Transatlantic Democracy in the Twentieth Century

Transfer and Transformation

Schriften des Historischen Kollegs

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Edited by
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Paul Nolte (FU Berlin) war – zusammen mit Professor Dr. Holger Afflerbach (Leeds/UK), Dr.
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des Historischen Kollegs im Kollegjahr 2012/2013. Den Obliegenheiten der Stipendiaten gemäß hat
Paul Nolte aus seinem Arbeitsbereich ein Kolloquium zum Thema „Transatlantische Demokratie
im 20. Jahrhundert: Transfer und Transformation/Transatlantic Democracy in the 20th Century:
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Kolloquium wurde durch die Fritz Thyssen Stiftung gefördert. Die Ergebnisse des Kolloquiums
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Paul Nolte wurde im Kollegjahr 2012/2013 von der Fritz Thyssen Stiftung gefördert.

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Danksagung

List of Abbreviations

AAAPS	Annales of the American Academy of Political and Social Science
AAPD	Akten zur Auswärtigen Politik der Bundesrepublik Deutschland
a. D.	außer Dienst
AfS	Archiv für Sozialgeschichte
ÄGB	Ästhetische Grundbegriffe
AJPH	Australian Journal of Politics and History
AmSt	American Studies/Amerikastudien
Annales HSS	Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales
APuZ	Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte
AS	The American Scholar
ASL	Anti-Saloon League
BRIICS	Brazil, Russia, India, Indonesia, China, South Africa
CCC	Civilian Conservation Corps
CD	Cultural Dynamics
CDU	Christlich Demokratische Union
CEH	Central European History
ch.	chapter
CHDT	Chicago Daily Tribune
ChH	Church History
CoEH	Contemporary European History
CrI	Critical Inquiry
CSU	Christlich Soziale Union
DAAD	Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst
DC	District of Columbia
DDR	Deutsche Demokratische Republik
DGfA/GAAS	Deutsche Gesellschaft für Amerikastudien/German Association for American Studies
DGB	Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund
DNA	Deoxyribonucleic Acid
DP	Displaced Person
DZPh	Deutsche Zeitschrift für Philosophie
EEC	European Economic Community
EHQ	European History Quarterly
EJPR	European Journal of Political Research
Env Pol	Environmental Politics
EU	European Union
FA	Foreign Affairs

FDP	Freie Demokratische Partei
FDR	Franklin D. Roosevelt
FHS	French Historical Studies
FS	Festschrift
G 8	Group of Eight
G 20	Group of Twenty
G & O	Government and Opposition
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GG	Geschichte und Gesellschaft
GH	German History
GI	noun used to describe the soldiers of the United States Army
GiW	Geschichte im Westen
GP & S	German Politics and Society
GSE	Gesellschaft – Staat – Erziehung
GSR	German Studies Review
HM	History & Memory
HPM	Historisch-Politische Mitteilungen
HSR	Historical Social Research
HZ	Historische Zeitschrift
IJPCS	International Journal of Politics, Culture, and Society
ILO	International Labour Organization
IS	International Security
ISIS	Islamic State of Iraq and Syria
JAmH	Journal of American History
JAS	Journal of American Studies
JbLA	Jahrbuch für Geschichte von Staat, Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft Lateinamerikas
JCH	Journal of Contemporary History
JEP	Journal of Economic Perspectives
JESP	Journal of European Social Policy
JGR	Journal of Genocide Research
JHI	Journal of the History of Ideas
JMH	Journal of Modern History
JOPP	Journal of Political Philosophy
KPD	Kommunistische Partei Deutschlands
KZfSS	Kölner Zeitschrift für Soziologie und Sozialpsychologie
LA Times	Los Angeles Times
LBJ	Lyndon B. Johnson
LI	Literary Imagination
LoC	Library of Congress, Washington, DC
MA	Massachusetts
Magnum	Magnum. Zeitschrift für das moderne Leben
MIH	Modern Intellectual History
MRP	Mouvement républicain populaire

NAACP	National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
NARA	National Archives and Record Administration, Washington, DC
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NGC	New German Critique
NLH	New Literary History
NLR	New Left Review
NOW	National Organization for Women
NS	national socialism
NYREV	The New York Review of Books
NYT	New York Times
Pol St	Political Studies
POW	Prisoners of War
PSF	President's Secretary Files
publ.	published
RA	Resettlement Administration
RCHS	Records of the Columbia Historical Society, Washington, DC
RLC	Revue de Littérature comparé
ScanJH	Scandinavian Journal of History
SEHR	Scandinavian Economic History Review
SozW	Soziale Welt
SP	Social Politics
SPD	Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands
SR	Social Research
TAJB	Tel Aviver Jahrbuch für deutsche Geschichte
TD	Totalitarismus und Demokratie/Totalitarianism and Democracy
TEL	The European Legacy
TINA	There is no alternative
TLS	The Times Literary Supplement
TVA	Tennessee Valley Authority
unpag.	unpaginated
unpubl.	unpublished
VfZ	Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte
VSWG	Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte
WRA	War Relocation Authority
WTO	World Trade Organization
YLJ	Yale Law Journal
ZF	Zeithistorische Forschungen/Studies in Contemporary History
ZfG	Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft
ZfP	Zeitschrift für Politik
ZfPäd	Zeitschrift für Pädagogik
ZIG	Zeitschrift für Ideengeschichte
ZNR	Zeitschrift für Neuere Rechtsgeschichte
ZParl	Zeitschrift für Parlamentsfragen
ZPB	Zeitschrift für politische Bildung und Erziehung

Paul Nolte

Beyond Resilience, Beyond Redemption

Introducing a Complicated History of Transatlantic Democracy

One and a half decades into the 21st century, the present state and the future of democracy look gloomy at best. Gone is the spirit of historical triumph in which the 20th century, according to political scientists and public opinion makers like Francis Fukuyama, had ended. Back in the 1990s, after the peaceful collapse of Soviet-style communism and the victory of democratic revolutions in the former Soviet "cordon sanitaire", it seemed as though the challenges posed to the American model of free government and free life in an age of ideologies had finally been overcome. Liberal democracy, after having defeated its illiberal enemies in the shape of fascist and communist dictatorships, would from now on reign uncontested, ushering in an almost timeless era of democratic consenses – "the end of history", as Fukuyama buoyantly called it.[1] In a transatlantic, Euro-American context, the narrative was that the United States, over the course of the 20th century, had successfully ended its double mission as refuge and resuscitator for a beleaguered European democracy: through two World Wars in which anti-democratic empires and coalitions, under German leadership, had embarked on an ideological warfare against Western civilization and European democracies; through two postwar periods, in the 1920s and since 1945, in which the American quest to bring democracy to the post-violent landscapes of the old continent had, albeit in different ways, only partially been successful.

The failures of those two bitter experiences were not to be experienced again. Contrary to the 1920s, the establishment of democratic regimes would be long-lasting and permanent, instead of falling apart within just a decade. Contrary to the Cold War situation, democracy would not end at the Iron Curtain, effectively limiting its scope to the Western half of the continent. And even more than that – on a global scale, too, the era of aggressive counter-models to the democrat-

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[1] Francis Fukuyama: The End of History and the Last Man. New York 1992 (original essay publication in: The National Interest, Summer 1989). Recently, Fukuyama's tone, in his work on the transformation of political systems and democracy, has become more melancholic rather than euphoric; see: id.: Political Order and Political Decay: From the Industrial Revolution to the Globalization of Democracy. New York 2014.

ic paradigm of the North Atlantic seemed over. Even if empirical evidence showed countries in Africa and Asia still captivated by bizarre forms of authoritarianism and dictatorship, their governments seemed to lack a consistent rationale, at least apart from those cases in which, as in the People's Republic of China and North Korea, communism was fighting its last stand. Hence, the post-1989 constellation reaffirmed a view of 20th-century democracy, its transatlantic core and its deep rootings in the enlightenment and revolutionary eras of the 18th century, that not only impacted upon public discourse, but also on scholarly narratives. It reaffirmed a vision of democracy as an original idea, constantly fighting against its old and new adversaries, making progress in the 19th century, being thrown back in the 20th, but proving resilient, and eventually fulfilling its rationalist and universalist promise.

"Optimism about democracy is today under a cloud", John Dewey had mused in his 1927 treatise on "The Public and Its Problems", in the midst of what would soon turn out to become the most severe crisis of democracy, both intellectually and institutionally, so far.[2] Yet his diagnosis has begun to resonate four score years later, as the hopes and certainties of the 1990s have given way to a profound new skepticism. The reasons for democratic disillusionment are manifold. In the Balkan wars, as well as later in Ukraine, it turned out that the breakdown of communism is far from equivalent to the rise of democracy, much less a civilized organization of society, governed by human rights, respect for minorities, and the rule of law. The terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001 have had a traumatic effect on American society, politics, and culture, and are sure to be interpreted by future generations of historians as one of the most dramatic caesuras in United States history since 1776.

The rise of militant and terrorist Islamic fundamentalism has sometimes been characterized as a third totalitarian challenge to liberal democracy, in the wake of fascism and communism. This may be an inadequate comparison, but the short era that saw the Western paradigm of life and governance uncontested has undoubtedly come to an end. And the history of the 20th century did not lend itself to easy repetition, as the renewed American attempt to bring democracy into violent Middle Eastern territories largely failed in the post-9/11 wars in Irak and Afghanistan. For a brief moment, it seemed as though the Arab Spring would rehabilitate the Western narrative of democratic progress and its territorial expansion. While the liberalizing legacy of those revolutions must not be underestimated in some regions, the Syrian civil war, the rise of ISIS, and a refugee crisis that threatens to undermine the core of European integration and democratic consensus had become the most visible consequences of the Middle Eastern revolutions by 2015.

Yet it would be one-sided and misleading to picture the clouds of democracy as hanging over foreign territories only, thus leaving Western democracies alone in their joyful experience of free government and post-ideological popular consen-

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[2] John Dewey: The Public and Its Problems. New York 1927, p. 110.

sus. The current crisis of democracy is much less a crisis of its expansion beyond North America plus two thirds of Europe than it has turned out to be a crisis at the heart of Western democracy itself. Like in Dewey's depiction from the late 1920s, it is more than a crisis in institutions or processes, but a crisis of attitudes vis-à-vis democracy and its promises, a crisis in trust and optimism. The global financial crisis since 2008 has brought socio-economic tensions in the United States as well as in Europe to the fore, highlighting dramatic inequalities that threaten to undermine not just the credibility of capitalism and market economies, but the legitimacy of representative democracy, and the historical marriage, however conflicted it has been lived for more than two centuries, between democracy and capitalism.

Leftist critics of both capitalism and liberal, "bourgeois" democracy have increasingly pointed to this linkage of socio-economic and political conditions in an age of "neoliberalism", and have portrayed the course of Western democracy since the 1970s not as expansion of participation in the wake of (mostly leftist) social movements, but as decline and erosion, with democratic institutions remaining as a hollow façade, its inner life severely weakened or already extinguished by the forces of global capitalism – an age of "post-democracy", as British political scientist Colin Crouch has influentially called it.[3] While this phrase has quickly become colloquial usage not just in circles of political theory and philosophy, but also has witnessed a striking career in public discourse (probably more in Europe, especially in Germany, than in North America) in recent years, it is difficult to imagine a more blatant contradiction to the widely established historical narratives of democracy: If the age of liberal democracy is drawing to a close in the early 21st century, its history in the preceding century would likely have to be rewritten; even more, if the end of democracy as we knew it in earnest began in the mid-1970s, that is, with the advent of the post-Keynesian and post-social-democratic phase in North Atlantic societies. This is but one example of the possible ramifications of current crises of democracy – be they institutional or discursive – for the rewriting of its history in the past century and beyond.

At the same time, the phenomenology and historical origins of the current crisis of Western democracy appear to be more complicated than the Post-Marxist narrative suggests. The rhetoric of a fundamental shift, or even of an end of democracy, is much more widespread in (Western) European countries than in the United States and may, in a historical perspective, at least partially be understood as a new cycle in the patterns of intellectual and cultural critique of liberal democracy that had accompanied its development in Europe at least since the late 19th century. These forms of critique, mistrust, or prognosis about the upcoming failure of democracy – both from the Right and from the Left – have themselves contributed to illiberal and authoritarian developments, especially in the 1920s and 1930s. Not

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[3] Colin Crouch: Post-democracy. Cambridge 2004; see also id.: The Strange Non-Death of Neoliberalism. Cambridge, MA 2011; Thomas Piketty: Capital in the Twenty-First Century. Cambridge, MA 2014.

only in patterns of discourse, but in many other aspects the current situation of democracy differs on the two shores of the Atlantic. European political cultures and party systems have gone through a period of de-ideologization, rendering previous differences between the Left and the Right, between progressive and conservative, between social and Christian democratic less effective.

Ideological opposites have given way to new pragmatism, centrism, and consensus, be it in Tony Blair's Britain or in Gerhard Schröder's and Angela Merkel's Germany. Longlasting party allegiances, often inherited through generations, have been significantly weakened with the erosion of party "milieus", i. e., the dissolution of socio-cultural lifeworlds that used to organize not just voting behavior, but many aspects of everyday life for socialists and communists vis-à-vis liberals or conservatives, for industrial workers vis-à-vis petty-bourgeois artisans and shopkeepers, or for catholics vis-à-vis protestants.[4] As a result of citizens becoming more individualistic and voters more free-roaming, party systems that not long ago had been considered a fixture of national cultures began to melt down, or ended in outright collapse, as in Italy or the Netherlands during the 1990s. Across Europe, "old" (pre-1989 Western) and "new" (post-communist), right-wing nationalist and populist parties (or often rather, movement-parties under a charismatic leader) have emerged, banking on anxieties associated with globalization, immigration, multi-religious situations, and liberal politics of gender and sexuality. Germany, for reasons often associated with the traumas of its Nazi past, seemed to evade this pattern until recently, when the anti-Islamic and anti-immigrant *Pegida* movement took those anxieties to the streets, and the right-wing populism and nationalism of the newly-founded party *Alternative für Deutschland* (AfD) succeeded dramatically in several state elections in March 2016.

The United States, apparently, had embarked on a different trajectory in its political culture and party system since the 1980s.[5] While the profound wave of new conservatism that had emerged on a grassroots level since the 1960s and ultimately led into the Reagan presidency[6] was shared by many European countries, albeit, with the exception of Margaret Thatcher's Britain, often in a milder form, American political culture and party system took a different path. Re-ideologization came instead of de-ideologization, and political polarization instead of a new centrism. Despite the usual third-party or independent-candidate challenges that the

[4] See the classic studies by M. Rainer Lepsius: Demokratie in Deutschland. Historisch-soziologische Konstellationsanalysen. Göttingen 1993.
[5] For a wider context of those differences, see Paul Nolte: Transatlantic Ambivalences: Germany and the United States Since the 1980s. In: id.: Transatlantische Ambivalenzen. Studien zur Sozial- und Ideengeschichte des 18. bis 20. Jahrhunderts. München 2014, pp. 369–388.
[6] For an excellent case study, see Lisa McGirr: Suburban Warriors. The Origins of the New American Right. Princeton 2001; see also Bruce J. Schulman/Julian E. Zelizer (eds.): Rightward Bound: Making America Conservative in the 1970s. Cambridge, MA 2008. For a general interpretation, see Sean Wilentz: The Age of Reagan. A History, 1974–2008. New York 2008. Unfortunately, Sean Wilentz's contribution to the conference, on elections and electoral politics in the United States, could not be included in this volume.

U.S. had seen since the 19th century (e. g., with Texan billionaire Ross Perot figuring prominently in the 1992, and environmentalist Ralph Nader in the 2000 presidential election), the two-party system of Democrats and Republicans remained intact, only with the difference that the ideological overlap between them faded away, spelling the end of conservative Democrats and liberal Republicans alike.

However, political polarization and ideological principledness in the 2000s reached a degree at which it became dysfunctional for political institutions, namely for the ability to compromise across party lines between the President and the Legislative Majorities, but also between the parties in both legislative chambers, in the House and, even more, in the Senate. Under the surface of polarization and ideologization, and as a reaction to the increasing dysfunctionality of Congress, anti-establishment and anti-elite attitudes have been nurtured which certainly may be seen as a continuation of a persistent localism and anti-centralism in American political culture, but by 2016 seem to have entered a new dimension. The amazing success of Donald Trump's campaign for the Republican presidential nomination and, to a lesser degree, the equally surprising strength of Bernard Sanders in the Democratic competition with Hillary Clinton demonstrate that populism, in recent decades more often associated with European politics, has made its way to America – or rather, that populism has returned to the country from which it originated in the last third of the 19th century.[7]

From this perspective, American and European transformations of democracy have more in common than it looked like just a few years ago. They share a profound crisis of representation and a massive distrust of conventional democratic politics, and in the elites who have traditionally been in charge of it. Even more, "Trumpism" in the United States and European-style populism have flourished amidst social changes that are linked to economic disparities, but perhaps more importantly, reflect a cultural dichotomy: a fundamental split between those who have trust in the system and those who don't; a cleavage between those who are comfortable not just with economic changes, but also with the new cultural revolutions, e. g., in the politics of migration and sexuality, and those who disagree; a distinction between those who adhere to the classical rationality of enlightened, democratic politics and those who favor anger, emotions, and disregard for rules and manners that they view as a dictate of "political correctness".

The current crisis in transatlantic democracy hardly signals a breakdown of the system, or a transition into a new state of "post-democracy". But that does not make it less significant, or less profound in a historical perspective. The current crisis of democracy is continuing trends in the decline of classical, representative, and electoral mechanisms that have characterized Western political systems since the 1960s, with the advent of "participatory democracy".[8] And yet, paradoxically, it may also be seen as a reaction, even as a cultural backlash to the mechanisms

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[7] See Robert C. McMath, Jr.: American Populism. A Social History 1877–1898. New York 1993.
[8] See, e. g., Benjamin R. Barber: Strong Democracy. Participatory Politics for a New Age. Berkeley 1984, revised ed. 2003.

and the agendas, to the politics and the policies of late 20th-century participatory democracy, and therefore to a major expansion in democratic political culture that remained socially selective and biased towards the educated and liberal middle classes.

As institutions, social practices, and cultural understandings of democracy are being redefined in our own times, long-established narratives that have been taken for granted through the better part of the 20th century, if not much longer, are becoming unsatisfactory. How would we, both conceptually and empirically, account for the current crises if, until only a few years ago, democracy appeared to be the ever-rising star, the avenue to a better future, the ever-expanding arena of participation, equality, and transparency? The history of Western democracy has long been written in a Whiggish manner;[9] indeed, it may be argued that a strong bias toward progress and fulfillment was constituent part of the democracy project since the late 18th century, and that the very idea of political and social progress had been framed in languages of democracy, by a variety of different actors at different times: be it revolutionary artisans in Philadephia in the 1770s, German radicals in the Vormärz period, the socialist labor movement, the American Civil Rights movement, up until contemporary transatlantic movements in opposition to global financial capitalism and inequality such as "Occupy".[10]

Despite this overarching narrative of progress that fundamentally characterizes public images as well as scholarly discourses on democracy, it is important to note the differences between the North American and European stories. National trajectories have powerfully shaped our understanding of democratic progress and problems, and indeed, the best-known cultural constructions of such trajectories in modern history are closely linked to stories of democracy: "American exceptionalism" as the idea that the United States represents a nation singular in world history for its never-relenting commitment to freedom, and the *deutscher Sonderweg*, originally the idea of Germany's pride about being different from the democratic West and its allegedly material and superficial culture; swifty redefined after 1945 as the story of (West) Germany finally realizing that it should be on the right side of history, an learning to become an ever-stronger democracy in the footsteps of the Western allies, not least the United States. The story of American democracy has been cast as a story of *resilience*, whereas the story of German democracy has been framed as a narrative of *redemption*.

The trope of resilience in American discourse and historiography rests on the idea of a founding moment in the democratic birth of the nation: in the American Revolution, in the declaration of republican states as being independent of Britain's monarchy and empire, and in the making of the Federal Constitution of 1787. Although much recent research on the Revolution and the Early Republic has pointed to the fact that republican beginnings in the late 18th century are not to be conflated with democracy (even within the limits of white European settler

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[9] See Herbert Butterfield: The Whig Interpretation of History. London 1931.
[10] See David Graeber: The Democracy Project. A History, a Crisis, a Movement. New York 2014.

societies), and that democracy in both institutions and mentalités only emerged through a series of struggles lasting into the Jacksonian era,[11] the notion of democratic seeds that had been planted earlier and came to fruition in due course of history remains pervasive to this day. Recent cultural and political trends such as the conservative emphasis on "constitutional originalism" may even have solidified the core argument that everything was there in the very beginning, and hence only had to be expanded and defended in the course of the ensuing decades, as it still has today.[12]

In American historiography, the political and interpretive schism between "Consensus" and "Progressive" historians that had dominated the postwar decades, into the 1980s, has given way to some kind of meta-consensus in which even historians from the critical, leftist tradition join in the story of gradual democratic expansion, regardless of class or race conflicts that may have been necessary for its eventual success.[13] The Founding Fathers certainly did not establish, or even envisage, the relatively egalitarian democracy that Alexis de Tocqueville famously described after his journeys in the 1820s and 1830s, much less the race-inclusvive, color-blind democracy that Martin Luther King, Jr. dreamt of in the 1960s. But somehow they had endowed the system they had created with the potential and promise to make good on the original shortcomings, making it possible for former slaves and working people, the women and minorities to call upon the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution in their quest for personal liberty and inclusion into the great American democracy.[14] Obviously, the expansion and fulfillment of that promise did not come without serious setbacks, as in the Jim Crow South from the 1890s into the 1950s or, to a lesser degree, in the domestic and global challenges of the late 20th century, from the rise of new conservatism to the severe wounds on battlefields and new global marketplaces. But still, standard textbook accounts tend to portray those difficult times as chances for defending original standards, as a recurring litmus test for the strength of "a resilient people".[15]

Only few scholars have deviated from that master narrative with more complicated and less "consensus-progressivist" arguments, especially Robert H. Wiebe, who painted the Progressive period of the 1890s to 1920s as an era that brought new hierarchies and organizational elitism, thus spelling the end to the people's

[11] See, e. g., Gordon S. Wood: The Radicalism of the American Revolution. New York 1992; id.: Empire of Liberty. A History of the Early Republic, 1789–1815. New York 2010.
[12] For a critical discussion of some of those trends, see Jill Lepore: The Whites of Their Eyes. The Tea Party's Revolution and the Battle over American History. Princeton 2010.
[13] See Sean Wilentz: The Rise of American Democracy. Jefferson to Lincoln. New York 2005.
[14] See the account of American history as a story of freedom by Eric Foner, another noted Progressive historian: Eric Foner: The Story of American Freedom. New York 1998; id.: Give me Liberty! An American History. New York ³2012 (first publ. 2005).
[15] See the influential American history textbook by Gary B. Nash et al.: The American People. Creating a Nation and a Society. New York ²1990 (Part Six: A Resilient People: 1945–1990), and several more recent editions.

democracy that had been created in the 1820s.[16] According to Wiebe's tripartite storyline, American democracy has never quite recovered from the hierarchical transformation of a century ago and remains stuck in the "long-term, class-biased decline in popular participation".[17] But the historical contingency of American democracy that he emphasizes has remained an exception, although the two decades since the original publication of his book have not seen reasons for a narrative of contingency fade away.

Not surprisingly in the light of the breakdown of the Weimar Republic, the Nazi dictatorship, and the Holocaust, Germany presents a different story, albeit one that eventually, in a more dialectical way than the rather straight American case, has strengthened a liberal-progressivist interpretation of 20th-century democracy. Also, in a historiographical parallel to the United States, the scholarly views on German democratization, and on the larger course of modern German history in general, have abandoned the ideological camps of "conservative" versus "critical" views behind them that had shaped the profession from the *Fischer-Kontroverse* in the early 1960s through the *Historikerstreit* in the late 1980s.[18] A new consensus, even a new orthodoxy may be said to have taken reign since the 1990s. It includes the repudiation of a blunt version of the *Sonderweg* thesis, thus allowing for more differentiation and for the acknowledgment of more German "normality" within European political and social development in the times of the Kaiserreich, and even during the 1920s and early 1930s.[19] In fact, German politics and society in much of the 19th century are now less under the verdict of authoritarian deviation, but appear as a part of a larger European and transatlantic network of revolutionary movements, ideologization and party formation, and grassroots democratization[20] – including their limits, which were also shared by the supposed model democracies of Britain and the U.S.

At the same time, however, this new consensus also entails a larger-than-ever realization of the wounds and scars of the Nazi era and its violent, mass-murderous impact on German and, indeed, all of European history. And yet, as historians widely agree about, despite new research on Nazi continuities in West German

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[16] Robert H. Wiebe: Self-Rule. A Cultural History of American Democracy. Chicago 1995. See (with similar points about the advent of hierarchical order in the late 19th century) the classic: id.: The Search for Order, 1877–1920. New York 1967.

[17] Wiebe: Self-Rule (see note 16), p. 266.

[18] See, e. g., Klaus Große Kracht: Die zankende Zunft. Historikerkontroversen in Deutschland nach 1945. Göttingen 2005.

[19] For the older debate, see: David Blackbourn/Geoff Eley: The Peculiarities of German History. Oxford 1984.

[20] For a transatlantic perspective, see: Paul Nolte: Republicanism, Liberalism, and Market Society. Party Formation and Party Ideology in Germany and the United States, c. 1825–1850. In: id.: Ambivalenzen (see note 5), pp. 195–231. For a studies in the local democratic politics of the Kaiserreich, see, e. g.: Margaret L. Anderson: Practicing Democracy. Elections and Political Culture in Imperial Germany. Princeton 2000; Manfred Hettling: Politische Bürgerlichkeit. Der Bürger zwischen Individualität und Vergesellschaftung in Deutschland und der Schweiz von 1860 bis 1918. Göttingen 1999.

elites, the Federal Republik embarked on a clear and successful course of democratization far beyond the establishment of an institutional and legal framework of representative democracy through the Grundgesetz of 1949. Democratization, instead, in a deeper sense was only brought about by conflicted negotiations over several decades, and was becoming permanently institutionalized only through a major rearrangement of cultural habits and mentalities, in what recent research has often described as a process of "learning".[21]

It is striking how many interpretations and syntheses of German history have followed this track in the past fifteen years – essentially, with the scholarly fallout of reunification – and how the metaphors used by various historians vary the theme of postcatastrophic learning, of a crooked story eventually, and luckily, coming straight in the German adaptation to Western liberal democracy. Heinrich August Winkler's *Der lange Weg nach Westen* has set the tone; German-American historian Konrad H. Jarausch has seen Germans as "recivilizing" from Nazi Barbarism, and the title of Edgar Wolfrum's account of the history of the Federal Republic has been, *Die geglückte Demokratie*, with the adjective deliberately oscillating between unintentional, felicitious luck and success by intentional making, in the light of earlier failure.[22] Redemption after the deepest possible crisis, stabilization and success as a historical and moral compensation of the Nazi and Holocaust legacy, progress as an approximation of a transatlantic model of democracy: These are the cornerstones of the current German narrative of democratization in the 20th century. Progress and success were basically achieved, according to this interpretation, in the Federal Republic by the mid-1980s, transposed onto a still higher level in the process of reunification that gave Germany its "second chance", in Fritz Stern's words, to bear responsibility of a democratic leader in and for a peaceful Europe.[23]

One and a half decades into the 21st century, those narratives appear increasingly unsatisfactory, for a variety of empirical and conceptual reasons. They have difficulties accounting for changes in political societies and democratic processes that do not easily lend themselves to perspectives of progress through resilience or redemption. In the broad consensus that they have achieved in the respective historical professions, they serve as a limitation, rather than as a stimulation, to

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[21] See the influential interpretive essay by: Ulrich Herbert: Liberalisierung als Lernprozess. Die Bundesrepublik in der deutschen Geschichte – eine Skizze. In: id. (ed.): Wandlungsprozesse in Westdeutschland. Belastung – Integration – Liberalisierung 1945–1980. Göttingen 2002, pp. 7–49. See also Herbert's long-term interpretation of 20th-century Geman history: id.: Geschichte Deutschlands im 20. Jahrhundert. München 2014.
[22] Heinrich August Winkler: Der lange Weg nach Westen. 2 vols. München 2000; Konrad H. Jarausch: After Hitler. Recivilizing Germans, 1945–1995. New York 2006; German version, with a title even carrying religious overtones: id.: Die Umkehr. Deutsche Wandlungen 1945–1995. München 2004; Edgar Wolfrum: Die geglückte Demokratie. Geschichte der Bundesrepublik Deutschland von ihren Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart. Stuttgart 2006.
[23] Fritz Stern: Fünf Deutschland und ein Leben. Erinnerungen. München 2007 (Title of ch. 10: Das geeinte Deutschland: Eine zweite Chance?, p. 583).

dissenting viewpoints and heterodox interpretations. In the case of Germany, the explanation of democratic "progress" as still a further step in overcoming the Nazi legacy, despite its transnational framework of adaptation to the West, unduly supports a chain of national causation, instead of placing Germany in the mainstream of broader trends in liberalization or post-representative politics. Even for the early postwar decades of the 1950s and 1960s, arguments about West German liberalization as an overcoming of authoritarian traits that were part of Nazi ideology, or supportive of it in its formative phase,[24] have to be placed in a wider context, in which patriarchal cultures, anti-feminism, racism, or the use of violence against unduly behavior of minors have been co-existing with democracy elsewhere, and certainly in the United States. The search for the post-Nazi legacy in German political culture remains a valid undertaking, as there are, to give just one example, many points to be made about the unusual strength of the Green Party, in electoral politics and even more in its shaping of a moral milieu of the middle classes, as a profound reaction to the amoral and technocratic voluntarism of the *Unbedingtheit* of Nazi mentality.[25] But the 68-ers already were more than anti-Fascists, and more recent advances or experiments in liberal or participatory politics may be traced to the 1933–45 years even less. Reversely, it remains difficult not to fall back easily into a pattern of "haunting ghosts of Nazism" when it comes to explaining German populism around the turn of the 21st century.

The limitations in the American narrative of democracy, although they are linked to an overall similar framework of progress and expansion, are of a different sort. This is one more counterpoint to the colloquial talk about "Western" or "transatlantic" democracy. The American and European storylines are much more difficult to reconcile than it has seemed in the postwar decades. Germany and, for that matter, other European nations have had their democratic catastrophes. The United States has not experienced them since the founding of the nation – or perhaps, it has never been used to interpreting its own past, like the history of the American South between Reconstruction and Civil Rights Act, as a severe challenge to the very core of the democratic system. The idea of failure does not really have a place in American historiography, and the larger historical culture of the country.[26] Even the memory that party systems have been volatile and shifting in the late 18th and for the better part of the 19th century has faded, making the current anti-establishment and Trumpian challenge to the very existence of Abraham Lincoln's party sound more unreal than it perhaps is.

American self-images of democracy, as well as any attempt at transatlantic and transnational perspectives, also suffer from a massive tradition of historiographical

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[24] As, for example, in the case studies in: Herbert (ed.): Wandlungsprozesse (see note 21).

[25] See Michael Wildt: Generation des Unbedingten. Das Führungskorps des Reichssicherheitshauptamts. Hamburg 2002.

[26] For an insightful analysis of American memory culture, see Michael Kammen: Mystic Chords of Memory. The Transformation of Tradition in American Culture. New York 1991. A more skeptical tone may be found in recent approaches to Southern memory. See W. Fitzhugh Brundage: The Southern Past: A Clash of Race and Memory. Cambridge, MA 2005.

nationalism, or, to be more precise, from the predominance of domestic perspectives, as they have been sketched a few pages earlier. The rise of social and cultural history since the 1960s has strengthened domestic perspectives on American society and politics, and it did so for many good reasons, and for important effects, e. g., in highlighting the struggle of African Americans, or the working classes, for their fair share of democracy.[27] There have been few efforts to bridge the gap between what may be called the "domestic" and the "imperial" perspectives on the history of American democracy, that is, between the inner conflicts in American society and the transnational web of democratic (or anti-democratic) actors. This is true even for the 20th century, in which the imperial dimension of American democracy, from its entry into World War I and Woodrow Wilson's politics of "making the world safe for democracy" through its post-World War II-efforts at European democratization vis-à-vis Soviet communism, has been salient, at least until the post-Cold War settlement of 1990 – or even beyond, if one includes the American (and NATO) democracy projects on the Balkans and in the Middle East, in the wake of 9/11. This domestic-imperial split does not accidentally align with ideological divisions, with Liberals and Leftists concentrating on the expansion of domestic democracy, while being critical or skeptical of its "export" to the world; and Conservatives vice versa.

Therefore, several asymmetries have to be accounted for in approaching the topic of this volume: Progressivist narratives of democratization, on both sides of the Atlantic, are increasingly out of touch with recent experience and empirical evidence, as well as with the more skeptical narratives of 20th-century modernity that have been suggested by other topics. American and European, and especially German, histories of democracy are more different that it may appear at first glance, especially from a European vantage point in which the utter dominance of American influence in the "American century" goes without saying. This is not so, however, in the American perspective, in which a domestic storyline continues to prevail in standard accounts, including college textbooks, with the imperial outreach often a mere addition, more closely linked to wars and diplomatic affairs than to vital problems of democratization itself. Empirically, it seems difficult to evade the impression of a fundamental asymmetry, that is, an asymmetry of causation and influence. There have been some innovative attempts at describing the diffusion of Western politics and culture in the 20th century, especially after 1945, beyond the usual one-way-street of "Americanization" – such as in Anselm Doering-Manteuffel's concept of "Westernization".[28] And yet, the most recent ex-

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[27] See, as typical examples for the period of the American Revolution and Early Republic, Sean Wilentz: Chants Democratic. New York City and the Rise of the American Working Class, 1788–1850. New York 1984; Michael Merrill/Sean Wilentz (ed.): The Key of Liberty. The Life and Democratic Writings of William Manning. "A Laborer", 1747–1814. Cambridge, MA 1993; Gary B. Nash: The Unknown American Revolution. The Unruly Birth of Democracy and the Struggle to Create America. New York 2005.
[28] See Anselm Doering-Manteuffel: Wie westlich sind die Deutschen? Amerikanisierung und Westernisierung im 20. Jahrhundert. Göttingen 1999.

amples of transatlantic histories in the 20th century continue to adhere to the primary idea of "America's advance through 20th-century Europe",[29] or to find the "Transatlantic Century" shaped by American dominance.

Even the notion of the "West" itself remains highly asymmetrical in American and German usage, both academic and general. German scholars, like Heinrich August Winkler, have taken the "West" as a concept that – conflicts and negotiations notwithstanding – quite evidently unites Western and Central Europe (the Europe of Western Christianity, in Winkler's definition) with the United States and Canada,[30] or they are trying to historicize the notion of the West in its relational meanings for German history, not least in its relation to America.[31] In the United States, however, the "West", in a tradition that goes back to colonial times and the Monroe Doctrine, mostly continues to be understood as the "Western Hemisphere" in the geographical sense, i. e., encompassing the two American half-continents and, perhaps, Britain.

In many ways, therefore, the history of 20th-century democracy will have to be reconceptualized and rewritten in the years to come. For the first time, indeed, it will truly become historical, as the political and moral urgency that had enveloped the topic in the Cold War era in particular is retreating. Questions marks rather than imperatives will characterize the new approaches. A new history of democracy will look more complicated than before, as it should allow for a multi-layered web of narratives instead of focusing on a single and unified story. Three such narratives may be characterized as stories of *fulfillment*, of *trial and error*, and of *crisis*.[32] First, we probably cannot, and should not, completely shed the idea of democratic progress along the lines of programs and promises that are firmly rooted in the 18th and 19th centuries. Despite its catastrophes and setbacks, the 20th century has been an amazing period of fulfillment for such promises, an era of realization and institutionalization of ideas that had often started out as unreal, as bizarre fringe ideas that were only popular with small minorities of intellectuals or radical movements. Modern democracy certainly may not be understood as the result of some genetic code planted in the Enlightenment and revolutionary period of the 18th century. But it remains striking, also in contrast with visions for the future for other aspects of human life, how clear-cut and "modern" programs of democratic government and society often have been during that time. The concept of universal and equal suffrage, regardless of class, race, or gender, is but one example for this.

[29] Victoria de Grazia: Irresistible Empire. America's Advance through 20th-Century Europe. Cambridge, MA 2005; Mary Nolan: The Transatlantic Century. Europe and America, 1890–2010. New York 2012.
[30] Heinrich August Winkler: Geschichte des Westens. 4 vols. München 2009–2015.
[31] See Riccardo Bavaj/Martina Steber (eds.): Germany and the West. The History of a Modern Concept. New York 2015.
[32] For the following sketch, see Paul Nolte: Was ist Demokratie? Geschichte und Gegenwart. München 2012, pp. 16–20.

For two more reasons, the fulfillment narrative remains a valid perspective on the 20ᵗʰ century. It has powerfully guided contemporary actors – individuals, movements, and organizations – to a degree that any history that is sensitive for the subjective side of worldview and experience must not fail to acknowledge. And although it may be too early to tell, it seems as though the era of fulfillment has come to an end in the postwar decades, somewhere around the 1970s. The great reform movements of the 1960s in many ways have been the last heroic stands in this tradition of fulfillment of promises, in the United States as well as in Europe, including the Federal Republic. Indeed, the greater uncertainty about the future of democracy that has risen since then and continues to shape the current situation is an expression of this large-scale loss of promise and program. The institutional framework of democracy – at least in its classical, electoral-representative variant – has been finished. Certainly, smaller construction work is always going on, and some of the cornerstones of that building continue to be contested, as has been the case recently with conflicts about voting rights and the access to the ballot box in the United States. The task of fundamentally realizing democracy has shifted from the domestic spheres of Western societies to a global level, with efforts at "democracy promotion" beyond the West. This is indeed paradoxical: While the classical democracies support the globalization of their tradition, they have become uncertain about democracy's future at home.

A second way of looking at the history of democracy may be called the narrative of trial and error. The development, or even the "progress", of democracy never stuck to some original ideas, but moved ahead in an open, contingent, and even erratic manner. New ideas were brought up that extended or altered previous meanings of democracy. Many of them resulted from historical changes that some "Founding Fathers" of democracy certainly could not have foreseen, especially with the dramatic economic changes in the era of industrial capitalism. It can be regarded as one the great riddles of modern democracy that its advance through the 19ᵗʰ and 20ᵗʰ centuries seemed so smooth and "natural" not because of the coming of industrial mass society, but rather despite the fact that the institutional core of electoral democracy and republican government was invented – and at least in the United States, also put into practice – in the era of horses and gentlemen. Industrial capitalism posed serious challenges to democracy, as new modes of financial capitalism continue to do in the 21ˢᵗ century. It prompted, among others, the quest for "industrial democracy", for expanding the "rule of the people" beyond the sphere of government and politics into the capitalist enterprise and its workplaces. This project, pursued by democratic socialism and the trade union movement, was only partially successful – more so in Europe, and particularly in Germany with its institutionalization of economic democracy as *Mitbestimmung*, than in the United States.

Finally, the history of democracy has always been a history of crisis, and that is, in many facets, underscored by all the essays in this volume. Even if current changes in party systems, political legitimacy, or participative behavior do represent a historically significant transformation of democracy, it is important to re-

member that democracy has hardly ever had a period of uncontested stability.[33] Modern democracy contains an utopian longing for timeless duration into the future, and it has managed to build institutions, e. g., national constitutions as fundamental laws, that claim an existence above history – or rather, have been interpreted and culturally stylized to do so. Yet at the same time, it was born in an era of movement and represents, even into its semantic structures and traditions, a category of transformation and volatility.[34] While the future of democracy was often seen as wide open, its end, the coming of age of the democratic era, also had seemed imminent to contemporaries, and not least in the 20th century. Its beginning decades, especially the interwar period of the 1920s and 1930s, may be regarded as the Great Crisis of democracy, a time when democratic regime broke down in Europe and gave way to authoritarian rule or totalitarian dictatorship, and when the trust in the potentials of democracy was at a nadir throughout the Western world, including the United States – the time of John Dewey's clouds over democratic optimism. Periods of crisis have given way to times of renewed self-assuredness, and even democratic euphoria, as can be seen in the post-World War II constellation. But overall, the narrative of 20th-century democracy would benefit from less progressivism and more attention to dark sides and crises, as Mark Mazower's history of the "Dark Continent" has superbly demonstrated. However, this shadowed story would also have to include the United States.[35]

Beyond a differentiation of narratives and perspectives along those lines, a more complicated history of 20th-century democracy would have to accomplish at least two more things. It should account for fundamental transformations in the concept and realization of democracy; and it must move beyond the limitations of the North Atlantic world. In terms of transformation and caesuras, recent work in the social sciences and in history alike has pointed to a major transition in the second half of the 20th century in which the standard or classical model of electoral and representative democracy has gradually been substituted by a more complex pattern of "post-classical" democratic politics. Emerging from the almost-deadly crisis of the interwar period, the postwar years, especially in Europe, were characterized by a reconstruction of electoral democracies based on representative systems, in order to assure to basic functioning of the people's rule on the one hand, without, on the other hand, giving them too much direct or plebiscitary leverage. However, in the 1950s already, the American Civil Rights movement inaugurated new styles of participation, especially in their practices of peaceful protest, that certainly served as vehicles for achieving classical democratic rights, not least voting rights, but quickly turned out to take on a life of their own. Participation and protest turned from instrument to institution, and had become a core

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[33] For a perspective on this, see Jan-Werner Müller: Contesting Democracy. Political Ideas in Twentieth-Century Europe. New Haven 2011.
[34] See Christian Meier et al.: Demokratie. In: Otto Brunner/Werner Conze/Reinhart Koselleck (eds.): Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe. Vol. 1.: A–D. Stuttgart 1972, pp. 821–899.
[35] See Mark Mazower: Dark Continent. Europe's Twentieth Century. New York 1999.

element of new, more heterogeneous political styles in Western societies by the 1980s.

The rise of a new "civil society democracy" entailed other changes in the democratic arena, too. Self-interested political engagement retreated at the expense of advocacy politics, i. e., the petitioning of behalf of others. Material interests, as they had been fought for in the movements of the classical era, particularly the labor movement, gave way to a major concern for moral issues, as the ecological and consumer movements, but also the new moral politics of gender and sexuality have demonstrated since then. Citizens often were less interested in running for elected positions themselves, but rather concentrated on the quest for control of elected democratic elites, and for transparency in their institutional surroundings. In his wide-ranging history of global democracy since ancient Athens, Australian political scientist John Keane has therefore suggested the term "monitory democracy" for what he sees as a third stage after ancient "assembly democracy" of the Mediterranean and the Middle East, and modern "representative democracy" that reigned supreme in the transatlantic West between the mid-18th and the mid-20th century.[36] Transitional models like this do not suggest that the patterns and institutions of classical democracy have been discarded. Neither, however, do they argue, along the lines of theories of "post-democracy", for a wholesale decline and erosion of democracy. As concepts such as "participatory" or "monitory" democracy capture only aspects of a larger, but indeed substantial and historically significant transition of Western political systems and political societies, "post-classical democracy" may serve as an interim term for the new state of affairs.

It also expresses the uncertainty about the meanings and directions of democracy in the post-teleological, post-fulfillment era. This uncertainty, in turn, is more than a subjective condition of attitude or experience. For it is one of the most significant features of the new democracy that its institutions have lost much of their unambiguity. The result of democratic processes may not be predicted from textbook designs any more, as the legitimacy of institutions and decision-making has often become subject to democratic negotiation itself: a parliamentary decision may stand, or be contested in court after a citizens' appeal, or may be subverted in protest movements, or even transferred from the national sphere to transnational instutions. The latter has, in recent decades, markedly shaped the transformation of democracy in the European Union, and the difference between the relative persistence of a national frame and its dissolution is increasingly distinguishing democracy in the United States and in EU-Europe. As boundaries of institutions, processes, and legitimacy have been blurred in the post-classical world, it may be described as more much diffuse, as a fuzzy democracy to which the binary rules of clarity often do no longer apply.[37]

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[36] John Keane: The Life and Death of Democracy. New York 2009.
[37] For a general interpretation of American history in an age of "fuzziness" and uncertainty, see Daniel T. Rodgers: Age of Fracture. Cambridge, MA 2011.

The transformative forces of the European Union are but one example of a major trend towards transnationalization that increasingly reaches beyond the transatlantic world of North America and Western Europe. While Euro-American transfers of ideas and institutions in the 20th century are still far from explored,[38] the next historiographical challenge – beyond what this collection of essays can achieve – will clearly be the interaction between "Western" and "non-Western" societies in negotiating modern democracy.[39] Again, research will have to account for fundamental asymmetries, without limiting itself to notions of a one-way-street on which packages of Western democracy were delivered, more or less successfully, to other parts of the world. John Keane has modeled his notion of "monitory democracy" neither on the United States nor on Europe, but on India, the most populous democracy in the world. Significant elements of the new, post-classical democracy in recent decades have originated on the non-Western, less-developed, colonial or postcolonial "periphery", and have been imported into Western societies from there, effectively reversing traditional expectations about global political change that still inform our everyday worldviews. The American Civil Rights Movement's adaptation of Mahatma Gandhi's antiracist and anticolonial protests in South Africa and India may be seen as an early starting point. Practices of "monitory democracy" as well as new attitudes and movements of "insurgent democracy" in Western societies often emulate patterns of protest that have developed in more hierarchical, elitist societies in Asia or Latin America.[40] "Post-colonial" democracy[41] is coming to the West and has influenced movements on the Left as well as on the Right, from "Occupy" and other recent protests against capitalism and inequality in the name of democracy to the new, anti-elitist populism that is currently sweeping the United States and much of Europe. The history of transatlantic democracy, therefore, will become ever more complicated, and more fascinating than before.

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[38] See several essays in this volume, and most recently: Kiran Klaus Patel: The New Deal. A Global History. Princeton 2016.

[39] See Paul Nolte: Jenseits des Westens. Überlegungen zu einer Zeitgeschichte der Demokratie. In: VfZ 61 (2013), pp. 275–301.

[40] See James Holston: Insurgent Cititzenship. Disjunctions of Democracy and Modernity in Brazil. Princeton 2008; Miguel Abensour: Democracy Against the State. Marx and the Machiavellian Moment. Cambridge 2011.

[41] See Partha Chatterjee: The Politics of the Governed. Reflections on Popular Politics in Most of the World. New York 2004.

Volker Berghahn

Political Democracy and the Shaping of Capitalism in pre-1914 America and Germany

If, as Paul Nolte argues in his introduction to this volume, the "History of Trans-Atlantic Democracy" is becoming more complicated, it may be said that it was already complicated enough in the decades before 1914, which are the focus of this contribution. In light of this complexity, what follows is no more than an attempt to deal with a number of issues and to reignite debate and research on questions that many younger-generation scholars consider to have been settled once and for all. This applies in particular to the debate on whether Germany's political system diverged from the Western path of democracy by adopting solutions to the problems of modern urban and industrial societies that paved the way to the Nazi seizure of power, World War II, and the industrialized murder of millions of innocent people, the so-called *Sonderweg*.[1] It was only after the defeat of the Third Reich in 1945 – so the well-known *Sonderweg* argument went – that a

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[1] On Geoff Eley's view that the *Sonderweg* argument should be buried, see his discussion with David Blackbourn on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the publication of their joint book "The Peculiarities of German History": David Blackbourn/Geoff Eley: Forum. In: GH 22 (2004), pp. 229–245, quote on: p. 231. See also Geoff Eley: Is there a History of the Kaiserreich? In: id. (ed.), Society, Culture and the State, 1870–1930. Ann Arbor 1996, pp. 1–42. In contrast, Jürgen Kocka has insisted that, while the 19th-century bourgeoisies of Europe developed many commonalities, studies in which he participated "have directly confirmed decisive elements of the *Sonderweg* hypothesis, reaffirmed it indirectly, or […] at least left them intact". He admitted that the hypothesis had been "relativized" and that it had been revised "in important parts" but "confirmed in others". See Jürgen Kocka: Bürgertum und Sonderweg. In: Peter Lundgreen (ed.): Sozial- und Kulturgeschichte des Bürgertums. Eine Bilanz des Bielefelder Sonderforschungsbereichs (1986–1997). Göttingen 2000, pp. 93–110, quotes on: p. 95, p. 105 (translated by the author). Along similar lines: Christoph Schönberger: Nicht ganz treffsicherer Todesstoss gegen die Sonderwegshistorie. In: ZParl 33 (2002), pp. 824–826; Hartwin Spennkuch: Vergleichsweise besonders? Politisches System und Strukturen Preußens als Kern des „deutschen Sonderwegs". In: GG 29 (2003), pp. 262–293. Hans-Ulrich Wehler has put forth the most vigorous defense of the *Sonderweg* argument, see: Hans-Ulrich Wehler: Sonderwegsdebatte. In: Michael Behnen (ed.): Lexikon der deutschen Geschichte von 1945 bis 1990. Ereignisse, Institutionen, Personen im geteilten Deutschland. Stuttgart 2002, pp. 531–534. Helmut Walser Smith, while not explicitly using the *Sonderweg* concept, but talking of "continuities" and a terminal *Fluchtpunkt* of 1941, has tried to re-open the question in the United States and has promptly run into opposition from Eley and some of his students. See Helmut Walser Smith: The Continuities of German History. Nation, Religion, and Race across the Long Nineteenth Century. Cambridge 2008. In short, it does not look as if the debate is over and that may be a good thing. See also note 20.

parliamentary-democratic system was finally established in West Germany with the help of the British and American occupying powers. To quote one of the loci classici of this view in Gordon Craig's influential history of modern Germany:

"Adolf Hitler was nothing if not thorough. He destroyed the basis of the traditional resistance to modernity and liberalism just as completely as he destroyed the structure of the *Rechtsstaat* and democracy. Because his work of demolition was so complete, he left the German people nothing that could be repaired or built upon. They had to begin all over again, a hard task perhaps, but a challenging one, in the facing of which they were not entirely bereft of guidance. For Hitler only restored to them the options they had had a century earlier, but had also bequeathed to them the memory of horror to help them with their choice." [2]

This notion of Germany's backwardness, which needed to be overcome after the defeat of Nazism, certainly became a widely accepted interpretation in the English-speaking world after 1945, albeit in different variations. It was adopted by a younger generation of West German historians who were largely clustered around what has been called the Bielefeld and the Hamburg Schools.[3] By the 1960s, its protagonists had begun to challenge the early postwar explanations of modern German history advanced by an older generation, among whom Gerhard Ritter was arguably the most influential scholar. However, it did not take long for the next generation to come along who questioned the nostrums of the *Sonderweg* paradigm. This generation was partially inspired by a more general shift in the historiography of the West from a top-down methodology to approaches that proposed to study human society from the bottom up. There is no space here to elaborate on this shift, except to say that it enormously enriched historical studies and was very probably related to the further democratization of society and culture in the West through the spread of a more active civil society in the wake of the youth rebellions of the late 1960s and 1970s.

At the same time, and more directly related to the topic of this article, there was also an increasingly vigorous criticism of the *Sonderweg* concept that claimed that these notions used an idealized, and therefore warped, interpretation of British history as the model modern parliamentary democracy as a yardstick for judging the "aberrant" path of Germany into the 20th century. It is significant that this particular criticism of the *Sonderweg* hypothesis was first advanced by a group of British historians who had more closely studied the history of their country be-

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[2] Gordon Craig: Germany, 1866–1945. Oxford 1978, p. 764. Note that he sees 1866, i.e., the Prussian Constitutional Conflict and Bismarck's wars as the crucial point of divergence from the West. Other authors have dated the path back to Luther or Frederick II of Prussia. Still, the basic assumption is one of German "backwardness" in comparison to the Anglo-Saxons. See also Ralf Dahrendorf: Society and Democracy in Germany. New York 1967.

[3] On the Bielefeld School see, e. g., James Retallack: Imperial Germany in the Age of Kaiser Wilhelm II. New York 1996, pp. 10–15; on the Hamburg School, defined more broadly than Fritz Fischer and his students, see: Volker Berghahn: Ostimperium und Weltpolitik. Gedanken zur Langzeitwirkung der „Hamburger Schule". In: http://hsozkult.geschichte.hu-berlin.de/index.asp?type=diskussionen&id=874&view=pdf&pn=forum, pp. 1–7 (last accessed: 23. 5. 2016).

fore moving into modern German historiography. These historians found that the British political system did not make a good point of comparison with the German democratic tradition and its weaknesses, which American scholars, the Hamburgians around Fritz Fischer, and the Bielefelders around Hans-Ulrich Wehler had claimed produced National Socialism. Scholars such as Geoff Eley, David Blackbourn, and Richard Evans no doubt rightly pointed to the role of strategic elites and the power structures of 19th-century Britain with its empire as well as the peculiarly piecemeal ways in which suffrage and broader political participation had come about in Britain as contra-indications for the *Sonderweg* thesis. After all, the universal manhood suffrage that Bismarck introduced in the 1860s and then extended to the newly founded Kaiserreich was evidently more "modern" than the British one. Comparisons such as these formed the basis of the criticism that Eley, Blackbourn, Evans and others began to launch against the alleged divergence and "backwardness" of the German political system.[4]

However, there was another fundamental difference between the two constitutional orders of Britain and Germany that has been pinpointed only more recently: By the 19th century, the British system had already been transformed into a constitutional monarchy in which the power center was squarely located in the Parliament at Westminster. The monarch had essentially become a figure head. The Bismarckian constitution of 1871, however, was structured very differently in that it kept key decision-making powers in the hands of the Kaiser and his court. The Reichstag, though elected by means of universal manhood suffrage and hence a democratic body (even if women remained disenfranchised until the Revolution of 1918), had very limited constitutional rights in terms of passing of legislation and it was certainly not the center of power within Prusso-German Constitutionalism.[5]

However, a British-style power shift from the Crown to the representative assembly never occurred in peacetime in Germany as part of a reformist measure aiming to parliamentarize the political system. The shift came only in 1918 when, after much resistance by the monarch in previous years, a violent revolution toppled all the hereditary monarchs of Central Europe. The Kaiser's extensive political powers, such as his constitutional rights to nominate the Reich chancellor or

[4] See esp. Blackbourn/Eley: Forum (see note 1). See also the helpful stock-taking exercise by Arnd Bauerkämper: Geschichtsschreibung als Projektion. Die Revision der "Whig Interpretation of History" und die Kritik am Paradigma vom „deutschen Sonderweg" seit den 1970er Jahren. In: Stefan Berger/Peter Lambert/Peter Schumann (eds.): Historikerdialoge. Geschichte, Mythos und Gedächtnis im deutsch-britischen kulturellen Austausch 1750–2000. Göttingen 2003, pp. 383–438; Bernd Weisbrod: Der englische „Sonderweg" in der neueren Geschichte. In: GG 16 (1990), pp. 233–252; Bruce L. Kinzer: The Ballot Question in Nineteenth-Century English Politics. New York 1992; Jon Lawrence/Miles Taylor: Party, State and Society: Electoral Politics in Britain since 1820. Aldershot 1997.

[5] On the Prusso-German constitutional system, see: Elmar Hucko (ed.): The Democratic Tradition. Leamington Spa 1987; Michael Kirsch: Monarch und Parlament im 19. Jahrhundert. Göttingen 1999.

to declare war, were abolished. They were replaced by democratically-elected representative assemblies and a Reichstag that had now become the constitutionally sanctioned seat of political power. Thomas Kühne was among the first to point out the peculiarities of this road toward democracy.[6] He argued that this sequence of events (i. e., the introduction of universal manhood suffrage before the power shift from the monarchy to a representative assembly) greatly complicated – as will be shown later on – the capacity of the Prusso-German constitutional order to parliamentarize itself. However, he only looks at the German context without making explicit comparisons of the kind to be found in the rest of this article.

For the purposes of illustrating the significance of the sequence between parliamentarization and democracy in this article, I will not draw a comparison between the British and the German political developments, but rather I shall move the comparison across the Atlantic and bring the democratic experience of the United States into the picture. A particular advantage of this German-American comparison is that it allows for lines to be drawn between developments in the political sphere to those in the economy, which serve to reinforce the significance of the order in which certain developments took place.

There is no need to start with an analysis of American democracy in the late 18th century, i. e., the successful rebellion of the New England colonies against the British monarch and the power shift that took place toward a new constitutional order run by "We, the People".

However, it should not be forgotten that the making of the constitution at this point was very much a project of educated and wealthy New England elites. It was only in the early 19th century that, as Chilton Williamson has put it, a gradual shift occurred from "property to democracy".[7] By the 1860s, most states of the Union had "universal white manhood suffrage or its rough equivalent". No less significant, a "market revolution"[8] had taken place that had created a forum in which two or more political parties competed for the favors of the electorate at the polls, on the one hand, while an economic market place had also arisen in which agricultural, manufacturing and commercial enterprises competed to sell their products on the other hand.

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[6] See Thomas Kühne: Die Jahrhundertwende, die „lange" Bismarckzeit und die Demokratisierung der politischen Kultur. In: Lothar Gall (ed.): Otto von Bismarck und Wilhelm II. Repräsentanten eines Epochenwechsels? Paderborn 2000, pp. 85–116. See also the literature in note 16.
[7] Quoted in Sean Wilentz: Property and Power. Suffrage Reform in the United States, 1787–1879. In: Donald W. Rogers (ed.): Voting and the Spirit of American Democracy. Essays on the History of Voting and Voting Rights in America. Urbana 1992, pp. 31–41, here: p. 32.
[8] Ibid, here: p. 31, p. 35. For the observations of the classic analyst of American society and politics during his travels in the United States in the 1830s, see: Alexis de Tocqueville: Democracy in America. London 2005. Although it was first published in France and Britain in 1835, his book was not more widely discussed until the late 19th century when the United States appeared on the international scene with a constitutional system that looked markedly different from those of Europe and travelers came in large number to have a look at the New World.

So, by mid-century, the American political system was no longer an elite enterprise. More and more "ordinary" citizens had been admitted to the polls and this created a snowball effect in that other voters also demanded to be registered. As early as the 1830s, this had led to a situation in which (white) males had become "very enthusiastic about voting".[9] Turnout reached seventy-five percent, in the late 19th century even around eighty percent. After the Civil War, the 14th and 15th Amendment enfranchised all black adult males, but with racism among the white population persisting, the democratic rights of former slaves were being systematically eroded. This aspect needs to be emphasized before praising American democracy too highly. Vicious discrimination against blacks and also native Americans persisted into the middle of the 20th century.

At the same time, it has to be said that a good deal of progress towards greater democratic participation had been made since the emergence of democratic governance in the late 18th century. Furthermore, the extension of the suffrage had stimulated the growth of political organizations that began to compete in elections. Essentially it was two parties that emerged, though they were no monoliths. Rather, they were marked by tangible regional and ideological differences of opinion that were rooted in the economic and religious diversity of the country. It has also to be borne in mind that by the 1860s, the United States was not yet a society in which the majority of its citizens lived in cities and were employed by large manufacturing enterprises as they were later by the turn of the century. Most people lived in communities devoted to agricultural and small-scale craft production. Trade was local and regional and became national and transnational only later. To be sure, there was a large influx of immigrants largely from Europe, although the populations in Europe continued to grow.

However, with the Constitution not only guaranteeing basic political rights, but also the freedom of economic activity, it did not take long for some agricultural enterprises to become more successful than others in terms of sales and profits. They began to absorb their weaker competitors. With demand for agricultural goods rising, demographic change stimulated a concentration into larger enterprises whose reach went beyond the Mid-Western region to the East Coast and even to Europe whose growing populations had to be fed. The storage, marketing, and sale of grain and other agricultural goods became a big business – agribusiness – soon dominated by large corporations. Sooner or later, some of them were tempted to engage in speculative trading on the wholesale commodities markets, especially in wheat. In this situation, it did not take long for smaller farmers to accuse the corporations of being responsible for a downward pressure on the prices that they received for their produce, while the profits of agribusinesses went through the roof. The farmers decided to rally and fight back. The resentments against the practices of the agribusinesses hit the headlines of the regional

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[9] Donald W. Rogers: Introduction. The Right to Vote in American History. In: id. (ed.): Voting (see note 7), pp. 3–17, here: p. 3. See also Michael E. McGerr: The Decline of Popular Politics. The American North, 1865–1928. Oxford 1986.

press. Here are the pretty blunt words of W. A. Peffer, the editor of "The Kansas Farmer": "They are all bad men, everyone of them, meriting punishment under the laws of the people whom they defy."[10] He went on: "The fact that the law punishes the highwayman and burglar, while offering no molestation to the speculator in his schemes presents a grotesk [sic!] commentary on the spirit of fairness and justice which is popularly supposed to form the basis of modern civilization." Futures trading, they were convinced, deliberately overestimated the amount of wheat on the market, thereby depressing the price paid to the farmers.[11] They charged that the grain speculation was monopolistic and had to be curbed.

In their quest to attract and retain voters, the political parties quickly incorporated these grass-roots demands into regional and later into national legislation. The movement against agribusiness reached its culmination point in 1890 when the Butterworth Bill was introduced in Congress that banned the creation of monopolies as well as horizontal agreements between independent firms (cartels) and joint sales organizations (syndicates). Subsequently, the bill got stuck in endless debates over its content and advisability. Ultimately, it was never reconciled in the two Houses and remained unratified, though the Sherman Act was put on the statute book. It prohibited all "pools" or cartels in the American economy, though it did not put a stop to the formation of large corporations, provided they continued to engage in competition. This effectively set the pattern for industry and agriculture.

The Sherman Act came about because other federal states such as Michigan, Ohio, New York, and Pennsylvania with their growing cities and conurbations were experiencing a process of rapid industrialization soon accompanied by economic concentration in manufacturing and commerce. By the late 19th century, these trusts – as they came to be called – unleashed a push-back among blue-collar workers and employees living in the eastern cities similar to that of the mid-western farmers. Their protests had the purpose of protecting "consumers from unreasonable price increases".[12] The grass-roots rebellion spilled over into the two major political parties and into demands from among their deputies for legislation to curtail the growing economic power of the "robber barons". By the 1880s, an "Anti-Monopoly Party" had appeared on the scene that was in effect anti-big-business and competed in the 1884 national elections.[13] The two established parties

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[10] Quoted in Adina Popescu: Casting Bread upon the Waters: American Farmers and the International Wheat Market, 1880–1920. [PhD dissertation, unpubl.] Columbia University 2013, p. 172.
[11] Ibid., pp. 172f.
[12] Eleanor M. Fox/Lawrence A. Sullivan: The Good and the Bad Trust Dichotomy. A Short History of a Legal Idea. In: Theodore Kovaleff (ed.): The Antitrust Impulse. An Economic, Historical, and Legal Analysis. Vol. I. Armonk 1994, pp. 77–102, quote: p. 87.
[13] See Theodore Kovaleff: Historical Perspective. An Introduction. In: id. (ed.): Antitrust (see note 12), pp. 7f.; Robert F. Himmelberg (ed.): The Rise of Big Business and the Beginnings of Antitrust and Railroad Regulation, 1870–1900. Vol. I. New York 1994, pp. 63–80, also for the following.

had to respond to this challenge. Consequently, the Republicans inserted a reference into their election platform that they were opposed to all forms of monopoly, promising to block "all schemes to oppress the people". Not to be left behind, the Democrats asserted that the "interests of the people" were being "betrayed" by economic conglomerates. In this view, the large corporations, "while enriching the few that combine, rob the body of our citizens." Finally, in 1888, US President Grover Cleveland also took up the fight when he warned in his message to Congress that "pools" and monopolies were threatening to become "masters" of the ordinary citizens and consumers.

The agitation against the "robber barons" first produced legislation at the state level. When the movement finally reached Washington, some thirteen states had already ratified "anti-trust" legislation. These developments induced Senator John Sherman of Ohio to introduce his own anti-trust bill. It is a reflection of the strength of the populist movement against the big corporations that the Sherman Act of 1890 passed in the U.S. Senate with only one nay vote. In the House of Representatives, there were no nays, but 242 yes votes and 85 abstentions.[14] This very important piece of legislation had now become the law of the land. It banned the creation of monopolies, on the one hand, and "pools", i. e., cartels and syndicates, on the other. The Justice Department was charged with supervising and enforcing the Sherman Act, whose significance for the subsequent development of American capitalism can hardly be overestimated. It meant that after crafting a political constitution in the late 18th century, the country now had an "economic constitution" that set a framework within which industrial producers, commerce and finance could operate on a competitive basis.[15]

The political constitution had been changed in a more democratic direction as a result of an effective mobilization of ordinary citizens from below, facilitated by the step-by-step extension of the suffrage. To be sure, the Sherman Act did not bring the end of the merger movement, but it did oblige the corporations to compete among themselves. They could not fix prices or production quotas. If they were suspected of collusion, the Justice Department had the powers to drag them into the courts where, if found guilty, fines could be imposed and violations could even lead to prison terms. This is why it has been argued that the Sherman Act pushed American capitalism in the direction of oligopolistic competition and therefore away from a pure producer capitalism. Apart from the bottom line, entrepreneurs now also had to pay attention to the buyers of their goods who were voters and not merely their employees.

