

# Hamburger Edition Foreign Rights Guide Fall 2023

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Claudia C. Gatzka

## Democracy and Dictatorship: Demarcation Lines, Past and Present



**Demokratie und Diktatur.**  
Geschichte und Gegenwart  
einer Grenzziehung  
ca. 55 000 words / 200 pages  
ISBN 978-3-86854-384-1  
Hardback, Mai 2024

**Available rights**  
All languages

### Blurred borders: changing notions about democracy and dictatorship in Germany since 1900

Claims that contemporary Germany is, according to some participants in public debates, a »Merkel dictatorship« or an »opinion dictatorship« —or that an »eco-dictatorship« is in the offing— have become commonplace in Germany in recent years. Nearly seventy-five years after the West German republic was established in 1949, such phrases signal a tendency to question whether contemporary Germany is indeed a democracy. Even the head of the prestigious German research and polling institute Forsa has warned that a »dictatorship of minorities« might be looming on the horizon. But such developments are nothing new. Both the distinction between democracy and dictatorship and the purposeful blurring of the boundaries between the two have accompanied the history of German democracy since the early twentieth century.

Claudia Gatzka traces the concepts and criteria on which this distinction has been based, its evolving political function, and the limits of such demarcations. Zeroing in on times of transition and impending upheaval, she examines everyday communication and political discourse at rallies and demonstrations, in parliaments, in the press, and in letters from citizens. Gatzka's book focuses on the final years of the German Empire, the Weimar Republic, and the beginnings of the National Socialist regime. In the post-1945 years, crucial periods are around 1968 in West Germany, the establishment of the SED dictatorship, and finally, the transition to the unified republic after 1989. This timely account offers much-needed orientation and lucid criteria for differentiating between »dictatorship« and »democracy«.

*Claudia C. Gatzka is a historian at the Albert-Ludwigs-Universität Freiburg. She is a columnist for the journal Merkur and co-editor of the journal Archiv für Sozialgeschichte. Her book Die Demokratie der Wähler: Stadtgesellschaft und politische Kommunikation in Italien und der Bundesrepublik was published in 2019.*

## Klaus Neumann

# Flowers and Flames: A History of Responses to Refugees in Germany, 1989–2023



**Blumen und Brandsätze.**  
Eine deutsche Geschichte,  
1989–2023  
Ca. 110 000 words / 400 pages  
ISBN 978-3-86854-385-8  
Hardback, April 2024

**Available rights**  
All languages except English

### How decisions about policies towards refugees in Germany have been negotiated in local public arenas

Since the 1980s at the latest, few issues have stirred as much debate as policies toward refugees, or, as the question has been posed by some, how many and which people »who we did not ask to come« Germany should take in. Klaus Neumann examines the answers to this question: demands for the amendment of Article 16 of the German Basic Law in the early 1990s; the so-called welcome culture that marked Germans' response to increasing numbers of refugees, especially those fleeing from Syria, in 2015; and recently renewed claims that the boat is full, as refugees from the war in Ukraine reached Germany in 2022.

Historian Neumann dissects the different motivations for granting or rejecting protection to those seeking political asylum by focusing on local responses and local political disputes, in particular in two regions: an urban district in the western part of Germany's second largest city, Hamburg, and a rural region in south-eastern Saxony. His analysis reveals the extent to which negotiation processes that emerged in the context of the local reception of people fleeing from East Germany, asylum seekers from other countries, ethnic German repatriates, and war refugees were intertwined with debates about racism and right-wing extremism, democratic participation, and West and East German identities.

This book provides new insights into a key field of policy and public opinion that has played a decisive role in the past three and a half decades of German history. And it argues the case for a much-needed, comprehensive, and well-informed debate on why Germany should offer protection to people seeking refuge from around the world.

*Klaus Neumann is a cultural historian whose work addresses cultures of memories and histories in Australia, New Zealand, the Pacific islands, and Germany. He was a professor of history at Deakin University in Melbourne until 2018. Neumann is the author of Not the Way It Really Was about history-making in Papua New Guinea (1992), Shifting Memories (2000) about the memorialisation of the Nazi past in Germany, and Across the Seas (2015) about the history of Australia's response to refugees.*

