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Pablo Schmelzer

»Black and White, unite and fight«: The West German Leftist Movement and the Black Panther Party



»Black and White, unite and fight«. Die deutsche 68er-Bewegung und die Black Panther Party
ca. 73 000 words / 248 pages
11 images
ISBN 978-3-86854-356-8
Hardback, September 2021

Available rights
All languages

Focuses on a to-date neglected alliance formed in the 1960s in West Germany and sheds new light on more recent debates on cultural appropriation and identity

»A book that is absolutely worth reading and one that enriches debates about the left movement of 1968.« – Werner Buhrer, *Süddeutsche Zeitung*

»Schmelzer is to be lauded for having dared to explore the unknown terrain between barracks and campuses to give a voice to previously overlooked experience.«

Jörg Später, *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*

In the late 1960s, Black Panther Party activists brought together white West German leftists and African American soldiers stationed in West Germany and established the Black Panther Solidarity Committee in Frankfurt am Main. Writing in underground newspapers, GIs called for a »black revolution«, scandalized racial discrimination within the U.S. Army, and claimed to represent the Black Panther Party in Germany. As Pablo Schmelzer's analysis shows, these newspapers and their reception sheds light on the relationship between African American GIs and their German support scene to reveal a dynamic culture of protest, with which the Black Panther Party made strategic use of aspirations of the German radical Left.

Schmelzer's book deconstructs the purportedly passive role of people of color and non-European actors within the German leftist movement of the late 1960s to reframe dominant narratives of the concepts and practices of leftist and student internationalism. The transnational alliance Schmelzer explores was for a time politically productive, with local groups active near US military bases collaborating to stage rallies and campaigns until the mid-1970s. But the German radical left's ambivalent fascination with *Afroamerika* also spawned considerable friction and struggles over questions of identity and cultural appropriation. The movement's fight against racism ultimately remained focused on the United States and failed to address issues closer to home. Indeed: within class struggle as it was defined by West Germany's radical left, racism was considered a »secondary contradiction«. This brand of antiracism proved to have significant blind spots, which persisted for decades after the end of the alliance.

Pablo Schmelzer studied history, literature and cultural studies in Bonn, Paris and Göttingen. He is a research fellow in the Democracy and Statehood Research Group at the Hamburg Institute for Social Research. His current research focuses on right-wing violence and discourse on political order in both German states between 1970 and 1993.

Marcel Berni

Out of Action: Life and Death of »Communist Prisoners« in Vietnam's American War, 1965–1973



Ausser Gefecht. Leben und Sterben »kommunistischer Gefangener« in Vietnams amerikanischem Krieg 1965–1973
ca. 160 000 words / 442 pages
ISBN 978-3-86854-348-3
Hardback, September 2020

Available rights
All languages

Recipient of the André Corvisier Prize 2020, awarded for an outstanding doctoral thesis in military history by the International Commission of Military History.

»Marcel Berni's excellent work can be credited with having significantly advanced this field of research [on prisoners taken in asymmetric armed conflicts].« From the Corvisier Prize jury statement

»Berni ... warns against monocausal explanations, instead discussing a cluster of causes, including structural and situational, institutional, group dynamic, and individual factors. The result is a study of great importance, far beyond the Vietnam War, for the history of violent »asymmetric wars«, and a book that should certainly be published in English.«

– Christian Koller, *Portal Militärgeschichte*

The fate of communist captives in Vietnam's American War (1965–1973) has not been the focus of a comprehensive, comparative historical study. In contrast to captured U.S. soldiers, little is known about treatment of their counterparts south of the Bamboo Curtain. Based on a vast amount of primary sources from three continents, evaluation of personal accounts, and comprehensive analysis of secondary research, this is the first monograph on communist captives. Their fate illustrates the considerable discrepancies that emerged during the Vietnam War between legal demands and military realities, and between civilian and military law in theory and informal practices on the ground.

Swiss historian Marcel Berni develops multifactorial explanatory variables to analyze the broad spectrum of interpersonal violence that these captives were subjected to, from simple harassment to abuse, torture, sexual violence, murder, and mutilation. Characteristically, such crimes were not only committed by soldiers engaged in combat but also in the rear areas. In the perception of many American and South Vietnamese soldiers, enemy prisoners were only worthy of treatment according to international laws and agreements if they themselves also respected such standards and fought according to »conventional, civilized rules«. Where this was not the case, as in South Vietnam, the perceived opponent frequently became the target of merciless violence. Belligerent nations often manipulated definitions of combatants and prisoners to serve their own military strategies and advance their larger goals.

Because it addresses the decisive issue of how enemy combatants are categorized or defined, in particular as irregulars not protected by the Geneva Conventions and other international standards, this study could hardly be more topical.

Marcel Berni is a historian and postdoctoral researcher in the Strategic Studies Department of the Swiss Military Academy at the ETH Zurich in Switzerland. He assumed this position after completing his doctorate at the University of Hamburg. His current research examines the political, strategic, and social reorientations that shaped developments in Switzerland after the end of the Cold War.

Patrick Hönig

An End to Impunity?

Mobile Courts in the Eastern Democratic Republic of Congo



Ein Ende der Straflosigkeit?
Mobile Gerichte im Osten der
Demokratischen Republik Kongo
ca. 95 000 words / 320 pages,
5 maps
ISBN 978-3-86854-350-6
Hardback, March 2021

Available rights
All languages

Examines the operations of Congolese mobile courts to reveal the shortcomings of a program aimed at administering justice in a society plagued by armed conflict and (sexualized) violence. These courts have undermined survivors' faith in legal process, by failing to address victims' expectations and their desire for witness protection and reparations.

»Recommended reading for all those who engage with the issues of protecting human rights and perpetrators' impunity.« – Annette Wilmes, *Deutschlandfunk*

For years, the Democratic Republic of Congo has repeatedly made headlines with reports of serious acts of violence. These human rights violations and crimes against humanity are perpetrated by members of various armed groups, the Congolese army, or even by members of the victims' own families. Introduced in 1979, mobile courts aimed to increase the numbers of perpetrators brought to justice and deal mostly with serious criminal cases: homicide, manslaughter, and or rape or other forms of sexualized violence.

Mobile courts operate like regular stationary courts but ad hoc and in remote rural areas or urban areas with little or no access to adequate justice services. Various international organizations help fund the system. As Patrick Hönig argues, the complex web of actors that has developed in this context offers advantages for state and non-state actors—but all too often none for the victims of major crimes seeking justice.

In extensive on-site research, Hönig observed the courts in action and spoke with Congolese judges, prosecutors, and defense lawyers, with the staff members of the international organizations involved, and with victims and plaintiffs. *An End to Impunity* is an unsparing analysis and critique of the mobile court system as a legal device that purportedly increases access to justice and strengthens people's confidence in the rule of law. In practice, this system primarily benefits those who have the material and other means to pursue a case and falls short of accepted standards of the rule of law and legal process. More importantly, the interventions of mobile courts, which are supported by international actors that pursue their own agenda based on the principles of complementarity, universality, and uniformity, often run counter to the aims of rehabilitating survivors, promoting conflict resolution, and addressing structural problems of postconflict situations.

Patrick Hönig is a legal scholar who has worked at universities and academic institutions in Europe, North America, and Asia and for international governmental and non-governmental organizations, mainly in South Asia and sub-Saharan Africa. He served as a political affairs officer of the United Nations Mission in the Democratic Republic of Congo. His research interests and numerous publications center on peace and security, human rights law, and conflict resolution and dispute settlement.

Klaus Holz / Thomas Haury Antisemitism Against Israel



Antisemitismus gegen Israel
ca. 137 000 words / 450 pages
ISBN 978-3-86854-355-1
Hardback, October 2021

Available rights
All languages

A highly topical examination of contemporary manifestations of modern anti-Zionism and antisemitism that targets Israel

»Space is too limited in this review to do justice to the richness of historical context, the astute argumentation, and the wealth of material that have been brought together in this well-structured volume.« – Micha Brumlik, *zeitzeichen*

In 2020, remarks made by postcolonial theorist Achille Mbembe rekindled public debate in Germany about antisemitism and criticism of Israel. This most recent in a long line of similar controversies raises numerous issues—not the least of which is the fundamental question of what is meant by antisemitism that targets Israel—that are starting point for this book.

With this systematic, historically grounded study, Klaus Holz and Thomas Haury demonstrate why antisemitism expressed as a critique of Israel is not a special form of contemporary antisemitism but is rather rooted in the fundamental principles of modern antisemitism. The authors reconstruct the various manifestations of contemporary antisemitism and the self-representations with which they are associated. They scrutinize antisemitism on the left, antiracist identity politics, Christian positions that support and oppose Israel, and the politics of the New Right and dissect the many links connecting these disparate positions. Their analysis lays bare the underlying patterns shared by anti-Zionism, antisemitism focused on Israel, and antisemitism as a more general phenomenon.

