

Kumtor gold mine, for example. Lastly, David Montgomery investigates how Islam acts as a moral impetus for democratic and civil engagement. The state's inability to understand the religious motivation for communal involvement in certain areas the state reserves as their own purview means that they misjudge Islamic groups as oppositional agents to state power whereas in reality it is purely a new form of civil engagement.

This volume was extremely successful in achieving its goal of presenting a multi-faceted approach to Kyrgyzstan. However, its incorporation of overly complex theoretical premises, predominantly borrowed from anthropology, and analyses at times was both exhausting and distracting. This emphasis detracted from the honest, practical examinations and revelations that will attract most readers to the book and prove to be the greatest contribution this scholarship offers. Furthermore, given that most of the works were sheer examinations with no testable hypothesis, the subject matter may be slightly skewed by the subjective, conjectural lens of the authors. At other times, various authors seem torn between pragmatism and theory within their own debates such as in Ch. 10. Additionally, some common pitfalls committed by even the most grizzled Central Asia observers, such as lauding individual successes within minute case studies such as Kyrgyzstani textile workers' impact on global fashion in Ch. 7, are prevalent. Some of the work does successfully argue against predominant tropes and largely held public perceptions; yet the general analysis should be more vigilant in recognizing that these results may still fall within the minority when compared to the overall state of Kyrgyzstani society, economy, and politics. While containing a sense of optimism in regards to understanding, some of the chapters would fair better in tempering their conclusions with the idea that these are the exceptions rather than the rule.

Overall, this edited volume presents well-organized and mutually supporting chapters that flow succinctly and elucidate upon each other's work while providing engaging topical discussion relevant to followers of Kyrgyzstan. It does surprisingly well in challenging preconceived notions not only held by outside observers but also those held by Kyrgyzstanis. By doing so, the book not only contributes to one's understanding of the country but also motivates one in rethinking established approaches to aspects of society, politics, and identity within Kyrgyzstan. From this aspect, it will prove to be an invaluable resource for Central Asia followers and enthusiasts, as well as a great tool for academics and researchers in the field for years to come.

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Frank Trommler: **Kulturmacht ohne Kompass. Deutsche auswärtige Kulturbeziehungen im 20. Jahrhundert.** Köln: Böhlau, 2014. 732 pages. ISBN 978-3-412-21119-6

“The drama of the rise and fall of cultural diplomacy on the background of the national expansion” – those are the words which Trommler, professor emeritus at University of

Pennsylvania in Philadelphia, uses to introduce his extensive book on Germany as a “cultural power.” The author’s main thesis says that the political use of the cultural power should have enabled Germany to successfully weather the storms of the twentieth century. Instead, the cultural mobilization swayed off course and led to “national excesses,” which harmed both other nations and Germans themselves. In his monograph, Frank Trommler tries to capture the period in which the German Empire presented itself to the audiences both at home and abroad as a cultural power, and also the later efforts of the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic to bear the burden of the past and to establish a new German cultural presence in the world. The keywords used throughout the text are “culture” and “power,” “dynamics” and “mobilization,” “nationalism” and “internationalism.”

Frank Trommler has roots in the German cultural milieu (he studied in Berlin, Vienna, and Munich); nevertheless he spent years in the United States of America, which significantly influenced his approach to studying the German history, culture, and foreign policy. The book *Kulturmacht ohne Kompass* is starkly distinct from other scholarly works on German cultural diplomacy published so far,<sup>1</sup> which is mostly thanks to its exceptionally broad subject matter and transnational perspective. Culture as understood by the author is not only the arts, but also education, science, and also the ideological orientation and values of the society. The author details the full scope of cultural relations and follows politicians and diplomats, but also artists, scientists, journalists, and other public figures. He explores the domestic culture and the way it was presented abroad, and also the interaction between the cultural diplomacies in Germany and abroad. Doing so, he never fails to consider the context of the political and social developments both in Germany and on the international stage.

