

**GERMAN HISTORICAL INSTITUTE
WASHINGTON, D.C.**

BULLETIN

SPRING 1996

Issue No. 18

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I. Preface

Dear Friends and Colleagues:

In this year's Spring Bulletin, I would like to share with you some information about our research fellows, who represent the scholarly backbone of the Institute.

To give as many young scholars as possible the chance to work in Washington and to replenish the scholarship at the GHI, the founders of the Institute decided to award contracts on a limited basis of only three to five years. In exceptional cases, the Institute is also able to conclude shorter-term contracts.

The research fellows, who are appointed on the recommendation of the Academic Advisory Council, devote half their time to the Institute and its many activities, for example, preparing conferences, symposia, the lecture series, workshops, and reference guides. The remainder of their time is spent working on their own research projects.

I would like to introduce and welcome three new members to the Institute: Dr. Eckhardt Fuchs, Professor Robert Grathwol, and Dr. Wilfried Mausbach. They will introduce their research projects elsewhere in the Bulletin; here, I would like to update you on the ongoing work of the other research fellows.

Dr. Peter Becker has been a research fellow at the GHI since 1992. His main research project is entitled "Fallen Angels and Obstructed Men: Criminals as Seen by Criminologists and Police Detectives in the Nineteenth Century." In this project, Dr. Becker is trying to uncover and describe the two master narratives that structured the theoretical and practical approaches to the problem of criminal behavior taken by German criminologists and criminalists. His work focuses on a close reading of published and unpublished statements by police detectives, criminologists, and forensic psychiatrists from the late eighteenth to the early twentieth century. These narratives are analyzed to reveal the relation between the theory and practice of crime control and crime prevention as well as between criminal and bourgeois identity.

Dr. Becker's project consists of three parts: The first reconstructs the basic patterns of perception—the "practical gaze"—that shaped both daily operations and the writings of police detectives, magistrates, and forensic psychiatrists. The second part analyzes the first master

narrative, in which the criminal was presented as a "fallen angel." This narrative was linked to the religious subtext of nineteenth-century criminal law and was closely related to a particular bureaucratic handling of criminals. The third part deals with the concept of the "obstructed man." Within this framework, the criminal was given no choice between a law-abiding and a deviant lifestyle, since his obstructed individual development prevented him from becoming a responsible citizen.

Dr. Manfred Berg has also been at the Institute since 1992. His main research project is entitled "The Ticket to Freedom: The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the Struggle for Black Voting Rights, 1909-1970." The NAACP, America's oldest and largest civil rights organization, has received surprisingly little attention from historians. There are few monographs and no comprehensive history available on the topic. The NAACP's struggle to secure voting rights for African Americans, rights that were virtually nullified in the South from the late nineteenth century until the 1960s, has never been investigated, although the ballot occupied a key position in its strategy to achieve equal rights and equal opportunity for blacks. Based on extensive research in the NAACP papers in the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress and in other civil rights collections, Dr. Berg's study will focus on the discursive, legal, political, and organizational aspects of the Association's fight for access to the ballot. He hopes to contribute not only to a better understanding of the NAACP's role in the African-American civil rights movement but also to the history of suffrage in the United States during the twentieth century. He has been working on the project since 1993 and will complete it in early 1997.

Dr. Martin H. Geyer, the deputy director of the GHI since 1995, has just finished a book, *Verkehrte Welt: Revolution, Inflation and die Auseinandersetzung mit der Moderne in München 1914-1924*. He is currently working on comparative aspects of social policy in Europe and the United States during the 1930s and 1940s, as well as on the politics of food, provisioning, and food riots in the twentieth century, the latter being part of a collaborative book project covering the period from the eighteenth to the twentieth century. Since arriving at the Institute, Dr. Geyer has begun work on a larger project entitled the "Politics of Time, Money, and Space and the Emergence of International Society in the Nineteenth Century." This project deals with the development of the political, social, cultural, and economic integration of and authority over

spaces on the local, national, and international levels by focusing on the standardization of time and calendars, international cooperation in geodesy and mapping, and issues pertaining to the gold standard.

Philipp Gassert, a research associate at the GHI since October 1994, recently passed his Ph.D. exams at the University of Heidelberg. His research project, "German Images of the United States, 1933-1945," has been completed and will be published in early 1997. With this historical investigation into German perceptions of America and Americans at a crucial point in their relationship, he fills a remarkable gap in the otherwise well-researched history of twentieth-century German-American relations. Furthermore, he is trying to contribute to our general understanding of the cultural, social, and political history of Nazi Germany. Taking America as an example, his study addresses questions concerning the nature, scope, and efficacy of National Socialist propaganda by juxtaposing the official portrait of America in the Nazi press and popular images of the United States. In addition, he is exploring the complicated and somewhat paradoxical relationship between National Socialism and "modernity" via modernism's most powerful symbol in the 1920s and 1930s: The United States of America.

Dr. Elisabeth Glaser-Schmidt, who concluded a very successful and productive five-year stint at the GHI in February 1996, is working on "American and European Concepts for a New International Trading System, 1918-1933." The project examines American and German concepts for a new international trading system after World War I and how these powers conducted their foreign commercial policy during the 1920s and into the Great Depression. The focus of the investigation will be on the development of American international trade policy during World War I and the interwar period, their implementation in Germany between 1923 and 1930, and their effects on Germany and Europe. To be meaningful, an analysis of commercial regimes and trade policy should include a comparative perspective of the main trading partners and political counterparts of Germany and the United States; therefore, the policies of France and Great Britain between 1918 and 1933 will also be addressed. The study proceeds by monitoring commercial treaties and tariff regimes, and their effect on the flow of trade. Since commercial regimes are a product of political and economic conditions and, more specifically, reflect comparative advantages and monetary exchange conditions, this project will depart from an integrated political and economic perspective of American and German developments.

Dr. Ulrike Skorsetz joined the GHI as a research fellow in 1992. Her main research project is focused on emigration from Thuringia to the United States, beginning with the second half of the nineteenth century. She has been tracing migration and settlement patterns of these emigrants, many of whom came from the duchy of Saxon-Altenburg. In her research, Dr. Skorsetz encountered a religious group led by Old Lutheran Pastor Martin Stephan, which emigrated together and settled in Missouri. She found additional groups, primarily from the Adelsverein, in several areas in Texas. Currently, Dr. Skorsetz is trying to learn as much as possible about the lives these people led in the New World by asking such questions as: What economic and social positions did individuals or groups attain? Did they retain their crafts, customs, and native language? Did they maintain ties with the Old Country? To what extent did they maintain their *Deutschtum* in the years prior to World War I? Was their daily life different from that of Anglo-Americans or immigrants with different ethnic backgrounds? Did they engage in politics? Thus far, Dr. Skorsetz's research indicates that the patterns of people who settled in Missouri were quite different from those who settled in Texas.

