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CONTENTS

I. Preface 5

II. Accounts of Recent Conferences and Workshops Sponsored or Co-Sponsored by the Institute


Workshop: "Two German Masters: Kidnapping Dürer and Rembrandt. The German Appropriation of Renaissance Art in the Late Nineteenth Century." Washington, D.C., December 8, 1994. 10


"1945 in Europe and Asia: Reconsidering the End of World War II and the Change of the World Order." Berlin, April 5-7, 1995. 15

III. Joint Program in Post-War German History with the American Institute for Contemporary German Studies


### IV. Institute News

- Inauguration of Professor Detlef Junker
- New Library Hours
- Spring 1995 Lecture Series
- Transatlantic Doctoral History Seminar
- Fifth Alois Mertes Memorial Lecture
- Additional Conferences and Workshops Planned for 1995
- Annual Lecture 1995
- Research Project: "Almost Like People from Another Planet: German Images of the United States of America, 1917-1945" (Philipp Gassert)
- Staff Changes
- Recipients of GHI Dissertation Scholarships, 1995
- Summer Program 1995: List of Participants
- Networking
- Recent Publications by the Institute

### V. Announcements

- GHI Dissertation Scholarships 1995
- AICGS/GHI Fellowships in Post-War German History

### VI. Miscellaneous

- Hartmut Lehmann Elected Member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences
- Special J. William Fulbright Professorship
- Publication of New Guide to East German Archives and Libraries
- Publication of Documentary History of German-Americans in World Wars
I. Preface

Dear Friends and Colleagues:

With the following remarks, I would like to continue the tradition that I established with my introduction to the previous issue of the Bulletin. Accordingly, let me take this opportunity to inform you about certain events and developments at the German Historical Institute that may be of interest to you.

Since I assumed my new position on October 1, 1994, a great many discussions with members of the Academic Advisory Council, the Institute's research fellows, and colleagues in both Germany and the United States have contributed to the shaping of concrete plans for the Institute's scholarly activities in the near future. As promised in the fall Bulletin, I will now report on these projects in some detail.

The point of departure of all our discussions was the inherent and inevitable tension between two demands that the Institute has to address at the same time but that, in the light of diminishing resources, can be met only with limited success. On the one hand, there is the dictate of diversity, i.e. the desire to cooperate with a large number of historians of different epochs and of various historical disciplines covering as many regions of the United States as possible; on the other hand, we also need to concentrate our scarce resources, to find a focus for the Institute's scholarly activities, and thus to provide the research at the GHI with a clearly recognizable profile. A program that would emphasize exclusively the aspect of diversity might be open to the charge of arbitrariness; yet, by concentrating on a single area, one could easily be accused of one-sidedness and partiality, particularly by those who felt that they were left out. Of course, every decision for someone or something is also, at the same time, a decision against someone or something else. To me, this dilemma could be overcome only by a pragmatic solution—i.e., by trying, in a decisive "not only . . . but also," to answer to the dictate of both diversity and concentration. Let me, therefore, use the leitmotif of diversity to introduce the scholarly conferences and symposia planned by the Institute, before turning to the future research focus of the Institute.

First of all, there is the symposium in honor of the late Erich Angermann, who, for all intents and purposes, was the founding father of the Institute. To be held in Washington from June 8 to 10, 1995, this symposium was suggested by my predecessor, Professor Hartmut Lehmann, and conceived and organized by Professor Hermann Wellenreuther of Göttingen. In wide-ranging sessions, it will deal with the
intricate mesh of transatlantic activities and relationships, such as transatlantic faiths and beliefs; transatlantic ideologies and perceptions of the other; people in the transatlantic world: the perception of self; transatlantic politics and economics; and transatlantic history and American exceptionalism.

Two of the Institute's research fellows, Drs. Susan Strasser and Matthias Judt, have prepared an international conference on "The Development of Twentieth-Century Consumer Society," which will meet in Washington in October. Methodologically, the focus of this conference will also be on a comparison between the United States and Europe.

Most of the conferences planned for 1996 can also be characterized by the leitmotif of diversity. To begin with, Professor Johannes Fried of Frankfurt and Professor Patrick Geary of UCLA will convene a conference of German and American medievalists in Heidelberg in September; its topic will be "Imagination, Ritual, Memory, Historiography: Conceptions of the Past in the Middle Ages." Professor Jürgen Heideking (Cologne) is cooperating with Professor John Kaminski (Madison, Wisc.) and Dr. Peter Becker of the Institute in organizing an international conference on "Republicanism and Liberalism in the United States and Germany from the Late 18th to the Early 19th Centuries," which is scheduled to be held at the University of Wisconsin in Madison in October 1996. Professor Stig Förster (Bern) is currently preparing the third in a series of conferences on the overall theme of the development of total war in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Entitled "How Total was the Great War? Germany, France, Great Britain and the United States, 1914-1918," this conference is sponsored jointly by the German Historical Institutes in Washington and London and will most likely take place in Bern.

In the coming years, we will continue the Institute's successful tradition of organizing international scholarly conferences and symposia on as wide a variety of topics in German and American history as possible.

The new research focus at the Institute has to do with the end of the Cold War and Hegel's insight that the Owl of Minerva, the bird of wisdom, does not take to flight until dusk. In an effort to sum up the research in this field, we are planning, over the next few years, to edit and publish a handbook on "Germany and the United States in the Cold War, 1945-1989"; it will include contributions by historians, political scientists, economists, and possibly some representatives of other disciplines. On June 1 and 2, a small group of scholars from the United States and Germany will meet in Washington for two days of brainstorming about the size, structure, and contents of this handbook. We
also intend to discuss the intermediate research results, and especially that of the principal essays, at a conference prior to the publication of the handbook. We hope to be able to attract many qualified scholars from Germany and the United States as contributors to this endeavor.

The emphasis on the Cold War is evident as well in an international conference on the theme of "1968." Conceived and organized by Professor Carole Fink (Ohio State University) and myself, with the assistance of Philipp Gassert, a research fellow at the Institute, this conference will take place at the Wissenschaftszentrum in Berlin from May 23 to 25, 1996. Starting from the hypothesis that 1968 constituted the watershed of the Cold War, historians from Europe and the United States will, for the first time, try to analyze the global significance of that year for international relations as well as for the domestic politics of various countries. The conference will include the following sessions: "The Shift in the World Economy," "The International Structure of the Second Cold War," "The Legacy of 1968 in Domestic Politics," "Social Ferment," "Sounds and Visual Images of 1968," and "1968: Assumptions and Consequences."

