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Rights Manager
Paula Bradish
Phone +49 (0)40 41 40 97-36
Fax +49 (0)40 41 40 97-11
Paula.Bradish@his-online.de

Hamburger Edition HIS Verlagsges.mbH
Mittelweg 36 – 20148 Hamburg – Germany
www.hamburger-edition.de
Heinz Bude
Society of Fear

The fears we have, sociologist Heinz Bude asserts, are indicative of the kind of society we live in. Fear is the hallmark of an era in which right-wing populism and fatigue-induced depression are on the rise, capitalism seems caught in a persistent state of crisis, and the very foundations of society seem unsteady. As mainstream, middle-class Europeans continue to cast their ballots in public elections and coach their kids through school, they see their social status as threatened and increasingly suspect that their offspring will not be better off than—and probably not even as prosperous as—their parents.

Bude follows fear as the undercurrent running through contemporary experience to explore the sources of unsettling uncertainty, swallowed anger, and unexpressed bitterness. Examining these feelings in close interpersonal relationships, in the world of work, engagement with political options, or consumers’ use of financial services, the author reflects on how impenetrable data networks, unreliable spouses, and financial crises engender fear—and on why we nonetheless again and again surf the web, risk a new marriage, and climb on board the stock-market roller coaster.

These feelings have little in common with the German angst of earlier decades. Today, the seemingly endless opportunities that seduce us also evoke anxieties, as do the no less numerous opportunities for making fatal mistakes. How can we resist fear? In what rituals and discourses can we reach an understanding with others about the fears we share? Sociologists, says Bude, cannot design a society in which there is no reason to be afraid. But they can show why there is hope in fear: those who are afraid believe that the world does not have to stay the way it is.

«Bude retraces how fear has become the central social force. ... Although his diagnosis of society’s state, written in a style that is at times emotionally arousing and refreshingly vigorous, may read like a patient’s file from Doctor Mabuse, these detailed analyses are precise. And the connections made from one social sphere to another are as subtle as they are uncanny.» — Christian Buss, Spiegel-Online

Heinz Bude is one of the most well-known sociologists in contemporary Germany. He is a professor of macrosociology at the University of Kassel and headed a research unit at the Hamburg Institute for Social Research from 1992 to 2014. His publications on social and political issues such as unemployment and exclusion, the Berlin Republic, the role of religion in society, and the educational system have met with widespread interest in the public sphere.
Western powers’ current interventions in Third World countries have much in common with the countless violent conflicts that have occurred on the periphery of Europe since the conquest of the Americas in the sixteenth century. Like their predecessors, modern imperial wars are shaped by the pronounced asymmetries of military organizations, resources, modes of warfare, and cultures of violence between the respective parties.

Today, imperial wars are essentially civil wars, in which Western powers are only one power factor among many. These conflicts have no clear frontlines, no beginnings, and no end. Rules that aim to limit violence play no more than a minor role. To this day, the Western military machine continues to prove incapable of resolving political strife militarily and confronting in battle an opponent who has no reason to engage in conventional combat and instead relies on guerilla warfare and terrorism. The price for this deficit is paid, in the past as well as today, by local populations.

Walter offers for the first time a coherent explanation of the logic of violent hostilities within the context of European expansion. He examines the patterns of conflict, the conditions under which limits to violence are abandoned, and the dynamics of clashes between opposing cultures of violence. The analysis reveals parallels between different empires and continuities that span historical epochs. His conclusion: recent military interventions by Western armed forces in countries like Afghanistan, Iraq, or Mali are not »new wars«. They stand in the five-hundred-year-old tradition of transcultural violent conflicts under the specific conditions of the »colonial situation«.

»No comparable book in the international literature addresses the role of violence during the ‘European penetration of the world’ in such a comprehensive, long-range perspective. … Walter demonstrates convincingly … the continuities, from the beginnings of imperial expansion to today’s so-called humanitarian interventions. A seminal book that sets standards.« — Dieter Langewiesche, University of Tübingen

Dierk Walter
Organized Violence in European Expansion: Form and Logic of Imperial War

Dierk Walter is a historian at the Hamburg Institute for Social Research and a lecturer in modern history at the University of Bern, Switzerland, and the University of Hamburg. His work focuses on European expansion and Western military history since the eighteenth century. He has published books on the British military in the Cold War and on Prussian military reform and coedited volumes on military history and the Cold War.
Klaas Voß

Washington’s Mercenaries: Covert US Interventions during the Cold War and Their Consequences

»A book that unsparingly reveals Washington’s politics but in no way lends itself to fuel simplistic anti-Americanism—and a book that in many sections is as fascinating to read as a novel.« — Winfried Heinemann, Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung

Private military companies (PMCs) and their major role in international military missions, with «contractors» at times outnumbering regular military personnel in Iraq and Afghanistan, have made mercenaries a hot issue internationally. But PMCs did not appear in the 1990s: they are the logical consequence of a development that began in the Cold War. The bloc confrontation and superpower proxy wars in Asia, Africa, and Latin America were an ideal breeding ground for twentieth-century mercenary culture.

Voß focuses on three key conflicts to dissect why and how the United States began pursuing political interests outside North America with volunteers motivated by money or ideology, with far-reaching consequences for international and domestic politics. Analysis of covert US interventions against the Simba rebellion in the Congo in the 1960s, in the early phase of the conflicts in Angola and Rhodesia (1970s), and in the Nicaraguan Contra War of the 1980s reveals why the American strategy of paying others to fight dirty wars (and supplying the necessary hardware) at first bore fruit, as did the informational strategy of plausible deniability. The latter diverted at least some legal complications, domestic critique, and international attacks from the respective president and his administration.

As an international culture of mercenaries began to emerge in the 1970s, the masterminds of US strategy were forced to recognize that military entrepreneurs and adventurers with their own agendas were no easier to control than the leaders of the regimes that ostensibly sought protection from Communist-supported rebels. This is essential reading for those who seek to understand the pre-history of today’s out-of-area missions and the continuity of key military and informational strategies.

»... a study that is rich in material and in insights. And meanwhile, the history of state-financed US mercenaries continues to this day, despite recurrent scandals.« — Joseph Croitoru, Süddeutsche Zeitung

Klaas Voß received his doctoral degree in history from the University of Hamburg and is a research fellow at the Hamburg Institute for Social Research. He is currently studying the reintegration of rebel groups and militias following the end of Cold War conflicts.
Stefan Deißler

Self-reinforcing Civil Wars: The Persistence and Finiteness of Violent Conflicts within a State

»This book lays out an original, decidedly sociological path within the extensive literature on conflicts and war...and reveals the potential of an analysis of processes of self-reinforcement based in action theory. Every page is carefully elaborated and precisely argued.« — Matthias König, University of Göttingen

After 1945, civil wars became the predominant form of armed conflict and continue to hold that position in the post-1989 era. Nearly 40 percent of civil wars in the past sixty years lasted at least six years, and 20 percent ended only after a decade or more. These violent conflicts not only go on much longer than intrastate wars (which average 1.5 years); this violence often persists after formal peace accords are reached, despite enormous efforts to end it. Stefan Deißler examines the trajectories of these armed confrontations with the tools of the macrosociology of violence to identify the constellations behind this tendency towards longer and longer civil wars.

During the Cold War, civil wars were generally defined as conflicts between proponents of opposing political systems, as proxy wars fueled by the super-power confrontation. Since the early 1990s, they are increasingly presented, in both media reports and academic texts, as clashes between distinct social, political, and especially ethnic groups. Independent of such interpretive framings, sociologist Deißler argues that the persistence of these wars is closely linked to self-reinforcing processes that emerge in many civil conflicts and asserts that such processes are a key to understanding civil wars and their development.

The author outlines a model of actors’ constellations, patterns of action, and modes of reproduction in civil wars that reflects the state of research on conflicts in countries like Peru, Bosnia, or Sri Lanka. Applying this model to revolutionary guerilla wars and ethnicized wars of secession, he identifies marked differences in the two categories of conflicts: both can produce effects that promote the persistence of violence, albeit in specific ways. Deißler then applies his theoretical framework to the decades-long armed conflict in Columbia. Drawing on his own empirical research and other empirical sources, he offers an insightful analysis of the dynamics of guerilla warfare and the economy of civil war in Columbia that have determined the persistence of this brutal conflict. In a final chapter, Deißler discusses the potential and the possible limits of his sociological model for approaching civil wars as conflicts shaped by processes of self-reinforcement.

Stefan Deißler is a sociologist who completed his doctoral degree at the University of Göttingen. For the study upon which this book is based, he was awarded the university’s Friedrich Christoph Dahlmann Prize for research in the social sciences.
Claudia Weber

Perpetrators at War: The Entangled History of the Katyn Executions

- Third place on Germany’s most prestigious Best Non-Fiction Books List, April 2015

>"Weber’s book is an example of the kind of historiography that not only explains but also knows how to tell a story. A brilliant text with many new insights into the history of a massacre, how it was instrumentalized, and how it was dealt with.« — Jörg Baberowski, Humboldt University Berlin

Katyn, where more than twenty thousand Polish officers and intellectuals were shot in spring 1940, is a synonym for Stalinist violence perpetrated during World War II. Much has been written about Katyn and the history of cover-up attempts and propaganda battles from the war to the present day. But both academic and other texts have invariably centered on the issue of responsibility for the executions—framed simply as an “either-or question”.

This book argues that the history of Katyn is more complex and entangled and cannot be understood without considering its historical context: the German-Soviet Nonaggression Pact. Indeed, without the specific agreements and practices that emerged between the two erstwhile ideological enemies who for a time were political allies, this mass crime presumably might never have occurred. Historian Claudia Weber reconstructs the developments leading up to the Politburo’s decision to murder the Polish POWs, who leaders of both Hitler’s Germany and Stalin’s Soviet Union perceived as a problem they hoped the other side would solve. When Germany refused to take over the POWs within the provisions of German-Soviet agreements on population transfers, their fate was sealed. Later, discovery of the mass graves in early 1943, presented to the world by Nazi propaganda minister Goebbels as proof of Stalinist brutality, was in fact no surprise to most key actors. Churchill, the Polish government in exile, and Nazi leaders were already informed about the deaths, the perpetrators, and the grave sites. And reciprocal attempts by the Soviets and Nazis to make the other side accountable persisted at the Nuremberg Trials, but were thwarted by the US persecutors.

The Cold War offered an ideal atmosphere for sustaining and fueling the conflict of the perpetrators in East and West. But while Katyn became a symbol of Eastern European resistance against the Soviet state socialism, in the West the crime and its role in propaganda increasingly roused only marginal right-wing groups. Not until Gorbachev abolished the Soviet political taboo by admitting responsibility for the mass shootings was it possible to recognize and examine the complexity of this crime and its place in European memory.

