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Benjamin Ziemann

German Pacifism in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries

The article discusses recent work on German pacifist movements in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. While many books and articles offer a biographical perspective on key pacifists, other studies are interested in the contributions of functionally differentiated fields of society such as education or the legal system to the advancement of non-violent policies and practices. A focus of much recent work are the West German protest movements against the Dual Track Solution in the early 1980s. These protests sought to reconceptualise the space of the political and to promote a ‘politics of scales’ that translated the potentially global scope of nuclear destruction into the immediate context of a town, village or neighbourhood.

1. Dimensions of Historical Peace Research

The history of German pacifism is an established field of historical research. Starting in the 1970s, the pioneers working on this topic took part in establishing what is called *historische Friedensforschung* (‘historical peace research’) in German parlance. The aim of this definition of the field is to see pacifism not simply as an isolated political movement, but to account for the wider discursive and contextual factors that facilitate or inhibit attempts to promote disarmament and international reconciliation. In this perspective, topics such as the proliferation of enemy images, the role of international law and the gendering of discourses on peace, war and violence, to name only a few, come into play and inform research on pacifism.¹ Two major surveys on the history of German pacifism, published in the 1980s by Dieter Riesenberger and Karl Holl, the doyen of historical peace research in Germany, still mark the state-of-the-art and are both indispensable reference points and thoughtful interpretations.² Of these two accounts, Riesenberger only covers the period up to 1933,

¹ See as an overview Ziemann, Benjamin (ed.): *Perspektiven der Historischen Friedensforschung*, Klartext, Essen 2002.

² Riesenberger, Dieter: *Geschichte der Friedensbewegung in Deutschland. Von den Anfängen bis 1933*, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht Göttingen 1985; Holl, Karl: *Pazifismus in Deutschland*, Suhrkamp, Frankfurt a. M. 1988. Still a crucial resource is the biographical dictionary by Donat, Helmut/Holl, Karl (eds.): *Die Friedensbewegung. Organisierter Pazifismus in Deutschland, Österreich und in der Schweiz*, Econ, Düsseldorf 1983. On Holl’s contribution to peace history see Dülffer, Jost: *Karl Holl und die Historische Friedensforschung*,

whereas Holl also has a substantial chapter on the years in exile from 1933 to 1945 – an almost inevitable experience for the more prominent German pacifists – and a shorter survey on post-war developments.³

Together with some of the more comprehensive accounts of German pacifism in Wilhelmine Germany and the Weimar Republic, especially the monographs by Roger Chickering, Friedrich-Karl Scheer and Reinhart Lütgemeier-Davin, the two surveys by Riesenberger and Holl still provide the interpretive backbone and historiographical backdrop of any new research in the field.⁴ Only with regard to pacifism in the Federal Republic and, to a lesser extent, the German Democratic Republic, more comprehensive attempts at historical interpretation have appeared in recent years, as we will discuss in more detail below.⁵ To some extent, this is the result of the recent declassification of archival materials pertaining to the 1970s and 1980s, when conflicts over the 1979 NATO Dual Track decision led to an unprecedented upsurge in peace movement mobilization. But the emergence of new interpretative frameworks for the history of postwar pacifism is also facilitated by the fact that the most important synthesis by Holl only offers a brief factual outline of developments in the 1950s and 1960s. In contrast to historiography on the post-1945 decades, which is a burgeoning field, the overwhelming majority of recent work on earlier periods of German pacifism is of a biographical or documentary nature, covering prominent individuals and making historical texts or autobiographical accounts available. As we will see, some of these contributions are of great relevance as they offer new and exciting vistas on crucial representatives of German pacifism. At any rate, the focus on individuals reflects the nature of bourgeois pacifism up to 1933, which was characterized by a form of sociability and organization that relied on the activities of a small circle of notables or Honoratioren and the personal networks they established. Pacifist groups that relied on more volatile forms of mass mobilization and public agitation only emerged in the aftermath of the First World War, and

in: Kloft, Hans (ed.): *Friedenspolitik und Friedensforschung. Die Friedensnobelpreisträger aus Deutschland*, Berliner Wissenschafts-Verlag, Berlin 2011, pp. 13–15.

³ Holl: *Pazifismus* (see footnote 2), pp. 204–219 on exile, pp. 220–237 a short sketch on the postwar period.

⁴ Chickering, Roger: *Imperial Germany and a World without War. The Peace Movement and German Society 1892–1914*, Princeton UP, Princeton, NJ 1975; Scheer, Friedrich-Karl: *Die Deutsche Friedensgesellschaft (1892–1933). Organisation, Ideologie, politische Ziele. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Pazifismus in Deutschland*, Haag und Herchen, Frankfurt a. M. 1981; Lütgemeier-Davin, Reinhold: *Pazifismus zwischen Kooperation und Konfrontation. Das Deutsche Friedenskartell in der Weimarer Republik*, Pahl-Rugenstein, Cologne 1982.

⁵ On the GDR see especially Klein, Thomas: “Frieden und Gerechtigkeit”. *Die Politisierung der Unabhängigen Friedensbewegung in Ost-Berlin während der achtziger Jahre*, Böhlau, Cologne 2006.

most of these were affiliated with the socialist labour movement.⁶ Still, it needs to be emphasised that in the literature that is under review here, substantially new historiographical agendas and frameworks have only been developed for the postwar period.

This is unfortunate, as the wider framework of historical peace research has made interesting advances that have considerably altered our understanding of how the aim of peace was conceptualised by different collective actors. A good example is the collection of essays on ‘learning peace’ in peace pedagogy and peace education that Till Kössler and Alexander Schwitanski have edited.⁷ Historical accounts within the discipline of pedagogy have often offered a linear and fairly teleological success story in which the bellicose war pedagogy in late Imperial Germany was only partly challenged by proponents of the progressive or reform pedagogy (Reformpädagogik) of the interwar period, before finally a broad consensus on the preference for peace as an aim of schooling emerged in the Federal Republic. The contributions to this volume challenge and complicate such a simplistic narrative. During the First World War, reform pedagogy was actually employed to activate pupils for voluntary nationalist participation in the service of the war effort, as Andrew Donson points out.⁸ Reinhold Lütgemeier-Davin charts the many endeavours to develop peace pedagogy at the intersections of reform pedagogy, youth movement and peace mobilization during the Weimar Republic. Key groups such as the League of Determined School Reformers (Bund Entschiedener Schulreformer) had a clear pacifist agenda. Yet in many cases, most prominently for instance with regard to Gustav Wyneken, pedagogical attempts to empower pupils to non-violent practice were bound up with the semantics of the Volksgemeinschaft or people’s community that permeated Weimar discourse, and had thus highly ambivalent implications.⁹ Other important contributions by Alexander Schwitanski, Sonja Levsen and Christine G. Krüger go beyond a reconstruction of pedagogical ideas and analyse attempts to foster peace pedagogy in the practical encounters between youths of different nations in work camps and cross-border travel, both in the interwar-period and in postwar Germany.¹⁰

⁶ As a short summary, see Ziemann, Benjamin: Pacifism and Peace Movements, in: Darity, William A. (ed.): International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, vol. 6, MacMillan Reference USA, 2nd ed. Detroit 2008, pp. 101–102, 182–185.

⁷ Kössler, Till/Schwitanski, Alexander (eds.): Frieden lernen. Friedenserziehung und Gesellschaftsreform im 20. Jahrhundert, Klartext, Essen 2013.

⁸ Donson, Andrew: Friedenserziehung und Siegfriede im frühen 20. Jahrhundert, in: *ibid.*, pp. 107–122.

⁹ Lütgemeier-Davin, Reinhold: Aubruch in eine “neue Zeit”? Friedenspädagogik im Fokus von Friedensbewegung und bürgerlicher Jugendbewegung, in: *ibid.*, pp. 67–89.

¹⁰ Schwitanski, Alexander: Sozialistische Friedenserziehung nach zwei Weltkriegen. Die Kinderrepublik Seekmap 1927 und der Falkenstaat “Junges Europa” 1952 im Vergleich, in: *ibid.*, pp. 141–162; Levsen, Sonja: Kontrollierte Grenzüberschreitungen. Jugendreisen als Friedenserziehung nach 1945 – Konzepte und Ambivalenzen in deutsch-französischer Perspektive, in: *ibid.*, pp. 181–199; Krüger, Christine G.: Arbeit – Gemeinschaft – Internationalität. Die Friedenspädagogik der Workcampbewegung, in: *ibid.*, pp. 163–180.

The collection by Kössler and Schwitanski should be read in conjunction with an important primary source, an edition of the so far unpublished autobiography of Wilhelm Lamszus.¹¹ Lamszus (1881–1965), who started teaching in a Hamburg elementary school in 1902, was a lifelong proponent of reform pedagogy and participated in many pedagogical experiments during the Weimar Republic and again in the Federal Republic. Yet he is most widely known for his visionary anti-war novel *The Human Slaughterhouse* ('*Das Menschenschlachthaus*'), published in 1912 and an immediate bestseller. Here, Lamszus offered tangible descriptions of the tremendous impact that artillery and machine-guns would have in a future war, thus anticipating the slaughter on the battlefields of the First World War.¹² The autobiography reveals next to nothing about Lamszus as a person, as he admitted in an afterthought which offered a brief 'self-portrait' (pp. 210–212). Instead, the text offers many insights into the practice of schooling before and after the First World War, and into the personalities and institutions that accompanied Lamszus' quest to promote peace pedagogy.

