

**Peace Research And Peace Action : A Case
Study of West European Peace Movements
From 1979 to 1987**

Dissertation submitted to Jawaharlal Nehru University
in partial fulfilment of the requirements for
the award of the Degree of
MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY

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CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the dissertation entitled, PEACE RESEARCH AND PEACE ACTION: A CASE STUDY OF WEST EUROPEAN PEACE MOVEMENTS FROM 1979-1987, being submitted by MANOSHI KUMAR in partial fulfilment of requirement for the award of the Degree of MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY in this University, is a record of the students' own work, carried out by her under my supervision and guidance.

It is hereby certified that this work has not been presented for the award of any other degree or diploma.

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PEACE MOVEMENTS FROM
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Dissertation Submitted to the Jawaharlal Nehru University
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BY

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PREFACE

The study of peace research and peace movement has gained immense significance in recent years with the rise of mounting violence in all sections of society. In a world which is every day facing the threat of nuclear annihilation, doom and deprivation it will be interesting to examine whether peace research and peace movements have anything concrete to contribute. The study will however be limited to the case study of peace movements in Western Europe from 1979 onwards.

The chapterization will be as follows :

The first chapter will be a general introduction to the topic concerned with a broad overview of the existing scenario.

The second chapter will deal with the contents of peace research, its origin, growth, meaning, ideological approaches and future priorities.

The third chapter will be a case study of the peace movements in Western Europe from 1970-87, dealing with the causes of their origin ideology, activities, and their future proposals of security. A case study of West Germany, Britain, Netherlands, Italy and France will be made.

The fourth chapter will consist of a comparative and critical estimate of the peace movements, their merits and drawbacks. A study of future perspectives will also be made.

The fifth chapter will try to analyse the relationship between Peace Research and peace movement and try to find out whether the two have anything substantial to contribute to each other and at the same

time can they work together to make the world more peaceful.

Here, I would like to take the opportunity to express my deepest and most sincere thanks to my supervisor Prof. M.L. Sondhi for his constant encouragement, fruitful suggestions, unflinching help and inspiring guidance. His interest in Peace and Conflict Studies opened new avenues of investigation in the course of my work.

I would like to thank all my friends, specially those with whom I stayed at Godavari Hotstel in J.N.U. for a short time for giving me company and helping me to feel at home and prodding me to go ahead in my work.

A special thanks is due to my friend Bishwajit Mahapatra for coming to my help during the times when I felt most helpless.

I would also like to thank Mr K. Mohan for typing my dissertation in a very short time, always with a smiling profile. I extend my gratitude also to Mr. Khuller for helping me with all official work at J.N.U.

Last but not the least, at this hour of submission of my M.Phil dissertation I remember with fondness the moral support and perpetual encouragement I got from my father and husband.

Manoshi Kumar
MANOSHI KUMAR

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The present world is fraught with frightful dangers and gory implications. The threat of nuclear annihilation, of ecological doom, of fierce resource wars and widespread tyranny of universal terrorism are some of the scenarios which haunt the world when we turn our eyes to the future. Today's hair trigger military technology annihilates the very moment of 'politics'. One exterminist situation confronts another says Edward Thomspson. The refinement of nuclear weaponry has been steadily eroding the interval in which any political option might be made. The time of delivery has contracted : in the mid 1970's the time required for interhemispheric delivery of nuclear bombs had shrunk to about ten minutes, today perhaps its even lesser.¹

The rival arsenals of the U.S.A. & U.S.S.R. stood at 6,500 substantial nuclear weapons in 1960; at 14,200 in 1979 and even within the games plan of SALT II it arrived near some 24,000 strategic weapons by 1985.² The acute concern with the problem of war has been kindled among the masses and the scholastic intellegensia by the perceived irreversibility of war damage wreaked by weapons of total destruction, including the possibility of throwing humanity back to the stone age or making it an engendered species.

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1. Mrydal, Alva, 'The Game of Disarmament, Newyork, 1979, p-8.
 2. These include the conservative estimate of Deborah Shapley. These do not include lesser weapons. if all nuclear weapons are included the worlds sum has already passed 50,000.

In such a world one has to pose the question whether the mere abolition of nuclear weapons is enough to herald peace? The crux of the problem is that of finding the answer to the question who is to abolish weapons & how to get those that can abolish weapons to abolish them. Here both peace research and contemporary peace movements have a lot to contribute and also therein lies the significance of their study.³

To bring about a metamorphosis to the present military industrial complex and this entire war system a change in the attitudes of the masses has to be breded. A whole mileu of peaceful thinking and peaceful processes has to be created. After all "Wars are made in the minds of men & women, therefore it is in the minds of men and women that the seeds of peace must be planted." (A para phrase of the UNESCO Charter)

The concept of peace must seep in the grass root level of the human community and it is here both peace movements and peace research have a lot to contribute. Hanna Newcombe⁴ in a book talks about Einestein who said that if only five per cent of the world's population wanted peace and worked for it, they would have it. The stress on the active involvement is extremely vital. The idea of peace must be communicated to be effective and the wider the dissemination

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3. Rapoport, Anatol, "Peace Research and Peace Movements" I.P.R.N; Vol XXI, No.3, 1983, p.3.
 4. Hanna Newcombe "Design for a Better world", University Press of America, 1983.

the better. Here it will be interesting to study whether peace research and peace movement have something substantial to contribute for the greater cause of peace.

The study of peace research and peace movement is significant, because we know we are not living in the world of Clausewitz anymore. It is not a world where force is an instrument of policy and war is a rational undertaking to further a country's position. Clausewitz defined war as a "continuation of politics by other means." Inherent in this statement says Rapoport is a conception of politics as a perpetual struggle for power among states, a translation to another level of Hobbes' image of the "war of every one against every one." There have been attempts to explain and even justify war as nature's way of insuring the "survival of the fittest". In the Freudian conception of human nature, war appears as a manifestation of compulsive aggression, rooted perhaps, in urges firmly embedded in the human psyche (destructive drive, death wish, etc). None of these theories are of much help in understanding the phenomenon of war, much less in attempting to control on eradicate it. Today in Rapoport's worlds the "technological imperative" i.e. the accelerating development of military technology if unchecked will lead to the path of total destruction⁵. So alternatives to war and violence has to be sought both by scholars and activists. Herein comes the role of both the intellectual pursuit of peace research and the active involvement of the masses in the peace movements.

5. Rapoport, Anatol, op cit, p.3.

The changes taking place in international relations in the 1980's have thrust international peace research and peace movements of Western Europe into a new situation. It is in this new situation that the West European peace movement will be examined and it will be seen as to what extent peace research can help the latter to become a cognizent force in international politics & vice versa.

The New Peace Movement

Paradoxical as it may seem the craving for peace⁶ arises from war, as without the experience of violence & physical & human destruction, the yearning for peace does not become universal. The twentieth century has seen a great many limited wars and of course the two great world wars.⁷ During this century the techniques of war and the sophistication in weapons technology has undergone a sea change. The Twentieth century sophistication in weapons has two objectives. First, to introduce weapons which could enlarge the area and raise the level of destruction. The second objective of the nuclear powers was to

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6. The world peace has various interpretations. it however denotes a situation where there is an absence of war and the order of things in which mankind live is stable & secure. For further details see, John Garnet (ed), Theories of Peace & Security, Bristol, 1970, pp 31-32, Kenneth Twitchett, J., (ed), International Security, Reflections on Survival & Stability, London, Oxford University Press, 1971, pp. 4-7.
 7. A Stepanon, "For a peaceful Europe", International Affairs, Moscow, January 1984, pp. 23-28.

preclude the outbreak of a nuclear war through deterrence.⁸ The zero-sum game in which no party has any surety to survive is thus the key to deterrence.

For obvious reasons the system of deterrence could only function successfully if the frame work of detente is well protected⁹. In a situation where political conflicts between the two super powers have acquired new dimensions and there is a stalemate in arms control talks, humanity's stake in retaining deterrence as a factor in the prevention of war has increased. Strategy imploded upon West European political life at Brussels on 12th December 1979 in a supposedly technological strategic decision to modernize NATO nuclear armoury of ground launched cruise missiles according to E.P. Thompon in his famous "Essay on Exterminism" on European territory are the hardware designated by U.S. strategists for a 'limited ' or 'theatre' war. The deployment of these weapons could translate the notion of theatre war from fantasy to actuality. In Western Societies the fear of nuclear war gained concrete political expression in the new peace movements. The Peace Movement could be defined as a "collective endeavour, cognizant group or association which considers the presence of peace as a prerequisite for the survival of mankind".

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8. Deterrence is clearly worked out on the basis of cost gain calculus of unacceptable capability to damage the world between the parties involved in this system. For further details See Silliam Epstein, 'The Last Chance, New York, The Free Press, pp 18-36.
 9. Lord Zuckerman, "The Deterrent Illusion," The Times, 21 January, 1980 & Mary Kaldor, 'The Significance of Military Technology', in Problems of Contemporary Militarism.

In the 1950's there emerged groups of scientists in response to the Russel Einstein Appeal of 1955 followed by the establishment of Peace Research institutes. The Peace Research Association was formed in 1964 and mass organisation such as the campaign for Nuclear Disarmanent in the United Kingdom and the Committee for a sane Nuclear policy in the United States were also established.

However in the decade of the 1970's not only did the arms race receive an impetus but as a corollary the peace movement also achieved a breakthrough"¹⁰ It was soon after the Helsinki conference in 1975, that the global order which was precisely dependent on the two main apparatus of detente and deterrence began to crumble. The former was eroded with the increased clash of interests between the two super powers in strategic & peripheral areas of the world. Political tension in the late 1970's was greatly heightened by the Soviet Military intervention in Afganisthan.¹¹

The turning point in the peace movement was the erosion of detente as guarantor of world peace. The NATO decision to deploy 572 Cruise & Pershing II Missiles in Western Europe brought an occasion of strength to the new Peace Movements in Western Europe revealed the

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10. More particularly in the 1970's Peace Movements have begun to identify themselves as advocates of both nuclear & conventional disarmament. Prior to that they aimed at achieving a limit on conventional weapons.
 11. The NATO decision to deploy medium range cruise missiles in Europe coincided with the Soviet Military intervention in Afganisthan.

fact that "problems in advanced Western industrial societies have become incomprehensible, the question of political leadership & responsibility has become impersonal and the connection between the increasing arms build up and diminishing social spending as well as the devastating effect of industry on the environment has become clear."¹² Here the point to be examined is whether peace movement & peace research is an attempt at an alternative movement to break away from the official security policy? The different historical and cultural background of England, West Germany, Italy, France & Netherlands lend to each peace movement a particular national characteristic. The question to be raised is whether beyond these national singularities there are common features? To this end a comparative analysis of the peace movements in the various countries will be made.

The peace movements have played a vital role in the decision making process of the Western democracies. Although they failed to reach their final objectives they proved to be a conspicuous force, able to influence major political parties of the democratic left.

In the study of the peace movements two aspects have to be discussed - the co-ordination of certain activities and the mutual support of the peace movements and whether there was any Soviet manipulation in the peace movements progress and origin.

12. Lazlo J Kiss & Agnes (Siszer - "Peace Research & Peace Movement", I.P.R.N. Vol XX, No.4, 1982, p.3.

Peace Research Under New Conditions

The study will briefly try to examine as to what is peace research and who are its addressees? Has the new peace movement created new conditions for peace research? On the one hand, increased international political tensions have objectively multiplied the necessity of studying the causes of international conflicts and crises as well as those of arms build up and the elaboration of alternative strategies in the interest of war prevention for peace research like peace movement too the halted process of detente between East & West is of special importance since "detente" has not only been the object of peace research but historically it was the pre-condition for its development.¹³

The new peace movement represents an important stage in the social justification of peace research. Peace Research has proved to be a useless and ineffective enterprise in the absence of a significant peace movement. At the same time, peace research has greatly contributed to the theoretical - intellectual level of the peace movement.

Both peace research and peace movement talk of the problem consciousness of an alternative security policy, a "critical counter publicity" as opposed to the official policy of the government. The question to be probed is can peace research develop public opinion and the peace movement in the interest of 'positive peace' and an alternative political conscience.

13. Ibid, p.4

The new peace movement of the eighties has proved the necessity for a scientific basis which peace research can lend. Infact peace researchers can be of most assistance to the peace movement by being honest about the barriers coming in the way of the latter's success. Peace Research lend to peace movements an appropriate infrastructure for establishing lasting peace. The most formidable obstacle in the way of creating such an infrastructure is the global war machine that co-opts not only resources but also creative minds deluded by their professional commitments into thinking that in serving the war machine they are protecting their societies. The principal task of peace research is thus indicated: to dispell these illusions in the minds of the publics by whom ultimately the global war machine is supported. This is certainly true in countries like West Europe where public can exert immediate and direct pressure on governments through organised political action like through the medium of the peace movements.¹⁴

In other words both peace research & peace movement can they work to provide a basis of public enlightenment, to expose the delusion induced by a conception derived from the world of geopolitics and the deadly logic of megadeath technology to undermine the legitimacy of the power elites who think in these terms.

14. Anatol Rapoport, op cit, pp.8-9.

This study views the impetus of the Peace Movement in Europe, therefore, in the broader milieu of the relationship beyond obsessive cold war strategic thinking. To evaluate Peace in theory and practice this study will pursue a number of central questions :

First, there is the problem area of the necessity and possibility of detente in Europe, in contrast to the dominant political and military roles of the Super powers in the context of their nuclear ideologies. Dieter Senghaas suggests that the inquiry has to be shifted from Superpower anxieties to an understanding of the European situation in which there has been undeniable frustration at pursuing policies of disarmament and negotiation.¹⁵ The attempt to work out credible solution in the European context requires the continuous exploration of rapprochement between the two power. Although there is a Prisoners' Dilemma matrix the European system has experienced several structural changes which have contributed to the maintenance of peace and stability. Our inquiry will concern itself with the efforts to institutionalise peace relations in Europe and also assess the significance of the widening of the spectrum of popular participation in peace activities.

