire to ensure the dominance of the liberal-capitalist world economic system. The Soviet threat now seemed less like a real danger than a cynical invention of the Truman Administration in an attempt to win support for its policies from the American taxpayer and a Congress that was unwilling to grant the necessary funds. The motives of the Soviet leadership, on the other hand, were in reality of a defensive nature, aiming only to consolidate its own sphere of influence.[4]

Challenging the revisionist theses, representatives of a realistic school defended the basic assumptions of the original interpretation, but at the same time modified them. They no longer saw the Soviet Union as the centre of a world-revolutionary movement, but as an imperialist great power in the tradition of Tsarist Russia. They clung as doggedly to the idea of a clash between pluralist democracy and totalitarian collectivism as they did to the thesis of the inevitability of

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[3] Important examples of this historiographical school include John Lucazc, *A History of the Cold War* (Garden City, 1961) and André Fontaine, *Histoire de la guerre froide*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1965–7).

[4] Two amongst many examples of this interpretation are David Horowitz, *The Free World Colossus: A Critique of American Foreign Policy in the Cold War* (New York, 1965) and Thomas G. Paterson (ed.), *Cold War Critics: Alternatives to American Foreign Policy in the Truman Years* (Chicago, 1971).

the conflict. In their view, however, the clash was inevitable not because of an actual conflict of interests, but because of mutual false perceptions and communication problems resulting from antagonistic world-views. Interpretations of this sort fitted well into a world-political constellation which, in the late 1960s, early 1970s, was marked by the beginnings of *détente* between the blocs and a willingness to talk.[5]

Not long afterwards the post-revisionists, who benefited increasingly from the opening of state archives first in the USA and then in Western Europe, again took up the approaches and questions formulated by the revisionists—for example, questions as to the domestic causes of the conflict. Unlike the revisionists they did not regard the Soviet threat as an invention of the American government. Instead, they pointed out that the US government itself had firmly believed in the existence of a deadly menace from the Soviet Union. At the same time, however, they insisted that the establishment of two antagonistic military blocs had not been inevitable, but was the result of a series of decisions that were by no means necessary—especially on the part of the USA.[6] In the case of European post-revisionists in particular the demand for an unprejudiced assessment of *both* sides reflected a certain political distancing from the USA connected with criticism of American foreign policy under Presidents Richard Nixon, Jimmy Carter, and Ronald Reagan.

The collapse of the Soviet empire in Eastern Europe and the implosion of the Soviet Union after 1989 were not without consequences for historical research into the Cold War. The opening of Eastern European archives and the publication of memoirs by Soviet politicians, diplomats and soldiers made it possible to analyse politics on the Eastern side more precisely. As a result, occasional conflicts of interest between the hegemonic power and the Communist leaders in the satellite states came to light, about which little had pre-

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[5] Cf. Louis J. Halle, *The Cold War as History* (New York, 1967); Raymond Aron, *La République impériale* (Paris, 1973); Roger Morgan, The *Unsettled Peace: A Study of the Cold War in Europe* (London, 1974).

[6] See, e.g., John L. Gaddis, *The United States and the Origins of the Cold War 1941–1947* (New York, 1971); Geir Lundestad, *The American Non-Policy Towards Eastern Europe 1943–1947* (Tromsö, 1975); Daniel Yergin, *Shattered Peace: The Origins of the Cold War and the National Security State* (Boston, 1977).

viously been known.[7] Moreover, the significance of individual leaders like Stalin or Mao Tsetung came more sharply into focus again, while the tendency to downplay the differences between American and Soviet hegemony in Europe declined.[8] Instead the asymmetric nature of Eastern and Western dependencies was stressed. NATO, according to the British historian Timothy Garton Ash, had defended the states of Western Europe against a real or supposed Soviet danger, whereas the Warsaw Pact had defended the states of Eastern Europe 'above all against their own people'.[9] At the same time, given the most diverse warlike conflicts during the 1990s, the extraordinary stability and great clarity of the antagonistic power struggle within the international system increasingly came to be regarded as a characteristic of the period.[10]

One of the most striking features of new research, however, is the important role of culture. The term 'culture' is, of course, extremely vague and open to different interpretations. Accordingly, the studies which focus on cultural aspects of the Cold War and are discussed on the following pages lack a single leitmotiv. Their range of topics is as broad as the term 'culture' itself. Scott Lucas's study *Freedom's War* is a piece of classic political history, concerned with American government policy and its implementation. Ulrike Ackermann's pugnacious book on French and German discussions of totalitarianism in the twentieth century deals with important public debates. Tony Judt's essay on the French philosopher Raymond Aron focuses on an individual intellectual, whereas Volker Berghahn's study of Shepard Stone and America's intellectual Cold Wars in Europe uses the biog-

[7] Melvyn P. Leffler, 'The Cold War: What Do "We Now Know"?', *American Historical Review,* 104 (April 1999), pp. 501–24 and Steven L. Rearden, 'The Cold War: How the Winner Won', *Diplomatic History*, 25 (Fall 2001), pp. 707–12 give surveys of the most recent research.

[8] See, e.g., John L. Gaddis, *We Now Know: Rethinking Cold War History* (Oxford, 1997).

[9] Timothy Garton Ash, *In Europe's Name: Germany and the Divided Continent* (Oxford, 1993), p. 8.

[10] Cf. Anselm Doering-Manteuffel, 'Internationale Geschichte als Systemgeschichte. Strukturen und Handlungsmuster im europäischen Staatensystem des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts', in Wilfried Loth and Jürgen Osterhammel (eds), *Internationale Geschichte: Themen–Ergebnisse–Aussichten* (Munich, 2000), pp. 93–115.

raphy of an important cultural intermediary to analyse the broader context of transatlantic cultural relations. Jessica Gienow-Hecht's Ph.D. thesis on the *émigré* journalists and US officials around the *Neue Zeitung* in Munich is partly a collective biography, partly the profile of an important information tool of the American military government in occupied Germany. Marko Martin's collection of contributions to *Der Monat* focuses on one of the most influential magazines of the Cold War, and Arch Puddington's book on Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty tells the story of two radio stations which were crucial for US propaganda in Eastern Europe. The books differ not only in content, but also in style. There are polemical studies like Frances Stonor Saunders' attack on the CIA's role in the Cultural Cold War and extensive, scholarly handbooks like the one edited by Detlef Junker, which covers the whole range of political, economic, and cultural aspects of German–American relations during the Cold War.

Diverse as these books are, many of them share an interest in the possibilities and limits of psychological or ideological warfare. Scott Lucas, head of American and Canadian studies at Birmingham University, argues that the USA's aim in the Cold War, at least up to the mid-1950s, was not only to contain Soviet expansion, but also to roll back the influence and power of the USSR in Eastern Europe. According to Lucas, the Truman administration developed and the Eisenhower government implemented a huge propaganda campaign for this purpose, designed both to infiltrate the Soviet sphere and to rally support for its offensive at home and in the Western alliance in general. In American eyes, the threat posed to Western Europe by the Soviet Union was not confined to the political, military, and economic spheres, but extended to culture as well. Therefore an effective counter-offensive had to be launched not only at a political and military level. Washington, Lucas argues, also waged 'a cultural battle to establish that the US "way of life" was superior to that of its opponents' (p. 1). As Lucas shows, drawing on a wide range of primary sources mainly from US government archives, the ensuing propaganda campaign was not conducted by government agencies alone, but by what he calls a 'state-private network' of government and various private organizations.[11]

[11] On the same subject see now the study by Bernd Stöver, *Die Befreiung vom Kommunismus: Amerikanische 'Liberation Policy' im Kalten Krieg, 1947–1991*

Lucas concentrates exclusively on American documents and activities and neglects the Soviet side of the equation (that is, the question of how real the Soviet threat was). He speaks dismissively about 'the current obsession with uncovering unpublished material in the archives of the former members of the Communist bloc' (p. 4). Thus, his study is reminiscent of the revisionist school of the 1960s. At the same time, however, he emphasizes a distinctly post-revisionist point, namely, that the American policymakers sincerely believed in the existence and grave danger of the Soviet menace. They really saw themselves as engaged in a 'crusade' against the USSR. The Cold War, Lucas argues, was understood and presented 'first and foremost, as a clash of cultures and ideologies' (p. 2). Interpreting the conflict with the Soviet Union in terms of the prevailing theory of totalitarianism as a struggle between 'freedom' and 'tyranny' had implications for the way in which the propaganda campaign was conducted. To speak of freedom, Lucas insists, 'meant that the U.S. Government unlike its evil Soviet counterpart, did not direct labor activity or academic research or journalistic endeavors'. The nature of American ideology 'demanded a private façade' for Cold War propaganda (p. 3). Thus the 'state-private network' was more than a smokescreen operation. It was a sincere expression of the American ideology of freedom.

A key player in the loose alliance that formed the 'state-private network' was the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), which secretly subsidized some of the 'private' institutions involved. These funding activities form the core of Frances Stonor Saunders's controversial study on 'The CIA and the World of Arts and Letters'. The book mainly focuses on the activities of the Congress for Cultural Freedom (CCF), which was founded at a large public meeting of intellectuals from some twenty nations of what was then called the 'free world', held in West Berlin in the summer of 1950. Although the congress was initially planned as a singular event, the CCF continued to exist for more than sixteen years. It not only initiated a series of very influential high-brow magazines in Germany (*Der Monat*), France (*Preuves*), Italy (*Tempo Presente*), Austria (*Forum*) and Britain (*Encounter*), but also

(Cologne, 2002); for Britain see Paul Lashmar and Oliver James, *Britain's Secret Propaganda War: Foreign Office and the Cold War 1948-1977* (Stroud, 1998).

organized similar conferences, exhibitions, and seminars. It ceased to exist only in the second half of the 1960s, partly because of structural problems (an ageing membership that had seemingly got out of tune with the times and had proved unable to recruit sufficient new members), and partly because of a scandal in 1967 when newspapers revealed that the CIA had subsidized the CCF's activities for nearly two decades.

Stonor Saunders, a British writer and filmmaker now working as a journalist for the *New Statesman*, tries to show that the American secret service with the help of the CCF infiltrated large parts of American and European cultural life during the Cold War years. The title of the British edition of her book, *Who paid the piper?*, even implies that leading Western artists, writers, poets, academics, and intellectuals, who took part in exhibitions, conferences, and other events wholly or partly funded by the CIA, willingly sold out to the American secret service.[12] In the end, however, neither numerous interviews with surviving CIA officials and other protagonists nor careful examination of the CCF records and US government files can produce evidence for this thesis. Whether CIA money had any significant impact on the views and public statements of the intellectuals who participated in CCF activities remains the subject of speculation.

One only needs to leaf through the pages of Marko Martin's collection of contributions to *Der Monat* to become convinced of the contrary. *Der Monat*, probably the best and most important German-language magazine of the 1950s and well beyond, was co-funded by CCF money from 1958 to 1966. As authors it attracted leading intellectuals from Isaiah Berlin and Albert Camus to Günter Grass and Max Frisch. In his introduction, Martin quotes Klaus Harpprecht, from the mid-1960s one of the magazine's editors-in-chief and later adviser to the Social Democratic Chancellor Willy Brandt: 'In my experience, not the slightest pressure was exercised on the editors and contributors of the magazine. I did not notice any kind of influence …. But I would have loved to let the CIA bleed white for the Monat's authors! The agency, which did the most stupid things else-

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[12] The title of the American edition is more careful*: The Cultural Cold War: The CIA and the World of Arts and Letters* (New York, 2000).

where in the world and which certainly is responsible for various crimes, never spent its money for a better purpose' (p. xiv–xv).

Stonor Saunders's book on the CCF and its publishing empire is sometimes witty, gossipy and entertaining. A reliable source of information about the Congress for Cultural Freedom it is not.[13] More than that, her characterization of the Cold War as a mere 'fabricated reality' completely misses not only the mood of the time, but also historical reality. The fears that the Soviet Union aroused, and the values to which American policymakers appealed were neither a secret service spook nor the monopoly of a small élite. They were shared, as Lucas convincingly argues in his book, by a large part of the public in the USA and Western Europe.

The same applies, to an even greater extent, of course, to Eastern Europe, where Communist dictatorship was not a distant threat but daily experience. The American propaganda campaign directed towards the countries east of the Iron Curtain was therefore technically and organizationally much more difficult, but at the same time easier as far as content was concerned. The broadcasting stations Radio Free Europe (RFE), which covered Eastern Europe, and Radio Liberty (RL), which was responsible for the Soviet republics, served not only as American propaganda tools, but also as surrogate home radio stations, providing an alternative to the state-run Communist media, as Arch Puddington argues in his history of the two broadcasting stations. Puddington, a former deputy director of the New York bureau of Radio Free Europe, gives a naturally sympathetic insider's account of the history of RFE and RL. In contrast to Lucas's and Stonor Saunders's studies, which represent the revisionist school of Cold War historiography, Puddington's approach is more traditional. His book is based on his own experiences and interviews with former colleagues as well as on the radio stations' corporate archives,

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[13] Readers who want to know more about the CCF's participants and aims, the ideas it helped to promote, and the impact it had on the Cold War, should consult the following studies: Peter Coleman, *The Liberal Conspiracy: The Congress for Cultural Freedom and the Struggle for the Mind of Postwar Europe* (New York, 1989); Pierre Grémion, *Intelligence de l'Anticommunisme: Le Congrès pour la Liberté de la Culture à Paris, 1950–1975* (Paris, 1995); and Michael Hochgeschwender, *Freiheit in der Offensive? Die Deutschen und der Kongreß für kulturelle Freiheit* (Munich, 1998).

which are at the moment being transferred from Washington DC to the Hoover Institution in Stanford, California where they will hopefully be accessible to academic researchers in the future.

Although Puddington most of all wants to describe what he calls RFE's and RL's contribution to the 'Cold War Triumph', he also makes quite clear that both radio stations grew out of the same 'state-private network' that Lucas writes about. In 1949, a National Committee for a Free Europe (NCFE) was founded (later renamed Free Europe Committee) with the aim of finding useful work for the numerous exiles from Eastern Europe who had fled from Communism to Western Europe and across the Atlantic in the second half of the 1940s. The NCFE, whose membership consisted of leading figures of the American East Coast establishment with government, diplomatic, military, business, media, and trade union backgrounds, defined its most important task as to use 'the many and varied skills of exiled East Europeans in the development of programs which will actively combat Soviet domination'.[14] From early on the Committee concentrated its energies on the establishment of RFE with headquarters in Munich. The station was duly founded in 1950. As with the Congress for Cultural Freedom, the CIA played an important funding role in both RFE and RL, which had been established in early 1953. Whereas RFE received some additional funds from private donations, RL relied entirely on CIA money. In contrast to the CCF, however, the actual policy of the radio stations also seems to have been influenced, at least temporarily and partially, by the secret service. 'Eventually', Puddington writes, 'a system evolved whereby broadcasting policy was determined through a process of negotiation involving RFE, the CIA, and the State Department' (p. 26).

It would be wrong, however, to assume that the CIA participated in or even controlled every American propaganda effort in the Cold War. Jessica Gienow-Hecht's detailed examination of the US German-language newspaper *Neue Zeitung*, which, like RFE, was located in Munich, finds no trace of CIA involvement. Moreover, the author also questions the effectiveness of other American government agencies in directing propaganda efforts in Europe: 'Press guidelines from the State and the War departments … often came late

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[14] Certificate of Incorporation of Committee for Free Europe, Inc., 11 May 1949; quoted in Stonor Saunders, *Who Paid the Piper?*, p. 124.

or were lost. If they trickled down to their point of destination, U.S. information strategists in Germany quietly dismissed them without informing their bosses in Washington, D.C.' (p. 182). Instead, Gienow-Hecht stresses the relatively autonomous position of the *émigré* journalists who wrote for the *Neue Zeitung* as well as the importance of US officials who operated on the middle level of the military government. They were concerned with the day-to-day business of administration and generally knew much more about the situation in Germany than their superiors across the Atlantic.

Admittedly, the roots of the *Neue Zeitung*, which was founded as a tool of American re-education policy in Germany in October 1945, reach back to before the beginning of the Cold War. But even after 1947–8, Gienow-Hecht insists, when US officials tried to transform the anti-fascist re-education programme into an anti-Communist crusade, much of the older strategy persisted. Although 'U.S. policy makers wished to tie Germany into the Western orbit and even absolved a number of prominent Nazis', they were 'reluctant to abandon reeducation and keenly aware of the loss of credibility that any anti-Soviet propaganda might incur'. Such a sudden change, the author suggests, would only 'inspire Germans to liken their occupiers to National Socialists who had deployed similar propaganda tactics' (pp. 178–9).

In his important study on *America and the Intellectual Cold Wars in Europe*, Volker Berghahn, director of the European Studies Center at Columbia University in New York, confirms Gienow-Hecht's findings by stating that the American political and intellectual élite fought 'two culture wars: one against the Soviet bloc as part of a larger world-historical struggle against communism and the other against the deeply rooted negative views of America as a civilization and society among Western Europe's intellectuals and educated bourgeoisie' (p. xii). Berghahn argues that in many respects the struggle for the hearts and minds of Western European intellectuals was more difficult than the propaganda campaign against the Eastern bloc, for although the Western Europeans had reluctantly accepted American political, military, and economic superiority at the end of the 1940s, they were unwilling to give up their own feeling of superiority in cultural matters.

Berghahn's study is organized around a key figure and influential manager of these 'culture wars'. Shepard Stone, the son of a Jewish

immigrant family from Lithuania, studied at the Ivy League Dartmouth College and in Berlin in the late 1920s and early 1930s. He married a German woman and worked as a journalist for the *New York Times*. After his war service in Europe, he joined High Commissioner John J. McCloy as public affairs director of the American High Commission for Germany (HICOG), which at the time funded not only the *Neue Zeitung*, but also *Der Monat*. In 1952, Stone switched from HICOG to the Ford Foundation, then the biggest philanthropic organization in the world. Not least thanks to Stone's initiatives, in the following years the Ford foundation spent huge sums on its European programmes designed to popularize American culture in Europe. Fifteen years later, Stone became president of the International Association for Cultural Freedom (IACF), the CCF's successor after it had ceased to exist because of the public turmoil regarding its funding by the CIA earlier the same year. Towards the end of his life, from 1974 to 1988, Stone led the Aspen Institute in West Berlin, another important venue for fostering transatlantic relations.

