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978-1-107-16574-8 — Decades of Reconstruction
Edited by Ute Planert , James Retallack
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INTRODUCTION

Neither War Nor Postwar

Decades of Reconstruction

Ute Planert

"Inter bellum et pacem nihil medium."[1] In historical reality, of course, the neat separation of war and peace – a notion introduced into international law from antiquity by Hugo Grotius during the Thirty Years' War to distinguish *jus ad bellum* (the right to war) from *ius in bello* (the law of war) – constitutes the exception rather than the rule.[2] The fine gradations of armed violence that characterize the gray areas of internal and interstate conflicts are not a modern phenomenon. The "new wars" of the present day – in many respects not new at all – were hardly the first to raise doubts about the mutual exclusivity of war and peace.[3] Barely half of the hostilities classified as wars between 1480 and 1970 ended with a "regular" peace agreement.[4] Even during the world wars of the modern era, not all territories were affected equally by the consequences of the conflicts; nor was a peace agreement necessarily coincidental with the end of violent actions. The foreign policies of all modern powers include the

I am deeply indebted to James Retallack for his thought-provoking comments on this introduction.

[1] "There is no intermediate state between peace and war." Marcus Tullius Cicero, *Philippics*, VIII, 4.

[2] Hugo Grotius, *De Jure Belli ac Pacis* (1625), Book III, Chapter XXI.

[3] See M. van Creveld, *The Transformation of War* (New York, 1991); M. Kaldor, *Neue und alte Kriege: Organisierte Gewalt im Zeitalter der Globalisierung* (Frankfurt a.M., 2000); H. Münkler, *Die neuen Kriege* (Reinbek bei Hamburg, 2002); Dieter Langewiesche, "Wie neu sind die Neuen Kriege? Eine erfahrungsgeschichtliche Analyse," in Georg Schild and Anton Schindling, eds., *Kriegserfahrungen. Krieg und Gesellschaft in der Neuzeit* (Paderborn, 2009), 289–302.

[4] See Quincy Wright, "How Hostilities Have Ended: Peace Treaties and Alternatives," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 392 (1970), 51–61.

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use of undeclared wars and violent acts that lie below the formal threshold of war, and starting in the early twentieth century, experts on international law began advocating for recognition of a *status mixtus* ("mixed" or intermediate state).[5]

The distinction between war and peace has been further blurred by the increase in the types of war and regions of conflict in the more recent and contemporary periods. The existence of a gray area between war and peace is acknowledged by the United Nations, whose Charter, unlike the Covenant of the League of Nations after the First World War, does not attempt to define the concept of war but instead formulates a general ban on the use of force. Thus war and peace are no longer understood as situations – "states of things" – but as actions. Armed conflict constitutes violent action that does not end in a conclusive peace agreement but is transformed, as it were, into a dynamic peace process working toward de-escalating the violence.[6]

The petrification of complex transnational and international conflicts in regions and territories with disintegrating statehood, the increased incidence of non-state protagonists of violence, and the trend toward sub-state and intra-state wars have all sharpened awareness – both in international law and in security and development policy – that military victory does not inevitably result in a sustained state of peace. It is now understood that the transition from war to peace is fluid.[7] Because the conclusion of a peace treaty does not necessarily make conditions safer for the civilian population, the issue of ending wars has attracted growing attention from political science research since the mid-1960s.[8] Burgeoning

[5] See the evidence in Georg Schwarzenberger, "Jus Pacis ac Belli? Prolegomena to a Sociology of International Law," *International Law Studies* 75 (2000), 483–505.

[6] Art. 2/4 of the United Nations Charter. See also Bernd Wegner, "Einführung: Kriegsbeendigung und Kriegsfolgen im Spannungsfeld zwischen Krieg und Frieden," in *Wie Kriege enden. Wege zum Frieden von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart*, ed. Bernd Wegner (Paderborn, 2002), ix–xxviii.