As has been argued above, the United States thus underwent a major structural development in the 19th century that was rooted in the country's foundations as a democracy, namely,

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[14] See R. B. Heflebower: Monopoly and Competition in the United States of America. In: Edward H. Chamberlin (ed.): Monopoly and Competition and Their Regulation. New York 1954, pp. 110–139.
[15] On this concept see also below pp. 26ff.

1. the building, following the rejection of British monarchical rule, of a representative system of government based on manhood suffrage that opened the door to the gradual inclusion of (initially white) citizens who pushed for participation in politics from below;
2. the institution of a majority voting system that favored a two-party organization based on electoral competition in the political market place;
3. the expansion of a liberal capitalist market economy that appeared to be heading toward monopolies and corporate "pools" but was then put into a constitutional framework through the Butterworth and Sherman Acts that worked against overconcentration on the grounds that the accumulation of economic power in the hands of a few hurt the economic prosperity of the ordinary citizen-consumer.

The key issue to be borne in mind is therefore that the *Fundamentalparlamentarisierung* (fundamental parliamentarization) took place before a *Fundamentaldemokratisierung* (fundamental democratization) and thus avoided a *Fundamentalpolitisierung* (fundamental politicization) before it could be absorbed by a representative system. Thomas Kühne, although he does not compare the German and the American case, has nevertheless rightly recognized that Germany took a different path into the 19th century in terms of these concepts.[16] In Germany, *Fundamentaldemokratisierung* happened before *Fundamentalparlamentarisierung.* This particular sequence promoted an immediate *Fundamentalpolitisierung*, resulting in a multi-party system fissured into party organizations based on socio-economic stratification as well as denominational divisions between Catholics and Protestants. It is now time to return to the German case within a transatlantic context.

As has been mentioned above, the Bismarckian Constitution embodied the defeat of the liberal forces in Central Europe that had pushed for parliamentarization during the Prussian Constitutional Conflict of the 1860s. When instituted

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[16] See note 6. The argument that toward 1914 the Kaiserreich was on a path of parliamentarization has been put forward by: Manfred Rauh: Die Parlamentarisierung des Deutschen Reiches. Düsseldorf 1977. It was subsequently challenged by: Gerhard A. Ritter: Die deutschen Parteien. Göttingen 1985. See also Heinrich Best: Politische Modernisierung und parlamentarische Führungsgruppen in Deutschland 1867–1918. In: HSR 13 (1988), pp. 5–74; Christoph Schönberger: Die überholte Parlamentarisierung. Einflussgewinn und fehlende Herrschaftsfähigkeit des Reichstags im sich demokratisierenden Kaiserreich. In: HZ 202 (2001), pp. 623–666; Michael Kreuzer: Parliamentarization and the Question of German Exceptionalism, 1867–1918. In: CEH 36 (2003), pp. 327–357; Thomas Kühne: Demokratisierung und Parlamentarisierung. Neue Forschungen zur politischen Entwicklungsfähigkeit Deutschlands vor dem Ersten Weltkrieg. In: GG 31 (2005), pp. 293–316. Margaret Anderson has rated this Entwicklungsfähigkeit highly, see: Margaret Anderson: Practicing Democracy. Elections and Political Culture in Imperial Germany. Princeton 2000; for the questions she has raised see: Volker Berghahn: The German Empire, 1871–1914. Reflections on the Direction of Recent Research. In: CEH 35 (2002), pp. 75–81. Anderson's Reply: Margaret Anderson: ibid., pp. 83–90. See also Robert Arsenscheck: Der Kampf um die Wahlfreiheit im Kaiserreich. Düsseldorf 2003; Thomas Kühne: Dreiklassenwahlrecht und Wahlkultur in Preußen 1867–1914. Düsseldorf 1994.

in 1871, it cemented the far-reaching undemocratic powers of the Hohenzollern monarchy. The introduction of universal manhood suffrage by Bismarck led to the emergence of all kinds of political parties. As Sigmund Neumann argued many years ago, the initial pattern was one of several *Honoratiorenparteien* (parties of notables).[17] But, over time and with the increasing organization of Prusso-German society at all levels, these parties evolved into *Weltanschauungsparteien*, with the Social Democrats (SPD) increasingly catering to their working-class members and voters from cradle to grave. But from the start, the SPD was perceived by both the government and the conservative parties as a fundamental threat to the existing monarchical order. After the attempt was made to suppress the Social Democrats with the promulgation of the anti-Socialist laws, it became clear that this policy had failed by the late 1880s. The laws simply lapsed.

When the SPD began to operate again in 1890, it became a pace-maker in the further politicization of society. No less disquieting from the point of view of the preservation of the socio-economic and political status quo, the Social Democrats, thanks to universal manhood suffrage, attracted ever larger numbers of voters. By 1912, and despite many attempts by the government and the right-wing radical *Alldeutsche Verband* (Pan-German League) to undermine the suffrage and manipulate the electoral districts, the SPD had gained the largest number of votes (4.2 million) as well as seats (110) in the Reichstag.[18] Horrified, the reactionary Conservatives called for a renewed ban against the "unpatriotic" and "subversive" Social Democrats and trade unions with their 2.5 million members. Some Pan-German leaders even thought of a *Staatsstreich* (coup d'état) and a revision of the Constitution that aimed to re-abolish universal suffrage and to re-establish outright autocracy.[19]

Other more center-right middle-class parties advocated the formation of a *Kartell der schaffenden Stände* (Cartel of the Productive Estates), i. e., a horizontal alliance against the SPD in a large bloc that would diminish competition among the bourgeois parties and polarize party politics in the Reichstag.[20] As a result,

[17] See Sigmund Neumann: Die Parteien der Weimarer Republik. Stuttgart 1955. See also Thomas Nipperdey: Die Organisation der deutschen Parteien vor 1918. Düsseldorf 1961.
[18] See, e. g., Matthew Jefferies: Contesting the German Empire, 1871–1918. Oxford 2008, esp. ch. 3: "Democracy in the Undemocratic State?", in an apparent reference to: Brett Fairbairn: Democracy in the Undemocratic State. The German Reichstag Elections of 1898 and 1903. Toronto 1997. See also Mark Hewitson: The Kaiserreich in Question. Constitutional Crisis in Germany before the First World War. In: JMH 73 (2001), pp. 725–780.
[19] See Hartmut Pogge von Strandmann: Permanenz der Staatsstreichdrohung. In: Imanuel Geiss/ Hartmut Pogge von Strandmann (eds.): Die Erforderlichkeit des Unmöglichen. Frankfurt a. M. 1965, pp. 7–45.
[20] With many details on the attempts to rally the anti-Social Democratic parties and voters in a political "cartel", see: Dirk Stegmann: Bismarcks Erben. Köln 1970, p. 352, pp. 360–421. Also very informative: Gustav Schmidt: Innenpolitische Blockbildungen in Deutschland am Vorabend des Ersten Weltkrieges. In: APuZ, 13. 5. 1972, pp. 3–12. It seems that there is still much detailed research to be done on the crisis of the Prusso-German monarchy in the years 1910–1914, especially from the point of view of domestic politics. See also note 1.

conflicts piled up within the existing constitutional system paralyzing the political process. Since the external situation of the Kaiserreich had also already deteriorated by 1913/14 due to the erratic and aggressive foreign policy that Wilhelm II had conducted during the past decade, a growing tendency arose within the Reich government and the military establishment in particular to cut the Gordian Knot and to use the Kaiser's constitutional powers to declare war against France and Russia as a means of buttressing the position of the Hohenzollern monarchy abroad as well as at home. It was hoped that the expected German victory and the patriotism it would engender could re-stabilize the country's precarious state.

However, this is not yet the end of the different path that Germany took before 1914 in comparison to that of the United States. Like America, Germany had undergone a rapid process of industrialization and urbanization before 1914, which had also resulted in growth of the working-class SPD and the trade unions. But because there had been no *Fundamentalparlamentarisierung,* no grass-roots mobilization took place like it did in America to introduce legislation to curb the growing power of the large German industrial corporations and banks. Despite whatever grass-roots protests that came from the Left, they could not be translated into a Sherman-style piece of legislation. Instead, powerful anti-competitive cartels and syndicates continued to flourish in Germany that fixed prices and production quotas to the advantage of the shareholders and the disadvantage of the ordinary consumer. German industry may have rationalized its production, but some of the gains were not passed onto to the consumer as Henry Ford and other manufacturers had begun to do in the American market economy.[21]

If the German cartels had arisen in the depression of the 1870s as "children of an emergency situation" to protect industry and also agriculture against the harsh winds of competition from abroad and from within, they were not abandoned after the upswing of the 1890s.[22] On the contrary, the cartel system was extended to more branches of industry. Unlike in the United States, and due to the peculiar legislative processes under the Bismarckian Constitution, there was no effective pressure to ratify a German Sherman Act. Rather, in 1897, the Reich Court intervened and in rendering a major opinion declared cartels to be legal arrangements

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[21] On the Fordist vision of a kind of consumer capitalism, see, e. g.: Mary Nolan: Visions of Modernity. American Business and the Modernization of Germany. Oxford 1994. Fordism is also important in terms of the subsequent capitalist developments in Europe because it proposed to pass some of the gains of industrial rationalization on to the consumers by lowering prices. Thus, Henry Ford's progressively cheaper cars came within the range of consumers whose budgets could not have afforded one in the past. Mass motorization thus began in the United States after World War I and reached Western Europe in the 1950s when the Fordist model finally displaced the *producer* capitalism based on protectionist cartels and syndicates. Thus, West Germany shifted toward an American-style *consumer* capitalism of which economics minister Ludwig Erhard became the physical embodiment.

[22] On the origins and evolution of the German system of cartels and syndicates, see, e. g.: Fritz Blaich: Kartell- und Monopolpolitik im kaiserlichen Deutschland. Düsseldorf 1973; Hans Pohl: Einleitung. In: id. (ed.): Kartelle und Kartellgesetzgebung in Praxis und Rechtsprechung vom 19. Jahrhundert bis zur Gegenwart. Stuttgart 1985, pp. 11–14, here: p. 12.

under private law. Accordingly, member firms of a particular cartel that were deemed to be in violation of the cartel agreement could be sued in the courts, just as companies that refused to join a cartel could be legally discriminated against with impunity. Clearly, this was a different kind of capitalism, just as the Prusso-German political order now differed in key elements from that of the United States.

Given these pre-existing differences in terms of political economy, the question remains as to what happened to them after 1918. In the United States, the anti-trust tradition came to be accepted by industry as something like an economic constitution, i. e., a framework within which enterprises could freely operate to produce and sell their goods. Admittedly, the Webb-Pomerene Act of 1918 allowed American firms to participate in international cartels that never proved very durable. Overall, however, American big business adhered to the principle of oligopolistic competition and when it did not, the Justice Department intervened to enforce the principle of "anti-trust". Consequently, American society also came to see the preservation of the political market place where parties competed for the favor of voters to be the mirror image of the economic market place in which independent firms competed unencumbered by the restrictive practices of cartels and syndicates. Political democracy and what the Yale law professor Thurman Arnold, who headed the anti-trust division of the Justice Department in the late 1930s, defined as "economic democracy" were seen as interdependent.[23] If the political market place lost its competitive freedoms and became dominated by one party or a cartel of parties, the economic market place was also threatened. Conversely, a cartelized economy would sooner or later also undermine the competitive principles of a political democracy.

In this respect, the contrasts outlined above with respect to the pre-1914 period sharpened after 1918 and became particularly glaring in the 1930s. During the Nazi dictatorship, the multi-party pluralism of the Weimar Republic was transformed into a one-party dictatorship with surprising speed over the course of 1933. At the same time, the German economy, already quite highly cartelized in the 1920s, moved toward total cartelization. In other words, Germany now had not only a very peculiar authoritarian system in which the political market place had been abolished, but also a peculiar form of capitalism in which the market place had been forced into the straitjacket of a planned economy gearing up for the launch of an expansionist war of conquest, looting, and the mass murder of "racially inferior" peoples.[24] With the defeat of the Axis powers and the prospect of shaping the postwar world, no lesser person than US President Franklin D. Roosevelt articulated this view when he opined:

"During the past half century, the United States has developed a tradition in opposition to private monopolies. The Sherman and Clayton Acts have become as

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[23] See Thurman Arnold: Bottlenecks of Business. New York 1940.
[24] See, e. g., Adam Tooze: Wages of Destruction. The Making and Breaking of the Nazi Economy. New York 2007.

much part of the American way of life as the Due Process clause of the Constitution. By protecting the consumer against monopoly, theses statutes guarantee him the benefits of competition. […] Unfortunately, a number of foreign countries, particularly in continental Europe, do not possess such a tradition against cartels. On the contrary, cartels have received encouragement from these governments. Especially this is true with respect to Germany. Moreover, cartels were utilized by the Nazis as governmental instrumentalities to achieve political ends. […] Defeat of the Nazi armies will have to be followed by the eradication of these weapons of economic warfare. But more than elimination of the political activities of German cartels will have to be required. Cartel practices which restrict the free flow of goods in foreign commerce will have to be curbed."[25]

When the Nazi political and economic experiment had been finally been defeated in 1945, Germany regained not only a political system based on fundamental human rights, universal suffrage and a competitive party system, but also a liberal-capitalist market economy from which cartels and monopolies that had existed under Nazism had been excised in favor of American-style competition. To give just one example: the giant IG Farben trust that occupied a virtual monopoly position in the Nazi economy was not broken up into a myriad of small companies, but rather into four large corporations, i. e., Bayer, Hoechst, BASF and Casella, of which the first three have survived to this day, operating (with each one bigger than the former pre-1945 parent) with their American, British, French and other corporations in the international economy.[26]

However, there was also a constitutional adaptation towards the American model of a modern industrial economy. In 1958, after years of debate, the Bundestag ratified the "Law for Securing Competition".[27] Ludwig Erhard, who had fought like a lion for this law against the vigorous opposition from West German heavy industry, had once referred to it as "our economic basic law" that he viewed as the indispensable complement to the political "Basic Law" founded upon civil rights and universal suffrage for all and built, with American advice, as the framework in which the Federal Republic operated a successful parliamentary democracy and social market economy.[28]

Yet, structural and mental shifts that had occurred in the 1950s in terms of the German-American economic-constitutional and political-constitutional relationship were not permanent and certainly did not last into the 21st century. Germany's social market economy changed, most markedly during the 1990s, partly

[25] Roosevelt quoted in Joel Davidow: The Seeking of a World Competition Code: Quixotic Quest? In: Oscar Schachter/Robert Hellawell (eds.): Competition in International Business. Law and Policy on Restrictive Practices. New York 1981, pp. 361 f.

[26] See Raymond Stokes: Divide and Prosper. The Heirs of IG Farben under Allied Authority, 1945–1951. Berkeley 1988. Note the telling title and sub-title.

[27] On the passage of this Law and the long debate on the introduction of an American-type anti-trust law see, e. g.: Volker Berghahn: The Americanization of West German Industry, 1945–1973. New York 1986, pp. 155–181.

[28] Quoted in ibid., p. 168.

propelled by the collapse of communism and the reunification of East and West Germany. No less important were the changes that the American economy underwent from the 1980s when its manufacturing sector declined, and banking and finance became the new power centers. The pitfalls of the American model of capitalism finally opened up in the crisis of 2007/08, and both Washington and Wall Street are still trying to come to grips with it and with the dangerous dislocations and inequalities it created within American society. Partly triggered by this crisis and by changes in the ethnic composition of American society, it also became apparent that American democracy and its constitutional foundations had also run into trouble.

As we have seen in the context of the promulgation of the Sherman Act, the system of majority voting districts as a framework in which pressure for political and economic change could be exercised from below worked well enough in the post-1945 period. It was facilitated by the postwar economic prosperity. Both these factors also enabled the United States to be the hegemonic power in at least the Western world, without which its allies would not have experienced a similar prosperity and relative political stability after the upheavals of World War II. But, as it became clearer that the country was not only suffering militarily from "imperial overstretch" around the globe, but was also being challenged economically by a number of rising powers, such as China, the drawbacks of American constitutional democracy became more apparent.

Thus the division of powers between the presidency, the Senate and the Lower House functioned smoothly only if, thanks to the majority voting system, one party had secure majorities in the two houses, and the two parties as well as the president, independently elected by a popular vote, were willing and able to forge compromises. Due to the virtually unlimited campaign finance monies from a minority of very wealthy donors, the mass media, and television in particular, and the blatant gerrymandering of electoral district boundaries to create all-white districts to elect conservative candidates, the democratic principle has been seriously undermined. It was further weakened by the decisions of the conservative majority on the independent Supreme Court. The legislative process has been severely hampered, if not even paralyzed, by the fact that the two major parties block each other. Moreover, the presidency, because it is not dependent on the two chambers as it would be in the parliamentary systems of Europe, can pursue its own agenda. As a result, the American economic and political model of democracy, as defined within the scope of this article, is losing its attractiveness for other nations. However, these recent, still unfolding developments should not distract from the value of the insights into the pre-1914 peculiarities of the American and German economies and polities pointed out within this article for the debate on political as well as economic democracy.

Thomas Welskopp

"Democracy"

A Political Concept as an Ideological Weapon in the U.S. before and during World War I

The following essay aims to historicize the concept of "democracy". It intends to show that while the word itself was used in vastly changing ways in American political discourse during the 19th and early 20th century, the frequency with which it was mentioned in major newspaper publications actually declined during the decade prior to 1914. Only in this decade, after a long period of diminishing media attention, "democracy" was revitalized as a nonpartisan phrase by experts and publicists contributing to the Progressive movement in one way or another. When Woodrow Wilson rallied his troops "to make the world safe for democracy" in 1917, he was only very selectively calling upon the tradition of one strand of early 1900s progressive thought, personified by Herbert Croly. Even then, the term carried a meaning which strongly differed from our present-day understanding; however, it can still be said that Wilson transferred the notion of "democracy" into the sphere of international politics and foreign relations. My essay not only pleas for the importance of contextualizing the concept of "democracy" in general, but also it argues that the United States, which is often seen as the proverbial "Western" role model for "democracy" today, was not actually the turf on which the contours of our present understanding took shape.

"To make the world safe for democracy" was Woodrow Wilson's catch phrase that won him the decisive majority in Congress to bring the United States into the World War in 1917. Unlike other famous presidential phrases, such as Franklin D. Roosevelt's "New Deal", Abraham Lincoln's "government of the people, by the people and for the people", William McKinley's "manifest destiny" or even Warren G. Harding's bizarre "normalcy", this one was coined by Wilson himself.[1]

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[1] Henry L. Mencken claims that the famous quote from Lincoln's "Gettysburg Address" from 19 November 1863 "was by no means original with him". "New Deal" appeared first in the title "New Deal for America" of a front-page article by the renowned economist Stuart Chase in the "New Republic" just a week before Roosevelt delivered his Democratic presidential acceptance speech on 2 July 1932. See Christopher McKnight Nichols: Modernity and Political Economy in the New Era and New Deal. In: Thomas Welskopp/Alan Lessoff (eds.): Fractured Modernity. America Confronts Modern Times, 1890s to 1940s. München 2012, pp. 129–150, here: p. 138.

There must have been reasons for his deliberate choice to use the term "democracy". In his first campaign for the presidency, Wilson had rallied his voters under the banner of "New Freedom" rather than that of "democracy", and this formula had attracted enough Progressive reformers to get him reelected in 1916 – on top of the fact that he had also campaigned under the slogan "He kept us out of war". "To make the world safe for democracy" was a mission statement that justified America's war effort as promoting a higher ideal rather than just striking back at an aggressive enemy: "In urging Congress to declare war on Germany in April 1917, Wilson eloquently if ambitiously proclaimed that the United States would fight for the expansion of democracy, rather than the narrow national interests pursued by the other belligerents."[2]

Wilson might have deemed this highly idealistic move necessary in order to cover over his prior insistence on "neutrality", which was designed to keep the United States out of the war while more openly backing Great Britain and France as the allied forces in combat with Germany. Yet, for some time already, the tide of public sentiment had turned against the German Reich, which had come to be considered as an arch-enemy of the United States, not just because of the "unrestricted" German submarine war that was claiming more and more American vessels and lives. For example, the proponents of prohibition, led by the Anti-Saloon League (ASL), which had become the largest and most powerful single-issue lobby organization in the world by this time, had singled out the Germanness of the American liquor interests as their – politically opportune – object of attack. The beer brewing industry in particular had long been identified to a large extent with the industrious German immigrant community that had succeeded so well as a whole in the United States. The brewers' cultural activities and their beer garden culture, which actually signified a successful Americanization process, was stigmatized as a subversive attempt to undermine American identity. As the United States Brewers' Association became involved in the German American Alliance, the political arm of immigrant Germans that had advocated for American neutrality in the first three years of World War I, the brewers were transformed into traitors in the ASL's propaganda once and for all.[3]

Mencken dates the origins of "manifest destiny" back to 1845. It is said to have been coined by a Democratic newspaper editor named John L. Sullivan who used it to lend legitimacy to the annexation of Texas. The term quickly acquired a satirical image instrumented to denounce "expansionists", and it is doubtful that the rhetorically prudent McKinley used it at all. "Normalcy", in contrast to many contemporary intellectuals' view and historians' hindsight, did really exist, as a mathematical term, and was used, according to the Oxford English Dictionary, in a mathematical treatise of 1857. See Henry L. Mencken: The American Language. An Inquiry into the Development of English in the United States. New York [6]1971, p. 186.

[2] Wilson, Thomas Woodrow (1856–1924). In: Catherine Cocks/Peter C. Holloran/Alan Lessoff (eds.): Historical Dictionary of the Progressive Era. Lantham et al. 2009, pp. 476–478, here: p. 477. See also: Democratic Party. In: Ibid., pp. 106–108.

[3] See Thomas Welskopp: Amerikas große Ernüchterung. Eine Kulturgeschichte der Prohibition. Paderborn 2010, pp. 33–50.

The ASL successfully lobbied for Congressional hearings on the German brewers' activities and published unofficial reports about alleged findings. Although the Busch family donated $ 500,000 in 1917 to the U.S. war effort and a consortium of Milwaukee brewers subscribed to $ 2 million dollars' worth of war bonds, the identification of liquor interests, Germanness, and the immigrants acting as the "fifth column" of the Kaiser on American soil led to a peak in prohibition sentiment among the public. The popular wellness guru J. H. Kellogg paid for a full-page advertisement in the "New York Times" on November 3, 1918, whose slogan read: "We are fighting three enemies – Germany, Austria, and Drink."[4]

But, why was it necessary to invoke the ideal of "democracy" as a battle cry against a German enemy for which the public – and in a leading role the ASL – had already found an unbeatable ethnic or even racist epithet: the "Huns". An ASL cartoon depicted a marching column of animated beer barrels and bottles with undoubtedly German physiognomies – complete with mighty moustaches and bulging eyes – holding up a banner saying "Hun Rule Association".[5] Wilson himself had derided the German-Americans as "hyphenated Americans" who could not be trusted. His adversity against everything German had grown with the number of submarine attacks on U.S. ships because they seemed to symbolize the subversive nature of the Germans' aggression in general – including the minority already on American soil. And yet, such an ethnic or racist epithet applied to the enemy in the war in which the country was about to become directly involved was certainly red tape in diplomatic terms. Thus Wilson's propaganda for the war as a fight for "democracy" as an abstract principle came in handy.

Yet still: why "democracy"? The anti-German hysteria during World War I generated an obsessive drive to expel anything German from what was perceived as American culture and from the American language at large. Henry L. Mencken notes: "During World War I an effort was made by super-patriots to drive all German loans from the American vocabulary. *Sauerkraut* became *liberty cabbage*, *hamburger steak* became *Salisbury steak*, *hamburger* became *liberty sandwich*, and a few extremists even changed *German measles* to *liberty measles*."[6] Given these highly-obsessed, publicized anti-German opinions, the question still remains as to why Wilson did not reinvigorate his "New Freedom" slogan, especially since it had already helped to win two presidential elections.

The problem was that the appeal to "freedom" and "individual liberty" had lost significant ground in the decade before World War I as a result of pro-Prohibition propaganda. The "personal liberty" and "freedom of choice" arguments put forth by opponents of a national ban on alcohol had been ousted from a public discourse increasingly dominated by the overpowering ASL. The prohibitionists,

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[4] Quoted in James Morone: Hellfire Nation. The Politics of Sin in American History. New Haven 2003, p. 309. For donations see: Daniel Okrent: Last Call. The Rise and Fall of Prohibition. New York 2010, pp. 102 f.

[5] See Welskopp: Ernüchterung (see note 3), p. 48.

[6] Mencken: Language (see note 1), p. 258 (italics in original).

who became hegemonic after 1910, argued that someone who drank was obvious-
ly not responsible enough to enjoy the protection of "individual liberty" because
"free will" was then lacking. The enforcement of National Prohibition beginning
on January 16, 1920 consequently entailed a number of serious infringements on
the individual rights granted by the Constitution. During the first years of Na-
tional Prohibition, the Supreme Court upheld all statutory regulations and court
sentences dealing with matters arising from the enforcement of the law that also
contained violations against constitutional liberties. Moreover, it did not help the
cause of "freedom" and "liberty" that the brewers' lobby had also resorted to us-
ing the "freedom of choice" argument to try to fend off the threat of Prohibition;
this made the appeal to "liberty" a sinister German move according to ASL pro-
paganda, which insinuated that "freedom" in the German sense meant the "free-
dom to drown in alcohol".[7]

    Although Wilson himself was an opponent of National Prohibition, and espe-
cially wary of enshrining the ban in a constitutional amendment, the policies he
pursued as president let him appear as anybody but a true "champion of free-
dom". His slogan "New Freedom" actually stood for a moral crusade against an
exaggerated individualism and it was also directed against the accumulation of too
much power in the hands of large corporations, which he saw as the long-term
effect of egotistic interests unleashed by excessive individualism. During the war,
Wilson was the driving force behind the move to channel anti-German sentiment
into repressive legislation that crossed into violations against the constitutional
rights of at least those indicted for playing into the hands of the enemy or siding
with the German aggressors. Congress passed the Espionage Act in June 1917,
which threatened alleged acts of espionage or sabotage with jail sentences of up to
20 years. The "Trading with the Enemy Act" of October 1917 allowed for the
surveillance of news communications with foreign countries and of the foreign
language press while the American media outlets were openly requested to intro-
duce comprehensive measures of self-censorship. The Sabotage and Sedition Acts
of 1918 further toughened the grip on critics. Politically unpopular intellectuals,
such as the leader of the Socialist Party in the U.S., Eugene Debs, were detained in
high-security penitentiaries for years just because of an offensive remark or a de-
viant view expressed in public, or even just the mere suspicion thereof. At the end
of the war, Wilson presided over the least liberal system to have governed the
American people since colonial days.[8]

    It should have become evident by now why Wilson could not lead the United
States into the war in the name of "liberty". In order to ennoble the entry into the
war as a moral crusade for a higher cause, he needed a concept or term which
could describe the domestic political system in the U.S. as a whole in a positive
light and lend it a utopian character in order to demonstrate that it was definitely
something worth fighting for in other places around the world. It was already

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[7] See Welskopp: Ernüchterung (see note 3), pp. 65–78, quote: p. 69.
[8] See Udo Sautter: Geschichte der Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika. Stuttgart ²1980, pp. 336 f.

clear how to refer to the system of the Germany adversary without resorting to ethnic or racist defamations because official propaganda as well as the general public – as expressed in the hyper-patriotic press – spoke of "kaiserism", thereby invoking comical images of strangely mustached puppet soldiers in uniform with the unavoidable spiked helmet goose-stepping about the European continent. "Kaiserism" alluded to the idea of a personal monarchic autocracy with militaristic features that seemed to be ingrained in the minds of each and every German subject. It was, in other words, the specific German version of tyranny. "Tyranny", however, was already part and parcel of classic republican discourse, which gives rise to the question as to why Wilson did not simply employ the term "republic" as the counter-image providing the reason for the war effort. The problem was, I would argue, that the concept of "republic" had already been over-used in domestic political discourse. As a positive epithet for the American political system as a whole, "republic" had been worn out in the profane conflicts of day-to-day partisan politics, and it had lost its charm as a political utopia. It had been replaced in its discursive function by "union" – before, during, and after the Civil War – and subsequently by "nation" around the turn of the century, heralding the age of imperial expansion. "Republic" was also associated with a notion of statism, which was quite unpopular among the American public during Wilson's years as President, especially because it was actually deemed something genetically German.[9]

Thus "democracy" it was what Wilson prepared the nation to fight for in April 1917. This was a conceptual innovation insofar as this concept underwent conspicuous ebbs and flows in terms of its usage in American political debate during the 19th and early 20th centuries, whereby its peak usage usually correlated with periods of intensified partisan conflicts after the 1830s. The frequency with which "democracy" was mentioned in newspaper articles declined markedly in the years before 1914. In fact, it was rarely used as a way to describe the American system of government as an entity on a national level or, to put it differently, as an official "brand name" for the American polity. "Democracy" has no entry in Henry L. Mencken's "The American Language", and it is also missing from the list of "keywords in American politics" that Daniel T. Rodgers has assembled in his "Contested Truths". Our present-day notion of "democracy" as a form of popular government based on free elections, inclusive voting rights, a pluralistic party system, independent parliaments, broad participation, a free press, and an egalitarian legal system has no early 20th century referent.

Its almost complete absence from American political vocabulary has a long history. Of course, Alexis de Tocqueville popularized the term "democracy" in his description of the American political system he had encountered it on his travels, and his treatise on America was widely read in the U.S. thanks to a translation by

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[9] See Daniel T. Rodgers: Contested Truths. Keywords in American Politics since Independence. New York/London 1987, pp. 195f.

John C. Spencer that appeared as early as 1841.[10] Yet he called "essential democracy" a "social condition" peculiar to the American people. For his European audience, he juxtaposed "democracy" in this sense against "aristocracy", effectively highlighting the social and cultural proximity between Europe and America despite the high degree of material inequality. Lacking a traditional "aristocracy", Americans had apparently failed to establish new "aristocratic" classes on a permanent basis – be it classes of landed property, of financial wealth, or of intellectual elitism.[11] Unlike the "republic" with its appeal to universal civic values, "universalism" in American "democracy" meant an almost all-encompassing notion of social and political inclusion, manifest, for example, in nearly universal suffrage. Likewise, no "political class" had yet elevated itself above its constituencies. Tocqueville found the "sovereignty of the people", as laid down in the Constitution, taken quite literally by the Americans – and taken to extremes:

"At the present day the principle of the sovereignty of the people has acquired, in the United States, all the practical development which the imagination can conceive. It is unencumbered by those fictions which have been thrown over it in other countries, and it appears in every possible form according to the exigency of the occasion. Sometimes the laws are made by the people in a body, as at Athens; and sometimes its representatives, chosen by universal suffrage, transact business in its name, and almost under its immediate control."[12]

Tocqueville did not write these passages in an appreciative tone, but rather he employed phrases normally used to describe a spreading disease. Thus, his references to the American system as "democracy" was not intended as unqualified praise, but rather expressed puzzled disappointment. The French nobleman had expected to visit a republican utopia turned into a lived reality, based on civic virtues and high moral principles, led by an elite of exceptional political characters.[13] In hindsight, however, Tocqueville glossed over the vast ideological differences he had encountered in the U.S. by retrospectively invoking "a tacit agreement and a sort of *consensus universalis*" holding together American society despite all political strife, based on the common values of "republicanism, individualism, and respect for the Constitution".[14] This was what Americans freely confessed to when asked about their abstract view on the American system. Yet, Tocqueville did not neglect to note that the same Americans would immediately plunge into the murky waters of partisan politics when asked about current affairs – and that they did so in a conspicuously pushy way even vis-à-vis a foreigner: "What strikes one

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[10] Alexis de Tocqueville: Democracy in America. An Annotated Text, Backgrounds, Interpretations. Ed. by Isaac Kramnick. New York/London 2007.
[11] Ibid., pp. 42–45.
[12] Ibid., p. 51.
[13] Ulrich Meier/Martin Papenheim/Willibald Steinmetz: Semantiken des Politischen. Vom Mittelalter bis ins 20. Jahrhundert. Göttingen 2012, p. 71.
[14] Quoted in Sean Wilentz: Many Democracies. On Tocqueville and Jacksonian America. In: Tocqueville: Democracy (see note 10), pp. 809–825, here: p. 813, p. 815 (italics in original).

most on arrival in the United States", Tocqueville wrote, "is the kind of tumultuous agitation in which one finds political society."[15]

Sean Wilentz contends that Tocqueville nevertheless downplayed the political rifts dividing Jacksonian America: "So in the 1830s, behind Tocqueville's 'tacit agreement', lurked far more powerful conflicts than *Democracy* captured – conflicts that would bring about (among other things) the bloodiest civil upheaval in the history of the 19th-century western world, an upheaval Tocqueville anticipated but thought the republic would avoid."[16] At least Tocqueville was realistic enough to acknowledge that in America "self-interest" had long before superseded unselfish civic virtue as the driving force behind political initiative. The unrestricted pursuit of "interests" even became part of his definition of "democracy". Tocqueville conceded that the Americans were apparently able to maintain a certain degree of political stability and order even despite the rule of "self-interest". Yet the preponderance of the "masses" in U.S. politics ruled out the idea that American "democracy" should serve as a political role-model for "aristocratic Europe". Tocqueville wrote: "I have a passionate love for liberty, law and respect for rights – but not for democracy. There is the ultimate truth of my heart."[17]

Small wonder that "democracy" in Tocqueville's reading did not gain traction among a contemporary American audience looking for a concept to positively describe the domestic political system and its popular foundations. The word "democracy" was, of course, a part of the political discourse during the 1830s and 1840s, beginning with the formation of the Democratic Party through the split among the Democratic Republicans who had generally opposed the Federalists with their notions of a strong central state in favor of state rights and a broader electoral basis for the republic. After the demise of the Federalists in the 1820s, the more nationalist-minded Republicans renamed themselves "Whigs" after the secession of the Democrats and took over as the party of the establishment.[18] The Democrats, under the leadership of the popular social climber Andrew Jackson, who became the first Democratic President in 1828, considerably broadened the social basis of American politics to embrace small farmers, shopkeepers and artisans. It sported a distinct appeal to an American identity that was purposefully provincial in nature. "It was reserved for Andrew Jackson to lead the rise of the lower orders with dramatic effectiveness", writes Henry L. Mencken, "Jackson was the archetype of the new American who appeared after 1814 – ignorant, pushful, impatient of restraint and precedent, an iconoclast, a Philistine, an Anglophobe in every fiber."[19]

"Jacksonian Democracy", as the two administrations under his Presidency came to be called, did not epitomize a utopian ideal of inclusive and pluralistic

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[15] Quoted in ibid., here: p. 813.
[16] Ibid., here: pp. 813f. (italics in original).
[17] Quoted in ibid., here: p. 816.
[18] See Sautter: Geschichte (see note 8), pp. 176f.
[19] Mencken: Language (see note 1), p. 144.

popular government. Rather, it stood for a contentious program, challenging the established big city elites in the North-East and their proclivity for British thought and language. Traditionally, "democracy" was of ill repute in Great Britain and rang with associations of corruption, manipulative mass politics, excesses of self-interest, and violence, as – very selectively – derived from the history of ancient Athens. Since they demonstratively re-asserted a distinct American identity, the Democrats assumed their self-elected label as a battle cry which stylized their own position as that of a rebellious underdog representing everything feared by an establishment rooted in British culture and thought. Calling themselves Democrats, therefore, the former "unspeakables" entered the circus of politics and conquered the system – at least for two presidential terms. Even more important than the anti-British/anti-establishment sting of the word "democracy" was that it became associated with a particularistic and not an inclusive concept. The Democrats fought for political rights in the name of a clearly defined group as part of a partisan formation that did not champion a pluralistic system at all. The following decades would see partisan hostilities, especially in formative periods of one party or the other, in which the verbal acrimony in the related party press easily transcended normal discursive boundaries by threatening the political foe with physical annihilation.

It was common during those years that the Whig and later Republican opposition against the Democrats would pit the ideals of the "republic" against a "democracy" that they pictured as a degenerate version of the former. The Richmond Whigs, according to Sean Wilentz, accused the Jacksonians of having destroyed the institutional framework laid down in the Constitution: "The Republic has degenerated into a Democracy."[20] A strand of this semantic opposition spoke out against "democratic tendencies", later increasingly identified with the spread of referenda, recalls, propositions, and the inclination to write statutory laws into state constitutions in order to move them beyond the grasp of the elected representative legislature. As late as the early 1900s, the "republic" was invoked in opposition to what was perceived by conservatives as exalted claims of "pluralism". Thus an article in the "Los Angeles Times" in 1909 put forth the question "Mob Democracy or Republic?" and had a definite answer:

"Over against it [the Mob Democracy] let us put the true American system, a representative republic. Under this form of government there is no tyranny of the majority over the minority. […] Under a democracy or any system of direct legislation, all these checks and safeguards are obliterated. In the case of the initiative and referendum, even the vote of the Governor is abolished in some of our States, thus removing another important check against hasty legislation in times when the public mind is carried away by passion or impulse."[21]

[20] Quote and analysis in Sean Wilentz: The Rise of American Democracy. Jefferson to Lincoln. New York/London 2005, p. 425.
[21] Mob Democracy or Republic? In: LA Times, 24.2.1909, p. 114.
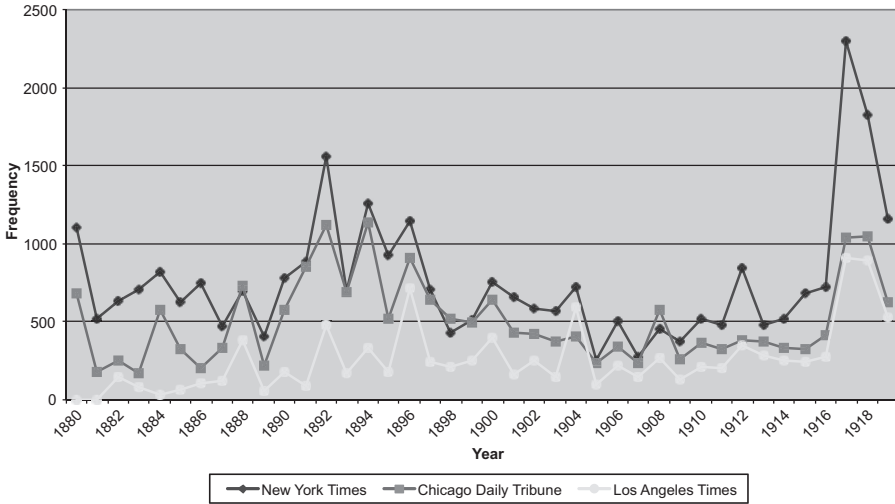
Figure 1: "Democracy" mentioned in Newspaper Articles, 1880–1919

Over the coming decades, the American political discourse, as reflected in major newspapers, came to reserve the term "democracy" for the Democratic Party and its internal rifts and conflicts or secessionist tendencies. When the frequency by which the term "democracy" was mentioned hit hitherto all-time peaks in the years between 1892 and 1898, this was clearly linked to the conflict with the Democratic Cleveland administration over the question of silver currency versus the gold standard and to the ascent of the then 36 year-old William Jennings Bryan to national political fame who had forged a new alliance among laborers and farmers in order to renew the "democratic" impulse of the Democratic Party (figure 1). When "democracy" surfaced in newspaper articles at this time, it normally appeared in capital letters and referred to the Democratic Party as a whole or its factions. Especially the latter would be called "Democracies", either connected with names or locations ("Wisconsin Democracy"), often in disparaging terms, denouncing the phenomenon as hubris or sham. Along these lines the "Los Angeles Times" wrote of Bryan in 1896:

"Bryan has drawn to his support a strange and conglomerate aggregation of political elements. Populism, anarchism, Debsism, socialism, fiatism, and other dangerous isms ad nauseam are represented in this aggregation; but true Democracy is not there represented. Between Bryanism and the great and honorable Democratic party there is as wide a difference as between night and day. It is the difference between an unorganized mob and a disciplined army. It is the difference between hoodlumism and respectable citizenship."[22]

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[22] The True Democracy. In: LA Times, 1. 11. 1896, p. 24.

In 1899, the paper further declared:

"The Democracy cannot be saved, as the [Philadelphia] Record intimates, until it cuts loose from Populism, free silverism and those other principles of demagogy which have bound the party platforms together as with ropes of straw. No party can succeed except upon right lines, and so long as the Democracy pursues its present course of bowing in idolatry before the Little Tin God of free silver, and swinging its cap for a man who bases his action wholly upon opposition to what the other party is doing or is about to do, it cannot be saved and does not deserve to be saved."[23]

The pro-and-con discussions about the claims, the political performance, or the legitimacy of very diverse and often strictly local or personal "Democracies" did little to streamline the use of the term as a brand name for the American political system in its entirety or as its defining characteristic. On the contrary, "democracy" stood for partisan discord and sometimes idiosyncratic particularisms, and it was frequently hurled as an ideological weapon against the political foe.

"Democracy", as a result, could never aspire to become a term that positively denoted the American political system and its basis in popular government. Although the demonstrative Americanism of the Jacksonian era did generate pride in everything American, including the domestic political institutions, "democracy" was conspicuously absent from such considerations, even among Democrats. R. O. Williams wrote in 1890:

"One can get an idea of the strength of that feeling by glancing at almost any book taken at random from the American publications of the period. Belief in the grand future of the United States is the keynote of everything said and done. All things American are to be grand – our territory, population, products, wealth, science, art – but especially our political institutions and literature. Unbounded confidence in the material development of the country […] prevailed throughout the […] Union during the first thirty years of the century, and over and above a belief in, and concern for, materialistic progress, there were enthusiastic anticipations of achievement in all the moral and intellectual fields of national greatness."[24]

Praising their political institutions, contemporaries will most likely have referred to the "republic" instead of "democracy", whereas it is most telling that Williams himself, writing in 1890, invoked the "union", in capital letters.

Daniel T. Rodgers has argued that "democracy" as a self-description of the American polity as well as an objection to the existing system – backing demands for a further "democratization" – was expendable in the United States since its discursive counterpart "aristocracy" had been eliminated with the Revolution and the common ground of the "republic" did not seem threatened by a return to "aristocratic rule".[25] Starting with the formation of the Democratic Party and

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[23] Can Democracy Be Saved. In: LA Times, 18. 11. 1899, p. 8.
[24] Quoted in Mencken: Language (see note 1), p. 145.
[25] Rodgers: Truths (see note 9), p. 13.

throughout the 19th century, Rogers argues, demands for "democratization" were more often advanced in the name of "the people", most aggressively by Jacksonian Democrats: "The cry of the people's sovereignty rang most intensely through the antebellum Democratic party. To party orators and journalists the word held protean uses. They hurled them against the old presumptions of deference and the barriers to popular political influence, against the Whig proclivity toward energetic (and expensive) government, against the monstrously bloated power of the banks and moneyed corporations, feeding (so they feared) on the honest labor of the people."[26] This concept of "sovereignty of the people" taken literally was by no means a description of the existing political order, but rather a critique that postulated that a true "popular government" would be carried by "revolutionary majorities" and their expressed "general will". Even the constitutional provisions of "checks and balances" thus came under attack because they allegedly blocked the influence of the "people" and protected a degree of political elitism (for example in the form of political appointments), which a true majority rule could not tolerate. Needless to say, this vision of "popular government" "from the bottom up" was not only latently anti-statist, but also it lacked any sense of pluralism.

This was something that the American champions of "the people" had in common with continental European democrats during most of the 19th century. The political wing to the left of the liberals, almost exclusively represented by the Social Democrats in Germany since the late 1860s, did not stand for a "democracy" in our present sense either, but rather for a radical "democratization" of society through the elimination of "aristocratic rule", by means of an armed revolution if necessary. "Democracy" for German Social Democrats meant universal male suffrage, "one man, one vote", legislature by way of referenda rather than parliamentary procedures, imperative voting in parliament, and popular elections for all public offices that established very short terms without the chance of reelection. The German Social Democrats were not as anti-statist as their American counterparts, but their relation to state structures was ambivalent, culminating in the popular demand that the post-revolutionary state of the future be a true *Volksstaat* ("people's state"). The "people's state" would be a unitary republic.[27] The question of whether this meant that state structures should be completely governed

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[26] Ibid., p. 89.

[27] In the Revolution of 1918 Philipp Scheidemann, in the name of the majority Social Democrats, proclaimed the "German Republic" and not "democracy" after the abdication of the Kaiser had been made public on November 9, 1918. Yet he introduced this proclamation with the slogan "everything for the people, everything by the people". Scheidemann's choice of "German Republic" was intended to counter Karl Liebknecht's slogan "socialist republic", which he had used in his own proclamation in the name of the *Spartakusbund*, the later Communist Party of Germany. "German Republic" did ring with a notion of "pluralism" because it was supposed to incorporate "all socialist parties" in a projected government, yet more importantly it was a preemptive move vis-à-vis remaining supporters of a constitutional monarchy among conservative Social Democrats. It is without interest here whether Scheidemann coined the phrases quoted above in his actual speech on a Reichstag balcony or in a version of his proclamation recorded later.

from below or whether essential central state functions should remain in the
hands of professionals and the "people" would only be represented adequately
was left open. The blurry concept of *Volksstaat* repeatedly drew the scathing crit-
icism of Karl Marx.[28]

The European continent thus also failed to offer a conceptual use of the term
"democracy" upon which Wilson could have drawn when he used the term in
1917. James Bryce, an Oxford law professor from Belfast and British Ambassador
to the United States from 1907 to 1913, provided a striking exception. He pub-
lished a widely received book over 700 pages long, entitled "The American Com-
monwealth" in 1888 in which he set out to deliver a thorough, sober description
of the American political system that revised Tocqueville's "idealistic deductions",
with the "aim of portraying the whole political system of the country in its prac-
tice as well as its theory, of explaining not only the National Government but the
State Governments, not only the Constitution but the party system, not only the
party system but the ideas, temper, habits of the sovereign people".[29] Bryce's view
was that of a European outsider, just like Tocqueville's, but he had gained exten-
sive insights into the practice of American politics on several prolonged journeys
and by establishing a widespread network of personal contacts to politicians of all
parties, including Theodore Roosevelt, and leading all the way to the White
House.

For Bryce, "democracy" as an abstract term was foremost a legal category –
and as such, it was fundamental to the U.S. system since the revolution had re-
placed the "sovereignty of the Crown" with the "sovereignty of the people".
From this legal perspective, he dismissed considering "democracy" as a system or
method of national government that could be praised or criticized as a whole:
"Democratic government seems to me, with all deference to his high authority, a
cause not so potent in the moral and social sphere […]."[30] Thus, he sought to de-
scribe all institutions and practical procedures by which the "sovereignty of the
people" was expressed or even expanded as "democratic". Consequently, his at-
tention quickly became diverted from the level of national government and the
Constitution to the level of the several states and their state constitutions. As the
legal scholar that he was, Bryce thoroughly studied the state constitutions, singling
them out as true manifestations of the "democratic spirit", pointing to their diver-
sity, to the widely diverging frequency in which they were changed or amended in
different states, and to the tendencies in some states to include statutory laws in
the constitution by referendum in order to remove them from the grasp of repre-
sentative legislation. In his eyes, these points showed the self-assertion of the peo-

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[28] See Thomas Welskopp: Das Banner der Brüderlichkeit. Die deutsche Sozialdemokratie vom
Vormärz bis zum Sozialistengesetz. Bonn 2000, pp. 584–586.; id.: Der Staat als idealer Gesamt-
verein. Assoziation und Genossenschaft im Staatsverständnis der frühen deutschen Sozialdemo-
kratie. In: Peter Brandt/Detlef Lehnert (eds.): Ferdinand Lassalle und das Staatsverständnis der
Sozialdemokratie. Baden-Baden 2014, pp. 90–110.
[29] James Bryce: The American Commonwealth. London/New York ²1891, p. 2 (first publ. 1888).
[30] Ibid., p. 4.

ple's sovereignty against elected political officials. State "democracies" thus appeared much closer to their constituents than a somewhat detached national government. They bore a closer resemblance to the direct face-to-face "democracy" on the municipal level, which Bryce saw as the actual seat of the "sovereignty of the people": "Of the three or four types or systems of local government which I have described, that of the Town or township with its popular primary assembly is admittedly the best. It is the cheapest and the most efficient; it is the most educative to the citizens who bear a part in it. The Town meeting has been not only the source but the school of democracy."[31]

On a larger political scale, Bryce describes the American party system with all its faults and merits as being a professionalized mechanism cultivating the "art of winning elections and securing office" which "has reached in the United States a development surpassing in elaborateness that of Britain or France as much as the methods of those countries surpass the methods of Serbia or Roumania."[32] Yet for Bryce, the parties were not the driving force in determining national policies. For him, public opinion played this role and, analogous to the Town assemblies, represented the "common will", the expression of the "sovereignty of the people":

"Public opinion, that is the mind and conscience of the whole nation, is the opinion of persons who are included in the parties, for the parties taken together are the nation; and the parties, each claiming to be its true exponent, seek to use it for their purposes. Yet it stands above the parties, being cooler and larger minded than they are; it awes party leaders and holds in check party organizations. No one openly ventures to resist it. It determines the direction and the character of national policy. It is the product of a greater number of minds than in any other country, and it is more indisputably sovereign. It is the central point of the whole American polity."[33]

Bryce's book circulated widely in the U.S. just during the years when the controversies within and about the Democratic and Populist Parties reached a temporary climax in print media coverage in the early 1890s (see figure 1). Thus, his elaborate description and analysis of the American political system would not change the highly charged partisan public discourse on "democracy" as a series of conflicting "Democracies". Yet Wilson has been said to have been deeply impressed and continuously influenced by Bryce. More obviously, however, the progressive philosophers and reformers who would develop the idea of "pluralism" during the early 1900s found key impulses in Bryce's work. "Pluralism", however, would eventually differ in fundamental ways from what Wilson fashioned as "democracy" around 1917.

Bryce's core ideas popped up in a debate among American reformers in the Progressive Era that started around the turn of the century. It may even be said that these Progressives were influential in liberating the word "democracy" from

[31] Ibid., p. 591.
[32] Ibid., p. 6.
[33] Ibid.

its partisan entanglements. This made it possible, once again, to refer to the term in lower case letters and as a principle of political life, involving most if not all citizens, including the new urban immigrant classes and eventually women. Jane Addams in her "Democracy and Social Ethics" (1902) called for a new urban cosmopolitanism as a building force for a revitalized civic culture. She argued that to recognize the differing ethics of diverse immigrant groups would be necessary in order to tap into the massive urban population, which had accumulated over the past decades, as a reservoir not only for votes – as political leaders already did – but also for true political participation in local affairs. This would be a reconstituted American "democracy" with decentralized communal units as its basis – similar to Bryce's idealized notions, yet not with white Anglo-Saxon men as the sole source of power, but rather representatives of all immigrant "tribes".[34]

Inspired by John Dewey, Frederic C. Howe, the Commissioner of Immigration of the Port of New York (and later senator of the state of Ohio, whose famous book "The City: The Hope of Democracy" appeared in 1905) and others instigated the short-lived "social center movement" which spread from Rochester, New York, in 1907 to 101 American cities mostly in New England and on the middle Atlantic East Coast before petering out in 1912. "Social centers" were free assemblies of interested citizens held in schools intended to foster public debate in face-to-face communal meetings and provide a forum for votes on public issues, making it possible to communicate any decisions to political officeholders afterwards. They were intended as decentralized cells of a new urban "democracy" inviting the broadest possible direct participation of citizens concerned, acknowledging the "pluralism" of their interests, bypassing the system of clientilism and machine politics – thereby fighting corruption – and creating a democratic public independent from manipulative "manufactured" public opinion.[35] The "social centers" were quickly criticized as being themselves easily manipulated by their eminently active initiators or men with a personal political project. Howe himself drew accusations of having misused public debates for his own purposes. Although Theodore Roosevelt and later Woodrow Wilson endorsed the "social center movement", Wilson's wartime concept of "democracy" bore no resemblance to this idea of a decentralized participatory "grassroots" polity.[36] During the war, Wilson must have been troubled by the decentralization of urban participatory "democracy", which had a clear anti-statist if not anti-institutionalist ring to it, and he certainly would have opposed "pluralism", which he negatively associated with egotistical interests and not, as Randolph Bourne who had coined the notion in its

[34] See James J. Connolly: An Elusive Unity. Urban Democracy and Machine Politics in Industrializing America. Ithaca 2010, pp. 170–173, p. 175.
[35] See Frederic C. Howe: The City: The Hope of Democracy. New York 1905; on Howe, see: Kenneth E. Miller: From Progressive to New Dealer. Frederic C. Howe and American Liberalism. University Park 2010; on "social centers", see: Connolly: Unity (see note 34), pp. 177f.; Kevin Mattson: Creating a Democratic Public. The Struggle for Urban Participatory Democracy during the Progressive Era. University Park 1998, p. 41, p. 44.
[36] Mattson: Public (see note 35), pp. 97–99.

progressive meaning had intended, with diversity in political representation and participation. During the war, Bourne attacked his academic mentor John Dewey for his episodic statist turn and for justifying military intervention in order to spread "democracy", which in Bourne's eyes had degenerated to an institutional façade. Thus Bourne and "pluralism" were clearly at odds with Wilson's intentions because they stood for centrifugal tendencies in domestic politics and advocated a kind of anti-interventionism bordering on isolationism.[37]

Another strand of progressive reformers dissented from the idealistic vision of an American democracy revitalized in a pluralistic urban democratic public. They were experts and practitioners in urban planning and exchanged views on the improvement of city government with their European counterparts. Even leftist visitors from Europe had published reports that stated that especially the American cities bore witness to the fact that the United States had failed to live up to its democratic promise. Daniel T. Rodgers writes in his "Atlantic Crossing":

"In the reports of reform-minded European visitors to the United States, the dirtiness of turn-of-the-century American cities was an insistent theme – a metaphor for governmental inadequacy and social atomization. Charles Booth's Chicago was a mess of wet mud and rubbish, old boilers and drainpipes dumped everywhere. Samuel Barnett of Toynbee Hall thought Boston more refuse-filled and pocked with more unsanitary houses than Whitechapel itself. Ramsay Mac-Donald, who toured the United States as a young journalist looking for book material in 1897, thought Chicago 'like a demented creature, harum scarum, filthy from top to toe.' 'There is no order, no provision, no common and universal plan,' H. G. Wells admonished."[38]

Subsequently, prior to World War I, American city reformers looked to Germany when they probed for solutions to the urban problems they perceived. They favorably compared the German system of municipal administration by professionals and specialists to the American pattern of city government shaped by both the looming influence of the states and the excessive proliferation of electoral offices which had made the cities the prey of corruption-spreading political machines.[39] In making this comparison and acknowledging that the German city administration was rather authoritarian and bureaucratic, the reformers implied that the German model stood for a different concept of "democracy" – one which was not based on the broadest possible participation by the citizens, but on the most encompassing supply of services in the general interest. The reformers admired

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[37] Randolph Bourne was a progressive writer for "The Seven Arts" and "The New Republic". On Bourne, see: Casey N. Nelson: Beloved Community. The Cultural Criticism of Randolph Bourne, Van Wyck Brooks, Waldo Frank & Lewis Mumford. Chapel Hill 1990; Edward Abrahams: The Lyrical Left. Randolph Bourne, Alfred Stieglitz, and the Origins of Cultural Radicalism in America. Charlottsville 1986; Christopher McKnight Nichols: Promise and Peril. America at the Dawn of a Global Age. Cambridge, MA/London 2011.

[38] Daniel T. Rodgers: Atlantic Crossings. Social Politics in a Progressive Age. Cambridge, MA/London 1998, p. 42.

[39] See Welskopp: Ernüchterung (see note 3), pp. 479–502.

the achievements of German municipalities in the development and maintenance of the public infrastructure and in the provision of public services to all citizens regardless of social status. Therefore, they concluded that "efficient government" could be more "democratic" than "popular government", especially if the latter was crippled by electoral politics, machine hegemony, and corruption.[40] "Democracy", therefore, was used as a background against which the reality of American city life was contrasted and criticized. This use of the concept could hardly have served as an inspiration to Wilson, at least as long as it retained its pro-German bias – and this changed only immediately before the war.

The long-term-development of media attention toward the notion of "democracy", as exemplified by three major U.S. newspapers, shows a marked decline after 1900, beginning with the advent of the Republican administrations of William McKinley (1897–1901), Theodore Roosevelt (1901–1909), and William Howard Taft (1909–1913) (figure 1). The frequency with which the term appeared even fell short of that during the years of crisis of the Democratic Party in the 1880s. The vigorous and complex discourse on a "pluralist" notion of "democracy" within the Progressive movement after 1900, which had liberated the term from partisan bondage, obviously did not gain much traction among public opinion before Wilson took office in 1913. Even then, it only gradually advanced up to 1917, the decisive year for America's entry into the war.[41]

With the reformers increasingly drawn to the repressive cause of prohibition and the decline in the popularity of the German model, a young generation of sociologists and political scientists promoted a new "empiricism" that was generally suspicious of all abstract political concepts. This skepticism became the basis for a criticism of the central state, forwarded by the heralds of "pluralism" and fueled by the widespread "antiwar resentments of the labor left". They "would acknowledge [the state] as simply one of the polity's many associations, with no more absolute claim to a citizen's allegiance than all the others".[42] Due to the growing anti-German sentiment, it became more common to identify the now detested "abstract" political concepts as an evil genuinely German. The pragmatist philosopher and Progressive John Dewey "threw himself into the war effort with a furious assault on Kant, who, in slicing the ideal from the material, had (Dewey charged) let loose the Pandora's box of abstractions – nation, State, *Kultur* – in whose service the German troops were now marching." Especially the State was thus "unmasked as a philosophical 'monster'".[43] "The war knocked the

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[40] See Paul Nolte: Effizienz oder "self-government"? Amerikanische Wahrnehmungen deutscher Städte und das Problem der Demokratie 1900–1930. In: Die Alte Stadt 15 (1988), pp. 261–288.

[41] The values are my calculations from the statistics at ProQuest, American Historical Newspapers, for the three newspapers "New York Times", "Chicago Tribune", and "Los Angeles Times", 1880–1919, on a yearly basis. Without a thorough qualitative analysis, the absolute values do not have much explanatory power, but the shifts over time and the parallel development in each of these three newspapers are significant.

[42] Rodgers: Truths (see note 9), pp. 196 f.

[43] Ibid., p. 196 (italics in original).

word State, tainted with Germanism, out of the vocabulary of American political science", writes Rodgers, "it hastened the flight away from theory. But into the vacuum a dozen synonyms for the common will were rushed, with patriotic urgency, into place."[44]

There are more than a few indicators that Wilson's "democracy" was intended to fill in just this void and to lend a name to a vigorous, proactive and protective ("preparedness") central government, presumably representing a "common will" above all egoistic self-interests. As I have shown above, the term had rarely been used in American political discourse in this way before Wilson brought it to life. After the turn of the century, European observers had even charged that Americans generally lacked a sense for the inclusive whole of the polity:

"The United States, [Samuel] Barnett thought, was a society 'with the protection of government removed.' Its people had 'no conception of the state as an entity, no idea of America as a whole, no national consciousness.' Ramsay MacDonald concluded that 'no one can conscientiously set the country down as much more than a money making and imitative nation, vitiated by an atomic conception of democratic liberty and equality.' John Burns reiterated the theme: the promise of America was 'circumscribed and impeded by the undue exaltation of the Unit over the Aggregate, of the Individual as against the Community, of the Monopoly as against the State.' Terrific private ingenuity and overwhelming public disorder, runaway individual enterprise and aggregate chaos – this was the impression of progressive European travelers."[45]

Wilson's "democracy", consequently, did not have much in common with the contemporary uses of the word. Neither did it resonate with our present-day meanings of the concept that were re-shaped decisively after World War II – before it was once again displaced as a political "buzz word" during the formative years of the Cold War by self-descriptive phrases such as the "Free World" or, during John F. Kennedy's administration, the "Western hemisphere". Anti-communism made it more important to stress the freedom of the market economy and the "Western" way of life than to uphold "democratic" ideals, especially since there were some violent dictatorships among those defending the "free West" against communism. The question of whether the European version of our current understanding of "democracy" has its roots in the interwar years when political systems such as the English were compared to fascist regimes such as Italy and Germany on the one hand, and the Bolshevist Soviet Union on the other, definitely merits further consideration. In any case, when Wilson wanted to "make the world safe for democracy", he was not talking about broad participation, universal suffrage, a parliamentary system, or the sovereignty of the people.

What he did was to reaffirm the concept of an active state, a state protective of its citizens and their interests as represented in his slogan of "armed universalism" during the period of "military preparedness" directly preceding the entry of the

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[44] Ibid., p. 197.
[45] Rodgers: Crossings (see note 38), p. 43.

United States into the war. Since the term "state" was tainted with allusions to German despotism, "democracy" now slipped into the void thus created. The American "state" as a "democratic" entity now stood against the "state" sans phrase which was the "philosophical monster" created by German idealism and exported by German boots on the ground. What distinguished the American "democratic state" from its German adversary was its "universalism" – its legitimation by the "general will", and, eventually, a spiritual mission.

Wilson borrowed his notion of a strong, active state both representing and protecting "democracy" from Herbert Croly, the Progressive journalist and editor of the "Architectural Record" who was to become chief editor of "The New Republic" in 1914. Croly had been a staunch supporter of Theodore Roosevelt, whom he had supplied, probably involuntarily, with the programmatic notion of a "New Nationalism". He had laid down his vision of an American welfare state in his widely read treatise "The Promise of American Life" in 1909.[46] Throughout this text, Croly eschewed the term "state" and replaced it with "national institutions" when he actually meant central state functions: "The national principle becomes a principle of reform and reconstruction, precisely because national consistency is constantly demanding the solution of contradictory economic and political tendencies, brought out by alterations in the conditions of economic and political efficiency." "Democracy" would then be a strong and effective central government acting in the spirit of true democratic values: "Its function is not only to preserve a balance among these diverse tendencies, but to make that balance more than ever expressive of a consistent and constructive democratic ideal."[47]

In the last instance it was the energetic welfare state itself, Croly wrote, which could guarantee a lived American "democracy":

"Only by faith in an efficient national organization and by an exclusive and aggressive devotion to the national welfare, can the American democratic ideal be made good. If the American local commonwealths had not been wrought by the Federalists into the form of a nation, they would never have continued to be democracies; and the people collectively have become more of a democracy in proportion as they have become more of a nation. Their democracy is to be realized by means of an intensification of their national life, just as the ultimate moral purpose of an individual is to be realized by the affirmation and intensification of its own better individuality. Consequently the organization of the American democracy into a nation is not to be regarded in the way that so many Americans have

[46] Charles B. Forcey: Herbert Croly, Walter Lippmann, and the New Republic. New York 1950; on Croly as the theorist of "preparedness": John A. Thompson: Reformers and War. American Progressive Publicists and the First World War. Cambridge/London 2008, pp. 127–130, pp. 202–205.