Another field of systematic interest for the history of pacifism is international law or, in German parlance, *Völkerrecht*. The development of international agreements first on the conduct of war, followed by attempts to introduce international arbitration and adjudication on offences against international agreements, were greeted with positive expectations among German pacifists prior to 1914 and in the interwar period. Hans Kelsen, a leading proponent of the Central European tradition of legal positivism, coined the programmatic phrase 'Peace through Law' in 1944 to denote what can be described as a *Verrechtlichung* of international relations in German parlance, i.e. the hope that an increasingly dense network of binding legal norms and collective institutions could diminish the inherent anarchy of the international system.¹³ A leading German proponent of international law who straddled the divide between academic work and pacifist activism was Hans Wehberg (1885–1962). He is now the subject of a substantial study by Claudia Denfeld that is based on her PhD-dissertation in jurisprudence.¹⁴

This background explains some of the weaknesses of the book, namely its overly fragmented structure with miniscule subchapters. Under the quite elaborate heading '1st part, B., II., 3. b.'

¹¹ Lamszus, Wilhelm: „Begrabt die lächerliche Zwietracht unter euch!“ Erinnerungen eines Schulreformers und Antikriegsschriftstellers (1881–1965), edited by Andreas Pehnke, Sax, Markkleeberg 2014.

¹² As a reprint, see Lamszus, Wilhelm: *Das Menschenschlachthaus. Bilder vom kommenden Krieg*, Weisband, Munich 1980 (Reprint of the original 1913 edition).

¹³ As a helpful overview on the field see Dülffer, Jost: *Recht, Normen und Macht*, in: Dülffer, Jost /Loth, Wilfried (eds.): *Dimensionen internationaler Geschichte*, Oldenbourg, Munich 2012, pp. 169–188, here p. 169. In a wide comparative perspective see Mazower, Mark: *Governing the World. The History of an Idea*, Penguin, London 2012.

¹⁴ Denfeld, Claudia: *Hans Wehberg (1885–1962). Die Organisation der Staatengemeinschaft*, Nomos, Baden-Baden 2008.

for instance the reader will find slightly more than two pages of text on the second edition of Wehberg's path-breaking commentary on the constitution of the League of Nations, co-written with his friend and mentor Walter Schücking, who was the other leading scholarly proponent of legal pacifism in Germany (pp. 47–49). Yet these minor quibbles aside, Denfeld's book is based on extensive archival research and offers a systematic analysis of Wehberg's biography and work on international law. Engagement with the ideas of the two The Hague peace conferences in 1899 and 1907 had stoked Wehberg's interest in the field. The organisational pacifism of Alfred Hermann Fried (see below) was another major influence, and Wehberg took over as the editor of the *Friedens-Warte*, the journal for intellectual debate on peace and pacifism Fried had founded, in 1924. He continued to work in this role until 1962, a perseverance that is indicative of the tremendous energy Wehberg brought to all his scholarly and political endeavours. In the first part of her book, Denfeld outlines Wehberg's biographical trajectory, including his failure to get a permanent post at a German university, forcing him in 1928 to accept an invitation to teach at the newly founded Graduate Institute of International Studies at Geneva. Equally perceptive and well-documented are the more systematic sections on the contours of Wehberg's thinking on international law. Wehberg adopted natural law as the foundation of international law, but was aware that it had to be complemented by elements of the positivistic tradition, thus trying to overcome this crucial divide in the substantiation of legal discourse (pp. 66ff.).

Wehberg's thinking was fundamentally shaped by the German violation of Belgian neutrality in August 1914. In his view, this was quite obviously a 'blatant breach' of international law, and it motivated him to consider how international agreements could be enforced in the future. Thus, he developed the notion of 'war as a sanction', a preventive action that could forestall major violations of international law (pp. 91–93). As reflections on the need for force to regulate international relations, these were path-breaking ideas, ideas that led the pragmatist Wehberg (p. 138) away from any simplistic ethical pacifism. Yet while he considered ideas that complicated the notion of legal pacifism, Wehberg kept his moral compass intact. In that he differed from other German proponents of legal pacifism such as Josef Kohler (1849–1919). In 1892, Kohler had been involved in the founding of the *Deutsche Friedensgesellschaft* (German Peace Society, DFG) and served as its first chairperson. A prolific legal scholar who worked in various fields of jurisprudence, Kohler advanced prior to 1914 many ideas on international arbitration and on the need for an international organisation that would coordinate the conflicting interests of nation-states. Yet in August 1914, while initially shattered by the destruction of his idealistic hopes, Kohler

quickly embraced the notion of a national community and the belligerent ‘ideas of 1914’ that justified the German effort.¹⁵

2. Central European Pacifism prior to 1914

It might seem strange to include Alfred Hermann Fried in a survey on German pacifism, since Fried (1864–1921) was born in Vienna into the family of a Jewish small merchant of Hungarian descent and spent most of his life in the capital of the Austrian-Hungarian Double Monarchy.¹⁶ Yet when he met Romain Rolland in Switzerland in 1915 – where he settled during the First World War after he had been accused of ‘high treason’ by a passer-by in Vienna, indicating how the chauvinistic fervour of the wartime years made life for dissenters difficult –, Fried explicitly stated ‘the he felt German, not Austrian’. And indeed, during his Swiss exile Fried acted in the manner of a German ‘patriot’ who used his international pacifist connections and tireless activism to return his country to following a moral compass.¹⁷ This is only one of the many anecdotes Petra Schönemann-Behrens skillfully employs in her new biography of Fried to make the scope and form of his pacifism tangible to the reader. Engaging, written with flair and analytical clarity, carefully argued and based on painstaking research in all relevant archives, including the significant collection of the Fried-Suttner papers in the League of Nations’ archives in Geneva, the book by Schönemann-Behrens gives Fried his place as one of the most skillful operators and innovative conceptual thinkers in Central European pacifism around 1900. Fried had trained as a bookseller and then founded a publishing house in Berlin, where he lived since 1884. Only by chance did he adopt pacifism as a project and political current following an encounter with Bertha von Suttner¹⁸ in 1891, the beginning of a life-long and nevertheless complicated friendship (pp. 53ff.). In 1892, Fried was the driving force behind the establishment of the DFG, the leading organisation of German bourgeois pacifism right up to 1933, when the society was disbanded by the National Socialists. Fried himself was forced to retire from the steering-committee of

¹⁵ See Nies, Kirsten: „Die Geschichte ist weiter als wir“. Zur Entwicklung des politischen und völkerrechtlichen Denkens Josef Kohlers in der Wilhelminischen Ära, Duncker & Humblot, Berlin 2009, pp. 96ff., 178ff., 211–249.

¹⁶ On the development of pacifism in the Hungarian part of the Double Monarchy see the short study by Kovács, Henriett: Die Friedensbewegung in Österreich-Ungarn an der Wende zum 20. Jahrhundert, Schäfer, Herne 2009.

¹⁷ Schönemann-Behrens, Petra: Alfred H. Fried. Friedensaktivist – Nobelpreisträger, Römerhof, Zürich, 2011, pp. 240f.

¹⁸ See the reflections on this collaboration in the reprint of Suttner’s memoirs: Suttner, Bertha von: Memoiren, Severus, Hamburg 2013, pp. 192, 234–241 (reprint of the first edition in 1965).

the society as early as January 1893, in a conflict that among other things revolved around Fried's temper and his lack of academic training, which stood in stark contrast to the members of the educated middle-class who provided the majority of the DFG leaders (pp. 66). At any rate, Fried continued to be a key driving force behind the organizational and intellectual development of pacifism, achievements for which he was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1911. Since 1899, he edited the monthly journal *Die Friedenswarte*, which quickly established itself as the most prominent platform for the open debate of ideas on the advancement of international reconciliation and peaceful arbitration. The heading of the journal, displaying three interlocking cog wheels, served as an apt symbol for his new, 'organisational' approach to pacifism. Eschewing the traditional symbolism of the peace dove and olive branch, which Fried considered to be too 'sentimental', he opted for a technological, in a sense even mechanical approach to fostering peace (p. 178). It was based on Fried's reading of the evolutionary sociology that authors such as Herbert Spencer and Jacques Nowikow advanced at the time. With Spencer and Nowikow, Fried shared the assumption that increasing economic and trade entanglements between the nations had created a need and an opportunity to reconcile conflicts through a system of international mediation and arbitration. Fried's interest in a sociological understanding of the societal forces that facilitated peace was reflected in his membership in the Sociological Society at the University of Vienna, founded in 1909 (pp. 191ff). In his *Handbuch der Friedensbewegung*, published in 1905 and now available in a helpful reprint, Fried offered a comprehensive summary of his ideas on the evolutionary drift towards cooperation in an increasingly globalised world, ideas which may allow to count Fried among the first conceptual thinkers of world society – to use the current terminology – or what Fried himself called the 'Verinternationalisierung der Welt', the 'internationalization of the world'.¹⁹

Petra Schönemann-Behrens has published an incisive and perceptively argued biography of one of the leading pacifists in Central Europe prior to the First World War. Her book can be compared to the magisterial biography of Ludwig Quidde, the long-term chairman of the DFG and recipient of the Nobel Peace Prize in 1927, published by Karl Holl in 2007.²⁰ Another important biographical study charts the life of the Polish industrialist and philanthropist Jan Bloch (1836–1902). Bloch is most widely known for his five volumes on 'Future wars in their economic, technological and political aspects' with their grim and highly accurate forecasts of the impact of industrialised warfare, which he published in Russian and Polish in 1899. The

¹⁹ Fried, Alfred Hermann: *Handbuch der Friedensbewegung*, unikum, Bremen 2011, pp. 33–49, quote p. 44.