[7] This observation was already made in 1960 by Dietrich Schindler, "Übergangsformen zwischen Krieg und Frieden," *Schweizerische Monatshefte. Zeitschrift für Politik, Wirtschaft, Kultur* 40 (1960–1961), 113–124; see also Herfried Münkler, *Der Wandel des Krieges. Von der Symmetrie zur Asymmetrie*, 3rd ed. (Weilerswist, 2014).

[8] By way of introduction, see Michael Handel, "The Study of War Termination," *Journal of Strategic Studies* 1 (1978), 51–75; the surveys in Volker Matthies, ed., *Vom Krieg zum Frieden. Kriegsbeendigung und Friedenskonsolidierung* (Bremen, 1995); and, as just one example among many, Christina Steenkamp, *Violence and Post-War Reconstruction: Managing Insecurity in the Aftermath of Peace Accords* (London, 2009). For further titles, see, e.g., the works published in the International Library of Post-War Reconstruction and Development series.

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fields of research and teaching, such as post-conflict studies or conflict and reconciliation studies, as well as the establishment of instruments for administering transitional justice, attest to the fact that "conflict societies" often experience a transformative period between war and peace. In such periods, the (partial) end of hostilities can be translated into a stable postwar order only at the cost of significant changes to state systems and normative principles.[9]

In recent years, the fields of war and violence have emerged as a major focus for historical research.[10] This interest is by no means purely academic, as is clear from the popular success of current publications on the First World War (1914–1918).[11] Studies of "hot" and "cold" wars in the recent past increasingly include global perspectives.[12] Comparative analyses documenting the enormous range and types of war from antiquity to the present have facilitated the task of categorizing long-term developments such as the nationalization of war since the early modern period

[9] See Volker Matthies, "Nicht mehr Krieg und noch nicht Frieden. Probleme friedenspolitischer Transformationsprozesse in gegenwärtigen Gewaltkonflikten," in *Wie Kriege enden*, 327–346; Bernd Wegner, Mir A. Ferdowsi, and Volker Matthies, eds., *Den Frieden gewinnen. Zur Konsolidierung von Friedensprozessen in Nachkriegsgesellschaften* (Bonn, 2003). On current peace and conflict studies in German political science, see Bettina Engels, "Friedens- und Konfliktforschung in Deutschland," *Neue Gesellschaft/Frankfurter Hefte* 7, 8 (2014), 34–37; as well as Susanne Buckley-Zistel, Teresa Koloma Beck, Christian Braun, and Friederike Mieth, eds., *Transitional Justice Theories* (London, 2013); and Tove Grete Lie, Helga Malmin Binningsbo, and Scott Gates, "Post-Conflict Justice and Sustainable Peace," *World Bank Post-Conflict Transitions Working Paper* 5 (2007).

[10] The literature is too extensive to be listed here. On Germany, see the publications emerging from the Sonderforschungsbereich "Kriegserfahrungen" (Collaborative Research Center "War Experiences"), from the "Gewaltgemeinschaften" ("Communities of Violence") Research Group, and from the Zentrum für Militärgeschichte und Sozialwissenschaften der Bundeswehr (Center for Military History and Social Sciences of the German Army), as well as numerous centers for war studies in the Anglo-American sphere. For an overview, see, most recently, Christian Gudehus and Michaela Christ, eds., *Gewalt. Ein interdisziplinäres Handbuch* (Stuttgart and Weimar, 2013). For further references see Jörg Echternkamp, "Krieg," in Jost Düffler and Wilfried Loth, eds., *Dimensionen internationaler Geschichte* (Munich, 2012), 9–28.

[11] Two books from among the many recent publications may serve as examples: Christopher Clark, *The Sleepwalkers: How Europe Went to War in 1914* (London, 2012); Jörn Leonhard, *Die Büchse der Pandora. Geschichte des Ersten Weltkriegs*, 5th ed. (Munich, 2014).