By focusing on this symptomatic career, Berghahn, the first historian to make full use of Stone's private papers, is in a position to analyse in a case study how the American government, business circles, the media, and big private foundations co-operated to promote Western ideas in Europe and combat the cultural anti-Americanism of the European intellectual élites. 'Millions of dollars', the author concludes, 'were spent in this struggle and it may well be that no other hegemonic power in history has ever invested as much as the United States did after World War II in changing foreigners' perceptions of it as a civilization' (p. 289).

The success of this struggle is difficult to measure. However, attitudes of leading European intellectuals towards America and the American way of life could provide some first indications, especially if one looks at those intellectuals who were part of the transatlantic network which Stone and others were busy building. Particularly interesting in this respect is the French philosopher, sociologist, and publicist Raymond Aron. He was not only a founding member of the Congress for Cultural Freedom and a frequent contributor to its magazines, but also wrote regular editorial articles for the French daily *Le Figaro*, in which he commented on current domestic and foreign affairs. Although his writings demonstrate that Aron was one of the few staunch anti-Communists and steadfast supporters of the West-

ern alliance in French intellectual circles in the 1950s and 1960s, he was by no means enthusiastic about American culture and society. Moreover, he remained much more sceptical about the prospects of modernity than most American intellectuals.

Unfortunately, in his brilliant essay on Aron, Tony Judt, director of the Remarque Institute at New York University, does not empha- size this side of his protagonist's activities. He mentions Aron's role in the CCF only in passing and instead places him in an exclusively French setting. Judt's characterization of Aron as an intellectual out- sider is certainly true with regard to France's national context, for political opinion in intellectual circles in Paris at that time was dom- inated by Sartre's neutralist stand and pro-Communist leanings. The concentration on national debates in France, however, neglects the important flow of ideas and arguments across the Atlantic. Aron's views on the subject of 'industrial society', for example, are only exceptional if seen against the background of French discussions, whereas the actual debate in which Aron participated took place inside the CCF — a reminder of how important it is to integrate the transnational dimension into our analysis of cultural and ideological developments during the Cold War years (pp. 154–6).

Aron lived long enough to receive the admiration and respect he deserved not only abroad, but ultimately also in his native France. When he died in 1983, his writings and opinions, as Judt remarks, had been elevated to 'near-canonical standing across a broad swathe of aca- demic, intellectual, and public opinion. As the only prominent French thinker of his generation who had taken a consistent liberal stand against all the totalitarian temptations of the age, Aron represented not just a symbol of continuity with the great traditions of French thought but also a beacon of light pointing to the future at a time of confusion and doubt within the intellectual community' (p. 137).

The reason for the new appreciation of Aron was the profound change in France's intellectual climate in the 1970s and early 1980s, which is one of the main topics of Ulrike Ackermann's book on Franco–German discussions of totalitarianism in the twentieth centu- ry. In many respects, Ackermann's book resembles Stonor Saunders's study. Both are, at least partially, histories of the Congress for Cultural Freedom. Neither was written by a professional historian but by an outsider (Ackermann is a political scientist by training and a TV producer by profession). They are elegantly written and treat

their subject with journalistic fervour rather than with scholarly detachment. Both books want to stimulate political debate.

But whereas Stonor Saunders denigrates the CCF, Ackermann glorifies it. In her opinion, the Congress symbolized the anti-totalitarian consensus amongst liberal intellectuals which marked the beginning of the Federal Republic of Germany, but later got lost. In France, on the other hand, the public debate went in the opposite direction. After 1945, the French intellectual élite was fascinated by Communism and converted to an explicitly anti-totalitarian position only in the 1970s and early 1980s, especially after the publication of Alexander Solzhenitsyn's *Gulag Archipelago* in 1974. The author exemplifies her thesis by analysing several public debates in Germany and France in the second half of the twentieth century: from the argument about the nature and theory of totalitarianism in the 1960s to the reception of Solzhenitsyn's book, the collapse of the Soviet empire, and the different reactions towards the Balkan wars in the 1990s. Although I find myself agreeing much more with Ackermann's interpretation of the Cold War than with Stonor Saunders's explanation, Ackermann's book nevertheless leaves many questions open. It is better at describing the follies of intellectuals than at analysing the causes of their behaviour. What were the deeper reasons for what Ackermann calls the 'fall of man of the intellectuals'? Why did the patterns of national debates differ so substantially in Germany and France? What role did Communist renegades play in France and Germany?

Historical research of the cultural dimensions of the Cold War is still in its infancy. Thus it probably is too early to expect definite answers to questions such as these. At least with regard to German–American relations, however, a collection of 146 essays now gives a reliable and detailed account of new research in this field. It is one of the great merits of the handbook edited by Heidelberg historian Detlef Junker that it not only covers the more conventional topics of politics, especially security policy, economics, and society, but also devotes an entire section to questions of culture. To focus the analysis only on the geo-political constellation of the Cold War, Junker writes in his introductory essay, would be to miss the 'cultural and mental dispositions, which become apparent in every collective interpretation of historical experiences' (vol. 1, p. 38). The thirty-five essays in the sections on cultural relations deal with questions as diverse as American cultural policy in Western Germany (by Rebecca

Boehling, Jessica C. E. Gienow-Hecht, and Hans N. Tuch), exchange programmes for students (by Karl-Heinz Füssl), scientific co-operation (by Mitchell G. Ash), the impact of German classical music in the USA (by Pamela M. Potter) as well as of American popular music in Germany (Edward Larkey), and the Holocaust as a topic in post-war Germany and America (by Alan E. Steinweis and Jeffrey Peck).

Although most contributions concentrate on relations between the Federal Republic and the USA, some essays deal with the GDR as well. Uta G. Poiger of the University of Washington-Seattle, for example, analyses the influence of American popular culture in East and West Germany. Her findings suggest that despite their ideological differences, the authorities in East and West initially reacted in very similar ways towards the challenges posed by Rock 'n' Roll and Boogie Woogie, which in the 1950s became increasingly popular with young people in both parts of Germany. The perception of both sides was dominated by anti-American stereotypes, which dated back to the inter-war period. Towards the end of the decade, however, the attitudes of the West German élite began to change. Hostility and fear were replaced by more liberal and tolerant views. The East German authorities, on the other hand, continued to portray American influence as evil and corrupting.

The Cold War was not a clash of cultures, Frank Trommler of the University of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia argues in his essay, yet it certainly developed its own cultural dynamic. Protagonists in East and West re-vitalized the culture of propaganda, developed in the Second World War, in order to combat new enemies by old means. Thus the Cold War 'produced its own heroes and provided an opportunity to use the globally recognised power of violence, as well as its rhetoric, to relieve the greyness of everyday politics. It created themes, made careers, and allowed politicians and military officers verbally to define and dominate the problems of the present' (vol. 1, p. 567). Trommler's essay demonstrates again how difficult it is to integrate the often diverse subjects and findings of cultural history into one coherent argument about the nature of the Cold War.

Nevertheless, there are topics that come up in one way or another in most of the studies discussed in this Review Article. First of all, there is an emphasis on the importance of personal networks that connected both sides of the Atlantic in the fields of politics, diplomacy, economics, and public administration as well as in the field of cul-

ture. From the point of view of a sociology of transatlantic cultural relations, three sometimes overlapping groups of people were particularly important. (1) Former Communists, especially Trotskyites, who had become disenchanted with their former creed by the brutality of Stalin's regime and his co-operation with Hitler after the Molotov–Ribbentrop pact. Prominent members of this group include the writer Arthur Koestler, who had fought on the Communist side in the Spanish Civil War and later became one of the initiators of the Congress for Cultural Freedom, Melvyn Lasky from New York, editor of *Der Monat* and *Encounter*, and Ignazio Silone, one of the founders of the Italian Communist party in 1921, who later joined Koestler and Lasky in the CCF. (2) European *émigrés* who more often than not retained an interest in the fate of their native countries, and many of whom, like Hans Habe and Hans Wallenberg of the *Neue Zeitung*, at least temporarily returned to Europe. (3) Americans, who had studied in inter-war Europe and, like Shepard Stone, re-vitalized their connections after 1945. Although there now are a number of studies on the CCF, much work needs to be done on the personnel of other agencies of the cultural Cold Wars.

Second, the definition of the term 'culture' itself becomes the subject of academic debate. Both Berghahn and Gienow-Hecht emphasize the difference between the European, especially German, notion of high culture (*Kultur*), which could only be attained by an educated élite, and the broader American concept that 'came to be regarded as a shared system of beliefs and customs that is open to anybody' (Gienow-Hecht, p. 10; cf. Berghahn, p. 290). Only in the Cold War, the argument goes, did the American concept gradually gain ground in Europe. It could be asked, however, whether the distinction really was so clear-cut. Were there not critics of a commercialized mass culture in America too? Berghahn himself mentions the influential essayist Dwight Macdonald. Moreover, some historians have recently argued that the culture of mass consumption in Europe 'had its roots emphatically in interwar social trends towards smaller families, a greater concern with personal appearance, and the development of new definitions of female identity'.[15]

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[15] Martin Conway, 'Democracy in Postwar Western Europe: The Triumph of a Political Model', *European History Quarterly,* 32/1 (2002), pp. 59–84, at p. 72.

Third, although the cultural impact of the USA was felt in all Western European countries, considerable national differences remained. Ackermann stresses the contrary development of intellectual debates about totalitarianism in Germany and France. This is only one example of how national cultures and the specific political environment in different countries shaped reactions. Berghahn, too, emphasizes this point when he shows how Stone had to adapt his activities to different national situations. He had to take into account strong Communist parties and the polarized political scene in Italy and France; the British experience of a wartime alliance with the USA, but also a remaining latent anti-Americanism; the temptation for Germany to act as a bridge between the two superpowers, which, with the benefit of hindsight, never was as great as many of Germany's Western allies feared at the time (pp. 117–26). Thus it will not be sufficient in the future to ask only to what extent different European countries became 'Americanized' or how the USA influenced European societies. Further research on cultural aspects of the Cold War will need to combine two methodological approaches: international comparison and intercultural transfer.[16]

Fourth, awareness has increased of the symbolic and rhetorical dimensions of the Cold War. For example, almost all of the studies under discussion mention the central role of Berlin, not only as a crisis point in the power political struggle but as a place of symbolic significance. Western propaganda praised Berlin as the 'front-line city of the Cold War', as a 'bastion' or a 'bulwark' of freedom. Puddington describes how the initiators of Radio Free Europe utilized the symbolic power of the divided city's image for their 'crusade for freedom'. A foundry was commissioned to cast a bell resembling the American liberty bell in Philadelphia. This so-called 'freedom bell' toured through the USA, raising funds for RFE, and was finally sent to Berlin in October 1950, where, in a huge public ceremony, it was put in the belfry of Rathaus Schöneberg, the West Berlin city hall (pp. 20–3). Through this act, Diethelm Prowe of Carleton College (Minnesota) argues in his essay in Junker's handbook, the 'spirit of America' was symbolically transferred to West Berlin (vol. 1, p. 262). The freedom bell was rung every day at noon as well as on Christmas

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[16] Cf. Johannes Paulmann, 'Internationaler Vergleich und interkultureller Transfer', *Historische Zeitschrift,* 267 (1998), pp. 649–85.

Eve and New Year's Eve to demonstrate West Berlin's unbroken confidence in America. It was also rung on 26 October when Germans celebrated the 'Day of the Prisoners of War' still held captive in the Soviet Union, and at times of public upheaval in the Eastern bloc, such as 17 June 1953 (in the GDR) and 30 October 1956 (in Hungary). Cold War propaganda hailed the bell as the 'heart beat of Berlin' and called the American gift a 'spiritual air-lift' that, at symbolic level, repeated the air-lift of the Berlin blockade of 1948–9. By now, there are a number of articles on Berlin's symbolic role in the Cold War, a monograph on 'America's Berlin' and a social and cultural history of the Berlin War are in the process of being written.[17] It might be fruitful, however, to examine the public perception of other Cold War icons, such as Solzhenitsyn's *Gulag Archipelago* or the public persona of the 'Iron Lady', which Margaret Thatcher invented for herself.

This finally leads us to what probably is the biggest methodological problem of most studies on the cultural Cold War: the question of perception and how to measure it. Gienow-Hecht states that 'cultural and information activities always suffer from a lack of proof of effectiveness' (p. 169). She reminds us that the contemporary cultural programmes officers had already found it difficult to measure accurately the importance of their work when faced with budget cuts in the US Information Agency, for example. Today's historians face the same difficulty. It is easier for them to trace the visions and ideas of those who conducted cultural diplomacy and propaganda than to analyse the impact of their work on the recipients of their campaigns. Whereas Berghahn in this respect concentrates on internal memoranda of the American Military Government in Germany (OMGUS) and the Ford Foundation respectively, Puddington relies on RFE and RL listener surveys. A future, more detailed analysis, however, would have to examine whether those documents reflected reality or mere-

[17] Cf. Dominik Geppert, 'Die Freiheitsglocke', in Hagen Schulze and Etienne François (eds), *Deutsche Erinnerungsorte*, vol. 2 (Munich, 2001), pp. 238–52; and Andreas W. Daum, 'America's Berlin 1945–2000: Between Myths and Visions', in Frank Trommler (ed.), *Berlin: The New Capital in the East. A Transatlantic Appraisal* (Washington DC, 2000), pp. 49–73, which outlines some arguments that form part of his larger book, *America's Berlin: The Divided City and the Cold War in American Culture, Society, and Politics after 1945* (forthcoming). Patrick Major of the University of Warwick is writing a social and cultural history of the Berlin Wall.

ly mirrored the wishes of those who wrote them. Caution is especially crucial with regard to East European reactions, where the results of the surveys might have been additionally distorted by KGB disinformation. Gienow-Hecht for her part resorted to oral history, and distributed questionnaires to former readers of the *Neue Zeitung*. She is honest enough, however, to concede that the responses 'do not have any statistical value'. She could collect the opinions only of those readers who were young when they read the paper, whereas older readers had since died. Apart from that, the passage of time and changed political and personal circumstances inevitably coloured the recollections (p. 175–6).

Where do these considerations leave us with regard to the big questions of Cold War historiography mentioned at the beginning of this article? What was the Cold War about? It was not only a power political rivalry between states and groups of states, but also a transnational conflict of societies, ideas, and ideologies. This at least was how leading politicians, military officers, and intellectuals in both camps interpreted the struggle. Apart from tanks, missiles, and nuclear bombs, the arsenal of weapons included a whole range of propaganda instruments which had been developed or improved in the Second World War. They were now put to new use. To quote the American historian Martin J. Medhurst: 'A Cold War is, by definition, a rhetorical war, a war fought with words, speeches, pamphlets, public information (or disinformation), campaigns, slogans, gestures, symbolic actions and the like'.[18]

What caused and perpetuated the conflict? Eric Hobsbawm has argued that the apocalyptic tone of the Cold War came from America. 'If anyone put the crusading element into the *realpolitik* of international power confrontation, and kept it there, it was Washington.'[19] According to Hobsbawm, Moscow had never seen the struggle in such terms. Research on the cultural dimension of the Cold War has, however, added new evidence to the opposite thesis. It was a partly real, partly perceived threat from the East rather than American imperialist ambitions or attempts to mobilize public opin-

[18] Martin J. Medhurst, 'Introduction', in id. et al. (eds), *Cold War Rhetoric: Strategy, Metaphor and Ideology* (New York, 1990), p. xiv.
[19] Eric Hobsbawm, *Age of Extremes: The Short Twentieth Century, 1914–1991* (London, 1994), p. 237.

ion that led to confrontational attitudes in the West. The effort that led to the foundation of the CCF, for example, was triggered by the activities of the Communists, who had started a number of successful campaigns based on slogans of national neutralism, labour solidarity, anti-capitalism, and the cultural superiority of socialism. The non-Communist left and the Western governments, as Michael Hochgeschwender has convincingly argued, became increasingly afraid of losing the hearts and minds of people all over the world, especially in countries with large Communist labour movements such as France and Italy: 'Communist propaganda appeared to be a real threat to the establishment of a post-war order based on liberal democracy, capitalism, and US hegemony.'[20] Once the conflict had started, however, mobilizing public opinion at home, persuading the intellectual élites of the European allies, and infiltrating the Eastern bloc became important aims of American Cold War policy. Hobsbawm's argument contains a kernel of truth in so far as these cultural dimensions of the conflict mattered more to the USA than to the Soviet Union, where public opinion did not have to be considered.

When did the Cold War begin and when did it end? There is near unanimity as to when the conflict started. Since around 1947, the two antagonistic blocs had gathered under the banners of 'freedom' in the West and 'peace' in the East. The foundation of organizations such as the CCF or RFE and RL coincided with the first 'hot phase' of the Cold War between 1948 and 1953. It seems much more difficult, however, to reach agreement about the question of when the Cold War was over. Lucas's study stops in 1956, but in his final chapter the author hints that only in the early 1970s did 'freedom's war' end 'in domestic division and defeat overseas' (p. 274). Berghahn similarly argues that America believed it had won the cultural Cold War against the Soviet Union by the mid-1950s, while attempts to influence Western Europe still continued well into the 1960s and early 1970s. It certainly was not by chance that *Der Monat* ceased to exist in March 1971, when its circulation had dropped to a mere 8,000. (It was

[20] Michael Hochgeschwender, 'A Battle of Ideas: The Congress for Cultural Freedom (CCF) in Britain, Italy, France, and West Germany', paper given at the German Historical Institute's conference 'Re-structuring Western Europe: Social, National, and Cultural Change During the Cold War', held at Cumberland Lodge, Windsor Great Park, 8 July 2001.

re-launched in October 1978 and finally buried in 1986.) Puddington, Ackermann, and Junker, on the other hand, treat the period up to 1989–90 as a whole. In their view, the intensity of the political, social, and cultural struggle may have varied; the structure of the international system dominated by two antagonistic superpowers remained the same. One of the main tasks of future research will be to analyse how the conflict of the 1950s and 1960s was connected with what Junker called 'Reagan's second Cold War' (vol. 1, p. 47).

