

# Hamburger Edition Foreign Rights Guide Fall 2024

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## Stefanie Coché

# Religious Awakenings and Earthly Power: Religion and Democracy in the US



**Religiöse Erweckung und irdische Macht.** Religion und Demokratie in den USA  
ca. 198 000 words / 560 pages /  
5 images  
ISBN 978-3-86854-398-8  
March 2025

**Available rights**  
All languages

**A fascinating account that interweaves biographical narratives and historical analysis to reconstruct the interplay of religion and democracy in the United States**

The 2024 presidential election campaign and the recently revived controversies over abortion rights are only the latest political phenomena that underscore how strongly religion influences American society, culture, and democracy. Religiosity presents itself as not necessarily in opposition to modernity but rather as a flexible system for navigating life in a constantly changing society.

Historian Stefanie Coché has examined the lives of fourteen American religious leaders from the early nineteenth century to the present to reveal why religious worldviews were enticing for Americans and what changes have ensured that they remain attractive for followers. The protagonists of Coché's account include the former slave Amanda Berry Smith, who aimed to overcome America's segregated society after the Civil War; Jerry Falwell, who was a driving force behind the emergence of the ultra-conservative New Christian Right in the 1980s; Pauli Murray, who became an icon of the LGBTQ movement after her death; and, last but not least, Baptist pastor Billy Graham, who filled halls in Europe as well as the US with his crusade against liberalism and what he considered to be immorality.

Taking as her starting points key biographical moments retraced on the basis of a broad range of sources, the author weaves a nuanced tapestry of some two centuries of American society. Her account will take readers from the individual life histories to consideration of conclusions that can be drawn about central socio-historical issues such as race, class and gender—and to an understanding of democracy that goes far beyond lessons taught by the individual figures presented here.

*Stefanie Coché is a historian who lectures and conducts research at the Historical Institute of Justus Liebig University, Giessen. Her areas of work include German, US, and transatlantic history; the history of the German dictatorships; right-wing violence and German reunification; the history of psychiatry, medicine, and the body; and the history of religion.*

## Ferdinand Sutterlüty

### Resisting: Attempts to Live a Right Life in the Wrong One



**Widerstehen.** Versuche eines richtigen Lebens im falschen  
ca. 58 000 words / 208 pages  
ISBN 978-3-86854-400-8  
February 2025

**Available rights**  
All languages

**About people who find things amiss in contemporary societies—and have sought and found alternatives**

Dissatisfaction is on the rise in many contemporary societies. Yet, while some despair and others seem caught up in endless cycles of criticizing and finding fault, most people simply carry on as before. And only a few decide to draw consequences and take action based on their perceptions of what is wrong. Rather than remaining idle, these individuals oppose prevailing conditions and counter widespread expectations.

Ferdinand Sutterlüty sought and spoke to some of those who follow the other path. His book is a sociologically informed account of his conversations with people who have chosen to engage with issues and phenomena that the majority of us have apparently resigned ourselves to. Sutterlüty talks with a sea rescuer in the Mediterranean and a teacher. With political activists and Alpine farmers. With a cleaner who motivates colleagues to join the fight against humiliating working conditions and for the establishment of trade union structures. With a forest official who has sought justice in the courts, in a case that has dragged on for years, in her struggle against discrimination in the workplace. With one artist who lives as a self-supporter and another who works with trans women.

For Sutterlüty, these people are beacons of hope and pioneers who show that things can be done differently—some who are at times loud or raucous, some who work quietly, some who shy away from the public arena, and others who do not avoid the limelight. What they have in common is that, like characters in great novels, their lives and their stories will leave no reader indifferent.

*Ferdinand Sutterlüty is a professor of sociology at Goethe-Universität Frankfurt am Main. His research addresses the sociology of children, youths, and families; the sociology of violence and criminality; practices of resistance; new forms of authoritarianism; and social theories, in particular critical theory.*

## Patrick Hönig

# When Violence Doesn't End: Forced Migration in the Democratic Republic of Congo



**Wenn die Gewalt nicht endet.**  
Erzwungene Migration in der  
Demokratischen Republik Kongo  
ca. 99 000 words / 350 pages  
ISBN 978-3-86854-401-5  
April 2025

**Available rights**  
All languages

**Examines what becomes of refugees in the region around the Democratic Republic of Congo and outlines perspectives for protecting refugees in this and other conflict regions**

Forced migration is the phrase used to refer to situations in which the decision to stay or leave is taken out of people's hands. But how do those forced to leave their homes find protection, when rebels or the henchmen of their own government continue to threaten their lives?