Contents

- I. Introduction
- II. The Zionist Movement, Its Opponents and Enemies
- III. Post-Nazi Antisemitism
- IV. Antisemitism on the Left
- V. Islamist Antisemitism
- VI. Identity Politics: Antisemitism or Racism?
- VII. Christians For and Against Israel
- VIII. The New Right: A Return to Weltanschauung
- IX. Conclusion: Conditional Universalism

Klaus Holz is the secretary general of the Evangelische Akademien in Deutschland (Protestant Academies in Germany) and has been involved in research on antisemitism for many years. Two of his earlier books were published by Hamburger Edition: Nationaler Antisemitismus and Die Gegenwart des Antisemitismus.

Thomas Haury works in education. He holds a degree in sociology and history and a doctorate from the University of Freiburg. His study of antisemitism in East Germany, Antisemitismus von links, was published by Hamburger Edition.

Till van Rahden

Multiplicity: Jewish History and the Ambivalences of Universalism



Vielheit. Jüdische Geschichte
und die Ambivalenzen des
Universalismus
ca. 67 000 words / 224 pages
ISBN 978-3-86854-358-2
Hardback, October 2022

Available rights
All languages

On the claim to equality and the right to difference: a new perspective on Jewish and European history since the Enlightenment

»A valuable book not only for historians and scholars of Jewish studies but for all those interested in sociological and political issues.« – Elias S. Jungheim, *judaica*

Since the Enlightenment, thinkers throughout the world have grappled with the idea of the »unity of the human race« and humanity's diversity. How can the promise of equality for all be reconciled with tolerance for diversity?

Till van Rahden examines two centuries of Jewish history in Europe within the framework of this recurrent theme of European modernity. As the ideal of equality gained ascendancy, so did disputes over cultural and religious difference intensified, which fueled discussions on Jewish emancipation and the Jewish experience of equality and discrimination, in particular since the late 18th century. Illuminating the history of contested concepts such as assimilation, minority or majority, ethnicity, and tribe, the author's perspective on European Jewish history offers a story of plurality that remains highly relevant in the present day.

Contents

- 1 Minorities and Majority: From the Ideal of Democratic Equality to the Dream of National Purity
- 2 Jewish Life and the Ambivalences of Bourgeoisie Society in Germany
- 3 »Germans of Jewish Descent«: Common Ideas between Nationalism and Particularism, 1850 to 1933
- 4 Situative Ethnicity or Socio-moral Milieu: Jews and Catholics in the German Imperial Era
- 5 Betrayal, Fate or Opportunity: Controversies over the Concept of Assimilation

Till van Rahden is a historian and professor of German and European Studies at the Université de Montréal.

Kiran Klaus Patel / Ingo Schulze

Twice Connected, Half United: East Germany's Accession to West Germany and to the European Community



Doppelt verbunden,
halb vereint. Der Beitritt
der DDR zur BRD und zur
Europäischen Gemeinschaft
ca. 19 000 words / 128 pages
ISBN 978-3-86854-353-7
Hardback, February 2022

Available rights
All languages

Three decades after the Maastricht Treaty, German-British scholar Kiran Klaus Patel and award-winning writer Ingo Schulze reflect on the impacts and interactions of German unity and European integration

»These two very different forms of union were inextricably intertwined. They expedited and fed on one another; they were at once mutual exigencies and responses, relief and burden.« — Kiran Klaus Patel

»Western Europe played a specific role in our conversations at the time, not only as a place we longed for. It represented, very generally speaking, the hope that we could advance German-German rapprochement by pursuing European integration.« — Ingo Schulze

»In this unusual book, an intertextual conversation of a very special kind emerges.«

Thorsten Holzhauser, *H-Soz-Kult*

When the former German Democratic Republic was united with the West German state, East Germany also became part of the European unification process. This process had gained momentum, beginning in the 1980s, and accelerated when the Maastricht Treaty establishing the European Union was signed in February 1992.

Much has been written about the fall of the Berlin Wall. But the interactions between the »establishment of German unity« and European integration have failed to attract similar attention, despite their far-reaching impacts. German unification played a crucial role the much-discussed, controversial project of a European monetary union—an undertaking implemented without the direct participation of citizens in eastern and western Europe. And within the borders of the former East German state, economic actors had to quickly adapt to the rules and regulations of the European Community. How did these and associated developments affect people in the former East Germany?

Historian Kiran Klaus Patel, a leading expert on the history of the European Union, and award-winning German writer Ingo Schulze explore these and other questions in complementary essays and reflect on burdens and opportunities, on common ground and differences. The result is an impressive, instructive, and very personal book that sheds new light on Europe and the watershed years that came in the wake of 1989.

Kiran Klaus Patel, born in Villingen in West Germany in 1971, is a German-British historian and professor of nineteenth- and twentieth-century European history at Ludwig Maximilian University in Munich. His acclaimed book Project Europe: A History was published in German in 2018 and in English in 2020. Patel was the Scholar-in-Residence in Hamburg in 2021, as part of a program conducted by the Federal Chancellor Helmut Schmidt Foundation and the Europa-Kolleg.

Ingo Schulze, born in Dresden in 1962, is an internationally acclaimed writer and essayist who lives in Berlin. His numerous novels and short stories have been translated into thirty languages and received national and international awards. Schulze is a member of the Academy of Arts, Berlin, the German Academy for Language and Poetry, Darmstadt, and the Saxon Academy of Arts, Dresden.

Silke van Dyk / Tine Haubner Community Capitalism



Community-Kapitalismus
ca. 38 000 words / 176 pages
ISBN 978-3-86854-354-4
Hardback, September 2021

Available rights
All languages

Examines the new culture of unpaid work from a sociological perspective, focusing on shifts in the interactions between care work, the welfare state, and the economy

»Their book is a significant contribution to the analysis of contemporary capitalism and a strong appeal in favor of maintaining state-guaranteed infrastructure that is strictly anchored in society.« – Tania Martini, *die tageszeitung*

Neighbors helping neighbors, volunteer fire fighters, care sponsorships, food banks, initiatives to aid refugees, crowdsourcing: unpaid work has many faces and a positive image—and it occurs throughout society, not just in private households. With the creation of »care gaps« due to demographic and social change and the restructuring of the welfare state, associations, clubs, initiatives, and neighborhood or digital networks are increasingly being called upon to step in. Functions previously fulfilled by public entities or professionals are delegated to civil society, and social rights are reframed as social gifts.

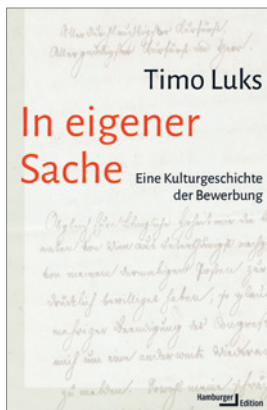
Silke van Dyk and Tine Haubner use the term »community capitalism« to label these developments and to point to a key question: what changes are reconfiguring the relationship between the market, the state, families, and civil society? Are we witnessing an informalization of work and care in the guise of new communality? What role do social movements play in this ongoing process? And what are the impacts on our understanding of social rights? The authors not only analyze the downsides of community capitalism and address their significance in the face of neoliberal crises. They end by considering prospects for alternatives based on solidarity.

Silke van Dyk is a professor of political sociology and director of the Institute for Sociology, Friedrich Schiller University Jena.

Tine Haubner is a researcher in the Department of Political Sociology, Friedrich Schiller University Jena.

Timo Luks

A Personal Matter: A Cultural History of Job Applications



In eigener Sache. Eine Kulturgeschichte der Bewerbung
ca. 125 800 words / 432 pages
ISBN 978-3-86854-366-7
October 2022

Available rights

All languages

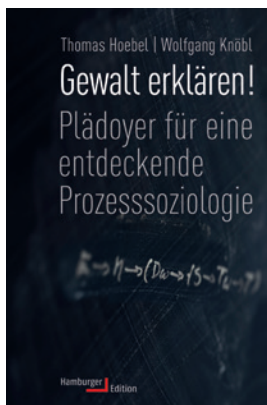
A new perspective on the history of the job market

Modern individuals are job seekers—and specific skills are essential in order to prevail on today's competitive job markets. In the nineteenth century, written job applications became a key cultural skill in modern work societies that emerged from the older tradition of petitions. Over time, applications became a kind of personal advertising brochure. Whereas applicants in earlier decades felt compelled to justify applications with extensive accounts of their personal fate, they later increasingly emphasized their skills and qualifications in resumes documenting education and training.

Historian Timo Luks tells the story of written job applications from the late eighteenth to the early twentieth century, a story that also reveals changes in social relationships. This vivid and elegantly written account illuminates the workings of the labor market—not as an abstract, macroeconomic reality, but as a point of reference in the daily struggle to make a living.

Timo Luks is a historian and researcher in the Department of Modern History at Justus-Liebig-University, Giessen.