[47] Herbert Croly: The Promise of American Life. New York 1909, [unpag.]. On Croly and his influence on Theodore Roosevelt, Woodrow Wilson, and Franklin D. Roosevelt see: Yeber Croly/Iris Dorreboom: The Challenge of Our Time. Woodrow Wilson, Herbert Croly, Randolph Bourne and the Making of Modern America. Amsterdam 1991; David W. Levy: Herbert Croly of "The New Republic". The Life and Thought of an American Progressive. Princeton 1985.

regarded it, – as a necessary but hazardous surrender of certain liberties in order that other liberties might be better preserved, – as a mere compromise between the democratic ideal and the necessary conditions of political cohesion and efficiency. Its nationalized political organization constitutes the proper structure and veritable life of the American democracy."[48]

Was Croly the political mastermind behind Wilson's vision of "democracy" as embodied in his "making the world safe for democracy", the rationale behind America's entry into the war? He certainly was the ideological architect of "military preparedness" and turned "The New Republic" into a high-toned, outspoken advocate of "Wilsonianism" until 1919. On the other hand, in his follow-up book "Progressive Democracy", published in 1914, he seems to have taken on an anti-institutionalist stance which must have alienated Wilson. This imagined "progressive democracy" was supposed to be more like a social movement beyond "the Constitution, the law, the rights of property, the sway of the majority": Croly here envisioned "a government – that is, a mode of living together – which shall not be based on prohibitions, restraints, negations, but on the positive action of the whole society toward the attainment of the best conditions for all". "In this process the initiative, referendum, recall, may, in the author's [Croly's] opinion, be steps, but they are only steps, and their effect is far from being always advantageous." This was a vision which combined a Rousseauean notion of government by the "common will" with the urban direct democracy staged on the level of society as a whole, in hindsight a somewhat totalitarian vision.[49]

In a speech before the American Academy in 1916, however, Croly saw the military build-up of the U.S. as a chance to provide the nation with just this sense of a common purpose, of a mission welding the incoherent parts and factions within the country into the united force he envisioned – if the new military was used in an "enlightened foreign policy": "The American nation needs the tonic of a serious moral adventure."[50] Until now, he contended, American "democracy" had eschewed the "responsibility of turning such potentially dangerous agents as a centralized administration, an authoritative legislature, and efficient army or any concentrated embodiment of industrial power to beneficial public use".[51] The unquestionable and publicly acknowledged need to prepare the nation for war by building-up an "efficient" army and navy did not do enough to render the ensuing huge military apparatus either detrimental to the decentralizing and vigorously civilian principles of traditional "democracy" or beneficial to true "democracy" since compulsory military service would educate all male Americans into serviceable citizens. More would be necessary. In order to brace itself against the pos-

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[48] Croly: Promise (see note 47).
[49] Democracy. Mr. Herbert Croly's Analysis of Its Progress. In: NYT, 22. 11. 1914. See also Herbert Croly: Progressive Democracy. New York 1914.
[50] Herbert Croly: The Effect on American Institutions of a Powerful Military and Naval Establishment. In: AAAPS 66 (1916), pp. 157–172, here: p. 162.
[51] Ibid., here: p. 163.

sible dangers of a military tyranny or the failure of military intervention abroad, Croly maintained Americans should "improve their political and economic organization, socialize their industries and convert their educational system into a source of democratic citizenship".[52] For Croly, "preparedness" was only a step into the right direction which would have to be focused and bolstered by a foreign policy mission for the new armed forces developed and carried by the "common will" of the American people as a whole: "By deciding to prepare the American nation it has merely issued a challenge to itself to use more foresight, more intelligence, and more purpose in the management of its affairs. Its more powerful army and navy like its more energetic and efficient government must be made the organ of a policy, which will consciously and tenaciously make for individual and social betterment."[53] American public opinion and "democratic" decision making should be focused on foreign policy objectives: "The foreign policy of a democracy can be democratized only as a result of a sufficient measure of public understanding and goodwill; and upon the democratizing of American foreign policy will depend the democratizing of its most dangerous organ, – a large and powerful military and naval establishment."[54]

Already in 1912, Wilson had reasserted proactive "government" against the pluralist critique of any central authority: "'The business of government is to organize the common interest against the special interests', [Wilson declared.] "The task of the hour was to 'lay aside special interests'."[55] He promised "an untangled government, a government that cannot be used for private purposes". However, the word "government" would not be able to arouse the patriotic sentiments necessary for a successful war effort and neither did recourses to the "old, radical talk of the people's will", for example when Wilson exclaimed in his 1912 speech in which he accepted his party's nomination as presidential candidate: "These multitudes of men, mixed, of every kind and quality, constitute somehow an organic and noble whole, a single people."[56]

Daniel T. Rodgers argues that "the [notion of the] People was too loose-jointed, Revolution-tainted a term fully to catch the social unity for which the Progressives yearned".[57] Thus "democracy", with its stress on the "general will", came in handy. The term symbolized the active, even belligerent side of the American system – the combination of legitimizing universal values with the instruments to protect and spread them. This gained traction among the Progressives:

"It was hardly an accident that those who rallied with such fiercely uncomplicated patriotism to Wilson's war call in 1917, who built the Committee on Public Information into a propaganda agency of unprecedented power and efficiency,

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[52] Ibid., here: p. 171.
[53] Ibid.
[54] Ibid., here: pp. 171 f.
[55] Quoted in Rodgers: Truths (see note 9), p. 178.
[56] Quoted in ibid., p. 182.
[57] Ibid., pp. 182 f.

who exploited so exuberantly the didactic potential of every medium from movies and posters to comic strips and historical scholarship, should have seen the war not as a contest of national interests but as a crusade for the minds of men. Nor that they should have followed Wilson so willingly up the scale of unifying, self-denying words into a 'disinterested' war, waged for 'ideals, and nothing but ideals'. Wilson declared seven months after the nation's entry into the war. 'A new light shines about us. The great duties of a new day awaken a new and greater national spirit in us. We shall never again be divided or wonder what stuff we are made of.'"[58]

This was a "democracy" worthwhile to be defended by means that could, under different circumstances, be detrimental to just the democratic foundations it set out to defend: "military preparedness", which meant the build-up of a professional military instead of a decentralized militia system, and military intervention, which might breed the same dangerous militarism it was directed to fight against and extinguish elsewhere. Thus the "democracy" of "making the world safe for democracy" did not just call for an export of a missionary form of government. It denoted more than a "democracy" able and willing to brace itself militarily "prepared". It is a stunning fact that media attention for the word "democracy" surged in historically unprecedented ways just in the year 1917 – when America joined the war – and not during the heated discussions about Wilson's domestic "democracy" before (see figure 1). Consequently, it must be concluded that the slogan "to make the world safe for democracy" earned its popularity not from the term "democracy" per se, but rather from a very short-term political innovation on Wilson's side: the transfer of the concept from the domestic field to the arena of foreign relations and the international system.

H. G. Wells had coined the phrase "the war to end all wars" in his book from 1914, which was originally titled "The War that Will End Wars". Although this was essentially Wilson's message in his call to arms to the nation, he reportedly only used this phrase once. The reason for this may have been its lack of a definite answer to the question of how this could be accomplished even in the event of victory. "To make the world safe for democracy" provided this answer, and it pointed to a program in which Wilson truly believed. As such, "democracy" was not meant as a domestic political system that was supposed to be imposed upon a defeated enemy – even if this was "autocratic", as Wilson would term Germany (or, in republican terms: "despotic", "tyrannical") – but to make the world of foreign relations among autonomous nations "democratic", very much in the genuine Wilsonian sense of being governed by a "common will" above all egoist self-interests.[59] His "democracy" in this sense meant "democratic internationalism", with the stress on the latter word. Beyond the empirical lessons learned from the Kaiserreich's aggression and Wilson's conviction that Germany and

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[58] Quoted in ibid., p. 186.
[59] Albeit here in a more "pluralist" sense, see: Charles Frederic Adams: Letter to the Editor: "The World's Democracy". In: NYT, 19. 8. 1900, p. 19.

Austria shared in the guilt of triggering this war, the president regarded the entire pre-war system of foreign relations, especially in Europe, with deep suspicion, including allied powers such as England, France, and Russia. For him, this system seemed to be inspired by the egoistic interests of self-acclaimed "nations", which were frequently involved in conflicts with other "nations", co-existing in fragile networks of bilateral agreements and changing coalitions, and who also considered war a legitimate means to further their own interests. This looked much like the "dog eats dog world" of privilege and self-interest that Wilson had rallied against on the domestic field in the name of "New Freedom". Now, "democratic internationalism" called for the establishment of a central authority on a global scale in which all powers would be represented, but which would solve conflicts and govern affairs in a disinterested way. This would remove the all-present danger of war, and with it, the perils to American domestic "democracy". A truly powerful "League of Nations" – with American membership, of course – would have been the final objective of such a policy. Wilson's message to the nation was thus that it was necessary to wage war in order to create an international system that could hedge the threats to the American domestic "democracy". Domestic "democracy" could only be saved, in Wilson's terms, if the nation was willing to fight the present and future threats to the system worldwide and to become permanently involved in their containment by political means.[60]

Contemporary Americans may have been carried away by such a moral appeal – after all, the longer the war lasted the more demanding it became to uphold the extraordinary high level of patriotic commitment to "universal values". The public was shocked by the conditions the American "doughboys" met when entering the European battlefields, which seemed to make the crusade for international "democracy" a profane and rather bloody affair. Ordinary American citizens also started to moan about wartime restrictions and the repression of civil liberties. Wilson's "democracy" appeared more and more strenuous to sustain. It could come as no surprise, therefore, that the term did not gain a foothold in American political discourse after the war. Rather, people flocked to Warren G. Harding's promise of "normalcy" in 1921. Even if most Americans did not have any idea what this foolish term was supposed to mean – it sounded much more relaxed and indulgent to them than Wilson's vigorous idea of "democracy".

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[60] Michael Pearlman: To Make Democracy Safe for America. Patricians and Preparedness in the Progressive Era. Urbana/Chicago 1984.

Riccardo Bavaj

Pluralizing Democracy in Weimar Germany

Historiographical Perspectives and Transatlantic Vistas

Far from being a democracy without democrats, the Weimar Republic had plenty of them. Not all of these democrats, however, were supporters of the Republic. Instead, they advocated many different visions of democracy, with a range of competing forms of political participation and divergent ideas of representing the will of the people circulating in Weimar Germany. Indeed, when using the term "democracy", contemporaries typically did so in combination with adjectives such as "organic", "German", "social", or "proletarian". Democracy, then, had not one but many futures in post-1918 Germany. As early as the turn of the century, many contemporaries had come to believe that they had entered into "the age of the masses", where political power, in one way or another, was to be derived from "the people". If anything, the First World War had reinforced this view. In its aftermath, for the first time in German history, the principle of the sovereignty of the people was installed as the foundation of the political system and was accepted not only by the supporters of the Weimar Constitution, but also by many of its enemies.[1]

The semantic ambiguities of the term "democracy" are widely acknowledged by historians of Weimar Germany, and yet, when it comes to the register of analytical concepts, there is a tendency to deploy the term "democracy" in a much less ambiguous way – one that conflates "Weimar democracy" and "democracy" tout court, or is based on a model of liberal, parliamentary, Western-style democracy. This article makes a case for a more openly defined space of Weimar democratic thought, which – instead of following the dividing line between supporters and enemies of the Weimar Republic – allows for a greater appreciation of the ambiguity and plurality of visions of democracy. It first identifies various analyti-

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[1] See Jan-Werner Müller: Contesting Democracy. Political Ideas in Twentieth-Century Europe. New Haven/London 2011, pp. 7–48; see also Heidrun Kämper/Peter Haslinger/Thomas Raithel (eds.): Demokratiegeschichte als Zäsurgeschichte. Diskurse der frühen Weimarer Republik. Berlin 2014; Tim B. Müller: Nach dem Ersten Weltkrieg. Lebensversuche moderner Demokratien. Hamburg 2014; id.: Krieg und Demokratisierung. Für eine andere Geschichte Europas nach 1918. In: Mittelweg 36 23 (2014) 4, pp. 30–52; id./Adam Tooze (eds.): Normalität und Fragilität. Demokratie nach dem Ersten Weltkrieg. Hamburg 2015.

cal approaches to "democracy" in the historiography of Weimar Germany, before using an alternative framework to discuss several key thinkers with respect to the main subject of this volume: transatlantic democracy. This includes, inter alia, German perceptions of the United States, notions of the Soviet Union as a "different America", and spatializations of democracy as a "Western" form of government. The article concludes with reflections on how to situate National Socialism in relation to the history of democracy.

Conceptual Ambiguities and Strategies of Disambiguation

That the concept of democracy was used very differently in Weimar Germany was a fact not lost on contemporaries. "Democracy and democracy is not the same", remarked the Catholic journalist and Center Party politician Joseph Joos in 1926.[2] More often than not, this semantic diversity was lamented. When confronted with notions of democracy different from one's own, commentators cried "abuse". Of "all political concepts", the jurist Hans Kelsen complained, "democracy" was the one "most frequently abused", appropriating meanings that were as diverse as they were contradictory.[3] Ernst Fraenkel, who worked as a lawyer and left-socialist labor law expert at the time, pointed out in 1930 that even Fascism had been called "a higher form of democracy", possibly alluding to Giovanni Gentile's definition of the Fascist state as the "democratic state par excellence".[4]

Kelsen and Fraenkel's indignation about this apparent abuse of the term "democracy" has since been shared by many scholars working on the subject. In his classic account of "anti-democratic thought in the Weimar Republic" (1962), Kurt Sontheimer left no doubt about the fact that his own notion of democracy differed markedly from the views expressed by the subjects of his investigation. Yet to counter the impression that his study was informed by present-day standards, he claimed to define democracy "according to the norms of the Weimar Constitution".[5] Seemingly, this definition was to provide the analytical tool for distinguish-

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[2] [Joseph Joos: Deutsche Demokratie (1926).] In: Wolfgang R. Krabbe (ed.): Parteijugend zwischen Wandervogel und politischer Reform. Eine Dokumentation zur Geschichte der Weimarer Republik. Münster/Hamburg/London 2000, pp. 98–105, here: p. 99 (translated by the author).
[3] Hans Kelsen: Vom Wesen und Wert der Demokratie. Aalen ²1981, p. 1 (first publ. 1920) (translated by the author); see as concise introduction on Kelsen: Matthias Jestaedt/Oliver Lepsius: Der Rechts- und der Demokratietheoretiker Hans Kelsen. In: Hans Kelsen: Verteidigung der Demokratie. Abhandlungen zur Demokratietheorie. Ed. by Matthias Jestaedt and Oliver Lepsius. Tübingen 2006, pp. VII–XXIX.
[4] Ernst Fraenkel: [Review of] Hermann Heller: Rechtsstaat oder Diktatur [1930]. In: id.: Gesammelte Schriften. Vol. 1: Recht und Politik in der Weimarer Republik. Ed. by Hubertus Buchstein and Rainer Kühn. Baden-Baden 1999, pp. 423–425, here: p. 424 (translated by the author); on Gentile see: Müller: Democracy (see note 1), pp. 105–108.
[5] Kurt Sontheimer: Antidemokratisches Denken in der Weimarer Republik. Die politischen Ideen des deutschen Nationalismus zwischen 1918 und 1933. München ⁴1994, p. 16 (first publ. 1962) (translated by the author).

ing democratic from anti-democratic thought. This approach has often been criticized. Above all, critics have pointed to the heterogeneous fabric of the Weimar Constitution, which fed on different notions of democratic representation and combined elements of parliamentary, presidential, and plebiscitary democracy. What is more, the Weimar Constitution allowed for various interpretations and could be translated into political practice very differently. That the Constitution, "in relation to the state and political institutions", contained diverging notions of authority which were to come into conflict with each other from the mid-1920s, is a view most recently confirmed by Anthony McElligott.[6] The Constitution, in other words, does not provide a clear-cut analytical tool as insinuated by Sontheimer.

This is, however, not the crux of the matter - for the *real* comparative basis of much of Sontheimer's analysis was the ideal type of liberal, parliamentary, Western-style democracy. After all, it was this kind of democracy that he sought to anchor in the political culture of Germany's *second* republic: the Federal Republic of Germany. As a major proponent of West Germany's *Demokratiewissenschaft* ("science of democracy"), which always conceived of itself as a science *in favor of* democracy (i.e. liberal democracy), Sontheimer deliberately opted against historicizing this concept. He frankly conceded that it might be intellectually "questionable" to label any polemic against the Weimar state as "anti-democratic", regardless of whether it fed on visions of a "better democracy", but to him it seemed essential to narrow down the frame of reference associated with this concept for political reasons. By using the terms "democracy" and "liberal democracy" interchangeably, he intended these two concepts to become one and the same.[7] The analytical distinction between liberalism and democracy, so widespread in the intellectual field of the Weimar Republic (Carl Schmitt being but the most prominent example),[8] had contributed to Weimar's demise – this was the core of Sontheimer's post mortem diagnosis. As only liberalism could offer the "right understanding of […] democracy",[9] Sontheimer deemed it "entirely legitimate to call the political ideas of anti-liberal democrats anti-democratic".[10]

Sontheimer's book, in other words, was a prime example of the "Weimar syndrome" that dominated West German political culture for many decades.[11] For

[6] Anthony McElligott: Rethinking the Weimar Paradigm. Carl Schmitt and Politics without Authority. In: Jochen Hung/Godela Weiss-Sussex/Geoff Wilkes (eds.): Beyond Glitter and Doom. The Contingency of the Weimar Republic. München 2012, pp. 87–101, here: p. 90; see also Anthony McElligott: Rethinking the Weimar Republic. Authority and Authoritarianism, 1916-1936. London/New York 2014.

[7] See Riccardo Bavaj: Hybris und Gleichgewicht. Weimars „antidemokratisches Denken" und Kurt Sontheimers freiheitlich-demokratische Mission. In: ZF 3 (2006) 2, pp. 315–321.

[8] For the polemical rationale behind Schmitt's distinction between democracy and liberalism, see: Paul Nolte: Was ist Demokratie? Geschichte und Gegenwart. München 2012, pp. 258–264.

[9] Kurt Sontheimer: So war Deutschland nie. Anmerkungen zur politischen Kultur der Bundesrepublik. München 1999, p. 172 (translated by the author).

[10] Sontheimer: Denken (see note 5), p. 17 (translated by the author).

[11] See A. Dirk Moses: The "Weimar Syndrome" in the Federal Republic of Germany. The Carl Schmitt Reception by the Forty-Five Generation of Intellectuals. In: Stephan Loos/Holger

some time now, of course, Weimar has lost much of its power to shape the Federal Republic's political identity.[12] Strikingly, however, recent research on Weimar Germany reinforces Sontheimer's strategy of disambiguation. Yet, this time around, the agenda behind such studies is not necessarily driven by a political mission but rather the inner workings of the academic field. Guided by the premise that Weimar's demise was far from inevitable, recent research has presented a much more hopeful view of the Weimar Republic. Newer scholarship has argued that Weimar republicanism was much stronger than previously thought, which meant that its chances for survival were significantly greater. Although the call to avoid a teleological interpretation of the Weimar Republic has become a hackneyed phrase, the strand of recent research committed to this perspective has contributed greatly to our understanding of Weimar Germany. Of particular note is the research on symbols and rituals, which were used and performed to celebrate the Constitution and to create a visual stage for Weimar republicanism. Largely focused on the tireless efforts of the *Reichskunstwart* ("federal art expert") Edwin Redslob, this research has questioned the worn-out thesis, already formulated by contemporaries, that the Weimar Republic underestimated the integrative power of symbols and did little to evoke emotions in favor of Weimar democracy. For instance, in her study of the annual celebrations of Constitution Day, Manuela Achilles identifies a Weimar version of constitutional patriotism, which she derives from Gustav Radbruch's notion of the Weimar Constitution as an "invisible fatherland".[13]

While this strand of research more indirectly than directly fosters a conflation between "Weimar democracy" and "democracy" tout court, recent studies on Weimar democratic thought expressly formulate a clear-cut analytical concept of democracy along the lines of liberal, parliamentary democracy. A landmark volume, published in the year 2000, set the tone for much of this recent research.[14]

Zaborowski (eds.): Leben, Tod und Entscheidung. Studien zur Geistesgeschichte der Weimarer Republik. Berlin 2003, pp. 187–207; id.: German Intellectuals and the Nazi Past. Cambridge 2007; see also Sebastian Ullrich: Der Weimar-Komplex. Das Scheitern der ersten deutschen Demokratie und die politische Kultur der frühen Bundesrepublik 1945–1959. Göttingen 2009.

[12] See Andreas Wirsching: Vom „Lehrstück Weimar" zum Lehrstück Holocaust? In: APuZ (2012) 1–3, pp. 9–14.

[13] See Manuela Achilles: Reforming the Reich. Democratic Symbols and Rituals in the Weimar Republic. In: Kathleen Canning/Kerstin Barndt/Kristin McGuire (eds.): Weimar Publics/Weimar Subjects. Rethinking the Political Culture of Germany in the 1920s. New York/Oxford 2010, pp. 175–191; id.: With a Passion for Reason. Celebrating the Constitution in Weimar Germany. In: CEH 43 (2010), pp. 666–689; see also Bernd Buchner: Um nationale und republikanische Identität. Die deutsche Sozialdemokratie und der Kampf um die politischen Symbole in der Weimarer Republik. Bonn 2001; Kathleen Canning: The Politics of Symbols, Semantics, and Sentiments in the Weimar Republic. In: CEH 43 (2010), pp. 567–580; Nadine Rossol: Performing the Nation in Interwar Germany. Sport, Spectacle and Political Symbolism, 1926–36. Basingstoke/New York 2010; with a view to notions of economic policy in the early Weimar Republic see: Tim B. Müller: Demokratie und Wirtschaftspolitik in der Weimarer Republik. In: VfZ 62 (2014), pp. 569–601.

[14] See Christoph Gusy (ed.): Demokratisches Denken in der Weimarer Republik. Baden-Baden 2000.

This edited volume, to be sure, includes essays informed by various analytical perspectives, but the remarks of the editor, legal scholar Christoph Gusy, have proven most influential. Although Gusy makes the case for an analytical concept of democracy that reflects the "standards of the time" (i.e. the Weimar period), he suggests a three-point checklist that reflects the "standards of the time" only in a very specific way. First, "the people" is conceived of as a pluralistic body of citizens; second, the "will of the people" is seen as an empirical, ever-changing entity constituted through the negotiations of intermediary institutions such as political parties and parliaments; third, the state is imagined as a complex organization characterized by the rule of law, the separation of powers, and pluralism.[15] This checklist describes the contours of what in German parlance would be a *demokratischer Verfassungsstaat* ("democratic constitutional state"), similar to the "self-disciplined democracies" that Jan-Werner Müller describes in his analysis of post-1945 Western Europe.[16] This model generally dovetails with Ernst Fraenkel's theory of neo-pluralism, which became one of the major intellectual foundations of the Federal Republic. It also has much in common with the *actual* analytical yardstick used by Sontheimer, who was strongly influenced by Fraenkel.

Several recent studies on Weimar political thought have adopted a similar analytical model of democracy. To give three examples: first, a major monograph that offers a subtle analysis of democratic thought in the works of Hugo Preuß, Gerhard Anschütz, Richard Thoma, Hans Kelsen, and Hermann Heller, snappily called "the 'Big Five' of Weimar state law theory" (who, incidentally, have also been the frequent subject of the series *Staatsverständnisse*, "conceptions of the state", published by Nomos since 2000);[17] second, a dissertation on constitutional debates before, during and after the National Assembly, which focuses in particular on different imaginations of "the people";[18] and third, a thought-provoking volume on "democratic culture in Europe", which opens a new series on *His-*

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[15] See Christoph Gusy: Demokratisches Denken in der Weimarer Republik. Entstehungsbedingungen und Vorfragen. In: id. (ed.): Denken (see note 14), pp. 11–36; id.: Fragen an das „demokratische Denken" in der Weimarer Republik. In: ibid., pp. 635–663.

[16] See Müller: Democracy (see note 1), pp. 125–154; for a comparable approach see: Alexander Gallus: Heimat „Weltbühne". Eine Intellektuellengeschichte im 20. Jahrhundert. Göttingen 2012, pp. 25f.

[17] See Kathrin Groh: Demokratische Staatsrechtslehrer in der Weimarer Republik. Von der konstitutionellen Staatslehre zur Theorie des modernen demokratischen Verfassungsstaats. Tübingen 2010, quote: p. 1 (translated by the author); for a comment on Groh see: Dian Schefold: Demokratische Staatsrechtslehrer in der Weimarer Republik. Anmerkungen zur Studie von Kathrin Groh. In: Detlef Lehnert (ed.): Hugo Preuß 1860–1925. Genealogie eines modernen Preußen. Köln/Weimar/Wien 2011, pp. 139–164; for a recent example of the Nomos series *Staatsverständnisse* see: Manfred Gangl (ed.): Die Weimarer Staatsrechtsdebatte. Diskurs- und Rezeptionsstrategien. Baden-Baden 2011.

[18] See Heiko Bollmeyer: Der steinige Weg zur Demokratie. Die Weimarer Nationalversammlung zwischen Kaiserreich und Republik. Frankfurt a.M./New York 2007; see also id.: Das „Volk" in den Verfassungsberatungen der Weimarer Nationalversammlung 1919. Ein demokratietheoretischer Schlüsselbegriff zwischen Kaiserreich und Republik. In: Alexander Gallus (ed.): Die vergessene Revolution von 1918/19. Göttingen 2010, pp. 57–83.

torische Demokratieforschung ("historical democratic research") commissioned by the Hugo Preuß and Paul Löbe foundations (both closely related to each other and founded in 2000 as well). The latter volume makes no bones about its orientation toward "the liberal model of democracy". This, it argues, would strike a balance between input- and output-oriented legitimacy, thus providing a yardstick most appropriate to the analysis of young democracies such as the Weimar Republic.[19]

This trend, which effectively (though not explicitly)[20] follows in the footsteps of Sontheimer and Bracher's conceptual framework but shifts the focus of analysis from anti-democratic to democratic thought, is accompanied by another related historiographical trend, which seeks to explore political ideas in the Weimar period as part of the "foundation of the present" – rather than as a warning from the annals of history. Weimar, it has been argued, might well be regarded as a "model" for – and not just a specter haunting – the Federal Republic.[21] This is a trend not confined to German academia. Two recent volumes on Weimar thought, co-edited by eminent intellectual historians in the U.S., make a case for the pertinence of Weimar history for today's Western societies in general. One volume praises "Weimar's social forces" for embarking on an "experiment with the idea of popular sovereignty through law, facilitating unprecedented and ingenious efforts at democratic self-rule". Thus, as the editors argue, "an intellectual-historical survey of Weimar thought […] is […] in no small measure a pre-history of our own intellectual present".[22] The other volume is enthralled by what it calls, in a hidden reference to Pocock, "the Weimar Moment" and its "evocative assault on closure and political reaction, its offering of democracy against a politics of narrow self-interest cloaked in nationalist appeals to Volk and 'community'" – this, the editor claims, "cannot but appeal to us today".[23]

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[19] See Detlef Lehnert (ed.): Demokratiekultur in Europa. Politische Repräsentation im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert. Köln/Weimar/Wien 2011. The quotation is from Wolfram Pyta: Demokratiekultur. Zur Kulturgeschichte demokratischer Institutionen. In: ibid., pp. 23–45, here: p. 26.

[20] Most authors, of course, expressly dissociate themselves from Sontheimer's purported approach to define the "idea of democracy according to the norms of the Weimar Constitution". Sontheimer: Denken (see note 5), p. 17 (translated by the author).

[21] See Jens Hacke/Tim B. Müller: Zwischenkriegszeit. Zur Grundlegung der Gegenwart. In: Mittelweg 36 21 (2012) 6, pp. 3 f.; Anselm Doering-Manteuffel: Weimar als Modell. Der Ort der Zwischenkriegszeit in der Geschichte des 20. Jahrhunderts. In: ibid., pp. 23–36; see also Jens Hacke: Die Gründung der Bundesrepublik aus dem Geist des Liberalismus? Überlegungen zum Erbe Weimars und zu liberalen Legitimitätsressourcen. In: Anselm Doering-Manteuffel/Jörn Leonhard (eds.): Liberalismus im 20. Jahrhundert. Stuttgart 2015, pp. 219–238; and Udi Greenberg: The Weimar Century. German Émigrés and the Ideological Foundations of the Cold War. Princeton 2014.

[22] Peter E. Gordon/John P. McCormick: Weimar Thought. Continuity and Crisis. In: id. (eds.): Weimar Thought. A Contested Legacy. Princeton/Oxford 2013, pp. 1–11, here: p. 2, pp. 5 f.

[23] Rudy Koshar: Introduction. In: Leonard V. Kaplan/Rudy Koshar (eds.): The Weimar Moment. Liberalism, Political Theology, and Law. Lanham et al. 2012, pp. XI–XXI, here: p. XVIII; see also the critical comments on both "Weimar Thought" and "The Weimar Moment" by Rüdi-

These trends in Weimar historiography, of course, do not give the full picture. Far from it. The two watchwords of current historical scholarship, historicization and contextualization, dominate research on the Weimar period as well, and historians, sometimes informed by cultural anthropology, have taken great pains to create a distance between past and present. In fact, many historians have been more interested in defamiliarization than presentist appropriation.[24] Still, it is striking that significant parts of recent research on Weimar democratic thought are based implicitly or explicitly on a model of liberal, pluralistic democracy. This approach does not merely banish right-wing "anti-liberal democrats" (to borrow Sontheimer's phrase) from the frame of reference associated with the concept "democracy". Most crucially, and most problematically, such an approach expels left-wing "anti-liberal democrats", too. That radical notions of council democracy, or any other anti-parliamentary visions of direct democracy, should fall in the category of "anti-democratic thought" would most certainly have provoked the protest of many scholars in the late 1960s and 1970s – as, in fact, the examples of Sontheimer, Bracher, and Fraenkel, all prominent objects of such protest, testify.[25] To discuss potential reasons as to why this historiographical trend has so far remained unchallenged is beyond the scope of this article. What I suggest, however, is a slightly different way of mediating between the historicization of the concept "democracy" and the construction of an analytical model. While still deeming it analytically viable to draw a line between democratic and anti-democratic thought, this article makes a case for drawing this line differently. Above all, it should no longer follow the distinction between supporters and enemies of Weimar democracy or any abstract model of liberal-democratic constitutional government.

I suggest that democracy should not be framed primarily as a specific set of institutions, but rather as the aspiration to "rule by the people", the quest for equality, and the promise of mass political participation. The concepts mentioned here – "the people", "equality", "political participation" – are all essentially contested and open to interpretation. For example, "the people" can be envisioned as a stratified or organic entity; "equality" can refer to political or social equality; and "political participation" may be limited to, say, the act of voting every four years

ger Graf: Provincializing America. New and not so New Intellectual Histories of Weimar Germany. In: MIH 11 (2014), pp. 1–14.

[24] See esp.: Thomas Mergel: Parlamentarische Kultur in der Weimarer Republik. Politische Kommunikation, symbolische Politik und Öffentlichkeit im Reichstag. Düsseldorf ³2012.

[25] See Riccardo Bavaj: Verunsicherte Demokratisierer. „Liberal-kritische" Hochschullehrer und die Studentenrevolte von 1967/68. In: Dominik Geppert/Jens Hacke (eds.): Streit um den Staat. Intellektuelle Debatten in der Bundesrepublik 1960–1980. Göttingen 2008, pp. 151–168; id.: Turning "Liberal Critics" into "Liberal-Conservatives". Kurt Sontheimer and the Re-Coding of the Political Culture in the Wake of the Student Revolt of "1968". In: GPS 27 (2009), pp. 39–59; see also Michael Wildt: Die Angst vor dem Volk. Ernst Fraenkel in der deutschen Nachkriegsgesellschaft. In: Monika Boll/Raphael Gross (eds.): „Ich staune, dass Sie in dieser Luft atmen können". Jüdische Intellektuelle in Deutschland nach 1945. Frankfurt a. M. 2013, pp. 317–344.

or can mean something much more substantial.[26] This cluster of political ideas can thus inform various visions of the future grounded in the principle of democratic legitimacy; at the same time, however, the realm of possible ideological formations is confined by what the political scientist Giovanni Sartori has put forward as the broadest possible definition of democracy: "a system in which no one can choose himself, no one can invest himself with the power to rule and, therefore, no one can arrogate to himself unconditional and unlimited power".[27] Democracy as a process, in other words, includes a delimiting element of control and critique.[28]

The reduced complexity of this analytical model, which allows for a greater appreciation of the ambiguity and plurality of visions of democracy in Weimar Germany, requires the introduction of a further category which enables us to make analytical distinctions within this more openly defined space of Weimar democratic thought. Sociologist Michael Makropoulos has identified the underlying dichotomy between notions aiming at the annihilation of contingency and those implying its tolerance as one of the major fault lines in contemporary Weimar discourse.[29] This dichotomy cuts across usual distinctions between democratic and anti-democratic thought, and between positions of the political left and right.[30] Makropoulos' suggestion dovetails with the proposal, advanced by legal scholar Oliver Lepsius, to distinguish between constructivist and essentialist notions of democracy, which differ depending on whether they presuppose a "will of the people" or whether they allow for its construction through political processes. Lepsius frames this distinction in terms of *konstruktiv*, *gegenstandser-*

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[26] See Robert A. Dahl: On Democracy. New Haven/London 2000, esp. pp. 35–43; David Held: Models of Democracy. Cambridge/Malden ³2006; Michael Mann: The Dark Side of Democracy. The Modern Tradition of Ethnic and Political Cleansing. In: NLR 235 (1999) 5/6, pp. 18–45, here: pp. 21f.; id.: In the Twenty-First Century, Still the Dark Side of Democracy. Reply to Bartov and Levene. In: JGR 8 (2006), pp. 485–490, here: p. 487; Pierre Rosanvallon: Die Gesellschaft der Gleichen. Hamburg 2013; Manfred G. Schmidt: Demokratietheorien. Opladen ³2000, esp. pp. 19f.

[27] Giovanni Sartori: The Theory of Democracy Revisited. Chatham 1987, p. 206.

[28] See Samuel Salzborn: Demokratie. Theorien, Formen, Entwicklungen. Baden-Baden 2012, p. 8.

[29] See Michael Makropoulos: Haltlose Souveränität. Benjamin, Schmitt und die Klassische Moderne in Deutschland. In: Manfred Gangl/Gérard Raulet (eds.): Intellektuellendiskurse in der Weimarer Republik. Zur politischen Kultur einer Gemengelage. Frankfurt a. M./New York 1994, pp. 197–211, here esp.: p. 211; see also id.: Möglichkeitsbändigungen. In: SozW 4 (1990), pp. 407–423; id.: Tendenzen der Zwanziger Jahre. Zum Diskurs der Klassischen Moderne in Deutschland. In: DZPh 39 (1991), pp. 675–687.

[30] Makropoulos' suggestion stems from discussions on so-called *Austauschdiskurse* ("discourses of exchange"). This trend in Weimar research was initiated by a Franco-German research cluster on the Weimar Republic's political culture in the 1990s – a time when many people, from Anthony Giddens to Gerhard Schröder, declared the distinction between left and right defunct. For examples of this trend see Gangl/Raulet (eds.): Intellektuellendiskurse (see note 29); Wolfgang Bialas/Georg G. Iggers (eds.): Intellektuelle in der Weimarer Republik. Frankfurt a. M. et al. 1996; Manfred Gangl: Interdiskursivität und chassés-croisés. Zur Problematik der Intellektuellendiskurse in der Weimarer Republik. In: Sven Hanuschek/Therese Hörnigk/Christine Malende (eds.): Schriftsteller als Intellektuelle. Politik und Literatur im Kalten Krieg. Tübingen 2000, pp. 29–48.

zeugend ("constructivist") versus *seinsfixiert, gegenstandsbestimmt* ("essentialist").[31] Taken together these distinctions form an analytical matrix, which enables us to structure the field of Weimar democratic discourse differently: democratic-constructivist, democratic-essentialist, and anti-democratic (the last of which implies an essentialist stance).

Two Cheers for Democracy

The remainder of this article will illustrate these positions by focusing on several key thinkers who, in one way or another, relate to the principal subject of this volume: transatlantic democracy.

1) To begin with, "the Big Five of Weimar state law theory", mentioned earlier, all fall in the category of democratic-constructivist thought. While the intellectual roots and conceptual fabrics of their democratic ideologies differed, ranging from liberal constitutional positivism to social-democratic sociological realism, Preuß, Anschütz, Thoma, Kelsen, and Heller all shared the belief in parliamentary government, political compromise, and social integration through the political negotiation of conflicting viewpoints.[32] On the subject of transatlantic democracy, Hugo Preuß's conception of a federal *Volksstaat* based on the "self-government of the German people in its entirety" is of particular note. Detlef Lehnert has recently cast light on the extent to which Preuß's notions had been informed by his views on the United States, which he saw as the "most seminal and original state system of modern times", the epitome of the "modern Occidental state". The U.S. was thriving, in his view, on "diversity in unity": "the free movement of its parts without tearing apart the whole".[33]

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[31] Oliver Lepsius: Staatstheorie und Demokratiebegriff in der Weimarer Republik. In: Gusy (ed.): Denken (see note 14), pp. 366–414, here esp.: p. 411; see also Oliver Lepsius: Erkenntnisgegenstand und Erkenntnisverfahren in den Geisteswissenschaften der Weimarer Republik. In: Ius Commune 22 (1995), pp. 283–310.

[32] See Groh: Staatsrechtslehrer (see note 17); see also Marcus Llanque (ed.): Souveräne Demokratie und soziale Heterogenität. Baden-Baden 2010.

[33] Hugo Preuß cited by Detlef Lehnert: Hugo Preuß in der europäischen Verfassungsgeschichte. Konzepte des modernen demokratischen Bundesstaats. In: id. (ed.): Hugo Preuß (see note 17), pp. 73–104, here: p. 76 (translated by the author); see also id.: Verfassungsdispositionen für die politische Kultur der Weimarer Republik. Die Beiträge von Hugo Preuß im historisch-konzeptiven Vergleich. In: Detlef Lehnert/Klaus Megerle (eds.): Pluralismus als Verfassungs- und Gesellschaftsmodell. Zur politischen Kultur der Weimarer Republik. Opladen 1993, pp. 11–47; id.: Das pluralistische Staatsdenken von Hugo Preuß. Baden-Baden 2012; critical of Preuß's perception of American constitutional politics: Peter Krüger: Einflüsse der Verfassung der Vereinigten Staaten auf die deutsche Verfassungsentwicklung. In: ZNR 18 (1996), pp. 226–247, here: p. 242; id.: Germany and the United States, 1914–1933. The Mutual Perception of Their Political Systems. In: David E. Barclay/Elisabeth Glaser-Schmidt (eds.): Transatlantic Images and Perceptions. Germany and America since 1776. Cambridge 1997, pp. 171–190, here: p. 184; see also Jürgen Heideking: Im zweiten Anlauf zum demokratischen Verfassungsstaat. Amerikanische Einflüsse auf die Weimarer Reichsverfassung und das Grundgesetz für die Bundesrepublik Deutschland.

Perceptions of the U.S. were an even more important factor in the social and political thought of Max Weber. For instance, references to American political and social conditions found their way into the comments Weber prepared as part of the work he did for Preuß's committee in charge of drafting the Weimar Constitution. This is a well-known fact, which has recently been confirmed by Lawrence Scaff's monograph "Max Weber in America".[34] Scaff's book meticulously reconstructs Weber's three-month journey across the U.S., which he undertook in 1904 when participating in the International Congress for the Arts and Sciences in St. Louis (held alongside the world exhibition).[35] Georg Kamphausen, moreover, has demonstrated the ways in which Weber used "America" not only as a yardstick for identifying political defects within his own country but as a "strategic argument" to make his account of charismatic rule and "leadership democracy" more intelligible and persuasive.[36] Weber's theories of "mass democracy" and plebiscitary "leadership democracy" need not be rehashed here, but it seems fair to say – Weber's "peculiar liberalism"[37] notwithstanding – that they fall in the category of contingency-minded democratic thought. Certainly his acceptance of American-style "party machines" and his competitive understanding of party politics would suggest as much – not to mention his former commitment to a democratization of the Prussian three-class franchise system and the parliamentarization of government.[38]

Worth mentioning is also Weber's travelling companion and interlocutor Ernst Troeltsch, who made a case for a renewed rapprochement between, as he put it, "German political-historical-moralist thought" and "West European-American" thinking in his famous talk on "Natural Law and Humanity in World Politics". In this speech, which was to mark the second anniversary of the *Deutsche Hochschule für Politik* ("German College of Politics") in Berlin in 1922, he emphasized Germany's close interconnectedness with "the West". Similar to Ernst Fraenkel's later

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In: Jürgen Elvert/Michael Salewski (eds.): Deutschland und der Westen im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert. Vol. 1: Transatlantische Beziehungen. Stuttgart 1993, pp. 247–265.

[34] See Lawrence A. Scaff: Max Weber in America. Princeton/Oxford 2011, esp. pp. 191–193; see also Krüger: Germany (see note 33), here: pp. 182 f.; Wolfgang J. Mommsen: Die Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika im politischen Denken Max Webers. In: HZ 213 (1971), pp. 358–381.

[35] On Weber's journey to the U.S., see also: Hans Rollmann: "Meet Me in St. Louis". Troeltsch and Weber in America. In: Hartmut Lehmann/Guenther Roth (eds.): Weber's Protestant Ethic. Origins, Evidence, Contexts. Cambridge/New York 1993, pp. 357–383.

[36] See Georg Kamphausen: Die Erfindung Amerikas in der Kulturkritik der Generation von 1890. Weilerswist 2002; see also Marcus Gräser: Modell Amerika. In: Europäische Geschichte Online, http://www.ieg-ego.eu/graeserm-2010-de (last accessed: 23. 5. 2016); Claus Offe: Selbstbetrachtung aus der Ferne. Tocqueville, Weber und Adorno in den Vereinigten Staaten. Adorno-Vorlesungen 2003. Frankfurt a. M. 2004, pp. 59–90.

[37] Müller: Democracy (see note 1), p. 46.

[38] See Marcus Llanque: Politische Ideengeschichte. Ein Gewebe politischer Diskurse. München/Wien 2008, pp. 398–406; see also Richard Bellamy: The Advent of the Masses and the Making of the Modern Theory of Democracy. In: Terence Ball/Richard Bellamy (eds.): The Cambridge History of Twentieth-Century Political Thought. Cambridge 2003, pp. 70–103, here: pp. 94–100.

mission of "Westernizing" the Federal Republic's political culture, Troeltsch sought to raise an awareness of the pan-European roots of "Western democracies".[39]

Recently, Jens Hacke has exposed the works of economist and intellectual Moritz Julius Bonn as a much-forgotten proponent of liberalism in Weimar Germany. Bonn's 1925 book "The Crisis of European Democracy" has been widely cited, though rarely read. Hacke has rediscovered Bonn's work as a model example of political liberalism.[40] Arguing against Carl Schmitt, with whom he was acquainted, Bonn made a case for the viability of parliamentary government under the conditions of "mass democracy". Bonn was also the model example of a transatlantic democrat. He was one of Weimar Germany's most eminent experts on the American government and economy, tirelessly promoting the liberal traditions of "the West".[41] He held various guest fellowships at American universities, and many of his works were published in the Anglo-American realm as well.[42] In fact, his book "The Crisis of European Democracy", published in the U.S. with Yale University Press, was based on lectures he had given at the Institute of Politics at Williams College, Massachusetts. In it, he called America the "motherland of democracy", who "could look upon the European countries striving for democracy as upon her spiritual provinces". While these provinces had "long ago attained self government, so to speak", in Bonn's view it was vital for both sides of the pond to maintain a relationship of "spiritual and intellectual cooperation".[43]

2) Contingency-averse, essentialist democrats typically looked to the East to formulate their visions of the future and their critique of the German present. Some of them, in fact, travelled to the Soviet Union where, as one commentator put it, "a different America" was about to emerge. The kind of liberty that had

[39] Ernst Troeltsch: Naturrecht und Humanität in der Weltpolitik (1923). In: id.: Schriften zur Politik und Kulturphilosophie (1918–1923) (= Kritische Gesamtausgabe, vol. 15). Ed. by Gangolf Hübinger. Berlin/New York 2002, pp. 493–512, here: p. 494 (translated by the author); see also Riccardo Bavaj: Germany and "Western Democracies". The Spatialization of Ernst Fraenkel's Political Thought. In: id./Martina Steber (eds.): Germany and "the West". The History of a Modern Concept. New York/Oxford 2015, pp. 183–198, here: p. 187.
[40] See Jens Hacke: Moritz Julius Bonn – ein vergessener Verteidiger der Vernunft. Zum Liberalismus in der Krise der Zwischenkriegszeit. In: Mittelweg 36 19 (2010) 6, pp. 26–59; id.: Ein vergessenes Erbe des deutschen Liberalismus. Über Moritz Julius Bonn. In: Merkur 65 (2011) 750, pp. 1077–1082; id.: Wende zur Skepsis. Liberale Ideenverteidigung in der Krise der Zwischenkriegszeit. In: ZIG 7 (2013) 2, pp. 35–52; id.: Liberal Alternatives during the Crisis of Democracy. The Political Economist Moritz Julius Bonn and the Era of the Two World Wars. In: NGC 42 (2015) 3, pp. 145–168.
[41] For an appreciation of Bonn see: Ernst Fraenkel: Amerika im Spiegel des deutschen politischen Denkens. Einleitung [1959]. In: id.: Gesammelte Schriften. Vol. 4: Amerikastudien. Ed. by Hubertus Buchstein and Rainer Kühn. Baden-Baden 2000, pp. 333–373, here: p. 362.
[42] See, e. g., Moritz Julius Bonn: Amerika und sein Problem. München 1925; id.: Die Kultur der Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika. Berlin 1930; id.: The American Experiment. A Study of Bourgeois Civilization. London 1933.
[43] Moritz Julius Bonn: The Crisis of European Democracy. New Haven 1925, p. 4. This passage, however, was primarily geared towards an American audience and did not find its way into the German translation: id.: Die Krisis der europäischen Demokratie. München 1925.

once been sought "over the pond", the Communist writer Otto Heller wrote in 1930, could now be found "beyond the Ural mountains".[44] As Eva Oberloskamp has shown, the Soviet Union represented an acceleration of time that brought America to mind, but which many left-wing intellectuals saw as an alternative future clearly preferable to the capitalist West: "an America without moneybags and hypocrisy", as Heller put it.[45] Given this context, Weimar democracy was dismissed as yet another bourgeois "democracy of the West", "adorned with the symbols of revolution, but saturated with counter-revolution".[46] In the sarcastic words of Alfons Goldschmidt, Weimar was a "copy of the same book but printed on low-quality paper".[47]

Some left-wing intellectuals also visited America,[48] but few followed the example of Arnold Wolfers, a religious socialist who returned from a four-month visit to the U.S. in 1925 having realized that his former categories of "capitalism", "imperialism" and "liberalism" did not fit the picture of American democracy. The talk he gave at the *Deutsche Hochschule für Politik* about his American Damascus road experience is a rare testament to the transforming potential of cultural contacts with interwar America and to the possibility of political de-radicalization of German intellectuals in the mid-1920s.[49]

Left-wing intellectuals such as Franz Jung and Heinrich Vogeler, who despite their strong reservations about Leninist party dictatorship were smitten with the Soviet experiment, consistently leaned towards organic, anti-pluralistic conceptions of society.[50] Communist society was envisioned as a homogenous entity, a perfectly egalitarian, harmonious community, which was to overcome the "loneliness of the individual", as Jung put it.[51] Few on the radical left, to be sure, fol-

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[44] Otto Heller: Sibirien. Ein anderes Amerika. Berlin 1931, p. 252 (translated by the author).

[45] Ibid., p. 251 (*ein Amerika ohne Pfeffersack und Heuchelei;* translated by the author); see Eva Oberloskamp: Fremde neue Welten. Reisen deutscher und französischer Linksintellektueller in die Sowjetunion 1917–1939. München 2011, esp. pp. 350–359; see also Walter Fähnders: „Amerika" und „Amerikanismus" in deutschen Russlandberichten der Weimarer Republik. In: Wolfgang Asholt/Claude Leroy (eds.): Die Blicke der Anderen. Paris – Berlin – Moskau. Bielefeld 2006, pp. 101–119.

[46] Alfons Paquet: Rom oder Moskau. 7 Aufsätze. München 1923, p. 132 (translated by the author); see also Oberloskamp: Welten (see note 45), pp. 136 f.

[47] Alfons Goldschmidt: Wie ich Moskau wiederfand. Berlin 1925, p. 19 (translated by the author).

[48] See R. Seth C. Knox: Weimar Germany between Two Worlds. The American and Russian Travels of Kisch, Toller, Holitscher, Goldschmidt, and Rundt. Frankfurt a. M. et al. 2006.

[49] See Arnold Wolfers: Amerikanische Demokratie. Versuch einer positiven Würdigung. In: Blätter für religiösen Sozialismus 6 (1925) 1–3, pp. 1–17, here esp.: pp. 3–5; see also Rainer Eisfeld: Amerikanische Lösungen für Weimarer Probleme? Amerikabilder und ihre Folgen bei Ernst Jäckh und Arnold Wolfers. In: Manfred Gangl (ed.): Das Politische. Zur Entstehung der Politikwissenschaft während der Weimarer Republik. Frankfurt a. M. et al. 2008, pp. 181–189.

[50] See Oberloskamp: Welten (see note 45), pp. 379–383, pp. 393–398, pp. 403–407.

[51] Franz Jung: Das geistige Rußland von heute. In: id.: Werke. Vol. 5: Nach Rußland! Schriften zur russischen Revolution. Ed. by Lutz Schulenburg. Hamburg 1991, pp. 295–392, here: p. 298 (translated by the author).

lowed the example of KPD member Friedrich Wolf, who formulated the ideal of a *Volksgemeinschaft* (a "people's community"), which he saw realized in the Soviet-union;[52] But also for more dissident voices like Vogeler, the concept of "the people" was "brought to full fruition in the Communist society", while being fatally decomposed in the capitalist world.[53]

The political views of essentialist democrats such as Jung and Vogeler were strongly influenced by what can be termed *Lebensideologie* ("life ideology"). This concept has been introduced into academic discourse by the literary and media scholar Martin Lindner, who in a study on "New Objectivity" describes this ideology as a spatial fabric.[54] They constructed a polarity between the static state of surface phenomena and the dynamic life of deep cultural dimensions lying underneath. Life ideologues conceived of life as being fatally constrained and suffocated by structures. A crucial part of these structures in Weimar Germany was the straight jacket of "bourgeois liberalism". The party state was dismissed as "atomistic", parliamentarism was discarded as "formalistic", and modern bureaucracy was rejected as "machine-like" – the "sick body" of the people was to be regenerated through "healthy forces" (Vogeler); the "steal-hard casing" was to burst under the pressure of the "stream of life".[55] The fact that life ideology had been gathering momentum from the turn of the century had much to do with the challenge to relativist historism, which has been discussed by scholars under various labels, the most pertinent ones being the "crisis of historism" (Ernst Troeltsch), the "escape from the historist model of time" (Wolfgang Hardtwig) and the "anti-historist revolution" (Kurt Nowak/Hermann Heimpel).[56]

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[52] Friedrich Wolf: Mit eigenen Augen in der Sowjetunion. 1931. In: id.: Ausgewählte Werke. Vol. 14: Aufsätze: Autobiographisches, Medizin und Volksgesundheit, Literatur, Film, Geschichte und Politik. Ed. by Else Wolf and Walther Pollatschek. Berlin (Ost) 1960, pp. 348–378, here: p. 353.

[53] Heinrich Vogeler: Reise durch Russland. Die Geburt des neuen Menschen. Dresden [1925], p. 53 (translated by the author).

[54] See Martin Lindner: Leben in der Krise. Zeitromane der Neuen Sachlichkeit und die intellektuelle Mentalität der klassischen Moderne. Stuttgart/Weimar 1994; see also the commentary by Helmut Lethen: Unheimliche Nachbarschaften. Neues vom neusachlichen Jahrzehnt. In: Jahrbuch zur Literatur der Weimarer Republik 1 (1995), pp. 76–92, here esp.: pp. 81 f.

[55] Heinrich Vogeler: Das neue Leben. Ein kommunistisches Manifest. Hannover 1919, p. 7 (translated by the author); for the reference to *Erlebnisstrom* see: Herbert Schnädelbach: Philosophie in Deutschland 1831–1933. Frankfurt a. M. 1983, p. 182.

[56] See Wolfgang Hardtwig: Die Krise des Geschichtsbewusstseins in Kaiserreich und Weimarer Republik und der Aufstieg des Nationalsozialismus. In: Jahrbuch des Historischen Kollegs 2001, pp. 47–75, quote: p. 60 (translated by the author); for Troeltsch see: Kurt Nowak: Die „antihistoristische Revolution". Symptome und Folgen der Krise historischer Weltorientierung nach dem Ersten Weltkrieg in Deutschland. In: Horst Renz/Friedrich Wilhelm Graf (eds.): Umstrittene Moderne. Die Zukunft der Neuzeit im Urteil der Epoche Ernst Troeltschs. Gütersloh 1987 (= Troeltsch-Studien, vol. 4), pp. 133–171; see also Anselm Doering-Manteuffel: Mensch, Maschine, Zeit. Fortschrittsbewusstsein und Kulturkritik im ersten Drittel des 20. Jahrhunderts. In: Jahrbuch des Historischen Kollegs 2003, pp. 91–119; Otto Gerhard Oexle (ed.): Krise des Historismus – Krise der Wirklichkeit. Wissenschaft, Kunst und Literatur 1880–1932. Göttingen 2007.

Anti-pluralistic life ideology, with its utopia of an organic community, offers a striking example of contingency-averse, essentialist thought in Weimar Germany. It could feed into either democratic or anti-democratic models of political thought. Jung and Vogeler would be examples of the former. Their visions of a "true democracy" comprised workers' councils organically growing "from below", and eventually realizing the ideal of radical democracy: the identity of the ruler and the ruled – genuine popular self-government.[57] Such a model of anti-parliamentary, radical democracy typically contained the usual ingredients of council democracy, especially imperative mandate, the right to recall representatives at all times, and no separation of powers; few visions of essentialist democracy could do without some reference to Marx's commune pamphlet. Typical of the political language of essentialist democracy, moreover, was the interchangeability of the terms "democracy" and "dictatorship". Not the noun but rather the specifying adjective made the difference: "proletarian dictatorship" was thought to be much more democratic than any form of "bourgeois", "formal democracy". The majority principle was perceived as legitimate only under conditions of substantial social homogeneity.[58]

3) Anti-pluralistic life-ideology and the ideal of an organic community were crucial to many anti-democrats as well. Anti-democrats, however, tended to be advocates of political inequality, hierarchical leadership, and a new aristocracy. Above all, they were unconditionally opposed to the majority principle and any institutionalized procedure of control and critique that might limit the scope of political power exerted from above. Most anti-democrats were, therefore, situated on the political right.[59] The two left-wing proponents of *Geistesaristokratie* ("spiritual aristocracy"), Kurt Hiller and Leonard Nelson, were the exception to the rule. Nelson, a neo-Kantian philosopher who ran an elitist youth organisation called *Internationaler Jugend-Bund* (later: *Internationaler Sozialistischer Kampf-bund*), had no time for the "mass despotism" and "spiritual degeneracy" of what he saw as democracy tout court: the "constitutional equality of all citizens". In-

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[57] See Riccardo Bavaj: Lebensideologischer Kommunismus als Alternative. Heinrich Vogelers Utopie vom „neuen Leben" im Krisendiskurs der Weimarer Republik. In: ZfG 55 (2007), pp. 509–528; see also id.: Gegen den Bürger, für das (Er-)Leben. Raoul Hausmann und der Berliner Dadaismus gegen die „Weimarische Lebensauffassung". In: GSR 31 (2008), pp. 513–536.

[58] See, for instance, the writings by Austromarxist Max Adler who had a significant impact on Weimar left-socialism: Max Adler: Demokratie und Rätesystem. In: id.: Ausgewählte Schriften. Ed. by Alfred Pfabigan and Norbert Leser. Wien 1981, pp. 133–162; id.: Politische oder soziale Demokratie. Ein Beitrag zur sozialistischen Erziehung. In: ibid., pp. 163–216; id.: Die Staatsauffassung des Marxismus. Ein Beitrag zur Unterscheidung von soziologischer und juristischer Methode. Wien 1922.

[59] See esp. Stefan Breuer: Ordnungen der Ungleichheit. Die deutsche Rechte im Widerstreit ihrer Ideen 1871–1945. Darmstadt 2001; for conceptions of a "new aristocracy", see most recently: Eckart Conze et al. (eds.): Aristokratismus und Moderne. Adel als politisches und kulturelles Konzept, 1890–1945. Köln/Weimar/Wien 2013; see also André Postert: Von der Kritik der Parteien zur außerparlamentarischen Opposition. Die jungkonservative Klub-Bewegung in der Weimarer Republik und ihre Auflösung im Nationalsozialismus. Baden-Baden 2014.

stead he promoted a "politics of reason" under the leadership of "the wisest" and "most reasonable".[60] The critique of "democratic nihilism" advanced by *Die Weltbühne* writer Kurt Hiller followed along similar lines. Hiller mocked democracy as "pure relativism" and *Pachulkokratie* ("philistocracy"), while campaigning for a "new aristocracy" and the "natural selection of the best" based on the principle of self-coopting "autogenesis". It is no wonder that he was drawn to the "verve" and "vibrancy" of Italian Fascism.[61]

The dismissal of democracy as flattening, uninspired "philistocracy" was often framed in terms of a critique of "Americanism", which, alongside the term "Americanization", became a key term in the rhetorical register of anti-democrats. America had long been perceived as the "country of equality", displaying the dangers of "ochlocracy", but it was America's entry into the war in 1917 that made her a powerful symbol of democratic internationalism and a most prominent reference point in German discourse for the shaping of anti-liberal, anti-democratic identities.[62] As can be seen in works such as Adolf Halfeld's *Amerika und der Amerikanismus* ("America and Americanism"), published in 1927 by the right-wing Eugen Diederichs Verlag, the key word "Americanism" worked as a cipher for the perceived ills of modernity. According to Halfeld, America provided an example of how the "democratic axiom of equality" translated, in the age of "mass civilization", into social "equalization and growing uniformity", which increasingly replaced the principles of selection and "spiritual freedom".[63] While "conservative revolutionaries" made the case for a Germanized version of indus-

[60] Leonard Nelson: Demokratie und Führerschaft. 1927. In: id.: Gesammelte Schriften. Vol. 9: Recht und Staat. Ed. by Paul Bernays et al. Hamburg 1972, pp. 386–571, here: pp. 403–409 (translated by the author); id.: System der philosophischen Rechtslehre und Politik. In: id.: Gesammelte Schriften. Vol. 6: Vorlesungen über die Grundlagen der Ethik. Ed. by Paul Bernays et al. Hamburg 1970, p. 197 (first publ. 1924) (*Massen-Despotismus*; translated by the author); Bertha Gysin: Der Völker-Bund der Jugend. Leipzig 1920, p. 64 (*Herrschaft der Weisen*; translated by the author).
[61] Kurt Hiller: Überlegungen zur Eschatologie und Methodologie des Aktivismus. In: id. (ed.): Das Ziel. Jahrbücher für geistige Politik 3 (1919), pp. 195–217, here: pp. 209f. (*Autogenesis*; translated by the author); id.: Ein Ministerium der Köpfe (April 1919). In: id.: Geist werde Herr. Kundgebungen eines Aktivisten vor, in und nach dem Kriege. Berlin 1920, pp. 125–147, here: pp. 130f. (*reiner Relativismus*, *Pachulkokratie*; translated by the author); id.: Die Rolle der Geistigen in der Politik. In: ibid., pp. 183–189, here: p. 188 (*natürliche Auslese der Besten*; translated by the author); id.: Mussolini und unsereins. In: Die Weltbühne, 12. 1. 1926, pp. 45–48, here: p. 46 (*Elan*, *vibrierende Aktivität*; translated by the author); id.: Konzentration Links! In: Die Weltbühne, 15. 2. 1927, pp. 248–252, here: p. 248 (*demokratischer Nihilismus*; translated by the author).
[62] See Philipp Gassert: Was meint Amerikanisierung? Über den Begriff des Jahrhunderts. In: Merkur 54 (2000) 9/10, pp. 785–796, here: pp. 789f.; more generally see: David W. Ellwood: The Shock of America. Europe and the Challenge of the Century. Oxford 2012, pp. 72–106; Mary Nolan: The Transatlantic Century. Europe and America, 1890–2010. Cambridge 2012, pp. 76–103; for the pre-1914 discourse on America, see Alexander Schmidt: Reisen in die Moderne. Der Amerika-Diskurs des deutschen Bürgertums vor dem Ersten Weltkrieg im europäischen Vergleich. Berlin 1997.
[63] Adolf Halfeld: Amerika und der Amerikanismus. Kritische Betrachtungen eines Deutschen und Europäers. Jena 1927, pp. 182f. (translated by the author).

trial and technical "Americanization" (especially Fordism), there was no ambiguity in their stance towards the socio-political dimension of "Americanism" as the "mechanization of life", the "triumph of mediocrity", and the "rule of the masses" and "the woman": "girlocracy"![64]

"Western-style democracy", a terminological innovation of the First World War,[65] was dismissed as the rule of the "soulless number" and the "most resilient enemy of an organic re-formation of German life" (Max Hildebert Boehm).[66] In a prime example of an essentialist, anti-democratic stance harnessing the rhetorical register of "democracy" and "democratization", Oswald Spengler demanded the emancipation from "the forms of Anglo-French democracy" and the foundation of a Prussian-socialist state as the German form of democracy: a "democratization in the Prussian sense". This was what the Germans were "born for", he argued, this was what they "were".[67]

Equally adamant in his enmity towards Western liberalism and his advocacy of a neo-aristocratic "German socialism" was Arthur Moeller van den Bruck. The author of *Das dritte Reich* ("The Third Reich"), who made a case for a "guided democracy" as a means of "national self-assertion", had been a vocal supporter of an "abandonment of the West" during the war and continued to be a key exponent of a polemical East-West dichotomy in its aftermath. In his tract *Das Recht der jungen Völker* ("The Right of Young Peoples") he argued that "young America" had become part of the "old West", as it had chosen to side in the war with the "old peoples", namely France and Britain. Having introduced Dostoyevsky's works to German audiences, he expected Germany's regeneration from "the East", where the "young people" of Russia was seen as exuding spirituality and authenticity. This assumption formed the premise for Moeller's *Ostorientierung* ("Eastern orientation"), which even after 1917 implied a German-Russian alliance. While "young conservatives" like Moeller were dyed-in-the-wool anti-Bolshevists hopeful that Dostoyevsky's "eternal Russia" would prevail over Western Marxism, they were prepared to join forces with the Soviet Union to fight "Western democracies".[68]

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[64] See Egbert Klautke: Unbegrenzte Möglichkeiten. „Amerikanisierung" in Deutschland und Frankreich (1900–1933). Wiesbaden 2003, esp. pp. 270–279, pp. 299–314; see also Philipp Gassert: "Without Concessions to Marxist or Communist Thought". Fordism in Germany, 1923–1939. In: Barclay/Glaser-Schmidt (eds.): Images (see note 33), pp. 217–242.

[65] See Marcus Llanque: Demokratisches Denken im Krieg. Die deutsche Debatte im Ersten Weltkrieg. Berlin 2000.

[66] Quoted in Sontheimer: Denken (see note 5), p. 166, p. 179 (translated by the author); for Max Hildebert Boehm who also derided the *faule Mitte* ("rotten middle position") of *Westlertum* ("Westernism"), see most recently Ulrich Prehn: Max Hildebert Boehm. Radikales Ordnungsdenken vom Ersten Weltkrieg bis in die Bundesrepublik. Göttingen 2013, esp. pp. 134–181 (quote: p. 150; translated by the author).

[67] Oswald Spengler: Preußentum und Sozialismus. München 1920, pp. 98f. (translated by the author).

[68] Arthur Moeller van den Bruck: Abkehr vom Westen. In: Der Tag, 16.10.1916 (translated by the author); id.: Das Recht der jungen Völker. Sammlung politischer Aufsätze. Ed. by Hans Schwarz. Berlin 1932, p. 167 (first publ. 1919) (translated by the author); id.: Das dritte Reich. Ed.

The man who would in the end forge an alliance with the Soviet Union and fight Western powers was, of course, Hitler. It is well known, however, that this constellation of the first two years of the war sat uneasily with Hitler's foreign policy goals, which envisaged an alliance with Britain and an *Ostpolitik* ("Eastern policy") geared towards the conquest of *Lebensraum* ("living space") in the East.[69] In contradistinction to Moeller, Hitler was not primarily driven by anti-Westernism. In fact, as Philipp Gassert has recently demonstrated, "the West" was marginalized on Hitler's mental map from the mid 1920s, eclipsed and overshadowed by social Darwinist, racist and anti-Semitic beliefs.[70] His "chief ideologue" Alfred Rosenberg went as far as stating that "one should not talk in the abstract about the rule of a so-called 'West' but more specifically about a Jewish-French system of thought".[71] Indeed, Hitler rarely talked about "Western democracies".[72] While he left little doubt about his Francophobia, his views of America and Britain were more ambivalent, marked by contempt as well as admiration. Not only did he share the conservative revolutionaries' fascination with American Fordism, but also his visions of a Nazi East were partly inspired by images of the American West.[73] Hitler had no use, of course, for the political sys-

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by Hans Schwarz. Hamburg 1931, pp. 118 (first publ. 1923) (translated by the author); see Denis Goeldel: „Revolution", „Sozialismus" und „Demokratie". Bedeutungswandel dreier Begriffe am Beispiel von Moeller van den Bruck. In: Gangl/Raulet (eds.): Intellektuellendiskurse (see note 29), pp. 37–51; André Schlüter: Moeller van den Bruck. Leben und Werk. Köln/Weimar/Wien 2010, pp. 262–286, pp. 314–324; Volker Weiß: Dostojewskijs Dämonen. Thomas Mann, Dmitri Mereschkowski und Arthur Moeller van den Bruck im Kampf gegen „den Westen". In: Heiko Kauffmann et al. (eds.): Völkische Bande. Dekadenz und Wiedergeburt – Analysen rechter Ideologie. Münster 2005, pp. 90–122; id.: Moderne Antimoderne. Arthur Moeller van den Bruck und der Wandel des Konservatismus. Paderborn et al. 2012, pp. 163–173, pp. 181–193. This analysis draws partly on: Riccardo Bavaj/Martina Steber: Germany and "the West". The Vagaries of a Modern Relationship. In: id. (eds.): Germany (see note 39), pp. 1–37, here: p. 18.