[12] Dan Diner, *Cataclysms. A History of the Twentieth Century from Europe's Edge* (Madison, WI, 2008); Eric Hobsbawm, *Age of Extremes: The Short Twentieth Century, 1914–1991* (New York, 1994); Bernd Greiner, Christian Th. Müller, and Dierk Walter, eds., *Heiße Kriege im Kalten Krieg* (Hamburg, 2006).

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and its present de-nationalization.[13] One does not have to agree with Heraclitus and consider war as the "father of all things" to recognize a connection between the Thirty Years' War and the rise of absolutism. Other interactions are equally pertinent. The war-torn decades on either side of 1800, for instance, were decisive for the development of capitalism and also for what Wolfgang Reinhardt called the first "white decolonization."[14] In the same way, the decline of transnational empires was catalyzed by the First World War.

In the scholarly literature, attention has long been focused on the search for the causes of war, that is, on attempts to explain the road *into* war. By contrast, historical peace studies in Germany and other countries have rarely asked how states and nations get *out of* war.[15] But this position is changing now that the division of Europe has been overcome: the years after 1945 are seen in a new light, and the once-dominant *Sonderweg* thesis – that Germany took a "special path" from the nineteenth century to modern times – has been increasingly challenged and qualified. As the image of a new Europe continues to take shape following the upheavals of 1989–1991, historians no longer concentrate exclusively on how the rise of National Socialism led to war and genocide. In the twenty-first century, they have become more interested in retracing and assessing Germany's and Europe's paths out of the maelstrom of Nazism and in asking how new structures of society were established from the physical and moral rubble it left behind.[16]

Despite the plethora of studies on the "postwar" era, many of which concentrated on Germany after 1945, important questions often went

[13] See Dietrich Beyrau, Michael Hochgeschwender, and Dieter Langewiesche, eds., *Formen des Krieges. Von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart* (Paderborn, 2007). Admittedly, contentious definitions and historicizations of "state" and "nation" complicate the study of the developments cited here.

[14] See Wolfgang Reinhardt, *Kleine Geschichte des Kolonialismus* (Stuttgart, 1996), 97–131.

[15] This is also demonstrated by the sketch outlining problems of the research field by Edgar Wolfrum, *Krieg und Frieden in der Neuzeit. Vom Westfälischen Frieden bis zum Zweiten Weltkrieg* (Darmstadt, 2003). For France, a research group of the French Ministry of Defense and the Sorbonne has arrived at a similar assessment; see Jörg Echternkamp, "Wege aus dem Krieg. Für die Historisierung von Nachkriegsgesellschaften im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert," in Jörg Echternkamp, ed., *Kriegsenden, Nachkriegsordnungen, Folgekonflikte. Wege aus dem Krieg im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert* (Freiburg i.Br., 2012), 1–22.

[16] Mark Mazower, *Dark Continent: Europe's 20th Century* (New York, 1998); Konrad H. Jarausch and Michael Geyer, *A Shattered Past: Reconstructing German Histories* (Princeton, NJ, 2002); Tony Judt, *Postwar: A History of Europe since 1945* (London, 2005); James J. Sheehan, *Where Have All the Soldiers Gone? The Transformation of Europe* (Boston, 2008).

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unanswered or indeed unasked. When and why did the period under investigation end: with the formal division of European states into two rival power blocs, with the acceleration of the processes of societal change in the late 1960s, or only with the end of the Cold War? Does the term "postwar" not suggest an apparently "natural" caesura in 1945, a clear-cut division between "before" and "after," even though researchers long ago refuted the fiction of Germany's *Stunde Null*, or "zero hour," in May 1945? The history of the European "postwar societies," moreover, was often written in terms of their integration into two different bloc systems with too little regard for deeper questions about reconstruction during the first two decades after the war's end.[17] This holds true especially for the (success) story of the Federal Republic of Germany, frequently understood in the US as a model of reconstruction built on foreign aid, which still serves as a reference point for countries such as Lebanon that are devastated by wars and terrorism.[18]