A second research concern will be what Michael Howard has described as "the whole apparatus of nuclear weapons in some way' getting out of

15. See Dieter Senghass, *Rastung und Militarismus*, Frankfurt, Suhrkamp, 1972 for an analytical and substantive examination of the crucial assumption of peace research regarding the international system and global hegemony.

control.¹⁶ The growing distrust of nuclear weapons leads to erosion of commitments to cooperate in a crisis. The scope and significance of the course of action suggested by the United States Catholic bishops in their pastoral letter on nuclear arms and peace "The Challenge of Peace" can be seen by its pivotal impact on the adherents of the Peace Movement in Europe. It is also clear that opposition to NATO's pro-nuclear policy has grown with more comprehensive analysis of the balance of conventional forces between the NATO and WTO (Warsaw Treaty Organisation). As instruments of political change, peace researchers and peace activists have challenged established conceptions and interests based on the nature of nuclear deterrence. The ambience of the Peace Movement is related to social changes and political techniques geared to physical survival of mankind, as the destructiveness of weapons has increased.

A third problem area is the conditions of vulnerability of Europe arising out of the quantitative accumulation of military hardware. The Peace Movement sees a positive correlation between the quantity of weapons and the probability of war. According to peace researchers who have developed a polemical analysis in favour of the peace movement, the reasoning in favour of "flexible response" comprises generalisations on the basis of too few facts. The analysis of force structures and operational doctrines can hardly solve the problems of conflict if the

16. Michael Howard: *The causes of War*, Cambridge, Mass. Havard University Press, 1984, p. 258

only result is to erect obstacles to intelligible communication between adversaries. Whether it is the mega-logic of nuclear weapons or the major orientation of defence effort on conventional lines, Europe's dependence on the Superpowers to handle its security problems offers little comfort on the basic question of the peaceful transformation of modern industrial society.

A fourth object of inquiry concerns the substantial revision of the Western political and social systems which is unavoidable if the vision of the Peace Movement in terms of values of "quality of life" and "peace" is to be realised. Within the Peace Movement the moral premises and purposes with regard to questions like environmental pollution vary considerably and difficult choices have led to failures in collective decisions. The social and cultural shaping of needs and wants in the Peace Movement is part of the self-perception of both peace researchers and peace activists and also those working in Liberation theology and new attitudes and perceptions on the ideological landscape like that provided by the Christian-Marxist Dialogue.

The fifth problem area concerns the relationship between the two structural world conflicts: the East-West and the North-South. In 1980 the European Social Democratic parties focussed on the avoidance of East-West confrontation and the increase of development aid to the Third World as part of a concept of "humanitarian defence" during the Scandilux talks.¹⁷

17. See Nikolaj Petersen: "The Scandilux Experiment: Towards a Transnational Social Democratic Security Perspective: Cooperation and Conflict 20 (1985).

The essential point of humanitarian defence is that it would provide a genuine policy of peace for Europe and a global balance. The Third world is put at a great disadvantage by the escalating competition between the great powers in territories outside Europe. The participants in the Scandilux talks testified to the highly destabilising effects on the Third world of the conflicting strategic doctrines and spheres-of-influence crises induced by the Super powers.

Even after the Moscow Summit in 1988, there is likely to be an extended period of uncertainty for Europeans as a result of the moves and countermoves of the Super powers. The five questions outlined above which provide the background to our study are therefore likely to dominate the policy debate about peace and war-prevention in Europe, and the strengthening of integrative elements in international politics.

C H A P T E R I I

**PEACE RESEARCH - ORIGIN, GROWTH, MEANING,
IDEOLOGICAL APPROACHES AND
FUTURE PRIORITIES**

The world has for too long made peace only with darkness, consolidating the existing hegemonic formations of the major powers, enshrining the ideology and culture of war & weapons, unleashing a continuum of violence in the Third World. It is not difficult to see that we are at the end of an epoch "when every old category begins to have a hollow sound and when we are groping in the dusk to discover the new".¹ What is needed is to find new worlds, to envisage new ways, to go beyond the set pattern of doctrinaire models, beyond the politics of terror. Today the reinstatement of violence & power politics manifests itself in a most formidable way in the unprecedented accumulation and concentration of the power of destruction in the hands of the two superpower. As a consequence of the action - reaction dynamics of the arms race and the militarization of the conflict between the super power has reached a genuinely critical point.

In today's world says a Japanese peace researcher Yoshikazu Sakamoto² nuclearism represents a most perverted form of power - perverted in the sense of massive violence which reflects the incapacity of political power to solve the world problems properly. The prevailing notion of peace in our age is negative rather than positive, insofar as it is peace to be achieved and maintained in our militarized world - whether it is sought through the balance of terror, military supremacy, arms control or diplomatic agreements. In the words of George Kennan

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1. E.P. Thompson, "Exterminism - the Last stage of Civilization, 1981, New Left Review, p.250
 2. Yoshikazu Sakamoto, "Key Issues of Peace Research", I.P.R.N. Newsletter Vol.XIX, No.3, 1981, pp.3-7.

"At the end of our present path of unlimited military confrontation lies no visible destination ^{and there} /are no alternatives to this path, that would not be preferable to it. What is needed here is only the will, the courage, the boldness, the affirmation of life - break out of the evil spell that has been cast upon us, to declare our independence of the nightmares of nuclear danger and to turn our minds and hearts to better things"

It is in this existing context that the role of Peace Research which is a critical science aiming at radically reexamining the existing theories and prevailing paradigms becomes significant. The question to be probed is can peace research and peace movements undertake the task of overcoming the objective crisis of contemporary world order by developing new ways of analyzing the realities and presenting workable alternative programs.

Origin & Growth of Peace Research

Proposals for making the world free from war & violence has been with mankind since times immemorial. Ashoka had realised the fruitlessness of a blood bath through warfare in the Kalinga war as early as 261 B.C. in India. In the West Philosophers like Dante in the 14th Century, King George of Bohemia in the 15th Century, Grotius & others in the 17th Kant and others in the 18th Century desired and talked of 'perpetual peace' on this earth³. The 17th Century Dutch Jurist Hugo Grotius was the first writer to envisage the possibility that one day mankind may

3. William Eckhardt - "The Task of Peace Research - A future oriented Endeavour", Bulletin of Peace Proposals, Vol 1, No.2, 1985, p.31

live without war. It was not until the end of world war II that Pacifism began to strike roots in the masses.⁴

The advocates of peace research in recent times accept the idea that a scientific theory of permanent peace can be formulated entailing from the old idea of desiring permanent termination of war. It became very popular after the first World War when Lewis Richardson in England & Quincy Wright in the United States presented their contributions. Richardson's views are available in Statistics of Deadly Quarrels and Arms and insecurity that appeared after his death in 1960. However Wright's 'A study of War' (published in two volumes in 1942) is regarded a monumental contribution wherein he could deal with crucial matters like meaning, dimensions & classification of war, identification of the issues causing war and the like. Indirectly it amounted to a study of peace. Thus in appreciation of the same Karl Deutsch wrote in his 'preface' to its second edition in 1956 that it is indispensable for all those who deal with war & peace.⁵

4. For a detailed study of Pacifism see "Pacifism & Human nature" by Stanistav Andreski in a book West European Pacifism & Strategy for Peace edited by Peter Van Den Dungern, Published by The Machmillan Press Ltd., 1985, pp. 3-17.

5. Wright : A study of War (Chicago: Chicago University press, 1965), Vol II, p. 21.

The movement for peace in the world gathered momentum after the Second World War. The great physicist Albert Einstein in 1945 lamented: "The scientists of Cambridge as well as those throughout the world, need help urgently in these days of turmoil and unprecedented tension. What makes the present atomic power situation so full of anguish for us all is the cruel irony where one of the greatest scientific intellect may bring frustration & death -----."⁶ Then the famous mathematician & philosopher Bertrand Russell in 1955 drew up a resolution" calling for the states to concentrate on using peaceful means of conflict resolution."⁷ It became the basis of the Pugwash movement for focussing attention on world peace.

The subscribers of peace research found fault with the approach of their predecessors. Who had taken into their view the case of "hot war" only. Mention in this regard should be made of the Peace Research Centre at Lancaster and the founding of the Journal of Conflict Resolution. This journal started with the assumption that the threat of global war was the most practical problem perplexing mankind and that any progress in this direction must be made on the basis of interdisciplinary action.

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6. O. Nathan & H. Norden: Einstein on Peace (New York: Schocken Books, 1968) pp. 341-42.
 7. David J. Dunn: "Peace Research" in Trevor Taylor (ed): Approaches and theory in International Relations, London, Longman, 1978, p. 260.

Historically Peace Research as a discipline and institution is an offspring of the present epoch. It developed from a two fold dissent-political and scientific among predominantly younger scientists. the dissent was against prevailing International policy and against the research which supported it. The dissenters believed that certain problems were either not examined thoroughly or were given one sided interpretation in conformity with conventional forms and traditional contents of national foreign policy. The dissenters approach was to design a problem oriented interdisciplinary research method for taboo problems, offering practical consequences in the form of public education.⁸ In short, the dissenters believed that P.R. should be made not on peace but for peace. On the whole P.R. is closely linked with the changes the world underwent after the second world war and the nuclear menace which has shadowed over humanity ever since. The emergence of peace research would have been difficult to imagine were it not for the dramatic character of the present International situation - a situation in which global military conflicts threaten humanity with consequences which differ in quality than ever imagined before. IN such circumstances peace research grew as a movement which offered an alternative to highly paid military and strategic research in the service of the ruling system - a ray of hope helping draw public attention to the feasibility of non-war.

8. Kurt P. Tudyka "Peace Research Quo Vadibus! in I.P.R.N. Vol. XXIII, No.2, 1985, pp. 33.

Peace Research thus began as a scientific discipline towards the end of the cold war, according to Herman Schmid.⁹ It grew up as a response to a certain political situation, fixed in time and space, alongside with other related efforts like the Pugwash movement. It was built by people with a political concern for the East-West arms race, dramatized by the rapid deployment of a nuclear capacity to kill and overkill and the attitudinal polarization in world political spectrum which allowed thinking only in terms of black and white had led to a general disgust with traditional politics, where peace research came as a hope to a better, balanced world.

Research in International Relations has traditionally been exemplified by security research and strategic analysis carried out on behalf of national governments with the aim of predicting the behaviour of other nations. The value behind such research is to maximize the national interest, peace research came as a reaction to this type of traditional research. Peace Research developed a science aimed at the control and integration of the international system just as most social science aimed at control of and integration of national system. That is why peace research differed from traditional International Science also - it drew upon the wealth of social science theory developed for the control and integration of the national system.

9. Schmid: "Politics & Peace Research" in Journal of Peace Research, 1968, No.3, pp. 217-32.

Moreover, as mentioned earlier a real upheaval in the field of armament and the military strategic concepts brought querries in the minds of scientists like A. Einestein, F. Juliot Curie, A. Schweitzer, J. Bernal, B. Russel, N. Bohr, L. Pauling who took a position imbued with deep humanism against nuclear death. The position of such scientists influenced to a great extent the appearance at the end of the 1950's & 60's the creation of a new science - "the science about peace" or "peace research". Thus it was already in the mid 50's when a book by Th. F. Lentz was published in the U.S.A.¹⁰ in the foward of which philosopher & writer A. Humxley called it "a new ideology" intended to save mankind from wars, conflicts and other upheavals.

Rightly has Adjorn Eide¹¹ commented, "Peace Researchers usually claim that this research movement developed as a reaction against narrow, nationalistic, self centred orientation which could be found in traditional political science, including the study of International Relations. Peace Research utilizes a global perspective & multilevel analysis"

So we see that peace research arose primarily because we do not have peace inspite of the tremendous efforts made within the traditional

10. Th. F. Lentz - "Towards a Science of Peace," "Turning Point in Human Destiny", Newyork, 1955

11. Adjorn Eide, Global & Parochial Perspective in Int. Studies & Peace Research, OSLO, pp. 79-85.

framework to achieve it. The fact that war goes on, different types of violence is rampant the world over - all suggest that the resistance to them must be tremendous. This resistance can come from the pursuits of peace research and peace movement.



Definition of Peace Research and Conceptualization of Peace & Violence

Born two decades ago within the social sciences as a "conscientious revulsion against Cold war and nuclear folly" peace research has established itself as a distinct value based and applied scholarly discipline seeking to deepen knowledge on questions of war and peace and to maximise the value of peace. Constantly re-defining and widening the concept of peace in a creative and dynamic manner, peace research says Marek Thee expanded to encompass the study of armed conflict and conflict resolution, of armaments and disarmaments, of under-development & development, of human deprivation and the realisation of social justice, of repressive violence and the affirmation of human rights. "Humane in its objectives, scientific in its methods and pragmatic in its endeavour peace research has disassociated itself from value free approaches in social sciences. Indeed ~~it~~ has taken an aggressive interest in almost everything concerning the human condition and its betterment. Peace Research is thus international by nature, global in perspective and action oriented in its aspiration. As a social science discipline, peace research collect and processes data and information, systematizes and analyses the findings, develops theory & disseminates knowledge - all the while trying to apply the insight

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acquired for progressive change.¹²

Before going to study the various definitions of Peace Research and its expansion, the central idea with which peace research is concerned "Peace" should be examined.

The Concept of Peace

The concept of Peace continues to give rise to some controversies, the definition ranging from the restrictive "absence of war between nations" (Prof. Northedge, London School of Economics) via an enlarged definition as "absence of physical violence" (Third World Scholars) to an extended definition as "absence of human decapacitation".

In a brilliant little pamphlet published by the Friends Co-ordinating Committee on Peace Benjamin Seaver points out that the Peace way have three meanings. One meaning is a description of that unity of mind which is within a person, that unity of religious dedication, of one's work in life & of one's relationships with others which produces harmony. Peace may also be used to describe a world says Benjamin Seaver in which not only do wars not occur but even conflict is absent. The world in which war does not and can not occur is in a state which is also described as 'Peace'. In such a state conflict will still occur but it must be resolved by some mechanism (war not being possible).