²⁰ Holl, Karl: *Ludwig Quidde (1858–1941). Eine Biographie*, Droste, Düsseldorf 2007. For a short summary, see idem, Ludwig Quidde, in: Kloft (ed.): *Friedenspolitik* (see footnote 2), pp. 29–43.

main focus in the collection of essays by Markus Furrer, Walter Troxler and Daniela Walker is on the ‘international museum on war and peace’ that opened in Lucerne in Switzerland in 1902.²¹ The museum was the result of a rather uncommon coalition of interests. The city council of Lucerne simply saw an opportunity to increase tourism and to develop a large and central piece of real estate that the town had taken over in the 1890s. Bloch, on the other hand, was keen to promote and develop a new, more tangible and intuitive and highly visualised form of communicating the insights that he had advanced in the many tables and rather dry statistics in the five volumes of his book.²² Yet the book provides also substantial biographical background on Bloch himself. Based on extensive research that was so far only available in Polish, Andrzej Żor offers a detailed account of Bloch’s rise from humble beginnings in a Jewish family in Radom in the formerly Polish part of the Russian empire to his meteoric rise as a ‘railway king’ who made a fortune in the boom years of railway construction during the 1860s.²³

Since the turn of the century, the socialist labour movement stepped up its efforts to mobilise public opinion and workers across Europe against the accelerating arms race and the growing tensions between the Great Powers particularly at the colonial periphery. The Second International of European socialist parties, founded in 1889, had discussed potential forms of collective action against the increasing danger of a European war first at its 1907 Stuttgart congress, and again in Copenhagen in 1910. The debates in Stuttgart had been dominated by the refusal of August Bebel, leader of the largest socialist party in Europe, to commit the SPD to a mass strike in the eventuality of a major war. Yet the first Balkan War in 1912 made coordination even more imperative. Hence, the International Socialist Bureau (ISB) called at short notice for an unscheduled congress. Only four weeks after this decision, the peace congress of the international labour movement parties took place in Basel (Switzerland) on 24/25 November 1912. The Basel congress is now comprehensively covered in a highly informative collection of essays, documents and short biographical vignettes of key participants and local facilitators that a group of Basel-based historians around Bernard Degen has published to mark the centenary of the congress in 2012.²⁴

The key event of the congress was the peace manifestation in the Münster, the Romanesque-

²¹ Troxler, Walter/Walker, Daniela/Furrer, Markus (eds.): Jan Bloch und das Internationale Kriegs- und Friedensmuseum in Luzern, Lit, Zürich 2010.

²² Walker, Daniela: Das Internationale Kriegs- und Friedensmuseum, in: *ibid.*, pp. 117–148, see pp.117–132.

²³ Andrzej Żor: Der Gründer Jann Gottlieb Bloch, in: *ibid.*, pp. 17–43

²⁴ See Degen, Bernard/Haumann, Heiko/Mäder, Ueli u.a. (eds.): *Gegen den Krieg. Der Basler Friedenskongress 1912 und seine Aktualität*, Merian, Basel 2012. It should be noted that, with many illustrations, photos and the reproduction of key documents, this is a beautiful book also in typographical terms.

Gothic church that can seat more than 5,000 people. The use of the venue was based on the support of the local Reformed Church and its synod, which included several Social Democrats, a fact that is indicative of the liberal political climate in the city. Some of the most prominent representatives of European socialism, including Hugo Haase, James Keir Hardie, Victor Adler, Jean Jaurès and Janko Sakasow – who had just cast the only vote against the war loans in a tumultuous session of the Bulgarian parliament – captivated the audience with their oratory, while a crowd of 15,000 followed a separate programme of speeches outside the church.²⁵ The ‘skillful staging’ of the congress secured widespread coverage in the European print media and left many delegates with the impression, as Bernard Degen notes, that national differences ‘had disappeared behind demonstrative displays of unity and verbal radicalism’.²⁶ While the final manifesto of the congress made practical suggestions for action the socialist parties should take with regard to the Balkan war, it failed yet again to outline any specific action in case of a war between the major European powers.²⁷ Thus, the congress also forestalled the failure of the Second International that became apparent in July and August 1914.²⁸

3. The Interwar Period

The outbreak of war in August 1914 betrayed pacifist hopes that a growing network of international relations would prevent war, and compromised the DFG through its rejection of a sustained opposition against the national war effort. In a response to this perceived moral bankruptcy of patriotic pacifism, pacifist organisations with a more radical approach emerged. In Germany, already the name of the Bund Neues Vaterland (BNV, League New Fatherland), founded in November 1914 by Otto Lehmann-Rußbüldt and Kurt Tepper-Laski, flagged up the commitment to a fundamental moral and political renewal of the German nation. Many prominent German pacifists in the period since 1914 were members of the Bund Neues Vaterland. They include the socialist Kurt Eisner, leader of the Bavarian revolution in November 1918, whose commitment to pacifist ideas during the First World War is now the

²⁵ Degen, Bernhard: Basel im Zentrum der Friedensbewegung, in: *ibid.*, pp. 30–55, see 30–41.

²⁶ Degen, Bernhard: Die europaweite Ausstrahlung des Kongresses, in: *ibid.*, pp. 141–151, see p. 143.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 142–149.

²⁸ On the attempts to rebuilt socialist internationalism during and after the war see, in a top-down perspective: Nishikawa, Masao: *Socialists and international actions for peace 1914–1923*, Frank & Timme, Berlin 2010.

subject of the rather unsystematic and disorganised study by Riccardo Altieri.²⁹ A prominent member of the BNV was Hellmut von Gerlach (1866–1935). At the beginning of the war, Gerlach had already accomplished the transformation ‘from left to right’ that he later described in his autobiography, published posthumously in 1937. His personal political journey is now competently described in a collection of essays edited by Christoph Koch.³⁰ It led von Gerlach from the conservative antisemitism of Adolf Stoecker to the left wing of German liberalism, as a member of Friedrich Naumann’s Nationalsozialer Verein and Reichstag deputy for the party in 1903. In 1918, von Gerlach acted as a co-founder of the Deutsche Demokratische Partei and also briefly assumed high political office in Prussia. Left liberalism was also where Carl von Ossietzky started his political activism. In 1908, Hellmut von Gerlach had founded the Demokratische Vereinigung, a left-liberal splinter party that parted company with the Freisinn after its three left-liberal parties supported the Bülow bloc and took part in the nationalist-chauvinistic campaigning during the 1907 so-called ‘Hottentot’ elections. Ossietzky joined the Demokratische Vereinigung and started in 1911 to publish articles in its weekly journal. Probably in 1912, he also joined the DFG and became a member of the executive committee of the Hamburg branch.³¹ For a long time, Ossietzky has been the most controversial of all German pacifists during the twentieth century. Many historians have questioned the political expediency of his relentless polemicising against the Social Democratic Party (SPD) throughout the 1920s and particularly during the years from 1930 to 1933, when chancellour Brüning and his two successors governed based on presidential emergency decrees. Historian Heinrich August Winkler has argued that the SPD, ‘pilloried’ by Ossietzky and his friend Kurt Tucholsky in literally ‘every issue’ of the *Weltbühne*, the leftist intellectual monthly that Ossietzky edited since 1927, was in fact ‘the last remaining strong pillar of democracy and liberality’ in Germany since the late 1920s. Hence, Winkler claimed, Ossietzky’s fight against the SPD was ‘in its effect’ also a ‘fight against parliamentary democracy’.³² Such a reasoning does not imply that Ossietzky was a ‘grave digger’ of the Weimar Republic, as some conservative publicists and politicians

²⁹ Altieri, Riccardo: *Der Pazifist Kurt Eisner*, Kovač, Hamburg 2015. Incidentally, Eisner’s membership in the *Bund Neues Vaterland* is only mentioned in passing (pp. 20, 61).

³⁰ Koch, Christoph (ed.): *Vom Junker zum Bürger. Hellmut von Gerlach. Demokrat und Pazifist in Kaiserreich und Republik*, Martin Meidenbauer, Munich 2009. See in particular the chapter by Holl, Karl: *Hellmut von Gerlach – demokratischer Pazifist und unbeirrbarer Freund Frankreichs*, in: *ibid.*, pp. 117–131.

³¹ Boldt, Werner: *Carl von Ossietzky. Vorkämpfer der Demokratie*, Ossietzky, Hanover 2013, p. 74.

³² Winkler, Heinrich-August: *Der Schein der Normalität. Arbeiter und Arbeiterbewegung in der Weimarer Republik 1924 bis 1930*, Dietz, Berlin/Bonn 1988, p. 724.

charged him during the 1970s and 1980s.³³ Rather, it goes to demonstrate that the incessant infighting and sectarian righteousness that was a crucial feature of both the radical left and of radical pacifism in the Weimar period ultimately lacked intellectual honesty and political responsibility.³⁴

Against the backdrop of these controversies, Werner Boldt has written a new and comprehensive study on Ossietzky.³⁵ Presented as an account of life and letters, Boldt's book is a blatant and unapologetic piece of hagiography. In his introduction, Boldt charges everyone who criticised Ossietzky's radical polemicism as driven by ideology. As a backdrop to and justification of the polemical stance of his hero, Boldt offers a bleak and highly schematic picture of the Weimar Republic in which the vested interests of capitalists determined party politics (pp. 10–22). Boldt's account of Ossietzky's pacifist activism in the DFG is detailed and informative, to be sure. Based on his work as an editor of a complete editions of Ossietzky's works, Boldt offers a vivid portrayal of the tensions within the DFG during and immediately after the war. Many DFG members unmasked the nationalist core of their patriotic pacifism with their refusal to discuss any German responsibility for the war, thus triggering a backlash by radical members such as Ossietzky (pp. 72–79, 107–114). Yet anything that could throw ambivalences of Ossietzky's thinking into sharp relief is glossed over by Boldt or only mentioned in passing. A case in point is his membership of the *Deutscher Monistenbund*. Ossietzky joined prior to 1914, and the scientific underpinnings of the Monist League and their anti-religious agenda surely must have appealed to him (p. 76). But the Monist League was not only generally supportive of pacifist ideas – a commitment that was fully ratified only in 1920. First and foremost, it was based on the scientific worldview of Ernst Haeckel and its underpinnings in social Darwinism, eugenics and racial hygiene. Haeckel's ideas have to be placed in the prehistory of National Socialist racial thinking, a fact that has potentially significant implications for an understanding of Ossietzky's political thinking prior to 1918.³⁶ Yet Boldt is silent on these aspects of the Monist ideology and their potential impact on Ossietzky's thinking, and is only confident to note a manuscript written in 1917 in which he rejected the Darwinist notion of a 'struggle over existence' in favour of the idea of 'mutual support'. The latter idea was, Boldt claims,

³³ Referenced by Wolfgang Wippermann, *Carl von Ossietzky*, in: Kloft (ed.): *Friedenspolitik* (see footnote 2), pp. 45–56, here pp. 48f.