Which powers and which social groups were responsible for the conflict? Who were the crucial actors? We now know that the Cold War stage was crowded not only with politicians, diplomats, and military staff, but also with journalists, philosophers, sociologists, and even poets, painters, and musicians. The big private foundations of corporate America played a crucial role alongside policymakers and intellectuals. International conferences, various lecture series, concerts, and exhibitions functioned as important trading centres for the exchange of ideas that helped to shape the intellectual climate. The studies by Berghahn, Gienow-Hecht, Lucas, and others confirm the findings of those historians who have recently argued that the political, social, and cultural convergence of Western nations which gradually took place in the 1950s and 1960s was not created by the anonymous forces of what has been called 'progress' or 'modernity'. It was rather, at least partly the result of very conscious efforts by small élites on both sides of the Atlantic to promote liberal values in politics, economics, society, and culture.[21] One should not forget, however, that considerable tensions remained: between Western Europe and the USA as well as between the European nations, and between different political and ideological factions within the various countries. It will be one of the main tasks of future research to analyse both the converging and the diverging effects of the Cold War.

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[21] For the German case see Anselm Doering-Manteuffel, *Wie westlich sind die Deutschen? Amerikanisierung und Westernisierung im 20. Jahrhundert* (Göttingen, 1999).

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BOOK REVIEWS

As part of the 'cultural turn', historians have expanded their research into areas hitherto tackled by other disciplines, such as art history or literary studies. Scholars from these fields have responded to this trend in different ways: some with hostility, others by mirroring the trend, expanding their own inquiries into what used to be considered the territory of history proper. Blitz's study, based on a Freiburg Ph.D. thesis, falls into the latter category. It is a political history of German literature during the pre-Revolutionary eighteenth century—a truly interdisciplinary project. The choice of sources includes the 'usual suspects'—Lessing, Wieland, Schlegel, Kleist, and Herder—but also encompasses more popular genres of literary production, such as periodical literature and religious sermons. Juxtapositions of 'high' and 'low' literature became customary amongst progressive practitioners of *Germanistik* in the 1970s. The originality of Blitz's study lies not in its range *per se*, but in its historical approach. Political history, specifically, the formation of a distinctly modern ideology of German nationalism, provides not only the background, but forms the essential plot of Blitz's story. It also shapes the structure of the book, without, however, reducing political consciousness to the effects of political events. Chapter three is unusual in foregrounding an event—the Seven Years War—as the primary agent of change in the evolution of nationalism. More typically, chapters are constructed around the themes of major political–literary debates, from the Arminius cult in the 1740s to the *Nationalgeist* debate of the 1770s. Blitz claims that his emphasis on the gradual, long-term evolution of nationalist thinking and culture creates the proper framework into which we can now place existing case studies of particular waves of nationalist enthusiasm during this century (p. 13).

Of course, the suggestion that the *Sturm-und-Drang* period was a crucial moment in the evolution of a self-consciously 'German' liter-

ature is hardly new. While two of Blitz's five long chapters are devoted to earlier periods (he deals with humanist and baroque patriotism in an introductory survey, and the discussion of a mythical, 'Germanic' past around 1740 in chapter two), the bulk of the book is devoted to the 1760s and 1770s. Blitz's approach differs from early twentieth-century literary histories of these *Sturm-und-Drang* years in two ways. First, his view of nationalism is not only not apologetic, it is extremely negative—adjectives such as 'megalomaniac', 'violent', 'dangerous', 'xenophobic', and 'puerile' abound. Secondly, Blitz's interpretation of the national motifs he uncovers is informed by paradigms derived from historical scholarship of recent decades, notably the writings of Wolfgang Hardtwig, Michael Jeismann, and Dieter Langewiesche. Thus the notion of a 'Janus-faced' nation, the role of *Feindbilder* (images of the enemy), and the construction of 'otherness' feature prominently in Blitz's account. In this way, Blitz challenges an existing (if already somewhat outdated) body of literature which regarded the Enlightenment as innocently cosmopolitan. At the same time, he maintains that nationalism, problematic as it was, also had some emancipatory functions. In addition, Blitz pays particular attention to the gendering of the nation, and its close connection with the ideal of the patriarchal family. The strength of such cultural idioms compensated for the lack of a clear-cut definition of the nation in geographical and political terms: the 'openness' of the national discourse, Blitz concludes (pp. 399–400), did little to undermine its effectiveness. Whatever unit the 'nation' referred to in practical terms, its moral connotations seemed clear enough.

While a differentiated political approach to literary sources is to be welcomed, it also entails dangers, particularly where German history is concerned. Blitz's search for nationalist motifs is informed by the political historiography of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, not that of the eighteenth. In projecting these categories backwards, he ignores the fact that many of the authorities he invokes, especially Dieter Langewiesche himself, have repeatedly warned against the temptation to equate early and late modern nationalism.[1] This distinction has two facets. One relates to the narrower social

[1] This theme is at the heart, e.g., of Dieter Langewiesche and Georg Schmidt (eds), *Die Föderative Nation: Deutschlandbilder von der Reformation bis zum Ersten Weltkrieg* (Munich, 1999).

base of eighteenth-century nationalism. While Blitz is at times pre-pared to acknowledge this, he simultaneously continues to defend the notion of Enlightenment as *embourgeoisement.* The evidence for this lies not in a new social analysis, but in an identification of the language of enlightened sentimentality with the 'bourgeoisie', which is hardly convincing in the light of recent scholarship.[2] Even more problematically, in his focus on ethnic and *völkisch* themes, Blitz ignores the second key feature which distinguishes early modern from modern varieties of German nationalism: the link to the Holy Roman Empire. While he concedes that the term 'fatherland' was often applied to a particular territory rather than to the nation as a whole, Blitz's bibliography contains no reference to the debate about 'Empire and state' in the early modern period. Georg Schmidt's pio-neering studies are ignored, as are important Anglo-American con-tributions, such as those by Tim Blanning and John Gagliardo.[3] Aretin's and Burgdorff's studies of *Reichspatriotismus* are cited (prob-ably because, unlike the former, they mention the word 'patriotism' in their titles), yet they, too, seem to have had little impact on Blitz's analysis. Blitz assumes that the Empire lost its importance for German patriotism after the Thirty Years War (p. 399), and was 'superseded' by the 'bourgeois' discourse of 'nationalism' in the course of the eighteenth century (for example, on pp. 295–302). Crucial Enlightenment commentators on the Empire, such as Pütter, are not considered at all; others, such as Moser, quickly skimmed over and then dismissed. It is difficult to see how such an old-fash-ioned source base, which omits the imperial dimension in much the same way as its pro-nationalist predecessor studies did, can sustain Blitz's claim that his work represents an authoritative new synthesis of the topic.

[2] Cf. the critiques by Lothar Pikulik, *Leistungsethik contra Gefühlsethik: über das Verhältnis von Bürgerlichkeit und Empfindsamkeit in Deutschland* (Göttingen, 1984), and Timothy C. W. Blanning, *The Culture of Power and the Power of Culture: Old Regime Europe 1660–1789* (Oxford, 2001).

[3] E.g.: Georg Schmidt, *Geschichte des Alten Reiches: Staat und Nation in der Frühen Neuzeit, 1495–1806* (Munich, 1999); Timothy C. W. Blanning, *Joseph II* (London, 1994); John G. Gagliardo, *Reich and Nation: The Holy Roman Empire as Idea and Reality, 1763–1806* (Bloomington, Ind., 1980).

A second, related problem concerns the absence of any comparative framework—a staple in eighteenth-century historiography ever since the publication of Roy Porter's and Mikulás Teich's *The Enlightenment in National Context*.[4] Blitz makes little attempt to link the central motifs he identifies in eighteenth-century German nationalism with the 'patriotic' discourse of other European cultures. Indeed, he ignores even immediate models, notably those English texts which directly inspired many of the writers he examines, in terms of literary genre as well as in their 'political iconography', tackling themes such as 'gothic liberties'.[5] This English enlightened patriotism, which can also be traced back to the early eighteenth century and reached new heights in response to the Seven Years' War, was no more politically 'innocent' than Blitz's German sources. Indeed, it was also intimately tied up with the discourse of Empire and colonialism. To ignore such cross-cultural connections is not only a sign of intellectual parochialism—it also perpetuates the old idea of a German *Sonderweg*, even if Blitz does not explicitly use the term to characterize his own position.

Recent decades have seen a wave of studies which set out to unmask the 'dark' side of the Enlightenment. In the wake of Foucault's *Birth of the Clinic*, post-modernists have deconstructed the self-congratulatory narratives of emancipation and equality which at times surround the notion of Enlightenment. Scholars such as John Barrell and Werner Hofmann have written on the social and political violence that was committed in the name of Enlightenment in Europe.[6] A rapidly expanding historiography on the colonial world has revealed the problematic imperial dimension of the 'improving regimes' of the eighteenth century. Finally, cultural historians such as Michael Baxandall have pointed to the prominence of anti-modernist motifs in Enlightenment culture itself.[7] Blitz's study, designed to uncover the xenophobic and violent subtexts of Enlightenment patri-

[4] Roy Porter and Mikulás Teich, *The Enlightenment in National Context* (Cambridge, 1981).

[5] For a survey, see Michael Maurer, *Aufklärung und Anglophilie in Deutschland* (Göttingen, 1987).

[6] John Barrell, *The Dark Side of Landscape: The Rural Poor in English Painting, 1730–1840* (Cambridge, 1980); Werner Hofmann (ed.), *Europa 1789: Aufklärung, Verklärung, Verfall* (Cologne, 1989).

[7] Michael Baxandall, *Shadows in the Enlightenment* (New Haven, 1995).

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otism, would seem to fit well into this trend. Yet our heightened sensitivity to the Enlightenment's 'other' side should not become an excuse for perpetuating the old teleological narratives about nationalism, even if nationalism is now considered 'a bad thing'. Blitz is right in claiming that eighteenth-century political discourse was riddled with problems, and rarely conformed to modern standards of political correctness, especially when it came to questions of war. This was true in Germany and throughout Europe. Yet however critical our view of these sources, to construct a causal link with German nationalism of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries can hardly be considered a fair assessment.

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BRENDAN SIMMS, *The Struggle for Mastery in Germany, 1779–1850*, European History in Perspective (London: Macmillan, 1998), xi + 242 pp. ISBN 0 333 60199 8. £12.99 (paperback) ISBN 0 333 60198 X. £42.50 (hardcover)

Over the past two decades, the history of Germany between the French Revolution and its own revolutions of 1848–9 has emerged as a classic field of historiography. Books and articles dealing with the German 'age of revolutions' (Eric Hobsbawm) have not only enormously expanded our knowledge of politics, society, and culture from the downfall of the Holy Roman Empire to the beginnings of the German nation-state, but like the *Kaiserreich* historiography of the 1960s and 1970s, have also set the tone for a broader understanding of modern German history and its peculiarities. Was there a German *Sonderweg*, and if so, when did it begin? What role did the state and state politics play in the impressive advances made by Germany's modernization process during that period? Or should the end of the eighteenth and the first half of the nineteenth century be understood more in terms of a basic continuity of early modern ways of life and modes of thinking? In that sense, German history between, roughly, 1780 and 1850 (or 1866) has served as a field for paradigm controversies, that is, for competing attempts to understand the course of German history in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries from the vantage point of the revolutionary era. This includes the testing in historical narrative of different theories and methodologies such as modernization theory, cultural history, and a refreshed type of German 'historicism'.

Unlike the *Kaiserreich* debates, however, these new controversies crystallized less in theoretical texts and polemical broadsides than in a respectable number of massive narrative syntheses of German history during that period—a clear advantage for readers, especially among the general public, as long as they enjoyed ploughing through hundreds or even thousands of closely printed pages. The most widely discussed, and undoubtedly intellectually most outstanding books of this type were, of course, Thomas Nipperdey's *Deutsche Geschichte 1800–1866* (1983), followed by two volumes on the *Kaiserreich* period, and Hans-Ulrich Wehler's *Deutsche Gesellschaftsgeschichte* (1987–95), the first two volumes of which covered the late eighteenth century to 1849, and which was later also expanded to include the

Kaiserreich. In addition, other fine works were published, such as James J. Sheehan's *German History: 1770–1866* (Oxford History of Modern Europe series, 1989), with its emphasis on cultural developments, and Wolfram Siemann's *Vom Staatenbund zum Nationalstaat: Deutschland 1806–1871* (1995), highlighting processes of political and social communication. Although their authors came from divergent 'schools' and historiographical traditions, remarkably, taken together, most of those books more or less agreed on a basic understanding of the primacies and priorities of their period of German history. It could be said that they contributed to an at least implicit consensus about the interpretation of the revolutionary and reform eras, the period of restoration and reaction, and the liberal awakening from the *Vormärz* to the revolution of 1848–9.

Enter Brendan Simms. The young Cambridge scholar, author of *The Impact of Napoleon: Prussian High Politics, Foreign Policy and the Crisis of the Executive, 1797–1806* (1997),[1] has established himself as a highly competent historian of Germany in the revolutionary period. He has also emerged as a writer of remarkable clarity and force, and an outspoken protagonist of a political history that centres on issues of foreign policy and their impact on the internal affairs of states, such as Prussia in its confrontation with revolutionary and Napoleonic France. Contributing to Macmillan's new series of slim textbooks and introductions, European History in Perspective, Simms has expanded the perspective of his own first book towards a brief summary account of German history between 1779 and 1850, thus adding his own version of a much-told story to the existing literature. At the same time, his book adds a British perspective—heavily influenced by the work of Simms's academic mentor, T. C. W. Blanning—to a field otherwise dominated by German and American scholars. Simms's *Struggle for Mastery in Germany* deserves close attention for many reasons, not least for its intellectual clarity and elegant style. This is not just a re-writing or drawing-together of previous works and arguments, but a clearly conceived piece of original thinking that will attract undergraduates and advanced scholars alike. However, many of its central assumptions are highly debatable, and it will prove to be a controversial as well as a stimulating book.

[1] See *Bulletin of the GHIL*, 20/2 (Nov. 1998), pp. 59-64.

For the purposes of a survey, Simms has stuck to his idea of the 'primacy of foreign policy', which serves as a guideline through the 200 pages of text. But he has added a second theoretical cornerstone, which, given his own background, looks unlikely at first sight: modernization theory. Apparently immune to all recent doubts about the academic legitimacy and political correctness of modernization concepts in history, Simms takes it for granted that Germany underwent extensive modernization during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, without ever claiming that the German states reached the stage of full-blown modernity after the aborted revolutions of 1848–9. His concept of modernization, which is adapted from Max Weber's works on modern politics, centres on the state and includes social and economic developments such as the shift from a society of estates to a class society, the demographic revolution, and the triumph of capitalism and commercialization (which, as Simms admits, was just beginning in Germany in 'his' period). While many German authors have told their stories of pre-1866 history from a more or less pronounced Prussian view, leaving Austria on the margins of German development, Simms aims fully to include the Habsburg empire. This certainly makes even more sense from the vantage point of foreign policy and European high politics. It is achieved, however, not at the expense of Prussia, on which the author is a true expert, but rather, in some parts of the book, at the expense of regional differentiation among the smaller and medium-sized territories of the 'Third Germany'.

Simms approaches his difficult task of synthesis by dividing the book into four chronological chapters of roughly equal length. Within these larger chapters, the author discusses his material thematically. As a general rule, in each of the chronological chapters there is one part on the constellations of foreign policy, a second on internal political structures and policies, and a third on social and economic developments. The whole 'narrative approach' of the book in all of its chapters and sub-sections is not a conventional narrative of events, which may also seem surprising for a historian of foreign policy. In line with his modernization concept, Simms prefers a 'structural' approach to German history. He explains the basic constellations of political or social forces, and weighs arguments. Often the reader comes across a systematic account of reasons or consequences numbered 'first, second, thirdly'. Simms's precise yet light

prose is occasionally supplemented by well chosen quotations which, nevertheless, have a propensity to focus on matters of foreign policy and 'geopolitics'; quotations illustrating social or economic affairs are much rarer.

It is impossible in a short review to discuss the full complexity of arguments and judgments provided by Simms in the four main chapters of his book. In general, it is the reviewer's impression that in the first two chapters, covering the periods from 1779 to 1792 and from 1792 to 1815 respectively, the author is on safer ground than in the last two chapters, which deal with the problems and events of 1815 to 1839 and 1839 to 1850. The first chapter, for example, gives a good account of the complicated institutions and mechanisms of the Holy Roman Empire. Simms not only makes the balances of power clear to readers new to German history, but also provides a balanced judgment on the *Reich* in the last decades of its existence. He thus defends the middle ground between the extremes of harsh criticism in the name of the territorial state, and the new Imperial euphoria now sometimes fashionable among German historians. In explaining the diversity of social and economic conditions in the various German regions, and particularly the differences between the east and the west, Simms invites the reader to join him on an imaginary tour through central Europe. He provides an elegant and vivid account of traditional agrarian society under East Elbian *Gutsherrschaft* and West Elbian *Grundherrschaft*. (In the second part of the book, this journey through Germany is repeated a generation later.) An important section in the chapter on the age of the French Revolution is an analysis of the Reform era. Here again, the author concisely presents a view that is in line with recent research on Prussian and *Rheinbund* reforms, yet at the same time carefully modifies the picture. For example, he prefers the term 'offensive modernization' to Hans-Ulrich Wehler's characterization of the reforms as 'defensive modernization', and Simms underscores the limits to and restrictions on reform under French hegemony. It was not so much idealism as power conditions that shaped the outlook and chances of the reformers.

The second half of the book carries the 'struggle for mastery' from the results of the Congress of Vienna to the aftermath of the German revolutions. Simms, of course, sticks consistently to his priorities and his interpretive framework. Again he offers connections between foreign policy, internal politics, and socio-economic modernization.

However, the text is not as smooth here as in the first half, and some conceptual problems are easily apparent to the informed reader. For example, the emergence of liberalism is introduced only as a side-effect of nationalism ('liberal nationalism'). This view is in the tradition of later nineteenth-century Prussian historiography, and has clearly been revised by recent studies. In Simms's picture of post-1815 political society, the split between the multitude of new political movements and the continuity of a 'deferential' society remains un-explained, although research has shown that this need not be a contradiction. The general problem here seems to be the greater autonomy of social and socio-political developments in the *Vormärz* as compared with the late eighteenth century, which Simms's framework of 'great politics first' does not fit quite as well as earlier periods. The climax of German history comes in the first half of the nineteenth century: the revolutions of 1848–9. This is also the historiographical climax in most of the recent syntheses of that period, but appears somewhat misconceived in Simms's book, not so much because of his methodology or assumptions, but simply as the result of a lack of energy and concentration at the end of the work. Too many of the most basic events are missing here or hardly present, from agrarian unrest to political clubs and party formation, and even the work of the *Paulskirche* parliament. This account will make the German revolutions of 1848–9 somewhat enigmatic for beginners in German history.

