

und zugleich mehr Nationalbewusstsein in Deutschland fordert sowie den 68ern ihre Familienverachtung vorhält. Eben ein ungewöhnliches Buch.

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WILFRIED VON BREDOW:

Militär und Demokratie in Deutschland

Wiesbaden 2008

Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 314 S.

This is a comprehensive, well-organised, and insightful book by Germany's leading expert on the roles, the sociology, and the politics of military forces in modern democracies. A command of technical and policy detail is complemented by historical sweep and philosophical depth. The book's 314 pages include an extensive bibliography and helpful person and thematic indexes (»Personen- und Sachregister«). It is a work that professors, postgraduate students and general interested readers will find stimulating and useful.

The book engages many facets and dimensions of a broad theme, beyond the more compact focus suggested by the title. The author pays considerable and adept attention to sociological aspects. He also situates the theme in an academic context with coverage of the history of »military studies« as a sub-discipline or crossroads for interdisciplinary research and critique. Thus the psychological foundations of violence, or the threat of it, and its manifestations in personal, social, and international relations, the institutions created to reduce, restrain, or organise and command violence, and others that analyse and comment on violence, are all addressed. Despite, or besides, the author's sociological accents – more classical Weberian than contemporary constructivist – he also acknowledges exogenous structural influences, not incompatible with Kenneth Waltz, and their capacity to shape Germany's internal configuration and policy orientations (e.g. 290).

The book's principal focus is on a particular military-bureaucratic-technical apparatus (the Bundeswehr) in a particular socio-political context (the Bundesrepublik Deutschland), and set against a particular historical background, in which opposition to military action, and even the existence of a military force, is considerable and sometimes virulent. Contradictory pressures on the Bundeswehr and the political leadership, from within and outside Germany, underlie a good portion of the book. Perhaps there is also an economic element to this public aversion, reflected in a figure of roughly 1.5 percent of GDP that the FRG spends on defence compared to the 2.5 percent that the UK and France spend of their much smaller GDPs.

The enduring issue of conscription is impressed as a social and not an internal military debate. Close ally France's scrapping of conscription was not well received by the German military or the (then Kohl) government. In the same year (2002) that France switched to a fully professional military, the number of military service refusals in Germany reached a record (189,000) (p. 155). Most other EU states and NATO partners had ended conscription far earlier. The author views the phasing out of conscription in Germany as inevitable and considers that the sooner it happens the better.

On the other hand, the demands on Germany – its society, politics and economy as well as its military – to contribute to global security have grown and will grow more. In 1995 former »Bundespräsident« Roman Herzog said that the globalisation of German foreign policy, including security and defence components, was »unavoidable«. That implied an increased involvement by the Bundeswehr in EU, NATO and UN missions. Dependent upon how Germany and its allies and partners organise themselves, what kind of technological innovations they develop, and the number and severity of security threats that emerge, this could mean greater financial cost and/or a greater range of often dangerous deployments.

The precursors to such probable future deployments, along with their political and legal underpinnings, and »superficial public acceptance«, are documented here (p. 231–247). A wide range of other topics, from the structure and development of the European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP), to the mentality of different »soldier types«, the possibility and effects of death in action, internal leadership, three »Weißbücher«, in particular that which appeared in 2006, and the future of the »Bundeswehr« are competently and systematically dealt with. There is no more complete book on this multidimensional subject, and it is written by a scholar with an authoritative grasp of the field.

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MATTHIAS LEMKE:

Republikanischer Sozialismus

Positionen von Bernstein, Kautsky, Jaurès und Blum

Frankfurt/M. u. New York 2008

Campus Verlag, 433 S.

Vor inzwischen fünf Jahren stellte der israelische Historiker Yehuda Bauer die These auf, dass es sich beim radikalen Islamismus, den er gleichermaßen von Islam und islamischem Fundamentalismus unterschied, um den inzwischen »dritten Totalitarismus« handle (vgl. DIE ZEIT 32/2003). Bauer argumentierte,