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nicht in Frage gestellt; Page macht jedoch zu Recht darauf aufmerksam, daß dieser ohne die Vorarbeit und die Mitarbeit Olbrichts wohl kaum zum Zuge gekommen wäre.

Das Bild vom zaudernden »Schreibtischgeneral« kann Page revidieren, indem sie sowohl den Führungsstil, die Leistungen und die Popularität des Divisionskommandeurs Olbricht im Polenfeldzug als auch seine Aktivitäten im Zusammenhang mit dem Umsturz vom Juli 1944 darlegt. Bereits bei dem ersten Attentatsversuch vom 15. Juli löste er, auf eigene Verantwortung, »Walküre« aus und konnte diese eingeleiteten Maßnahmen anschließend nur mit Mühe als Übung darstellen. Auch am 20. Juli handelte er energisch und konsequent, nachdem er eine Bestätigung über das erfolgte Attentat erhalten hatte. Trotz eines Telefonats mit Keitel, der Hitlers Tod in Abrede stellte, befahl er, mit der Aktion fortzufahren. Olbricht, so muß man nach den Darlegungen der Autorin folgern, war neben Stauffenberg die treibende Kraft im Bendlerblock am 20. Juli.

Die Mängel des Werkes liegen in seiner äußeren Form. So fehlt ein Quellen- und Literaturverzeichnis, wo auch die vielen Zeugenbefragungen zusammenfassend aufzuführen gewesen wären. Auch die uneinheitliche Zitierweise und die häufigen Trennstriche mitten im Text stören den Lesefluß. Der Wert dieser wissenschaftlichen Biographie eines in neuem Licht erscheinenden Vertreters des militärischen Widerstands wird dadurch beeinträchtigt.

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Joachim KUROPKA (Hg.), Clemens August Graf von Galen. Neue Forschungen zum Leben und Wirken des Bischofs von Münster, Münster (Regensburg) 1992, 439 p. – Joachim KUROPKA, unter Mitarbeit von Maria-Anna ZUMHOLZ, Clemens August Graf von Galen. Sein Leben und Wirken in Bildern und Dokumenten, Cloppenburg (Günter Runge) 1992, 279 p.

Both of these books grew out of a project marking the fiftieth anniversary of Clemens August von Galen's public condemnation of the Nazi euthanasia program in his famous sermons of July-August 1941. The documentary volume is the catalog for an exhibition on Galen's life and times that toured Münster and other cities in his former diocese. It conveys something of the flavor of Galen's cultural universe, the world of the Westphalian Catholic nobility, and marks the various way stations of his priesthood, from the streets of imperial Berlin to the Münster bishop's palace during the Third Reich – a career unusual in some respects and in the end truncated by Galen's unexpected death, at age 68, just days after his elevation to the cardinalcy in early 1946. The larger volume brings together background papers by the team of researchers, directed by KUROPKA, who worked to organize the exhibition. Taken together, the two books provide an interesting tour of the borderlands between professional scholarship and »public history«, illustrating both possibilities and problems entailed in the conjunction of the two genres.

Galen's moral courage stands uncontested in Kirchenkampf historiography; his Münster sermons rank with the well-known protest letters of Württemberg's Protestant Bishop Theophil Wurm as the salient acts of official church opposition in wartime Germany. Recent scholars, however, have tempered praise for Galen the icon of resistance with a more critical reading of his social and political attitudes, calling attention to authoritarian tendencies in his churchmanship and his deeply felt antipathy to democratic pluralism. Against this background, the present project is clearly counter-revisionist in intent. For the most part it seems designed to portray Galen as less an authoritarian prince of the church than a committed pastor of souls, less an opponent of democracy than a prescient defender of religious freedom and human rights. The collection as a whole is remarkably cohesive compared to many others of its type. To be sure, its thirteen essays by twelve contributors vary in focus, method, and interpretation (and occasionally on matters of fact as well, for example the year in which Galen

joined the editorial board of *Germania*; see pp. 52, 61, 66). They also differ to some extent on the primary audience – professional or public, clerical or lay – they seem intended to address.

With a few exceptions (e.g. Christoph ARENS on contemporary recollections of the 1941 sermons and to a lesser extent Bernd KOOPMEINERS on the treatment of Galen in religion curricula), individual contributions appear to fall into one of two broad categories. Many of the essays focus on specific aspects of Galen's career and attempt either explicitly or implicitly to underscore the image of Galen as a consistent and principled opponent of the Third Reich. This emphasis is most evident in the two essays by general editor KUROPKA (on Galen's political stance between 1929 and 1934 and on the general question of resistance) as well as in Maria Anna ZUMHOLZ's analysis of Galen's role in the German episcopacy after 1933. Other essays in the same general category deal with Galen's youth (ZUMHOLZ) and early service in Berlin (Barbara IMBUSCH), the Oldenburg school controversies of the 1930s (Rudolf WILLENBORG), and Galen's activities after 1945 (Susanne LESCHINSKI).

A second group of contributions comprises critical analyses that seek to illuminate Galen's theological orientation and place him in a larger historical and cultural context. Wilhelm DAMBERG, for example, relates Galen's diocesan administration to changing patterns of pastoral planning in the twentieth century church, while Joachim MAIER, in a particularly balanced and insightful analysis, sketches the contours of Galen's operative pastoral theology as revealed in his public statements. Maier's conclusions regarding the inherent limitations in Galen's articulation of natural rights parallel the findings of Werner TEUBER and Gertrud SEELHORST in their study of his ambivalent stance toward Jews, Judaism, and the Holocaust. In arguably the most stimulating piece in the collection, Klemens-August RECKER uses a comparative study of Galen and his Oldenburg neighbor, Bishop Wilhelm Berning, to explore what Recker describes as the dialectical relationship between the counter-Enlightenment project of the Catholic hierarchy and that of National Socialism. Both bishops, Recker shows, were steeped in historic Catholic traditions of »cura religionis«, but whereas Berning took his point of departure from the medieval doctrine of the »two swords«, which led him to view Nazi authoritarianism as potentially restorative and hence amenable to »critical cooperation« on the part of the church, Galen drew primarily upon corporatist natural-law elements of the tradition that rendered him skeptical of any form of »state absolutism«, be it Wilhelmian, republican, or National Socialist. Absent from both perspectives was any reference point that would have enabled either bishop to recognize, let alone embrace, the possibilities of a liberal democratic social order.

RECKER's analysis is doubly useful. On the one hand it contextualizes both Galen's resistance role and his hostility to democratic pluralism; on the other it suggests fruitful linkages between theological analysis and broader discussions of German political culture. In the process it also points up a perhaps inescapable tension between the two foci of the project under review. It deals in depth with the often elusive issue of cultural pedigree, while repeatedly calling attention to ambiguities in Galen's antimodernist position (in rejecting National Socialism, as Recker points out, Galen and his fellow bishops ultimately left themselves with no other option than the democratic pluralism they had always anathematized), and subtleties of this sort do not readily lend themselves to the broad-brush images and heroic discourses out of which the typical public-history narrative tends to be constructed.

The ironies and ambiguities in Galen's position deserve further exploration – perhaps in the comprehensive biography that, as KUROPKA notes (p. 9), still remains to be written. Whoever undertakes such a project will doubtless find much of value in the documents and »preliminary studies« assembled here.

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