However, a serious criticism of Simms's book would not take this as its starting-point. Rather, it would ask some very broad questions about the author's theoretical assumptions and methodological approach—questions which Simms, like all bright academics with firm opinions of their own, actually invites. These are certainly worth a lengthier discussion than the reviewer can provide here. I should like to make four points.

(1) It is perfectly legitimate to put 'politics first', and without a doubt politics has come back into history with a vengeance in recent years, especially in Germany. However, what Simms offers is all too often a reduced, or even short-circuited, concept of politics. In a traditional way, it pits 'the state' against 'ordinary people' and does not take much notice of concepts such as 'political society', or of important attempts to reconstruct the history of state-formation 'from the bottom up', that is, from its local and societal roots. If the author's

preference is for 'high politics', why does he not show the slightest interest in recent attempts to 'culturalize' diplomacy and foreign relations? This is a fascinating new area where younger scholars of both diplomatic history and cultural history are currently meeting in Germany and in other countries.

(2) There is a simple answer to this question, and this is my second point. Simms's understanding of politics is focused, in an extreme, and, indeed in a truly radical way, on *Realpolitik*. Politics is what politicians are allowed to do under certain power constellations, and perhaps under certain 'material', for example, fiscal, restrictions. It has nothing to do with ideology and thought. In fact, Simms demonstrates an astonishing contempt for ideology (which he sometimes calls 'rhetoric'), and this includes a distant attitude towards all, even the most 'conservative', types of intellectual history. Ideology as 'cant'—Simms's position may be described as neo-Namierite, while we thought that these controversies were over, and intelligent, hard-to-ignore efforts had long been made to demonstrate the complex interplay between 'rhetoric and reality' (Gordon Wood). In this book, the neglect of ideology and intellectual history results in shortcomings in the interpretation of the reform period, and of liberalism and republicanism between *Vormärz* and revolution.

(3) Beyond politics and ideology, the extent to which Simms ignores problems and issues in cultural history is also amazing. One of the most influential books on the period, Nipperdey's above-mentioned *Deutsche Geschichte,* has ably demonstrated how cultural history and political history may be reconciled in a synthesis. In the almost two decades since Nipperdey's book was published, historians have devoted even more attention to researching the culture of the early nineteenth century, covering a wide range of topics from material culture (living conditions, communication, etc.) to symbolic culture and the experience of both 'elites' and 'common people'. Simms is willing to accept some social and economic history as an addition to high politics, but draws the line at culture. It is interesting that in this respect as well as in others, his account of the period is closer to Wehler's *Gesellschaftsgeschichte* than to any other recent narrative concerning that era. Like Wehler, Simms focuses on politics and society, on modernization, and on a structural, conflict-oriented approach to the writing of history. Simms does not neglect culture only, however, because he thinks it is just a fashion that will come

and go. There is a deeper reason, namely, his extreme concentration on what he considers 'real' history, as opposed to such 'soft' history as ideology or experience.

(4) Finally, I come to the 'primacy of foreign policy'. Few historians now are willing to follow this paradigm, but why should one not give it a try and see how far one gets for the purposes of a textbook account like this? On the other hand, few historians, especially younger historians, are willing to follow any notion of 'primacy' today—why should there be a pre-established 'primacy' of anything in the understanding of the past? Is not the very idea of practising history to search for a complexity of mixtures ('Mischungsver-hältnisse', Wehler), for different shades of grey instead of black and white (Nipperdey)? What is irritating about Simms is the insistence with which he repeats his credo over and over again. And the problem is precisely that he makes 'the primacy of foreign policy' into a belief, instead of using it, methodologically speaking, as an analytical tool for heuristic purposes. It is not the *idea* of a 'primacy of foreign policy' that runs through the book; the reader is confronted with that very phrase on almost every other page—more a jack-in-the box than real dogmatism.

A bright and talented historian has written a highly ambivalent book. With a little more intellectual tolerance and flexibility, his next book should be an even greater success.

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RUDOLF MUHS, JOHANNES PAULMANN, and WILLIBALD STEINMETZ (eds.), *Aneignung und Abwehr: Interkultureller Transfer zwischen Deutschland und Großbritannien im 19. Jahrhundert,* Veröffentlichungen Arbeitskreis Deutsche England-Forschung, 32 (Bodenheim: Philo Verlagsgesellschaft, 1998), 320 pp. ISBN 3 8257 0094 1. EUR 39.80

This collection of essays on Anglo–German cultural transfer in the nineteenth century, edited by Rudolf Muhs, Johannes Paulmann, and Willibald Steinmetz, is based on one of the annual conferences organized by the Arbeitskreis Deutsche England-Forschung. Bringing together systematic and theoretical as well as empirical contributions, it represents an interesting expansion of the field of transnational cultural transfer, which has so far been developed mostly in the Franco–German context.

In their introduction, the editors point out that as long ago as the 1950s, Percy Ernst Schramm drew up a programme for researching Anglo–German cultural exchange, but was unable to fulfil it. However, Schramm early drew attention to the processes of selective appropriation and filtration which characterize relations between the European cultures at national level. The merit of the present volume is that it up-dates Schramm's programme in the light of recent international research, and, in selected areas, implements it. To his credit, Johannes Paulmann in his own essay investigates the transferability of the concept of cultural transfer to Anglo–German relations. Examining a wealth of material from political science, the history of universities, and social policy, he demonstrates that 'intercultural transfer', defined widely to include technology and management science, is not only a suitable tool for the analysis of Anglo–German relations in the 'long' nineteenth century, but may also enrich the concept itself.

In the second general contribution, Rudolf Muhs examines the infrastructure which supported intercultural transfer: language teaching and knowledge of languages, travelling and travel reports, area studies, translations, press reports etc. Remarkably, Muhs's approach is symmetrical in that he discusses transfers in both directions. Yet fields such as translation demonstrate the lack of systematically structured empirical basic research. Nevertheless, Muhs is able to extrapolate an asymmetry of motivation and political factors in cultural transfer as a general starting point.

Logically, therefore, the case studies presented in this volume focus on processes of transfer which dictate the mechanisms of selection and interpretation of intercultural 'translation'. Ulrike Spree, for instance, taking the transmission of encyclopaedias and encyclopaedia models as an example, demonstrates the fruitfulness of a method that involves both transfer analysis and a comparative approach. A number of studies deal with the reception and appropriation of political thinking or socio-political models. Hans-Christof Kraus analyses the highly significant reception of British constitutionalism in nineteenth-century Germany. A triangular relationship emerges between Britain, Germany, and France, which would be worth pursuing. The topic of British views of community and their relationship with Tönnies's concept of *Gemeinschaft*, which Jose Harris investigates, also apparently harbours a mysterious 'third partner' in the form of the French sociological tradition from Comte to Le Play and Durkheim. Only this third partner explains why the British concept of community has so little in common with German *Gemeinschaft*. Lutz Sauerteig demonstrates the involvement of a similar third party in the transfer to Germany of the movement for the abolition of attempts by the state to regulate prostitution. On the one hand Switzerland played a part in this context, and on the other, the opponents of prostitution in Germany changed direction in response to the different institutional position and traditions of the middle-class women's movement there. Three essays deal with the highly instructive tertiary sector in education and relations between universities in the nineteenth century. In his investigation of the reception of the German university model in Oxford, Marc Schalenberg uncovers a differentiated debate which revises traditional ideas about the alleged immunity of the highly traditional institution. Stuart Wallace examines relations between the Scottish university reformers and the Prussian universities, demonstrating that internal British oppositions enlivened the German–Scottish transfer in both directions.

All of these essays attempt a more precise definition of paths of transmission and the media that were involved in the process. To this extent they share a common approach which places great value on the empirical foundation of transfer research. The value of the volume goes beyond writing aspects of the history of Anglo–German culture contact in the nineteenth century. Above all, it demonstrates the close connection that exists between case studies and the devel-

opment of the model of cultural transfer. Expanding the empirical basis helps to enrich and consolidate the model, and we can only hope that other fields of investigation will receive the same treatment.

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DIETER GOSEWINKEL, *Einbürgern und Ausschließen: Die Natio-nalisierung der Staatsangehörigkeit vom Deutschen Bund bis zur Bundes-republik Deutschland*, Kritische Studien zur Geschichtswissenschaft, 150 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2001), 472 pp. ISBN 3 525 35165 8. EUR 46.00

Academic doubts about the meaning and usefulness of the term notwithstanding, common speech has come to endorse the view that we live in an age of 'globalization'. The widespread feeling that all the peoples of the earth now really do inhabit one world, indivisible, has sparked increasing efforts to make sense of past discrimination and persecution based on race, nationality, and other socially con-structed criteria, and to ensure that these injustices are repeated 'never again'. Much of this activity of reconsideration and repair has been spurred by the Holocaust—or, more precisely, by the ways in which the Holocaust has come to be seen as a decisive turning point in modern life, the 'zero hour' of a different, more self-critical moder-nity. In combination with the perception (largely mistaken) that there has been a dramatic upsurge in human migration in connection with 'globalization,' the exclusionary implications of citizenship laws have thus come to comprise a central concern of scholars in history and the social sciences. In a context in which the Holocaust has grown central to thinking about the potentialities (and extremes) of exclusion, analyses of the origins, determinants, and consequences of German citizenship laws assume a special poignancy.

From a republican perspective, the particular deficiencies of German citizenship law were brought sharply into focus in the book that defined the terrain of socio-historical discussion of citizenship in the early 1990s, Rogers Brubaker's *Citizenship and Nationhood in France and Germany*. Brubaker played off Germany's 1913 citizenship law, which enshrined *jus sanguinis* ('the law of the blood', that is, attribution of citizenship on the basis of descent) as the chief means of attributing nationality to Germans, against the allegedly more civic-minded *jus soli* ('the law of the soil', that is, attribution of citi-zenship on the basis of birth in the territory) practised by the French under the authority of their 1888 citizenship law. These differences in patterns of attributing state-membership, Brubaker argued, flowed from variations in the understanding of nationhood, conceived in terms of the degree of commitment to a civic rather than an ethnic

conception of belonging. No special instruction was necessary to discern which of the two was preferable.

The 'civic vs. ethnic' distinction resonated deeply with the *'jus soli* vs. *jus sanguinis'* distinction, and helped to load the dice in favour of the view that the Nazi descent into barbarism was of a piece, at least, with this ethno-cultural approach to citizenship attribution. The persistence in official circles, well into the 1990s, of the notion that Germany was 'not a country of immigration', despite the obvious presence of millions of non-German permanent residents, only confirmed for many observers that German laws and policies concerning the attribution of citizenship were irredeemably and unconscionably retrograde—indeed, that they retained something of the Nazis' racist designs.

The problem with this approach is that the sharp distinction between *jus soli* and *jus sanguinis*, so useful for analytical purposes, is misleading in other respects. First, it remains as true now as when Aristotle first pointed it out (in the *Politics*) that *jus soli* is an exceptional mode of attributing membership, orientated towards increasing population, often after extraordinary events such as decimation in war; at the same time, some variant of *jus sanguinis* is the norm in most countries around the world. Next, the distinction is largely irrelevant as a practical matter, because most people acquire their citizenship on the basis of the fact that they are born in the territory of the state of which their parents are citizens. The one or the other would suffice to make them citizens, and hence the question of whether they receive their citizenship status on the basis of the one or the other does not arise. The distinction in patterns of citizenship attribution is therefore relevant mainly for newcomers and their families—though for them it is a matter of great significance, of course.

Finally, the allegedly strong overlap between the distinctions civic/*jus soli* and ethnic/*jus sanguinis* suggested that these were deeply ingrained modes of perceiving and organizing the flux of new immigration, with little prospect of meaningful change. Yet historical analysis has shown that these categories have not always overlapped; *jus soli* turns out often to have been part of the demographic policy of mercantilist monarchs who, following Jean Bodin's dictum ('Il n'est force ni richesse que d'hommes'), viewed population as wealth. There is, moreover, considerable convergence among patterns of attributing membership in current citizenship practice, indi-

cating that these modes of granting citizenship are not as mutually exclusive as one might have assumed based on earlier arguments.

It is also important to note that English usage blends together two phenomena for which German has admirably precise terms. In English, 'citizenship' refers both to the legal category of 'nationality' (in the sense of 'state membership', not in the Eastern European meaning of 'ethnicity') *and* to the bundle of rights to which that category is typically a gateway. In German, these phenomena are referred to as *Staatsangehörigkeit* and *Staatsbürgerschaft* respectively. The separation of the two in German and their conflation in English reflect divergent histories of the incorporation of commoners into the bodies of rights-bearing members. In the Anglo–American world in the modern era, acquisition of membership in the political body and access to rights tended to go hand in hand, whereas membership and rights tended to be quite distinct matters in the Germanic *Sprachraum*.

Hence when, on the very cusp of a de-colonization process that would gradually send millions of former colonial subjects to the territories of the metropoles, T. H. Marshall developed his still-canonical tripartite analysis of citizenship rights, he remained blissfully silent on the question of *who* should enjoy citizenship rights. Marshall took for granted that such rights were to be accorded to all members of a political order; he also took British development to be normative, at least for all industrial countries. In contrast, the historical separation of state-membership and rights helped reinforce the notion of a peculiarly undemocratic German *Sonderweg* into the modern world that would eventually smooth the path to the Nazi dictatorship.

Finally, if Brubaker was the progenitor of the studies of the formal attribution of citizenship, Yasemin Soysal's *Limits of Citizenship* (1994) set the agenda for discussion of the rights available to foreigners in the states of the Euro–North American world by focusing less on laws concerning acquisition of citizenship and more on the actual access to rights among contemporary 'guest workers' and other migrants. Observing that many non-nationals had access to civic and social (though not political) rights irrespective of their alien status, Soysal posited the emergence of a 'post-national' form of membership rooted not in nationality/citizenship/state membership, but rather in the abstract quality of personhood. If Brubaker's treatise bespoke the persistence of sharply divergent national political cultures and of self-regarding states, Soysal seemed to glimpse a world

in which the 'rights of man' were on the road to vindication beyond the stuffy confines of the narcissistic nation.

These scholarly and political developments provide the essential background to Dieter Gosewinkel's finely nuanced study of 'the nationalization of state membership' in Germany from roughly 1815 to the advent of the Federal Republic of Germany out of the ashes of the Third Reich. Ranging confidently across a century and a half of German history, Gosewinkel shows in great detail the vicissitudes of the parameters of state membership and the gradual achievement of a coherent citizen body across the previously particularistic domains of the German lands with the coming of the German empire. The process of 'nationalizing' state-membership—that is, of making it a common possession of those resident in Germany as long as, after 1913, they were also the legitimate children of male citizens—bears every indication of fulfilling Max Weber's dictum that democratization has typically entailed the 'levelling of the governed', their transformation into a relatively egalitarian mass confronted by a rationalized ruling bureaucracy.

Gosewinkel emphasizes, however, that there have always been gender, national/ethnic, and religious limitations on the potential universalism of citizenship inclusiveness. Indeed, it is one of the great strengths of this study to have shown the ways in which religion, gender, and ethnicity have operated as constraints on the achievement of across-the-board inclusion. This fact is, of course, an unavoidable aspect of any discussion of German citizenship laws during the Third Reich, but Gosewinkel takes great pains to show the various times and places in which Jews, women, and those of other ethno-national backgrounds did, or did not, have access to German citizenship.

The process of achieving a unitary national citizenship depended to a considerable degree on overcoming the parochial *Kleinstaaterei* once decried by Heine in his classic of the *Vormärz* period, *Deutschland: Ein Wintermärchen*. A good deal of the particularism in German citizenship law flowed, Gosewinkel shows, from the *kleindeutsche* solution to the national question in the aftermath of the abortive 1848 revolution. Once the multi-ethnic Habsburg empire was excluded from the would-be German national state, the door was open to a closed-door policy with respect to many residents of non-German ethnicity—Poles and Danes, in particular.

Despite the ethnically narrow conception of German citizenship that resulted, Gosewinkel gives us good reason to re-consider the significance of the much-maligned citizenship law of 1913. In Brubaker's account, as in that of many others, the law represents the crystallization of the ethnic conception of belonging that would continue to plague Germany and its foreigners down to the present day. It goes without saying that there is indeed something to this view; it remains to be seen whether (or, if so, how quickly) recent changes in citizenship law that will make it easier for non-Germans to acquire German nationality will also lead to a more open conception of membership in the German nation. Yet Gosewinkel insists that the 1913 law—which enshrined *jus sanguinis* as the principal basis upon which citizenship in the German nation-state was to be acquired—cannot be adduced in support of the idea of a peculiarly racist and undemocratic German *Sonderweg*.

First, Gosewinkel objects to the very notion of the *Sonderweg* on familiar theoretical grounds—namely, that the notion of a 'special path' posits as normative other experiences that, when examined more closely, are themselves equally peculiar. More specifically, however, he points out that the 1913 law was not *per se* ethnic in character. Although ethnically restrictive in intention, to be sure, the law always maintained a certain openness to non-German outsiders and was little different from the screening practices of other countries during the same period. For Gosewinkel, the fundamental point is that there was a substantial difference between the *jus sanguinis* principle for the acquisition of state-membership that was enunciated in the 1913 law, which made room at the margin for naturalizations, and the strict, racially exclusive laws adopted by the Nazis. To be sure, radical nationalists hammering on the virtues of 'blood and soil' subsequently made much of the 'blood' dimension of the citizenship law. Yet a dispassionate analysis of the law such as that offered by Gosewinkel demonstrates that it was a far cry from the National Socialists' impenetrable, racist laws on membership.

Gosewinkel's analysis fits neatly into the schema recently adumbrated by George Fredrickson in his *Racism: A Short History* (2002), in which he argues that racism—as opposed to the more or less universal antipathy toward different 'others'—must involve a conception of difference that is ineradicable and unbridgeable. Where such a conception is implemented in law rather than merely practised in every-

day life, we have what Fredrickson calls an 'overtly racist regime'. Examples of these have been the South African *apartheid* order, the American South before the 1960s, and, of course, the Nazis. In keeping with this kind of framework, Gosewinkel concludes that the 1913 law 'was not the vehicle of a racial state, and it did not create any direct line of continuity that led to National Socialist racial policy' (p. 426). As so often in the historiography of Germany since 1945, the problem is that many have read the later, catastrophic history backwards into its predecessors, so that all of preceding German history becomes a run-up to the Nazi debacle. Gosewinkel argues convincingly that this posture cannot be maintained with regard to the 1913 citizenship law.