³⁴ Also known for his relentless and often destructive polemicising was Kurt Hiller (1885–1972), whose pacifism is not covered in the recent biography by Laube, Brigitte: „Dennoch glaube ich an den messianischen Geist.“ *Kurt Hiller (1885–1972). Aspekte einer deutsch-jüdischen Identität*, Klartext, Essen 2012.

³⁵ Boldt: *Carl von Ossietzky* (see footnote 31).

³⁶ See Wippermann: *Carl von Ossietzky* (see footnote 33), p. 46.

without evidence and contrary to what the historical record suggests, ‘undisputed’ among those who supported Monism (p. 83).

Boldt offers a brief account of Ossietzky’s work in the ‘no more war’ movement, a short-lived coalition of pacifists, the socialist Trade Unions and both socialist parties (SPD and USPD) that successfully organised anti-war rallies on 1 August in all major German cities from 1919 to 1923 (pp. 114–119).³⁷ After the demise of the ‘no more war’ movement, Ossietzky said farewell to organised pacifism in a widely publicised article in 1924. He attacked the detrimental consequences of the ‘lachrymose’ novel of the ‘quixotic’ Bertha von Suttner, whose wider impact among German pacifists had in his view rightly triggered the charge that pacifism would be ‘effeminate’ (pp. 119f.). In the following 650 pages of his biographical narrative, Boldt makes good on his promise not only to offer detailed coverage of Ossietzky’s interpretation of contemporary events in his many published interventions up to 1933, but also to add his ‘own interpretations’ of these events, mostly in line with those of Ossietzky (p. 40). Boldt’s interpretations are, to be sure, based on a very superficial reading of the class character of the Weimar Republic. And so the reader gets, interspersed with extensive quotes from Ossietzky, factual mistakes³⁸ and cheap polemics against current Social Democracy (p. 569), a hagiographic replication of Ossietzky’s running commentary on the endemic corruption of virtue in a polity that was necessarily and quite explicitly based on compromises. These features make Boldt’s book a very exhausting read and in fact a parody of a proper biography that would have aimed to contextualise Ossietzky’s thinking.

Another prominent pacifist who supported the Bund Neues Vaterland was Helene Stöcker (1869–1943). Stöcker had joined the DFG shortly after it had been founded in 1892. But prior to the war her public support for pacifism had been much less prominent than her engagement in the radical wing of the bourgeois women’s movement and her campaigning for sexual reform in the Bund für Mutterschutz (League for the protection of mothers), founded in 1905. Yet after the mobilisation of European armies in 1914, which deeply shattered her belief in progress and left her in a state of depression, Stöcker intensified her activism in the pacifist movement. While Stöcker’s biography and her feminism have found substantial scholarly attention, her pacifism has been somehow neglected by historians. This gap makes the recent publication of her autobiography all the more relevant and welcome. Written in her first

³⁷ On the wider context of the movement, see Ziemann, Benjamin: “No more war!” Pacifist War Veterans in Germany, 1918–1923, in: Ribeiro, Maria Manuela Tavares/Rollo, Maria Fernanda/Valente, Isabel Maria Freitas/Cunha, Alice (eds.), *Pela Paz! For Peace! Pour la Paix! (1849–1939)*, Lang, Bruxelles u. a. 2014, pp. 377–389.

³⁸ Compare Boldt, Ossietzky (see footnote 31), p. 77, with the often cited but incorrect figure of 335.000 German soldiers fallen at Verdun in 1916.

Swedish and then US-American exile since 1933, the text offers important insights into the perceptions, political worldview and forms of sociability of a leading proponent of progressive reform movements in Wilhelmine Germany and the Weimar Republic. The editors of the text, Reinhold Lütgemeier-Davin and Kerstin Wolff, carefully explain the gestation of her manuscript and the biographical context.³⁹ Stöcker could not finish her manuscript, and so the text only covers the years until 1918. Based on his own extensive research on this period, however, Reinhold Lütgemeier-Davin was able to add a substantial account of Stöcker's participation in many pacifist groups from 1918 to 1933, and on her thinking about the ethics of non-violence (pp. 311–339).

Throughout the Weimar Republic, pacifist ideas were expressed, symbolised and contested in the literary genre of anti-war books. Most of these texts offered an autobiographical or quasi-autobiographical perspective on the front line experiences of the First World War, and should hence be categorised as 'novels' only with some qualification. The most comprehensive overview and analysis of these texts in English language is now the collection of essays by the British scholar of German literature Brian Murdoch.⁴⁰ The majority of Murdoch's essays are focused on the genesis, translation and public reception of Erich Maria Remarque's *All Quiet on the Western Front*, published in 1929. That is a sensible focus, given the huge circulation of the book and the amount of political controversy that it stirred up in the early 1930s, a controversy that was as much a conflict over the legitimacy of the beleaguered republic as it was one over the merits of Remarque's text.⁴¹ And other high-profile anti-war authors such as Arnold Zweig, Edlef Köppen and Leonhard Frank are also discussed by Murdoch. Still, his main concern are authors who have gained a reputation mainly for the artistic qualities of their texts.

But some of the most widely circulated anti-war texts of the Weimar Republic were successful not due to their elaborate style, but because their topics, their political agenda and their quasi-documentary presentation was hitting a nerve with the reading public. It is no coincidence that two key anti-war texts by Wilhelm Appens and Heinrich Wandt were both not concerned with the front line experience, but rather with the rear area or *Etappe* (in German), i.e. occupied Belgium and Northern France. More than any other aspect of the war,

³⁹ Lütgemeier-Davin, Reinhold/Wolff, Kerstin (eds.): Helene Stöcker. *Lebenserinnerungen. Die unvollendete Autobiographie einer frauenbewegten Pazifistin*, Böhlau, Vienna 2015.

⁴⁰ Murdoch, Brian: *German Literature and the First World War. The Anti-War Tradition. Collected Essays* by Brian Murdoch, Ashgate, Farnham 2015.

⁴¹ On the persistent relevance of Remarque's book for contemporary peace politics and peace pedagogy see Schneider, Thomas F. (ed.): *Erich Maria Remarques militanter Pazifismus und die deutsch-europäische Friedens- und Kulturpolitik heute*, V & R unipress, Osnabrück 2009.

events in the *Etappe* seemed to encapsulate the utter corruption and moral decay of the Wilhelmine military.⁴² The anarchist and socialist Heinrich Wandt, whose first instalment of *Etappe Gent* was published in 1920, subsequently faced sustained judicial harassment. In a court case that was a gross miscarriage of justice, Wandt was charged with high treason and sentenced in December 1923 to a jail term of six years. Only concerted efforts by socialist members of parliament and a press campaign led in 1926 to a pardon. Immediately upon his release, Wandt got to work on the second instalment of *Etappe Gent*, published in 1928. With a combined print-run of at least 200,000 copies only in the German edition, *Etappe Gent* was surely the most successful radical pacifist text of the Weimar Republic. Selections from the two books are now available in a reprint.⁴³ The editor of this collection, Jörn Schütrumpf, has added a very informative biographical essay on Wandt, partly based on the discovery of previously unutilised primary sources in the Bundesarchiv in Berlin (pp. 319–362).

The judicial persecution of Heinrich Wandt was certainly an extreme example of the lengths to which the Weimar state, and here particularly the Reichswehr, would go in their attempt to silence radical pacifists. The trial against Carl von Ossietzky in 1931 was another high-profile case. Ossietzky was charged with high treason after the *Weltbühne* had published a piece in 1929 that detailed how the Reichswehr supported, in violation of the stipulations of the Treaty of Versailles, a clandestine rebuilding of German air force capabilities.⁴⁴ But the state, represented by the judiciary, was not the only institution that took part in the aggressive harassment of pacifists during the Weimar Republic. Action against pacifists also took the form of an exclusion from professional groups and institutions, most notably the universities. A widely known example is the case of the mathematician and statistician Emil Julius Gumbel (1891–1961). Gumbel taught as an unsalaried Privatdozent and, from 1930, as an extraordinary professor at Heidelberg university. When Gumbel used a meeting of the DFG in 1924 to describe the fallen soldiers of the First World War as those who had died on the ‘field of dishonour’ – thus turning a catchphrase of nationalist war remembrance on its head –, he was suspended by the university and only reinstated after pressure from the left-liberal DDP. Henceforth the victim of sustained verbal attacks by nationalist and National Socialist students, Gumbel was ultimately dismissed in 1932 when he described a swede – the epitome of civilian hardship and deprivation during the war – as the most appropriate choice of symbol

⁴² Ziemann, Benjamin: *Gewalt im Ersten Weltkrieg. Töten-Überleben-Verweigern*, Klartext, Essen 2013, pp. 198–219.

⁴³ Wandt, Heinrich: *Erotik und Spionage in der Etappe Gent. Deutsche Besatzungsherrschaft in Belgien während des Ersten Weltkrieges*, edited by Jörn Schütrumpf, Dietz, Berlin 2014.

