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phischen Porträts im Umfang einer halben bis einer Seite, bei herausragenden Gestalten auch mehr, stammen von ausgewiesenen Kennern: neben Jacques DROZ von Pierre AYÇOBERRY, Gilbert BADIA, Alain BOYER, Pierre BROUÉ, Serge COSSERON, Annelise CALLEDE-SPAETHE, Jacques GRANDJONC, Irène PETIT, Alain RUIZ und Claudie WEILL. Die Autoren enthalten sich jeder wertenden Stellungnahme und beschränken sich im großen und ganzen auf die holzschnittartige Darstellung des äußeren Lebensablaufs ihrer jeweiligen Protagonisten.

Auffällig an diesem Nachschlagewerk ist der Umstand, daß neben den eindeutigen Parteigängern – von August Bebel bis Clara Zetkin, von Eduard Bernstein bis Ernst Thälmann, von Erich Honecker bis Ernst Reuter – gerade auch die Nonkonformisten, die Widerspenstigen, die Individualisten, eben diejenigen, welche zwischen allen Stühlen saßen, berücksichtigt wurden. Bertholt Brecht, Alfred Döblin und Heinrich Heine gehören ebenso dazu wie Eugen Kogon (merkwürdigerweise nicht sein mindestens gleichrangiger Mitstreiter Walter Dirks) und Kurt Tucholsky. Gerade diese Untermischung von Vertretern aus den großen Sammelbecken der Arbeiterbewegung mit Prominenten ohne Loyalitätszwänge relativiert mögliche vorgefaßte Meinungen, die in den Organisationen, Programmen und Theorien der Arbeiterbewegung die entscheidenden Kräfte sehen. Hier stehen die Menschen im Mittelpunkt. Darüber hinaus wird das Werk von einem grundlegenden Vermittlungsbedürfnis getragen. Wenn ein Lexikon überhaupt eine Botschaft überbringen darf, dann ist es im vorliegenden Fall diese: Der Nationalsozialismus, seine Wurzeln und seine Triebe sollen beileibe nicht unterschätzt werden, aber sie sind nicht die einzigen Faktoren der deutschen Vergangenheit und Gegenwart. Es gab und gibt auch ein anderes Deutschland.

Dieter TIEMANN, Dortmund

Diethard HENNIG, Johannes Hoffmann, Sozialdemokrat und Bayerischer Ministerpräsident, München, London, New York, Paris (K. G. Saur Verlag) 1990, VII–634 p. (Schriftenreihe der Georg-von-Vollmar-Akademie, 3).

Two methodological questions are unavoidably posed by this scholarly presentation of the man who was briefly a prime minister of Bavaria in the immediate postwar years after 1918. Can one write a major biography about a minor figure? And is the biographical form adequate to capture the complexity of historical analysis?

The first may be answered largely in the affirmative. Resting on a broad archival base, while for the first time deploying Johannes Hoffmann's private papers, Diethard Hennig's account illuminates an important period of Germany's troubled past and brings to life a politician whose career was highly symptomatic if not altogether crucial. Not crucial, that is, insofar as Hoffmann was faced with intractable circumstances, after the assassination of Kurt Eisner in mid-February 1919, which he could scarcely hope to control and which inexorably crushed him. Attempting to stave off the extremes of both Left and Right, he contained neither and earned the wrath of each. It was an ominous precedent that clearly foreshadowed the fate of the entire Weimar Republic.

In exhaustive, often exhausting, detail Hennig relates this story well. His command of the relevant secondary literature is impressive, although he spends an inordinate amount of time in disputing with his fellow historians about dubious points of interpretation. The book contains a number of lapses: on occasion Hoffmann's name is variously spelled Hofmann or Hoffman; the Princeton University Press is mysteriously relocated in »Princetown N.Y.«; and several words are misprinted. But this is generally a competent and thorough study that rescues Johannes Hoffmann from unfair calumny (particularly that of the Bavarian Catholic historian Karl Schwend) and sets his reputation straight. Not that Hennig is filled with unmitigated admiration for his protagonist. Indeed, one may well criticize the author for harping unduly

on Hoffmann's faults and failures, given that the possibilities were so slender from the outset of his premiership to avert »the greatest political catastrophe of the period between 1918 and 1933, the bloody liquidation of the Munich Soviet Republic« (p. 2).

This observation recalls the second issue concerning the utility of the biographical mode. In some regards Hennig the biographer is constantly at odds with Hennig the historian, *zwei Seelen in einer Brust*. Perhaps it is well to distinguish clearly (as Hennig himself does not) among three phases of Hoffmann's life – before, during, and after the Bavarian revolution (November 1918 to May 1919) – and to evaluate them separately.

The first is for the biographer by far the most satisfactory. Hoffmann's early life is unexceptionably recounted and related to his later political career. He came from the Palatinate, not Bavaria proper; thus, as a Rhinelander in origin, his subsequent attachment to the Reich and his rejection of Bavarian separatism are perfectly comprehensible. Hennig shows convincingly that Hoffmann gravitated to Social Democracy neither through burning ideological conviction nor by way of commitment to the political party. Rather, his were the social concerns of a functionary and a former teacher. The school issue was in fact the most striking clue of things to come: Hoffmann proved to be a rabid anticlerical in a state dominated politically before 1918 (and after 1920) by Roman Catholicism. One of Hennig's important contributions is to demonstrate how Bavaria increasingly became the scene of a second major Kulturkampf and how this issue provided the mortar of Socialist unity before 1914. Armed conflict created profound fissures, however, and Hennig correctly locates the source of his tragic tale not after November 1918 but before, during the war years, when the Socialist Einheitsfront was already beginning to crumble.