The Cold War, the German question, and international relations also were the themes of two conferences held in the spring of 1995 in Mannheim and Berlin, respectively, that are summarized in this Bulletin. Similarly, the forthcoming Fifth Alois Mertes Memorial Lecture, to be delivered at the Institute by Professor Wolfgang Krieger of Munich on "The Germans and the Nuclear Question" on May 31, can be viewed in this overall context.

Last but not least, I would like to comment on important staff decisions. In its attempt to select a highly qualified scholar as the new Deputy Director of the Institute, the Academic Advisory Council, too, was guided by the precept of diversity. We are very pleased that, with the appointment of Dr. Martin H. Geyer of Cologne, we have won a young scholar whose research emphasizes the area of social history. We are convinced that he will greatly contribute to the program of the Institute and significantly enhance its profile. We wish him a productive and stimulating time in Washington. I would also like to welcome our new librarian, Iris Golumbeck. We are convinced that her solid experience and expertise will contribute to maintaining the library as a valuable center of research.

Yours sincerely,

Detlef Junker
II. Accounts of Recent Conferences and Workshops Sponsored or Co-Sponsored by the Institute

Roundtable Discussion on the Occasion of the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Assassination Attempt on Adolf Hitler, July 20, 1944.

German Historical Institute, Washington, D.C., July, 25, 1994. Supported by the Stifterverband für die Deutsche Wissenschaft.

The fiftieth anniversary of the assassination attempt on Hitler on July 20, 1944, took place in a particularly politicized and controversial atmosphere. In Germany, a son of Count von Stauffenberg triggered a public debate when he argued that it was inappropriate for an exhibition in Berlin to include documentation of communist anti-Nazi resistance. At about the same time, there was discord in Washington. When parts of the Berlin exhibition were to be shown at the Library of Congress, it was rumored that the German government had pressured hesitant Library officials to put on the show; a deliberate attempt, some critics charged, was made to beautify German history.

Given this backdrop, the belated date of the GHI's roundtable discussion on these matters on July 25 might have actually worked to its advantage, since it provided the opportunity not only to discuss the history of German resistance, but also the politics of its commemoration.

David C. Large, professor of history at Montana State University and editor of the GHI's volume "Contending with Hitler: Varieties of German Resistance in the Third Reich" (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991), opened the session by outlining some of the basic issues. By focusing on the moral and political significance of anti-Nazi resistance for the Federal Republic as the successor state of the Third Reich rather than merely on its historical evaluation, he set the tone and topic for the later discussion. Large recalled not only the recent political irritations that preceded this fiftieth anniversary, but also the ambiguity that underlies the memory of resistance throughout the history of the Federal Republic: Conservatives had—and obviously still have—problems accepting the legitimacy of communist resistance; the Left was irritated by the largely antidemocratic political conceptions of military resistance; the churches, despite the individual heroism of figures like Bonhoeffer, Galen, and others, failed as institutions to stand up against
National Socialism; and, finally, because the attempted assassination of Hitler came at a
time when the fate of the war had already turned against Germany, its value as a ticket for
Germany's readmission to the community of "civilized" nations was diminished. Large
also pointed out the special poignancy of the whole matter in contemporary Germany, as
the country debates similar cases in the context of the history of the GDR.

Charles Maier, professor of history at Harvard University, mainly agreed with Large's
line of argument. In an effort to put the critique of anti-Nazi resistance into perspective,
he pointed to the political and moral dilemmas that the resistance fighters themselves had
to face. After all, in standing up to the most barbaric, merciless, and violent regime ever
known, they had to take into account the fate of their loved ones; they lacked the
opportunity to build a reliable infrastructure for the resistance movement; they had to
practice solidarity in a state that was built on denunciation; they had to trust their co-
conspirators to the utmost in a state that fostered the most absolute distrust; and they had
to accomplish all of this without having had any authentic democratic experience. In
concluding his remarks, Maier—as Large had done before him—made a strong case for
dealing with the legacy of resistance in an inclusive rather than an exclusive manner: "I
think it would ill-serve the civic fabric of united Germany if exclusions were made
among the resistance.... This Germany, after all, has to incorporate many people who
made their peace with communism and its regime for forty-five years. . . . In terms of
resistance, the nation has to be inclusive."

Fritz Stern of Columbia University highlighted the perspective of those involved in
the resistance. In the light of the well-known criticisms of the movement—i.e., the
general weakness of resistance, its belated action, its lack of democratic spirit, the lack of
concern for the fate of Europe's Jews—he pointed out the enormous amount of individual
heroism it took to oppose the National Socialist regime. He also commented that, from
his point of view, two important institutions in the post-war period might have learned
their lessons: first, the lesson regarding their institutional failure during the Third Reich;
and, second, the lesson that individuals like Stauffenberg, Bonhoeffer, and others had
taught them. These institutions are the Bundeswehr, with its concepts of the soldier as a
citizen in uniform and of internal discipline; and the churches, especially the Protestant
church in the GDR, which proved its
willingness to offer space and some degree of protection to those who tried to liberate themselves from the SED regime.

The ensuing discussion involved the general audience and was chaired by Hartmut Keil, the acting director of the GHI. The main issues debated were inclusion and exclusion, the evaluation of the date July 20, the question of assuming the role of collaborator and resister at the same time, and the political legacy of anti-Nazi resistance.

_Dietmar Schirmer_

**Two German Masters: Kidnapping Dürer and Rembrandt. The German Appropriation of Renaissance Art in the Late Nineteenth Century.**


At this workshop, Peter Gay gave a lucid presentation on the late nineteenth-century German attempt to portray Dürer and Rembrandt as German artists and political educators. Gay's lecture emanated from his current work of preparing a new part of his multi-volume study on the American and European middle classes. Drawing on many examples of nineteenth-century German art and how it was received, Gay described how contemporary art critics and writers in Germany had transformed Dürer's image from a German Renaissance artist to that of a political icon of Imperial Germany. The characteristic element of this reception was the exaggerated emphasis of the German elements in Dürer's work. Similarly, Julius Langbehn's attempt to portray Rembrandt as a political educator for the German people was not an isolated endeavor. On the contrary, it represented a broader effort to appropriate Renaissance art for nineteenth-century German nationalism. The reception of both artists thus formed part of a trend in the cultural perceptions of the German middle class.

