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978-0-521-16864-9 - The United States and Germany in the Era of the Cold War, 1945–1990: A Handbook:

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Edited by Detlef Junker

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THE UNITED STATES AND GERMANY IN THE ERA OF THE COLD WAR,  
1945–1990

The close association between the United States and the Federal Republic of Germany was a key element in the international order of the Cold War era. No country had as wide-reaching or as profound an impact on the western portion of divided Germany as the United States. No country better exemplified the East–West conflict in American thinking than Germany. *The United States and Germany in the Era of the Cold War* examines all facets of German–American relations and interaction in the decades from the defeat of the Third Reich to Germany’s reunification in 1990. In addition to its comprehensive treatment of U.S.–West German political, economic, social, and cultural ties, *The United States and Germany in the Era of the Cold War* provides an overview of the more limited dealings between the United States and the communist German Democratic Republic.

Detlef Junker, Curt-Engelhorn Chair in American History at the University of Heidelberg, received his PhD from the University of Kiel. He has also been affiliated with Yale University, the University of Nebraska, Lincoln, and University of Stuttgart. From 1994 to 1999, he was director of the German Historical Institute in Washington, D.C. In 2003, he became the founding director of the interdisciplinary Heidelberg Center for American Studies.

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Frontmatter

[More information](#)

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Frontmatter

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[More information](#)

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Volume I: 1945–1968

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Associate Editors

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David B. Morris

GERMAN HISTORICAL INSTITUTE

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Edited by Detlef Junker

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

## Contents

### Volume I

#### The United States and Germany, 1945–1968

<i>List of Contributors for Volumes 1 and 2</i>	page xiii
<i>Preface</i>	xix

Introduction: Politics, Security, Economics, Culture, and Society - Dimensions of Transatlantic Relations	I
<i>Detlef Junker</i>	

#### POLITICS

“No Harder Enterprise”: Politics and Policies in the German-American Relationship, 1945–1968	29
<i>Thomas A. Schwartz</i>	
1 The Allied Council of Foreign Ministers Conferences and the German Question, 1945–1947	44
<i>Edmund Spevack</i>	
2 The United States in the Allied Control Council: From Dualism to Temporary Division	50
<i>Gunther Mai</i>	
3 Supervised Democratization: American Occupation and German Politics	57
<i>Barbara Fait</i>	
4 Life Rewarded the Latecomers: Denazification During the Cold War	65
<i>Cornelia Rauh-Kühne</i>	
5 The Marshall Plan and the Origins of the Cold War	73
<i>Michael Wala</i>	
6 Winning the Peace: The United States, Western Germany, and the Ambiguities of “Dual Containment,” 1945–1950	78
<i>Ruud van Dijk</i>	

7	The United States and the Founding of the Federal Republic, 1948–1949 <i>Hermann-Josef Rupieper</i>	85
8	From Occupation to Alliance: German–American Relations, 1949–1955 <i>Frank Schumacher</i>	90
9	Rollback: An Offensive Strategy for the Cold War <i>Bernd Stöver</i>	97
10	From Supreme Authority to Reserved Rights and Responsibilities: The International Legal Basis of German–American Relations <i>Richard Wiggers</i>	103
11	Germany Between the Superpowers, 1948–1968 <i>Manfred Görtemaker</i>	111
12	The United States and the German Question, 1949–1968 <i>Frank A. Ninkovich</i>	118
13	Divided Loyalties in Transatlantic Policy Toward Europe <i>Manfred Knapp</i>	125
14	The U.S. Congress and German–American Relations <i>Steven J. Brady</i>	133
15	Political Parties and German–American Relations: Politics Beyond the Water’s Edge <i>Ronald J. Granieri</i>	141
16	Personalities and Politics: The American Ambassadors to the Federal Republic <i>Suzanne Brown-Fleming</i>	149
17	The Ambassadors of the Federal Republic of Germany in Washington, 1955–1968 <i>Rainer A. Blasius</i>	157
18	Berlin: Catalyst and Fault Line of German–American Relations in the Cold War <i>Diethelm Prowe</i>	165
19	“Little Room for Maneuver”: Relations Between the United States and the GDR <i>Christian F. Ostermann</i>	172

## SECURITY

	Security Through Deterrence? German–American Security Relations, 1945–1968 <i>Wolfgang Krieger</i>	181
1	Overcast, Paperclip, Osoaviakhim: Looting and the Transfer of German Military Technology <i>Michael J. Neufeld</i>	197



Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-16864-9 - The United States and Germany in the Era of the Cold War, 1945–1990: A Handbook:

