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Series editors:
Detlef Junker
Petra Marquardt-Bigman
Janine S. Micunek

GERMAN HISTORICAL INSTITUTE
1607 New Hampshire Ave., NW
Washington, DC 20009
Tel. (202) 387-3355
Fax: (202) 483-3430
dhiusa@tribeca.ios.com

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Preface

As you most certainly have noticed, this issue of the Bulletin appears with a completely new face. This new look coincides with the tenth anniversary of the Institute's founding. Finding a logo and new cover designs for our various in-house publications certainly did not keep us busy for ten years, yet it has been a peculiar, even adventurous experience. After some dead ends and detours in the world of business and art, we were rescued by Ms. Ute Siewert, a young graphic designer from Cologne. She provided imagination, ideas, and images that we hope you will find as engaging and appealing as we do.

To us, our new look visually conveys the aims and objectives of the Institute. I would like to take this occasion to recapitulate these, since I continually encounter misunderstandings and misperceptions of the Institute's mission on both sides of the Atlantic.

The GHI Washington is a center for advanced study and research. Its main task is to foster cooperation among historians and political scientists from Germany and the United States. The Institute is completely independent from a legal standpoint and is a constituent part of the Foundation of the German Historical Institutes Abroad (Stiftung Deutsche Historische Institute im Ausland).

Although the Institute receives its funding from the Federal Republic of Germany, more precisely from the Ministry of Education, Science, Research, and Technology, it is fully independent in its scholarly activities. A German-American academic advisory council and a board of trustees supervise and oversee the GHI's academic program and the selection of its personnel.

Naturally, the Federal Republic's decision to promote historical scholarship in Germany and the United States through the establishment of this institution reflects Germany's foreign and cultural policy. The founding of the German Historical Institute in the American capital city is surely a sign of the importance that the Federal Republic places on the German-American relationship. However, the GHI is not a think tank in any normative sense; our pur-

pose is not to advise policy makers on the pressing issues of the day. Rather, the Institute's resident scholars are engaged in a wide range of historical pursuits, studying topics that span from the Middle Ages to the present. And yet they raise and examine questions that are vital to contemporary life.

Furthermore, anyone who has taken a look at our publications of the past ten years will know that we are not in the business of writing "official" interpretations of history—which would, in any case, be impossible in a free society.

Yours sincerely,

Detlef Junker

Conference and Workshop Reports

"How Total Was the Great War? Germany, France, Great Britain, and the United States, 1914-1918."

Conference at Schloß Münchenwiler, Bern, October 9-12, 1996. Cosponsored by the German Historical Institutes in Washington, London, and Paris; the Swiss National Foundation; and the Max and Elsa Beer-Brawand Foundation. Conveners: Roger Chickering and Stig Förster.

The third conference in the series "Germany and the United States on the Road to Total War, 1860-1945," convened in the Swiss canton of Bern's conference center last October. Some fifty scholars from Europe and North America addressed the question that has inspired this series of conferences: does the concept of "total war" offer a useful way to understand the history of war and society in the modern West? For the first time in the series, however, the object of deliberation was a conflict to which this label has been commonly affixed.

The conference explored the various dimensions in which the "totalization" of warfare might be registered. Papers by Wolfgang Mommsen, John Keiger, John Grigg, and John Milton Cooper examined the ways in which the visions of major political leaders adjusted to the vast new scope of warfare, while the evolving strategies and tactics of the western front were the subjects of papers by Wilhelm Deist, David Stevenson, and Russel Weigley. Dennis Showalter, Martin van Creveld, and Rolf-Dieter Müller extended the analysis of combat into questions of technology, logistics, and chemical weapons. The war against noncombatants occupied an important place in the discussions, for it appeared to represent a central point of access to "total war." Christian Geinitz explored the strategic bombing of German cities, John Horne analyzed the German atrocities against civilians in Belgium and France, and Gerd Krumeich considered the

systematic devastation of civilian areas that accompanied the German retreat to the Hindenburg Line in early 1917.

Another central point of discussion was the importance of economic warfare. Avner Offer's paper dealt with the British blockade of Germany, Holger Herwig's with German submarine warfare against Allied commerce, and Marc Frey's with the dilemmas that this great-power confrontation posed to neutrals like Holland. The obverse of commercial war was the mobilization of economies and finances, and the papers devoted to this subject stimulated a great deal of debate. Gerald Feldman considered Hugo Stinnes and the German business community, and Elizabeth Glaser examined American aid to the Entente. The papers by Niall Ferguson, Keith Grieves, and Gregory Martin then raised issues of effectiveness in mobilization, as they argued that the British effort was a great deal less efficient than the German. The conference then considered the mobilization of societies from a number of perspectives. Richard Bessel offered his thoughts on what he called "hypermobilization" in Germany. Wolfgang Eckart spoke on the reaction of German doctors to the challenge of emotional breakdown in war. Jörg Nagler examined war hysteria in the United States, and Arthur Marwick spoke on war and the arts. Papers by Rudolf Jaun and Jean Quataert emphasized the centrality of women in any concept of total war.

The conference culminated in a stimulating roundtable discussion, in which Michael Feldman, Robert Toombs, Jay Winter, and Stig Förster participated. The conference produced no incontrovertible conclusions on either the definition or the utility of the concept of total war. It did, however, provide a great deal of clarity about the kinds of issues that the concept must address. Agreement appeared to reign that World War I marked significant, if not revolutionary, changes in the extent of social and economic mobilization, the active involvement of civilians in the prosecution (and suffering) of war, and the way that moral mobilization led to radical war aims.

A fourth conference will meet in 1999. It will examine the interwar period, in which the agenda was set by the need to assimilate the experience of one "total war" and to anticipate another.

Roger Chickering

CONFERENCE PROGRAM

PART ONE: *Introduction*

Opening Remarks: Roger Chickering (Washington, D.C.) and Stig Förster (Bern)

Chair: Detlef Junker (Washington, D.C.)

Papers: Roger Chickering, "World War I and the Theory of Total War: Reflections on the British and German Cases, 1914-1915"; Hew Strachan (Glasgow), "From Cabinet War to Total War: The Perspective of Military Doctrine, 1861-1918"

PART TWO: *War Without limits*

A. Politics

Chair: Fritz Klein (Berlin)

Papers: Wolfgang J. Mommsen (Düsseldorf), "From the September Program to Brest Litovsk"; John F. V. Keiger (Salford), "Poincare, Clemenceau, and the Quest for Total Victory"; John Grigg (London), "Lloyd George and the Quest for Total Victory"; John Milton Cooper (Madison), "Woodrow Wilson's New World Order"

B. Strategy

Chair: Martin Vogt (Mainz)

Papers: Wilhelm Deist (Freiburg/Br.), "Moltke, Falkenhayn, and Ludendorff"; David Stevenson (London), "'La guerre, rien que la guerre': French Strategies on the Western Front, 1914-18"; Russel F. Weigley (Philadelphia), "USA: Pershing"

C. War against Noncombatants

Chair: Jay Winter (Cambridge)

Papers: Christian Geinitz (Frankfurt am Main), "The First Air War against Non-combatants: Strategic Bombing of German Cities in World War I"; John Home (Dublin), "German 'Atrocities' in Belgium and France"; Gerd Krumeich (Freiburg/Br.), "1917: The Labor of Destruction"

Chair: Peter Wende (London)