Thomas Hoebel / Wolfgang Knöbl Explaining Violence: Towards a Process-oriented Approach



Gewalt erklären! Plädoyer für
eine entdeckende
Prozesssoziologie
ca. 57 800 words / 223 pages
ISBN 978-3-86854-335-3
Hardback, September 2019

Available rights
All languages

»...a book that will advance research on violence in a number of fundamental ways. ...Transcending by far narrow methodological debates, it offers a wealth of tools for answering questions about how a sophisticated sociology of violence can be operationalized to overcome prevalent one-sided perspectives and to shed false, self-imposed epistemic limits.« – Ferdinand Sutterlüty, *Soziopolis*

Violence is a ubiquitous social phenomenon, despite the fact that its dimensions can vary considerably worldwide. But at least in Western societies, violence is perceived as puzzling or even exotic—a perception that has consequences for the social sciences. Researchers who study violence have difficulties explaining it, and some even reject any attempt to do so.

Thomas Hoebel and Wolfgang Knöbl begin with a brief but systematic critical review of important developments in recent research on violence, including work by Randall Collins, Jan Philipp Reemtsma, Lee Ann Fuji, and Timothy Snyder, before presenting three provocative arguments. First, they identify the threat of impending stagnation in the field and assert that research should pursue new avenues by reconstructing the »hidden causality« that underlies many contemporary approaches. Second, the authors consider explanations for the occurrence of violence that take as their starting point the motives of the perpetrators, situative dynamics, or societal constellations, all of which they find rather unconvincing. Third, they argue that process-oriented explanations of violence are more promising and significantly more plausible, because they focus on processes of causation.

There are signs that the theoretical dominance of microsociological studies of violence is in decline. Today, this book argues, bringing together a range of complementary arguments grounded in different socio-theoretical traditions may open up new and enriching perspectives for theoretical and methodological issues in social science research on violence.

Contents

1. Explaining Violence? An Introduction
2. Construction and Causality: The Premises of Systematic Reconstruction
3. Causal Heuristics in Research on Violence - and the Problems That Come with Them
4. The Micro-Macro Link as a Deadend
5. Temporality and Timing: An Outline of Processual Explanations of Violence

Thomas Hoebel is a sociologist in the Research Group on Macro-violence at the Hamburg Institute for Social Research. Formerly a researcher at Leibniz University Hanover and the University of Bielefeld, he has taught at various universities in Germany and Switzerland.

Wolfgang Knöbl is a sociologist, director of the Hamburg Institute for Social Research, and adjunct professor for political sociology and sociological research on violence at Leuphana University Lüneburg. Previously a professor of sociology at Georg August University Göttingen, he has also held positions at the universities of Freiburg, Erfurt, and Toronto and at the New School for Social Research, New York.

Aaron Sahr Keystroke Capitalism: Inequality and the Creation of Money



Keystroke-Kapitalismus.
Ungleichheit auf Knopfdruck
ca. 37 000 words, 176 pages
ISBN 978-3-86854-315-5
Hardback, September 2017

Rights sold
World English (Verso Books)

• Geisteswissenschaften International Award, translation funding German-to-English

»Social science studies on money have exploded over the last ten to fifteen years, including in Germany. [...] Two recent publications have established Aaron Sahr as a key reference among the younger generation of researchers on money – *Das Versprechen des Geldes* (2017a) and *Keystroke-Kapitalismus* (2017b).« – John Wilkinson, Federal Rural University of Rio de Janeiro

Total global wealth currently amounts to about 256 trillion US dollars, a figure about eight hundred times higher than Germany's national budget. On the other side of the balance sheet is the record total of some 152 trillion dollars in private debt. And the distribution of both debt and wealth is increasingly uneven.

Probing the interrelationship of private wealth, debt, and economic inequality, Aaron Sahr uncovers, in the »engine room of capitalism«, a para-economic source for the generation of wealth: private banks' money-creation privilege. Today, private banks produce money out of nothing with a simple keystroke. Sahr argues that this unusual privilege mostly benefits a minority that is in a position to appropriate the returns of this »keystroke system«. It is essential to understand the channels through which this appropriation works, what it means for our understanding of capitalism, and how the issues raised should be dealt with.

Aaron Sahr reconstructs how the banking system has become disengaged from demand for capital assets. He dissects the errors in reasoning that conceal the transfer character of the financial system and describes the para-economic mechanisms that exacerbate economic inequality.

Addressing all those interested in a critical examination of contemporary political economy, this book demonstrates why the focus of debates should move beyond discussion about introducing taxes on wealth, capping exorbitant executive salaries, or imposing limits on financial speculation. Instead, Sahr emphasizes, we need to talk about the »engine room of capitalism«—that is, about reforming the means by which money is generated. Ultimately, ongoing developments will force us to decide whether democratic societies should reclaim the sovereign right to create money. If we wish to counter growing inequality, he argues, there is no real alternative.

Aaron Sahr is a sociologist and researcher at the Hamburg Institute for Social Research and an adjunct professor at Leuphana University, Lüneburg. He is the first recipient (2019) of the Franz Xaver Kaufmann Award conferred on an outstanding early-career sociologist by the University of Bielefeld's Department of Sociology. His work focuses on sociological and economic theories of money, banks and the credit system, international accounting standards, and theories of finance capital.

Aaron Sahr Money's Promise: A Practice Theory of Credit



Das Versprechen des Geldes.
Eine Praxistheorie des Kredits
ca. 109 000 words, 392 pages
ISBN 978-3-86854-306-3
Hardback, March 2017

Available rights
All languages

• Shortlisted for the Opus Primum Prize of the Volkswagen Foundation for the best academic book by a junior scholar in 2017

»Sahr looks below the surface of the banking sector to reveal fascinating new aspects of how money is dealt with, aspects that are relevant for the sociology of money ... He ends his highly readable book, which is inspiring especially for economists, with a question and a call to action that go beyond his matter-of-fact sociological analysis: »Who should, who can decide how much money exists and what purposes it is created for? We have to talk about this.« – Bernhard Emunds, *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*

The prevalent understanding adhered to by most contemporary social scientists sees money as a commodity that does not differ fundamentally from a house or a car. Sociologist Aaron Sahr argues that this is a grave misconception—one that prevents us from developing an adequate understanding of the transformation of contemporary capitalism—or of why the amount of money circulating worldwide has increased exponentially in recent decades. Money, he asserts, is not a commodity. Money is credit, a promise to pay.

The understanding that private banks distribute their clients' savings or the monetary reserves supplied by central banks is still widespread. In fact, they *generate* assets through lending. In other words, they create money out of thin air. Lending is no longer an act of trading but a practice with which value is created. Scarcity is considered a necessary condition for defining an economic practice. But banks no longer depend on scarce resources. So money has become a para-economic structure and lending a para-economic practice.

Scrutinizing the bank lending as social relations rather than a mode of distributing scarce resources, *Money's Promise* highlights the significance of trust. Any relationship between debtors and creditors entails risks; any promise of payment depends on trust. Sahr examines the recent history of trust and mistrust in banking and the willingness of financial actors to engage in trust-based relationships in the »Golden Age of Finance« (1970-2008). As it ended with the crisis of 2008, creditors' readiness to trust debtors rose remarkably, at the same time manifestations of distrust declined. Sahr's examines this »euphoric« constellation of trust and distrust and offers new insights into such highly topical questions as the ascent of derivatives, the significance of shadow banking, the role of rating agencies and algorithmic risk calculation, and governments' retreat from administrative regulation.

Aaron Sahr is a sociologist and researcher at the Hamburg Institute for Social Research. He completed his doctorate in economics and social science at the University of Kassel. His work focuses on sociological and economic theories of money, banks and the credit system, international accounting standards, and theories of finance capital.

Heinz Bude Society of Fear



Gesellschaft der Angst
ca. 35 000 words
ISBN 978-3-86854-284-4
Hardback, September 2014

Rights sold

Chinese (Peking University Press),
English (Polity Press),
Korean (Dongnyok Publishing),
Spanish (Herder Editorial)

- Third place on the NDR/Süddeutsche Zeitung list of Best Non-fiction Books, November 2014
- Shortlist, Prize Lesbare Wissenschaft (Readable Research) 2015 and German Economic Book of the Year 2014; Longlist, NDR-Kultur Non-fiction Book Prize 2014
- »... because Bude doesn't ignore ambivalence ... this essay is not only an intellectual pleasure, it also develops therapeutic effects.« – Jens Bisky, *Cicero Literaturen*

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 macro-sociology 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.

Peter Waldmann

The Conservative Impulse: Change and the Experience of Loss



Der konservative Impuls.
Wandel als Verlusterfahrung
ca. 89 500 words, 344 pages
ISBN 978-3-86854-307-0
Hardback, March 2017

Rights sold
Spanish (LOM Ediciones / UAM
Publicaciones)

»Waldmann underpins his argument by examining Latin America, Iran, Southeast Asia. These comparisons mean his book offers a valuable lesson about modernity as a risky, complex project and one that by no means should be taken for granted.« – Christoph Schwarz, *WirtschaftsWoche*

How do people deal with dramatic change: exile, revolution, hyperinflation, or rapid socio-economic development? Why do some people respond to transformation processes on an individual, social, or political level, which may trigger deep-seated fears, by attempting to hold on to what is familiar?