The fall of the Berlin Wall, however, brought a greater willingness to ask new questions about common European experiences beyond the East-West dichotomy and to emphasize the contingency of developments immediately after 1945. A few years before his death, Eric Hobsbawm (1917–2012) initiated a research project that examined the period from 1945 to 1949 from a comparative European perspective. The project showed how, just prior to the confrontation between East and West, European countries were responding in similar ways to a set of problems they shared in common: societal collapse, refugee crises, political instability, existential physical survival. Studies spawned by Hobsbawm's project

[17] From the extensive literature, see for example Volker Berghahn, *The Americanization of West German Industry, 1945–1973* (Leamington Spa, 1986); Michael Hogan, *The Marshall Plan: America, Britain and the Reconstruction of Western Europe, 1947–53* (Cambridge, 1987); Alan Milward, *The Reconstruction of Western Europe, 1945–51* (Berkeley, 1984); Ian D. Turner, ed., *Reconstruction in Post-War Germany: British Occupation Policy and the Western Zones, 1945–55* (Oxford, 1989); Armin Grünbacher, *Reconstruction and Cold War in Germany: The Kreditanstalt für Wiederaufbau (1948–1961)* (Burlington, VT, 2004). The teleology is already evident in the title of works by Axel Schildt, *Ankunft im Westen. Ein Essay zur Erfolgsgeschichte der Bundesrepublik* (Frankfurt a.M., 1999); and Heinrich August Winkler, *Der lange Weg nach Westen,* vol. 2, *Deutsche Geschichte vom "Dritten Reich" bis zur Wiedervereinigung* (Munich, 2000).

[18] See Rudiger Dornbusch, Wilhelm Nölling, and Richard Layard, eds., *Postwar Economic Reconstruction and Lessons for the East Today* (Cambridge, MA, 1993); Howayda Al-Harithy, "The Politics of Identity Construction in Post-War Reconstruction," in Howayda Al-Harithy, ed., *Lessons in Post-War Reconstruction: Case Studies from Lebanon in the Aftermath of the 2006 War* (New York, 2010), 71–99.

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convincingly demonstrate that the first steps to rebuilding had been taken long before the war ended. They also showed the major role played by state planning and the remarkable resilience exhibited by prewar constellations. The constitutive importance of the Cold War for Europe's economic reconstruction was by no means denied, but the project also pointed to great national differences among individual countries, irrespective of their dependence on opposing supranational blocs. Lastly, these studies stressed the necessity of directing attention away from continental Europe, on which it had hitherto been concentrated, and toward the world at large, for it was on the global stage that Europe's colonial powers strove in vain to stabilize their economies by means of a new imperialism.[19]

Other recent work has also rejected the teleological view of bloc systems and success stories. A number of studies focus on the divergent war experiences of European societies and their disruptive legacies, stressing the intertwined histories of "war" and "postwar" periods. They direct their attention to the diverse ways in which different European societies sought to deal with the after-effects of mass violence, death and destruction, hunger and population displacement, and resistance and collaboration. They ask how, under the circumstances specific to each case, "winning the peace" and reconstructing civil society could become attainable goals. Going well beyond the examination of basic economic and political conditions, they underline the significance for post-conflict societies of cultural restoration, a process that centered on remembering and forgetting, on the elaboration of public and private memories, on the restitution of social bonds and political identities, on the open discussion of values and emotions, and on the influence of the mass media. This approach, in which the term "postwar" has an analytical as well as a temporal dimension, gives research a broader historical scope and significance, showing how war continues to shape "postwar" situations and, in so doing, helps to link the public and the private spheres.[20] The degree

[19] See the contributions in Mark Mazower, Jessica Reinisch, and David Feldman, eds., "Post-War Reconstruction in Europe: International Perspectives 1945–1949," *Past and Present* Supplement 6 (2011).

