

but also in the informal, civilian GI as a rôle model after the parade-ground régime of both the Third Reich and of traditional Prussian culture. At the formal level he deals rather briefly with the Marshall Plan, which enforced open economies on the whole of western Europe, and devotes rather more space to organized cultural impact, whether through the libraries and film shows of the *Amerikahäuser*, or, at the élite level, through the Congress for Cultural Freedom, with *Der Monat* as the main organ of Cold War liberalism.

Doering-Manteuffel's brief survey is an interpretative essay, not a history. Wisely, he selects a handful of themes rather than offering a comprehensive study, and restricts himself to developments in the former Federal Republic. He sees the crucial events in the Americanizing/westernizing process in the defeat of 1945, which shattered the legitimacy of the old order, and the Cold War, without which 'West Germans would not be as westernized as they are today' (p. 72). Given these stimuli, he stresses the extent to which Germans were willing participants in this process, rather than—as has been argued by others—passive and reluctant followers of American initiatives. The outcome he sees as 'a common value order in the societies on this and the other side of the Atlantic' (p. 12)—in other words, the German experience as an aspect of the general Americanization of western Europe, rather than as a specific change in the culture of a previously self-consciously central European society. Not everyone will be persuaded by this emphasis, but it is cogently and intelligently presented.

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*Von der Kriegskultur zur Friedenskultur? Zum Mentalitätswandel in Deutschland seit 1945.* Edited by Thomas Kühne, 'Jahrbuch für Historische Friedensforschung', vol. 9. Münster, Hamburg and London: LIT. 2000. 336 pp. DM39.80 (paperback).

The shift from half a century of international and domestic crisis in central Europe to a long period of peace after 1945 was particularly pronounced in Germany. Yet, oddly enough, the ways in which this transformation affected people's attitudes towards war and peace as well as towards force and violence as a means of conflict solution have so far by and large escaped the attention of the historical profession. This volume, which is the outcome of an interdisciplinary conference of the German Study Group for Historical Peace Research in November 1999, aims at closing this gap. Although the goal was to include both German states in the analysis, the focus of most of the contributions is on developments in the Federal Republic. As Thomas Kühne points out in his methodologically thoughtful, well-argued and concise introduction, this process was in no way unilinear, nor was it unidimensional. Certain elements of a 'war culture', such as thinking in terms of 'us' versus 'them', prevailed or recurred in the history of the Federal Republic. In opposition to sociological and political peace research Kühne does not regard 'peace culture' as a normative framework for analysis. Instead, for him the term describes mentalities which favour non-violent ways of conflict solution in all areas and in all layers of society over those which condone the use of force in international relations and domestic society.

Particularly interesting are those essays which show the ambiguities in the gradual shift in attitudes from those of a 'war culture' to those of a 'peace culture'. In a cogent

essay, Dirk Schumann points up these ambiguities in the debates on corporal punishment in both German states in the 1950s. Axel Schildt highlights the ambiguous character of *Abendland* thinking in the early Federal Republic, which on the one hand was used to justify supranational integration in the West as a form of peace, but, on the other hand, retained its extremely polarized anti-Communist character as a relic of the 'war culture' prevalent before 1945. Gottfried Niedhardt and Klaus Naumann detect similar ambiguities in their essays on the thinking among foreign policy and security élites. However, while Niedhardt attributes the changes of the early 1960s to a shift in values, Naumann regards it mainly as driven by generational change. In a chapter on veteran culture in the early Federal Republic Jörg Echternkamp ably demonstrates how veterans' mentalities continued to be framed by the memories of the Second World War. Yet it was precisely this form of remembrance which allowed them to integrate into West German society and to renounce the use of force in domestic politics.

One of the most fascinating contributions is the essay by Till Kössler. He compares attitudes towards war, force and violence within the Communist Party in Weimar Germany and the Federal Republic. Despite its internationalist rhetoric during the Weimar Republic, the outlook of most of the party's members and élites had often been militaristic. Moreover, the party had condoned the use of violence for political ends. Kössler can show convincingly how in the 1950s, as a consequence of the experiences of war and the increase in material wealth in the Federal Republic, the party's members were becoming extremely wary of its militant rhetoric. Martin Wengeler approaches the problem of 'peace culture' from a linguistic perspective and examines the use of language and key words in public debates as an indicator of cultural change.

It is a sign of quality that the editor has included two essays in the volume that are critical of the concept. In his essay on the relationship between mass culture and peace culture Kaspar Maase wastes an opportunity. Using social scientific jargon, he opts to criticize the normative and teleological model of 'peace culture', not the one set out by Kühne in the introduction. Far more sophisticated is the critical overview by the late Arnold Sywottek. Sywottek doubts that the concept 'peace culture' can be approached directly. For what one side in the Cold War claimed to be a preparation for peace was regarded as an act of aggression by the other. As an alternative, he proposes an analysis of West German history after 1945 along the lines of welfare, security and 'peace'. Here, the history of the Federal Republic during the Cold War emerges as the persistent struggle for economic, military and political security.

This is a valuable book which offers fresh perspectives on post-1945 German history. Most of the essays are thought provoking and well argued. All essays are arranged around the main analytical concept, although some appear to be oblivious of its non-normative character. Unfortunately, most of the essays lack a clear and systematic diachronic perspective and do not look back beyond 1945. Moreover, in many essays 'war culture' is used as a mere antithesis to 'peace culture' and, as a consequence, remains underdefined. Finally, the international dimension could be strengthened by examining the rôle of American or Western values in the growth of elements of a peace culture in the Federal Republic. However, this is probably more than could be expected from a volume which was only meant to be a first contribution to the debate.