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The Code of Protest: Images of Peace in the West German Peace Movements, 1945–1990

BENJAMIN ZIEMANN

The article examines posters produced by the peace movements in the Federal Republic of Germany during the Cold War, with an analytical focus on the transformation of the iconography of peace in modernity. Was it possible to develop an independent, positive depiction of peace in the context of protests for peace and disarmament? Despite its name, the pictorial self-representation of the campaign 'Fight against Nuclear Death' in the late 1950s did not draw on the theme of pending nuclear mass death. The large-scale protest movement in the 1980s against NATO's 1979 'double-track' decision contrasted female peacefulness with masculine aggression in an emotionally charged pictorial symbolism. At the same time this symbolism marked a break with the pacifist iconographic tradition that had focused on the victims of war. Instead, the movement presented itself with images of demonstrating crowds, as an anticipation of its peaceful ends. Drawing on the concept of asymmetrical communicative 'codes' that has been developed in sociological systems theory, the article argues that the iconography of peace in peace movement posters could not develop a genuinely positive vision of peace, since the code of protest can articulate the designation value 'peace' only in conjunction with the rejection value 'war'.

In recent years the representation of war, in photographs, postcards, films and other visual media, has emerged as an important theme of modern military and cultural history. Recently we have seen a plethora of articles and edited volumes on the 'picture war' and the pictorial representation of armed conflict in the mass media. Chronologically they stretch from the beginnings of modern war reporting, in the Crimean War, to the 'war on terror' after the 11 September 2001 terrorist attack on the United States. A whole new field of research has been constituted which offers contemporary historians an abundance of important insights and theses,¹ the most

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¹ See Thomas F. Schneider, ed., *Kriegserlebnis und Legendenbildung. Das Bild des 'modernen' Krieges in Literatur, Theater, Photographie und Film*, 3 vols. (Osnabrück: Universitätsverlag Rasch, 1999); Gerhard Paul, *Bilder des Krieges, Krieg der Bilder. Die Visualisierung des modernen Krieges* (Paderborn: Ferdinand

important of which is perhaps Bernd Hüppauf's notion of a 'crisis of representation' that emerges in the photography of the First World War, if not before. The work of the Australian war photographer Frank Hurley is a paradigm for the problem of how to represent trench warfare visually, where the battlefield is effectively a void. This development had a lasting impact on technique and narrative in the iconographic representation of twentieth-century armed conflict.² Moreover, historical research has repeatedly confirmed the argument advanced in 1984 by the French philosopher and media critic Paul Virilio: that as the twentieth century wore on, wars were waged less and less for 'material, territorial or economic conquest and more and more to dominate the immaterial territory of human perception'.³ As historians have absorbed constructivist insights and turned their attention increasingly to pictorial analysis, they have assimilated the notion that a picture is never a straightforward reflection of reality: it is part of a chain of symbols and discursive formulations that not only help to mould subjective perceptions, but also, and more importantly, influence and permanently affect societal communication.⁴

Amid this upsurge of interest in the iconography of war, one question has almost been forgotten – the opposite of military violence, that is, iconographic visions and representations of peace. If this question is considered at all it is usually dismissed as marginal; for example, a critic analysing a war film may ask – fearfully or sceptically according to standpoint – whether a film that is avowedly anti-war or even pacifist, or is taken to be so, may actually be contributing to the aestheticisation and glorification of violence.⁵ There is more to it than that, however. In this modern age, is it actually possible to represent peace symbolically, or has this become problematic – a crisis of representation comparable with the one that has affected its opposite, the representation of war? In what follows I shall attempt to answer some of these questions and put them in a historical perspective.

I shall first briefly describe the background to this development, that is, the older, systematic iconographic tradition of peace. I shall then focus on a single, rather narrowly defined, example: the iconographic policies of the peace movements – that is,

Schöningh, 2004); Ute Daniel, ed., *Augenzeugen. Kriegsberichterstattung vom 18. zum 21. Jahrhundert* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2006).

² See Bernd Hüppauf, 'Experiences of Modern Warfare and the Crisis of Representation', *New German Critique* 59 (1993), 41–76; idem, 'Räume der Destruktion und Konstruktion von Raum. Landschaft, Sehen, Raum und der Erste Weltkrieg', *Krieg und Literatur/War and Literature*, 3, 5/6 (1991), 105–23; Annegret Jürgens-Kirchhoff, *Schreckensbilder. Krieg und Kunst im 20. Jahrhundert* (Berlin: Reimer, 1993).

³ Paul Virilio, *War and Cinema: The Logistics of Perception* (London: Verso, 1989), quote from the German edition, *Krieg und Kino. Logistik der Wahrnehmung* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer-Taschenbuch-Verlag, 1989), 13; see also Karl Prümm, 'Die Definitionsmacht der TV-Bilder. Zur Rolle des Fernsehens in den neuen Kriegen nach 1989', in Daniel, *Augenzeugen*, 217–29.

⁴ See Jens Jäger, *Photographie: Bilder der Neuzeit. Einführung in die Historische Bildforschung* (Tübingen: Edition Diskord, 2000); less convincing is Peter Burke, *Eyewitnessing: The Uses of Images as Historical Evidence* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001). On constructivism see Urs Stäheli, *Sinnzusammenbrüche. Eine dekonstruktive Lektüre von Niklas Luhmanns Systemtheorie* (Weilerswist: Velbrück Wissenschaft, 2000).

⁵ Hildburg Herbst, 'Verherrlichung des Krieges oder Plädoyer für den Frieden? Die Problematik des Films *Das Boot* aus amerikanischer Sicht', in Schneider, *Kriegserlebnis*, III, 1007–20.

of collective actors who are explicitly dedicated to the cause of peace and non-violent protest against the violence of war and weapons.⁶ I shall be concentrating on the Cold War (1945–1990) and the iconography of peace movements in the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG), making some comparisons with examples from France and Scandinavia. The focus will be on posters, since these were the movements' preferred medium for pictorial communication. They used political posters to mobilise political support, and secondarily as a way of claiming and occupying public spaces with images representing their favourite ideas and demands.⁷ The scope and reception of such posters will not be a main focus of attention: that is a secondary aspect, especially as opinion polls show that political posters tended to attract much less attention than those carrying commercial advertisements: in the late 1950s they seldom reached more than 10 per cent of the population.⁸ Hence I shall be paying comparatively little attention to how posters pushed the 'peace' agenda in the mass media; my subject is rather their importance as a medium for the ways in which protest movements constitute themselves.⁹

In terms of the posters produced by the peace movements, I shall be examining a series of interconnected questions. What was the iconography of peace protests? How far did these movements use pictures to draw public attention to their aims or warn against the dangers of a world without peace? What iconographic traditions and symbols did they draw on, and what continuity can be discerned in their imagery of peace? How did this iconographic symbolism change over the more than four decades between 1945 and 1990? At whom or what do they point accusing fingers? Do they attempt to portray a potential future world, a world at peace? Did later twentieth-century peace movements devise an autonomous vision of a peaceful political order, or did they always evoke it by negation, that is by alluding to the destructive consequences of past, present and future wars? Were poster designers

⁶ Benjamin Ziemann, 'Peace Movements in Western Europe, Japan and USA since 1945: Introduction', *Mitteilungsblatt des Instituts für soziale Bewegungen*, 32 (2004), 5–19; for peace movements in the FRG see Wilfried Mausbach, 'The Present's Past: Recent Perspectives on Peace and Protest in Germany, 1945–1973', *ibid.*, 67–98.

⁷ On posters in twentieth-century political communication see Michael Sauer, "'Hinweg damit!' Plakate als historische Quellen zur Politik- und Mentalitätsgeschichte", in Gerhard Paul, ed., *Visual History. Ein Studienbuch* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2006), 37–56; Frank Kämpfer, *Propaganda. Politische Bilder im 20. Jahrhundert. Bildkundliche Essays* (Hamburg: Kämpfer, 1997); on peace posters, cf. Reiner Diederich, 'Eine Taube macht noch kein Plakat. Anmerkungen zur Geschichte des Friedensplakates seit den 20er Jahren', in Hans Jürgen Hässler and Christian von Heusinger, eds., *Kultur gegen Krieg – Wissenschaft für den Frieden* (Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 1989), 349–63; Christiane Sube, 'Das politische Bildplakat in Deutschland zwischen Militarismus und Pazifismus', in Dietrich Harth, ed., *Pazifismus zwischen den Weltkriegen. Deutsche Schriftsteller und Künstler gegen Krieg und Militarismus 1918–1933* (Heidelberg: Heidelberger Verlagsanstalt, 1985), 139–46.

⁸ See Norbert Grube, 'Aushandeln, Gestaltung und Resonanz von Regierungspropaganda seit der Ära Adenauer im Spannungsfeld von Politik, Wirtschaft, Wissenschaft und Medien', in *Rhöndorfer Gespräche* (Bonn: Bouvier, 2008, forthcoming).

⁹ Werner Bergmann, 'Was bewegt die soziale Bewegung? Überlegungen zur Selbstkonstitution der neuen sozialen Bewegungen', in Dirk Baecker, Jürgen Markowitz, Rudolf Stichweh, Hartmann Tyrell and Helmut Willke, eds., *Theorie als Passion. Niklas Luhmann zum 60. Geburtstag* (Frankfurt/M.: Suhrkamp, 1987), 362–93.

capable of ‘evoking images of peace that had not already been used in commercial art, or politically instrumentalised’?¹⁰ And finally, looking beyond the peace movement, what can the depictions of peace in these posters tell us about the possibility of peace in modernity?