[69] See Gerd Koenen: Der Russland-Komplex. Die Deutschen und der Osten 1900–1945. München 2005, pp. 393–402; Gregor Thum: Mythische Landschaften. Das Bild vom „deutschen Osten" und die Zäsuren des 20. Jahrhunderts. In: id. (ed.): Traumland Osten. Deutsche Bilder vom östlichen Europa im 20. Jahrhundert. Göttingen 2006, pp. 181–211, here: pp. 190–199.

[70] See Philipp Gassert: No Place for "the West". National Socialism and the "Defence of Europe". In: Bavaj/Steber (eds.): Germany (see note 39), pp. 216–229.

[71] Alfred Rosenberg: Der Mythus des 20. Jahrhunderts. Eine Wertung der seelisch-geistigen Gestaltenkämpfe unserer Zeit. München [23/24]1934, p. 643 (first publ. 1930) (translated by the author); see also id.: Der Zukunftsweg einer deutschen Außenpolitik. München 1927, p. 85.

[72] For a rare exception see: Adolf Hitler: Mein Kampf. Vol. 1: Eine Abrechnung. München 1925, p. 85: "The democracy of today's West is the precursor of Marxism […]. It provides this world plague with the fertile soil on which its germs can spread" (translated by the author). My thanks to Martina Steber for drawing my attention to this text passage.

[73] The significance of this factor, however, is debated among scholars. For different points of view see: Shelley Baranowski: Nazi Empire. German Colonialism and Imperialism from Bismarck to Hitler. Cambridge 2011; Philipp Gassert: Amerika im Dritten Reich. Ideologie, Propaganda und Volksmeinung 1933–1945. Stuttgart 1997; Jens-Uwe Guettel: German Expansionism, Imperial Liberalism and the United States, 1776–1945. Cambridge 2012; Carroll P. Kakel: The American West and the Nazi East. A Comparative and Interpretive Perspective. Basingstoke/New York 2011.

tem of the United States, which corresponded to the type of "Jewish democracy"
he so derided. His attempts to contrast this type with a "truly Germanic democ-
racy", characterized by the "natural selection" of a "Führer state", were few and
far between.[74] But the very fact that, however infrequently, he attempted to give
the word "democracy" a positive spin is indicative of the discursive constraints in
an age "when demands for participation could simply no longer be ignored".[75]

The End of Parties – the End of Democracy?

When Hitler came to power – not least benefitting from a widespread desire to
end the plurality and diversity of the Weimar period[76] – it did not take long until
all political parties ceased to exist except his own. They were either banned or
dissolved themselves. The year 1933 marked "the end of parties".[77] Most scholars
would argue, in fact, that 1933 marked the end of democracy tout court. It is
worth noting, however, that certain electoral procedures typically associated with
democracy survived this end, such as Reichstag elections, plebiscites, or a combi-
nation of the two – between November 1933 and April 1938, German citizens
were called upon five times to cast their vote. The Nazi Reichstag elections were,
of course, "non-competitive elections": elections with no real choice (beyond ab-
stention and other acts of non-compliance). Plebiscites offered a clearer choice, in
principle, but they were manipulated and held under conditions of propaganda,
terror and coercion – hardly a delimiting element of critique, let alone control, as
set out by the definition of a democratic minimum suggested above. What is
more, Jews and various groups of *Gemeinschaftsfremde* ("community aliens")
were disenfranchised.[78] The persistence of electoral mechanisms and their specific
deployment after 1933 do not make the Nazi dictatorship democratic. They do,
however, point to the fact that Nazism emerged and established its rule in an age
of democracy. Elections and plebiscites were meant to bestow legitimacy upon the
new state, because they had come to be viewed as the "normal and necessary ele-
ments of politics", as Ralph Jessen and Hedwig Richter point out. In the long run,

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[74] Hitler: Kampf (see note 72), p. 99 (translated by the author); Hitler Speech, Vogelsang, 29. 4.
1937, quoted in Norbert Frei: Der Führerstaat. Nationalsozialistische Herrschaft 1933 bis 1945.
München ⁶2001, pp. 236–241, here: p. 240 (translated by the author).
[75] Müller: Democracy (see note 1), p. 5.
[76] See Moritz Föllmer: Which Crisis? Which Modernity? New Perspectives on Weimar Germa-
ny. In: Hung/Weiss-Sussex/Wilkes (eds.): Glitter (see note 6), pp. 19–30, here: pp. 28f.
[77] Erich Matthias/Rudolf Morsey (eds.): Das Ende der Parteien 1933. Darstellungen und Doku-
mente. Düsseldorf 1960.
[78] See Ralph Jessen/Hedwig Richter (eds.): Voting for Hitler and Stalin. Elections under
20th Century Dictatorships. Frankfurt a. M./New York 2011 (esp. the introduction and the chap-
ters by Markus Urban and Frank Omland); Otmar Jung: Plebiszit und Diktatur. Die Volks-
abstimmungen der Nationalsozialisten. Tübingen 1995; Frank Omland: „Du wählst mi nich
Hitler!" Reichstagswahlen und Volksabstimmungen in Schleswig-Holstein 1933–1938. Hamburg
2006.

however, their power to legitimize the regime and to mobilize the population was limited as they suffered from a "performative self-contradiction". With approval rates of 99 percent and the like, they created the illusion of a (near) complete consensus, yet they were still tied to a concept of individual citizenship, where every individual was supposed to vote independently – "detached from collective ties".[79] It is no wonder, then, that National Socialists increasingly concentrated their energy on more effective ways of staging and making visible the propagated unity of *ein Volk, ein Reich, ein Führer*, such as mass (party) rallies.[80]

Scholars have long grappled with the question of how to relate Nazism to the history of democracy. Karl Dietrich Bracher's classic description of the Nazi "system of plebiscitary acclamation" as "pseudo-democratic" and "pseudo-plebiscitary" reflects, above all, the unease with which liberal scholars of the Bonn Republic approached the issue.[81] The term "pseudo-democratic" allowed Bracher to acknowledge Nazism's entanglement with the history of democracy while still preserving the positive connotation of the concept. This was especially important for political scientists like him who were committed to the "democratization" of West Germany's political culture in the 1960s.[82]

Unconstrained by such political considerations, the German-born American historian George Mosse was more forthright in his interpretation of Nazism, which he placed squarely in the history of mass movements as well as "mass democracy". The assumption that "only representative government can be democratic" was, in his opinion, a "historical fallacy". The Nazis, he argued, "perfected" a "new political style" that had been invented during the French Revolution. It consisted of rituals and festivals, which offered forms of "political participation" more immediate and – in the eyes of many contemporaries – more vital and meaningful than those characteristic of parliamentary government.[83] More recently, and complementary to Mosse's interpretation, Michael Wildt has suggested that the Nazi social order should be seen as a possible realization of the principle of the sovereignty of the people: one where "the people" constituted itself as a

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[79] Ralph Jessen/Hedwig Richter: Non-Competitive Elections in 20th Century Dictatorships. In: id. (eds.): Voting (see note 78), pp. 9–36, here: pp. 22 f.

[80] See Markus Urban: The Self-Staging of a Plebiscitary Dictatorship. The NS-Regime between "Uniformed Reichstag", Referendum and Reichsparteitag. In: Jessen/Richter (eds.): Voting (see note 78), pp. 39–58; id.: Die Konsensfabrik. Funktion und Wahrnehmung der NS-Reichsparteitage, 1933–1941. Göttingen 2007.

[81] Karl Dietrich Bracher: Stufen der Machtergreifung. In: id./Wolfgang Sauer/Gerhard Schulz: Die nationalsozialistische Machtergreifung. Studien zur Errichtung des totalitären Herrschaftssystems in Deutschland 1933/34. Köln/Opladen 1960, pp. 1–368, here esp.: pp. 348–352 (translated by the author).

[82] See Riccardo Bavaj: Verunsicherte Demokratisierer; id.: Deutscher Staat und westliche Demokratie. Karl Dietrich Bracher und Erwin K. Scheuch zur Zeit der Studentenrevolte von 1967/68. In: GiW 23 (2008), pp. 149–171.

[83] See George L. Mosse: The Nationalization of the Masses. Political Symbolism and Mass Movements in Germany from the Napoleonic Wars through the Third Reich. Ithaca 1991 (first publ. 1975), p. 4, p. 8, p. 12, p. 19.

racially homogenous body politic, provided with the chance of unbounded and unmediated "self-empowerment". From this analytical perspective, Nazism entailed the promise of a *Volksgemeinschaft* that would materialize through "the annihilation of the heterogeneous" (to use Carl Schmitt's phrase) and would find "its will" expressed by the *Führer*. For Wildt, the Nazi conception of *Volksgemeinschaft* can be situated in a tradition of democratic theory, typically associated with Jean-Jacques Rousseau,[84] that construes democracy as the identity of the ruler and the ruled – based on substantial homogeneity and undistorted by intermediary institutions. Nazism, therefore, reveals the "totalitarian potential" inherent in the principle of the sovereignty of the people and points to "the fundamental problem of democracy", namely "to find a way of political legitimation between representation and participation, between right and might".[85]

This interpretation not only shares certain assumptions (however tacitly) with Jacob Talmon's theory of "totalitarian democracy", but also dovetails with Michael Mann's analysis of the "dark side of democracy".[86] Neither author wants to suggest, of course, that Nazi dictatorship was in some way democratic. Mann, for instance, has clarified that what he means by the "dark side of democracy" is, in fact, the ambivalence of "mass democratization". Comprising broader and more egalitarian forms of political, social and cultural participation, "mass democratization", he claims, was an essential prerequisite of fascist movements and regimes.[87] From the perspective of conceptual history, this viewpoint is reflected

[84] Calling this tradition of democratic theory "Rousseauistic" presupposes, of course, a particular reading of Rousseau. Different variants of this reading can be found in the works of Carl Schmitt, Jacob Talmon and Ernst Fraenkel. For an alternative and less presentist reading see: Karl Graf Ballestrem: „Klassische Demokratietheorie". Konstrukt oder Wirklichkeit? In: ZfP 35 (1988), pp. 33–56.
[85] Michael Wildt: Volksgemeinschaft und Führererwartung in der Weimarer Republik. In: Ute Daniel et al. (eds.): Politische Kultur und Medienwirklichkeiten. Zur Kulturgeschichte des Politischen nach 1918. München 2010, pp. 181–204, here: p. 181, pp. 202–204 (translated by the author); id.: Angst (see note 25), here: p. 339 (*Potentialität totalitärer Herrschaft*; translated by the author); for alternative conceptions of *Volksgemeinschaft* in the Weimar Republic see: Michael Wildt: Die Ungleichheit des Volkes. „Volksgemeinschaft" in der politischen Kommunikation der Weimarer Republik. In: Frank Bajohr/Michael Wildt (eds.): Volksgemeinschaft. Neue Forschungen zur Gesellschaft des Nationalsozialismus. Frankfurt a. M. 2009, pp. 24–40; and most recently: Wolfgang Hardtwig: Volksgemeinschaft im Übergang. Von der Demokratie zum rassistischen Führerstaat. In: Detlef Lehnert (ed.): Gemeinschaftsdenken in Europa. Das Gesellschaftskonzept „Volksheim" im Vergleich 1900–1938. Köln et al. 2013, pp. 227–253; and Marcus Llanque: Der Weimarer Linksliberalismus und das Problem politischer Verbindlichkeit. Volksgemeinschaft, demokratische Nation und Staatsgesinnung bei Theodor Heuss, Hugo Preuß und Friedrich Meinecke. In: Doering-Manteuffel/Leonhard (eds.): Liberalismus (see note 21), pp. 157–181. The Carl Schmitt quotation is taken from his tract: Carl Schmitt: Die geistesgeschichtliche Lage des heutigen Parlamentarismus. Berlin ⁸1996, p. 14 (first publ. 1923).
[86] Michael Mann: The Dark Side of Democracy. Explaining Ethnic Cleansing. Cambridge 2006; J. L. Talmon: The Origins of Totalitarian Democracy. London 1952; see also Hans Otto Seitschek: Politischer Messianismus. Totalitarismuskritik und philosophische Geschichtsschreibung im Anschluss an Jacob Leib Talmon. München 2005, esp. pp. 54–76.
[87] See Mann: Century (see note 26), p. 487.

in contemporary definitions, such as the one advanced by "conservative revolutionary" Friedrich Georg Jünger, who described "democracy" as the "thorough politicization of the masses".[88] In what ways the apparent ambivalence of *democratization*, in fact, also points to an ambivalence of *democracy* is a question in need of further investigation. The definition of a democratic minimum outlined here would suggest that Nazism, both as a cluster of ideas and a form of social practice, was an integral part of the history of democracy insofar as notions of the sovereignty of the people and practices of mass political participation figured prominently in Nazi Germany. However, bereft as it was of any institutionalized processes of democratic control and critique, the "new politics" of the Nazi "Führer state" was ultimately anti-democratic. After all, it was geared towards a social order of inequality, notwithstanding any rhetoric of class-transcendent egalitarianism.

[88] Edmund Schultz (ed.): Das Gesicht der Demokratie. Mit einer Einleitung von Friedrich Georg Jünger. Leipzig 1931, p. 151 (translated by the author).

Kiran Klaus Patel

How America Discovered Sweden

Reinventing Democracy during the 1930s

On 23 June 1936, at a White House press conference, a journalist asked President Roosevelt about his plans to send a group to Europe to study cooperative enterprises. Roosevelt confirmed that a small team had been chosen "to make a report on cooperative enterprises in certain parts of Europe" and study developments "in relation to cooperative stores, housing, credit", and other fields. The President also explained why he wanted this kind of information: "I became a good deal interested in the cooperative development in countries abroad, especially Sweden. A very interesting book came out a couple of months ago – 'The Middle Way'. I was tremendously interested in what they had done in Scandinavia along those lines."[1] And, indeed, only nine days later an official presidential inquiry traveled to Europe to study whether European cooperatives could be implemented in the United States as part of this search for ideas on how to revitalize American democracy and reform capitalism.

This transatlantic exchange was about much more than details of economic policy and social fabric. It provides insights into a fascinating chapter in the transatlantic history of democracy during one of its moments of deepest crisis. The Great Depression and the 1930s more generally were a period in which democracies all over the world crumbled and the very concept of liberal democracy appeared to be outdated.

Against this backdrop, this essay puts forth a two-fold argument. On the one hand, it contends that the New Deal's model of democracy and welfare was much more informed by global developments than most scholarship has maintained; in direct and more often indirect ways, it will illustrate that global contacts shaped the agenda in the United States. On the other hand, it posits that these links not only affected America in major ways, but also the other countries involved. As a result of transatlantic exchanges, for example, Sweden unexpectedly emerged in the 1930s as a model of democracy and reform capitalism. Even if democracy did

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[1] Quoted in Franklin D. Roosevelt: The Public Papers and Addresses. With a Special Introduction and Explanatory Notes by President Roosevelt. Vol. 5: The People Approve 1936. Ed. by Samuel Rosenman. New York 1938, pp. 226 f.

not emerge as a single, consistent and precisely defined concept or political system on either side of the (North) Atlantic, transatlantic crossings influenced the popularity of certain notions and the debate lent new prestige to particular countries.

Inventing Sweden

The book Roosevelt referred to as his inspiration for deploying a fact-finding commission, "Sweden: The Middle Way", was published by journalist Marquis W. Childs in 1936. It was a great success, selling 1,000 copies in its first three days and 25,000 in 1936 alone.[2] This was quite astonishing for a specialized book, however well-written. Childs argued that Sweden had overcome the economic depression by organizing large parts of society along cooperative lines through businesses owned and democratically controlled by the people who produced or utilized their services. For Childs, these organizations epitomized a robust democracy that had transcended unbridled *laissez faire* policies to make its peace with capitalism.

Roosevelt read the book in the spring of 1936. While on a fishing trip off the coast of Florida, he met with Robert J. Caldwell, a New York industrialist highly interested in European economic affairs. Caldwell put a copy of Childs' book with highlighted passages into the President's hands. Roosevelt was particularly fascinated by Childs' discussion of Swedish consumer cooperatives.[3] Francis Perkins, Secretary of Labor since 1933, as well as other activists in the field had informed him about this model as early as the first half of the 1920s, but thus far Roosevelt had shown rather little interest.[4] This now changed, just at the very moment when the public discussion on such economic reforms in America was gaining momentum. Whereas the national press had published only eight substantial articles on consumer cooperatives in 1934, the number jumped to 85 in 1935 and 235 in the first eight months of 1936.[5] This new interest – and often also enthusiasm – has to be read against the backdrop of the Great Depression and the search for alternatives to *laissez faire* capitalism. Some actors even drew a direct

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[2] See Marquis W. Childs: Sweden, the Middle Way. New Haven 1936; Merle Curti: Sweden in the American Social Mind of the 1930s. In: J. Iverne Dowie/J. Thomas Tredway (eds.): The Immigration of Ideas. Studies in the North Atlantic Community. Rock Island 1968, pp. 159–184, here: p. 172.

[3] See Piebe B. Teeboom: Searching for the Middle Way: Consumer Cooperation and the Cooperative Moment in New Deal America. [PhD dissertation, unpubl.] Amsterdam University 2009, ch. 4, p. 1; Mary Hilson: Consumer Co-operation and Economic Crisis. The 1936 Roosevelt Inquiry on Co-operative Enterprise and the Emergence of the Nordic "Middle Way". In: CoEH 22 (2013), pp. 181–198.

[4] See Frances Perkins: The Roosevelt I Knew. New York 1946, pp. 31f.

[5] See E. R. Bowen: Report of the General Secretary. In: Consumers' Cooperation 22 (1936) 11, pp. 168–171; also see Constantin Panunzio: Self-Help Coöperatives in Los Angeles. Berkeley 1939.

link between such reforms and the fate of democracy in the United States. Philanthropist Edward A. Filene sent Roosevelt a glowing letter in support of the inquiry, stressing that the "outstanding thing in the cooperative movement" was "that cooperation maintains and nourishes democracy".[6]

Simultaneously, Sweden was increasingly singled out as a place of interest. Up to the mid-1930s, it had been experts in social politics who primarily took note of the country's efforts to fight the Great Depression, analyzing its monetary policy, its public work relief program, and its consumer cooperatives. Childs' book brought these discussions among experts to a wider audience for the first time. As such, it stood at the crossroads between rising interest in consumer cooperatives and increased curiosity about Sweden's economic path, bringing the two together.[7] From there, the debate gained further momentum as the horizon of global references expanded. In spring 1937, for instance, "The Rotarian", the official organ of Rotary International, featured consumer cooperatives as its "debate of the month". The pro-cooperative text started with two pictures, one of a rather bleak Swedish "konsum" cooperative building, the other of a Japanese cooperative activist surrounded by Japanese children, all clad in kimonos and smiling. Consumer cooperatives appeared as a global trend, transcending boundaries of race and time.[8]

The inquiry that Roosevelt sent to Europe in July 1936 amassed a great deal of material, conducted interviews, and visited locations in various parts of Europe with a particular focus on Sweden and Britain. Given the presidential blessing it enjoyed, the American press reported at length on its work. Still, the insights gathered in Europe did not determine its eventual fate – discussions in the United States were to play that role.[9]

On the very day that the "Inquiry on Cooperative Enterprise in Europe" set sail, Secretary of Agriculture Henry A. Wallace published another instant bestseller, "Whose Constitution: An Inquiry into the General Welfare".[10] Wallace, as one of the leading figures in Roosevelt's administration, argued for a new interpretation of American institutions and a less conflictual political style. To this end, he proposed that "the cooperative philosophy is the vital ideal of the twentieth century". Wallace also wrote that the United States should follow the example of other democracies, and not surprisingly given the influence of Childs' book, he highlighted the role of Sweden. At the same time, he described the cooperative idea as a genuinely American concept, spicing his plea for a new start with historical allusions to "the wise young men of 1787".[11]

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[6] Letter Filene to Roosevelt, 3.7.1936, NARA/Hyde Park, OF 2245.
[7] See Curti: Sweden (see note 2), here: pp. 160–166.
[8] See Consumer Coöperatives? In: The Rotarian, 5/1937, pp. 11f., pp. 57f.
[9] See Teeboom: Way (see note 3), ch. 4, p. 40.
[10] See Henry A. Wallace: Whose Constitution? An Inquiry into the General Welfare. Westport 1971 (first publ. 1936); Best Sellers of the Week, Here and Elsewhere. In: NYT, 20.7.1936.
[11] Wallace: Constitution (see note 10), p. 321, p. 175.

The public reaction to Wallace's book was intense, and his attempt to fully "Americanize" the cooperative idea and associate it with the founding fathers of American democracy failed. Linking Wallace's deliberations to the presidential inquiry, many reviewers argued that consumer cooperation was a harbinger of developments to come in Roosevelt's expected second term because the whole debate was taking place a few months before the 1936 elections. Criticism flared up instantly. Resistance was well organized and vocal; the small business lobby formed a stronghold of opposition, but also parts of Congress as well as several federal departments took an anti-cooperative stance.[12]

Wallace's sophisticated text or the inquiry alone cannot explain the heat of the debate. Since 1933, the New Dealers had experimented with cooperative policies on a reduced scale. The Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA), one of their first and most prominent initiatives, had set up rural electrification cooperatives, and the Rural Electrification Act of 1935 further expanded this policy direction.[13] Beyond electricity, the New Deal promoted and facilitated agricultural and urban cooperatives in which small or experimental activities were put on new footing in the mid-1930s, for instance with the creation of the Resettlement Administration (RA) in 1935.[14] Heavily contested at the time, the inquiry came at a moment when the New Dealers seemed to be preparing the ground to embark on a fully-fledged cooperative course. While the debates about the RA, the TVA, and other agencies had also been spiced with transnational references by friends and foes alike, it had always been difficult to establish the exact relationship between American policy and that of any other nation. Particularly because it bore the seal of the President's will, the inquiry seemed to change this, and in the end, it became the straw that broke the camel's back.

The European references cited by New Dealers arguing for a cooperative model made it easy to denounce this approach as un-American and as a solution foreign to American national culture and economy. Driven by the debate about the inquiry, important sections of the press started to describe the cooperative idea as foreign, un-democratic, and un-American. The "Chicago Daily Tribune", for example, condemned cooperatives as "a nonprofit communistic system now prevalent in many European countries".[15] While some of the criticism was superficial and stereotypical, other accusations went much further. The adversaries of consumer cooperatives also sent experts to Sweden – returning with the clear message that things were indeed going well in Sweden. However, they stressed that the source of this success did not lie in consumer cooperatives. As Henry C. Lind, a hard-

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[12] See, e.g., Raoul E. Desvernine: Americanism at the Crossroads. In: id.: Democratic Despotism. New York 1936, p. 243; more generally: Teeboom: Way (see note 3), ch. 3, pp. 58–63.

[13] See Ellis W. Hawley: The New Deal and the Problem of Monopoly. A Study in Economic Ambivalence. Princeton 1966, pp. 202f.

[14] See, e.g., Paul K. Conkin: Tomorrow a New World: The New Deal Community Program. New York 1976; Sarah T. Phillips: This Land, This Nation: Conservation, Rural America, and the New Deal. New York 2007.

[15] Roosevelt Will Push Drive for Co-Ops in U.S. In: CHDT, 10. 8. 1936.

ware salesman from San Francisco, contended in the magazine "Hardware Age", Sweden's wealth resulted from the fact that individual ownership and capitalism had basically remained intact and the consumer cooperative movement was but a side show. Transnational links, therefore, were driven not only by the wish to emulate and learn, but also by the will to distinguish and delimit.[16]

Given this strong oppositional current, the White House slowly retreated. When the members of the inquiry returned home, Roosevelt declined to officially receive them. In the end, he not only contributed to the flamboyant start of the endeavor, but also took center stage in its final act. When a journalist asked about the inquiry's report at a press conference in February 1937, Roosevelt answered laconically that he had not seen it, but "I think it has come in". After thinking about it for a moment, he added: "It did come in and I sent it somewhere; where I do not know."[17] This was quite at odds with the original purpose of the entire inquiry, of course. The Roosevelt Administration decided not to implement any grand scheme along European lines, and the public debate slowly ebbed away.

All in all, the interest in Sweden and the European cooperative experience in general was but one of Roosevelt's many trial balloons. The inquiry itself stood out because it had direct presidential approval, but it nonetheless produced little in the way of results, at least not at the level of concrete political measures or legislation. One important factor that determined the fate of the inquiry was the timing because the heated and polarized political climate ahead of elections was not a particularly good moment to test such ideas. Moreover, the cooperative idea would have come under fire even without its transnational dimensions. In the 1930s, increased public interest in consumer cooperatives and the growth of the movement in America meant that U.S. business had good reasons to fear such alternatives. Still, the trajectory of the cooperative idea, and more concretely the fate of the inquiry, were determined primarily by the public discussion about its "Americanness". Attempts to make transnational links and launch corresponding investigations designed to identify the best practices for America ultimately boomeranged. They delegitimized an idea that in fact had many home-grown roots and rang the death knell for federal policy explicitly supporting such an approach. During the New Deal, the influence of transnational references always remained limited.

While the long-drawn saga of the presidential inquiry put a stop to transnational transfers in the field of consumer cooperatives, it did not end the New Dealers' interest in the matter itself. Whereas the RA was soon reformed and its more experimental wings clipped, electrification cooperatives continued through the second half of the 1930s. Moreover, the war years brought a revival of the cooperative idea, albeit under much less benign circumstances. After Pearl Harbor, racist stereotypes describing Japanese Americans as potential collaborators gained great

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[16] See, also for the article in "Hardware Age": Teeboom: Way (see note 3), ch. 4, p. 63.
[17] Press conference on 23. 2. 1937, quoted by: Franklin D. Roosevelt: Complete Presidential Press Conferences of Franklin D. Roosevelt. Vol. 9/10: 1937. New York 1972, p. 182.

momentum. Roosevelt was reluctant to resist the escalating pressure, and in February 1942, he signed an executive order to expel all people of Japanese ancestry from the Pacific coast and intern them in camps. The War Relocation Authority (WRA) set up to this end was ultimately in charge of some 110,000 Japanese Americans. Its first director was a brilliant New Deal bureaucrat from the Department of Agriculture, Milton S. Eisenhower, whose older brother, Dwight, was still an obscure brigadier general profiting from his sibling's excellent contacts in Washington. Milton Eisenhower disliked the internment program, but he accepted the position of director on Roosevelt's personal request. He tried to make conditions as humane as possible, and originally planned accommodations resembling the subsistence homesteads that the RA had created a few years earlier in the fight against the Great Depression. More extreme voices prevailed, however, so men, women, and children alike were placed in detention camps in desolate and forbidding areas of the country. Eisenhower disliked this move, but he was a rather typical New Dealer in that he rationalized certain policies in light of the ultimate political aims.[18] He therefore endeavored to import enlightened New Deal policies into the camps, and consumer cooperatives were set up as the form "recommended for permanent business enterprises" in the words of the WRA's administrative manual regulating camp life.[19] All in all, some 270 enterprises or services were organized in the various camps, ranging from a single-employee shoe repair shop to moderate-sized department stores.[20] This policy continued after Dillon S. Meyer, an old colleague and friend from Eisenhower's time at the Department of Agriculture, succeeded him.

Internment thus reveals ironic and unexpected twists in the transatlantic exchanges of the 1930s. After 1933, the New Dealers had set up programs with cooperative elements, informed by transatlantic discussions that reached back to the Progressive era. In 1936/1937, they considered expanding this agenda and Roosevelt sent his presidential inquiry to Europe to assess the foreign experience more systematically. But then, a policy intended to strengthen American democracy and stabilize the economy was discredited as allegedly un-American. The inquiry, with its transnational dimension, ended in a debacle, while established programs with a cooperative dimension continued quietly. Half a decade later, with nationalist and racist sentiments running high after Pearl Harbor, bureaucrats such as Eisenhower and Meyer returned to these very same policy instruments. During a state of emergency, and under the auspices of a program that brought one of the worst violations of civil rights in American history, they implemented

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[18] See Roger Daniels: Prisoners without Trial. Japanese Americans in World War II. New York 1993, pp. 55–68; Stephen E. Ambrose/Richard H. Immerman: Milton S. Eisenhower. Educational Statesman. Baltimore 1983, pp. 59–66.
[19] See War Relocation Authority: Administrative Manual. [unpubl.] Washington 1945 [?], ch. 30.7 (copy in LoC).
[20] See Dillon S. Meyer: Uprooted Americans. The Japanese Americans and the War Relocation Authority during World War II. Tucson 1971, pp. 29–58; Richard Drinnon: Keeper of Concentration Camps: Dillon S. Meyer and American Racism. Berkeley 1987.

the very same cooperative elements that had shaped the fight against the Great Depression a few years earlier.

The New Deal in Global Perspective

Sweden and consumer cooperatives were not the only transnational references in the minds of the New Dealers, of course. The ambivalence encountered by such exchanges can also be seen in other cases in which the United States selectively adopted welfare measures from other countries. When things were kept at a technical level and done behind the scenes, as this essay argues, the New Dealers borrowed and appropriated foreign policies and instruments time and time again. A good example is the Housing Act of 1937. As Daniel T. Rodgers has shown, this piece of legislation drew considerably on European policies and particularly on the public housing experience in Great Britain. During the early stages of the U.S. discussion, Americans even asked the doyen of British city planning, Sir Raymond Unwin, to draft a "Housing Program for the United States".[21] Nathan Straus, the first director of the U.S. Housing Authority, later stressed that the American law was "modeled on the most successful public housing experience of the world, that of England".[22] Two things are interesting with regard to this statement. First of all, it was only half the truth: the American law represented a highly selective transnational adaptation as it was much less working class-centered than the British original and focused mostly on helping the very poorest through slum clearance.[23] Secondly, and more important for the argument here, the debate followed a different trajectory than it had in the case of consumer cooperatives. Even if this discussion had also been awash with transatlantic references from the outset, it remained more restricted. There was no book or article with a public impact comparable to that of Childs' book, transposing a sophisticated expert discussion into a broader debate. Moreover, Roosevelt himself did not come out with a strong opinion, let alone any grandiloquent remark about foreign sources of inspiration, but instead left the floor to bureaucrats, lobbyists, and experts. Keeping the initiative technical and avoiding the politicization of the debate helped to dampen public reactions. Certainly, there was some opposition, particularly from the U.S. Chamber of Commerce as well as real estate and building companies who feared interference in the market and who argued for Washington to "get out and stay out" of the public housing field.[24] But when it became clear

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[21] A Housing Program for the United States. Attachment to Letter Bohn to Roosevelt, 13. 11. 1934, NARA/Hyde Park, OF 63, Box 1.
[22] Nathan Straus: Housing. A National Achievement. In: Atlantic Monthly 164 (1939), pp. 204–210, quote: p. 210.
[23] See Daniel T. Rodgers: Atlantic Crossings. Social Politics in a Progressive Age. Cambridge, MA 1998, pp. 473–479.
[24] Letter Lewin, National Retail Lumber Dealers Association to Roosevelt, 12. 2. 1936, NARA/Hyde Park, OF 63, Box 2.

that the government only planned to provide public housing for the country's very poorest, leaving the rest of the market unaffected by government interference, and without any broader intentions to change the economic or political order, these business circles swallowed the pill.[25]

Selective adaptation at a rather technical level without huge public discussion also characterized the New Dealers' first program to support artists as part of their public work schemes. Here, the main impulse came from a letter written to Roosevelt by an old school friend, the artist George Biddle, in May 1933. Biddle argued for a program supporting mural paintings, referring to the experience of Mexico with its vibrant mural arts tradition where the state had organized publicly commissioned art projects since the late 1920s.[26] A similar project set up a few months later in the United States became a precursor of the famous "Federal One" project which employed artists from a variety of fields and has often been praised as one of the New Deal's most lasting achievements. "Federal One" supported people like John Steinbeck, Jackson Pollock, and Mark Rothko, and helped them to weather the Great Depression. Back in 1933, when the program was created, the reference to Mexico was quite surprising. Under normal circumstances, no serious U.S. politician would have suggested that anything could be learned from south of the Rio Grande – if reference to Europe could kill a proposal, association with Latin America was completely beyond the pale. But, in this case, there was no public discussion whatsoever about the Mexican roots of this New Deal program.[27]

Moreover, some transatlantic crossings even transcended the divide between democracy and dictatorship. In 1938, Roosevelt personally ordered an extensive report on a Nazi welfare scheme, the *Reichsarbeitsdienst*, which like the New Deal's Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) combined public work with educational and vocational activities for young unemployed men. Interestingly, Roosevelt wanted the report as a source of information and inspiration. Penned in the U.S. embassy in Berlin, the document soon landed on his desk; it was then circulated within the CCC and all related institutions. As shown elsewhere in greater detail, the Nazi *Reichsarbeitsdienst* did indeed serve as a source of inspiration for a vocational training program in the CCC as part of another process of selective adaptation. Here too, debates took place largely at the technical level, and the President himself explained his motivation in a letter thanking the Berlin embassy: "All of this helps us in planning, even though our methods are of the democratic variety!"[28]

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[25] See Rodgers: Crossings (see note 23), pp. 474f.; see also Kiran Klaus Patel: The New Deal. A Global History, Princton 2016.
[26] See Letter Roosevelt to Biddle, 19. 5. 1933, LoC, George Biddle Papers, Box 19.
[27] See Marcia M. Mathews: George Biddle's Contribution to Federal Art. In: RCHS 49 (1973/74), pp. 493–520; Helen A. Harrison: American Art and the New Deal. In: JAS 6 (1972), pp. 289–296; Charles McKinley/Robert W. Frase: Launching Social Security. A Capture-and-Record Account, 1935–1937. Madison 1970, pp. 3–18.
[28] Quote in: FDR to Wilson, 3. 9. 1938, NARA/Hyde Park, PSF, Box 32; also see Wilson to Secretary of State, 29. 7. 1938, NARA/College Park, RG 59/862.504/545; more generally, see Kiran

Taken together, these four cases of transnational exchange bear several lessons. Most importantly, they demonstrate that the New Dealers did look abroad in their search for solutions to the crisis of American democracy and of capitalism. When seeking practical answers at the levels of relief, recovery, and reform, transnational references were essential.

But, tracing specific, "non-American" roots of the New Deal is not the central question because expertise in general was globally shared at the time. Decades of exchange had turned any concept into a cultural hybrid that was then appropriated to fit specific national or local needs. Nothing was genuinely American, even if the bulk of scholarship has stressed either the American roots of New Deal welfare statism or its revolutionary character and hence its absolute novelty.

Still, at the level of discourses, policy formulation and implementation there were cases in which the New Dealers explicitly referred to non-American practices. The results of these exchanges were far from predestined because there were several possible trajectories. In some cases, exchanges were driven by hopes of learning from others and sometimes led to selective adaption. In other cases, foreign references were used to lend credibility to home-grown plans – or to torpedo them. In a third group of cases, the existence of similar projects or phenomena elsewhere in the world influenced domestic developments by restricting the scope of action and, over time, establishing a particular notion of the "American way" – an expression which exploded into popular use during the second half of the 1930s and epitomized insecurities about what the best solution for the country should actually be.[29] Again, the CCC is a good example. Mainly for administrative and organizational reasons, the Army played an important role in running the organization. From its inception in 1933, this led to a discussion about whether the young men in the CCC should receive military training. High-ranking military officials repeatedly argued for such a solution. The New Dealers always strongly opposed this idea, and when unemployment gave way to full employment and war preparation in the early 1940s, they chose to discontinue the CCC instead of turning it into a preparatory or paramilitary unit. To a large extent, this decision was motivated by a transnational reference in the guise of the Nazi *Arbeitsdienst*. The need to distinguish the CCC from the *Reichsarbeitsdienst* was more important than any economic or military argument, which meant that certain options were blocked – even if introducing preparatory or paramilitary training would not automatically have turned the CCC into a Nazi institution. The transnational point of reference thus reduced the range of available domestic options. Ultimately, therefore, the role of transnational links was ambivalent and yielded very diverse results. Moreover, international cooperation was never front and center. Rather, during these debates, the main focus was on whether the realm

Klaus Patel: Soldiers of Labor. Labor Service in Nazi Germany and New Deal America, 1933–1945. New York 2005, pp. 277–279.
[29] See Wendy L. Wall: Inventing the "American Way". The Politics of Consensus from the New Deal to the Civil Rights Movement. Oxford 2009.

of transnationalism held any lessons to strengthen American democracy at the national level, demonstrating that nationalism and nation-centered policies were produced transnationally.[30]

Transatlantic Exchanges and their Effects on Sweden

Transnational links tend to be two-way roads, so let's return to the Swedish example itself and analyze the impact of the transatlantic exchanges about consumer cooperatives in Sweden itself. Building on the research of scholars like Kazimierz Musiał, Carl Marklund, Mary Hilson, and Thomas Etzemüller, the argument here is that the image of modern Sweden that Childs propagated had a broad impact, particularly on the international perception of the Swedish welfare state, and that this image was itself the product of intense transatlantic connections.[31]

In Sweden, Childs' work received a more mixed reception than in the United States. "Sweden: The Middle Way" was largely bereft of politics. Neither the political processes nor the conflicts over the country's political choices were adequately represented. Many Swedes found Childs' overall interpretation too positive and optimistic. Moreover, the central concept Swedes used to characterize their socio-political model, *folkhemmet*, remained marginal in Childs' book.[32] Rather, his Sweden resembled many elements of the American self-image, stressing qualities such as pragmatism, democracy, capitalism, directness or peacefulness.[33]

Against this backdrop, reactions in Sweden basically followed party lines. Progressive newspapers such as the *Dagens Nyheter* sympathized with Childs while conservative ones such as *Svenska Dagbladet* criticized his work. Economist Bertil Ohlin, member and future leader of the social liberal *folkpartiet* and therefore part of the opposition against the ruling social democrats, even insisted that it "simply was not true" that Sweden was a "fortunate land". Childs' depiction of Sweden was quite close to the visions and objectives of the social democratic party and of some intellectuals, but it bore much less resemblance to political

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[30] On this point, see, e.g., also: Christopher A. Bayly: The Birth of the Modern World 1780–1914. Oxford 2004; Sebastian Conrad: Globalisierung und Nation im deutschen Kaiserreich. München 2006.

[31] See Kazimierz Musiał: Roots of the Scandinavian Model. Images of Progress in the Era of Modernisation. Baden-Baden 2002; Carl Marklund: The Social Laboratory, the Middle Way and the Swedish Model: Three Frames for the Image of Sweden. In: ScanJH 34 (2009), pp. 264–285; Hilson: Co-operation (see note 3); Thomas Etzemüller: Die Romantik der Rationalität. Alva & Gunnar Myrdal – Social Engineering in Schweden. Bielefeld 2010.

[32] On the use of the term in Swedish during the 1930s and 1940s, see Norbert Götz: Ungleiche Geschwister. Die Konstruktion von nationalsozialistischer Volksgemeinschaft und schwedischem Volksheim. Baden-Baden 2001, pp. 190–280.

[33] See Curti: Sweden (see note 2), here: pp. 168–172.

and social practices on the ground.[34] Childs would even admit this in later years.[35]

Having said all this, "Sweden: The Middle Way" was instrumental in putting Sweden on the mental map of the welfare state from the second half of the 1930s onwards, first in the United States, then also elsewhere. It popularized Swedish achievements, and its title was particularly catchy since the Great Depression had triggered a general search for "middle" or "third" ways to solve the crises of capitalism and liberal democracy.[36] Moreover, it profited immensely from the international interest in consumer cooperatives that had built up by mid-1936. By comparison, earlier publications praising Sweden's social achievements had no impact beyond small circles of experts.[37] Perceptions of Sweden in some parts of Europe had been mixed for a long time. During the mid-1930s, for example, French intellectuals still identified it more with "happy mediocrity" than a pillar of the modern welfare state.[38] Such positions would soon become marginal. With Childs' book and Roosevelt's press conference, public attention in the United States snowballed and soon turned to other parts of the Swedish welfare state. Between 1935 and 1937, the number of American visitors to Sweden doubled, many of them coming for political reasons. In January 1937, the "New York Times" reported that cooperative directors and government officials in Europe found it "almost impossible to do any work last Summer due to the influx of Americans to study cooperatives".[39] The hype also rippled beyond American shores, particularly in the English-speaking world. Perhaps most importantly, future British Prime Minister Harold Macmillan referred explicitly to Childs' book in his 1938 book entitled "The Middle Way", which described his future vision of Britain.[40]

Sweden was attractive because of the tempo of its economic recovery and the design of its welfare policies. It was one of the few democracies in Europe to remain stable during the interwar years. At the same time, it is striking that U.S. attention turned to Sweden at this time as an internationally recognized social model. Before World War I, particularly after the loss of Norway in 1905, Sweden

[34] Quoted in Curti: Sweden (see note 2), here: p. 170; on Ohlin, see: Svante Nycander: Bertil Ohlin as a Liberal Politician. In: Ronald Findlay/Lars Jonung/Mats Lundahl (eds.): Bertil Ohlin. A Centennial Celebration, 1899–1999. Cambridge, MA 2002, pp. 71–114.

[35] See Marquis W. Childs: I Write from Washington. New York 1942, pp. 306f.

[36] See, e. g., Joanne Pemberton: The Middle Way. The Discourse and Planning in Britain, Australia and at the League in the Interwar Years. In: AJPH 52 (2006), pp. 48–63.

[37] See Carl Johann Ratzlaff: The Community Education Movement in Sweden. In: Journal of Educational Sociology 9 (1935), pp. 167–178; id.: The Scandinavian Unemployment Relief Program. Philadelphia 1934; on the level of American interest prior to the 1930s, see Curti: Sweden (see note 2).

[38] Julian Jackson: France. The Dark Years, 1940–1944. Oxford 2001, p. 94.

[39] U.S. Again Eyeing Cooperative Store. In: NYT, 4. 1. 1937; also see: Tourists to Sweden Rose in 1936. In: NYT, 21. 3. 1937; Marquis W. Childs: Sweden Revisited. In: Yale Review 27 (1937), p. 33.

[40] See Harold Macmillan: The Middle Way. A Study of the Problem of Economic and Social Progress in a Free and Democratic Society. London 1938, p. 81.

had been seen as lagging behind and not as a reforming country bustling with ideas. Many of the legal provisions instituted to help Sweden catch up were modeled on the Danish example – the southern neighbor was often seen as a role model.[41] Even Childs' "Sweden: The Middle Way" reveals traces of this link, featuring a full chapter on agricultural cooperatives in Denmark simply because Childs believed that the Danes were further advanced in this field.[42] Until the mid-1930s, transnational networks related to social policies had been at least as intense between the United States and Denmark as between the United States and Sweden.[43] Moreover, Denmark had previously served as a transatlantic point of reference for several other issues, such as folk schools, agricultural policies, or old age pensions (going back to the 1891 law in Denmark introducing the *alderdomsunderstøt-telseslov*).[44] Finally, Denmark's political stability was close to that of Sweden's and its economic recovery from the Depression was also almost comparable.[45]

Still, Denmark did not experience a comparable increase in American and international interest during the 1930s. Why, then, Sweden and not Denmark? Sweden's economic performance was a little more spectacular – whereas it had previously lagged far behind Denmark, it had been able to catch up. Another factor was more important, however: the configuration of academic elites and the social policies in both countries were quite different. In response to the country's perceived backwardness, parts of Swedish society started to re-orient themselves away from Germany and other Scandinavian countries and more towards the United States back in the late-19th century. Swedish academia in particular began to revamp itself early in the 20th century, turning away from Germany and more towards the American model of research universities engaged in social questions and highlighting policy-oriented research. This process was reinforced by the American philanthropic money that provided a good part of the scaffolding for Swedish academia in the 1920s, especially from the Rockefeller Foundation.[46]

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[41] See Musiał: Roots (see note 31), pp. 42–94.

[42] See Childs: Sweden (see note 2), pp. 133–144.

[43] A good indicator for this is the amount of Rockefeller Foundation funding; see, e. g., Rockefeller Foundation (ed.): Annual Reports. New York 1920–1935, online: http://www.rockefeller-foundation.org/about-us/annual-reports/ (last accessed: 25. 5. 2016).

[44] See, e. g., Olive Dame Campbell: The Danish Folk School: Its Influence in the Life of Denmark and the North. New York 1928; Musiał: Roots (see note 31), pp. 42–94; more generally: Pauli Kettunen: The Transnational Construction of National Challenges. The Ambiguous Nordic Model of Welfare and Competitiveness. In: Pauli Kettunen/Klaus Petersen (eds.): Beyond Welfare State Models. Transnational Historical Perspectives on Social Policy. Cheltenham 2011, pp. 16–40.

[45] See, e. g., Niels-Henrik Topp: Unemployment and Economic Policy in Denmark in the 1930s. In: SEHR 56 (2008), pp. 71–90; Christina D. Romer: The Nation in Depression. In: JEP 7 (1993), pp. 19–39. Danish unemployment figures rose again from 1937 onwards, i. e. after the period studied here.

[46] See Earline Craver: Gösta Bagge, the Rockefeller Foundation, and Empirical Social Science in Sweden, 1924–1940. In: Lars Jonung (ed.): The Stockholm School of Economics Revisited. Cambridge 1991, pp. 79–97; E. Stina Lyon: Education for Modernity. The Impact of American Social Science on Alva and Gunnar Myrdal and the 'Swedish Model' of School Reform. In: IJPCS 14 (2001), pp. 513–537.

From this point on, synergies between the academic and political realms were particularly intense in Sweden, and not only Americans found this striking. Sir Ernest Darwin Simon, a British expert on social policy, for instance, was impressed that five of the eight professors at Uppsala University's law faculty also served in the Swedish parliament, the Riksdagen.[47] In Denmark, in contrast, academia and politics did not converge nearly as much. By the second half of the 1930s, moreover, Danish policies seemed less radical, sticking instead to old-fashioned liberal ways. Sweden, on the other hand, appeared to be a laboratory where social engineers and other experts took the lead in reinvigorating democracy. This rational, state interventionist, and technocratic stance made Sweden so attractive to many American and international observers looking for discussion partners on the same wavelength.[48]

Gunnar Myrdal, whose contribution to developing the Swedish welfare state paradigm is widely acknowledged, is a good example. A member of staff at the Stockholm School of Economics, a hotbed of Swedish-American exchange, Myrdal held a chair in economics while also serving as a social democrat member of the Riksdagen. He was one of the key players of the social democratic political elite who sought to build exactly the kind of Sweden that Childs had described. Together with his wife Alva, Gunnar had spent 1929/30 in the United States as Rockefeller fellow, and America soon became his main intellectual reference point. This obviously facilitated communication with Americans. Myrdal and his analyses of Sweden soon became an important reference for Childs and also left a deep impression on the members of Roosevelt's inquiry in 1936. International visitors to Sweden did not meet eccentric eggheads in ivory towers, but rather smart young technocrats who spoke English, knew American ways, and wanted to change their country in a controlled manner. When, exactly one year after the inquiry's visit to Europe, the Carnegie Corporation looked for the "next Tocqueville" to analyze the situation of African Americans in the United States, they plumped for Gunnar Myrdal – a choice that would have been less likely without the new hype surrounding Sweden and its experts.[49]

On the other side of the Atlantic, a man named Naboth Hedin played a similar role to Myrdal in Sweden. Hedin directed the New York office of the American-Swedish News Exchange whose mission was to increase American knowledge about Sweden. Established in Stockholm in 1921 by the Sweden-America Foundation and sponsored by private and government support, Hedin directed the News Exchange between 1926 and 1946. Not only did he write endless articles on Sweden's successes and co-edit a volume celebrating the contribution of

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[47] See Ernest Darwin Simon: The Smaller Democracies. London 1939, p. 73.
[48] See Musiał: Roots (see note 31), pp. 86–108.
[49] On Mydral's exchange with the inquiry, see Teeboom: Way (see note 3), ch. 4, pp. 79f.; more generally: Walter A. Jackson: Gunnar Myrdal and America's Conscience. Social Engineering and Racial Liberalism, 1938–1987. Chapel Hill 1990; Etzemüller: Romantik (see note 31); William J. Barber: Gunnar Myrdal: An Intellectual Biography. Houndmills 2008, pp. 38–63.

Swedes over three hundred years of American history (published in 1938 with Yale University Press, which had also published Childs' book),[50] but also he helped Americans like Childs in their work on Sweden. Childs thanked Hedin for his generous assistance in several of his publications and, in the end, both profited from the cooperation.[51]

More generally, Sweden systematically invested in Childs to manicure its international image. In 1943, Childs returned to Sweden as a guest of the Swedish Foreign Office; in 1961, he received the prestigious *Nordstjärneorden* medal from the Swedish king. The idea of Sweden as a model social welfare state survived World War II, and in the postwar era, Childs' work became a standard point of reference far beyond the realm of Anglo-American literature. All in all, it was these close-knit transatlantic networks that created the "Swedish moment" of the 1930s by describing the country's successes as a reform democracy. Certainly, many factors combine to explain Sweden's international visibility on welfare issues after 1945. After all, it was not yet clear before the war that international interest would be more than a flash in the pan. With the benefit of hindsight, however, Childs and the American-Swedish networks from which he profited and which he in turn strengthened, were the defining moment of this international image.[52]

This holds true especially if one considers that England had a much longer tradition of consumer cooperatives. Particularly the English labor movement had pioneered many ideas in this field, for instance with the so-called Rochdale Principles. In the 1930s, England also had the largest consumer cooperative movement in the world.[53] Admittedly, the inquiry also paid a visit to Great Britain, Sweden still got more attention because it had become fashionable to praise its political and social system. If one ceases to treat Europe as a singular entity, these shifts away from Britain, France, and Germany become more visible; at the time, Sweden appeared as the most important new pin on the map. This qualifies Daniel Rodgers' hypothesis that New Deal social planners were primarily thinking backward, i. e. that they were scrutinizing Europe's past in order to learn for America's present and future.[54] In the case of Sweden, it was not the Scandinavian country's past, but rather its vibrant present that interested Americans most. This factor made these transatlantic links more intense than they would otherwise have been. Hence, the circumstances of the mid-1930s and America's particular interest in the Swedish system represented a crucial moment for Sweden's later career – during the second half of the century – as a major welfare state model on a global scale.

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[50] See Adolph B. Benson/Naboth Hedin (eds.): Swedes in America, 1638–1938. New Haven 1938.
[51] See, e. g., Naboth Hedin: New Sweden, Old America. In: The Forum, 10/1937, pp. 180–184; id.: Sweden's Recovery. In: Review of Reviews 95 (1937), p. 72.
[52] See Musiał: Roots (see note 31), pp. 109–164; Marklund: Laboratory (see note 31).
[53] See Hilson: Co-operation (see note 3), here: p. 187.
[54] See Rodgers: Crossings (see note 23), p. 424.

Conclusions

This essay has not focused on the transnational world of transfer and perceptions in terms of democracy as a concept, but rather it concentrated on the concrete policies that policy-makers considered, discussed, and implemented both domestically and transnationally. It demonstrated that the dual crisis of democracy and capitalism led to intense exchanges that affected all the parties involved. This becomes particularly visible if one leaves the general levels of political statements or the history of ideas to focus on the nuts and bolts of concrete welfare provisions.

Finally, it is interesting to analyze where the New Dealers themselves sought inspiration around the globe. Obviously, the links to Europe loomed largest in these exchanges, but, these relationships were by no means static. The New Dealers remained highly interested in German welfare policies, despite Nazism. Well-established connections to countries such as Britain and France continued to be vital, and it was not only the political fringe that sought to make connections with the Soviet Union, particularly in the first years of the New Deal. But there were also "newcomers" who became points of reference, most notably Sweden.

Beyond certain tectonic changes in its links to the Old World, the New Deal remained largely Eurocentric in its global framework of reference, and in this respect, the example of the artists' program is the exception to the rule. Notions of cultural and racial supremacy normally kept the United States from looking south for any kind of political inspiration. This is quite interesting because other non-European points of reference besides Mexico would have been available for some issues, but the New Dealers mostly chose to ignore them.

One last example must suffice: in the American debate about consumer cooperatives in the mid-1930s, the most important foreign figure was a man called Toyohiko Kagawa, a Japanese Christian missionary. Some, like John Haynes Holmes, the Unitarian minister and founding member of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, went so far as to call Kagawa the "first and noblest Christian in the world since the passing of Tolstoi".[55] During a tour of the United States from December 1935 to July 1936, Kagawa reached an estimated audience of 750,000 as he spoke around the country about the cooperative movement in Japan with its strongholds in Osaka and Kobe.[56] While many Americans were eager to listen, the New Dealers did not send a study commission to Japan. Persistent racial and cultural antipathies kept Americans from taking any real interest in such developments. The international image of Japan as an innovative and formidable power only emerged during later decades. Because of these prejudices, Japan was discovered long after Sweden, and less for political than for economic reasons.

[55] New Light from the East. In: Consumers' Cooperation 22 (1936) 3, pp. 38–41, here: p. 41; more generally, see Teeboom: Way (see note 3), ch. 3, pp. 15–29; David P. King: The West Looks East. The Influence of Toyohiko Kagawa on American Mainline Protestantism. In: ChH 80 (2011), pp. 302–320.
[56] See Editorial Epigrams. In: Consumers' Cooperation 22 (1936) 8, pp. 113–116, here: p. 114.

Till van Rahden

Clumsy Democrats

Demons and Devils in Postwar Germany

To Michael Geyer

> It seems strikingly clear that there has never
> been a society in Germany. People live without
> form or focus; they lack shape (and are
> disordered within). Everything is there, but
> nothing is in its proper place.
> Siegfried Kracauer, 1956

> The Germans are idealistic, conscientious and
> devoted to duty, whether or not it leads them in
> the right direction.
> Woman's Guide to Europe, 1953

20th-century Europe was marked by two extremes: the descent into war and geno-
cidal dictatorship on the one hand, and the return to peace and democracy on the
other.[1] Throughout much of the 1920s and 1930s democracy, the rule of law, and
liberalism seemed outdated to many in Western and Central Europe as well as in
the United States. Indeed, in his interpretation of 20th-century European history,
Mark Mazower has argued that the idea of liberal democracy "was virtually ex-

tinct" by the late 1930s.[2] Given the renaissance of liberal democracy, an explora-
tion of postwar European history in the light of larger questions about the inher-
ently fragile nature of democracy as a way of life is a task for scholars interested
in the future of representative government, the rule of law, and of the idea of a
liberal polity.[3] And yet, a hesitation is discernible among historians in addressing
larger questions about the contingent nature of democracy. My aim is to encour-
age more studies that explore the contingency and fragility of representative gov-
ernment and the rule of law. Given the somewhat elusive nature of such large
questions, the arguments advanced in this essay are best understood as tentative,
but hopefully as suggestive. As an attempt to foster a genuinely historical under-
standing of liberal democracy the following reflections draw on recent scholar-
ship on postwar Germany.

Against the backdrop of recent interpretations of the interwar and war years
that emphasize how widespread the disenchantment with representative govern-
ment and the rule of law was all over Western Europe (as well as in the United
States), this essay draws on the concept of "moral history" to shed new light on
postwar German history.[4] Key questions include: How did conceptions of civili-

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[2] Mazower: Continent (see note 1), p. 5; see also: Horst Möller: Gefährdungen der Demokratie.
Aktuelle Probleme in historischer Sicht. In: VfZ 55 (2007) 3, pp. 379–391, here esp.: pp. 382f.;
Hans Mommsen: Der lange Schatten der untergehenden Republik. Zur Kontinuität politischer
Denkhaltungen von der späten Weimarer Republik zur frühen Bundesrepublik. In: Karl-Dietrich
Bracher et al. (eds.): Die Weimarer Republik 1918–1933. Bonn 1987, pp. 552–586, here esp.: p. 553.
[3] Charles Maier: Democracy since the French Revolution. In: John Dunn (ed.): Democracy. The
Unfinished Journey. Oxford 1992, pp. 125–154; Marcel Gauchet: L'avènement de la démocratie.
3 vols. Paris 2007–2010; Ian Shapiro: The Moral Foundations of Politics. New Haven 2003; Nadia
Urbinati: Representative Democracy. Principles and Genealogy. Chicago 2006; Geoff Eley: Forg-
ing Democracy. The History of the Left in Europe, 1850–2000. Oxford 2002; John Keane: The
Life and Death of Democracy. New York 2009; Jan-Werner Müller: Contesting Democracy: Po-
litical Ideas in Twentieth-Century Europe. New Haven 2011; Paolo Flores D'Arcais: Die Demo-
kratie beim Wort nehmen. Der Souverän und der Dissident. Politisch-philosophischer Essay für
anspruchsvolle Bürger. Berlin 2004, esp. p. 16; James T. Kloppenberg: Toward Democracy. The
Struggle for Self-Rule in European and American Thought. Oxford 2016.
[4] On moral history see note 9. On the interwar and war years see: Mazower: Continent (see
note 1); Julian Jackson: France. The Dark Years 1940–1944. Oxford 2001; Robert Gildea: Mari-
anne in Chains. In Search of the German Occupation, 1940–1945. London 2002; Marie-Anne
Matard-Bonucci (ed.): L'homme nouveau dans l'Europe fasciste (1922–1945). Entre dictature et
totalitarisme. Paris 2004; Dietrich Orlow: The Lure of Fascism in Western Europe. German Na-
zis, Dutch and French Fascists, 1933–1939. New York 2009; Walter Struve: Elites against Democ-
racy. Leadership Ideals in Bourgeois Political Thought in Germany, 1890–1933. Princeton 1973;
Möller: Gefährdungen (see not 2), here esp.: pp. 382f.; Nigel Townson: The Crisis of Democracy
in Spain. Centrist politics under the Second Republic, 1931–1936. Brighton 2000; Alan Brinkley:
Voices of Protest. Huey Long, Father Coughlin and the Great Depression. New York 1982; Glen
Jeansonne: Gerald L. K. Smith. Minister of Hate. New Haven 1988; Mark C. Thompson: Black
Fascisms. African American literature and culture between the wars. Charlottesville 2007; Benja-
min L. Alpers: Dictators, Democracy, and American Public Culture. Envisioning the Totalitarian
Enemy. Chapel Hill 2003. Wolf Lepenies has recently reminded us of the pan-European dimen-
sion of fascism's "aesthetic appeal": Wolf Lepenies: Overestimating Culture. A German Problem.
In: PBA 121 (2002), pp. 235–256, here esp.: pp. 243–245. For a welcome contrast see: Giovanni

ty, morality and manners, of trust and civic virtue foster or threaten the "unsocial sociability" of citizens (Immanuel Kant)? How were bonds of belonging imagined and formed and what role did they play in producing a sense of the self? When and why were these bonds torn? How did moral dramas, conflicts over manners, and controversies over ethics – in the wake of genocide and total war – shape the larger story of a fledgling democracy that was the Federal Republic?

These ruminations address the controversies whether the viability of liberal democracies presupposes certain (Western) values, a common morality, or a social imaginary.[5] In contrast, this essay contends that its deeper foundations lie in the elusive realm of forms and aesthetics. Whereas democracy is often understood as a system of governance, the foundational role of democratic customs and manners, of democratic forms and styles is rarely explored. To privilege these questions over an analysis of substance is to emphasize rules, manners, and conventions over an ethical consensus and shared values. Scholarly curiosity in other words shifts from the content of content, i. e. democratic ideas, norms, or values in democratic polities, to the content of form.[6]

Against this background we can perhaps begin to reconsider Böckenförde's famous dictum: "The liberal secular state lives on premises that it cannot itself guarantee. On the one hand, it can subsist only if the freedom it consents to its citizens is regulated from within, inside the moral substance of individuals and of a homogeneous society. On the other hand, it is not able to guarantee these forces of inner regulation by itself without renouncing its liberalism."[7] If a pluralist liberalism is justified in putting moral incommensurability first, the premises (that Böckenförde calls our attention to) cannot be found in the realm of morality or ethics. Moreover, a republican constitution, as Kant was the first to point out, would have to work not just for a nation of angels but also for a "nation of dev-

Capoccia: Defending Democracy. Reactions to Extremism in Interwar Europe. Baltimore 2005; as well as: Tim Müller/Adam Tooze (eds.): Normalität und Fragilität: Demokratie nach dem Ersten Weltkrieg. Hamburg 2015. For contemporary Anglo-American reflections see especially: Harold J. Laski: Democracy in Crisis. Chapel Hill 1935; Moritz Julius Bonn: The Crisis of European Democracy. New Haven 1925; John Dewey: The Public and Its Problems. In: John Dewey: The Later Works. Vol. 2: 1925–1927. Carbondale 1984, pp. 235–374; Max Lerner: It Is Later Than You Think. The Need for a Militant Democracy. New York 1938; Ignazio Silone: The School for Dictators, with a preface by the author to the new edition. New York 1963 (first publ. 1939).

[5] Charles Taylor: Modern Social Imaginaries. Durham 2004, esp. p. 23; Heinrich August Winkler: Die Geschichte des Westens. 4 vols. München 2009–2015.

[6] Stanley Cavell: Pursuits of Happiness: The Hollywood Comedy of Remarriage. Cambridge, MA 1984; Thierry de Duve: Aesthetics as the Transcendental Ground of Democracy. In: CrI 42 (2015) 1, pp. 149–165; Yaron Ezrahi: Imagined Democracies: Necessary Political Fictions. Cambridge 2012; Bruno Latour/Peter Weibel (eds.): Making Things Public: Atmospheres of Democracy. Cambridge, MA 2005; Julia Paley (ed.): Democracy: Anthropological Approaches. Santa Fe 2008; Jacques Rancière: La mésentente: politique et philosophie. Paris 1995; Jacques Rancière: Le partage du sensible: esthétique et politique. Paris 2000; Sebastian Veg: La démocratie, un objet d'étude pour la recherche littéraire? In: RLC 329 (2009), pp. 101–121.

[7] Ernst-Wolfgang Böckenförde: Staat, Gesellschaft, Freiheit: Studien zur Staatstheorie und zum Verfassungsrecht. Frankfurt a. M. 1976, p. 60 (translated by the author).

ils".[8] Therefore it might be more fruitful to focus less on the substance of the moral passions citizens hold, and explore instead how public customs, forms, and manners mediate their ethical sentiments and fears. If such considerations contain a kernel of truth, this is good news for historians and other scholars in the humanities who know a thing or two about sociability and rhetoric, about style and form and, perhaps even, about aesthetics.[9]

Democratic Passions and Nazi Morality

To invoke the concept of moral history is not to suggest that we would do well to write the history of postwar Germany from the vantage point of contemporary morality. Nor should moral history, as Michael Geyer and John Boyer have pointed out, be "mistaken for either a judgmental and incriminating or a melodramatic history". Instead, the concept directs our attention to how central conceptions of morality, moral passions, and moral practices were to the search for democracy in the shadow of man-made mass death. "Above all", Geyer and Boyer note, "moral history engages in a debate on violence. It finds its supreme challenge in an age that is marked by genocidal confrontations". If moral history sheds light on how "institutions, groups of people, and individuals […] renew the social bonds that constitute communities and nations and the integrity of their 'body politic'", such an endeavor is indispensable to the analysis of postwar German history and perhaps postwar European history generally.[10]

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[8] Oliver Eberl/Peter Niesen (eds.): Immanuel Kant. Zum ewigen Frieden und Auszüge aus der Rechtslehre. Berlin 2011, p. 20 (translated by the author); Immanuel Kant: Toward Perpetual Peace and Other Writings on Politics, Peace, and History. New Haven 2006, p. 20.

[9] Cavell: Happiness (see note 6); Duve: Aesthetics (see note 6); Ezrahi: Democracies (see note 6); Latour/Weibel (eds.): Things (see note 6); Paley (ed.): Democracy (see note 6); Rancière: mésentente (see note 6); Aleida Assmann: Civilizing Societies. Recognition and Respect in a Global World. In: NLH 44 (2013) 1, pp. 69–91.