Volume I: 1945–1968

Edited by Detlef Junker

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

## Contents

ix

2	The Dilemmas of Dual Containment: Germany as a Security Problem, 1945–1950 <i>Steven L. Rearden</i>	204
3	Partners in Defense: America, West Germany, and the Security of Europe, 1950–1968 <i>David Clay Large</i>	209
4	Variable Architectures for War and Peace: U.S. Force Structure and Basing in Germany, 1945–1990 <i>Bryan T. van Sveringen</i>	217
5	The Shifting Military Balance in Central Europe <i>Frederick Zilian Jr.</i>	225
6	NATO Strategy and the German-American Relationship <i>Kori N. Schake</i>	233
7	German-American Disagreements over Arms-Control Policy <i>Erhard Forndran</i>	240
8	The Origins of Intelligence Cooperation Between the United States and West Germany <i>Wesley K. Wark</i>	248

## ECONOMICS

	From Enlightened Hegemony to Partnership: The United States and West Germany in the World Economy, 1945–1968 <i>Christoph Buchheim</i>	255
1	From Weakening an Enemy to Strengthening an Ally: The United States and German Reparations <i>Jörg Fisch</i>	271
2	Restructuring and Support: Beginnings of American Economic Policy in Occupied Germany <i>Wilfried Mausbach</i>	278
3	From Decartelization to Reconcentration: The Mixed Legacy of American-Led Corporate Reconstruction in Germany <i>Regina Ursula Gramer</i>	287
4	Opting for the Structural Break: The West German Currency Reform and Its Consequences <i>Werner Plumpe</i>	293
5	The Marshall Plan <i>Gerd Hardach</i>	301
6	Protégé and Partner: The United States and the Return of West Germany to the Liberal World Economic System <i>Werner Bühner</i>	310
7	American and German Trade Relations <i>Lutz Frühbrodt</i>	317

8	Technology and the Construction of the Alliance: Technology Transfer, the Cold War, and German–American Relations <i>Raymond G. Stokes</i>	326
9	Occupation Costs, Stationing Costs, Offset Payments: The Conflict over the Burdens of the Cold War <i>Hubert Zimmermann</i>	333
10	From Reconstruction Aid to Capital Interlocking: Direct and Portfolio Investments <i>Hans-Eckart Scharrer and Kerstin Müller-Neuhof</i>	341
11	German and American Economic and Monetary Policy <i>Monika Dickhaus</i>	349
12	The Influence of the United States on German Economic Thought <i>Harald Hagemann</i>	362

## CULTURE

	A New Start and Old Prejudices: The Cold War and German–American Cultural Relations, 1945–1968 <i>Frank Trommler</i>	371
1	U.S. Cultural Policy and German Culture During the American Occupation <i>Rebecca Boehling</i>	388
2	American Influences on the German Educational System <i>James F. Tent</i>	394
3	American Cultural Policy in the Federal Republic of Germany, 1949–1968 <i>Jessica C. E. Gienow-Hecht</i>	401
4	Between Elitism and Educational Reform: German–American Exchange Programs, 1945–1970 <i>Karl-Heinz Füssl</i>	409
5	Science and Scientific Exchange in the German–American Relationship <i>Mitchell G. Ash</i>	417
6	American Literature in Germany and Its Reception in the Political Context of the Postwar Years <i>Martin Meyer</i>	425
7	The American Reception of Contemporary German Literature <i>Sigrid Bauschinger</i>	432
8	Cold War Politics and American Popular Culture in Germany <i>Uta G. Poiger</i>	439
9	Popular Music in Germany: The Genesis of a New Field of Discourse <i>Edward Larkey</i>	445

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-16864-9 - The United States and Germany in the Era of the Cold War, 1945–1990: A Handbook:

Volume I: 1945–1968

Edited by Detlef Junker

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

## Contents

xi

10	German Musical Influences in the United States <i>Pamela M. Potter</i>	451
11	Side by Side: Hollywood and German Film Culture <i>Daniel J. Leab</i>	457
12	From Reeducation to Alternative Theater: German-American Theater Relations <i>Andreas Höfele</i>	464
13	Fascination, Ignorance, and Rejection: Changing Transatlantic Perspectives in the Visual Arts, 1945–1968 <i>Sigrid Ruby</i>	472
14	Architecture as Political Medium <i>Werner Durth</i>	480
15	The Legacy of the Holocaust in Germany and the United States <i>Alan E. Steinweis</i>	488

