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à la fin des années soixante. Même le Sozialistische Hochschulbund, né quelques années plus tôt par réaction contre les sympathies proorientales jugées excessives du SDS, évolue. Dans le même temps, les étudiants de RDA placent des espoirs dans W. Brandt.

L'étude de ces étapes successives de la politique ouest-allemande du SED permet à l'auteur de mettre à jour méthodes et objectifs de l'Est, ainsi que les réactions occidentales telles qu'elles sont calculées ou perçues. De rapport de fonctionnaire en compte rendu du Comité central, Staadt révèle l'arrière-plan, il dépeint ce qui n'était, jusqu'à présent, qu'esquissé. Au-delà de l'important apport événementiel, tout un système se trouve ainsi décrypté, son fonctionnement, ses objectifs, ses arrière-pensées et ses faiblesses mis à nu de manière d'autant plus crédible que l'auteur ne cède que rarement (et surtout au début de l'ouvrage) aux sirènes de la passion.

Après l'intérêt qu'a éveillé l'étude plutôt minutieuse que présentent les neuf premiers chapitres, l'évocation des années 70 dans les dix pages du chapitre 10 laisse toutefois le regret qu'un tel travail se termine entre trop et trop peu. En outre, une conclusion eut probablement été préférable à une »Schlußbemerkung« en final de cuivres.

Dans les trois volets qui composent le chapitre 7, et qui occupent une place à part, la corrélation entre le secret jalousement gardé sur les difficultés économiques de la RDA et l'approche très politique de l'opération »vérité sur la RDA« à Lubeck et à Hambourg est certes logique, mais elle ne ressort guère de la présentation. De même aurait-on ponctuellement souhaité de plus amples précisions, par exemple sur les négociations entre le Sénat de Berlin et la RDA qui sont à l'origine du »Passierscheinabkommen«.

Il n'en reste pas moins que ce livre constitue un apport important à l'étude des relations et de la politique des deux Allemagnes dans les années soixante.

Jean-Paul CAHN, Mulhouse

Günther HEYDEMANN, Lothar KETTENACKER (Hg.), *Kirchen in der Diktatur. Drittes Reich und SED-Staat, Fünfzehn Beiträge*, Göttingen (Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht) 1993, 370 p.

If the historicization of the former GDR encourages comparisons between the east German dictatorship and its Nazi predecessor, it also underscores the unique role of the churches as the only major societal institutions to have maintained a more or less independent presence under both regimes. This volume is therefore both timely and important. The outgrowth of a symposium held at Erfurt's historic Augustinian monastery in late 1992, it provides a welcome introduction to what is likely to become a fertile topic of research and debate in years to come.

The book opens, appropriately enough, with a general essay (by former Bavarian Education Minister Hans MAIER) on the churches and the »totalitarian challenge« – appropriate, since the concept of totalitarianism constitutes both the point of departure for the symposium as a whole and an implicit frame of reference for many of the individual contributions. If the collapse of the Soviet empire has helped rehabilitate totalitarianism as an interpretive construct, MAIER's thoughtful and wide-ranging reflections suggest that this construct, freed from past bondage to Cold War polemics, can in fact be deployed flexibly, judiciously, and to considerable analytical advantage. Flexibility and judiciousness are indeed hallmarks of the entire volume. The editors take pains to avoid equating comparison with equivalence: Honecker's Berlin is clearly not the Berlin of Hitler. They are equally concerned to avoid forcing contributors into a single procrustean interpretive bed. This commitment to pluralism results not so much in a clash of irreconcilable views as in the contrapuntal interplay of multiple disciplinary, confessional, and social/political voices, a counterpoint further enriched by the subtle tonal differences that mark the contributions of participants from east and west of the old German-German frontier (with the exception of American political scientist Robert GOECKEL, the list of contributors is solidly German).

Space does not permit a detailed summary of individual contributions. The editors have grouped essays under three broad and often overlapping headings: church-state relations, tensions between ideology and theology, and the church's role in society. Five essays deal primarily with the Third Reich, six with the GDR, while several of the most interesting (Ulrich KÜHN on theological views of Obrigkeit, Axel NOACK on militarism and pacificism, Martin ONNASCH on church life in the Mansfeld region) deal with both. If the two regimes therefore receive more or less equal attention, the character of the respective contributions is inevitably somewhat different, a function of the unequal state of current scholarship on each period. Thus essays dealing with the Third Reich tend toward synthesis, presenting analyses based upon the vast existing literature on the Church Struggle and related issues. Included in this category would be the contributions of editor Lothar KETTENACKER (on Hitler's view of the churches), Kurt NOWACK (on the churches' view of National Socialism), Günther van NORDEN (on the tradition of national Protestantism), Heinz HÜRTEIN (on the Catholic episcopacy and the Third Reich), and to a certain extent Thomas BREUER (on grassroots opposition to the Nazi state). Essays dealing with the GDR, by contrast, tend to be more monographic in character, offering reflections based on pioneering research, personal experience, or both. Examples would include the contributions of Joachim HEISE (on GDR church policies), Heino FALCKE (on the concept »church in socialism«), and Olof KLOHR (on atheism in GDR ideology), as well as Gerhard BESIER's revealing case study of the shift from confrontation to cooperation in Thuringian church politics after 1958; Robert GOECKEL's review of church-state relations in the GDR and the overview of oppositional group formation by Edelbert RICHTER occupy something of a middle ground. The contrasting confessional landscapes of the two German dictatorships result in another notable, if unavoidable, asymmetry. The relative insignificance of the Catholic Church in eastern Germany obviously militates against any systematic confessional comparison extending across both regimes. As a result, and notwithstanding several valuable discussions of Catholicism in the Third Reich, the »churches« of the book's title prove for the most part to be the larger Protestant Landeskirchen. The smaller free churches and sects receive scant attention.

This book is a model of its kind. Like many symposium volumes, of course, it is suggestive rather than definitive; the parts, which are very good indeed, may well be greater than the whole. The editors advance a number of sensible and suitably modest preliminary conclusions. They find, for example, that both the Third Reich and the GDR ultimately aimed at the »complete elimination of Christianity and the churches« (p. 27) but in practice, for various reasons, proved incapable of pursuing consistent or even coherent church policies. They also underscore the importance of differentiating between church leadership, with its often ambivalent, risk-averse policies, and the »real existierendes Christentum« of clergy and laity in the parishes, where the pitched battles of the latter-day Kulturkämpfe were most likely to be fought – an insight familiar from past work on the Nazi era and one that seems likely to prove useful in future studies of religious culture in the GDR.

A word of commendation may be in order for London's German Historical Institute, under whose aegis the Erfurt symposium took place. Through conferences and publications of this sort, the GHI and its sister institutes have done a great deal in recent years to promote scholarly interchange on a wide range of important topics. The book is a fitting monument to these efforts.

David J. DIEPHOUSE, Grand Rapids, Michigan

Uwe ANDERSEN, Wichard WOYKE (Hg.), Handwörterbuch des politischen Systems der Bundesrepublik Deutschland, Opladen (Leske & Budrich) 1993, 699 S.

Handwörterbücher zum politischen System eines westlichen Industriestaates, die versuchen, auf aktuelle Entwicklungen einzugehen, können keine große Lebensdauer bean-