⁴⁴ Boldt: Carl von Ossietzky (see footnote 31), pp. 708–724.

for a war memorial in Germany.⁴⁵

Based on painstaking archival research, the book by Harald Maier-Metz now adds another dimension to this case.⁴⁶ Maier-Metz can show that at least 20 of the university teachers who were dismissed after the Nazi seizure of power in 1933, based on the ‘Law for the Restoration of the Professional Civil Service’, were explicitly targeted because they had taken part in a solidarity campaign for Gumbel or had expressed their sympathy for him in public (pp. 137f.). One of them was Albrecht Götze, a renowned expert for Assyrology and the study of ancient oriental languages who taught as a professor at Marburg university. As the only teaching staff member of Marburg university, Götze had issued a public protest when the association of German university teachers voiced an indirect endorsement of the protests by National Socialist students against Gumbel in 1931. In addition, Götze was known for his liberal political views and his sympathies for pacifist ideas, even though he was not a member of any pacifist organisation. Maier-Metz offers a detailed account of the biography of Götze, the controversy around his support for Gumbel, the increasingly illiberal climate at Marburg university and ultimately Götze’s dismissal in 1933, upon which he emigrated to the US, continuing a distinguished academic career at Yale University (pp. 145–167).

Most of the books on the interwar period that are under review here are focused on the liberal wing of the pacifist movement that was mostly based on the support of middle class people, even though a slightly wider constituency coming from the ranks of school-teachers and other professions at the lower end of the middle class joined after 1918. This focus on the bourgeois peace movement and its organisations is distorting the proportions, though, as they were clearly outnumbered by radical-democrat and socialist pacifist in the years from 1918 to 1933. One tangible example is the short-lived Friedensbund der Kriegsteilnehmer (Peace League of Ex-servicemen), the driving force behind the ‘no more war’ rallies Ossietzky co-founded in 1919. Its peak membership of radical-democrat and socialist war veterans, many of whom had a working-class background, was 30,000. At no point throughout the Weimar Republic the well-established DFG was able to muster a higher membership.⁴⁷

Against the backdrop of this state of historiography, a collection of essays edited by Alexander Schwitanski on the anti-militarist agenda of the Socialist Youth international

⁴⁵ The most comprehensive account of Gumbel’s biography and works is Jansen, Christian: *Emil Julius Gumbel. Portrait eines Zivilisten*, Wunderhorn, Heidelberg 1991. In English, compare Brenner, Arthur D.: *Emil J. Gumbel. Weimar German pacifist and professor*, Brill, Boston, MA/Leiden 2001.

⁴⁶ Maier-Metz, Harald: *Entlassungsgrund: Pazifismus. Albrecht Götze, der Fall Gumbel und die Marburger Universität 1930–1946*, Waxmann, Münster 2015.

⁴⁷ Ziemann, „No more war!“ (see footnote 37), pp. 381f.

(nowadays operating as the International Union of Socialist Youth) is helpful and relevant.⁴⁸ Anti-militarism was deeply ingrained into the fabric of the Socialist Youth International, as Wolfgang Uellenberg-van Dawen argues in a concise survey of the period from 1907 to 1939 (pp. 17–56). When the international association was established at a congress in Stuttgart in 1907, the participating national branches from Belgium, the Netherlands, Sweden and Germany had been founded in the context of socialist anti-militarist agitation among young working-class conscripts. At the Stuttgart congress, Karl Liebknecht used his three-hour long address on the ‘fight against militarism’ to outline how efficient agitation among the workers in uniform could turn the military from an instrument of capitalist oppression to a revolutionising force. During the World War, Willi Münzenberg used his base as the secretary of the socialist youth in neutral Switzerland to revive a critique of the accommodation of socialists with their respective national war efforts and to call for an immediate peace. Renewed in 1921 as the Worker’s Youth International, the federation staged powerful mass manifestations for peace, most impressively at the 1929 Vienna congress that was attended by 50,000 youth, 14,000 of them from Germany, and dedicated to promoting the notion of ‘no more war!’ (p. 420). Yet in the early 1930s, the pacifist consensus of the socialist youth international was fractured and ultimately abandoned, as the rise of fascism made a commitment to ‘proletarian militancy’ (proletarische Wehrhaftigkeit) paramount (pp. 46ff.).

4. Pacifism in the Federal Republic

In the Federal Republic, peace movement mobilisation evolved in three distinctive waves, assuming that the protests against the Vietnam War are best seen as a corollary of the wider student movement in the late 1960s. The period from 1950 to 1955 was characterised by a diverse set of short-lived campaigns that expressed first unease with and then outright protest against the prospect of West German rearmament and the inclusion of the Federal Republic into the Western military alliance. This period has so far only received scant attention by historians, one reason why the regional study by Markus Gunkel on developments in Hamburg from 1950 to 1955 is a worthwhile addition to the literature.⁴⁹ Gunkel’s approach has limits, to be sure. His main source base is the communist daily newspaper Hamburger

⁴⁸ Schwitanski, Alexander (ed.): „Nie wieder Krieg!“ Antimilitarismus und Frieden in der Geschichte der Sozialistischen Jugendinternationale, Klartext, Essen 2012

⁴⁹ Gunkel, Markus, Der Kampf gegen die Remilitarisierung. Friedensbewegung in Hamburg 1950 bis 1955, Lang, Frankfurt a. M. u. a. 2009.

Volkszeitung. That makes sense as the Communist Party of Germany (KPD) and some of its affiliated organisations were the main driving force behind most of the protests in these years. But ideally the information gleaned from that newspaper should have been compared to and corroborated with coverage in papers of a different political affiliation. In addition, Gunkel's account is often descriptive and too much immersed in rather tangential detail. Yet this critique should not distract from the important achievements of his book. First, it offers a substantial critique of the tendency to portray the first part of this mobilisation cycle as a 'Ohne mich' (Count me out!) movement that was predominantly driven by the selfish motive of male youths to avoid conscription in case of a German rearmament. Gunkel argues convincingly that this label was applied by the contemporary critics of the movement, and that it distracts from a wider set of concerns about the status of Germany as a nation among the activists (pp. 238–241). Gunkel also corrects the conventional chronology by demonstrating that not fear of remilitarisation and the draft, but anxieties about the potential use of nuclear weapons during the early phase of the Korean War triggered the movement, leading to the collection of signatures in support of the Stockholm Appeal by the Communist-led World Council of Peace (pp. 44–88).

The second major achievement of Gunkel's study is a more complex understanding of the role of the Communists in this mobilisation cycle. The conventional view is that Communist involvement led to the outright 'failure' of the first peak in the cycle, the movement for a Volksbefragung or public referendum over German remilitarisation.⁵⁰ The idea of a referendum had been suggested by the Protestant pastor Martin Niemöller in October 1950 in an open letter to chancellor Konrad Adenauer. Initially, it found support among Social Democrats and the trade unions that were affiliated with them. But when the Federal Government first rejected a referendum and then placed in April 1951 an outright ban on a Communist initiative to organise its own Volksbefragung, moderate forces abstained from further support. Yet as Gunkel can demonstrate in much detail, neither the shrinking of the support base to the Communists alone, nor the formal ban, subsequent constant police harassment and judicial persecution of activists and not even the relentless anti-communist coverage in the mainstream media could effectively curtail the campaign. Both in quantitative terms, with more than 200,000 signatures collected in Hamburg alone by June 1951, and through the qualitative process of the intensive canvassing of various neighborhoods, countless discussions at the doorstep and in numerous meetings, the Communist campaign for a Volksbefragung in 1951 was by far the most impressive and effective peace movement in

⁵⁰ Holl, Pazifismus (see footnote 2), p. 224.

the first cycle up to 1955. It clearly outnumbered support for the Paulskirchenbewegung in 1955 that was organised by leading members of the SPD, FDP and the Trade Unions (pp. 109–154, 386–389). These arguments could have been strengthened by further engagement with historiography on the social context of the Communist support base in the 1950s.⁵¹ Yet even without such conceptual framing, Gunkel's account of the working-class militancy among Communist dockworkers in the Hamburg harbour in 1949/50, who repeatedly refused to unload cargo from ships that carried ammunition or weapons, is very impressive (pp. 334–363). These findings support the argument that the first cycle of peace movement mobilization in postwar Germany was mainly driven by the resurgent collective agency of the male working-class.

The second postwar peace mobilization cycle, lasting from 1957 to the late 1960s, started off with a substantial mass movement against plans of the Adenauer government to equip the West German military forces (Bundeswehr) with tactical atomic warheads. This campaign, 'Fight against Atomic Death' (Kampf dem Atomtod), was based on a broad coalition between parts of the Protestant churches, the trade union movement and the Social Democratic Party. It was accompanied by intensive intellectual and political debates among philosophers and theologians and public interventions by scientists, most notably the 'Göttingen Appeal' of 18 leading atomic physicists, published in April 1957. Yet the 'personified symbol' of the protest against nuclear weapons in the campaign was the theologian, physician and 1953 Nobel Peace laureate Albert Schweitzer. His public appeal 'to humankind' against nuclear armaments, broadcast by more than 150 radio stations around the globe in the spring of 1957, had turned him into the public conscience and key moral authority on these issues.⁵²

Schweitzer's intervention was part of a wider turn in his biographical trajectory during the second half of the 1950s, developments that are described in much – and fairly descriptive – detail in the study by Thomas Suermann on Schweitzer's political thinking. Triggered by his contacts with Albert Einstein and his own growing concern about the dangers of nuclear weapons, and also encouraged by the public recognition that the Nobel Peace Prize had brought, Schweitzer decided to take a more proactive stance and to intervene more regularly into political issues that emanated from the Cold War, both in public and in letters to key

⁵¹ Crucially, the important study by Kössler, Till: *Abschied von der Revolution. Kommunisten und Gesellschaft in Westdeutschland 1945–1968*, Droste, Düsseldorf 2005, is missing in Gunkel's bibliography.