Papers: Avner Offer (Oxford), "The Blockade of Germany and the Strategy of Starvation, 1914-18: A Principal-Agent Perspective"; Holger Herwig (Calgary), "How 'Total' Was Germany's U-Boat Campaign in the Great War?"; Marc Frey (Bonn), "Bullying the Neutrals: The Case of the Netherlands"

D. Technology

Chair: Gerhard Hirschfeld (Stuttgart)

Papers: Dennis E. Showalter (Colorado Springs), "Mass Warfare and the Impact of Technology"; Martin van Creveld (Jerusalem), "World War I and the Revolution in Logistics"; Rolf-Dieter Müller (Potsdam), "Total War by Means of New Weapons? The Employment of Chemical Agents in World War I"; Wolfgang Uwe Eckart (Heidelberg), "'The most extensive experiment that imagination can produce': Violence of War, Emotional Stress, and German Medicine, 1914-18"

PART THREE: *The Homefront*

A. Economy and Finances

Chair: Hartmut Pogge von Strandmann (Oxford)

Papers: Gerald D. Feldman (Berkeley, Calif.), "War Aims, State Intervention, and Business Leadership in Germany: The Case of Hugo Stinnes"; Keith Grieves (Kingston upon Thames), "Lloyd George and the Management of the British War Economy"; Elisabeth Glaser (Washington, D.C.), "The American Economic War Effort: Money and Material Aid, 1917-18"

Chair: Hartmut Lehmann (Göttingen)

Papers: Niall Ferguson (Oxford), "How (not) to Pay for the War: Traditional Finance and 'Total' War"; Gregory Martin (Bochum), "Mobilizing the British Empire for War"

B. Mobilizing Society

Chair: Thomas Rohkrämer (Lancaster)

Papers: Richard Bessel (Milton Keynes), "Mobilizing German Society for War"; Jörg Nagler (Kiel), "Pandora's Box: Propaganda and War Hysteria in the United States During World War I"; Arthur Marwick (Milton Keynes), "War and the Arts"

Chair: Michael Epkenhans (Heidelberg)

Papers: Rudolf Jaun (Zurich), "Women, *nation armée*, and Total War in France"; Jean Quataert (Binghamton, N.Y.), "Women's Wartime Service Under the Cross: Patriotic Communities in Germany, 1912-18"

"Constructions of Deviant Sexualities: Toward a Conceptualization of the Moral Order in the Late 19th and Early 20th Century."

**Workshop at the GHI in Washington, D.C., November 2, 1996.
Conveners: Peter Becker and Martin H. Geyer.**

The aim of the workshop was to analyze discursive "anti-types" of bourgeois respectability. It is part of a greater effort to conceptualize *Bürgerlichkeit* in the sense of bourgeois culture and self-perception by looking at its negation within the contemporary discourses.

In four papers, given by Nancy Reagin (Pace University, N.Y.), Mary Gibson (John Jay College of Criminal Justice, N.Y.), Martina Kessel (FU Berlin and Princeton University), and Albert Müller (Ludwig Boltzmann Institut für Historische Sozialwissenschaften, Vienna), the representations of prostitutes and homosexuals as well as the discussion of "boredom" of women and men were analyzed. Commentators started a stimulating and vivid debate that was joined by the participants of the workshop. The discussion revolved around the representation of deviant sexualities, the way it was linked to an idealized self-image of bourgeois professionals (doctors, criminologists, psychologists), the epistemological program of modern humanities, and the problematic position of the observer nowadays, who still shares this cultural heritage when she or he embarks on an analysis thereof.

*Peter Becker
Martin H. Geyer*

"The Mechanics of Internationalization: Culture, Society, and Politics from the 1840s to World War I."

Conference at the GHI London, December 12-15, 1996. Cosponsored by the German Historical Institutes in London and Washington. Conveners: Martin H. Geyer and Johannes Paulmann.

All over the world, a revival of national movements and nationalism can be observed. At the same time, we live in an era of globalization, which deeply affects every country. The re-emergence of nationalist sentiments and the all-pervasive process of globalization seem to be contradictory. However, these developments are anything but mutually exclusive. By looking afresh at the rise of internationalism, the organizers of this conference hoped to deepen an understanding of these phenomena.

The program began by dealing with issues related to the underlying structures on which the internationalism of the nineteenth century was based. Did a world without borders emerge during the course of the nineteenth century? At first sight this appeared to be the case: world trade increased about fortyfold between 1800 and 1913, as Sidney Pollard (University of Sheffield) pointed out in his paper, "Free Trade, Protectionism, and the World Economy."

The creation of universal standards for measures, money, and time were attempts to transcend local, regional, and national boundaries and to build international regimes to supervise these standards. Although symbols of internationalism, these standards were strongly imbued with national pride and thus highly contested, argued Martin Geyer (GHI Washington) in his presentation. Furthermore, the development of a "world news order" (Jörg Requate, Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg) accelerated communication in such a way that physical proximity lost its advantage. Toward the end of the century, news from Paris, for example, reached New York before it found its way to provincial France.

The volume of migration within Europe, across the Atlantic, and in other parts of the world as well has led many to believe that migration regulations were completely abolished some time after mid-century. Yet, as in the aforementioned papers and in those fol-

lowing, Andreas Fahrmeir's (GHI London) contribution on "Limits and Possibilities of Travel and Migration: Passports and the Status of Aliens" demonstrated the ambivalent character of internationalization. Movement across national borders increased enormously, but the opening up of the world also involved issues of (national) authority, formal as, well as informal regimes, and inclusion and exclusion.

Looking at nineteenth-century international law, Jörg Fisch (Universität Zürich) investigated the process of "Internationalizing Civilization by De-internationalizing International Society." Especially since the mid-nineteenth century, the Europeans introduced new standards in international relations. States had to establish a framework for all legitimate activities of men, from safe trading to a just legal system, based on Western concepts of law. This defined "civilization." Where there was no "civilized state," territories were open to occupation. Thus international law, which had earlier recognized non-European political entities as principally equal, was dismantled in the name of a farther-reaching internationalism of civilization.

The ambivalent nature of the development of internationalism also became obvious when looking at that nineteenth-century invention, the world exhibition, which typified the mechanics of internationalism in many ways. From very early on, exhibitions were discussed in terms of a "global village," noted Anne Rasmussen (Centre de Recherche en Histoire des Sciences et des Techniques, Paris). However, these exhibitions demonstrated that "international" for contemporaries clearly meant "European" (including North American) rather than "global." They were showcases for nation-states displaying their own culture and their view of the rest of the world.

New issues and institutions were often initiated or strongly influenced by governments to such a degree that it is justified to speak of "Governmental Internationalism and the Beginning of a New World Order in the Late Nineteenth Century" (Madeleine Herren, Universität Bern). For many smaller states, such as Switzerland and Belgium, the growing internationalism was a way to make their influence felt.

One of the earliest examples of internationalism as a political movement was the search by European monarchs for close co-

operation after the Napoleonic wars. However, Johannes Paulmann (GHI London) showed that "Searching for a Royal International" proved rather difficult. Certain factors, such as restrictive conditions and different lines of communication, and dynastic and memorial links and dissensions, limited the chances of achieving a united strategy against revolution—although most of these aspects also facilitated some form of transnational relations between heads of state. The issue of success and failure was brought to the fore in this context. What are the categories for judging it? Moira Donald (University of Exeter) raised that question directly in "Workers of the World Unite? Exploring the Enigma of the Second International." Rather than regarding the Second International as a doomed attempt to revive the idea of Marx's Working Men's International, she put it into the context of the development of European society by looking at the correspondence between leading figures, statistics on the translation of articles, and data on participation at congresses.