Peter Waldmann examines this »conservative impulse« as a conscious or unconscious unwillingness to abandon traditional convictions and ways of thinking. Many theories of development in society, in particular modernization theories, view conservative attitudes as an impediment to progress. And while they may indeed lead to stagnation or regression, recourse to what is familiar can also be a precondition for dealing with radical transformation. The conservative impulse is highly ambivalent.

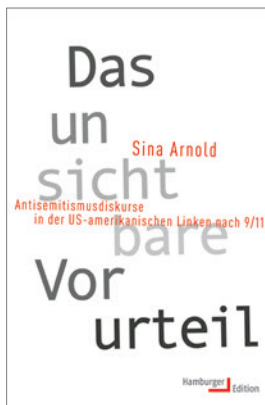
Peter Waldmann focuses first on loss as experienced by individuals as a result of death, exile, or economic deprivation. He identifies three factors that largely determine the likelihood of a conservative response: whether or not sudden change is welcomed, whether it is reversible or not, and whether there is sufficient time to adjust.

Radical transformations in the political sphere are then examined in the context of three contrasting cases: the French Revolution of 1789 and its impacts, Spain's path to democracy after Franco's death, and the conservative Iranian revolution of 1979. Further dimensions are considered in a further chapter that probes the trajectories of rapid, "catch-up" development in three countries: South Korea after 1960, Argentina in two different phases, and the Basque region in Spain from 1880 on.

Waldmann's analysis underlines how attempts to realize accelerated change—whether technical, economic, social, or political—while simultaneously preserving traditional patterns of identity can yield divergent developments. He ends by relating his findings to discussions about alternative developmental paths in various regions of the global south. Moreover, he discusses the consequences of his exploratory study for social science theories on social and political change.

Peter Waldmann is professor emeritus of sociology at the University of Augsburg and holds doctorates in legal studies and in sociology. He has been a visiting professor at numerous universities, including Harvard University, the University of Sevilla, the University of Santiago de Chile, and the University of Buenos Aires. Waldmann was awarded an honorary doctorate by Rey Juan Carlos University, Madrid and advised the German Ministry of Economic Cooperation and Development for many years. Waldmann has authored or edited numerous books and journal articles in German, Spanish, and English on sociological and legal issues, including violence and conflict, social change, terrorism, dictatorships, and marginalized groups.

Sina Arnold The Invisible Prejudice: Antisemitism Discourses and the American Left after 9/11



Das unsichtbare Vorurteil.
Antisemitismuskurse in der
US-amerikanischen Linken
nach 9/11
ca. 110 000 words , 487 pages
ISBN 978-3-86854-303-2
Hardback, September 2016

Rights sold
World English (Indiana University
Press)

• Geisteswissenschaften International Award, translation funding German-to-English

»Rather than polemicizing against the humanitarian substance of the new leftist world view, [Arnold] analyzes how it is being abused. All those who want to learn more about the new antisemitism should read this book.« – Michael Wolfsohn, *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*

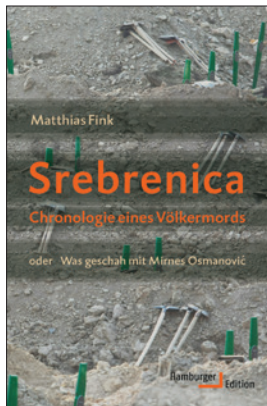
The relationship between movements on the political left and antisemitism is a highly polarized topic. In the United States, as in Europe, various groups are suspected of being anti-Semitic, including those that are pro-Palestinian or part of the peace movement or have emerged more recently, such as Occupy Wall Street. Frequently, their criticism of Israel and calls to boycott its products and similar activities trigger heated debates in the media, at universities, or within social movements or the Jewish-American community.

Sina Arnold addresses these issues with her own empirical-ethnographic work. She analyzes the positions of activists from the American left with respect to Jews, Jewry, and anti-semitism as well as their perspectives on related discourses about the Holocaust and Holocaust commemoration, antiracism, critique of capitalism, and the politics of the USA and Israel, especially with respect to the Mideast conflict. These questions are considered on the backdrop of the history of Jewry and antisemitism in the United States and in different stages of the development of the American left. What emerges is a nuanced portrayal of the continuities and changes in leftist politics, as well as an enlightening account of paradigm shifts and identity negotiations within the Jewish-American community.

This analysis of antisemitism discourses on the left sheds new light on the state of American society in a period of economic and political crisis. Moreover, because it focuses on movements that are tied to international traditions and reference points, this book also contributes to a better understanding of global antisemitism in the twenty-first century.

Sina Arnold is a social anthropologist who has been on the academic staff of the Berlin Institute for Integration and Migration Research since 2014. Following her studies in social anthropology, political science, and education at the Free University Berlin and the University of Manchester, she completed her doctorate at the Center for Research on Antisemitism, Technical University Berlin. Her research addresses theories of antisemitism, antisemitism in social movements and migrant communities; Muslims in Germany, anti-Muslim racism; comparative research on prejudice.

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



Srebrenica. Chronologie eines
Völkermords oder Was geschah
mit Mirnes Osmanović
ca. 290 000 words
20 images, 12 maps
ISBN 978-3-86854-291-2
Hardback, July 2015

Rights sold
Bosnian (Dobra knjiga)

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 center 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. 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.

Philipp Müller

The Negotiators: Coordinated Capitalism in Germany and France, 1920 to 1950



Zeit der Unterhändler.
Koordinierter Kapitalismus in
Deutschland und Frankreich
zwischen 1920 und 1950
ca. 115 000 words / 480 pages
ISBN 978-3-86854-330-8
Hardback, March 2019

Available rights
All languages

»An impressive study that throws light on highly complex constellations and does not shy away from advancing provocative new arguments. It extends significantly our knowledge of the history of capitalism.« – Birgit Aschmann, Humboldt Universität Berlin

Prior to World War II, capitalism and democracy were often seen as fundamentally incompatible and responsible for the economic and political crises of the 1920s and 1930s—a view that shifted, at least in much of Western Europe, after 1945. Explanations of why attitudes of the general public changed generally highlight the rise of prosperity and consumer society and the triumph of democratic welfare states over totalitarian ideologies. But despite ongoing reference to works of theoreticians such as Joseph Schumpeter und Karl Polanyi there has been surprisingly little study on why (and how) the elite of European entrepreneurs abandoned, in a few decades, their opposition to mass democracy as the bane of economic freedom and prospering business to advocate cooperation between capitalists and democracies.

Philipp Müller explores the concepts, discourses, and politics of economic elites in France and Germany from 1920 to 1950. Chapters centering on developments in the Weimar Republic and France's Third Republic, during the Great Depression, in Nazi Germany and in Vichy France, and during the immediate post-war years from 1945 to 1950 elucidate surprisingly convergent trajectories and cross-border ties. In response to the crisis of capitalism after 1918, entrepreneurs and trade associations in both countries were called on to transform their thinking: rather than maximizing individual profits, they should act in the (perceived) interests of the nation and the economy as a whole. To realize a new, »coordinated capitalism«, trade associations, chambers of commerce and other groups were to become intermediaries between industry and trade on the one hand and government authorities on the other.

Drawing on rich empirical sources and applying perspectives from intellectual history, Müller argues that unexpected continuities spanned the historical milestones of 1929, 1933, 1939, and 1945. He ends by outlining how this enabled trade associations to assume a central role in shaping the post-war economic and political architecture of France and Germany—and of the European Common Market. This book throws new light on ongoing discussions about the relationship between capitalism and democratic political systems.

Philip Müller is a historian and researcher in the Research Group Democracy and Statehood at the Hamburg Institute for Social Research. He was previously an assistant professor for contemporary European history at the University of Fribourg, Switzerland, and a John F. Kennedy Memorial Fellow at Harvard University's Center for European Studies. Besides his most recent work on economic and political liberalism in the twentieth century, his research and publications to date have addressed the historiography of world history and historical theory.

Ute Daniel

A Post-Heroic Perspective on the History of Democracy



Postheroische Demokratiegeschichte
ca. 26 500 words, 165 pages
ISBN 978-3-86854-345-2
Hardback, March 2020

Available rights
All languages

»Irritating sentences like ›The most populist of all systems ever conceived is democracy‹ make Daniel's book an absolutely worthwhile read, because they draw the academic reader out of his discursive comfort zone.« — René Schlott, *Der Tagesspiegel*

According to the predominant and persistent heroic narrative about the history of parliamentary democracy, this form of government triumphed thanks to our political predecessors, who fought for their rights. The pressure brought to bear by political movements launched and sustained by determined women and men from the bourgeoisie and the working class demanding civil rights—especially the right to vote—forced the nobility and the ruling classes to grant a large part of the population participatory rights.

Of course, these courageous men and women and these protest movements and voting struggles are not just myths but indeed historical realities. But as Ute Daniel emphasizes, their influence on political developments in the nineteenth century was to a large extent quite marginal. Parliamentary forms of government emerged not so much as a result of participatory-democratic activism but for quite different reasons. In this essay, the author explores these factors, focusing on Germany and Great Britain, and sketches an alternative, post-heroic political history of parliamentary democracy.