Based on interviews with refugees from the Democratic Republic of Congo, this book shows that international refugee law falls terribly short—existing international conventions and declarations remain silent when it comes to the dangers that continue to threaten people after they have fled to neighboring regions outside the direct combat zones. As Hönig's analysis demonstrates, it is as if the ongoing vulnerability of refugees in the host country is tacitly accepted, as the price to be paid for protection from immediate persecution.

In the long term, the international community cannot afford to exclude political and social upheavals, such as those exemplified in the Congo, from the migration discourse. And it cannot avoid confronting the need for effective protection of refugees in the countries that have offered them refuge. If we fail to develop sustainable solutions for refugees, measures to reduce the causes of flight are also destined to fail. And migration to Europe and other more secure continents and countries will continue to gain momentum.

*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. His research interests and numerous publications center on peace and security, human rights law, and conflict resolution and dispute settlement. This is his second book for the Hamburger Edition.*

## Micha Knuth

# The Silent Revolution: Marcel Gauchet's Historical Anthropology of Democracy



**Die stille Revolution.**  
Marcel Gauchets historische  
Anthropologie der Demokratie  
ca. 165 000 words / 500 pages /  
6 images  
ISBN 978-3-86854-399-5  
April 2025

**Available rights**  
All languages

**The first comprehensive survey and critical appraisal of the work of Marcel Gauchet, one of contemporary France's most prominent intellectuals**

In France, Marcel Gauchet is widely regarded as one of the most important thinkers of his generation, and his analysis of current political developments is much sought-after in French media. And yet international reception of his ideas and books has been limited. Micha Knuth now presents the first complete account of Gauchet's career and his groundbreaking historical analysis of Western democracies. In the process of retracing Gauchet's thought, this book simultaneously opens up new perspectives on the intellectual history of France after Foucault and post-structuralism.

In this context, the »silent revolution« refers originally to the change in values in Western democracies after 1968. Gauchet's life's work is dedicated to the question of how this change in the spirit of democracy, which still characterizes today's democratic societies, came about. Fully committed to the tradition of the social sciences' claim to develop comprehensive explanations, his approach spans themes ranging from the emergence of the first nation-states and the political history of religion to the history of violence in the twentieth century and the apparent triumph of democracy in the period after World War II. Readers who follow Gauchet on this journey will find insights that lead them to consider the present and future prospects of democracy from new perspectives.

*Micha Knuth focuses in his research on the intellectual history of contemporary France since 1968 as well as various issues in political theory and political philosophy. He has studied and conducted research at the universities of Freiburg and Aix-en-Provence, at Humboldt University in Berlin, and at the Hamburg Institute for Social Research.*

Aaron Sahr

## Fake Coins: Digital Money and Freedom beyond the Digital



**Fake Coins.** Digitales Geld  
und analoge Freiheit  
ca. 57 000 words / 200 pages  
ISBN 978-3-86854-390-2  
March 2025

**Available rights**  
All languages

**False promises: a critical perspective on Bitcoin's fifteen-year history, on the European Central Bank's digital-euro fiasco—and on why the end of hard cash is not necessarily a sign of progress**

Digitalization in the world of money: cash is in the process of disappearing, dynamic financial startups are pushing out traditional banks, and smart phone apps are increasingly replacing checks and bank cards. A key element of this transformation is a radical project: Bitcoin, a computer program for the operation of a new global means of payment, independent of states and financial institutions, accessible to all, protected from inflation and censorship. Bitcoin has been touted as the realization of the utopia of monetary freedom—with a huge impact and an even bigger problem.

In his new book, Aaron Sahr shows why Bitcoin is based on false promises and ill-founded forecasts. In political terms, Bitcoin is by no means a revolution; it is a continuation of the existing, radically liberal monetary order. Sahr argues that limiting our understanding of monetary freedom to individual freedom of choice and protection from state intervention is bound to be disastrous for society and will deprive us as a political community of what is perhaps the most important means of tackling the pressing crises of our time. Current debates about digital money should be perceived as a unique opportunity to stop treating money as if it were a constant—an immovable fact. Money is in fact an element of our social infrastructure that can and should be changed—to secure and enhance genuine freedom.