Marion Deshmukh's (George Mason University) comment drew attention to the growing interest in self-portraits in nineteenth-century art. Showing slides of the self-portraits of Franz Lenbach, Hans Thoma, and others, she traced the reception of Rembrandt's oeuvre by German artists. Roger Chickering of Georgetown University followed Deshmukh's presentation with observations on the identity and politics of the
German professional classes. The presentations and discussions thus elucidated cultural as well as sociological aspects of late nineteenth-century German cultural nationalism. The German attempt to borrow artists for political purposes certainly had parallels in other countries. Yet, the findings of the workshop underlined the particular disposition of cultural nationalism as a *raison d'être* for parts of the German middle class.

*Elisabeth Glaser-Schmidt*

**Nationales Interesse und Europäische Ordnung: Die Rolle Deutschlands in Europa seit der Zwischenkriegszeit (National Interest and European Order: Germany's Role in Europe since the Interwar Period).**


With the end of the East-West conflict and the restoration of Germany as a national state, the question of the compatibility of German national interests and a European peace order has received renewed attention. The conference assembled historians and political scientists from France, Britain, Poland, the Netherlands, Russia, the United States, and Germany to address the issue from a multinational and long-term historical perspective. The papers and the subsequent discussions focused on a comparison of three particular international constellations: the Locarno period, 1925-1930; the Ostpolitik of the early 1970s; and the unification of Germany since 1989/90. How did Germany and its partners define and perceive their respective national interests during these crucial periods? What are the continuities and the discontinuities? What "lessons" does history bear for the present-day situation?

The first sessions dealt with the Western European great powers and Germany. Gottfried Niedhart (University of Mannheim) opened the conference with a paper on "Locarno, the New Ostpolitik and Germany's Return to International Politics," which amounted to a comparison between Gustav Stresemann and Willy Brandt as protagonists of a foreign policy concept that tried to integrate German national interest into a broader framework of a European peace order. Whereas international
cooperation and entanglement were merely envisioned during the Locarno period, Germany was sufficiently integrated during the **Ostpolitik** phase to pursue its national interest without posing a direct challenge to the post-war order. In his paper on "France and Germany's Role during the Briand/Stresemann Era," Clemens Wurm (Humboldt University, Berlin) stressed the importance of French insecurity vis-à-vis Germany and the domestic political conflicts over how to deal with the perceived threat from its eastern neighbor. Stephanie Salzmann (Bonn) spoke about "Britain and Germany during the Locarno Era: Mutual Misperceptions." While she emphasized the impact of personal relations among foreign policy makers, in this case between Stresemann and Austen Chamberlain, her paper also made clear that personal diplomacy could not reconcile divergent national interests.

In his presentation on "France's European Concepts and United Germany," Axel Sauder (German Society for Foreign Policy, Bonn) traced the goals of French policy toward Germany from the post-war period to the present. The traditional French concept of European integration, which aimed at securing French leadership and controlling German power, has been challenged by both German unification and the prospect of an eastward expansion of the European Union. Despite fears of German hegemony, Sauder argued, a relapse into a nineteenth-century style balance of power politics is rather unlikely. Georges Soutou (University of Paris, Sorbonne) provided the audience with new archival material and fresh insights on "President Georges Pompidou and the **Ostpolitik**." Although the French president had no personal liking for Brandt, he welcomed and supported the first phase of **Ostpolitik**, because it meant the recognition of realities in Europe, i.e., the German division. However, he remained distrustful toward ulterior motives both in Moscow and in Bonn that might eventually lead to the "Finlandization" of Germany and the expansion of Soviet power in Europe. The British perspective on the re-emergence of Germany as a central European power was illustrated by Christoph Bluth's (University of Reading) paper, "Perceptions of Power and Decline: Britain and Germany in the International System after the Second World War." Bluth placed British-German relations into the overarching framework of the East-West conflict. Initial British misgivings about German unification were rooted in fears of Britain's marginalization in the international system, in lingering images of militant German nationalism, and in unresolved domestic conflicts over Britain's role in Europe.
A second set of papers addressed Germany's role in Europe from the point of view of two of its neighbors: the Netherlands and Poland. Professor Wielenga (University of Utrecht) talked about "Germany as a Factor of Dutch Foreign Policy" since the end of the Second World War. According to his account, the Netherlands had always considered Germany's integration into the Western alliance as the best way to ensure its own security. Dutch policy intended to avoid discrimination so as to forestall German resentments and viewed West Germany as a reliable partner and a democratic state. The Netherlands supported Ostpolitik and had no objections to unification under the auspices of the Western alliance. As to German-Polish relations, which are fraught with tremendous historical burdens, Adam Rothfeld (Stockholm International Peace Research Institute) pointed to the surprisingly swift adaptation of Poland to German unification and the dissolution of the image of Germany as an enemy in his talk, "Poland between Germany and Russia." Whereas Germany's social market economy and democratic institutions are viewed as a model, the insecurity about further developments in Russia makes the eastward expansion of NATO an urgent concern for Poland.

A third panel tried to delineate the future role of the new German national state in Europe. In his talk, "After the East-West Conflict: Germany in Search of its Place," Heinrich Vogel (Federal Institute for Eastern European and International Studies) cautioned against both exaggerated expectations and excessive fears as to the power and influence of the new Germany. Christian Hacke (University of the Bundeswehr, Hamburg) concluded from his analysis of "Fundamental Changes in German Foreign Policy during the 20th Century" that a unified Germany can no longer define its national interest and European role solely in terms of commerce and trade but has to accept the responsibilities of its new international status. The prudent use of power, according to Hacke, has to become part of German political culture if the crises of the future are to be mastered. Michael Richter (University of Mannheim) introduced the concept of the "Arbiter with a Supranational Interest" to describe a possible future German role that would be appropriate to both Germany's potential of power and the peculiarities of post-Cold War Europe. How such a role would bear out in practice and how it could be distinguished from hegemony were matters of lively debate.