[10] Michael Geyer/John W. Boyer: Resistance against the Third Reich as Intercultural Knowledge. In: id. (eds.): Resistance against the Third Reich, 1933–1990, pp. 1–11, here: pp. 7–9; Victoria Kahn/Neil Saccamano/Daniela Coli (eds.): Politics and the Passions, 1500–1850. Princeton 2006; Steven Lukes: Moral Relativism. New York 2008; George Cotkin: History's Moral Turn. In: JHI 69 (2008), pp. 293–315; George Cotkin: Morality's Muddy Waters. Ethical Quandaries in Modern America. Philadelphia 2010; Lorraine Daston/Fernando Vidal (eds.): The Moral Authority of Nature. Chicago 2004; Roman Dilcher et al.: Moralisch–amoralisch. In: Karlheinz Barck et al. (eds.): Ästhetische Grundbegriffe. Historisches Wörterbuch. Vol. 4, Stuttgart 2002, pp. 183–224; Dieter Kliche: Passion/Leidenschaft. In: ibid., pp. 684–724; Didier Fassin: Les économies morales revisitées. In: Annales HSS 64 (2009) 6, pp. 1237–1266; Giulia Sissa: Postface: Passions politiques, un défi pour l'anthropologie contemporaine. In: Anthropologie et Sociétés 32 (2008) 3, pp. 173–177; José Brunner (ed.): Politische Leidenschaften: Zur Verknüpfung von Macht, Emotion und Vernunft in Deutschland. In: TAJB 38 (2010), pp. 103–114. While my reflections are indebted to the burgeoning field of the history of emotions, my aim is more modest. What I hope to draw attention to is less the historical significance of emotions as such, but that of moral sentiments, passions, and fears more specifically. Even if the concept of "moral sentiments" seems quaint at first, it may prove useful to explore avenues that avoid the two pitfalls in the history of

Languages of morality invoke the juxtaposition of good and evil, the distinction between right and wrong, and the difference between vice and virtue. Yet are such binary oppositions primarily based on reason, as Habermasian proponents of a discourse theory of ethics seem to imply? In his inaugural lecture of 1965, "Knowledge and Human Interest", postwar Germany's most influential political philosopher called for a rational basis for collective life which could only be achieved when "social relations were organized 'according to the principle that the validity of every norm of political consequence be made dependent on a consensus arrived at in communication free of domination'". In both substance and style such arguments raise the question whether fantasies of the "forceless force of the better argument" are perhaps best understood as a form of magical thinking embedded in the austere rationality that was characteristic of postwar German political theory.[11] Particularly to foreign commentators, Habermas seemed like "a rationalistic utopian who measures the crooked timber of humanity against standards gained by viewing it sub specie emancipationis".[12]

emotions that Sophia Rosenfeld has identified. Scholars, Rosenfeld notes, should be "equally wary of banal, unsubstantiated assertions of mood […] [and] the direct application of either turn-of-the-century psychoanalysis or contemporary neuropsychology to the analysis of historical phenomena". See Sophia Rosenfeld: Thinking about Feeling, 1789–1799. In: FHS 32 (2009) 4, pp. 697–706, quotation: p. 703; see also Valentin Groebner: Ein Staubsauger namens Emotion: Geschichte und Gefühl als akademischer Komplex. In: ZIG 7 (2013) 3, pp. 109–116. Generally see William Reddy: The Navigation of Feeling: A Framework for the History of Emotions. Cambridge 2001; Leela Gandhi: Affective Communities: Anticolonial Thought, Fin-De-Siècle Radicalism, and the Politics of Friendship. Durham 2006; Jan Plamper: The History of Emotions: An Introduction. Oxford 2015; Frank Biess/Daniel M. Gross (eds.): Science and Emotions after 1945: A Transatlantic Perspective. Chicago 2014; Anna M. Parkinson: An Emotional State: The Politics of Emotion in Postwar West German Culture. Ann Arbor 2015.

[11] Stephen K. White: Reason, Modernity, and Democracy. In: id. (ed.): The Cambridge Companion to Habermas. Cambridge 1995, pp. 3–16, here: p. 6. In this passage White quotes Jürgen Habermas: Knowledge and Human Interest. Boston 1972, p. 284. To my knowledge Habermas first uses the phrase "forceless force of the better argument" in: Jürgen Habermas: Vorbereitende Bemerkungen zu einer Theorie der kommunikativen Kompetenz. In: id./Niklas Luhmann: Theorie der Gesellschaft oder Sozialtechnologie. Frankfurt a. M. 1971, p. 137. Generally see Clemens Albrecht et al. (eds.): Die intellektuelle Gründung der Bundesrepublik. Eine Wirkungsgeschichte der Frankfurter Schule. Frankfurt a. M. 2000; Martin J. Matuštík/Jürgen Habermas: A Philosophical-Political Profile. Lanham 2001; and Matthew G. Specter: Jürgen Habermas. An Intellectual Biography. Cambridge 2010.

[12] Michael Rosen: Utopia in Frankfurt. In: TLS, 8. 10. 1999, pp. 3 f. (translated by the author). For an attempt to analyze "the extent to which Habermas' work situates itself in the particularities of the German situation since the 1940s" see: Max Pensky: Universalism and the Situated Critic. In: White (ed.): Companion (see note 11), pp. 67–94, quotation: p. 67; see also: id.: Jürgen Habermas and the Antinomies of the Intellectual. In: Peter Dews (ed.): Habermas. A Critical Reader. Oxford 1999, pp. 211–240, here esp.: p. 221; on the context in which to situate the skeptical sobriety inherent in Habermasian discourse ethics see: Nina Verheye: Diskussionslust. Eine Kulturgeschichte des „besseren Arguments" in Westdeutschland. Göttingen 2010. The first scholars to call attention to the problematic implications of Habermas' emphasis on rationality were, of course, feminist philosophers such as Alison M. Jaggar, Susan Moller Okin, and Nancy Fraser.

Discourse ethics, it seems, evaded the question of moral incommensurability through an attempt to make passion the slave of reason. This school of moral philosophy is perhaps best understood against the background of post-Fascist sensitivities that responded to a specific (historical and, therefore, contingent) understanding of Nazism as the triumph of passions over reason.[13] And, if so, are distinctions between right and wrong as well as conceptions of justice and freedom more fruitfully conceptualized as political passions, as what David Hume labeled "moral sentiments"?

Hume believed that moral distinctions result not from sober reasoning but derive from feelings of approval and disapproval. Morality, he emphasized, is "more properly felt than judg'd of".[14] In response to controversies over whether conceptions of vice and virtue were innate or conventional, the Scottish philosopher argued that whereas some ethical distinctions were "natural", others were "artificial". The latter, such as justice, fidelity, modesty and good manners, were artificial in the sense that they grow out of the encounters among citizens, be they harmonious or contentious. Yet, if artificial virtues are "entirely artificial, and of human invention", such moral sentiments are simultaneously a prerequisite for, and a result of, the encounters and conflicts between citizens, practices Immanuel Kant would soon label the unsocial sociability of citizens.[15] The "artifice" of moral sentiments that grow out of civic sociability gives rise to a form of "restraint" that is not "contrary to the passions", but "only contrary to their heedless and impetuous movement". Artificial virtues such as justice and good manners therefore cannot transcend the natural "partiality of our affections", but allow citizens

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[13] As Matthias Iser and David Strecker note, Habermas' conception of deliberative democracy is driven by an *Ablehnung einer Politik, die statt auf Argumente auf Gefühle oder ästhetische Erfahrungen setzt – wie etwa die Inszenierung der nationalsozialistischen Parteitage*. Matthias Iser/ David Strecker: Jürgen Habermas. Zur Einführung. Hamburg 2010, p. 22. The nexus between the memory of Nazism and discourse ethics is more explicit in the work of Habermas' close interlocutor Karl-Otto Apel: Zurück zur Normalität? – Oder könnten wir aus der nationalen Katastrophe etwas Besonderes gelernt haben? Das Problem des (welt-) geschichtlichen Übergangs zur postkonventionellen Moral aus spezifisch deutscher Sicht. In: id.: Diskurs und Verantwortung: Das Problem des Übergangs zur postkonventionellen Moral. Frankfurt a. M. 1988, pp. 370–474, here esp.: pp. 372f. Generally see Dirk A. Moses: German Intellectuals and the Nazi Past. Cambridge 2007, esp. pp. 105–130.

[14] David Fate Norton (ed.): David Hume. A Treatise of Human Nature. Oxford 2004, p. 301. My understanding of Human moral philosophy and its uses for an analysis of the place of moral sentiments and political passions in postwar Germany is indebted to Annette Baier's work; see especially: Annette Baier: Moral Prejudices. Essays on Ethics. Cambridge, MA 1994; id.: The Cautious Jealous Virtue. Hume on Justice. Cambridge, MA 2010; see also: Rachel Cohon: Hume's Moral Philosophy. In: Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy, http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/hume-moral/ (last accessed: 1. 6. 2016). I owe a huge debt to Neil Saccamano, Cornell University, for his advice on Hume's moral philosophy; see also: Neil Saccamano: Parting with Prejudice. Hume, Identity, and Aesthetic Universality. In: Kahn/Saccamano/Coli (eds.): Politics (see note 10), pp. 175–195. For a thought-provoking attempt to reconsider Kant's conception of the passions see: Judith Mohrmann: Affekt und Revolution. Politisches Handeln nach Arendt und Kant. Frankfurt a. M. 2015.

[15] Norton (ed.): David Hume (see note 14), p. 338.

to develop the elementary skills of restraining and checking selfishness and resentment.[16]

Even if Kant rather than Hume served as the guiding light of postwar German moral philosophy, the Scottish philosopher's reflections on moral sentiments are helpful for our understanding of a democratic polity in the shadow of violence.[17] For, if Hume is right, insights into the emotional basis of morality and the passions that inform conceptions of justice and equality are critical to any analysis of the fragile nature of liberal democracy. Such ruminations may seem superfluous to those who view democracy as a formal system of governance. They seem indispensable, however, if one subscribes to a pragmatist conception of "Democracy as a Way of Life" or a thick constitutionalism informed by a "Liberalism of Fear". As Judith Shklar put it, this is a non-utopian liberalism that abandons the idea of "a *summum bonum*" toward which everyone should strive, and instead begins "with a *summum malum*", namely "cruelty and the fear it inspires, and the very fear of fear itself".[18] In the light of the far-reaching destruction of civil society, the pervasiveness of violence, not to mention genocidal warfare prior to May 1945, it is remarkable that – within barely two to three decades – (West) Germans not only came to accept a "thin" conception of democracy as a formal system of governance, but increasingly embraced a "thick" conception of democracy. This unlikely renaissance of democracy would have been unthinkable had they not begun to cherish "Democracy as a Way of Life"– to borrow the felicitous phrase of Sidney Hook. In 1939, at the height of the disenchantment with democracy during

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[16] David Hume: Of the origin of justice and property. In: Norton (ed.): David Hume (see note 14), pp. 311–322, here: p. 314; for a provocative reading of the dictinction between natural and artificial virtues see: Annette Baier: Hume's Account of Social Artifice. Its Origins and Originality. In: Ethics 98 (1988), p. 757–778; id.: Virtue (see note 14), pp. 123–148, esp. 124f. See also Assmann: Societies (see note 9), esp. pp. 70–72.

[17] For the three decades between 1960 and 1990, the "Philosopher's Index" lists a total of 445 German-language essays on ethics; among these scholarly publications 93 invoke Immanuel Kant whereas only 4 invoke David Hume. For the following two decades, the same index lists 1458 German-language essays on ethics out of which 240 refer to Kant and only 9 to Hume. A look at essays published in English also suggests a preponderance of Kant; the ration, however, is far less striking: 919 to 353 for the period between 1960 and 1990, and 1499 to 513 since 1991. World Cat lists exactly one German-language publication on "David Hume" and "Ethics" as subject headings published between 1950 and 1980, as opposed to 84 on Kantian ethics. The ratio for books published in English in the same period is 63 on Hume and 136 on Kant.

[18] Judith Shklar: The Liberalism of Fear. In: Stanley Hoffmann (ed.): Political Thought and Political Thinkers. Chicago 1998, pp. 3–20, here: pp. 10f. (italics in original); Judith Shklar: Putting Cruelty First. In: Daedalus 111 (1982) 3, pp. 17–27; Isaiah Berlin: Two Concepts of Liberty. In: id.: Four Essays on Liberty. Oxford 1969, pp. 118–172; Bernard Williams: The Liberalism of Fear. In: Geoffrey Hawthorn/Bernard Williams (eds.): In the Beginning Was the Deed: Realism and Moralism in Political Argument. Princeton 2005, pp. 52–61; for recent examples that this intellectual tradition is alive and well see the work of Jacob T. Levy and George Kateb, and it seems as if her work is now receiving increasing attention in Germany; Hannes Bajohr/Burkhard Liebsch (ed.): Schwerpunkt: Judith N. Shklars politische Philosophie. In: DZPh 62 (2014) 4, pp. 626–784; Hannes Bajohr: Am Leben zu sein heißt Furcht zu haben. Judith Shklars negative Anthropologie des Liberalismus. In: id. (ed.): Judith Shklar. Der Liberalismus der Furcht. Berlin 2013.

the interwar years, the pragmatist philosopher argued that in a democracy, "differences of interest and achievement must not be merely suffered but encouraged. The healthy zest and opposition arising from the conflict and interchange of ideas, tastes, and personality in a free society is a much more fruitful source of new and significant experiences than the peace of dull, dead uniformity." Democracy therefore was not simply a system of governance, but primarily a way of life. It needed to be based on "an affirmation of certain attitudes" that were "more important than any particular set of institutions": the belief in the "intrinsic [...] dignity" of every individual, the belief "in the value of difference, variety and uniqueness", and a "faith in some method" by which conflicts between irreconcilable and incommensurable moral passions can be hedged in and regulated.[19]

   To speak of moral history and allude to the concept of morality within a genuinely historical analysis of postwar Germany reflects a conscious decision not to perpetuate the seemingly self-evident and well-established distinction between ethics and morality. Instead, I am particularly interested in what happens when we call into question the distinction between morality, often associated with restrictive if not repressive regimes of bourgeois or petty bourgeois morality, on the one hand, and the allegedly more respectable and dignified realm of ethics, on the other. What I encourage is therefore not an analysis of abstract ethical ideals but an exploration of the entanglement of, and the shady areas between, on the one hand, manners and civility, and on the other, sociability and the political. Historians, in other words, need not turn into philosophers; instead they have something to offer to the minority of moral philosophers who, as Mary Douglas put it, "have tried to incorporate into their account of morals the notion that humans are social beings and that their essential moral ideas (not just the local, culturally specific, and dispensable ones) are the result of negotiated conventions", – and therefore the product of history.[20]

   There are, conventionally, two ways of reasoning about morality. One tries to arrive at generalizations regarding what should be valued, usually under all cir-

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[19] Sidney Hook: Democracy as a Way of Life. In: John N. Andrews/Carl A. Marsden (eds.): Tomorrow in the Making. New York 1939, pp. 31–46, here: pp. 42–44. Hook obviously sought to popularize Dewey's conception of democracy as experience, see: William R. Caspary: Dewey on Democracy. Ithaca 2000; Robert B. Westbrook: Democratic Hope: Pragmatism and the Politics of Truth. Ithaca 2005. Such arguments were especially popular in the early Federal Republic. Notably politicians and intellectuals that had a keen sense for the fragility of democracy would emphasize how central questions of form, aesthetics, and style were for the search for democracy in the shadow of violence, see: Theodor Heuss: Um Deutschlands Zukunft (18. März 1946). In: Eberhard Pikart (ed.): Heuss. Aufzeichnungen 1945–1947. Tübingen 1966, pp. 184–208; Theodor Heuss: Stilfragen der Demokratie (1955). In: Martin Vogt (ed.): Theodor Heuss: Politiker und Publizist. Aufsätze und Reden. Tübingen 1984, pp. 450–465; Adolf Schüle: Demokratie als politische Form und als Lebensform. In: Rechtsprobleme in Staat und Kirche. FS für Rudolf Smend zum 70. Geburtstag. Göttingen 1952, pp. 321–344; Carlo Schmid: Die Demokratie als Lebensform. In: Mannheimer Hefte 1970, 1, pp. 8–12; id.: Demokratie – die Chance, den Staat zu vermenschlichen. In: Meyers Enzyklopädisches Lexikon. Vol. 6. Mannheim ⁹1972, pp. 409–415.
[20] Mary Douglas: Morality and Culture. In: Ethics 93 (1983) 4, pp. 786–791, here: p. 791.

cumstances and by all right-minded people – as long as they don a Rawlsian "veil of ignorance". This is known as normative reasoning. Another attempts to describe the morals, ethics and evaluative procedures that individuals and occasionally communities in fact adhere to, putting aside the question of whether those values are worth having. This line of reasoning is descriptive rather than normative. Although this distinction between normative and descriptive ways of reasoning appears to be self-evident, the boundaries are often blurred.[21] Scholars of moral history cannot be expected to set their own moral passions aside. Close to three centuries of reflections on not just the inevitability, but the necessity of subjective viewpoints and vantage points for any form of historical knowledge suggests that this is impossible. Instead, the challenge historians of moral sentiments face is how to transform their own moral passions and fears into what Siegfried Kracauer identified as the key qualification for scholars in the humanities, namely "moral ingenuity". In "History: The Last Things Before the Last" Kracauer argued that an adequate study of the historian's world "calls for the efforts of a self as rich in facets as the affairs reviewed".[22] If he is right, we need to carefully draw on our own fantasies and fears, desires and demons that emerge out of the moral dramas and moral incommensurabilities of our present rather than putting them aside when we write the history of moral passions in postwar Germany.

To study the entanglement of democracy and intimacy in postwar Germany from the vantage point of moral history seems particularly compelling in the light of the fact that historians have begun to reject interpretations of Nazism (as well as Fascism and Stalinism) as amoral and barbaric. In recent years, Claudia Koonz, Alon Confino, and Raphael Gross have emphasized that the Third Reich drew on ethical concepts and moral passions, that Nazism possessed "a 'moral foundation' – at least in the eyes of Nazis and their followers".[23] It is misleading therefore to

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[21] Steven Connor: Honour bound? In: TLS, 5. 1. 1996, pp. 24–26; Konrad Ott: Moralbegründungen. Zur Einführung. Hamburg 2005, p. 7.

[22] Siegfried Kracauer: History: Last Things before the Last. Oxford 1969, p. 62; see also Johann G. Droysen: Historik. Die Vorlesungen von 1875. In: Peter Leyh (ed.): Historik. Historisch-kritische Ausgabe. Stuttgart 1977, pp. 107 f.

[23] On Stalinism see the recent work by Jochen Hellbeck, Stephen Kotkin, or Karl Schlögel; on Vichy France see: Robert Gildea: Marianne in Chains. In Search of the German Occupation 1940–1945. London 2002; Patrick Buisson: 1940–1945, Années érotiques. Vichy ou les infortunes de la vertu. Paris 2008; on Nazi Germany see: Raphael Gross: Relegating Nazism to the Past. Expressions of German Guilt in 1945 and beyond. In: GH 25 (2007), pp. 219–238, here: p. 221; Raphael Gross: Anständig geblieben. Nationalsozialistische Moral. Frankfurt a. M. 2010; Claudia Koonz: The Nazi Conscience. Cambridge, MA 2003; Alon Confino: Fantasies about the Jews. Cultural Reflections on the Holocaust. In: HM 17 (2005) 1–2, pp. 296–322; Nicholas Stargardt: The German War: A Nation under Arms, 1939–45. London 2015; id./Jochen Hellbeck: The New Man in Stalinist Russia and Nazi Germany. In: Michael Geyer/Sheila Fitzpatrick (eds.): Beyond Totalitarianism: Stalinism and Nazism Compared. New York 2009, pp. 302–341; Sheila Fitzpatrick/Alf Lüdtke: Energizing the Everyday: On the Breaking and Making of Social Bonds in Nazism and Stalinism, pp. 266–301; Andrew Stuart Bergerson: Ordinary Germans in Extraordinary Times. The Nazi Revolution in Hildesheim. Bloomington 2004; interventions by philosophers include: Rolf Zimmermann: Moral als Macht. Eine Philosophie der historischen Erfahrung. Rein-

interpret the Holocaust as the result of "weakened moral values". On the contrary, as Confino has noted, moral passions "helped create the extreme war conditions".[24] The monstrosity of Nazi crimes should not distract us from an analysis of how central passions of love and fear, dreams of salvation and redemption, as well as concepts of justice and liberty, humanity and peace were to Nazi morality. Unless we acknowledge the moral foundation of Nazism we cannot begin to understand the twisted paths Germans took as they came to embrace democracy as a way of life.[25]

When embarking on such an endeavor, we would do well not to lose sight of national specificities: once the focus shifts to those countries of Western Europe that were to play a key role in the early postwar search for democracy and reconciliation, it becomes clear, for example, that Germany and Italy share certain peculiarities that set them apart from their partners with whom they built the European community – such as Belgium, the Netherlands, and France or Britain. True, by 1930, a disenchantment with the idea of liberal democracy could be found all over Western Europe as well as in the United States. It was "remarkable", the French essayist Paul Valéry noted in 1934 in a special issue on "Dictatures et Dictateurs" of the quarterly "Témoignages de notre temps", that "the idea of dictatorship is as contagious today as the idea of freedom was in days gone by" ("Il est remarquable que la dictature soit à présent contagieuse, comme le fut jadis la li-

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bek 2008; Wolfgang Bialas: Die moralische Ordnung des Nationalsozialismus. Zum Zusammenhang von Philosophie, Ideologie und Moral. In: Werner Konitzer/Raphael Gross (eds.): Moralität des Bösen. Ethik und nationalsozialistische Verbrechen. Frankfurt a. M. 2009, pp. 30–60; André Mineau: Operation Barbarossa. Ideology and Ethics against Human Dignity. Amsterdam 2004; id. (ed.): Ethics and the Holocaust (= TEL 12 (2007) 7).

[24] Confino: Fantasies (see note 23), here: p. 300.

[25] This is, of course, hardly an original insight. *Seit einem halben Jahrhundert*, Helmuth Plessner noted in 1962, *erlebt die in Staaten zerklüftete Welt eine Epoche von Blut und Gewalt, die, wollte man sie als Rückfall in die Barbarei bezeichnen, gewissermaßen noch eine Unschuldsmiene aufgesetzt bekäme. Die Greuel der Massenvernichtung und der Hexensabbat der Konzentrationslager können kaum als Regression begriffen werden.* Helmuth Plessner: Die Emanzipation der Macht. In: id.: Macht und menschliche Natur. Gesammelte Schriften 5. Frankfurt a. M. 1981, pp. 259–282, here: p. 280. The essay first appeared in: Heinz Haller et al.: Von der Macht. Beiträge (= Beiträge zur politischen Bildung 2). Hannover 1962, pp. 7–25; and was immediately republished in: Merkur 16 (1962), pp. 907–924. On how central such institutions for *Politische Bildung* were see: Dieter K. Buse: The "Going" of the Third Reich. Recivilizing Germans through Political Education. In: GP & S 26 (2008) 1, pp. 29–56; see also „Politische Psychologie. Eine Schriftenreihe", eight volumes of which appeared between 1963 and 1969, including: Walter Jacobsen/Kurt Aurin: Politische Psychologie als Aufgabe unserer Zeit. Frankfurt a. M. 1963; Klaus D. Hartmann: Autoritarismus und Nationalismus – ein deutsches Problem? Frankfurt a. M. 1963; René König: Vorurteile. Ihre Erforschung und ihre Bekämpfung. Frankfurt a. M. 1964; Peter Brückner: Politische Erziehung als psychologisches Problem. Frankfurt a. M. 1966. See also Thomas Ellwein: Was hat die politische Bildung erreicht? In: Theodor Pfizer (ed.): Bürger im Staat. Politische Bildung im Wandel. Stuttgart 1971; id.: Politische Bildung. In: Josef Speck/Gerhard Wehle (eds.): Handbuch pädagogischer Grundbegriffe. Vol. 2. München 1970, pp. 330–346.

berté").[26] What is peculiar about Germany (and Italy) within the context of West-
ern Europe is not that they were only fragile democratic polities in the wake of
World War I, but that both societies willfully destroyed parliamentary rule. What-
ever the differences between Nazism and Fascism, they were "home-made" north
and south of the Alps. Both countries voluntarily dismantled representative gov-
ernment, the rule of law and liberal institutions generally and opted for dictator-
ship, a charismatic leader and a style of politics that was at once utopian and para-
noid and which would lead to mass-murder, total war, and, in the case of Nazi
Germany, genocide.[27]

In the Wake of Real Evil

From their earliest formulations, democratic citizenship rites and concepts of ci-
vility have reflected both the tension between diversity and civility and the entan-
glement of democracy and intimacy. On the one hand, they demand some renun-
ciation or sacrifice of prior allegiances to family or region, religion or estates; on
the other hand, human and civil rights allow for, and encourage, expressions of
"democratic individuality" (George Kateb) that give rise to an intricate structure
of difference within which cultural tensions, political enmities and economic con-
flicts can be negotiated.[28] Indeed, the challenge for any democratic polity lies in
the ability of its citizens to construct a public space that both encourages the "un-
social sociability" of citizens and recognizes their right to be different.[29] Aesthetic
experiences as well as questions of form and style are central to any attempt to
negotiate differences in a world of universal equality. Olafur Eliasson has called
our attention to the widespread misconception of the public sphere as a space in
which citizens gather in order to cultivate a public spirit and a shared sense of the

[26] Paul Valéry: Au sujet de la dictature. In: Jean Hytier (ed.): Paul Valéry. Œuvres II. Paris 1960,
pp. 977–981, here: p. 981
[27] For a primer on comparing postwar Germany and Italy see: Charles A. Maier: Italien und
Deutschland nach 1945. Von der Notwendigkeit des Vergleichs. In: Gian Enrico Rusconi/Hans
Woller (eds.): Parallele Geschichte? Italien und Deutschland 1945–2000. Berlin 2006, pp. 35–53.
[28] George Kateb: Introduction. Individual Rights and Democratic Individuality. In: id.: The In-
ner Ocean. Individualism and Democratic Culture. Ithaca/New York 1992, pp. 1–35.
[29] Immanuel Kant: Idee zu einer allgemeinen Geschichte in weltbürgerlicher Absicht (1784). In:
Manfred Frank/Véronique Zanetti (eds.): Immanuel Kant. Schriften zur Ästhetik und Natur-
philosophie. Text und Kommentar. Frankfurt a. M. 2001, pp. 321–338, here: pp. 325 f. (translated
by the author). For a useful primer on the essay see the contributions: Amélie Oksenberg Rorty/
James Schmidt (eds.): Kant's "Idea for a Universal History with a Cosmopolitan Aim". A Critical
Guide. Cambridge 2009; especially: Allen Wood: Kant's Fourth Proposition. The Unsociable So-
ciability of Human Nature. In: id., pp. 112–128; Jerome Schneewind: Good Out of Evil: Kant and
the Idea of Unsocial Sociability. In: id., pp. 94–111. For postwar German attempts to breath new
life into Kant's concept of unsocial sociability see especially: Helmuth Plessner: Ungesellige Ge-
selligkeit. Anmerkungen zu einem Kantischen Begriff. In: Karl Dietrich Bracher et al. (eds.): Die
moderne Demokratie und ihr Recht. Tübingen 1966, pp. 383–392; Christian von Krockow: Gren-
zen der Gemeinschaft. In: GSE 2 (1957), pp. 340–347.

common weal. In reality, the many forms of sociability in a liberal democracy of-
fer citizens an opportunity to assemble in public spaces that allow for a *shared*
awareness of how different we are. Such aesthetic, moral, and political experiences
are central to forms of public life and sociability that "allows us to come to terms"
with the fact that we disagree more often than we agree and to celebrate these
shared experiences of difference and dissent as a "success". If democracy is best
understood as "organized uncertainty" (Adam Przeworski), its operating mode is
organized dissent.[30]

If some of the following arguments are relevant for a more general understand-
ing of liberal democracy, there are also elements to the story that are peculiar to
postwar Germany. Unlike other postwar Europeans, West Germans could not in-
voke a rich memory of popular resistance against Nazism in order to salvage na-
tional traditions. As a result, their sense of moral catastrophe and rupture was
more pressing. Building on the large body of scholarship that has explored how
Germans and Europeans got into Fascism and Nazism, war and genocide, this
essay draws on Dan Diner's argument that postwar German (and European) his-
tory is an era after a "rupture with civilization", a breach that seemed to call into
question if not to invalidate liberal or secular humanist, Christian, conservative or
socialist conceptions of morality.[31] When the war ended and the camps were lib-
erated, Lord Acton's dictum of 1895 that "the moral law is written on the tablets
of eternity" seemed like it had been made centuries ago.[32] At the very moment
when humiliation, cruelty and mass murder on a scale well beyond the power of
human imagination tested Acton's moral certainties, they proved ephemeral and
unreliable. In the light of the most violent and destructive period in German his-
tory, many would have agreed with Adorno's poignant observation that postwar
reflections on morality would have to start with an "attempt to make conscious
the critique of moral philosophy, the critique of its options and an awareness of
its antinomies".[33]

The insight that the cataclysmic violence of the war years challenged any sort of
moral certainties, let alone a Eurocentric moral triumphalism was not a distinct
feature of critical theory but a pervasive sentiment in postwar Europe. Take the
Polish writer Tadeusz Borowski who survived more than two years in Auschwitz

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[30] Olafur Eliasson: Kunst und der öffentliche Raum. Die Bürger und Ihr Raum. Bad Homburg
2015. See also Daniel Birnbaum (ed.): Olafur Eliasson – Innen Stadt Außen. Köln 2010; Adam
Przeworski: Democracy and the Market: Political and Economic Reforms in Eastern Europe.
Cambridge 1991, pp. 12f.; Duve: Aesthetics (see note 6), p. 157; Aletta Norval: Aversive Democ-
racy. Inheritance and Originality in the Democratic Tradition. Cambridge 2007.
[31] Dan Diner: Rupture in Civilization. On the Genesis and Meaning of a Concept in Under-
standing. In: Moshe Zimmermann (ed.): On Germans and Jews under the Nazi Regime. Essays
by three Generations of Historians. Jerusalem 2006, pp. 33–48.
[32] John Edward Emerich Acton: Inaugural Lecture on the Study of History [Cambridge,
June 1895]. In: id.: Lectures on Modern History. London 1906, pp. 1–28, here: p. 27 ("History,
says Froude, does teach that right and wrong are real distinctions. Opinions alter, manners
change, creeds rise and fall, but the moral law is written on the tablets of eternity.").
[33] Theodor W. Adorno: Problems of Moral Philosophy. London 2000, p. 167.

and other camps. In May 1945, he found himself as one of millions of DPs just outside Munich, in a West Germany that he recalls as an "incredible, almost comical, melting-pot of peoples and nationalities sizzling dangerously in the very heart of Europe". Like other survivors, Borowski "did not know where to turn" and found himself under the command and protection of "young American boys, equally stupefied and equally shocked at what they had found in Europe". They "had come like the crusaders to conquer and convert the European continent, and after they had finally settled in the occupation zones, they proceeded with dead seriousness to teach the distrustful, obstinate German bourgeoisie the democratic game of baseball and to instill in them the principles of profit-making by exchanging cigarettes, chewing gum, contraceptives and chocolate bars for cameras, gold teeth, watches and women".[34] Along with three other Polish survivors of the camps, Borowski managed to escape American tutelage and secure an apartment in Munich in the autumn of 1945 where they hosted a "certain Polish poet […] his wife and mistress (a philologist)". At the time, Borowski was at work on his book, "This Way for the Gas, Ladies and Gentlemen", short stories about daily life in Auschwitz. When he shared a draft with the famous poet, the latter found it "much too gloomy and definitely lacking faith in mankind". In a word, Lord Acton's moral certainties clashed with the moral sentiments of the witnesses to the life of the concentration camps:

"The four of us became involved in a heated discussion with the poet, his silent wife and his mistress (the philologist), by maintaining that in this war morality, national solidarity, patriotism and the ideals of freedom, justice and human dignity had all slid off man like a rotten rag. We said that there is no crime that a man will not commit in order to save himself. And, having saved himself, he will commit crimes for increasingly trivial reasons; he will commit them first out of duty, then from habit, and finally – for pleasure.

We told them with much relish all about our difficult, patient, concentration-camp existence which had taught us that the whole world is really like the concentration camp; the weak work for the strong, and if they have no strength or will to work – then let them steal, or let them die.

The world is ruled by neither justice nor morality; crime is not punished nor virtue rewarded, one is forgotten as quickly as the other. The world is ruled by power and power is obtained with money. To work is senseless, because money cannot be obtained through work but through exploitation of others. And if we cannot exploit as much as we wish, at least let us work as little as we can. Moral duty? We believe neither in the morality of man, nor in the morality of systems.

[34] Tadeusz Borowski: The January Offensive (1948). In: id.: This Way for the Gas, Ladies and Gentlemen. Harmondsworth 1976, pp. 164–168, here: pp. 164f. Borowski served as the model for "Beta" in: Czeslaw Milosz: The Captive Mind. London 1953; on Borowski see: Dariusz Tolczyk: Hunger of the Imagination. Gustaw Herling-Grudzinski, Tadeusz Borowski, and the Twentieth-Century House of the Dead. In: LI 3 (2001) 3, pp. 340–362. See also Tadeusz Borowski: Postal Indiscretions. Ed. by Alicia Nitecki. Evanston 2007.

In German cities the store windows are filled with books and religious objects, but the smoke from the crematoria still hovers above the forests"[35]

Another commentator who believed that the cataclysmic violence of the mid-20th century constituted a rupture in the history of morality and was best understood historically was Hannah Arendt. In a public lecture of February 1965, she based her reflections on moral philosophy on the insight that both Nazism and Stalinism had called into question the seemingly self-evident distinctions between right and wrong.[36] Such certainties, she noted had "collapsed almost overnight, and then it was as though morality suddenly stood revealed in the original meaning of the word, as a set of mores, customs and manners, which could be exchanged for another set with hardly more trouble than it would take to change the table manners of an individual or a people."[37] Yet if Stalinist Russia was a case in point, "German developments" were "much more extreme and perhaps also more revealing", Arendt argued: "There is not only the gruesome fact of elaborately established death factories and the utter absence of hypocrisy" among those "involved in the extermination program. Equally important, but perhaps more frightening, was the matter of-course collaboration from all strata of German Society."[38] The dazzling riches of the economic miracle could not exorcize the ghosts this moral cataclysm had engendered. "We witnessed the total collapse of a 'moral' order", Arendt argued, and the "sudden return to 'normality', contrary to what is often complacently assumed, can only reinforce our doubts."[39] Postwar Germans needed to face their complicity in "real evil", in "sadism, the sheer pleasure in causing and contemplating pain and suffering". This "vice of all vices" needed to be distinguished from "radical evil" which "comes from the depths of despair" and is embodied by Lucifer "the light-bearer, a Fallen Angel". To confront the historical realm of "real evil" as opposed to the literary and philosophical realm of "radical evil", she concluded, leads to "speechless horror, when all you can say is: This should never have happened."[40]

And yet this inversion of morality had happened, and it is hardly surprising that moral doubts, fears and questions were at the heart of larger postwar European obsessions of how to establish stable democracies and "avoid repeating the political breakdowns of the interwar period".[41] Against this backdrop, then, this essay is a plea for a moral history, a history of how Germans and Europeans freed themselves from the experiences of mass murder and mass death, and how they came to embrace democracy as a way of life. I am less interested, in short, in

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[35] Borowski: January Offensive (see note 34), here: p. 168. Generally see: Tzvetan Todorov: Face à l'extrême (La couleur des idées). Paris 1991.
[36] Hannah Arendt: Some Questions of Moral Philosophy. In: SR 61 (1994) 4, pp. 739–764.
[37] Ibid., here: p. 740.
[38] Ibid., here: p. 743.
[39] Ibid., here: pp. 744f.
[40] Ibid., here: p. 761, p. 763.
[41] Jan-Werner Müller: A European Constitutional Patriotism? On Memory, Militancy, and Morality. In: id.: Constitutional Patriotism. Princeton 2007, p. 15.

revisiting the political effects of the Economic Miracle or of the American military and cultural presence, than in opening up new avenues for studying the unexpected "political miracle" of West Germany's "democratic moment" within the context of Western Europe's "Velvet Revolution" of the 1950s and 1960s (Mark Lilla).[42] Whereas many studies explore the six postwar decades within a framework of Americanization and Westernization or Sovietization, Liberalization or Democratization, I would like to call attention to the more peculiar aspects of German history since the "Zero Hour". As a point of departure I think we need to abandon these concepts. Such teleological and normatively charged categories, alas, have a way of changing from valiant attempts at interpretation into opiates. "Conscientious historians", Siegfried Kracauer noted, should try to make do without such "ideological props or crutches", an observation that is particularly lucid and relevant in the field of moral history.[43]

Hemiplegic Citizens – Postwar Peculiarities

If the quest for "normality" characterized other postwar European societies as well, fantasies of normality took on a peculiar flavor in postwar Germans' search for democracy as a way of life. While citizens of most countries pride themselves on being different, postwar Germans since 1949 have longed to be normal. In 1960, the liberal journalist Klaus Harpprecht noted that German fantasies about their *Besonderheit* ("exceptionalism") had withered after the total defeat of 1945. Postwar Germans "have had enough of standing apart, in splendid or miserable isolation". If they spoke about the past, they viewed it as a "time of life-threatening illness (and indeed, whenever 'the past' is mentioned, unspecified, then what is meant is the war and the Nazi era)". To hold such memories at bay, Germans had developed a "boring longing for normality". Foreign observers, therefore, were surprised that they could no longer distinguish Germans "in the restaurants of European capitals from other continental Europeans at first glance […] as they now looked like everyone else, though perhaps they could be recognized at a second glance, since they wanted to be even more unremarkable than the others".[44] Small wonder than that critics of the European Union would quip

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[42] Mark Lilla: The Other Velvet Revolution. Continental Liberalism and Its Discontents. In: Daedalus 123 (1994) 2, pp. 129–157; see also Martin Conway: The Rise and Fall of Western Europe's Democratic Age, 1945–1973. In: CoEH 13 (2004) 1, pp. 67–88. The phrase "democratic moment" is a nod to Philip Nord whose analysis of the making of a democratic culture in 19th-century France informs my understanding of postwar Europe, see: Philip Nord: The Republican Moment. Struggles for Democracy in Nineteenth-Century France. Cambridge, MA 1995.
[43] Kracauer: History (see note 22), p. 170.
[44] Klaus Harpprecht: Die Lust zur Normalität. In: Magnum 29 (April 1960), pp. 17–19, here: p. 18 (translated by the author). Harpprecht, born in 1927, had been an American prisoner-of-war camp in 1945, having spent the previous two years as a flak volunteer and artillery soldier. See also Reinhard Mohr: Total normal? In: Der Spiegel, 30. 11. 1998, Nr. 49, pp. 40–47. Ground-

that the label European was no more than a "euphemism for Germans traveling abroad".[45] More than anything postwar Germans wished to be like everyone else, to blend into Socialist or Western modernity, to become invisible citizens of a post-national Europe on either side of the Iron Curtain. Not surprisingly, the quest for normality turned out to be at once elusive and futile. Many turns in postwar German history reminded citizens of the ephemeral and unstable nature of normality and the peculiar place of their country within larger trajectories of Socialist and Western modernity.

Postwar Germans' peculiar desire to become "normal" calls for methodologies and analytical approaches similar to those of scholars who explore stories of magic and miracles, of monsters and saints to understand late medieval and early modern cultures in their ways of envisioning normality and enforcing norms. Perhaps specialists in contemporary history can learn a thing or two from medievalists and early modernists who have developed methodologies and narrative techniques that assign a key role to the "creative and disruptive presence of 'the other' – the outsider, the stranger, the alien, the subversive, the radically different – in systems of power and thought" (Natalie Zemon Davis).[46] What this essay seeks to provoke is a historical awareness of particularities, of individualities, oddities, discontinuities, contrasts and singularities, of diverse ways of belonging and being a citizen in the postwar Germanies.

This essay at once takes seriously and questions the growing sense that the history of postwar Germany can be interpreted as an astounding "success". I am less interested in challenging Axel Schildt's, Edgar Wolfrum's or Hans-Ulrich Wehler's

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breaking: Jürgen Link: Normal/Normalität/Normalismus. In: Karlheinz Barck et al. (eds.): Ästhetische Grundbegriffe. Vol. 4. Stuttgart/Weimar 2002, pp. 538–563; see also Julian B. Carter: The Heart of Whiteness. Normal Sexuality and Race in America, 1880–1940. Durham 2007. One of the few historians of 20th-century Germany who defends "normality" as a useful analytical category is: Jean Solchany: L'Allemagne au XXe siècle. Entre singularité et normalité. Paris 2003. An interesting comparison is Québec between the 1950s and the 1980s. The anticlerical elites that engineered the "la révolution tranquille" fervently believed in a future in which Québec would become a "normal" society. To this day, such a desire coexists with ethno-cultural fantasies of a "société distincte" whether within Canada or in an independent nation-state. For a primer see: Richard Handler: Nationalism and the Politics of Culture in Quebec. Madison 1988.

[45] Ruth O'Brien: Foreword. In: David Marquand: The End of the West: The Once and Future Europe. Princeton 2011, p. XI.

[46] Natalie Zemon Davis: The Quest for Michel de Certeau. In: NYREV 55 (2008) 8, pp. 57–60, here: p. 57. Other than Davis and Certeau, I am also thinking of the work of Caroline Walker Bynum, Lorraine Daston, Patrick Geary, Carlo Ginzburg, Christian Jouhaud, H. C. Erik Midelfort, David Nirenberg, Christine R. Johnson, Klaus Schreiner, Philip M. Soergel, and Daniel P. Walker; for a primer see: Timothy S. Jones/David A. Sprunger (eds.): Marvels, Monsters, and Miracles. Studies in the medieval and early modern imaginations. Kalamazoo 2002; Georges Canguilhem: Monstrosity and the Monstrous. In: Diogenes 10 (1962), pp. 27–42; id.: The Normal and the Pathological. New York 1989. For an attempt to make sense of the place of obsessions in politics see Michael Jeismann (ed.): Obsessionen. Beherrschende Gedanken im wissenschaftlichen Zeitalter. Frankfurt a. M. 1995. For an attempt to put the idea of wonder – albeit in a more literal fashion than in this essay – at the heart of 20th-century history see: Alexander C. T. Geppert/Till Kössler (eds.): Wunder. Poetik und Politik des Staunens im 20. Jahrhundert. Berlin 2011.

argument that we should view the Federal Republic as a "Successful Democracy" or the notion that contemporary Germany is a "stable democracy" than in side-stepping such reasoning.[47] As a source of inspiration for an analysis of the peculiarities of postwar Germany it is perhaps useful to turn to travelogues and letters in which émigré and rémigré commentators reflected on their postwar experiences which are often informed by a unique combination of intimate familiarity and deep knowledge on the one hand, and a sense of existential estrangement on the other.[48] To foreign observers such as Israeli journalist Amos Elon, who visited the Federal Republic and the German Democratic Republic during the Frankfurt Auschwitz trial in 1965, postwar Germany seemed less like a successful democracy than a country in the shadow of violence and genocide. "Millions of people live in this new world of prosperity and yet the atmosphere is less than metropolitan", Elon noted in his amazing travelogue "Journey Through a Haunted Land", first published in 1966: "Well-dressed, well-fed people crowd the sidewalks, fill the streamlined subways and spacious streetcars […]. The homes of the rich are decorated with bearded Chagall Rabbis, on canvas or on paper. Formidable old knights' castles, where the Nazis once trained specially selected youths […] 'to look at a thousand corpses without batting an eyelash' (Himmler) today flourish as whimsical hotels for romantically inclined tourists. Nearby international student centers conduct symposiums on 'French-German understanding' or for 'Christian-Jewish cooperation'".[49] All over Germany a "harmless present camouflages a noxious past", Elon emphasized. The booming cities of the

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[47] Axel Schildt: Ankunft im Westen. Ein Essay zur Erfolgsgeschichte der Bundesrepublik. Frankfurt a. M. 1999; Hans-Ulrich Wehler: Deutsche Gesellschaftsgeschichte. Bd. 5: Bundesrepublik und DDR 1949–1990. München 2008; Edgar Wolfrum: Die geglückte Demokratie. Geschichte der Bundesrepublik von ihren Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart. Stuttgart 2006; Karl Christian Lammers: Glücksfall Bundesrepublik. New Germany and the 1960s. In: CEH 17 (2008), pp. 127–134; Andreas Rödder: Das „Modell Deutschland" zwischen Erfolgsgeschichte und Verfallsdiagnose. In: VfZ 54 (2006), pp. 345–363; Anthony D. Kauders: Democratization as Cultural History, or: When is (West) German Democracy Fulfilled? In: GH 25 (2007), pp. 240–257. On religion, a dimension central to a history of postwar Germany that is often overlooked, see: Mark Edward Ruff: Integrating Religion into the Historical Mainstream: Recent Literature on Religion in the Federal Republic of Germany. In: CEH 42 (2009), pp. 307–337.

[48] On rémigrés in postwar Germany see: Alfons Söllner: Normative Westernization? The impact of remigres on the foundation of political thought in post-war Germany. In: Jan-Werner Müller (ed.): German ideologies since 1945. Studies in the political thought and culture of the Bonn Republic. New York 2003, pp. 40–60; Marjorie Lamberti: Returning Refugee Political Scientists and America's Democratization Program in Germany after the Second World War. In: GSR 31 (2008), pp. 263–284; Irmela von der Lühe et al. (eds.): „Auch in Deutschland waren wir nicht wirklich zu Hause". Jüdische Remigration nach 1945. Göttingen 2008; Marita Krauss: Heimkehr in ein fremdes Land. Geschichte der Remigration nach 1945. München 2001.

[49] Amos Elon: Journey through a Haunted Land. The New Germany. New York 1967, pp. 14f. On how Elon came to write the book see: id.: Ein Gespräch mit Amos Elon – 20 Jahre danach. In: id.: In einem heimgesuchten Land. Berichte aus beiden Deutschland. Nördlingen 1988, pp. 389–397. Elon recalls that German papers ran "many reviews, almost all positive". For an example see: Peter Hemmerich: „Mich interessiert nur Karl Schmidt": Das Deutschlandbild eines Israeli. In: Die Zeit, 18. 11. 1966, Nr. 47.

Ruhr to him seemed like "a double exposed negative: a pretty modern Technicolor photo superimposed on the black-grey shadows of a massacre."[50] To the Israeli journalist, in short, a pervasive "moral schizophrenia" marked public life in this fledgling democracy: "At official receptions in Bonn", he noted, World War II decorations and service medals "clink and shine on the breasts of the prominent. What clinks inside? The same decorations sat on the chests of men who stood guard in Auschwitz (awards that were won there because their recipients were good at throwing cyanide gas into sealed chambers packed with screaming naked human beings)."[51]

Whereas Elon's metaphors may have been stark and his assessment bleak, doubts about the democratic future of postwar Germany were common currency between the mid-1940s and the early 1970s. When the *Kulturbund zur demokratischen Erneuerung Deutschlands* ("Cultural Association for the Democratic Renewal of Germany") invited Theodor Heuss as the first West German politician to address an audience in Soviet-occupied Germany in early 1946, he chose March 18 as the date for his speech in Berlin. On the day the revolution of 1848 had begun in Prussia, the future president of the Federal Republic offered his reflections "On Germany's Future". No matter how powerless Germans may have seemed in the light of the total defeat of May 1945, Heuss argued, they were free to decide about their future, not in the sphere of politics and the economy, but "in the spiritual and moral realm". The twelve years of Nazi rule had tainted every aspect of German life and culture. No matter how many citizens were now claiming to be dyed-in-the-wool "democrats", any attempt to construct a better polity would fail unless they realized that they were in fact absolute beginners and would have to "learn to spell out the word democracy from scratch".[52] In 1961, looking back on the first twelve years of the Federal Republic, Jürgen Habermas claimed that the young democracy was in fact a *Wahlmonarchie* ("Elective Monarchy") about to succumb to a renewed Fascist temptation. The ubiquitous *Schleier der Entpolitisierung* ("veil of de-politicization") was giving rise to a "well-known social-psychological dialectic […]: that the politically indifferent masses could in fact be superficially politicized by means of coup-de-main plebiscites, and mobilized under the guidance of a rigidly authoritarian régime". Independent of other differences, many intellectuals noted the extent to which the shadow of total war, genocide, and moral catastrophe lay over the fledgling democracy. "Anyone who lived through the 30s and 40s as a German", the melancholy conservative Golo Mann noted in a speech before the World Jewish Congress in August 1966, "can never again fully trust his nation; he cannot trust democracy any more than any other system of government; he can never again fully trust humanity, and least of all that which optimists used to call the 'meaning of

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[50] Elon: Journey (see note 49), p. 49.
[51] Ibid., pp. 20f.
[52] Theodor Heuss: Um Deutschlands Zukunft (18. März 1946). In: id.: Aufzeichnungen 1945–1947. Tübingen 1966, pp. 184–208, here: p. 189 and p. 207 (translated by the author).

history'. He will remain, regardless of how hard he may and should try, sad to the depths of his soul until he dies."[53]

Indicative for postwar German doubts about the viability of the Federal Republic as a democratic polity were anxieties over the making of morally mature citizens, and the "moral makeover of Germans" as reflected in controversies over etiquette, child-rearing, (civic) education and cultural diplomacy since 1945.[54] In 1948, the first volume of the "Year Book of Education", to appear after the end of the war, for example, noted "an interruption in Western civilization, with all that that implies; the question to be answered in the next ten years is whether this has been an interruption or a downfall". As might be expected such anxieties had not disappeared by 1958. Obsessions over the moral development of toddlers, the development of ethics in early childhood or the moral disorientations and possible aberrance of teenagers, fueled the intellectual passions of scholars such as Lev Vygotsky, Jean Piaget and Alexander Mitscherlich, Benjamin Spock and Arnold Gesell in the immediate postwar years, and of Lawrence Kohlberg and Jürgen Habermas in the closing decades of the 20th century. What such a list of luminaries obscures, moreover, is how thousands of movers and shakers in countless family and educational associations contributed to such debates. In 1952, Karl Borgmann, the editor of the monthly "Caritas" and a key figure in the Catholic laicization movement, argued that many Christians continued to support an ideal of the family that was "modeled on bygone conceptions of the state, in which citizens were governed from above and thus sentenced to enforced inactivity". In the January issue of the Catholic monthly *Frau und Mutter* ("Woman and Mother"), which then boasted more than half a million subscribers, Borgmann emphasized that for children to learn to "experience freedom and to live by" this ideal early on, the family should not take its cues from the ideal of "absolute monarchy" or, worse, "dictatorship". Whoever defended patriarchal-authoritarian forms of child-rearing pretended not to know that those responsible for Nazi crimes had come from "'orderly' families and not from the margins of society". Fathers who had raised their children with "authoritarian […] and violent methods" had been the midwives of the Nazi dictatorship. Those who kept treating their children "wrongfully" had to be aware that these children would themselves "turn into oppressors" as adults Borgmann cautioned: "Some

[53] Jürgen Habermas: Die Bundesrepublik – eine Wahlmonarchie? In: Alfred Neven Dumont (ed.): Woher – Wohin. Bilanz der Bundesrepublik (= Magnum. Sonderheft). Köln 1961, pp. 26–29, here: p. 29 (translated by the author); Golo Mann: Deutsche und Juden. In: Deutsche und Juden. Frankfurt a. M. 1967, pp. 49–69, here: p. 69 (translated by the author); on Mann's position in intellectual history of the Federal Republic, see: Tilmann Lahme: Nachwort. In: id. (ed.): Golo Mann. Briefe 1932–1992. Göttingen 2006, pp. 483–520.
[54] Paul Betts: Manners, Morality, and Civilization: Reflections on Postwar German Etiquette Books. In: Frank Biess/Robert G. Moeller (eds.): Histories of the Aftermath. The Legacies of the Second World War in Europe. New York 2010, pp. 196–214, here: p. 197.

henchmen of the concentration camps came evidently from so-called 'orderly' families'".[55]

Throughout the postwar period the struggle over how best to inculcate and practice the moral sentiments that would allow mature citizens to serve as guardians of a democratic future gave rise to numerous cultural, educational and scholarly institutions. These ranged from the *Max-Planck-Institut für Bildungsforschung* ("Max Planck Institute for Human Development"), especially under the directorship of two Jewish rémigrés Saul B. Robinson (1916–1972) and Wolfgang Edelstein (born in 1929), and of Dietrich Goldschmidt (1914–1998), of partial Jewish background, to the ever-expanding plethora of lavishly funded foundations affiliated to political parties, like the *Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung* ("Friedrich Ebert Foundation") or the *Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung* ("Konrad Adenauer Foundation"), and to the *Bundeszentrale* and *Landeszentralen für politische Bildung* ("Federal and Länder Centres of Political Education").[56] Similar concerns also form the raison d'être for the wide spectrum of generously financed flagships of postwar German cultural diplomacy such as the *Alexander von Humboldt-Stiftung* ("Alexander von Humboldt Foundation") and the *Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst* ("German Academic Exchange Service"), the *Goethe-Institute* ("Goethe Institutes") or, as the perhaps oddest of them all, the *Deutschen Historischen Institute* ("German Historical Institutes") which are indicative of how

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[55] Foreword. In: The Year Book of Education 1948, p. VI. Sonja Levsen, Freiburg, was kind enough to share this quotation with me. Her research project, *Autorität und Demokratie: Debatten über die Erziehung der Jugend in Frankreich und (West-) Deutschland zwischen Kriegsende und 1970er Jahren*, is obviously directly relevant in this context. Karl Borgmann: Völker werden aus Kinderstuben: Um die rechte Ordnung in der Familie. In: Frau und Mutter 35 (1952) 1, p. 4f. On education and child rearing generally: Lukas Rölli-Allkemper: Familie im Wiederaufbau. Katholizismus und bürgerliches Familienideal in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland 1945–1965. Paderborn 2000; Dirk Schumann: Legislation and Liberalization. The Debate About Corporal Punishment in Schools in Postwar West Germany, 1945–1975. In: GH 25 (2007), pp. 192–218; Miriam Gebhardt: Die Angst vor dem kindlichen Tyrannen. Eine Geschichte der Erziehung im 20. Jahrhundert. München 2009; Meike Sophia Baader (ed.): „Seid realistisch, verlangt das Unmögliche". Wie 1968 die Pädagogik bewegte. Weinheim 2008; Jürgen Oelkers: Demokratisches Denken in der Pädagogik. In: ZfPäd 56 (2010) 1, pp. 3–21; Till van Rahden: Fatherhood, Rechristianization, and the Search for Democracy in 1950s West Germany. In: Dirk Schumann (ed.): Raising Citizens in the "Century of the Child": Child-Rearing in the United States and German Central Europe in the Twentieth Century. New York 2010, pp. 141–164.

[56] During a series of conversations in Berlin in July 2009, Wolfgang Edelstein was kind enough to provide me with a sense of the institute's history between its founding in 1963 and the late 1970s. According to the institute's long-time director its focus on questions of moral development reflected larger concerns about the viability of liberal democracy after a "rupture with civilization"; see also: Dietrich Goldschmidt: Unter der Last des Holocaust 1945–1989: Entsetzen, Trauer, bemühter Neuanfang. In: Neue Sammlung 29 (1989) 2, pp. 145–160; Max-Planck-Institut für Bildungsforschung (ed.): In memoriam Dietrich Goldschmidt. Reden auf der Akademischen Trauerfeier am 16. Oktober 1998. Berlin 1999; id. (ed.): Reden und Vorträge zum 80. Geburtstag von Wolfgang Edelstein. Berlin 2010; an influential textbook by two interlocutors of Edelstein: Fritz Oser/Wolfgang Althof (eds.): Moralische Selbstbestimmung: Modelle der Entwicklung und Erziehung im Wertebereich. Stuttgart 1992; generally see: Buse: "Going" (see note 25).

the Federal Republic consciously rejected 19th-century strategies of cultural hege-
mony and self-promotion. Instead, they emphasized exchange and dialogue in an
attempt to assuage fears about the persistence of a "German Question".[57]

   If oddities and particularities, miracles and monsters, freakish episodes and bi-
zarre stories serve as signposts for a larger understanding of postwar German his-
tory we begin to realize that it might be fruitful to conceive of the Federal Repub-
lic not just as an unschooled and unlearned, but rather as a *unbeholfene Demo-
kratie* ("clumsy democracy").[58] In struggles over the legacy of the Nazi past and
the memory of World War II, debates about reparations and the presence of Jewish
Mitbürger ("fellow citizens"), Islam in the public sphere, immigration and xeno-
phobia, in controversies over a *Leitkultur* ("leading or guiding culture") and the
moral foundations of democracy, postwar Germany's lubberly citizens and doltish
elites rarely missed an opportunity to put their feet in their mouths, thereby
marking another stage in the elusive quest for "normality".[59]

[57] On cultural diplomacy generally see: Johannes Paulmann: Die Haltung der Zurückhaltung.
Auswärtige Selbstdarstellungen nach 1945 und die Suche nach einem erneuerten Selbstverständ-
nis in der Bundesrepublik. Bremen 2006; Reinhild Kreis (ed.): Diplomatie mit Gefühl. Vertrauen,
Misstrauen und die Außenpolitik der Bundesrepublik Deutschland. Berlin 2015. For a revealing
case study see: Jenny Hestermann: Inszenierte Versöhnung. Reisediplomatie und die deutsch-
israelischen Beziehungen in den Jahren 1957 bis 1984. Frankfurt a. M. 2016; on the institutional
background see: Ulrich Pfeil (ed.): Die Rückkehr der deutschen Geschichtswissenschaft in die
„Ökumene der Historiker". Ein wissenschaftsgeschichtlicher Ansatz. München 2008; Christian
Jansen: Exzellenz weltweit. Die Alexander-von-Humboldt-Stiftung zwischen Wissenschaftsför-
derung und auswärtiger Kulturpolitik. Köln 2004; Peter Alter (ed.): Der DAAD in der Zeit. Ge-
schichte, Gegenwart und zukünftige Aufgaben. Bonn 2000; Franz Broicher: Wandel durch Aus-
tausch. Der Deutsche Akademische Austauschdienst 1925–2010. Eine Chronik. Bonn 2010.
[58] Karl Markus Michel: Muster ohne Wert. Westdeutschland 1965. In: id.: Die sprachlose Intelli-
genz. Frankfurt a. M. 1968, pp. 63–124, here: p. 72 (translated by the author). See also Michael
Rutschky: Reise durch das Ungeschick und andere Meisterstücke. Zürich 1990.
[59] Michael Geyer/Miriam Hansen: German-Jewish Memory and National Consciousness. In:
Geoffrey Hartman (ed.): Holocaust Remembrance. The Shape of Memory. Oxford 1994, pp. 175–
190; Hans Dieter Schäfer: Das gespaltene Bewusstsein: Vom Dritten Reich bis zu den langen
Fünfziger Jahren. Göttingen 2009; Martin H. Geyer: Im Schatten der NS-Zeit: Zeitgeschichte als
Paradigma einer (bundes-) republikanischen Geschichtswissenschaft. In: Alexander Nützenadel/
Wolfgang Schieder (eds.): Zeitgeschichte als Problem: Nationale Traditionen und Perspektiven
der Forschung in Europa. Göttingen 2004, pp. 25–53; Gilad Margalit: Guilt, Suffering, and Mem-
ory. Germany Remembers its Dead of World War II. Bloomington 2010; Jeffrey K. Olick: In the
House of the Hangman: The Agonies of German Defeat, 1943–1949. Chicago 2005; Moses: Intel-
lectuals (see note 13); Devin O. Pendas: The Frankfurt Auschwitz Trial, 1963–1965. Genocide,
History and the Limits of the Law. Cambridge 2005; Frank Biess: Homecomings. Returning
POWs and the Legacies of Defeat in Postwar Germany. Princeton 2006; Patrice Poutrus: Zu-
flucht im Nachkriegsdeutschland. Politik und Praxis der Flüchtlingsaufnahme in Bundesrepublik
und DDR von den späten 1940er bis zu den 1970er Jahren. In: GG 35 (2009), pp. 135–175; Wolf-
ram Wette (ed.): Filbinger. Eine deutsche Karriere. Springe 2006; Jan C. König: „Wenn du einmal
im Sarg liegst, kommst du nicht mehr raus". Nach Vorlage genehmigte Niederschrift des Ge-
sprächs mit dem Bundestagspräsidenten a. D., Dr. Philipp Jenninger, am Dienstag, 16. Mai 2006.
In: Monatshefte 100 (2008) 2, pp. 179–190; Frank Stern: The Whitewashing of the Yellow Badge:
Antisemitism and Philosemitism in Postwar Germany. Oxford 1991; Atina Grossmann: Jews,
Germans, and Allies. Close Encounters in Occupied Germany. Princeton 2007; Till van Rahden:

According to M. Rainer Lepsius, a peculiar trait of early 20th-century German history was the "dramatization of moral boundaries" between distinct cultural groups. Few of these milieus survived the cataclysmic violence of the first half of the 20th century. Whereas moral boundaries no longer seemed as dramatic in the postwar decades, they became, however, all the more impermeable. When the journal *Magnum* invited the luminaries of the time to assess the first twelve years of the Federal Republic in the light of the preceding twelve years of Nazi Germany Helmuth Plessner, who survived as an émigré in the Netherlands, responded that Germans on both sides of the Iron Curtain suffered from "hemiplegia": "only with this difference: what Marx is achieving on the other side through a kind of synthesis of catechism and field service regulations, is coming about here by *freiwillige Selbstkontrolle* ("voluntary self-control"). Thanks to their turn to the West and their struggle for European unity, there is agreement on the rules of the game in which differences are being resolved: everything is kept in careful proportion. The churches and the political parties have divided between them the vacuum left by the demise of the Nazi dictatorship, and have achieved a balance of power in which toleration, but not tolerance, is part of a formalistic liberalism. Each group, in its own way authoritarian or totalitarian, defines itself in negative terms vis-à-vis others, and there is an agreement to avoid pushing the boundaries of the possible."[60]

Plessner was not the only émigré thinker to notice that something was odd (and perhaps amiss) in the quotidian life in postwar Germany. In the summer of 1956, on the occasion of his first visit to Germany since he had fled Nazism in 1933, Siegfried Kracauer articulated sentiments similar to those of Plessner. Kracauer noted on October 27, 1956, in a letter to his close friend and fellow émigré Leo Löwenthal: "We were in Germany only for three days: two in Hamburg and one in Freiburg, where we visited old Bernhard Guttmann. We'd had enough after that. The attendant in the Hamburg hotel must certainly have been a keen SA

History in the House of the Hangman. How Postwar Germany Became a Key Site for the Study of Jewish History. In: Steven E. Aschheim/Vivian Liska (eds.): The German-Jewish Experience Revisited. Berlin 2015, pp. 171–192; Constantin Goschler: Schuld und Schulden. Die Politik der Wiedergutmachung für NS-Verfolgte seit 1945. Göttingen 2008; Ruth E. Mandel: Cosmopolitan Anxieties. Turkish Challenges to Citizenship and Belonging in Germany. Durham 2008; Leora Auslander: Bavarian Crucifixes and French Headscarves. Religious Practices and the Postmodern European State. In: CD 12 (2000) 3, pp. 183–209; Susan B. Rottmann/Myra Marx Ferree: Citizenship and Intersectionality: German Feminist Debates about Headscarf and Antidiscrimination Laws. In: SP 15 (2008) 4, pp. 481–513.

[60] Helmuth Plessner: Wir fragten: „Inwiefern hat die Bundesrepublik Ihrer Erwartungen erfüllt oder nicht?". In: Neven DuMont (ed.): Woher (see note 53), here: p. 20 (translated by the author). This piece is not included in Plessner's Gesammelte Schriften. On Plessner now see: Carola Dietze: Nachgeholtes Leben. Helmuth Plessner 1892–1985. Göttingen 2006; Kersten Schüßler: Helmuth Plessner. Eine intellektuelle Biographie. Berlin 2000; Jan-Werner Müller: The Soul in the Age of Society and Technology. Helmuth Plessner's Defensive Liberalism. In: John P. McCormick (ed.): Confronting Mass Democracy and Industrial Technology. Political and Social Theory from Nietzsche to Habermas. Durham 2002, pp. 139–162.

man, but it's best not to ask. Other than that, everyone was quite civil to us, the young are curious (and know nothing); there is some really good material here. We shudder at the thought of staying there for another reason: It seems strikingly clear that there has never been a society in Germany. People live without form or focus; they lack shape (and are disordered within). Everything is there, but nothing is in its proper place. So they behave in ways that are insincere and overly artificial, use *stilted language*, and are completely insecure. They are *not so much human beings as raw material for human beings*. In short, I don't trust them."[61]

A lack of form (and of "politesse") and an impermeability of moral boundaries also marked daily life in the Federal Republic. The few scholars, such as Friedrich Tenbruck, who have explored quotidian encounters between postwar Germans, have pointed to the "remarkable insecurities and irritations" that shaped the public sphere. Postwar (West) Germans tended to mingle with those who shared their morality and their politics and refused to socialize with those whose politics they might hate and whose morality they might look down on or even despise. Random encounters with strangers rarely gave rise to genuine curiosity and instead led to the exchange of embarrassed platitudes. "People seek homogeneity and are highly selective in their associations, and display marked signs of idiosyncrasy", Tenbruck noted in 1974. "They clearly find it difficult to open themselves up to new ideas, people, or cultural exchanges […]. Contacts between people are unproblematic and tolerant in a very ordinary way, but there is a lack of the kind of permeability in which individuals can express themselves, take each other seriously and interact with each other".[62]

So pervasive and seemingly self-evident is the tendency only to mingle with kindred spirits that historians in today's Germany are surprised, baffled and even irritated to find that antagonistic intellectuals such as Jürgen Habermas and Wilhelm Hennis collaborated closely for many years and that public adversaries such as Adorno and Arnold Gehlen cultivated friendship once outside the limelight.[63] Foreign observers especially were struck by the peculiarities of German academia, a world of learning they otherwise admired. In the view of scholars such as the Norwegian sociologist Johan Galtung, a culture of ceremonial courtesy left no room for playful politesse in exchanges with German scholars, especially senior

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[61] Leo Löwenthal/Siegfried Kracauer. „In steter Freundschaft". Briefwechsel 1921–1966. Ed by Peter-Erwin Jansen and Christian Schmidt. Springe 2003, p. 212 (translated by the author; phrases in italics are English in the original).