The point was reiterated by Leila Rupp's (Ohio State University) paper on "The Making of International Women's Organizations." It is true that before World War I, women did not achieve what their international organizations had set out to gain. Yet the organizational identity created by the numerous international associations did much to further the progress of women's issues after the Great War. However, the international identity of women was fragmented by national identities. The session on international movements ended with Sandi E. Cooper's (City University, New York) paper on "Patriotic Pacifism: The Ideology of Liberal Internationalism, 1889-1914."

Some international movements consciously set out to reform society. This made possible the creation of political identities, as the case of Freemasonry illustrates. Enlightened concepts such as mankind, humanity, universal brotherhood, or moral progress persisted well into the early twentieth century, but they had been transformed since their earlier invention. In his paper on "Nationalism and the Quest for Moral Universalism: German Freemasonry, 1860-1914," Stefan-Ludwig Hoffmann (Universität Bielefeld) discussed the forces involved: the nationalization of European societies and their simultaneous integration with each other. The Freemason's universalism was not merely an earlier stage of or an alternative to nationalism,

but was in fact incorporated into the nation-state and its society—to such a degree that during World War I, French and German Freemasons were each able to claim to fight on the side of humanity, apparently without noticing any contradiction.

Rather more concrete social reforms were pursued at the international level in numerous areas. The movement for prison reform was one of the earliest cases, as Rudolf Muhs (London) described. In the context of the conference, this subject proved to be particularly suitable for analysis as it went through consecutive, albeit partly overlapping stages, which may be categorized as follows: voluntary internationalism, professional internationalism, and institutionalized internationalism. Peter Becker (GHI Washington) considered another aspect of official collaboration in his paper, "Fighting White Slavery: The Beginning of International Police Cooperation." In terms of power politics, the trade in prostitutes was neutral; in terms of moral reform, it provided ample opportunity to pursue all sorts of causes. Becker demonstrated how the police used the media attention and moral panic to tighten controls on prostitution and to attain closer police cooperation internationally, separating police activity from the diplomatic channels it had to rely on until after 1900.

The facilitation and growth of communication during the nineteenth century led to an increase in the availability of knowledge about other countries. Internationalism not only benefited from this process; it contributed to it. The transfer of goods and the dissemination of science were important activities. Nicholas Stargardt (Royal Holloway, University of London) examined one example linked to the social reform movements in his study, "Pedagogical Reform: The *Kindergarten* and the Cult of the Child." The ideas of Friedrich Froebel played an important role in the rise of a child-centered pedagogy. They provided a key component that, stripped of its original contents, was conveyed to other countries, where it was refilled with new substance.

The enormous growth in the natural sciences also depended on transfer operations. "Popularizing science" between 1850 and 1900 (Andreas Daum, GHI Washington) took place in a setting that lacked an overall institutional structure and any affiliation with international organizations. Informal exchanges dealt not merely with

new scientific discoveries transmitted via learned journals but were seen in specimens; popular books; travelling "scientific theatres," which put natural phenomena on stage; and technical toys. It was a polycentric, heterogeneous process driven by various motives ranging from enlightening ideals to business interests. The international congresses organized by experts around the turn of the century were more strictly professionally motivated, as Godelieve van Heteren (Katholieke Universiteit Nijmegen) claimed in her comparison of "London (1881), Berlin (1890), London (1913): British Responses to Organized Medical Internationalism."

A theme touched upon in several papers was lucidly elaborated by Hartmut Berghoff (Eberhard-Karls-Universität Tübingen) in his contribution on "Harmonicas for the World: The Creation and Marketing of a Global Product." In small villages like Trossingen, highly skilled artisans produced musical instruments that flooded the world market while still appealing very much to local tastes. The effects of another, though quite different, case of the transfer of products was presented by Rachel Esner (Amsterdam) in "'Art Knows No Fatherland': The Reception of German Art in France, 1870-1900. A Case of Unexpected Cosmopolitanism." Exhibitions of German art and its reception by French art critics were instrumental in the redefinition of French culture after the war with Germany in 1870/71.

Cultural and social practices travelled from one country to another, and often to several nations at the same time. Christiane Eisenberg (Universität Hamburg) illustrated this phenomenon well in her study, "The Rise of Internationalism in Sport." Modern disciplines developed in Great Britain, the "motherland of sport," and then became popular in the British colonies and throughout the world as "English sport." International meetings were not necessarily peaceful gatherings of individual sportsmen (not sportswomen), but were instead prone to becoming competitive events between nations.

The period under investigation witnessed a large increase in people travelling and writing about their journeys. This quantitative change also involved a qualitative development. Alexander Schmidt (Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin) showed how "International Travel and Travel Reports in the Nineteenth Century" represent an

evolution "from investigating the world to exploring the self," taking Georg Forster's account of his voyage around the world and Hermann Keyserling's *Reisetagebuch eines Philosophen* as examples.

The complex link between material developments (the physical reshaping of the nineteenth-century world) and cultural phenomena (the perception and, interpretation of the environment) was the topic of David Blackburn's (Center for European Studies, Harvard University) analysis, "'Taking the Waters': Meeting Places of the Fashionable World." There were many national spas with modest people, and a few international ones where old and new elites met. A virtual reality was created in the space of a small town and its surroundings, offering local color to a fabric that was basically interchangeable: the hotels, the food, the pastimes, the architecture, the musical entertainment, and the fashions. A regional tradition was invented in order to compete with other localities for an international elite that expected a range of goods and culture to be at its disposal.

The concluding discussion was introduced by Bruce Mazlish (Massachusetts Institute of Technology), who proposed making a distinction between internationalism and globalization. In terms of dates, World War I could be regarded as the turning point, or at least as one step toward a different world. Whereas internationalism is Eurocentric and tied to the nation (state), globalization transcends nations. It is a synchronic and synergetic process in which the mechanics are secondary to a rather impersonal combination of actions and events. Internationalism appeared, after what had been discussed at the conference, as the pursuit of national power by other means. Yet the functional aspect should perhaps not be seen as the only effective one. People's consciousness also changed. This transformation was often mediated through things: material and visual culture, best exemplified in the world exhibition but present in most topics discussed, was an integral part of internationalization during the nineteenth century. Internationalism emerged just at the time when nationalism was developing into a major force in domestic and foreign affairs.

In his concluding remarks, Peter Wende, director of the GHI London, drew attention to the successful transatlantic cooperation

between the two institutes in London and Washington. It was worth noting that international experts from diverse fields of research had come together, and that they had learned from each other. The organizers are planning a publication in the *Studies of the German Historical Institute London*.

*Martin H. Geyer
Johannes Paulmann*

New Research Topics at the GHI

"A Case of Democratic Contagion': Direct Democracy in the United States, 1890-1940"

With the recent battle over Proposition 187, an initiative to deny social benefits to illegal immigrants, and other highly controversial ballot propositions in California and other states, direct democracy has once again claimed center stage on the American political scene. The instruments of direct democracy, in particular the power to initiate legislation via the popular initiative, have enjoyed increasing appeal. From gay rights to term limits, from immigration to affirmative action, many of the most divisive and emotionally charged topics of American society end up as propositions subject to popular vote.