⁵² See Schildt, Axel: „Atomzeitalter“ – Gründe und Hintergründe der Proteste gegen die atomare Bewaffnung der Bundeswehr Ende der fünfziger Jahre, in: „Kampf dem Atomtod!“ Die Protestbewegung 1957/58 in zeithistorischer und gegenwärtiger Perspektive, Dölling und Galitz, Munich. Hamburg 2009, pp. 39–56, p. 44. On 'Fight against Atomic Death' see also Nehring, Holger: *Politics of Security. British and West German Protest Movements and the Early Cold War, 1945–1970*, Oxford UP, Oxford 2013.

decision-makers.⁵³ His repeated interventions soon created a backlash against Schweitzer in the USA, but also among politicians in the Federal Republic. Suermann's erroneous remark that Schweitzer chose to broadcast the 1957 appeal in Oslo as it was a 'neutral place' is indicative of how sketchy perceptions can be, as Norway, motivated by the experience of German occupation during the Second World War, had been one of the NATO founding members in 1949 and was thus anything but neutral (p. 220).

The campaign 'Fight against Atomic Death' collapsed in 1958 once its plans for a referendum on the issue had been ruled to be unconstitutional by the Federal Constitutional Court. Yet already in 1960, West German activists emulated the example of the Aldermaston march that the British Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament had organised over the Easter weekend since 1958. The Ostermarsch movement that organised non-violent demonstration marches across Germany initially attracted a growing number of participants. But it petered out towards the end of the 1960s and was quickly superseded by the student's movement.

The third major peace movement mobilization cycle in the Federal Republic shaped up since the mid-1970s in joint protests by French and German activists against nuclear power plants in the south-west of Germany, and in a growing engagement with peace issues in parts of the Protestant churches. It quickly gathered momentum and evolved into one of the biggest mass movements in German history once the NATO adopted its Dual Track Solution in 1979. At its height in the years from 1981 to 1983, the anti-nuclear peace movement in Germany was able to bring hundreds of thousands to the streets and to orchestrate a variety of non-violent protests.⁵⁴ It collected four million signatures for the Krefeld Appeal that asked the Federal Government to withdraw its support for the Dual Track Solution and the planned deployment of Cruise Missiles and Pershing II missiles.

Research into the 1980s peace movement has become a field for both methodological innovation and political contestation.⁵⁵ A collection of essays that Philipp Gassert, Tim Geiger and Hermann Wentker have co-edited can serve as an excellent introduction into the

⁵³ Suermann, Thomas: Albert Schweitzer als „homo politicus“. Eine biographische Studie zum politischen Denken und Handeln des Friedensnobelpreisträgers, Berliner Wissenschafts-Verlag, Berlin 2012, pp. 204–240.

⁵⁴ On one of these forms see the local study, mainly based on interviews with eyewitnesses, by Hergesell, Burkhard: „Petting statt Pershing“. Die Hafensblockade der Friedensbewegung in Bremerhaven 1983, Hauschild, Bremen 2013.

⁵⁵ A comprehensive survey on the different actors, groups, media and themes of the 1980s anti-nuclear peace movement in the Federal Republic is Becker-Schaum, Christoph/Gassert, Philipp/Klimke, Martin/Mausbach, Wilfried/Zepp. Marianne (eds.): „Entrüstet Euch!“ Nuklearkrise, NATO-Doppelbeschluss und Friedensbewegung, Ferdinand Schöningh, Paderborn 2012; specifically on the Catholics, see Gerster, Daniel: Friedensdialoge im Kalten Krieg. Eine Geschichte der Katholiken in der Bundesrepublik 1957–1983, Campus, Frankfurt a. M./New York 2012, pp. 220–314.

state of historiography on this topic.⁵⁶ One of the many advantages of their collection is the wide frame they offer. Concise chapters by experts provide pertinent background on the strategic context of the Dual Track Decision both in NATO and in the Warsaw Pact, and on the foreign policy decision-making of the successive West German governments that were in charge. As the Dual Track decision affected several other European countries, a section with chapters on the interplay between nuclear strategy, governments and peace movement mobilisation in the Netherlands, France, Italy and the United Kingdom is another welcome feature of this collection. Two extended sections discuss the position of the peace movement and wider societal repercussions of the anti-nuclear mobilization of the early 1980s. As Philipp Gassert convincingly argues, peace movement mobilization effectively led to a reaffirmation both of the Federal Republic's ties with the West and of the consensus that saw the West German polity based on the core principle of coming to terms with the Nazi past. Contemporary observers emphasised the anti-American underpinnings of peace movement activism. Symbolic representations of the aggressive nature of US foreign policy were indeed an important frame that facilitated the broad coalition of different movement activists. Yet as Gassert insists, the peace movement activists ultimately saw themselves 'as part of a transatlantic political community' in which dissent over the reformulation of security and nuclear deterrence pervaded on both sides of the Atlantic. The peace movement did not lead to an 'alienation from Western democracies', as critics insisted at the time. Quite to the contrary, activists were affirmative about their commitment to US figureheads of non-violent protest such as Henry David Thoreau and Martin Luther King, thus in fact advancing a 'Westernization' of activism in the Federal Republic.⁵⁷

A similar point can be made with regard to the Social Democratic Party (SPD), as Friedhelm Boll and Jan Hansen argue in their chapter, based on an in-depth analysis of relevant papers in the collections of the Archive of Social Democracy (AdsD) in Bonn.⁵⁸ The SPD was faced with a unique challenge in the wake of the Dual Track Decision. The foreign security elites in the party, headed by chancellor Helmut Schmidt, supported the NATO consensus without any reservations. Another relevant group within the party leadership, mainly the nuclear pacifists around Erhard Eppler and Oscar Lafontaine, however, were adamant in their critique of the Dual Track Decision. As the peace movement gathered momentum, the nuclear

⁵⁶ Gassert, Philipp/Geiger, Tim/Wentker, Hermann (eds.): *Zweiter Kalter Krieg und Friedensbewegung: Der NATO-Doppelbeschluss in deutsch-deutscher und internationaler Perspektive*, Oldenbourg, Munich 2011.

⁵⁷ Gassert, Philipp: *Viel Lärm um Nichts? Der NATO-Doppelbeschluss als Katalysator gesellschaftlicher Selbstverständigung in der Bundesrepublik*, in: *ibid.*, pp. 175–202, see 199f.

⁵⁸ Boll, Friedhelm/Hansen, Jan: *Doppelbeschluss und Nachrüstung als innerparteiliches Problem der SPD*, in: *ibid.*, pp. 203–228.

pacifists within the SPD gained traction. Yet the party had bound itself to a support of the Dual Track Decision at its 1979 Berlin party conference, albeit denying an immediate need for the deployment of US nuclear missiles in case the disarmament talks with the USSR would lead to no result. Despite growing unease and conflicts within the party, this line was upheld as long as the SPD remained in power. Once the liberal FDP left the coalition and Helmut Kohl replaced Schmidt as chancellor in October 1982, the SPD changed tack and decided to oppose the deployment in its 1983 Cologne party conference. By adopting this new line, the Social Democrats avoided a splintering of the party, as leftist critic Oskar Lafontaine had threatened to leave the party in the spring (p. 224). Yet during all these heated conflicts, even the nuclear pacifists within the SPD never vacillated in their fundamental commitment to the NATO alliance and to the shared values of the West (pp. 220–222).

A particularly contested issue in historiography on the 1980s peace movement is the influence of the Soviet Union and, by extension, the GDR. Historians such as Michael Ploetz, Hubertus Knabe, Udo Baron and Gerhard Wettig see the 1980s peace movement, based on evidence in the Stasi-files and in records in Russian archives, basically as the result of a campaign that was orchestrated from Moscow. Through logistical support and direct payments coming from the East German secret police, i. e. the Ministerium für Staatssicherheit (MfS), channeled to the West through organisations such as the KOFAZ committee or the German Peace Union (Deutsche Friedensunion, DFU) that was linked to the West German Communist Party (DKP), the GDR was able to infiltrate the peace movement and influence its policies. The Krefeld Appeal, initiated by the DFU, carefully avoided to mention Soviet nuclear armaments. Its more than four million signatories were thus complicit in the Communist subversion of the peace movement.⁵⁹ Against this backdrop, Helge Heidemeyer offers a sober assessment of the GDR-influence in the West German peace movement.⁶⁰ He emphasises the ambivalence of the GDR with regard to the activists of the Grünen or Green Party, which quickly after its founding in 1980 emerged as a key player in this mobilisation cycle. Stasi officials recognised that a key group within the Greens was playing into their own hands as it saw the US as the main cause for the dangerous state of international politics. Yet at the same time they were worried about the ‘subversive potential’ that the Greens represented, as they emphasised the universal significance of human rights, a policy orientation that could potentially strengthen oppositional groups within the GDR (p. 256).

⁵⁹ See, with further references, Wettig, Gerhard: The last Soviet offensive in the Cold War: emergence and development of the campaign against NATO euromissiles, 1979–1983, in: *Cold War History* 9 (2009), pp. 79–110.

⁶⁰ Heidemeyer, Helge: NATO-Doppelabschluss, westdeutsche Friedensbewegung und der Einfluss der DDR, in: Gassert/Geiger/Wentker: *Zweiter Kalter Krieg* (see footnote 56), pp. 247–267.