All research fellows would welcome any suggestions, comments, and critiques from scholars in the United States and Europe.

Sincerely Yours,

Detlef Junker

II. Accounts of Recent Conferences and Workshops

"The Development of Twentieth-Century Consumer Society"

German Historical Institute, Washington, D.C., October 19-21, 1995. Co-sponsored by the Smithsonian Institution's National Museum of American History. Conveners: Matthias Judt, Charles McGovern, and Susan Strasser.

For more than a decade, American historians have been exploring shopping, advertising, and marketing as realms for consumer and corporate behavior; they have also studied the meanings of consumer goods as material culture and investigated the history of consumer political activism. New work is beginning to describe a distinctively late twentieth-century way of life, emphasizing consuming rather than producing. Historical scholarship on these issues in Germany is even more recent. It was the intention of the conveners to introduce German and other European scholars to American work in this field, and to provide Americans access to contemporary European scholarship. Because the field is so new, the conference was organized to promote as much discussion as possible. Participants came from Canada, France, Germany, Switzerland, and the United States.

The first session concerned "The Practices of Consumption." Susan Porter Benson discussed working-class consumers in the United States in the interwar period, emphasizing issues of gender, generation, and community. Ina Merkel spoke on the German Democratic Republic as an example of "mental traditions" and historical change in consumer mentalities. Stephen Kline discussed children's consumer socialization and the commodification of play. Michael Wildt focused on changes in consumption as social practice in West Germany during the 1950s.

The next session, "Framing Consumption," offered the theory and intellectual history of consumption and the consumer as concepts. Jackson Lears's paper was entitled "Reconsidering Abundance: A Plea for Ambiguity." Louis Pinto spoke on intellectual, political, and scholarly implications of the consumer concept. Ulrich Wyrwa's paper, "Consumption and Consumer Society: A Contribution to the History of Ideas," drew on *Begriffsgeschichte*. James Livingston discussed modern subjectivity and consumer culture.

The third session focused on marketing and selling. Roland Marchand gave a paper on customer research as public relations at General

Motors during the 1930s. Matthias Judt analyzed the reshaping of shopping environments in metropolitan Boston and the competition between downtown shopping and suburban malls. Fath Davis Ruffins gave a presentation illustrated with slides on "Race and Representation: Ethnic Imagery in American Advertising."

"Consumption and the Environment" featured the work of three scholars. Susan Strasser spoke on the marketing of the electric garbage disposer as a case study in household trash and American consumer culture. Arne Andersen's paper was entitled "From the 'Taste of Necessity' to the Mentality of Wasting: Ecological Consequences of Consumer Society." Christian Pfister's paper addressed what he calls "the syndrome of the fifties" and discussed social and environmental signals that indicate a transition from industrial to consumer society.

The next panel explored the topic "Consumption as a Social Act." Kathryn Kish Sklar spoke on the Consumers' White Label, a campaign of the National Consumers' League between 1898 and 1918. Nancy Reagan discussed housewives and the politics of consumption in Weimar and Nazi Germany. Robert Haddow's paper concerned U.S. policy, trade fairs, and consumer goods in Europe during the Cold War.

A session entitled "Shaping Demand: Consumers, Markets, and the State" brought together two German and two American scholars. Kurt Möser's paper dealt with the creation of desire for automobiles in Germany as an outgrowth of World War I. Andre Steiner spoke on consumer mentality and economic reform in the GDR in the 1960s. Lizabeth Cohen discussed "The Making of Citizen Consumers at MidCentury" in the United States. George Lipsitz's paper was on "Consumer Spending as State Project: Yesterday's Solutions and Today's Problems."

The final session, "Consumption Politics and Nationality," began with Victoria de Grazia's paper on changing consumption regimes in Europe between 1930 and 1970. Daniel Horowitz spoke about George Katona and Ernest Dichter, two emigrants who celebrated American consumer culture. Charles McGovern discussed democracy and political identity in the consumer society.

Revised versions of these papers will be published in the Institute's book series with Cambridge University Press.

Susan Strasser

""German Atrocities' in 1914: Fact, Fantasy, or Fabrication?""

Workshop at the German Historical Institute with John Horne and Roger Chickering, November 2, 1995.

Professor Home (University of Dublin, Trinity College) presented a research project on "German Atrocities in 1914: A Cultural History," which he is currently conducting in collaboration with Professor Allen Kramer, also a historian at Trinity College.

The project addresses a topic that was passionately debated during and after World War I but has received little attention from historians over the past decades. Taking their cue from cultural history, Professors Home and Kramer ask how the atrocities committed by the German army against Belgian and French civilians in 1914 were interpreted by contemporaries and how these interpretations were shaped by their historical preconceptions, cultural stereotypes, and value systems. In the workshop, Professor Home focused on three questions in particular: How did "fabrication," that is, Allied and German propaganda, influence the perception of these events? To what extent did "fantasy" (namely, the anticipation of atrocities or ambushes that created hysteria and fear, both among civilians and the German troops) play a role? What is known about these events as facts?

In conclusion, Professor Home argued that while fabrication and fantasy partially explain what happened and how it was interpreted, the root cause for the German army's conduct lay in its military doctrines and self-perception, which were conducive to a kind of warfare that had little regard for civilians. The ruthlessness of the invasions of Belgium and France in August 1914, according to Professor Home, stands out in comparison to the warfare in other theaters at the beginning of World War I and must be linked to the position of the military in German society at large.

In his comments, Professor Chickering (Georgetown University, Center for German and European Studies) praised the fresh and challenging perspectives provided by Professor Home's lecture, especially on the cultural predispositions of war propaganda and mass anxiety. However, the commentator also pointed out that the burden of Professor Home's argument lies in pinpointing the social forces that shaped Germany's peculiar path to modernity, in this case a particularly aggressive and autonomous militarism. The presentation and comments were followed by a lively discussion.

Manfred Berg

III. New Topics of Research at the Institute

"'Americana' and German Scholarship: Academic Exchange and the Intellectual Relationship between Germany and the United States, 1870-1920" (Eckhardt Fuchs)

The project deals with the intellectual relationship between German and American scholars between 1876 and 1920, an area of German-American relations during the German Empire that has been widely neglected. These academic relations can be seen as a part of the trend toward growing internationalization since the 1850s. The process of various academic disciplines becoming more scientific and professionalized, the technical revolution in publishing and printing, and improvements in transportation and international communications all created the necessity for institutionalizing international academic cooperation. This new era was reflected in the rapid increase in international congresses, the joint participation of scholars from different nations in scientific projects, the transnational editorship of scientific journals, the founding of supranational academic institutions, and the exchange of scholars.

