

---

**Francia. Forschungen zur westeuropäischen Geschichte**  
Herausgegeben vom Deutschen Historischen Institut Paris  
(Institut historique allemand)  
Band 18/3 (1991)

DOI: 10.11588/fr.1991.3.57008

---

Rechtshinweis

Bitte beachten Sie, dass das Digitalisat urheberrechtlich geschützt ist. Erlaubt ist aber das Lesen, das Ausdrucken des Textes, das Herunterladen, das Speichern der Daten auf einem eigenen Datenträger soweit die vorgenannten Handlungen ausschließlich zu privaten und nicht-kommerziellen Zwecken erfolgen. Eine darüber hinausgehende unerlaubte Verwendung, Reproduktion oder Weitergabe einzelner Inhalte oder Bilder können sowohl zivil- als auch strafrechtlich verfolgt werden.

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.

Allan MITCHELL, San Diego, California

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«.

A second and closely related theme is the recurrent tension between »missionary« and »professional« norms for IM policy, a tension rooted in the dualism of the original IM agenda itself. This expressed itself at least obliquely in a succession of conflicting administrative paradigms within the IM leadership. It expressed itself more dramatically in the IM's ambivalent responses to the Weimar state, which promised expanded scope for practical welfare activity at the price of confessional »neutrality« and cultural pluralism, and ultimately to the Nazi state as well, which initially raised hopes for a restored *Volksgemeinschaft* but soon sought to eliminate every alternative cultural impulse, however sympathetically intended. Kaiser argues convincingly that IM policy during the Third Reich largely aimed at sidestepping confrontation, whether theological or political, in hopes of shielding as many traditional functions as possible from exploitation or elimination. The concomitant of this policy, to be sure, was often a structural inability to integrate theological principles and technical policies – a problem particularly evident in the eugenics debates of the 1930s, the extended discussion of which forms one of the most compelling sections of the book.

Kaiser's study provides a wealth of provocative insights. It offers a salutary challenge to church historians by showing that the customary categories of *Kirchenkampf* historiography do not suffice to explain the behavior of a significant segment of the Protestant community. (As Kaiser rightly suggests, the IM »dürfte ... in jenen noch aktiv oder wenigstens latent kirchlich disponierten Bevölkerungsgruppen stärker verankert gewesen sein als andere evangelische Verbände, ja vielleicht die [Amts-]Kirche selbst ...« [pp. 457–458].) More broadly, his analysis makes a major contribution to the currently fashionable »history of everyday life« by offering a nuanced portrayal of institutional dynamics in one of the major organizations mediating between private and public spheres of German Protestant society. This is, in short, a distinguished work of scholarship, one which no serious student of the interwar period can afford to ignore.

David J. DIEPHOUSE, Grand Rapids, Michigan

Bernd KRUPPA, *Rechtsradikalismus in Berlin 1918–1928*, Berlin, New York (Overall) 1988, 467 S.

Die vorliegende Arbeit, eine Berliner Dissertation, konzentriert sich auf die rechtsradikalen Aktivitäten in der Reichshauptstadt in der Zeit vor dem systematischen Aufbau der Berliner NSDAP unter Goebbels. Die kenntnisreiche und anschaulich geschriebene Studie trägt so zur Schließung einer empfindlichen Forschungslücke bei.

Basierend auf einer breiten Quellengrundlage – in erster Linie sind die ertragreichen Akten der Staatsanwaltschaft im Berliner Landesarchiv zu nennen –, entfaltet der Verfasser ein bedrückendes Panorama von politischer Verblendung und krimineller Gewaltbereitschaft. Als der Untersuchung zugrunde liegende Kriterien des Rechtsradikalismus dienen dem Autor antidemokratischer Autoritarismus, Nationalismus und Antisemitismus (S. 7f.), wobei er sich darüber hinausgehend auch an den psychologischen Studien Theweleits orientiert. Drei Organisationsformen des Rechtsradikalismus unterscheidet Kruppa: den (Geheim-)Bund, den Kampfverband und die politische Partei (S. 38f.). Während die parteipolitischen Erfolge – etwa der Deutschsozialen Partei Richard Kunzes oder der Deutschvölkischen Freiheitspartei – eher ephemere blieben, erscheinen das Streben nach einem gewaltsamen Umsturz und eine hohe Attentatsbereitschaft als der wichtigste gemeinsame Nenner der untersuchten Einzelphänomene. Es liegt in der Natur der Sache und der Quellenlage, daß der Autor nicht immer zu einer umfänglichen Erkenntnis dieser sich zumeist im Geheimen vorbereitenden Bewegungen vorzudringen vermag. Die vorgetragenen Einzelergebnisse unterstützen indes das herkömmliche Bild: Ihr hauptsächliches Potential besaßen die rechtsradikalen Organisationen in der