I shall divide this study into three parts. In the first part I shall look at how peace, and its opposite, are symbolised in the posters, and particularly at how the two are connected. In the second part I shall focus on the depiction of peace protests as a separate motif in the posters: because this not only shows the protest cycles of peace movements but also how they attempted to contribute to the pacification of the polity. The third part will use these observations to draw some conclusions about how peace protests structured their communication, and what effect this had on the portrayal, or portrayability, of peace itself.¹¹

First of all, however, I must briefly recall some characteristics of pre-modern peace iconography. Political peace – non-violent coexistence among states, or within a single polity – was seldom depicted in pre-modern art on its own; peace was more likely to be ‘part of a broader artistic programme’, most probably commissioned by a ruler or some governing body to legitimise or symbolise his or its claim to power. Such depictions of peace generally drew on one of three iconographic traditions: the glorification of the peaceable ruler; the combination of positive virtues in portrayals of good government; and, in connection with figures from classical mythology such as Mars or Minerva, pointing the exemplary way to a peaceful existence.¹² All three traditions use Pax as the classical personification of peace, bearing her familiar attributes such as an olive branch – the symbolic offer of peace – and a horn of plenty or garland of wheat, characterising peace as a state of well-being. The best-known example of this form of representing peace must surely be the *Allegory of Good Government* which Ambrogio Lorenzetti painted in Siena’s Palazzo Pubblico between 1338 and 1340. Pax appears along with Justitia and Concordia, representing the virtues without which there can be no good government or harmony within the polity. As the central figure of the fresco, Pax also stands at ‘the centre of civic, that is political, life’, the sine qua non of a peaceful polity. She reclines on a cushion, under which some pieces of black armour are visible, and her right foot rests on

¹⁰ Hans-Martin Kaulbach, ‘Der Beitrag der Kunst zum Verschwinden des Friedens’, in Thomas Kater and Albert Kummel, eds., *Der verweigerte Friede. Der Verlust der Friedensbildlichkeit in der Moderne* (Bremen: Donat Verlag, 2003), 89–112, 107.

¹¹ This study is based mainly on some 600 posters that appeared between 1945 and the 1990s which are held in the poster collection of the Archiv der sozialen Demokratie in Bonn (henceforward ‘AsD’) under the keywords ‘Friedensbewegung’ (peace movement) and ‘Pazifismus’ (pacifism). For further examples, some from other countries, see Reiner Diederich, Richard Grübling and Horst Trapp, eds., *Plakate gegen den Krieg. Dokumente der internationalen Friedensbewegung seit 1912* (Weinheim and Basel: Beltz, 1983); Bruno Margadant, *Hoffnung und Widerstand. Das 20. Jahrhundert im Plakat der internationalen Arbeiter- und Friedensbewegung* (Zürich: Hans-Rudolf Lutz, 1998); Vittorio Pallotti, ed., *50 anni di pace in Europa. Eventi e immagini* (Bologna: Centro di documentazione del manifesto pacifista internazionale, 2002).

¹² Hans-Martin Kaulbach, ‘Friede als Thema der bildenden Kunst – ein Überblick’, in Wolfgang Augustyn, ed., *Pax. Beiträge zu Idee und Darstellung des Friedens* (Munich: Scaneg, 2003), 161–242, 161; idem, *Beitrag*, 91–103.

a helmet: war is now a thing of the past, and the ‘reality’ of peace has established itself in the city.¹³ It is worth noting, however, that Pax has not created peace all by herself. She can only enter once ‘other, politically competent authorities have created the necessary conditions for peace’.¹⁴ In other words, no allegory of peace, as the inner state of a polity stabilised by the joint blessings of justice and concord, can tell the observer *what* preconditions will produce this happy state. It remains to be seen whether the peace movements succeeded in finding an artistic symbol that was capable of answering the same question.

This tradition – the allegorical portrayal of peace as the condition of a stable polity – was brusquely interrupted after 1800, for three main reasons. First, allegory fell sharply out of favour in the nineteenth century as its traditional figures lost their ‘dynamism and authority’. This made the representation of peace in allegorical form both questionable and problematic; it was urgently necessary to find a way of representing peace in a post-allegorical age.¹⁵ Second, as Immanuel Kant reasoned, peace in the modern world was better envisaged not as the settlement and overcoming of one conflict, but rather as a continuous process of conflict resolution. According to Kant, ‘peace as a state of tranquil repose’ was no longer conceivable because political life had become dynamic and process-oriented; therefore the concept, and any possible depiction, of peace had to be dynamic as well.¹⁶ If we relate this new, dynamic approach to conflict resolution to Reinhart Koselleck’s comments on the temporal structures of the modern world, the logical outcome seems to be that peace ceases to be a present reality and instead recedes into the future: overcoming violence becomes an expected, hoped-for project rather than an ongoing experience.¹⁷ A third important reason for this breach with pre-modern peace iconography is – in the German-speaking world at least – the increasing bellicosity of nineteenth-century political culture, starting with the revolt against Napoleon in 1806/7. The justification and glorification of war as a universal moral principle (rather than mere self-defence against an external enemy), and the revival of the mythology of peace-through-conquest as a legitimate aim, tended to marginalise any argument or artistic representations suggesting ‘perpetual peace’ as a realistic goal. The disappearance of peace as a subject for art went hand in hand with the emphasis on depictions and recollections of necessary war.¹⁸

¹³ Thomas Kater, ‘Über Gewalt und Frieden: Bilder des Politischen’, in Benjamin Ziemann, ed., *Perspektiven der Historischen Friedensforschung* (Essen: Klartext, 2002), 57–85, quotes at 72.

¹⁴ Kaulbach, ‘Friede’, 192; cf. idem, ‘Beitrag’, 95.

¹⁵ Kaulbach, ‘Beitrag’, quotation at 103. The few allegorical pictures created in the nineteenth century often relate to the representation of constitutional monarchy; see Kaulbach, ‘Allegorie und Realität in Friedensbildern des 19. Jahrhunderts’, in Thomas Kater, ed., *‘Der Friede ist keine leere Idee . . .’ Bilder und Vorstellungen vom Frieden am Beginn der politischen Moderne* (Essen: Klartext, 2006), 116–32.

¹⁶ Thomas Kater, ‘Zur Transformation von Friedensbildern am Beginn der Moderne’, in idem, ‘Friede’, 9–29, 18–19.

¹⁷ Cf. Reinhart Koselleck, *Futures Past. On the Semantics of Historical Time* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004).

¹⁸ See Jost Düllfer, ed., *Kriegsbereitschaft und Friedensordnung in Deutschland 1800–1814* (Münster: Lit-Verlag, 1995); Herfried Münkler and Siegfried Storch, *Siegfrieden. Politik mit einem deutschen Mythos* (Berlin:

Peace and its opposite: forms and symbols

Now that we have sketched in the background we are in a better position to examine the symbolism of post-1945 peace movement posters. I tend to agree with Hans-Martin Kaulbach that peace iconography since the Second World War comprises not so much ‘works of art’ – drawings or paintings – as ‘political placards’.¹⁹ In the late 1940s and early 1950s the chief focus was the horrors of the recent world war. There was an organised pacifist movement in Germany in the form of the Deutsche Friedensgesellschaft (DFG), re-founded in 1945–6, but it was not this movement that contributed most towards the new, politically updated iconography of peace. By 1949, in fact, the DFG’s membership had sunk to a mere 4,400 and it was in no position to impose any kind of political symbolism.²⁰ Much more prominent was the Social Democratic Party (SPD), whose posters represented it as the party of peace. Thus in 1946 the party’s executive committee commissioned a poster emblazoned with the words ‘No more war! The SPD is struggling and working for peace and freedom’. The caption served to reinforce a message that was already clear from the picture: a woman strains her neck to stare apprehensively into the sky, which is shaded threateningly dark at the right-hand edge of the picture. This deliberately recalled the terrors of the bombing campaign and its predominantly female victims; the point was driven home by including three simple crosses. Another caption, also from 1946, appealed to one particular category of women – ‘Mothers!’ – and showed Allied bombers shedding their deadly loads over Germany in quite explicit contradistinction to a weeping woman (Figure 1).²¹ These posters depicted peace as the absence of deadly threats from above, and were also, thanks to the evocation of wartime bombing, an anaesthetic for the ‘trail of pain’ that the bombing had left. If, as the author W. G. Sebald complained, the bombing campaigns of the Second World War never established themselves in literature as a ‘publicly readable cipher’, the collective experience of being bombed certainly became a theme for political posters directly after the war.²²

Rotbuch-Verlag, 1988); Siegmund Holsten, *Allegorische Darstellungen des Krieges 1870–1918. Ikonologische und ideologiekritische Studien* (Munich: Prestel, 1976).

¹⁹ Kaulbach, ‘Beitrag’, 106.

²⁰ Stefan Appellius, *Pazifismus in Westdeutschland. Die Deutsche Friedensgesellschaft 1945–1968*, 2 vols., (Aachen: Mainz, 1991), vol. 1, 130–294, no. 218. For a different interpretation see Andrew Oppenheimer, ‘By Any Means Necessary? West German Pacifism and the Politics of Solidarity, 1945–1974’, in Benjamin Ziemann, ed., *Peace Movements in Western Europe, Japan and the USA during the Cold War* (Essen: Klartext, 2007), 41–60.

²¹ AsD, 6/PLKA000127; cf. SPD Kreis Coburg, *Mutter! Denke an Dein bleichsüchtiges Kind! Es friert! Es hungert! Soll so etwas jemals wiederkehren?* (Mother! Think of your pale-faced child! He’s cold! He’s hungry! Must this happen again?), *ibid.*, 6/PLKA000096.

²² W. G. Sebald, *Luftkrieg und Literatur* (Frankfurt/M.: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, 2001), 12; on the ensuing debates see Thomas W. Neumann, ‘Der Bombenkrieg. Zur ungeschriebenen Geschichte einer kollektiven Verletzung’, in Klaus Naumann, ed., *Nachkrieg in Deutschland* (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 2001), 319–42; Dietmar Süß, ed., *Deutschland im Luftkrieg. Geschichte und Erinnerung* (Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 2007); Mary Nolan, ‘Germans as Victims during the Second World War. Air Wars, Memory Wars’, *Central European History*, 38 (2005), 7–40.



Mütter!

*Denke an Dein bleichsüchtiges Kind!
Es friert! - Es hungert!
In Lumpen gehüllt, ist es dazu
noch krank und elend!
Das sind die Folgen des Nazikrieges!*

Soll so etwas jemals wiederkehren?

**Nein! Nein!
Nein!**

Darum wähle

SPD!