The scope of my study will encompass the process of internationalization of national scholarship in Europe since the second half of the nineteenth century. In light of the growth of tensions among European countries at this time, the emergence of an international scientific community is surprising. On the one hand, academic cooperation was regarded by contemporary scholars not only as a means of exchanging knowledge but also as a counter-current to the rise in the number of international conflicts. On the other hand, the international intellectual community was not without its own nationally competitive spirit, as seen in confrontations between French and German scholars regarding who exerted the most cultural and intellectual influence on American academia.

Initially, I am researching what the internationalization of science and scholarship meant and why and how it was institutionalized at the turn of the century. It is therefore critical to explain the meaning of the term "intellectual exchange" and to define what is to be understood by the terms "cooperation," "communication," and "scientific transfers." Second, I am concentrating on the organization, the mechanics, and the effects of communication and cooperation among German and American academics. I will begin my study with the year 1876, the year the Johns Hopkins University was founded and the world exhibition in Philadelphia took place. I will use three main categories in my analysis:

individual scholarly exchanges, the exchange of academic literature, and collaborative projects within certain disciplines.

Individual scholarly exchanges: The most important sources are correspondence and travel reports written by German academics who traveled to the United States to give lectures at various American universities and intellectual societies. In analyzing letters and reports, I will look for the particular reasons for their trips, their sponsors, their scholarly influence, and their perceptions of American society and academic culture. The first wave of academic travel occurred in the 1870s and was limited to a few disciplines. It peaked in the beginning of the new century, when scholars from nearly every academic discipline journeyed to the United States. The participation of more than thirty German professors in the Congress of Arts and Science, which took place on the occasion of the international world exhibition in St. Louis in 1904, is one important indicator of the interest German academics exhibited in American culture and science. This exchange would not have been possible without the help and influence of Germans who had lived in the United States, such as Professor Hugo Münsterberg (Harvard) and the Consul Walther Wever (Chicago).

Exchange of academic literature: The archives of the Smithsonian Institution have a rich collection on this topic. Beginning in 1848, the Smithsonian was in charge of the national and international exchange of governmental and scientific literature on behalf of the American government and academic institutions. I will investigate the role that Germany and German institutions played in this exchange and to what extent Americans and Germans participated in the construction of an international order of book exchange. Furthermore, German publishing houses had complained for some time about restrictive American import policies, customs regulations, and copyright laws, since they made it almost impossible for German publishers to distribute and sell books in North America. I will explore the steps that German publishers took to change the situation at different levels: by pushing the German government to inaugurate bilateral treaties, by discussing the matter at international congresses, and by establishing an office in New York. The sources of the Börsenverein der deutschen Buchhändler, which was located in Leipzig, are critical for this part of the study.

Collaborative projects within certain disciplines: I have not yet decided which examples of international projects I will use in my study. One project that might be worth investigating is the endeavor to create

an International Catalogue of Scientific Literature, which was started in the 1850s.

This approach allows us to look behind the attempts of the German government to establish a cultural exchange program for political purposes. I will concentrate not only on the political-administrative framework of intellectual relationships but also on its specific realization and results for the academic community. On the American side, the demand for the importation of German cultural and intellectual goods was closely connected to the spread of German culture. An important question, therefore, is why did various groups in the American intellectual community seek to import German ideas by giving German academics the possibility to travel to the United States? And vice versa; why did German academics, who belonged, in their own view, to the most developed intellectual culture in the world, want to travel to the academic "periphery"? Instead of constructing certain national types of science, I approach the topic by looking at the interaction of specific social groups and the dynamics of intellectual exchange.

In so doing, I hope to shed light on the workings of this process as well as on the potential for and the limitations of intellectual cooperation between Germany and the United States before World War I.

"Oral History and German-American Studies: Creating a Reference Resource" (Robert P. Grathwol)

The German Historical Institute has engaged me to conduct a survey of oral history resources available in the United States that deal with Germany, German-American relations, and American policy toward Germany since 1945. The goal is to identify the location, nature, and quantity of such oral history interviews and to publish that information in a guide to oral history resources for use by scholars. The project also seeks to promote both the potential value of oral history interviews and a more professional approach to the practice and use of oral history.

This project arises from my own experience. For the past eight years I have been researching U.S. military construction in Europe, the Mediterranean, and the Middle East since 1945. I also collaborated on the project, *American Forces in Berlin: Cold War Outpost, 1945-1994* (Legacy Resource Management Program, 1994). Each research activity has profited tremendously from the extensive use of oral history to complement traditional documentary evidence.

In relation to recent German history, oral history has unusual potential. Many major topics are well represented in documentary evidence: the American occupation of Germany, the implementation of the Marshall Plan, the Berlin Airlift, and the evolution of American foreign policy toward West Germany. Nevertheless, official documents reveal only part of the American and German interaction since World War II. Governmental and agency documents often read as though no personalities influenced the process or the outcome; oral history interviews can reveal the thoughts of the decision makers, their personal intentions, and the struggles behind the scenes. Using oral history testimony in conjunction with the written documents leads the researcher to a more subtle interpretation of both policy and events. The interview process also frequently helps uncover new documentation.

Academic scholars in the United States have often dismissed the potential contribution of oral history, as a recent article in the *Journal of American History* demonstrates.* Traditionally trained historians tend to ignore the oral history collections that do exist or to use interviews "primarily for color, not for revelations." When questioned, these historians too often disparage the oral history interview as purely anecdotal, question its accuracy, and cast aspersions on the skills and knowledge of the interviewer.**

Unfortunately, even those historians favorably disposed to oral history as a research methodology show a startling lack of familiarity with the professional canons and guidelines of oral history. Scholars ignore the need for legal releases, keep poor bibliographic control of their interviews, and fail to make arrangements to deposit their interviews in archives where they will be available to other researchers.

The project began in January 1996. I have posted a project description and a request for information on the Internet and in newsletters of professional associations for historians, oral historians, public historians, and archivists.

* Jonathan Soffer, "Oral History and the History of American Foreign Policy," *Journal of American History* 82 (Sept. 1995): 607-16.

** Professor Lloyd Gardner, as cited in Soffer, "Oral History and the History of American Foreign Policy," 608. The article explores the reservations concerning oral history sources that permeate American diplomatic history, and, drawing on methodological approaches developed by oral historians, suggests ways of viewing the sources that may enhance their value and credibility in the eyes of traditional historians.

I have also developed a one-page survey questionnaire to gather data and have tested it with several archivists, oral historians, and librarians. In early March, the questionnaire, a letter describing the project, and a return envelope were mailed to more than 2,700 individuals on the GHI mailing list. Surveys are being distributed this spring at conferences and through mailings. I will be surveying major oral history repositories and major German Studies institutions and associations. Some inquiries will be made by mail, some by telephone, some in person.