The author examines different levels of cultural relations. He alternately offers observations on local cultural activities, characteristics of selected activities on regional and provincial level and also state or national perspectives, and analyses of international cooperation and transnational influences and transfers. The German national culture is understood very broadly by Frank Trommler; he tries to capture not only its mainstream, but also the activities of the Jews and other national minorities living in Germany and also the participation of the German expatriates (minorities, emigrants and so on) on the

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<sup>1</sup> See, for example, Nicole Colin et al., eds., *Lexikon der deutsch-französischen Kulturbeziehungen nach 1945* (Tübingen: Narr, 2013); Ulrich Bauer, *Auswärtige Kulturpolitik als Handlungsfeld und “Lebenselixier”: Expertentum in der deutschen Auswärtigen Kulturpolitik und der Kulturdiplomatie* (München: Iudicium, 2011); Kurt Düwell, “Zwischen Propaganda und Friedensarbeit: 100 Jahre Geschichte der deutschen Auswärtigen Kulturpolitik,” in *Kultur und Außenpolitik: Handbuch für Studium und Praxis*, ed. Kurt-Jürgen Maaß (Baden-Baden: Nomos, 2009), 61–111; Johannes Paulmann, ed., *Auswärtige Repräsentationen: Deutsche Kulturdiplomatie nach 1945* (Köln: Böhlau, 2005); Steffen R. Kathe, *Kulturpolitik um jeden Preis: Die Geschichte des Goethe-Instituts von 1951 bis 1990* (München: Meidenbauer, 2005); Kurt Düwell and Werner Link, eds., *Deutsche auswärtige Kulturpolitik seit 1871* (Köln: Böhlau, 1981); Kurt Düwell, *Deutschlands auswärtige Kulturpolitik 1918–1932: Grundlinien und Dokumente* (Köln: Böhlau, 1976).

international cultural relations. He observes the connection between defining and political utilization of culture and the establishment of national identity. Particular attention is dedicated to the question whether to include the activities of the inhabitants of Austria, or more precisely the Habsburg monarchy, into the German culture.

The integration of the transnational perspective, which is not limited to two or three states and their comparison and an analysis of their bilateral relations, is the main feature distinguishing Trommler's book from other works on the topic and an original contribution to the research on the German cultural diplomacy. The political mobilization of the German culture construed as active, deliberate and organized use of culture to political ends is presented by the author in dialogue with other cultures and, among other things, through the eyes of the foreign partners and competitors. Throughout the book, Frank Trommler devoted a great attention to the German relations with France, the United States, Russia, or, more precisely, the Soviet Union, and Italy. However, he also takes notice of the Benelux countries and Scandinavia, Central and Eastern Europe, particularly Poland, Switzerland, Spain, and also China or Israel.

In his synthesizing monograph, Frank Trommler analyzes the period from the unification of Germany in the early 1870s to the German reunification in 1990. The book is divided into six chapters ordered chronologically; the periodization corresponds to the usual periodization of the German history of the twentieth century. However, the individual chapters are structured topically, rather than chronologically.

In the first two chapters, the author characterizes the cultural relations and cultural diplomacy of the German Empire prior to the First World War. Both chapters focus on the whole period of 1871–1914, which gives one the impression that the main reason for the division is to make all chapters roughly the same in terms of the number of pages. The first chapter emphasizes the emperor's influence on the presentation of the German culture abroad and on the competition between the modern and conservative approach to art in that period. The second chapter predominantly focuses on the definition of the German national culture and the matters of establishment and overlaps of identities.

The third chapter details the cultural propaganda of Germany and other European countries and the United States during the First World War, 1914–1918. It was the defense of culture which was often cited as the reason to wage war. Consequently, Frank Trommler analyzes the relations between culture and the army, both in national and transnational contexts. He accomplishes that in two ways: firstly he compares the cultural mobilization for war in Germany and other warring nations; and secondly he describes how the German cultural propaganda was received abroad. The fourth chapter is devoted to the cultural diplomacy and the international cultural relations in the era of the Weimar Republic, 1918–1933. Trommler explores the humanistic "spirit of Weimar," the efforts to break the isolation after the First World War and the state's active cultural diplomacy advocated by the foreign minister Gustav Stresemann. The author addresses both the German schools abroad and the establishment of the intermediary organizations (Deutsche Akademie, DAAD, Alexander von Humboldt-Stiftung) and the contacts between artists and scientists giving ample evidence of examples and names. Furthermore, he