*Aaron Sahr is an economic sociologist and visiting professor at Leuphana University in Lüneburg, Germany. He heads the research group Monetary Sovereignty at the Hamburg Institute for Social Research. Sahr was awarded the Franz-Xaver Kaufmann Prize 2019 by the University of Bielefeld's Department of Sociology for his outstanding work as an early-career social scientist. His research focuses on the sociology of money, on monetary policy and theory, and on the de- and re-politicization of monetary orders.*

## Isabel Feichtner Resources: Exploitation and Commoning



**Bodenschätze.**  
Über Verwertung und  
Vergesellschaftung  
ca. 57 000 words / 200 pages  
ISBN 978-3-86854-393-3  
February 2025

**Available rights**  
All languages

### Contemporary investments targeting urban real estate and the ocean floor — on the impacts of appropriating and exploiting common property on our societies

Who owns the cities? Who owns the land? Who owns the ocean floors? Privatization of urban land has a considerably longer history than schemes to make the deep sea available for private use. Urban landscapes have long been a focus of private investors. But only recently have we begun to witness heightened investor interest in the ocean floor, for example by companies aiming to mine deep-sea minerals essential to the production of batteries for electric vehicles. What fundamental issues link residential urban real estate and deep-sea minerals as fields of investment — and what are the far-reaching implications of privatization for societies worldwide?

On the surface, it might seem that nothing could be farther apart, geographically and otherwise, than urban spaces and the deepest reaches of the world's oceans. But urgent and fundamental issues related to how they are being evaluated and utilized connect the two. And resistance to investments in these two sectors is growing. In Germany, fierce debates about urban land usage are underscored by the success of a referendum launched in Berlin by a citizens' initiative — Deutsche Wohnen & Co. Enteignen — calling for expropriation of the property of private real-estate companies with 3,000 or more residential rental units in the city. And coalitions like the Sustainable Ocean Alliance are mobilizing to campaign against mining the deep-sea bed. The concept of habitability is acquiring a central role in shaping planetary policies.

Isabel Feichtner analyzes how land is distributed and utilized and what role legal norms play in these processes. Moreover, her topical book reveals how rights and counter-rights can and should be used to reclaim commons and joint property.

*Isabel Feichtner is a professor of public law and international economic law at the University of Würzburg. During the academic year 2023/2024 she headed the research program Reclaiming Common Wealth: Towards a Law and Political Economy of Land Commons at The New Institute in Hamburg. Her research centers on international economic law, transnational commodity law, monetary and financial law, and the law of commons.*

## Bogdan Musial

# Doctors in Auschwitz: The Functions and Dilemmas of Prisoner-Physicians, 1940 – 1945



»Lagermedizin« in Auschwitz.  
Funktion und Dilemmata der  
Häftlingsärzte 1940 – 1945  
Ca. 175 000 words / 653 pages;  
30 images  
ISBN 978-3-86854-394-0  
September 2024

Available rights  
All languages

### The first comprehensive history of prisoner-physicians in the Nazi concentration camp in Auschwitz

This place will be hell on earth — that was what a member of the SS told prisoners constructing the fence that was to enclose the Auschwitz concentration camp in June 1940. After 1945, Auschwitz became synonymous with the unimaginable horrors of the Holocaust. People from all walks of life and all professions were among the prisoners, including physicians. Physicians who were assigned to work in the camp infirmary significantly increased their own chances of survival, but were also able to use their medical knowledge to help others. When Auschwitz was expanded and became an extermination complex in 1942, the treatment of sick inmates was in effect turned over to these prisoner-physicians, with SS doctors acting as their overseers. The prisoner-physicians experienced terrible dilemmas in their daily work: although they were indeed able to help fellow inmates, the orders of their SS superiors forced them to assist in implementing decisions that brought death to others.

German-Polish historian Bogdan Musial has written the first comprehensive study of the role of prisoner-physicians in Auschwitz, from the earliest beginnings of the infamous concentration camp to the liberation and evacuation of inmates in January 1945. Musial describes the prisoner-physicians' daily lives, their work duties, and how not only »medical experiments« but also the »selections« of those who were to be sent to their deaths, the testing of various murder methods, and the mass extermination of inmates were organized and conducted. Musial's monumental study retraces a hitherto neglected aspect of the Auschwitz complex and is an outstanding contribution to research on Auschwitz and on the Holocaust as a whole.