According to this post-heroic narrative, the parliamentarian system, as it developed in the nineteenth century, was designed primarily to create conditions that would ensure effective governance. It was not, and was not intended to be, an answer to the question of how broad participation of the general population in political processes might best be implemented.

A Post-heroic History of Democracy retraces the fascinating contradictions between idealized notions about parliamentary democracy and its reality in recent history. Historian Daniel's insights are pertinent to current debates about how parliamentary democracies can be »trained« to achieve other goals than simply producing functioning governments. She thus contributes to exploring how a post-heroic narrative can indeed help to create opportunities for developing participatory forms of democracy in today's world.

Ute Daniel is a professor of modern history at the Technical University of Braunschweig. Her research and writing focus on issues in European cultural and social history. She has published on historiographical theory and methodology and on a wide range of historical topics and periods in modern history, including the two world wars, consumerism, royal courts and their theaters, gender history, and the history of the media, propaganda, and war reporting.

Ute Daniel

Relationships: Politics and the Media in Twentieth-Century Germany and the United Kingdom



Beziehungsgeschichte. Politik und Medien im 20. Jahrhundert
ca. 140 000 words, 464 pages
ISBN 978-3-86854-317-9
Hardback, January 2018

Available rights
All languages

»Those seeking to examine the relationship between politics and the media quickly end up in the thick of things: fake news, Lügenpresse, state-controlled media. ... Ute Daniel's historical study is a godsend, which turns our attention to the complexity of the relations between journalists and politicians.« – Tanjev Schultz, *Süddeutsche Zeitung*

Historian Ute Daniel examines the shifting, often unpredictable relations between politicians and political journalists from World War I to the 1980s—the period of the classic mass media—by considering key episodes in Germany and the United Kingdom. Her book dissects the contexts and conditions that shaped the interdependence of political actors and their media counterparts, between cooperation and tension, collusion and outright conflict. Double chapters compare and contrast the role of the media during World War I, conflicts between conservative political leaders and press moguls in the interwar era, the Profumo and Spiegel scandals of the 1960s, and policies on public and commercial television in the two countries.

Daniel identifies a recurrent and significant feature of media-politics interactions in Germany and the UK, which she refers to as the »confidentiality cartel«, in which the two sides—in what was at times an ambivalent rivalry, at other times even a friend-foe constellation—agree upon a strategic and exclusive collaboration to benefit both. In practice, these confidentiality cartels often differed considerably in the two countries. Whereas in the UK male leaders from politics and the media (with women almost completely absent in both countries for most of the period in question) maintained close professional and personal contacts even before 1900, such networks were unthinkable in Germany. There, journalists were long considered to be much lower in status, a situation that only began to change in the course of World War I. The book's comparative perspective reveals further illuminating distinctions, for example with respect to the introduction of government press conferences, the role of the judicial system, impacts of federal versus centralized structures, or the protection of informants and libel legislation.

In a period in which the media as well as democracy are under fire from various sides, this is a highly topical book that furthers our understanding of the politics-media nexus. Its historical contextualization can contribute to countering populist simplifications as well as tendencies to idealize both groups of actors and their complex relations, not only in these two European countries.

Ute Daniel is a professor of modern history at the Technical University of Braunschweig. Her research and writing focus on issues in European cultural and social history. She has published on historiographical theory and methodology and on a wide range of historical topics and periods in modern history, including the two world wars, consumerism, royal courts and their theaters, gender history, and the history of the media, propaganda, and war reporting.

Catherine Colliot-Thélène Democracy without the People



Demokratie ohne Volk
251 pages, 140 x 215 mm
ISBN 978-3-86854-232-5
Hardback, September 2011

Rights sold

World English (ECPR Press), French
(Presses Universitaires de France),
World Spanish (Herder Editorial)

»Catherine Colliot-Thélène outlines in a most stimulating manner how a democracy ›without the people‹ can nonetheless remain a democracy.« –Claire-Lise Buis, *Die Welt*

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.

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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

Hedwig Richter / Kerstin Wolff (eds.) Suffrage for Women: Democratizing Democracy in Germany and Europe



Frauenwahlrecht.
Demokratisierung der Demokratie
in Deutschland und Europa
ca. 81 000 words / 295 pages
70 images
ISBN 978-3-86854-323-0
Hardback, September 2018

Available rights
All languages

Between 1906 and 1932, some forty states established suffrage for women. As the one-hundredth anniversary of women's enfranchisement is being celebrated in Germany, the United Kingdom, and elsewhere, this book reconsiders the introduction of women's suffrage as a pivotal moment in the transnational history of democracy.

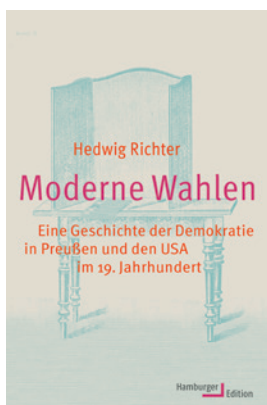
Beginning in the mid-nineteenth century, more and more women claimed their right to be heard in the public sphere. Decades of writing, debate, and activism—submitting petitions, organizing rallies and demonstrations, lecturing, and at times resorting to violent action—slowly effected a change in perspective. Participation in the democratic political process was increasingly seen as a universal rights of all women—as well as all men. But as women in country after country gained the right to vote and be elected to public office, the issue of equal rights remained controversial. Issues pertaining to equality in all spheres of life and work, the question of how political power was legitimated and controlled, and the fundamental concepts on which democracy were founded continued to be debated and challenged by theorists and activists engaged with women's political rights.

In three sections highlighting connections to the themes *Space*, *Bodies*, and *Speech*, the authors reconsider the struggles for women's suffrage by comparing, contextualizing, and interpreting their national and transnational histories. They explore how national stories about the history of democracy relate to ideas about national identity, society, and the state as inherently gendered concepts. Moreover, they engage with the skewed perspective of much of mainstream historiography, including approaches rooted in intellectual history, which tend to adopt rather than reflect on gendered, masculinist notions of democracy as a universal norm.

Hedwig Richter is a historian and has been a researcher at the Hamburg Institute for Social Research, Research Group on Democracy and Statehood since 2016. She was previously an assistant professor at the University of Greifswald and has also worked at the German Historical Institute in Washington D.C. and the University of Bielefeld. Richter's most recent book is Moderne Wahlen, which examines the history of democratic elections in Prussia and the U.S.A. She also regularly writes for the national German newspapers Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung and Süddeutsche Zeitung.

Kerstin Wolff is a historian and the research director of the Archiv der deutschen Frauenbewegung (Archives of the German Womens Movement) in Kassel. She is the editor of the journal Ariadne – Forum für Frauen- und Geschlechtergeschichte. Her research and writing deals with the protagonists, concepts, and theories of the German women's movement in the period from 1848 to 1970.

Hedwig Richter Modern Elections: A History of Democracy in Prussia and the U.S.A. in the Nineteenth Century



Moderne Wahlen.
Eine Geschichte der Demokratie
in Preußen und den USA im 19.
Jahrhundert
ca. 200 000 words, 656 pages
70 images
ISBN 978-3-86854-313-1
Hardback, September 2017

Available rights
All languages

»Hedwig Richter's book fills a gap in comparative inquiries into nineteenth century elections and is a milestone in the historical study of suffrage and voting practices.« – Thomas Kühne, Professor of History, Clark University, Worcester, Massachusetts

»... tremendously rich in detail and at the same time entertaining ... In describing these election practices, Richter reads many established narratives against the grain«. – Florian Meinel, *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*

Why do we vote? Why have political elections become the most important means of legitimating state authority? The answer to these questions seems obvious: elections ensure freedom and equality for all. And against all obstacles, women and men have again and again fought for the right to vote and have established democracies throughout the world.

Hedwig Richter's wide-ranging historical study reconstructs a significant element in the history of democracy by focusing on elections in Prussia and the U.S.A. in the eighteenth century. With her innovative approach, which analyzes not only electoral concepts and laws but also actual election practices, Richter subjects the narrative of nations' great struggle for freedom and for the introduction of general elections to critical scrutiny. Her findings challenge the notion that people generally feel an anthropological need to participate in political processes and assume political responsibility. Instead, Richter argues, the right to vote has frequently been introduced from above—and granting it was a tool employed by those in power to discipline the populace.

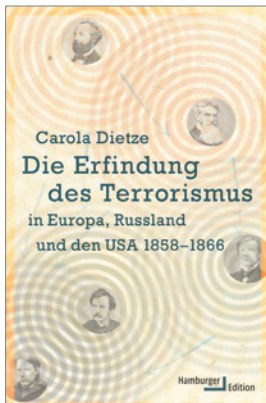
By focusing on the actual act of voting, Richter also opens up a new perspective on an old question: why were more and more men recognized as »equal« in the course of the nineteenth century and granted the right to vote, whereas women's equality was not conceptualized until many decades later? Her answer lies in an exploration of how the body was put to use, and how concepts of the (masculine) body were crucial in shaping the process of casting votes.