explores the international context of the dissemination of ideas. He again analyzes the cultural relations and transfers between Germany and France and also Germany and Austria, including the topic of the competition between Berlin and Vienna. Other parts of the chapter are dedicated to the contacts with Central and Eastern Europe, the cultural activities of the national minorities living in Germany, and the connected issue of the ethnification of culture.

The fifth chapter is titled “Mobilization of the German Culture in the Third Reich” and examines the years 1933–1945. It observes the contradictions between the nationalization of German culture and the need to accept, at least to a certain degree, internationalism in the international cultural relations. It analyzes the Nazi cultural propaganda both for the domestic and foreign audiences, the opposition to modernism and “Americanization” of culture, and also the racist and anti-Semitic direction of the cultural agenda of the Third Reich. Particular attention is devoted to the expulsion of the Jews from the cultural life of the Reich, and also the cultural activities and publication of the Germans living in exile, especially the scientists who emigrated. Apart from the cultural relations with France, Austria, and the United States, the author retraces the efforts to gain sympathies of the politicians and public in Italy, Poland, and the United Kingdom. The last part of the chapter examines the mobilization of the national culture during the Second World War, particularly the role of radio broadcasting and movies, and the role of scientists in defending the Germanization of the Slavic Central and Eastern Europe.

As the title of the last chapter, “After 1945: East-German and West-German heirs to the cultural power,” suggests, the analysis of the latter part of the twentieth century in Trommler’s book focuses predominantly on the question of coping with the burdensome past. It is as if the author’s reflections on the cultural relations of the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic were a mere epilogue to the detailed study of the events of 1871–1945. The latter part of the twentieth century occupies not a half of the book as one might expect from its name, but a mere sixth of it. The period after the establishment of the Federal Republic and the GDR occupies mere 66 out of 732 pages. The central focal point of the last chapter is the second half of the 1940s and the 1950s. The key research questions seek answers on continuities and discontinuities of the post-war development of the German culture and cultural diplomacy. The main focus is on the renewal of the cultural scene in post-war Germany, which referred to the traditions of the past, drew from the regional activities, and was affected to a large extent by the policy of the occupying powers, whether in the form of directives or examples, role-models, and the transnational cultural transfers. The author observes how Germany after the Second World War ceased to assert the position of a cultural power and examines the consequences of this for the Jews or neighboring countries.

Frank Trommler reaches the conclusion that the cultural diplomacy of the Federal Republic of Germany at the end of the 1940s and in the 1950s had a strong continuity in terms of content, personnel, and administrative aspects with the cultural diplomacy of the Third Reich, Republic of Weimar, and in some aspects also with the German Empire. The post-war cultural diplomacy was characteristic for its modesty, but it did not

represent a new beginning. The cultural diplomacy of the GDR was, according to Trommler, also significantly persistent in the mobilization of culture for the interests of the state. Trommler argues that a fundamental change in concept of the cultural diplomacy of West Germany occurred only in the period of reforms of the 1960s and 1970s when the Federal Republic abandoned the traditional power perception of culture and the perception of Germany as a cultural power. Instead of the traditional and very narrow understanding of culture, preference was given to internationality which allowed Germany to return to confident cultural diplomacy. The national focus was weakened not only by the internationality, but also relatively rigorous cultural federalism. Trommler interprets these changes in cultural diplomacy as an expression of democratization and coping with the Nazi past in West Germany. The author considers the 1960s to be a sharper turning point in cultural diplomacy than 1945. The sixth chapter of the book dedicated to the latter part of the twentieth century is also in a way a summary of the whole book; there is no conclusion in the book. After the last chapter, there is only a select bibliography and index.