## Jens Kersten | Claudia Neu | Berthold Vogel Loneliness and Resentment



**Einsamkeit und Ressentiment**  
ca. 25 000 words / 150 pages  
ISBN 978-3-86854-387-2  
Paperback, March 2024

**Available rights**  
All languages

### Loneliness and resentment as a breeding ground for radicalization and hostile attitudes towards democracy

While increasing numbers of people have experienced feelings of loneliness and isolation from others since the Covid epidemic, this tendency could be observed well before 2019. Social relationships seem to be disintegrating, familiar places and structures are disappearing. Perception of such changes can provoke resentment and turn into mistrust of people and institutions. In societies in which loneliness is rampant, aggressive responses to reforms and changes become more frequent. In many cases, loneliness and resentment become a breeding ground for authoritarian attitudes across the entire political spectrum. Populist and right-wing extremist parties seize opportunities to present their offer of a sense of community in the face of a supposedly cold and unfeeling society ruled by inaccessible higher powers.

The three authors of this volume bring together their experience and expertise to illuminate the connections between loneliness and resentment as a growing threat to democracy in various parts of contemporary society. Among the factors that play a decisive role in shaping the relationship between loneliness and resentment are status, space, and political contexts. According to Kersten, Neu and Vogel, only a democracy with strong public institutions can devise measures to counter such processes of radicalization.

*Jens Kersten is a professor of public law and governance at the Ludwig Maximilians University, Munich.*

*Claudia Neu is a professor of rural sociology at the University of Göttingen and the University of Kassel.*

*Berthold Vogel is the director of the Sociological Research Institute (SOFI, Göttingen) and teaches sociology at the universities of Göttingen, Kassel, and St. Gallen (Switzerland).*

## Tobias Hauffe

### The Void in the Center: A Sociological Analysis of Abrupt Violence



Die Leere im Zentrum der Tat.  
Eine Soziologie unvermittelter  
Gewalt  
ca. 75 000 words / 270 pages  
ISBN 978-3-86854-380-3  
Hardback, March 2024

Available rights  
All languages

»That's not like him at all.«

Thick description and contextual analysis of how unanticipated,  
extreme acts of violence occur

Two men who have never met before and a taxi cab that both claim is theirs. Only minutes later, one of them is lying on the ground, seriously injured, while the other continues to kick his motionless body with brute force as if it were nothing more than a soccer ball. Later, people well acquainted with the man who is brought to trial will say: »That's not like him at all.«

Tobias Hauffe reconstructs four incidences of attempted manslaughter in public spaces on the basis of police and court files that include audio recordings of testimony from people involved, interviews with police officers, and video footage. The cases selected for this in-depth analysis have several things in common. They involve kicking and stamping on people lying on the ground. The accused have no history of violent crime, which at first glance seems surprising. And it is difficult to find explanations for how these brutal acts, which all occur in the context of everyday conflicts, come about.

For each of these cases, Tobias Hauffe meticulously retraces the specific settings and circumstances of these disputes that culminate in brutal violence. The descriptions of violence that emerge are not simply neutral depictions but rather insightful reconstructions that uncover underlying patterns of perception shaped by biographies and social contexts. This powerful but sensitively written study provides essential impulses for research into how violence can erupt.

*Tobias Hauffe is on the academic staff of the Department of Sociology at Helmut Schmidt University, Hamburg. He has been an associated member of the Research Group Macroviolence at the Hamburg Institute for Social Research since 2021 and previously worked at the University of Bayreuth.*

Ella Müller

## The American Right and Anti-environmentalism: A History of Radicalization



Die amerikanische Rechte und der Umweltschutz.  
Geschichte einer Radikalisierung  
ca. 117 300 words / 364 pages  
ISBN 978-3-86854-382-7  
Hardback, September 2023

Available rights  
All languages

### How the battle against conservation and protecting the environment came to be a cornerstone of conservative and radical right politics in the United States

The credit for institutionalizing modern environmental policy in the United States goes to President Richard Nixon — a Republican — for signing the National Environmental Policy Act into law on New Year's Day 1970. The act reflected a broad consensus across the country about the need for extensive measures to protect nature more effectively. Conservation was a conservative and not just a liberal goal. But anti-environmentalism, an opposition movement that rejected such state and federal policies as well as the environmental movement, emerged simultaneously and forged links to conservative circles. Today, protests against the establishment of parks, standards for drinking water, or funds for renewable energy are an integral element of conservative political agendas.

Ella Müller retraces the relationship between (anti-)environmentalism and the American right in the last third of the twentieth century by looking at two sides of the coin: how did the conservative movement and the Republican Party affect environmental policy? And what effect did increasingly manifest environmental and climate damage and the rise of the environmental movement and the environmental management state have on the American right? How could at times marginal resistance to specific measures become part of a reactionary political project, propelled by the drive to combat liberal America?