Claudia Weber is a historian and research fellow at Hamburg Institute for Social Research since 2007. She completed her doctoral degree on the culture of memory in Bulgaria at the University of Leipzig and was a lecturer in Leipzig and at the University of Basel. Her research interests include the history of violence in eastern Europe, the social history of the Cold War, and nationalism and cultures of memory in the past two centuries.
Violent Masses: On the Dynamics and Self-organization of Collective Violence

Collective violence is violence in the »we-mode«. This volume examines spontaneous and unplanned phenomena of collective violence. How do »ordinary« men and women acting in groups and collective masses come to engage together in violence that they previously perceived as illegitimate and incompatible with their own self-understanding?

Sociologists, historians, ethnologists, psychologists, and philosophers whose work focuses on violence explore how collective experience triggers violence and what kinds of group-related situations make violence appear to be a self-evident or even »attractive« option. The texts investigate whether there are typical trajectories and forms of non-organized violence and how collective routines of violence take shape. The phenomena considered range from uproar in a theater to violent protest, lynch mobs, and atrocities in wartime to the emergence of peoples’ militia and the radicalization of underground organizations.

In a world in which violence is widely condemned but nonetheless remains omnipresent, this transdisciplinary approach, which considers both the causes and the phenomenology of diverse violent occurrences, offers new interpretations and timely insights.

With contributions by:

Axel T. Paul has held the chair for general sociology at the University of Basel since 2012. Previously a professor for general sociology at the University of Siegen, he is on the editorial boards of the journals Leviathan and Saeculum.
Benjamin Schwalb is an assistant professor in the Department of Sociology of the University of Basel, who studied sociology, psychology, and cognitive sciences at the University of Freiburg, the University of Basel, and at the University of Arizona (Tucson).
Matthias Fink

Srebrenica: Chronicle of a Genocide or
What Happened to Mirnes Osmanović

Tenth Place, Süddeutsche Zeitung & NDR, Best Non-fiction Books, August 2015

»Fink recounts — on the basis of an unerring choice and analysis of sources — how the siege of Srebrenica escalated to become a genocide, and he does so precisely, compellingly, and insightfully.« — Tobias Bütow, Centre international de formation européenne

On 11 July 1995, the army of the Bosnian Serbs commanded by General Ratko Mladić, marched into the eastern Bosnian municipality of Srebrenica, the enter of a UN safe zone.

Fourteen-year-old Mirnes Osmanović was seen alive for the last time two days later, when members of the Bosnian-Serb military tore him away from his mother under the eyes of soldiers from the United Nations peacekeeping force. Mirnes’s remains, along with those of others from Srebrenica buried in a mass grave, were not identified until fourteen years later.

Srebrenica stands for the most atrocious war crime perpetrated in Europe since the end of World War II. In July 1995, more than eight thousand Bosnian-Muslim men and youths were murdered and more than twenty-five thousand inhabitants—most of them women, children, and the elderly—driven from their homes. Proceedings against those held responsible are still underway before the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY), which has unequivocally classified these crimes as genocide.

Matthias Fink has subjected the huge body of documents amassed by the ICTY, some utilized here for the first time outside of the court proceedings, to a thorough analysis. On this basis, he retraces the developments leading first to brutal »ethnic cleansing« and then to genocide. And he examines why the Bosnian government and its army, as well as the UN forces and the world, failed to prevent these atrocities.

Drawing on testimony and other sources from survivors as well as perpetrators and bystanders and his own interviews, Fink related the context in which violence escalated to the experience of victims and perpetrators to forge an account that is both disturbing and enlightening, in particular on the backdrop of ongoing international debates on what is now termed the »responsibility to protect.«

Matthias Fink is a journalist and author who holds a doctorate in political science and works primarily for German public broadcasting. He has been awarded the Robert Geisendörfer Prize and the World Silver Medal of the New York Festivals for his radio features.
Fatima Kastner

Transitional Justice: From Normative Exceptions to the Norm in World Society

Kastner advances our notions about transitional justice in decisive respects. With her sophisticated theoretical arguments and empirical results presented in vivid, concrete language, she sets new standards for the dynamic encounter of thinking from the social sciences and legal theory. — Gunther Teubner, Goethe University Frankfurt am Main

This volume combines a unique approach to the issue of how societies address a history of massive human rights abuses with groundbreaking empirical evidence from an Islamic country. Legal sociologist Fatima Kastner examines the perspectives and potentials of two key macrosociological theories—the new institutionalism or world polity theory developed by John W. Meyer and Niklas Luhmann’s systems theory—in assessing transitional justice’s goals, functions, and instruments. And she enriches this evaluation by presenting the singular case of the Kingdom of Morocco. King Mohammed VI’s decision to install a truth commission in 2004 was unparalleled in the Arab world: The mass violence and human rights violations investigated were perpetrated under the rule of his own father, Hassan II.

Within this macrosociological framework and analysis of the Moroccan process, key questions on post-conflict justice are addressed. Why is there a global shift from forgetting and denying mass violence and injustice to collectively confronting such occurrences? As reconciliation replaces the prosecution and punishment of perpetrators, is the work of international courts complemented or undermined? Most importantly: what is the specific function of transitional justice and how well does it serve its purpose, notably in Arabic and Islamic societies? Kastner also relates her theoretical and empirical results to experiences with post-conflict institutions in Chile, Argentina, and South Africa. Her findings show, that transitional justice and the processes its sets in motion may have less to do with truth and reconciliation and more with the need to restore or recreate a collective identity.

Contents:

Introduction: – From Exception to Rule: The Global Dissemination of Transitional Justice
I. Transitional Justice in the Kingdom of Morocco
II. Global Human Rights Culture: Universalized Experiences of Injustice in World Society
III. Lex Transitus: Diffusing Norms, Standards, and Institutions and the Politics of the Past
IV. Lethology: The Function of Truth and Reconciliation Commissions
V. Morocco: Socializing States in the Context of Universal Human Rights

Fatima Kastner is a legal sociologist who completed her doctorate at Goethe University Frankfurt after studying there and at the London School of Economics and Collège International de Philosophie, Paris. A research fellow at Hamburg Institute for Social Research from 2004 to 2013, she also lectures at the University of Hamburg and was a visiting professor at the Dubai School of Government in 2013/14. She was awarded the Adam Podgorecki Prize by the International Sociological Association’s Research Committee on Sociology of Law in 2012.
Ulrike Jureit / Nikola Tietze (eds.)
Post-sovereign Territoriality: The European Union and Its Space

· An interdisciplinary exploration of how ideas and practices of territoriality are being transformed in an increasingly post-sovereign Europe

Sovereignty has become a much-discussed topic in recent years, notably in the context of theoretical work on the ongoing transformation of statehood. But the relationship between post-sovereign statehood and territorial order have attracted much less attention. This is especially surprising in Europe, where space is a key element in European Union politics on enlargement and the integration of member states or in relations between citizens and EU institutions. Post-sovereign Territoriality explores this nexus theoretically and empirically by focusing on the changes emerging in the ongoing process of Europeanization, in which not only new individual rights have been established and conditions for access to markets or welfare-state benefits redefined, but also regional, national, and supranational modes of belonging are being reconfigured.

Twelve scholars from cultural studies, geography, historiography, political science, and sociology dissect the concepts, semantics, normative frameworks, and day-to-day practices that are shaping how »pooled and shared sovereignty« (A. Lewicki) relates to ideas of territory. In contrast to the claim that post-sovereign political orders are inevitably post-territorial, these authors highlight the need for critical reflection, in politics and research, on how spatial principles underlying political orders have been transformed—and how this process might be influenced in future. As classic territorial markers of difference are superseded by »invisible frontiers« rooted in institutional procedures rather than spatial parameters, these texts underline why policy-makers and citizens need to consider the impacts on border regimes, social policies, and other areas of vital importance to European citizens.

Contents
Postsovereign Territoriality: An Introduction
Part I. European Space: Visions – Terms – Concepts of Order
Part II. Growing Spaces and Regulated Neighborly Relations: The European Union and Its Rationales of Enlargement
Part III. Inside and Out: Border Constellations in an Enlarged Europe
Part IV. A European Superstate? Elements of a Spatial Transformation

Ulrike Jureit is a historian and fellow at the Hamburg Institute for Social Research whose most recent book examined the development of the concept of Lebensraum in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.
Nikola Tietze is a sociologist and fellow at the Hamburg Institute for Social Research. Her earlier books addressed modes of belonging and forms of Muslim religiosity in European immigration societies.
Philipp Staab
Power and Domination in the World of Service

»Staab unravels the mystery of why, in our society that facilitates and empowers, we are experiencing the return of forms of domination that are direct, unavoidable, and unacceptable. This is what's happening in the worlds of low-level service work.« — Heinz Bude, Hamburg Institute for Social Research / University of Kassel

Service work is tied to the promise of prosperity, upward mobility, and participation in society. To this day, it is considered to be relatively non-hierarchical, purportedly offering enhanced autonomy for employees.

For low-level service jobs—work in retail sales, care-giving, postal and parcel services, cleaning, and similar areas—realities at the workplace tell quite a different story. Low wages, competitive pressures, meager or nonexistent opportunities for advancement, and isolation are the hallmarks of work in these sectors. Employees’ hopes that they would enjoy greater autonomy and space for development as service workers have dissolved. Pressure to rationalize, hierarchical structures, and domination increasingly determine day-to-day work routines.

Philipp Staab evaluates extensive first-hand observation and interviews with employees in low-level service jobs and demonstrates that the issue of proletarization has by no means disappeared in modern societies with the decline of industrial labor. A new kind of postindustrial »proletarity« has emerged, which shapes both how people work and how they live. The decisive site at which inequality is produced and cemented is located precisely where it should no longer be, according to the hopes that are still widespread in society: on the margins of service society.

»People who deliver parcels, clean buildings, or work at discount stores or in geriatric care can only earn their income through physical exploitation. Based on excellent empirical analyses, Philipp Staab demonstrates how in these sectors domination is the result of, rather than the prerequisite for, everyday practices of coping and surviving.« — Heinz Bude, Hamburg Institute for Social Research / University of Kassel

Philipp Staab is a sociologist who studied in Kassel and Paris and received his doctorate from the University of Kassel. He has been a member of the research staff of the Hamburg Institute for Social Research since 2007.
Friederike Bahl

Life Models in Service Society

»Bahl offers a strong empirical study in the sociology of work. Her book illuminates impressively and intelligently the backstage areas of modern work societies. Outside the realm of knowledge workers, high performers, and the new creative classes—that's where the ground staff is in action that keeps our society functioning in the realms of production and reproduction. This book is enlightening in the best sense!« — Berthold Vogel, University of Göttingen

In its early phase, service society was linked to a utopian vision. Service work would herald paid employment's transition from proletarian labor to the promise of enhanced economic status, social identity, and political stability. Today, the realities of contemporary «low-level» service work diverge sharply from these expectations.