## SOCIETY

	America and Social Change in Germany <i>Völker R. Berghahn</i>	495
1	Gentle Conquest in the West: Americans and Germans, 1944–1945 <i>Klaus-Dietmar Henke</i>	508
2	Gender, Race, and Power: American Soldiers and the German Population <i>Petra Goedde</i>	515
3	CARE Packages: Gifts from Overseas to a Defeated and Debilited Nation <i>Godehard Weyerer</i>	522
4	Remigrants and Reconstruction <i>Claus-Dieter Krohn</i>	528
5	Immigration and Emigration Before 1968 <i>Dietrich Herrmann</i>	536
6	The German Churches and the Specter of Americanization <i>Mark E. Ruff</i>	543
7	From Negation to First Dialogues: American Jewry and Germany in the First Postwar Decades <i>Shlomo Shafir</i>	550
8	German and American Women Between Domesticity and the Workplace <i>Hanna Schissler</i>	559
9	Support and Dissent: German and American Labor's Transnational Ties <i>Michael Fichter</i>	566

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-16864-9 - The United States and Germany in the Era of the Cold War, 1945–1990: A Handbook:

Volume I: 1945–1968

Edited by Detlef Junker

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

xii

## Contents

10	Study Tours, Trade Fairs, Publicity Campaigns: German-American Business Encounters and Cold War Anxieties <i>S. Jonathan Wiesen</i>	573
11	Producing to Consume Becomes Consuming to Produce: Advertising and Consumerism in German-American Relations <i>Ingrid Schenk</i>	581
12	American Influences on Urban Developments in West Germany <i>Jeffry M. Diefendorf</i>	587
13	Blurred Sovereignty: The German-American Media Relationship in the Postwar Era <i>David Braden Posner</i>	594
14	In Hitler's Shadow: American Images of Germany <i>Thomas Reuther</i>	601
15	Old Stereotypes and New Realities: The West German Image of the United States <i>Knud Krakau</i>	608
16	The Good and the Bad America: Perceptions of the United States in the GDR <i>Rainer Schmoor</i>	618
17	Neither East Nor West: Anti-Americanism in West Germany, 1945–1968 <i>Philipp Gassert</i>	627
18	Americanization <i>Axel Schildt</i>	635
19	Westernization: The Transition in Political Culture <i>Raimund Lammersdorf</i>	643
	<i>Index</i>	651

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-16864-9 - The United States and Germany in the Era of the Cold War, 1945–1990: A Handbook:

Volume I: 1945–1968

Edited by Detlef Junker

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

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Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-16864-9 - The United States and Germany in the Era of the Cold War, 1945–1990: A Handbook:

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Frontmatter

[More information](#)

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Volume I: 1945–1968

Edited by Detlef Junker

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

## List of Contributors

xv

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978-0-521-16864-9 - The United States and Germany in the Era of the Cold War, 1945–1990: A Handbook:

Volume I: 1945–1968

Edited by Detlef Junker

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

xvi

## List of Contributors

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Frontmatter

[More information](#)

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xvii

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978-0-521-16864-9 - The United States and Germany in the Era of the Cold War, 1945–1990: A Handbook:

Volume I: 1945–1968

Edited by Detlef Junker

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

xviii

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Frontmatter

[More information](#)

## Preface

The idea for this history, *The United States and Germany in the Era of the Cold War, 1945–1990*, was conceived in the revolutionary period between 1989 and 1991. With the end of the Cold War, the collapse of the Soviet empire, the reorganization of Central and Eastern Europe, the fall of the Berlin Wall, the unification of Germany, and the end of the Soviet Union in those years, it quickly became obvious that an epoch in U.S.–German relations had drawn to a close. Inspired by the Hegelian dictum that the owl of Minerva, a symbol of wisdom, first takes to flight when night is falling, the editor of this collection decided to document American–German relations between 1945 and 1990 in all their complexity.

The success of this undertaking was made possible through the resources of the German Historical Institute (GHI) in Washington, D.C., whose primary mission is to promote scholarly collaboration between German and American historians, and thus contribute to a better understanding between their respective countries.<sup>1</sup> Since its founding in 1987, the Institute has devoted its scholarly energy to three areas in particular: research into the political, economic, social, and cultural interactions between the United States and Germany since the eighteenth century; comparative studies of the political, economic, social, and cultural developments in these countries in the modern era; and studies focusing on individual themes important to German and American history. Each of these three areas has claimed a place in the present volumes. It seemed fitting that the GHI invite a total of 132 scholars from both sides of the Atlantic to contribute their work – 146 essays in all – to this project.