The origins of the initiative, referendum, and recall can be found in the Populist and Progressive eras. After the instruments of direct democracy had been widely discussed throughout the 1890s, inspired by the example of Switzerland, about twenty American states adopted direct democracy between 1898 and 1918. The vast majority of these states were located west of the Mississippi. Only two southern states and two in the Northeast followed their example. From the moment of their adoption, the new political devices, in particular the initiative, enjoyed wide popularity among politicians, interest groups, and voters. As a result, several hundred ballot propositions were placed before American voters up to 1940, and direct democracy significantly altered political structures and the political culture in a number of states.

With the recent upsurge of direct democracy, it is interesting to note that few historical accounts of its rise around 1900 exist. As a topic of scholarly research, it has been neglected by historians and has been given only cursory attention by political scientists more interested in gauging its impact on contemporary political processes. The goal of the research project is to offer a comprehensive analysis of the theory and practice of direct democracy in the United States

between 1890 and 1940 by combining a discussion of direct democracy at the national level with the in-depth analysis of developments in the state of California.

The project will begin by analyzing the long American tradition of hostility toward elected legislative bodies. Accused of bestowing special privileges upon select interest groups, leading to the development of oppressive monopolies, American legislatures saw their power constantly challenged throughout the nineteenth century. Compulsory referendums—on new state constitutions and constitutional amendments, the incurring of new debts, the formation of new banks, and a host of other substantive policy issues—were one crucial instrument to safeguard popular sovereignty in the face of legislative corruption and incompetence. By the 1890s, the example of Switzerland and the indigenous tradition of the New England town meeting provided the inspiration for a movement in favor of the popular initiative, referendum, and recall. These devices offered the electorate the means to draft new laws, to veto bills already approved by legislative bodies, and to remove office holders from their positions before their terms expired. At first propagated by reformers on the fringes of the American political system, in particular Populists, the labor movement, and single taxers, the direct democracy movement slowly gathered momentum during the 1890s. By 1900, it attracted a substantial following in the two major parties as well. Direct democracy was transformed into one of the most hotly contested issues of the Progressive Era. The reforms enacted in most of the states west of the Mississippi left a powerful legacy for state and local politics in the decades to come and had a strong influence on political processes and political cultures.

On the national level, the study will concentrate on some key issues: the antimonopoly tradition in American politics prior to the 1890s; the example of Switzerland and the formation of a reform movement in the 1890s; the social and political constituencies of the movement; the geographical spread of direct democracy across the American states; the role of the new devices within the Progressive movement; the relation of direct democracy to the traditions of American constitutionalism, particularly the issue as to whether the United States was a republic based on a representative government built around checks and balances or a democracy founded on popu-

lar sovereignty and majority rule. One of the crucial aspects of the study will deal with the remarkable concentration of direct democracy in the western states. By combining a look at the strength of antimonopoly sentiments and hostility toward state legislatures in the various regions of America with an analysis of the political structures in the West, marked by weaker parties and party organizations and by weaker ethno-cultural loyalties among the electorate, the project seeks to account for the highly differentiated diffusion of the initiative, referendum, and recall across the United States.

To complement the analysis at the national level, the study will also incorporate a detailed look at direct democracy in California, the most important state to adopt the reforms in the early twentieth century. Many of the same issues addressed at the national level—the formation of the reform movement, the constituencies that supported it, and the strategies and means that allowed the reformers to achieve their objectives—will also be considered with respect to California. A more detailed analysis of one state will, for example, allow to test the hypotheses about the importance of state structures and the strength of the parties as they have been developed in the first section. In addition, a number of selected direct democracy campaigns will be probed to study the dynamics of the practical application of the new devices. It is one of the theses of the project that the practice of direct democracy in California served as a catalyst for the development of a new breed of campaign specialists in American politics. Political consultants, pollsters, advertising managers, and other public relations experts began to play an increasingly important role in California campaigns by the 1930s. The study of some highly controversial initiative and referendum campaigns, marked by the expenditure of large amounts of money and the creation of highly professionalized campaign organizations, thus offers a fascinating glimpse into the rise of political consultants in America.

The materials for this project include a great variety of books and essays published between 1890 and 1940 on the subject of direct democracy, contemporary reforms journals propagating the issue, and scholarly discussions of the impact of direct democracy on state and local politics published during the above-mentioned time period, as well as the voluminous historical literature on the Populist and Progressive eras. The Library of Congress and the National Archives

in Washington, D.C., house the papers of some important politicians and reformers engaged on both sides of the debate on the initiative, referendum, and recall. In California, the project will make extensive use of the personal papers of a variety of state officials, politicians, and reformers active in California politics from the 1890s to the 1930s. Their manuscript collections can primarily be found at the University of California-Berkeley and the University of California-Los Angeles. In addition, there exist some investigations by the United States and California Senates into direct-democracy campaigns. Taken together, the available materials on the national and the California aspects of the study allow for the thorough investigation of a highly important but curiously overlooked reform movement in early-twentieth-century America.

Thomas Goebel

Institute News

Visit of Delegation from the Netherlands and Japan

On November 6, 1996, the GHI hosted a delegation of thirty senior-level government officials and business executives from the Netherlands and Japan, led by Mr. Wim Dik, chairman and CEO of Koninklijke PTT Nederland and former State Secretary of Foreign Affairs in the Netherlands. For two hours the group engaged in a lively debate with the Institute's director and several of its research fellows on the genesis, structure, and main activities of the GHI, as well as on American-European and American-Asian relations from 1945 to the present.

Meeting with a Group of German Lawmakers and Journalists

On January 7, 1997, the Institute organized a discussion with a group that included lawmakers from the German states of Saxony and Thuringia as well as some German journalists and researchers. Sponsored by the United States Information Agency and organized by Delphi International, the purpose of the four-week trip was to better acquaint the visitors with the role played by the United States in European security matters and with the formulation of American foreign policy. The topics of conversation during the meeting at the Institute ranged from contemporary problems in American-German relations to issues of European security and the general image of Germany in the United States. The discussion was particularly interesting and fruitful in light of the different experiences and outlooks brought along by the lawmakers from the former GDR. It is hoped that the work of the Institute will continue to contribute to a more nuanced understanding of the challenges facing the relations between the United States and Germany in the future.

Annual Lecture 1996

Reconstructing and explaining events of the past may be the historian's most obvious task; remembering that this past once was an uncertain future, however, may well be the more demanding duty. By posing the question whether Hitler's seizure of power on January 30, 1933, was indeed as inevitable as is often assumed, Professor Eberhard Kolb of Cologne University offered the appreciative audience at the Institute's Tenth Annual Lecture a new perspective on some of the most fateful developments in modern German history. In a perceptive comment, Professor Henry A. Turner, Jr., complemented Professor Kolb's analysis by elaborating on hitherto little explored alternatives to the Nazi takeover of power in January 1933.