Heidemeyer's overall assessment is fairly sceptical. First, and quite crucially, he points out that the actual success of initiatives by the SED and the MfS is difficult to establish on the basis of their own source materials alone. All remaining documents, Heidemeyer argues, have to be read as 'operational balance sheets' of subordinate units to their superiors or to the political leadership of the GDR. Thus, they would stereotypically stress the advances of the West German peace movement and spin these as the direct result of their own involvement and manipulation rather than as the result of intrinsic West German activism. Trends that opposed GDR-policies would only ever receive scant mentioning (p. 265). This is a fairly basic and yet utterly relevant element of source criticism that has so far eluded most historians who have argued in favour of successful GDR intervention. The Stasi was indeed able to recruit a handful of movement activists as informants, most notably Dirk Schneider, a Green politician and also member of the Bundestag for the party. The 'Generals for Peace' and the Pahl Rugenstein publishing house supported the Soviet campaign in the Federal Republic. Both were direct subsidiaries of the GDR, as Heidemeyer notes and as was already alleged at the time (pp. 257–261).

Heidemeyer also suggests that the GDR influenced the agenda-setting and 'opinion formation' in the movement, as the view of a genuinely peaceful Soviet Union was widely held among activists. He immediately qualifies this remark by saying that GDR propaganda only found resonance because the protesters were already 'outraged' about nuclear armaments anyway (p. 266). This, however, is a crucial point that requires a much more careful consideration than Heidemeyer is able to deliver.⁶¹ Rather than seeing movement activism as the direct result of GDR propaganda, it is helpful to employ the sociological concept of 'framing' to understand how a diverse cross-section of the population and groups with highly divergent cultural backgrounds and political leanings could rally forces to oppose the Dual Track decision. In the context of political conflicts, these frames provide a shared semantics of threat perceptions and enemy images that act as a common reference point for a broad coalition of protest movement activists and sympathisers. In that respect, a crucial element of the 1980s peace movement was the widely shared refusal to frame the protests in line with the

⁶¹ Striking in this respect is the review of Gassert/Geiger/Wentker (eds.): *Zweiter Kalter Krieg*, by Peter Hoeres, in: *Historische Zeitschrift* 295 (2012), pp. 274–276, who finds it 'difficult to comprehend' that so many West German citizens signed the Krefeld Appeal that 'exclusively' rejected US nuclear missiles (p. 275). Rather than assuming that five million West German citizens were tricked by GDR propaganda or too dumb to understand the consequences of their actions, it might be helpful to consider the possibility that they genuinely believed that US nuclear missiles were posing a greater risk to international security at this point than the Soviet SS 20 missiles, and that they saw the diplomatic ball firmly in the Western half of the playing field. These issues were also discussed in a panel at the *Historikertag* 2014. The report on this panel only partially reflect the contours of the debate. See <<http://www.hsozkult.de/conferencereport/id/tagungsberichte-5675>> (accessed 16 November 2015).

anti-Communist consensus that had shaped politics in the Federal Republic since 1949. From the anti-rearmament protests in the early 1950s to the Easter March movement of the late 1960s, peace movements had always been adamant to define themselves through the exclusion of any Communist participation. In the 1980s, however, Communist individuals and groups were accepted as part of the movement on the basis of shared frames of perception.⁶² At any rate, a more precise understanding of the framing of the 1980s peace protests requires a closer look at the grassroots level of mobilisation. This is the approach taken by Susanne Schregel in her pathbreaking, original and conceptually highly innovative study.⁶³ Schregel applies the conceptual agenda of a cultural history of politics that, among others, Thomas Mergel has championed.⁶⁴ In this perspective, the symbols and performative rituals that collective actors use are not only an ornamental, colorful surface of the actual political decision-making, but are part and parcel of the communicative practices that the political process entails. Another assumption of this approach is that politics is no fixed entity with clearly circumscribed boundaries, but rather an open and continually contested field, best described as ‘the political’, in which discursive strategies delineate the boundaries of what can be described as political. In line with this agenda, a key interest of Schregel’s study is what she calls the ‘politics of scale’ (pp. 11–20). Her main interest here is the intensive focus on the locality, on the small geographical settings which became the key focus of peace activists during the 1980s: their town, city or only immediate neighbourhood, and their search for autonomy and for the reaffirmation of alternative values and life-styles in these settings. In these localised settings, the debate over the NATO Dual Track solution was not mainly perceived as a geostrategical conflict between the two superpowers and their respective allies. Rather, it was defined as something that immediately affected people at the local level, as activists tapped into the notion of *Betroffenheit* – only roughly translatable as ‘being immediately concerned’ – as their prime motivation for activism. Hence, the title of Schregel’s study: ‘atomic war in front of one’s flat.’ Schregel situates this strategy in the wider context of the burgeoning alternative milieu during the 1970s and 1980s and its critique

⁶² Nehring, Holger/Ziemann, Benjamin: Do all Paths Lead to Moscow? The NATO Dual-Track Decision and the Peace Movement – A Critique, in: *Cold War History* 12 (2012), pp. 1–24.

⁶³ Schregel, Susanne: *Der Atomkrieg vor der Wohnungstür. Eine Politikgeschichte der neuen Friedensbewegung in der Bundesrepublik 1970–1985*, Campus, Frankfurt a. M./New York 2011.

⁶⁴ The standard reference is Mergel, Thomas: *Überlegungen zu einer Kulturgeschichte der Politik*, in: *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 28 (2002), pp. 574–606; for a critique of Mergel’s arguments with regard to 1980s defence policies see Rödder, Andreas: *Sicherheitspolitik und Sozialkultur. Überlegungen zum Gegenstandsbereich der Geschichtsschreibung des Politischen*, in: Kraus, Hans-Christof/Nicklas, Thomas (eds.): *Geschichte der Politik. Alte und neue Wege*, Munich 2007, pp. 95–125. As a summary of the new approaches: Steinmetz, Willibald/Gilcher-Holtey, Ingrid/Haupt, Heinz Gerhard (eds.): *Writing Political History Today*, Campus, Frankfurt a. M./New York 2013.

of the traditional emphasis of the radical Left on a wholesale revolutionary transformation of society.⁶⁵

It would be wrong to mistake this as a West German peculiarity, as an expression of ‘German angst’, a strange malady that, according to many international media comments, seemed to grip the Germans during the 1980s. Almost simultaneously with Schregel’s study, the US historian Michael S. Foley published his highly innovative, magisterial book on the various environmental, anti-nuclear, anti-segregation and peace campaigns in the United States during the 1970s and 1980s under the title ‘Front Porch Politics’.⁶⁶ The notion of ‘front porch politics’ is very similar to the type of activism that Schregel describes: triggered by the observation of developments on the activists’ own doorstep, trying to translate wider societal issues into a language that was commensurate to the local people, and thus eschewing established patterns of political representation. Ultimately, front porch politics was rooted in a ‘culture of self-reliance’ that may seem quintessentially American to the European observer, but had important parallels in the West German anti-nuclear peace movement of the 1980s.⁶⁷ Schregel’s book elaborates these issues through an investigation of five interrelated themes. The first of these are ‘militarised landscapes’ (pp. 78–136). As peace activists began to chart their immediate surroundings, they noted the existence of US Army and Bundeswehr military bases, and intensified their efforts to locate sites for the storage of nuclear weapons. These were deliberate attempts to lift the veil of military secrecy and make the immediate threat of atomic war visible through a more systematic mapping of nuclear sites. Based on these efforts, the peace movement then developed scenarios of nuclear devastation in regional settings. The most important of these was the Fulda gap, named after the the most extended protrusion of GDR-territory into the Federal Republic, and thus the first gateway of a potential Soviet attack in all war games since the 1950s. During the 1980s, the Fulda gap rose to prominence as it was widely covered in national and international mass media. Here, Schregel demonstrates the interplay between media representations and the threat scenarios of local activists in the towns and villages in Hesse. Another theme is the impossibility of civil defence. As activists staged public performances around bunkers in their towns, they demonstrated that these had to be seen as death-traps rather than safe places in the case of a nuclear war. A particularly intriguing chapter analyses how activists not only used physical

⁶⁵ On these shifts in the understanding of power, see also Schregel, Susanne: Die „Macht der Mächtigen“ und die Macht der „Machtlosen“. Rekonfigurationen des Machtdenkens in den 1980er Jahren, in: *Archiv für Sozialgeschichte* 52 (2012), pp. 403–428.

⁶⁶ Foley, Michael S.: *Front Porch Politics. The Forgotten Heyday of American Activism in the 1970s and 1980s*, Hill & Wang, New York 2013.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

spaces to reconfigure the scale of peace politics, but also their own bodies. They arranged them in human chains and human carpets and used fasting as a means to change the consciousness over the dangers of nuclear weapons. Finally, Schregel charts the debates over communities who declared themselves nuclear weapons' free zones, thus creating small 'allotments of peace' (pp. 267–328).

Based on a wide array of published and unpublished sources of peace movement provenance, meticulously researched and persuasively argued, the book by Susanne Schregel sets a new benchmark in the history of post-1945 German peace movements. Peace activists renegotiated the boundaries of the political space and politicised different spheres of human activity: their private living space, the workplace, the religious sphere or nature (pp. 342f.). Through these practises, peace activism was cutting across the boundaries of different political ideologies or allegiances, thus also relegating the presence and potential impact of Communists within the movement to an issue of secondary importance at best. Schregel's study is of wider relevance for our understanding of the Federal Republic since the 1970s, way beyond the history of pacifism and peace protests. By reconfiguring the 'politics of scales' at the local level, the peace movement responded to the perceived crisis of established models of governance in the German political system, a crisis that contemporary observers discussed under headings such as *Unregierbarkeit*, the 'inability to govern'.⁶⁸

Peace movement mobilisation during the 1980s has to be understood at the grassroots level, as Susanne Schregel demonstrates. Yet the peace movement also had its media stars and public icons, and their rise to international public recognition needs to be contextualised. Exemplary in this respect is the biography of Petra Kelly (1947–1992) by Saskia Richter.⁶⁹ At the peak of the movement in the early 1980s, Kelly was easily the most recognisable face of the peace movement, even though she was not a member of the steering committee that coordinated the diverse coalition of groups and initiatives in the movement. But as leader of the Green Party and since 1983 also a member of the Bundestag, Kelly had the opportunity to represent the ideas and demands of the peace movement in a number of high-profile appearances (pp. 146f.). Kelly's pacifism was, as Richter explains, driven by her ecological concern for the safeguarding of the natural environment. Ecological activism was, in Kelly's view, a movement against 'the exploitation of human beings and of nature, and thus, in a wider meaning of the term, peace politics' (p. 144). In a series of carefully argued chapters, Richter

⁶⁸ For a very broadly conceived analysis, see Geyer, Martin H: *Rahmenbedingungen: Unsicherheit als Normalität*, in: idem (ed.): 1974–1982. Bundesrepublik Deutschland. Neue Herausforderungen, wachsende Unsicherheiten, Nomos, Baden-Baden 2008, pp. 4–109.