Service work that involves caring, cleaning, and selling is characterized by low wages and the minimal social standards of contemporary welfare states. In these sectors of the labor market, upward mobility is a dream of bygone days. Service work, by its very nature, hampers the development of an occupational identity. And the social liberals’ belief that economic measures and the benefits offered by the welfare state would generate a societal order that enhances opportunities for all members of a society is now unconvincing for those who hold low-level service jobs. How do employees in these sectors perceive their situation? Do they experience solidarity or pride in their work? Do they have expectations for the future?

Drawing on interviews, observations, and discussions, Friederike Bahl demonstrates that, low-level service employment has generated modes of working and living that point to a new form of «proletarity» without a proletariat. Her attention focuses on the people who do low-level service work and how they perceive their own status. Bahl's analysis demonstrates that where and how people situate themselves in what they conceive of as «the whole» contributes to shaping society.

»Bahl's book offers a sobering diagnosis. In societies like ours, we find a service proletariat that entertains no hopes for the future. People who work as cleaners, in postal services, or in the care sector work hard and play by the rules, but they don't believe that they themselves or their children will benefit from it. This new proletariat has a vision of society as an endless tunnel — with no light to be seen anywhere.« — Heinz Bude, University of Kassel

Friederike Bahl is a sociologist who completed her doctoral degree at the University of Kassel and has been a researcher with the Hamburg Institute for Social Research since 2007.
Kim C. Priemel / Alexa Stiller (eds.)

**NMT: The Nuremburg Military Tribunals – History, Justice, and the Establishment of Legal Norms**

The first comprehensive academic volume on all of the twelve military tribunals conducted by the US occupation authorities from 1946 to 1949 in Nuremberg against the military, political, and economic policymakers and accomplices of Nazi Germany

The US Nuremberg Military Tribunals (NMT), frequently referred to as the Subsequent Nuremberg Trials, carried forward the task that was begun with the much more well-known International Military Tribunal: systematically bringing to trial the mid-level leaders from the military, government, private enterprise, and other segments of German society, who planned, implemented, or supported in significant ways the Nazis’ exterminatory policies and other crimes against humanity. This collection presents for the first time analysis of all of the twelve cases tried between 1946 and 1949, with a broad range of work by recognized international scholars from history, legal studies, and political science.

Although the role of the NMT in shaping historical knowledge about the Third Reich and in defining legal standards with respect to war crimes and crimes against humanity was no less significant than that of the preceding international trials, in which all four Allies participated, there is little published research on these proceedings and no publication that is as widely-ranging as this collection. The articles are enhanced by various appendices that will be a valuable resource for researchers, students, legal professionals, and all those interested in the history of Nazi Germany and international law.

With contributions by:

»... the most substantial .... survey of the Subsequent Nuremberg Trials; their historical significance remains to be discovered in this country, just as their ongoing relevance is manifested almost daily by the Internationa Criminial Count in The Hague.« —Norbert Frei, Süddeutsche Zeitung

Alexa Stiller is a historian and lecturer in the Department of Modern and Contemporary History, University of Bern, Switzerland. Her research interests are the history of Nazi Germany, the history of forced migration in the twentieth century, violence and genocide, and the history of war crime trials.

Kim Christian Priemel is a lecturer in the Department of History, Humboldt University Berlin, and was previously a visiting fellow at Wolfson College, University of Cambridge. His research focuses on the history of Nazi Germany, social and economic history of contemporary Europe, and the history of ideas.
»While reading the impression arises that one is watching the goddess of law Justicia holding her scales and can see how heavily the arguments weigh, tipping first to this side and then to that. ... A book that is recommended for all jurists, historians, and NGO activists who are concerned with large-scale international crimes.« — Conrad Lay, Andruck, Deutschlandfunk

One of the defining moments in the progress of humanity was, writes William Schabas, the installment of the International Military Tribunal in Nuremberg. The tribunal established influential principles in international law: a war of aggression is an international crime; leaders who wage them are personally responsible, as are individuals who cite obedience in following their orders, rather than adhering to humanitarian norms; atrocities perpetrated by governments against their people are international crimes.

Since the 1990s, international justice has been extended with the ad hoc tribunals for the former Yugoslavia and Rwanda and permanently institutionalized with the creation of the International Criminal Court. But the practice of international criminal justice continues to spark critique and face inherent dilemmas. Schabas, a historian, legal scholar and recognized authority in international law, reviews the history of conceptualizing international criminal law and its practice in international tribunals and courts in this highly topical book.

The focus here is on central issues that have accompanied developments in the decades since Nuremberg. Are international criminal courts called on mainly to promote or restore peace in post-conflict societies? Or is it their overriding aim to secure justice for the victims of atrocious crimes against humanity? How does the international community define justice in the highly-charged contexts of mass crimes, crimes perpetrated by states, and human rights violations? How does the prosecution of international criminals differ from judicial action against violators in a national context? What is, or must be, the role of politics in international justice? What about charges of »victor’s justice«?

In this small and accessible volume, the author shows why the answers to the problems of international justice cannot be resolved by attempting to separate it from international politics: the ongoing project of international justice is an imminently political undertaking. Justice, William Schabas argues, is not an end in itself. What it can and should be is an essential element in pursuing last peace and a mutual understanding of what has threatened peace in the past.

William Schabas is a professor of international law at Middlesex University in London and chairman of the Irish Centre for Human Rights, National University of Ireland Galway. He is also associated with a number of other universities worldwide. Besides serving on the Sierra Leone Truth and Reconciliation Commission he has been an expert advisor to the United Nations on capital punishment. Schabas has published widely on human rights law, international criminal law, and the International Criminal Court.
Is it cynical, in view of the violence perpetrated and the suffering experienced worldwide, to examine how and why camps have become a success, not just in history but also as a global contemporary reality? To this day, camps are an instrument employed by dictators as well as democracies. How can we explain the persistence and adaptability of this institution? Why are they functionally attractive, beyond the bounds of time, continents, and political systems?

Bettina Greiner and Alan Kramer have asked recognized specialists from research on forms of mass internment in camps and on violence to re-examine this phenomenon and focus especially on the processes of radicalization that have rendered the camp a global icon of the repressive potential of modern states.

From the early modern period to modern-day Guantánamo, from POW camps in Europe during World War I to internment camps in the Pacific during World War II, from wars of colonization to wars of decolonialization, from totalitarian ideals of creating communities to the planned extermination of so-called «unworthy life» based on racist motives—the contributors in this volume together reconstruct a unique profile of the history of camps.

The texts presented here are an important stimulus for future multifaceted, transnational research on historical as well as contemporary camps as an international phenomenon.

With contributions by:
Utsumi Aiko, Sara Berger, Marc Buggeln/Michael Wildt, Moritz Feichtinger, Andreas Geistruch, Bernd Greiner, Bettina Greiner, Heather Jones, Alan Kramer, Javier Rodrigo, Felix Schnell, Claudia Siebrecht, Andreas Stucki

Bettina Greiner is a historian and the academic coordinator of the Berlin Colloquia on Contemporary History. Her book Verdrängter Terror: Geschichte und Wahrnehmung sowjetischer Speziallager in Deutschland was published in German by Hamburger Edition and will appear in English in Lexington Books’ Harvard Cold War Series.
Alan Kramer is a professor of European history at Trinity College Dublin. He is the co-author, with John Horne, of German Atrocities, 1914: A History of Denial, which was published in German translation by Hamburger Edition in 2006.
»Tietze's book offers sociologists new insights into the complex constructions and imaginations of belonging found among immigrants in Germany and France ... Tietze demonstrates her impressive capacity to generate rich empirical material and to analyse these findings astutely by applying and developing theoretical concepts. ... she successfully embeds individual narratives into (trans-)national contexts, thus linking different levels of analysis.«
— Schirin Amir-Moazami, Free University Berlin

Belonging can be constructed in diverse ways, for example, by drawing on religion, language, or notions of territory. For immigrants in European democracies, moreover, these constructions of belonging are a means of expressing criticism of society and social and political injustice. In this sense, they are part of disputes over what constitutes a good or just form of social relations and governance.

This book evaluates and presents empirical results from individual and group interviews in France and Germany that address constructions of belonging. Interviewees who perceive themselves as Muslims, Palestinians, or Kabyles within the respective European society articulate notions of community and, in doing so, refer to European categories of religion, territory, or language, as well as to relevant state practices in the two countries.

Analysis of these individual constructions of belonging is complemented and contrasted with documents from the Council of Europe and the European Union. Assessment focuses here on the categories of territory, religion, and language implicitly incorporated into these documents, in order to ascertain what contradictions and interactions result for the concepts that underlie governmental policies, institutional structures, and political developments in Germany and France.

Tietze's analysis reveals how immigrants and their descendents question normative principles and institutional standards and thus have the potential to participate in or indeed initiate societal change. But, she asks, what are their chances of having their critique heard and recognized in conflicts over the definition of just and good social relations?

»A stimulating study that offers path-breaking ideas for research on post-colonial immigration and the transformation of European immigration societies. Ms. Tietze has formulated important suggestions for a young theoretical debate and extended its to date quite narrow empirical basis with her careful and precise work.« — Theresa Wobbe, University of Potsdam

Nikola Tietze is a sociologist and research fellow at the Hamburg Institute for Social Research whose work centers on sociological aspects of religion, of public institutions, and of European unification. Her previous book, comparing forms of Muslim religiosity among young men in Germany and France, won the Norbert Elias Prize for a best first book by a social scientist.
Globalization processes in the legal and political sphere have led to an inexorable erosion of the nation-state. What is the future of democracy in a globalized world? Today, globalization is frequently made responsible for the crisis of democracy, as a political system that is based on the nation-state. But these structural changes challenge society to rethink the democratic reality of political systems that emerged in the wake of the revolutions at the end of the eighteenth century and continue to shape our concept of democracy. The identity of the political subject is being transformed and must be redefined. The need to deconstruct and reconceptualize notions of democracy based on a concept of political community also results from the changing role of the nation-state in the space framed by heterogeneous power centers.