Johan Galtung¹³ says that the concept of peace is itself fragmented.

13. Johan Galtung - "Twenty Five Years of Peace Research, "Journal of Peace Research, Vol. 22, No.2.

"The world peace translated into different languages, all of them having different connotations, showing various facts of 'peace'. Thus the Roman pax typically means 'absence of violence' under the rule of law (Pacta Sunt Servanda). Ofcourse, this, in no way, excludes structural violence. The greek eirene, the Hebraic Shalom and Arabic Salaam point more towards peace as justice in other words 'absence of structural violence'. When we move eastward to the Hindu Shanti, peace becomes more like 'inner peace', a harmonious state of mind not unknown in Christian thinking. When we still move further in the East, the Chinese concept of hoping and the Japanese concept of heiwa seem more to carry connotations of social harmony, peacefulness, adjustment probably compatible not only with structural violence, but also with direct violence".

So Galtung says¹⁴ that different civilizations see peace differently. Hence Peace Research should take into account the various dimensions of peace - absence of direct violence, absence of structural violence; inner peace, outer peace, violent methods, non violent methods, harmony & disharmony.

However there is a basic difference among the leading peace researchers on the meaning of peace. Kenneth Boulding has taken a stand for the notion of peace as the absence of war, criticizes Galtungs concept of positive peace as the absence of structural violence and charges that

14. Johan Galtung, "A Critical Definition of Peace Research", Peace Research Supplement III, No.2, 1964, p.4-21.

the mistaken belief in the stability of deterrence and undue emphasis on the theme of world development have diverted conflict and peace research for a decade or more from the decisive problems of disarmament and stable peace.¹⁵

As against Boulding's view Galtung's idea of peace is closely related with violence in society and International Relations - whether the violence be direct or structural. In very general terms 'peace' may be defined as absence of large scale violence. In other words peace can be seen as the antithesis and negation of violence. This peace/violence equation is basic for the definition of peace research. The simplest and most widespread understanding of peace relates to the absence of violence caused by international war and large scale armed conflict. Peace is then perceived and defined as the absence of death and destruction as a result of war, in other words the absence of physical, manifest and direct violence. This was an initial point of departure for peace research since to begin with peace research focussed on the causes of war, the dynamics of armament, security and determinants of peace understood as the absence of war.

But the critical peace researchers do not see 'peace' as merely the absence of large scale overt violence. They believe a masked violence is constantly done to the rights and indeed the lives of human beings

15. See K. Boulding "Twelve Friendly Quarrels with Johan Galtung" *Journal of Peace Research* XIV:1 (1977) pp.75-86; and his "Future Directions in Conflict and Peace Research" *Journal of Conflict Resolution* XXII:2 (1978), pp.342-54.

which can be termed as "structural violence " (Galtung, 1969)¹⁶
Structural violence in Galtungs word was seen "as unintended harm done to human beings, as a process working slowly as the way misery in general, and hunger in particular erode and finally kill human beings.

If peace is defined as the absence of violence, at least negative peace, then what is violence? Galtung defines violence as follows: "Violence is present when human beings are being influenced so that their actual somatic & mental realizations are below their potential realization.... Violence is here defined as the cause of the difference between actual and potential."¹⁷ Where an individual or a social group commit the violence Galtung talks of personal violence. When there is no particular actor & no overt act of violence Galtung speaks of structural violence perceived as unequal life chances or as social injustice.'

16. Juhan, Galtung 1969, 'Violence, Peace & Peace Research, Journal of Peace Research, Vol 6, No.3, pp.167-191.

17. For basic exposition of the critical approach see Galtung op. cit, pp. 167-92.

Definition of Peace Research

There is a danger of strict definition of Peace Research. In the words of Norman Z Alcock, "Peace Research is the answer to a felt need, the freshest approach to an age old need to security, now translated into a need to eliminate war."¹⁷ A brief and rather comprehensive definition of Peace Research is given by Kurt Krith (1965) "Peace Research can be thought of as any of a wide range of activities dealing with a nature of a warless world, the problems inherent in making a transition to such a world, and a means for averting conflict during this transition." According to Jerzy Sawicki the term peace research means the current studies and research motivated by the desire to find ways and means to permanent peace. In this article Peace Research Sawicki refers to John Burton who wrote in 1964 "Peace Research represented a somewhat belated popular intellectual response to the circumstances of nuclear age....."¹⁸ In the autumn of 1978, a consultative committee under the auspices of UNESCO considered the co-ordinations & development of research, information & documentation of peace. This committee defined peace research as : "pre eminently interdisciplinary, practical..... & systematic..... Motivated by a concern for inspiring and providing a basis for action, taking as its points of

17. Norman Z Alcock, "The meaning & purpose of Peace Research," Gandhi Marg, Vol 9, 1965, pp 204-14.

18. For John Burton's Writings see "Peace Research & International Relations", Journal of conflict Resolution, Vol 8, No 3, 1964 pp. 281-86.

reference values of civilization and the imperatives of equity and mutual respect but at the same time genuinely scientific in its approach and free from any biased preconception and from any particular allegiances or initial ideological stand.... Universal, i.e., tackling the problem at world level..."

From the above definition it follows that early peace research studies focussed on the causes of war, the dynamics of armaments, security and determinants understood as the absence of war. Moreover it has generally been argued that the task of peace research is to discover the causes of war and the conditions for peace, the assumption being that we need to discover these causes and conditions in order to change them. The task of Peace Research according to Rapoport was not to "produce techniques which will be applied to the prevention of wars, but rather to bring about fundamental changes by undermining the legitimacy of war as an instrument of national policy.¹⁹ The subject of military strategy and official nuclear deterrence theory the current strategy topic for study and analysis in peace research. In short it is studied on two levels: the facts (or the "hardware") that can be seen, counted, compared, and theories and assumptions behind the facts (or the "software") of human behaviour, culture & ideology as far as the use of violence (including threat) for political purposes is concerned.

19. Anatol Rapoport, "The various meanings of theory" in *International Politics and Foreign Policy*, Newyork: Free Press, 1971, 44-52.

The Various Approaches & Schools of Peace Research

According to Eide we can observe the development of three more or less distinct schools within peace research which to my opinion may have been of great help to the peace activists in understanding actually what "peace" they are striving for.

To the "minimalist" school that which gives the narrowest definitions of peace, it means absence of international war. By this definition the peace movement is confronted with the question whether a deterrence (threat) system, characterized by heavy militarization and the existence of weapons of mass destruction could be consonant with peace. If deterrence can prevent wars, a deterrent system is in conformity with the quest for peace poses a question of empirical research for the minimalist school. There is however a "middle school" according to Eide to whom peace means not only the absence of war but also the absence of threat system (heavy instruments of coercion posed against the opponent). This school is highly sceptical about the ability of deterrence to prevent wars since the system of deterrence create centralization of power, rigid disciplines and lack of genuine freedom and continuous psychological stress because of its inherent dangers. Hence the "middle school" proponents of peace research would define their concept of peace as the absence of organized violence, internationally and domestically, not only actual violence but also potentially organized violence, which would mean that organized instruments of coercion would have to be eliminated or kept at a low level.

This obviously is of significance to the peace movement that there must be substantial harmonization of interests, internally, which would be the pre-requisite for the willingness to dismantle armaments of coercion and attrition and for the prevention of their re-appearance. The third school goes beyond this difficult empirical question by redefining the concept of peace to mean the absence of all kinds of violence - actual and potential, direct & structural. Two variants of this "maximalist" school exist; the first maintains that both physical and structural violence represent non peace and are to be averted. The normative framework of this variant requires that direct violence should not be used even for the purpose of creating future peace. The other variant maintains that in order to bring about a re-structuring of International & domestic societies, violence against opposition may occasionally become necessary.²⁰

Peace Research here is a source not only of ideology to peace movement, but it demonstrates by its findings the ways in which the existing structures & many of the conventional policies are disfunctional. Both peace research & Peace movement are a modest attempt to a more just and peaceful world."

20. A. Eide, "A value based approach - methods and problems in peace research" Bulletin of Peace Proposal, Vol 5, 1974, pp. 342-344.

Critical Peace Research

The chief proponents of this school of research have been Johan Galtung & Dieter Senghaas. According to critical Peace Research gives priority to two tasks :- (1) a reinterpretation of war and peace and (2) a normative theory of an alternative order of the world free from violence and social injustice. In setting these principal tasks the critical peace researchers have moved beyond the boundaries of rigorous science and seek a reinterpretation of the structure & dynamics of contemporary world & domestic politics.²¹ Critical Peace Research follows two lines of analysis: one largely in the tradition of the sociology of knowledge, exposes ideological biases and socio economic condition which shape actors and actions; the other neo-marxist in origin conceives of the world in an anticapitalist mode based on class conflict.²² The split in the critical school affects the particular normative thrust, with some espousing a marxist model of a new world order & others developing varying schemes of world peace in which peace is defined as positive peace & social justice. Peace negatively defined as absence of war as propounded by Boulding has come under sharp attack from the critical school which considers that concept to be static and unsuitable for the exploration of the dynamics of International relations in their totality. The core concept of critical

21. For basic expositions of critical approach see writings of J. Galtung and D. Senghaas.

22. Neither Galtung or Senghaas belong to the Neo-marxist school of critical peace research.

peace research is not peace but violence. Briefly, the various trends and streams of peace research can be pinned down to three schools as mentioned by Johan Galtung.²³ They are Empirical Peace Research, which by definition deals with the problems of the past since only the past has generated data. Critical Peace Research deals with the problems of the present evaluating concrete policies, and constructive Peace Research dealing with the blue prints of the future indicating possible peace strategies.²⁴

Stimulated by the stormy transformation of the International scene in the wake of the anticolonial revolutions peace research became conscious of the fact that beside trying to diminish tensions in East-West relations, it should try to alleviate the conditions under which human life on the globe is destroyed by poverty, hunger, socio-economic deprivation rather than overt use of violence through arms. Peace Research thus turned to the study of structural, social & economic violence; of under-development a maldevelopment, of imperialism and dominance.

23. See J. Galtung - "Violence Peace & Peace Reserach" Journal of Peace Research, Vol. VI:3, 1969, pp. 167-92.

24. Jahan Galtung - "Twenty five years of Peace Research", Journal of Peace Research, Vol.22, No.2, 1983.

Here it will be interesting to study the views of Boulding²⁵ who presents a broad definition of peace, meaning on the positive side as condition of good mature relationship, gentleness and love and on the negative side as the absence of turmoil tension, conflict & war. Yet Boulding proposes to concentrate mainly on the concept of Peace as the absence of war in the International system. He does not favour the inclusion into the definition of peace of the concept of structural violence meaning essentially the realization of social justice. Influenced mainly by economic theories. Boulding thinks about peace and peace policies in pragmatic relative & gradual terms - as an effort to diminish the probability of war rather than in maximalist term aiming at utopian and radical change. The quest for peace Boulding says must be part of an evolutionary process. He proposes a "benign dynamics" of non conflict implying a process of working, producing, buying, selling, learning, thinking, worshipping & procreating as the mainstream of human progress.²⁶

An editorial to the "Journal of Peace Research" says that Peace Research investigates into the condition for moving closer to general and complete Peace and trying that the world is not drifting towards general and complete war. Thus, there are two aspects of peace -

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25. K. Boulding, 1978 Stable Peace Austin & London, University of Texas Press, pp. 143.
 26. Boulding, "Twelve Friendly Quarrels with Johan Galtung, "Journal of Peace Research Vol. XIV,1 (1977), pp. 75-86.

negative peace which is the absence of violence & war and positive peace which is the integration of human society into a harmonious whole.

The scope of peace research according to Marek Thee runs along a continuum, which on the one end meets international relations & on the other merges with alternative world order studies and radical utopia.²⁷ This peace research continuum can be illustrated as follows:

	Narrow Matrix		Wide Matrix		
Forms	The nation state in the inter-national system	Manifest physical violence	Structural socio economic violence	Repressive political violence	alternative futures
Subject of Research	International relations, general Inter-national systems studies	War/peace, armaments/disarmament studies	underdevelopment/development studies	human right studies	world order, workable Utopia studies
	Realization of united nations ideals	abolition of war	satisfaction of basic human needs, social justice, equality of nations	human autonomy & self realization	Progressive transformations of the human society

27. Marek, Thee "Scope & Priorities of Peace Research" Bulletin of Peace Proposals, Vo. 14, No.2, 1983 pp. 203-208.

Priorities in Peace Research²⁸

Priorities in peace research reflect the evolution in the conceptualization of peace and scope of peace research as well as the degree of urgency in solving certain international problems crucial for human survival, development & progressive change. Three main circles of concern in order of priority may be identified: (1) The accelerated race which threatens to erupt in nuclear war with uncalculable consequence for the human species. (2) The growing disparities between the rich and the poor countries which increase international tension and cause human deprivation and (3) The widespread violation of human rights which impinges on human development and peace.

These three circles are intimately interrelated. The present uncontrolled state of nuclear & conventional armaments is in itself an aberration fraught with nuclear annihilation. The huge resources wasted on armaments deprive humanity of funds needed for development. Counting weapons, comparing weapons systems, ascertaining characteristics of weapons & discussing them within the framework of the arms control negotiations should not be the priority of peace research. It should instead give priority to the causes of conflict which gives the rationale for the accumulation of weapons in the first place. Peace research should concentrate on the positive development of "Behavioural alternatives". At some point in the development of a conflict, the "behavioural alternatives" available to governments and decision makers

28. Ibid 208.

are exhausted, and they perceive the use of force to be the only Solution. Peace Research could try to develop alternatives for certain patterns of behavior that have been ritualized by historical experience but are not acceptable in a world where nuclear, chemical, biological and conventional weapons have accumulated.