Gosewinkel's special attention to the ways in which religion, gender, and ethnicity undercut citizenship universalism is salutary, but it tends to mask the fact that very often the most significant kind of discrimination embodied in immigration and citizenship laws concerns *class*. Many of the debates that he so meticulously recounts regarding who gets in and who does not, and who may become a citizen/state-member and who not, revolved around the question of who has responsibility for the person if he or she were (to become) indigent. This is, in fact, a staple feature of all immigration laws, for it raises the problem that some people may gain access to benefits without having contributed their fair share. That is, the settled contributors to the well-being of a community may feel affronted if they are asked to support the impoverished members of another jurisdiction, who may have landed in their impecunious state because they were improvident, lazy, or otherwise morally reprobate, rather than merely unfortunate. Hence, for example, a 1996 United States law forbids giving benefits (such as lower in-state college tuition fees, say, in New York) to any immigrant if any US citizen (say, from New Jersey) cannot also enjoy those benefits. The relative de-emphasis of the class dimension of discrimination in immigration and citizenship law appears to be a result of the triumph of the 'race, class, gender' paradigm in recent social science and historical writing, which despite its nominally triangular configuration all too often tends to neglect the hypotenuse of class.

Gosewinkel's study goes far toward his aim of supplying 'a history of modern German state-membership that conceives the latter as an institution of the national state and, at the same time, as the out-

come of concrete decisions' (p. 20). It is well written, encyclopaedic in scope, and innovative in its arguments and analyses. Anyone interested in the social history of the category of citizenship, so important for understanding the degree of openness of a political community to outsiders and for making sense of its own conception of itself, will find this book of inestimable value. We will now need a companion volume on the history of German 'citizenship' understood as 'access to rights'. *Einbürgern und Ausschließen* will serve as an essential starting point for that much-needed work.

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UWE PUSCHNER, *Die völkische Bewegung im wilhelminischen Kaiser-reich: Sprache, Rasse, Religion* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchge-sellschaft, 2001), 464 pp. ISBN 3 534 15052 X. EUR 65.00

It is difficult to believe that any stones have been left unturned in the quest for the origins of National Socialism. It is only one of the many services performed by this original and important study that it demonstrates just how firmly rooted was the 'völkische Bewegung' in the period before 1914. Rather that should read 'völkische Bewe-gungen', for Puschner stresses throughout the heterogeneity of the phenomenon. All attempts to form a single umbrella organization, let alone a political party, failed before 1914. Indeed, he suggests that any use of the word 'movement' is too strong—at best one can speak of a 'völkische Weltanschauung'. It was shared by a large number of organizations, their profusion once again demonstrating the Ger-mans' enthusiasm for voluntary associations. Many were the forms of social activity that could be given a *völkisch* spin, from the Deutsch-arischer Ger-Men-Bund für Kampf um Froheit to the Wandervogel völkischer Bund für Jugendwandern to the Wissenschaftliche Nackt-loge Aristokratische Nudo-Natio-Allianz.[1]

As so often, the etymology reveals a good deal. The word 'völ-kisch' first appeared in Meyer's *Konversations-Lexikon* in 1909, where it was defined as 'eine Verdeutschung des Fremdwortes "national" ' (a Germanification of the foreign word 'national'). By that time, it had been in common use for at least three decades. *Der Große Brockhaus* of 1934 recorded that the word 'völkisch' first came into use *c*. 1875 to denote a racist and anti-Semitic form of nationalism. In fact, as Puschner points out, it can be traced a lot further back than that, to Fichte, for example, who in 1811 used the adjective to denote a quin-tessentially German quality, as in 'Deutsch heißt schon der Wortbe-deutung nach völkisch, als ein ursprüngliches und selbständiges, nicht als zu einem Andern gehöriges, und Nachbild eines Andern' (the word German includes the meaning of *völkisch*, as something original and independent, that does not belong to anything else, and does not imitate anything else). If Fichte had given a nationalist twist to Herder's populism, stressing the unique purity of the German lan-

[1] See Uwe Puschner, ' "One People, One Reich, One God". The *völkische Welt-anschauung* and Movement', *Bulletin of the GHIL*, 24/1 (May 2002), pp. 5–28.

guage, the later *völkisch* exponents added to pride a paranoid fear of contamination by *Fremdwörter*. Indeed the use of 'völkisch', in preference to 'national' was expressly designed to keep Romance influences at bay. As part of a campaign uncannily similar to present-day French attempts to arrest the (irresistible) tide of 'franglais', the Allgemeine Deutsche Sprachverein, founded in 1885, had 323 branches and around 30,000 members by 1910. Their main target was not English, however, but French, and their chief objective was 'Entwelschung'.

Puschner argues convincingly that this language movement of the 1880s was one of the most important antecedents of the *völkisch* wave. It was the chairman of the Berlin branch of the Allgemeine Deutsche Sprachverein, Adolf Reinecke, who founded the periodical *Heimdall* in 1896, subtitled *Zeitschrift für reines Deutschtum und All-Deutschtum*. Heimdall, it appears, was the third son of Wotan, charged with the task of guarding Asgard, the home of the Gods. His modern reincarnation did battle with the *Erbfeinde* of the Germans, namely the Latin (*welsche*), Slav, Magyar and Semitic peoples. Reinecke was nothing if not thorough in his campaign to preserve what was peculiar to the German language, even to the extent of inventing a typewriter with a *Fraktur* typeface (the Deutsche Schreibknecht). Mercifully, it did not catch on. Reinecke is only one of many *völkisch* exponents to be rescued from obscurity by Puschner. Others are Adolf Bartels, Ludwig Fahrenkrog, Theodor Fritsch, Max Gerstenhauer, Willibald Hentschel, Friedrich Lange, Otto Sigfrid Reuter, Wilhelm Schwaner, Philipp Stauff, Ernst Wachler, Ludwig Wilser, Franz Winterstein, and Ludwig Woltmann. It should be added that he also places in a more precise context more familiar figures such as Houston Stewart Chamberlain, Eugen Dühring, Gobineau, Paul de Lagarde, 'Jörg Lanz von Liebenfels', Guido von List, and Ludwig Schemann.

Language is the first of Puschner's three main categories for making sense of the senseless. When investigating the second, race, he also demonstrates a keen eye for nuance. The *völkisch* movements were undoubtedly united in their racism, for all believed in the inherent superiority of the Germans and the need to protect their purity against pollution by inferiors. In terms of theory, particularly influential were Arthur Comte de Gobineau, who died in 1882, and Paul de Lagarde, who died in 1891. *Völkisch* racial doctrine rested on two main premisses, namely, racial inequality and racial predestination.

In his four volumes of *Essai sur l'inégalité des races humaines* of 1853–5, Gobineau had argued that humankind was divided into three basic races: black, yellow, and white, but that only the white race and its élite, the Aryan Germans, was capable of true creativity and civilization. This triumphalism was counter-balanced by the equally acute anxiety that the white race was threatened with extinction through miscegenation. It was a neurosis to which the Germans of Mitteleuropa were especially prone, as they felt increasingly beleaguered by the new migrations from the East of the later nineteenth century. Nowhere was this more so than in Austria–Hungary. Just as *Auslandsdeutsche* were later overrepresented in the Nazi party, so did the Danubian lands contribute more than their fair share to the *völkisch* movements. A substantial proportion of the subscribers to *Heimdall*, for example, came from German minorities in Austria–Hungary.

The course of German history after 1933 has naturally drawn attention to the anti-Semitic elements in the *völkisch* phenomenon before 1914. They were certainly prominent, but more important was the struggle against other ethnic groups deemed to be *Erbfeinde*, notably the Slavs. Many *völkisch* advocates distanced themselves from the anti-Semitic agitation of the 1880s and 1890s because they feared that it was bringing the wider racist movement into disrepute. Indeed Puschner states categorically that 'das völkische Feindbild [war] von einem fanatischen Antislavismus geprägt' (the *völkisch* enemy image [was] marked by a fanatical anti-Slavism) (p. 102). The Slav was seen not only as degenerate and alarmingly fecund but also as the harbinger of an even greater danger threatening Aryan integrity—the 'yellow peril'. In this existential struggle, the defenders of German integrity were keen to find allies anywhere. It was hoped, for example, that the Norwegians and Swedes currently emigrating to the USA could be diverted to the eastern provinces of the German Empire. Ludwig Woltmann was even prepared to claim as 'Germanic types' a wide range of ultramontane intellectuals, including Dante, Petrarch, Titian, Raphael, Leonardo da Vinci, Galvani, Volta, Cavour, Bellini, Rossini, and Verdi. The *völkisch* movement was clearly a broad church with a wide constituency.

The *völkisch* approach to religion was also more anti-Roman than anti-Semitic. The *Los-von-Rom* movement, unleashed by the Badeni language laws of 1897, was driven by a belief in a great conspiracy forged by the papacy with Panslavs, Czechs, Jews, French, Russians,

and the Austro–Hungarian government, to destroy the German Empire. Numerically, it was an impressive success, generating around 70,000 conversions before 1914. If it was not exclusively a *völkisch* phenomenon, it did make a major contribution to the popularizing of *völkisch* and Pan-German ideas. Yet, when a more precise programme was promoted, support withered. Attempts to found racially pure settlements, such as the Mittgart project, were dismal failures. It transpired that there were just not enough Germans able or willing to meet the minimum requirements—Aryan antecedents, stature of at least 160 centimetres, a 'Schädel-Index' of 81, light-coloured skin, eyes, and hair, blameless conduct, abstinence from alcohol and tobacco, heterosexuality, and so on. As this profile suggests, there was a strong puritanical element: there was to be no extra-marital sex and no nudity ('The display of nudity is not German and never has been German'). Ironically, but not surprisingly, the only settlement actually established before 1914, Heimatland, suffered from the same inherent defect as 'singles bars' and 'swinger groups': a shortage of women.

There is much more besides in this consistently cogent and fascinating account. It is revisionist in the best sense, in that every general history of Wilhelmine Germany and the origins of National Socialism will need to be rewritten to take account of its findings. Not that Puschner ever tries to exaggerate the contemporary support enjoyed by the *völkisch* groups. If collectively they represented an important body of opinion, their individual membership was numbered only in hundreds or thousands. The Germanische Glaubens-Gemeinschaft had only 250 to 300 members in 1914 and the whole Deutschreligiöse Bewegung no more than a thousand. One of the major *völkisch* periodicals, *Hammer*, sold only *c*. 3,000 copies in 1905. It should be added that this book is exceptionally well produced, especially by the austere standards of German academic publishing, with numerous illustrations integrated into the text, many of them comic, some of them chilling, and all of them illuminating.

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MICHAEL H. KATER, *Composers of the Nazi Era: Eight Portraits* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 399 pp. ISBN 0 19 509924 9. £22.50

Following his two studies *Different Drummers: Jazz in the Culture of Nazi Germany* (1992) and *The Twisted Muse: Musicians and their Music in the Third Reich* (1997), Michael H. Kater's latest book about music and musicians in the Third Reich, *Composers of the Nazi Era*, completes the trilogy. In this third study he portrays eight twentieth-century composers (Werner Egk, Paul Hindemith, Kurt Weill, Karl Amadeus Hartmann, Carl Orff, Hans Pfitzner, Arnold Schönberg, and Richard Strauss) over roughly 400 pages. What these eight more or less well-known composers have in common is that they all lived and worked during the Nazi era, even though their attitudes towards National Socialism and their personal involvement with the German Reich varied considerably. While artists such as Paul Hindemith, Kurt Weill, and Arnold Schönberg chose to go into exile and suffered the not always easy fate that accompanied emigration, others came to terms with the regime, making a name for themselves as celebrated artists and representatives of Nazi culture. This applies above all to Richard Strauss, President of the Reich Chamber of Music from 1933 to 1935, Carl Orff, and Hans Pfitzner, who were all acknowledged and repeatedly honoured by the Nazi regime. One of the merits of this book is the way in which it brings to light the fine differences in the attitudes of these composers towards the Third Reich and how they and their music were regarded by the Nazi ruling class, whilst refraining from black-and-white depictions and generalizations.

   With the accuracy of a detective, Kater goes in search of the slightest clues that could throw light on each artist's degree of involvement with the Third Reich. At the same time he lets the reader participate in this search for evidence and in the difficult and often ambivalent assessment of each individual when it comes to guilt or responsibility in dealings with the regime. This meticulous investigation with reference to extensive sources clearly demonstrates that Nazi policies for culture and music were in no way homogeneous. Whether a composer's music was accepted or rejected by the Nazi élite often depended on the proclivities of those individuals who determined cultural tastes, partly on power struggles, and even on personal liaisons.

Music as an absolute and autonomous entity and the most abstract of all the arts eludes any unequivocal political classification. After the war this also proved a stumbling-block for the occupying forces in forming judgements on so-called 'Nazi music', which was prohibited. The implications of this for some of the composers portrayed by Kater were that during the Third Reich their music often teetered on the fine dividing-line between acceptance and rejection by the regime. This applied in particular to Paul Hindemith and Carl Orff. Hindemith's opera *Mathis der Maler* (Mathis the painter) seemed, on the whole, to be in keeping with official notions of what modern music in the Third Reich should be and, not least because of its libretto, was praised in Nazi music reviews. Yet the composer was seen to represent the modernism of the Weimar Republic, and ultimately these works were banned as degenerate art. Hindemith, also on account of his work with Jewish musicians and his critical remarks about National Socialism, was branded a 'culture Bolshevik'. His own attitude towards the Nazi regime can only be described as ambivalent, and he finally found himself unwillingly forced into exile. Carl Orff's music was initially considered controversial because of its affinity with the modernism of the Weimar Republic, and his future in Germany was uncertain. However, in the end he was to become an acclaimed composer of the Third Reich and his music, above all his opera *Carmina Burana,* with its ostinato rhythms, melodic economy, rudimentary diatonicism, and thematic allusions to *Volksmusik* and *Hausmusik* was regarded and celebrated as an expression of Nazi aestheticism.

What drove some composers, such as Werner Egk, to come to terms with the Third Reich was a longing for success and recognition of their artistic achievements, even if they did not necessarily support the ideology or politics of the Nazi state. For many composers the priority was to secure for themselves the necessary framework for their artistic work and success. This, in turn, led to corruptibility and allegiances with a regime whose politics were often of secondary or no interest to the composers themselves. After the war this gave rise to the myth of the so-called 'unpolitical artist', a concept also used by the occupying forces if it suited their cultural-political aims.

Kater carefully leads the reader along the roads, both right and wrong, taken by the eight composers during the Third Reich. He then focuses on the period immediately after the war and shows how the

individual composers and the occupying forces, with their aims of re-education, dealt with the past. The widely acknowledged inadequacy and insufficiency of the process of denazification is vividly and impressively illustrated here by concrete individual cases. The fact that composers who were celebrated during the Third Reich, like Orff or Pfitzner, who untiringly strove for recognition by Hitler, Rosenberg, Goebbels, and other big names among the Nazi Party, were finally presented as victims of the regime or even resistance fighters may come as a surprise. Kater presents in great detail how this *Reinwaschen* (cleansing) was possible, who was involved, and what the motives behind this process were. The contrasting depiction of the lives of the individual composers before and after 1945 is highly informative and throws a critical light on the *Neuanfang* (new beginning) after the Second World War. In his closing chapter Kater follows the German music scene and the lives of individual composers right up to the 1960s, when the *Stunde Null* in German cultural and musical life was once again exposed as a myth.

Even though Kater occasionally becomes a little too engrossed in the details of the personal lifestyle of the composers he portrays (for example, Weill and Schönberg), on the whole this psychologically sensitive and fascinating study of the lives of eight selected composers must be acclaimed as a significant contribution to our understanding of the history of the Third Reich. Kater lucidly demonstrates the importance of a differentiated depiction of the past, primarily of the relationship between art and politics in a totalitarian state, but also of the way in which the past was dealt with during the post-war era. In brief: recommended reading.

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Identity, like culture, represents something more than just a key word, one among many concepts that historians (and now cultural theorists, activists, politicians, and office managers) use to describe what it is all about. In this sense, identity has become what Victor Turner called a root metaphor, one that structures the way we think and provides a name for what we fight for. The 'we' is not incidental. If in earlier decades, one thought of identity in individual terms, and concepts like 'identity crisis' unmistakably pointed to personal problems, identity is now almost invariably a collective singular. We speak of our identity, perhaps as professors, but with increasing stridency as members of ethnic or religious groups. Identity, one might be tempted to say, has become the nationalism of the new century.

This is the topic of Lutz Niethammer's immensely erudite, wide-ranging, poignant, at times prolix, but nevertheless immensely brilliant and important work. To German historians, Lutz Niethammer is widely known as one of the most prolific and imaginative social historians of the post-war era. *Kollektive Identität* is, however, a work of intellectual history; it asks about the genesis of the concept of collective identity, and argues that its promise and pitfalls can best be ascertained by returning to its founding moment. The book also considers the concept's subsequent career and the use to which it has been put. Finally, this work is a critical intervention in a debate. Niethammer contends that, on balance, 'collective identity' sabotages our chances of a democratic politics marked by real solidarity and genuine openness.

There is, according to Niethammer, no explicit theory of collective identity, and this fact is in itself significant. Initially, identity was simply an operational term of philosophical logic: A=A. But, as Wittgenstein understood, the devil was already in the operational detail. 'A' can only be filled subjectively, with the one proviso that it can not be 'B'. Identity, even in the strictly formal sense, presupposes an exclusion. Niethammer, however, is not merely interested in the logical status of the concept, but rather how this essentially operational term is itself operationalized—in what context, with what motives, and to what ends.

Contrary to a 'persistent myth', the concept of identity does not first arise with Erik Erikson, but rather with Carl Schmitt and George Lukács; its context is the cataclysmic loss of coherence following the Great War. Schmitt first used the term in his *Political Theology* (1922) to denote 'the identity of the government and the governed'. The term's debut is thus in the service of a critique of the mixed liberal-democratic constitution of Weimar—a constitution not of identity, but of compromise. Schmitt propounded an alternative understanding of democracy: its essence was defined not by openness and the rule of law, but rather by the unity of a people with its government. Paradoxically, this kind of democracy is only possible in a dictatorship. 'The identitarian concept of democracy', Niethammer maintains, was from the start at the core of 'an integral concept of nation shorn of all institutional limitations' (p. 107). Like the logical operation, the social extension of identity implied the exclusion of those who did not belong.