Contents

Introduction
1. Subjective rights
2. Democracy, from Rousseau to Hegel
3. The democratization of democracy
4. Democracy without demos
5. The future of the subject in the context of globalization
Conclusion

"The key that Colliot-Thélène presents lies in subjective individual rights: they can serve as a foundation for democracy beyond the limits of the nation-state. Drawing on great thinkers like Kant, Rousseau, and Arendt, the author offers an ambitious attempt at rethinking a good political order, despite all talk of "post-democracy".« —Eva Marlene Hausteiner, Philosophie Magazin

Catherine Colliot-Thélène is a professor of philosophy at the University of Rennes I and was a guest fellow at the Hamburg Institute for Social Research in 2008. She was the director of the Centre Marc Bloch in Berlin from 1999 to 2004, and is a member of the editorial board of the European Journal of Political Theory.

Translated from French by Ilse Utz
Nazi extermination policies can only be understood, as Jureit convincingly argues, in the light of the many fractures revealed only by a more precise analysis of spatial order theories in the era between the Kaiserreich and the Nazis’ rise to power. … an impressive piece of work and an important contribution to recent discussion on space in historical scholarship and the historiography of National Socialism.« — Iris Schröder, Humboldt University Berlin

Lebensraum today symbolizes, more than any other word, Nazi policies of expansion and extermination. Besides labeling the ideological foundations of Nazi Germany’s mass crimes, however, it now also denotes the continuities of Weltanschauung that linked colonial and National Socialist policies of conquest. But as Ulrike Jureit asserts, prevalent understandings of Raum and Lebensraum and how they relate to practical politics have remained one-dimensional, despite the development of sophisticated theoretical approaches to spatial issues in contemporary historical research.

Ordering Space targets this deficit to deepen and extend our historical understanding of spatial concepts of order—and the idea of Lebensraum—by examining the semantics, concepts, and practices of ordering space in Germany and scrutinizing how academic theory-building and political practices interacted.

Jureit reassesses Friedrich Ratzel’s development of the Lebensraum concept and shows how political concepts of territoriality meshed with individual and collective perceptions of »shrinking space« triggered by modernization and industrialization to fuel academic and popular discourse. Spatial notions based on theories of evolution and migration served to justify colonial conquests; with Germany’s loss of territory after World War I, they fomented a collective sense of claustrophobia and existential threat. But Lebensraum was not the only spatial narrative in the 1920s and, indeed, as close readings of Hitler’s texts reveal, he long favored Boden (soil) over Lebensraum. Ordering Space elucidates how a shift in thinking came about with horrific consequences: Europe’s East was no longer imagined as an empty space, like Germany’s African colonies. Instead, it was to be emptied according to racial criteria, as the site of a new racial and spatial order.

»There is no lack of studies on the Nazis’ Lebensraum policies. But … Jureit’s book develops a completely new (and, moreover, convincing…) perspective. … an impressive empirical and intellectual achievement, especially because many of its interpretations contradict those that are currently highly influential, challenging them with arguments that are based in part on unusual empirical evidence. Ultimately, this is the best thing one can say about a historiographical book.« — Patrick Wagner, Department of History, University of Halle-Wittenberge

Ulrike Jureit is a historian and fellow with the Hamburg Foundation for the Advancement of Research and Culture. Her research and publications address concepts of political collectivity and generations; the culture of memory; space and the political order, especially in occupation regimes and population policies; and racism and anti-Semitism.
»That Wolfgang Kraushaar has presented a chronicle of the revolt and protest movements of the past two years is to be lauded...this very informative survey examines such disparate movements as the Arab Spring and Occupy within the framework of one analysis... Taken together, this is a kind of social seismograph of the present state of the world.«
—Harald Welzer, Süddeutsche Zeitung

In 2011, the world was witness to unexpected and increasingly dramatic protests around the globe. Demonstrators in numerous Arab states carried their demands to the streets until their rulers had no choice but to abdicate and former potentates were forced to flee the country. And with the advent of the »Occupy Wall Street« movement in Manhattan, the rebellion has arrived in the center of international finance.

Protest activities that target banks and the financial system have not only taken place throughout the USA, they have also spread like brush fires on every continent. Demonstrations have occurred in more than one thousand cities in some eighty countries. Millions have taken to the streets, demanding effective political action to control the finance markets and combat the growing divide between rich and poor.

Never before has a protest movement met with so much approval on the part of the general public but also from some politicians. In Germany, its goal of cutting back on banks’ influence is supported by more than eighty percent of the population.

What kind of movements are these? Who are the activists, what are their goals, and what are their prospects for success? Do they really have a chance of curtailing or even stopping the destructive momentum of the international finance system?

Wolfgang Kraushaar is a research fellow at the Hamburg Institute for Social Research and has been a visiting professor at universities in Berlin, Beijing, and Zürich. Protest movements in the Cold War era and leftist terrorism since 1945 are the main themes of his research and many book publications.
Jan Philipp Reemtsma

More Than a Champion: The Style of Muhammad Ali

»A dazzling portrait. ... Written with energy, daring, and artful intelligence«
— San Francisco Chronicle

Muhammad Ali is undeniably the most famous boxer of all time. A loudmouth who made headlines, a convert to Islam, and a conscientious objector who refused to play the roles expected of him, he could nonetheless be irresistibly charming. His legendary fights against Liston, Frazier, or Foreman were watched by many who otherwise had no interest in boxing as a sport. But as Jan Philipp Reemtsma’s sketch of this fascinating personality and his extraordinary style demonstrates, Muhammad Ali was nothing less than a complete work of art.

»Muhammad Ali defeated Liston, Frazier, Foreman, and a society that couldn’t stand a self-assured Afro-American athlete«, writes Jan Philipp Reemtsma, who describes in his essay the three-time heavyweight world champion, the dancing boxing aesthete, the cocky braggart, the black rebel, and the Muslim convert who refused to serve in the military. This book is, as Jochem Hieber wrote in the Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, a »kind of philology of watching television«, for More Than a Champion retraces Ali’s most important fights as if in slow motion, focusing on his »strategy and tactics, his finesse and feints«.

Ali’s fights, his personality and his self-assured proclamations that he was everything an Afro-American was not supposed to be—good-looking, self-confident, boastful—made him an important figure for the US civil rights movement and ultimately an internationally recognized symbol of the spirit of freedom. Muhammad Ali was more than an outstanding boxing champion. He was a master of archaic violence and a hero of modern society. Jan Philipp Reemtsma’s portrait reveals how these seemingly contrary roles come together in one unique contemporary figure.

Jan Philipp Reemtsma is a professor of modern German literature at the University of Hamburg. The founder and director of the Hamburg Institute for Social Research and the Arno Schmidt Foundation, he has published widely on topics from literature, history, politics, and philosophy. His book Vertrauen und Gewalt has been translated into English (Trust and Violence), French, and Polish and will also be released in Spanish and Chinese.
Till death do we part? Explores the potential as well as the limits of new ideals that add the dimension of care to notions of friendship

Demographic transition has immense impacts on the life styles of individuals. Low birth rates change kinship and family relationships, transforming them into scarce resources. The only child of two parents who are also only children has no siblings, aunts, uncles, or cousins. At the same time, people are living longer, and rising numbers of elderly people require care. It seems only a matter of time before predicted worst-cases scenarios become reality. In this phase of social upheaval, the model of caring friendships has emerged as a shimmer of hope. But can friends fulfill the promise of the new ideal of friendship?

On the backdrop of the new dimensions and expectations that are reshaping concepts of friendship, this study addresses the shifts in both discourse on friendship and how friends actually live such relationships. Interviews with people of various generations and diverse biographical backgrounds explore the sensitive spheres that are at the core of the new ideals. What support practices can lead to a failure of friendship? Is it true that money and friends don’t mix? Most importantly, can friends fulfill the expectations they now face, especially with respect to physical care? Accompanying friends through illness and death poses challenges that underline the need to re-examine notions of what friends are and do.

Based on a multilayered perspective, the study offers a highly topical portrait of a social form in transition. The changing public image of friendship corresponds to the increase in significance of close, intimate, emotionally-sustained friendships on a practical level. Janosch Schobin describes a transformation that emerges from two interlinked processes, in which social care adopts more and more elements of friendship and, as a complementary shift, friendship increasingly enters the realm of social care and corresponds to what has traditionally been a »feminine« ideal of friendship.

»...a sensitive analysis with a brilliant theoretical base that seems to take up the ›spirit‹ of older German sociology at the same time it builds a bridge to more recent research...« — Arnold Schmieder, socialnet.de

Janosch Schobin studied sociology, mathematics, and Hispanic studies and completed his doctoral degree at the University of Kassel. He is now a researcher at the Hamburg Institute for Social Research.
Bottle collectors are now a ubiquitous phenomenon of urban life in Germany, elsewhere in Europe, and in many US states: people who comb airports and sport stadiums, searching for bottles and cans to redeem in exchange for the deposit fees. But the public and researchers may know more about collecting and recycling in Cairo or Bogotá than about the »waste pickers« we encounter—and often ignore—in the landscapes of consumer society.

Deftly linking the results of ethnographic observation and interviews with analysis of the legal context, and a historical review antecedents and collecting, from firewood to stamps, Sebastian Moser offers a richly-layered narrative about who collects beverage containers, how and why. Although many collectors lived near or below the poverty line, their primary motive may not necessarily be extra income. Moser’s explorations suggest that bottle collecting primarily targets needs that collectors share with mainstream contemporaries: the desire to achieve and be part of social interactions and the need for routines that structure daily life.

People on the margins collect redeemables to (re-)integrate themselves—at least into social spaces, if not into social relations—by meeting the norms of work-oriented society. But they may be thwarted by municipal ordinances that seek to ban collectors, like beggars and the homeless, from public view and by the stigmatization that targets people who do society’s dirty work. And in contrast to the rag collectors of earlier eras or people who collect, sort, and recycle waste in Africa or Latin America, with their tightly-knit groups and local or even transnational networks, bottle collectors in industrial societies are mostly one-man or -woman businesses. They lack the identification and support a group offers. In this respect, as well, bottle collectors may be closer to mainstream realities than we care to acknowledge.

"Pfandsammler" is an enlightening book. Written in an accessible sociological style, it leads us ... through the world of bottle collectors. Whoever has read it will walk through train stations and pedestrian zones with different eyes."