Müller's powerful narrative reconstructs the history of a process of radicalization, from the 1960s to the Reagan Revolution and contemporary cultural battles. She presents instructive and highly readable stories about actors as diverse as Dixy Lee Ray — biologist, later governor of Washington, and anti-environmentalism icon —, the northern spotted owl, and the Wise Use movement. Müller's book is a significant, indeed indispensable contribution to the history of the development of both the American Right and environmentalism.

*Ella Müller is a historian and the director of the Heinrich Böll Foundation's program Transatlantic Democracy in Washington, D. C. She previously held a research position at Albert Ludwig University Freiburg. Her work focuses on the history of U.S. conservatism, the radicalization of the far right, and the rise of environmentalism in the United States and Germany.*

## Teresa Koloma Beck and Florian P. Kühn (eds.) Interventions: The Afghanistan Mission and Its Impacts



**Zur Intervention.**  
Afghanistan und die Folgen  
ca. 46 900 words / 168 pages  
ISBN 978-3-86854-378-0  
Paperback, Oktober 2023

**Available rights**  
All languages

### Analysis of the legacy of the international mission in Afghanistan

After almost two decades of engagement in Afghanistan, the last remaining military forces of NATO allies and their partner countries were withdrawn from the country in August 2021, after the Taliban took power on 15 August. Whether and to what extent the international humanitarian, political, and military mission in Afghanistan failed remains a highly debated question that is the focus of this book. The volume brings together contributions from German-speaking social and political scientists and legal scholars who have conducted research on and in Afghanistan over the past two decades. Their research and the texts presented here scrutinize the knowledge on which the intervention was based and the ideas that shape current discussions about its failure.

The contributors to this volume illustrate the diverse and often contradictory claims and motivations underlying activities of the various actors who participated in the intervention. They trace how Afghans experienced the developments. Moreover, they highlight the significance of the Afghanistan missions not only for the country itself but also for the societies of the NATO allies. Together these texts underline how the long-term impacts of the NATO-led intervention reach far beyond the mission's military failure. Last but not least, the authors reflect on lessons to be learned about the possible contributions and limits of academic research in helping to shape political decision-making and evidence-based policy making.

With contributions by Gerd Hankel, Teresa Koloma Beck, Florian P. Kühn, Katja Mielke, Philipp Münch, Conrad Schetter, Florian Weigand

*Teresa Koloma Beck is a professor of sociology at Helmut Schmidt University Hamburg. Among her earlier positions were a professorship for the sociology of globalization at Bundeswehr University Munich, senior research fellow at the Hamburg Institute for Social Research, and researcher at the French-German Centre Marc Bloch, Berlin. Her work centers on conflict, crises and societies in transformation, violence, and globalization and especially the dynamics of everyday life and the post/decolonial condition of the present. She has conducted extensive fieldwork in Angola, Mozambique, and Afghanistan.*

*Florian P. Kühn is a senior lecturer at the School of Global Studies, University of Gothenburg and academic coordinator of the research network »Conflicts. Meanings. Transitions« at the University of Bayreuth. His research focuses especially on the interactions between international interventions and social orders on the local level.*



## Hubert Zimmermann

### Military Missions: Justifying Armed International Interventions, Past and Present



**Militärische Missionen.**  
Rechtfertigungen bewaffneter  
Auslandseinsätze in Geschichte  
und Gegenwart  
ca. 153 700 words / 488 pages  
7 images  
ISBN 978-3-86854-381-0  
Hardback, September 2023

**Available rights**  
All languages

»Hubert Zimmermann offers factual and pertinent support in the process of shaping opinions on urgent issues. His non-Eurocentric approach to world history is bound to make readers smarter with a text that is highly readable to boot. In other words, a book that is to be recommended for laypeople as well.« — Insa Wilke, *WDR3*

**How are military interventions justified? Where should the border be drawn between solidarity and self-protection? How are collective security and human rights related?**

Military interventions in foreign territories are one of the key forces that have shaped world history. While historically such interventions were most often motivated by a desire, indeed greed for power, land, or resources and riches, a new type emerged in the course of nineteenth century. No longer primarily aimed at retaliation, conquest, or gaining and securing power, these actions aimed to establish collective and individual security by stabilizing foreign territories. Hubert Zimmerman draws on extensive comparative case studies centering on the United States, Germany, and France to retrace the history of military interventions, from their religious roots to humanitarian missions and the concept of the responsibility to protect. His narrative centers in particular how such operations were justified: on the motives and justifications presented or revealed in the context of interventions as well as on how these have changed over the course of history.