[62] Friedrich H. Tenbruck: Alltagsnormen und Lebensgefühle in der Bundesrepublik. In: Richard Löwenthal/Hans-Peter Schwarz (eds.): Die zweite Republik. 25 Jahre Bundesrepublik Deutschland – eine Bilanz. Stuttgart 1974, pp. 288–310, here: p. 305f. (translated by the author). On "politesse" see especially: Henri Bergson: La politesse et autres essais. Paris 2008; Michel Malherbe: Qu'est-ce que la politesse? Chemins philosophiques. Paris 2008; John A. Hall: The Importance of Being Civil. The Struggle for Political Decency. Princeton 2013.

[63] Stephan Schlak: Wilhelm Hennis. Szenen einer Ideengeschichte der Bundesrepublik. München 2008; Stefan Müller-Dohm: Adorno. Eine Biographie. Frankfurt a. M. 2003.

colleagues, who often displayed an odd combination of megalomania and an infe-
riority complex fueled by resentful parochialism.[64]

Whenever Galtung interacted with colleagues from German universities and re-
search institutes, he was surprised by the pervasiveness of a peculiar intellectual
style that he labelled "'Teutonic thinking' [...], not so much because of its form as
because of its seriousness, the relentless energy, the zeal with which this type of
activity is pursued". As a consequence, jokes were "considered frivolous and in-
dicative of lack of faith in what one says". Rather than embracing a light-hearted
pragmatism, German academics flaunted "non-humorous cold eyes and non-smil-
ing faces" as they emphasized theory and deduced empirical arguments from a
"small set of basic principles". Because the scholarly community consisted of sev-
eral warring factions, Galtung's German colleagues spent much time on "issuing
certificates, classifying other systems, articles, books, authors, groups, schools
etc." Within these factions members would "develop a special esoteric language"
that is "considerably better for in-group than out-group communication". On the
exceptional occasions on which members of warring factions met, discussions be-
tween members of different tribes were "negative and destructive": "In general
there is an assumption of undeclared war between speaker and audience". Hence
the lack of curiosity and the inability to create a "relaxed and friendly atmo-
sphere". Among adherents of the Teutonic intellectual style conversations were
therefore "a series of monologues rather than a real dialogue [...]. It is as if each
participant is seated on the top of his system, clinging to his little (or big) alp",
declaring in an "unusually high-pitched voice" that "his alp is the only one".

Clumsy Encounters – Moral Obsessions

One need not accept every turn of Tenbruck's or Galtung's arguments to realize
that postwar Germans were not exactly masters of a playful politesse. Few and far
between were those who practiced Henri Bergson's insight that a *politesse des
manières* and *a politesse de l'esprit* drew on a republican love of equality and *une
souplesse intellectuelle* ("an intellectual subtlety") that enables citizens to live with
enmity and aversion and to cultivate forms of sociability that allow them to grasp
what they cannot embrace.[65] The ability to converse with strangers, the capability

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[64] Johan Galtung: Deductive Thinking and Political Practice. An Essay on Teutonic Intellectual
Style. In: id.: Papers on Methodology: Essays in Methodology. Vol. 2. Copenhagen 1979, pp. 194–
209, pp. 247–251; a revised and expanded German translation was published as: id.: Struktur, Kul-
tur und intellektueller Stil. Ein vergleichender Essay über sachsonische, teutonische, gallische und
nipponische Wissenschaft. In: Leviathan 11 (1983), pp. 303–338. For an attempt to make sense of
"Bielefeld" as a charming illustration of Galtung's observations, see: Sonja Asal/Stephan Schlak
(eds.): Was war Bielefeld? Eine ideengeschichtliche Nachfrage. Göttingen 2009; esp. the essay by:
Valentin Groebner: Theoriegesättigt. Ankommen in Bielefeld 1989. In: ibid., pp. 179–189.
[65] Henri Bergson: La Politesse (1892). In: id.: La Politesse et autres essays. Paris 2008, here: p. 23.
See also Clifford Geertz: The Uses of Diversity. In: id.: Available Light. Anthropological Reflec-
tions on Philosophical Topics. Princeton 2000, pp. 68–88, here esp.: p. 87.

to talk to one's adversaries, the capacity to regulate conflict, aversion and even enmity, the faculty to acknowledge and navigate political passions and moral incommensurability; such elementary skills of public life in a liberal democracy were (and perhaps are) anything but the forte of postwar Germans who preferred utopian dreams of moral harmony over an acceptance of moral diversity as the inevitable effect of individual freedom.

It is hardly surprising that some of the best studies on the second half of the 20th century (no matter how diverse the subject matter under review may seem at first) have all explored the nexus between democracy and intimacy and have thereby provided the groundwork for a history of moral passions in postwar Germany: debates about gender relations and the family, child-rearing and paternal authority, controversies over sexuality and abortion, heteronormativity and the rights of gays and lesbians, disputes about consumer culture and Germany's place within the world at large, debates over the meaning of victimhood and trauma, quarrels over the memory of Nazism and the Holocaust, controversies over immigration and national identity, as well as arguments over the role of religion and diversity in the public sphere – these obsessions essentially revolved around the idea that the fate of postwar German democracy depended on specific private practices and moralities.[66]

As a concept that is less an analytical category than a shorthand to draw our attention to a complex set of questions, "moral history" allows us to understand why the divide between the realm of politics and the private sphere has been more than usually unstable and contested in periods of revolutionary upheaval and dramatic political change such as postwar European and particularly postwar German history. Utopias and obsessions, fantasies and fears about the political ramifications of private life have been central to how postwar Germans imagined

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[66] In addition to the scholarship cited so far see: Paul Betts: The Authority of Everyday Objects. A Cultural History of West German Industrial Design. Berkeley 2004, esp. p. 16; Heide Fehrenbach: Cinema in Democratizing Germany. Reconstructing National Identity. Chapel Hill 1995; Sean Forner: German Intellectuals and the Challenge of Democratic Renewal: Culture and Politics after 1945. Cambridge 2014; Daniel Fulda et al. (eds.): Demokratie im Schatten der Gewalt. Geschichten des Privaten im deutschen Nachkrieg. Göttingen 2010; Dieter Gosewinkel: Adolf Arndt. Die Wiederbegründung des Rechtsstaats aus dem Geist der Sozialdemokratie 1945–1961. Bonn 1991; Jens Hacke: Philosophie der Bürgerlichkeit. Die liberalkonservative Begründung der Bundesrepublik. Göttingen 2006; Dagmar Herzog: Sex after Fascism. Memory and Morality in Twentieth-Century Germany. Princeton 2005; Maria Höhn: GIs and Fräuleins. The German-American Encounter in 1950s West Germany. Chapel Hill 2002; Kaspar Maase: BRAVO Amerika. Erkundungen zur Jugendkultur der Bundesrepublik in den fünfziger Jahren. Hamburg 1992; Robert G. Moeller: Protecting Motherhood. Women and the Family in the Politics of Postwar West Germany. Berkeley 1993; Johannes von Moltke: No Place Like Home. Locations of Heimat in German Cinema. Berkeley 2005; Aribert Reimann: Dieter Kunzelmann. Avantgardist, Protestler, Radikaler. Göttingen 2009; Hanna Schissler (ed.): The Miracle Years. A Cultural History of West Germany, 1949–1968. Princeton 2001; Susanne Schregel: Der Atomkrieg vor der Wohnungstür. Eine Politikgeschichte der neuen Friedensbewegung in der Bundesrepublik 1970–1985. Frankfurt a. M. 2011; Michael Wildt: Am Beginn der „Konsumgesellschaft". Mangelerfahrung, Lebenshaltung, Wohlstandshoffnung in Westdeutschland in den fünfziger Jahren. Hamburg 1994.

themselves as citizens of a democratic polity. Over the course of the postwar decades the basic premise predominated: the basis of the political, the beginning and the end of politics, was nor enmity, competition, or the idea of peace or of the common weal, but rather the private realm. Against this background one can begin to make sense of the peculiar simultaneity of obsessive exchanges over how best to establish democracy as a way of life and the clumsiness that postwar Germans displayed in these very controversies. These obsessions therefore perpetuated the clumsiness in encounters between citizens – experiences that in turn fueled their fears and anxieties.

Volker Depkat

Discussing Democracy in Western Europe and the United States, 1945–1970

Debates on democracy as a constitutional order, a decision-making process, and a way of life were conducted everywhere in Western Europe and North America after 1945.[1] In and through them, European and American contemporaries debated what was right and wrong, good and bad, legitimate and illegitimate – who they were and who they did not want to be. Apart from being debates about the legal foundations and political processes of democracy, these complex and multilayered discussions were also sites of social self-description that served both as an indicator of and factor in the formation of a European-American community of values in the Cold War world. This is not meant to suggest that the discourses on democracy in Western Europe and the U.S. were in any way linear or carried by a shared understanding of what democracy actually was. Rather, a closer look at the debates about democracy reveals not only transatlantic commonalities but also differences so that the history of the concept of democracy, and the multiple discursive threads tied to it, should be analyzed in terms of convergence and divergence in European-American processes of self-positioning.

Despite its importance for the construction of a "Western" community of values under the auspices of the Cold War, there is astonishingly little systematic empirical investigation into the European-American discourses on democracy after the Second World War and the history of the concept in the political languages of the day.[2] This holds especially true for comparative empirical studies taking

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[2] Notable exceptions: Martin Conway: Democracy in Postwar Western Europe. The Triumph of a Political Model. In: EHQ 32 (2002), pp. 59–84; id.: The Rise and Fall of Western Europe's Democratic Age 1945–73. In: CoEH 13 (2004), pp. 67–88; Paul Nolte: Was ist Demokratie? Geschichte und Gegenwart. München 2012. From a linguistic perspective: Heidrun Kämper: Aspekte des Demokratiediskurses der späten 1960er Jahre. Konstellationen – Kontexte – Konzepte. Berlin 2012.

decidedly European approaches to the inner-European debates, or taking a comparative perspective to the developments in Western Europe and the U.S., which means that this chapter cannot be more than a problem-oriented thinkpiece staking out the dimensions of the field, identifying its major trajectories and formulating some very tentative conclusions.[3]

The methodological approach of this chapter is deeply indebted to a history of concepts in the tradition of Reinhart Koselleck, which strives to unearth the layers of historical experience in the contemporary meanings and uses of a concept. At the same time, the history of concepts analyzes the usage and function of every concept in terms of experiences piled up in it and the expectations for the future written into it, which makes the history of each concept both an indicator and a factor of historical change.[4] However, while Koselleck's *Historische Grundbegriffe* ("Historical Concepts") tend to focus on individual terms in isolation, this paper expands this approach by understanding the concept of democracy as a complex web of discourses that, apart from integrating a great many, partly very different thematic threads, also links an individual concept with other concepts, such as liberty, citizenship, or capitalism.[5]

In the light of these reflections, the following remarks will first elaborate on the presence of past experiences with democracy in the post-1945 Western European and American debates on democracy. The chapter then will move on to highlight the dimensions of the discursive web of democracy as it surfaced on both sides of the Atlantic between 1945 and 1970, and conclude with remarks reflecting the contestedness of the very concept of democracy within the Western world.

1. Skepticism and Optimism: The Presence of the Past

After the deep crisis parliamentary democracies went through in the interwar period, democratic political regimes experienced a sudden and unexpected hegemony in Western Europe after 1945.[6] This resurgence carried the construction of largely similar democratic political regimes in much of Western Europe, which were legitimated by the prosperity they generated and the stability they produced

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[3] This is not to say that ideas and concepts of democracy have not been analyzed before, but these analyses usually either do not transcend the national frame, or are classical intellectual histories that, in being abstract elaborations, do not ask for the functions of a concept in changing historical contexts.

[4] Reinhart Koselleck: Vergangene Zukunft. Zur Semantik geschichtlicher Zeiten. Frankfurt a. M. 1989; id.: Zeitschichten. Studien zur Historik. Frankfurt a. M. 2000; id.: Begriffsgeschichten. Studien zur Semantik und Pragmatik der politischen und sozialen Sprache. Frankfurt a. M. 2006; Hans Erich Bödeker (ed.): Begriffsgeschichte, Diskursgeschichte, Metapherngeschichte. Göttingen 2002.

[5] I have explored this discursive expansion of Koselleck's approach in my dissertation. Volker Depkat: Amerikabilder in politischen Diskursen. Deutsche Zeitschriften, 1789–1830. Stuttgart 1998.

[6] See Conway/Depkat: History (see note 1), here: pp. 141–144.

after a long period of instability and disruption. For the contemporaries who had experienced the years from 1918 to 1945, the contrast between the crisis and instability of parliamentary democracy in the 1920s and 1930s and the functioning democracy of the 1950s and 1960s could hardly have been starker.[7]

Yet, hardly anybody in Europe was enthusiastically celebrating the dawning of a new democratic era in the aftermath of the Second World War. Europe was much too devastated, and Europeans were much too disorientated by the horrors of the war, and much too disillusioned about all ideologies to allow for enthusiastic hopes about a better future under democratic skies.[8] Therefore, the overall sobriety and pragmatism with which European elites thought and felt about democracy in the first decade after the Second World War is striking. Not merely among the defeated but also among the victors, there was a pervasive sense that the bitter conflicts and personal suffering of the preceding decades were too close for it to be possible to celebrate the dawning of a new democratic era. The muted terms in which many post-war politicians couched their espousal of democracy reflected the sense that democracy was less of a conscious choice than the consequence of the exhaustion of or, in the case of Communism, the unacceptability of the alternatives. As Albert Camus, writing in "Combat" in 1947, commented: "There may be no good political regime, but democracy is surely the least bad of the alternatives."[9]

In connection with that, there was a certain reluctance to invent a usable democratic past for the newly formed liberal democracies in Western Europe. In post-war Germany, democracy was widely identified with the failure of the Weimar Republic, and the revolutions of 1789 or 1848 could not really be used as a past legitimating the present, especially since two different German states were competing for the same past.[10] A similar uneasiness about the democratic past can be identified for France, Italy and other Western European states.

In light of this uncertainty, the Western European reflections on democracy after 1945 unfolded to a very large extent as a critique of the mistakes made by the interwar democracies.[11] Central themes discussed as problems and dangers inherent to a democratic form of government were: governmental instability and executive weakness, class-based politics emerging from the unresolved social antago-

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[7] For the German case see: Volker Depkat: Lebenswenden und Zeitenwenden. Deutsche Politiker und die Erfahrungen des 20. Jahrhunderts. München 2007, pp. 208–221.

[8] Starting out with a graphic and thick description of the devastation wrought by the Second World War: Tony Judt: Postwar. A History of Europe since 1945. New York 2005.

[9] Albert Camus: Democracy and Modesty. In: Jacqueline Lévi-Valensi (ed.): Camus at Combat. Writing 1944–1947. Princeton 2006, p. 287.

[10] Edgar Wolfrum: Geschichtspolitik in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland. Der Weg zur Bundesrepublikanischen Erinnerung 1948–1990. Darmstadt 1999, pp. 39–49; Maria Mitchell: Materialism and Secularism. CDU Politicians and National Socialism, 1945–1949. In: JMH 67 (1995), pp. 278–308; Jeffrey Herf: Zweierlei Erinnerung. Die NS-Vergangenheit im geteilten Deutschland. Berlin 1998.

[11] The following is excerpted from Conway/Depkat: History (see note 1), here: pp. 142f.

nisms that had divided European societies in the 1920s and 1930s, the abandonment of rational argumentation and the resort to passion, the rise of populist demagoguery and extremism.

This critique of the past produced a willingness to learn from its mistakes for the sake of the future. Liberty was thus to be ordered to prevent it from degenerating into anarchy and mob rule. In electoral terms, the building of stable democracy was to be achieved through well-organized elections, which would be contested by modern and disciplined political parties that accepted the laws of parliamentary democracy. In socio-economic terms, the reform of capitalism on behalf of social justice administered by the welfare state appeared as a way to stabilize democracy through affluence enjoyed by the many. Finally, the building of democracy also encompassed educating the people so that it would support the system from inner conviction and resist authoritarian temptations in the future. Democracy in Western Europe, therefore, was something that was reflected in terms of it having to be built in an ongoing process fulfilling itself in the distant or not so distant future.

Compared to its problematic legacy in Western Europe, there was a lot of optimism about democracy in the U.S. after 1945. Revolving around the concepts of liberty, self-determination, popular sovereignty, and majority rule, democracy had come to form the core of America's national identity and the way of life based on it. While a non-sectarian, quasi-religious faith in the political values and institutions of American democracy had already defined the center of what Robert Bellah has called America's civil religion since the nineteenth century, the ideologization of democracy reached a new quality in the twentieth century.[12]

This development was driven by two factors: first, the active conduct of an interventionist foreign policy under the agenda of a democratic internationalism, and second, the transformation of America's democracy under President Franklin D. Roosevelt's policy of the New Deal.

The foreign policy agenda of democratic internationalism originated with President Woodrow Wilson in the First World War.[13] In the attempt to define war aims worth shedding American blood for, he declared it America's mission to build a new international system on the democratic values of majority rule, self-determination, territorial integrity, the rule of international law, and a system of collective security that would solve conflicts between states peacefully by way

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[12] Robert N. Bellah: Habits of the Heart. Individualism and Commitment in American Life. Berkeley 1985.
[13] Adam Tooze: The Deluge. The Great War and the Remaking of Global Order, 1916–1931. London 2014; Klaus Schwabe: Weltmacht und Weltordnung. Amerikanische Außenpolitik von 1898 bis zur Gegenwart. Eine Jahrhundertgeschichte. Paderborn 2006, pp. 43–77; Tony Smith: America's Mission. The United States and the Worldwide Struggle for Democracy in the Twentieth Century. Princeton 1995; Volker Depkat: Die Ausbreitung von Demokratie als Friedensprogramm unter den US-Präsidenten William J. Clinton und George W. Bush. In: Jost Dülffer/ Gottfried Niedhart (eds.): Frieden durch Demokratie? Genese, Wirkung und Kritik eines Deutungsmusters. Essen 2011, pp. 209–226.

of negotiation and compromise. Under President Wilson, the U.S. entered the European war to shape a peace creating an international environment that, to quote from his famous "War Message" to Congress of 2 April 1917, was "safe for democracy".[14] In the final passage of his address, Wilson established a causal link between America's democratic values and the U.S.' mission to carry them into the world so that all wars would end. Arguing that the right was more precious than peace, Wilson claimed that the Americans would fight "for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts, – for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own Governments, for the rights and liberties of small nations, for a universal dominion of right by such a concert of free peoples as shall bring peace and safety to all nations and make the world itself at last free".[15]

He continued to state that "America is privileged to spend her blood and her might for the principles that gave her birth and happiness and the peace which she has treasured. God helping her, she can do no other."[16] With these final words Wilson turned an active and interventionist American foreign policy on behalf of democracy into a matter of identity politics. In combination with his famous "Fourteen Points" of January 8, 1918, Woodrow Wilson's "War Message" defined the frame in which U.S. foreign policy was to move for most of the 20th century. President Franklin D. Roosevelt adapted it to fit the situation of the Second World War, and after 1945, the agenda of democratic internationalism was again reformulated to define the core of America's Cold War ideology of containment as it was constructed in George F. Kennan's "Long Telegram", George C. Marshall's "European Recovery Program", and finally the "Truman Doctrine".[17] This foreign policy agenda let the U.S. fight bloody wars in Korea and Vietnam in the quest to build democracy and stop the advance of real or supposed communism in Asia.[18] At the heart of this agenda, however, lay an ideologization of democracy under the auspices of a democratic internationalism that can be traced back to the First World War.

The second major factor structuring the debates about democracy in the U.S. between 1945 and 1970 was the ongoing transformation of democracy into a welfare state in the wake of President Roosevelt's New Deal.[19] While Germany witnessed the destruction of democracy under the onslaught of the Great Depres-

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[14] Woodrow Wilson: Joint Address to Congress Leading to a Declaration of War Against Germany, April 2, 1917. In: http://www.ourdocuments.gov/doc.php?doc=61&page=transcript (last accessed: 23.5.2016).
[15] Ibid.
[16] Ibid.
[17] Smith: Mission (see note 13), pp. 113–176; Schwabe: Weltmacht (see note 13), pp. 173–180, pp. 188–202.
[18] Simon J. Ball: The Cold War. An International History, 1947–1991. London 1998, pp. 41–65, pp. 115–141; Schwabe: Weltmacht (see note 13), pp. 210–231, pp. 310–355.
[19] Ira Katznelson: Fear Itself. The New Deal and the Origins of Our Time. New York 2013; Melvyn Dubofsky (ed.): The New Deal. Conflicting Interpretations and Shifting Perspectives. New York 1992.

sion, the U.S. went through the tumultuous process of reforming its democracy to adapt it to the realities of the industrial world. In laying the foundations for an American-style welfare state, the New Deal redefined the state's role as an arbiter of social conflicts and active agent of change on behalf of social justice and the equality of opportunity. This transformation did not happen as a break with the democratic traditions of the past or the constitution. Rather, it happened very much within these traditions and frameworks as a reformulation or re-definition of "American democracy" and the role government played in it.

Accepting his nomination as presidential candidate of the Democratic Party in 1932, Franklin D. Roosevelt famously concluded: "I pledge you, I pledge myself, to a new deal for the American people. […] This is more than a political campaign; it is a call to arms. Give me your help, not to win votes alone, but to win in this crusade to restore America to its own people."[20] Although the New Deal at this stage was hardly more than a campaign slogan lacking a sound conceptual base, these words already articulated the basic idea behind it: the restoration of democracy to the American people through government initiated reforms. In the midst of a crisis threatening the very foundations of America's political, social and economic order, the New Deal was to guarantee the "American promise" of "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness", formulated first in an agrarian world, even under the conditions of industrial modernity. According to Alice Kessler-Harris, the 1930s were the time of a "decade-long transformation from an ethos of liberty to a spirit of democracy" that aimed at ensuring the participation of the many. The political reforms of the New Deal Era were driven by a "spirit of egalitarian democracy" that curtailed liberty and the freewheeling capitalism to enlarge the economic foundations of participation and broaden the base of participation in the democratic process.[21] Thus, the reform of capitalism appeared as the precondition for a more inclusive democracy. "While preserving the liberty to amass property," writes Kessler-Harris, "American capitalism could provide the jobs and opportunities that would increase quality of life for the many, which, in turn, would expand democratic participation and voice. It could do good for the many, even as it enriched the few".[22]

At the basis of the New Deal order was a "consensus liberalism" that rested on a set of ideological assumptions such as "the belief in Keynesian economics, the regulatory power of the state, social welfare, pragmatic conflict resolution, and a liberal internationalism seeking to expand the liberal-democratic form of government around the world and to open foreign markets".[23] It is important to note

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[20] Franklin D. Roosevelt: Address Accepting the Presidential Nomination at the Democratic National Convention in Chicago, July 2, 1932. In: http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=75174 (last accessed: 23. 5. 2016).
[21] Alice Kessler-Harris: Capitalism, Democracy, and the Emancipation of Belief. In: JAmH 99, 3 (2012), pp. 725–740. All quotes p. 732.
[22] All quotes: ibid., here: p. 731.
[23] Jasper M. Trautsch: The Transatlantic Drift and the Reinvention of Europe. West German Labor Unions' Perception of America. In: Jan Hansen/Christian Helm/Frank Reichherzer (eds.):

that this social democratic moment of the U.S. lasted into the first twenty-five years of the post-World War II world, and that consensus liberalism went on to become one of the "core ideologies holding 'the West' together in the 1950s and 1960s".[24]

2. Democracy as a Web of Discourses

The European-American debates on democracy of the 1950s and 1960s present themselves as a whole web of discourses, and not always did the term democracy surface or figure prominently in it. In many cases democracy was the unwritten subtext to the debates on liberty, justice, and fairness, while in other cases the connections between these concepts were made explicit; either way, these multiple strands of discourse did not form a coherent whole in any sense. Rather, the web of discourses on democracy was full of inner contradictions that seem to be symptomatic for the conceptual debates about democracy as such. In particular, the relationships between liberty and equality, individual freedom and social responsibility, individual rights and group rights, democracy and security were anything but clear and subject to controversial discussions. This means, however, that the debates on democracy on both sides of the Atlantic went well beyond the problem of constitutions, political institutions, decision-making procedures, and the form of government. Rather, they touched on much broader social, economic and cultural issues relating to a way of life anchoring in the idea and practice of self-determination.

In the years following the Second World War, which witnessed a Europe in shambles and saw the Soviet Union emerging as the great antagonist of liberal democracy and free-market capitalism, the question of how to put capitalism to service of an increasingly inclusive democracy moved to the center of the debates in Europe and America.[25]

In Europe, calls for "economic democracy", a *soziale Marktwirtschaft* or "democratic socialism" were widespread, and often took precedence over discussion of political structures.[26] Once again, the nature of such an economic democracy was often defined only vaguely and encompassed multiple meanings, ranging from the radical ambition of some workers to take charge of their workplace, to the very different intentions of various employers and trade union leaders to establish more structured forms of industrial corporatism. Common to all of these ideas

Making Sense of the Americas. How Protest Related to America in the 1980s and Beyond. Frankfurt a. M. 2015, pp. 273–298, here: pp. 276f.

[24] Ibid., here: p. 276. On the centrality of consensus liberalism for the construction of "the West" see: Anselm Doering-Manteuffel: Wie westlich sind die Deutschen? In: HPM 3 (1996), pp. 1–38, esp. pp. 14–22.

[25] From a global perspective: Eric J. Hobsbawm: Age of Extremes. The Short Twentieth Century, 1914–1991. London 1995, pp. 257–286.

[26] The following is excerpted from: Conway/Depkat: History (see note 1), here: pp. 135f.

was, however, the sense that democracy should not be conceived in solely political terms, but as part of the wider social and economic framework of society. In this respect, land reform, full employment, decent housing and old-age pensions were more prominent elements of the post-1945 democratic agenda than the more fundamental issues of how a democracy might be organized.[27]

However, the debate about "economic democracy" was not confined to Europe. It is significant for the history of American concepts of democracy that the welfare state reform of capitalism begun during the Great Depression continued under the auspices of Harry S. Truman's "Fair Deal", Dwight D. Eisenhower's "Dynamic Conservatism", and Lyndon B. Johnsons "War on Poverty" in the "Great Society".[28] "In this postwar moment", writes Kessler-Harris, "democracy and capitalism sought a compromise. Perhaps for the first time, they joined together in a model of liberal democracy that offered hope for a successful partnership. The new conventional wisdom acknowledged that a good society might attend to the general welfare of its people with a two-pronged strategy. It could promote economic growth and full employment and at the same time provide a protective net for those who could not otherwise survive."[29]

With developments in America and Western Europe converging, compared to the emerging social democratic programs of Western Europe and the Scandinavian countries, New Deal liberalism demonstrated a far stronger commitment to the liberty of the marketplace. The U.S. governments paid only "little attention to income redistribution or to eliminating poverty and reducing class differences".[30]

Next to the economy, the task of building democracy also encompassed the civic education of society. While the U.S. set out to re-educate the Germans and teach them democracy after National Socialism, Europeans were also debating among themselves the question of how societies should be conditioned to accept democracy and support it, even in its critical moments.[31] In these contexts, democracy was reflected as an individual and collective ethos, as a way of life, as a

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[27] Hartmut Kaelble: Sozialgeschichte Europas. 1945 bis zur Gegenwart. München 2007, pp. 332–360; Adam Steinhouse: Workers' Participation in post-Liberation France. Lanham/Oxford 2001; Tom Behan: The Long-Awaited Moment. The Working Class and the Italian Communist Party in Milan, 1943–1948. New York 1997; Dirk Luyten: Sociaal-economisch overleg in België sedert 1918. Brussels 1995, pp. 123–142; James C. van Hook: Rebuilding Germany. The Creation of the Social Market Economy, 1945–1957. Cambridge 2004; Julia Angster: Konsenskapitalismus und Sozialdemokratie. Die Westernisierung von SPD und DGB. München 2003.

[28] Alonzo L. Hamby: Beyond the New Deal. Harry S. Truman and American Liberalism. New York 1973; id. (ed.): Harry Truman and the Fair Deal. Lexington 1974; James L. Sundquist: Politics and Policy. The Eisenhower, Kennedy, and Johnson Years. Washington 1968; John A. Andrew: Lyndon Johnson and the Great Society. Chicago 1998; Marshall Kaplan/Peggy L. Cuciti (eds.): The Great Society and its Legacy. Twenty Years of U.S. Policy. Durham 1986; Sidney M. Milkis/Jerome M. Mileur (eds.): The Great Society and the High Tide of Liberalism. Amherst 2005.

[29] Kessler-Harris: Capitalism (see note 21), here: p. 733.

[30] Ibid.

[31] Katharina Gerund/Heike Paul: Die amerikanische Reeducation-Politik nach 1945. Interdisziplinäre Perspektiven auf "America's Germany". Bielefeld 2015.

habitus centering in self-determination, civic awareness, political participation and the acceptance of majority rule.[32] Democracy in Western Europe, therefore, was something that needed to be built gradually over the course of a couple of generations by educating its citizens and integrating democratic values into the fabric of society. This held especially true for Germany and Italy with their fascist pasts, of course, but the task of building democracy was also discussed in states like Belgium whose record contained democratic success stories. Democracy needed democrats, and it was necessary to root the public rituals of democracy – elections, parliamentary debates, the passing of legislation – and its wider framework of legal institutions in a pervasive democratic culture.

While this debate about building democracy in Europe was most certainly a debate about the future, it was at the same time also a debate about the past, as the future-oriented building of a democratic spirit among the European societies would gradually overcome the authoritarian traditions of the past. When Ralf Dahrendorf critically scrutinized the state of West Germany's democracy in his landmark book *Gesellschaft und Demokratie* ("Society and Democracy") in the 1960s, he found the rule of law as well as a liberal economic order to be firmly established in West Germany, but he heavily criticized the persistence of an illiberal, even authoritarian mentality in large parts of Germany's population, demanding that the democratization of the minds of the Germans be pushed even further.[33] The task of building democracy, therefore, was an ongoing process and a continuous task, and in their self-understanding both Western Europe's democratic elites and America's foreign policy makers were responsible for initiating and guiding this process of putting the democratic reconstruction of Western Europe on a sound footing.

In this context, the students' movement, the European women's movement, the peace movement and other protest movements of the 1960s have to be contextualized as both indicators and factors of ongoing liberalization- and democratization-processes that began in the immediate aftermath of the Second World War.[34] They were the manifestation of social and cultural changes that had been going on

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[32] The following is excerpted from Conway/Depkat: History (see note 1), here: pp. 145–149.

[33] Ralf Dahrendorf: Gesellschaft und Demokratie in Deutschland. München 1965. For Dahrendorf's book in the context of West Germany's debate about democratization see: Moritz Scheibe: Auf der Suche nach der demokratischen Gesellschaft. In: Ulrich Herbert (ed.): Wandlungsprozesse in Westdeutschland. Belastung, Integration, Liberalisierung 1945–1980. Göttingen 2002, pp. 245–277.

[34] Martin Klimke/Joachim Scharloth (eds.): 1968 in Europe. A History of Protest and Activism, 1956–1977. New York 2008; Martin Klimke: The Other Alliance. Student Protest in West Germany and the United States in the Global Sixties. Princeton 2010; Holger Nehring: Politics of Security. British and West German Protest Movements in the Early Cold War, 1945–1970. Oxford 2013; Roland Roth/Dieter Rucht (eds.): Die sozialen Bewegungen in Deutschland seit 1945. Ein Handbuch. Frankfurt a. M. 2008; Herbert (ed.): Wandlungsprozesse (see note 33); Belinda J. Davis: Changing the World, Changing Oneself. Political Protest and Collective Identities in West Germany and the U.S. in the 1960s and 1970s. New York 2010; Ingrid Gilcher-Holthey: Die 68er Bewegung. Deutschland – Westeuropa – USA. München 2001.

for quite some time, and at the same time they contributed to driving these changes further. Aiming to overcome the elite-driven, top-down stabilization of the 1950s, the protest movements of the 1960s pushed the marginalization of the authoritarian traditions in Western Europe, and contributed to the maturing of a civic culture anchoring in individual self-determination, social self-organization, political participation, and civic responsibility.

While the protests of the 1960s in the U.S. were in many respects similar to that of Europe, the American developments still were driven by one factor missing in Europe: race. In the first twenty-five years after the Second World War, the American debates about democracy were inextricably tied to questions of African-American citizenship and the enlargement of American democracy to include hitherto excluded social groups therein. Against this backdrop, the historical significance of the African American Civil Rights Movement lies not only in it ending the long history of legal discrimination against blacks in the U.S. Rather, it also helped form a new rights consciousness in America's political culture that translated into political languages of liberation, emancipation, and participation that were increasingly covered by many of the marginalized groups.[35] In these debates, "democracy" was not a prominent term, but it was there, surfacing time and again, and, more importantly, generating the whole debate from the discrepancy between democratic claims and political realities in the U.S.

Already in 1944, the Swedish economist and sociologist Gunnar Myrdal published his famous investigation into the situation of African-Americans in the U.S. entitled "An American Dilemma. The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy".[36] In this seminal text, he identifies the war-driven ideologization of democracy in the 20th century and the continued discrimination of blacks as America's dilemma, which could only be overcome by ending segregation and guaranteeing full citizenship to African-Americans. "The Negro in America", he writes, "has not yet been given the elemental civil and political rights of formal democracy, including a fair opportunity to earn his living, upon which a general accord was already won when the American Creed was first taking form".[37]

When the Civil Rights Movement gained momentum in the 1950s and 1960s, its emancipatory language conceptually linked the guarantee of citizenship to African-Americans to the idea of completing America's democracy.[38] In his fa-

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[35] For the centrality of "rights consciousness" emerging in the wake of the Civil Rights Movement see: James T. Patterson: Grand Expectations. The United States, 1945–1974. Oxford 1996, pp. 562–592; id.: Restless Giant. The United States from Watergate to Bush v. Gore. Oxford 2005, pp. 274–277.
[36] Gunnar Myrdal: An American Dilemma. The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy. New York 1944.
[37] Ibid., p. 24.
[38] Taylor Branch: Parting the Waters. America in the King Years, 1954–63. New York 1988; Harvard Sitkoff: The Struggle for Black Equality, 1954–1992. New York 1993; Manfred Berg: The Ticket to Freedom. The NAACP and the Struggle for Black Political Integration. Gainesville 2005; Patrick B. Miller/Therese Frey Steffen/Elisabeth Schäfer-Wünsche (eds.): The Civil Rights

mous "I have a Dream"-speech, delivered on August 28, 1963 during the March on Washington, Martin Luther King, Jr. laid out a powerful vision of such an inclusive American democracy.[39] He identified the "Declaration of Independence" and the "Constitution" as but "promissory note[s]" articulating the "promise that all men, yes, black men as well as white men, would be guaranteed the 'unalienable Rights' of 'Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness.'" While the ongoing discrimination against African-Americans demonstrated that America had "defaulted on this promissory note", King argued that the time had come for blacks to demand "the riches of freedom and the security of justice". Standing on the steps of the Lincoln Memorial facing the Capitol, the great leader of the Civil Rights Movement said: "Now is the time to make real the promises of democracy."

   The Civil Rights Movement triggered a new round of debate about the meaning and the practices of democracy in the U.S. In its wake, other hitherto marginalized groups – especially women but also minorities like the Latinos, American Indians, as well as gays and lesbians – started to organize and fight for self-determination, equality of opportunity, and participation.[40] The New Left students' movement, longing for community in a world marked, in their view, by alienation, isolation, and pressures for conformity, explicitly called for a "participatory democracy" in their programmatic Port Huron Statement of 1962, and they went on to elaborate: "As a social system we seek the establishment of a democracy of individual participation, governed by two central aims: that the individual share in those social decisions determining the quality and direction of his life; that society be organized to encourage independence in men and provide the media for their common participation."[41]

   Next to the Civil Rights Movement and the Students' Movement, a new women's movement, institutionalized in the National Organization for Women (NOW), also contributed to the discourse of enlarging democracy in the 1960s. Demanding the end to all forms of sexual discrimination, access to elite professional schools, and the equality of opportunity in the world of work, the New Women's Movement also made "participation" a key-term of its democratic vision. Seeing their struggle as "part of the world-wide revolution of human rights",

Movement Revisited. Critical Perspectives on the Struggle for Racial Equality in the United States. Münster 2001.

[39] All of the following quotes can be found in: Martin Luther King, Jr.: I Have a Dream, delivered 28 August 1963, at the Lincoln Memorial, Washington D.C. In: http://www.americanrhetoric.com/speeches/mlkihaveadream.htm (last accessed: 24. 5. 2016).

[40] For the intellectual history of the 1960s see: Howard Brick: Age of Contradiction. American Thought and Culture in the 1960s. New York 1998; Peter Braunstein/Michael William Doyle (eds.): Imagine Nation. The American Counterculture of the 1960s and '70s. New York 2002; Christopher Gair: The American Counterculture. Edinburgh 2007.

[41] Students for a Democratic Society: The Port Huron Statement, June 15, 1962. In: www.h-net.org/~hst306/documents/huron.html (last accessed: 24. 5. 2016). On the *Sozialistischer Deutscher Studentenbund* see: Klimke: Alliance (see note 34), pp. 10–39.

the NOW Statement of Purpose of October 29, 1966 declared: "The purpose of NOW is to take action to bring women into full participation in the mainstream of American society now, exercising all the privileges and responsibilities thereof in truly equal partnership with men."[42]

In all, therefore, the first two decades after the Second World War marked a period that saw American democracy expanding to become more inclusive and more tolerant. "As a result of what some have called the rights revolution – the civil rights, feminist, gay liberation, and disability rights movements", writes Elaine Tyler May, "the United States came much closer to reaching its full democratic promise".[43] In this context, it is important to note that the emancipatory demands for self-determination and participation were increasingly formulated in terms of rights, so that a maturing rights consciousness was inextricably tied to the debates about democracy in the U.S. of the 1950/60s. This specific rights consciousness marks a major difference between U.S.-American and European democratic cultures to this very day.

3. Democracy as a Contested Term

Democracy was not only ubiquitous in the political debates on both sides of the Atlantic in the first twenty-five years after the end of the Second World War, it was also a highly contested term between the systems of the Cold War, as well as within them. There was no shared understanding among American and Western European political elites as to what democracy was supposed to mean. While the Americans tended to identify their own order with democracy as such, Europeans, faced with the end of a Europe-centered world, were looking for their own, distinctly European democratic traditions, and had, to say the least, a rather uneasy relationship with American-style democracy.[44] At the same time, the process of European integration gave the debates about democracy an altogether different twist, as the supranational institutions of the emerging European Union were seen as an instrument to secure liberal democracy, control popular sovereignty, and contain authoritarian aspirations among the peoples of Western Europe. Jan-Werner Müller has argued that Western Europe's member states purposely delegated national sovereignty rights to the supranational level to cement liberal democracy and to prevent the national societies from abusing popular sovereignty for au-

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[42] The National Organization for Women's 1966 Statement of Purpose, October 29, 1966. In: http://now.org/about/history/statement-of-purpose/ (last accessed: 24. 5. 2016).
[43] Elaine Tyler May: Security against Democracy. The Legacy of the Cold War at Home. In: JAmH 97 (2011), pp. 939–957, here: p. 939.
[44] On the European mindset in the early Cold War period: Achim Trunk: Europa, ein Ausweg. Politische Eliten und Europäische Identität in den 1950er Jahren. München 2007; Vanessa Conze: Das Europa der Deutschen. Ideen von Europa in Deutschland zwischen Reichstradition und Westorientierung (1920–1970). München 2005; Axel Schildt: Zwischen Abendland und Amerika. Studien zur westdeutschen Ideenlandschaft der 50er Jahre. München 1999.

thoritarian pursuits.[45] Therefore, while American and Western European political elites were on the whole eagerly constructing the notion of a free and democratic "Western World" in the first two decades after the Second World War, it is not at all clear whether they were actually speaking the same political language and meant the same things by democracy.

While the transatlantic differences are way too complex and varied to be fully elaborated on here, two features appear to be especially interesting when it comes to identifying the specific dynamics of the European debates on democracy in contrast to the American ones.[46] First, there was a strong preoccupation with how to order liberty and channel the destructive potential of popular rule in the attempt to stabilize a political order that Europeans had experienced as inherently unstable in the interwar period. Second, the European debates were driven by a clash between Catholic and secular concepts of democracy.

The European experiences, with the failure of democracy in the interwar period and the mobilization of the masses under the auspices of totalitarian rule, let the European discussions revolve around technical and formal questions about how to order liberty, self-determination, and majority rule on behalf of stability. Connected to that was a deep-seated aversion against plebiscitarian and more direct forms of democracy. Behind this discourse on democracy lay a vision of channeling the will of the people through a number of intermediate institutions, which, similar to the way that a series of dykes are constructed to break the force of a sudden flood, were primarily intended to blunt the impact of majoritarian will. Majorities had a poor reputation in post-war Europe, which reflected a wider distrust of forms of mass mobilization. Therefore, the better, and more mature approach was to construct a democracy where crowds would (or could) not emerge.[47]

In this context, the role of political parties was very controversial. In Germany, intellectuals such as Theodor Steltzer, Eugen Kogon, Jürgen von Kempski, Karl Jaspers, and Walter Dirks, articulating their unease with a centralized democracy of the masses, were skeptical of political parties, regarded national elections as plebiscitary, and embraced indirect forms of delegating power and authority to ensure the rule of democratic elites.[48] In contrast to them, party leaders such as Konrad Adenauer, Kurt Schumacher, or Thomas Dehler were all for channeling democratic energies into political parties but even they were doubtful as to whether the German people would cast their votes "correctly". In the autumn of 1949,

[45] Jan-Werner Müller: Das demokratische Zeitalter. Eine politische Ideengeschichte Europas im 20. Jahrhundert. Berlin 2013, p. 251.
[46] The following is excerpted from Conway/Depkat: History (see note 1), here: pp. 134–141.
[47] See also Christian Bailey: The Continuities of West German History. Conceptions of Europe, Democracy and the West in Interwar and Postwar Germany. In: GG 36 (2010), pp. 567–597.
[48] Hans Mommsen: Von Weimar nach Bonn. Zum Demokratieverständnis der Deutschen. In: Axel Schildt/Arnold Sywottek (eds.): Modernisierung im Wiederaufbau. Die westdeutsche Gesellschaft der 50er Jahre. Bonn 1993, pp. 745–758, here: esp. p. 753.

Adenauer told the Allied High Commissioners for Germany that "the political thinking of the Germans was still extremely disorderly".[49]

The danger posed by what J. L. Talmon in his influential polemic "The Origins of Totalitarian Democracy" (published in 1952) termed "the seemingly ultra-democratic ideal of unlimited popular sovereignty" led European politicians to perceive the making of a stable democracy as one in which an ordered political liberty prevailed.[50] In electoral terms, this was to be achieved through well-organized elections, which would be contested by modern and disciplined political parties that accepted the laws of parliamentary democracy and worked to uphold them. The central institution of what Jean-Pierre Rioux rightly terms (with regard to the French Fourth Republic) this "gouvernement d'assemblée" was incontestably national parliaments.[51] It was in the privileged space of parliament that deputies would debate issues of national interest; as the elected representatives of the people, but also at a necessary distance from the people.

A second factor significantly defining the specific dynamics of the debates about democracy in Western Europe was the competition between Catholic and secular definitions of democracy. The rapid emergence after the war of powerful Christian Democratic parties in many of the states of Western Europe in effect brought forms of Catholic political thought more to the fore than it had been the case at any point since at least the end of the 19th century.[52] Consciously reinforced by the statements of the papacy during the pontificate of Pius XII, this distinctive Catholic approach to democracy was one that placed emphasis on the "natural" communities of family and region, as well as on the need to construct a social order that respected Christian values of charity and solidarity. "A true and healthy democracy", as Pius XII termed it, was one in which the power of the modern state was confined by respect for the dignity of the individual, and for the teachings of God.[53] This was also a definition of democracy which, by heritage and instinct, was distrustful of the individualist and liberal tradition that derived from the Enlightenment and the French Revolution of 1789 and which had remorselessly led to the capitalist materialism of the modern world, two world wars and, through the secular cult of the nation-state, ultimately to fascism.[54] "I was convinced", Konrad Adenauer writes in his memoirs, "that a deification of the state, growing out of the materialistic worldview, and the unfettered expansion of

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[49] Konrad Adenauer: Erinnerungen, 1945–1953. Stuttgart 1965, p. 281.
[50] Jacob L. Talmon: The Origins of Totalitarian Democracy. London 1952, p. 251.
[51] Jean-Pierre Rioux: The Fourth Republic, 1944–1958. Cambridge 1987, p. 109.
[52] Wolfram Kaiser: Christian Democracy and the Origins of European Union. Cambridge 2007; Martin Conway: The Age of Christian Democracy. The Frontiers of Success and Failure. In: Thomas A. Kselman/Joseph A. Buttigieg (eds.): European Christian Democracy. Historical Legacies and Comparative Perspectives. Notre Dame 2003, pp. 43–67, here: pp. 51–53; Michael Gehler/Wolfram Kaiser/Helmut Wohnout (eds.): Christdemokratie in Europa im 20. Jahrhundert. Wien 2001; Michael Gehler/Wolfram Kaiser (eds.): Christian Democracy in Europe since 1945. London 2004; Mitchell: Materialism (see note 10).
[53] Pope Pius XII/Robert C Pollock (eds.): The Mind of Pius XII. New York 1955, pp. 62–69.
[54] Mitchell: Materialism (see note 10).

its rights, as we had experienced it in the past, must never happen again".[55] Christian democracy did not, therefore, imply so much of a Catholic acceptance of secular democracy as a continuation of the efforts made by progressive Catholic activists since the end of the 19th century to make democracy Christian.[56] As the German Catholic intellectual Romano Guardini declared in 1946, in a phrase which was expressive of the militant mood of the moment, "I am a proponent of democracy – but [I must] immediately add, [I am] a Catholic proponent who acknowledges absolute values and objective authorities as givens".[57]

Such statements did not fundamentally undermine Catholic participation in the democratic political system. Claims of a distinctive Catholic definition of democracy tended to be more rhetorical than substantive; and, more so than in Europe's other political traditions, the events of the Second World War had brought about a fundamental realignment of Catholic political attitudes away from an inter-war infatuation with authoritarian and corporatist political models in favor of an acceptance of democracy. Perhaps because of the extent of this change, Christian Democrat leaders were at pains to emphasize the distinctly Catholic inspiration that underlay their actions: their actions would be the means by which Christian values of civilization would finally permeate modern society or indeed, in a more maximalist formulation, of bringing about a Christian revolution.[58] This attitude was also rooted in a distinctly Catholic attitude toward the concept of Europe. Behind Konrad Adenauer's oft-cited concept of an *europäisches Abendland* ("European Occident") lay a much broader sense of a Christian European civilization which, in contrast to the liberal primacy of the nation-state, would bring about a new era of European cooperation.[59] To cite Romano Guardini once again: "Either Europe becomes Christian or Europe will no longer exist".[60]

Against this backdrop, the protest-driven transformations of the 1960s let the European debates on democracy move closer to the American ones, producing a certain convergence effect. Although following different dynamics in the various Western European nation-states and pursuing a kaleidoscopic diversity of aims,

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[55] Adenauer: Erinnerungen (see note 49), p. 62.

[56] Paul Misner: The Roman Catholic Hierarchy and the Christian Labor Movement. Autonomy and Pluralism. In: Lex Heerma Van Voss/Patrick Pasture/Jan De Mayer (eds.): Between Cross and Class. Comparative Histories of Christian Labor in Europe, 1840–2000. Bern 2005, pp. 103–125, here: p. 111.

[57] Robert A. Krieg: Catholic Theologians in Nazi Germany. New York 2004, pp. 127f.

[58] Pierre Letamendia/François Bayrou: Le Mouvement Républicain Populaire. Le MRP. Histoire d'un Grand Parti Français. Paris 1995, pp. 47–52. See also Gerd-Rainer Horn/Emmanuel Gerard: Left Catholicism 1943–1955. Catholics and Society in Western Europe at the Point of Liberation. Leuven 2001.

[59] Volker Depkat: Die Politik der europäischen Integration als Ergebnis einer erfahrenen Zeitwende. Konrad Adenauer. In: Volker Depkat/Piero S. Graglia (eds.): Entscheidung für Europa. Erfahrung, Zeitgeist und politische Herausforderungen am Beginn der europäischen Integration. Berlin 2010, pp. 169–188.

[60] Philippe Chenaux: Une Europe vaticane? Entre le plan Marshall et les traités de Rome. Brussels 1990; Krieg: Theologians (see note 57), p. 121; Mitchell: Materialism (see note 10), here: pp. 297–299.

one common denominator of the social movements of the 1960s was an anti-authoritarian rebellion against the established form of democracy.[61] The theoretical and political reflections of the leftist students' movement let the debates on democracy shift from problems of stability and functional efficiency towards problems of participation, transparency, popular control, and diversity. In West Germany, Konrad Adenauers *Kanzlerdemokratie* ("Chancellor's Democracy") became increasingly problematic, and the *Sozialistische Deutsche Studentenbund* called for "direct action" against what it saw as the repressive system of the Federal Republic and its "formal democracy" to establish "direct democracy".[62] Although leftist radicalism marked the fringe of the political spectrum in all Western European countries, the widespread calls for liberalization and participation had repercussions on institutionalized politics in Western European democracies, as some of the social movements' ideas and demands trickled into the debates of the political parties. With the *Democrazia Cristiana* ruling sovereign in Italy during the 1950s and 1960s, leftist parties were on the rise in other Western European states. In Great Britain, Harold Wilson of the Labour Party became Prime Minister in 1964 after a thirteen-year rule of the Conservatives. In Belgium, the socialists from the *Parti Socialiste Belge* entered into various coalition governments with the Christian Democrats between 1961 and 1974, and in West Germany, the Social Democrats returned to power for the first time since 1930 when they entered into a coalition government with the Christian Democrats in 1966. After the demise of that coalition, the Social Democrats teamed up with the liberals from the *Freie Demokratische Partei* to make Willy Brandt West Germany's chancellor, who was determined to "dare more democracy" (*Mehr Demokratie wagen*) in the Federal Republic.[63]

In all, therefore, the transformations of the 1960s accelerated the already ongoing liberalization processes in Western European democracies, letting the debates about democracy zero in on questions of individual autonomy and self-determination, constitutional rights and citizenship, transparence and participation, the acceptance of heterogeneity and the management of diversity. In the course of these developments, the secular concepts of democracy rooting in enlightenment values and ideas began to replace the Christian ones. In a same vein, the secular conception of Europe was increasingly replacing the *Abendland*-idea.[64]

While the Europeans were grappling with the meaning of democracy in light of totalitarian experiences and rapidly accelerating liberalization processes, the U.S.-Americans were struggling over the meaning of the welfare state for American democracy on the one hand, and the enlargement of democracy in the shadow

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[61] See note 34.
[62] Anselm Doering-Manteuffel: Strukturmerkmale der Kanzlerdemokratie. In: Der Staat 30 (1991), pp. 1–18; Klimke: Alliance (see note 34); Manfred Görtemaker: Geschichte der Bundesrepublik Deutschland. Von der Gründung bis zur Wiedervereinigung. München 1999, pp. 475–491.
[63] Judt: Postwar (see note 8), pp. 360–389.
[64] Conze: Europa (see note 44).

of the Civil Rights Revolution on the other. The 1950s and 1960s were years in which New Deal liberalism was hegemonic. However, these decades are also the formative period of a new conservatism unfolding as an aggressive critique of the welfare state founded during the reform period of the 1930s. Both, the climax and the unravelling of the New Deal Consensus, were inextricably tied to debates about the nature and essence of democracy in America.[65]

The advocates of the welfare state saw the reform of capitalism as necessary to protect democracy in the interdependent world of industrial modernity. Government activity would ensure economic growth and economic prosperity while at the same time it would protect individual wage earners and consumers from the dangers and risks of the free market, aiming at ensuring that large parts of society could enjoy material prosperity and determine their own lives, even under the conditions of corporate capitalism. In short, New Deal liberals were convinced that the government should play an active role in the social and economic processes of the country and that it should act as an agent of social and economic change on behalf of social justice to secure American democracy.[66]

This liberal persuasion was at the heart of Harry S. Truman's agenda of the "Fair Deal", which he announced after his sensational election victory in 1948. In his Annual Message to Congress of 5 January 1949, he said that Americans were "conservative about the values and principles which we cherish; but we are forward-looking in protecting those values and principles and in extending their benefits". Rejecting the – in his eyes – discredited theories of laissez-faire capitalism and politics, he pointed out that America's "economic system should rest on a democratic foundation and that wealth should be created for the benefit of all". The attainment of this kind of society imposed "increasing responsibilities on the Government". In Truman's eyes, the federal policies under the auspices of the New Deal had "strengthened the material foundations of our democratic ideals. Without them, our present prosperity would be impossible".[67] Truman thus linked America's obvious prosperity to government activity. Accordingly, America prospered not despite but because of the liberal reform agenda, and Truman urged Congress for legislation continuing the reform efforts begun under Franklin D. Roosevelt in order to preserve and even strengthen America's democracy.

While the expansion of the American welfare state in the 1950s and 1960s was anything but forceful and determined, it still was gradually expanded under the auspices of President Dwight D. Eisenhower's "Dynamic Conservatism", Presi-

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[65] Allen J. Matusow: The Unraveling of America. A History of Liberalism in the 1960s. New York 1984; Sean Wilentz: The Age of Reagan. A History, 1974–2008. New York 2008, pp. 120–150; David R. Farber: The Rise and Fall of Modern American Conservatism. A Short History. Princeton 2010; Kim Phillips-Fein: Invisible Hands. The Making of the Conservative Movement from the New Deal to Reagan. New York 2009; John Micklethwait/Adrian Wooldridge: The Right Nation. Conservative Power in America. New York 2004.
[66] See note 28.
[67] All quotes: Harry S. Truman: Annual Message to the Congress on the State of the Union, January 5, 1949. In: http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=13293 (last accessed: 24. 5. 2016).

dent John F. Kennedy's "New Frontiers", and especially President Lyndon B. Johnson's "Great Society".[68] Poverty, for Johnson, was a visible sign for the systemic failure of American democracy. Calling for an "unconditional war on poverty", Johnson said in his Annual Message to the Congress on the State of the Union on January 8, 1964: "Very often a lack of jobs and money is not the cause of poverty, but the symptom. The cause may lie deeper in our failure to give our fellow citizens a fair chance to develop their own capacities, in a lack of education and training, in a lack of medical care and housing, in a lack of decent communities in which to live and bring up their children."[69]

The constant expansion of the welfare state during the 1950s and 1960s sustained the discourse about what democracy in general, and American democracy in particular, meant, and the longer the fragile New Deal consensus lasted, the louder its critics became. The formation of the new conservatism was to a considerable degree driven by a critique of the welfare state and the notion of democracy and freedom written into it. The growth of government bureaucracies was seen as the destruction of individual liberty and self-determination. "Big Government" was held to numb individual initiative in the pursuit of happiness, and it was seen as the victory of collectivism over American individualism, and the triumph of socialism over democracy.[70]

After the Second World War, the new conservatism unfolded as a complex mix of think-tank intellectualism, grassroots conservative populism, and sophisticated marketing techniques, producing a complex web of a new-right intellectual and institutional infrastructure.[71] A broad spectrum of magazines and newspapers ranging from William F. Buckley Jrs. "National Review" and the "Wall Street Journal" to "Commentary" and "The Public Interest" served as platforms for conservative thought. Think-tanks like the Brookings Institution, the American Enterprise Institute or the Intercollegiate Studies Institute (founded in 1953) pursued a decidedly conservative agenda and had overcome their initial marginality by the 1970s. And these institutions were putting their ideas into practice, spreading their ideas to interest and lobby groups, to politicians and other elites, and played a major role in defining the political agenda of the New Right and creating an increasingly tight and dense network of all the diverse institutions, groups, and activists of the emerging New Right. By the end of the 1970s, writes Sean Wilentz, "almost every shade of conservative opinion had some sort of vehicle (and usually more than one) to enlarge its public voice and give conservatism new legitimacy and greatly enlarged influence".[72]

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[68] See note 28.
[69] Lyndon B. Johnson: Annual Message to the Congress on the State of the Union, January 8, 1964. In: http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=26787 (last accessed: 24. 5. 2016).
[70] In many respects this conservative credo was already formulated by: Herbert Hoover: American Individualism. New York 1922. On the New Right see note 65.
[71] Wilentz: Age (see note 65), pp. 89–95.
[72] Ibid., p. 90.

In this context, it is important to identify the 1960s as the breeding ground of both the New Left and the New Right.[73] Barry Goldwater's bid for the presidency in 1964 was a first radical attack on the New Deal and everything it stood for.[74] It was an urgent call for a return to the supposedly true American traditions of the free market, individual rights, individual liberty, and the unregulated freedom to get rich, accepting the social inequality resulting from it. Some of the leading figures of the New Right like Ronald Reagan or Phyllis Schlafly, who conquered American democracy in the 1970s and 1980s, came out in support of Goldwater. Ronald Reagan, laying the foundations for his later fame as conservative leader, even declared the presidential elections of 1964 to be a "rendezvous with destiny".[75] When he himself was sworn into the office of American President in January 1981, he famously said in his Inaugural Address: "In this present crisis, government is not the solution to our problem; government is the problem. From time to time we've been tempted to believe that society has become too complex to be managed by self-rule, that government by an elite group is superior to government for, by, and of the people. Well, if no one among us is capable of governing himself, then who among us has the capacity to govern someone else?"[76]

However, the new conservatism emerging in the 1950s and 1960s did not only unfold as a rebellion against the New Deal state and its conception of democracy as social democracy. It also evolved in opposition to the enlargement of democracy in the course of the Civil Rights Revolution of the 1960s.[77] In 1968, Richard Nixon used his opposition to civil rights for African-Americans, his hateful opposition to the social and cultural liberalism of the 1960s, and his contempt for student protestors in the anti-war movement to mobilize a new conservative majority for the Republican Party. In this context, he pursued what his advisors called "The Southern Strategy", trying to create a new base of the Republican Party in the hitherto rock-solidly Democratic South by catering to white Democrats alienated from their party because of the civil rights legislation.[78] Attempting to lure these alienated white Southern Democrats into the Republican party, Nixon invented a

[73] See Axel R. Schäfer: Countercultural Conservatives. American Evangelicalism from the Prostwar Revival to the New Christian Right. Madison 2011; id. (ed.): American Evangelicals and the 1960s. Madison 2013.
[74] Goldwater's thinking was best expressed by himself: Barry M. Goldwater: The Conscience of a Conservative. Shepherdsville 1960. On Goldwater's campaign in the context of the 1960s: Matusow: Unraveling (see note 65), pp. 131–152; Wilentz: Age (see note 65), p. 19f.; Patterson: Expectations (see note 35), pp. 548–550.
[75] Ronald Reagan: A Time for Choosing (The Speech – October 27, 1964). In: http://www.reagan.utexas.edu/archives/reference/timechoosing.html (last accessed: 24. 5. 2016).
[76] Ronald Reagan: Inaugural Address, January 20, 1981. In: http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=43130 (last accessed: 24. 5. 2016).
[77] Joseph E. Lowndes: From the New Deal to the New Right. Race and the Southern Origins of Modern Conservatism. New Haven 2008; Katznelson: Fear (see note 19), pp. 131–194.
[78] Robert Mason: Richard Nixon and the Quest for a New Majority. Chapel Hill 2004; Jonathan Rieder: The Rise of the "Silent Majority". In: Steve Fraser/Gary Gerstle (eds.): The Rise and Fall of the New Deal Order, 1930–1980. Princeton 1989, pp. 243–268; Reg Murphy/Hal Gulliver: The Southern Strategy. New York 1971.

new kind of conservative populism that polarized between *us* and *them*, between middle-class America as the *true* America and the North-eastern liberals, between a "great silent majority" and the vociferous and militant protesters in the streets, between the *true* American doctrine of individualism, self-help, and limited government and the *false* welfare state liberalism that, in supposedly betraying American core values, had seemingly produced the turmoil and violence of the 1960s.[79] His TV commercials in 1968 showed images of ghetto and campus uprisings, he portrayed himself as candidate of the "working Americans who have become forgotten Americans", he promised to get people off welfare rolls and on payrolls, and he criticized executive efforts to enforce school desegregation, especially lambasting the practice of "busing" school kids.[80]

This way the political debates about democracy in the U.S. between 1945 and 1970 were functionalized to justify both the expansion of the New Deal state and the aggressive right-wing critique of that same state, with both sides drawing on the key concepts of fairness, equality of opportunity, self-determination, and liberty.

Conclusion

An investigation into the meaning of the concept of democracy in the early Cold War world is a good way to probe into the history of European-American relations in categories of convergence and divergence. While debates on democracy were, on the one hand, factors in the formation of a transatlantic community of values pitted against the communist world, the very same debates gave insight into ongoing or even deepening transatlantic differences.

The European-American debates on democracy developed as a debate over "liberal democracy", as it is defined by written constitutions, the separation of powers, representative democracy, parliamentary rule, multi-party systems, and personal liberty framed in terms of inalienable rights. These debates were both indicators of and factors in a historical process that in the course of the 1950s and 1960s led to the construction of "the West". It is important to note that the growing acceptance of liberal democracy and the construction of a Western community of values happened in one and the same historical process. Europe's Christian Democrats and its Social Democrats were not liberal democrats from the start; rather, they became such in the course of the transatlantic debates about democracy that by the end of the 1960s had largely converged on the consensus liberalism and also consensus capitalism. *This* concept of democracy was pitted against both

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[79] President Nixon coined the term "great silent majority" in: Richard Nixon: Address to the Nation on the War in Vietnam, November 3, 1969. In: http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=2303 (last accessed: 24. 5. 2016).
[80] Patterson: Expectations (see note 35), pp. 701 f.; Matusow: Unraveling (see note 65), pp. 427–429.

totalitarian rule and the idea of a people's democracy as it was pursued by the communist regimes in the Soviet sphere of influence. Within this common frame, however, we have a significant degree of diversity, variation and also competition over the supposedly true form of liberal democracy.

Looking at the similarities and convergences, one has to state that there was an overall trend towards greater participation in and the enlargement of democracy in the Western world, which was inseparably connected to the growing acceptance of heterogeneity as one manifestation of a democratic way of life. While this liberalization in Europe followed a different dynamic, insofar as the enlargement of democracy also was an instrument to liquidate authoritarian traditions deeply engrained in Europe's history and largely lacking in the U.S., the trend of democratizing democracy set in on both sides of Atlantic after the end of the Second World War. Furthermore, democracies on both sides of the Atlantic had their social democratic moment in the early Cold War period, insofar as the reform of capitalism and the regulation of free-market competition on behalf of workers' protection and consumer rights was a shared consensus in the Western World.

The transatlantic differences lay in the thinking about the role of government, the meaning of the welfare state, and the quest for distinct democratic traditions that questioned the self-proclaimed universalism of the American model of democracy. While Western European democracies and democrats were generally more willing to accept regulatory government intervention on behalf of social justice, the New Deal state never did come easy to the Americans. In Europe, the welfare state in many ways was tied to notions of an emerging European political identity – also vis-a-vis the U.S. –, it was accepted as the basis to work on, and even celebrated as a great achievement civilizing the predatory capitalism of old.[81] In the U.S. there was a strong conservative undercurrent throughout the Cold War period that saw government intervention into social and economic processes as an aberration from the true course of American democracy. The formation of the New Right, happening in the period when the New Deal consensus was hegemonic, can be interpreted as a conservative rebellion against the social democratic version of American democracy. These differences, however, raise questions about the transfer and transferability of political concepts. Faced with the end of a Europe-centered world, and forced to position themselves between the blocs of the new bipolar world, European democracies and their democrats were keen on drawing on Europe's own democratic traditions to legitimate and stabilize democracy. In conclusion, while Europeans and Americans were using the same terms in their debates about democracy between 1945 and 1970, these terms were actually referring to rather different concepts of political and social order, and a lot remains to be done to analyze this further.

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[81] Ex-chancellor Schmidt celebrated the welfare state as such an achievement in his autobiography. See Helmut Schmidt: Außer Dienst. Eine Bilanz. München 2008, pp. 281–284. See also Kaelble: Sozialgeschichte (see note 27), pp. 423 f.