—Mirko Smiljanic, Deutschlandfunk

Sebastian J. Moser studied sociology, social anthropology, and economics in Bielefeld and received his doctorate in sociology from the University of Freiburg. He now lives and teaches in Lyon, France, where he co-founded Labo Co-Errance, an initiative to promote alternative forms of research and education.
Bettina Greiner

Repressed Terror: History and Perceptions of Soviet Special Camps in Germany

• Geisteswissenschaften International award for funding of the English translation

• Third place, Best Historical Book 2010, historical journal DAMALS, category focused monograph

On 17 January 1950, the newspaper Neues Deutschland announced closure of the Speziallager, ten previously unacknowledged special camps established by the Soviet NKVD in occupied East Germany, where more than 150,000 Germans were held between April 1945 and early 1950. Repressed Terror examines why not only former Nazi party members but people indiscriminately accused of «counterrevolutionary crimes», many mere teenagers, were imprisoned without outside contacts, without a trial, under catastrophic conditions. One-third died of starvation, disease, or exposure.

Bettina Greiner argues that these camps—many set up in former Nazi concentration camps or prisons—had little to do with denazification plans but rather aimed to pacify East Germany, stabilize Soviet hegemony, and terrorize those deemed its enemies. Drawing on sources that include some 750 reports penned by former inmates, her ground-breaking analysis explores the violence perpetrated by guards, the role of «prisoner-functionaries» in maintaining order, and how internal conflicts were played out. Greiner also discusses why former camp inmates have been denied recognition as victims of Stalinist terror, adding new facets to our understanding of the complex relations between victims and perpetrators that emerged in the Cold War era.

»[An] excellent study ... Greiner dissects conditions in the camps meticulously and, in the end, one wonders why we had to wait sixty years after their closing and twenty years after unification for such a book to be published.« —Claus Leggewie, Süddeutsche Zeitung

»Greiner is to be applauded for her achievement in investigating this dark chapter of German post-war history systematically, comprehensively, and in an exemplary manner for the first time. This book should become required reading in schools.« —Christian Hacke, Die Welt

»Bettina Greiner’s well-written book will no doubt soon be considered a standard work.« —Rudolf Walther, Frankfurter Rundschau

»With her comprehensive book, which draws in part on hitherto inaccessible sources, Greiner has presented the first complete—and harrowing—account of the special camps. Thanks to her intellectually impartial and subtle analysis of the sources, the author makes an important contribution to our understanding of survivors’ memories ... memories that have long been denied and deformed by the ideologies of the Cold War.« —H.-J. Modlmayr, Deutschlandradio Kultur

Bettina Greiner is a historian whose research focuses on the history of violence in Germany and twentieth-century cultures of memory.
Normality and Fragility: Democracy after World War I

Adam Tooze and Tim B. Müller are key contributors to the stimulating and ambitious re-mapping of the European–transatlantic period between the two world wars. Mainstream historiography still conceptualizes democracy in the 1920s from the perspective of its collapse. The authors in this volume, in contrast, convincingly show why the vision of a sweeping democratic reordering after World War I should be taken seriously, even if those attempts ultimately failed. – Anselm Doering-Manteuffel, University of Tübingen

Modern democracy is a recent invention. As a dynamic political phenomenon, it was characteristic of the era after World War I. Democracy became normal, a comprehensive form of governance and daily life, and the notion that it might be replaced with some other model seemed unthinkable. This development occurred simultaneously in various societies worldwide, but especially in Europe.

In this volume, historians from a range of European countries and the US consider issues of key importance in comparative research on democracy in the inter-war period, including its acceptance in society, its diverse manifestations in politics and everyday life, and the emergence of the expectation that democracy will persist. How could democracy come to be normal and remain so even in crises that threatened its existence? How could it then be dismantled? This comparative survey reveals transnational intersections and simultaneous developments but also highlights differences shaped by national contexts.

Although democracy became normal in the interwar era, the fragility of this political order also became apparent. As this fragility increasingly comes into focus in political discussions today and there is talk of “dangerous times” for democracy, these texts on a key period in contemporary history offer new insights for the present.

With chapters on the Czech Republic, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, the Netherlands, Spain, Sweden, the UK, and the US as well as on comparative conceptual issues

Authors: Laura Beers, Elisabeth Dieterman, Moritz Föllmer, Joachim C. Häberlen, Ben Jackson, Till Kössler, Urban Lundberg, Helen McCarthy, Philipp Müller, Tim B. Müller, Jeppe Nevers, Philipp Nielsen, Stefanie Middendorf, Johanna Rainio-Niemi, Andrea Orzoff, Andrea Rehling, Hedwig Richter, Benjamin Schröder, Jason Scott Smith, Adam Tooze, Jessica Wardhaugh

Tim B. Müller is a historian and researcher at the Hamburg Institute for Social Research. He is also on the editorial board of the journal Zeitschrift für Ideengeschichte.

Adam Tooze is a professor of history at Columbia University and director of its European Institute. He was previously a professor of modern history and co-director of the program International Security Studies at Yale University.
Tim B. Müller

After World War I: Crisis and Survival of Modern Democracies

- A reexamination of the period between the two world wars as a crucial phase in the emergence of modern democracies
- »There is something fascinating, encouraging, and nonetheless alarming about Müller’s undertaking, especially because he draws parallels to our times.—Erhard Eppler, Süddeutsche Zeitung

World War I was the »seminal catastrophe« of the twentieth century. In its wake came the development of modern democracy. Limitations to voting rights fell and modern knowledge-based society was born. Many »old« democracies at last became democracies in every sense, and new democracies emerged throughout Europe at a rapid pace. Based on broad socio-political foundations, the establishment of the democratic welfare state commenced. This perspective highlights the need to revise mainstream concepts of the interwar period, concepts that all too often focus on the crises and political developments that led to World War II. Although in some states democracy soon was forced into a defensive position—and the Weimar Republic, as the most modern democracy of the period, failed, leading to enormous upheaval in Europe’s center—Scandinavia, Great Britain, and the United States continued on the path of establishing social democracy.

To learn why modern democracies can fail, as well as how they can retain their stability and vitality in fundamental crises, we must examine the interwar period between World War I and World War II, an era in which our own political and social world was born.

Tim B. Müller is a historian and research fellow at the Hamburg Institute for Social Research. He is also an editor of the journal Zeitschrift für Ideengeschichte. His first book published by Hamburger Edition, Krieger und Gelehrte: Herbert Marcuse und die Denksysteme im Kalten Krieg [Warriors and Scholars: Herbert Marcuse and Cold War Culture], is a study of German émigrés in the US and their role in the intellectual history of the Cold War.
Tim B. Müller

Warriors and Scholars: Herbert Marcuse and Cold War Culture

- Geisteswissenschaften International award for funding of the English translation
- Humboldt Prize 2009 from Humboldt University Berlin

How did the connections forged in the 1940s between leftist, émigré intellectuals − Herbert Marcuse, Otto Kirchheimer, Franz Neumann, and others −, their American left-liberal counterparts, and the U.S. intelligence services shape Cold War culture? Together with American scholars like historians Stuart Hughes and Carl Schorske and sociologist Barrington Moore, prominent exiles from Nazi Germany joined the staff of the Office of Strategic Services (OSS) during World War II. Until 1945, their research on the Allies’ enemies and on psychological warfare targeted Nazi Germany. This focus then shifted to the rest of Europe, especially the Soviet Union and the Eastern bloc, as many continued to cooperate with the State Department or the CIA− openly or clandestinely.

Contextualizing this informal German-American network between European democratic socialism and New Deal thinking for the first time within the early bloc confrontation, this fascinating book demonstrates that the links forged in wartime not only promoted careers in prestigious academic institutions. Scholars who had warned against provoking a bloc confrontation in background papers for the OSS and the State Department went on to elaborate alternative interpretations of the post-war political landscape. Warriors and Scholars offers a unique perspective on the intellectual architecture of the Cold War and on the politics of an entire era.

»...offers important methodological innovations for the writing of intellectual history [...] fascinating account of German émigrés in American exile during and after the Second World War. Written in an accessible, at times even gripping, style, Müller unearths what he describes as the ›secret history of intellectuals‹ during the Cold War. [...] By highlighting how specific institutional settings—intelligence communities, philanthropic organizations—not just influenced but actually shaped intellectual approaches, Müller’s study is exemplary...« —Frank Biess, History and Theory

»Tim B. Müller has succeeded in producing something remarkable: a monumental contribution to the history of ideas and intellectual history of the Cold War, which presents the results of intensive archival research in a clearly structured form and brilliant literary style.« —Rolf Wiggershausen, Frankfurter Rundschau

Tim B. Müller joined the Hamburg Institute for Social Research as a research fellow in 2010. His work focuses on the Cold War, the history of ideas and intellectuals, and on the history of violence, war, and peace.
Regina Mühlhäuser
Conquests: German Soldiers’ Involvement in Sexual Violence and Intimate Relations in the Soviet Union, 1941–45

- Geisteswissenschaften International award for funding of the English translation
- Volkswagen Foundation grant for the Japanese translation

Conquests examines for the first time the entire spectrum of heterosexual activities of German soldiers in the occupied Soviet Union and the policies of the Nazi military leadership. Despite official condemnation of relations between »Aryans« and »racially inferior« Eastern Europeans, soldiers perpetrated sex crimes—coerced disrobement, sexual torture, assault, individual or gang rape—throughout the USSR. Also widespread were relations with women who traded sex for protection or food, consensual liaisons, and visits to secret prostitutes—or to official military brothels.

Regina Mühlhäuser shows how attempts to channel soldiers’ behavior through instruction on venereal disease, medical exams for soldiers and prostitutes, and military brothels could both curb sexual acts and create opportunities for men who might otherwise have abstained from sex. Although both the Wehrmacht and the SS opted to regulate rather than repress, the Wehrmacht stressed »racial consciousness« and could punish offenders severely, while the SS emphasized the risks of disease and espionage and penalized clandestine encounters. Also analyzed are plans to screen children born after such sexual encounters and select those viewed as having »Aryan potential«. This book greatly enhances our understanding of broader issues at the interfaces between masculinity, combat readiness, violence, and sexuality in wartime.