Justifications for foreign missions are inextricably tied to how each state — and society — perceives its identity in relation to other societies. In this sense, *Military Missions* presents a topical perspective on historical and ongoing controversies about divergent ideas of legality and proportionality in the context of states' dealings with one another.

Zimmerman lays out the conflicts and contradictions that have repeatedly emerged and also reflects on calls for disengagement and anti-interventionist tendencies, past and present. As the number of countries embroiled in domestic and regional violent conflicts continues to grow, with massive implications for stability and human rights, his book offers highly pertinent analysis.

*Hubert Zimmermann is a professor for international relations at the Institute for Political Science, University of Marburg and previously held academic positions at Heinrich-Heine University Düsseldorf, Cornell University, Ruhr University Bochum, and the European University Institute, Florence. Zimmerman has published widely on such diverse topics as global finance and monetary regulation, trade with China, EU fisheries policies, deglobalization, and polar and ocean governance.*



## David Kuchenbuch

### Globalisms: The Past and Present of Global Thinking



**Globalismen.** Geschichte und Gegenwart des globalen Bewusstseins  
ca. 54 000 words / 248 pages  
ISBN 978-3-86854-370-4  
Paperback, September 2023

**Available rights**  
All languages

**»Kuchenbuch's book is a worthwhile read... It shows that many current discussions about global contexts are rooted in a long historical tradition and that some arguments may seem more plausible only because they have prioritized in global consciousness for so long—not because they're better.«** — Katja Scherer, *Deutschlandfunk Andruck*

Disrupted supply chains, flight and migration, critiques of »cosmopolitan elites«: controversies over globalization as well as, more recently, deglobalization, have become ubiquitous in recent decades. But debates about the advantages and disadvantages of global interdependencies in fact have a more than 150-year history. The dominant perspectives were at times euphoric, at times mostly pessimistic, especially since the profound shift in Western European and American concepts of the global in the 1970s and 1980s. David Kuchenbuch's concise historical survey dissects and defuses these highly charged debates. His approach centers on »globalisms« — in the plural form — as global ways of thinking, indeed as a kind of global consciousness, and from the outset incorporates critiques of globalization into this account.

Kuchenbuch retraces the changing history of global thinking within transatlantic modernity by reconstructing the social milieus, cultural constellations, and political processes of mobilization from which globalisms emerged. He reconsiders phenomena such as the utopian hopes associated with the post-1945 notion of a peaceful »One World« or the widespread concerns in the 1970ies about »global interdependencies«. Experts' attempts to address social, economic, and environmental problems globally met with countercultural criticism of the ideologies of growth, materialism, and ethnocentrism. This concise and readable book reveals just how deeply various facets of the history of global thinking continue to shape contemporary discourse and agendas in the era of global warming and other worldwide issues.

*David Kuchenbuch is a historian who lectures and conducts research in the Department of History at Justus-Liebig-University, Giessen, and is also the research coordinator of the department's Working Group on the History and Theory of Global Capitalism.*

Lars Döpking

## Fiscal Rule: Taxes, the State, and Politics in Italy since 1945



**Fiskalische Herrschaft.**  
Steuern, Staat und Politik  
in Italien seit 1945  
ca. 155 000 words / 512 pages  
41 diagrams and tables  
ISBN 978-3-86854-371-1  
Hardback, May 2023

**Available rights**  
All languages

### A historical-sociological account of how the Italian tax state selectively expanded fiscal control

The impacts and effectiveness of tax states as social forces are all too often underestimated. By forcing citizens to interact, tax states influence wages, consumption, and investment decisions as well as inheritances, relocations, or marriages much more than is apparent at first glance. Moreover, the fiscal relationships that constitute tax states are constantly being transformed. In the course of profound social shifts and power struggles in the twentieth century, the opportunities available to some groups within society to evade fiscal control shrank dramatically, at the same time others were able to reduce their tax burden to a minimum.

Sociologist Lars Döpking retraces the history of fundamental changes in the post-1945 Italian tax state. His analysis shows how four factors interacted and contributed to generating huge increases in Italian tax revenues: administrative capacity building, ongoing measures to combat tax evasion, transnational entanglements, and domestic political conflicts. Döpking's book enhances our understanding of the controversial technical and political processes that determine the nature of contemporary tax states. And it explains why not only the Italian population pays more taxes today than ever before – and why that is unlikely to change.

