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42. This historicization defines Nawyn's research interest and partially phenomenological approach in her regional case study "Striking at the Roots," esp. 28.
43. See Rupieper, *Die Wurzeln der westdeutschen Nachkriegsdemokratie*; Rupieper, "Die amerikanische Demokratisierung"; on France, see Vaillant, "Frankreichs Beitrag zur Demokratisierung"; Bauerkämper et al., *Demokratievunder*.
44. Krauss, *Heimkehr in ein fremdes Land*.
45. See Rupieper, *Die Wurzeln der westdeutschen Nachkriegsdemokratie*. On "cultural" re-education, see Monod, *Settling Scores*; Pape, *Kultureller Neubeginn*; Gienow-Hecht, *Transmission Impossible*; Füssl, *Die Umerziehung der Deutschen*; see also Tent, *Mission on the Rhine*. For other aspects of cultural policy under occupation, see Bausch, *Die Kulturpolitik der US-Amerikanischen Information Control Division*; Hartenian, *Controlling Information*; W. Lange, *Theater in Deutschland*; B. Hahn, *Umerziehung durch Dokumentarfilm?*
46. For conceptualization, see "American Impact on Western Europe."
47. As rightly emphasized in Nawyn, "Striking at the Roots," 15–16.
48. Moeller, "War Stories"; Moeller, *War Stories*.
49. See esp. Echternkamp, "Wut auf die Wehrmacht?"; Echternkamp, "Mit dem Krieg seinen Frieden schließen"; Echternkamp, "Kameradenpost bricht auch nie ab . . ."; Echternkamp, *Kriegsschauplatz Deutschland 1945*.
50. See Frei, *Adenauer's Germany and the Nazi Past*, xii. "Rather, a 'policy for the past' signifies a political dynamic that extended over half a decade and was characterized by a high degree of societal acceptance—indeed of collective *expectation*." Frei reads the matter of fact nature of amnesty and reintegration as a means of using historical policy to legitimize the young democracy.
51. Halbwachs, *Das kollektive Gedächtnis*, 14–15. For the following, see also Jureit and Schneider, *Gefühlte Opfer*, 54–73; Erll, *Kollektives Gedächtnis*, 14–15; Halbwachs, *Das Gedächtnis und seine sozialen Bedingungen*.
52. J. Assmann, *Cultural Memory and Early Civilization*, 37.
53. On CRC 434 at Giessen (1997–2008) and its interdisciplinary investigation of cultural memory processes from antiquity to the twenty-first century, see as a summary Erll, *Kollektives Gedächtnis*, 34, Marcus Sandl quote. See also the forty-volume Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht series *Formen der Erinnerung*; Cornelißen, "Was heißt Erinnerungskultur?" On military self-representation, see Epkenhans et al., *Militärische Erinnerungskultur*; Carl and Planert, *Militärische Erinnerungskulturen*.
54. According to Erll, *Kollektives Gedächtnis*, 34–35.
55. Reichel, *Politik mit der Erinnerung*; Wolfrum, *Geschichtspolitik*; Margalit and Smith, *Amnestie oder die Politik der Erinnerung*; A. Assmann, *Shadows of Trauma*; Jarausch and Sabrow, *Verletztes Gedächtnis*.
56. Wolfrum, *Geschichte als Waffe*.
57. See A. Assmann, *Cultural Memory and Western Civilization*; cf. critique in Jureit and Schneider, *Gefühlte Opfer*, 70–71; Stephan, *Erinnerungen*.
58. Buschmann and Carl, "Vorwort"; Buschmann and Carl, "Zugänge zur Erfahrungsgeschichte."
59. See Koselleck, "'Space of Experience' and 'Horizon of Expectation.'"
60. Erll, *Kollektives Gedächtnis*, 110. CRC 437 at the University of Tübingen "Kriegserfahrungen: Krieg und Gesellschaft in der Neuzeit" (1999–2008) made an approach based in historical experience particularly effective for a modern military history by focusing on the interpretive appropriation of the war's reality, as well as the development of war experience and its effects on the postwar period. Korff, "Kriegserfahrungen."
61. Erll, *Kollektives Gedächtnis*, 110.
62. Jureit and Schneider, *Gefühlte Opfer*, 78. For more detail, see Jureit, *Generationsforschung*, 40–52, 78–85.

63. Erll, *Kollektives Gedächtnis*, 4. As Erll rightly stresses, this is surely a basic explanation for the memory boom since the 1990s. See also Erll et al., *Cultural Memory Studies*.