What is the significance of these insights for our times? For one thing, they confirm that democracy is complicated and should not be taken for granted. And historical and contemporary examples—currently, Iraq and Afghanistan are highly relevant—demonstrate that democracy cannot simply be imposed from outside by following a preordained blueprint.

Hedwig Richter is a historian and has been a fellow in the Hamburg Institute for Social Research's Democracy and Statehood Research Group since 2016. She previously held positions at the University of Greifswald, the German Historical Institute in Washington, D.C., and at the University of Bielefeld. Besides publishing academic articles and books, Richter also regularly writes for the national daily newspapers Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung and Süddeutsche Zeitung.

Carola Dietze

The Invention of Terrorism in Europe, Russia, and the USA, 1858–1866



Die Erfindung des Terrorismus in
Russland, Europa und den USA
1858–1866
ca. 220 000 words, 750 pages
20 images
ISBN 978-3-86854-299-8
Hardback, September 2016

Rights sold

English (Verso Books);
Russian (New Literary Observer)

»Carola Dietze is a fascinating storyteller. ... This is historical prose at its best. Despite the wealth of footnotes and source references, this book is a real pageturner.« – Paul Stänner, *Deutschlandfunk*

»The story of tragic heroes, conspiracies, and how they resonant in the media that Dietze unfolds to elucidate her argument is not only enlightening – it is also entertaining for readers.« – Lea Haller, *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*

There is widespread agreement that modern-day terrorism emerged as a specific type of political violence in nineteenth century Europe. But what social and political contexts shaped the phenomenon remains contested. Carola Dietze examines five key cases of terrorist violence from a short eight-year period to show that terrorism occurred considerably earlier and international communication played a more significant role than has been generally recognized to date. She argues that dissemination of news about terrorist violence was at the core of a strategy that targetted the public as well as tyrants or rulers. Her analysis shows that the spread of knowledge about terrorist acts was from the outset a transatlantic process.

Two incidents, their context and impact, form the book's centerpiece: first, the failed attempt to assassinate French Emperor Napoléon III by Felice Orsini in 1858, intended to trigger a European revolution and achieve Italian unity and democracy. The second is a new reading of John Brown's raid on the arsenal at Harper's Ferry in 1859, a decisive moment in the abolitionist struggle and the prehistory of the American Civil War. Dietze shows how Brown changed plans on that October night, abandoning the idea of capturing weapons to arm slaves and opting for a symbolic, terrorist strategy. Brown achieved national and international attention by using various communicative channels, including some of the earliest documented media interviews. Three further examples from Germany, Russia, and the US illuminate ensuing transfer and reception processes and especially the role of the media.

Drawing on an impressive array of sources from five languages, the author probes the terrorists' biographical and political background, their intentions and impacts and, in particular, responses to their acts from the state, politicians, the media, and the general public. She shows how terrorism emerged where promises of political revolution were pervasive but institutions were seen as failing to fulfill them. This book offers convincing evidence of how spectacular acts of violence were perpetrated as attempts to end political blockages that impeded change, at first to promote democratic goals, but later also to prevent them.

Carol Dietze is a historian and a Heisenberg fellow at the Historical Institute of Justus Liebig University Giessen. She has held positions at the Ludwig Maximilians University Munich, University of Konstanz, the German Historical Institute in Washington, D.C., and Netherlands Institute for Advance Study in the Humanities and Social Sciences. Her research currently focuses on security and the state in Europe and the United States in the nineteenth century.

Dierk Walter

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



Organisierte Gewalt in der europäischen Expansion: Gestalt und Logik des Imperialkrieges
ca. 140 000 words
ISBN 978-3-86854-280-6
Hardback, September 2014

Rights sold
World English (Hurst Publishers)

• Geisteswissenschaften International Award, translation funding German-to-English

• Historical Book Award 2015, magazine *DAMALS*: first place in the category "monographs"

»In a time in which national history still reigns supreme—albeit at times dressed up imperially—and world and global history are either presented as a bookbinder's synthesis or pursued rather superficially, this book is one of the few exceptions... [deals] competently and convincingly, with a wide-ranging, truly universal theme—in terms of time, space, and subject matter. An epoch-making book.« – Wolfgang Reinhard, University of Freiburg

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 rule. 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 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.

Jan Philipp Reemtsma More Than a Champion: The Style of Muhammad Ali



Mehr als ein Champion: Über den
Stil des Boxers Muhammad Ali
140 pages, 145 x 210
ISBN 978-3-86854-269-1
Hardback, October 2013

Available rights
All languages except English

»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.*

Jan Philipp Reemtsma Trust and Violence: An Essay on a Modern Relationship



Vertrauen und Gewalt:
Versuch über eine besondere
Konstellation der Moderne
576 pages, 145 x 210 mm
ISBN 978-3-936096-89-7
Hardback, February 2008

Rights sold

Chinese (Commercial Press),
World English (Princeton University Press),
French (Éditions Gallimard),
Hungarian (Atlantisz Könyvkiadó),
Polish (Wydawnictwo Poznańskie)

- Geisteswissenschaften International award for funding of the English translation
- Shortlisted for the Prize of the Leipzig Book Fair 2008, category non-fiction / essay
- Best Historical Book 2008, historical journal *Damals*, category »Food for Thought«
- Second place, Best Non-Fiction Book (*Börsenblatt/Buchjournal/NDR/SZ*)

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.

Bettina Greiner

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



Verdrängter Terror: Geschichte und Wahrnehmung der sowjetischen Speziallager in Deutschland
525 pages, 145 x 210 mm
ISBN 978-3-86854-217-2
Hardback, March 2010

Rights sold
World English (Lexington Books)

- 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 Walthers, *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.

Bernd Greiner

War without Fronts: The USA in Vietnam



Krieg ohne Fronten:
Die USA in Vietnam
595 pages, 155 x 230 mm
60 images
ISBN 978-3-936096-80-4
Hardback, September 2007

Rights sold

Danish (People's Press),
World English (Bodley Head),
US English (Yale University Press)

- Willi Paul Adams Award 2009, Organization of American Historians
- Geisteswissenschaften International award for funding of the English translation
- Shortlisted for the Prize of the Leipzig Book Fair 2008, category non-fiction / essay
- Best Historical Book of 2008, historical journal *DAMALS*
- Best Historical Book 2008, *H-Soz-u-Kult*, category »non-European history«

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.

Ulrike Jureit

Ordering Space: Territory and *Lebensraum* in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries



Das Ordnen von Räumen:
Territorium und Lebensraum im
19. und 20. Jahrhundert
445 pages, 145 x 210 mm
ISBN 978-3-86854-248-6
Hardback, October 2012

Available rights
All languages

»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.

Gerd Hankel

The Leipzig Trials: German War Crimes and Their Legal Consequences after World War II



Die Leipziger Prozesse:
Deutsche Kriegsverbrechen
und ihre strafrechtliche
Verfolgung nach dem Ersten
Weltkrieg
550 pages, 155 x 230 mm
26 images
ISBN 978-3-930908-85-1
Hardback, March 2003

Rights sold
World English (Republic of
Letters)

- **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.

Kerstin Bischl

On the Front: Gender Relations and the Dynamics of Violence in the Red Army, 1941–1945

Studies in the History of Violence



Frontbeziehungen.
Geschlechterverhältnisse und
Gewaltdynamiken in der Roten
Armee 1941–1945
ca. 120 000 words / 350 pages
ISBN 978-3-86854-332-2
Paperback, March 2019

Available rights
All languages

»Bischl's book offers nuanced arguments and is well-written.... it questions mainstream explanations for the violent excesses against women« perpetrated by the Red Army during and after World War II. – Insa Wilke, *WDR 3*

The Soviet Red Army was unique among the armies involved in World War II in that a relatively large number of women, some eight hundred thousand, fought alongside more than thirty million men against the troops of the German Wehrmacht. Female Soviet soldiers have been the focus of a growing body of historical research and of some debates. But there has been considerably less attention paid to gender relations in the Soviet Army in the period 1941 to 1945—and to how they might relate to the practice of violence, especially sexual violence, by members of the Red Army during the war and immediately after its end.

This book reconstructs key aspects of the social relations between men and women in the Red Army at the front, based on analysis of a wide range of archival documents and first-person narratives. Kerstin Bischl assesses the specific structural constellation within Soviet front units: both sexes had to endure at times arbitrary repressive measures and violence perpetrated by higher-ups, the danger and ordeals of life on the frontlines, inadequate provisioning and medical care, and general organizational chaos. Women, however, also constantly faced massive sexual harassment and abuse at the hands of their male comrades.

Bringing together analysis of the front as a microcosm in which radicalized forms of extreme violence become an everyday occurrence and a reconstruction of discourses on sexuality, masculinity, and sexual potency that predominated among male soldiers, Bischl's argues that some conceptions about sexual violence against women perpetrated by members of the Red Army should be reassessed. She highlights the function of such acts as a medium of communication and »community-building« among men in the military, rather than chiefly as a form of taking revenge on or triumphing over the defeated enemy population in Germany. This argument is supported by her assessment of reported sexual violence against other groups of women in the territories conquered by the Red Army—female displaced persons and Polish women—as the war reached its end.