As Professor Kolb illustrated with some striking quotations from contemporary commentators, the widely held notion that the events of January 1933 followed some sort of inevitable logic was not shared at the time. In fact, by the end of 1932, a number of liberal journalists and politicians stated confidently that the danger of the National Socialist seizure of power had been averted, and even the journal entries of Joseph Goebbels, the NSDAP's chief propagandist, painted a bleak picture of the party's prospects for coming to power in the near future. However, Goebbels in his pessimism and, even more so, supporters of the Weimar democracy in their optimism failed to take into account one critical fact. Despite the substantial losses suffered by the NSDAP in the elections of November 1932, and despite the party's undeniable loss of momentum, there was still no solution to the question of how Germany could be governed by presidential cabinets with the Reichstag unable to create parliamentary majorities.

Although this problem was not acute as long as a presidential cabinet found a majority in parliament that would at least tolerate it—as had the cabinet of Chancellor Brüning until May 1932—the situation changed dramatically when President Hindenburg dismissed Brüning at the end of that month and appointed a much more right-wing government with the conservative Catholic Franz von Papen as chancellor. Since Papen's "cabinet of barons" had no prospect for being tolerated by the current Reichstag majority, especially with the

Social Democrats as the largest party, new elections were held in July; but when the NSDAP emerged as the largest party after these elections and Hitler vehemently demanded the chancellorship for himself, Papen again had no chance of finding a majority that would tolerate his cabinet. Thus, if he convened the Reichstag even for a single session, he risked a vote of no confidence by a negative majority as well as a vote to nullify any emergency legislation decreed by the president.

Plans to save the presidential regime by preventing a regular session of the Reichstag and eventually declaring a state of emergency therefore entered the political agenda in mid-August 1932. As Professor Kolb emphasized, Hindenburg, Papen, and other proponents of the presidential regime had no intention of saving the parliamentary democracy of the Weimar Republic, but rather envisioned a return to the preconstitutional authoritarian state. However, although the presidential cabinets nominated after Brüning's demise clearly marked phases in a purposefully pursued destabilization of the political system, aimed at the establishment of an authoritarian "new state," Professor Kolb argued that one would be mistaken to conclude that they were therefore direct preliminary stages to the National Socialist seizure of power. Indeed, if successful, the planned breach of the constitution and the resulting declaration of a state of emergency would have prevented the Nazi takeover.

Despite the president's full support, Papen's efforts to stay in power failed when the chancellor neglected to make timely use of the authority granted to him by Hindenburg. After the Reichstag had passed a vote of no confidence by an overwhelming majority, elections were again held in November, but by then Papen, though still enjoying the president's full backing, could no longer count on the support of the army under General Schleicher. Reluctantly appointed by Hindenburg as Papen's successor, Schleicher's plans for mastering the acute crisis of state by causing a temporary elimination of the Reichstag were thwarted when Hindenburg refused to grant him the presidential powers he had so freely bestowed before and instead appointed Adolf Hitler as chancellor on January 30, 1933.

Agreeing with Professor Kolb's conclusion that handing power to the Nazi movement was not an inevitable step dictated by the crisis of the Weimar democracy, Professor Turner added that resorting to

a state of emergency had not been the only alternative in January 1933. Without even violating the letter of the constitution, Schleicher had the option of extending the Reichstag's recess by several months; another possibility to prolong his hold on the chancellorship arose from a gap in the constitution, which left problems created by a negative majority in the Reichstag unresolved. As Professor Turner emphasized, the fact that none of those possibilities was pursued cannot be explained by "inexorable impersonal forces," but was due to the complex motives of the handful of men whose decisions shaped the events of January 1933. Although none of the options open to them would have resulted in a restoration of Weimar democracy, the likely establishment of an authoritarian military regime would almost certainly have spared humanity the disastrous consequences of Adolf Hitler's installation at the head of the German government.

The lecture and the comment will appear soon in the Institute's series of Occasional Papers.

Petra Marquardt-Bigman

"Germany and the United States in the Era of the Cold War, 1945-1990."

Currently the Institute's main project is its comprehensive overview of German-American relations in the era of the Cold War. This two-volume work will examine these relations from 1945 to 1990 in the areas of politics, security, economics, culture, and society. It will be published in English as part of the Institute's series with Cambridge University Press, and in German by the Oldenbourg Verlag.

Over 120 authors are involved in this project. Since our last status report in Bulletin No. 19, the nature and scope of their contributions have been clarified, and the contributions are now beginning to arrive. We are pleased to announce that Dr. David B. Morris has assumed the post of editor for this project.

In early September, the lead essayists will meet near Warrenton, Virginia, to coordinate the contributions from the work's five the-

matic sections. We anticipate this to be a highly effective meeting for ensuring the continued success of the project.

Detlef Junker

Recipients of Dissertation Scholarships, 1997

The Institute awarded the following dissertation scholarships for 1997:

Wolfgang Dierker, "Der 'Sicherheitsdienst des Reichsführers der SS': Weltanschauliche Gegnerforschung 1936-45." Doctoral advisor: Prof. Dr. Klaus Hildebrand, University of Bonn.

Robert Falkner, "Die Rolle von Unternehmen in der internationalen Umweltpolitik: USA und Deutschland im Vergleich." Doctoral advisor: Prof. Dr. Andrew Hurrell, Nuffield College, Oxford.

David S. Frey, "Conflict, Commerce, and Cooperation: An Investigation of Nazi Germany's Influence on Hungarian Culture through Film, 1933-44." Doctoral advisor: Prof. Istvan Deak, Columbia University.

Knut Kirste, "Foreign Policy Role Conceptions in German-American Relations." Doctoral advisor: Prof. Dr. Hanns W. Maull, University of Trier.

Susanne König, "Dame Britannia und Miss Columbia. Die Selbst- und Fremdwahrnehmung in der britischen und amerikanischen Karrikatur von 1861 bis 1900." Doctoral advisor: Prof. Dr. David Galloway, Ruhr University, Bochum.

Yara-Colette Lemke Muniz de Faria, "'Prüfstein der Demokratie'. Die Kinder afroamerikanischer GIs und deutscher Frauen in Nachkriegsdeutschland und den USA 1945-60." Doctoral advisor: Prof. Dr. Wolfgang Benz, Technical University, Berlin.

Wendy Morgan Lower, "Politics and Society in Zhytomyr, Ukraine: A Regional Study of Nazi Colonialism and Ukrainian Society, 1914-44." Doctoral advisor: Prof. Richard Breitman, American University.

Uwe Lübken, "'The Specter of Nazi Penetration'. Die USA und die Bedrohung Lateinamerikas durch Nazi-Deutschland." Doctoral advisor: Prof. Dr. Jürgen Heideking, University of Cologne.

Martin Öfele, "Deutschstimmige Offiziere in den United States Colored Troops im amerikanischen Bürgerkrieg." Doctoral advisor: Prof. Dr. Hartmut Keil, University of Leipzig.

Matthias Reiß, "'Die Schwarzen waren unsere Freunde'. Deutsche Kriegsgefangene des Zweiten Weltkrieges und die Rassenproblematik in den Vereinigten Staaten der vierziger Jahre." Doctoral advisor: Prof. Dr. Norbert Finzsch, University of Hamburg.

Anita L. Specht, "Body and Soul: How Gender, Ethnicity, and Religion Influenced the Hospitals of the Poor Handmaids of Jesus Christ, 1868-1930." Doctoral advisor: Prof. Jay P. Dolan, University of Notre Dame.

Andrea Verwohlt, "The U.S.-GDR Relationship: From the Difficult Recognition of the GDR to Its Silent End." Doctoral advisor: Prof. Dr. Jürgen Heideking, University of Cologne.