[20] Frank Biess and Robert G. Moeller, eds., *Histories of the Aftermath: The Legacies of the Second World War in Europe* (New York, 2010); Daniel Fulda, Dagmar Herzog, Stefan-Ludwig Hoffmann, and Till van Rahden, eds., *Demokratie im Schatten der Gewalt. Geschichten des Privaten im deutschen Nachkrieg* (Göttingen, 2010); Robert G. Moeller, *War Stories: The Search for a Usable Past in the Federal Republic of Germany* (Berkeley, 2001); Klaus Neumann, *Shifting Memories: The Nazi Past in the New Germany* (Ann Arbor, 2000); Pierre Guillen and Ilja Mieck, eds., *Nachkriegsgesellschaften in Deutschland und*

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to which even "hard" fields of politics are molded by experience of conflict and by patterns of cultural intepretation has been demonstrated in a powerful new analysis of the military's role in the early Federal Republic of Germany.[21]

Studies devoted to the reintegration of war veterans and the significance of memorial culture for the (de)stabilization of societies link research on twentieth-century Europe with similar works on other epochs and different geographical contexts.[22] Regarding the period between the First and Second World Wars in particular, scholars have pointed to the bellicosity of commemorative culture. Yet it remains controversial whether, or to what extent, the first half of the twentieth century should be considered as an era of successive European civil wars or even as a second Thirty Years' War.[23] Whatever the case, the new world order emerging from the First World War was anything but robust. In the successor states of the fallen empires, many territories were ravaged by a bloody wave of civil war, political terror, and population displacement, which has recently become a focus of international research.[24] From

Frankreich im 20. Jahrhundert. Sociétés d'après-guerre en France et en Allemagne au 20e siècle (Munich, 1998).

[21] See Jörg Echternkamp, *Soldaten im Nachkrieg. Historische Deutungskonflikte und westdeutsche Demokratisierung 1945–1955* (Munich, 2014).

[22] Among numerous relevant works, see Natalie Petiteau, *Lendemains d'Empire: les soldats de Napoléon dans la France du XIXe siècle* (Paris, 2003); Sabine Kienitz, *Beschädigte Helden. Kriegsinvalidität und Körperbilder 1914–1923* (Paderborn, 2008); Alan Forrest, Etienne François, and Karen Hagemann, eds., *War Memories: The Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars in 19th and 20th Century Europe* (Basingstoke, 2013); Horst Carl and Ute Planert, eds., *Militärische Erinnerungskulturen vom 14. bis zum 19. Jahrhundert* (Göttingen, 2012). On the changing of gender concepts, see Dirk Schumann and Gabriele Metzler, eds., *Geschlechterordnung und Politik in der Weimarer Republik* (Munich, 2014); with a European focus, Ingrid Sharp and Matthew Stibbe, eds., *Aftermaths of War: Women's Movements and Female Activists, 1918–1923* (Leiden, 2011); Mary Louise Roberts, *Civilization without Sexes: Reconstructing Gender in Postwar France, 1918–1923* (Chicago, 1994).

[23] Enzo Traverso, *A feu et à sang. De la guerre civile européenne 1914–1945* (Paris, 2007); Ian Kershaw, "Europe's Second Thirty Years' War," *History Today* 55 (2005), 10–17; Fritz Stern, "Der zweite Dreißigjährige Krieg," in Fritz Stern, ed., *Der Westen im 20. Jahrhundert. Selbstzerstörung, Wiederaufbau, Gefährdungen der Gegenwart* (Göttingen, 2008), 9–29; critical of this approach is Bruno Thoß, "Die Zeit der Weltkriege – Epochen als Erfahrungseinheit?" in Bruno Thoß and Hans-Erich Volkmann, eds., *Erster Weltkrieg – Zweiter Weltkrieg. Ein Vergleich* (Paderborn, 2002), 7–30.