Niethammer thus tar-brushes a concept which, in common Anglo-American parlance, has a progressive ring with the thick, black brush of a right-wing antecedent. Yet he is also at pains to show how the post-war German left appropriated Schmitt's definition of democracy and how identity proved constitutive of the Marxist turn to culture, namely in the thought of Georg Lukács.

The concept of 'democratic dictatorship' stems, actually, not from Schmitt but from the brilliant Jewish-Hungarian theorist who quite literally converted to Marxism as the protective walls of the Dual Monarchy collapsed. More than is the case with his analysis of Schmitt, Niethammer places Lukács' biographical trajectory at the centre of the story. For it is in part the totality of Lukács' conversion experience to Marxism that helps us understand the emphatic pathos of his subsequent appropriation of identity. For Lukács, identity works on two axes, one rendering the proletariat simultaneously as the subject and object of history, the other creating a unity between bourgeois theoreticians and what proletarians ought to think. As in formal logic, identity is an operator, and, as for Carl Schmitt, it served to mobilize the masses for what was essentially a revolutionary and dictatorial project. In identity, *les extrêmes se touchent.*

They also touch in defeat, and one of the more important general insights that Niethammer offers is that the concept of identity was constructed in the wake of defeat, whether of the German Empire for

Schmitt, or of the Hungarian revolution for Lukács. This context is also determinative for C. J. Jung, for with Jung the quest for collective identity represents a longing for 'mystical participation', a throwback to a more primitive state of consciousness, even an 'illness'. But, as we know, illness, especially in the form of neurosis, is for Jung not something to be eradicated but to be carried, even embraced, as a condition of rebirth and renewal. The quest for identitarian wholeness also lies at the root of Jung's later embrace of the *Führer*, and his characterization of totalitarian politics as 'mystical democracy' and as a state form in which monarchy and democracy are identical.

Niethammer is caustic in his criticism of the uses to which Schmitt, Lukács and Jung put identity. In his treatment of Freud, the tone is different, and the difference raises a problem for the argument more generally, which we shall address shortly. Freud wrote of identity in the context of his Jewishness, which he conceived of in ethnic terms. As an intuitive identity lodged deep in the dark reaches of the inner consciousness, it possessed something of the uncanny. At once mystical and real, Freud's concept of Jewish identity ought to be open to criticism. But Niethammer desists. Jewish identity remains partial, personal, and tacitly shared (between Jews); it is also based on a sense of difference, especially powerful in situations of social weakness and marginalization.

Niethammer also outlines notions of identity as they are found in Erik Erikson (who is, however, later dropped from the structural analysis), Maurice Halbwachs, and Aldous Huxley. With Erikson, identity has its 'coming out': it is used more systematically as the key to a theory of personal development and is extended to a concept of national identity, which, in contrast to national character, is more diffuse and open to disparate interpretations. Halbwachs, a cult-figure of the current academic memory industry, appropriates the feeling of collective identity as an anchor for his theory of memory, which depends on the public work of creating and maintaining continuity of values and symbols within a group over long spans of time. Finally, with Aldous Huxley's *Brave New World*, identity becomes central to the purpose of the fictional world-state, whose motto is 'community, identity, stability'. Prescient and ironic, Huxley uses identity as a code word signalling a highly authoritarian, bureaucratic, difference-denying, mega-state. Niethammer invites the reader to compare Huxley's fictional world with the European Com-

munity's programmatic statement, 'Document on European Ident-
ity', issued in Copenhagen in December 1973. The comparison seems
at once invidious and apt.

The second part of the book considers the subsequent and mete-
oric career of collective identity. Here Niethammer weaves brilliant
and often humorous observation (political correctness as involving
virtuosity such as has not been seen since the court dances of
European absolutism) with thoroughgoing criticism of the uses to
which the Euroatlantic left and right have put collective identity. If,
in the USA, citizens often think of identity politics as left-wing poli-
tics, Niethammer shows that this is, in fact, not always the case (see
especially his critique of Fukayama and Huntington), and that, in
Europe, and especially France and Germany, the reverse often holds
true. With a politician's sense for the direction of the wind, Le Pen
entitled the European journal of the *Front national*, as we might guess,
L'identité.

Much of Niethammer's contemporary criticism derives from his
highly nuanced reading of Schmitt and Lukács, and is, in essence, a
criticism of the totalizing, difference-denying, exclusionary logic of
identity politics. Freud, however, remains in the background, and,
like Erikson in the systematic conclusion to the first part of the work,
he has fallen from the critical apparatus. Partly, Niethammer is reluc-
tant to take on the problem of Jewish identity because he is a non-
Jewish German. It is also the case, one senses, that there is something
about Freud's construction of Jewish identity that Niethammer finds
difficult to forsake. It also creates a problem for Niethammer's gen-
eral argument, since the construction of Jewish identity has become
paradigmatic for the partial, intuitive, constructed, difference-affirm-
ing sense of what it means for a minority group to have, and culti-
vate, a collective identity of its own.

Nevertheless, Niethammer's more general critique has consider-
able force, and ought to give pause to intellectuals, historians among
them, who take up identity talk without considering the assumptions
they make and the intellectual traditions in which they work. It is
also the case that identity politics has a significant potential for vio-
lence, local as well as global, hidden within its emphatic, pathos-
filled rhetoric. Finally, to all of this, Niethammer also offers an alter-
native—as germane to a historical research programme as to the quo-
tidian business of inter-group understanding—namely, to step back

and accept that less might be more, and that the mundane might disclose something profound. Concretely, this would entail talking about our multiple affiliations and affinities, and, rather than exploring our constructed or essential selves, developing a grammar of relationships: coalitions, sympathies, feelings for the other, interests, goals, and conflicts. The world, if we are to survive it, cannot just be about us.

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CONFERENCE REPORTS

Editing Documents in the Age of Technology: Principles and Problems. German Historical Institute London Workshop, held at the GHIL, 26–27 April 2002.

Publishing documents is a task historians and archivists have traditionally performed. But despite the undisputed importance of edited documents for teaching and research those who produce and publish them generally lead a shadowy existence. The efforts, pressures, and problems they face in their daily work are rarely recognized, even by experts. This is why the GHIL decided to hold a workshop for those working on various editorial projects in Britain and Germany to discuss present trends and developments in editing historical documents. In particular, the inclusion of new media and technologies in the editorial process makes an exchange of this sort more necessary than ever.

After Hagen Schulze's (GHIL) welcome speech, Sabine Freitag (GHIL) introduced proceedings by talking about the Institute's current project 'British Envoys to Germany, 1816–1866/1914'. She showed that the end product of such an editorial project is determined by a series of difficult, but necessary decisions. The choice of topic, the groups of readers or users to be targeted, the scope and length of the project, the establishment of editorial principles, philological requirements, the type of commentary, the decision as to whether a set of documents should be published in its entirety or just as a selection, and above all, what medium should be used—all these have to be considered for each editorial project. Edited documents provide a service to readers that demands a particular type of historical competence. And editorial intervention must be appropriate to the aim of each particular project. Thus 'British Envoys to Germany', as a selection of documents, is aimed not only at experts, but also at students and interested laymen, who may wish to gain access to nineteenth-century German history by reading the envoys' reports. Whatever the disadvantages compared to electronic forms of publication, for example, the limited number of pages and level of distri-

bution, high production costs, and the length of time involved in preparation, the printed book is still an appropriate medium for editorial projects of this sort. Sabine Freitag touched here upon two of the workshop's main issues: firstly, the question as to whether what is technically possible is always the best solution, and secondly the extent to which the objectives and effectiveness of edited documents are changed by new publication media such as CD-ROM and the Internet.

Eight British and German projects were presented on the first day. The first was introduced by Fred Rosen (University College London), a proposed 65-volume edition of the collected works of Jeremy Bentham (1748–1832). A project of this magnitude and length, which was started in the 1960s, needs not only a firm institutional basis and secure funding, but also continuity in terms of editors and team-members. This is the only way of ensuring that the quality of the edition remains constant, especially since the complexity of Bentham's work means that the project is fraught with many difficulties. The fact that it has been running for so long, however, means that the project has undergone various changes. One of these was the decision taken in the 1980s to produce the volumes centrally and to use the so-called 'Bentham Template', which enables the volumes to be produced in camera-ready form without the intervention of a copy editor. New technologies play an ever greater role. For one thing, they influence the production process—for example the compilation of indexes—and also, the documents are now published on CD-ROM and online. Rosen explained that in addition to this the editorial principles have changed over the course of time. In the more recent volumes, for example, Latin quotations are translated, which makes the edition more user-friendly. And apart from changing the editorial principles and including new media, they are seeking to bring Bentham's work to as many people as possible by means of periodicals, conferences, seminars and lectures, and a Bentham website, thereby creating a Bentham research 'scene'.

The project presented by Jürgen Müller (University of Frankfurt), 'Sources on the History of the German Confederation', has a similar objective. It is conducted by the Historische Kommission at the Bavarian Academy of Sciences, and was initiated in 1997, its aim being to put the history of the German Confederation, which existed between 1815 and 1866, onto a new footing by selecting documents that are as

varied and representative as possible, and to revive historical research on the German Confederation by opening up unusual perspectives. All this makes the selection of documents very demanding. The numerous themes and types of sources, the mass of potential documents, the structure of the German Confederation split up into forty-one separate states, and not least the number of relevant archives all make collecting the sources very difficult. The source edition is not, however, the only product of the work done in the archives. Parallel to this the team members (Eckhardt Treichel, Ralf Zerback, and Jürgen Müller) are writing monographs (1813–30; 1830–48/9; 1850–66) based on the edited material. Here in particular the project's overall objective, to present the German Confederation as a 'federal nation', is met.

In the subsequent discussion two aspects were addressed which were also brought up in the presentation of the third project by Ina Ulrike Paul (University of Berlin), namely, the problems involved in editing selected documents and, closely connected with this, the question of a 'hidden agenda', which becomes particularly apparent in comparison with open and electronic forms of publication. Ina Ulrike Paul, who pointed out the need for source analysis and transparency of methods just as emphatically as Jürgen Müller, considered that the deliberate selection of documents was not so much a disadvantage as a legitimation of her editorial activity. Thus the aim of her project, which forms part of the research association 'Reforms in the States of the Confederation of the Rhine' and is entitled 'Regierungsakten im Herzogthum, Kurfürstenthum und Königreich Württemberg', is to counteract the dogma of Prussian historiography, according to which the reforms in the states of the Confederation of the Rhine were completely dependent on the will of Napoleon, and determined by their usefulness to French hegemony.

An essential feature of Ina Ulrike Paul's project is the synthesis of monograph and edition. Württemberg's reform policy between 1797 and 1819 and the process of transformation it unleashed is not just to be documented by source texts, but also assessed and categorized by means of a detailed introduction of each of the seven chapters, which are ordered according to theme. The commentary, which is far more extensive than usual, allows the book also to be read as a monograph. This takes account of the processual nature of the reform legislation and, in addition, makes it possible to compare the Württemberg

reforms with those in the other states of the Confederation of the Rhine.

The question of a 'hidden agenda' was also taken up by Keith Hamilton (Foreign and Commonwealth Office). He introduced his presentation of the 'Documents on British Policy Overseas' by looking back at major editorial projects in France, Germany, and Britain in the past. The 'Documents on British Policy Overseas', initiated in 1973, contrast sharply with these and have no precise diplomatic or political agenda. The aim of the project is to encourage the writing of diplomatic history on the basis of British and foreign archives, and to promote an informed debate on British foreign policy and diplomacy. This open concept not only makes it possible to deal with the whole spectrum of British foreign policy, but also presents the editors, who have limited personnel and funding at their disposal, with the fundamental problem of publishing a coherent series without too many thematic gaps, while at the same time selecting topics that justify all the editorial work involved. Particular importance is attached here to publishing documents that are not yet available to the public because of the thirty year rule.

In the second part of his paper Hamilton once more took up the question of justifying the project by making some remarks on methodology. He started with the assertion that the higher the degree of selection, the greater the need for annotation, which makes the project very time- and cost-intensive. From here he moved on to the possibilities of electronic forms of publication (especially CD-ROM), which are also to be used in future for the 'Documents on British Policy Overseas'. Apart from the difficulties involved in digitalizing documents in a meaningful way, the fundamental question arises, he said, as to whether they should abandon the idea of publishing selected documents and put all sources relevant to a particular complex of topics on a CD. For documents covered by the thirty year rule a selection process is in any case unavoidable. What Hamilton regarded as more important was the fact that an edition that no longer makes a distinction between key documents and documents of secondary importance does not really fulfil its function as a guide to archives, a stimulus to further research, and a teaching aid.

The series of edited documents 'Dokumente zur Deutschlandpolitik', presented by Hanns Jürgen Küsters (Bundesarchiv, St Augustin) at the beginning of the second section, is committed to a

similar objective, though with a much more clearly political purpose. This major project, initiated in 1959, was, until the early 1980s, restricted to collecting and publishing official documents on the German Question from the years 1955–66 (Series III and IV). However, once work was started on the documents for Series I, the Second World War period, which was concluded this year, and for Series II (1945–55) the character of the edition changed fundamentally and it became an edition of unpublished archive material. The year 1990 marked a caesura in many respects. Firstly, the period in question was given a definitive end-point by reunification; secondly, editorial responsibility passed from the Ministry for Inner-German Affairs, which was dissolved, to the Ministry of the Interior; and thirdly the fundamental decision taken by the Minister of the Interior to continue the project gave it renewed political legitimacy. The decision taken in 1994 to start a new series (VI), covering the years 1969–82, means that further volumes keeping step with the thirty year rule will definitely be published. In order to publish future volumes more quickly and cost effectively the concept of the edition has recently been changed. Without reducing the number of documents included, the number and length of the annotations is to be reduced, and the editor's lengthy introduction left out. Küsters ended his remarks by making the point that under these circumstances electronic forms of publication will also be considered.

Greater attention is paid to electronic media in the project presented by Bärbel Holtz (Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Berlin) 'Protokolle des Preußischen Staatsministeriums'. Here about 5,200 documents from the years 1817–1934/37 are chronologically collated, briefly summed up, and supplied with a series of relevant data (archive mark, names of participants, resolutions, and references to the literature). The most important components are the indexes, which are differentiated and hierarchically arranged, and comprise up to half of each volume. The indexes not only refer to the summaries, but also facilitate access to the original sources. These are published on microfiche—another peculiarity of this project. Thus this central source on Prussian and German history can be accessed from anywhere. The use of a format system they have developed themselves, which allows the text to be transformed into an XML format, makes it possible to publish the edition in electronic form and to put it on the Web. So far three volumes are available on CD-ROM.

The 'Clergy of England Database', presented by Arthur Burns (King's College London), is a tool for accessing historical sources that is equally advanced and available exclusively in electronic form. This database, which will be on the Web within a few years and contains all 'Clerical Careers in the Church of England' between 1540 and 1835, illustrates the possibilities presented by the use of electronic media. The production process of the 'Clergy of England Database' is particularly noteworthy. The starting point for such an undertaking was to develop a user-friendly and at the same time highly developed relational database, in which all the many variations inherent in a project so broadly-based and covering such a long period of time can be integrated. Even more remarkable is the use of local trained assistants who input the data into lap-top computers in numerous archives. The inclusion of local (amateur) historians, whose knowledge of and familiarity with the peculiarities of the local archives is most useful, reduces the production time considerably. Those with a potential interest in the database are involved in the project at an early stage, thereby guaranteeing its success from the start.

Mark Greengrass's (University of Sheffield) paper, 'Electrifying Texts', concluded the first day and also led into the following section of the workshop. By describing various projects at the Humanities Research Institute of the University of Sheffield, Greengrass demonstrated three fundamental changes brought about by the electronic editorial process. Having established that the constituent element of the hyperlink shifts editorial authority to a significant extent to the viewer/user, he went on to discuss the principle of kaleidoscopic hierarchization. An open and alterable organizational principle is not only vital for individual access to the text. Using the example of the Hartlib Papers on CD-ROM in 1995 Greengrass pointed out that in the technical conversion of this new form, file metadata must be capable of being separated out from file content. If not, as in the case of the Hartlib CD-ROM which is not Windows 95 compatible, there is a danger that entire editions will be unusable. One possible solution is to convert the text files into SGML formats (Standard Generalized Mark-Up Language). Greengrass then went on to deal with the question of textual genetics. Discussing John Foxe's *Book of Martyrs*, he illustrated that by using electronic media even complex works can be appropriately reproduced in all their variations and different editions. The problem of printed editions as static artefacts can

thus be overcome. Greengrass's third and last point was the conception of so-called 'textabases'. The development of SGML and its subset XML (Extensible Mark-Up Language) provides a new way of structuring and transmitting data. As he showed using the example of the project 'The Old Bailey Proceedings Online', in which all surviving published trial accounts between 1670 and 1834 are made accessible as a searchable online resource, embedding a metalanguage in the text provides numerous possible ways of collating vast source material. An essential prerequisite for projects of this sort that are becoming technically ever more complex is that they should have a firm institutional basis to assure their longevity. Collaboration and co-ordination on a European level would be useful here.

The aspects of electronic forms of publication mentioned on the first day of the workshop were taken up again in the third section, 'The New Media', by Stuart Jenks (University of Erlangen-Nuremberg), Patrick Sahle (University of Cologne), and Simon Renton (University College London). According to Jenks, the immense possibilities opened up by the new media mean that the whole essence of editorial projects needs rethinking. Not only the objectives of such projects, but also how these objectives are to be achieved by the use of new technologies need to be looked at. Previous editorial conventions become obsolete in electronic media, not least because 'space' is not a limiting factor for reasons of cost. Ideally an electronic edition should be able to provide an answer to each question posed by the reader. This becomes possible by completely reorganizing the information. Presenting information in new media must genuinely be the task of historians, not of IT specialists. Only historians can decide what information potential users might want and should be made accessible via hyperlinks or search engines. The new possibilities are so complex that the editorial steps must be transparent and comprehensible to the user. New technical possibilities offer solutions to new innovative questions and thus also heuristic progress. Also worth thinking about is whether these new technical possibilities change the focus of historical research. While researching prosopography, genealogy, and local history is becoming increasingly easy, gathering material on more systematic questions remains as difficult as always.