The initial response shows that there is considerable interest in oral history as a tool in exploring recent German history. As of March 29, I had received 92 written responses to the mailings. Of these, 25 indicated that they had no oral history material; the rest offered information on existing oral history resources, suggestions on potential interviewees, and offers of personal documents, such as family correspondence.

I encourage anyone with information about or interest in oral history to contact me at the Institute, or by e-mail at rgrathwo@tribeca.ios.com.

"Germany, the United States, and the War in Vietnam" (Wilfried Mausbach)

As can be expected, most scholarship on the Vietnam War has been done by Americans and has been devoted to the American side of the conflict. Until the early 1980s, the international dimensions of America's longest war were widely neglected. Then, coinciding with a debate among American diplomatic historians on the need to put their subject in a more international perspective, several studies that addressed foreign interest and participation in the conflict were put forward. The policies of France—Washington's predecessor in Indochina—underwent closer scrutiny, U.S. interests in Vietnam were confronted with those of Moscow and Beijing, and the North Vietnamese themselves were no longer neglected. The same holds true for Washington's allies, who were confronted by the White House and the State Department with ever-growing demands for various kinds of burden sharing. Thus, some European powers eventually found their way into the historiographical spotlight, and scholars are now beginning to make use of newly opened archival records to examine a variety of topics ranging from Great Britain's role at the 1954 Geneva Conference to the United States's quarrel with Sweden over the appropriate position to take toward North Vietnam.

One country that has so far escaped scholarly attention is Germany. In a wider context, however, much thought has been and still is devoted to Germany's general position in the post-1945 international system, especially since reunification revolutionized Europe's political landscape. Growing interest is also discernible in German-American relations during the Cold War. Here, the 1960s are of particular significance. The very years that saw the United States wade deeper and deeper into the Vietnamese quagmire also witnessed a drastic change in Washington's relationship with Germany. The Berlin crises of the late 1950s and early 1960s kept the country high on the agenda of the outgoing Eisenhower and the incoming Kennedy administrations. However, after the building of the Berlin Wall and the frightening experience of the Cuban Missile Crisis, American policy makers were no longer disposed to view a solution of the German question as a precondition for detente. Most Germans, in contrast, were deeply disappointed by Washington's languor in the face of Communist bricklayers, and they maintained that the Cold War could only be overcome through the reunification of their capital and their country. These conflicting strategies eventually triggered the new *Ostpolitik*, which was to be implemented at the same time the Nixon administration searched for an honorable way out of Vietnam.

Against this background, the research project will try to assess the role of the Vietnam War in German-American relations during the 1960s. Undoubtedly, this war contributed heavily to the fact that German and

U.S. policy makers began to view the world from different angles. These differing perceptions inevitably transformed their bilateral relationship and gave rise to numerous frictions. Washington pressured almost all its allies to commit themselves in one way or another to its anti-Communist crusade in Southeast Asia. Although Germany was, for historical reasons, a special case, it was also already Europe's dominant economic power again. In fact, Germany supplied most of the economic and humanitarian aid that went to South Vietnam from Europe in the 1960s.

The significance of the wars in Indochina for the U.S.-German alliance is not limited, however, to diplomatic wrangling. In both countries, the war gave rise to protest movements and exposed the media as both a creator of topics in the public sphere and an indicator of changing political attitudes. American scholars have focused much attention on these groups ever since the *New York Times* published the Pentagon Papers and the antiwar movement turned college campuses into arenas of protest. This trend was corroborated by the identification

of American public support as the essential domino missing in Washington's Southeast Asian strategy. German attitudes toward America's role in the Vietnam War, however, have never been systematically analyzed. Nevertheless, it is safe to say that it was precisely this conflict in which the "victor-turned-savior" of World War II lost its innocence for the ordinary German.

The study will go beyond diplomatic history to include nongovernmental groups like the media as well as the German *Studentenbewegung*. It will explore the development and character of German public opinion on America's longest war; it will analyze who reported what for whom, how, and with what results; it will ask whether and in what way the growing domestic opposition to the war in the United States fueled German criticism; it will consider the influence of American antiwar activists' arguments and methods on the German peace movement, and it will examine the importance of the war to the *Protestbewegung* of the late 1960s. Finally, the study will try to assess the degree to which the German government was caught between growing anti-Americanism and the inevitable loyalty to its most important ally.

If the American-German alliance was central to the international system during the Cold War era, it might become even more important to guarantee stability in the emerging disorderly world after the fall of the Iron Curtain. This research project aims to give Germans a better sense of one of the United States's most profound experiences in the twentieth century and to alert Americans to the impact of the Vietnam War on the image of their country abroad.

"Ex Libris Adolf Hitler: An Annotated Bibliography of Adolf Hitler's Personal Library" (Philipp Gassert, Daniel S. Mattern)

In cooperation with the Library of Congress, the German Historical Institute has undertaken an examination and evaluation of Adolf Hitler's personal library, a part of the LOC's Third Reich Collection. It is the goal of this project to raise the profile of this library and to make it more accessible to scholars in the United States and elsewhere. The results of this research will be published in the form of an annotated bibliography. In addition to a historical introduction, the bibliography will contain basic bibliographical information and the handwritten dedications contained in most of the books. The bibliography will be published in the Institute's series of reference guides.

IV. Institute News Annual Lecture 1995

The well-attended 1995 Annual Lecture, "The German Middle Ages in America," was delivered by Professor Patrick Geary of the Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies at UCLA on November 16. Professor Otto Gerhard Oexle, director of the Max-Planck-Institut für Geschichte, gave a comment.

How is it possible, inquired Professor Geary, that medieval German history plays such a marginal role at American universities today, despite the fact that German scholarship was central to the creation of modern historical studies and was generally considered to be a model? In his broad and multifaceted analysis, Professor Geary stressed that Americans in the past always tended more to be "consumers" of German research, eager to explain American history rather than to come to terms with German history. Examples include a "germ theory" with racial underpinnings that drew a direct lineage from Germanic to Anglo-Saxon culture and finally to American political institutions and liberties (Herbert Baxter Adams), and the comparison of Germany's colonizing efforts at the "frontier of the East" with that of the American West (James Westfall Thompson). Most devastating to the intellectual relationship between the two countries (as well as for the careers of many scholars of German medieval history) was the anti-German atmosphere that prevailed during World War I in the United States. Yet, as Professor Geary stressed, this is only part of the story. Although many American admirers of Germany had been somewhat disturbed by Germany's, academic discourse prior to World War I, it was particularly the neglect of questions pertaining to the interplay between cultural, economic, and social factors—questions of greatest interest to Americans—that played an equally important role in this process of intellectual estrangement. Unlike their émigré colleagues of contemporary history, who were most productive in establishing German history at American universities, medievalists abandoned Germany as a subject altogether and focused instead on a broader view of pre-national and nationalist European culture.