The next session, chaired by Detlef Junker (German Historical Institute, Washington, D.C.), was concerned with the role of the United
States in Europe. In his paper, "Germany's Locarno Policy and American Interest in a European Peace Order, 1924-1929," Manfred Berg (German Historical Institute, Washington, D.C.) discussed the limits of U.S. international involvement during the 1920s and compared the Locarno period to Ostpolitik and the present-day situation. Ernest May's (Harvard University) talk on "U.S. National Interest and the German Question, 1966-72" challenged the conventional wisdom that the redefinition of American interest in German unification between 1966 and 1972 followed the lead of Ostpolitik; instead, he argued that it represented a calculated shift in the understanding of U.S. national interest. Unlike other objectives such as Vietnam, Korea, and Berlin, American interest in German unification had never been operationalized and thus put to a test. American diplomacy and interest during the period of unification was addressed by Philip Zelikov (Harvard University), whose paper on "America between Germany and the Soviet Union, 1947 and 1989" also introduced another comparative reference. The presentation gave the audience the benefit of numerous fascinating details and insights from the author's tenure as a senior official of the National Security Council from 1989 to 1991.

In the session on the Soviet and Russian perspective on Germany, Sergei Chugrov (Institute of World Economy and International Relations, Moscow) spoke on "Change and Continuity of Russia's Perceptions of its National Interests and Germany's Role." In addressing the three historical constellations of the conference, he stressed the crucial importance of ideology as a source of political myths and misperceptions. Hannes Adomeit's (Tufts University) paper, "Russia and Germany: Perceptions, Paradigms and Policies, 1945-1995," also emphasized the formative impact of ideological paradigms that shaped Soviet and Russian foreign policy on Germany.

In the final discussion, which was chaired by Klaus Hildebrand (University of Bonn), there was a broad consensus that the united Germany's national interest was not incompatible with a European peace order. Still, how Germany will define and pursue its national interest in the future and how it will be perceived by its partners are open questions.

Manfred Berg
1945 in Europe and Asia: Reconsidering the End of World War II and the Change of the World Order.

A Symposium at the Japanese-German Center Berlin, April 5-7, 1995. Sponsored by the Japanese-German Center Berlin; the German Institute for Japanese Studies Tokyo; and the German Historical Institutes in Washington, Rome, and London, with the support of the Japan Foundation.

Half a century after the conclusion of the Second World War in Europe and Asia, in the Atlantic and the Pacific, the participants of this symposium, organized by Dr. Gerhard Krebs of the German Institute for Japanese Studies in Tokyo, analyzed the radical transformations connected with the end of the war in Germany, Italy, Poland, Japan, Korea, China, Indonesia and Malaysia, the Philippines, Burma, Thailand, Vietnam, Australia, and New Zealand. More than twenty papers delivered by participants from thirteen countries addressed the following principal issues: 1. The post-war planning and occupation policies of the victorious powers, in particular the United States, Great Britain, and the Soviet Union; 2. The effects of the policies of the victorious powers on the defeated peoples as well as the occupied and liberated territories; 3. The formation of post-war structures and post-war governments in Europe and Asia.

As the conference showed, this process was even more complicated in Asia than in Europe. In Asia, the liberation from Japanese domination; the prevalence of national liberation movements; the existence of civil wars, such as in China; and the efforts of the old colonial powers of Great Britain, France, and the Netherlands to reconstitute their colonies resulted in a highly complex dynamic that was different from country to country.

The conference consisted of the following six sessions:

**Session 1: The United States and Germany**
Chair: Detlef Junker
Session 2: The European Nations
Chair: Gerhard Krebs
Lothar Kettenacker: Britain's Policy Toward Germany; Michael Semirjaga: The USSR and Germany—From Military Confrontation to the Foundation of Two German States; Jens Petersen: Italy—From the End of Fascism to the Postwar Structure; Lubomir Zyblikiewicz: Poland—From Liberation to the Establishment of Communist Rule; Robert Frank: France—Liberation, Postwar Order and the French Role in Occupied Germany

Session 3: East Asia I
Chair: Henry Frei
Gerhard Krebs: Japan and Germany—From Wartime Alliance to Postwar Relations; Makoto Iokibe: American Presurrender Planning, Japan's Surrender, and U.S. Occupation Policy; Boris N. Slavinsky: The USSR and Japan—From Neutrality to War and From War to Peace; Chong-Sik Lee: U.S. Policy in Korea 1945-1950—From Trusteeship to Koreanization

Session 4: West Asia II
Chair: Gerhard Krebs
Ran Chen: China in 1945—From Anti-Japanese War to Revolution; Ian Nish: Britain and the End of War in Asia and the Transformation of the British Empire

Session 5: Southeast Asia and Oceania I
Chair: Lydia N. Yu-Jose
Ken'ichi Goto: Indonesia and Malaya; Richard Jose: The Philippines—From Occupation and "Japanese Independence" to Independence; Kei Nemoto: Burma—Occupation, Collaboration, Resistance and Independence

Session 6: Southeast Asia and Oceania II
Chair: Gerhard Krebs
Dieter Brötel: The Process of Decolonialization in Indochina (1940-54); Sinh Vinh: Japan and Vietnam: From Wartime Occupation to Postwar Relations; Thamsook Numnonda: Thailand's Transition from Japanese Military Presence to SEATO; Henry Frei: Australia and New Zealand—From Pax Britannica to Pax Americana

Detlef Junker
III. Joint Program in Post-War German History with the American Institute for Contemporary German Studies

The Americanization of Germany: Historical Process and Contemporary Consequences.

Workshop held at the American Institute for Contemporary German Studies on February 10, 1995, with the support of the German Marshall Fund.

As part of its ongoing seminar series supported by the German Marshall Fund and in the framework of the joint AICGS-GHI program, the American Institute hosted a one-day workshop that explored the topic of Americanization in Germany. The general term "Americanization," to be sure, lacks a clear definition. Its connotations range from depictions as a modernist bête noire to ideas of constructive reform efforts. The paradigm of Americanization thus includes multiple and often contradictory notions of political and cultural hegemony, (re)education, economic modernization, and cultural change. Historians and political scientists discussed the broad scope of resulting questions in a controversial and stimulating meeting.

Michael Ermarth (Dartmouth College) examined how some German authors and intellectuals, among them self-proclaimed spokespersons of Germany's cultural identity, such as Botho Strauss, perceived German unification as self-inflicted Americanization. This use of statements by selected German authors with regard to German unification or American influence in Germany triggered a methodological discussion that addressed the problem of whether it was possible to generalize from this empirical basis. Ermarth's insightful presentation underscored that "Americanization" should be understood, in his context, as modernity's anxious simplification of itself. America, "the other," serves as a focal point for broad criticisms of modernization and hegemonic impulses, not necessarily of American origin but rather rooted in aggressive moods of German cultural assertiveness; it is also used as an imaginary orientation in the search for a new meaning of political and moral authority in the post-Cold War world.