Patrick Sahle went into the technical aspects of editing and new media in more depth. The innovation in digital editions is the disso-

lution of the content, and its appearance in a publication of whatever sort. Splitting content and form means that, in contrast to the production process for traditional printed editions, in the case of digital editions content can, indeed must, initially be the main focus of attention. Without considering the technological boundaries, restrictions, and compromises of printed editions, the editor must address the questions of the structure of the documents, access to and usability of the documents, and what useful additional information should be supplied. The needs of the user are all-important in this. Technical solutions to such complex requirements are offered by markup languages that are platform-independent. The guidelines of the Text Encoding Initiative (TEI) are particularly suitable here for encoding text with structural and descriptive information. A standardized markup language makes it easier to supplement documents with all sorts of information, and at the same time makes the editorial steps more transparent to the user. It is also possible to integrate several editions into one research resource. Sahle mentioned the additional advantage that digitalized documents which share a common structure allow a variety of contents and forms of publication. Depending on the rules of extraction or transformation applied to the data, an edition can be generated either as a printed book or as an online publication, with several ways of access and different functionalities. Sahle concluded by looking ahead to the editorial production processes of the future. While the historian should deal with the contents of editions, it is the job of the media expert to provide a professional interface (book, CD, website) between the contents and the user.

The third speaker in this section, Simon Renton, discussed the problems that can arise in advanced digital editorial projects. He used the case of the '1901 Census Online' as an example to show what should be avoided in future projects. According to Renton, the most important lesson to be learned from this project of the Public Record Office, much criticized by the public because of its cost and limited functionality, is the need for simple data structures. They not only guarantee efficient function, but the data may also easily be adapted for any future technologies, or be added to or combined with other electronic resources. What is important is that for the general public the data should be presented with such support as general readers require without damaging the source data for the histori-

an, who prefers the data in a form as close to the original as possible. Along with simple data structures, Renton said, it was also crucial to document the whole digitalization process and make it transparent to the user. This is the only way of guaranteeing the long-term utility of electronic data. The larger the digital editorial project, the more vital conscientious management becomes. Allowing commercial interests to play a role when considering digital editions, and the involvement of private contractors, as is the case in Britain — often for political or ideological reasons — can be counterproductive. In contracted projects it is often not possible to share information, experience, errors, and successes. In this context Renton expressed his regret that historians and archivists are becoming increasingly marginalized when major projects are carried out.

The discussion that followed dealt, amongst other things, with the problem of updates and how electronic editions should be quoted, the inclusion of facsimiles in search engines, and the need for stable institutions to take long-term responsibility for digital editions. Markus Buth (Bundesarchiv, Berlin) then opened the final section 'Editing Documents and Public Archives'. He gave a brief overview of the Bundesarchiv's editorial projects — publishing documents is one of its main tasks — and then went on to discuss the reasons why the Bundesarchiv should continue with its editorial work in the future. Source editions, he said, are an important aid to archive users when planning trips to archives and can often help to make the trips shorter. In some cases, for example the 'Kabinettsprotokolle der Bundesregierung', publishing documents is the only way of making them accessible to the public. Moreover, the Bundesarchiv's editorial projects, such as the edition of the records of the Soviet Military Administration in Germany (SMAD), carried out in conjunction with the Federal Archives of Russia, promote international co-operation and partnership. A final reason for the Bundesarchiv's involvement in editorial projects, Buth said, was the goal of improving the Germans' understanding of the liberal democratic development, as laid down in the *Bundesarchivgesetz* of 1988. The task of making documents not only accessible to scholars, but comprehensible to all interested citizens makes it essential to carry on publishing annotated editions and not, as some historians would prefer, slim editions in order to publish more volumes. Completely compatible with the Bundesarchiv's responsibilities, however, is the presentation of doc-

uments on the Web, for which a version of the 'Kabinetsprokolle' has already been prepared.

Aiden Lawes' (Public Record Office Kew) remarks contrasted sharply with those of Markus Buth. Editing and publishing documents has always been one of the key functions of the PRO and its predecessors, and still remains a statutory duty today. He said, however, that in view of rising production costs, and the fact that images of original documents can so easily be reproduced and transmitted, the role of editorial projects in the PRO's work needed fundamental reconsideration. Above all, the large number of amateurs and family historians using the PRO as compared to professional researchers made a change of direction necessary. As Lawes demonstrated by various examples of the PRO's editorial activities, electronic media offer great opportunities, but can also be risky.

In the case of the 'PRO files 1964' (a selection of 150,000 images from cabinet documents and key government files on CD-ROM) it became apparent that there simply was no adequate market for this ambitious project that would allow for full cost recovery. The same applies to the two CD-ROMs produced by the PRO: *MI5 1909–1919* and *Titanic: The True Story*. These examples show that before starting an editorial project it is essential to establish what users want to see and in what medium, and therefore at what cost. Commercial and academic publishing partners play a key role here. They not only have a better knowledge of the market, but also take on the financial risk. Some of the PRO's more successful joint ventures are: the *Rotuli Parliamentorum, Macmillan Cabinet Papers, 1957–1963,* and *Asia: Official British Documents 1945–1965*. The PRO's shift in priorities towards a clientele of amateurs and family historians has led, he said, to resources being transferred to search- and reading-rooms. One result of this is that no permanent members of staff are any longer employed full-time to produce books or other publications. Another is that they need to look for external funding for many large-scale editorial projects. The Art and Humanities Research Board, founded in 1998, has proved useful here as a potential source of finance for editorial projects for which a university partner could be found, enabling them to be completed relatively quickly. However, it remained a fundamental question, he said, to what extent availability of funding should determine activities. At the end of his paper Lawes used the example of the 'Moving here' project to show that

editions produced with the aid of external funding and in conjunction with public bodies have great potential, particularly through the use of new media. The aim of this project, funded by the New Opportunities Fund, which makes digital images, sound, and film relating to immigration into the UK available over the Web, is to give new target groups hitherto unprecedented access to historical documents.

Here Lawes touched upon a key issue of the whole workshop, which was taken up again in the concluding discussion. New media, in particular the Internet, can access a new public for historical editorial projects. And it is even more important here than in the case of traditional printed editions to take account of what the users want to see. Whatever points of controversy there might have been, all participants were agreed on this: the new technologies will play an ever-greater role in both production and publication. The fact that digitalization of editions is more advanced in Britain may well be the result of British academic institutions and publishers being more market-orientated. What also became clear, however, is that in both Britain and Germany those working on existing editorial projects should be involved more in the production of digital editions. In the interests of uniform standards and academic independence closer co-operation and further discussions at national and international level are absolutely essential.

Markus Mößlang (GHIL)

The Many Faces of the Kaiser: Wilhelm II's Public Image in Britain and Germany. *German Historical Institute London Symposium, held at the GHIL, 24 May 2002.*

How can we, as the German Historical Institute London, overcome the language barrier if the research findings of our scholarship-holders and Research Fellows on English/British history are published in German? This problem is particularly acute in the case of publications it is felt would appeal to a broader public, such as Lothar Reinermann's book on the image of Kaiser Wilhelm II in the British media (GHIL series, vol. 48). The GHIL took a step towards solving this problem by holding a one-day symposium entitled 'The Many Faces of the Kaiser: Wilhelm II's Public Image in Britain and Germany'. After all, along with Hitler the Kaiser is one of the most questionable figures in German history whose 'greatness' can be measured by the extent of the disaster they brought to Germany and the world, not to mention to England. As he once put it: 'God punish England'.

Anyone working on the Kaiser is bound to have to confront John Röhl, his most unequivocal critic in the historical fraternity, not least because no one else has produced a work on the last German monarch so rich in source material and scholarly analysis. There is, however, one person who thinks he can permit himself to do precisely this, that is, serenely disregard Röhl's work: Nicholas Sombart, who in all seriousness accuses Röhl of 'not loving the Kaiser'. And this is what Röhl picked up on in his introductory paper. He looked in detail at Sombart's scapegoat-theory, which allows him to dismiss critical contemporary witnesses, courtiers, officers, politicians from the Kaiser's most intimate entourage, as instruments of a higher mythical will. This is then transformed into the exact opposite of what the historical sources actually testify to, and critical historiography is taken ad absurdum: Wilhelm is presented as the sacrificial lamb, so that the national community can continue to retain God's grace. Röhl refuted all Sombart's evidence for the Kaiser's supposed popularity with all classes. Most expressive is Bebel's declaration: 'I estimate every speech the Kaiser makes against us wins us about 100,000 votes.'

Lothar Reinermann then portrayed the chequered relationship between the Kaiser (as he was also called in England) and the modern British media, a relationship by no means as straightforward as

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the succession of crises, starting with the Krüger Telegram, might suggest. It was more a question of peaks and troughs. Wilhelm reached the pinnacle of his popularity when he visited Queen Victoria's deathbed and showed himself to be a loyal member of the English royal family. No foreign monarch received so much attention from the British press, not least because, in a bourgeois age, he validated the monarchy in such a spectacular, if anachronistic way. His most fascinating feature was his youth, given the advanced age of most other European monarchs, and his demonstrative power-consciousness. Naturally, the British media were also aware of weaknesses in his character. But they could not escape from the Kaiser's self-presentation and took the 'persönliches Regiment' far more at face value than many historians today think they should have done. When Wilhelm styled himself 'Kriegsherr', this was immediately translated as 'warlord', although 'commander-in-chief' would have been more appropriate. Before 1914 the Kaiser's image became increasingly less positive. None the less there were great hopes that he would preserve peace in times of crisis. When these hopes were not fulfilled in the summer of 1914, British progaganda stylized Wilhelm into a hate-figure, so much so that in the first elections after the war the demand was made to 'Hang the Kaiser'. Reinermann is convinced that the British press hugely over-estimated the Kaiser's influence, in other words that it fell, despite all objections, for the exaggerated opinion he had of himself.

Jost Rebentisch, like Reinermann a former GHIL scholarship-holder, summarized the findings of his book, which deals with the image of the Kaiser in German and British caricature. Unlike Reinermann, whose analysis is essentially based on newspaper reports, Rebentisch looked at periodicals, nine German and sixteen British, in which he discovered no less than 2,500 caricatures of the Kaiser. He dealt firstly with caricature as a historical source, a medium generally avoided by both historians and art historians (Ernst Gombrich), and then went on to interpret individual representative caricatures which he projected on to a screen for the audience. After the turn of the century the number of sentences passed for lese-majesty diminished, while the caricatures markedly increased. Most of the caricatures of the Kaiser, if not always the most critical, were published by Kladderadatsch. On a much higher artistic level were the satirical representations published by Simplicissimus. It was during the Daily Tele-

*graph Affair that the Kaiser was most targeted. The English carica-
tures show that during the war the Kaiser was an object of propa-
ganda who had become ossified into an easily recognizable cliché
(900 caricatures during the war compared to 600 during the whole
period beforehand). The reader constantly recognized in the Kaiser
public enemy No. 1 and the very incarnation of evil: the less he
counted for in German politics, the more power-thirsty he appeared
in British propaganda. Of course, British caricaturists never had to
worry about being charged with lese-majesty and could therefore
give their malicious fantasy full rein.*

*Martin Kohlrausch presented his research on the relationship
between monarchy and public in Germany between 1890 and 1926.
How did the press deal with the obvious shortcomings of the most
powerful man in the Empire? How did it report on the numerous
affairs and scandals he was involved in? The answer is amazing: the
monarchy is individualized in the person of the obstinate young
Kaiser and thus presented as particularly modern. Wilhelm's charac-
ter defects are not concealed, but not presented as such. Rather they
are reinvented as facets of his unique personality. Even his extraor-
dinary statements on every conceivable occasion are transformed
into characteristics of a natural-born leader. The people are called
upon to show understanding for their monarch who is striving for
self-fulfilment, living out his fantasies. Even scandals are credited to
him as important learning processes. In short: criticism could not
seriously undermine the monarchy as long as there was always hope
of improvement.*

*Christopher Clark, author of the latest English character sketch of
the Kaiser, summed up the results of the conference. He started with
John Röhl's pioneering achievement which had inspired the work of
all the speakers. He said that when Röhl first started his archival
studies biographies of monarchs, above all of someone like the
Kaiser, had been written off as passé. Clark then characterized the
Kaiser as the first 'media monarch', in the sense that the press was
constantly on his tail while he himself believed he could steer public
opinion like an ocean-going yacht. Precisely because he was so con-
scious of his public role, Wilhelm set such great store by his outward
appearance, especially his uniforms, and even his wife's tiny waist,
which he did everything possible to preserve. Progress in photogra-
phy made it possible to show the Kaiser in all his poses on public and*

private occasions. This was a deliberate move to satisfy the boundless curiosity of a public obsessed with the Kaiser. However, the image people formed of him was determined less by his outward appearance than by his tactless remarks. Clark stressed that historical judgement of the Kaiser was based more on what he said than what he did. What was echoed in the press often bore no relation to what was actually happening, for instance on the British side in the case of the Krüger Telegram or in Germany during the Daily Telegraph Affair. Clark concluded with the comment that history should teach us to see the present excitement about 'spin' in a different light and that, if only for this reason, research on the political impact of the media should be encouraged.

The GHIL is considering an English publication of the proceedings.

Lothar Kettenacker (GHIL)

European *Lieux de Mémoire*. German Historical Institute London Conference, held at Cumberland Lodge, Windsor Great Park, 5–7 July 2002.

Pierre Nora's seven-volume *Les Lieux de Mémoire* undoubtedly occupies a prominent place in French historiography of the last twenty years. Yet few other works seem to have also exerted the same influence outside France. Looking at modern international memory research, the connection between national idea and monument in both the concrete and transferred sense, and the question as to a methodologically correct, transnational applicability of the term *lieu de mémoire* (site of memory), Nora's project, which would be unthinkable without its being firmly rooted in French historiography, has meanwhile cast its long shadow over other West European historiographies. The GHIL conference, planned jointly with Étienne François (Berlin), investigated the question of European *lieux de mémoire* and the extent to which the model developed by Nora can be applied elsewhere. It took stock of the national concepts developed so far and then looked at individual examples to see where methodological and theoretical problems lie.

After welcoming and introductory remarks by Hagen Schulze (director, GHIL) and Benedikt Stuchtey (GHIL), Pierre Nora gave an overview of the *Lieux de Mémoire* project that occupied him for nearly ten years. First tried out at the Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, almost 130 historians eventually worked on it, researching the material, immaterial, and, indeed, the ideological legacy of 'République', 'Nation', and 'Les France'. This unique and highly successful project was, he said, genuinely French and was better able to react to the academic challenges and social needs of our time than traditional historiography. While historiography from Michelet to Lavisse had presented 'France' as the end product of a history, and attempted to reconstruct historical structures, Nora's project sought to grasp the symbolic function of the past and to understand it in that open reality which gives adequate space to concepts such as collective memory and national (French) identity. Nora stressed the specific moment of transition in which the *Lieux de Mémoire* appeared: a phase in the history of modern France that marked the transition from the national, state-orientated consciousness of a formerly universalist, but also imperialist power to the realization that the nation

was being subsumed into a larger whole (Europe), or was breaking up into smaller units (regions). No historiographical project, no methodological concept could react so well to the upheavals, the fragmented identities in state, society, and church, historical discontinuities and the reorientation in research they necessitated as the search for sites of memory as a means of situating the past in the present. In so far as there is a philosophy of *lieux de mémoire*, Nora said, it consisted primarily in its applicability to France, and much as he welcomed comparison of national projects and recognized a European dimension in keywords such as 'Napoleon' or 'Fifth Symphony', he was fairly sceptical about the possibility of European sites of memory. François led into the commentary by Marie-Claire Lavabre (Paris) by recalling Hermann Heimpel's words: the most European thing about Europe is its nations. So the central problem here, and indeed for the conference as a whole, was how the national perspectives should flow over into a European concept of *lieux de mémoire*, if indeed this is possible. In this context is was very helpful that Lavabre described once again how the concept emerged and discussed the complicated relationship between memory and history, two concepts which are now virtually interchangeable. The sections that followed looked at the extent to which the French model could be applied to other national historiographies. The examples available were the Netherlands (Pim den Boer, Amsterdam; Willem Frijhoff, Amsterdam), Italy (Mario Isnenghi, Padua; Rolf Petri, Rome), Germany (Hagen Schulze; Michael Jeismann, Frankfurt/M.), Britain (Peter Mandler, Cambridge; Keith Robbins, Lampeter) and Austria (Heidemarie Uhl, Vienna; Ernst Bruckmüller, Vienna). Following on from this Krzysztof Pomian discussed the planned Musée de l'Europe.

As the case of the Netherlands shows, there was not only a tension here between personal/private and public memory, but also the problem that there was no real focal point, no central historical force, as den Boer put it, that could compensate for the lack of historical continuity in comparison with France. A classical Dutch site of memory was, he said, the town; another was the Polder, which had, of course, lost its originally positive connotations and had now come to represent the problems of immigration. Like his colleague Frijhoff also stressed that the value of Dutch sites of memory lay not so much in concrete places, but particularly in notions of freedom, citizenship,

and nationality on the one hand, and also in the phenomenon of slavery on the other, as recent research emphasizes. Both speakers, who amongst other things had been educated in Paris, were sceptical about the intellectual export of the French *Lieux de Mémoire*, but at the same time drew attention to the fact that in the Netherlands political considerations had played a role in the project similar to those at the time in France: the need to search for a genuinely cultural identity given the decreasing significance of the nation now that Europe was growing together. Much the same also applied to Italy, as became apparent when Isnenghi presented the major project 'Luoghi della memoria nell Italia unita'. Fifty historians had worked on it, he said, and three volumes had been published between 1996 and 1997. As Petri emphasized in his commentary the Italian project, especially in terms of its cultural significance, concentrated on answering the question as to why Italy today forms a united entity. Therefore more attention was paid to the importance of charismatic leaders than in the case of the French or German projects. As Ilaria Porciani pointed out in the discussion, this was because Isnenghi had concentrated on the period after Italian unification in 1861, and his project therefore differed considerably from the French idea of the *longue durée*. Naturally political parties still exerted considerable influence on historiography, as was also, incidentally, the case with publishing houses.