In taking up these themes, Professor Oexle reflected on the question of whether there was actually anything to be learned from German medieval historiography. He argued that the insularity of German historiography and the overall methodological paralysis—which per-

sisted despite individual efforts at innovation by such scholars as Otto Hintze or Percy M. Schramm—strongly hindered scientific development. The fixation on the state, especially on the German nation-state, the ill-fated and methodologically deficient effort to conceive a *Kulturgeschichte* by Lamprecht, and the delayed and difficult reception of scholars like Georg Simmel and Max Weber had far-reaching consequences. Just as in other fields, the confrontation with modernity did not lead to a productive rethinking of the past in Germany. Instead, under the banner of *Historismus*, with its emphasis on political history, the criticism of modernity increased. Last but not least, the emigration of almost an entire generation of medievalists working on the Renaissance was to have a profound negative impact on the development of the field in Germany. The publication of the two lectures is forthcoming.

Martin H. Geyer

Visit of Minister Dr. Jürgen Rüttgers

On February 14, 1996, Dr. Jürgen Rüttgers, Federal Minister for Education, Science, Research, and Technology, paid a visit to the German Historical Institute in Washington. The members of the Institute informed the minister about the Institute's structure and activities. Along with representatives of his ministry and the German embassy, Dr. Rüttgers also met with a number of American guests in the library for a stimulating discussion. The visitors were: Professor Samuel Barnes (Center for German and European Studies, School of Foreign Service, Georgetown University); Professor Marion Deshmukh (Department of History, George Mason University); Professor James F. Harris (Department of History, University of Maryland, College Park); Dr. Robert Gerald Livingston (American Institute for Contemporary German Studies), and Dr. Wolfgang Reinicke (Foreign Studies Policy Program, The Brookings Institution). The GHI was represented by Professor Detlef Junker and Dr. Martin H. Geyer. The discussion centered on the principal dilemma for the Federal Republic in the future, namely, which values the country should maintain in the face of growing economic problems. Comparisons with the United States proved especially instructive.

Status Report: Germany and the United States in the Era of the Cold War, 1945-1990. A Handbook

More than five years after the end of the Cold War, it is both necessary and timely to review what we know about the history of German-American relations in the postwar period and to summarize the state of scholarly research on this epoch. Therefore, the German Historical Institute is compiling a handbook on "Germany and the United States in the Era of the Cold War, 1945-1990."

The project has three major purposes: It will evaluate our current knowledge of the relationship between the two countries during the Cold War, thereby stimulating future research in the field. It will be a comprehensive guide to the German-American relationship after 1945 for both the scholarly community and a general audience in both countries. The handbook will also serve as a case study documenting the severe changes in international relations after World War II—changes that were characterized by the dramatic increase in interactions within the political, military, economic, cultural, and societal spheres.

In June 1995, a workshop was held to discuss all possible aspects relating to the content and form of the planned handbook (see Bulletin No. 17, pp. 11-12). In the meantime, most questions concerning the structure and content of the handbook have been settled. Separated into two volumes, one covering the period up to 1968, the other stretching from 1968 to the German unification of 1990, the handbook will be further subdivided into five major chapters: politics and diplomacy, military and security affairs, economic relations, cultural relations, and societal relations. Each chapter will begin with an essay that provides an overview of the most important scholarly literature on that topic. It will be followed by approximately fifteen entries of ten pages each dealing with important issues in German-American relations, such as the Marshall Plan, U.S. forces in Germany, the dollar and the deutsche mark in the world economy, the mutual impact of literary works, relations between the churches, and so on. In total, we expect the handbook to contain 120 entries of this kind.

We are pleased to report that the following distinguished scholars in the field of German-American relations have agreed to write the major essays and to serve as general advisors on the project: Volker Berghahn, Christoph Buchheim, Lily Gardner-Feldman, Wolfgang Krieger, Diane B. Kunz, Klaus Schwabe, Thomas Schwartz, Hans-Peter Schwarz, and Frank Trommler. We are currently contacting those scholars whom we

hope will write the individual entries. Manuscripts will be delivered in 1997. The scheduled date for publication of both the English and the German editions is 1999.

Detlef Junker, Philipp Gassert, Wilfried Mausbach

Staff Changes

Eckhardt Fuchs, Research Fellow, born in Wernigerode/Saxony-Anhalt, 1961. Studied history at the University of Leipzig, Dipl., 1988; Dr. phil., 1992. International Research and Exchange Board grant, Kalamazoo and Buffalo, 1991; Wissenschaftlicher Mitarbeiter, Historische Kommission zu Berlin, 1992-93; DAAD Fellow, University of Virginia, 1993-94; Saxonian Postdoctoral Fellow, 1995; member of a Graduiertenkolleg, John-F.-Kennedy-Institut, Berlin, 1995; Co-editor, *Comparativ. Leipziger Beiträge zur Universalgeschichte und vergleichenden Gesellschaftsforschung* since 1993. Married to Marcella Fuchs; one child.

Major publications: *Henry Thomas Buckle. Geschichtsschreibung und Positivismus in England und Deutschland* (1994); *J'accuse. Zur Affäre Dreyfus in Frankreich* (co-author, 1994). Articles in *Geschichtsdiskurs*, *Comparativ*, *Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft*, and other scholarly journals.

Research projects: Academic exchange and the intellectual relationship between Germany and the United States, 1876-1920; history of positivism; historical scholarship from a transcultural perspective, 1850-1930.

Robert P. Grathwol, Research Fellow. Studied history at Providence College, B.A. with honors, 1961; international studies at Centre des Hautes Études Européennes of the University of Strasbourg, Diplôme Supérieur, 1963; history at University of Chicago, Ph.D., 1968. Fulbright Fellow in Strasbourg, 1961-63; Assistant Professor, University of Arkansas, 1967-69; Assistant Professor, Virginia Polytechnic Institute, 1969-76; Dozentenstipendium in Mainz, Alexander von Humboldt Foundation, 1973-75; Assistant Professor, School of Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins University in Washington, D.C., and Bologna, Italy, 1976-79; Head Librarian, Bologna Center Library, 1978-79; Associate Professor, Washington State University, 1979-90;

University Editor/Managing Editor, Washington State University Press, 1982-84; Program Officer, National Endowment for the Humanities, Division of Research Programs, 1988-89; Partner, R&D Associates, 1988-present.

Major publications: *American Forces in Berlin, Cold War Outpost, 1945-1994* (co-author, 1994); *Stresemann and the DNVP: Reconciliation or Revenge in German Foreign Policy, 1924-1928* (1980); *The Origins of Locarno and Coalition Politics: Stresemann and the DNVP* (Occ. Paper No. 24, Johns Hopkins Univ. Bologna Center, 1979); "Gustav Stresemann: Betrachtungen über seine Außenpolitik," in *Gustav Stresemann* (1982).

