

Abstracts

■ Benjamin Ziemann: *Peace Movements in Western Europe, Japan and the USA since 1945.*

Introduction

The article situates the study of postwar peace protest in the triangle between contemporary history, peace history and sociological research about social movements. Discussing some of the master narratives of recent research in the field, fresh conceptual perspectives for the analysis of peace movements are developed. They aim to leave behind a moral distinction between 'doves' and 'hawks' and stress the importance of protest communication and its connectivity for the emergence of peace movements. Finally, some topics for future historical research are outlined, among them the importance of scientific experts and visual imaginations of peace for the symbolic performance of peace movements. Another important issue that needs further conceptual reflection is the interaction between peace protest and the decision-making process in the military and government.

■ Holger Nehring: *Towards a Transnational Social History of „a peaceable Kingdom“. Peace Movements in post-1945 Britain*

Peace movements in post-1945 Britain offer unique ways to problematise the ways in which the legacies of World War II, the Cold War, as well as social, cultural and political changes left indelible marks on British society after 1945. This chapter discusses recent literature on contemporary British history and shows ways in which we may contextualise the history of post-1945 British peace movements and regard them as an inroad into the social history of the time, thus avoiding to write their history *sui generis*. The themes which are discussed include: the social history of the Cold War, peace movements as social movements, peace movements, violence and civil society, as well as protests and the practice of peace. When we try to see post-World War II pacifism in context, we need to be aware that 1945 was not a concrete wall separating the inter-war years from the "affluent society" of the 1950s and 1960s. Rather, social, cultural and even political currents continued. All these developments took place within a transnational context.

■ Sabine Rousseau: *Peace Movements in France since 1945. A Subject of Enquiry under Construction*

Historical studies about the peace movements in France since 1945 are still scarce. Three distinctive approaches do exist. One approach that is rather concerned with identity-politics than with scientific research is basically including studies about a minority of militant advocates of non-violent peace action: biographies that are conceived as role models (Gandhi, Martin Luther King), and essays contributing to a substantially militant output. Monographs about the way the great mass organisations worked, which emerged during the Cold War era (Mouvement de la paix, Pax Christi), account for the second approach. The privileged source material of this approach are the reports of the executive groups of these movements, which are related to an external body of decision making: The Communist Party

(PCF) in the first case, the Catholic Church in the second one. Thirdly, there are studies about those concerted actions directed against wars of decolonialisation and wars on the periphery of the Cold War (Indochina War, Algerian War, Vietnam War). This strand of research is aiming to identify and characterise different forms and types of dedication and activity which were converging in the social movements of the 1950s and 1960s.

■ *Wilfried Mausbach: The Present's Past: Recent Perspectives on Peace and Protest in Germany, 1945–1973*

Much of the recent literature on peace movements and protest activities in postwar Germany takes its lead either from social movement theory or from the concept of peace culture. Both approaches can indeed help to overcome the conventional fixation on the political effectiveness of protest movements as well as an all too often dry organizational sociology or a sometimes hagiographic preoccupation with important individuals. This essay enumerates some of the new and occasionally surprising perspectives that these approaches can bring to peace research. Thus, the history of German peace activism during the 1950s is becoming much more intertwined with the country's general social and cultural history of the time, whereas the 1960s seem to confront peace historians with exactly the opposite challenge, namely to extricate genuine peace movements from the general social and cultural upheaval of this tumultuous decade. This article stresses some commonalities between the two periods, including the theme of nationalism as an undercurrent of German peace activism, the latter's frequently bellicose rhetoric, and the importance of emotions both for peace and protest groups themselves and for their confrontations with authorities and the public at large.

■ *Belinda Davis: The Gender of War and Peace. Rhetoric in the West German Peace Movement of the Early 1980s*

This article attempts to trace some of the gendered sources in drawing great numbers of feminists alongside other groups of West Germans into the unprecedentedly large peace movement of the early 1980s. It examines some of the tensions and paradoxes of these sources, including concerning the relation between "everyday violence" and war, and regarding the relation between "feminine" characteristics and pacifism, and whether these characteristics could apply to both men and women. Finally the piece looks at the ways in which a gendered rhetoric became mapped onto the question of "rearmament alongside disarmament" in a fashion simultaneously extremely effective and potentially problematic, in setting up more and less useful visions of "self" (as "women" and as "West Germans") and "other," and the relationship between them.