So we see that Peace Research is indeed the Science of Survival. It is a theoretical and ethical as well as a political and Sociological enquiry of violence of all types. Peace Research is an indication of the fact that unless longer term reflections & actions can be undertaken to change traditional attitudes & values it will not be possible for peace ideas to have a dissolving effect on many aspects of political, social and individual violence.

CHAPTER III

PEACE MOVEMENTS IN WESTERN EUROPE -
A CASE STUDY OF BRITAIN, FRANCE,
GERMANY, NETHERLANDS, AND
ITALY

New Peace Movement in Western Europe - Definition, Origin Scope - an Assessment.

At the symbolic level the threat of nuclear war has stirred deep feeling about the meaning of human existence and the adequacy of political and economic arrangements in the modern world. While intellectuals discuss paradigm shifts, the empirical reality is that all kind of local groups are forming to think out for themselves what security and well being mean and what strategies might procure both.

The peace movement in general is not an abstract concept; it refers to a group of individuals who are linked to other groups or institutions or are active in their own, but basically all want to make the world a safer place to live in. The peace movement grew over two centuries in the industrial societies¹ as a social formation concerned with the problems of war, militarism, conscription, mass violence, globalism and non - violent relations between people. It has in the recent times incorporated the contemporary concerns of the South with hunger, development and peace, democracy and human rights.

Definition of Peace Movement

"Peace Movement can be defined as a socio-political movement against war, against armament and measures directed at war, and with the aim of abolishing war and surmounting its courses by the rejection of the military service and/or the creation of an international order based on the common wheel, including mechanisms of non-violent conflict settlement." The peace movement is an Kekkonen said,

"that road to be used by ordinary people to prevent war." A working definition of the peace movement can be "spontaneous, limited limited organizationally loose associations of citizens, who speak out outside the traditional institutions & participation - forms of representative party democracy - mostly on concrete occasions and who exact themselves, be it by means of creating public opinion or political pressure to find redress for their grievances."¹

In order to know exactly what a peace movement is we need to know the characteristics of social movements. A social movement involves three distinct aspects of collective behavior: 1) It expresses a criticism of the status quo within a society; (2) It can be considered as the reaction of a group of people to a situation they consider a threat; (3) The social actions are always rather informal, meaning that they are not institutionalized² It follows that the peace movement can be characterized by "an autonomous and independent status, protest behavior against threatening international development raising issues of dangers, including specially the danger of nuclear war. They publicize and formulate concrete alternative security political perspective".

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1. Saral Sarkar - "The Green Movement in West Germany", alternatives XI (1986), p.220.
 2. U. Wasmuht, 'One form of collective behavior: National & Local Peace Clusters (paper prepared at the 24th annual meeting of the International Studies Association in Mexico City, 1983).

The Causes for the emergence of the New Peace Movement.

On October 10, 1981 some 300,000 people demonstrated in Bonn against the NATO double track decision of December 1979 to deploy 572 new American medium range nuclear missiles in Western Europe (108 Pershing II ballistic missiles as well as 96 Tomhawk cruise missiles in great Britain, 112 in Italy, 48 in the Netherlands & 48 in Belgium), if the negotiations on the limitation of medium range systems would not succeed.³ However it can be said that the double track decision of NATO was not the only cause behind the new peace movement but only a catalyst, the factor that transformed a vague mood, a hidden discomfort into overt demonstrations.

Hylke Tromp in the article Peace Movements in Europe says the emergence of the Peace Movements in the West is due to several factors - some of them accidental, almost surprising political developments, some of them well deliberated and planned. The more or less accidental factors leading to the emergence of the peace movements can be summarised as follows :

(a) The increasing public interest in, followed by increased media coverage of armaments decisions within NATO, starting with the discussions about the so called "enhanced radiation weapon" (the Neutron Bomb) in 1978, and followed by the 'double track' decision in 1979, owing to the long period of implementation of that decision, the

3. F. Barnaby, "Europe Aroused", New Statesman, Vol.22, No.4, 1983, pp. 8-12

discussions hence came to an end. (b) The growing awareness of the continuing debate within the circles of experts on NATO strategy, which demonstrated that something was wrong in security policy: NATO policy was declared to be "suicidal" and "naive" (Michael Howard); even "modest proposals" such as those made by George Kennan and the so called "gang of four" for a no first use declaration by NATO, resulted in a state of shock following the sudden discovery that NATO strategy was not at all a never failing strategy. In short the Public in general or as McNamara said "the average intelligent citizen" who had not been properly informed for decades nuclear war and the risks that current security policy takes suddenly became aware of the dangers of this official security or "peace" policy. (c) Accidentally again says Tromp, President Reagan may have been the main cause behind the emergence of the peace movements in Western Europe and the U.S. The new American administration created a sense of insecurity with horror stories about "window of vulnerability" and the theory of a "limited winnable nuclear war", in Europe. The battle field nuclear weapons renamed "short range tactical nuclear weapons" made the people believe that the Americans want to make Europe the battlefield in the case of a nuclear war.

During the 1982 conference of the Institute of Strategic Studies, Professor Michal Haward⁴ correctly concluded that a credible defence posture needed in the first place, to reassure the people whom it was supposed to defend; and this reassurance no longer existed was proved by the emergence of the peace movements. These spontaneous peace

4. Michael Howard: "The Causes of War", Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1984, p. 257.

movements may have arisen for another reason.⁵ In recent times the centralization of state power everywhere in the world specially in Europe and within the great powers has been strengthened. Traditional parliamentary democracy based on pluralism has become weak in the face of a strongly concentrated bureaucratic machinery. In recognizing or in feeling this a significant section of those subjected to the social processes may have thought that the representation of their interests over the question of human life has slipped through the fingers of parliament - the bastion of Democracy. It is no accident therefore that the extremely heterogeneous West European movement different both in aims and methods emphasize their autonomy and independence from all social and political structures.

The Churches have also contributed to the growth of the peace movement. Traditionally, they have been one of the most nationalistic groups, but now they too have started to think more independently. In 1979, the British Council of Churches recommended that the Trident program should be banned and so did the Methodist Churches. The Churches exposed the fact that deterrence is based not on bluff but on real intentions. They destroy in fact the very values that they are supposed to defend. Laconically speaking, the rise of the new peace movement could be attributed to the general malaise of the common people with the current security policy. These people came to express more and more clearly that they did not trust the stability

5. For causes of the Peace Movement in 1979, also see 'Dynamics of European Nuclear Disarmament' edited by Ken Koates, published by Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation, 1981.

of nuclear weapons and moreover, they rejected the whole concept of 'Deterrence'⁶ as immoral since it kept only an artificial and precarious calm by threatening the political adversary with the most horrible consequences if he did not adhere to the unwritten norms of the game. Nuclear deterrence is one method for stopping an adversary nation from doing things which the other nation does not want it to do without, if deterrence succeeds, actually having to go to war. It is a form of international co-ercion for nation states that are politically sovereign, but understand to some extent their nuclear vulnerability. In its specific form between Soviet Union and United States its goal is containment without conflict. However, at one point the theory of "deterrence" needed rethinking, it was when 'mutual assured destruction' (MAD) had been reached. It was at this time that the super powers changed their nuclear strategy from 'massive retaliation' to flexible response. Still the main structure of deterrence theory has remained the same and the MAD situation has continued. This has led finally, to a qualitative change in the preception of weaponry, as they have become symbols of political superiority.⁷ In short it was the danger of nuclear weapons and the risks of current security policy which led the man in the street join the rank and file of the peace movement.

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6. See Anatol Rapoport: Strategy and Conscience. Newyork: Harper and Row, 1964, 1964 and Philip Green: Deadly Logic. The Theory of Nuclear Deterrence. Columbus, Ohio, Ohi State Univ. Press 1976
 7. An excellent history of the development of strategy is Lawrence Freedman, 'The Evolution of Nuclear Strategy', London, Machmillan Press, 1981.

A Country-wise case study of West European Peace Movements:
West Germany, Britain, Italy, Netherlands & France.

The different historical and cultural backgrounds of the respective countries gave each peace movement its own national characteristic. The question is whether beyond these national singularities there are common features for which a comparative analysis will be made in the next chapter. In order to ensure the success of such an analysis the following points will be considered :

Origin & History, Goals & Ideology, Organisational Structure, Type of Activities, National & International Co-operation, Achievements & Prospects.

(See the model for Peace Movements : A Framework of Comparative Analysis)

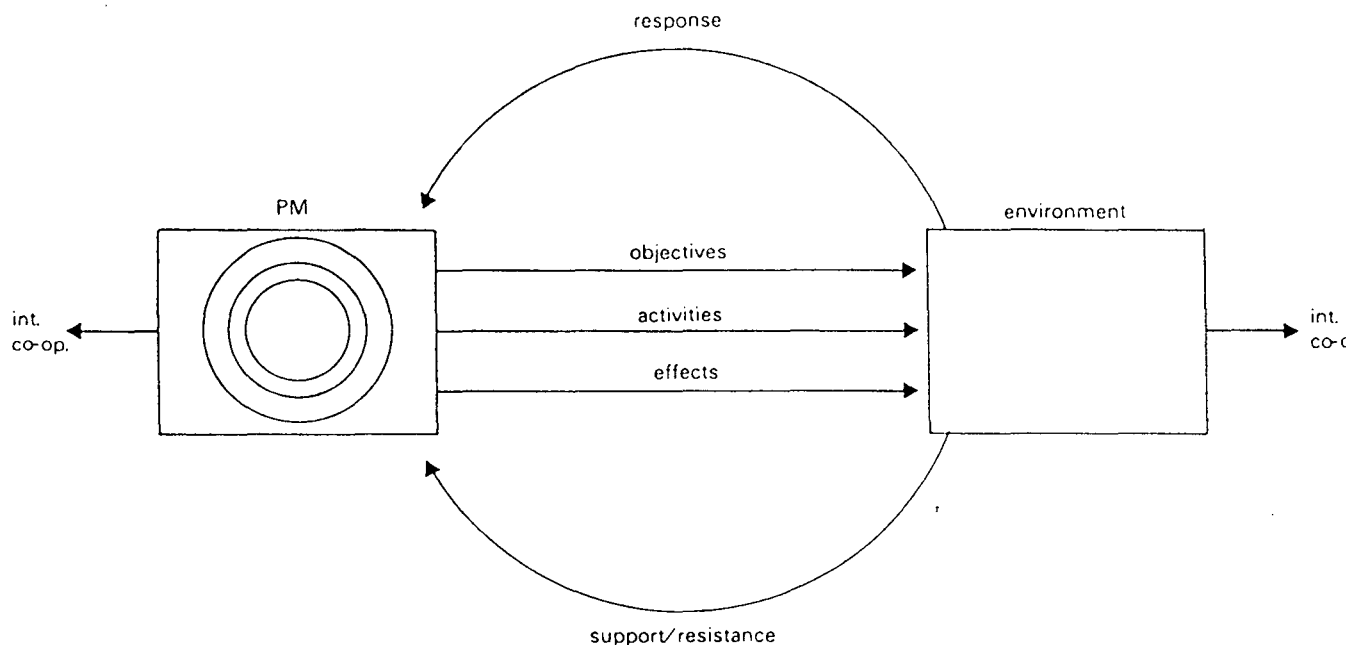


Figure 1: The Peace Movements: A Framework for Comparative Analysis

The Peace Movement in the NETHERLANDS

The Netherlands is noted for the highly democratic and liberal nature of its political life. It also has a tradition of pacifism, tempered by pragmatism and respect for international order. There has long been disquiet among both politicians and the public about the stationing of nuclear weapons in Netherlands.⁸

The origin of the New peace movement goes back to the foundation of the Inter-Church Peace Council (IKV) in 1966. IKV is an inter-church organisation which was founded by all major churches in the Netherlands including the Roman Catholic Church. The task given to the IKV by the Churches was : To study issues of war & peace and to provide: information within the churches to stimulate awareness of these issues; submit suggestion for appropriate action; conduct dialogues with the government and other institution in society; and assist the church leaderships in determining their policy positions on these issues.⁹ Eighteen years have passed since the IKV was founded on these principles and the IKV are now the main force in the 'peace movement' in the Netherlands which is advocating unilateral steps for the reduction of nuclear armaments and eventual nuclear disarmament. The movement not only seeks the avoidance for war but also the assertion of freedom and self determination, which are conditions of a peace which is more than the absence of war.

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8. For a description of the Dutch Inter-Church Peace Council, see: Philip Everts & Ben Zen Veer: Unilateral Steps toward the Disarmament process: new initiatives in the Netherlands; in H.W. Tromp/G.Larocque (eds) Nuclear War in Europe", Polemological Institute of the State Univ. of Groningen, 1982/1, pp.193-227.
 9. See Philip. P. Everts, "The Churches and the Attitude of Nuclear Weapons: The case of the Netherlands, Bulletin of Peace Proposals Vol.15, No.3, 1984, pp.227-241.

The IKV operates with eight other 'Peace Groups' in LOVO, which is an umbrella organisation which was set up for this purpose. The main other peace groups are: Pax Christi Netherlands, Church & Peace, Stop the Neutron Bomb - Stop the arms race, Women for Peace, Women Against Nuclear Weapons, Committee Cruise Missiles No.¹⁰ The methods used by the IKV and other 'peace movements' to influence public opinion include canvassing door to door, organising mass demonstrations, inviting doctors, scientists, trade unionists to take a stand. The IKV network of 450 committed local groups plays an important part in these activities.