»Regina Mühlhäuser’s impressive book ... sets a new standard for understanding Nazi occupation policies in the Soviet Union ... a detailed and nuanced picture ... At the same time, she is acutely aware of the difficult methodological issues involved in studying sexuality and men at war.« —Norman Naimark, Francia-Recensio

»A new study examines sexual violations by German soldiers in the war against the Soviet Union and demolishes the legend of the unblemished Wehrmacht.« —Jan Friedmann, Der Spiegel

»Thanks to her innovative research focus, the study’s multiple perspectives, her clear argument, and careful use of terminology, Mühlhäuser has made an important contribution to this field of research.« —Maren Röger, Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft

»Regina Mühlhäuser describes what men do when they are at war and encounter women. The result is especially impressive because she abstains from moral comments. She has written a chapter in the story of wartime violence that focuses on Germany’s war of annihilation but can claim relevance far beyond this case study.« —Harald Welzer, Deutschlandradio Kultur

Regina Mühlhäuser is a guest fellow and co-coordinator of the Working Group on War and Gender at the Hamburg Institute for Social Research.
Elissa Mailänder Koslov

Workaday Violence: Female SS Guards at Lublin/Majdanek Concentration Camp, 1942–1944

- Awarded a Geisteswissenschaften International grant for complete funding of German-to-English translation
- Winner of the Herbert Steiner Prize 2008, reputed Austrian award for outstanding scholarship on the Nazi era

Cultural historian Elissa Mailänder Koslov examines the day-to-day work of women employed by the SS as overseers in the Lublin/Majdanek concentration camp. Drawing on official Nazi records, post-war testimony, memoirs, and filmed interviews, the author outlines the broad spectrum of guards’ backgrounds and motives before focusing on their free time activities and behavior on the job—supervising work commandos, conducting roll calls, and sending girls and women to death in the gas chambers. Workaday Violence reveals how individual propensities and the social order of the concentration camp shaped a microcosm in which many (but by no means all) female guards quickly adapted to not only observing but also perpetrating violence as a ubiquitous element of workaday life.

Careful scrutiny of conflicts among female guards, internal hierarchies, and relations with superiors and male colleagues reveals how work routines, pressure to “resolve problems”, material gratification, and Nazi propaganda stressing guards’ role in “creating a new order” heightened the overseers’ identification with Nazi policies and their willingness to terrorize prisoners not only when they were under orders to do so.

An important contribution to the gender history of Nazi Germany, this study also promotes our understanding of how “ordinary women” can become capable of brutal violence.

“The book demonstrates … that young women … often acted to a considerable degree on their own initiative to ensure the functioning of an extermination camp … a significant contribution to gender history and research on [Nazi] perpetrators … By elucidating the horrific “workaday routines” of these female perpetrators in Majdanek and confronting the abysmal anthropological depths of a topic that is still taboo, the author helps reconstruct how the murder of Europe’s Jews could become reality.” —Bernward Dörner, Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung

Elissa Mailänder Koslov is a cultural historian on the staff of the École des hautes études en sciences sociales who also coordinates the doctoral program of the Centre interdisciplinaire d’études et de recherches sur l’Allemagne in Paris.
What happened «on the ground» during the Vietnam War, especially war-related violence against civilians, has hardly been examined in depth. This first scholarly evaluation of material from the US Army’s own investigative body, the Vietnam War Crimes Working Group, shows that violations of international codes of warfare were neither singular occurrences, nor the acts of a few individuals. Bernd Greiner elucidates the factors that led to the escalation of violence against non-combatants. He also probes America’s responses to war-crime charges, drawing on a second extensive collection: 30,000 citizens’ letters and petitions to the President and the Pentagon. By illuminating the dynamics of an asymmetric war and the legal and humanitarian issues, this award-winning book addresses questions that resonate in contemporary discussions.

»Bernd Greiner’s book [will] change the way we look at this war ... an important, an outstanding book. Its comprehensive command of the sources and literature, astute analysis, and high degree of objectivity and differentiation are impressive.« —Volker Ullrich, Die Zeit

»A brilliant analysis of America’s defeat in Vietnam is a cautionary tale for those fighting the War on Terror.« —Allan Mallinson, The Times

»Greiner has made a very important contribution to the scholarly literature on the Vietnam War, and he has produced a model of a study on the history of violence. This is one of the best history books I have read for a long time.« —Marc Frey, The International History Review

»[T]he most comprehensive account yet of war crimes in Vietnam (and the most pertinent in terms of Iraq and Afghanistan) ... a stupendously well-researched study ... This is far more than an account of a historical event, of great interest only to specialists or ageing veterans of the Anti-Vietnam War campaigns. War Without Fronts has far wider implications.« —Jonathan Mirsky, Literary Review

»Greiner adds a new and hitherto much–overlooked dimension to the study of the Vietnam War. ... While highly critical of American politics, Greiner’s book is not an anti–American account but a thorough assessment ...« —Klaus Larres, Journal of American History

Bernd Greiner directs the Research Unit: Theory and History of Violence at the Hamburg Institute for Social Research and is a professor of history at the University of Hamburg.
»This enterprise is as fruitful as it is appealing ... None of the [thinkers] in this canon of the social sciences should be allowed to vanish into the void—in other words, into the ivory tower. These forty-page volumes whet one's appetite and may serve as an inducement to (once again) take a closer look ...« —Andreas Debski, Dresdner Neueste Nachrichten

How does the work of groundbreaking nineteenth- and twentieth-century scholars remain relevant for contemporary issues and the future of the social sciences and humanities? This collection unites a range of approaches to classic texts from sociology, philosophy, or psychology: some scholars reassess core concepts, others explore aspects considered »marginal«. These points of departure yield surprising trajectories in a set of transdisciplinary essays that offer intriguing, fresh perspectives on canonical works and the future of scholarship.

»Eight small books of formidable content! Those who seek, like Faust, to recognize ›what holds the world together at its core‹ should delve into these volumes, not because of answers to be found there but because they offer new and stimulating questions pertinent to a resolution of the Faustian enigma that may be relevant in the postmodern age. The Hamburg Institute for Social Research has finally done ... what every student of sociology hopes for ... It asked distinguished German sociologists how we should deal with the classics of sociology in the face of postmodern conditions ... Thus, this publication ... is to be recommended not only for all undergraduate sociology students, but especially for them. Highly practical is the way the volumes fit into anyone’s pants pocket so that they can be whipped out at any time ... No matter where, it is certainly worthwhile.« —Thomas Hummitsch, literature.de

Ulrich Bielefeld on Max Weber | Matthias Koenig on Emile Durkheim | Wolfgang Bonß on Theodor W. Adorno | Armin Nassehi on Niklas Luhmann | Heinz Bude on Karl Marx | Jan Philipp Reemtsma on Sigmund Freud | Rahel Jaeggi on Hannah Arendt | Philipp Sarasin on Michel Foucault
Michael Wildt

Volksgemeinschaft as Self-Empowerment: Violence against Jews in Provincial Germany, 1919 to 1939

• Translation funding prize Geisteswissenschaften International
• First place, Audience Choice, Historical Book 2008, H–Soz–u–Kult
• Fourth place, Best Non–Fiction Book (Börsenblatt/Buchjournal/NDR/SZ)

Wildt retraces the creation of the Volksgemeinschaft by exploring how local violence was legitimized by Nazi policies that isolated Jews as disenfranchised outcasts and stigmatized solidarity with them.

»… one of the most innovative historians of contemporary history working in Germany today. … marked by imaginative questions and answers that are arrestingly original, patiently reconstructed, close to the sources, and justly influential … impresses not just for reinterpreting a topic … but for recalibrating our lens onto the Third Reich.«

Michael Wildt is a professor of contemporary German history at Humboldt University Berlin.

Michael Wildt

Generation of the Unbound: The Leadership Corps of the Reichssicherheitshauptamt

• First place in the categories Contemporary History / Audience Award, Best Historical Book 2002, H–Soz–u–Kult
• Third place, category Monographs, Historical Book 2002, journal DAMALS
• Second place, Best Non–Fiction Book (Börsenblatt/Buchjournal/NDR/SZ)

»… without a doubt the definitive study of the RSHA ... a tremendous aid for historical research on National Socialist Germany and the Holocaust for years to come.« —Saul Friedländer, Los Angeles

»… an imposing account of the SS Reichssicherheitshauptamt ... adds an essential element to this emergent picture. ... shows how an appreciation of ideology's importance can be fully combined not only with the best kind of social history, but also with broad-gauged cultural analysis and an institutional approach to the study of politics.« —Geoff Eley, University of Michigan

An abridged version of this volume (ca. 500 print pages) is also available.

Michael Wildt is a professor of contemporary German history at Humboldt University Berlin.
Peter Klein
»Ghetto Administration Litzmannstadt«: A Municipal Bureaucracy and the Politics of Extermination, 1940 – 1944

There can be no doubt that Peter Klein has presented a fundamental book, rich in numerous small and a number of big new insights based on decades of research. — Jost Düffler, H-Soz-u-Kult

Analysis of newly available documents shows how local civil German administrators of the Łódź (Litzmannstadt) ghetto were actively involved in the Holocaust and sheds new light on the interactions between exploitation, annihilation, and the pursuit of economic profitability.

No, the Germans were not «taken advantage of by a pack of criminals», as Pope Benedict XVI claimed in Auschwitz [in 2006]; there were numerous committed perpetrators throughout the Nazi administration, as Peter Klein convincingly argues. — Jens-Jürgen Ventzki, Süddeutsche Zeitung

Peter Klein is a historian and research fellow with the Hamburg Foundation for the Advancement of Research and Culture.

Andrej Angrick
Occupation Politics and Mass Murder: The Einsatzgruppe D in the Southern Soviet Union, 1941 – 1943

... more than a history of the mobile killing unit ... an impressive and interesting compendium and analysis ... will take its place among the classic works dealing with the German occupation of the Soviet Union. — Peter Black, Central European History

Angrick has written a carefully argued book that, rather than demonizing the perpetrators, reveals their very mediocrity. For those interested in the German occupation practices and the war of annihilation against the Soviet Union, this is an indispensable book. — Christoph Mick, Osteuropa

Andrej Angrick is a historian with the Hamburg Foundation for the Advancement of Research and Culture.
Christian Gerlach

**Calculated Murders: German Economic Policies and the Politics of Annihilation in Belorussia, 1941 to 1944**

- Best Historical Monograph of the year 2000, historical journal DAMALS
- First place, Best Non-Fiction Book (Börsenblatt / Buchjournal / NDR / SZ)

Of all the regions occupied by the Nazis, Belorussia suffered the greatest decimation of its population. Gerlach analyses the goals and deeds of Nazi authorities and practices of the SS, Wehrmacht, and police units there and draws on the previously separate histories of institutions, everyday life, and economics under Nazi rule to reveal the unrecognized links between economic interests and mass murder.

>"Gerlach's ambitious study of German occupation policy in Belorussia documents in careful detail the deliberate mass murder of Soviet prisoners of war, Jews, and other civilians. ... Genuinely innovative is Gerlach's analysis of how the implementation of economic policy influenced the transition to genocide against specific population groups.« —Martin C. Dean, *German History*

**Christian Gerlach** is a historian and professor at the University of Bern; he was formerly an assistant professor at the University of Pittsburgh.