Liste 1

**Die Partei für Frieden und Aufbau, die als einzige große Partei
n i e mit dem Krieg spielte!**

Coburger Druck- und Verlagsanstalt G.m.b.H., Coburg
von der Militärregierung zugelassen. 88 1 41
Für den Text: Axel Neumann, L. Voss, Coburg

**Landesverein
Sozialdemokratische Partei
Kreis Coburg**

Figure 1. Mutter! Denke an Dein bleichsüchtiges Kind! Es friert! Es hungert! Soll so etwas jemals wiederkehren? (*Mother! Think of your pale-faced child! He's cold! He's hungry! Must this happen again?*), SPD Kreis Coburg, 1946, Archiv der sozialen Demokratie Bonn, Plakatsammlung, 6/PLKA000096.

The starting signal for the first significant mobilisation of the peace movement in the FRG was fired by Gustav Heinemann in late 1950, when he resigned from Chancellor Konrad Adenauer's cabinet; in November 1951 he founded the Emergency Association for Peace in Europe (Notgemeinschaft für den Frieden Europas). His campaign against German rearmament had no great success, however, and it ended with the signing of the Paris treaties in early 1955.²³ The posters produced by this movement reverted to the motifs of the immediate post-war years, with a predilection for female suffering – rather a contrast with the public rhetoric of the anti-remilitarisation campaign, which started as a 'without me' (Ohne Mich) movement and stressed the unwillingness of men to be called up for a future army of the FRG. A poster from 1951 foregrounds a schoolgirl who is evidently terrified that her father will be taken from her and perhaps killed. The father is sketched in as a shadowy figure in a dark winter coat. A big, artistically disposed tear runs down the child's pale face, which contrasts with the darkness of the coat, accentuating the innocent anxiety of this potential victim of remilitarisation. The caption, written in wobbly child's handwriting, reads 'I *don't* want my daddy to be a soldier!', conveying the pacifist political message with allusions to the victimisation of children.²⁴

From 1945 up to the 'without me' movement, and sometimes in later protests against nuclear weapons, SPD and peace movement posters used soldiers and war as the menacing symbolic opposite of the security and safety of family life. The preferred, but not unique, expression of this contrast was the mother-and-child (usually mother-and-daughter) dyad, stressing the essentially feminine connotations of peaceability.²⁵ The social and physical integrity of the middle-class nuclear family seems to encapsulate the positive peace vision of those years, although the iconography was still dominated by the recent experiences of suffering and destruction in the Second World War, making the idealised family image conspicuous often only by its absence.

These peace movement posters have left out the theme of nuclear war. The atomic bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki in August 1945 had dramatically accentuated the problem of creating a symbolic iconography for peace, when, as it can be argued, the fundamental problem of art is how to turn 'sensual perception' into 'societal communication'.²⁶ How could the 'fury of disappearance' (G. W. F. Hegel) left by the atom bombs in these Japanese cities be depicted? How could the consequences of nuclear war be communicated? The philosopher and author Günther Anders, whose astute analyses of the philosophy of technology and of contemporary life are overdue for rediscovery, gave impressive voice to this problem as far back as

²³ Jost Dülffer, *Im Zeichen der Gewalt. Frieden und Krieg im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert* (Cologne: Böhlau, 2003), 205–18, 207ff.

²⁴ AsD, 6/PLKA016340. An SPD poster for the elections to the Baden-Württemberg regional assembly in 1952 contrasts the sufferings of a mother and her two daughters with the 'militarism' of a uniformed officer sporting a monocle: *ibid.*, 6/PLKA018170. On 'without me' see Dülffer, *Im Zeichen*, 207.

²⁵ On 1 May 1962 the DGB brought out a poster showing a respectfully dressed mother and daughter against the background of a mushroom cloud, with the caption 'No nuclear weapons, no genocide. 1 May'. AsD, 6/PLKA006622; cf. the reproduction in Diederich, Grübling and Trapp, *Plakate*, n.p.

²⁶ Dietrich Schwanitz, 'Systems Theory and the Difference between Communication and Consciousness: An Introduction to a Problem and Its Context', *Modern Language Notes*, 111 (1996), 488–505, 495.

1960 in his ‘Theses on the Atomic Age’. The advent of the atom bomb, he says, has turned people into ‘inverted Utopians’, because ‘we have produced something that is unimaginable’.²⁷ The consequences of atomic destruction simply could not be depicted. This had a direct impact on the peace movement, which wanted to exploit those very consequences for the cause of disarmament. In February 1958 the SPD launched a campaign ‘Fight against Atomic Death’ (Kampf dem Atomtod), in reaction to a plan to equip the *Bundeswehr* with atomic warheads. What part did iconography play in this intensive mobilisation of opinion through events and demonstrations which reached several hundred thousand people?²⁸

The public appearance of the Kampf dem Atomtod movement was ambivalent. While the SPD led the campaign in collaboration with the trade unions, there was a strong current of opinion within the party in the 1950s that wholeheartedly supported the peaceful use of nuclear power and called for a rational debate on that possibility. Other members seem to have taken a far more negative view, stressing the dangers of radiation and endowing the peace movement with an apocalyptic substratum that was to resurface in the 1970s.²⁹ The peace movement articulated the fear of nuclear fallout not only in the FRG, but worldwide, especially after March 1954, when the United States’ first hydrogen-bomb test at Bikini drenched the crew of the Japanese fishing boat *Lucky Dragon* with deadly radiation. Kampf dem Atomtod, like other peace campaigns, expressed particular anxiety over the effects of strontium 90 on pregnant women and newborn babies.³⁰

A picture first published in 1958 in the context of the Danish campaign against nuclear arms, but taken up extensively by other Scandinavian movements, plays subtly on these fears for children yet unborn. The caption is ‘Is it a child or a misbegotten monster? Stop all nuclear weapons now!’, while the poster shows a comfortably middle-class man – identified as such by his dark suit and meticulous side parting – standing behind his heavily pregnant wife with his hand on her stomach. This classic attitude of patriarchal possessiveness is now very popular in the iconography of

²⁷ Günther Anders, ‘Thesen zum Atomzeitalter’ (1960), in *Das Argument*, special issue 1, 1 (1974), 226–34, quotation at 228; see also Daniel Morat, ‘Die Aktualität der Antiquiertheit: Günther Anders’ Anthropologie des industriellen Zeitalters’, *Zeithistorische Forschungen*, 3 (2006), 322–7.

²⁸ Cf. Hans-Karl Rupp, *Außerparlamentarische Opposition in der Ära Adenauer*, 3rd edn (Cologne: Pahl-Rugenstein, 1984), 65–261.

²⁹ A fascinating testimony to this ambivalence is the film *Key to Hell* (*Schlüssel zur Hölle. Ein dokumentarischer Filmbeitrag zum Kampf gegen den Atomtod*, Cassiopeia Film, 16mm, s/w, 12 min, n.d. [1958]: Archiv für soziale Bewegungen, Bochum, Altsignatur 61). On the use of film by the trade unions see Stefan Moitra, ‘“Reality is there, but it’s manipulated.” West German Trade Unions and Film after 1945’, in Vinzenz Hediger and Patrick Vonderau, eds., *Cinematic Means, Industrial Ends. The Work of the Industrial Film* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2008) (in press); idem, ‘*Wo bleibt der Arbeiterfilm?*’ *Die Auseinandersetzung der IG Bergbau und Energie mit dem Medium Film in den 1950er und 1960er Jahren* (Essen: Klartext, 2004); cf. also Holger Nehring, ‘Cold War, Apocalypse, and Peaceful Atoms. Interpretations of Nuclear Energy in the British and West German Anti-Nuclear Weapons Movements, 1955–1964’, *Historical Social Research*, 29 (2004), 150–70.

³⁰ Nehring, ‘Cold War’, 156. On the *Lucky Dragon* and its significance in Japanese pacifism see Volker Fuhr, ‘Peace Movements as Emancipatory Experience – Anpo tōsō and Beiheiren in 1960s’ Japan’, in Ziemann, *Peace Movements*, 77–91.

popular conservatism in both politics and show business.³¹ In the context of 1950s opposition to nuclear missiles, however, this symbolic evocation of middle-class patriarchy was not so much a reaffirmation of a hierarchic idyll as a warning of its threatened subversion and destruction by the invisible menace of radiation. It also conveyed the message that to join the anti-missile campaign was not only urgent but also respectable. At the same time, this was also a sobering renunciation of the established iconography of foetuses in scientific research.³²

Meanwhile in Germany, Kampf dem Atomtod was using a quite different iconographic language. Here again, stress was laid on the danger to children and hence the family, as in the SPD's 1958 campaign for referenda at a federal, provincial and local level. The poster showed photographs of a boy and girl aged about six and eight, with the appeal 'Think of your children and say no! to atomic death'.³³ Instead of evoking subliminal tensions and iconographic fantasies, as the Danish poster does with its focus on the as-yet-unseen, the German one concentrates on a visible, positive and rather conventional motif of childhood innocence; only the text refers explicitly to 'atomic death'.³⁴ Another motif introduced during the 1957 election campaign for the Bundestag recalls the social democratic propaganda of the Weimar Republic in its verbosity and its rationalistic contrasting of (its own) truth and (other people's) false assertion. The motif was at least instantly recognisable because it quoted Adenauer's famous assertion on 5 April 1957 that tactical nuclear weapons were 'no more than the latest development in artillery', and set it against the manifesto of the eighteen Göttingen professors who had come out openly against Adenauer a week later.³⁵

By contrast, the campaign posters seldom referred to the threat of 'mass death' from 'nuclear weapons', although there is an example from 1958 showing a death mask with gaping mouth against the background of a gun battery, which at first glance might be taken for a tank bristling with cannons. The silhouettes of six jet fighters, crossing the picture from right to left, complete the allusion to the weapon

³¹ See the journal of *Aldrig mere Krig*, the Danish section of War Resisters' International, which was also widely read by Norwegian pacifists: *Pacifisten*, 25, 6 (1958). My thanks for this reference go to Øyvind Ekelund. On the War Resisters' International see Devi Prasad, *War is a Crime Against Humanity. The Story of the War Resisters' International* (London: War Resisters' International, 2005). See also the photograph of David Cameron, the future UK Conservative Party leader, and his pregnant wife Samantha at the party's conference in Blackpool, 3 Oct. 2005, available at http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk_politics/4308020.stm [23.10.2006].

³² Barbara Duden, *Der Frauenleib als öffentlicher Ort. Vom Mißbrauch des Begriffs Leben* (Hamburg: Luchterhand, 1991).

