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Imagining a Greater Germany: Republican Nationalism and the Idea of Anschluss.

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refugees in the twentieth century. By using McDonald as focal point, Burgess reveals how the United States functioned as a “shadow member” of the League, a topic that requires further study. If any criticism can be made of the work, it is that McDonald himself remains something of a cypher; but given the nature of the subject, this may have been unavoidable. Nevertheless, Burgess has produced a valuable and highly recommended study.

Sean Brennan, *University of Scranton*

Imagining a Greater Germany: Republican Nationalism and the Idea of Anschluss. By Erin R. Hochman. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2016. Pp. xii + 273. Cloth \$49.95. ISBN 978-1501704444.

German nationalism and the Anschluss have not wanted for scholarly attention since 1945. During the initial postwar decades, historians concerned themselves with diplomats and other elite-level actors, and examined conservative and radical right-wing positions. Subsequent researchers, whose work integrated the methods of social and cultural history, expanded our understanding, but invariably concentrated on developments exclusively within either Germany or Austria. Erin Hochman’s book breaks new ground with its focus on republican commitment to the *großdeutsche* cause within both states: “republican appeals to a transborder German national community,” she argues, “must be taken seriously in order to grasp the complicated blend of republican, ethnic, cultural, and internationalist ideas that lay at the heart of their nationalism” (13). Hochman draws on an impressive range of German and Austrian archival sources to support this assertion, and brings fresh perspective to published documents that historians have consulted previously.

The book comprises six thematic chapters, and each treats German and Austrian developments. At heart, Hochman explains, Republicans sought to popularize democracy by asserting a version of inclusive nationalism that countered the racist, violent, and exclusionary *alldeutsche* convictions prevalent on the political Right (3). They did so through newspaper and journal articles intended for popular consumption, attempts to create republican symbols around which citizens could rally, and by staging holidays and commemorative moments that brought participants in republican organizations and the broader public together. While she reminds us that republican, *großdeutscher* nationalism—rooted in the traditions of anti-Napoleonic resistance, mid-nineteenth-century revolutionary sentiment, and republican enthusiasm in November 1918—was not without its own chauvinistic elements (4, 23), its proponents asserted overwhelmingly that Jews and other minorities whom the Right considered “alien” should be considered members of the German community. Moreover, unlike the Right’s tendency to imagine that Anschluss would be accomplished

through aggressive revanchism, Republicans understood the union of German and Austria as the fulfillment of self-determination and as a meaningful guarantee of peace after World War I.

Hochman examines republican sentiment through a series of frames that she juxtaposes with right-wing positions. Her first chapter examines concepts of nationhood and democracy, and rhetorical strategies associated with them. Here she concentrates on elites—primarily politicians, journalists, and legal experts who represented republican nationalism as spokespeople and as active members of the Österreichisch-Deutschen Volksbund, including Wilhelm Marx, Paul Löbe, Karl Renner, and Julius Deutsch. Her chapter on the importance of the black-red-gold flag versus the imperial colors in Germany and the struggle over lyrics for the new Austrian anthem links debates on nationhood with symbols that republican nationalists invested with significance. One example: Republicans in Germany asserted that the new flag had its historical roots in the 1848 revolution, the very first pan-German movement. Austrian Republicans—for the most part those in the Social Democratic Workers' Party (SDAPÖ) camp—flew the black-red-gold flag at their own events, alongside the party banner. At virtually every turn, Republicans in both states countered assertions that they were antinational and were un-German with the argument that they were in fact *better* Germans. They had consistently placed the national interest ahead of narrow, selfish dynastic considerations (21–22).

While mindful of elite influences, Hochman is attentive to ordinary citizens' roles in investing symbols with meaning. Certainly, popular attitudes can be more challenging to determine, but she employs police observations of mass gatherings and newspaper reports to effectively demonstrate examples of consistent popular engagement on behalf of republican principles. One unique example is the case of the Viennese schoolteacher Louise Pibus, who collected almost 350 signatures in an ultimately abortive attempt to call the attention of federal parliamentary deputies to the anthem debate (74–77). More consistent evidence of popular enthusiasm for republican celebrations emerges in Hochman's investigation into visits to Germany made by Schutzbund representatives and Reichsbanner participation at Austrian festivities. Police reports and newspaper coverage indicate significant mass participation in these events. Moods were celebratory, and ordinary Schutzbund and Reichsbanner members—not just high profile leaders—received enthusiastic reception.

One of the many strengths of the book is Hochman's attentiveness to the differences in building a republican consensus in each state. Most important among them is the fact that the SDAPÖ position championed workers as the Volk, and the Volk as the nation, which effectively dismissed Catholic and bourgeois opponents as outsiders and class enemies. This rested on what she identifies as almost exclusively SDAPÖ-partisan republican Anschluss sentiment in Austria, as compared to a more diverse base of support for republicanism in Germany. On the one hand, the fact

that Austrian Social Democrats' condemnation of political Catholicism "created problems for the Center members of the Reichsbanner" (160), the SPD-SDAPÖ bond remained firm in the face of Center leaders' protests. On the other hand, insofar as SPD members were themselves inclined to see social democratic and republican nationalist principles as inextricably linked, the "inconvenient truth" uttered by their Austrian comrades posed a public relations challenge for leaders who sought to prevent dissolution of the ostensibly nonpartisan Reichsbanner. Although Center Party leaders threatened to dissociate from the Reichsbanner—Wilhelm Marx did resign from the republican veterans' association, for example—Hochman notes that rank-and-file Catholic members largely remained committed (161). The Reichsbanner held together as a heterogeneous, but SPD-dominated organization until the Brüning government oriented the Center toward an increasingly authoritarian form of democracy during 1930–1932.

Erin Hochman's book should be applauded as a valuable study of republican nationalism and Anschluss sentiment during the interwar years. It should inspire further research into how Republicans staged and experienced German identity, how they came to terms with fascism in Germany and Austria during the 1930s, and how Germans and Austrians reestablished links to prefascist republicanism after 1945.

Matthew P. Berg, *John Carroll University*

"Die Belange der Volksgemeinschaft erfordern . . ." Rechtspraxis und Selbstverständnis von Bremer Juristen im "Dritten Reich." By Christine Schoenmakers. Paderborn: Schöningh, 2015. Pp. 498. Cloth €69.00. ISBN 978-3506781352.

This book is a local case study of the politicization of the legal profession during the Nazi era. Drawing on case files, reports in the local and regional press, personnel files, contemporary legal commentary, and her interviews conducted with the children and grandchildren of some of her subjects, Schoenmakers sets out to examine criminal trials and the jurists who participated in them: a group of around one hundred Bremen judges, prosecutors, and attorneys, but with a particular emphasis on a handful of individuals, especially Emil Warneken, the de facto chair of Bremen's "Special Court" (*Sondergericht*). The Special Court's proceedings usually had political implications, e.g., prosecutions of foreign workers or of German citizens who made indiscreet remarks about Hitler, listened to forbidden "enemy radio," and so on.

Although the book is overlong and somewhat lacking in focus, especially when it comes to summarizing her agenda (42–44), two recurring themes stand out. One is more implicit than clearly stated. Schoenmakers seeks to show that these judges, prosecutors, and defense attorneys often acted unjustly, and that they did so willingly