*Lars Döpking joined the research staff of the German Historical Institute in Rome in 2022. He previously conducted the study that forms the basis for this book as a member of the Research Group Democracy and Statehood at the Hamburg Institute for Social Research.*

## Ariane Leendertz

### The Exhausted State: A Different History of Neoliberalism



**Der erschöpfte Staat.**  
Eine andere Geschichte des  
Neoliberalismus  
ca. 152 000 words / 480 pages  
7 images  
ISBN 978-3-86854-365-0  
Hardcover, September 2022

**Available rights**  
All languages

»Leendertz's book ... is an outstanding, instructive case study on the development of capitalism as political economy in the second half of the twentieth century.«

Wolfgang Streeck, *Soziopolis*

»In her remarkable book, historian Ariane Leendertz presents an original interpretation [of the rise of neoliberalism] ... Leendertz holds that, rather than replacing Keynesianism, neoliberalism superseded solutionism—the belief, widespread in the 1960s, that the state could solve all problems based on social-science research.«

Thomas Thiel, *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*

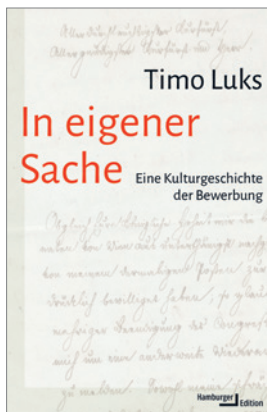
In the 1960s, many Western states adopted new and seemingly daring approaches to governance. Together with modernized social and political institutions, policymaking was to more effectively predict, monitor, and manage all manner of crises. U.S. president Johnson launched an ambitious domestic agenda targeting poverty and racial injustice called the Great Society, including what came to be known as the War on Poverty. Ronald Reagan's inauguration as president marked another sea change. The new administration quickly moved to act on its rejection of large-scale, federally funded programs, especially in the social sphere, a strategy it termed »starving the beast«.

Ariane Leendertz's major study focuses on an underlying and little-appreciated element of this critique of the state: the discourse on complexity. According to this discourse, the social world is far too complicated and unmanageable and state intervention will thus always result in unintended consequences and merely exacerbate the problems addressed. Belief in the state's capacity to solve social problems, she asserts, has been eroding since the 1960s. Her study traces this process through the debates on complexity and governability, focusing on the history of urban policy in the United States. Leendertz offers a convincing analysis of the transformation of statehood and the connections between neoliberal theory and political practice.

*Ariane Leendertz is a historian and currently a member of the research staff of the Historical Commission Munich. She was previously head of the Research Group on the Economization of the Social and the History of Complexity at the Max Planck Institute for the Study of Societies in Cologne. Her research focuses on twentieth-century German and American history, in particular on the links between intellectual history and political history.*

**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.*

Joachim von Puttkamer

»I will never get used to the violence.«

## Police Brutality and Society in the People's Republic of Poland



»Ich werde mich nie an die Gewalt gewöhnen«. Polizei-brutalität und Gesellschaft in der Volksrepublik Polen  
ca. 176 500 words / 600 pages  
ISBN 978-3-86854-367-4  
Hardcover, December 2022

**Available rights**  
All languages

**Probes the dynamics of police violence in Poland since the early 1950s, shifting public responses, and their impact on the stability of the regime**

The People's Republic of Poland had a serious problem with its police. The police forces were generally seen as unusually violent, and people were repeatedly killed during arrests or while in police custody. This police brutality was exacerbated by a rapid-response police unit established in the 1950s, which soon became a forceful and repressive anti-riot force deployed in particular to quell political and economic protests.

Historian Joachim von Puttkamer probes the causes and forms of this police brutality. His book examines the half-hearted attempts of Polish police leadership to control police officers as well as the defensive reactions of domestic security authorities to such measures, especially in times of crisis.

Von Puttkamer mines a broad array of historical sources to analyze the role that responses to flagrant attacks on citizens played in reconstituting Polish society from the 1970s on. Such responses were a major stimulus of oppositional activism throughout the 1980s and a significant issue during negotiations at the Polish Round Table Talks of 1989. The book offers new insights into how people in Poland ceased to view police brutality as a given and increasingly denounced it as morally wrong. The author retraces a key element of the process in which the communist dictatorship gradually destroyed its own basis.