³³ SPD Landesorganisation Hamburg, Arbeitsausschuß 'Kampf dem Atomtod', 1958, AsD, 6/PLKA007741; see *Frauen warnen. Atomwaffen geben keine Sicherheit* ('Women give warning: nuclear weapons give no security'), 1958: *ibid.*, 6/PLKA019202; Dülffer, *Im Zeichen*, 213. The voice-over in the film *Key to Hell* (see n. 29 above) refers to 'gruesomely crippled children', but the film itself shows only images of hands disfigured by radiation.

³⁴ Another common motif was a stylised explosion, but not a mushroom cloud; cf. *Atomwaffen? Nein!*, 1958: AsD, 6/PLKA008995. See Reinhard Bockhofer, 'Hiroshima in Bremen und der Kampf gegen den Atomtod 1950–1958', in Helmut Donat and Andreas Röpcke, eds., *'Nieder die Waffen – die Hände gereicht!' Friedensbewegung in Bremen 1898–1958* (Bremen: Donat Verlag, 1989), 211–17, 217.

³⁵ SPD Ortsverein Bremen, *Atombomben. Willst Du das?* (Atom bombs. Is that what you want?), 1957: AsD, 6/PLKA006707.

systems which bear the deadly load.³⁶ However, perhaps Kampf dem Atomtod's most eloquent motif was a portrait of Albert Schweitzer, who in April 1957 had made a much publicised appeal for global nuclear disarmament; this of course was linked to the immense popularity of the world-famous doctor and philanthropist, who now put the moral authority deriving from his 1952 Nobel Peace Prize at the service of the peace movement.³⁷ But that was not an actual depiction of the dangers of nuclear weapons; the idea remained a mere statement, albeit one made by a particularly trustworthy celebrity.

Michael Geyer has pointed out that the semantics of the German campaign against 'atomic death' differed significantly from those of the British Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND). Geyer connects this with Germany's specific experience of the 'war of extermination' and German 'memories of the past catastrophes of the Second World War'.³⁸ The fact remains, however, that the iconography of the campaign, in contrast to that of posters from the immediate post-war period, did not focus on such 'catastrophes'.³⁹ This must have weakened the campaign, especially as the federal government was able to counter Albert Schweitzer with portraits of a politician who was equally popular: Adenauer himself. Adenauer's moral authority, coupled with his success in the personalised election campaign of 1957, combined happily with his response to 'fear of atomic death' – along with some shrewd hits at communist peace rhetoric.⁴⁰

As far as peace protest iconography in the FRG is concerned, the 1960s are something of a blank. The Easter March Movement (Ostermarschbewegung) did not catch on there until 1960; its first march, from Hamburg to the missile base at Bergen-Hohne, was, like many in other parts of Europe, an imitation of CND's trailblazing march to Aldermaston. Unlike CND, however, which lost momentum after the 1963 nuclear test ban treaty, the federal movement not only survived but

³⁶ *Atomrüstung zeugt Massentod – die SPD mahnt und warnt*, SPD Landesausschuss Hessen, 1958: *ibid.*, 6/PLKA006493; cf. Reiner Diederich, ed., *Stark für die Freiheit. Die Bundesrepublik im Plakat* (Frankfurt/M.: Rasch und Röhring, 1989), 44.

³⁷ Kampf dem Atomtod, *Albert Schweitzer warnt! Atomwaffen sind ein tödliches Experiment!* (Albert Schweitzer warns: nuclear weapons are a lethal experiment!), 1958, available at http://www.dhm.de/lemo/objekte/pict/JahreDesAufbausInOstUndWest_plakatKampfDemAtomtod/ (last visited 23 Oct. 2006); *Aktion 'Kampf dem Atomtod', Albert Schweitzer an die Hamburger*, 1958: AsD, 6/PLKA019212.

³⁸ Michael Geyer, 'Der Kalte Krieg, die Deutschen und die Angst. Die westdeutsche Opposition gegen Wiederbewaffnung und Kernwaffen', in Naumann, *Nachkrieg*, 267–318, 314, 316.

³⁹ This, however, raises the question of the interdiscursive relationship between images and texts in specific settings, which has not yet been adequately conceptualised. Pictures donated to an art exhibition in support of the movement showed mainly allegorical symbols and apocalyptic landscapes. However, because it included artists from the German Democratic Republic the exhibition was not endorsed by the Social Democratic organisers of the Kampf dem Atomtod. See Annegret Jürgens-Kirchhoff, 'Artists against Nuclear War (1958–1962). A Touring Exhibition at the Time of the Cold War', in Ziemann, *Peace Movements*, 209–34.

⁴⁰ See the poster issued by the press and information office of the Federal government, 'Nur kontrollierte Abrüstung in Ost und West schafft die Furcht vor dem Atomtod aus der ganzen Welt' ('Only controlled East–West disarmament can free the entire world from the fear of atomic death'), 1957: AsD, 6/PLKA010669.

thrived.⁴¹ It contributed decisively to ensuring the acceptability of non-violent protest in the FRG, and cleared the ground for the extra-parliamentary opposition of the later 1960s.⁴² CND's logo, which combines the semaphore symbols for 'N' and 'D' ('nuclear disarmament') remains an internationally known emblem of the peace movement. It acquired a fresh layer of meaning in the 1970s when its adoption by hippies and the alternative culture turned it into a symbol of 'alternative' lifestyle.⁴³ The iconography of the Ostermarschbewegung in the 1960s adopted the same logo and was largely self-referential; it was not until the middle of the decade that the Easter marchers introduced a certain ironic element into the reproduction of the symbol on their banners. For example, they superimposed it on a bust of the early nineteenth-century philosopher and Prussian education minister, Wilhelm von Humboldt, to stress that priority should be given to education.⁴⁴

The vision of a peaceful world, which in most posters since 1945 had been evoked only negatively by portraying its opposite, was almost entirely submerged in the iconography of the Ostermarschbewegung. This was inevitable, given its decision to adopt a rational and objective style of protest.⁴⁵ I would argue that this style remained influential in and after the 1960s; it can be traced through the protests against the so-called 're-armament' (Nachrüstung) which began after the NATO 'double-track' decision, taken in December 1979. Even prior to that decision, the Committee for Peace and Disarmament that co-ordinated these protests had been producing posters offering a sober explanation of the social cost of the East–West arms race. They included maps of weapons deployment, diagrams, figures, dates and lengthy pieces of argument. Pictures, if there were any, showed weapon systems with such dispassionate accuracy that they might have been issued by the manufacturers themselves.⁴⁶ Certain elements of this iconography make it clear that its frame – the common factor giving a sense of identity to the peace movement through the 1970s and 1980s – was anti-Americanism,⁴⁷ by which I mean that it took 'America as a

⁴¹ Karl A. Otto, *Vom Ostermarsch zur APO. Geschichte der außerparlamentarischen Opposition in der Bundesrepublik 1960–1970* (Frankfurt/M.: Campus Verlag, 1977).

⁴² Holger Nehring, 'Searching for Security: The British and West German Protests against Nuclear Weapons and "Respectability", 1958–1963', in Ziemann, *Peace Movements*, 167–87; idem, 'National Internationalists: British and West German Protests against Nuclear Weapons, the Politics of Transnational Communications and the Social History of the Cold War, 1957–1964', *Contemporary European History*, 14 (2005), 559–82.

⁴³ Nehring, *Internationalists*, 577; on the popularisation and commodification of the peace logo see Brigitte Weingart, 'Friede Freude Eierkuchen – Friedensbilder im Pop', in Kater and Kümmel, *Friede*, 264–85, 270–4.

⁴⁴ Ostermarsch der Atomwaffengegner, Munich 1961: AsD, 6/PLUA001620; Kampagne für Abrüstung, Ostermarsch der Atomwaffengegner, 1963: *ibid.*, 6/PLUA001844; Kampagne für Abrüstung und Demokratie, *Steckt mehr Geld in die Bildung, und nicht in die Rüstung* ('Put extra cash into education, not armaments'), 1965: *ibid.*, 6/PLUA001846.

⁴⁵ Nehring, 'Searching'.

⁴⁶ Komitee für Frieden und Abrüstung, 1978/79: AsD, 6/PLKA014064; idem, *Das neue USA Wettrennen* ('The new US arms race'), 1981: *ibid.*, 6/PLKA014078.

⁴⁷ On the concept of 'framing' see Jürgen Gerhards and Dieter Rucht, 'Mesomobilization: Organizing and Framing in Two Protest Campaigns in West Germany', *American Journal of Sociology*, 98 (1992), 555–96.

metaphor for a modernity that threatened its own community'.⁴⁸ For example, the 'Star-Spangled Banner', spread over a map of Europe showing US bases, conveyed the suggestion that Europeans shared a common concern and anxiety. If we consider the picture without the text, however, the only indication that we are dealing with a peace movement poster is the presence of two doves on a blue background at the top.⁴⁹ Its iconography makes it clear, however, that the peace movement was not intrinsically anti-Western, or 'hyper-German' or neutralistic, but aligned itself with other west European protests against the United States.⁵⁰

This anti-Americanism pervades not only the ostensibly objective style of the posters produced by the Committee for Peace and Disarmament, but also the iconography of anti-Euromissiles protests, which shows a strong predilection for the emotional and the dramatic, using a highly gendered rhetoric of protest. It contrasts the pacifism and rationality of the peace movement with the aggressive chauvinism of US foreign policy and its iconic figures, Ronald Reagan, Caspar Weinberger and Alexander Haig. This criticism of a patriarchal, power-crazed US armaments policy was expressed by a wing of the peace movement that included such protagonists as Eva Quistorp and Petra Kelly, with strong links to feminism.⁵¹ The movement's iconography turned Reagan, in particular, into a very incarnation of machismo. It resurrected stills from 1950s Hollywood films showing him with cowboy hat and cocked pistol as (or rather in) 'A Man Walking over Corpses'. Weinberger and Haig, along with the 'German-speakers' – Helmut Schmidt, Hans-Dietrich Genscher and Hans Apel – were relegated to supporting roles.⁵²

⁴⁸ Jan C. Behrends, Árpád von Klimó and Patrice G. Poutrus, 'Antiamerikanismus und die europäische Moderne. Zur Einleitung', in Behrends, von Klimó and Poutrus, eds., *Antiamerikanismus im 20. Jahrhundert. Studien zu Ost- und Westeuropa* (Bonn: Dietz, 2005), 10–33, 17. See also Jessica Gienow-Hecht, 'Always Blame the Americans: Anti-Americanism in Europe in the Twentieth Century', *American Historical Review*, 111 (2006), 1067–91; on the anti-Americanism of protest movements see Michael Hahn, ed., *Nichts gegen Amerika. Linker Antiamerikanismus und seine lange Geschichte* (Hamburg: Konkret-Literatur-Verlag, 2003).