**War, Food, Genocide: Studies on the German Politics of Extermination in World War II**

>"The three essays in this volume make a substantial contribution to the recently reinvigorated debate on the development of Nazi genocide.« —Donald Bloxham, *German History*

With an earlier essay about December 1941, the month in which Hitler’s decision to murder all European Jews was made public, Christian Gerlach aroused the attention of historians on both sides of the Atlantic. In this study, he expands the perspective of that essay and presents new insights on the motives and processes leading up to the Nazi leadership’s decision to perpetrate genocide.

**Christian Gerlach** is a historian and professor at the University of Bern; he was formerly an assistant professor at the University of Pittsburgh.
Karin Orth
The National Socialist Concentration Camp System: The History of a Political Organization

»... will replace Broszat’s as the standard work on the development of the camp system ... This is a very well-written, clearly structured and coherently argued book.« —Nikolaus Wachsmann, German History

Did the Nazi concentration camps together form a system? Were their structures comparable or even identical? Karin Orth’s systematic study shows how the development of the concentration camps unfolded in various phases, corresponding to changing orientations in the politics of repression. Based on numerous documents that become available after the fall of the Iron Curtain, including camp commandatura records, survivors’ reports, and files from some 100 trials of Nazi perpetrators, this work underlines the assertion that the historiography of the Nazi camps is far from complete.

Karin Orth is a historian and researcher in the History Department of the University of Freiburg.

Gudrun Schwarz
A Woman at His Side: Wives in the »SS-Sippengemeinschaft«

»Gudrun Schwarz has presented ... an important book ...« —Bernd G. Ulrich, Handelsblatt

Historian Gudrun Schwarz analyzes typical lives of SS wives who based their families’ daily lives on Nazi ideology, thus providing emotional support for their husbands. Many wives not only knew about Nazi crimes but were accomplices and fellow perpetrators. They frequently visited their husbands at the sites of their murderous work or lived for years right next to concentration camps. This book offers an alternative view of the history of women in Nazi Germany, contrasting with the portrayal of women as victims that dominated post-war public discourse.

»The author is to be commended for documenting the participation of women in the crimes of the Nazi era and thus working against the stubborn tendency to overlook and play down their contribution as perpetrators.« —Ulrike Jureit, H-Soz-u-Kult

Gudrun Schwarz is a sociologist and historian and was a staff member of the Research Unit: Theory and History of Violence at the Hamburg Institute for Social Research from 1995 to 2002.

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Hamburger Edition, Phone +49 (0)40 414097-36, Fax +49 (0)40 414097-11
Klaus Holz

Islamist, Democratic, and Anti-Zionist Anti-Semitism

»This is a small volume but one of considerable argumentative weight.« —Rainer Erb, Das Parlament

Klaus Holz analyses the activities, motivations and rhetoric of different anti-Semitic groups as they have recently emerged in various milieus, from European neo-Nazis to Islamic terrorists. In all these contexts, manifestations of Anti-Semitism show an increasing structural and ideological affinity. Muslims and Christians, Arabs and Europeans of all political convictions meet in today’s anti-Semitism.

»There is currently no better condensed account on this issue.« —Terz, Stattzeitung für Politik und Kultur in Düsseldorf und Umgebung

Klaus Holz, a sociologist, was a lecturer and researcher at the Universities of Freiburg and Leipzig and the Economic University of Vienna; he now heads the Evangelisches Studienwerk Villigst.

Klaus Holz

National Anti-Semitism: Analyzing a Weltanschauung from the Perspective of the Sociology of Knowledge

»Holz’ brilliant analysis, which is accessibly written despite the wide-ranging theoretical issues discussed, is full of political dynamite.« —Dagmar Pöpping, Frankfurter Rundschau

Klaus Holz’ empirically well-founded, comparative analysis of contemporary paradigmatic forms of anti-Semitism challenges common perspectives to argue that modern anti-Semitism is »national«.

»[This volume] is a pioneering contribution to sociological research on antisemitism that deserves attention beyond disciplinary borders because of its concise methodology and its new and convincing results.« —Christhard Hoffmann, Kölner Zeitschrift für Soziologie und Sozialpsychologie

Klaus Holz, a sociologist, was a lecturer and researcher at the Universities of Freiburg and Leipzig and the Economic University of Vienna; he now heads the Evangelisches Studienwerk Villigst.
Thomas Haury
Antisemitism on the Left: Communist Ideology, Nationalism, and Anti–Zionism in the Early German Democratic Republic

“This important monograph offers a comprehensive and discerning analysis of anti-Semitic thought in the context of the fundamental programmatic concepts of German communism.” —PAD Forum: Unterricht und Erziehen

As the Stalinist party purges reached their height in the early 1950s, they acquired a new, scarcely veiled anti-Semitic impetus. High-ranking Communist Party functionaries behind the Iron Curtain were publicly accused of plundering their countries in the service of Zionism and the US financial oligarchy. Haury examines the process of radicalization and nationalization in German communists’ programmatic thinking to show how anti-Semitism was integrated into this ideology.

Thomas Haury studied sociology and history and was awarded his doctorate from the University of Freiburg in 2001 for the thesis upon which this book is based.

Malte Rolf
Soviet Mass Celebrations

• Geisteswissenschaften International award for funding of the English translation
• Best doctoral thesis in history, Eberhard Karls University, Tübingen
• Klaus Mehrnert Prize, German Society for Eastern European Studies

“...a brilliant analysis of the way mass celebrations were designed, planned, and orchestrated at the party center and then transformed, modified, and reinterpreted on the peripheries of the Soviet Union ... valuable assessment of the export of Soviet-celebration culture to the ‘peoples’ democracies’ of Central and Eastern Europe.” —Balázs Apor, Kritika

“Precisely contextualized theoretically and historiographically without terminological or factual ballast ... a festival in language and style.” —Wim van Meurs, Das historisch-politische Buch

“... a stimulating example of an approach based in the history of culture and communication ... and well written.” —Matthias Stadelmann, H-Soz-u-Kult

“... an original, interesting, and well–researched monograph ... adds much to our knowledge of the cultural history of the Stalinist period ... marks a welcome departure in scholarship on Soviet festivals and celebrations ...” —Lutz Häfner, The Russian Review

Malte Rolf is a professor of contemporary Eastern European history at the University of Hanover.
Gerd Hankel
Limits to Killing in Today’s Wars

“Rather than just making appeals, Hankel offers concrete suggestions that are down-to-earth ... deals with abstract issues of international law but with numerous examples that make the problems understandable for laypeople.” – Annette Wilmes, Deutschlandradio Kultur

Today’s wars differ fundamentally from those fought when the Hague and Geneva Conventions defined the limits of war. These codes of war fail to deal adequately with the impacts of complex conflicts, especially with the growing number of civilians killed, further undermining acceptance of international interventions and agreements. Hankel analyzes key areas in which revisions are urgently needed and outlines how they can be implemented internationally.

“... Hankel’s small memorandum is a highly topical text.” – Alexandra Kemmerer, Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung

Gerd Hankel is a scholar of legal affairs with the Hamburg Foundation for the Advancement of Research and Culture. His work centers on war crimes, mass violence, and national and international law.

Gerd Hankel (ed.)
Power and Justice: International Law and International Criminal Law in the 21st Century

“... outstanding among recent books on these issues ... Whether expert or layperson— whoever is interested in the ... debate about the challenges of international law ... is at the right address...” – Thomas Hummitzsch, Internationale Politik und Gesellschaft

“... the Hamburg Institute for Social Research has become one of the most stimulating places in Germany for reflecting on and discussing issues of justice and power beyond disciplinary borders. Transdisciplinary friction is unavoidable. But the dialogue continues, and the credit is due in part to ... Gerd Hankel. As the editor of this volume, he has presented mandatory reading for all those interested in current issues in—and the future of—international law.” – Alexandra Kemmerer, Süddeutsche Zeitung

Contributors: Claudia Cárdenas Aravena, Monique Chemillier-Gendreau, Gerd Hankel, Claus Kreß, Herfried Münkler, Volker Nerlich, Frank Neubacher, Mary Ellen O’Connell, William A. Schabas, Anja Selbert-Fohr, Gerhard Stuby, Gerhard Werle

Gerd Hankel is a scholar of legal affairs with the Hamburg Foundation for the Advancement of Research and Culture.
Gerd Hankel
The Leipzig Trials: German War Crimes and Their Legal Consequences after World War II

- Geisteswissenschaften International award for funding of the English translation
- Legal Book of the Year 2003, journal Neue Juristische Wochenschrift

Rather than themselves prosecuting Germans accused of war crimes in WWI, the Allies agreed to trials before the Reichsgericht in Leipzig. This first comprehensive and highly readable assessment of the trials shows how their conduct reinforced Germany's interpretations of international treaties on treatment of civilians, partisans, or POWs, paving the way for the Wehrmacht’s massive war crimes in World War II.

»[A] pioneering study, and an essential monograph for anyone working on the many important issues of war crimes and the laws of war.« —Alan Kramer, Trinity College

»... an excellent analysis of [this] first and historically neglected episode ... an excellent command of the complex and controversial historiographical issues ... a strong contribution ... to the scholarship of interwar Germany as well as for those interested in the broader history of international law and the prosecution of war crimes.« —Jeffrey R. Smith, German Studies Review

»... should be a benchmark for all those who are interested in the history of the Weimar Republic and, indeed, the history of Germany.« —Marcel Spivak, Francia

»... compulsory reading for anyone wishing to analyze part of the historical reasons for the reluctance of the international community to get serious about the idea of an international criminal court.« —Michael Bohlander, International Criminal Law Review

»... exhaustive and unprecedented use of all the archival documents ... negotiates questions about the uniqueness of the German case and the connections between the war crimes of WWI and WWII with a caution and deftness that strengthen his conclusions ...« —David Grimm Choberka, H-Net Reviews

Gerd Hankel is a scholar of legal affairs with the Hamburg Foundation for the Advancement of Research and Culture.
Jan Philipp Reemtsma

Trust and Violence: An Essay on a Modern Relationship

How can modernity’s goal of curtailing violence, demanding it be justified, and ostracizing its perpetrators coexist with horrific mass violence? Reemtsma probes trust and its paradoxical relationship to violence in this synthesis of his previous work on the Nazi regime, on leftist terrorism, torture, and insights gleaned from world literature. To ask why loving fathers become mass murderers is, he argues, an expression of modernity’s illusions about violence. Trust and Violence distinguishes three forms of violence based on their relationships to the body and to power and marks autotelic violence as a special challenge to the trust on which modernity is based, because it lacks a discernable cause. Blending historical and political analysis, philosophical reflection, sociological theory, and literary interpretations from Shakespeare to Schiller to Dostoevsky, Reemtsma contends that trust and realism are essential, if the mechanisms that can generate barbarity almost overnight are to be held in check.