⁶⁹ Richter, Saskia: *Die Aktivistin. Das Leben der Petra Kelly*, DVA, Munich 2010.

explores the deeper biographical underpinnings of Kelly's activism. Petra Kelly grew up in the USA during the 1960s after her mother had re-married a US Army officer and the family had followed him back to the States. High-school years in a small town setting in Virginia and her political science studies in Washington DC shaped her personality. In Washington, Kelly supported the 1968 presidential campaigning of Democrat vice-president Hubert Humphrey, who at this point unreservedly supported American military engagement in Vietnam. An important turning point in Kelly's life was the death of her younger half-sister Grace of cancer in 1970. Medical doctors had treated her symptoms with radiation therapy, yet for Petra it seemed that this had only aggravated her situation and contributed to her death. The untimely death of her sister was later a recurring feature in speeches of the politician Petra Kelly. She compared Grace's isolation in the final weeks of her life, where she had 'been left over' in a hospital room, to the fate of the Hiroshima victims, and read the fate of her sister as a cipher for the overbearing presence of an 'atomic age' (pp. 60–64, quote p. 63).

Yet Petra Kelly's ecological peace activism only came fully to the fore in the mid-1970s, as her concern over the civilian uses of atomic energy grew. At this point, she was still a member of the SPD and worked for the European Commission in Brussels. Her work for the EEC had begun as an intern in 1972. Over the years, however, Kelly's involvement in the environmental movement brought her closer to the emerging Green Party, which provided the platform for her peace activism during the 1980s.⁷⁰ Richter charts how Kelly's skillful performative use of symbols – wearing T-shirts that were emblazoned with provocative slogans – and public appearances turned her, in conjunction with her transatlantic background, in a charismatic personality that could speak authoritatively in the media about the dangers of nuclear weapons. But Kelly's public persona was not only of interest for the media, it also resonated among a wider cross-section of West German citizens (pp. 272–285). Her outright refusal to accept the logic of the *Sachzwang*, the practical and in fact technocratic imperatives that were constantly invoked by mainstream politicians, provided immediate rapport with the aspirations of grassroots activists who were keen to alter the scales of politics and the mechanisms of power, as shown by Susanne Schregel. Indeed, Kelly emphasised that a future atomic war would occur 'right in front of our doorstep' (p. 160). Throughout the 1980s, Kelly was adamant in her insistence that the peace movement should confront nuclear armaments on both sides of the Iron Curtain. She was one of the initial signatories of the Krefeld Appeal, but was also the first of the signatories who criticised the lopsided nature of

⁷⁰ On the problematic nature of the Green Party's pacifism in the 1990s see the short overview by Otto, Christian: *Die Grünen und der Pazifismus*, Tectum, Marburg 2011.

the appeal as it did not address Soviet armaments. She and her partner Gert Bastian, a retired Bundeswehr general, ultimately left the initiative for the Krefeld Appeal in 1984, after their insistence on support for the independent peace movement in the GDR had been given short shrift (p. 154). All in all, Saskia Richter's study is a model example of how the personal trajectory of a peace activist can be contextualised in the wider framework of movement mobilization cycles, Green Party politics and their resonance in the mass media.

5. The Place of Women in the History of Peace Movements

Born in 1892 as the daughter of Eugen and Laura Levysohn in the town of Lissa in the Prussian province of Posen, Charlotte was baptised as a Protestant by her mother in 1905, henceforth assuming the name Charlotte Leonhard. After the First World War, Charlotte was treated for a severe ailment by the physician Georg Friedrich Nicolai, who also happened to be the author of the *Biology of War*, a famous anti-war book first published in Switzerland in 1917. This encounter triggered Leonhard's commitment to pacifism, practised during the 1920s first as a voluntary helper in the Berlin head office of the DFG, from 1930 in close collaboration with Fritz Küster, who represented the radical left wing of the DFG. In 1933, Charlotte Leonhard was briefly taken into 'protective custody' by the Nazis. But she would only emigrate to the UK in 1939, facilitated by British Quakers. In 1970, at the age of 77, Leonhard returned to Germany. Soon, she connected with the anti-nuclear peace movement, meeting up and exchanging letters with, among others, Petra Kelly. Charlotte Leonhard died in 1987.⁷¹

Leonhard's engagement with pacifist politics was intermittent. Despite her personal encounters with many leading German pacifists of the twentieth century, she remained at the margins of the peace movement. There are at least two important conclusions that can be drawn for future research into German pacifism from Leonhard's biography. First, we need more empirical research into the presence of women in the pacifist movement. So far, women remain silent and invisible in many accounts, apart from a few high-profile activists such as Bertha von Suttner or Helene Stöcker. Such an inquiry into the political aspirations, practical contributions and intellectual reflections of pacifist women, though, should be more than just a complement to the existing focus on male protagonists. Ultimately, it should lead to a better understanding of the gendering of pacifism, i.e. the ways in which gendered conceptions of

⁷¹ See the biographical sketch by Albrecht-Heide, Astrid: *Die Pazifistin Charlotte Leonhard (1892–1987)*, in: Häntzschel, Hiltrud/Hansen-Schaberg, Inge (eds.): *Politik – Parteiarbeit – Pazifismus in der Emigration. Frauen handeln*, edition text + kritik, Munich 2010, pp. 190–205.

peace, cultural symbols and performative practices permeated the peace movement and shaped its space for political intervention.⁷² A more systematic analysis of women in pacifist movements would, second, also lead to a better understanding of the grassroots level of peace activism. Not only for the period until 1933, but also for the postwar decades, many studies offer at best a tangential or incoherent understanding of the ideas and aspiration that were driving local peace activists, of the ways in which they constructed pacifist politics and of the internal dynamics within local peace initiatives and branches of larger pacifist associations.

In which direction will future research into German pacifism during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries move? One of the potential avenues has been already exemplified by the path-breaking study by Susanne Schregel. In line with her approach, future studies will be less concerned with the question whether pacifists and peace movement activists were successful with regard to their stated aims such as arms control or international arbitration. Such an approach is often futile, as the direct impact of pacifist agendas on political decision-making is either hardly discernible or not clearly distinguishable. It makes much more sense to ask, as Schregel has done, in what respects and how peace movements mobilisation was part and parcel of a renegotiation of the political space and of the discursive rules of political communication. Such an approach is clearly most promising for the mobilisation against the Dual Track Decision during the 1980s, both in the Federal Republic and to some extent also in the GDR.⁷³ Yet it should also yield interesting insights when applied to the first cycles of pacifist mass mobilisation during the 1920s, and again in the 1950s.

Pacifists also contributed to the renegotiation of the political in another, spatially defined sense. Early Pacifists such as Alfred Fried or Bertha von Suttner were clearly embedded in nationally defined political frameworks, yet at the same time transcended and challenged these by developing blueprints for a world of peace and non-violence. Peace movement and environmental activists during the 1970s and 1980s tried to complement the local sites of their actual engagement with ideas about a global political transformation, while at the same time

⁷² See the examples and reflections in Davy, Jennifer A.: German women's peace activism and the politics of motherhood. A gendered perspective of historical peace research, in: Ziemann (ed.): *Perspektiven der Historischen Friedensforschung* (see footnote 1), pp. 110–132; eadem: "Manly" and "feminine" antimilitarism. Perceptions of gender in the antimilitarist wing of the Weimar peace movement, in: Davy, Jennifer A./Hagemann, Karen/Kätzel, Ute (eds.): *Frieden, Gewalt, Geschlecht. Friedens- und Konfliktforschung als Geschlechterforschung*, Klartext, Essen 2005, pp. 144–165. Gender is, for instance, absent as a category of analysis from Nehring: *Politics of Security* (see footnote 52).

⁷³ On violence and non-violence in the dying days of the GDR-regime see Port, Andrew I.: "There Will Be Blood" – The Violent Underside of the "Peaceful" East German Revolution of 1989, in: Brunner, José/Doron, Avraham/Zepp, Marianne (eds.): *Politische Gewalt in Deutschland. Ursprünge – Ausprägungen – Konsequenzen*. (Tel Aviver Jahrbuch für deutsche Geschichte, vol. 42.) Göttingen 2014, pp. 217-235.

reaching out across borders to activists in other national contexts.⁷⁴ Connecting the local, the national and the global was never a straightforward endeavour. Future histories of pacifism will pay more attention to the politics of scales and divergent spaces, and will carefully analyse how peace activism related to different arenas of political intervention.

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⁷⁴ See the innovative approaches by Milder, Stephen: Thinking Globally, Acting (Trans-) Locally: Petra Kelly and the Transnational Roots of West German Green Politics, in: *Central European History* 43 (2010), pp. 301-336; Gildea, Robert/Tompkins, Andrew: The Transnational in the Local: the Lazard Plateau as a Site of Transnational Activism since 1970, in: *Journal of Contemporary History* 50 (2015), pp. 581-605.

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