Ute Wrocklage, "Die Fotografie der Konzentrationslager 1933-45." Doctoral advisor: Prof. Dr. Detlef Hoffmann, University of Oldenburg.

Rafael A. Zagovec, "Deutsche Kriegsgefangenschaft in den amerikanischen Südstaaten 1943-46." Doctoral advisor: Prof. Dr. Wolfgang Altgeld, University of Mainz.

Staff Changes

THOMAS GOEBEL, Research Fellow, born in Wesenstedt, NRW, 1964. Studied history at the University of Bielefeld (M.A. 1989), Johns Hopkins University (M.A. 1987), and The University of Chicago. Ph.D. 1993. Postdoctoral Fellow at the John F. Kennedy Institute, FU Berlin, 1994-1996.

Major Publications: *The Children of Athena: Chicago Professionals and the Creation of a New Social Order, 1870-1920* (1996); Articles in *Labor History*, *Geschichte und Gesellschaft*, *Social Science History*, *Journal of Social His-*

tory, Studies in American Political Development, and other scholarly journals.

Current Research: Direct Democracy in the United States, 1890-1940; the Professionalization of Political Campaigning in America; Comparative Evolution of Direct Democracy in America and Germany, 1900-1933.

Member of the Organizations of American Historians, the American Historical Association, Social Science History Association.

DAVID B. MORRIS, Editor of the Institute's forthcoming history of German-American relations during the Cold War. Born in Tacoma, Washington. Studied European history, politics, and economics at the Henry M. Jackson School of International Studies at the University of Washington in Seattle and the Johns Hopkins Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies in Bologna and Washington, D.C. M.A. 1989, Ph.D. 1995. Dissertation: *The Dilemmas of Deutschlandpolitik: The Government of Helmut Kohl and the Goal of German Reunification, 1982-1989*. From 1990 to 1994, guest scholar at the German Society for Foreign Affairs in Bonn and fellow of the German Academic Exchange Service and the Konrad Adenauer Foundation. Additional studies at the Goethe-Institut in Freiburg and Göttingen, and at the Universities of Vienna and Krakow. Current research interests include America's *Deutschlandbild* and how it is affected by the welfare reform debate on both sides of the Atlantic.

Before coming to the GHI, Dr. Morris was the Managing Editor of the *Germanic Review*. He is a member of the American Political Science Association. Dr. Morris is also a member of the Washington Opera Chorus. He and his wife, Ulrike Reichert, live on Capitol Hill.

ROBERT GRATHWOL, Research Fellow, has completed his one-year appointment at the Institute to compile a reference guide of oral history resources in the United States, which will soon appear in print. He has returned to R&D Associates to pursue further research interests.

Update of Our Mailing List

Earlier in the year, the Institute sent a letter to all the individuals on our mailing list, requesting them to confirm the information. In addition to updating our list, the letter was designed to offer individuals the chance to change the kinds of Institute publications they want to receive as well as give us a better understanding of the community interested in our work. Of the roughly 4,000 individuals on our list, almost 3,200 reside in the United States, over a hundred in England and Canada, and more than 700 in Europe, the large majority of whom are resident in Germany. Our Bulletin turned out to be the most requested publication, followed by the Lecture Series invitations, our Reference Guides, and the Occasional Papers.

We would like to remind everyone to make sure that we hear from you in the next few weeks if you do not want to be deleted from our data base. That would alleviate any gap in receiving our notices.

New GHI Publications

We are pleased to announce that the following books have recently appeared in our series with Cambridge University Press:

David E. Barclay and Elisabeth Glaser-Schmidt, eds., *Transatlantic Images and Perceptions: Germany and America since 1776*. New York: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1997.

Manfred Berg and Geoffrey Cocks, eds., *Medicine and Modernity: Public Health and Medical Care in Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century Germany*. New York: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1997.

Norbert Finzsch and Robert Jütte, eds., *Institutions of Confinement: Hospitals, Asylums, and Prisons in Western Europe and North America, 1500-1950*. New York: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1996.

Stig Förster and Jörg Nagler, eds., *On the Road to Total War. The American Civil War and the German Wars of Unification, 1861–1871*. New York: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1997.

In addition, we would like to call attention to the appearance of a volume based on a conference cosponsored by the Institute:

Gottfried Niedhart, Detlef Junker, and Michael W. Richter, eds., *Deutschland und Europa. Nationale Interessen und internationale Ordnung im 21. Jahrhundert*. Mannheim: Palatium Verlag, 1997.

Calendar of Events

Spring 1997 Lecture Series

"Military and Militarism in German Society"

- March 13 Gordon A. Craig (Stanford University)
The Military as a Theme in German History
- March 20 Roger Chickering (Center for German and European Studies,
Georgetown University)
"Total War": Use and Abuse of a Concept
- April 10 Elisabeth Domansky (Indiana University, Bloomington)
*The Militarization of the Social Body in Germany during
World War I*
- May 15 Gerhard L. Weinberg (University of North Carolina, Chapel
Hill)
*Unexplored Questions about the German Military during
World War II*
- May 28 Peter Paret (Institute for Advanced Study, School of
Historical Studies, Princeton)
*Field Marshall and Beggar. The Artist Ernst Barlach in the
First World War*
- June 5 Michael Geyer (University of Chicago)
*Traumatized Citizenship: How the West Germans Came to
Love the Nuclear Bomb, 1949-1964*

Third Transatlantic Doctoral Seminar in German History

The third seminar of the program for Ph.D. candidates in German history takes place from April 16 to 19, 1997, at the GHI and the Center for German and European Studies, Georgetown University. The chosen topic is "Germany Divided and United, 1945-1989." The doctoral students working in this field who have been invited to participate in this year's seminar are:

Beate Deutzmann, University of Cologne
Dagmar Ellerbrock, University of Constance
Catherine Epstein, Harvard University
Michaela Freund, University of Hamburg
Gerhard Fürmetz, University of Hannover
Curt Garner, Technical University of Berlin
Yara-Colette Lemke Muniz de Faria, Technical University of Berlin
Kay L. McAdams, Indiana University
Katherine Pence, The University of Michigan, Ann Arbor
Patrice Poutrus, Zentrum für Zeithistorische Forschung Potsdam
Pavel A. Richter, University of Bielefeld
Mark E. Ruff, Brown University
Mary Elise Sarotte, Harvard University
Annette Timm, The University of Chicago
Jeremy Varon, Cornell University
Jonathan Zatin, University of California, Berkeley

Moderators:

Professor Rebecca Boehling, University of Maryland
Professor Roger Chickering, Georgetown University
Dr. Martin Geyer, German Historical Institute
Professor Maria Höhn, Vassar College
Prof. Dr. Christoph Kleßmann, Zentrum für Zeithistorische Forschung
Potsdam
Prof. Dr. Klaus Tenfelde, University of Bielefeld

Seventh Alois Mertes Memorial Lecture

Professor Michael Zöllner of the University of Bayreuth will deliver the Seventh Alois Mertes Memorial Lecture on Thursday, May 8, 1997. His talk will focus on "Religion, Americanization, and the Common Man."

Upcoming Conferences and Workshops

"New Approaches to Migration Research: German-Americans in Comparative Perspective." Conference at the Texas A&M University, April 22-24, 1997. Conveners: Wolfgang Helbich and Walter Kamp-hoefner.

