

Acknowledgments

Many scholars on both sides of the Atlantic generously shared their knowledge in discussions with me during my research for this book, but one person stands out for her tireless work helping me write and complete it. For four years, Sandra H. Lustig was an invaluable collaborator on this book. First and foremost, I would like to express my gratitude for the outstanding quality of her work and for her dedication to this project, doing so much more than “simply” translate the manuscript, most of which I wrote in German, into English. Her persistent questioning and critical comments compelled me to express myself more clearly, made me aware of numerous inaccuracies and errors, and resulted in substantial changes to the end product. Following her advice, I decided that the story was best told in chronological order and restructured the book. Sandra then worked through the entire manuscript again with an editor’s eye for detail and for the big picture, for content and for language. In particular, she prompted me to clarify Schmitt’s antisemitism, take a closer look at Kirchheimer’s and Schmitt’s correspondence after 1945, revisit the order of events in the conflict over George Schwab’s doctorate, and reexamine the correspondence between Kirchheimer and Schmitt after World War II.

Most importantly, Sandra drew on her in-depth understanding of Nazi German to develop and successfully apply an approach to translating it into accurate, comprehensible, and readable English. She researched what the Nazis meant by their own terminology and compiled a Glossary to provide the English reader with extensive information to better illuminate the text. Even most native German speakers today do not appreciate how the Nazis changed the German language to further their own political and propagandistic goals. The majority of English-speaking readers are unlikely to be aware of this linguistic issue at all. Sandra then provided brief explanations of pertinent terms throughout the book, enabling readers to understand Schmitt within the historical, linguistic, and intellectual context. I advise readers to consult her Translator’s Preface for an incisive explanation of Nazi German and her Glossary for clarification of individual words and terms. Her research stands out—at least to the best of my knowledge—as unique in the vast secondary literature on Carl Schmitt and should guide scholars to navigate the problem of distinguishing the meaning of his words. Translators tackling Schmitt’s numerous works from the Nazi period—most of which have not been trans-

lated—may well consider adopting her approach to rendering the precise meaning of his writing into English.

Next, I would like to thank Linda Jayne Turner. She did a wonderful job copyediting the entire manuscript and communicating with me about a number of inconsistencies she found. She made the language more consistent throughout and encouraged me to provide explanations for English-speaking readers in some places and to make cuts in others. She also crosschecked the names of everyone mentioned in the book against the Index of Names and ensured that they were all included and introduced at the first mention if appropriate. Her meticulous work eliminated my original errors and inaccuracies from the final publication. I will miss the insightful discussions about my manuscript with both Linda and Sandra. Yet any remaining errors or ambiguities are due solely to my intransigence in responding to their questions and comments.

The impetus to write this book came from the reactions to a lecture about Kirchheimer and Schmitt I gave at the New School for Social Research in New York in February 2019 during my Theodor Heuss Professorship. The controversial and intense discussion that followed my talk became the starting point for exploring the relationship between the two of them in more detail. In the early phase of the work for this book, I benefited greatly from the critical comments from my colleagues at the New School in the academic year 2018/19, namely Andrew Arato, Richard J. Bernstein (†), Federico Finchelstein, Carlos Forment, Andreas Kalyvas, William Milberg, and James E. Miller. Additional early encouragement to write this book came from Jean Louise Cohen, Gerhard Göhler, Bob Jessop, Christina Lafont, Herfried Münkler, Claus Offe, Kari Palonen, Hartmut Rosa, Thomas Saretzki, Rainer Schmalz-Bruns (†), and Nadia Urbinati.

The support from the many members of the staff at the archives listed in the bibliography was invaluable. In particular, my thanks go to Jodi Boyle and Brian Keough for assisting me in searching through the papers of Otto Kirchheimer and John H. Herz in the German Intellectual Émigré Collection at the State University of New York in Albany, to Jenny Swadosh at the archive of the New School for Social Research in New York, to Dirk Braunstein at the archive of Institut für Sozialforschung in Frankfurt, and to Gerd Giesler of the Carl-Schmitt-Gesellschaft e.V.