*Joachim von Puttkamer holds a chair in eastern European history at Friedrich Schiller University Jena. He codirects, together with Michal Kopeček, the Imre Kertész Kolleg Eastern Europe in the Twentieth Century: Comparative Historical Experience, a federally funded institute of advanced studies cofounded by von Puttkamer in 2010 in Jena.*

## 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 burdens.« — 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.*



Laura Wolters

## Doing Violence, Suffering Violence: A Sociology of Gang Rape



Vom Antun und Erleiden.  
Eine Soziologie der Gruppen-  
vergewaltigung  
ca. 92 000 words/312 pages  
ISBN 978-3-86854-360-5  
Hardback, April 2022

Available rights  
All languages

A pioneering, in-depth sociological study of gang rape that offers fundamental insights for research on other forms of violence

»But what is most impressive is how patiently, respectfully, sensitively, and yet always clearly and precisely Laura Wolters gleans from the case studies she has selected new and important insights into the phenomenon of group rape—insights that are highly significant for trans-disciplinary research on violence.« – Catherine Davies, *Soziopolis*

»These analyses make a contribution to understanding such crimes—and perhaps also to preventing them.« – Oskar Piegsa, *Die Zeit online*

When public attention is aroused by events like the mass assaults on women on New Year's Eve 2015/16 in Cologne, »why« is inevitably a key question. But despite such outbursts of public outrage and the associated discussions about what leads to gang rape, there is still relatively little research on collective sexual violence. And research to date is all too often marked by a significant blind spot: the violent acts as such are hardly considered.

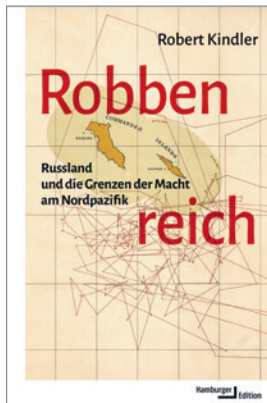
In her pioneering study of gang rape, Laura Wolters brings the interactions and practices of sexualized violence into focus. She argues that questions about collective sexual violence call for empirical approaches grounded in an understanding of violence as a social process. On the basis of court records, autobiographical testimonies, autobiographical texts, and victim and eyewitness accounts, she takes a close look at sexualized and collective uses of force, as a special form of doing and suffering violence. Wolters presents the first sociology of gang rape and makes an important contribution to advancing our insights into a highly relevant phenomenon, with implications for research on other forms of violence.

*Laura Wolters is a social scientist who works in the Research Group Macro-Violence at the Hamburg Institute for Social Research.*



Robert Kindler

## Fur Seal Empire: Russia and the Limits of Power in the North Pacific



Robbenreich. Russland und  
die Grenzen der Macht am  
Nordpazifik  
ca. 145 000 words / 464 pages,  
11 images, 5 maps  
ISBN 978-3-86854-359-9  
Hardback, March 2022

**Available rights**  
All languages

**A gripping microglobal account of resource conflicts and imperial domination in the Northern Pacific region**

»Easily forgotten: Russia and the United States waged battles over power and influence in the nineteenth century. Robert Kindler is to be commended for reminding us of a chapter of Russian history that is virtually unknown in Europe ... This book reads like a prelude to the present, for it mirrors ongoing conflicts over influence, power, and resources.«

Thomas Speckmann, *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*

Tsar Alexander II's decision to sell Russian America, now Alaska, to the United States in 1867 marked a watershed for the North Pacific region. Whereas Russia had attempted to maintain a minimum of imperial authority on its periphery, state and private actors from the United States, as well as Great Britain and Japan, sought to gain access to the region's scarce resources. Seal pelts, in particular, were in demand on the world market, with furs important status symbols for the emerging bourgeoisie in metropolises from London to New York and Moscow.

In his new book, historian Robert Kindler focuses on the history of seal hunting in the North Pacific to retrace a story of transnational conflicts and entanglements. His analysis furthers our understanding of the interactions and legacies of fragile statehood, the oppression of indigenous peoples, and ruthless exploitation of resources. Not only were seal herds in the region decimated within a few decades. The impacts of massive interventions into North Pacific ecosystems are still being felt to this day

*Robert Kindler is a professor of history specializing in Eastern European history at Freie Universität Berlin. His work focuses on the transnational history of the Russian Empire, the history of Stalinism, and the history of post-Soviet memory cultures. His earlier award-winning book, originally published in German by Hamburger Edition, has also appeared in Russian (Russpen, 2017), Kazakh (Foliant, 2023), and English (University of Pittsburgh Press, Stalin's Nomads: Power and Famine in Kazakhstan).*

