## Index ₩

Addison, Joseph, 68 Adorno, Theodor, 136-37, xvi American capitalism and, 142-43; American culture of freedom and, 143; Anglo-American individualism vs. European culture and, 141–42; antiglobalization movement and, 144; autonomous individuality and, 138; collectivization of society and, 139-40; critique of anti-Americanism by, 145; critique of totalitarianism by, 140-41; evaluation of U.S. by, 141; German cultural superiority vs. Anglo-American commercialism and, 142–43; globalization and, 140–41; individualism and, 139, 141; social psychology of persecutors and, 138; support for fascism and, 137-38 Aflaq, Michael, 94; Arab "mass" and, 96 al-Khalil, Samir. See Makiya, Kanan al-Sager, Mohamad Jasem, 113 Americans, foreign perception of U.S. and, 2; hostility toward, xiii America's Image Abroad, 11 anti-American movement, denouncement of U.S. vs. Saddam and, 83; Iraq wars and, 84-85; support of authoritarianism in, 65-66 anti-Americanism, American action and,

64; American policy and, 36–37; American political influence and, 118-19; American presence and, 38; anti-Europeanism vs., 59-60; antiimmigration and, 78; anticapitalism and, 119; as antiglobalization, 125; antiglobalization and, 115, 120, 136; antisemitism and, 136; causation problem and, 41; character, mentality of, 35; Communism and, 4, 5, 29, 65; Communist, 42-43, 46-48; comparison to fascism of, 52; confrontation of totalitarian regimes and, 90; as cultural mentality, 39-40; culture and, xiv-xv; definition of, 33-34; democracy, capitalism, and, 53–54; democratization of politics/ liberalization of markets and, 41; denial and, 62; domestic politics, foreign policy, and, 50; emergence of, xii, 31-32; endogenous nature of, 77; European culture of, xiv; European elitism and, 63; European identity and, 75-77, 80; European images of, 60; European unification and, 9-10; evidence of, 36; explanations for, 74-75; fantasy, irrationality of, 35-36; focus on Israel, Palestine, and, 119; in France,

anti-Americanism (continued) 51; in Germany, formulation of attitudes toward, 24-25; globalization and, xvi-xvii; growth of, xi-xii; identity and, 58, 75-76, 80; ideology of, 63; imaginary conflict and, 57; Iraq war and, xv; multilateralism vs. unilateralism and, 79-80; opposition to war and, 64; origins of, 5, 33-34; policy decisions and, 1; political instinct of, 55; political platforms and, 80-81; political style and, 4-5; post-Afghanistan war, xiii; postdemocratic, 29-30, 43-44, 48-49; predemocratic, 42, 44-46; prejudice and, 34-35; reality and, 55; reluctance to side with U.S. and, xvxvi; in 1950s and 1960s, 3-4; Sept. 11 conspiracy theory and, 32; settings for, 36; source of, 52; status quo and, 77; stereotyping and, 62; subjective hostility and, 61, 127; variants of, xv, 42-44; violence and, 110-14, 114

anti-Westernism, of Roy, Arundhati, 130

antiglobalization, absolute local identity and, 132-33; Adorno, understanding of, 144; anti-Americanism and, 115, 120, 145; anticapitalism and, 116-17; "authoritarian personality" and, 144; collectivism and, 145; collectivized identity structures and, 143-44; Communist anticapitalism and, 136; contamination and, 127; desire for self-destruction and, 123; economic claims for, 116; globalized modernity and, 123; historical fascism and, 144; homogenization of, 120; hostility to immigration and, 132; multiplicity of, 122; philosophical agenda of, 120;

political culture of, 119; political intervention and, 116; political shifts and, 118; as post-Communist anticapitalism, 117; repressive, xenophobic predisposition of, 124; repressive potential of, 145; roots of, 116–17; sentiment for, 116; state vs. market and, 118. See also globalization appeasement, European attitude toward, 78; Nazi Germany and, 89; totalitarian regimes and, 89, 91 Arab parliamentarians, 113 Arabs, Saddam and, 113

Arendt, Hannah, 79, 97

Arturo Ui, 68

authoritarianism, support for, 65–66

Ba'ath Party, 93, 94; constitution of, 96; ideological connections of Nazis to, 94–95; submission of individual to mass society and, 96; totalitarianism and, 100

Baudrillard, xvi, Jean, 51, 120, 145; anti-Americanism of, 134; fear of promiscuity and, 124, 127; homogenization of antiglobalization and, 120–21; modernization, globalization, and, 123, 134; objectivity of, 124; paranoid vision of, 124; Roy, Arundhati vs., 124; terrorism and, 121