[24] Robert Gerwarth and John Horne, *War in Peace: Paramilitary Violence in Europe after the Great War* (Oxford, 2012); Timothy K. Wilson, *Frontiers of Violence: Conflict and Identity in Ulster and Upper Silesia, 1918–1922* (Oxford, 2010). See also the research project at the Centre for War Studies, University College Dublin, "The Limits of Demobilization: Paramilitary Violence in Europe and the Wider World, 1917–1923."

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Finland to the Aegean Sea, the toll of human life from these upsurges of violence was comparable in scope to the combined losses of the Western European powers during the First World War itself. For this reason, Italian scholars have recently spoken of a twenty-year period of "forgotten wars."[25]

Despite the great variety of studies about individual postwar periods, there have been surprisingly few attempts to subject these many modern periods of reconstruction to a diachronic analysis. An ambitious volume of collected essays edited by Carl Levy and Mark Roseman surveys the twentieth-century postwar periods in France, (West) Germany, and Italy. However, by comparing the situations after 1918, 1945, and 1989–1991, their work fails to resolve a methodological dilemma. As tempting as it may be to include the Cold War among other large-scale conflicts of the twentieth century, the Cold War era lacks the elements of extreme violence, mass casualties, destruction, and displacement. These experiences constituted a stark legacy for states and their populations after the two world wars. After 1945, however, the "hot wars" were waged outside of Europe. Moreover, 1989–1991 was the result not of a military defeat but of the collapse of a political system. In this respect, the decades following the Cold War can be compared with the aftermaths of earlier "hot" wars in limited ways. Accordingly, the authors in this collection focus on the establishment of socio-political stability following the dissolution of political systems, rather than engaging with the consequences of war and mass violence.

The Levy and Roseman volume is most convincing in the sections that emphasize the close interrelatedness of the international framework and economic consolidation, while underlining the huge differences between the aftermaths of the First and the Second World Wars. The contributors convincingly argue that while the end of the wars might have given rise to new settlements and power constellations, ostensibly new postwar orders often reflected trends that were underway long before war broke out. The development of a consumer society is an especially good example of how such trends followed their own inherent logic.[26]

Studies that focus on the termination of war and the way in which political entities process disruption and defeat may be better suited to

[25] Davide Artico and Brunello Mantelli, eds., *From Versailles to Munich: Twenty Years of Forgotten Wars* (Wrocław, 2010).
[26] Carl Levy and Mark Roseman, eds., *Three Postwar Eras in Comparison: Western Europe 1918 – 1945 – 1989* (Basingstoke, 2002).

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meet such epistemic challenges. The term "postwar" is still almost exclusively attributed to Europe after 1945,[27] and few publications have taken advantage of illuminating comparisons with pre-modern eras. A small number of comparative studies have nonetheless examined the termination of wars across different periods and cultures.[28] The present volume joins this endeavor using an approach that is broad in both temporal span and geographical scope. Its chapters range from the Seven Years' War to wars waged during Hobsbawm's "age of extremes," with the myriad wars of the nineteenth century falling in between. It focuses, therefore, on what could be called the age of world wars from the eighteenth to the twentieth centuries.[29]

The transnational and comparative perspective on Europe and North America from the eighteenth century to the Cold War allows the authors collectively to elaborate on patterns of transition from war to peace in greater depth than is possible in specialized studies. Some conflicts, of course, have larger historical impacts than others, depending on the scale and the type of war being waged. It is the role of the historian to identify patterns and develop categories of explanation. Yet the interaction of diverse but not entirely dissimilar developments, depending on time and place, compels scholars at least to acknowledge, if not unravel, entangled histories. At the same time, the comparative approach directs attention to epochs that remain conspicuously under-researched – the aftermath of the Franco-Prussian War of 1870–1871, for instance, or, even more intriguingly, the era between 1815 and 1848. The latter came to be defined by a purely temporal term – *Vormärz*, or "pre-March" – that makes explicit reference to the *pre*-history of the revolutions that broke out in 1848. Yet the first half of the nineteenth century was equally the *post*-history of the

[27] Dan Stone, ed., *The Oxford Handbook of Postwar European History* (Oxford, 2012).