64. Chartier, "Die Welt als Repräsentation," 326, 337.

65. See Chartier, "Kulturgeschichte zwischen Repräsentationen und Praktiken."

66. Chartier, "Die Welt als Repräsentation," 331.

67. This notion underpins the interdisciplinary CRC 640 "Repräsentationsformen des Anderen: Migranten in Westeuropa und den USA im 20. Jahrhundert" at the Humboldt University of Berlin (HU Berlin), which takes aim at a comparative study of European and non-European cultures and their ties. At the CRC, representations are "understood as publicly negotiated or enforced, socially consensual or controversial ideas and images that claim to represent past, present, or future social realities and are contained within the one as in the other. From this perspective, representations are not mere reflections of social orders, but are also models for reality; the effect of representations on social orders are of particular interest." Metzler et al., "Repräsentationsformen des Anderen." The original project website from which the quote is taken is no longer active. See Baberowski et al., *Selbstbilder und Fremdbilder*; Baberowski, "Was sind Repräsentationen sozialer Ordnungen?"

68. There is also the issue that the term is used in political and historical studies, as well as in epistemological discussions and philosophies of culture—hence its multilayered character. Taken from the French (Chartier, Ricœur), the term, when understood from a historiographical point of view, holds the appeal of an ambiguity that connects the past to the present via the aspect of transmission. The French *représentation* can be translated as "making present," but also as "representation," and as such is connected to *représentance* (political representation, or representative). In German, the French term is usually not translated for a variety of usages because of its multiple connotations but rather reproduced with *Repräsentation*. See, e.g., Ricœur, *Geschichtsschreibung und Repräsentation*.

69. For Germany, see François and Schulze, *Deutsche Erinnerungsorte*. A first exception is the large-scale Polish-German project of the Centre for Historical Research in Berlin of the Polish Academy of Science "German-Polish Places of Remembrance." The project applies a transnational approach to the concept of *lieux de mémoire*, among other things, by presenting different interpretive contexts for the same place of remembrance, or two functionally equivalent places of remembrance. See H. Hahn and Traba, *Deutsch-polnische Erinnerungsorte*; H. Hahn and Traba, *20 Deutsch-polnische Erinnerungsorte*; Cornelißen et al., *Erinnerungskulturen*; François and Puschner, *Erinnerungstage*.

70. See Nora, *Realms of Memory*; Nora, "Das Abenteuer der Lieux de mémoire"; Erll et al., *Memory in Culture*, 22–27.

71. In "Nation und Weltgesellschaft," Ulrich Bielefeld recalls the subprocesses: legally, the formation of the transnational and international legal system (the founding of the United Nations 1945–1948, international law); financially, the restructuring of the international monetary system at the Bretton Woods Conference in 1944, with the US dollar as the chief currency; economically, the founding of the European Coal and Steel Community in 1951; in security policy, with the conclusion of the North Atlantic Treaty in 1948–1949, and plans for the European Defence Community (EDC) in 1952.

72. Cf. esp. Niethammer, *Kollektive Identität*, 314–66; Niethammer, "Gedächtnis und Geschichte." Straub also warns against prematurely applying a concept of personal identity to a collective. Straub, "Personale und kollektive Identität."

73. For the following, see the critique in Jureit and Schneider, *Gefühlte Opfer*, 74–76.

74. Jureit was responsible for redesigning the "Wehrmacht Exhibition."

75. A panel discussion at the German Historical Institute Paris (GHIP) on 7 May 2010 provided an illuminating view on the current state of the debate and the concept's reception in Germany. As a part of the event series "Les mots de l'Histoire. Historiens allemands et français à leur concepts et à leurs outils" organized by the GHIP and the Centre de recherche interdisciplinaire sur l'Allemagne at EHESS, Roger Chartier (Collège de France) and Hartmut Kaelble

(HU Berlin) presented on the topic “Vorstellung / Représentations.” Commentator: Pierre Monnet (EHESS). I am grateful to Stefan Martens (GHIP) for the referral and the invitation.

76. See the journal *Representations*, published by the University of California Press.

77. Chartier, “Die Welt als Repräsentation,” 344.

78. Tschopp and Weber, *Grundfragen der Kulturgeschichte*, 14.

79. Jürgen Habermas’s eponymous 1962 study, which presents an idealized form of the public sphere in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, would be interesting more as a part of debate at the time than as a model. Habermas, *Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*.

80. Western democracies find themselves on the path toward an informational society in which politics and politicians (must) also renegotiate their relationship to the media. In this context, the medialization of politics (e.g., the “Americanization” of elections) means symbolic politics has taken an increasingly, critics would argue, overly important position. In a media democracy, intermediary authorities such as political parties and parliaments recede into the background, leading to the current debate about the causes and possible effects of a renewed structural transformation of the public sphere, especially within political scientists’ theoretical reflections on democracy. Politics requires legitimation through communication. Without publicly effective representation, politics is not possible in democracy. See Beierwaltes, *Demokratie und Medien*.