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.*

## 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.*

## 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.*

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.*

## 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.*



Oliver Eberl

## Barbarism and the State of Nature: The Legitimation and Critique of State Order in the Context of European Colonial Expansion



Naturzustand und Barbarei:  
Begründung und Kritik staatlicher  
Ordnung im Zeichen des Kolonial-  
ismus  
ca. 164 000 words / 552 pages,  
11 images  
ISBN 978-3-86854-349-0  
Hardback, March 2021

**Available rights**  
All languages

**Honored as Best Book in Political Science 2022 by the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Politikwissenschaft and Stiftung Wissenschaft und Demokratie**

**»Eberl's book impresses with its clarity of thought and transparent approach to the history of ideas. The author does not mince words when it comes to the far-reaching consequences of his historical findings for the present. He shows how both the justification and the critique of state order have been aligned with a conception of barbarism that was shaped by colonialism—and remains so to this day.« – Milos Vec, Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung**

In recent years, fundamental ideas of European thinking have been subjected to critical scrutiny, to determine how they contribute to perpetuating racism and repression. »Barbarism«, as a key element of European political discourses on »civilization«, is one such idea. Barbarism is firmly rooted in notions of »non-civilized Others« seen as not sharing European values and ideas of political order. Barbarians are represented as threatening the civilized way of life, and the term barbarian continues to be used to label crimes deemed especially horrific and morally reprehensible. But the concept's more fundamental significance for political theory has hardly been addressed.

*Barbarism and the State of Nature* addresses this desiderata and the fundamental entanglement of Western political thought with the discourse on barbarism, from the Enlightenment to twentieth-century political philosophers like Adorno. Oliver Eberl aims to contribute to decolonizing discourse on political theory by analyzing how it continues to draw on concepts about barbarism and the »state of nature«. He begins by retracing the principles and genealogy of discourse on barbarism from antiquity on, highlighting its connection with European colonialism and the role of this discourse in denigrating the colonized.

As modern states emerged in Europe, political thinkers held that barbarism had been overcome, but emphasized the danger of relapsing into this »uncivilized« status. Thomas Hobbes described the »natural state« as the opposite of modern statehood. This transformation of the colonial concept into a critical notion enabled Enlightenment thinkers to criticize the existing absolutist states or, later, anti-fascists to decry the Nazi state as »barbaric«. This shift secured the role of the concept of barbarism in contemporary theoretical thinking, as we continue to refer to terrorism as barbaric and civil war as a »return to the state of nature«. Eberl ends by pointing to differentiated concepts of genocide, crimes against humanity, and other violations of human dignity that have increasingly replaced the barbarism discourse and should be the basis for future work in political theory.

*Oliver Eberl is a political scientist and co-directs a research project at the Technical University of Darmstadt: »Der Blick nach unten. Soziale Konflikte in der Ideengeschichte der Demokratie«. He has previously worked at the universities of Frankfurt, Indiana, and Oslo. His research focuses on political theory, Kant's political philosophy, the history of ideas in colonialism, political semantics, and EU citizenship.*



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.*

# Recently Published Translations

## of Hamburger Edition Titles



Robert Kindler  
**Stalin's Nomads: Power and Famine in Kazakhstan**  
Stalins Nomaden. Herrschaft und Hunger in Kasachstan

2023: Kazakh, Foliant  
2018: World English, University of Pittsburgh Press  
2017: Russian, Rosspen



Sina Arnold  
**From Occupation to Occupy: Antisemitism and the Contemporary American Left**  
Das unsichtbare Vorurteil. Antisemitismuskurse in der US-amerikanischen Linken nach 9/11

2022: World English, Indiana University Press



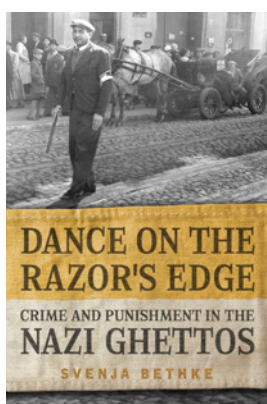
Peter Waldmann  
**The Conservative Impulse: Change and the Experience of Loss**  
Der konservative Impuls. Wandel als Verlusterfahrung

2022: Spanish, LOM Ediciones / UAM Ediciones



Carola Dietze  
**The Invention of Terrorism in Europe, Russia, and the United States**  
Die Erfindung des Terrorismus in Europa, Russland und den USA 1858 – 1866