Kerstin Bischl is a researcher in the Department of Modern Eastern European History at Georg August University in Göttingen. Her work centers on Soviet history and Jewish history in eastern Europe, in particular on the history of gender and the history of violence.

Harriet Scharnberg

The »Jewish Question« in Images: Antisemitism and Nazi Photojournalism

Studies in the History of Violence



Die »Judenfrage« im Bild.
Der Antisemitismus in national-
sozialistischen Fotoreportagen
ca. 130 000 words / 443 pages
95 images
ISBN 978-3-86854-325-4
Paperback, September 2018

Available rights
All languages

»The topic is fascinating and highly relevant: the significance of the ›Third Reich's‹ illustrated press in terms of the history of politics and culture has to date been completely underestimated...in the book's main part, which focuses primarily on visual reporting on the ghettos, Scharnberg presents highly interesting results.« — Norman Domeier, *H-Soz-Kult*

Censorship, repression, and control of public opinion: this is the first comprehensive examination of how photo reporting in print media served as a key instrument to promote antisemitic policies in Nazi Germany. The heyday of photojournalism was in its early phase when the Nazis came to power in the early 1930s. Illustrated magazines, the most important format for disseminating photographic images, reached millions of people. The Nazis moved quickly to install an authority charged with controlling photojournalism and overseeing the use of images to influence public opinion.

Harriet Scharnberg analyzes the Nazi use of imagery in presenting the so-called »Jewish question« and Jewish life—in the German Reich, in the occupied territories, and in the countries with which it formed alliances. She focuses on the key period from the November Pogrom in 1938 (also referred to as the Kristallnacht), when illustrated media were forced to support an antisemitic propaganda campaign for the first time, to the beginning of the so-called Final Solution in 1942/43, when a systematic ban on any mention of the »Jewish question« in the media was implemented.

Looking behind the images to reconstruct the context of their production and use, this book is based on analysis of a wealth of primary sources, many previously unknown or thought to have been destroyed: official documents from press monitoring authorities, nearly 1.4 million photos taken by the Wehrmacht's propaganda units, photos in eleven major magazines, and the archives of key news and photo agencies, including the Berlin bureau of Associated Press. Scharnberg uncovers the strategies that determined which photographs were published and which remained under lock and key—strategies that were by turns conciliatory or deceptive, distortive or suggestive.

Harriet Scharnberg is a historian associated with Martin Luther University in Halle, Germany, whose work focuses on photographs in contemporary history. She was previously a photo archivist at the Neuengamme Concentration Camp Memorial and a researcher for a major exhibition project on crimes of the German Wehrmacht in World War II (»Verbrechen der Wehrmacht: Dimensionen des Vernichtungskrieges 1941–1944«).

Scharnberg received the award »Zeitgeschichte digital« in 2017 for a journal article reporting her findings from this study, examining how Associated Press ceded influence over production of its images to the Nazi regime. Her work prompted AP to commission a review of the agency's bureau and its activities in Germany from 1931 to 1945.

Johannes Schwartz

»Female Affairs«: Female Guards in the Ravensbrück and Neubrandenburg Concentration Camps

Studies in the History of Violence



»Weibliche Angelegenheiten«
 Handlungsräume von
 KZ-Aufseherinnen in Ravens-
 brück und Neubrandenburg
 ca. 130 000 words / 448 pages
 ISBN 978-3-86854-316-2
 Paperback, December 2017

Available rights
 All languages

»Female perpetrators in the Nazi era—a hotly contested topic among feminists since the 1990s: this book offers carefully researched and well thought-out material, presented in a highly-readable form, for continuing the debate.« — Sylvia Köchl, Missy Magazine

According to the staff manual for those who worked at Ravensbrück, the largest Nazi concentration camp for women on German territory, the chief female guard was to advise the camp compound leader »with respect to all female affairs«. And the camp regulations explicitly prohibited »any abuse of inmates« by camp guards. Nevertheless, violence perpetrated by guards was an everyday occurrence.

Johannes Schwartz examines the violent practices of concentration camp guards in the Ravensbrück camp and its satellite camp Neubrandenburg. To what extent did the guards have opportunities to decide whether or not they would use coercion or physical force, beyond the scope of express orders? How and when did they make use of such opportunities? Schwartz's analysis reveals that, in actual practice, the camp leadership delegated the decision to use physical violence to the female guards. Like their male colleagues, many female guards perpetrated, without experiencing interventions on the part of their superiors, various forms of violence—from psychological and »gentle« coercion to excessive and capricious violence, from instrumental abuse to exemplary punishment.

The author analyzes how the violent practices of female guards conformed to the goals of the camp administration and the war industries that exploited prisoners as laborers. As a result, the guards' use of coercion and force contributed to stabilizing the internal power structure and securing inmates' productivity. Overall, however, individual options and their limits were determined to a large extent by power politics, competition, and other factors that shaped social relations among the staff of the concentration camps. What remained as a constant was the drastic imbalance of power between prisoners and guards. The unpredictability and erratic variability of the guards' actions served to cement, again and again, their power over the female inmates of the Nazi concentration camps.

Johannes Schwartz is a historian. He investigates the provenience of museum artifacts and archival documents, in particular cases of suspected Nazi looting, for the Museums for Cultural History and the City Archives of Hanover, the capital of Lower Saxony. He was formerly director of the Lichtenburg Prettin Concentration Camp Memorial and on the academic staff of the Documentation and Cultural Center of German Sinti and Roma and has conducted research and curated exhibitions at various German memorial sites, including Ravensbrück.

Thomas Medicus (ed.) Fateful Transformation: Photos from Provincial Germany, 1933–1949 The Biella Collection



Verhängnisvoller Wandel.
Ansichten aus der Provinz 1933–
1949: Die Fotosammlung Biella
ca. 82 000 words, 308 pages
256 images
ISBN 978-3-86854-302-5
Hardback, September 2016

Available rights
All languages

»Thomas Medicus densely illustrated, locally focused study of the production of photos by a small town family photo studio during the Nazi period is an important step in the right direction and with its perspective and scope quite new and unique.« – Klaus Hesse, *Fotogeschichte*

Germany's transformation into a radically racist »community of the people« in the 1920s and 1930s was a process that developed outside the country's urban centers. The NSDAP, the German Nazi party, had its power base in provincial Germany. Gunzenhausen was a prototypical provincial town in Middle Franconia. As early as 1934, two Jewish men were killed there in a pogrom that involved a large part of the town population.

In 2003, nearly 2500 photographs from the Biella family's photo studio in Gunzenhausen were found during an estate clearance. These images visualize the Nazis' violent rise to power in a small provincial town, the formation of the local »Volksgemeinschaft«—the community of those deemed worthy to belong to racist Nazi Germany—as well as its subsequent demise under the Allied occupying forces.

Photos of »Volksgenossen« in uniform testify to how many town inhabitants joined the ranks of Nazi supporters. Other sub-sets of pictures reflect how the »Volksgemeinschaft« was shaped by exclusion and violence: photographs of forced laborers and a set of portraits labeled the »Jewish file«. After the war, the Biellas soon reopened their studio, photographing Nazis registered for denazification procedures: a family who aimed to always end up on the »right« side of history.

These texts offer valuable insights into the rise of the NSDAP, the role played by photographers as local actors, and acts of terror against local Jewish citizens. They analyze and contextualize Gunzenhausen's »Jewish file«, the portraits of forced laborers, and the way in which concepts of the Nazi »Volksgemeinschaft« are visualized in photographs of men and women. With its nearly two hundred-fifty photographs, this volume is a thought-provoking document of the lives of persecutors, victims, and bystanders in provincial Nazi Germany.

With contributions by historians, scholars of cultural studies, curators, and archivists:

Feilx Axster, Linda Conze, Bettina Greiner, Ulrike Jureit, Britta Lange, Thomas Medicus, Werner Mühlhäuser, Sandra Starke, Karin Wieland

Thomas Medicus, a freelance journalist and writer, was born in Gunzenhausen. He studied German literature, political science, and art history and holds a doctorate in history. He worked for many years for various German newspapers as an arts and cultural affairs correspondent and editor and was Writer in Residence at the Munk Centre for International Affairs, University of Toronto, in 2007. Medicus was awarded the Literature Prize of the Wilhelm and Christine Hirschmann Foundation (Treuchtlingen) for his works of fiction and nonfiction in 2014.

Among the contributors to this volume is political scientist and writer Karin Wieland. Her dual biography Dietrich and Riefenstahl: Hollywood, Berlin, and a Century in Two Lives was a finalist for the prestigious National Book Critics Circle Award 2016.