Still, apart from questionable German perceptions of American cultural hegemony, there remains a clear record of America's contribution to the construction of a democratic West German state after 1945.
Karl-Heinz Füssl, one of this year's fellows in the joint program, examined the educational policy and the youth program of the United States in post-war Germany. Füssl chronicled the organizational development of the American Youth Program as well as American scholarly and educational exchange programs that proved to be instrumental in the instruction of post-war Germany's cultural elites. Füssl examined the impact of youth indoctrination under National Socialism and thus illustrated the immense challenge Americans encountered when trying to formulate and implement a democratic educational philosophy in post-war Germany. American educational reforms introduced new concepts of individual autonomy in a democratic state to German youth, such as individual planning of leisure, and successfully weakened the notion of total domination of youth activities by the state.

Rebecca Boehling (University of Maryland, Baltimore County), a fellow in the joint program in 1993-94, gave a presentation on American plans for the democratization of German society after 1945. Boehling emphasized the discrepancy between the liberal agenda of OMGUS's Women's Affairs Section, established in 1948, and its actual implementation. The Women's Affairs Section sought to broaden the political sphere of women from the antimodern, narrow Nazi definition of women's legitimate domain circumscribed by "Kinder, Küche, Kirche." Yet, as Boehling showed, the impact of the Cold War shifted the aim of political education from the broadening of political participation to the defense against communism. Subsequently, the role of German women on city councils came to correspond more to the notion of women's political activism in their traditional roles as housewives than to embracing a broad reform program that questioned traditional role models. Boehling's case study thus provided insights that strongly questioned the claim of American cultural hegemony in post-war Germany.

In their comments, Hans-Georg Betz (School of Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins University) and Brigitte Young (Center for German and European Studies, Georgetown University) discussed the origins and aims of German criticisms of the United States and of concepts of Americanization articulated by the New Left. Both speakers addressed contemporary German views of America's role in international and German politics and pointed to the ambivalence of Germany's quest for a new identity, defining itself as a disciple of America that has come of age, now bold enough to rebel at least occasionally.
against its foster parent. The ensuing discussion illustrated that Americanization presents a paradigm that often raises more questions than it answers. Still, the concept provides a useful point of departure for exploring the expansion of American influence in post-war Germany. American reform efforts after 1945, as the workshop made clear, responded to the distinct German need for a democratic role model and subsequently initiated a bilateral process of political and cultural change that left ample room for autonomous German reforms. The debate about the Americanization of Germany thus touches on a rich area for future research that should test prevailing notions of modernization and identity formation in post-war Germany by a rigorous examination of historical and contemporary case studies.

The contributions to the workshop will be published under the auspices of the joint AICGS-GHI program.

_Elisabeth Glaser-Schmidt_

**Germans and Jews: Continuity and Change in Attitudes and Relationships over Five Decades.**

Workshop at the American Institute for Contemporary German Studies on April 6, 1995. Supported by the German Marshall Fund.

As part of its ongoing seminar series supported by the German Marshall Fund and in the framework of the joint AICGS-GHI program, the American Institute also hosted a one-day workshop that examined the interactions between Germans and Jews in the immediate post-war period and since 1989. German-Jewish relations after 1945 form a special relationship between Germany, Israel, American Jews, and a multitude of other Jewish communities. Germany's relations with the state of Israel and with other Jewish communities, and Germany's dealing with the Holocaust and its resulting obligations to the Jews, form major aspects of Germany's democratization after 1945 and test its commitment to democratic values. These questions served as the agenda of a meeting that aimed to discuss the state of a field of research that has been surprisingly unexplored.

Frank Stern (Tel Aviv University and Columbia University) described Jewish life in Germany after the end of the war. Drawing on his research over many years, Stern depicted the continuity of anti-Semitism in post-1945 Germany; the difficult quest of Jewish communi-
ties to reconstruct themselves in a largely hostile or, at best, indifferent environment; and the transmutations of German-Jewish communities in the context of the formation of a Jewish state as well as Jewish emigration to the United States. Stern presented rich evidence of antagonisms between Germans and Jews that continued despite German efforts at reconciliation with Israel. These attempts left actual relations between Germans and the remnants of the Jewish community in Germany largely untouched. Stern's historical analysis underscored that German attitudes toward Jews after 1945 influenced the subsequent course of German-Jewish relations at large.

Angelika Timm of the Humboldt University and a current AICGS-GHI fellow discussed official SED policy toward Israel and Jews in the GDR. Her presentation likewise described how the GDR sought to distance itself from the Holocaust; she showed how, because of the discrepancy between East Germany's Nazi past and its new communist and anti-fascist identity that denied any responsibility for the Holocaust, anti-Semitism was allowed to flourish. Timm thus presented material that questioned the "anti-fascist transformation" as well as the approach to old and new anti-Semitism of the new political elite in East Germany in the late 1940s and early 1950s. In addition, she addressed East German policies toward Israel during 1989-90.

Lily Gardner Feldman (AICGS) examined West Germany's attempts at reconciliation by comparing Germany's relations with Israel as well as with the American Jewish community. She underscored that Germany's attempt at reconciliation with Israel represented a main agenda of post-war German foreign policy. Gardner Feldman's exposition emphasized that the ongoing question of Germany's way of dealing with the Holocaust and its continuing obligations forms a litmus test of the country's democratization. In this larger context, she argued, Germany's relations with the American Jewish community constitutes another special relationship that complements the official governmental policy and opens up the larger agenda of interactions between German and Jewish political and cultural elites.

Björn Krondorfer (St. Mary's College of Maryland) described the exchange program that he developed, which seeks to foster a discussion of the Holocaust in meetings of third-generation American Jews and Germans. These youth contacts, Krondorfer argued, help to supplant the still prevalent denial of the past by starting an honest discussion of the Holocaust, thus preparing reconciliation between German and American Jewish youth.
In the ensuing discussion, Frank Stem strongly questioned Krondorfer's use of the concept of reconciliation, pointing to its Christian roots. Stern argued that reconciliation after the Holocaust, from the point of view of surviving Jews and their grandchildren, is not possible and that a constructive and honest German-Jewish relationship should recognize this. The discussion at this and at several other points took up the question of Jewish identities and Jewish representation in interactions with Germany. The present reality of a multitude of unresolved problems in the aftermath of the Holocaust does not allow, as the discussion made clear, for any approach to deal with the past and present of German-Jewish relations that falls short of a critical reevaluation of the pertinent questions of identities, cultural values, and responsibilities.