Goals & Ideology of the Dutch Peace Movement

A New Analysis of the Arms Race & the System of Deterrence. The peace movement (IKV) ideology rests on its resolute rejection of nuclear deterrence as a viable manner to preserve peace. This was stated in an IKV manifesto in 1977: Nuclear Deterrence is nothing but mutual hostage keeping and the assumption that it will be possible to use restraint in dealing with nuclear weapons is based on tremendous arrogance & human self overestimation. In the long run it is most unlikely that nuclear deterrence will be successful and it does not offer any hope of an alternative for mutual security.¹⁰ The peace movement argues that if the Soviets do not feel themselves threatened by the American inspired NATO build up, they will gradually relax their tight control on Eastern Europe which will give the latter more room to

10. IKV Peace Journal, 1977, No.3, p.26.

achieve democratic societies. In the longer run the societies of Western & Eastern Europe would emerge between the two super powers. To summarize briefly the IKV proposals: the campaign does not aim at unilateral disarmament of the Netherlands only or the West in general. It aims to bring about a process leading to disarmament of which the first phase consists of steps brought about by domestic pressure, taken unilaterally by individual countries, independently from others. In later phases it is envisaged that countries could also react to one another, for instance by taking steps in those areas in which their security would be least affected. Thus example set by the West could be followed by the East in a GRIT pattern elaborated by Osgood & others (policy of mutual example)¹¹ gradually the unilateral agreement would be replaced by negotiations both within and between the blocks. The IKV maintains a detailed alternative strategy of security systems should be worked out.

The Campaign Itself

Its true the IKV campaign did not have any major break through in the political centre. In 1981 elections the Dutch Labour Party came to power in coalition with the Christian Democrats and noted to retain a number of nuclear tasks for the Dutch armed forces. In the

11. C.E. Osgood's ideas for a scheme of graduated reciprocated initiatives in Tension Reduction are collected, together with a number of articles and essays containing theoretical classifications & historical evidence in A. Newcombe edited Peace Research Reviews (Vol.8), No. 1 & 2, 1979.

autumn of 1981, actions against the nuclear weapons modernization decision culminated in a mass demonstration in Amsterdam, drawing some 40,000 participants; IKV being one of the main organizers of this demonstration. However, it could not persuade the internally divided government to withdraw its consent to the NATO decision. At the level of societal groups some trade union support the IKV and at the level of the political parties the support comes from a number of small left wing parties. A number of organizations within the churches have pronounced themselves in favour of IKV proposals, including the Roman Catholic peace movement Pax Christi in the Netherlands. In 1981, the term "Hollanditis" came into fashion while referring to the activities of the Dutch Peace Movement. It was generally used to refer to a Campaign for neutralism. Today the peace movement refers to itself as 'the new peace movement' and it is therefore proper to redefine the term "Hollanditis". On criticisms as to how Western Europe if it restored to unilateral disarmament can prevent itself from falling under the Soviet influence the new peace movement has no answer but puts its trust as a result of unilateral step to a new Europe in which the present controversies between East & West Europe will no longer exist. In the absence of concrete arguments the IKV puts its belief in Christian values as justification for this expectation. This attitude is the 'new Hollanditis' namely putting the moral values of the Christian heritage in the service of political campaigns which opens the road to the system of East European State Socialism.

How do we then explain the relative success of this movement, specially with regard to Netherlands? Various factors should be

mentioned according to Philip Everts - the existence of a long term political tradition of neutralism moralism & abhorrence of power politics in Netherlands (actions like those of IKV while different in emphasis feed on this tradition in the political culture) - the support of the churches which still have an important (though) declining role in society has been important, in so far as the actions of the peace movement were at least legitimized, if not fully supported by them - the concrete and limited nature of IKV proposals helps to overcome feelings of powerlessness and apathy; - IKV while counting on support from a mass base has not cut its ties to the centre of society and the conventional political process in which it remains an active participant - so far, it has been able to avoid both radicalization & marginalization.

But there are problems as well.¹² First of all it is difficult to keep a campaign going without visible and concrete success. The decision on deployment of cruise missiles and neutron bomb has gone against them. In the parliamentary elections in the debate on the issue of nuclear weapons, the verdict of the votes was disappointing. Finally Netherland remains a small country with little direct influence abroad which does not help to motivate people to engage themselves actively in the struggle for peace. But one of the promising aspects of the situation is the IKV's active co-operation with similar groups in other countries which could strengthen IKV's stance in Holland too.

12. N.H. Serry; "The Peace Movement in the Netherland," mumeo, 1984.

FRANCE

Unlike its European counterparts, the peace movement in France is not very strong. The reasons for this are many according to Jacques Fontanel like the :¹³ The Munich Syndrome, a contempt for Pacifism confused with cowardice, a desire for national independence in defence, a belief in the global role of France, an absence of genuine defence alternatives acceptable to the French majority, the role played by the Communist Party, the incapability of groups favouring disarmament agree on a minimum platform, poor relations between trade union, the relative weakness of religious influence, and the compromises necessary in the race for power. It is difficult to unravel causes from consequences but it seems that dominant factors are national independence, a wish to avoid conflicts with an army traumatized by decolonization and lost wars, internal dissensions among those who favour disarmament, and the absence of a real alternative despite the scepticism surrounding the question of effective deterrence strategy. The French look to their chief of state for defence. General de Gaulle was to have a decisive impact on French pacifism by creating an independent national nuclear force in France; the well known force de frappe. All political parties, till today are supportative of this project which has helped to create in France a national consensus which has largely excluded pacifism. However, in the past two centuries, many

13. Jacques Fontanel, "An underdeveloped Peace Movement: The case of France," Journal of Peace Research, Vol.22, No.2, 1986, p.176.

many currents of pacifism have been nurtured, which has helped in the growth of the peace movements. The three currents of pacifism present in France, though weak are the Liberal Pacifists, the Social Pacifists & more recently the Ecological Pacifists.¹⁴

Goals & Ideology of the French Peace Movement

There is dispute within the French peace movement over goals & ideology, with differing viewpoints held by two major organizations; the movement for peace and the independent movement CODENE. However there are some similarities in their goals and strategy. Both movements view the struggle for peace as an integral part of the struggle for democracy, equality and the defence of human rights. Despite their ideological differences, all pacifists share the belief that peace will become a reality. therefore it can be said that their ideology is grounded on eschatology which is based on the tenants of 'final catastrophe'.

The goals of the French Peace movement was like its counterpart elsewhere in Europe. The immediate goal was centred around the prevention of deployment of new nuclear weapons in Europe. It also shares the idea of a freeze & unilateral disarmament. There are a few goals unique to the French only. The most important goals of the communist pacifists are to separate West Germany from France and to stop the development of the neutron bomb in France. The socialists

14. Jurgen Haberman, "New Social Movements", TELOS, 1982, No.49, Fall, pp.33-37.

in the French peace movement campaign for the reconversion of the armament industries, while the confessional groups try to despecialize defence problems. Overall, the most important goals of the peace movement is to erode the credibility of the French nuclear forces by frightening the public.

The Organizational Structure of the French Peace Movement

The French Peace Movement is rather one heterogeneous group consisting of (a) the communist front organizations (i) the independent movements like CODENE (Committees for Disarmament) and the Confessional Movements like the Pax Christi. Among the Communist front organization the chief is the Movement De La Pais, who see themselves as neither pacifists nor neutralists but rather as 'soldiers of peace'. The campaign focussed on, (a) the termination of the arms race & safeguard of detente, (b) Search for a new international economic order and termination of arms trade, (c) Support for movements of national liberation, (d) Opposition to the neutron bomb. CODENE is chief among the independent movements whose goal is the demilitarization of Europe by the elimination of all nuclear weapons: Finally there are French branches of international peace movements such as the Women for Peace & Pax Christi but most of these groups lead an isolated existence internationally.

Activities of the French Peace Movement

One of the main activities of the French Peace movement is the public distribution of magazines, booklets and posters. In June 1982,

the movement for Peace & Committee of one hundred organized a demonstration of 250,000 people. The movement has also tried to develop contacts with similar foreign pacifist movements.

National characteristics of the French Peace Movement

The French movement has not managed to convince the left of the importance of its objectives atleast on the electoral level and it has never enjoyed high public support. Nuclear deterrence is largely accepted by the French inspite of a dominant & growing scepticism. The reasons for rallying behind nuclear militarism are multiple - The atomic bomb is precived as a factor of independence and national power - The nuclear industry is a factor of technological & economic progress especially in the civil population. - Its costs are not excessive in relation to its political advantages.¹⁵ Overall one can say that both broad and national consensus with respect to foreign policy & defence in France coupled with the traditional French view of pacifism has not changed significantly which has limited the success of the peace movement. Finally, the weakness of the Greens and the pre-dominantly catholic orientation in France constitute other reasons for the low impact of peace movement. The French bishops favour the possession of nuclear weapons for deterrence. In addition, the idea of an imbalance existing between Western forces & Eastern Countries relayed by media and the president of the Republic, is deeply anchored in the memory of France.

15. Jacques Fontanel, op. cit. p. 118

According to Francois Mitterand,

".....in classic weapon levels, the U.S.S.R. have in Europe a huge advantage; in tactical nuclear levels they have a real advantage; and in strategic force levels, they assume superiority in 1985-86"¹⁶

The disproportion in quality and importance of favourable nuclear information in relation to pacifist information is considerable and adds to the marginalization of the movement which, rightly or wrongly, for a long time has been discredited in public opinion because of its communist ties and its supposed Munich syndrome. The peace movement divided and weak does not seem to have an immediate future in France. However it will be sufficient to revive it with a simple transformation of military technology and an evolution of the international strategy, on a basis of strong Europeanism.

ITALY

Unlike post-war West Germany, Italy managed the transition from fascist rule to democratic legitimacy with surprising ease and speed. Nevertheless Italian domestic politics are still dominated by established group interest and personal relationships & this has maintained traditional inward looking political and social values. International issues take much longer to arouse public concern than in other West European countries and tend to be turned into instruments of domestic politics. As in France national characteristics tend to be a decisive factor in determining the nature of the peace movement, its public appeal and its momentum¹⁶. The Italian Peace Movement did not start to grow until the government announced in August 1981, the

16. Mowlam Margorie "Peace groups & Politics - Bulletin of the Atomic Scientist (Nov 1983) Vol 39, No.9, p.76.

decision to site 112 cruise near Comiso in Sicily. Since then Comiso has been the focus of a diverse but increasing effort. A demonstration in October 1981 in Rome against cruise and SS-20's was followed by another in April 1982. In that same month a fast to was begin in Sicily to publicize the weapons siting and to collect signatures for a petition. One million signatures were collected and the fast was called off when the Prime Minister agreed to meet the individuals involved. The Peace Movement is supported by a number of factions including the Communist & Radical Parties, the PdI (Partido Democratico d' Unita Proletaria), church organizations and trade unions. the movement is opposed by an alternative peace committee composed mainly of socialist, Liberal & Christian Democratic Parties. Craxi, the socialist leader of the alternative group questions the siting of cruise missiles in Italy, but is strongly pro NATO & pro American. The peace movement has become embroiled in political party squables between the communist and the socialists. The strong anti-mafia stance of the peace movement has also brought its enemies. A keen supporter of the movement Pio La Torre, a regional secretary of the Communist Party was killed in April 1982.

The long range goal of the Italian Peace Movement is the establishment of nuclear free zones in Europe and in the meditenarean. The immediate goal was to freeze or better still to reduce defense spending & to allocate these resources to social expenditures.¹⁷ A corollary of

17. Clesse, Armand - "The Peace Movement and the Future of West European Security" in the book West European Pacifism & the Strategy for Peace, ed by Peter Van Den Dungen, the Macmillan Press Ltd., 1985, pp. 53-67.

this was to call for a policy of no export of armaments abroad, starting with a tighter control on arms sale and with a gradual reconversion to civilian production of the booming Italian arms industry.

The Ideology of the Peace Movement in Italy contains two principal components : (1) Pre Political component, entirely 'Westernised' similar to other peace movements, specially of U.S.A. and West Germany. Its salient characteristics are 'ecologism' anti militarism and anti-nuclearism. There is an ideological background particularly favourable to the radical culture & activities of the Radical Party. (2) A more political component, with peculiar national characteristic anti westernism, nationalism, anti Americanism and even pro sovietism. This is the ideological component more open to the communist hegemony. After the failure in any way to reverse or influence the decision by the Italian government to deploy INF in Comiso, many observers declared the peace movement as dead. But for a clearer perception of the evolution of the peace movement in the general content of the Italian Society, we also have to consider that in these same years some entirely opposite trends emerged, such as a growing awareness of national security interests and a more active and self-conscious role for the Armed Forces in society as a whole.

To sum up, it could be said that Pacifism in Italy has been and still is for many people a kind of escape or ready made solution to the daunting problems of peace and war in the nuclear age. In practise this may mean an unconscious rejection or psychological crisis when confronted with nuclear responsibility, the concept of balance of forces

and the more and more difficult and complex problems of arms control and reduction.¹⁸

A conference on the Italian Peace Movement organised by the PCI in Milan in April 1954 attempted to analyse the past experiences of the peace movement, to indicate the tasks ahead and to elaborate a more comprehensive political strategy, articulated in the following guidelines, given below :

(a) To rethink Italy's role in a reformed NATO in connection with the present debate on the Rogers Doctrine, on the revitalization of the Western Peace Movement. (b) To work for gradual establishment of 'de nuclearized zones' in Europe, an idea partially borrowed from the Scandenevian peace movement. (c) To strengthen the international connection of the peace movement and to consolidate a New European Dimension of the International Peace Movement. (d) To adopt a less idealistic and naive approach to arms control negotiations, and while not indulging undeuly in Realpolitik, to rethink at least much of the old - until now a largely ineffective approach to the whole issue.

The tasks outlined by the Italian Peace Movement is by no means easy. It remains to be seen whether the Communist Party in its present state of uncertainty over its future course in Italian Politics will decide to continue riding the horse of pacifism inspite of past failures or whether it will be able to push the peace movement towards a new and more effective stage of development and popular consensus, likely to influence the governments defense and foreign policies.