Hagen Schulze then described the successful three-volume *Deutsche Erinnerungsorte*—which selection criteria the editors had decided upon, how they were inspired by and indebted to the French model, and how they had emancipated themselves from it. He also explained that the German sites of memory were not to be understood as creating identity; what other concepts of memory culture there were in Germany, for example that of Aleida and Jan Assmann; and finally the problems posed by German history, with all its conflicting reference points, as far as memory research is concerned. Picking up on what Nora had said Jeismann asked what the specific German moment was. One possibility was reunification, by which the Germans not only became a nation, but also lost the old Federal Republic, with the result that parameters were moved, if not lost altogether. According to Jeismann since 1989 the Holocaust, for example, has no longer been talked of primarily as a German problem, but as a European, if not world-wide one. Austria, as a central European region marked by translocality, is an example of the 'invention of tra-

dition', as Uhl put it when she introduced the sites of memory research programme of the Kommission für Kulturwissenschaften at the Austrian Academy of Sciences. The main aim, she said, was not so much to collect and describe sites of memory, but rather to deconstruct them. This would open up new perspectives on the ambiguity of sites of memory and reflect the ethnic, linguistic, religious and cultural diversity of Austrian history and the Habsburg Monarchy. Bruckmüller demonstrated the strong regional identities in Austria when he described data-collection by means of questionnaires.

The only case discussed at the conference that could not fall back on a major publication project was the British one, with the exception of Raphael Samuel's three-volume *Patriotism* of 1989. Mandler therefore mentioned the discomfort of many British historians with the concept of memory, and discussed how English history, though incorporating continuity, did not promote any historical consciousness in the sense that there had to be an official, state-approved version of the past. In contrast to the French hexagon, the boundaries of English history were fairly fluid. Robbins confirmed this, stating that in England sites of memory tend to be regarded with scepticism and ambivalence. There was no clearly definable catalogue of English sites of memory, and, pride in the past notwithstanding, people were often rather vague about the details of it. If the gathering together of national sites of memory is already a methodologically difficult task, a museum that seeks to make European history its focal point must face exceptionally tough challenges. Pomian saw the difficulties that await the Brussels Museum, for example in the selection of exhibits, in where to set historical lines of demarcation, and when European history actually began. He said that perhaps instead of a broad historical overview it might be better to concentrate on the last 50 years.

The two concrete cases of European sites of memory that the conference discussed in the context of these methodological and theoretical considerations were Rome (presented by Arnold Esch, Rome and Alexander Demandt, Berlin) and the Peace of Westphalia (Heinz Duchhardt, Mainz). Unique even as a word, we all carry Rome and the idea of Rome around in us, without ever having to have seen it. 'Eternal Rome' is more of a world topos than a European one and this city reflects national peculiarities just as much as European, if not universal common features. At the same time Rome can also be seen in the critical light of the Rome-polemic and the German Romantics,

or that of Bismarck's *Kulturkampf*, right up to the break-away-from-Rome movement. But is not Rome perhaps just a utopia, in which memory and future reconnect? Less utopian is the Peace of Münster and Osnabrück of 1648, the first pan-European political event. There is, of course, a danger of automatically interpreting any events that go beyond the bilateral framework as European. Surely the character of a European site of memory should primarily point towards the future, as in the case of 1648 in the sense of its civilizing nature, or as a manifestation of political Europe? The concluding discussion, led by François and Jakob Vogel (Berlin), drew together the essential keywords once again and summed up the problems that the conference had addressed. The main difficulty was in moving from national projects to the Europeanization of sites of memory. While the first were the task of the present generation, the second was for future generations. Scepticism about this task came, it was said, particularly from strong nation-states such as France, while less centralized states could react more positively and openly to the European project. Finally Vogel posed the question of whether we should be looking at European sites of memory situated outside Europe. In the end all roads lead to Jerusalem.

Benedikt Stuchtey (GHIL)

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 this term. 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 4 p.m.

5 Nov.	Magnus Rüde England und die Kurpfalz im sich herausbildenden Mächteeuropa: Strukturen—Prozesse—Ausdrucksformen
12 Nov.	Jörg Neuheiser *Popular Conservatism* in England, ca. 1815–67: Konservative Kultur und kollektive Identität in den englischen Unterschichten
26 Nov.	Alexander Hirt Kulturelle Truppenbetreuung im Zweiten Weltkrieg: ein deutsch-britischer Vergleich zu Organisation und Wahrnehmung des totalen Krieges
10 Dec.	Dr Harald Fischer-Tiné *Low and licentious Europeans*—subalterne Weiße im kolonialen Indien 1784–1914

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

8 Oct.	Almut Steinbach Die englische Sprache als kulturelle Ressource imperialer Integration

Postgraduate Students' Conference, 9-10 January 2003

The German Historical Institute London is organizing its seventh annual conference for postgraduate research students in the UK and Ireland working on German history, Anglo-German relations, or comparative topics. The intention is to give Ph.D. students an opportunity to present their work in progress and to discuss it with other students working in the same field. It is hoped that the exchange of ideas and methods will be fruitful for all participants.

The Institute will meet travel expenses up to a standard rail fare within the UK (special arrangements for students from Ireland), and also arrange and pay for student accommodation, when necessary, for those who live outside London.

For further information please contact the Secretary on 020 7309 2023.

Renovations at 17 Bloomsbury Square

Starting in November 2002, 17 Bloomsbury Square will be undergoing extensive renovations, after which the GHIL will occupy the entire building. The intention is to keep the Library open as far as possible during the building works, but certain areas may have to be closed for brief periods at short notice. If you intend to travel to visit the Library, or need to see anything in particular, it is advisable to telephone first (020 7309 2019/2022) and check availability. The works are likely to continue into the new year, and we apologize for any disruption readers may experience.

Noticeboard

Book Launch

The publication of two books in the series Publications of the German Historical Institute London, Andreas Rödder, *Die radikale Heraus-forderung: Die politische Kultur der englischen Konservativen zwischen ländlicher Tradition und industrieller Moderne (1846–1869)*, and Dominik Geppert, *Thatchers konservative Revolution: Der Richtungswandel der britischen Tories 1975–1979*, provided the occasion for the Institut für Zeitgeschichte, the GHIL, and Oldenbourg Wissenschaftsverlag, which publishes the GHIL series, to host a book launch at the Institut für Zeitgeschichte in Munich on 17 July 2002.

Hans Maier (Munich), introducing the symposium on the topic 'Varieties of Conservatism' by asking 'What does Conservative Mean?', drew a connection from Edmund Burke in the eighteenth century to the present-day ecological movement. Then Andreas Rödder, speaking on 'Benjamin Disraeli: Anti-Radical Radical-Conservatism and Civil Society', concentrated on why the Conservative Party rose to become Britain's leading political party in the final third of the nineteenth century, a position that it did not forfeit until Tony Blair came to office in 1997. Rödder identified three developments that, in the 1850s and 1860s, had allowed the Conservatives under Benjamin Disraeli to overcome their crisis which had culminated in the fall of Robert Peel in 1846. First, a strong economy led to the abolition of protectionism. Second, the Conservatives expanded their notion of civil society, which had been based on the land-holding aristocracy, and thus made it possible to integrate the urban middle classes into their ranks. Third, the Conservative Party transferred its quarrel with the radicals to the field of constitutional policy. Rödder interpreted this 'radical' step for the Conservatives as a defensive strategy which allowed them to preclude 'democracy' and thus preserve the traditional constitutional order. Rödder closed with a remark on the structure-building elements of European Conservatism: anti-radicalism as Conservative thinking shows itself in the precedence of common sense over utopian thinking, and of a civil society over the state.

Dominik Geppert, speaking on 'Margaret Thatcher: Radical Market Populism and the Redefinition of the State', made it clear that the elements of European Conservatism which Rödder had described were present only to a very limited extent in Thatcherite Conserva-

tism. Geppert began by underlining the differences between Disraeli's and Thatcher's varieties of Conservatism by pointing out that Thatcher's opponents within the party referred to Disraeli as the guarantor of a policy of social balance and consensual problem-solving. No British Conservative, they argued, had ever produced a consistent view of society, let alone an ideology. Yet, in Geppert's view, Disraeli's and Thatcher's Conservatism had a number of structural features in common, which have, so far, hardly been noticed. In both cases, for example, the Tory Party and British society as a whole were going through periods of critical change. Thus Thatcherism should be seen not so much as a break with the traditions of the Tory Party as an attempt to send British Conservatism in a new direction, and to change the emphases within the tradition under conditions of crisis. Thatcher's aim was not to overturn existing conditions completely. Rather, her radical reforms aimed to preserve the constitutional order. Unlike Disraeli's anti-radicalism, Thatcherism was not a 'forward defence' but an offensive strategy.

In a commentary on the papers, Paul Nolte (Bremen) pointed to four aspects in which the two books being presented are closely connected. First, they both describe periods when Conservatives were forced to adapt to new economic realities. Second, the conceptual field of radicalism plays a central part in both analyses. Third, the question of supporters and the protagonists of new Conservative beginnings reveals clear parallels. And fourth, both books give the relationship between ideas and practical politics a central place. Concluding his talk, Nolte drew some potential conclusions for the present and future of Conservatism. The most important lesson to be learned from Disraeli and Thatcher, he said, was that Conservatism had to be adaptable in order to be politically influential. This sort of adaptation takes place in stages. The Conservative challenge could be to reformulate radical approaches to the reform of market-orientated capitalism into a new civil society defined as culturally conservative.

In a second commentary Hans Christof Kraus (Stuttgart) looked at the development of British Conservatism between 1868 and 1975. Taking as an example the historian Sir Arthur Bryant, an adviser to the leaders of the British Conservative Party in the 1930s, Kraus showed how far the 'totalitarian temptation' had reached into the conservative camp as well. Bryant was an open sympathizer with Mussolini and Hitler, and as late as May 1940, published his book

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Unfinished Victory, in which he called for peace with Germany and a common fight against Judaism, plutocracy, and bolshevism. Subsequently, of course, he abandoned this position in an attempt to sell himself as a patriotic-nationalistic propagandist of British greatness during the war years. On the whole, Kraus concluded, Thatcher's 'Conservative revolution' in retrospect turned out to be a 'revolution of Conservatism'.

This provided one of the basic themes of the following discussion, namely, that when analysing the phenomenon of Conservatism in Britain as well as Germany, it is necessary to take national changes and national characteristics into account. Conservatism becomes a useful category for the historiography of political movements and ideas not despite, but because of its national varieties and the different levels at which it works.

Markus Mößlang (GHIL)

*L*IB*RAR*Y N*EWS*

Recent Acquisitions

*T*his list contains a selection of recent publications in German and *E*nglish, primarily on German history, acquired by the *L*ibrary of the G*HIL* in the past year.

*A*dick, *C*hristel and *W*olfgang Mehnert with the assistance of *T*hea *C*hristiani (eds.), *Deutsche Missions- und Kolonialpädagogik in Dokumenten: Eine kommentierte Quellensammlung aus den Afrikabeständen deutschsprachiger Archive 1884–1914*, *H*istorisch-vergleichende *S*ozialisations- und Bildungsforschung, 2 (*F*rankfurt/M.: IK*O*-Verlag für Interkulturelle Kommunikation, 2001)

*A*ldcroft, *D*erek *H*oward with the assistance of *S*teven Morewood, *The European Economy 1914–2000* (4th edn.; *L*ondon: *R*outledge, 2002)

*A*lthaus, *C*laudia, *Erfahrung denken: Hannah Arendts Weg von der Zeitgeschichte zur politischen Theorie*, *F*ormen der *E*rinnerung, 6 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & *R*uprecht, 2000)

*A*lthoff, Gerd (ed.), *Formen und Funktionen öffentlicher Kommunikation im Mittelalter*, Vorträge und *F*orschungen; Konstanzer *A*rbeitskreis für mittelalterliche Geschichte, 51 (*S*tuttgart: *T*horbecke, 2001)

*A*meriks, Karl (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to German Idealism* (*C*ambridge: *C*ambridge *U*niversity *P*ress, 2000)

*A*mmerer, Gerhard, *C*hristian *R*ohr and *A*lfred *S*tefan *W*eiß (eds.), *Tradition und Wandel: Beiträge zur Kirchen-, Gesellschafts- und Kulturgeschichte. Festschrift für Heinz Dopsch* (Munich: *O*ldenbourg, 2001)

*A*ndermann, Kurt and *P*eter Johanek (eds.), *Zwischen Nicht-Adel und Adel*, Vorträge und *F*orschungen; Konstanzer *A*rbeitskreis für mittelalterliche Geschichte, 53 (*S*tuttgart: *T*horbecke, 2001)

*A*sch, *R*onald G., *W*ulf *E*ckart Voß, and Martin *W*rede (eds.), *Frieden und Krieg in der Frühen Neuzeit: Die europäische Staatenordnung und die außereuropäische Welt*, *D*er *F*rieden, 2 (Munich: *F*ink, 2001)

*A*sche, Matthias and *A*nton *S*chindling (eds.), *Das Strafgericht Gottes: Kriegserfahrungen und Religion im Heiligen Römischen Reich Deutscher Nation im Zeitalter des Dreißigjährigen Krieges. Beiträge aus dem*

Tübinger Sonderforschungsbereich 'Kriegserfahrungen: Krieg und Gesellschaft in der Neuzeit'. Ernst Walter Zeeden zum 85. Geburtstag am 14. Mai 2001 (Münster: *A*schendorff, 2001)

*A*uts, *R*ainer, *Opferstock und Sammelbüchse: Die Spendenkampagnen der freien Wohlfahrtspflege vom Ersten Weltkrieg bis in die sechziger Jahre*, *F*orschungen zur *R*egionalgeschichte, 37 (*P*aderborn: *S*chöningh, 2001)

Baberowski, Jörg et al., *Geschichte ist immer Gegenwart: Vier Thesen zur Zeitgeschichte* (*S*tuttgart: *D*eutsche Verlags-*A*nstsalt, 2001)

Bahners, *P*atrick and Gerd *R*oellecke (eds.), *Preußische Stile: Ein Staat als Kunststück* (*S*tuttgart: Klett-*C*otta, 2001)

Bajohr, *F*rank, *'Aryanization' in Hamburg: The Economic Exclusion of Jews and the Confiscation of their Property in Nazi Germany*, trans. by George *W*ilkes, Monographs in German *H*istory, 7 (New York: Berghahn, 2002)

Bandhauer-*S*chöffmann, Irene and *R*egine Bendl (eds.), *Unternehmerinnen: Geschichte und Gegenwart selbständiger Erwerbstätigkeit von Frauen* (*F*rankfurt/M.: *L*ang, 2000)

Bauer, Yehuda, *Rethinking the Holocaust* (New *H*aven, *C*onn.: Yale *U*niversity *P*ress, 2001)

Baumann, *A*nette, *S*iegrid *W*estphal et al. (eds.), *Prozessakten als Quelle: Neue Ansätze zur Erforschung der Höchsten Gerichtsbarkeit im Alten Reich*, Quellen und *F*orschungen zur *H*öchsten Gerichtsbarkeit im *A*lten *R*eich, 37 (*C*ologne: Böhlau, 2001)

Bayerischer *A*rchivtag (ed.), *Handbuch der bayerischen Archive* (Munich: Generaldirektion der *S*taatlichen *A*rchive Bayerns, 2001)

Bechtloff, *D*agmar, *Madagaskar und die Missionare: Technisch-zivilisatorische Transfers in der Früh- und Endphase europäischer Expansionsbestrebungen*, Vierteljahrschrift für *S*ozial- und *W*irtschaftsgeschichte, Beiheft 158 (*S*tuttgart: *S*teiner, 2002)

Becker, *U*rsula, *Kaffee-Konzentration: Zur Entwicklung und Organisation des hanseatischen Kaffeehandels*, Beiträge zur *U*nternehmensgeschichte, 12 (*S*tuttgart: *S*teiner, 2002)

Bendocchi *A*lves, *D*ébora, *Das Brasilienbild der deutschen Auswanderungswerbung im 19. Jahrhundert* (Berlin: *W*issenschaftlicher Verlag Berlin, 2000)

Benner, *T*homas *H*artmut, *Die Strahlen der Krone: Die religiöse Dimension des Kaisertums unter Wilhelm II. vor dem Hintergrund der Orientreise 1898* (Marburg: *T*ectum Verlag, 2001)

Benz, Karl, *Lebensfahrt eines deutschen Erfinders: Meine Erinnerungen* (Munich: Koehler & Amelang, 2001)

Benz, Wolfgang, *Bilder vom Juden: Studien zum alltäglichen Antisemitismus* (Munich: Beck, 2001)

Berndt, Rainer (ed.), *Petrus Canisius SJ (1521–1597): Humanist und Europäer*, Erudiri Sapientia, 1 (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2000)

Bethmann, Anke and Gerhard Dongowski, *Der steinige Weg zur Freiheit: Revolutionäre Volksbewegungen 1848/49 im Königreich Hannover*, Hannoversche Schriften zur Regional- und Lokalgeschichte, 15 (Bielefeld: Verlag für Regionalgeschichte, 2000)

Beyer-Thoma, Hermann (ed.), *Bayern und Osteuropa: Aus der Geschichte der Beziehungen Bayerns, Frankens und Schwabens mit Rußland, der Ukraine und Weißrußland*, Veröffentlichungen des Osteuropa-Institutes München; Geschichte, 66 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2000)

Beyrau, Dietrich, *Petrograd. 25. Oktober 1917: Die russische Revolution und der Aufstieg des Kommunismus, 20 Tage im 20. Jahrhundert* (Munich: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, 2001)

Bibliotheca Philosophica Hermetica (ed.), *Rosenkreuz als europäisches Phänomen im 17. Jahrhundert*, Pimander, 7 (Amsterdam: Pelikaan, 2002)

Binder, Beate, Wolfgang Kaschuba, and Peter Niedermüller (eds.), *Inszenierung des Nationalen: Geschichte, Kultur und die Politik der Identitäten am Ende des 20. Jahrhunderts*, Alltag und Kultur, 7 (Cologne: Böhlau, 2001)

Birke, Adolf Matthias, Magnus Brechtken, and Alaric Searle (eds.), *An Anglo-German Dialogue: The Munich Lectures on the History of International Relations*, Prince Albert Studies, 17 (Munich: Saur, 2000)

Black, Jeremy, *British Diplomats and Diplomacy 1688–1800* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2001)

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