The memory of the Holocaust and the way in which Germany faces its history and its relationship with Jewish communities thus form a central aspect of German post-war history and contemporary politics. The presentations and discussions in this workshop strongly suggested that this topic constitutes a substantial research agenda. The contributions to this workshop will be published by the joint AICGS-GHI program.

_Elisabeth Glaser-Schmidt_

**Post-War German History Research Seminar**

The concluding workshop in the joint program in post-war German history, which is sponsored by the Volkswagen Foundation, will take place at the American Institute for Contemporary German Studies on May 2 and 3, 1995. In the first part of the workshop, this year's fellows, Drs. Karl-Heinz Füssl, Angelika Timm, and Bernd Stöver, will present their research results, and three specialists in their respective fields will comment: Professors Frank Trommler, Angela Stent, and Jeffrey Peck. The fellows' work provides an opportunity for broader discussion about the nature of the research agenda for historians and political scientists studying post-war German history, which will be addressed by Professors Diethelm Prowe and Hans-Georg Betz in the second half of the program.
AICGS/GHI Fellows in Post-War German History, 1995-96

The following scholars have been selected to participate in the Joint Program in Post-War German History for the 1995-96 academic year. They will take up residence at the two institutes in October 1995.

Dr. Richard Beyler, Forschungsschwerpunkt Zeithistorische Studien: "Science Policy and Democratization in Post-1945 Germany."

Dr. Jan Herman Brinks, Groningen, the Netherlands: "Anti-Fascism. The Foundation of the Myth of the GDR, 1945-61."

Dr. Maria Mitchell, Assistant Professor, Franklin and Marshall College, Lancaster, Pennsylvania: "'We Demolished a Centuries-Old Barrier': Christian Democracy in Occupied Germany."
IV. Institute News

Inauguration of Professor Detlef Junker
The formal inauguration of Professor Detlef Junker as Director of the German Historical Institute took place November 22, 1994. It was attended by more than 120 guests, among them members of the Institute's Academic Advisory Council; representatives of the Federal Ministry of Education, Science, Research, and Technology, the German Embassy, and German foundations in Washington, D.C.; members of the American scholarly community, especially from universities and research institutions in the greater Washington area; present and former members of the Institute, including the previous Director and Acting Director; and Professor Junker's family and friends.

Congratulatory remarks and greetings were delivered by Volker Knoerich of the Federal Ministry, the chairman of the Foundation "German Historical Institutes Abroad"; Thomas Matussek, Minister, German Embassy; Professor Vernon Lidtke of the Johns Hopkins University, chairman of the Friends of the German Historical Institute; Professor Hartmut Keil of the University of Leipzig, former Acting Director; and Professor Klaus Hildebrand of the University of Bonn, chairman of the Academic Advisory Council. The speakers emphasized the independence of the Institute's work from any political influence; praised the excellent scholarly reputation that the Institute had gained over the past few years; commended Professor Junker's scholarly qualities and organizational abilities; and offered their full support and cooperation during his tenure as Director.

Professor Junker then presented his inaugural lecture, entitled "The Manichaean Trap: American Perceptions of the German Empire, 1871-1945." It has been published, together with an introduction by Professor Hildebrand and a comment by Professor Paul W. Schroeder, as the twelfth in the Institute's series of Occasional Papers.

New Library Hours
The Library of the German Historical Institute has changed its hours of operation. It is now open from 9:00 a.m. to 5:00 p.m., Monday through Friday, and by appointment.
Spring 1995 Lecture Series

50 YEARS LATER: HISTORIANS VIEW THE AFTERMATH OF WORLD WAR II

February 16  Elizabeth D. Heineman (Bowling Green State University) "West German Reflections on Women and the Nazi Era"

March 9  Frank Ninkovich (St. John's University) "What Was the German Problem?"

March 22  Jeffry M. Diefendorf (University of New Hampshire) "Ruins, Reconstruction, and Remembrance"

April 20  Eric Weitz (St. Olaf College) "The 'German' in the German Democratic Republic: Soviet Interests and Weimar Legacies"

May 8  Mark Trachtenberg (University of Pennsylvania) "The Origins of the Cold War: New Light after 50 Years?"

May 16  Max Holland (Washington, D.C.) "A Twentieth-Century Encounter: Germany and John J. McCloy"

Transatlantic History Doctoral Seminar
The first of three projected annual seminars for German and American doctoral students who have been invited to present papers will convene at Georgetown University from April 26 to 29. The series intends to explore various aspects of German history. Sponsored by the Center for German and European Studies at Georgetown, the German Historical Institute in Washington, the Conference Group for Central European History, and the German-American Academic Council, this year's seminar will focus on "Germany in the Age of Empire, 1850-1914."
Fifth Alois Mertes Memorial Lecture
Professor Wolfgang Krieger of the Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik, Ebenhausen, and the University of Munich will present the Institute's Fifth Alois Mertes Memorial Lecture on Wednesday, May 31, at 5:30 p.m. The title of Professor Krieger's lecture will be "The Germans and the Nuclear Question."

Additional Conferences and Workshops Planned for 1995

"The American Occupation of Germany, 1944-45." Workshop with Klaus-Dietmar Henke, head of the department for education and research at the Federal Authority for the Files of the former East German Security Police, to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of the end of World War II in Europe, with a comment by Volker Berghahn of Brown University. German Historical Institute, Washington, D.C., May 9, 1995, 4:00-6:00 p.m.

"Germany and the United States in the Cold War, 1945-1989." Workshop to discuss plans for the publication of a handbook on various aspects of the Cold War, to be held at the Institute on June 1-2, 1995.


Annual Lecture 1995
The Institute's Eighth Annual Lecture will be delivered by Professor Patrick Geary, a professor of medieval history at the University of California at Los Angeles, on November 16. The title of Professor Geary's lecture will be announced at a later date.
Research Project: "Almost like People from Another Planet: German Images of the United States of America, 1917-1945" (Philipp Gassert)

My research project is a historical investigation of German images of the United States and of Americans during the Third Reich. Its purpose is to contribute to the ongoing research on the social history of Nazi Germany that explores the power and limitations of National Socialist rule and the extent to which National Socialism was capable of penetrating German society and the daily lives of its members. It is also an effort to broaden the understanding of the foundations of the history of international relations and, in particular, to redefine what it means to talk about the relationship between Germany and the United States in the first half of this century. My argument is that it is no longer sufficient to take either economic or class interests for granted, or to insist that the actors on the stage of world politics were engaged in a more or less rational assessment of national interests and of the factors that limited their room to maneuver. One also needs to devote more attention to the cultural framework within which these actions occurred.