"Constitutive Moments of Transatlantic Relations, 1947-52 and 1997-2002. The Marshall Plan at 50: Retrospective-Pro prospective." Workshop in Washington, D.C., May 22, 1997. Cosponsored by the American Institute for Contemporary German Studies. Conveners: Carl Lankowski and Wilfried Mausbach.

"The Culture of Rights: Civil Rights, Participation Rights and Social Rights in Germany and the United States from the Late 19th Century to the Present." Conference at the GHI in Washington, D.C., June 11-14, 1997. Conveners: Manfred Berg and Martin H. Geyer.

"Universities in Medieval Society." Conference at the GHI in Washington, D.C., September 18-20, 1997. Conveners: William J. Courtenay and Jürgen Miethke.

"The Transformation of European Politics, 1763-1848: Episode or Model?" Conference at the University of Illinois, Champaign-Urbana, October 31-November 2, 1997. Conveners: Peter Krüger and Paul W Schroeder.

"The Historical Discipline in a Transcultural Perspective, 1850-1950." Workshop at the GHI in Washington, D.C., October 4-5, 1997. Cosponsored by the GHI London. Convener: Eckhardt Fuchs.

"Remapping the German Past: Grand Narrative, Causality, and Post-modernism." Conference at the GHI in Washington, D.C., December 4-7, 1997. Conveners: Eckhardt Fuchs and Detlef Junker.

Postwar German History Research Seminar

The 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 4 and 5, 1997. Our 1996-97 fellows, Drs. Carl Hodge, Jeffrey Peck, and Edmund Spevack, will present their research results, and three specialists in their respective fields will comment on their papers. Following the format of preceding years, we will also have two senior scholars deliver keynote addresses, which will situate the research of our fellows in a broader framework.

Friends of the GHI

Fifth Annual Symposium of the Friends of the GHI "The Culture of Historical Learning"

On November 15, 1996, the Friends held another successful symposium with a number of outstanding papers from scholars based in every part of the country. The day-long proceedings started with a presentation on "Historical Memory and Sedan Day" by Alfred Kelly (Hamilton College), who offered the commemoration of Napoleon III's defeat in 1870 as a classic example of the "invention of tradition." Kaiser Wilhelm I did not even want to declare it an official holiday, because he felt that the celebrations should be impromptu. This fitted in neatly with the myth of the Franco-Prussian War itself as a spontaneous uprising by an outraged German people against French tyrants. It was portrayed as a resumption of the Wars of Liberation against another Napoleon, whose uncouth troops sank so low as to shoot at German Christmas trees! Professor Kelly characterized the myth and its surrounding rhetoric not as an intentional lie, but rather an unconscious fiction. Although it was accorded considerable importance in the early years, the holiday never caught on in Catholic areas of Germany, where Sedan sounded too much like Satan to bring church support, especially during the *Kulturkampf*. Sometimes the celebrations even suggested diabolical interference, as when the 1876 Düsseldorf Sedan Day was marred by four thousand marauding children who were drunk on the free beer. Yet mostly there were complaints about the boredom of the endless speeches of notables—Wilhelm I actually fainted in the saddle on one occasion. Very few veterans were around to participate after the big splash for the twenty-fifth anniversary in 1895, and even Theodor Mommsen suggested the abolition of Sedan Day in 1900. By 1917 it had been quietly phased out by the government.

Professor Rüdiger vom Bruch, this year a visiting professor at Georgetown University, then examined different kinds of memoriali-

zation in his paper, "Culture as Expression of National Values in Imperial Germany." Looking at the statues of Germania throughout the nineteenth century, vom Bruch noted that she symbolized "harmony instead of revolution" in the early decades. In the 1860s Germania came to represent militant resolve, however, only to fade in popularity by the late 1880s behind such national symbols as Wilhelm I and Bismarck. The popular Bismarck towers themselves cast the image of Bismarck as a true "Ekkehard" of the empire in a kind of folkish myth. Similarly the famous *Völkerschlachtdenkmal* at Leipzig did not seek to elevate the observer with patriotic memories, but rather to oppress him/her with heroic darkness. Professor vom Bruch interpreted this as a response to the debate over the crisis of historicism, quoting Hagen Schulze to the effect that "the German future lay in the German Middle Ages." He turned in the second part of his paper to an examination of the journal, *Kunstwart*, founded in 1887, and the new, culturally defined nationalism that it espoused among the intellectual elite it hoped to shape. In the first quarter-century of the journal's publication, the basis of its folkish nationalism shifted from *Nationalkunst* to *Ausdruckskultur*. It viewed the latter as an ethical form of nationalist socialism, anchored in Social Darwinism. Vom Bruch's investigation looked at the folkish nationalism of German Expressionists and suggested the artificiality of the commonly accepted distinctions between reactionary cultural criticism and the artistic avant-garde. In conclusion, he called for comparative studies on contemporaneous developments in other European countries.

The second morning session opened with a paper by Professor Omer Bartov (Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey) with the title, "Defining Enemies, Making Victims: Germans, Jews, and the Holocaust." In it he described anti-Semitism as the glue holding together the ideological hodgepodge that was National Socialism. The regime strove to present the German nation as a victim, and Jews as the enemies who created that condition of victimhood for it. Responsibility for all the ills that beset Germany after World War I was laid at the door of the Jews. They were portrayed as mysteriously elusive enemies. Eastern Jews encountered during World War II visibly conformed to the stereotype in their dress and culture, but that only drove the Nazis to portray the Jews in Germany as more

threatening, because they were hiding behind a Westernized facade. Bartov stressed that "by definition, the elusive enemy can never disappear. He is both necessary and ubiquitous, indestructible and protean." Not only were the Nazis committed to killing all the Jews, but National Socialism was "predicated on the assumption that there would always be more 'Jews' to kill." In a chilling statement, he noted that "the urge to cleanse society of all deformity and abnormality was truly a promise of perpetual destruction." In the quest for perfection, everyone was potentially tainted. Following defeat by the Allies in 1945, all Germans could feel victimized by the criminality of the Nazi regime, and Bartov suggested that postwar Germany strove to neutralize the memory of the Jews' destruction so as to ensure its own physical and psychological restoration. The German people as a whole had suffered from Nazi criminality. Just as the Nuremberg Laws had defined "Aryan" as "not Jewish," so now after the war, "German" was defined as "not Nazi." Professor Bartov then turned his attention to perceptions of the Holocaust in Israel, and discussed the impact of the Eichmann trial. In particular, he described the storm of criticism that followed Hannah Arendt's refusal to demonize the perpetrators and her identification of a fateful complicity of the victims in their own annihilation. In discussing tensions within Israel, he noted the use of anti-Semitic stereotypes by Zionists as a convenient image to describe the Arabs, and as a means to strengthen the legitimacy of modernized, western European Jewish culture against the inroads of eastern Sephardic values. Thus stereotypes were used by all sides in a variety of settings.