The focus on the examination of the ways German culture was mobilized for the sake of national expansion enabled to keep consistency throughout this immense piece of work, which is a great value. Unfortunately, the same focus effectively forbade analysis of the new impulses occurring in the latter part of the twentieth century; among other things the increased rate of motor vehicle ownership and tourism, radio and most importantly television broadcast, and changes due to the growing media coverage of politics, the politicization of foreign aid and environmental protection. The development of the international cultural relations and German cultural diplomacy not related to the coping with the past is only a peripheral issue in the book and it is not explored in the social context and transnational perspective. The fall of the iron curtain and the development since the reunification are not addressed in the book at all and it reveals only a little of the gradual steps towards Germany's contemporary approach to cultural diplomacy. To give an example, whereas the integration of the expelled into the German society is discussed at length, the issue of integration of the *gastarbeiters* is omitted completely.

Trommler's book is not a typical piece of historical writing resting mostly on archival research and interpretation of new findings. Trommler does not focus on listing all the facts, but rather on selecting different details which enable him to view the issue in question from different perspectives. This is one of the reasons why it cannot be decided without a doubt whether to rank this work among political or rather cultural history. The author relies mostly on printed publications; he often quotes from the works of artists, scientists, politicians, and journalists of the respective period. Trommler's work also benefits from knowledge from a vast array of literature published in German, English, and French. To a lesser extent the author uses archival primary sources; from the Political Archive of the Federal Foreign Office (Das politische Archiv des Auswärtigen Amts, Berlin) for the period before 1945 and from the Federal Archive in Koblenz (Das Bundesarchiv, Koblenz) and materials from SAPMO (Stiftung Archiv der Parteien und Massenorganisationen der DDR im Bundesarchiv, Berlin) for the period after 1945.

Although the central narrative of the book is very broad in its nature, the author provides the reader with countless examples and interesting details. The chapters are divided into a number of short topical subchapters. General observations are interwoven with descriptions of particularities often accompanied by quotes from the works of artists, scientists, philosophers, politicians, and journalists. It is also commendable that despite the variety of topics and multitude of layers and perspectives the book is consistent in its style. Altogether the book gives a surprisingly integrated impression, but it demands a great degree of focus and thought from the reader. The readers versed in the issue will not fail to notice references to the main milestones and key figures of the history of the German cultural diplomacy. However, they will be confronted with rather unconventional viewpoint in which the well-known matters are put into a broad context and often viewed from unusual particular perspective resulting in a whole new context. This is the goal the author set for himself in the introduction, and he achieved it.

Trommler's extensive monograph *Kulturmacht ohne Kompass: Deutsche auswärtige Kulturbeziehungen im 20. Jahrhundert* is an excellent analysis of the mobilization of the German culture and the connected excesses in the broadly defined first half of the twentieth century. Its main contribution is to be found in its original addition to the interpretation of the German history and foreign policy of the first two thirds of the twentieth century. And yet, despite the promise of its title and from the annotation the book is not a unified synthesis of the German cultural diplomacy in the whole of the twentieth century. Nevertheless, the book is a valuable contribution to the research of the German cultural diplomacy. It contains a multitude of interesting ideas, details, and general observations. It explores not only relatively obvious causalities and direct influences, but also more subtle interactions and transfers and transcend into the fields that are not directly related to cultural diplomacy. Trommler's book is worth reading not only for its interesting findings and summaries, but also for its inspiring concept.

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Kenneth Morrison and Elizabeth Roberts: **The Sandžak: A History**. London: Hurst, 2013. 285 pages. ISBN 978-0-19933-065-2

This monograph with a short title, *The Sandžak: A History*, is the joint work of British author Kenneth Morrison, a reader in modern Southeast European history at De Montfort University in Leicester, England who specializes in security affairs, and Elizabeth Roberts, who teaches Balkan history and politics at Trinity College in Dublin. Roberts is a former Australian diplomat and the wife of Sir Ivor Roberts, the British ambassador in Belgrade, Yugoslavia in the 1990s. In the reviewed publication, Roberts focuses on the history of the region from prehistoric times to the beginning of World War I. Morrison authored the chapters in the book on the period since the Great War. Morrison and