*Bogdan Musial is a historian who came to Germany from Poland as a political refugee and studied at the University of Hanover, Germany, and the University of Manchester. After completing his doctoral thesis on the persecution of Jews in occupied Poland, he was a researcher with the German Historical Institute and the Institute of National Remembrance, both in Warsaw. Musial held a professorship at Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński University in Warsaw from 2010 to 2015. He has published numerous books on German, Soviet, and Polish history.*

## Gerd Hankel

# Distant Injustice, Foreign Suffering: The Enforcement of International Justice



**Fernes Unrecht. Fremdes Leid.**  
Von der Durchsetzbarkeit  
internationalen Rechts  
ca. 85 000 words / 348 pages  
ISBN 978-3-86854-395-7  
September 2024

**Available rights**  
All languages

**Who determines what crimes are of most serious concern to the international community? And what are the impacts of such decisions? Can justice be enforced internationally?**

Since the beginning of the modern era, there have been many attempts to react to unjust acts perpetrated in distant countries that nonetheless have impacts internationally. Diplomacy, military interventions with and without a UN Security Council mandate, decisions reached by national and international courts — these are all reactions to and attempts to sanction crimes of great concern to the international community. And these measures repeatedly generate considerable expectations in political circles and among the general public throughout the world.

In contrast to the monopoly on the use of violence by individual states, on an international level, the enforcement of international justice depends on the good will of individual states. Treaties and agreements aim to ensure that human rights are viewed as binding. International humanitarian law defines what rules must be adhered to in armed conflicts. As the framework for protecting individuals from violence or injustice perpetrated by state actors has been extended, so too has the number of mechanisms increased that are intended to prevent violations of these standards by states or to sanction violations when they do occur.

Nonetheless, in practice, the application and enforcement of international legal norms is plagued by numerous contradictions that seem quite unbearable in the face of injustice and human suffering. Gerd Hankel takes stock of decades of work to enforce international codes of justice. He analyzes just how much more needs to be done, before the ideal of a world conscience will be realized and that conscience will be equipped so that it will be activated when the need arises. Much has undeniably already been achieved. But because justice and self-righteousness are often closely related, these achievements may prove to be built on sand.

*Gerd Hankel is a scholar of legal studies who works for the Hamburg Foundation for the Promotion of Research and Culture. His research on contemporary and historical topics in international public law focuses especially on war and armed conflicts and genocide. Hankel has also served as a legal expert in proceedings involving issues of international criminal law and the right to political asylum.*

Jan Philipp Reemtsma

## »Tell me, am I right?«: Three Speeches about Old Problems in the Present



»Sagt, hab ich recht?«.  
Drei Reden zur Gegenwart  
alter Probleme  
12 500 words / 96 pages  
ISBN 978-3-86854-396-4  
June 2024

**Available rights**  
All languages

»As a rule, problems that one must confront in the present are not as new as one fears, and one often fears them merely because they are assumed to be new.«

War and violence, antisemitism, freedom of speech: these are topics that preoccupy us today, but they are by no means new. In three speeches characterized by their striking clarity, Jan Philipp Reemtsma analyzes contemporary phenomena by outlining how they are linked to historical events and debates.

In the first of his texts, he draws on the work of Christoph Martin Wieland to discuss an understanding of the Enlightenment as an ongoing dialog. The second is concerned with the history and present-day manifestations of antisemitism. In his final contribution, Reemtsma focuses on the issue of containing military violence, especially against noncombatants, from the Sack of Magdeburg, the worst massacre of the Thirty Years' War, to armed conflicts in the twentieth and twenty-first century, up to the Hamas' attacks of October 2023 and the ensuing war in Gaza.

### Contents

- »Tell me, am I right?«: Christoph Martin Wieland on the freedom of the press as synonymous with »Enlightenment«
- Antisemitism – what need is there to explain?
- Magdeburg or revulsion

*Jan Philipp Reemtsma is a literary scholar and holds an honorary professorship for German literature at the University of Hamburg. He founded the Hamburg Institute for Social Research and was its director until 2015. He has published widely on topics from literary studies, the social sciences, and history and is the recipient of numerous German and international awards for his publications and his work in academia and the public sphere.*

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  
March 2025

**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 / 512 pages  
2 maps  
ISBN 978-3-86854-385-8  
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 / 184 pages  
ISBN 978-3-86854-387-2  
May 2024

**Available rights**  
All languages

»What is remarkable about [this book] is not just the conceptual clarity with which the three authors Jens Kersten, Claudia Neu, and Berthold Vogel make their argument and theoretically contextualize terms that are present throughout everyday discourse. The book also draws on a number of large-scale empirical studies and presents careful, highly differentiated interpretations of this data.« – Till Schmidt, *die tageszeitung*

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 / 208 pages  
ISBN 978-3-86854-380-3  
March 2024