In many ways these two volumes have no precedent. Never has a work attempted to describe and explain the relations between two states, two societies, and two cultures in such detail for one historical epoch. No comparable analytical study exists for U.S.–Soviet relations, nor for U.S.–British, U.S.–Japanese,

<sup>1</sup> See Detlef Junker, ed., with the assistance of Thomas Goebel and Edmund Spevack, *The German Historical Institute, 1987–1997: A Ten-Year Report*, Reference Guide series, no. 10 (Washington, D.C., 1998) ([www.ghi-dc.org/10year/index.html](http://www.ghi-dc.org/10year/index.html)); Wissenschaftsrat, *Stellungnahme zu den Geisteswissenschaftlichen Auslandsinstituten* (Cologne, 1999).

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Volume I: 1945–1968

Edited by Detlef Junker

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

or German–French relations. Similarly, no previous study has fully met the oft-invoked challenge of examining the reciprocal ties that run between two nations; no study has done this for the realm of politics, security, and economic policy, while also scrutinizing society, culture, and the role of nonstate actors. Finally, using the concrete example of U.S.–German relations, this history can demonstrate how the character of the international system and thus also bilateral relations were transformed after 1945. The second volume in particular makes clear the extent to which a growing multilateralization of international relations and economic globalization, as well as the globalization of popular culture, which was greatly influenced by the United States, affected the bilateral American–German relationship.

The editor and his associate editors chose the title *The United States and Germany in the Era of the Cold War, 1945–1990*, deliberately. On the one hand, by focusing on the distinctive characteristics of the Cold War, the title distinguishes this particular time period from both an earlier epoch and a later epoch whose contours remain as yet undefined. On the other hand, the title indicates that these relationships as a whole were more than just dependent variables of the Cold War. For nearly half a century, that war shaped the U.S.–German relationship in a decisive way. The global tension between the two superpowers was the starting point and basis for close political and military cooperation between the United States and the Federal Republic; this in turn contributed to increased economic, cultural, and societal interactions between the two countries. Yet, as the essays in these two volumes make clear, developments and factors that originally had nothing to do with the Cold War also influenced German–American relations in this period. This was particularly true for the presence of the past, the lessons that were drawn from the memory of National Socialist Germany on both sides of the Atlantic. It was also true of global economic developments and tendencies toward modernization that arose in both places.

The end of the division of Germany and Europe in 1990 clearly signaled a new era in German–American relations. Taking 1945 as our starting date may seem more problematic, however. Anyone familiar with the extensive literature on the emergence of the Cold War can cite the arguments for instead choosing 1943 or 1947, or even 1917. Depictions of the interwoven actions, events, and intentions contributing to the origins of the Cold War typically begin prior to 1945. Still, it makes sense to begin with this particular date because the new global political conflict gradually became visible for contemporaries between 1945 and 1947. In this short time span, the world was forced to recognize that the Allies' hopes for continued cooperation – beyond the moment when the German Reich capitulated – had come apart with astonishing speed. The future of Germany doubtlessly belonged very centrally to the many arenas of conflict. Even the outcome and contradictions of the Potsdam Conference cannot be explained without reference to the emerging conflict of two world powers that embodied antagonistic values, as well as antagonistic societal and state systems.

Objections to use of the term *Germany* may also arise. It will become apparent that our focus is to a great extent the relations between the superpower of the

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Volume I: 1945–1968

Edited by Detlef Junker

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

## Preface

xxi

West and the Federal Republic, which was gradually integrated into the West. By contrast, relations between the United States and the other German state, the communist German Democratic Republic, are a secondary concern here. Yet, because this volume also scrutinizes those relations to the extent that they did exist, it seemed legitimate to speak of “Germany” here. Finally, by referring to “The United States and Germany” in that order, we wish to indicate that the dominant influence – mutual interactions and connections notwithstanding – flowed from West to East, from superpower to dependent ally.

Dividing the articles into two volumes stems from more than practical considerations. The division also reflects the recognition that 1968 represents a significant turning point for historians, and not only in domestic policy; across the globe, that date also marked a major break with the past in Cold War–era international relations. At the same time, the second volume is considerably shorter because the historical exploration of German–American relations in the 1970s and 1980s remains in its early stages, and can as yet not draw on a substantial body of primary sources. One exception to this is the analysis of German reunification and the decisive role that the United States played in that event.

The authors of these essays live on both sides of the Atlantic and grew up in different cultures. Their contributions are thus often marked by a distinctly American or German perspective. This transatlantic variety does more than substantiate a kind of epistemological relativism along the lines of “where you stand depends on where you sit.” It makes a rich and fruitful exchange of perspectives possible, one that is essential for moving forward intellectually.