Philipp Gassert

Conflict as a Moment of Integration

The Role of Transatlantic Protest Movements since the 1960s

20th-century transatlantic history in general and German-American relations in particular have been ripe with situations of conflict, including two wars that have been fought between the United States and Germany.[1] Yet even during that long "golden era" of post-1945 German-American friendship, of which older German leaders like Helmut Kohl or Hans-Dietrich Genscher sing such praise, suspicions on both sides often ran deep.[2] In political crises like the epic struggles over the "German question" during the détente phase of the 1960s or the controversy over the NATO double track decision during the early 1980s, the bonds between these two countries seemed to be unraveling.[3] Moreover, the history of transatlantic exchange has been shaped by perpetual trade wars over goods such as pork, chicken, bananas, and – more recently – genetically-modified food.[4]

Trade has been a particularly tricky business. Jean-Jacques Servan-Schreiber's 1968 book "Le Défi Américain" ("The American Challenge") famously echoed a series of many publications that had come out since the 1920s in which Europe was portrayed as having succumbed to dollar imperialism. "Le Défi Américain", however, was an untimely publication. The gold crisis of 1968 marked the begin-

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[1] This paper was originally presented as a paper at the conference that forms the basis of this volume. The text largely remains that of the oral presentation, to which references have been added.
[2] See Geir Lundestad: The United States and Western Europe since 1945. From "Empire" by Invitation to Transatlantic Drift. Oxford 2003; Ronald J. Granieri: The Ambivalent Alliance. Konrad Adenauer, the CDU/CSU, and the West, 1949–1966. New York 2003; Thomas A. Schwartz: Lyndon Johnson and Europe. In the Shadow of Vietnam. Cambridge, MA 2003; Tim Geiger: Atlantiker gegen Gaullisten. Außenpolitischer Konflikt und innerparteilicher Machtkampf in der CDU/CSU 1958–1969. München 2008.
[3] See Jeremic Suri: Power and Protest. Global Revolution and the Rise of Detente. Cambridge, MA 2003; Matthias Schulz/Thomas A. Schwartz (eds.): The Strained Alliance. U.S.-European Relations from Nixon to Carter. New York 2010; Kiran Klaus Patel/Kenneth Weisbrode (eds.): European Integration and the Atlantic Community in the 1980s. New York 2013; Christoph Becker-Schaum et al. (eds.): The Nuclear Crisis. The Arms Race, Cold War Anxiety, and the German Peace Movements of the 1980s. New York 2016.
[4] See Harold James: Cooperation, Competition, and Conflict. Economic Relations Between the United States and Germany, 1968–1990. In: Detlef Junker (ed.): The United States and Germany in the Era of the Cold War. Vol. 2: 1968–1990. Cambridge 2004, pp. 187–202.

ning of the end of the undisputed American hegemony over the world financial system.[5] The collapse of Bretton Woods was only a few years away. Yet again, during the 1990s, fears were running high that an American "hyperpower", spurred on by the triumph over the Soviet Union during the Cold War, and armed with a triumphant ideology of neo-liberalism as well as a host of new electronic media would come to dominate the world.[6] Looked at in hindsight twenty years later these fears never actually materialized.

After the September 11 attacks, moreover, a divided Europe and a divided America seemed to be moving in different political directions.[7] The America of George W. Bush was taking a more robust approach to international relations than the Europe of Jacques Chirac and Gerhard Schröder. As was being said at the time, Europeans seemed to be living on a different planet in a Kantian dream world of perpetual peace.[8] Yet, in the context of the political protests against the Second Iraq War, European intellectuals like Jürgen Habermas and Jacques Derrida developed a critique of the Republican plans for a new world order by invoking "America's best traditions".[9] Speaking in the name of enlightenment, pragmatism, and the rule of the law, they wholeheartedly sided with a democratic internationalism à la Woodrow Wilson. This rediscovery of Wilson was a bit of a surprise. Wilson had been the poster-boy for both left and right-wing criticism of democratic imperialism during the 1920s. Now, he was being turned into the patron saint of American neo-conservative intellectuals as well.[10]

In the U.S., many critics of the neo-Wilsonian internationalism of Dick Cheney and George W. Bush such as Susan Sontag or Noam Chomsky eagerly sided with Habermas and Derrida.[11] During the heyday of the Iraq controversy, numerous proponents of self-critical perspectives within American Studies including Donald E. Pease, a professor of English at Dartmouth, traveled to Germany and other European countries to lend their support to those resisting the Republican efforts

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[5] See Jean-Jacques Servan-Schreiber: Le Défi américain. Paris 1968; Hubert Zimmermann: Unraveling the Ties That Really Bind. The Dissolution of the Transatlantic Monetary Order and European Monetary Cooperation, 1965–1973. In: Schulz/Schwartz (eds.): Alliance (see note 3), pp. 125–143; Robert O. Keohane: After Hegemony. Cooperation and Discord in the World Political Economy. Princeton 1984.

[6] See Hubert Védrine: France in an Age of Globalization. Washington 2001; Niall Fergusson: Colossus. The Rise and Fall of the American Empire. London 2005; Josef Joffe: Überpower. The Imperial Temptation of America. New York 2006.

[7] See Stephen F. Szabo: Parting Ways. The Crisis in German-American Relations. Washington 2004.

[8] See Robert Kagan: Of Paradise and Power. America and Europe in the New World Order. New York 2003.

[9] See Jacques Derrida/Jürgen Habermas: Der 15. Februar – oder: Was die Europäer verbindet. In: Jürgen Habermas: Kleine Politische Schriften. Vol. 10: Der gespaltene Westen. Frankfurt a. M. 2004, pp. 43–51.

[10] See Tony Smith: America's Mission. The United States and the Worldwide Struggle for Democracy in the Twentieth Century. Princeton 1995.

[11] See Noam Chomsky: Hegemony or Survival. America's Quest for Global Dominance. New York 2003.

at worldwide democratization and nation-building. Many, in Europe become witnesses of this U.S. American "protest imperialism". On the other hand, German conservatives were quite happy to use the political outrage over Iraq to score political points by portraying the looming transatlantic rift as the ultimate consequence of a deeply ingrained culture of anti-Americanism that had emerged in the 1960s and 1970s. As former chancellor Kohl famously put it in an unprecedented critique of his successor in a 2003 interview: "Unfortunately the whole debate about Iraq in Germany has been ignited by the unbelievable anti-Americanism of the political Left. Many of those who are in high government office today demonstrated against America in the 1970s and 1980s. I need only mention the debate over the NATO double track decision. Gerhard Schröder, Johannes Rau, and Joschka Fischer werde the most prominent representatives of this anti-Americanism."[12]

Fischer, in turn, defended himself against such claims by explaining his view of the U.S. in the 1960s and 1970s. The foreign minister and former street protester made the obvious point that "America" was not one united entity speaking with one voice; rather, he maintained, America had been, and still was, as divided as Europe:

"With the beginning of the Vietnam War, the image of the United States as the liberator of Europe suffered a radical blow. As a consequence of that, a two-faced America had emerged: one side was waging a war in Vietnam as a colonial oppressor while the other side was protesting this war and resisting against it. For me and other like-minded people, it was never a question of being against the U.S.A. as a country. Rather, we saw ourselves as part of this protest movement that was especially powerful in the United States."[13]

As I will argue, contrary to the established opinion, the kind of conflicts experienced during the late 1960s as Vietnam shocked many young Americans and Europeans, or during the 1980s when the controversy over the NATO double track decision was at its peak, or during the early 21st century when protests against the Second Iraq War erupted, contributed toward the deepening of transatlantic relations. In the long run, protest movements did not undermine the Atlantic alliance.[14] To the contrary, they were a sign of the strength of the Western community as a whole. This is true even if we look at the most recent period in which protests such as those following the worldwide banking crisis were subject to transatlantic cross-pollination. Moreover, the growth of physical interaction

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[12] Kohl: Gerhard Schröder ist ein Antiamerikaner. [Interview from Nikolaus Blome and Stephan Haselberger with Helmut Kohl]. In: Die Welt, 3.4.2003, http://www.welt.de/print-welt/article 578484/Kohl-Gerhard-Schroeder-ist-ein-Anti-Amerikaner.html (last accessed: 25.5.2016) (translated by the author).
[13] Ein unheimliches Gefühl. [Interview from Hans-Joachim Noack and Gabor Steingart with Joschka Fischer]. In: Der Spiegel, 18.5.2002, Nr. 21, http://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/print/d-22644250.html (last accessed: 25.5.2016) (translated by the author).
[14] See Philipp Gassert: The Anti-American as Americanizer. Revisiting the Anti-American Century in Germany. In: GPS 27 (2009), pp. 24–38.

that has taken place over the past twenty years despite these political conflicts is truly astonishing. There is more transatlantic trade and travel than ever before. America has once again become a highly attractive travel destination for Europeans, even though many complain about the kind of scrutiny that they have to undergo at the point of entry into the U.S.

In addition, interest in the United States still runs very high in academia. Although there is a growing attention for Asian Studies – and rightfully so – the increased funding for projects dealing with China, India, and other Asian countries does not mean that the U.S. no longer attracts scholarly interest. Research is not a zero-sum game. Within my own field, transatlantic history and U.S. international relations, never has there been a decade with so many scholarly publications on U.S. related topics than the first decade of the 21st century.[15] This is not surprising because conflict calls for explanations. It raises interest. Transatlantic rift has been good for American Studies in Germany. The membership of the German Association for American Studies is at an all-time high.[16] The U.S. is still very much a worthwhile subject of scholarship.

The Sociology of Conflict

In my paper, I would like to suggest that political struggles and societal conflicts like the 1968 protests or the controversy over the NATO double track decision might be seen as part of an ongoing effort in transnational community building. Here, I find Georg Simmel's *Soziologie des Streits* ("Sociology of Conflict") a useful theoretical concept that allows me to highlight an often overlooked and underestimated quality of political controversies.[17] Originally developed in the years before World War I, Simmel's ideas about the *Vergemeinschaftsungsfunktion von Streit* ("sociability of conflict") were picked up by postwar sociologists and representatives of peace and conflict studies, such as Lewis Coser, Ralph Dahrendorf, Marcel Gauchet, or more recently Helmut Dubiel.[18] I found the specific reading

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[15] See Philipp Gassert: Writing about the (American) Past, Thinking of the (German) Present. The History of U.S. Foreign Relations in Germany. In: AmSt 54 (2009), pp. 345–382.

[16] The German Association for American Studies welcomed its 1000th member in November 2012, see: Deutsche Gesellschaft für Amerikastudien: About the DGfA/GAAS, http://dgfa.de/about/welcome-to-dgfa/ (last accessed: 25.5.2016).

[17] See Georg Simmel: Der Streit. In: id.: Soziologie. Untersuchungen über die Formen der Vergesellschaftung. Berlin ³1923, pp. 186–255; see also Carsten Stark: Die Konflikttheorie von Georg Simmel. In: Torsten Bonnacker (ed.): Sozialwissenschaftliche Konflikttheorien. Eine Einführung. Wiesbaden ⁴2008, pp. 83–96.

[18] See Lewis A. Coser: Continuities in the Study of Social Conflict. New York 1967; Ralf Dahrendorf: Gesellschaft und Demokratie in Deutschland. Stuttgart 1965; id. (ed.): Konflikt und Freiheit. Auf dem Weg zur Dienstklassengesellschaft. München 1972; Jörn Lamla: Die Konflikttheorie als Gesellschaftstheorie. In: Bonnacker (ed.): Konflikttheorien (see note 17), pp. 207–229; Helmut Dubiel: Integration durch Konflikt? In: Jürgen Friedrichs/Wolfgang Jagodzinski (eds.): Soziale Integration. Opladen 1999 (= special issue of KZfSS, Vol. 39), pp. 132–143.

of Simmel in the latter particularly helpful in understanding of how conflict may actually help integrate society.

Georg Simmel argued in his classic work of sociology in 1908 that social expressions of conflict, such as *Hass* ("hate"), *Konkurrenz* ("competition"), and even *Mißgunst* ("resentment", "malevolence"), should not be seen as purely *soziologische Passiva* ("negative sociological entities").[19] Conflicts may (but they do not always) contribute to the creation of society if they are played out within a context in which certain basic rules are accepted. If two parties struggle with each other in a conflict situation, they tend to accept the legitimacy of the other side. This creates moments of societal integration.[20]

The Simmel thesis makes sense if you look at it from an Anglo-American common law and case law tradition in which laws are created by act of Parliament or Congress, but also through conflicts that are fought out in front of the courts. In such a legal and political tradition, little law is engendered without a preceding conflict that needs to be settled. Through situations of conflict, general rules emerge that then bind society at large. However, in the traditional German and continental European legal tradition, this connection has been less obvious.[21] More recently, this process is becoming more apparent in the German context as well because the legal system seems to have moved into the direction of the Anglo-American one. The Federal Constitutional Court is now playing a more active role in society, and the various European courts of justice are also creating new levels of law. Yet, in the tradition of a German political culture that stressed community and consensus building over competition and conflict, the Simmel thesis (originally published in 1908) offered a wholly new perspective.

In 1960s Germany, the Simmel thesis was picked up (among others) by the young German sociologist Ralph Dahrendorf. Dahrendorf regarded Simmel's ideas about conflict as helpful in understanding society and applied them in the context of his analysis of German political culture. He forcefully argued against this German desire for synthesis and social integration, which he framed as a leftover of an anti-liberal, authoritarian streak in German political thought. This social need for synthesis, he claimed, had expressed itself in the fondness for the famous binary opposition of community versus society. Moreover, he noted, these ideas ran counter to the modern, religiously and ideologically neutral constitutional state, which regulates ethnic, cultural, and religious conflicts through legal

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[19] Simmel: Streit (see note 17), here: p. 187.
[20] See ibid., here: p. 194; Simmel accepts that there are struggles, in which there almost no commonalities and during which the total annihilation of the other side may be the goals. These borderline cases normally do not occur in democratic societies, however.
[21] See Manfred Berg/Dieter Gosewinkel: Law. Constitutionalism and Culture. In: Christof Mauch/Kiran Klaus Patel (eds.): The United States and Germany During the Twentieth Century. Competition and Convergence. New York 2010, pp. 52–69.

mechanisms. Thus, according to Dahrendorf, conflict is regulated, but it is neither abolished nor covered up by an ideology of community.[22]

Marcel Gauchet and Helmut Diebel can also be placed in this liberal tradition that sees conflict as the great regulator and creator of communities. Both are critics of communitarism. Dubiel goes against the older German public law tradition of Rudolf Smend and others, which understands the state's main function as an integrator of society from above.[23] Following Simmel's lead, they highlight the role of conflict in building societies. In this context, Gauchet even speaks of the "miracle democratique" as an institutionalized conflict mechanism.[24] Conflict engenders society as it turns out to be the glue of democracy. In the French tradition, Gauchet's conflict-driven idea of democracy is pitted against Tocqueville's influential consensus model of democracy.

Scholars of peace and conflict studies have found the conflict model that was originally developed by Simmel to be quite useful in explaining certain aspects of social integration on the level of the nation-state. I would suggest, however, that it can also be employed usefully in international and transnational contexts as well. Therefore, my questions are: Does the postwar transatlantic world present an example of community building that transcends the constituent nation states and that has been created in part through open conflict and discord? Under what circumstances did such discord turn out to be more integrating than disintegrating? How did a transatlantic community emerge through the hedging of political, social, and economic struggles? Does the transatlantic community have a "conflict culture"? These questions bring me to third part of my paper, in which I would like to look at a few examples of consensus-driven interpretations that have denied the sociability of conflict.

Discord in the West

If one examines the scholarly literature on transatlantic relations, one does not find too many authors who would support the argument that conflict can turn out to be a motor of integration. Most of the considerable number of syntheses that have been published so far judge conflict in German-American relations as an overwhelmingly negative force.[25] In short: transatlantic dispute is unproductive

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[22] See the works by Dahrendorf quoted above in note 18; see also Paul Nolte: Die Ordnung der Gesellschaft. Selbstentwurf und Selbstbeschreibung im 20. Jahrhundert. München 2000.

[23] On this traditional view of the state in the German public law tradition see: Frieder Günther: Denken vom Staat her. Die bundesrepublikanische Staatslehre zwischen Dezision und Integration 1949–1970. München 2004; on the general context see: Anselm Doering-Manteuffel: Wie westlich sind die Deutschen? Amerikanisierung und Westernisierung im 20. Jahrhundert. Göttingen 1999.

[24] Gauchet quoted by Albert O. Hirschman: Wieviel Gemeinsinn braucht die liberale Gesellschaft? In: Leviathan 22 (1994), pp. 293–304, here: p. 295 (translated by the author).

[25] In addition to the works quoted above see: Frank Ninkovich: Germany and the United States. The Transformation of the German Question since 1945. New York 1995; Klaus Larres/Torsten

and dangerous for NATO and the German-American friendship. Often, these interpretations seem to be following the general contemporary viewpoint. For obvious political reasons, however, contemporary actors have often highlighted the conflict-ridden nature of certain issues. They have also been quick to blame the other side for the supposedly negative consequences of transatlantic disputes. This was especially true if these actors were in the opposition like the German Social Democrats in the 1960s or the Christian Democrats in the 1970s and early 1980s.

During the Soviet ascendency of the 1960s and the transatlantic ruptures that came after the building of the Berlin Wall, Adenauer's and Kennedy's positions seemed to clash. Détente seemed to leave the Germans out in the cold, at least with regard to their cherished issue of national unity.[26] This conflict ran even deeper as the aging chancellor, in part driven by inner-party struggles over his succession, was starting to play the Gaullist card.[27] Then, in the 1960s, the Vietnam War pushed the Atlantic alliance into an existential crisis. According to the federal chancellor at the time, Kurt Georg Kiesinger, NATO had been on the verge of collapse had not the Soviet crackdown during the Prague Spring in August 1968 given NATO a new lease on life.[28] During the 1970s, "confusion and discord in the West" was a typical phrase used to describe the state of the Atlantic alliance. Finally, during the 1980s, both the transatlantic peace movement and Ronald Reagan's more aggressive stance toward the Soviet Union seemed to be doing away with final rest of a consensus that had survived the turbulent 1960s and 1970s.[29]

If one looks through the contemporary literature as well as more recent scholarly writings, the "long crisis of the 1970s" rarely emerges as the expression of "normal" discussions about foreign and domestic policy preferences. In particular, the conflicts that cropped up after the return of East-West tensions during the second half of the 1970s have often been interpreted as a symptom of fundamental processes of social, political, and cultural fragmentation and transatlantic alien-

Oppelland (eds.): Deutschland und die USA im 20. Jahrhundert. Geschichte der politischen Beziehungen. Darmstadt 1997.

[26] See Franz Josef Strauß: The Grand Design. A European Solution to German Unification. New York 1965.

[27] See Klaus Larres: Eisenhower, Dulles und Adenauer. Bündnis des Vertrauens oder Allianz des Mißtrauens? (1953–1961). In: Larres/Oppelland (eds.): Deutschland (see note 25), pp. 119–150; Geiger: Atlantiker (see note 2); Granieri: Alliance (see note 2), pp. 192–194; see also Rainer Marcowitz: Option für Paris. München 1993.

[28] See Philipp Gassert: Kurt Georg Kiesinger 1904–1988. Kanzler zwischen den Zeiten, München 2006, pp. 660–681; Schwartz: Johnson (see note 2).

[29] In a widely read book, the Atlanticist Garthoff painted a very critical image of Reagan's policies, see: Raymond L. Garthoff: Détente and Confrontation. Washington ²1994 (first publ. 1985); Harald Mueller/Thomas Risse-Kappen: Origins of Estrangement. The Peace Movement and the Changed Image of America in West Germany. In: IS 12 (1987), pp. 52–88; Robert Palmer: Europe without America? The Crisis in Atlantic Relations. Oxford 1987; see also Leopoldo Nuti: The Crisis of Détente in Europe. From Helsinki to Gorbachev, 1975–1985. London 2009.

ation. In recent decades, there has been a field of scholarship devoted to demon-strating that the gap between Europa and America has been widening. Observers tend to focus on the rise of (neo-) conservatism that started to become more visi-ble during the Regan era. More recently, pundits have also pointed to the role of religion, claiming that America has allegedly become more religious as Europe has allegedly become more secular. How Europeans deal with violence and the death penalty also has been used to demonstrate a widening social and cultural gap.[30]

During the 1970s, many pundits and politicians were searching for empirical material to argue their point that this "transatlantic drift" was leading to alien-ation and the ultimate disintegration of the alliance. It seemed as if a transatlantic "clash of civilizations" was in the making. The editors of a mid-1970s volume en-titled "Atlantic Community in Crisis", for example, stated that Europe and America were growing apart in terms of the foundations of their civilizations.[31] Shortly thereafter the Council on Foreign Relations published an investigation into the state of the alliance with the wonderful title "Atlantis Lost".[32] The au-thors invoked the powerful metaphor of a Platonian ideal world, which now seemed to be sinking on the bottom of the Atlantic as tectonic continental shifts were pushing Europe and America into different directions.

This kind of literature was in even higher demand as it became clear that Helmut Schmidt and Jimmy Carter were not getting along with each other. What could have been seen as a normal debate about policy preferences at the time was explained in individualistic terms. Their conflict seemed to be grounded in dia-metrically opposed world views stemming from different educational and social backgrounds. On the one side, we have the informal southern Democrat Carter, who wanted to appear as a man of the people, and who walked to the White House after his inauguration, mimicking Jefferson – another Southern aristocrat who had fashioned himself as a representative of the common man. Moreover, Europeans did not quite know what to do with a Southern evangelical Christian in the White House, while Chancellor Schmidt, although an observant protestant as well, represented rationalism and hanseatic solidity. The irony, of course, was lost, that it was Schmidt who had risen from lowly beginnings, whereas Carter came from a well-established Georgia family.

Looking back from the vantage point of 1984, the then former German Ambas-sador to the U.S., Berndt von Staden (who held this post during the second half of the 1970s), spoke of the "golden age" oft the postwar alliance, which had ended

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[30] See Detlef Junker: Der Fundamentalismus in den USA und die amerikanische Sendungsidee der Freiheit. In: Katarzyna Stokłosa/Andrea Strübing (eds.): Glaube – Freiheit – Diktatur in Eu-ropa und den USA. Festschrift für Gerhard Besier zum 60. Geburtstag. Göttingen 2007, pp. 643–657; Günther Heydemann/Jan Gülzau: Konsens, Krise und Konflikt. Die deutsch-amerikani-schen Beziehungen im Zeichen von Terror und Irak-Krieg. Bonn 2010.
[31] Walter F. Hahn/Robert L. Pfaltzgraff: Atlantic Community in Crisis. A Redefinition of the Trans-Atlantic Relationship. New York 1979.
[32] Klaus Wiegrefe: Das Zerwürfnis. Helmut Schmidt, Jimmy Carter und die Krise der deutsch-amerikanischen Beziehungen. Berlin 2005, p. 25.

with the turbulent 1970s.[33] Some American actors like the former U.S. Ambassador to Germany, Arthur Burns, argued along similar lines. In 1987, for example, he urged Congress to establish a youth exchange program to reignite the younger generation's interest in transatlantic topics. He, too, feared that Europe and America were growing apart due, in part, to generational change. According to Burns, the older generation had lived through the war, and because of its wartime experiences, it had become the bedrock of transatlantic amity and understanding.[34]

These are surprising statements. This is not to say that von Staden and Burns had forgotten that their generation had fought two violent wars. But, if one takes social and economic indicators into account, the U.S. and Europe had been quite far apart during the 1940s and 1950s as well. During 1960s, however, Europe had seen its breakthrough to a consumer society, about ten years later than in the United States. Yet, beginning with the 1970s, European per capita incomes were drawing level with those of the U.S. Moreover, European households reached a comparable saturation with durable consumer goods. Even though attitudes toward consumption and particular products like fast food seemed to have remained different in Europe and the United States, never was the material basis of life more similar between the old and the new worlds than during the last decades of the 20th century.[35] Finally, during the 1980s and 1990s, Europe was becoming more diverse and more multi-cultural, which meant that it began to share some of the challenges that had long existed in the U.S.[36]

Even though a number of macro-social factors were pointing toward convergence, cultural differences seemed to become even more visible for observers on both sides of the Atlantic. Again, to a certain extent, this is surprising because the founding fathers of the transatlantic alliance such as Konrad Adenauer and Dwight D. Eisenhower had been united in their fight against communism. Yet, culturally speaking, they lived in quite different worlds. As is well known, it cannot be said that Adenauer did not harbor traditional anti-American sentiments and express ideas of European cultural superiority. In fact, he even argued that America did not have the intellectual capital to resist Soviet Communism. When German youngsters were streaming into cinemas to watch "Rock around the Clock" and cheer Bill Haley and the Comets on the dancing floor afterwards,

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[33] See Berndt von Staden: Deutsche und Amerikaner – Irritationen. In: Außenpolitik 35 (1984), pp. 44–53.

[34] See Arthur Burns: How Americans Look at Europe. In: Hans N. Tuch (ed.): Arthur Burns and the Successor Generation. Selected Writings of and about Arthur Burns. Lanham 1988, pp. 13–19; on the debate about the successor generation, see: Reinhild Kreis: Bündnis ohne Nachwuchs? Die „Nachfolgegeneration" und die deutsch-amerikanischen Beziehungen in den 1980er Jahren. In: AfS 52 (2012), pp. 611–635; Giles Scott-Smith: Reviving the Transatlantic Community? The Successor Generation Concept in U.S. Foreign Affairs, 1960s–1980s. In: Patel/Weisbrode (eds.): Integration (see note 3), pp. 201–225.

[35] See Heinz-Gerhard Haupt/Paul Nolte: Market. Consumption and Commerce. In: Mauch/Patel (eds.): United States (see note 21), pp. 121–143, here: pp. 140–142.

[36] See Tobias Brinkmann/Annemarie Sammartino: Immigration. Myth versus Struggles. In: ibid., pp. 85–101.

conservative cultural critics were having a difficult time in accepting that these freedoms were pillars of the transatlantic alliance, too.[37]

After the building of Berlin Wall in August of 1961, mistrust of the Americans in general, and the Kennedy administration in particular, was running sky high among German conservative politicians. Kennedy's "strategies for peace" seemed to relegate the German problem to the back burner.[38] But, this also helped the German Social Democrats to fashion themselves as the new party of Atlanticism. *Ostpolitik*, as the German version of détente would soon be called, brought the Federal Republic back into the game. The SPD (*Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands*, or Social Democratic Party), now was the new "Atlantic party", whereas the CDU (*Christlich-Demokratische Union*, or Christian-Democratic Union) was struggling to hold on to the transatlantic train that was fast rolling toward détente. LBJ left Erhard out in the cold, and Erhard's successor Kiesinger was publicly calling for more consultations among the allies. But, this did not go down well with the American president.[39]

The "Other Alliance"

The growing number of protests and political street demonstrations against U.S. foreign policy now needs to be added to the picture. Vietnam is the classic case study for those who see NATO as an increasingly conflict-ridden alliance.[40] Many established politicians harbored deep doubts about the war in South-East Asia. But, they would not dare to criticize Johnson in the open. As the New Left took to the streets in protest against the war in Vietnam, politicians within the establishment suddenly found themselves in a position in which they needed to defend a war in which they themselves no longer believed. Yet, for a long time, criticizing the United States war effort in Vietnam was seen as a taboo, especially for mem-

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[37] See Hans-Jürgen Grabbe: Das Amerikabild Konrad Adenauers. In: AmSt 31 (1986), pp. 315–323; Philipp Gassert: Neither East Nor West. Anti-Americanism in Germany, 1945–1968. In: Junker (ed.): The United States and Germany in the Era of the Cold War. Vol. 1: 1945–1968. Cambridge 2004, pp. 627–634, here: p. 630; Vanessa Conze: Abendland gegen Amerika! „Europa" als antiamerikanisches Konzept im westeuropäischen Konservatismus (1950–1970). In: Jan C. Behrends/Árpád von Klimó/Patrice G. Poutrous (eds.): Antiamerikanismus im 20. Jahrhundert. Studien zu Ost- und Westeuropa. Bonn 2005, pp. 204–224; Uta Poiger: Jazz, Rock, and Rebels. Cold War Politics and American Culture in a Divided Germany. Berkeley 2000.
[38] See Ronald Granieri: Odd Man Out? The CDU-CSU, Ostpolitik, and the Atlantic Alliance. In: Schulz/Schwartz (eds.): Alliance (see note 3), pp. 83–101; Judith Michel: Willy Brandts Amerikabild und -politik 1933–1992. Göttingen 2010; Daniela Münkel: Als „deutscher Kennedy" zum Sieg? Willy Brandt, die USA und die Medien. In: ZF 1 (2004) 2, pp. 1–16.
[39] See Schwartz: Johnson (see note 2).
[40] See Suri: Power (see note 3); Wilfried Mausbach: America's Vietnam in Germany – Germany in America's Vietnam. On the Relocation of Spaces and the Appropriation of History. In: Belinda Davis et al. (eds.): Changing the World, Changing Oneself. Political Protest and Collective Identities in West Germany and the U.S. in the 1960s and 1970s. New York 2010, pp. 41–64.

bers of a generation that had been part of the German imperial project before 1945. They had a hard time criticizing the U.S., while the protest generation seemed to be devoid of such uneasiness.[41]

As we have seen in Joschka Fischer's retrospective statement during the immediate 9/11 aftermath, we have been confronted with two Atlantic alliances since the 1960s: the official one, and the unofficial "other alliance" of those protesting in the streets. Members of the "other alliance" imagined themselves in solidarity with those who were discriminated against and persecuted as minorities in the United States. As has been studied in great detail by Martin Klimke, Maria Hoehn, and other scholars, the German and European New Left saw itself in a united front with the U.S. civil rights movement and its student peers in the U.S.; it often copied protest techniques from the demonstrators in the U.S., which – as we have to remind ourselves – are to some extent a common heritage of an old transatlantic Leftist protest culture, making them circular in nature. But in the 1960s, these techniques were re-appropriated and often re-imported under their American labels, as have become obvious in terms that have never been translated into German such as "sit-in", "teach-in", "walk-in", and so on.[42]

In West Germany, the shock over the Vietnam conflict and the racial discrimination in the U.S. was so great because imperialism and racism could not be understood outside the framework of the country's Nazi past.[43] West German youth had not yet realized that, historically-speaking, imperialism and Western democracy have often gone hand-in-hand. For example, some historians have argued that those countries that have seen early domestic democratization and liberalization have also been the most efficient and most successful imperial powers, which includes all the classic Western democratic countries such as France, England, the Netherlands, and the United States. This critical stance against the U.S. in particular, and Western imperialism in general among the youth, allowed conservative forces in Germany to point out that it was unbecoming for young Germans to put themselves on a pedestal above the United States. This controversy over the alleged anti-Americanism of the New Left allowed the conservative camp to make

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[41] See the lecture by Max Horkheimer, Amerikahaus Frankfurt, 7 May 1967. In: Wolfgang Kraushaar (ed.): Frankfurter Schule und Studentenbewegung. Von der Flaschenpost zum Molotowcocktail 1946–1995. Vol. 2: Dokumente. Frankfurt a. M. 1998, p. 230 (doc. 115); Kiesinger's speech 2 March 1968. In: Kurt Georg Kiesinger: Reden und Interviews 1968. Bonn 1969, pp. 82–93, here: p. 85.
[42] See Martin Klimke: The Other Alliance. Global Protest and Student Unrest in West Germany and the U.S., 1962–72. Princeton 2009; A. N. J. den Hollander (ed.): Contagious Conflict. The Impact of American Dissent on European Life. Leiden 1973; Doug McAdam/Dieter Rucht: The Cross-National Diffusion of Movement Ideas. In: AAAPS 528 (7/1993), pp. 56–74; Wolfgang Kraushaar: Die transatlantische Protestkultur. Der zivile Ungehorsam als amerikanisches Exempel und bundesdeutsche Adaption. In: Heinz Bude/Bernd Greiner (eds.): Westbindungen. Amerika in der Bundesrepublik. Hamburg 1999, pp. 257–284; Claus Leggewie: "1968". A Transatlantic Event and its Consequences. In: Junker (ed.): United States. Vol. 2 (see note 4), pp. 421–429.
[43] See Quinn Slobodian: Foreign Front. Third World Politics in Sixties West Germany. Durham 2012.

its peace with the westernized Federal Republic during the 1970s and 1980s to some extent.[44]

This strange dialectic continued to play itself out during the 1980s. Because of the harsh criticism that was voiced by many members of the peace movement of the 1980s, the defenders of the "official" alliance often retorted with the polemical accusation that the peace movement was espousing a prejudice-laden anti-Americanism. This really struck a raw nerve with the peace movement. Many of the leading lights of the West German peace movement of the 1980s vehemently rejected this accusation of anti-Americanism.

As the writer and Nobel laureate Heinrich Böll stressed during a major peace rally in Bonn on October 10, 1981, he had been liberated by the Americans in 1945. In fact, as he put it, German literature had been liberated by American literature. Böll claimed that he, as a demonstrator against NATO's double track decision, was more pro-American than some German Christian Democrats. From Böll's point of view, members of the CDU, who were parroting Reagan's policies, had not understood the nature of the controversy in the United States.[45] "No, it is no anti-Americanism", exclaimed the Tübingen professor of rhetoric, Walter Jens, to "name the hubris of the Reagan regime by its name" and "do this in complete concordance with the U.S. civil rights movement". [46]

In order to highlight this transatlantic meeting of the protesting minds, the organizers of protest demonstrations made sure that the "other alliance" became visible at peace rallies in Germany. Through the visual presence of foreign peace activists, they sought to drive the point home that the anti-Nuclear camp extended well beyond the borders of Germany. As such, members of the U.S. protest movements were particularly welcome at protest events in Germany.[47] During the 1970s, for example, Angela Davis was the constant focus at events in Germany to which she was invited to speak.[48] Movement publications about the peace demonstrations of the 1980s always highlight the number of foreign protestors who had been present. Moreover, those Germans who were blockading U.S. military installations in Germany (as in Mutlangen), always made it clear that they were not demonstrating against individual GIs, but rather against the military leadership

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[44] See, e. g., Memo of conversation between Nixon and Kiesinger, 8. 8. 1969. In: AAPD 1969/II, p. 906 f.; Helmut Kohl: Bericht des Parteivorsitzenden Dr. Helmut Kohl, 29. Bundesparteitag der Christlich Demokratischen Union Deutschlands. Niederschrift. Mannheim, 9.–10. März 1981. Bonn 1981, p. 34 f.

[45] See Heinrich Böll: Dieser Tag ist eine große Ermutigung. In: Aktion Sühnezeichen Friedensdienste/Aktionsgemeinschaft Dienst für den Frieden (eds.): Bonn 10. 10. 1981. Bonn 1981, pp. 159–162, here: p. 159.

[46] Walter Jens: Appell in letzter Stunde. In: id. (ed.): In letzter Stunde. Aufruf zum Frieden. München 1982, pp. 7–26, here: p. 13 (translated by author).

[47] See, e. g., Aktion Sühnezeichen Friedensdienste/Aktionsgemeinschaft Dienst für den Frieden (eds.): Bonn (see note 45), photos.

[48] See Maria Hoehn/Martin Klimke: A Breath of Freedom. The Civil Rights Struggle, African American GIs, and Germany. New York 2010, pp. 123 ff.

and the U.S. politicians who were using these American soldiers for their own purposes.[49]

While the "other alliance" grew stronger again during the 1980s, the massive protest against the NATO rearmament decision allowed members of the political establishment to reemphasize their pro-American stances as well. Thus, by supporting the NATO double-track decision and by rejecting the massive criticism of Reagan, the CDU/CSU was shoring up its transatlantic credentials. The Christian Democrats succeeded in regaining their title as the "Atlantic party", which they had lost during the 1960s and 1970s. Taking up with his perceived role as the true heir of Adenauer, Helmut Kohl warned of the "illusion of a third way", and of a "special role of Germany" between East and West. He also blasted the anti-Americanism of the peace movement. According to Kohl, the controversy over Atlantic security was souring the mood in Washington. The SPD was unleashing the "bad spirit of Anti-Americanism", and SPD heavyweights like Lafontaine and Eppler were more "Soviet than the Soviets".[50] For conservatives, the double track controversy was an opportunity to rediscover their transatlantic history.

Conclusion

Since the 1960s we have been confronted with two Atlantic alliances. On the one hand, there is the "pomp and circumstance" of the "official alliance" with chiefs of state, heads of government, politicians and diplomats interacting with each other in a host of formal and informal ways. On the other hand, we have the unofficial anti-alliance of the "other alliance", of the social movements and protestors on both sides of the Atlantic. They, too, were busy making contacts across the ocean. Thus, even though these alliances differed in their political outlooks, they were both engaged in transnational community building. It seems to be the nature of debate and conflict that it brings people together even when they agree to disagree. This evidently is the case within nations. But these mechanisms also work across national borders as the history of 20th century transatlantic relations demonstrates.

When Habermas stated at the beginning of the 21st century that a deep division was running through the West in both Europe and North America, he was in fact summarizing what had been the normal state of affairs for most of the Cold War period in which the Soviet threat was supposedly the glue holding NATO together. As I would see it from today's point of view, as long as Europeans and Ameri-

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[49] See Volker Nick/Volker Scheub/Christof Then: Mutlangen 1983–1987. Die Stationierung der Pershing II und die Kampagne Ziviler Ungehorsam bis zur Abrüstung. Mutlangen 1993.

[50] Kohl: Bericht (see note 44), pp. 34f.; see also Andreas Rödder: Bündnissolidarität und Rüstungskontrollpolitik. Die Regierung Kohl-Genscher, der NATO-Doppelbeschluss und die Innenseite der Außenpolitik. In: Philipp Gassert/Tim Geiger/Hermann Wentker (eds.): Zweiter Kalter Krieg und Friedensbewegung. Der NATO-Doppelbeschluss in deutsch-deutscher und internationaler Perspektive. München 2011, pp. 123–136.

cans are having serious debates within the limits of an open and democratic public sphere, they are engaged in the crafting of transnational communities.[51] At many times, conflict has been a positive driving force that did not contribute to a widening (as many feared) of the gap between Europe and the United States, but rather helped construct bridges across the Atlantic.

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[51] This even holds true for the recent debate about the role of the NSA and spying.

Hans-Jürgen Puhle

Trajectories and Transformations of Western Democracies, 1950s–2000s

The history of Western democracies has basically been a history of what might be called the "Atlantic syndrome" (or rather the "Transatlantic syndrome"), referring to Western Europe and North America (with a few outliers in some other former British colonies). This "Atlantic syndrome" reflects a number of characteristic commonalities and differences shared among these respective democracies.[1] Some of the commonalities include processes of modern state building, and the invention of modern capitalism, modern democracy and industrialization, followed by nationalism, imperialism, the interventionist and bureaucratic welfare state (and the other "-isms" of the movements, parties and interests involved), all of them backed up by the traditions of the reformation and counter-reformation, the Enlightenment and modern science and technology.

All these developments, however, have also been characterized by significant differences and by a series of ominous "varieties": varieties of capitalism, varieties of democracy, varieties of statehood, hence varieties of state-society relations, varieties of welfare systems, and varieties of government interventionism, etc.[2] The economic, social and political processes as well as the institutions and relevant social and political actors on both sides of the Atlantic have been shaped by the different trajectories taken by their respective societies into modernity. The key differences lie in the particular mixtures that define their respective developmental patterns. I shall come back to this point later. The important thing to note here is that these patterns are just different – there is no dominant pattern, no master

[1] See Hans-Jürgen Puhle: Das atlantische Syndrom. Europa, Amerika und der „Westen“. In: Jürgen Osterhammel/Dieter Langewiesche/Paul Nolte (eds.): Wege der Gesellschaftsgeschichte. Göttingen 2006, pp. 179–199; see also Bernard Bailyn: Atlantic History. Concept and Contours. Cambridge, MA 2005.

[2] See Peter Hall/David Soskice (eds.): Varieties of Capitalism. The Institutional Foundations of Comparative Advantage. Oxford 2001; Bob Hancké (ed.): Debating Varieties of Capitalism. A Reader. Oxford 2009; Dietrich Rueschemeyer/Evelyne Huber Stephens/John D. Stephens: Capitalist Development and Democracy. Chicago 1992; Gøsta Esping-Andersen: The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism. Cambridge 1990; see also Richard M. Titmuss: Essays on the Welfare State. Boston 1958; Margaret Weir/Ann Shola Orloff/Theda Skocpol: The Politics of Social Policy in the United States. Princeton 1988; Charles Tilly (ed.): The Formation of National States in Modern Europe. Princeton 1975.

copy, and no *Sonderweg*. At the same time, there have been processes of communication and interaction between transatlantic societies, clearly along a two-way street. Consequently, the adequate approach to their analysis and interpretation should be a combined one, bringing together the concepts of "multiple modernities" and "entangled modernities" (what might be called the "Shmuel/Shalini approach"),[3] in this case not with reference to "the West and the rest", but rather to the various "Wests" (i. e. the various parts of the West).

When we try to look into plausible suggestions for periodization, we find periods of relative stability of the various developmental patterns and mixes as well as periods of gradual and incremental change, such as the tendency towards more convergence among the different types of state interventionism and welfare systems during most of the "short" 20th century. At the same time, we can detect phases of major structural change and transformation (in some cases of secular importance). What I would like to emphasize here is that Western democracies on both sides of the Atlantic have undergone such a major structural transformation during the last fifty years or so. This process began gradually with the erosion of established institutions and procedure and the weakening of corporate actors. It gained momentum in significant economic and political turns since the late 1970s (toward "neo-" liberalism, "neo-" conservatism, "small government", welfare state retrenchment, etc.) and the respective paradigmatic turns of interpretation. It culminated in a full-fledged process of substantial change of societal organization and politics in the decades around the turn of the century (since about the mid-1980s), which we might call the "threshold 21". I will come back to this later.

Within the confines of this essay, I can only briefly mention what I consider to be the major factors driving this transformation by contrasting some of the key constellations of Western democracies as they were around the 1950s and 1960s with what and how they appear to be in the first decades of the 21st century. For the sake of brevity, some typological abbreviations will be necessary. In the first part I will try to summarize the constellations of what might be thought of as the "good old times", first with reference to the different trajectories of various Western societies into modernity and the various outcomes of this process, and second with regard to the entanglements and interactions between these trajectories, and their slow and intermittent movements towards more convergence. In the second part I shall focus on what has changed, particularly during the last decades approaching what I have called the "threshold 21", especially in terms of the overarching dynamics and the repercussions for Western democracies in their dual role as societies and as political regimes. Special consideration will be given to the

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[3] See Shmuel N. Eisenstadt: Multiple Modernities. In: Daedalus 129 (2000), pp. 1–29; Dominic Sachsenmaier: Multiple Modernities: The Concept and Its Potential. In: Dominic Sachsenmaier/Jens Riedel/Shmuel N. Eisenstadt (eds.): Reflections on Multiple Modernities. European, Chinese and Other Interpretations. Leiden 2002, pp. 42–67; Sebastian Conrad/Shalini Randeria (eds.): Jenseits des Eurozentrismus. Postkoloniale Perspektiven in den Geschichts- und Kulturwissenschaften. Frankfurt a. M. 2002.

permanent and enduring processes of interaction, exchange and transfer between the various societies on both sides of the Atlantic, and particularly between Germany and the United States.

The "Good Old" Times

Different Trajectories and Outcomes

Half a century ago the different trajectories of Western societies into modernity were still much more visible than they are today. If we assume with a great deal of simplification that all the factors contributing to their modernization during the last two and a half centuries have belonged to the three categorical bundles of bureaucratization (and state building), industrialization and democratization, it is the particular mix, and the various dominant patterns resulting from it, that have made all the difference. In Great Britain, where the leading actor was an autonomous bourgeoisie, the dominant modernizing factor has been capitalist industrialization which, in turn, triggered processes of democratization; bureaucratization, on the other hand, set in later, during the second half of the 19th century, in order to cope with some of the social consequences of industrialization. On the continent, where the bourgeoisies were much weaker politically, the reverse occurred as the ball first got rolling with absolutist state building and bureaucratization. In this case, moreover, the French revolution made a great difference. In France, therefore, the hegemonic pattern of modernization has been a mix out of bureaucratization and democratization, whereas industrialization set in later and, for a long time, did not exercise a significant influence over the institutions and their interactions. In Prussia and other German territories, however, there was no successful revolution, and the bureaucratic state tended to be even more interventionist and authoritarian.[4] The dominant factor driving modernization in Prussia and Germany was a mix of bureaucratization and industrialization, and democratization lagged behind until after World War II.

These three examples account for the basic typologies ("Realtypen"), but we can also find modifications and mixes of these models. The path of Spain, for example, grosso modo has been similar to the French, but here the legacy of the revolution and the traditions and networks of civil society (at least in the center) have been much weaker than in France so that democratization was contained and authoritarian tendencies could survive for much longer. In addition, we have to account for the strong cleavages and antagonisms between the underdeveloped center and the more developed periphery, which usually forced the bureaucratic elites of the center either to opt for alliances with the bourgeoisies of the periph-

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[4] In its formative phase, Prussia still was a comparatively underdeveloped country along the lines of the classic argument put forth by Alexander Gerschenkron, see: Alexander Gerschenkron: Economic Backwardness in Historical Perspective. Cambridge, MA 1966.

ery or for "pactos" with the various groups of the retrograde rural oligarchy of the center, or to try to compromise between the two.[5] The case of the United States (and also of Canada) has been similar to the British in that the factors of bureaucratization came late. There is, however, an important difference. In the U.S., the elements of democratization were much more influential than in Britain from the very beginning, and the further trajectory has been strongly shaped by federalism and federal structures (as one way to cope with "bigness") as well as the requirements and the consequences of the "New Nation" (immigration, west-ward migration, incorporation of frontier societies, mobility, "ethnicity", the con-stitution and its institutions as vehicles of integration and nation building, etc.).[6]

The different constellations and trajectories have produced different outcomes (at least up to a point), different rules, institutions as well as societal and political systems to which the respective actors within a given polity have had to adjust. In these processes, the most relevant polity has been the modern nation state, which has usually been conceived of as a container canalizing and limiting political ac-tion as well as historical and political analysis. In general, this made much sense because most modern state, nation, institution and welfare building has been achieved and framed by corporate agreements and binding legislation within (and for) the nation states. Below the level of an almost universal recognition of the principles of rule of law, democracy, political accountability, separation of pow-ers, and human and civil rights in Western societies, the national differences could, e. g., be seen in the varieties in terms of the mechanisms of consensus and conflict, ideological preferences and the relationship between participation and control at various levels. Here we can differentiate between the respective degrees of institu-tional containment of individual liberties (and the "myths" and civil religions jus-tifying them), and we often find that the stronger the factors of "democratization" have been, the more institutional, participatory and consensus mechanisms (like the concept of citizenship) could be used in the processes of state and nation building. Hence in North America these have functioned more along inclusionary lines, whereas in most of Europe they have followed more exclusionary princi-ples.[7] Other sets of characteristic differences can be identified in the various ways and modes the state intervenes in economy and society. Here regulatory and in-terventionist intensities vary by degree and sector and they influence the compo-sition, the type and the transformation of the respective "variety of capitalism", whether it be more or less "organized" or corporatist in nature. For the "classi-

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[5] See Hans-Jürgen Puhle: Probleme der spanischen Modernisierung im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert. In: JbLA 31 (1994), pp. 305–328, now also in: id.: Protest, Parteien, Interventionsstaat. Organi-sierte Politik und Demokratieprobleme im Wandel. Göttingen 2015, pp. 240–257.

[6] See the classic argument put forth by Lipset, see Seymour Martin Lipset: The First New Nation. The United States in Historical and Comparative Perspective. Garden City 1967.

[7] See also Michael Mann: The Sources of Social Power. Vol. II: The Rise of Classes and Nation-States, 1760–1914. Cambridge 1993; Stein Rokkan: Staat, Nation und Demokratie in Europa. Ed. by Peter Flora. Frankfurt a. M. 2000; John Breuilly: Nationalism and the State. Manchester ²1993; Hans-Jürgen Puhle: Staaten, Nationen und Regionen in Europa. Wien 1995.

cal" period (before "retrenchment" set in, from the 1980s on), we can distinguish between at least four different types of welfare regimes (not counting the mixtures thereof): the three classics proposed by Esping-Andersen (1990), i. e. the liberal Anglo-type, the social-democratic Scandinavian type and the conservative continental type, plus an additional Southern European type.[8]

The different trajectories and outcomes have also been honored by the historiographies of the respective countries, particularly by the mainstream master narratives that tend to suggest a certain continuity emphasizing some positive key elements with which many people could identify. Mostly, and if they are up-to-date, these narratives have many good points although they might need substantial modification and rewriting from time to time. For example, there is the focus on the mission of "la République une et indivisible" in France, or the emphasis on equality, comprehensive welfare organization and human rights in Scandinavia; Britain, on the other hand, has favored the championship of civil rights, the rule of law and parliamentary sovereignty whereas in the United States we have the "progressive" historians' narrative which has been hegemonic for a long time. And lastly, the present major German narrative has focused on *der lange Weg nach Westen* ("the long road West"). In order to highlight some of the more significant differences between these respective national master narratives, I will take a brief look at the U.S. and Germany in particular.

In the narrative put forth by "progressive" historians, even in its modified, more critical version coming from younger generations, the United States has preserved its significant characteristics and what was seen as its "exceptionalism" for a comparatively long time. This narrative rests on the continuities of political integration and inclusion, social reform and high adaptability to present and future challenges. In particular, it emphasizes the elements of an uncontained capitalist consensus (of individual property owners) from the beginning on, "newness", "bigness", equal chances on the markets and in politics, the virtues of an English legal system and the potential to achieve national integration and nation building in a society of immigrants basically through three channels: the labor market, political institutions and citizenship, and the various "American" creeds, "myths" and ideologies relating to these institutions as well as the respective "exceptionality", predestation and "mission" in the world.[9] All this had an optimistic tone

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[8] See David S. Landes: The Unbound Prometheus. Technological Change and Industrial Development in Western Europe from 1750 to the Present. Cambridge 1969; Sidney Pollard: Peaceful Conquest. The Industrialization of Europe. Oxford 1981; Gianfranco Poggi: The Development of the Modern State. Stanford 1978; Charles Tilly: Coercion, Capital and European States A.D. 990–1990. Oxford 1990; C. A. Bayly: The Birth of the Modern World 1780–1914. Global Connections and Comparisons. Oxford 2004. For the welfare regimes, see Esping-Andersen: Worlds (see note 2); Maurizio Ferrera: The Southern Model of Welfare in Social Europe. In: JESP 6 (1996) 1, pp. 17–37.

[9] See Louis Hartz: The Liberal Tradition in America. New York 1955; Richard Hofstadter: The Age of Reform. New York 1955; id.: The Progressive Historians: Turner, Beard, Parrington. New York 1977; Lipset: Nation (see note 6); Daniel Bell: "American Exceptionalism" Revisited. The

and reflected the dynamism of a young society. The severe injustices and "costs" involved, particularly with regard to the originally excluded groups like native Americans, black slaves, women (and people without property) as well as the limitations of the dominant Federalist model of representation, were slowly compensated for by intermittent waves of reforms that were mostly inspired by the traditions of the second tier of American politics: participatory, direct, "agrarian", i. e. "Jeffersonian" and "Jacksonian" democracy.

In the "progressive" historians' narrative, these waves of reform throughout the 20th century have continuously produced greater inclusion and a broader consensus. The first were the Progressive reforms before the First World War, preceded and eventually triggered by the Populist campaigns, which established new mechanisms of state interventionism and increased political participation. Second came the New Deal reforms of the 1930s, which deepened, intensified and institutionalized government interventionism, mostly along Progressive lines, and set the stage for full-fledged organized capitalism or neo-corporatist intermediation including organized labor. In a third wave, the Civil Rights legislation of the 1960s and what remained of Lyndon Johnson's "Great Society" programs have further developed institutional guarantees for increased political participation and have acknowledged, and to an extent, implemented what T. H. Marshall has called the social dimensions of citizenship, i. e. citizens' claims to social and welfare payments and the obligation of the government to promote and protect the equality of material opportunities.[10]

In a fourth wave, since the 1980s, under the hegemony of "neo-" liberal ideas, several sectors and modes of regulation and deregulation have been turned around and divided up in a different way (under Reagan), and the crisis-ridden welfare state has been substantially restructured (under Clinton: "from welfare to workfare", as in Europe), but on the whole, and despite a certain paradigmatic shift involved, the degree of government interventionism has not been reduced significantly. And the world-wide financial crisis since 2008 has, in a fifth wave, brought back government intervention into the economy in a dimension that even goes beyond the New Deal. The last decades have also experienced more of a transition from the principles of individual citizenship and the consolations of what used to be "ethnicity" (as a subculture) to the more radical and encompassing demands of a new "multiculturalism" aspiring at an institutional recognition of the collective rights of defined "minority groups" (including women) in a more or less consociational system and asymmetric policies of empowerment for those groups with the objective of improving their representation, equal opportunity and effective

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Role of Civil Society. In: The Public Interest 95 (1989), pp. 38–56; Hans-Jürgen Puhle: Die Mythen der "New Nation". In: Margarete Grandner/Marcus Gräser (eds.): Nordamerika. Geschichte und Gesellschaft seit dem 18. Jahrhundert. Wien 2009, pp. 214–233.

[10] See Thomas H. Marshall: Class, Citizenship and Social Development. Westport 1973.

inclusion.[11] The particular strength of American feminism has contributed much to this transition.

In the German case, the different "European" and the particular "German" features blended into a different set of constellations and trajectories that became prominent under the heading of *Der lange Weg nach Westen*.[12] Heinrich A. Winkler's book title (2000) summarized many of the findings and the gist of the argument of a whole generation of historians (from the mid-1960s on) who have tried to explain the constellations that led to the Nazi experience and particularly emphasized the elements of "belatedness" with an abrupt and unbalanced process of modernization, of a so-called German *Sonderweg* (in its negative connotation), and the many difficulties the Germans had (and the long time it took them) to join "the West", i. e. the North Atlantic nations on their course toward a free society and representative democracy.[13] Among these elements, we find the references to the legacies of absolutism and authoritarian traditions, "strong" states, efficient bureaucracies, and a high potential of economic regulation and state interventionism, particularly in Prussia. We can also cite politically weak civil societies and parliaments on the one hand and early welfare state building on the other that follows along the lines of Esping-Andersen's "conservative" continental type, inspired by bureaucratic authoritarianism à la Bismarck and Catholic social doctrine, but always under pressure coming from a strong, disciplined, and also bureaucratic social-democratic labor movement.

The bottom line of the message, however, was a positive one: After all their aberrations and distractions, after the end of the Second World War, and particularly since the late 1950s and the 1960s, the (West) Germans finally made it to "the West", in a characteristic variant that turned out to be one of the most successful achievements of the short "social-democratic century" (Dahrendorf):[14] *der Rheinische Kapitalismus* ("Rhenish capitalism"). This model of economic, political and social organization was a blend of parliamentary democracy and *Soziale Marktwirtschaft* ("social market economy"), with a high potential of consensus and concertation, politics and policies of moderation, a *Gemeinwirtschaft* ("mixed economy"), strong institutions and mechanisms of workers' *Mitbestimmung* ("co-determination") and interventionist instruments for the government to con-

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[11] See Arthur M. Schlesinger: The Disuniting of America. Reflections on a Multicultural Society. New York 1992; Klaus J. Milich/Jeffrey M. Peck (eds.): Multiculturalism in Transit. A German-American Exchange. New York 1998.

[12] See Heinrich August Winkler: Der lange Weg nach Westen. 2 vols. München 2000.

[13] See Jürgen Kocka: German History before Hitler: The Debate about the German „Sonderweg". In: JCH 23 (1988) 1, pp. 3–16; Hans-Ulrich Wehler: Das Deutsche Kaiserreich 1871–1918. Göttingen 1973; Hans-Jürgen Puhle/Hans-Ulrich Wehler (eds.): Preußen im Rückblick. Göttingen 1980; the "classics": Helmuth Plessner: Die verspätete Nation. Stuttgart 1959; Hans Rosenberg: Große Depression und Bismarckzeit. Wirtschaftsablauf, Gesellschaft und Politik in Mitteleuropa. Berlin 1967; the critics: Geoff Eley/David Blackbourn: The Peculiarities of German History. Bourgeois Society and Politics in Nineteenth-Century Germany. Oxford 1984.

[14] Ralf Dahrendorf: Life Chances. Approaches to Social and Political Theory. London 1980, ch. 5.

tain what were considered to be the vicissitudes of the markets. As an economic system less liberal than the Anglo variant and as a welfare state less comprehensive and cost-intensive than the Scandinavian variants, this German model has opened up to European integration, economically and politically, and it has demonstrated a solid ability to adapt and change before it faced the pressures of intensified globalization and transnationalization, the externally induced need to liberalize and "re-form capitalism" (Streeck 2009), and the latest European financial and institutional crises. This story, however, already belongs to my second part (about "change"), and I will come back to it. The interesting point here is that, on the one hand, the European strategy of "buying time" (Streeck 2013) vis-à-vis the need for substantial reform and restructuring has so far only functioned due to the economic strength and political stability of what used to be the *Rheinischer Kapitalismus.* On the other hand, not long after the Germans had finally arrived "in the West", the Western democracies began to change and transform substantially.[15] – Before I come to the fundamental changes involved here, we also have to account for some tendencies toward more convergence over the *longue durée*.

From Entanglements to more Convergence

The different trajectories of the Western societies into modernity sketched above have, of course, been much less static and clear-cut than they may appear in a simplified typology. They deserve a more nuanced assessment, and we ought to account for the many mixes, interactions and all the elements of "mestizaje", hybridity and interstitiality involved. There always have been mutual influences and entanglements. In the 19th century, for example, American educators, university planners and politicians looked to the achievements of German universities. The academic welfare activists, social workers and city administrators in Chicago looked at the patterns, effective services and budgets of the municipal welfare bureaucracies of Frankfurt, Elberfeld, Berlin and other German cities.[16] And as Kiran Patel has shown in his contribution to this volume, the Americans debated the Swedish and other European models and examples in the 1930s.[17] On the oth-

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[15] See Wolfgang Streeck: Re-Forming Capitalism. Institutional Change in the German Political Economy. Oxford 2009; id.: Gekaufte Zeit. Die vertagte Krise des demokratischen Kapitalismus. Frankfurt a. M. 2013; Fritz W. Scharpf: Governing in Europe. Effective and Democratic? Oxford 1999; id.: The European Social Model. Coping with the Challenges of Diversity. Max Planck Institute for the Study of Societies. Köln 2002, http://www.mpifg.de/pu/workpap/wp02-8/wp02-8.html (last accessed: 25. 5. 2016); Claus Offe: The European Model of "Social" Capitalism. Can It Survive European Integration? In: JOPP 11 (2003) 4, pp. 437–469; Jürgen Habermas: Zur Verfassung Europas. Ein Essay. Frankfurt a. M. 2011.
[16] See Marcus Gräser: Wohlfahrtsgesellschaft und Wohlfahrtsstaat. Bürgerliche Sozialreform und Welfare State Building in den USA und in Deutschland 1880–1940. Göttingen 2009. For the broader context, see: Daniel T. Rodgers: Atlantic Crossings. Social Politics in a Progressive Age. Cambridge, MA 1998.
[17] See pp. 75–89.

er hand, the founders of the German Farmers' League and other movements and interest groups, when they mobilized at the end of the 19th century, looked to the example of the American Populists.[18] Hitler and others looked at Henry Ford, while the political parties all over Europe after the Second World War began to transform into "catch-all parties" following the American model, as Otto Kirchheimer first observed in 1965.[19]

We can also find clear tendencies towards more mutual adjustment and convergence, particularly over the course of the 20th century. On the one hand, these have been processes of compensation by which the formerly weaker and recessive factors within the three different categories (bureaucratization, industrialization and democratization) have become stronger and compensated for what had been lacking at the beginning as a result of challenges and pressures. In Germany, for example, parliamentary democracy has been finally established whereas in Britain the civil service and other bureaucracies have been created and extended. In France, the instruments of coordination between economic interests and the state have been effected. Spain, in contrast, has become industrialized and finally democratized. And lastly, in the United States, government interventionism and bureaucratic regulation have become everyday phenomena. On the other hand, a substantial number of shared and common features and characteristics have developed, particularly in Europe, but also in the transatlantic space, e. g., in the economy and in social organization, in education, urbanization and family structures, in the proliferation and the sectoral patterns of bureaucratic and legal regulation,[20] and, above all, in the two complementary trends towards universalizing participation and discipline,[21] as it could be observed in the simultaneous introduction of women's suffrage and the progressive income tax in a number of countries around 1920.

In addition, labor markets and labor relations became increasingly regulated through the cooperation between corporate actors and the state, and the mechanisms and institutions of the welfare state were further extended, often incrementally, but continuously. At the beginning of the second half of the 20th century, therefore, one could find relatively similar systems of bureaucratic interventionist and welfare states with more or less explicit Keynesian instruments and corporatist arrangements in many countries of the West; albeit with different accents, but more alike than before, they now looked to each other and moved in the same direction. In these processes which continued until the 1970s and 1980s, it could also be noted that the different initial welfare philosophies increasingly blended

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[18] See Hans-Jürgen Puhle: Politische Agrarbewegungen in kapitalistischen Industriegesellschaften. Deutschland, USA und Frankreich im 20. Jahrhundert. Göttingen 1975.

[19] See Otto Kirchheimer: The Transformation of the Western European Party Systems. In: Joseph LaPalombara/Myron Weiner (eds.): Political Parties and Political Development. Princeton 1966, pp. 177–200 (first publ. in German 1965).

[20] See, for example, Hartmut Kaelble: Auf dem Weg zu einer europäischen Gesellschaft. München 1987.

[21] On the impact of Sozialdisziplinierung, see: Gerhard Oestreich: Strukturprobleme des europäischen Absolutismus. In: VSWG 55 (1968), pp. 329–347.

into each other, for example with regard to social security in the various combinations of factors stemming from both the *Versicherungsprinzip* (income and contribution related pensions) and the *Versorgungsprinzip* (egalitarian tax-financed citizens' pensions). Despite their different origins and trajectories, all Western welfare states have become hybrids. Simultaneity, mutual learning processes and converging trends could also be observed in the recent processes of a transformation of secular importance in the opposite direction ("from welfare to workfare") during the last three decades, which have usually figured under the heading of welfare state retrenchment or restructuring.[22]

On the whole, we might say that Western democracies on both sides of the Atlantic have become more similar during the 20th century. Many of the specific characteristics of their original trajectories and patterns of modernization have dwindled away as the similarities and convergences have increased. In a simplified way, one might recognize a "Europeanization" of North America (particularly of the U.S.), and a simultaneous "Americanization" of Europe (some sceptics might even hint at a "Latin-Americanization" of both, with particular reference to recent features of more disorder, fragmentation, informality, personalization and the increasing significance of global entanglements). The champion of the "Americanization of Europe" hypothesis has been Stanford historian James J. Sheehan who, in a contribution from 1994,[23] has argued that Europe has become more and more like the United States in the last fifty years because all its "classical" *differentia specifica* have vanished with the breakdown of traditional political conservatism and socialism, the practical disappearance of the conflict between Church and State, the establishment of a broad liberal consensus and an influx of 20 million immigrants (1945–1975) which has produced the structures, conflicts and problems of a multi-ethnic society. One could also argue the reverse, of course, and hint at the breakthrough of state interventionism, regulatory frameworks and bureaucratic welfare politics, particularly since the New Deal, the erosion of the liberal consensus, the rise of radicalized religious fundamentalism and increasing political polarization as elements of a comprehensive "Europeanization" of the U.S. Both arguments have their points.

And both have their limitations: it would not be wise to overrate the convergences, and not to look at the ongoing continuities in a number of differences. In certain sectors we may be talking about matters of degree. Nonetheless, we can still recognize the contours of the constellations of the original trajectories in many respects, particularly those which reflect the institutional differences (e. g.,

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[22] See Gøsta Esping-Andersen (ed.): Welfare States in Transition. National Adaptions in Global Economies. London 1996; Paul Pierson (ed.): The New Politics of the Welfare State. Oxford 2001; Ulrich Becker/Hans Günter Hockerts/Klaus Tenfelde (eds.): Sozialstaat Deutschland. Geschichte und Gegenwart. Bonn 2010; Julia S. O'Connor: Convergence or Divergence? Change in Welfare Effort in OECD Countries, 1960–1980. In: EJPR 16 (1988), pp. 277–299.

[23] See James J. Sheehan: Vorbildliche Ausnahme: Liberalismus in Amerika und Europa. In: Jürgen Kocka/Hans-Jürgen Puhle/Klaus Tenfelde (eds.): Von der Arbeiterbewegung zum modernen Sozialstaat. FS für Gerhard A. Ritter. München 1994, pp. 236–248.

state/society relations, federalism, *Kirchensteuer*), the size of the markets, economic and social dynamics, *longue-durée* historical legacies such as slavery and what it did to American society, but also the mechanisms of integration and the impact of ideologies and "myths". In the U.S., for example, we still find higher rates of social mobility than in Europe both upward and downward, a higher university enrolment – particularly in the graduate and professional schools –, a more open elite circulation, and more women in leading positions. On the downside, we can cite a lower rate of participation in elections, higher rates of functional illiteracy and violence, more prison inmates, a less equal distribution of monetary incomes, a lower rate of redistribution, and a lower share of public spending on social services in the GDP.