Benjamin, Walter, collectivized communalism and, 131

Booker Prize, 125

Bildzeitung, Die, 12

Brecht, Bertolt, 66–73, 77, 142; acceptance of democratic capitalist culture by, 71–72; England and, 68– 69; English literature and, 73; German vs. English literature and, 69–70; shifting loyalties of, 74;

support of Western democracies by, 66–68
Broder, Henryk, 44
Bush, George H.W., 92, 97, 111;
metaphor of Saddam as Hitler and, 91
Bush, George W., 1, 8, 85, 114;
comparison of Hitler to, 47–48

"Campaign" (Addison), 70 capitalism, anti-Americanism and, 52; Brecht acceptance of, 71-72; Communist anti-Americanism and, 46-47; democracy and, 53-54; globalization and, 117; Judaism and, 119; paranoid vision of, 124; U.S. as representation of, 41 Castoriadis, Cornelius, 81 Catchwords. See Stichworte (Adorno) Chamberlain, Houston Stewart, 142 Chicago Council on Foreign Relations, collectivism, American individualism vs., 144 collectivization, problem of, 139-40 commercialism, German cultural superiority vs., 142-43 Communism, 65; antiglobalization and,

Communist anti-Americanism, 42–43; capitalism and, 46–47
Communist Party, 7
conflict, enemy as scapegoat and, 57; imaginary, 56–57; political theory of, 56; as a "state of nature," 56; subjective hostility and, 58
"Cost of Living, The" (Roy), 125
Critical Theory, blind activism and, 140; cultural consequences of globalization and, 136; de-

essentializing of national identity

117; critique of capitalism and, 117;

rise of U.S. as economic superpower

vs., 118-19

and, 142; deregulation and, 136; economics, globalization, and, 135—36; fascism and, 134; homogenizing collectivism and, 140; limitations of, 134–35; Nazism and, 136; origin of, 134; psychology of antiglobalization and, 137; regulation and, 136 culture, perception and, 28

Daübler-Gmelin, Herta, 47, 59
defense spending, public opinion on, 19–21
democracy(ies), 118; Brecht support of, 66–68; capitalism and, 53–54;
European Union and, 10; U.S. as representation of, 41
democratic capitalism, anti-Americanism and, 52
deregulation, Critical Theory and, 136
Derrida, Jacques, 59
dictator, power of, 105

"Education after Auschwitz" (Adorno), 137 enemy, creation of identity and, 57–58 England, Brecht, Bertolt, and, 68–69 Enzensberger, Hans Magnus, 108–9; destruction and, 109; response to

economics, politics as, 135

violence and, 112

Europe, anti-American experience in, 36, 58; anti-Europeanism vs. anti-Americanism in, 59–60; appeasement and, 78; culture of authoritarianism in, 142; differences from U.S. and, xii; emergence of anti-American subculture in, 32; identity and, 77–78; national identity in, 80; regulatory statism of, 143; unification of, 9–11, 78–79

European Union, anti-Americanism and, 29–30; cooperation vs. competition with U.S. and, 22–23; democracy

European Union (continued)
deficit in, 10; development of, 9–10;
Germany and, 9–11, 21–22;
leadership in, 21–22; postdemocratic
anti-Americanism and, 48
Europeans, attitude toward Americans
by, xi

fascism, comparison of antiAmericanism to, 47–48; Critical
Theory and, 134; parallels of
contemporary antiglobalization to,
144
fear, in totalitarian society, 107–8
Foreign Affairs Committee, Kuwaiti
People's Council, 113
France, anti-Americanism in, 51;
experiences with U.S. in, 60–61;
local form of anti-Americanism in,
76; opinions of U.S. in, xi
Frankfurt School, 134; culture, politics,
and, 136, 137
Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, 62
Futuwaa, 94

"German interiority," 23-24

German Marshal Fund, 18 Germans, evaluation of European Union by, 21-22 Germany, Adorno and, 141; American presence and, 38-39; American values structure vs., 28; Anglo-American commercialism vs. cultural superiority of, 142-43; annihilationist leadership in, 109; anti-American attitudes in, 29, 37; anti-American subculture in, 32; attitudes toward Americans and, xiv; Communist anti-Americanism in, 51; deterioration of U.S. relationship in, 18; development of perspectives on U.S. in, 7; establishment of Nazi regime in, 86-88; European

unification and, 9-11; experiences with U.S. in, 60; formulation of anti-American sentiments in, 24-25; hesitation toward world affairs in, 23; historical experience of, 8; identification with U.S. and, 15; "interiority" hypothesis and, 23, 24; legacy of American relations with, 6-7; local form of anti-Americanism in, 76; national history, attitude toward U.S. in, 23; opinions of U.S. in, xi; perception of U.S. in, 2, 6-9, 17, 25, 28; political conflict with U.S. and, 19; political leadership and, 22; postdemocratic anti-Americanism and, 48-49, 49, 51; print media in, 11, 16-17, 23, 29; pro-American predisposition in, 15; pro vs. anti-American perspectives in, 40; proponents of cooperation vs. competition in, 23; public opinion on defense spending in, 19-20; public opinion polls in, 17-18; reluctant support for U.S. in, 16; role in European unification of, 10; Sept. 11 attacks and, 12-13, 13-14; similarities to U.S. public opinion in, 18; social psychology of persecutors in, 138; totalitarian leadership in, 95; totalitarianism and, 86-87; value systems and, 26-28. See also Nazi Germany