⁴⁹ Komitee für Frieden und Abrüstung, *USA-Truppen und Waffen in Europa* (US troops and weapons in Europe), 1981: AsD, 6/PLKA014080. On the peace dove and its use by the peace movement see Hans-Martin Kaulbach, 'Picasso und die Friedenstaube', *Georges-Bloch Jahrbuch des Kunstgeschichtlichen Seminars der Universität Zürich* 4 (1997), 165–97.

⁵⁰ Cf. *Nein zu den neuen US-Nuklearraketen in Europa!*, 1980: AsD, 6/PLKA027182. But see Heinrich August Winkler, *Der lange Weg nach Westen II. Deutsche Geschichte 1933–1990* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 2000), quotation at 373. Despite the necessary methodological scepticism, however, opinion polls show that most members of the peace movement felt that it was impossible to remain strictly neutral between the United States and the USSR, despite their marked anti-Americanism. See Harald Müller and Thomas Risse-Kappen, 'The Peace Movement and the Changed Image of America in West Germany', *International Security*, 12 (1987), 52–88, esp. 66–7.

⁵¹ Belinda Davis, "'Women's Strength against Crazy Male Power". Gendered Language in the West German Peace Movement of the 1980s', in Jennifer A. Davy, Karen Hagemann and Ute Kätzel, eds., *Frieden-Gewalt-Geschlecht. Friedens- und Konfliktforschung als Geschlechterforschung* (Essen: Klartext, 2005), 244–65.

⁵² Sozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterjugend, *White House Corporation präsentiert Ronald Reagan in Ein Mann geht über Leichen*, 1982: AsD, 6/PLKA006334; cf. *Auf zum Nato-Gipfel. Demonstration 10. Juni in Bonn* ('To the NATO summit. Demonstration on 10 June in Bonn'), 1982: *ibid.*, 6/PLKA036735.

This discourse of contrast between male aggressiveness and female peaceability provides the context for an association between male violence, nuclear missiles and the phallus which was virtually ubiquitous in the peace iconography of the 1980s. The pictorial rhetoric seems to hark back to the symbolism of anti-Cold War artistic productions, as when the mad Doctor Strangelove took a ride on a nuclear missile in Stanley Kubrick's 1964 film. The bluntness of the message in posters produced in the 1980s sometimes disputed or even crossed the boundaries of self-irony, as when a man is shown wearing nothing but a pair of underpants from which protrudes the head of a missile. The caption was 'shameless exhibition of military . . .' with the inevitable conclusion '[and exclusively masculine] potency'.⁵³

To conclude this section I shall briefly discuss another iconographic element of anti-rearmament protests in the early 1980s: the stress on the imminence of nuclear apocalypse, the self-destruction of the human race in a nuclear strike, whether intentional or triggered by a technical error or automatic firing of computerised missile systems. This motif cropped up in protests all over Europe; it featured in the 'exterminism' debate initiated by E. P. Thompson, and in numerous books by German authors which took the forthcoming apocalypse as their scenario.⁵⁴ This is not the place to discuss whether such scenarios were 'pure stirring up of emotions', because even if that were true, the semantics of that cheap propaganda are still worthy of attention.⁵⁵

More relevant to the present argument is the fact that these posters contained elements that had hitherto been largely absent from the iconography of the FRG's peace movement. For the first time, the mushroom cloud becomes the symbol of nuclear inferno. Whereas in the United States and France it had been the quintessential illustration of the terror of nuclear weapons,⁵⁶ it appeared only infrequently in German posters before the late 1970s and early 1980s.⁵⁷ Moreover, this symbol tended to occur sporadically amidst others that harked back to the Second World War, particularly the Allied bombing campaigns. A striking example is the poster for a medical conference that took place in Berlin in 1982 (Figure 2). Three-quarters of the picture, from top to bottom, is taken up by a looming, black mushroom cloud, against which the corpse of a doctor is shown lying face up, with his Red Cross box, medicines and instruments strewn about him. To the left, near the

⁵³ *Aufrüstung ist sittenwidrig. Atomraketen – die schamlose Zurschaustellung militärischer Potenz* (Armaments are immoral. Nuclear missiles – shameless exhibition of military potency), 1983: AsD, 6/PLUA001612; cf. Davis, 'Strength', 258.

⁵⁴ E. P. Thompson et al., *Exterminism and Cold War* (London: New Left Review, 1982); Wilfried von Bredow, 'Unernte Rechtfertigung, apokalyptischer Protest: Nukleare Kriegs-Szenarien', in Marcel van der Linden and Gottfried Mergner, eds., *Kriegsbegeisterung und mentale Kriegsvorbereitung* (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1991), 279–94.

⁵⁵ But see von Bredow's argument, *ibid.*, 292–3.

⁵⁶ Sabine Rousseau, 'The Iconography of a French Peace Movement. The "Mouvement de la Paix" from the 1950s to the End of the Cold War', in Ziemann, *Peace Movements*, 189–208; for the United States see Spencer R. Weart, *Nuclear Fear. A History of Images* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1988); Gerhard Paul, "'Mushroom Clouds". Entstehung, Struktur und Funktion einer Medienikone des 20. Jahrhunderts im interkulturellen Vergleich', in *idem*, *Visual History*, 243–64.

⁵⁷ See, e.g., Deutsche Friedensgesellschaft, 1977: AsD, 6/PLUA000539.

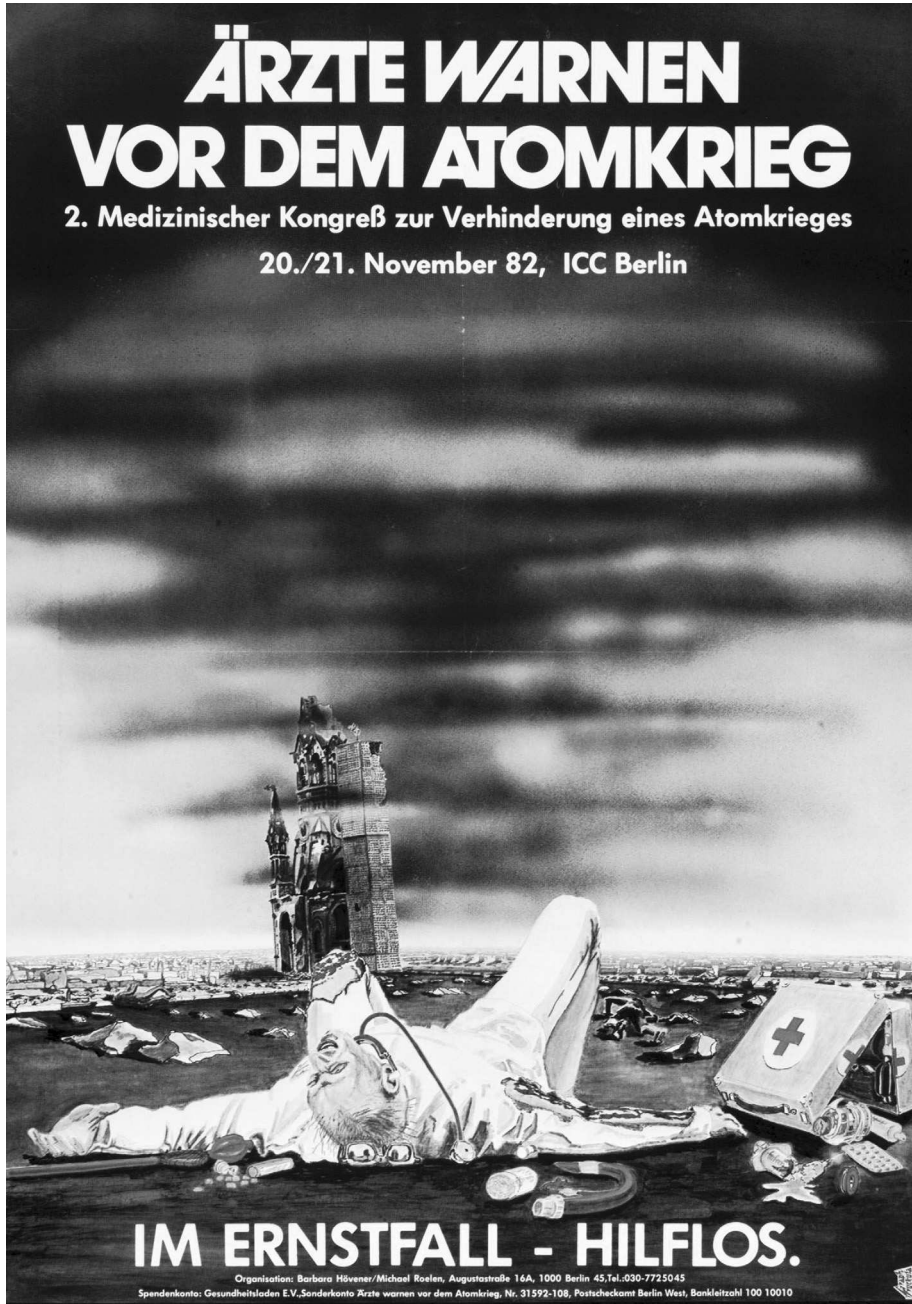


Figure 2. *Ärzte warnen vor dem Atomkrieg* (Physicians warn against nuclear war), 1982, Archiv der sozialen Demokratie Bonn, Plakatsammlung Udo Achten, 6/PLUA001613.

mushroom cloud, still standing and apparently undamaged by the nuclear holocaust, is Berlin's Kaiser-Wilhelm-Gedächtniskirche, a classic symbol of remembrance of the bombings.⁵⁸

Apocalyptic warnings from protesters against the Pershing missiles included at least a few pictures urging action against the threatened annihilation of mankind: snapshots of the world directly before a nuclear onslaught, offering an the image of a peaceful world which had to be saved before the catastrophe occurred. One of these posters shows a cluster of dwellings, large and small, with red-tiled roofs. In the foreground is a half-timbered house, completing the idyllic impression of a comfortable small town – but over it lies a red shadow, representing the unseen radiation from a nuclear explosion.⁵⁹ This is an early instance of what marked the iconographic horizon of the 1980s peace movement: the ordered security of middle-class life.