18. Kaltelfleiter & Pfaltzgraff - "The Peace Movements in Europe and U.S." Croom Helm, London & Sydney, 1985 p 104-1932.

WEST GERMANY

It is perhaps in West Germany that the Nuclear Disarmament Movement in Europe faces its most crucial struggle. Being the front line state of NATO, West Germany's eastern border is the main point of contact with the Warsaw Pact countries. West Germany is NATO's major base in Europe and the location of 200 of the new cruise and pershing II missiles. The West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt led the campaign amongst European leaders for the installation of the new American missiles in Europe. He agreed to accept them on German soil if they were also accepted at least by one other NATO member, whilst demanding that America should persue a 'two track' policy of new arms negotiations with the U.S.S.R. to reduce the nuclear weapons in Europe. The principal aim of the West German Peace Movement was the same as that of other West European peace movements, i.e. to reverse the twin track decision of NATO. It is also similar to those other movements in its hetrogeneous character. There is however a marked difference between a West German Peace Movement calling for a nuclear free central Europe and say, a Dutch Peace Movement has become the only sizeable minority group to pose a serious challange to a well established government position.¹⁹

Security matters did not usually figure either in public or even official debate. political parties were on the whole united in a consensus on security. In 1977-78 however official and public consensus on security

19. J.M. Mushaben, 'Reflections on the Institutionalization of Protest: The West German Peace Movement' Alternatives IX (1983) pp. 559-579.

In 1977-78 however official and public consensus on security began to break up over the issue of the Enhanced Radiation Weapon²⁰. It is to this event that the present peace movement can be traced. The new peace movement in West Germany is a diverse mix, encompassing the political spectrum from communists to Clergymen, ecologists to military figures, the youth organisations of the Social Democrats and Free Democrats (FDP), and members of the media. The Peace Movement is led primarily by the Greens (Die Grunen), an environmental party organized in the 1970's as an alternative to the established political parties, and to a lesser extent by the Protestant and Catholic Churches.²¹ It has been from this organizational base with important roles being played as well by SPD activists, West German Peace Research institutes and members of the West German media that the peace movement grew from what was initially an internal SPD split over the NATO INF decision into the broad based campaign of the Krefeld Appeal²² which by 1982 had gathered over 1.5 million signatures protesting the Schmidt governments support of the NATO decision.

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20. David Yost & Thomas Glad, 'West German Party politics and Theatre nuclear modernization since 1977,' Armed Forces and Society, Vol.8, No.4, Summer 1982.
 21. For more on the involvement of catholic and Protestant Churches in the Peace Movement, see Den Stern, June 4, 1981, pp. 20-31.
 22. The Krefeld Appeal was initiated in 1980 by a diverse group of individuals including Petra Kelly, Gert Bastion & Christoph Strasser

Before analysing the West German Peace Movement an indepth study of the Greens will be made. The Greens²³ program is holistic and views the problems of nuclear weapons as inseperable from ecological issues, women's & children's rights, political participation & the economy. The green Party of West Germany is categorically opposed to nuclear weapons and deterrence. The risks of unilateral disarmament it strongly believes are far outweighed by those of status - quo. Their goal is beyond the ambitious goal of Disarmament. Their ambition is a world entirely without enimies and violence of all types. Non-violence is a pillar of the program of the Greens with "structural violence" defined as violence and oppression imposed by the state and institutions as well as "violence by and against persons explicitly prohibited." Four salient dimensions in the green's overall design seem specially important and interesting²⁴. One is regionalism - this program turns on the premise that nation states are inherently dangerous and not simply products of the environment in which they interact, as in the realist view. Their idea is that by replacing artificial national states with communities whose members are naturally bound, the power acquisitive & militaristic postures exhibited by the former would relax considerably. A second cardinal feature of the greens is the democratization of the supposed enemy. A third dimension of the Green peace program is the dissolution

23. E. Papadakis 'The Green Movement in West Germany, Newyork 1984.

24. Herbert Ammon & Peter Brantdt, "The German Question", TELOS, Spring, No.51, 1982, pp.280.

of the bloc system. Petra Kelly has described the Greens as a "non-aligned peace movement in Europe" To this extent the Greens find it necessary to abolish the military industries complex whether it be capitalist or state socialist. Finally the Greens are not inhibited about demanding unilateral disarmament. Although the Peace Movement existed well before attention was paid to INF of the East-West relations and the diminishing prospects of arms control that the leadership of the Greens turned their attention to issues of nuclear weapons & war and were supported by elements within both the Protestant Church & SPD. Unlike the situation in other European countries, where the peace movements have the support of at least one major political party, the Peace Movement in West Germany was initiated outside the established parties. Later in the guise of the greens the peace movement can be said to have become a party, albeit an anti-system party.²⁵ In many ways the political currents in the peace movement and the greens represent a challenge to all three major political parties, and even to the conduct of parliamentary politics²⁶. The issues raised by the peace movement and the greens also have serious implications for the direction of the social democrats. While considering itself the traditional standard bearer of peace and disarmament, the SPD, has not allowed itself to be closely identified with the peace movement espousing neutralist and anti-American sentiments.

25. Jeffrey Boutwell, 'Politics & The Peace Movement in West Germany' International Security, Spring 1983, Vol.7, No. 4, p.81.

26. See The Economist, July 10, 1982, pp.40-41.

For all its opposition to NATO nuclear weapons, however, the peace movement is neither pro soviet nor united on how to fashion a new strategy arrangement for the Federal Republic.²⁷ Those advocating a new security arrangement for West Germany most often propose solutions which are either European or nationalist. Thus Eppler has argued that the peace movement must link up with its counterparts in Europe so that it can become a third force in international affairs. For other the aim is more nationalist: to create a demilitarized, neutral, reunited Germany²⁸. Nonetheless the activists of the greens and the peace movement represent a growing dissatisfaction with the Western liberal bases of West German society & politics. As William Griffith has noted the current peace movement embodies a romantic cultural pessimism reminiscent of Weimer that rejects the bourgeois institution of the Federal Republic and the Western technocratic culture of which it is part. The peace movement as Szabo has argued is "a manifestation of a deeper change in values and identity that coincides with generational change. This change reaches far beyond the issue of peace and nuclear weapons & has important implications for US-German relation."²⁹ To sum up, what ever the outcome of German electoral politics, and

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27. For Soviet manipulation of peace movements see J.A.E. Vermaat: Moscow Fronts and the European Peace Movement Problems of Communism, 31, Nov-Dec 1982.
28. William. E. Griffith, "Bonn & Washington: From Deterioration to crisis? "ORBIT, Vol26, No.1 (Spring 1982) pp.117-133.
29. Stephen P SZABO, The Successor Generation: International Perspectives of Post War Europeans (London: Butterworths, 1983) pp.58.

and anti nuclear weapons campaign led by the peace movement and the Greens can be expected to provide a disillusioned minority of West Germans with a continuing symbol and call of action: when joined with a growing network of peace researchers & journalists, the movement has the hope of living even after the deployment of theatre nuclear weapons and maintain widespread public scrutiny of Alliance nuclear policies and a polarized debate on West German Security policy.

BRITAIN

The peace movement has become a major force in Britain since about 1980 in terms of size of membership, impact on the national political culture, and ability both to stage major demonstrations and also to sustain long-term direct action. The British peace movement presents an extraordinary phenomenon, though in many ways it is similar to continental peace movements.³⁰ Two characteristics of the British movement is noticeable. The first is the existence of British strategic nuclear weapons under national control has led to the movement to emphasize unilateral national renunciation of nuclear weapons. The second is that the anti-Americanism represented by the peace movement strikes at very deeply rooted aspects of the political system because of the close integration of British and American security policy since 1940.

30. Cive Rose, "Campaigns Against Western Defence NATO's Adversaries & Cities" (London, Macmillan, 1985) pp. 156-187.

The re-emergence of the peace movement in the late 1970's can be traced to a number of developments. Like the 1977/88 on/off decision about the neutron bomb; the collapse of detente & the rapid deterioration of US-USSR relationship; the shift in American deterrence doctrine away from MAD towards a counter force war fighting strategy; the increasing hawkishness of American Foreign Policy under Reagan, above all, the twin-track decision of 1979, the failure of the INF talks and the consequent deployment of cruise and Pershing missiles.³¹

The British Peace Movement is represented by three main groups - the C.N.D., the World Disarmament Council & E.N.D. Support also comes from a variety of groups including Churches, Unions, professional and youth organizations. The Trade Union Congress passed a motion in support of unilateral disarmament at its 1981 national conference. Quakers have always been strong supporters of Disarmament in Britain as have the methodists and the British Council of Churches. both the Labour & Liberal parties as well as smaller parties are opposed to the siting of cruise missiles in Britain.

The Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament: (CND)

CND remained alive throughout the 1960's and 1970's and benefited from an enormous explosion of membership from 1979 when it assured its role again as the unchallenged base of the peace movement in

31. For the Peace Movement in Britain see 'European Peace Movement' TELOS, No.51, 1982 pp. 238-260.

Britain. CND has developed a capability of organizing mass demonstrations. October 1980 marked the revival of the peace movement in the aftermath of the twin-track and Trident decisions and 60,000 people attended its rally. In its subsequent October rallies the attendance was estimated at 250,000 & 400,000. Despite the 1982 decision on NATO, CND propaganda continued to argue for unilateral nuclear disarmament in terms of British Nuclear Weapons and American Nuclear bases & weapons in Britain. In the 1983 general election CND campaigned actually against cruise & Trident missiles although without giving overt support.

European Nuclear Disarmament

Another major alignment within the C.N.D. movement in Britain is the END was launched in a declaration in April 1980, inspired primarily by E.P. Thompson, a social historian and Marxist who became a major END figure. END too seeks a rapid and fundamental change in the status of nuclear weapons in international especially European politics. In style similar to the greens they advocate what might be termed reciprocal unilateral disarmaments.³² According to E.P Thompson END is to be seen as part of a continent wide campaign with demonstrations and other forms of symbolic expression pressing reciprocal action upon other powers. This variety of reciprocity is clearly distinguishable from the Realists. Above all END endeavours to facilitate the dissolution

32. See E.P. Thompson essay "Notes on Exterminism, the last stage of Civilization" in *Zero Option* (London, 1982)

of the bloc system which interalia spurs and legitimizes the nuclear arms race. Although the movement's vision is not as expansive as the Greens, its anti-bloc feelings place END beyond the fringes of establishment thinking. In fact Thompson in his noted work "Beyond The Cold War" is openly scornful of the fixation of established leaders with notions of "balance" & "stability". To effect positive change the peace movement "must influence the political process..... from outside its forms and independent of its controls. Reliance upon the stagnant lake of secretive negotiations conducted by the personnel of the rival establishments amounts to surrender." And since the power exercised by these groups is largely a result of the cold war, it should not be expected that they take any decisive action to eliminate their differences. The END believes what is needed to meet this challenge is the spontaneous generation of an Internationalism which does not wait upon the permission of authorities or run along the bureaucratic lines. This involves at its core an unrestricted dialogue among people conscious not only of their national but International identity. The task ahead entails "removing the barbed wire in peoples mind and hearts" pleaded the 1980 END Appeal. Despite the narrower message and more restrained tone of the END program, the gulf separating it from the realist approach is nevertheless as broad as dividing the latter and the Green perspective. The arms race and the cold war in general are perceived to be mutually supportive games continued by elites operating with complex disregard for interests other than their own. To this extent the movement believes that the game can end only by wresting it away from elite control and putting it in the hands of the people.

The Church and the Trade Unions are the two set of national institutions outside the parties in which the peace movement has been most successful, excluding the women's movement which is now in any case closely enmeshed with the peace movement. The most interesting and full debate has occurred within the Church of England. In 1979 the Church of England Synod gave a report on nuclear weapons which became a major contribution to the peace movement and the broader national debate on defence strategy.

CONCLUSION

The peace movement of different countries has been divided over aims, methods, analysis and strategy, but has occasionally been forced into a strong coalition by particularly atrocious wars (such as Vietnam) or weapons (nuclear). but its failure has been the central one of failing to achieve a visionary synthesis, a new model and strategy that is appropriate to a changing global society. it has not been able to harness effectively even those emerging social tendencies such as communal and transcendental growth which favour it.

The threat of the breakdown of nuclear deterrence into a global nuclear war gives humanity one last chance to sustain a movement for our global species survival that will emphasize those aspects of society which can save us: the ability to live co-operatively in relatively small human societies; our ability to diffuse and limit political power and control the use of violence; and our ability to act as species-beings rather than territorial or national animals. The peace movement

contains within its present character these elements and the potential for such a "permanent and global peace movement". The question remains whether it has the time, the will, the imagination to realize that potential.

C H A P T E R I V

1

**A COMPARATIVE & CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF
THE WEST EUROPEAN PEACE MOVEMENT -
IT'S PROSPECTS & IMPASSES**

History was perhaps never an observer to such broad public movements and such a high fervour for the struggle for peace which is typical of the period between the late 70's and early 80's of this century. Millions of common people who have been regarded as a "silent majority" have ceased to be silent. The new peace movement contributes to the moulding of a new thinking among people which are based not on narrow national or bloc interests but on those common to all mankind. among them the chief common factor is undoubtedly the common determination to avoid nuclear confrontation whose consequences are irreparable. For a proper evaluation of the peace movements a comparative and critical analysis is necessary. In the first part of this chapter a comparative analysis will be made.

Despite the unique conditions which prevail in each respective country, it is also possible to discern common features of the peace movements.¹ First, there are striking similarities between the kind of support, the activities & the position of the peace movement in the political systems of Germany, Netherlands & Britain. The well educated Protestant middle class and the lower age groups are the basis for the recruitment of peace movement followers. They co-operate closely with people from the ecological movement & also the women's movement. In all these countries the Social Democratic Parties are in opposition to the peace movements, and neither are there any important communist parties, though among the peace movement

1. Three articles published on the Peace Movements in Europe in TELOS, No.51, (1982), No.52 (1983) & No.56 (1983) give a good account of the peace movements.

activists the communists play a central role. In contrast to the common features in these countries is the situation in Italy & France. Both countries have strong communist parties but no important peace movements which are independent from the communist parties. In addition to that, the catholic culture seems to be a much more effective wall against the infiltration of the peace movements belief system. Given these obvious comparative parallels, the question to be raised is what kind of common variables can be analysed to explain the rise of the peace movement in the late 1970's?