globalization, anti-Americanism and, xvi–xvii; anti-Westernism and, 130; components, results of, 117; critic's perspective of, 124; critique of, 116–17; definition of, 115; modernity and, 137; movement against, 116; opposition to, 136; political power and, 117; primacy of territory and, 118; underdevelopment, superiority vs., 122–23. *See also* antiglobalization

The God of Small Things (Roy), 125, 130; sexualized xenophobia in, 132 Goethe, Johann Wolfgang, 40

Habermas, Jürgen, 60 Hitler, Adolf, absolute elevation of leader and, 103-4; desire for destruction and, 109; leader as artist and, 101-2; response of world governments to, 112-13 Hitlerjugend, 94 "Hitler's Successor: Saddam Hussein in the Context of German History" (Enzensberger), 108 Holocaust, 137 hostility, cultural phenomenon of, 57; justification of, 57; self and, 58; subjective, 58 Hussein, Saddam, xii, xv; annihilationism of, 109; as artist, 100; destruction against own people by, 110; hero worship of, 97-98; as Hitler, 83-84, 87, 90-93, 105-6; ideological connections to Hitler and, 94-95, 95n8; leadership and, 104; personal power and, 104-5; reluctance to challenge, 85, 89; response to, 89, 113; totalitarian regime of, 88; totalitarianism and, 97; U.S. focus on, 92-93; violence, fear, and, 107-8

76; creation of, 57–58; European, 75–77, 77–78, 80; loss of, 80; national, 80; search for absolute self and, 130; undifferentiation and, 130 immigration, anti-Americanism and, 78; antiglobalization and, 132 Indian Communism, 130 individualism, European collectivism vs., 144 International Criminal Court, 1, 119

identity, anti-Americanism and, 58, 75-

Iraq, annihilationist leadership in, 109; comparison of Hitler's Germany to, 84; culture of fear in, 107–8; freedom and, 99; ignorance to violence in, 111–14; loyalty of masses in, 97–98; Makiya's vs. Enzensberger's account of, 109–10; pan-Arabism and, 93, 94; response to Nazi Germany vs., 110–11; totalitarian leadership and, 95, 97; totalitarian regime in, 88
Iraqi Communist Party, 96

Jünger, Ernst, 106-7

Kaufman, Robert, 71 Kyoto Treaty, 1, 119

"Legend of the Dead Soldier" (Brecht), 68 Lenau, Nikolaus, 40 Lukács, Georg, 61 Luxemburg, Rosa, 95

Macaulay, Thomas, 68 Makiya, Kanan, 88, 97, 111; Enzensberger vs., 109; fear and, 107-8; individual freedom and, 99-100; loyalty of masses and, 98; power of dictator and, 105 Manchester Guardian, 62, 63 Mann, Thomas, 100 market, state and, 135 Marxism, economics as politics and, 135; political considerations and, 135; progress and, 123; state vs. market and, 135 mass(es), Arab, 96; loyalty of, 97-98; submission of individual to, 96; totalitarianism and, 97-98 media, in Germany, 11-14, 29

Mein Kampf (Hitler), 101, 104; leadership and, 102-3; personal power and, 105

National Socialism, 86, 88, 93, 135; culture, politics and, 137 Natteau, Nicholas, 94 Nazi Germany, appeasement and, 89; comparison of U.S. to, 47-48; culture of fear in, 108; development of, 86-88; Iraq vs. response to, 110-11; as reign of terror, 88-89; violence in, 110-11

Nazi regime, establishment of, 86-88; ideological connections of Ba'ath Party to, 94-95; social psychology of, 137; violence vs. culture and, 107 Nazism, Critical Theory and, 136 1984 (Orwell), 58 Nuremburg Trials, 114