From victimisation to activism: the protest movement as a way to a peaceful world

Peace posters often depict the warlike posturings of the contemporary world which the protesters were dedicated to opposing; but they also attempt, by implied contrast, to give some idea of what a peaceful world would look like if weapons and violence could be overcome, temporarily at least. The posters also tended to show the views of people protesting against war and in favour of peace. All social movements tend to claim that they are speaking on behalf of 'people affected by other people's decisions', who have to 'live with consequences' that they have done nothing to bring about. In other words, where political decision-makers see comprehensible and calculatable *risks*, protest movements see uncontrollable *dangers* arising from the very same decisions.⁶⁰

This attempt to show the viewpoint of those personally affected and concerned first appears after 1945 as depictions of passive suffering, as we have already seen in some of the examples discussed above. These pictures have a predilection for

⁵⁸ *Ärzte warnen vor dem Atomkrieg* (Doctors warn against nuclear war), 1982: AsD, 6/PLUA001613; cf. IG Metall Vorstand, *Count down der Gegenwart!*, 1983: *ibid.*, 6/PLKA019453; on commemoration of the bombings see also Young Socialists in the SPD, *Nein!*, 1983: *ibid.*, 6/PLKA019374; see Neumann, *Bombenkrieg*, 337; Jörg Arnold, "'Krieg kann nur der Wahnsinn der Menschheit sein!' Zur Deutungsgeschichte des Luftangriffs vom 22. Oktober 1943 in Kassel", in Süß, *Luftkrieg*, 135–49.

⁵⁹ The Greens, *Ein bewaffneter Friede ist die Ruhe vor dem Sturm* (An armed peace is the calm before the storm), 1983: AsD, 6/PLKA020920; Cf. Jungsozialisten, Bezirk Mittelrhein, *Es ist genau 6 vor 12* (Just six minutes to midnight), 1983: *ibid.*, 6/PLKA018720.

⁶⁰ Thorsten Bonacker and Lars Schmitt, 'Politischer Protest zwischen latenten Strukturen und manifesten Konflikten. Perspektiven soziologischer Protestforschung am Beispiel der (neuen) Friedensbewegung', *Mitteilungsblatt des Instituts für soziale Bewegungen*, 32 (2004), 193–213, 207. This was the reason why one competitor in a poster competition organised in 1981 by the peace movement rejected a motif by Frider Grindler that was later to win a string of prizes in similar competitions. The caption was 'Krefeld calls: No nuclear missiles', and showed a still from a television film of crowds at a demonstration in Bonn on 10 October 1981, taken from a helicopter, over which the artist placed the shadow of a bomber. The competitor argued that this showed the 'viewpoint' of an 'uninvolved' couch potato, or that of the 'perpetrator' – a pilot dropping a bomb – rather than that of 'the people who would be affected'. Quoted in Diederich, 'Taube', 359–60.

women and children – especially little girls – as victims of war and violence, and the iconographic references are mostly to the Second World War and its immediate consequences, such as hunger and unheated houses. Even in the mid-1950s this was still the usual angle, as is clear from a poster by the West German Women for Peace Movement, founded in 1952 by Klara Marie Fassbinder and others. The poster exhorts ‘Wives and mothers’ to remember ‘the terrors of the last war’. A young woman, drawn in dreary shades of brown, uses her arms and body to protect her baby, wrapped in a blanket, against an unseen danger approaching apparently from the left, since she tries to avoid it by shrinking away towards the right.⁶¹

With its stress on passive female involvement, the dark, shadowy figure and the face furrowed with suffering and deprivation, this poster is a good pictorial illustration of the group’s tendency to play on ‘the symbolic weakness of motherhood’ in order to ‘publicise its aims’. However, this representation also intersects, surprisingly but unmistakably, with the iconography of conservative associations and the Christian Democratic Union (CDU), calling public attention to the sufferings of the expellees from east of the Oder-Neisse line.⁶² Posters of this kind produced in the late 1940s and 1950s by the peace movement, particularly the Women’s Peace Movement, fitted nicely with the national discourse of victimisation, as used by veterans’ associations and expellees to lament the misery inflicted on the German people in the Second World War and so ‘offset the sufferings’ of the victims of Nazi persecution.⁶³

In point of fact, the sufferings of people caught up in war had been a favourite theme of pacifist iconography between the wars. For example, *War on War* by the socialist anarchist Ernst Friedrich (1924) radiates moral indignation, underpinned by photographs of First World War soldiers afflicted with ghastly facial injuries and mutilations.⁶⁴ Post-1960 peace movement posters, however, use pictures of German victims of the Second World War only as one reference among many: they may add,

⁶¹ The woman responsible for the poster was Ingeborg Küster, wife of Fritz Küster; the latter had been president of the German Peace Society from 1927 to 1929 and again after 1945, but left the movement in 1954. *Frauen und Mütter! Denkt an die Schrecken des vergangenen Krieges!* (Women and mothers! Think of the frightfulness of the last war!), 1955: AsD, 6/PLUA002059; see Irene Stoehr, ‘Phalanx der Frauen? Wiederaufrüstung und Weiblichkeit in Westdeutschland 1950–1957’, in Christine Eifler and Ruth Seifert, eds., *Soziale Konstruktionen – Militär und Geschlechterverhältnis* (Münster: Westfälisches Dampfboot, 1999), 187–204.

⁶² Stoehr, *Phalanx*, 193; see Robert G. Moeller, ‘War Stories. The Search for a Usable Past in the Federal Republic of Germany’, *American Historical Review*, 101 (1996), 1008–48, esp. 1027.

⁶³ Robert G. Moeller, ‘Deutsche Opfer, Opfer der Deutschen. Kriegsgefangene, Vertriebene, NS-Verfolgte: Opferausgleich als Identitätspolitik’, in Naumann, *Nachkrieg*, 29–58. This stress on motherhood in the Women’s Peace Movement did not go unchallenged, however, even if women’s organisations close to the Communist Party used the same rhetoric. See Irene Stoehr, ‘Frieden als Frauenaufgabe? Diskurse über Frieden und Geschlecht in der bundesdeutschen Frauenbewegung der 1950er Jahre’, in Davy, Hagemann and Kätzler, *Frieden*, 184–204 (204).

⁶⁴ Ernst Friedrich, *Krieg dem Kriege. Guerre à la Guerre! War against War! Oorlog aan den Oorlog!* 2nd edn (Berlin: Freie Jugend, 1924); see Dora Apel, ‘Cultural Battlegrounds. Weimar Photographic Narratives of War’, *New German Critique*, 76 (1999), 49–84, 52–70. An earlier work by the pacifist Jan Bloch had contained photographs showing the horrible effect of bullets on human flesh: see Jan Bloch, *Die Bestrebungen zur Beseitigung des Krieges. Die politischen Konflikts-Ursachen und die Folgen der Verluste*, 8 vols. (Berlin: Puttkammer & Mühlbrecht, 1899), V, 447, 457, 459.

for example, a dramatically ruined church as a symbol of German suffering caused by the bombing campaigns. From the mid-1960s onwards, the focus shifted to suffering in the Third World, especially (from an anti-US perspective) the war in Vietnam. Emaciated Vietnamese, typically identified by their straw hats, became the trade mark of '1968' protest movement posters, not only in the FRG but also, for example, in France.⁶⁵ In the 1970s and 1980s the movement returned to children as its favourite images of suffering inflicted by weapons and war; children were, after all, the most potent symbols of the agonies inflicted by violence on innocent and deeply affected victims.⁶⁶

Images of victimisation through war and weapons were, however, only a minor item in the peace movement's pictorial repertoire in the 1970s and 1980s. A counter-tendency had emerged by the mid-1970s: instead of war victims, the posters began to show peace campaigners in action. As a result, peace protests tended to be represented less as the means to an end and more as a means that incorporated part of the end and so anticipated it. This depiction of peace protesters and their collective agency again links with some classic emblems of Weimar Republic pacifism, although they were not predominant in the earlier period. One example is a motif invented by Käthe Kollwitz for Anti-War Day in 1924: a young man with a hand raised as if to swear an oath.⁶⁷ Another motif looked with critical irony at the trend – evidently widespread even as far back as the 1970s – to sport stickpins and badges supporting the peace movement while refusing to make any further commitment.⁶⁸

A poster published in 1980 introduces active protest as a deliberate break with the German tradition of the deferential 'subject' (*Untertan*) and victimisation. It exhibits two photographs of soldiers from the world wars, one in a uniform cap and one in a steel helmet, 'fallen' in 1916 and 1940 respectively, a melancholy fact further stressed by the traditional black ribbon. Below them we see the smiling face of a certain 'Ingo Schmidt, aged 24', wearing a turtle-neck pullover that marks him as a man at ease in civilian life. Unlike preceding generations, the caption informs us, 'He wants to live in peace, he's for disarmament', and so he is willing to appear in public as an active campaigner.⁶⁹ This was also a deliberate break with the use of soldiers as the embodiment of 'hegemonic masculinity': instead we have a new image of masculinity, someone who is gentle, amiable and co-operative.⁷⁰ These posters show, more clearly

⁶⁵ SDS Frankfurt/M. 1967: AsD, 6/PLUA000724; cf. Rousseau, 'Iconography'.

⁶⁶ Komitee für Frieden und Abrüstung, *Wir brauchen Brot, nicht Rüstung* (We need bread, not arms), 1981: AsD, 6/PLKA032189; *Hiroshima mahnt. Keine Kriegspropaganda, keine neuen Atomraketen* ('Hiroshima warns: no war propaganda, no more nuclear missiles'), 1982: *ibid.*, 6/PLKA006297.