81. For the history of the term, see Gallus and Lütke, *Öffentliche Meinung und Demoskopie*, 10–49; Gallus, “Medien, öffentliche Meinung und Demoskopie”; Kleinstauber, “Öffentliche Meinung.”

82. See Hodenberg, *Konsens und Krise*, 17, also for more literature references.

83. See the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (German Research Foundation) interdisciplinary project “MilMed,” based in Braunschweig, Freiburg, and Ilmenau: Daniel, “Kooperation, Kritik und Konkurrenz” (2009–2012); see also Daniel, *Augenzeugen*.

84. See Köhler, *Wir Schreibmaschinentäter*.

85. Schmidtchen and Noelle-Neumann, “Die Bedeutung repräsentativer Bevölkerungsumfragen,” 171.

86. For a systematic overview and references to the differentiated literature that has emerged since Mannheim’s groundbreaking study, see Jureit, *Generationsforschung*. The importance of successive generations for the West German public sphere is emphasized in Hodenberg, *Konsens und Krise*.

87. Frevert, “Neue Politikgeschichte”; Frevert and Haupt, *Neue Politikgeschichte*; Landwehr, “Diskurs—Macht—Wissen”; C. Lipp, “Politische Kulture”; Mergel, “Überlegungen zu einer Kulturgeschichte,” 574–606; Mergel, “Kulturwissenschaft der Politik”; Stolberg-Rilinger, *Was heißt Kulturgeschichte des Politischen?* Cf. Nicklas, “Macht—Politik—Diskurs.”

88. See Haupt, “Historische Politikforschung”; and the critique in Metzler, review of Frevert and Haupt, *Neue Politikgeschichte*. For the research concept for CRC 584 at Bielefeld University from 2001, see Haupt, “Das Politische als Kommunikationsraum.”

89. For a critique of “culturalism” see Kaschuba, “Kulturalismus,” 80–95; Maurer, “Alte Kulturgeschichte—Neue Kulturgeschichte?”; see also Echternkamp, “Militärgeschichte”; Echternkamp, “Wandel durch Annäherung.”

90. I.e., it is not about the history of the institution, e.g., as an “organization”; for the research program for CRC 537 at the Technical University of Dresden, see Melville, “Institutionalität und Historizität.”

91. See “Gender and the Long Postwar.”

92. For a German–German comparison see Frei, “NS-Vergangenheit unter Ulbricht und Adenauer”; Danyel, “Die beiden deutschen Staaten”; see also Herf, *Divided Memory*; Biess, *Homecomings*.

93. See Crivellari et al., “Die Medialität der Geschichte,” 19. For the construction of media reality and constructivism in communications research, see also Bentele, *Theorien öffentlicher Kommunikation*.

94. This primacy of language reflects an effort to resolve ambivalence in rational narratives, and applies in particular to histories of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. On the other hand, visual documentation plays a greater role in histories of the Middle Ages and the early modern period given the available sources. The fundamental politicization that occurred in the nineteenth century, the mass dissemination of images allowed by their technical reproduction, and finally, the connection between politics and the mass media in the twentieth century have all led to images' primarily being viewed as a source for political messaging. Wartime propaganda from 1914 to 1918 and, to a greater extent, from 1939 to 1945 led to an inflation of the image that no longer had anything to do with the singularity of an artistic work per se. Images' increasing relevance did not at first lead at the same time to a consideration of their value as historical sources, neither in the French Annales school nor in the German historical social sciences. Whatever role the rationalist postulate of academic inquiry may have played, the historical importance of the visual element, the influence of the imaginary on social praxis, and the mass media's fundamental importance to modern society cannot be grasped with an "iconophobic" attitude. The linguistic turn has only strengthened the hegemony of the verbal, even if a sense of the persistence of the metaphorical element in (rational) historical research of the nineteenth century provided a crucial point of departure for Hayden White. The linguistic turn centered on the insight that the past is always (linguistically) communicated and thus cannot be directly made into a subject or structured as such. What is past is not reflected in sources: the sources construct what is past. The practical consequence for research was an analysis of the rhetorical means by which this occurs, and a more intensive look at narrative structures, key terms, and metaphors.

95. See Roeck, "Visual turn?"

96. See Mitchell, "What Is an Image?"

97. See Niethammer's groundbreaking work, esp. Niethammer, "Heimat und Front"; see also Schröder, "Die Vergegenwärtigung des Zweiten Weltkrieges"; Schröder, *Die gestohlenen Jahre*; Rosenthal, "Vom Krieg erzählen"; Rosenthal, "Als der Krieg kam, hatte ich mit Hitler nichts mehr zu tun"; Lehmann, *Im Fremden ungewollt zuhause*; Lehmann, *Gefangenschaft und Heimkehr*.

98. See Moeller, *War Stories*, 174; Domansky, "A Lost War"; Geyer, "Place of the Second World War."