The balance is also a mixed one with regard to the political parties and their voters. On the one hand, we have an increasing number of similarities and identical processes that mostly have to do with the "crisis" and transformation of the catch-all parties to which I shall come back in the second part. In a way, European Conservatives have become traditional liberals, and the European Left has become "liberal in the American sense". The European Social Democrats often look like American Democrats, and the World Value Surveys[24] have shown similar trends towards the so-called "post-material values": "environmentalism, equality for women, minorities and gays, and cultural freedom". But when it comes to the choice between "the importance of equality of income or the freedom to live and develop without hindrance", we find patterns of difference again; the second alternative is preferred by only 59 % of the Europeans, in contrast to 71 % of the Americans. Here clearly ideology comes in, as Seymour Martin Lipset has stated in a paper from 1999:

"Americans and Europeans must deal with racism, sexism, severe income inequality, corruption, dirty environments, and downturns in the business cycle. But America still has an ideological vision, the American Creed, with which to motivate its young to challenge reality. And Europeans are increasingly committed to a similar social vision, derivative in large measure from the French revolution and social democracy. The United States is no longer as exceptional politically, though it still remains more unique socially in enough senses to continue to speak of American exceptionalism."[25]

Western democracies around the North Atlantic have moved into another "great transformation"[26] during the last three decades, or, roughly speaking, around the turn from the 20th to the 21st century ("threshold 21"), armed with more similarities and fewer differences than before. In the second part I will try to

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[24] See Ronald Inglehart/Miguel Basañez/Alejandro Moreno: Human Values and Beliefs – A Cross-Cultural Sourcebook. Political, Religious, Sexual, and Economic Norms in 43 Societies. Findings from the 1990–1993 World Values Survey. Ann Arbor 1990.
[25] Seymour Martin Lipset: The End of Political Exceptionalism? Madrid 1999, p. 24.
[26] See Karl Polanyi: The Great Transformation. The political and economic origins of our time. Boston 1971.

address some key elements of this transformation, first with regard to the overar-
ching dynamics, and second with particular reference to politics and to the politi-
cal systems and interactions in Western democracies on both sides of the Atlantic.

What has Changed? The "Threshold 21" and Beyond

Overarching Dynamics

The decades around the turn of the century have been a period of fundamental
change particularly in the economy, in technology and in power relations. In
terms of the economy, it all began with the basic economic transformation to-
wards a post-industrial society, with the "stagflation" crisis of the 1970s and the
perceived crises of "big organization" and "big government", which led to a
change of the economic paradigm from modified neo-Keynesianism to "neo"-lib-
eralism (much of which is not so "neo"). In terms of technology, it has been infor-
mation technology, the internet, the rise of social networks and all their repercus-
sions as Manuel Castells has analyzed under the heading of a "network society"
that has revolutionized the world.[27] Both economic and technological change
have produced and enhanced a new wave of globalization, have affected the na-
ture of "space" (even beyond the "spatial" turn in the cultural and social sciences)
and led to more *Entgrenzung*, fluidity, trans-nationalization and de-nationaliza-
tion. The nation-state can no longer be considered to be a closed container. At the
same time, the economic and social consequences of globalization have triggered
anti-globalist protest movements with mostly local, regional and cultural loyal-
ties,[28] so that both transnational and subnational concerns were (and still are) on
the rise. And bringing culture and religion (and other "tangibles") back into poli-
tics has also enhanced a certain "re-fundamentalization" of political contestation.

   With regard to power relations, there are two great lines of development that
deserve attention. First, traditional international relations have become more
complex. With the breakdown of communism from 1989 on, the good old bi-
polar world of clear distinctions – of the Cold War and the "Three Worlds", char-
acterized by processes of "Westernization" (and less "Sovietization"), down to the
democratizations of the "third wave" (Huntington)[29] since the mid-70s – has been
transformed into a much less predictable multi-polar world. In analytical terms,
there may have been only two worlds left of the former "Three Worlds", the more
developed and the less developed world, on the one hand, and the more demo-
cratic and the more autocratic world, on the other. But these categories did not

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[27] See Manuel Castells: The Information Age. Economy, Society and Culture. 3 vols. Oxford
1996–1998.
[28] See Benjamin R. Barber: Jihad vs. McWorld. New York 1996.
[29] Samuel P. Huntington: The Third Wave. Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century.
Norman 1991.

always overlap, and new players like China and India, the other BRIICS (Brazil, Russia, Indonesia, South Africa), the post-Maastricht EU, or transnational players, often in new transnational regimes and schemes of governance, like WTO, ILO, G 8 (or G 20), anti-globalists, and Islamic fundamentalists, have made things much more complicated. Today, in many parts of the world, the various forms of Western-style democracy, in terms of attraction or "imitation", no longer go uncontested, but have to compete with new non-democratic or autocratic models whose character may vary, from "electoral autocracy" to ("hybrid" or "benign") "development regime", "dictablanda", "democradura", and the like.[30]

   Second, power relations have also become more complex and complicated within the individual states. Here, advanced globalization has not only triggered more anti-globalist movements and influence as its consequences and repercussions have also reduced the potential of the nation states, and of the traditional political actors within them, to shape politics and policies. The actors have been weakened and become more fragmented; their numbers have multiplied as have their interactions. Structures have become more fluid, issues more complex, outcomes more hybrid and often more contingent. – In my last point I will try to address some of these constellations of basic change and their implications for Western democracies ("threshold 21") in a more systematic way.

What Happened to Western Democracies?

The decades around the turn of the millennium (since about the mid-1980s) have been a period of basic and substantial change in terms of almost all dimensions of social and political group formation and interaction; the implications and consequences of this have not yet been fully analyzed. This change of secular importance in a relatively short time span has been triggered, accelerated and intensified by constellations of a number of factors that have been caused by at least six processes of strategic importance, some of which have been already mentioned. These are:

1. The repercussions of the "stagflation crisis" since 1973 for political and social organization and regulation;
2. The further increase in "globalization" and the protests against it;
3. The implications of the recent financial, economic and institutional crisis since 2008;
4. The availability of the new electronic media and IT, particularly the internet and social media;
5. A comprehensive mediatization of politics and an intensification and "deepening" of the processes of structural change in the public sphere and the character

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[30] The "democratic rollback" hypothesis should, however, not be overstated. For a balanced perspective, see Wolfgang Merkel: Are Dictatorships Returning? Revisiting the "Democratic Rollback" Hypothesis. In: Contemporary Politics 16 (2010) 1, pp. 17–31.

of the political (about which Habermas first wrote in his *Strukturwandel der Öffentlichkeit* more than fifty years ago);[31]

6. A very important process, which can be described as the breakthrough of "populist democracy" on a broad scale, within a favorable ambiente full of windows of opportunity, "populist moments", and agency.

For the European context we have to add a seventh process, namely intensified European integration and institution building implying more coordination and interdependence, combined with a perceived lack of democratic legitimation and an underdeveloped institutional imagination among the relevant political actors regarding the future of the Union as well as the crisis of the Euro and the remedies to cure it.

I cannot elaborate much here on the details, but I can sketch out a few points:

(1) For some time now, the "stagflation" crisis has delegitimized the Keynesian models of economic governance and the regulatory and interventionist activities of the Western bureaucratic welfare states, making "neo-" liberal paradigms and ideology hegemonic. The organizational trend of a whole century toward more and more effective organization and centralization was turned around; less government, less centralization, and less regulation became desirable. This also applied to the classical associations, and above all to the political parties which now became less important because they had less to deliver, in addition to all the other problems they faced, like their eroding milieus, increased competition from new social and political movements, lower rates of participation, and the particularization of constituencies. The classical catch-all parties (Kirchheimer) of the post-World War II era have moved towards more fragmentation, disorganization, and "loosely coupled anarchy" (Lösche).[32]

(2) Increased globalization and its consequences (which I cannot detail here)[33] have triggered more social polarization and mobilized anti-globalist protest on a global scale and, in Europe, protest against the mechanisms of the EU. This scenario has been particularly conducive to mobilization along populist lines: it has produced many losers of "modernization" (real ones and perceived ones), it has provided many scapegoats ranging from international corporations and bureaucrats to culturally different immigrants, and it has set an ideal stage for identity

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[31] Jürgen Habermas: Strukturwandel der Öffentlichkeit. Frankfurt a. M. 1990 (first publ. 1962).

[32] For more details, see Kirchheimer: Transformation (see note 19); Peter Mair/Gordon Smith (eds.): Understanding Party System Change in Western Europe. London 1990; Klaus von Beyme: Parteien im Wandel. Von den Volksparteien zu den professionalisierten Wählerparteien. Wiesbaden 2000; Richard Gunther/Juan J. Linz/José Ramón Montero (eds.): Political Parties: Old Concepts and New Challenges. Oxford 2002; Hans-Jürgen Puhle: Parteienstaat in der Krise. Parteien und Politik zwischen Modernisierung und Fragmentierung. Wien 2002; id.: Protest (see note 5), pp. 66–90; and the summary in: Hans Daalder: State Formation, Parties and Democracy. Studies in Comparative European Politics. Colchester 2011, pp 69–189.

[33] In addition to: Castells: Age (see note 27), see also Michael Mann: The Sources of Social Power. Vol. IV: Globalizations, 1945–2011. Cambridge 2013; Michael Zürn: Regieren jenseits des Nationalstaats. Frankfurt a. M. 1998; John Keane: Global Civil Society? Cambridge 2003.

politics, for dichotomic (moral) views of the world, for questions about inclusion, exclusion and social justice, and for conspiracy theories.

(3) All these mechanisms have been intensified by the financial, economic and institutional crisis since 2008, particularly in Europe where many new (heterogeneous) movements of protest and resistance have been formed, most visible in the groups of "Occupy", "Blockupy", and the various new populist organizations on the right and the left in Greece, Spain, Great Britain, the Netherlands, the United States and elsewhere. In Hungary they even seem to have reached the point of bringing down liberal democracy.[34]

(4) The new electronic media, new campaign and networking techniques, and particularly social media have emphasized the direct and immediate approach to and communication with the individual citizen. They have contributed to simplification (and personalization) of political alternatives and an increase in organizational fragmentation, short-termism and entertainment factors, and they have established a significant new threshold on the road towards a more comprehensive mediatization of political communication and interaction.[35]

(5) This process has substantially intensified and lent a new dimension to the dominant trend towards structural transformation of the public sphere from what used to be liberal Öffentlichkeit to what Habermas and others have called *akklamative Öffentlichkeit* (a manipulated public sphere geared towards generating acclamation and mass loyalty).[36]

(6) This has been embedded in a broad and sustained process of what one might call the breakthrough of the mechanisms of "populist democracy". By "populist democracy" I mean the immediate relationship and the fiction (or the simulacrum) of a permanent two-way communication between voters and the leading politicians as it was first institutionalized in the American presidency or as it was conceptualized in Max Weber's notion of a "plebiscitarian leader democracy".[37]

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[34] In addition to: Barber: Jihad (see note 28), see also Donatella Della Porta/Hanspeter Kriesi/ Dieter Rucht (eds.): Social Movements in a Globalising World. London 1999; Dieter Rucht: Social Movements Challenging Neo-liberal Globalization. In: Pedro Ibarra (ed.): Social Movements and Democracy. New York 2002; Mary Kaldor: Civilising Globalization? The Implications of the "Battle in Seattle". In: Millennium 29 (2000) 1, pp. 105–114; Xavier Casals (ed.): Political Survival on the Extreme Right. European Movements Between the Inherited Past and the Need to Adapt to the Future. Barcelona 2005; Cas Mudde: Populist Radical Right Parties in Europe. Cambridge 2007.

[35] On the impact of political intermediation and mediatization, see: Pippa Norris: A Virtuous Circle. Political Communications in Postindustrial Societies. Cambridge 2000; Richard Gunther/ Anthony Mughan (eds.): Democracy and the Media. A Comparative Perspective. Cambridge 2000; Richard Gunther/José Ramón Montero/Hans-Jürgen Puhle (eds.): Democracy, Intermediation, and Voting on Four Continents. Oxford 2007. On the change from the logic of "collective action" (Olson) to the logic of "connective action", see W. Lance Bennett/Alexandra Segerberg: The Logic of Connective Action. New York 2013.

[36] Habermas: Strukturwandel (see note 31), p. 312–326; Wolf-Dieter Narr/Claus Offe (eds.): Wohlfahrtsstaat und Massenloyalität. Köln 1975.

[37] See Max Weber: Parlament und Regierung im neugeordneten Deutschland (1918). In: id.: Gesammelte Politische Schriften. Ed. by Johannes Winckelmann. Tübingen ³1971, pp 306–443; id.:

Western democracies since the end of World War II have experienced, as it seems, an irresistible proliferation of this model, in two stages, or rather two waves. The first stage, until the end of the 20th century, has been characterized by what has been called the "presidentialization" of parliamentary democracies (particularly in Europe), i. e. processes in which the representative components of a democratic system have been increasingly eroded and outgrown by elements of leader-centered plebiscitarian, direct democracy (*Kanzlerdemokratie*, "prime ministerial government"), often combined with technocratic elements and increasingly explicit invocations of the ominous TINA syndrome (TINA = There Is No Alternative).[38]

Even if these trends in most of the North Atlantic cases have not significantly affected the essentials and key prerequisites of liberal democracy, i. e. consolidated democracy cum rule of law and vertical and horizontal accountability or "embedded democracy",[39] we are facing a structural problem here that lies in the inherent tension between democracy and populism (or populist politics, populist elements): while populism is not necessarily (and not only) democratic, both have the same roots in universal suffrage and in the need for a democratic politician to maximize votes using all available strategies including populist catch-all appeals.[40] Thus, democracies have a built-in tendency toward populist politics and policies which must, however, be contained in order to prevent damage to democratic institutions and procedures. Too much populism (or populist politics) can transform a (more or less) functioning democracy into what we have called a "defective democracy", or into bonapartism or other forms of outright autocracy. The history of democracies, old and new, is full of examples for this.[41] As far as the

Deutschlands künftige Staatsform (1919). In: ibid., pp. 448–483. On the context, see: Hans-Jürgen Puhle: Liderazgo en la política. Una visión desde la historia. In: Ludger Mees/Xosé Manoel Núñez Seixas (eds.): Nacidos para mandar? Liderazgo, política y poder en el siglo XX. Madrid 2012, pp. 23–43. My definition of "populist democracy" here is much broader and systemic than the recent subtype suggested in Takis S. Pappas: Populist Democracies: Post-Authoritarian Greece and Post-Communist Hungary. In: G & O 48 (2013), pp. 1–23.

[38] See Thomas Poguntke/Paul Webb (eds.): The Presidentialization of Politics. Oxford 2005; vs. the classic: Ernst Fraenkel: Deutschland und die westlichen Demokratien. Stuttgart 1964.

[39] Wolfgang Merkel et al.: Defekte Demokratie. Vol. 1: Theorie. Opladen 2003; Hans-Jürgen Puhle: "Embedded Democracy" und „Defekte Demokratien". Probleme demokratischer Konsolidierung und ihrer Teilregime. In: Marianne Beisheim/Gunnar Folke Schuppert (eds.): Staatszerfall und Governance. Baden-Baden 2007, pp. 121–143; see also Larry Diamond/Leonardo Morlino (eds.): Assessing the Quality of Democracy. Baltimore 2005; and the classic: Robert A. Dahl: Democracy and Its Critics. New Haven 1989.

[40] For the more recent debates on populism and its relationship with democracy, see Paul Taggart: Populism. Buckingham 2000; Guy Hermet: Les Populismes dans le monde. Paris 2001; Yves Mény/Yves Surel (eds.): Democracies and the Populist Challenge. Basingstoke 2002; Karin Priester: Rechter und linker Populismus. Frankfurt a. M. 2012; Hans-Jürgen Puhle: Populismus: Form oder Inhalt? Protest oder Projekt? In: id.: Protest (see note 5), pp. 91–117.

[41] See, for example, the latest issues of the Bertelsmann Transformation Index: Transformationsindex BTI 2016, http://www.bti-project.de/bti-home/#13940184004811&ifheight=869 (last accessed: 25. 5. 2016).

outcome is concerned, everything depends on the self-restraint of democratic leaders and on the controlling capabilities of the watchdogs in parliament, in the public sphere and in society at large. And, of course, on constellations.

This secular trend toward "populist democracy" has, in a second wave, been accelerated, electronically and ideologically refined, and substantially intensified by the processes of the great transformation of the last decades, so that, after 2010, it might only be a slight exaggeration to say that populist democracy has become "the only game in town". The interpretations, however, of how these modified and new systems work, vary, as do the suggestions of what could or should be done about it. So far we can identify at least four alternative lines of interpretation: First, a leader-centered top-down approach to politics akin to Körösenyi's "leader democracy", government not "of" and "by" but rather "with the people", or Katz and Mair's "Cartel Party".[42] Second, we have the argument of "la force des choses" ("Sachzwang") or the TINA syndrome, and rule by experts with reduced control and legitimation, as articulated in Colin Crouch's diagnosis of "post-democracy" and others, that existed for some time even before Greece and Italy eventually resorted to similar arrangements when the latest crisis hit.[43] In search of new sources of legitimation, this diagnosis has, third, been developed further into alternative concepts of "democratic innovation" (or "innovative democracy"), in the better cases "deliberative", "monitory" or "reflexive", but technocratic and with outright authoritarian tendencies in the worst examples, often of the Carl Schmittian type. The latter often start out from false assumptions about a "homogeneous demos" which then became divided, pluralized, fragmented and entered into "a new age of particularity" (Rosanvallon), and they interpret as a new phenomenon and a symptom of crisis and transformation what in a down-to-earth Madisonian (or Schumpeterian) concept of democracy would have been a general, and not at all pathologic assumption from the beginning: that politics is, first of all, about interests, factions, conflict and contestation.[44] A fourth

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[42] See Andras Körösenyi: Political Representation in Leader Democracy. In: G & O 40 (2005) 3, pp. 358–378; Richard S. Katz/Peter Mair: Changing Models of Party Organization and Party Democracy. The Emergence of the Cartel Party. In: Party Politics 1 (1995) 1, pp. 5–28; Richard S. Katz/Peter Mair: The Ascendancy of the Party in Public Office. Party Organizational Change in Twentieth-Century Democracies. In: Richard Gunther/José Ramón Montero/Juan J. Linz (eds.): Political Parties. Old Concepts and New Challenges. Oxford 2002, pp. 113–135.

[43] See Colin Crouch: Postdemokratie. Frankfurt a. M. 2008; see also Hans-Jürgen Puhle: Vom Wohlfahrtsausschuss zum Wohlfahrtsstaat [1973]. In: id.: Protest (see note 5), pp. 203–239. We should, however, not make too much of the concept of "post-democracy" which does not appear to be a new analytical type, but rather a formula to express disenchantment over the loss of control. "Post-classical democracy" might be a more exact term to use. See also Klaus von Beyme: Von der Postdemokratie zur Neodemokratie. Wiesbaden 2013.

[44] See, for example, Archon Fung/Erik Olin Wright (eds.): Deepening Democracy: Institutional Innovations in Empowered Participatory Governance. New York 2003; Archon Fung: Continuous Institutional Innovation and the Pragmatic Conception of Democracy. In: Polity 44 (2012) 4, pp. 609–624; Jürgen Habermas: Drei normative Modelle der Demokratie. In: id.: Die Einbeziehung des Anderen. Frankfurt a. M. 1996, pp. 277–292; Ian Budge: The New Challenge of Direct Democracy. Cambridge 1996; John Keane: The Life and Death of Democracy. London 2009. For

line of interpretation has built upon the increased "entertainment factor" of politics and emphasized the virtual, symbolic and theatrical elements of a "simulative democracy" prominently championed by Ingolfur Bluehdorn.[45]

Many of these interpretations do not strike us as being terribly new. They argue along the lines of continuous debates that have been particularly influenced by the writings of Rousseau, Karl Marx (in the "18th Brumaire"),[46] Max Weber, Carl Schmitt, Gehlen and Habermas. What is new, however, is the situation they try to address: the constellations of basic change in the political arenas as well as the coincidence of the six to seven medium-range processes mentioned above within a short time span and the new momentum they have generated. It is within this particular context that we have to interpret the relations and trends of the democracies on both sides of the Atlantic which may be heading in the same direction, although they are still at least partly on different tracks (albeit to a lesser degree than fifty years ago). Their trajectories have become less different, and the secular transformation of the present has affected them all in a similar way, though not necessarily with identical outcomes.

In his outline for this conference, Paul Nolte has stated that the history of democracy has to be rewritten now at the beginning of the 21st century. This is certainly so, and we might add that, among other things, it has to be rewritten in the light of what one might call the "threshold 21", the great transformation Western democracies have gone through during the last decades and are still experiencing. In doing so we should realize and study more in detail that this is no longer a process of incremental change. A substantial number of changes have added up to a significant threshold, and it might be time to start thinking about the larger picture again.

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the more problematic side, see, e. g. Pierre Rosanvallon: La légitimité démocratique. Impartialité, reflexivité, proximité. Paris 2010; and the classic model: Carl Schmitt: Die geistesgeschichtliche Lage des heutigen Parlamentarismus. München 1923.

[45] See Ingolfur Blühdorn: Simulative Demokratie. Neue Politik nach der postdemokratischen Wende. Berlin 2013; see also id.: Sustaining the Unsustainable. Symbolic Politics and the Politics of Simulation. In: Env Pol 16 (2007) 2, pp. 251–275.

[46] See Karl Marx: Der achtzehnte Brumaire des Louis Bonaparte (1852). In: Karl Marx/Friedrich Engels: Werke. Vol. 8. Berlin (Ost) 1960, pp. 111–207.

Jan-Werner Müller

Populism (against Democracy)

A Theoretical Preface and Some Episodes of a Transatlantic History

> Democracy inaugurates the experience of an
> ungraspable, uncontrollable society in which the
> people will be said to be sovereign, of course,
> but whose identity will constantly be open to
> question, whose identity will remain forever latent.
> Claude Lefort

> Zum Volk gehören wir alle, ich habe auch
> Volksrechte, zum Volke gehört auch Seine
> Majestät der Kaiser; wir alle sind das Volk, nicht
> die Herren, die gewisse alte, traditionell liberal
> genannte und nicht immer liberal seiende
> Ansprüche vertreten. Das verbitte ich mir, den
> Namen Volk zu monopolisieren und mich
> davon auszuschließen!
> Otto von Bismarck

"A spectre is haunting the world: populism".[1] These were the words used by Ghita Ionescu and Ernest Gellner in the introduction to an edited volume on populism published in 1969.[2] The book was based on papers delivered at a very large conference held at the London School of Economics in 1967. Reading the proceedings of the gathering, one cannot help thinking that then, just as today, all kinds of political anxieties were articulated under the label of "populism" – with the word populism in the end referring to a seemingly endless myriad of political phenomena. Back in the late 1960s, "populism" appeared in debates about decolonization, speculations over the future of "peasantism", and – perhaps most surprisingly from our 21st-century vantage point – discussions of the origins and likely developments of Communism in general and Maoism in particular.

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[1] See Ghita Ionescu/Ernest Gellner (eds.): Populism. Its Meaning and National Character. London 1969.

[2] This chapter draws extensively on: Jan-Werner Müller: The People Must Be Extracted from Within the People. Reflections on Populism. In: Constellations 21 (2014), pp. 483–493; and on: id., What is Populism? Philadelphia 2016.

In Europe today, many anxieties – and sometimes hopes – also crystallize around the word populism. Put very schematically: liberals seem to be worried about increasingly illiberal demoi and often equate populism and right-wing extremism. Theorists of democracy, and proponents of "radical democracy" in particular, are concerned about the rise of what they perceive as "liberal technocracy". On the one hand, populism is thus seen as a threat, but, on the other hand, it is taken to be a potential corrective for a politics that has somehow become too distant from "the people" or tends to perpetuate or even increase the power of existing elites in a systematic way. In the United States, by contrast, the word "populism" is mostly associated with the idea of a genuine egalitarian left-wing political force that potentially conflicts with the agenda of a Democratic Party which, in the eyes of populist critics, has become too centrist (and technocratic). In particular, the defenders of "Main Street" against "Wall Street" are lauded (or loathed) as populists, even if they are by no means political outsiders, but in fact established politicians, such as New York City Mayor Bill de Blasio and Massachusetts Senator Elizabeth Warren. In the US, it is not at all a contradiction in terms to speak of "liberal populism", whereas that expression would appear to be almost senseless in Europe, given the different understandings of *both* liberalism and populism on the different sides of the Atlantic. As is well known, "liberal" means something like Social Democratic in North America, while "populism" suggests an uncompromising version of liberal politics aimed to attract workers or, as one would probably put it in contemporary, somewhat euphemistic parlance: "the middle class" (at the same time, populism remains distinct from socialism and anarchism). In Europe, by contrast, populism can never be combined with liberalism, if one uses this term to refer to something like respect for pluralism and an understanding of democracy as involving checks and balances (and, in general, constraints on the popular will).

As if these different political usages of the same word were not already confusing enough, matters have been further complicated by the rise of new movements in the wake of the 2008 financial crisis, in particular the Tea Party and the Occupy Wall Street movement. Both have been described variously as populist, to the extent that even a coalition between right-wing and left-wing forces critical of mainstream politics has been suggested, with – you will have guessed it – "populism" as the one common denominator. In short, we seem to be facing complete conceptual chaos because almost anything – left, right, democratic, anti-democratic, liberal, illiberal – can be called populist, and populism can be both friend and foe of democracy. Or so it seems.

In this chapter, I seek to add both a theoretical and a historical perspective to contemporary debates about populism. As far as the historical aspect is concerned, I can only briefly point to some episodes in the history of populism – but my hope is that even these shorthand accounts will help illuminate what I take to be a generally neglected aspect of the transatlantic development of political ideas and a rather pronounced divergence in the political imagination of democracy between Europe and the United States. Historians have rightly insisted that for

many social scientists, the history of populism is just a convenient cabinet of case studies to illustrate more or less reified typologies which tend to ignore the evolution of political phenomena over time.[3] Political theorists, on the other hand, might justifiably be concerned that social scientific approaches to populism largely operate with very normatively undemanding (and what Germans would call *unterkomplex*) understandings of democracy. This chapter will explore what a productive rapprochement of theory and history might look like.

The first part of this chapter will put forth a brief theoretical account of populism. Having a theory is a precondition for writing a proper political history, one which not automatically takes its cue from the actors who used the word "populism" as a self-description, but may in fact not have been populists. More particularly, in order to make sense of the historical semantics of populism and the wide variety of phenomena that might possibly be called populist on both sides of the Atlantic during the 20th century, I shall suggest an ideal type of populism. I shall then illuminate some political developments – starting in the late 19th century and ending in the very early 21st century – with respect to this ideal type. In doing so, I seek to demonstrate how populism and democracy are in fact categorically different. Consequently, I argue that many of the phenomena commonly called "populist" in US history (and the present), since they are part of proper democratic politics, should not be understood under the rubric of the theoretical term "populism" as suggested here. Put another way: I have little doubt that my transatlantic history will seem strange to many American historians.

Towards an Ideal Type of Populism

Only that which has no history can be defined. The word "populism" certainly has a history, and the expression "the people" even more so. To put matters very schematically: since antiquity the latter has been used in at least three world-historically very influential senses. First of all, it can refer to the people as the whole, which is to say all members of the polity or the "body politic"; second, it can indicate the people as the "common people", i. e. a particular rank or corporate body as part of a mixed constitution of various parts of the body politic – especially the excluded, the downtrodden, or the forgotten, all of which is to say a particular part of the people; and, thirdly, it is used to describe the people as the nation understood in a distinctly cultural sense.[4]

It is plainly inadequate to say that any appeal to "the people" qualifies as populism. Less obviously, advocacy for the "common people", "the ordinary man" or the excluded – even if it involves an explicit criticism of elites – is also insufficient as a criterion to determine whether a political actor (in the widest sense a politi-

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[3] See Federico Finchelstein: Returning Populism to History. In: Constellations 21 (2014), pp. 467–482.

[4] See Margaret Canovan: The People. Cambridge 2005.

cian or a theorist) or a party, for that matter, is populist. Rather, what I term the "core claims" of populism proper go as follows: the real people are morally pure and homogeneous; but only a part of the people is really the people (corrupt elites certainly are not); only the populist authentically identifies and represents the real people. Put differently, and using an example from the Roman context, fighting for the interests of the *plebs* is not populism; saying that only the *plebs* (as opposed to the patrician class and never mind the slaves) is the *populus Romanus* and that only a particular kind of *populares* properly represents the authentic people *is* populism. In the same vein, in Machiavelli's Florence, let's say, fighting for the *popolo* against the *grandi* would not automatically be populism as defined here; but declaring oneself the only proper representative of the Florentine people who are morally pure, a source of wisdom, and unified in their political will is populism.

An idealization of the people on its own would thus not necessarily fall under my concept of populism, even if the Russian *Narodniks* in the late 19th century did see "the people" in this light and the Russian term *Narodnichestvo* has usually been translated as "populism". It can seem self-evident, then, that something called "populism" arose in Russia and the United States simultaneously towards the end of the 19th century as the Populist Party burst onto the American political scene. The fact that both movements had something to do with farmers and peasants gave rise to the notion – prevalent at least until the 1970s – that populism had a close connection to agrarianism, or that it was necessarily a revolt of reactionary, economically backwards groups in rapidly modernizing societies. While this association has largely been dissolved today, the origins of "populism" in the US in particular still suggest to many observers that populism must at least on some level be "popular" in the sense of favoring the least advantaged or bringing the excluded into politics. This perspective is reinforced by looking at Latin America where the advocates of populism have always stressed its inclusionary and emancipatory character in what remains the economically most unequal continent on the globe.

To be sure, one cannot simply ban such existing normative associations on command: historical semantics are what they are. But we have to allow for the possibility that a plausible analytical understanding of populism will in fact exclude historical movements and actors who explicitly used the self-description "populist". With very few exceptions, historians (or political theorists, for that matter) would not argue that a proper understanding of socialism needs to make room for National Socialism because the Nazis also called themselves socialists.

As mentioned above, the association of populism with "progressive" is largely an American (North, Central, and South) phenomenon. In Europe, one finds different historically-conditioned preconceptions about populism. European populism is associated, primarily by liberal commentators, with irresponsible policies or some form of political pandering (sometimes demagoguery and populism are used interchangeably). However, it is also frequently identified with a particular class, especially the petty bourgeoisie and, until peasants disappeared from the

European political imagination (ca. 1979, I'd say), those engaged in agricultural work. This may seem like a solid sociological theory (classes are constructs, of course, but they can be empirically specified in fairly plausible ways).[5] But, it usually comes with a much more speculative account of social psychology: those espousing populist claims publicly and, in particular, those casting their ballot for populist parties, are said to be driven by "fears" of modernization, globalization, etc., or "resentment", which was the feeling most frequently invoked by populists.[6]

Now, in my view, none of these perspectives, and seemingly straightforward empirical criteria, is helpful for clearly identifying populism. First, it is difficult to deny that some policies really can turn out to have been irresponsible: those deciding on such policies did not think hard enough; they failed to gather all the relevant data; or, most plausibly, their knowledge of the likely long-term consequences should have made them refrain from policies with only short-term electoral benefits for themselves. Such concerns are not just the products of some neoliberal fantasy world. But they do not serve to delimit the phenomenon of populism. There is in most cases no clear, uncontested line between responsibility and irresponsibility, and, often enough, charges of "irresponsible populism" are themselves highly partisan (and it just so happens that the "irresponsible policies" most frequently denounced almost always benefit the worst-off). In any case, making a political debate a matter of responsible versus irresponsible begs the question "responsible according to which values or commitments?" (a question any responsible reader of Max Weber would surely ask immediately). Free trade agreements – to take an obvious example – can be responsible in light of a commitment to maximizing overall GDP and yet have distributional consequences that one might find unacceptable in light of other values. The debate then has to be about value commitments of a society, or perhaps also different economic theories that predict different distributions – but making it a matter of populism versus responsible politics only obscures the real issues at stake.

Second, the focus on particular socio-economic groups is in fact empirically dubious, as has been shown in a number of studies;[7] less obviously, it often results from a largely discredited set of assumptions from modernization theory. It is true that in many cases, voters of what might initially be called populist parties in a plausible way share a certain income and education profile: especially in Europe, the supporters of what is commonly referred to as right-wing populist parties

[5] Such a focus on class does not have to be anti-populist, so to speak. It can link with the progressive historical account of populism and become part of a prescriptive political theory. See, for example, John P. McCormick: Machiavellian Democracy. New York 2011.

[6] The very notion of resentment tends to import a legacy of cultural pessimism and questionable assumptions about mass psychology into contemporary public discourse. Elites, Nietzsche argued, are almost by definition not resentful. See Friedrich Nietzsche: On the Genealogy of Morality. Ed. by Keith Ansell-Pearson. Cambridge, MA 2007.

[7] Karin Priester: Rechter und linker Populismus. Annäherung an ein Chamäleon. Frankfurt a. M. 2012, p. 17.

make less and are less educated. But this is by no means always true: as Karin Priester has shown, it can also be quite successful citizens who adopt an essentially Social Darwinist attitude and justify their support for right-wing parties with claims along the lines of "I have made it – why can't they?" or "I have worked hard – why share it with those who do not really belong to the people at all?" (some might also remember the Tea Party placard demanding "Redistribute my Work Ethic!").

Finally, one should be very careful indeed with any talk about "frustration", "anger" and "resentment", for at least two normative reasons. First, while commentators invoking a term like resentment might not at the back of their mind be rehearsing "On the Genealogy of Morality", it is hard to see how one could entirely avoid certain connotations of ressentiment: those suffering from it are by definition weak; they are incapable of something like genuine autonomy; and, above all, they keep lying to themselves about their own actual condition (and, if one were to include Max Scheler's largely forgotten philosophy of resentment, they are on a path towards self-destruction).[8] Maybe one really believes that this is actually all true of people wearing baseball caps that say "Make America Great Again". But one has to face up to the consequences, namely that one will end up precisely confirming those people's view of "liberal elites". Namely that the latter are not just condescending, but constitutively unable to live up to their own democratic ideals, as they will never take ordinary people at their word, and instead prescribe some form of political therapy (to cure citizens of their fears and resentments, etc.).

Even if one were to conclude that the empirical studies cited above are misguided and that nothing should prevent elites from criticizing the value commitments of ordinary citizens, it is rather peculiar to conflate the content of what after all is an "-ism" – which is to say: some set of political beliefs – with the socio-economic positions and the psychological states of its supporters. This is like saying that we best understand Social Democracy, if we keep re-describing its voters as workers envious of rich people. The profile of supporters of populism obviously matters, but it is not just patronizing to explain the entire phenomenon as an inarticulate political expression of the supposed "losers of modernization" – it is also not really an explanation.

Then why do so many observers keep resorting to what to them looks like an explanation? As hinted above, consciously – or, in most cases, I would venture, unconsciously – we are drawing on a set of assumptions from modernization theory. And this is true even of many political theorists and social scientists who would are ready to go on record saying that modernization theory has long been discredited. It was liberal intellectuals like Daniel Bell, Edward Shils, and Seymour Martin Lipset (all heirs of Weber, of course, via Talcott Parsons as the theoretical executor of Weber's legacy) who in the course of the 1950s began to explain what they considered "populism" as a helpless articulation of anxieties and anger

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[8] Max Scheler: Ressentiment. Ed. by Lewis A. Coser. New York 1961.

by those longing for a simpler, "pre-modern" life. Lipset, for instance, claimed that populism was attractive for "the disgruntled and the psychologically homeless, […] the personal failures, the socially isolated, the economically insecure, the uneducated, unsophisticated, and authoritarian personalities".[9] The immediate targets of these social theorists were McCarthyism and the John Birch Society – but their diagnosis often extended to the original American populist revolt of the late nineteenth century. This thesis was not to remain uncontested – but the background assumptions remain present among many social and political commentators today.

So, let me recap where my approach differs: populism, I suggest, is a particular moralistic imagination of politics and a way of perceiving the political world which opposes a morally pure and fully unified – but, I shall argue, ultimately fictional – people to small minorities, elites in particular, who are put outside the authentic people.[10] In other words, the people are not really what prima facie appear as the people in its empirical entirety or what can appear as "popular will" on the basis of voting or other political procedures; rather, as Claude Lefort put it, for populists, first "the people must be extracted from within the people".[11] The flip side is that populists claim that they – and only they – properly represent the authentic, proper, and morally pure people. Populism arises with the introduction of representative democracy; it is its shadow. It hankers after what Nancy Rosenblum has called "holism" – the notion that the polity should no longer be split at all, but that the people – all of them – could have one true representative.[12]

As said above, this is the core claim of populists. Political actors who are not committed to this claim are not populists. Populism does not exist without a pars-pro-toto argument and a claim to exclusive representation, both of which being primarily moral, as opposed to empirical, in nature.[13]

Most commonly, but not necessarily, "morality" is specified by populists with languages of work and corruption (which has led some observers to associate populism with an ideology of "producerism").[14] Populists pit the pure, innocent, always hard-working people against a corrupt elite who do not really work (other than to further their self-interest), and, in right-wing populism, also against the very bottom of society (those who also do not really work and live off others).

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[9] Seymour M. Lipset: Political Man. The Social Bases of Politics. Garden City 1963, p. 178.
[10] As I shall argue further below, populists are not against representation – hence I disagree with analyses that pit "populist democracy" against "representative democracy"; see, for example, the otherwise excellent article by Koen Abts/Stefan Rummens: Populism versus Democracy. In: Pol St 55 (2007), pp. 405–424.
[11] Claude Lefort: Democracy and Political Theory. Cambridge 1988, p. 88.
[12] See Nancy L. Rosenblum: On the Side of the Angels. An Appreciation of Parties and Partisanship. Princeton 2008.
[13] See Andrew Arato: Political Theology and Populism. In: SR 80 (2013), pp. 143–172.
[14] Producerism cannot be purely economic – it is a moral concept valorizing the producers. Think of Georges Sorel's peculiar form of socialism as an example.

Right-wing populists typically construe an "unhealthy coalition" between both an elite and marginal groups that do not really belong.

The moralist conception of politics advanced by populists clearly depends on some criterion for distinguishing the moral and the immoral, the pure and the corrupt. But it does not have to be work. If "work" turns out to be indeterminate, ethnic markers readily come to the rescue. Yet it is mistake to think that populism will always turn out to be a form of nationalism. Granted, differences still need to be interpreted, and for populists that interpretation ultimately must have a moral dimension and yield some account of identity politics which then serves to determine who does and who does not belong.

Critics of populism today make it too easy for themselves if they assume that populism is just nationalism or even some form of ethnic chauvinism. One should give populists the benefit of the doubt and concede that, in many cases, it can even seem as if they are operating with understandings of the common good that are close to epistemic conceptions of democracy. Populists can and often do rely on the notion that there is a distinct common good, that the people can discern *and* will it, and that a politician or a party (or, less plausibly, a movement) could unambiguously implement such a conception of the common good as policy. In this sense, as Cas Mudde and Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser have pointed out in their important work on empirical cases of populism, populism can always sound at least somewhat "Rousseauean", even if there are also important differences with Rousseau's democratic thought.[15] Moreover, this emphasis on one common good, clearly comprehensible to common sense, and capable of being articulated as one correct policy which then can be collectively willed at least in part, explains why populism is so often associated with the idea of an over-simplification of policy challenges.[16]

The specifically moral conception of politics which populists espouse has two important implications. First of all, populists do not have to be against the idea of representation as such; rather, they can positively endorse a particular version of it. Populists are fine with representation, as long as the right representatives represent the right people who are making the right judgment and consequently willing the right thing, so to speak. Some populists demand more referenda, to be sure,

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[15] See Cas Mudde/Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser: Populism. In: Michael Freeden (ed.): The Oxford Handbook of Political Ideologies. New York 2013, pp. 493–512.

[16] Ralf Dahrendorf e.g. is claiming that "populism is simple, democracy is complex", see: Ralf Dahrendorf: Acht Anmerkungen zum Populismus. In: Transit 25 (2003), pp. 156–63. Pierre Rosanvallon has expanded on the point by arguing that populism involves a triple simplification: a political-sociological simplification along the lines of homogeneous people versus corrupt elites; second, a procedural and institutional simplification directed against the messy world of intermediary powers; and third, a simplification of the social bond which is reduced to being a matter of homogeneous identity. Picking up a thought by Cas Mudde, I would add a fourth one, namely a moral simplification: pure people versus morally corrupt elites. See Pierre Rosanvallon: Penser le populisme. In: La Vie des idées (27.9.2011), http://www.laviedesidees.fr/Penser-le-populisme. html (last accessed: 25.5.2016).

but only as a means to discern the right thing more clearly and not because they wish for the people to participate continuously in politics or because they want at least some ordinary people to have a say in government (as proposals for selecting representatives by lot, for instance, would suggest). Populists view the people as essentially passive, once the proper popular will aimed at the proper common good has been ascertained; and, in theory – and in practice – that will could be ascertained without any popular participation whatsoever.

It is crucial to understand, then, that populists are not just anti-elitists. They are also necessarily anti-pluralists. There is a variety of ways in which the distinction between moral and immoral can be developed, but there is no alternative to declaring the people themselves moral. However, "the people themselves" is ultimately a fictional entity outside existing democratic procedures, an imagined homogeneous moral-political body that can be played off against actual election results in democracies. It is not an accident that Richard Nixon's famous (or infamous) notion of a "silent majority" has had such a career among populists: if the majority were not silent, there would already be a government that truly represents the people.[17] If the populist politician fails at the polls, it is not because he does not represent the majority at all, but because the majority has not yet dared to speak (or because elites are preventing the expression of the authentic popular will – this thought explains the popularity of conspiracy theories among populists). In other words, populists are not necessarily against political institutions, as some accounts of the phenomenon have suggested; rather, at least as long they are in opposition, they will always invoke an un-institutionalized people "out there" – in existential opposition to the popular will as it has manifested itself in actual voting or even opinion polls. Hence what might initially appeared as a notion of popular will similar to that sought by theorists of epistemic democracy actually turns out to be a matter of symbolic representation: the "real people" are not a matter of empirical fact (let alone mere numbers making up a an actual majority), but a symbolic representation of what, for instance, the American arch-populist George Wallace called "real Americans" or also the "Heart of the Great Anglo-Saxon Southland".[18]

Such a notion of "the real people" was theorized by Carl Schmitt, among others, and served as a conceptual bridge from democracy to non-democracy, when Schmitt and thinkers like Giovanni Gentile claimed that fascism could be a more faithful realization of democratic ideals.[19] Conversely, an opponent of Schmitt such as Hans Kelsen would insist that the will of parliament is not the popular will – but that the popular will is in fact impossible to discern: all we can verify are election outcomes, and everything else, according to Kelsen, (in particular an

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[17] As Jill Lepore has pointed out, the term used to be a euphemism for the dead, until Nixon used it to refer the supposed majority supporting the Vietnam War. See Jill Lepore: The Whites of their Eyes. The Tea Party's Revolution and the Battle over American History. Princeton 2010, pp. 4f.

[18] Dan T. Carter: The Politics of Rage. George Wallace, the Origins of the New Conservatism, and the Transformation of American Politics. New York 1995, p. 11.

[19] See, e. g., Giovanni Gentile: The Philosophical Basis of Fascism. In: FA 6 (1927/28), pp. 290–304.

organic unity of the people from which some interest above parties could be in-
ferred) amounts to a "metapolitical illusion".[20]

The populist desire for a (de facto unachievable) unity – and the denial of legit-
imate disagreement and divisions – actually shows a surprising affinity between
the populist political imagination and totalitarianism (also understood as a form
of political imaginary). Not the totalitarianism as described by classic Cold War
liberals such as Carl Joachim Friedrich and Zbigniew Brzezinski, but the totalitar-
ianism theorized by members of the post-war French Left, such as Claude Lefort
and Cornelius Castoriadis, in the 1970s and 1980s. These thinkers claimed that
totalitarianism is not best understood as a regime making total claims on its sub-
jects – no regime could ever achieve this, short of putting its populations perma-
nently into camps – but as the vision of a completely unified society (or people)
literally embodied in a leader like Hitler or Stalin. As Lefort put it: "Democracy
combines these two apparently contradictory principles: on the one hand, power
emanates from the people; on the other hand, it is the power of nobody. And de-
mocracy thrives on this contradiction. Whenever the latter risks being resolved or
is resolved, democracy is either close to destruction or already destroyed. […] [I]f
the image of the people is actualized, if a party claims to identify with it and to
appropriate power under the cover of this identification, then it is the very princi-
ple of the distinction between the state and society […] which is denied. This phe-
nomenon is characteristic of totalitarianism."[21]

Clearly, populists as we know them in Western democracies do not seek to ac-
tualize totalitarian practices familiar from 20th-century history. But the fact re-
mains that their claim to be the sole legitimate representative of the authentic peo-
ple – and hence the potential legitimacy of them permanently appropriating the
empty seat of power in a democracy – contains an affinity with totalitarianism as
understood by Lefort in particular.

This shows that populism is ultimately not about claims along the lines of: "we
want a little more democracy – especially direct democracy – and a little less liber-
alism, or the rule of law, or constitutionalism." Rather – using Lefort's framework
– the pure people, or, in fact, the image of a pre-procedural people, as represented
by a party or a single leader, will seek to occupy democracy's empty seat of pow-
er; of course, they cannot do so directly, so an agent claiming to speak for the
people within the people will try to do so (even if, de facto, these agents accept an
election that goes against them in the end, they are nonetheless always in power
from a *moral* perspective).[22] In Lefort's terms, democracy is no longer the com-

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[20] Hans Kelsen: Vom Wesen und Wert der Demokratie. Aalen ²1981, p. 22 (first publ. 1929)
(translated by the author). Kelsen also concluded that modern democracy inevitably had to be
party democracy.
[21] Claude Lefort: The Logic of Totalitarianism. In: Id.: The Political Forms of Modern Society.
Bureaucracy, Democracy, Totalitarianism. Ed. by John B. Thompson. Cambridge 1986, pp. 273–
291, here: p. 279f.
[22] See also the excellent article: Koen Abts/Stefan Rummens: Populism versus Democracy. In:
Pol St 55 (2007), pp. 405–424.

mon stage on which political conflict takes place (and which also contains it and assures the unity of the polity); it is one of the actors on that stage who assumes the task (or, rather, makes the claim that it can assume the task) of fully representing society's unity.

Episodes from a Transatlantic History of Populism I, or: Was the People's Party Really Populist?

One of the results of the analysis presented so far – counter-intuitive as it might seem – is that the one party in US history that explicitly called itself "populist" was in fact not populist. Populism in the US context usually refers to a movement primarily among farmers in the 1890s. It briefly threatened the hold of Democratic and Republican parties on the US political system. To be sure, it is not the first instance of what historians have seen as populism in American history: the "Founding Fathers" often invoked the "the genius of the people"[23] and the Constitution contained many "popular" elements ranging from juries to militias (even if, on the whole, the Founders were eager to exclude the people as any kind of unitary actor from the constitution as a system of check and balances, and hence rejected the language of democracy in favor of a republican one);[24] from the start, Thomas Jefferson also provided a republican and producerist language which would be revived by many political rhetoricians defending the rights of the hard-working majority; virtually all strands of Protestantism perpetuated the notion that the people themselves, unaided by clergy, could find spiritual truth; Andrew Jackson, central to the "Age of the Common Man", with his campaign against the "money power" is variously presented as a force for deepening democracy or as a "populist" who created a whole style of politics – in the mid-19th century often involving the proverbial "log cabin" and "hard cider" to prove one's credentials as being with and for the "plain people"; and in the 1850s, there was the nativist (in particular, anti-Catholic) Know Nothing movement. Moreover, the People's Party, whose adherents were first called "Pops" and, eventually, "Populists", formed in 1892. Like so many political labels, "Populists" was initially meant to be derogatory (with "Populites" being another contender for a negative designation) – only to be defiantly adopted and celebrated by those who were supposed to be derided by the name.[25]

These self-declared Populists emerged from movements of farmers no longer content to raise corn, but determined to raise hell politically. Their experience of

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[23] John Keane: The Life and Death of Democracy. New York 2009, p. 277

[24] Akhil Reed Amar stresses these popular elements in his study in particular, see: Akhil Reed Amar: America's Constitution. A Biography. New York 2006.

[25] According to Tim Houwen "populistic" was then coined in 1896 in an article in "The Nation" magazine. See Tim Houwen: The non-European roots of the concept of populism (= Sussex European Institute, Working Paper, no. 120). Brighton 2011, https://www.sussex.ac.uk/webteam/gateway/file.php?name=sei-working-paper-no-120.pdf&site=266 (last accessed: 25.5.2016).

debt and dependency – and the economic downturn of the early 1890s in particular – prompted them to organize in order to voice a range of demands that variously set them against the Democrats and the Republican Party. The feeling of being at the mercy of the railroad owners and the banks gave rise to two political goals that came to define Populism's political program: nationalization of the railroads and the creation of a sub-treasury. They also called for the freeing of silver in opposition to the so-called "Goldbugs". Other inspirations included Henry George with his single tax scheme, the Social Gospel and the utopian Edward Bellamy.[26]

The Populists formulated their demands in political language that clearly set "the people" against self-serving elites. Mary Elizabeth Lease famously stated: "Wall Street owns the country. It is no longer a government of the people, by the people and for the people, but a government of Wall Street, by Wall Street and for Wall Street. The great common people of this country are slaves, and monopoly is the master."[27] Populist discourse was suffused with non-too-subtle moral claims; there was talk of "the plutocrats, the aristocrats and all the other rats", and some of the slogans (and poetry) are reminiscent of what present generations will remember as the central tropes of the Occupy Wall Street Movement: the "ninety and nine in hovels bare, the one in a palace with riches rare".[28]

As mentioned above, historians as well as political and social theorists of the 1950s and 1960s – Richard Hofstadter, Peter Viereck, Edward Shils, and Seymour Martin Lipset, to name but a few – would tend to paint the Populists as driven by anger and resentment ("status resentment" in particular) and as prone to conspiracy theories and, not least, racism.[29] Evidence is not hard to find: Georgia Populist leader Tom Watson once asked: "Did [Jefferson] dream that in 100 years or less *his* party would be prostituted to the vilest purposes of monopoly; that red-eyed Jewish millionaires would be chiefs of that Party, and that the liberty and prosperity of the country would be […] constantly and corruptly sacrificed to Plutocratic greed in the name of Jeffersonian democracy?"[30] Yet, in retrospect, it seems clear that the Cold War liberal historians and political theorists were talking more about McCarthyism and the rise of the radical conservative movement (including its outright racist manifestations such as the John Birch Society) than the actual Populists of the 1890s. They seemed sure that "American fascism has its roots in American populism".[31]

In fact, the Populists were a classic example of advocacy for the common people – but they did not pretend to be the people as a whole. To be sure, there were

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[26] Keane: Life (see note 23), p. 340.
[27] Quoted by Margaret Canovan: Populism. New York 1981, p. 33.
[28] Ibid., p. 51 f.
[29] See e. g.: Richard Hofstadter: The Paranoid Style in American Politics. New York 2008.
[30] Quoted by Michael Kazin: The Populist Persuasion. An American History. Ithaca 1998, p. 10 (italics in original).
[31] Victor C. Ferkiss quoted by C. Vann Woodward: The Populist Heritage and the Intellectual. In: AS 29 (1959/60), pp. 55–72, here: p. 60.

sometimes ambiguities or (perhaps conscious) slippages, even in the famous Oma-
ha Platform with which the People's Party had constituted itself:

"We have witnessed for more than a quarter of a century the struggles of the
two great political parties for power and plunder, while grievous wrongs have
been inflicted upon the suffering people. We charge that the controlling influences
dominating both these parties have permitted the existing dreadful conditions to
develop without serious effort to prevent or restrain them. Neither do they now
promise us any substantial reform. They have agreed together to ignore, in the
coming campaign, every issue but one. They propose to drown the outcries of a
plundered people with the uproar of a sham battle over the tariff, so that capital-
ists, corporations, national banks, rings, trusts, watered stock, the demonetization
of silver and the oppressions of the usurers may all be lost sight of. They propose
to sacrifice our homes, lives, and children on the altar of mammon; to destroy the
multitude in order to secure corruption funds from the millionaires.

Assembled on the anniversary of the birthday of the nation, and filled with the
spirit of the grand general and chief who established our independence, we seek to
restore the government of the Republic to the hands of 'the plain people', with
which class it originated. We assert our purposes to be identical with the purposes
of the National Constitution; to form a more perfect union and establish justice,
insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the gener-
al welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty for ourselves and our posterity."[32]

They advocated democratic reforms such as the direct election of senators as
well as the secret ballot – and they sought graduated taxation and the creation of
what today would be called a regulatory state. But they did so with reference to
the "plain people". Implementing their ideal of a "cooperative commonwealth"
may well have resulted in something that elsewhere in the world would have been
called "Social Democracy".[33] As the Omaha Platform made abundantly clear,
they respected the Constitution, although in an American context – unlike a Eu-
ropean one – outright anti-constitutionalism can hardly serve as a useful criterion
for identifying populists in the sense defended in this chapter; after all, the Con-
stitution was and remains revered by virtually everyone.

The Populists never were and rarely ever claimed to be "the people" as such
(even if they were highly inclusive: they united men and women as well as whites
and blacks to a degree that arguably none of the other major parties did at the
time). They might have been much more successful had they not been viciously
attacked by Southern Democrats in particular (voting fraud and bribery were
common; they also did not shy away from violence); had their demands not been
co-opted by both Democrats and Republicans; and had they not committed both
strategic and tactical errors (over which historians, in a normatively loaded debate,
still argue today). Had the DemoPop ticket of William Jennings Bryan (known as

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[32] National People's Party Platform. In: George Brown Tindall (ed.): A Populist Reader. Selec-
tions from the Work of American Populist Leaders. New York 1966, pp. 91f.
[33] See Charles Postel: The Populist Vision. New York 2007.

"the Great Commoner") succeeded in 1896, US constitutional history may have taken a very different turn.[34] But, in any case, the Populist movement was not entirely without consequence. After the mid-1890s, some Populists joined the Socialist Party. Likewise, at least some of the main demands of the Populists were realized during the heyday of Progressivism and, as C. Vann Woodward pointed out in his attack on the misreading of Populism by Cold War liberals in the 1950s, "from many points of view", the New Deal "was neo-Populism".[35]

None of this is to say that 20th century American history has not seen instances of populism in my sense of the term: McCarthyism is an obvious candidate, as would be George Wallace, governor of Alabama and third-party presidential candidate in 1968, and his followers.[36] Jimmy Carter claimed the label "populist" for himself, but he clearly meant to allude to the Populists of the late 19th century (as well as the "populist" associations of evangelical Protestantism and rural and republican – in one word: Jeffersonian – understandings of democracy). It is with the rise of the Tea Party and the shocking success of Donald Trump in the 2016 presidential election that populism in my sense has gained a degree of national influence in the US not seen since the 1950s and 1960s.

Episodes from a Transatlantic History of Populism II: Fascism, National Socialism and the Post-War European Settlement

Another perhaps surprising result of the theoretical analysis presented at the beginning of this chapter is that National Socialism and fascism are meaningfully understood as populist movements. To be sure, they were not *just* populist movements, but also exhibited traits that are not necessarily part of populism such as racism, a glorification of violence, and a radical "leadership principle".[37] Now, in Western Europe, one of the peculiarities of the aftermath of the high point of totalitarian politics in the 1930s and 1940s was that both post-war political thought and post-war political institutions were deeply imprinted with anti-totalitarianism. Political leaders, as well as jurists and philosophers, sought to build an order designed, above all, to prevent a return to the totalitarian past. They relied on an image of the past as a chaotic era characterized by limitless political dynamism, unbound "masses" and attempts to forge a completely unconstrained political

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[34] Bruce Ackerman speaks of a failed constitutional moment; see: Bruce Ackerman: We The People: Foundations. Cambridge, MA 1993, pp. 83 f.

[35] Woodward: Heritage (see note 31), here: p. 55.

[36] Think of Wallace's infamous statement: "In the name of the greatest people that have ever trod this earth, I draw the line in the dust and toss the gauntlet before the feet of tyranny. And I say, segregation now! Segregation tomorrow! Segregation forever!" Quoted by Carter: Politics (see note 18), p. 11. A recording of the infamous 1963 Inauguration Address is at Alabama Department of Archives and History at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_RC0EjsUbDU (last accessed: 25. 5. 2016).

[37] See also: Paula Diehl/Stefano Cavazza (eds.): Populism and Fascism (= TD 9 (2012) 3).

subject – such as the purified German *Volksgemeinschaft* or the "Soviet People" (created in Stalin's image and ratified as really existing in the "Stalin Constitution" of 1937).

As a consequence, the whole direction of political development in post-war Europe has been towards a fragmentation of political power (in the sense of checks and balances, or even a mixed constitution) as well as the empowerment of unelected institutions, or institutions beyond electoral accountability, such as constitutional courts – all under the name of strengthening democracy itself.[38] This development stems from specific lessons that European elites – rightly or wrongly – drew from the political catastrophes of mid-century. Indeed, the architects of the post-war West European order viewed the ideal of popular sovereignty with a great deal of distrust. After all, how could one trust peoples who had brought fascists to power or extensively collaborated with fascist occupiers? Less obviously, elites also had deep reservations about the idea of parliamentary sovereignty and, more particularly, actors claiming to speak and act for the people as a whole being empowered by parliaments (and thereby subscribing to the metapolitical illusion Kelsen had criticized). Had not legitimate representative assemblies, or so post-war observers thought, handed all power over to Hitler and to Marshal Pétain, the leader of Vichy France, in 1933 and 1940 respectively? Hence parliaments in post-war Europe were systematically weakened, checks and balances were strengthened, and institutions without electoral accountability (again, constitutional courts are the prime example) were tasked not just with defending individual rights, but with securing democracy as a whole.[39] In short, distrust of unrestrained popular sovereignty, or even unconstrained parliamentary sovereignty (what a German constitutional lawyer once called "parliamentary absolutism") are, so to speak, in the very DNA of post-war European politics.[40] These underlying principles of what I have elsewhere called "constrained democracy" were almost always adopted when countries were able to shake off dictatorships and turned to liberal democracy in the last third of the 20th century: first on the Iberian peninsula in the 1970s, and then in Central and Eastern Europe after 1989.

[38] I have made this argument at greater length in: Jan-Werner Müller: Contesting Democracy. Political Ideas in Twentieth-Century Europe. London 2011. See also Peter L. Lindseth: The Paradox of Parliamentary Supremacy. Delegation, Democracy, and Dictatorship in Germany and France, 1920–1950s. In: YLJ 113 (2004), pp. 1341–1415.

[39] One might add that dignity – and not freedom – is the master value of post-war constitutions.

[40] An obvious – and rather important – exception might appear to be Gaullism. I cannot go into any great detail here, but I think that de Gaulle's conception of the people as a legal entity, and the primacy of legal procedure over any moral claim fully to represent France in the 1969 referendum, point to the fact that, ultimately, Gaullism should be understood as populism in the sense defended in this chapter. See Paolo Pombeni: Das Problem des Populismus im Rahmen der europäischen Geschichte. In: TD 8 (2011), pp. 221–236; Jack Hayward: Bonapartist and Gaullist Heroic Leadership. Comparing Crisis Appeals to an Impersonated People. In: Peter Baehr/Melvin Richter (eds.): Dictatorship in History and Theory. Bonapartism, Caesarism, and Totalitarianism. New York 2004, pp. 221–240.

European integration, it needs to be emphasized, was part and parcel of this comprehensive attempt to constrain the popular will: it added supranational constraints to national ones[41] This is not to say that this entire process was master-minded by anyone, or that it came about seamlessly; the outcomes were, of course, contingent and had to do with who prevailed in particular political struggles – a point which is particularly clear in the case of the protection of individual rights over which national courts and the European Court of Justice competed for jurisdiction. This logic was more evident initially with institutions like the Council of Europe and the European Convention on Human Rights. But what eventually became the EU also served a function for national democracies: in the transitions to democracy in Southern Europe in the 1970s accession to the European Community also served to "lock in" liberal-democratic commitments through supranational self-binding.

Now, the upshot of this brief historical excursus is that a political order built on a distrust of popular sovereignty – an explicitly anti-totalitarian and, if you like, implicitly anti-populist order – will always be particularly vulnerable to political actors speaking in the name of the people as a whole against "the system". As should have become clear from the discussion so far, populism is not really a cry for more political participation, let alone for the realization of direct democracy – but it can resemble movements making such cries and hence, prima facie, gain some legitimacy on the grounds that the post-war European order really is based on the idea of keeping "the people" at a distance.

Why might Europe have become particularly vulnerable to populist actors since the mid-1970s or so, and in recent years in particular? Some answers seem obvious: a retrenchment of the welfare state, immigration, and, above all, the Eurocrisis of recent years. But a crisis – whether economic, social, or ultimately also political – does not automatically produce populism in the sense defended here (except, possibly, when old party systems are disintegrating because of a crisis); on the contrary, democracies can be said to create crises perpetually and, at the same time, to have the resources and mechanisms for self-correction.[42] Rather, at least as far as the current wave of populism in Europe is concerned, I would say that it is the particular approach to addressing the Eurocrisis – for shorthand: technocracy – that has something to do with the rise of populism.

In a curious way, the two mirror each other. Technocracy holds that there is only one correct policy solution while populism claims that there is only one au-

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[41] One might ask in what way, then, "constrained democracy" differs from "guided" or "defective" democracy. The answer is that in the former genuine changes in who holds power is possible and that all constraints are ultimately justified with regard to strengthening democracy. In the latter no real change is allowed.

[42] See Nadia Urbinati: Zwischen allgemeiner Anerkennung und Misstrauen. Die repräsentative Demokratie im Zeitalter des Internets. In: Transit 44 (2013), pp. 25–41. But compare also David Runciman's claim that democracy's knowledge about its capacity for self-correction can lead to complacency – and hence fatal crises, after all. See David Runciman: The Confidence Trap. Princeton 2013.

thentic will of the people aiming at the common good. Most recently, they have also been trading attributes. Whereas technocracy has become moralized ("you Greeks etc. must atone for your sins!", i.e. profligacy in the past), populism has become business-like (think of Berlusconi and, in the Czech Republic, Babiš's promise to run the sate like one of his companies).[43] In that sense, both are apolitical and, curiously, lend credence to an epistemic conception of democracy (without actually being one). Hence, it is plausible enough to assume that one might pave the way for the other because both legitimize the belief that there is no real room for debate and disagreement. After all, there is only one correct policy solution and there is only one authentic popular will.

This, then, also allows for clearer distinctions between genuinely populist parties and movements on the one hand, and, on the other hand, actors who might, for instance, oppose austerity measures and ordoliberal economic prescriptions, but who should not really be called populists. In Finland, it is the claim that only they represent true Finns – not criticism of the EU – which makes the party which actually happens to be called "True Finns" (and, more recently, just "The Finns") a populist party. In Italy, it is not Beppe Grillo's complaints about Italy's *la casta* and his attempts to empower ordinary citizens that should lead one to worry about him as a populist, but rather his assertion that his movement wants (and deserves) nothing less than 100 per cent of seats in parliament – all other contenders are considered corrupt and immoral.[44] Hence, according to this logic, the *grillini* are ultimately the pure Italian people, which then also justifies a kind of dictatorship of virtue inside the Five Star Movement.

Identifying actual populists and distinguishing them from political actors who criticize elites, but do not employ a pars-pro-toto logic (such as the *indignados* in Spain) is a prime task for a theory (and contemporary history) of populism in Europe today. What some observers have called "democratic activists" – as opposed to populists – first of all advance particular policies, but to the extent that they use people-talk at all, their claim is not: "we, and only we, are the people"; rather, it is: "we are also the people".[45]

Conclusion

This chapter has sketched a theoretical account – and an ideal type in particular – of populism. It then suggested how such an ideal type might help to make sense of developments in modern European and American history in ways that differ from narratives that take the self-description of actors as the main starting point

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[43] Think also of Jörg Haider claiming: *Wir müssen lernen, den Staat als Unternehmen zu begreifen, und ihn dementsprechend führen*. Quoted by Priester: Populismus (see note 7), p. 22.
[44] A distant echo, one might say, of *Uomo Qualunque* and the slogan *Abbasso tutti!*.
[45] See, e.g., Catherine Fieschi: A Plague on Both your Populisms, 19 April 2012, http://www.opendemocracy.net/catherine-fieschi/plague-on-both-your-populisms (last accessed: 25.5.2016).

or that employ overly capacious definitions of populism. If my suggestion is taken up, some movements and parties often seen as populist because of their advocacy of the "plain" or "common" people, or particular segments of the people (think of the post-war phenomenon of *poujadisme*) will no longer be central to the story of populism, whereas others – including National Socialism and fascism – will appear in a new light and rightly be seen as populist. More broadly, it might become clear that populism is a permanent temptation in modern representative politics. And from a more normative perspective, thinking about populism and why it is ultimately not democratic can help us deepen our understanding of democracy itself.

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