Numerous articles and reviews in both German and English in the *American Historical Review*, the *Journal of Modern History*, *Central European History*, and other scholarly journals.

Current research: Reference resource on oral history and German-American studies; a history of American military construction in Europe, the Mediterranean, and the Middle East during the Cold War.

Wilfried Mausbach, Research Fellow, born in Cologne, 1964. Studied history, political science, and philosophy at the University of Cologne, M.A., 1990; Dr. phil., 1994. Lecturer, Konrad Adenauer Foundation, 1992-95.

Major publications: *Zwischen Morgenthau und Marshall. Amerikanische Überlegungen zur Umgestaltung der deutschen Wirtschaft und Industrie nach 1945* (forthcoming, 1996); "Rückkehr nach Weimar? Der politische Neubeginn in Köln in den Augen der amerikanischen Besatzungsmacht", in: *Köln nach dem Krieg. Facetten der Stadtgeschichte*, ed. Georg Mölich and Stefan Wunsch (1995).

Current research: Germany, the United States, and the Vietnam War; the United States and European peace-keeping efforts, 1815-1914.

Member of the Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations.

Library Report

The Library of the GHI is pleased to report that generous funding has been made available for additional shelving units for books. A compact shelving system should be installed in 1997 and will provide enough shelf space through the year 2008. Thus, the library will be able to continue to expand its collections into the foreseeable future.

Recipients of GER Dissertation Scholarships 1996

- Karsten Borgmann, "Manager der Kunst, Führungskräfte an Kunstmuseen und die Modernisierung bürgerlicher Hochkultur am Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts: USA und Deutschland im Vergleich." Doctoral advisor: Prof. Dr. Wolfgang Hardtwig, Humboldt University, Berlin.
- Michael Creswell, "France, America and German Rearmament, 1950-1954." Doctoral advisor: Prof. Michael Geyer, University of Chicago.
- Christian Geulen, "Nationalbewußtsein zwischen Wissenschaft, Natur und Imperialismus. Deutschland und die Vereinigten Staaten 1860-1914." Doctoral advisor: Prof. Dr. Hans-Ulrich Wehler, University of Bielefeld.
- Markus M. Hugo, "Deutschland und der Spanisch-Amerikanische Krieg 1898." Doctoral advisor: Prof. Dr. Hans-Jürgen Schröder, University of Gießen.
- Petra Koch, "Siedlungspolitik und Friedensprozeß. Die Siedlungspolitik Israels aus amerikanischer Perspektive 1977-1992." Doctoral advisor: Prof. Dr. Jürgen Heideking, University of Cologne.
- Gabriele Lingelbach, "Das 'Deutsche Modell' des Historismus in der französischen und US-amerikanischen Geschichtswissenschaft." Doctoral advisor: Prof. Dr. Jürgen Kocka, FU Berlin.
- Andrea Maestrejuan, "Selling Science: The Production of Scientific Knowledge in a Consumer Culture." Doctoral advisor: Prof. Kenneth Barkin, University of California, Riverside.
- Andrea Mehrländer, "Deutsche in der Konföderation 1861-1865." Doctoral advisor: Prof. Dr. Wolfgang Helbich, Ruhr-University, Bochum.
- Ellen Rafshoon, "Prophets from a Broken World: European Refugee Intellectuals and Their Vision of American Foreign Policy." Doctoral advisor: Prof. Fraser J. Harbutt, Emory University.
- Thomas Reuther, "Demokratie auf dem Prüfstand. Innen- und außenpolitische Aspekte der deutschen Frage im Spiegel der öffentlichen Meinung in den USA 1947-1955." Doctoral advisor: Prof. Dr. Detlef Junker, University of Heidelberg.
- Verena Salzmann, "German Foreign Policy toward its Western Allies, 1963-1965." Doctoral advisor: Dr. D.J. Reynolds, Cambridge, UK.
- Oliver Schmidt, "American Cultural Diplomacy after World War II: Future German Elites Abroad." Doctoral advisor: Prof. Luisa Passerini, Europäisches Hochschulinstitut, Florence.
- Susanne Schrafstetter, "Britische Atompolitik im internationalen Beziehungsgeflecht: Großbritannien und der Atomwaffensperrvertrag von

1968." Doctoral advisor: Prof. Dr. Hans Günter Hockerts, University of Munich.

Lydia Schreiber, "'Hitler ist Deutschland.' Vansittartismus in Großbritannien und den USA 1941-1945." Doctoral advisor: Prof. Dr. Eberhard Kolb, University of Cologne.

V. Calendar of Events Spring 1996 Lecture Series

TURNING POINTS IN 20TH-CENTURY GERMAN-AMERICAN HISTORY

- March 21 Kathleen N. Conzen (University of Chicago) *World War I, German Americans, and the Perils of Pluralism*
- April 17 Mary Nolan (New York University) *Americanism and Anti-Americanism in the Weimar Republic*
- April 24 Robert E. Herzstein (University of South Carolina at Columbia) *Two Americans Confront Germany, 1918-1941: Franklin D. Roosevelt and Henry R. Luce*
- May 9 Sybil Milton (United States Holocaust Research Institute) *"Damage Control": An Ambivalent German American Discourse about the Holocaust*
- May 30 Thomas A. Schwartz (Vanderbilt University) *A Tale of Two Crises: Berlin and the United States during the Cold War*
- June 12 Philip Zelikow (Harvard University) *Germany Unified and Europe Transformed: Issues in Writing Contemporary History*

Transatlantic Doctoral Seminar in German History 1996

The second Transatlantic Doctoral Seminar in German History will take place in Bochum from April 17 to 20. Sponsored by the GHI, the Center for German and European Studies at Georgetown University, and the Conference Group for Central European History, with support from the German-American Academic Council, the conference will focus on "Germany in the Age of Two World Wars, 1914-1945." The following doctoral candidates have been invited to participate:

Deborah Cohen, University of California, Berkeley
Eve Duffy, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

Andrew Gaskiewicz, State University of New York, Stony Brook
Christian Gerlach, Technical University, Berlin
Bernd Holtwick, University of Bielefeld
Daniel Inkelas, Northwestern University, Evanston
Annette Klerks, Heinrich Heine University, Düsseldorf
Oliver Liang, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore
Anne Lipp, University of Tübingen
Armin Nolzen, Ruhr University, Bochum
Rainer Ohliger, Humboldt University, Berlin
Joseph Perry, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign
Rebecca Ratcliff, University of California, Berkeley
Sven Reichardt, Free University Berlin
Daniel Walther, University of Pennsylvania
Benjamin Ziemann, University of Bielefeld.

The moderators of the sessions will be Dr. Martin H. Geyer (German Historical Institute, Washington, D.C.) and Professors Roger Chickering (Georgetown University), Belinda Davis (Rutgers University), Rudy Koshar (University of Wisconsin, Madison), Hans Mommsen (Ruhr University, Bochum), and Klaus Tenfelde (University of Bielefeld).