First of all, in each of the cases examined, one can see a series of movements that had their beginnings outside the formal party structures. With the exception of France & Italy, in each of the instances examined, the parties of the left centre have taken over, after they have been thrown into opposition. The second point is that the greatest potential of these movements seems to be in those political systems in which there is a multi-party structure. Here again, Italy with its catholic culture is an exception. As far as the activists for the movement are concerned one has to take another phenomenon into consideration: the kind of counter culture movement which is very much a part of the post-industrial society ethos as reflected in that philosophy of the Green Party in West Germany. The role of the Churches has to be considered in this analysis as well.² It seems that there is a tendency in those countries, in which the Protestant churches are important, to develop movements which even reject the

2. J.E. Dougherty : "the Bishops and Nuclear Weapons" HAMDEN, 1984, p.59.

very notion of deterrence in the nuclear sense as the basis for prevention of war because of the immoralism of deterrence. Apart from religion one has to consider the break down of defense consensus in various countries as an important fact in the analysis of the peace movements. If anything has happened in the political security environment, it is the break down of the defense consensus. There is also another tendency in each of these countries. It is the tendency of the parties of the left, which are in opposition to cope with the forces further to the left. This is the case with the British Labour Party & the Social Democratic Parties. Another point of analysis is the anti-Americanism widespread among peace movements. The United States is the symbol for societies which are rather competitive and achievement oriented; where economic success is the main criteria for a person's position in the social hierarchy. In the affluent societies of Western Europe this value system is questioned specially by the younger educated class. This is the hardcore of the Greens in Germany & broadly reflects the general political feelings of most peace movement followers in Western Europe. Another common characteristic of the new peace movements seem to be the pre-dominance of a multi-faceted and non-dogmatic analysis of the arms race.³ Most of the time a plurality of factors in explaining the arms race is recognized. Internal factors such as political, technological, economic, industrial and bureaucratic factors are taken into account. but the need for physical

3. For a detailed analysis, consult Mary Kaldor & Dan Smith (Eds) 'Disarming Europe (London: Merlin Press, 1982). Also E.P. Thompson, Zero Option (London), Merlin Press, 1982).

and political security and the wish to exert political and economic pressure on the adversary block receive a central place of analysis. The peace movements in general are pleading for a multilateral process of unilateral initiatives to be taken by each side in the confrontation. Each peace movement has however developed its own variation of unilateralism. In the Netherlands, the IKV has opted for a gradualistic approach. One of the possible steps the Netherland could take, the IKV suggests, is the denuclearisation of Netherlands. The Churches of FRG & GDR have demonstrated support for this approach. In great Britain the peace movements seem to be in the grips of a more radical form of unilateralism in the field of nuclear arms. However, public support for giving up an independent nuclear deterrence for Britain has never surpassed 25%. Lastly, the peace movements find common ground in this conclusion that the political establishments in the main countries of the East & West are unable to break through the vicious circles of conflict and the arms race on their own⁴. They are convinced that new forms of influence on these processes have to be exacted in all sectors of society; the trade unions, city councils, the political parties, the churches, the women's organizations etc. to put pressure on the political centre of power.

Having analysed the comparative characteristics of the peace movements, we come to the critical evaluation of the study and first of all ask the question 'Was the Peace Movement a failure and 'What were its drawbacks''.

4. For further elaboration, see S. Lodgaard and M. Thee (eds), Nuclear Disengagement in Europe, SIPRI (Taylor and Francis, London, 1983)

It goes without saying that the appearance of new U.S. first strike missiles in Western Europe and the retaliatory measures cannot be attributed to the success of the peace movement. But the deployment of the missiles in Western Europe cannot rob the peace movement the eighties of its accomplishments. The new peace movement is, unlike its predecessors after 1917, for the first time in its main tendency internationalistic in the sense of a global claim which stands in opposition to the armament and war policy of all states and all political currents even though it is unable to develop simultaneously in the various nations and social systems. It does not cherish the illusion that just wars led by communists and armaments which prepare them bring us nearer to lasting world peace⁵. Johan Galtung says that the action by people themselves is indispensable as a peace factor. The peace movement in Western & Northern Europe is a political factor which has demonstrated the power of the people which nobody can neglect. The people have shown they have the right to veto, with all non-violent means, the introduction of any nuclear capability in their local community.⁶ The democratic fervour of the peace movement is well captured by its slogan, "No annihilation without representation." Richard Falk extends the view that the peace movements have revitalized democracy by raising basic doubts about the adequacy of the normative grounds of statism. This is demonstrated by the prominence of Women in recent stages of the Peace movement which has shown

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5. Eghert John, "Prospects & Impasses of the New Peace Movement" Bulletin of Peace Proposals, Vol 15, No.1, 1984, pp.47.
 6. Johan Galtung, "Alternatives to the Nuclear Arms Race - Ten Proposals for Concrete Peace Politics for the 1980's," Bulletin of Peace Proposals Vol.12, No.4, 1981, pp. 361-364.

that the expression of feminine creativity suggest that the most radical women are moving beyond strictly gender issues to provided an alternative vision of order, security & conflict resolution. The tactics & social forms evolved at Green have commonly reveal this drive to include a broad cultural and democratic revisioning as the core identity of the Women's movement.⁷ The peace movements have undoubtedly strengthened democratic norms by making peoples power constrain government policy. The Australian Peace Movements seems to have induced Prime Minister Bob Hawke against his preference to withdraw in 1985 his earlier Willingness of allow the U.S. to monitor MX flight tests from a site in Australian soil.

Political protests evinces both a substantive dimation (focussing on a specific issue like Peace) and a procedural dimension (i.e. involving tactics such as decentralization). The movement of the eighties evince a greater sensitivity to both the substantive and procedural dimension of protest. Its merit lies in the fact that it has questioned the entire decision making process. It goes to the credit of the peace movements that it has brought substantial changes in social consciousness in the West European countries over the years. The peace movement has shown a commitment for a transformed societal order. The reenham common occupation by women is an excellent illustration of this fact. Richard Falk says that the outlook of the peace activists which is an amalgam of early Christianity & Gandhism is an effort for

7. E. Boulding, "Women in the 20th century world", Newyork, 1977.

building the normative foundation of what amounts to a new civilization⁸

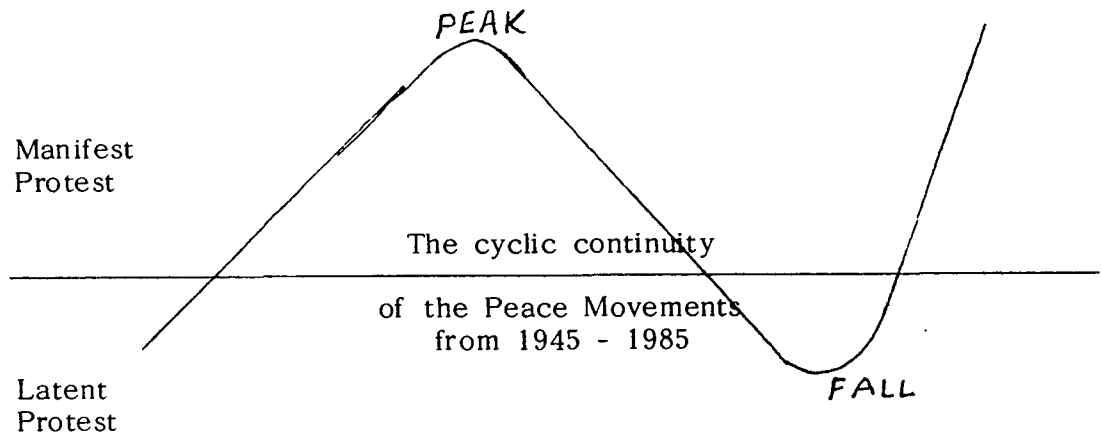
"The peace movements acts of resistance are directed against particularly objectionable encroachments upon civil society by the militarised state but their concern is to reinvent politics. They lack confidence in representative democracy, political parties & elections. Their initiatives are assertions of freedom at the grass root level and centre upon using the tactics of non-violence defence & love to expose the illegitimacy of the violent state." The European peace movement although clearly differentiated on a state by state basis has evolved strong mechanism for transnational solidarity and identity, specially on a regional scale, perhaps most significantly within the framework of European Nuclear Disarmament (END). END is gradually seeking to expand its own identity to incorporate the superpowers and the Third World. More significantly the falcum of concern has shifted from resistance struggles to revitalization of democracy and has extended to solidarity with democratizing tendencies in the Soviet orbit. The peace movement is inventing, specially in Germany as well as other parts of Western and Northern Europe a new ethic, which is shown by the presence of churches within its ranks. It has shown that no social change is possible in this contemporary world without this moral aspiring towards binding alternatives. No movement can express social change without deep-rooted conviction. The importance of non-violence and civil disobedience and drawing from the teachings of Gandhi, Thoreau & Martin Luther King emphasize upon the moral and ethical

7. Richard A. Falk, 'Solving the Puzzles of Global Reform' Alternatives XI (1986) pp. 45-81.

aspects of the peace movement.¹⁸ The peace movement has been able to create a public opinion against the established state centric status quo for a more pluralistic international order. Hylke Tromp has a point to make in this content when he says that the proposals put forward by the peace movements was not a mere intellectual exercise. They were vital since they embodied political power. "It is political power that counts; in politics power always dominates arguments or rationality"⁸ In Europe the public opinion has forced the officials at least to think about "Alternative Security Policy." Even in those cases where protesters may fail to achieve specific movement objectives, there exists the possibility that they will effect less easily discernible changes in the "political opportunity structure" over time. Cycles of opposition to specific state policies become the "crucibles out of which new weapons of social protest are fashioned."⁹

Inspite of the fact that the peace movement represented a great mass upsurge, they failed in their immediate mission of restricting the deployment of U.S. missiles in the continent. What has been the drawbacks of the Pleace Movement? Not only in the case of the missiles, generally the history of the peace movement have been of peaks & falls. they have not been able to sustain momentum for a long time to bring about any tangible change. This cyclic continuity of the peace movements can be plotted as follows :

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8. Hylke Tromp, "Alternative to Current Security Policy and the Peace Movements", op. cit., 1983, p.68.
 9. Dorothy Nelkin & Michael Pollak, *The Atom Beseiged: Extra-parliamentary Dissent in France & Germany* (Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 1981) pp.6.



Studying these waves of protest it can be said they represent a cyclic continuity of the peace movements. This means that between 1945 to 1988 there was a continuous change between a manifest protest and an existing latent protest potential. James Clotfelder¹¹, a political scientist gives a few major reasons (empirically verifiable according to him) as to why peace movements fail? James Clotfelder says that peace movements have failed to achieve their immediate objective and have even less impact on long term public policy. Wars have ended but not because of the work of the peace movements - Why? Clotfelder says peace movements fail because they are not seen as reflecting the basic values of society. In most Western nations nationalism remains the most widely shared attachment. The most devastating charge against Peace Movement is that they appease national adversaries. Secondly, the peace movements identify with such widely approved symbols and themes as to deny themselves a clear identity. In the 1980's some activists talked as if Disarmament could be accomplished if only enough people understood how destructive

11. J. Clotfelder, "Why Peace Movements Fail", The Christian Science Monitor, July 21-28, 1982, 00 790 - 792.

nuclear war would be. Lastly says Clotfelder Disarmament movement fails too because they are unwilling to convince people that wars hurt national economies. In the 1980's economic conversion has been a secondary theme. Where the economic consequences of defense preparation are unexplored it is unlikely that peace movement will emerge very successful: The basic reasons why the Peace Movement failed to restrain the deployment of U.S. missiles on the continents lies in its inability to mobilise the intelligensia simultaneously in Eastern & Western Europe. Wynfred Joshua has maintained the clear Soviet Manipulation of the peace movements which could have come in the way of its success. Dr. Joshua says peace campaigns are an old stock in Soviet trade, but greater sophistication in methods and an epidemic of anti-nuclear fear in Western Europe have given Moscow managers of psychological and clandestine operations both powerful tools & ready workshops while the Soviet role may be more adroit than in the past it is nevertheless evident that Moscow has funnelled funding, propoganda themes, guidance and above all organisational skills supplied by local communist parties & fronts. It is largely through Soviet instigated direction and co-ordination that the peace movement has been given its generally anti-U.S. orientation.¹²

So far the success of the peace movements is concerned it is of vital importance that they guard their independence, otherwise they lose their credibility before the masses. Another failure of the peace

Wynfred Joshua, 'Soviet Manipulation of the European Peace Movements' Strategic Review, Washington, Winter Vol. XI, No.4, 1983, pp. 9-17.

movement has been its inability to universalise the cause. Had they been able to extend the movement to the Third World countries as well perhaps a different picture could have emerged, says Moonis Ahmar. The peace movement in Europe does not have to be a Third World movement in order to be conducive to third world security interests. But for the sake of a realistic approach to the problem of security in Europe it has to look beyond Europe to the dynamics of national & international conflict in the third world under the present conditions of superpower rivalry. The apocalyptic fears of the European peace movement stemming from the threat of nuclear annihilation have to reflect the profane violence prevailing in the third world "Peace is not merely the abolition of the more horrendous form of armaments; it is the eradication of the social contradictions that constitute the systematic roots of armamentism. This can only occur through the evolution of a world order whose active principle is the control by peoples & social groups over their conditions of life and self realization. Only thus can today's technology be liberated from the compulsive urge to fashion weapons of destruction and redirect it to the fulfilment of human need."¹³ It would be dangerous, politically short sighted 'Eurocentrism' tending to jeopardize its own credibility, yet now prevalent in the peace movement, if its presently detectable concentration on 'Eurostrategic' armaments should be the only focus of its proper work for long and if the world wide export of arms to the Third World, and the following responsibility of the Western industrial

13. Eboe Hutchful, "The Peace movement and the Third World, Alternatives, IX (1983) pp. 593.

countries for violent oppression in the development areas should go unnoticed.¹⁴

For the most part at least in terms of organizing efforts, support for a freeze or a disarmament appears to be based on dread. However one critic writing in the Foreign Policy Journal holds that anti-nuclear peace movement cannot sustain its momentum simply by continuing to dwell on a library of horrors. Consciousness raising that fails to instill hope while it provides concrete reasons for despair will inevitably be unsuccessful in mobilizing large numbers of peace movements to action. Nigel Young has said 'negative' peace (warlessness) propaganda if presented without political or strategic vision can be paralysing rather than empowering¹⁵. It can induce an understandable sense of fatalism and futility & impotence. Nigel Young argues this to be a key factor in the decline of the previous peace movements. He further says that peace movement has failed if it merely reflects the ugly face of exterminism, Missile counting by the peace movement in that reverse face in the mirror and it will crack if it is state-centric and obsessed with existing military power. The conflict which has divided Europe for forty years also finds its expression in the syndrome "independence of the peace movement." One question which further confronts the West European peace

14. M. Kaldor & A Eide (eds.) 'The World Military order and The Impact of Military Technology on the Third World (London), 1979.