Available rights  
All languages

»Hauffe succeeds in illustrating the harshness and brutality of sudden violence without exoticizing, pathologizing, or psychologizing it. Rather, his study presents a sociological search for an understanding of a social dynamic that is difficult to reconstruct; Hauffe identifies its core as a moment in which sociality is lost, with serious consequences.«  
– Mechthild Bereswill, *Soziopolis*

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  
September 2023

Available rights  
All languages

»A significant strength of Müller's book are the case studies that complement the historical narrative. ... Müller offers a lively account that is rich in references to the present.«

– Frauke Steffens, *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*

»In her outstanding book ... Ella Müller quite rightly observes that the USA are the only Western democracy ›in which a large part of the largest conservative political party denies climate change ‹.« – Matthias Kolb, *Süddeutsche Zeitung*

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  
October 2023

**Available rights**  
All languages

»The chapters in this collection—recommended reading for social scientists and laypeople alike—hold in store a number of surprising insights.« — Michael Wolf, *Deutschlandfunk*

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  
September 2023

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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  
September 2023

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All languages

»This slim book packs a punch. Although not meant to be a textbook or introductory text, much less an encyclopedia of forms of consciousness, it is a nearly unrivaled introduction to ways of looking at the world ›globally‹.« – Jürgen Osterhammel, *Neue Politische Literatur*

»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 milieu, 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.*

## 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  
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.*

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  
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).*

## Klaus Holz / Thomas Haury Antisemitism Against Israel



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

**Rights sold**  
World English (Routledge)

**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.

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- 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.*

# 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



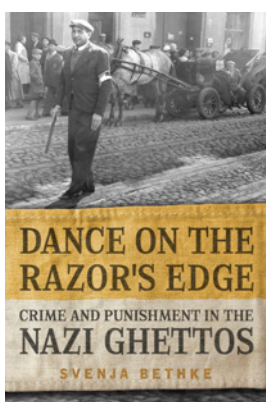
Peter Waldmann  
**The Conservative Impulse: Change and the Experience of Loss**  
Der konservative Impuls. Wandel als Verlufterfahrung

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 and den USA 1858 – 1866

2021: World English, Verso Books



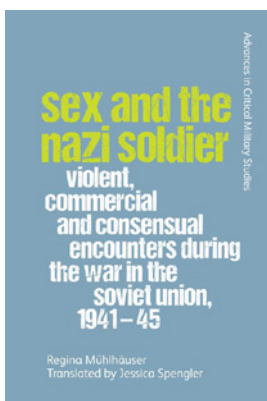
Svenja Bethke  
**Dance on the Razor's Edge: Crime and Punishment in the Nazi Ghettos**  
Tanz auf Messers Schneide. Kriminalität und Recht in den Ghettos Warschau, Litzmannstadt und Wilna

2021: World English, University of Toronto Press



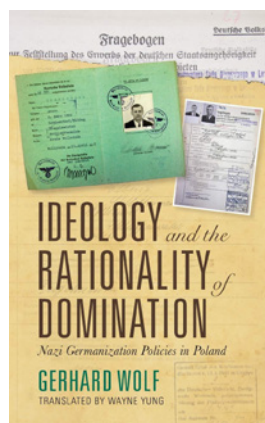
Aaron Sahr  
**Keystroke Capitalism: How Banks Create Money for the Few**  
Keystroke-Kapitalismus. Ungleichheit auf Knopfdruck

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



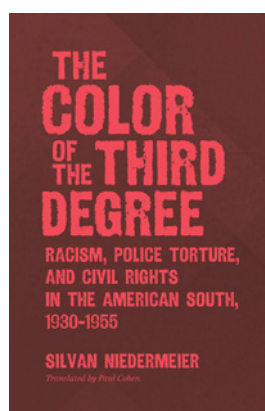
Gerhard Wolf  
**Ideology and the Rationality of Domination: Nazi Germanization Policies in Poland**  
 Ideologie und Herrschaftsrationalität. Nationalsozialistische Germanisierungspolitik in Polen

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



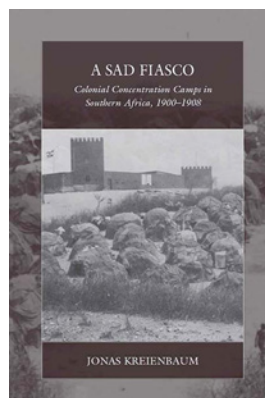
Michael Wildt  
**An Uncompromising Generation: The Nazi Leadership of the Reich Security Main Office**  
 Generation des Unbedingten. Das Führungskorps des Reichssicherheitshauptamtes

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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