■ *Massimo De Giuseppe / Giorgio Vecchio: Peace Movements in Italy*

The article investigates the history of peace movements in Italy from the beginning of the 20th century to the 1970s, and is also intended to assess the historiography about this subject, indicating its gaps and belatedness. The more profound roots of Italian peace movements are identified, among other things, in the Nobel Prize conferred to E. T. Moneta, in individuals such as A. Capitini and G. Lanza del Vasto, as well as in protests conducted by

Catholic priests against the First and the Second World Wars and in the conscientious objection of Jehovah's Witnesses. All of these, however, were only minority groups. The first mass movement in Italy developed between 1948 and 1955: the Partisans of Peace, a group aligned to the Communist Party. The years of the Cold War brought forth some extraordinary figures, like don P. Mazzolari and D. Dolci. During the 1960s, the autonomous diplomacy of G. La Pira had its effects, as well as the experience of the march from Perugia to Assisi, which had as its departure point the hope to emancipate the organized peace movement from the control of the political parties. In these years attempts were made to create networks and committees, in order to free the peace movement from being seen as an elitist phenomenon. In the period of protest around 1968, finally, conscientious objectors, antimilitarism as well as an interest in "third world" problems gained importance.

■ *Volker Fuhr: Pacifism in Japan – a discontinued Model?*

The paper starts with the observation that Japan, since 1945 usually considered as a country with a strong pacifist inclination, showed, at least in international comparison, only a minor degree of protest against the support of US military intervention and occupation in Iraq by the Japanese government in 2003. A first attempt to explain this phenomenon goes back to the heyday of Japanese peace movements in the decade after the withdrawal of the US occupation troops in Japan in 1952. During this decade the protests of Japanese peace movements were highly influenced by left wing organizations both in organizational and ideological terms. Among these groups there was a growing anxiety to be drawn into another war by the Japanese government, which cooperated very closely with the USA. The one-sided ideological orientation of these "traditional" peace movements was a severe obstacle for a lasting resonance of their efforts in the public sphere of Japan. The second important feature of Japanese peace movements was a highly biased invocation of the historical role of Japan as a victim of the Second World War (Hiroshima, Nagasaki) together with the displacement of those cases where Japanese troops had acted as perpetrators. On the one hand, this bias resonated with the Japanese way of coming to terms with their own past, but on the other hand it contributed to a growing isolation of Japanese peace movements in the Far East.

■ *Natalie Atkin: From Margin to Mainstream: American Peace Movements, 1950s–1970s*

This article explores recent histories of the post-World War II American peace movement. Divided into three sections, it considers the movement immediately following World War Two to the early 1960s, the Vietnam-era movement, and the movement from the end of Vietnam to 1980. The first period includes literature on various peace groups such as the War Resisters League and campaigns against nuclear testing. The scholarship on the Vietnam period is the largest. Topics include women in the antiwar movement, protest in different parts of the United States, the role of the media, and draft resistance among a host of other areas. The post-Vietnam era is the shortest; it focuses on the peace movement's redirection to nuclear disarmament. This article maintains that the American peace movement underwent a transformation, moving from the political margins to the social and political mainstream, increasing its visibility and influence.

■ *Thorsten Bonacker / Lars Schmitt: Political Protest between latent Structures and manifest Protest. Perspectives of Sociological Protest Research considering the new Peace Movements*

The authors give an overview about different paradigms of traditional and contemporary sociological protest research. They argue that in spite of different research traditions in the United States and Europe, the approaches cannot be separated. Not only the common cognitive interest of explaining the cleavage between latent conflict structures and manifest political protest, but above all the requirements of changing societies tie up the different approaches. They exemplify their thesis with an analysis of the new peace movements. In this context political protest can be seen as rational acting (1), as an attempt to take advantage of political opportunity structures (2), as a response to the crises of modernisation and structural strains (3) as well as the result of a collective construction of protest topics (4). The analysis of peace movements demonstrates that protest research has to take into account processes of transnationalisation of protest topics and symbols on the one hand and the development of national welfare states as well as the neo-liberal discourse of “personal responsibility” on the other hand. The authors conclude that it could be a fruitful way for future protest research to combine constructivist approaches with discourse and habitus theories. This would allow to examine the process of collective identity construction, that seems to be framed by the actors’ incorporated structures (habitus) and by contemporary discourses that provide public interpretations of the relationship between actor, state and globalisation.