> “It is hard to imagine a more ambitious undertaking. That it has succeeded ... is due to a bold blending of sociological concepts and interpretive skills from literary studies ... For those who aim to address the question of violence intelligently in the coming years, there will be no getting around this book.” —Jens Bisky, Süddeutsche Zeitung

> “... a study with so much potential for theories of society that social science will be unable to absorb it without rethinking itself ...” —Harald Welzer, Essen

> Reemtsma’s theoretical outline matures to bear copious fruits, thanks to his poised transitions from one field of scholarship to another. Unfettered by obligations to specific schools of thought, he becomes an expert on violence and interprets contradictory phenomena with a cool, analytical eye ... a significant contribution on violence in modernity.” —Harry Nutt, Frankfurter Rundschau

> “... takes up where the »Dialectic of Enlightenment« left off. Anyone who intends to reflect on modernity must read it.” —Claus Leggewie, Essen

Jan Philipp Reemtsma is the founder and director of the Hamburg Institute for Social Research and a professor of German literature at the University of Hamburg.
Jan Philipp Reemtsma
Torture in Constitutional States?

»Jan Philipp Reemtsma observes our society with great precision. He has chosen the right moment to write a lucid book that challenges the erosion of fundamental legal norms.«
—Peter Wien, arte

Jan Philipp Reemtsma argues that modern societies’ unambiguous and unequivocal rejection of torture cannot be abandoned without severely damaging and endangering our legal tradition.

»Those who want to understand why a ‘transformation … of German attitudes on legal issues’ is perhaps taking place before our eyes will gain much from reading this book.« —Horst Meier, Literaturen

Jan Philipp Reemtsma is founder and director of the Hamburg Institute for Social Research and the Arno Schmidt Foundation and a professor of German literature at the University of Hamburg.

Luz Arce
The Inferno: A Story of Terror and Survival in Chile

»The Inferno is a shattering book: a testimony, a life report, a report on survival. A document of contemporary history that explodes the boundaries of the nation.«
—Rosemarie Bollinger, Deutschlandfunk

A member of Salvador Allende’s personal guard unit, Luz Arce went underground after the putsch on 11 September 1973, was arrested a few months later and tortured by the new regime’s secret police. Hoping to save her brother, she agreed to cooperate and worked for five years for the Chilean secret services. Arce later testified before the Chilean truth and reconciliation commission, facing those who had been her torturers and then her bosses. A portrayal of life in a repressive apparatus, a self-analysis of the struggle to regain one’s identity, and an account of coming to terms with a brutal dictatorship. Translated from Spanish by Astrid Schmitt-Böhringer

Luz Arce studied physical education at the Universidad de Chile and has worked as a teacher.
Klaus Naumann
Mission without a Goal?
Why the Military Needs Politics

Second place, Best Non-Fiction Book (Börsenblatt/Buchjournal/NDR/SZ)

A factual and highly-readable analysis of why Germany’s political class has failed to come to
terms with the transition from a policy of “defense” to one aimed at achieving “security”. It
outlines how political and military structures must be re-aligned and citizens obliged to
contribute to a secure future.

“[T]his book is not a cool survey of military policy and strategic thought in Germany, it is a wake-up call ... Whoever has
the slightest sense of what goes on in Berlin will agree with Naumann’s most important critique ...” — Herfried Münkler,
Die Welt

“This book is so handy that it will fit into the pocket of every parliamentarian. And that is exactly where it should be ... succeed[s] in doing something that seldom occurs with political books: Naumann has not only analyzed a problem
precisely, he has supplied a roadmap for dealing with it.” — Thomas Speckmann, Die Zeit

Klaus Naumann is a historian at the Hamburg Institute for Social Research; who works on the politics of memory
and relations between society and the military.

Klaus Naumann
Generals under Democracy: A Generational Study of the
Bundeswehr’s Elite

“This publication is a well-grounded analysis of the various generations of the Bundeswehr
elite, of the experience that left its mark on them, and of their intellectual engagement
with democracy; it is worthwhile reading, not only for soldiers.” — Militärgeschichte

Using previously neglected sources, re-interpretations, and his own biographical interviews,
Naumann dismantles stereotypes about West Germany’s post-1945 military elite. This group
portrait elucidates how military men “went democratic” and why the contradictions between
military and civilian life now pose new challenges.

“[T]his study offers a wealth of interesting details about the Bundeswehr elite and takes a first step towards formulating
a comparison of its cohorts that is grounded in the history of generations.” — Reiner Pommerin, Frankfurter Allgemeine
Zeitung

Klaus Naumann is a historian at the Hamburg Institute for Social Research; who works on the politics of memory
and relations between society and the military.
Hans-C. Graf Sponeck
A Different Kind of War: The UN Sanctions Regime in Iraq

»Hans-C. Graf Sponeck, the former head of the UN program ›Oil for Food‹, takes stock of his work in Iran, with devastating conclusions.« — Frankfurter Rundschau

Drawing on internal UN documents and talks with Iraqi officials and politicians (including Saddam Hussein), with UN decision-makers (including Kofi Annan), and with Iraqi citizens, Sponeck shows how the economic sanctions affected daily life and asks who benefited from the program. Sponeck outlines political options for a UN Iraq policy that would meet standards of humanitarian action. His proposals and critique of UN policies highlight the need for a comprehensive reform of the organization based on its role in today’s most controversial international conflict.

Hans-C. Graf Sponeck worked for the UN for more than thirty years, including a term as UN assistant secretary general and is now an international consultant.

Taner Akçam
Armenia and the Genocide: The Istanbul Trials and the Turkish National Movement

»Even today, the subject remains taboo in Turkey. This publication and commentary on the trial records makes Taner Akçam the first historian to shed light on this suppressed chapter of Turkish history.« — Florian Hildebrand, Bayerischer Rundschau

In 1915, a large part of the Armenian population of Turkey perished as the direct or indirect result of a brutal massacre organized by Turkish authorities. Five years later, some of the perpetrators were put on trial in Istanbul. The records of these trials reveal how this genocide was planned and carried out.

Taner Akçam, sociologist and historian, is a professor in the History Department, University of Minnesota.
Ulrike Jureit / Michael Wildt (eds.)
Generations: On the Relevance of a Fundamental Concept in Research

»... a handbook for further reflection and engagement ... Thanks to the inspiring scope of themes, the originality and impressive quality of the contributions ... an essential resource for scholarly discussion.« —Ulrike Schulz, Die Berliner Literaturkritik

This volume scrutinizes—from the perspectives of history, cultural studies, sociology, and media studies—the concept of the generation and its significance for interpreting history and social interaction.

Contributors: Christina Benninghaus, Heinz Bude, Christina von Hodenberg, Ulrike Jureit, Heinz Dieter Kittsteiner, Habbo Knoch, Eva Krejci, Kurt Lüscher, M. Rainer Lepsius, Kaspar Maase, Mark Roseman, Sigrid Weigel, Michael Wildt

Ulrike Jureit, historian and fellow with the Hamburg Foundation for the Advancement of Research and Culture;
Michael Wildt, professor of history at Humboldt University Berlin.

Manfred Hettling / Bernd Ulrich (eds.)
The Bourgeoisie in Post-1945 Germany

»... a substantial contribution to today’s political and scholarly debate ... shows convincingly that the concepts [Bürgertum and Bürgerlichkeit] are indeed useful in analyzing the Federal Republic of Germany and even the GDR.« —Werner Bührer, Süddeutsche Zeitung

These historical, sociological, and autobiographical studies explore the enduring elements of bourgeois life and politics in post-1945 German and show how bourgeois society’s political model survived, influenced West Germany, and was itself transformed. It enhances our understanding of the other, eastern post-war German state and sheds new light on neo-liberalism.

Contributors: Ulrich Bielefeld, Heinz Bude, Eckart Conze, Thomas Großbölting, Reinhart Koselleck, Wolfgang Kraushaar, Kai Arne Linne mann, Bedrich Löwenstein, Burkart Lutz, Josef Mooser, Klaus Naumann, Bernd Ulrich, Michael Wildt, Günter Wirth

Manfred Hettling, professor of modern and contemporary history at Martin Luther University, Halle–Wittenberg;
Bernd Ulrich, historian, former fellow at the Hamburg Institute for Social Research.
Wolfgang Kraushaar / Karin Wieland / Jan Philipp Reemtsma

Rudi Dutschke, Andreas Baader and the RAF

- Ninth place, Best Non-fiction Books (Börsenblatt / Buchjournal / NDR/SZ)
- Recommended by the editors of the weekly newspaper Die Zeit

These essays re-examine Rudi Dutschke and Andreas Baader, two charismatic leaders of Germany's left—one seemingly the embodiment of a »new morality«, the other a personification of infernal evil. Their common ground—admiration for the guerrillero, an affinity to violence, a commitment to escalation—are a key to understanding the history of Germany’s post-1945 left—and leftist terrorism.

»... readers who are seriously interested in violence as an issue in the years of the student movement should read this volume ...« —Arno Widmann, Die Tageszeitung
»... an incisive polemic ...« —Gerd Koenen, Die Zeit

Wolfgang Kraushaar, political scientist, Hamburg Institute for Social Research; Karin Wieland, political scientist, Hamburg Foundation for the Advancement of Research and Culture; Jan Philipp Reemtsma, director, Hamburg Institute for Social Research and professor of German literature.

Wolfgang Kraushaar (ed.)
The RAF and Left Terrorism

Tenth place, Best Non-fiction Book (Börsenblatt / Buchjournal / NDR/SZ)

Views on the Rote Armee Fraktion that terrorized Germany for thirty years remain ripe with myths and contradictions. More than sixty texts from historians, social scientists, psychologists, and scholars from legal, cultural, literary, and media studies deconstruct leftist terrorism in Germany and beyond.

»... renowned scholars on just about every aspect of the subject. Despite its size and its scholarly standards, highly readable and very topical, as well.« —Stefan Schmitz, Stern
»... shows the terrorists ... as the junior partner of the intelligence services during the Cold War—and reveals their anti-Semitic tendencies ... This project ... was overdue ...« —Michael Sontheimer, Der Spiegel

Wolfgang Kraushaar is a political scientist at the Hamburg Institute for Social Research; his research and many publications center on post-1945 protest and leftist terrorism in East and West Germany.
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Hamburger Edition, Phone +49 (0)40 414097-36, Fax +49 (0)40 414097-11
Our Authors

Taner Akçam
Andrey Angrick
Luz Arce
Sina Arnold
Jochen August
Friederike Bahl
Étienne Bailbar
Zygmunst Bauman
Manfred Berg
Sara Berger
Svenja Bethke
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Ulrich Bielefeld
Kerstin Bischl
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