2021: World English, Verso Books



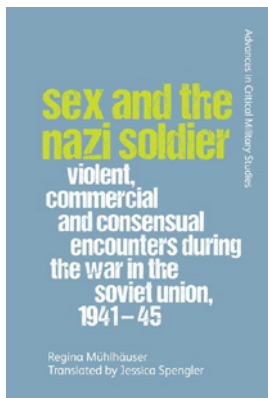
Svenja Bethke  
**Dance on the Razor's Edge: Crime and Punishment in the Nazi Ghettos**  
Tanz auf Messers Schneide. Kriminalität und Recht in den Ghettos Warschau, Litzmannstadt und Wilna

2021: World English, University of Toronto Press



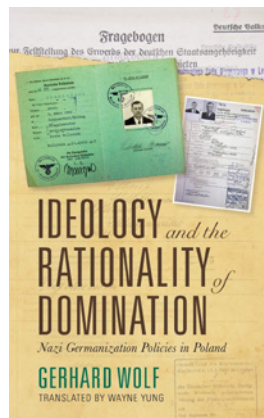
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**Keystroke Capitalism: How Banks Create Money for the Few**  
Keystroke-Kapitalismus. Ungleichheit auf Knopfdruck

2022: World English, Verso Books



Regina Mühlhäuser  
**Sex and the Nazi Soldier: Violent, Commercial and Consensual Encounters during the War in the Soviet Union, 1941-45**  
Eroberungen. Sexuelle Beziehungen deutscher Soldaten in der Sowjetunion 1941 bis 1945

2020: World English, Edinburgh University Press  
2015: Japanese, Iwanami Shoten



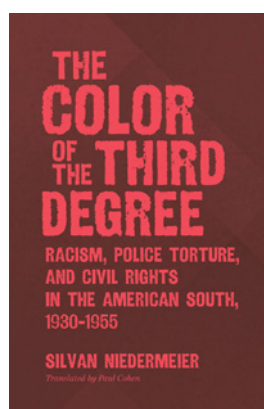
Gerhard Wolf  
**Ideology and the Rationality of Domination: Nazi Germanization Policies in Poland**  
Ideologie und Herrschaftsrationalität. Nationalsozialistische Germanisierungspolitik in Polen

2020: World English, Indiana University Press



Heinz Bude  
**Society of Fear**  
Gesellschaft der Angst

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



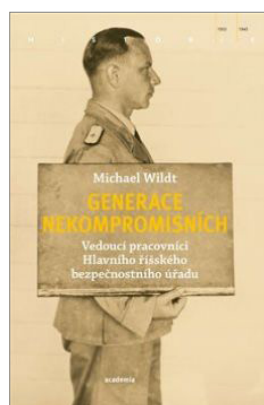
Silvan Niedermeier  
**The Color of the Third Degree: Racism, Police Torture, and Civil Rights in the American South, 1930-1955**  
Rassismus und Bürgerrechte. Polizeifolter im Süden der USA 1930-1955

2019: World English, University of North Carolina Press



Matthias Fink  
**Srebrenica: Chronicle of a Genocide or What Happened to Mirnes Osmanović**  
Srebrenica. Chronologie eines Völkermords oder Was geschah mit Mirnes Osmanovic

2022: Audio book, Bosnian, Dobra Knjiga  
2020: Bosnian, Dobra Knjiga



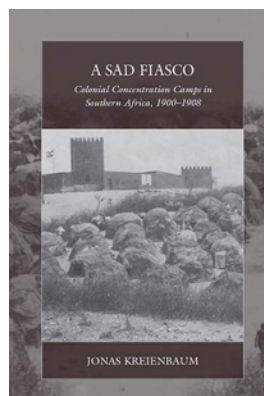
Michael Wildt  
**An Uncompromising Generation: The Nazi Leadership of the Reich Security Main Office**  
Generation des Unbedingten. Das Führungskorps des Reichssicherheitshauptamtes

2019: Czech, Academia Nakladatelství  
2010: World English, University of Wisconsin Press



Catherine Colliot-Thélène  
**Democracy and Subjective Rights: Democracy without Demos**  
Demokratie ohne Volk

2020: Spanish, Herder Editorial  
2017: World English, ECPR Press  
2011: French, Presses Universitaires de France



Jonas Kreienbaum  
**A Sad Fiasco: Colonial Concentration Camps in Southern Africa, 1900-1908**  
»Ein trauriges Fiasco«. Koloniale Konzentrationslager um 1900

2019: World English, Berghahn Books

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