⁶⁷ 1.9.84. Antikriegstag: AsD, 6/PLUA001875; on Kollwitz see Annegret Jürgens-Kirchhoff, 'Kunst gegen den Krieg im Antikriegsjahr 1924', in Jost Dülffer and Gerd Krumeich, eds., *Der verlorene Frieden. Politik und Kriegskultur nach 1918* (Essen: Klartext, 2002), 287–310.

⁶⁸ *Knöpfe tun's nicht. Aktionen! Gegen neue Rüstungswelle* (Badges do no good, we need action! Against the new wave of armaments), 1975: AsD, 6/PLKA020425.

⁶⁹ Komitee für Frieden, Abrüstung und Zusammenarbeit, 1980: AsD, 6/PLUA001863.

⁷⁰ See Christa Hämmerle, 'Zur Relevanz des Connell'schen Konzepts hegemonialer Männlichkeit für "Militär und Männlichkeit/en in der Habsburgermonarchie (1868–1914/18)"', in Martin Dinges, ed., *Männer-Macht-Körper. Hegemoniale Männlichkeiten vom Mittelalter bis heute* (Frankfurt/M. and

than other sources, how the peace movement influenced changing gender roles and attitudes in the FRG.

The campaign against the NATO double-track decision enabled the peace movement in the Federal Republic to swing majority public opinion behind its call to halt or scrap the planned deployment of US medium-range missiles; indeed, from 1981 to 1983 its protests, like similar ones in the Netherlands, Britain and other countries, brought hundreds of thousands of people on to the streets in a series of demonstrations. The climax came on 22 October 1983, when simultaneous demonstrations in Bonn, Berlin, Hamburg and Stuttgart mobilised a total of 1.3 million people.⁷¹ Photographs of the event, and artists' impressions of protest actions such as human chains, became in themselves subjects for peace movement posters.⁷² It was proof that peace protests had moved from being a minority concern to having the support of a relative majority of the population. A picture of the empty conference hall in the Bundestag in Bonn is overlaid with a huge crowd of demonstrators waving banners – and a puppet representing Ronald Reagan. The caption reads, '75 per cent of the people are against nuclear missiles. People's representatives, vote with the people'. This was an unambiguous expression of the gulf between the protesters' perception of the danger and the decision of the politicians.⁷³

A motif frequently used in 1983–4 showed a crowd of people overturning a stylised missile as token of the fact that the movement had substantial collective agency at its disposal.⁷⁴ Before that, in 1982, a graphic artist invented a sequence of images showing a hand, first emerging from a dove of peace, then clenching into a fist, then reaching to the bottom edge of the picture and there striking down fighter planes and cruise missiles. This version of the dove symbol harks back to 1949, when Picasso designed posters for the communist peace movement. Before Picasso the dove had not been shown flying, but rather conveying the message of peace in the form of an olive branch. Here, however, the dove itself joins a movement which leads to a destruction of weapons and thus finds the way to peace.⁷⁵ The sequence also marks a clear deviation from early modern allegorical iconography, in which Pax and the dove only arrive once peace has actually been established.

Another item in this cluster of motifs, stressing the protesters' activism and collective agency, is the class of posters that celebrate the peace movement itself as an important element in the vision of peace which – they hope – their own protests

New York: Campus, 2005), 103–21; Thomas Kühne, *Kameradschaft. Die Soldaten des nationalsozialistischen Krieges und das 20. Jahrhundert* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2006), 209–28.

⁷¹ Lawrence S. Wittner, *Toward Nuclear Abolition. A History of the World Nuclear Disarmament Movement, 1971 to the Present* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2003), 144–50.

⁷² 22.10.83, *Volksversammlungen* (Popular assemblies), 1983: AsD, 6/PLUA000897; *Friedensnetz gegen Kriegsmanöver* ('Peace network against war manoeuvres'), 1, 1984: *ibid.*, 6/PLKA026350.

⁷³ Bürgerinitiative für Frieden und Abrüstung Schwachhausen, 1983: AsD, 6/PLUA001885; see Dieter Rucht, 'Peace Movements in Context: A Sociological Perspective', in Ziemann, *Peace Movements*, 267–79.

⁷⁴ *Stop! Pershing II Cruise Missiles*, 1984: AsD, 6/PLKA010416.

⁷⁵ *Nie wieder Krieg* (No more war), 1982: AsD, 6/PLKA036587; see Kaulbach, *Picasso*, 190–3.

will help turn into a reality. An example published in 1986 shows a varied crowd of people moving towards the observer. We see young and old, men and women, and also a wide range of sociocultural groups and strata such as doctors, nuns, punks and respectable gentlemen in suits and ties, all brought together in a happy, tolerant and dynamic camaraderie. Banners saying 'Disarm' or 'No more war', along with the CND symbol, show that all kinds of political leanings and visions of peace have their place in the movement. The marchers are dragging and showing the bright letters of a caption in the foreground which summarises and endorses the colourful chaos of the picture: 'Peace needs movement'.⁷⁶ In other words, this is first and foremost a picture 'for peace', showing 'what we need in order to make peace a reality'. However, I would also read this picture as a picture 'of peace': despite all their differences, this crowd is friendly and happy, a depiction of 'what it would be like to live in peace'.⁷⁷ Here the peace movement was presenting itself as an anticipation of peace. In place of the early modern conception of peace as a polity ordered by a balance of virtues, the peace movement's picture is the very incarnation of those virtues. Peace – overcoming weapons and violence – not only needed the peace movement to establish it, but was also, and principally, to be found within that very movement.⁷⁸

The designation of peace in the code of a protest movement

The art historian Annegret Jürgens-Kirchhoff, referring mainly to poster motifs from the 1970s and 1980s, has accused the peace movement of 'iconographic penury'. She argues that the stereotyped use of mushroom clouds or of isolated motifs by Kollwitz or Picasso, show 'how difficult it apparently was' for the peace movement 'to find a way of picturing the current threat'.⁷⁹ On the contrary, my analysis of the broad range of peace posters found in the archives shows that the range of motifs was actually much wider and went far beyond merely repeating or evoking a few classic elements of pacifist iconography. If the movement ever suffered from iconographic penury it was during the 1960s. I would argue, however, that the motifs and the way in which they are used possess an overarching unity based on the fact that the movement's posters do not constitute a picture – that is, a copy – of current dangers, but rather *create* such a picture. This is generally achieved by evoking the contrary, by indicating what it might be like to enjoy a peaceful coexistence – and the way to achieve that state is to join in the protest against armaments and the danger of war.

Posters from the 1950s and early 1960s, which stress the danger to children as part of the middle-class nuclear family, also indicate that the intimacy and security of that family structure should be seen as an important constituent of peaceful coexistence.

⁷⁶ Koordinierungsausschuß der Friedensbewegung, 1986: AsD, 6/PLKA030472; cf. idem, *Atomraketen verschrotten, den ersten Schritt tun!* (Scrap nuclear missiles, take the first step!), 1987: ibid., 6/PLKA019133.

⁷⁷ For this distinction see Kater, *Transformation*, 25.

⁷⁸ Pictures like this also cast doubt on the notion that the deployment of medium-range missiles, beginning in 1984, had a 'demoralising' effect and brought about the 'collapse' of the peace movement, as argued by Winkler, 'Weg', 415. The movement itself, and its vision of peace, had become an end in itself, beyond the pursuit of any concrete aims.

⁷⁹ Jürgens-Kirchhoff, *Schreckensbilder*, 10, 12.

Posters that contrast the costs and dangers of armaments with the demands of education similarly mark education as a necessary element in a civilised community. Depictions of the aggressive machismo of Ronald Reagan draw attention to the social peacemaking skills of women, which are actually depicted in other peace movement posters.⁸⁰ It should be added that this rhetoric, implicitly or explicitly contrasting mortal danger with its peaceful alternative, was not the prerogative of the West German peace movement but occurs in other countries as well.

It can be found repeatedly, for example, in posters produced by the French communist *Mouvement de la Paix*. A poster from 1960 is divided in half: on the right, in grey, we see a mushroom cloud, atomic bombs, H-bombs, rifles and a skull, denoting the causes and effects of militarism. On the left, under a beaming sun and the title ‘peaceful coexistence’, the colourful flags of many nations indicate what the alternative should be. A poster published in 1973 in protest against the French nuclear tests on Mururoa Atoll shows this implied need for a decision even more clearly. It was designed by Jean Effel (who became famous with the publication in the late 1940s of his series ‘The Creation of the World’) in his characteristic, deliberately naive style. On the left, grey on grey, a mushroom cloud; on the right, a colourful wild-flower meadow under a shining rainbow. The collective voice of the *Mouvement de la Paix* tells the observer, ‘Nous avons choisi . . . Et vous?’, and on the next line, invites him or her to join the protest against nuclear testing.⁸¹

As a final example, let us look at another poster from the FRG’s peace movement, published in 1988 by a peace initiative in Berlin-Reinickendorf and the local group of the SPD-related *Sozialistische Jugend Deutschlands* (German socialist youth) (Figure 3). Across the poster runs a diagonal strip inscribed ‘No more war, no more Fascism’; above and to the left are greyscale pictures and emblems of military violence; below and to the right, colourful images of peace and harmony. An aeroplane and a tank, missiles labelled ‘USA’, soldiers with guns and gas masks, and a fenced-off ‘military training area’, symbolise the terrors of weapons and war; the smoking chimneys of a missile factory denote the attendant environmental catastrophe. A rainbow, trees and a sailing boat create an image of peace and harmony. This is further emphasised by a falcon – symbol of the youth movement – and a dove embracing each other, recalling the Old Testament motif of peace in the animal kingdom (Isaiah 11: 6–8), when the wolf shall lie down with the lamb. A slide, a swing and a large climbing frame complete the ‘peaceful’ half of the picture. Evidently the poster was designed by a children’s group linked to a local peace initiative, but it also gives a positive idea of peace as a sort of gigantic adventure playground.⁸² This motif further clarifies an aspect of post-1945 peace iconography that we have seen in many other ‘family’ pictures. War and violence, symbolised chiefly here by the factory, are seen

⁸⁰ As well as the examples mentioned in nn. 21, 24, 31, 53 and 61, see *Frauen für den Frieden* (Women for peace), 1981: AsD, 6/PLKA016123.