The general editor and the GHI in Washington have greatly benefited from the help and generous cooperation of many institutions and individuals. My first expression of gratitude must go to the German taxpayer, for the vast majority of the resources that made this project possible came from public funds provided by the Federal Republic of Germany. This is true for the monies that supported the scholarly and administrative staff members of the GHI who were involved with the project but also for the crucial sponsorship provided through the German Economics Ministry; the latter offered financial support through special funds – its *ERP-Sondervermögen*, the Transatlantic Program – on the recommendation of an interministerial committee. Financing of a study of German–American relations through these special funds seems particularly appropriate to us because they give evidence of the ongoing legacy of the Marshall Plan. In connection with these funds, special thanks are due to Wolfgang Rieck, former section head at the Economics Ministry; Michael Mertes, former director in the Chancellor’s Office; and Werner Weidenfeld, former coordinator for German–American cooperation at the Foreign Office. His successor in that position, Karsten Voigt, also lent his support during the completion of the project. We are likewise indebted to the Federal Ministry for Education and Research, as well as to members of the GHI’s Board of Trustees and Academic Advisory Council under the chairmanship of Klaus Hildebrand (Bonn), whose astute advice was always helpful.

The editors are also deeply indebted to Volker Berghahn (New York), Christoph Buchheim (Mannheim), Lily Gardner Feldman (Washington, D.C.), Harold

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978-0-521-16864-9 - The United States and Germany in the Era of the Cold War, 1945–1990: A Handbook:

Volume I: 1945–1968

Edited by Detlef Junker

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

James (Princeton, N.J.), Wolfgang Krieger (Marburg), Klaus Schwabe (Aachen), Thomas A. Schwartz (Nashville, Tenn.), and Frank Trommler (Philadelphia), who wrote the introductory essays for each of the main sections in these volumes: politics, security, economics, culture, and society. They also contributed annotated bibliographies for each. In addition, each gave valuable advice on the contributions appearing in his or her section. Carl-Ludwig Holtfrerich (Berlin), Diane B. Kunz (New York), and Hans-Peter Schwarz (Bonn) supported this project with their generous and valuable advice when it was in its early stages. Professor Schwarz also provided a perspective on German-American relations in the post-Cold War world.

It is, unfortunately, not possible to thank all the contributors individually. The editors are deeply in their debt. Not only did we rely on established scholars who had long devoted themselves to the study of German-American relations but also on a number of younger scholars who, in many instances, are presenting the results of their first major research in condensed form.

Because approximately half of the original manuscripts were in German and half were in English, translation proved to be a formidable task. Sally E. Robertson, who coordinated a team of translators for the project, provided crucial support. We extend our warmest gratitude to her and her team.

The efficient administrative support offered by the GHI in Washington aided this project in numerous ways. I extend a special thanks to my successor as director, Professor Christof Mauch, Administrative Director Dieter H. Schneider, and the GHI's foreign-language assistants, Christa Brown and Bärbel Thomas. A range of colleagues in Washington helped to keep the heavy volume of communications with the authors and translators flowing and lent support in the final editorial stages; these included Pamela Abraham, Simone Herrmann, Kathrin Klein, Lusi McKinley, Annette M. Marciel, Afaf E. Morgan, and Richard F. Wetzell, who each contributed to the completion of the manuscript. In Heidelberg, Daniela Eisenstein, Barbara Duttonhöfer, Matthias Kirchner, Thomas Maulucci, Christian Müller, and Christiane Rösch provided support in the final phase of the project. Responsibility for the final editorial work on the present volumes lay primarily in the hands of Jan Ruth Lambertz and Daniel S. Mattern. David Lazar provided the final elegant touch. Frank Smith, publishing director for Social Sciences at Cambridge University Press, took great interest in this project from the beginning, patiently waited to get hold of the completed manuscript, then guided it to publication with his usual professionalism.

My greatest debt as general editor is to my collaborators, Philipp Gassert, Wilfried Mausbach, and David B. Morris. Dr. Gassert and Dr. Mausbach were research Fellows at the Institute in Washington, D.C., while these volumes were assembled, and they devoted a considerable portion of their time to this project. Dr. Morris's main responsibility at the Institute was to oversee the editorial work for the book's publication in English and German. The Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt published a German-language edition in 2001. I am grateful for their expertise, engagement, and skillful command of two languages. Without the team spirit of our Washington

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Volume I: 1945–1968

Edited by Detlef Junker

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

---

Preface

xxiii

four-leaf clover, it would not have been possible to maintain such a fruitful collaboration with more than 130 authors of varied temperament.

Last, but not least, I thank my Dutch wife, Anja van der Schrieck-Junker, for the rich conversation that we carried on during our five years in Washington, D.C., from 1994 to 1999.

Detlef Junker  
Heidelberg/Washington, D.C.  
January 2003