I examine the German Amerikabild from three distinct, but interrelated, levels:

a) By juxtaposing the official portrait of America in the Nazi press and images of the United States among the German population, I hope to contribute to a better understanding of the nature, scope, and efficacy of National Socialist propaganda. The Nazi regime saw its propaganda efforts as an important means to maintain and strengthen its rule over the German people. However, many historians have been impressed by the propaganda apparatus as such and, therefore, have taken the success of Nazi propaganda for granted. Thus, to date, its efficacy has remained largely unknown. Only recently have scholars begun to measure the degree of success of Nazi propaganda by using new methods and approaches.

b) Less attention has been paid to the study of "Americanism" in the Third Reich. In my study, I will try to understand the complicated and ambivalent position that the National Socialists took in confrontation with American mass culture and consumer goods, which they simultaneously rejected and emulated. Joseph Goebbels, for example, saw Hollywood as a model as well as the biggest competitor of the motion picture empire he had begun to create after the German occupation of Europe. Thus, the contradictions between an Americanized mass culture and its
potential for dissent and opposition on the one hand, and the intentions and ideological background of some of the National Socialists on the other, seem quite apparent and open up new avenues of inquiry into the nature of Nazi rule over Germany.

c) The ambiguous role of Amerika in the Third Reich cannot be understood without a look at the German Amerikabild of the Weimar period, which, to a large extent, influenced German perceptions of the United States after 1933. Therefore, this project addresses problems of continuity and questions dealing with the historical roots of Americanism and anti-Americanism in Germany. It also tries to shed some new light on the critique of liberalism and Western democracy by Nazi ideologues as well as by German conservative revolutionaries who rejected the political ideals of "1789" but embraced technology as a means to overcome the cultural consequences of the Enlightenment.

In examining these issues, I use a great variety of source material, including the press directives of the propaganda ministry; censorship data; press coverage in German dailies and periodicals; memoirs, diaries, and speeches of the Nazi elite; scholarly and popular publications on the United States, as well as published and unpublished travelogues; textbooks on English and geography at German schools; letters and memoirs of "average" Germans; and reports on German public opinion by the Security Service of the SS and exile organizations.

I hope to complete my project by the fall of 1995.

Staff Changes

**Martin Geyer.** Deputy Director, born in Bräulingen, Baden-Württemberg, studied history, political science, American studies, and economics at Munich and Madison, Wisconsin, 1977-1987; Dr. phil. 1987 (Munich); Dr. phil. habil. 1994 (Cologne). Married to Dona Geyer, two children.

Educational and professional experience in the United States: DAAD fellowship, University of Wisconsin, 1979-80; John F. Kennedy Fellow at the Minda de Gunzburg Center for European Studies, Harvard University, 1992-93.

Research and Teaching: Nineteenth- and twentieth-century German and American history.


"Kampf um nationale Repräsentation: Deutsch-deutsche Sportbeziehungen und die 'Hallstein-Doktrin'" (forthcoming in *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte*).

Research projects: The emergence of international society in the nineteenth century. Comparative aspects of social policy in Europe and the United States in the 1930s and 1940s. Politics of food, provisioning, and food riots in the twentieth century (a collaborative book project covering the period from the eighteenth to the twentieth centuries in cooperation with John Bohstedt, University of Tennessee; Cynthia Bouton, Texas A&M University; and Manfred Gailus, TU Berlin; sponsored by the NEH and the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation).

Recipients of GHI Dissertation Scholarships, 1995


Eric S. Estes, "Die Stunde der Frauen?" Doctoral advisor: Frederick Marquardt, Syracuse University.


Hubert Zimmermann, "Conventional Troops and Monetary Policy: The Burden Sharing Problem in Germany's Relations to the United States"

**Summer Program 1995: List of Participants**
The following Ph.D. students have been invited to participate in the Institute's archival tour and handwriting course in Germany:

Marya Arfer (UC-Berkeley; advisor: Gerald D. Feldman), "Healing the Patient, Serving the State: Medical Service and the Great War in Germany and Great Britain, 1854-1921."

Ian Beilin (Columbia University; advisor: Fritz Stern), "Alternative Pasts, Alternative Patriotisms: Commemorations of the Wars of Liberation in Germany."

Frank Biess (Brown University; advisor: Volker Berghahn), "Coming Home: Veterans in Post-War German Society, Politics and Culture."

Julia Bruggemann (Georgetown University; advisor: Roger Chickering) "A Cultural History of Prostitution."

John S. Ceccatti (University of Chicago, Conceptual Foundations of Science Program; advisor: Robert J. Richards), "The Traditions of Vererbungswissenschaft at the Beginnings of Genetics in Germany."


Sherry Föhr (Georgetown University; advisor: Roger Chickering), "Modernization for the Honor of the Estate: The Political Ideology of the Deutsche Landwirtschaft-Gesellschaft."

Gabrielle Friedman (Brown University; advisor: Volker Berghahn), "Gendering Consumption: Urban Culture and Department Stores in Berlin, 1890-1914."

Charles Garris (University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill; advisor: Konrad Jarausch), "Immigration and Ethnicity in Imperial Berlin: Community, Citizenship and Nationality, 1880-1914."

Markus Hugo (Justus-Liebig-Universität Gießen; advisor: Hans-Jürgen Schröder), "Deutschland und der spanisch-amerikanische Krieg 1898."

Andrea Maestrejuan (UC-Riverside; advisor: Kenneth Barkin), "Selling Science: The Production of Knowledge in a Consumer Culture."

Marline S. Otte (University of Toronto; advisor: James Retallack), "Insiders and Outsiders in the Bourgeois Culture of Germany: Musical Life in Berlin, Vienna, Cologne and Breslau, 1890-1933."
Howard Sargent (Georgetown University; advisor: Roger Chickering), "The German Citizenship Law of 1913: Tracing the Development of the Nationalist Milieu."
Lisa Szefel (University of Virginia; advisor: Stephen Schuker), "Making Room for Moderates: Louis Viereck and the Socialist Party in Imperial Germany, 1878-1890."
James Van Hook (University of Virginia; advisor: Stephen Schuker), "The Social Market Economy, Theory and Practice: Economic Reform in West Germany, 1945-1957."
Janet A. Wiita (SUNY-Stony Brook; advisor: Herman Lebovics), "Inscribing the Present: The Politics of German Tourist Sites, 1815-1871."
Jeffrey Wilson (University of Michigan; advisor: Kathleen Canning), "The Theory and Practice of a German National Landscape, 1850-1890."
Harald Zaun (Universität zu Köln; advisor: Herbert Hömig), "Reichspräsident Paul von Hindenburg and die deutsche Außenpolitik 1925-1934."