[28] See Echternkamp, *Kriegsenden*; Wolfgang Schivelbusch, *Die Kultur der Niederlage* (Berlin, 2001); Bernd Wegner, ed., *Wie Kriege enden. Wege zum Frieden von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart* (Paderborn, 2002); Horst Carl, Hans-Henning Kortüm, Dieter Langewiesche, and Friedrich Lenger, eds., *Kriegsniederlagen. Erfahrungen und Erinnerungen* (Berlin, 2004).

[29] On the Seven Years' War as a first global world war, see Daniel Baugh, *The Global Seven Years War, 1754–1763: Britain and France in a Great Power Contest* (Harlow, 2011); Fred Anderson, *Crucible of War: The Seven Years' War and the Fate of Empire in British North America, 1754–1766* (New York, 2000); H. V. Bowen, *War and British Society, 1688–1815* (Cambridge, 1998); Sven Externbrink, ed., *Der Siebenjährige Krieg (1756–1763). Ein europäischer Weltkrieg im Zeitalter der Aufklärung* (Berlin, 2010); Marian Füssel, *Der Siebenjährige Krieg. Ein Weltkrieg im 18. Jahrhundert* (Munich, 2010); Eberhard Kessel, Thomas Lindner, eds., *Das Ende des Siebenjährigen Krieges 1760–1763*, 2 vols. (Paderborn, 2007).

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Napoleonic age.[30] Recalibrating the historical lens in this way brings to the fore a strikingly different set of scholarly questions and agendas.

In reaction against the vagueness and frequent overextension of the term "postwar," the studies in this volume concentrate on the situations at the end of wars and on the consequences of conflict in its immediate aftermath. During the transformative phase of these decades of reconstruction, an interplay of basic international conditions, foreign political constellations, and decisions concerning domestic politics set the course for the political, economic, military, social, and cultural reorganization of the societies emerging from war. Particularly interesting here is the interaction between domestic politics and foreign policy, often in a context of extreme economic imperatives.

Since wars are preceded, accompanied, and followed by massive changes, they represent tremendous challenges to established regimes, both domestic and international. Political leaders and economic elites are anxious to (re)gain domestic agency and international recognition. Consequently, it would be misleading to attribute the striving for a new equilibrium to postwar eras alone. More often than not, political leaders do not wait for the actual cessation of hostilities to take action. Negotiations such as those among the anti-Napoleonic Allies in early 1813 and pronouncements like the Moscow Declaration of 1943 reflect attempts, initiated long before the fighting was over, to reestablish a viable international order and functioning societies.[31]

That said, wars do not end merely because "peace breaks out" in societies because statesmen pick up a pen, or because economic leaders decide that they, too, have a stake in turning "swords into ploughshares." Important socio-political forces are at work long before a war commences, and their action does not stop with the signing of a peace treaty. It is with this continuity in mind that the term "decades of reconstruction" has been used in this introduction. It represents an attempt to avoid the temporal vagueness of the term "postwar" while discouraging a depiction of years of peace as simple preludes or postludes to war. It also dispenses with the notion of a "postwar moment" – a notion dear to researchers in peace studies and students of international relations due to its supposed

[30] Michael Rowe, Karen Hagemann, Alan Forrest, and Stefan Dudink, eds., *War, Demobilization, and Memory: The Legacy of War in the Era of Atlantic Revolutions* (Basingstoke, 2015).

[31] In the Moscow Declaration of autumn 1943, the Allies determined what their joint approach to the Axis Powers would be after the end of the war.

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