"Fritz Stern: An Appreciation"

On April 26, 1996, the German Historical Institute will host a symposium in honor of Professor Fritz Stern, who turns 70 this year and will be retiring from full-time teaching at Columbia University. Entitled "Fritz Stern: An Appreciation," the program is generously co-sponsored by the American Institute for Contemporary German Studies and the German Marshall Fund of the United States. Professor Marion F. Deshmukh (George Mason University) and Professor Jerry Z. Muller (Catholic University of America) have taken the initiative to invite other former students of Fritz Stern-by now all distinguished scholars in their own right and a number of distinguished individuals who have been associated with Professor Stern at various stages of his career.

The afternoon will be devoted to commemorating Professor Stern's scholarly contributions in German cultural and political history as well as his role as a bridge between the German and American scholarly communities. Professor Muller will speak on "The Politics of Cultural Despair Revisited," Professor David Sorkin (University of Wisconsin, Madison) on "'Historian of Fate': Fritz Stern on the History of German

Jewry," and Professor Kenneth Barkin (University of California, Riverside) on "Fritz Stern's Bismarck." A banquet dinner will be enriched by reflections, reminiscences, and ruminations of Lord Dahrendorf, Marion Gräfin Dönhoff, The Honorable Richard Holbrooke, and others.

Postwar German History Research Seminar

This year's concluding workshop in the joint AICGS-GHI Program in Postwar German History, which is sponsored by the Volkswagen Foundation, will take place at the German Historical Institute on June 13 and 14, 1996. Our 1995-96 fellows, Drs. Maria Mitchell, Richard Beyler, and Jan-Herman Brinks, will present their research results, and three specialists in their respective fields will offer a comment on each presentation. In addition, the research projects of these fellows will be situated in a larger framework by Professors Rebecca Boehling and Peter H. Merkl, who will address the most recent research trends in postwar German studies from a historical and a political science perspective, respectively.

Sixth Alois Mertes Memorial Lecture

On June 4, Melvin Leffler, Professor of History at the University of Virginia, Charlottesville, will deliver the 1996 Alois Mertes Memorial Lecture in the Institute's lecture hall. The topic of his lecture will be "The Struggle for Germany and the Origins of the Cold War."

Conferences and Workshops Planned for 1996

"1968: The World Transformed." Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin, May 23-25.
Conveners: Carole Fink, Philipp Gassen, and Detlef Junker.

"Imagination, Ritual, Memory, Historiography: Conceptions of the Past in the Middle Ages." Heidelberg, September 5-8. Conveners: Gerd Althoff, Johannes Fried, and Patrick Geary.

"Republicanism and Liberalism in the United States and Germany from the Late Eighteenth to the Early Nineteenth Century." University of Wisconsin, Madison, October 3-5. Conveners: Peter Becker, Jürgen Heideking, and John Kaminski.

"How Total Was the Great War? Germany, France, Great Britain, and the United States, 1914-1918." Münchenwiler/Berne, October 9-12. Conveners: Manfred F. Boemeke, Roger Chickering, and Stig Förster.

"The Mechanics of Internationalism: Culture, Politics, and Society until World War I." GHI London, December 12-15. Conveners: Martin H. Geyer and Johannes Paulmann.

VI. Friends of the GHI Washington

A Donation from Professor Paul Oskar Kristeller

On December 28, 1995, the German Historical Institute in Washington, D.C., received a letter from Professor Paul Oskar Kristeller that deeply touched everyone at the Institute. The world-famous scholar, historian, philosopher, and specialist on the Renaissance donated \$2,000 to the GHI which, with his blessing, was turned over to the Friends of the German Historical Institute. Professor Kristeller wrote that he originally wanted to donate the money to the Carl Schurz Foundation, which supported German emigrants in the difficult period from 1939 to 1941. Since this foundation no longer exists, however, he decided to give the money to the GHI. His letter to the Institute concluded with the following words: "As an expression of my belated gratitude for the generous assistance that I received many decades ago from the now defunct Carl Schurz Foundation, I herewith enclose a donation of \$2,000. I am now over 90 years old and my health is declining. New problems arise with each passing day. Therefore, and with haste, I am sending you this donation before it is too late. With best wishes and heartfelt greetings, yours, Paul Oskar Kristeller, Frederick Woodbridge Professor Emeritus of Philosophy, Columbia University."

Professor Kristeller is to be counted among those "émigré intellectuals" who were forced to emigrate from Nazi Germany and who stimulated new American research on the Renaissance. His journey took him by way of Italy to the United States.

Paul Oskar Kristeller was born in Berlin on May 22, 1905. He earned his doctorate in philosophy at Heidelberg University in 1928 with a dissertation on the subject of "Der Begriff der Seele in der Ethik des Plotin" (The meaning of the term "soul" in Plotinus's ethics). He immigrated to Italy in 1934, where he taught Latin and Greek and lectured on German language and literature. Kristeller subsequently immigrated to the United States in 1939. For a short time he was a teaching fellow in philosophy at Yale University. He was made associate professor and then full professor of philosophy at Columbia University, where he taught from 1939 to 1973. His major works include: *The Classics and Renaissance Thought* (Harvard University Press, 1955), *Studies in Renaissance Thought and Letters* (Edizioni de Storia e Letterature, 1956), *Eight Philosophers of the Italian Renaissance* (Stanford University Press, 1964), *Renaissance Philosophy and*

the Mediaeval Tradition (Archabbey, 1966), *Renaissance Thought and Its Sources* (Columbia University Press, 1979), and numerous other works on Renaissance thought. His contributions have been celebrated in six festschrifts, including *Philosophy and Humanism: Renaissance Essays in Honor of Paul Oskar Kristeller* (Brill, 1975), and *Cultural Aspects of the Italian Renaissance: Essays in Honor of Paul Oskar Kristeller* (Manchester University Press, 1976).

The GHI in Washington and the Friends of the German Historical Institute are very thankful for Professor Kristeller's generous gift.

Detlef Junker

Report on the Fourth Annual Symposium of the Friends

In the fiftieth year since the end of World War II, it seemed appropriate to choose as the theme of the 1995 symposium the topic: "Stunde Null: The End and the Beginning Fifty Years Ago." Professor Konrad Jarausch (University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill) began the morning session with a thoughtful paper on the whole question and significance of anniversaries, with the title: "1945 and the Continuities of German History: Reflections on Memory, Historiography and Politics." He confirmed that 1945 was a major turning point and reminded the audience that everyone who was alive in that year still has a vivid memory of the war's ending. The hardships of the immediate postwar period allowed most ordinary German citizens, however, to view themselves in 1945 as "victims," even if they had been perpetrators or *Mitläufer* up to that point. Jarausch also discussed the learning processes that had followed World War II, starting with the broad acceptance of defeat and moving through rapid and successful demilitarization to an integration into Western Europe that represented a real transformation of German political culture. Of all the many changes, the necessary retreat from racism proved to be one of the most difficult to achieve.