Networking
In March 1995, the Institute joined the "H-German" Internet discussion group. Participation in this network means an additional way for the GHI both to provide the American historical community with information about the Institute's activities and to help other scholars to access German archives and/or the German historical community. In cooperation with the editors of H-German, we also store our Occasional Papers, Reference Guides, and Bulletins on the gopher of the H-German list, where any interested individual can access and copy them. As always, we continue to welcome any suggestions, comments, and queries about our activities that reach us via e-mail (dhiusa@gwuvm.gwu.edu).

\textit{Peter Becker}
\texttt{(becker@gwuvm.gwu.edu)}
**Recent Publications by the Institute**

We are pleased to announce the publication of the following books in the Institute's series with Cambridge University Press and the Franz Steiner Verlag Stuttgart:


We would also like to announce the appearance of:


In addition, the following publication is based on a symposium organized by the Institute in June 1991:

V. Announcements

GHI Dissertation Scholarships 1996

The Institute offers scholarships for up to six months to doctoral students working on topics related to the Institute's general scope of interest. Applications for 1996 should be sent to the Director no later than May 31, 1995 and should contain the following information:

- curriculum vitae;
- detailed plan of study, including research proposal, time frame, and locations in the United States to be visited;
- a letter of recommendation from the doctoral advisor.

American students applying for these scholarships should be working on topics of German history for which they need to evaluate source materials located in the United States.

AICGS/GHI Fellowships in Post-War German History 1996-97

With a grant from the Volkswagen Foundation, the German Historical Institute and the American Institute for Contemporary German Studies at The Johns Hopkins University offer three one-year resident research fellowships for the 1996-97 academic year at the postdoctoral (ca. $25,000) or advanced (ca. $30,000) level. Historians and political scientists specializing in post-World War II German history and German-American relations, particularly the period 1945-1955, are eligible. The program strongly encourages applications from the eastern part of Germany and projects dealing with GDR history.

As fellows of the two institutes, successful applicants are expected to pursue their own research projects using archival resources of the Washington area, present papers in introductory and concluding seminars, and participate in the academic life of the institutes. Fellows should take up residency no later than October 1, 1996.

Applications, written in English, should include:
- a curriculum vitae, including a list of publications;
- a project proposal of no more than 10 pages, including statement of purpose, hypotheses, methodology, resources to be used in the Washington area, and relationship to prior research;
- three letters of recommendation, in sealed envelopes, accompanying the application;
- information concerning annual salary, sabbatical leave, or other research support.
Applications should be received no later than January 1, 1996, and should be addressed to Dr. Lily Gardner Feldman, Research Director, AICGS, 1400 16th Street, N.W., Suite 420, Washington, D.C. 20036-2217, USA. Award decisions will made by about March 15, 1996.
VI. Miscellaneous

Hartmut Lehmann Elected Member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences

We are very pleased to announce that Professor Hartmut Lehmann, the Director of the German Historical Institute from its establishment in 1987 to 1993, was recently elected a Foreign Honorary Member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. Founded in 1780 as a learned society, the Academy pays tribute to outstanding achievements in science, scholarship, the arts, and public affairs, and election as a member recognizes distinguished contributions in these fields.

The members of the Institute would like to offer their congratulations to Professor Lehmann for this great honor.

German Studies Association Annual Meeting

Detlef Junker, Daniel Mattern, and Ulrike Skorsetz attended the annual meeting of the German Studies Association in Dallas, Texas, on September 29-October 2, 1994.

This year, the Institute sponsored a session on "East Germans on Tour and the Meaning of Foreign Travel." Dr. Skorsetz moderated the session. Dr. Mattern gave an overview of the structural circumstances and legal developments in the GDR with regard to foreign travel over the course of four decades. Dr. Kersten Kopitzsch from Jena, Germany, read a paper on travel experiences and the possibilities for vacation travel for GDR citizens. Prof. Dolores L. Augustine from St. John's University in New York commented.

Daniel S. Mattern

Special J. William Fulbright Professorship

Distinguished Chair in American Studies for the 50th Anniversary of the Fulbright Program in Germany, Academic Year 1996/97

The German-American Fulbright Program honors the 50th anniversary of the founding of the Fulbright Program with a special J. William Fulbright Professorship in Germany. The incumbent will teach two or
three graduate courses at a German university for one or two semesters. The host institution will be chosen by the German Fulbright Commission in consultation with the nominee. Preference will be given to an experienced scholar in the fields of American History, Social or Political Sciences, Economics, or Law. Benefits include Fulbright full-maintenance benefits, plus an adequate supplement that will raise the total amount to between US$50,000 and US$60,000.

For information and application forms, please contact Karen Adams, Council for International Exchange of Scholars, 3007 Tilden St., N.W., Suite 5M, Washington, DC, 20008-3009; Tel.: (202) 686-6245; Fax: (202) 362-3442; e-mail: WE1@CIESNET.CIES.ORG.

Publication of New Guide to East German Archives and Libraries
The Council for European Studies at Columbia University announces the publication of Archives and Libraries in a New Germany, edited by Erwin K. Welch, with Jürgen Danyel and Thomas Kilton. This revision of a work first published in 1975 focuses on changes in archives and libraries in the five new states of Germany, encompassing history, literature, and the social sciences. For each institution, it provides a description of holdings, rules governing access and use, and a bibliography of collection surveys.

Copies are available by pre-payment of US$35.00 (in checks made payable to "Columbia University - CES"):
Publications–Council for European Studies
Box 44 Schermerhorn Hall
Columbia University
New York, NY 10027

Publication of Documentary History of German-Americans in World Wars
This publication provides an overview of the German-American experience in two world wars. It includes materials on the anti-German hysteria in the First World War, Congressional hearings on the German-American National Alliance, the Cincinnati Germans, and the internment of German-Americans in the Second World War, as well as a comprehensive index. For historical research, its value lies in the selection, evaluation, and collection of widely scattered materials and documents and will serve as a stimulus for further research on the topic.