While working on the book I received invaluable suggestions and/or material from Andreas Anter, Harald Bluhm, Rainer Erd, Jürgen Habermas, Dirk Jörke, Bernd Ladwig, Simone Ladwig-Winters, Detlef Lehnert, Marcus Llanque, Reinhard Mehring, Volker Neumann, Peter Niesen, Kerstin Pohl, Michael Sauthoff, Frank Schale, William E. Scheuerman, Alfons Söllner, Grit Straßenberger, and Jürgen Tröger. With regard to the title of the book, Jodi Dean, Frank Fischer, Chad A. Goldberg, and Axel Müller all gave insightful input. In addition, I owe special thanks to Douglas G. Morris and Rieke Trimgev for their thorough critical reviews of earlier versions of the introduction and conclusion.

At the University of Greifswald, I had the wonderful opportunity to draw on the expertise of my editorial team of Otto Kirchheimer's Collected Works, namely Henning Hochstein, Lisa Klingsporn, Moritz Langfeldt, and Merete Peetz. Thomas Stamm-Kuhlmann and Katrin Rhein provided valuable assistance in deciphering a number of handwritten letters and notes from the archives by Schmitt, Kirchheimer, and Rudolf Smend. Lena Else Droese, Fabian Fleßner, Steffi Krohn, Anna Luise Munsky, and Finja-

Pauline Schöbel collaborated in the search for literature and additional source material. I also had the privilege to receive critical feedback from the participants of the Greifswald Colloquium for Political Theory, namely Sara Gebh, Eva Hausteiner, Niels Hegewisch, Tobias Müller, Ronny Rhode, Eno Trimçev, Rieke Trimçev, Milos Rodatos, and Mounir Zahran. I owe special thanks to Fabian Fleßner for preparing the manuscript for publication and for creating the Index of Names. I would like to thank Annika Linnemann at transcript publishing for supporting my project and her endless patience in the face of the significantly delayed submission of my manuscript.

I had the opportunity to present parts of the book in lectures or at conferences hosted at the New School for Social Research, the University of Augsburg, the Freie Universität Berlin, the University of Bonn, the Technical University of Darmstadt, the University of Halle, the University of Hamburg, the University of Helsinki, the University of Jena, and New York University. Some earlier versions of sections of the book have been previously published in articles in the following journals: *Antisemitism Studies*, *Constellations*, *Finnish Yearbook of Political Thought*, *Leviathan*, *New German Critique*, *Redescriptions*, *WestEnd—Neue Zeitschrift für Sozialforschung*, *Zeitschrift für Parlamentsfragen*, *Zeitschrift für Politik*, and *Zeitschrift für Politische Theorie*.

Writing this book was only possible thanks to a fellowship from the Volkswagen Foundation in the academic year 2021/22. It is ironic that this foundation sponsored the project since neither Schmitt nor Kirchheimer had a driver's license. Both, however, did deal with the German automotive industry, including the Volkswagen company, in their oeuvre: whereas for Schmitt, cars and tanks exemplified the modern age of accelerated mobility, Kirchheimer examined the German steel industry as a supporter and profiteer of Nazism and the Volkswagen company in particular as a creation of the Nazi regime. Being able to step back from all my teaching and administrative duties at my department thanks to the generous Volkswagen Foundation fellowship provided the invaluable opportunity for me to focus fully on the research for this book.

Finally, my deepest gratitude goes to Otto Kirchheimer's daughter Hanna Kirchheimer-Grossman (Arlington, VA) and his son Peter Kirchheimer (New York City) for granting me access to documents and photos in their family archive. I am even more grateful for the stimulating discussions with them and their three children about the life and work of their father and grandfather. It is touching for me to see that Otto Kirchheimer's turbulent life story, his writings and his intellectual manner have found a permanent place in the memories of the younger generation of the Kirchheimer family like Rebecca Kirchheimer, too.

I dedicate this book to the memory of my father, Walter Buchstein (1905–1977), and to the countless stories he told me about how he had experienced social and political life as a young man in 1920s and 1930s Germany.