The discussion then shifted to a consideration of how the aftermath of the war was handled in German literature. Stephan Brockman (Carnegie Mellon University) gave a paper entitled "German Literature, Year Zero: Writers and Politics, 1945-1953." He noted the opportunities that this vacuum offered to young writers in a world where suddenly there were no longer valid literary models to follow. Authors such as Heinrich Böll and Alfred Andersch tried to offer an ethical support

system and dealt with such phenomena as the alienation felt by soldiers returning to their homes. For some, the provision of models for renewal was initially pushed into the background by the fear of a restoration of the right wing and the urgent need to deal decisively with that danger.

The Allies' efforts in this direction formed the central part of the presentation by Uta Gerhardt (University of Heidelberg), "American Sociology and German Reeducation after World War Two." She spoke of the deliberate program to make Europe safe for democracy. American scholars strove to wipe out not only National Socialism but also Junkerism, and authoritarianism in general. Their plan to accomplish this involved changing the very character of Germans by sociological and psychological means, without their ever noticing it. The methodology owed much to the psychological research of the 1930s on paranoid personalities, which emphasized the need to build on the "clear" or "healthy" elements. Those healthy elements in German society were such people as later President Theodor Heuss, who was eking out a living in his two-room attic apartment by cleaning carpets when he was invited to become minister of culture. American occupation leaders conducted a fragile balancing act: on the one hand, they were determined that the new political culture should not be imposed but enacted by Germans themselves, starting at the grass roots level; on the other, they feared that if ever the Germans suspected that they were being "reeducated," they would reject any plans out of hand.

As Germany lay defeated, there were 170 women to every 100 men in 1945. The task of restoring this majority of the population to its rightful place in the historical record was addressed by Maria Hoehn (University of Pennsylvania) in her paper, "*Stunde der Frauen?* Renegotiating Women's Place in Postwar Germany." She pointed out the crucial role of mothers in rebuilding family and civic life, and the problems caused by many husbands who refused to shed their authoritarian attitudes and who posed as victors returning from the front. Women felt that men had lost the war; men blamed women (newly enfranchised after World War I) for voting Hitler into power. Divorce rates doubled between 1945 and 1949. With the solidification of the Cold War split, men in both halves of Germany began to work on an idealized model of the modern woman: the sexy, consumer citizen of the West was juxtaposed with the ideologically correct, Socialist worker-mother of the East. Her temporary status as the self-confident, activist *Trümmerfrau* was largely pushed back in favor of more

traditional images as the docile *Hausfrau*, the mother and beautifier of the home, even to some extent in the East.

The afternoon session began with a look at the towns that were planned on the land cleared of rubble by those women. Jeffrey Diefendorf (University of New Hampshire) spoke about "The New City: German Urban Planning and the Zero Hour." In urban planning at least, this was not exactly a zero hour, because the rebuilding of German cities was based in large measure on prewar ideas and plans. Already in the 1930s there existed a journal with the title *Die neue Stadt*. The Nazis themselves had begun to tear down decaying inner-city areas to accommodate their plans for extravagant monumental buildings. The end of the war allowed the first part of this process to continue. City planners were not misled by the destruction caused by bombing into seeing a *tabula rasa*. They simply saw opportunities to fulfill their dreams of modernizing the existing cities as they rebuilt them. The air raids had not brought any fundamental change in city planning.

Rebecca Boehling (University of Maryland, Baltimore County) took a closer look at individual cities in her paper, entitled "*Stunde Null* at the Ground Level: The 1945 Social and Political *Ausgangspunkt* in Three German Cities in the U.S. Zone of Occupation." She charged that the American Military Government had little sophistication when it came to selecting appropriate authority figures, and much depended on the personality of particular American officers. Sometimes they blundered, as in Stuttgart, where church leaders persuaded them to exclude left-wing anti-Fascists from local government. Elsewhere, the "Antifa" forces were more organized, and it was they who presented themselves as a slate of new political appointees.

The role of the church was a strong undercurrent in the final paper, given by Maria Mitchell (Franklin and Marshall College), with the title, "Stunde Null in German Politics? Confessional Culture, Realpolitik, and the Organization of Christian Democracy." Clergymen were spared the indignity of denazification and were offered posts in the new civil administration, which lent them new prestige overnight. However, there were compromises necessary: whether they liked it or not, they were forced by Allied censorship of political speeches to embrace the notion of democracy. Many of the members of the new CDU Party had been members together in the old Center Party, and thus felt the pull of continuity in the direction of policy making. Moreover, it had served them, as Catholics, as such an important emotional sanctuary that they were reluctant to give it up for a new party. Nonetheless, the practical

need and wisdom of inter-confessional cooperation won the day. This did not come easily, and Mitchell gave examples from both Protestants and Catholics of an uneasiness or unwillingness about cooperating with their rivals.

This, and all the presenters in the symposium, underlined the fact that there was no natural development or logical progression to democracy after the war. Germans at all levels were tugged in different directions by personal, political, and confessional preferences, and by the sometimes apparently tentative and hesitant prodding of the Allies. The outcome was not a foregone conclusion.

Geoffrey J. Giles
Chair, Executive Committee of the Friends of the GHI

The Friends' Annual Symposium 1996

The Friends' 1996 symposium, "The Culture of Historical Learning," will take place on November 15, 1996, at the Institute.

VII. Notices and Announcements

GHI Dissertation Scholarships 1997

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 1997, addressed to "GHI Dissertation Scholarships," should be received by **May 31, 1996**, 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; and
- 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.

Transatlantic Doctoral Seminar in German History 1997

The German Historical Institute in Washington, the Center for German and European Studies at Georgetown University, and the Conference Group for Central European History are pleased to announce the third transatlantic doctoral seminar in German history. The conference, again supported by the German-American Academic Council, will bring together young scholars from Germany and North America who are nearing completion of their doctoral degrees. We plan to invite twelve scholars from both sides of the Atlantic for discussion of their doctoral projects over the course of three days. The discussions will be based on papers submitted in advance of the conference. The program will cover all travel costs and lodging expenses.

The conference will focus on the postwar period, 1945-1989. We are now accepting applications from doctoral students whose work falls principally in this era and who will finish their degrees *after* June 1997. Applications should include a short (2-3 pp.) project description, a resume, and a letter of reference from the major advisor. Please send applications by **November 1, 1996**, to: Transatlantic Doctoral Seminars, German Historical Institute, c/o Christa Brown, 1607 New Hampshire Ave., N.W., Washington, DC 20009, USA.