"On the Question: What Is German" (Adorno), 141 Orwell, George, 58

Pan-Arabism, 96 Party of Democratic Socialism (PDS), 7, perception, cultural-critical approach to, 2-3; culture and, 28; importance of, 2-3; local circumstances and, 6; politicized debate over, 3; pragmatic approach to, 2; of U.S., 2 Pew Global Attitudes Project, xi, 25, 26 "Phantom of Delight" (Wordsworth), 72 Poland, public opinion in, 20-21 political power, globalization and, 117-18; spatiality of, 117-18 politics, democratization of, 41; domestic, September 11, xi, xii; Communist anti-50; reductionist treatment of, 135 postdemocratic anti-Americanism, 42-43, 48-49 Power Politics (Roy), 125

predemocratic anti-Americanism, 42, prejudice, anti-Americanism and, 34-35 psychology, of individuals to commit atrocities, 138 public opinion, on German defense spending, 19-20; in Germany, 17-18; in Germany, post Sept. 11, 12-14; political conflict and, 19; on U.S. defense spending in, 19-20

regulation, Critical Theory and, 136 Revel, Jean-François, 33-34 Riefenstahl, Leni, 108 Roy, Arundhati, xvi, 62-64, 120, 145; absolute local identity and, 130, 132; anti-Americanism of, 134; anti-Westernism of, 130; antiglobalization movement and, 125-26; critique of globalization of, 130; emotional responses of, 126, 127-28; fear of foreign and, 132, 134; fear of globalization and, 133; homogeneity and, 131-32; Jean Baudrillard vs., 124; modernity vs. authenticity and, 131; "noble savage" and, 123; personalization, rhetorical demeaning of opponent by, 128; perversion of modernity by, 131; stereotyping, racialization by, 129; subjective hostility of, 127-28 Rumsfeld, Donald, 59 Rushdie, Salman, xiii

Schmitt, Carl, 78 Schroeder, Gerhard, 14, 80 "Scientific Experiences of a European Scholar in America" (Adorno), 141 Americanism and, 47-48; German media's perceptions following, 16-17; German media's representations of, 11-13; globalization and, 122;

homogenization of terrorism and, 121-22; justification for terror of, 33; lack of sympathy for, 45-46; perceptions of U.S. and, 3; polarization of German media's opinion of, 13-14; postdemocratic anti-Americanism and, 49; predemocratic anti-Americanism and, 44-46; reality denial of, 61; solidarity effect of, 14, 24; understanding of root causes of, 16 Sloterdijk, Peter, 45 Sorrows of Werther, The (Goethe), 107 Soviet Union, antiglobalization and, 117; roots of anti-Americanism and, 42-43 Speer, Albert, 110 Stalinism, 135 state, market and, 135 Stichworte (Adorno), 137; individualism vs. collectivism in, 141; politics, culture, and, 137

Taliban, xii; reluctance for criticism of, 124 terrorism, defense of, 121-22; globalized modernity and, 123 Theweleit, Klaus, 49, 50 The Threepenny Opera, 68 totalitarian culture, devastation and, 110 totalitarian regime, response to violence from, 112 totalitarianism, culture and, 106-7; "culture" of, 110; fear and, 107-8; hero worship and, 98-99; implication for political culture, 87-88; individual integrity vs., 139; leader and, 95; leader as artist and, 100-101; loyalty of masses and, 97-98; moral judgment and, 85-86; parallel of "right," "left," and, 88; personal power and, 105; tolerance to, 89-90; violence, fear, and, 107-8 trade, globalization and, 115-16

United Nations (UN), 48, 111 United States (U.S.), Adorno and, 141; antiglobalization, political influence, and, 118-19; attitudes toward, xi, xii; blanket condemnation of, 129; comparison of fascist Germany to, 47-48; conspiracy theories and, 34-35; cultural contexts, perception of, 6; culture of freedom in, 143; diplomatic relations with, xi; effect of Sept. 11 on, xii; emotional manipulation in, 126-27; European quality vs. quantity in, 42; European unification and, 9-11; foreign perceptions of, 2; German characterizations of, 17; German identification with, 15; German media's opinions of, 29; German values structure vs., 28; historic periods of anti-Americanism and, 3-4; image obsession of, 4; image of, 25; international governance and, 43-44; judgment of policies in, 8; moral standards and, 114; personalization of history and, 93; presence in world of, 39-40; public opinion, world affairs, and, 21; public opinion on defense spending in, 19-20; as representation of capitalism, democracy, 41; representations in German print media of, 11-13; response to genocide in Iraq by, 114; shared values with Germany and, 18-19; as target of resentment, xv-xvi; turn of European opinion against, 122; value systems and, 26-28; wars against totalitarian violence by, 114

value systems, shared vs. conflicting, 26–27

Vedrine, Hubert, 59 Victory Arch, 104 Views of a Changing World, June 2003, 25 violence, ignorance of, 110-12; lack of compassion for, 112; tolerance to, 89-90; totalitarianism, culture and, 106-10 von Schirach, Baldur, 93

Walser, Martin, 45

war(s), in Iraq, anti-American movement, and, 84-85, xv; opposition to, 64; post Afghanistan, xiii Wilhelm's Meister's Apprenticeship, 53 Williams, Clayton, 92 Worldviews 2002, 19, 21

Zadek, Peter, xiii