Regina Mühlhäuser

Conquests: German Soldiers' Involvement in Sexual Violence and Intimate Relations in the Soviet Union, 1941–45



Eroberungen: Sexuelle Gewalttaten und intime Beziehungen deutscher Soldaten in der Sowjetunion 1941 – 1945
416 pages, 145 x 210 mm
ISBN 978-3-86854-220-2
Hardback, March 2010

Rights sold

Japanese (Iwanami Shoten),
World English (Edinburgh University Press)

- 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



Gewalt im Dienstalltag:
Die SS-Aufseherinnen des
Konzentrations- und Vernich-
tungslagers Majdanek 1942–1944
520 pages, 145 x 210 mm
ISBN 978-3-86854-212-7
Hardback, September 2009

Rights sold
World English (Michigan State
University Press)

- 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 Ecole 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.

Michael Wildt »Volk«, »Volksgemeinschaft«, AfD



Volk, Volksgemeinschaft, AfD
ca. 26 000 words, 159 pages
ISBN 978-3-86854-309-4
Hardback, March 2017

Available rights
All languages

»Wildt's small but content-rich book is more than a pamphlet against the AfD and its way of thinking. It offers an excellent, focused review of the various concepts of Volk and Volksgemeinschaft ... and shows how problematic the definition of the people, as a fundamental category for democracy, really is.« – Jörn Retterath, *H-Soz-Kult*

In *Hitler's Volksgemeinschaft and the Dynamics of Racial Exclusion*, Michael Wildt explored how the Nazi concept of *Volksgemeinschaft*, a »community of the people«, shaped political practice, as Germans excluded and attacked Jewish fellow citizens, verbally and physically.

Concerned about right-wing populist political movements and their attempts to revive *Volksgemeinschaft* and similar ideas, Wildt returns to these concepts in this essay. The far-right party Alternative für Deutschland (AfD) asserts they should be »positively connotated«—and misquote Wildt to back up their views.

Wildt offers a concise survey of the people as the centerpiece of democracy and how the concept relates to key political and philosophical ideas—*demos*, sovereignty, nationhood, community. Moving from Athens to the American Federalist-Antifederalist debate, from Hobbes to Tonnies to Carl Schmitt, the author reviews ongoing controversies: Who should belong to the people? How can the people express its will and wield power? Why has support for self-determination led to demands for ethnically homogeneous nation-states?

In the early twentieth century, *Volksgemeinschaft* and other similar ideas were embraced across the political spectrum, by liberals, conservatives, and social democrats, not only in Weimar Germany but elsewhere in Europe, for example in Sweden with its *folkhemmet* idea. Wildt warns that a definition of »the people« based on a purportedly shared culture rather than political equality and citizens' rights promotes exclusion and radicalization and fails to reflect today's political realities. Instead, he argues contemporary democracies should center on individuals with equal rights that are recognized globally, independent of where people live or where they were born.

»Michael Wildt is one of the most innovative historians of contemporary history working in Germany today. ... His scholarship is marked by imaginative questions and answers that are arrestingly original, patiently reconstructed, close to the sources, and justly influential.« – *Yad Vashem Studies about Hitler's Volksgemeinschaft and the Dynamics of Racial Exclusion*, first published in German by Hamburger Edition

Michael Wildt is a historian and professor of modern German history at Humboldt University, Berlin, and was previously a research fellow at the Hamburg Institute for Social Research and the International Institute for Holocaust Research, Yad Vashem, Jerusalem. His work on Nazi Germany, the Holocaust, and racial ideology are widely cited. Two of his books first published by Hamburger Edition are available in English: Hitler's Volksgemeinschaft and the Dynamics of Racial Exclusion: Violence against Jews in Provincial Germany, 1919–1939, Berghahn Books and An Uncompromising Generation: The Nazi Leadership of the Reich Security Main Office, University of Wisconsin Press.



Volksgemeinschaft als
 Selbstermächtigung: Gewalt ge-
 gen Juden in der deutschen
 Provinz 1919 bis 1939
 423 pages, 139 x 210 mm
 16 images
 ISBN 978-3-936096-74-3
 Hardback, March 2007

Rights sold

World English (Berghahn Books/
 Yad Vashem Publications)

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.«
 — *Yad Vashem Studies*

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



Generation des Unbedingten:
 Das Führungskorps des
 Reichssicherheitshauptamtes
 964 pages, 155 x 230 mm
 ISBN 978-3-930908-87-5
 Paperback, April 2003
 (Hardback 2002)

Rights sold

World English (University of
 Wisconsin Press), Japanese
 (Bensei Shuppan), Czech (Nakla-
 datelství Academia)

Michael Wildt An Uncompromising Generation: The Nazi Leadership of the Reich Security Main Office

- 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.



Kalkulierte Morde: Die deutsche Wirtschafts- und Vernichtungspolitik in Weißrußland 1941 bis 1944
 1232 pages, 155 x 230 mm
 ISBN 978-3-930908-63-9
 Hardback, November 2000

Rights sold
 Belarusian (Arche)

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.



Krieg, Ernährung, Völkermord: Forschungen zur deutschen Vernichtungspolitik im Zweiten Weltkrieg
 308 pages, 139 x 210 mm
 ISBN 978-3-930908-39-4
 Paperback, September 1998

Rights sold
 French (Ed. Liana Levi), Italian (Bollati Boringhieri), Czech (Institut Terežinské Iniciativy)

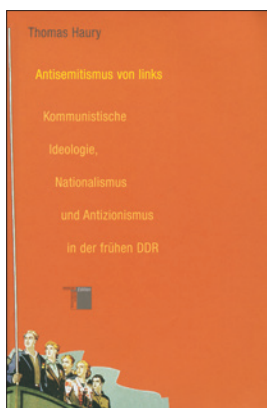
Christian Gerlach

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.



Antisemitismus von links:
Kommunistische Ideologie,
Nationalismus und Anti-
zionismus in der frühen DDR
527 pages, 155 x 230 mm
ISBN 978-3-930908-79-0
Hardback, October 2002

Available rights
All languages

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.«
—PÄD 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.



Das sowjetische Massenfest
454 pages, 155 x 230 mm
27 images
ISBN 978-3-936096-63-7
Hardback, March 2006

Rights sold
World English (University of
Pittsburgh Press),
Russian (Rosspen)

Malte Rolf Soviet Mass Celebrations

- Geisteswissenschaften International award for funding of the English translation
- Best doctoral thesis in history, Eberhard Karls University, Tübingen
- Klaus Mehnert 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.

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2017: Russian, Rosspen



Sina Arnold
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Das unsichtbare Vorurteil. Antisemitismuskurse in der US-amerikanischen Linken nach 9/11

2022: World English, Indiana University Press



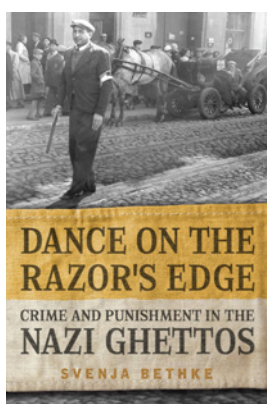
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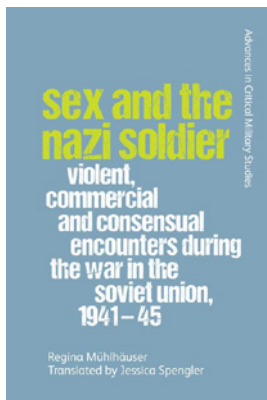
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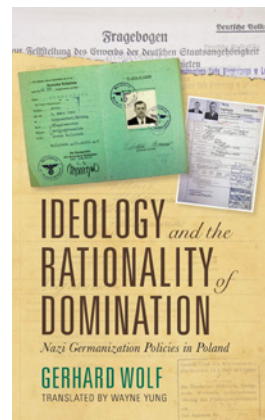
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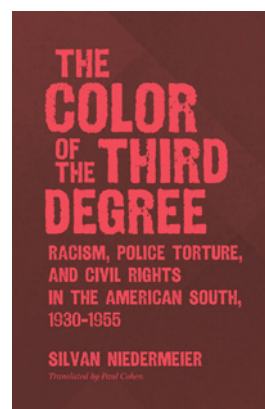
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2020: Chinese, Peking University Press
2019: Slovak, Absynt
2017: World English, Polity Press
2017: Spanish, Herder Editorial
2015: Korean, Dongnyok Publishers



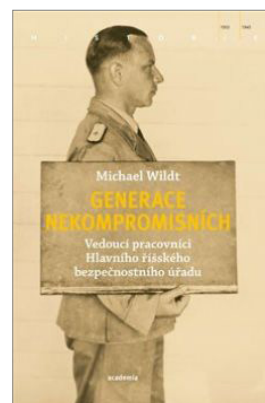
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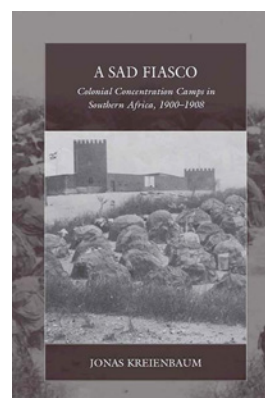
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An Uncompromising Generation: The Nazi Leadership of the Reich Security Main Office
Generation des Unbedingten. Das Führungskorps des Reichssicherheitshauptamtes

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2010: World English, University of Wisconsin Press



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