An examination of an earlier period was offered by Professor Rudy Koshar (University of Wisconsin, Madison) in his paper, "A Consumable Past: Tourists' Handbooks and German 'Heritage'." His remarks were drawn from a wider study he is conducting on the changing relationship between consumer culture and public memory, focused on guidebooks from the 1880s to the 1930s. Baedeker, which quickly set the international standard for guidebooks, prided itself on its impartiality and boasted that it never accepted commercial advertisements. Yet its concisely detailed historical surveys, written by such scholars as Theodor Mommsen, were by no means neutral in their interpretation of the past. For one thing, there was a strong emphasis on political continuity. The Baedeker guides to Ber-

lin from 1878 to 1927 upheld a view of the city as very much the product of the history of the Prussian electors and the German kaisers. The guides for Saxony did the same for the "dazzling" court as Dresden. People and princes formed an indivisible unity that had coalesced to form the nation—thus ran the Reich patriotism of Baedeker. The Baedekers of the Weimar Republic did not ignore the political turmoil of the decade, noting the heavy street fighting in Berlin in 1919 and directing visitors to the villa and grave of the assassinated minister, Walther Rathenau. Yet violence and political discontinuities were kept in the background of a state-political history that was formulated as a source of continuity and affirmation. The unique inclusion by Baedeker of a separate index of artists in each guide reflected an emphasis on cultural accomplishment that spoke to the historical traditions of the *Bildungsbürgertum* and reinforced the idea of the cultural nation. The illusion of social harmony was encouraged by such comments as that on the Krupp's housing settlements: "the arrangements made for the welfare of the employees are unsurpassed. Of the eight workers' colonies, that of Altenhof in Essen-Rüttenscheid is well worth visiting." A different focus emerged in some guidebooks of Nazi Germany. The 1937 publication, *Wir wandern durch das nationalsozialistische Berlin*, provided a highly detailed, hagiographic tour of Stormtrooper history. Tourists were directed to dozens of sites where SA men had been killed, to the taverns that had served as *SA-Sturmlokale*, to the neighborhoods where street battles with the communists had occurred. The whole was spiced with anti-Semitic commentary. As Koshar noted: "Here the history of ordinary folk was put to the service of Nazi racism." Despite differences in approach, all the guidebooks discussed shared in the commodification of Germany, in the transformation of the past into a viable commercial product, identified and represented through specific forms of historical narration. The heritage industry had clearly identifiable and early roots.

Tourism was also the focus of the next paper, by Professor Alon Confino (University of Virginia), under the title, "A Kind of Time Machine: Tourism, Experience, and Perceptions of the Past in Germany before 1914." He began by noting that it is fashionable to scoff at consumer culture and one of its major creations—tourism. He wished to take tourism seriously and to argue that consumer

culture enabled Germans to construct a common national past as a cultural commodity that conveyed a sense of national belonging. Professor Confino examined in detail some of the historical representations in exhibitions on tourism. The well-attended International Travel and Tourism Exhibition in 1911 at the Berlin Zoo contained pavilions from the different German states. Württemberg featured historical interiors and folk costumes to convey a sense of Swabianness. The following year, the state mounted its own Swabian Exhibition for Travel and Tourism in Stuttgart, with similar but more extensive displays. The remarkable number of seventy thousand people visited the show, and sixty thousand copies of the accompanying catalogue were published. One of the organizers, Gustav Ströhmfeld, argued in his 1911 essay, *Aufgaben and Pflichten der Fremdenverkehrspflege*, that the purpose of tourism was not simply economic. Rather, its very essence was the achievement of national integration and the raising of national consciousness. He deliberately sought an inner strengthening of the empire through the promotion of *Heimatgefühle* and *nationale Zusammengehörigkeit*. Local history museums, which flourished at this time, brought tourists "closer to the spirit of the past in an emotional way." It let them "experience the state of mind of old times." Tourism, in short, became a vehicle for inventing national origins.

Professor Confino then turned to a historiographical consideration of the gap in the existing literature on these issues and advocated greater attention to the nexus of tourism, identity, and consumer culture. Further comments on the planned "Ossi" theme park near Berlin and the Walt Disney historical theme park in this country underlined the meaning attached to an "experience" of the past. Tourism, as a mode of transmission of culture, may be used to mitigate the rupture with the past and to make it more comprehensible.

"How Memory Matters: Germany's Policy toward the European Union" was the title of a presentation from the perspective of political science by Professor Thomas Banchoff (Georgetown University). He pointed to the influence of historical memory on Chancellor Kohl, which appears particularly in his discourse on foreign policy issues. One of his central historical themes in the postunification era has been the claim that European unity represented "a question of war and peace," and he has developed this with references to both

the prewar and postwar periods. A criticism of the past is used to point up implications for the future. Kohl's view of Europe before 1945 has been marked by this unequivocal criticism. Without supranational institutions to restrain them, the European powers—and especially France and Germany—engaged in destructive national rivalries and repeated wars. The absence of firm alliances with western democracies drove Germany to engage in "see-saw politics" between East and West. Chancellor Kohl considers the onset of the integration in the 1950s as a decisive break with the destructive balance of power politics of the past. The founding of the European Coal and Steel Community in 1951 and the Treaty of Rome in 1957 were crucial in this respect. He has painted a broad line of progression from Adenauer to German unity, with West German strength and responsibility enabling the Allies to throw their support behind the plan for unification. The completed process of unification, Kohl goes on to assert, has created a momentum for deeper European integration. The success of Maastricht, he has argued, was imperative in order to prevent "a new version of a European concert in which one country plays first violin." German unity and European unification were, in another of his favorite phrases, "two sides of the same coin." Kohl sought to win support for his policies at home through the use of historical themes. It can also be said that his historical ideas provided a firm orientation for his policy amid an ambiguous post-1990 European constellation.

Overall, the symposium provided a splendidly varied insight into the uses of history in a number of vastly different contexts, from the *Kaiserreich* to the present day. Other historians from the Washington area, as well as members of the Institute, contributed to the lively discussions that accompanied each of the sessions.

Geoffrey J. Giles

Friends Dissertation Prize

Part of the mission of the Friends of the German Historical Institute (FGHI) is to bring together German historians in the United States and the fellows and members of the GHI. This year the FGHI are undertaking a new initiative to recognize outstanding junior scholars who are not yet widely known, through a competition for the best doctoral dissertations in German history, German-American relations, or the history of Germans in North America. The two winners will be given the opportunity to present their research at the Annual Symposium of the Friends in November 1997 at the Institute. Their travel expenses will be covered and, in addition, there will be a modest cash prize.

Application is through nomination by the supervisor of the dissertation. In order to qualify, the candidate must have completed the doctoral dissertation in the two years preceding December 31, 1996, at a North American university.

Professor Vernon Lidtke of the Department of History at The Johns Hopkins University has agreed to act as chair of the selection committee. Finalists were invited to send copies of their complete dissertation to the committee in April 1997, and it is expected that the winners will be announced in August 1997.

Notices and Announcements

GHI Dissertation Scholarships

The German Historical 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 1998 should be sent to the Director no later than May 31, 1997, and should contain the following information:

- a curriculum vitae;
- a detailed plan of study, including research proposal, time frame needed to carry it out, 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.

Other News

Max Planck Institute for History in Göttingen

We are happy to report that the president and the senate of the Max Planck Society have finally abandoned their plans to close the Max-Planck-Institut für Geschichte (MPIG) in Göttingen, although the institute is expected to undergo some restructuring. This decision was in part a result of the immense support that the MPIG marshaled on its behalf within the scientific community in Europe, India, Israel, Japan, and the United States. We welcome this good news and, as an outpost of German scholarship in the United States, would like to thank all the scholars in this country who contributed to a successful drive to save an important German scholarly institution.