The second phase is biographically the least successful. This deficiency is not entirely Hennig's doing, because the archival records of that time are infuriatingly incomplete. The spotlight fell suddenly on Kurt Eisner, a small Jewish Berlin journalist who at war's end improbably became the first citizen of Catholic Bavaria. Though a member of Eisner's cabinet, vice-premier, and minister of public education, Hoffmann could barely be heard in the din of revolution. Hennig is consequently forced to narrate a general chronicle of events, touching up the long familiar story here and there but not substantially revising it. Eisner sought some sort of compromise, or perhaps a third way, between parliamentary democracy and revolutionary councils (Räte). But Hennig concludes that »a unified and effective governance was not possible« (p. 105). Eisner, in other words, was undone by the lack of Socialist unity that had preceded his regime and for which he found no resolution. His death and Hoffmann's succession to the premiership changed nothing in that regard, and Hoffmann was thus doomed to repeat the same failure. Yet Hennig wavers in his interpretation, thrashing Hoffmann for refusing to negotiate with leftist radicals but repeatedly noting how foolhardy was their dogmatic stance, which precluded any real negotiations. Hoffmann emerges as rigid (or »rigorous« in Hennig's favorite epithet) and uncompromising, although it is never clear just what he could have altered to achieve a viable policy that had eluded Eisner. Hennig's analytic quandary is finally reflected in his own helpless rhetorical question about Hoffmann: »Saß er schließlich zwischen allen Stühlen?« (p. 182).

The final phase of Hoffmann's career began with the invasion of Munich by federal and freecorps troops in the first week of May 1919. Hoffmann was henceforth saddled with victory, obliged to assume direct responsibility for the brutal suppression of the Bavarian Räterepublik. By espousing the principles of parliamentarism and national unity, he condemned himself to the equal disdain of leftist intellectuals and of Bavarian patriots. Again Hennig hesitates, describing Hoffmann's policy in some respects as »incomprehensible« (p. 296), yet conceding that he was actually left with »no other choice« (p. 332). Which shall it be? Above all, one notices in this concluding section how much richer than before is the available documentation, which allows Hennig to pursue Hoffmann doggedly through his waning years as premier, local politician, and Reichstag deputy. The biographer once more outpoints

the historian, but in doing so he tends to narrow the perspective to a recitation of chronological events and personal foibles. The latter half of the book thereby becomes one long anticlimax.

All in all, nonetheless, the author capably acquits his task and fills a significant lacuna in the historiography of the revolution in Bavaria. Moreover, he takes his place among those scholars who have importantly contributed to our understanding of how Munich evolved from the seat of a conservative monarchy to the seedbed of Nazism.

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Jochen-Christoph KAISER, *Sozialer Protestantismus im 20. Jahrhundert. Beiträge zur Geschichte der Inneren Mission 1914–1945*, München (Oldenbourg) 1989, XI–506 p.

Methodologically, at least, the study of church history in Germany is becoming increasingly ecumenical. While traditional confessional-theological categories have by no means been abandoned – and in some respects may have become more sharply defined as a consequence of the Church Struggle – the best recent scholarship finds its point of departure in a multidisciplinary perspective that seeks to relate ecclesiastical developments to larger conceptual patterns of social and cultural history. As Jochen-Christoph Kaiser's book impressively attests, this new »kirchliche Zeitgeschichte« has much to commend it, not least as a strategy for explicating the often polymorphous phenomenon of modern German Protestantism.

Over the past decade Kaiser has made numerous contributions to the study of Protestant free associations (and, in the case of his first book, *Arbeiterbewegung und organisierte Religionskritik* [1981], their anticlerical counterparts). His emphasis on the associational dimension of religious life affords a valuable counterweight to conventional models that conceive of the church primarily in terms of clerical hierarchies, theological factions, and/or elective institutions. The force of Kaiser's revisionist formulation is evident throughout his study of the Inner Mission between 1914 and 1945. Kaiser offers a stimulating and wideranging analysis of »social Protestantism« as embodied in the largest and arguably most representative of all Protestant voluntary organizations, the consortium of social-welfare agencies established to promote religious renewal and a »ministry of the deed« in the rapidly industrializing society of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Kaiser is not concerned to provide a comprehensive history of the IM after 1914; rather, he uses three chronologically and thematically connected case studies to shed light on its evolving relationship both to the Protestant establishment and to state and society at large. Thus the first chapter outlines the role of the IM in debates over church reorganization during and after World War I, while the second, on IM participation in the Weimar-era *Liga der freien Wohlfahrtspflege*, concentrates on relations with public authorities as well as other private and confessional agencies in the context of the republican project to foster development of a fully articulated welfare state. Questions of private and public order converge in the final chapter, which explores in considerable detail the attempts of IM leaders to preserve an independent course during the Third Reich in the face of both the internecine theological conflicts of the Church Struggle and the threat of creeping *Gleichschaltung* by the Hitler state.

Kaiser's discussion is subtle, considered, and carefully documented; like many recent works on the period in question, it is a study in ambivalence and ambiguity. Though not stated explicitly, at least two broad themes can be detected running through the multiple strands of analysis. One is the dialectical interplay between IM activists' visions of greater Protestant unity and their equally strong determination to preserve their own institutional autonomy and freedom of action. Forced to choose, Kaiser makes clear, the IM always opted for independence, if need be at the expense of coherent ties with the official church, although unremitting Nazi pressure eventually forced some reassessment of options for greater »Verkirchlichung«.