⁸¹ Both examples in Rousseau, ‘Iconography’, 195, 199.

⁸² *Nie wieder Krieg, nie wieder Faschismus!* (No more war, no more fascism!), 1988: AsD, 6/PLKA014175; see also Antikriegstag ‘84. Frieden ist . . . : *ibid.*, 6/PLKA010661; Martin Leutzsch, ‘Spielarten des Tierfriedens im 19. Jahrhundert’, in Kater, *Friede*, 195–211.



Figure 3. Nie wieder Krieg, nie wieder Faschismus! (*No more war, no more fascism!*), Sozialistische Jugend Deutschlands Berlin-Reinickendorf, 1988, Archiv der sozialen Demokratie Bonn, Plakatsammlung, 6/PLKA014175.

as an abstract, inhuman systemic context, whereas non-violence has connotations of intimacy and face-to-face encounter. Violence is an impersonal organisation; the goal of peace is illustrated with metaphors and examples of human interaction. The threatening machinery of war contrasts with the security of interaction.⁸³

Such pictures of peace, which are ubiquitous in peace movement posters, can only be fully understood if we relate them to the particular form of communication used by such movements. Like the functional systems of modern societies, protest movements use a bifurcation or binary code for communication. Such codes mark a clear preference for one of the two distinguished sides (i.e. flag a preference-value), but this does not mean that the rejected side (the rejection value) is negligible or superfluous. The legal system seeks justice, but assumes that injustice is always possible. Science seeks truth, but truth can only be envisaged as a contingency weighed against the possible falseness of scientific assertions.⁸⁴ This constitutive asymmetry also applies

⁸³ On the distinction between organisation and interaction cf. Niklas Luhmann, *The Differentiation of Society* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1982), 69–89; for a historical approach see Moritz Föllmer, ed., *Sehnsucht nach Nähe. Interpersonale Kommunikation in Deutschland seit dem 19. Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2004).

⁸⁴ Niklas Luhmann, “‘Distinctions directrices’: Über Codierung von Semantiken und Systemen”, in Friedhelm Neidhardt, M. Rainer Lepsius and Johannes Weiss, eds., *Kultur und Gesellschaft* (Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1986), 145–61; for a conceptualisation with a religious example see Benjamin Ziemann, ‘Codierung von Transzendenz im Zeitalter der Privatisierung. Die Suche nach Vergemeinschaftung in der katholischen Kirche, 1945–1980’, in Michael Geyer and Lucian Hölscher, eds., *Die Gegenwart Gottes in der modernen Gesellschaft. Religiöse Vergemeinschaftung und Transzendenz in Deutschland* (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2006), 380–403.

to the codes of protest movements: on the one side the protesters, on the other what they are protesting against. Peace movements use this code to stress the distinction between violence and non-violence, a distinction that is the code of peace movement communication.⁸⁵ Protest communication has to convey what it is in favour of, but this can only be done by rejecting dangers arising from political decisions, the observation of which motivates and justifies its intervention. The peace movement cannot designate peace as its highest good without the rejection of weapons, violence and war.

These comments on the way in which binary codes work enable us to formulate more precisely some of the questions and observations thrown up by the posters. Peace movements do not represent pictorial copies of the impending *dangers* of war; rather they create projective images of these dangers, so as to present themselves plausibly as the other side of the political decision-making process which thinks only in terms of calculated *risks*. Emotionalism, dramatisation and stereotyping, which underpin the self-constitution of social movements, are thus a necessary, indeed normal, stylistic component of peace-movement iconography.⁸⁶ It is not this aspect that requires explanation, but rather the exceptional argumentative style of such bodies as the Committee for Peace and Disarmament (Komitee für Frieden und Abrüstung).

From this viewpoint it scarcely seems surprising that ‘in the twentieth century there was no longer any generally understandable and definitive image for peace’ as ‘a status of society’.⁸⁷ This state of affairs reflects the future-oriented nature of modern society, which has imposed a temporal dimension on the differentiation between peace and war: peace is no longer conceived of as a system but as a perpetual movement towards an ever-receding future goal. This future orientation is particularly clear in the virtual ubiquity of children in peace movement posters: they demand a peaceful future for the next generation. However, the lack of a definitive ‘peace’ motif is also conditioned by the way in which peace movement codes began to function after 1945, as they became an important (although not the only) arena for public discussion of images and concepts of peace.

The concept of positive peace as the absence of ‘structural violence’ has been intensively discussed since 1970 in connection with Johan Galtung’s research into the sociology of peace.⁸⁸ But the way in which the code of peace protest communication works has inevitably induced it to articulate a vision of peace implicitly or negatively, through the negation of a threatening danger. As in other codes, the practical use of the initial binary distinction can be programmed in different ways. After 1945, as in the 1920s, stress was initially laid on victims’ sufferings, and the coding exploited the

⁸⁵ Niklas Luhmann, *Protest. Systemtheorie und soziale Bewegungen* (Frankfurt/M.: Suhrkamp, 1996), 205; see also Bonacker and Schmitt, *Protest*, 206–9.

⁸⁶ Cf. Bergmann, ‘Soziale Bewegung’.

⁸⁷ Kaulbach, ‘Friede’, 226.

⁸⁸ See the devastating critique of Galtung’s ideas by Ernst-Otto Czempel, ‘Der Friedensbegriff der Friedensforschung’, in Ziemann, *Perspektiven*, 43–56.

dominant discourse of victimisation. From the 1970s, however, and even well after the mobilisation against the Euro-missiles had passed its zenith, the stress shifted to the activism and collective agency of the protest movement itself. It is thus no longer possible to find a definitive motif or symbol for peace, because the peace movement has continually to change the programming of its code to fit the changing military and political contexts, its own capacity to mobilise public opinion, and its fictions of consensus. After 1945, in fact, the pre-modern iconography of peace could no longer be used – or if it could, only selectively. Unlike in the context of images of war, the symbolic representation of peace was thus no longer a technical or artistic problem but depended on the ‘moving’ nature of the peace movement itself.

Conclusion

The role of peace movements in the historiographical narratives of West German society since 1945 has been marginal at best. If historians mention them at all, it is often with a very incomplete, or inaccurate, account of their aims, context and background.⁸⁹ Much the same could be said of accounts of protest movements in the 1960s, in which the continuity – or discontinuity – in peace movements from the 1950s to the 1960s is considered to be of secondary importance.⁹⁰ Moreover, the peace movements are almost entirely absent from histories of the Cold War written from the viewpoint of the ‘victorious’ Western alliance.⁹¹ This is all the more surprising in that the connection between peace movements and détente since the 1970s was recently signalled as an important topic for research, yet no convincing answer to this challenge has yet been presented.⁹²

This tendency among contemporary historians to ignore, or at least neglect, peace movements contrasts with the determination of certain strands of ‘peace history’ to exaggerate their importance with near-hagiographic fervour. Lawrence S. Wittner, in particular, hugely overestimates both the inner homogeneity and continuity of the west European movements and their contribution to the end of east–west confrontation; but an equally ‘heroic’ narrative of peace history is to be found in many earlier works on the German peace movements since 1945.⁹³ This exaggeration of the movements’ contribution to removing the much denounced dangers of the

⁸⁹ Cf. the critique by Mausbach, ‘Perspectives’, 69–72.

⁹⁰ See, e.g., Arthur Marwick, *The Sixties. Cultural Revolution in Britain, France, Italy, and the United States, c. 1958–c. 1974* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998). A worthy exception is Thomas Etzemüller, *1968 – Ein Riss in der Geschichte? Gesellschaftlicher Umbruch und 68er-Bewegungen in Westdeutschland und Schweden* (Constance: Universitätsverlag Konstanz, 2005), 69–78.

⁹¹ Cf. John Lewis Gaddis, *The Cold War* (London: Penguin Press, 2005).

⁹² Andreas Wenger and Jeremi Suri, ‘At the Crossroads of Diplomatic and Social History. The Nuclear Revolution, Dissent and Détente’, *Cold War History*, 1 (2001), 1–42. Jeremi Suri, *Power and Protest. Global Revolution and the Rise of Detente* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003), is not convincing with regard to the alleged connection between protest and détente.

⁹³ Wittner, *Nuclear Abolition*; see Jeffrey Verhey, ‘Die Geschichtsschreibung des Pazifismus und die Friedensbewegung’, in Ziemann, *Perspektiven*, 272–85.

arms race is all the more problematic in that its ascription of influence and effectiveness to the protest movements rests on very insecure methodological foundations.⁹⁴

In this article I have tried to steer a middle way between the Scylla of underestimating and the Charybdis of overestimating the importance of peace movements as collective actors. For this purpose it was necessary to avoid value judgements about peace protests and rather to analyse the functioning of the code of protest they used to constitute themselves. By distinguishing between *danger* and *risk* I have tried to observe a mechanism that will give historical relevance to research into the peace movements beyond this one particular theme, because the movements' iconographic policies are a clear indication of the historic change to a 'risk society' after the Second World War. Risk society, however, should not simply be analysed in terms of the shift from traditional risks, such as gross social inequality and poverty, to 'democratised' risks such as nuclear accidents and radioactive fallout.⁹⁵ Peace posters show the historic change to a risk society all the more clearly, in that they flag the definition and attribution of risks and their consequences in connection with political decision-making as the important theme.⁹⁶ As such, they draw attention to an enduring structural problem of modern society.

⁹⁴ This can be gathered from a critical reading of Marco Giugni, *Social Protest and Policy Change: Ecology, Antinuclear, and Peace Movements in Comparative Perspective* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2004).

⁹⁵ See Ulrich Beck, *Risikogesellschaft. Auf dem Weg in eine andere Moderne* (Frankfurt/M.: Suhrkamp, 1986); Axel Schildt, *Die Sozialgeschichte der Bundesrepublik Deutschland bis 1989/90* (Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 2007), 82–7.

⁹⁶ Cf. Armin Nassehi, 'Risikogesellschaft', in Georg Kneer, Armin Nassehi and Markus Schroer, eds., *Soziologische Gesellschaftsbegriffe: Konzepte moderner Zeitdiagnosen* (Munich: Fink, 1997), 252–79; Niklas Luhmann, *Risk. A Sociological Theory* (Berlin and New York: de Gruyter, 1993).