15. Nigel Young: "Sensing their Strength Towards a Political Strategy for the New Peace Movements in Europe", Bulletin of Peace Proposals, Vol.14, No.2, 1983, pp. 177.

movement is to maintain its "independence." The peace movement must uphold its independence enabling it to criticize East and West. Without this openly manifested independence it will lose its credibility and thus, also its capacity of persuasion. Irrespective of the independence of the peace movement in Western Europe the dialogue & co-operation with all the peace movements in Eastern Europe is important. The peace movements could develop a "secondary diplomacy through contacts with each other which would be significant in several ways. The extension of the relations downwards and their widening strengthens the survival of contacts and increases the chance of the creation and realisation of conditions of peace.

Further Perspectives of the Peace Movement

The governments decision to proceed with the deployment of Pershing II and ground launched cruise missiles does not provide an adequate measure of success or failure for the peace movement as it has evolved since 1981. Although the peace movement failed to achieve its ostensible short term goal of preventing the deployments altogether, it has been extraordinarily effective in alerting millions of residents to the perils posed by the tactical nuclear war heads. The peace movement has heightened the sensitivity of the people with respect to the need for environmental protection. It has also led to the growing willingness of the people to experiment with and participate in direct action policies in what was once labelled as "the subject culture."

As but one component of a larger new social movement peace protest has not yet reached its full potential and stands to benefit from active co-operation with on going youth movements, the feminist, ecological and Third World groups. They should try to lease their action on hard facts & not mere wishful thinking if they are to emerge as the true representative of political power.

C H A P T E R V

PEACE RESEARCH & PEACE MOVEMENT :
ARE THEY COMPATIBLE OR
INCOMPATIBLE ?

The relationship of peace research and peace activism has suffered from gross neglect and has not received the attention that is required in order to explain the sources of the historical dynamics of the European peace movements. There is a tendency to insist that the relationship is an empirical question, not one that would require serious theoretical analysis into the philosophy of peace research. On the other side it seems that the peace movement has its reservations about the belief and arguments of peace research since nothing much is said about the interlinkage of philosophical & sociological analysis and instrumental tasks of the movement by its influential spokesmen. However Nigel Young says there is a growing awareness among peace researchers and peace activists that research and action are intertwined and that the relationship has had and will have a great deal of influence on both.¹ It is clear then that for a perceptive diagnoses of the issue of peace in contemporary perspective this inter-relationship should be examined from both points of view, that of peace research and the peace movements. This chapter will concentrate on the manifold connections between the two in the context of Western Europe only.

The Development of the Relationship :

How are peace research and peace movement inter-related? A general historical survey indicate that in the beginning peace studies and peace movements were two distinct phenomenon, quite independent of one another. It is true however that much has been said about war and

1. Nigel Young, "Sensing their Strength," Bulletin of peace Proposals, Vol.14, No.2, 1983, pp. 176.

peace since times immemorial and hundreds of plans to make the world more peaceful have been put before mankind since Aristophanes. Side by side to such scholastic endeavour of peace there have been some kind of peace movements too - mostly religious and moral in nature. According to Haken Wiberg the first steps to formalize the relationships between peace studies and the peace movements were taken at the beginning of the 19th century. As early as 1817-19 the Massachusetts Peace society was doing studies on the losses of human life during wars, estimating military expenditures and considering alternative uses of the resources invested in warfare. But it was not until after the second world war that we see the first signs of a closer relationship between peace research and peace activism, which is apparent above all in the birth of peace research.² Peace research was born and gained in the late fifties and early sixties through the endeavour of scientists in the North Atlantic area with clear pacifist ideas and hoping to combine their research with peace activism to make the world less fraught with tensions. Among the initiators of peace research in the Anglo Saxon world were mainly Quakers. Elsewhere peace research grew out of the responses of peace movements to the earthy experiences of military occupation, war, colonial rule, Fascism as well as the emerging trends of cold war, the nuclear bomb and various local wars. The peace researchers at this stage believed that by methods and theories of scientific research one could lay the foundation of a

2. Frank M Russels, "Theories of International Relations," Newyork, 1972, pp.282.

of a peaceful world.³ Infact some of the first peace researchers had been peace activists in the 1950's and 1960's before joining peace research. All in all it was only in part that peace research developed out of the peace movement. To begin with the two lacked interaction, so much so that in the sixties some researchers wanted to keep a safe distance from peace activism. For instance the term "peace research movement" was criticized from within the peace research community emphasizing the peace research should not be considered a movement, but as a discipline. Johan Galtung has suggested that there are new forces joining the traditional peace movements.⁴ The traditional peace movement pattern was one of small but very active groups organizing signature campaigns and demonstrations but incapable of organizing larger groups when issues as the spiralling arms race in various parts of the world started being questioned by a greater proportion of mankind. Galtung says there was no clear role for research within that type of movement. But he lists ten more groups which have come to the forefront in recent years. He refers to women, youth, the green movement, the local level, the trade union, social democrats, generals for peace and peace researchers. Each of them has brought into the peace movement not only vast numbers of people, but also new perspectives, new ways of dealing with a wide range of policies. It is true that these new groups living in diverse explorations and opportunities for deeper enquiry thus fertilizing peace research. Like

3. Elise Boulding & Raimo Vayrynen, "Peace Research: The Infant Discipline?", in S. Rokkan (ed), *A Quarter Century of Social Science* Paris, 1977.

4. Johan Galtung, "There are Alternatives," Nottingham, 1984, p.212.

the women's peace movement consists of scholar feminists who contribute to a causal process analysis of changes against sex differentiation within given societies. In the Green movement there is a new structuring of research into the nature of politics and political philosophy. The social democrats have generally favoured specialization in social research. The British tradition of socialism has always emphasized the significance of scientific research of social problems. The churches have been traditionally concerned with the social and cultural shaping of religious needs which has led them to examine the cognitive perspectives of war & peace. Two factors may be cited as responsible for the changing relationship between peace movements and peace research - first, the social background and second the level of international tension. The early anti-war movement and the peace planners represented different social background. According to Nigel Young War and Military Service were opposed by the poor and the illiterate, where as the history of peace plans & proposals of peace and disarmament is essentially that of elite activism.⁵ More recently perhaps there has been some convergence in the social background of peace researchers and activists but even today prevailing social, political and economic conditions differentiate those who work in the field of narrative political theory and those who provide the bulk of the support for the peace movements. It is still necessary to discover new ways to build bridges between the researcher and activists in order to

5. Nigel Young, "Why Peace Movements Fail ?" Dialog, No.2, 1985, pp.95.

correct a fundamental deficiency.⁶ The international atmosphere is also responsible for the varying relationship between peace research and peace movement. Under mounting international tension they tend to move close to each other, during detente they take distance from one another. While the East-West attention had absorbed all the attention of the peace researcher during the cold war period, detente made for a growing interest in matters of North-South relations, structural violence and the like. Indeed the growth of peace research both in terms of peace research institutes and research interests took place in a period of increased international tension. On the other hand the European peace movement was clearly less interested to mobilize masses against structural violence or to help resolve the general and endemic economic crisis of the Third World. Furthermore after some early achievements in the 1960's, the peace movement took a relatively passive posture. But in the 1970's the growing international tension made peace research and peace movement more active, bringing their interest closer to one another.

This brings us to the vital question as the what has been the relationship between peace research and peace movement since the late 1970's?

In the changed international political and economic conditions the development of the new peace movement created new conditions for peace research. On the one hand, increased international political tensions objectively multiplied the necessity of studying the international conflicts and crisis as well as those of the arms build up and the

6. Johan Galtung - "Environment, Development & Military Activity, OSLO, 1982.

and the elaboration of alternative strategies in the interest of war prevention. For peace research the halted process of detente between East & West is of special importance since "detente" has not only been the object of peace research but historically it was the pre condition for its development. The new peace movement represents an important stage in the "social justification" of peace research. Peace Research has proved to be an ineffective influence without a major peace movement. At the same time peace research has greatly contributed to the theoretical - intellectual level of the peace movement for critical approach to official security policy, to the development of "counter publicity", to the creation of the need for information and problem consciousness related to armament & war, and to democratization of security policy. So what is interesting is that both the streams of thought had one common denominator - their antipathy towards military research. They both referred to the economic causes of war, supported disarmament, showed an interest in alternative defence proposals based on non-violence. Indeed, although the peace activists have emphasized the critical nature of peace research, they also wanted that the latter should adopt a more action oriented pragmatic approach. In general it seems ideas about Jurgen Habermas termed 'Enlightenment' and which relate to an interpretation of the moral adequacy of the social system provide a solid basis for continued contribution between theorists & activists.⁷

7. Jurgen Habermas (ed) Stichworte Zur "Geistigen Situation der ziet" Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1979.

By the development of the new peace movement, the results of peace research have to some extent materialized without losing any of its necessary functions. Peace Research demonstrated upon what a fragile basis the justification of arms build up of the super powers are made. It made clear how controversial the Western conception of "deterrence" is: along with the peace movement it aspires to prevent nuclear war by developing the most possible means for fighting it. Peace research has provided a theoretical background to such discussions on security policy, replacing the "security" established in the existing frames of "mutual deterrence" by alternative concepts of security policy. Peace researchers were rather successful in helping to create a social and political climate congenial for them to play an active role as doomsday prophets, in which they were drawing attention to the dangers of the arms race and the conflicts arising out of the gap of the rich and poor, energy strategies and imperialism. They were to play this role, at the scientific fringe of political realism and in doing so they provided a cloak of respectability to the moral claims of the peace movement. No doubt, to a certain extent peace research has helped peace movements to demystify before the public such notions as 'Deterrence is the only way to prevent nuclear war.

The Preferred Inter-relationship between Peace Research & Peace Movement.

What is the preferred relationship between peace research & action? Is the actual state of affairs same as the ideal state of affairs. To answer these questions one has to examine the arguments that peace researchers have put forth against and for co-operation between peace

research and the peace movement. In general peace researchers believe that they can make fruitful contribution to peace movements. According to Johan Galtung the peace research movement now provides peace movements with an alternative source of information, breaking the monopoly that security research or military science has had on these affairs until recently.⁸ However peace researchers think that a certain distance must be maintained between research & action. According to Galtung, the peace research movement will only remain valuable insofar as it retains its independence of the peace movement and does not become to the peace movement the non-questioning servant that security research has tended to become to the Foreign & Defence Ministries. As he puts it: "The peace researcher should never give up his most precious possession, intellectual/political freedom & flexibility. The moment he is tied to any social actor governmental or non-governmental these possessions will be taken away from him." Another leading peace researcher Hylke Tromp has emphasized that peace research should remain independent, critical and aware of its own responsibilities. Tromp says peace researchers should be critical of the proposals put forward by the peace movements.⁹ Egbert Jahn puts the case even more eloquently by warning that if peace research submits itself to a non-questioning servant of anybody - including the peace movements it will not be able to provide the latter with newer ideas

8. Johan Galtung, *op. cit.*, 1984, p.25; & Laszlo J. Kiss "Peace Research under new conditions", *Peace and the Sciences*. No.1, 1983, pp.21-22.

9. Hylke Tromp, "Priorities in Peace Research, Vol.20, No.3, 1983, p.256.

and directions. In such a case peace research may produce a mere repetition of existing knowledge, losing its scientific ability to better theoretical and conceptual innovations. Lazlo J. Kiss has pointed out that in the absence of a politically significant peace movement, peace research will remain only a theoretical enterprise with no chance to exert any influence. He suggests that peace - research cannot substitute for the peace movement but it can act as the bridge between science and politics.¹⁰ In general those like Galtung supporting closer connection between peace research and the peace movement may refer to the fact that peace research is going to be an applied science, interested not only in lectures, talks, articles and books but also in less violence and more peace.¹¹ About fifteen years ago Herman Schmid required that peace research should be prepared to totally subordinate to the needs and demands of the client organization.¹² According to Schmid, peace research should: ".....formulate its problems not in terms meaningful to international and supranational institutions, but in terms meaningful to suppressed and exploited groups and nations. It should not explain how manifest conflict are brought under control, but how latest conflicts are manifested."

10. Laszlo J. Kiss "Peace Research under new conditions", *Peace and the Sciences*, No.1, 1983, pp.21-22.

11. Galtung, op. cit, 1984, p.21.

12. Herman Schmid, "Peace Research as a Technology for Pacification" *Studies in Progress*, No.5, 1970, pp.44-48.

Therefore Schmid was speaking about moving in the direction of client research for progressive interests. It should be seen as to what interests and values were served by peace research. He laid emphasis on the fact that research itself does not change the world, but all these ideas, theories & facts matter only when put in practice. Herein comes the practical importance of peace movements to implement the ideas of peace research.¹³ Otherwise as Nigel Young has said there is danger of peace research being immersed in the logic and rationality of extremism.¹⁴ It is true that peace research should not become client oriented, but remain an independent and autonomous discipline. Peace Research must be able to co-operate with extra disciplinary forces. Peace movement as such should be the natural ally of peace research. Indeed peace research is dependent on the peace movement which may put its findings and recommendations into practice.

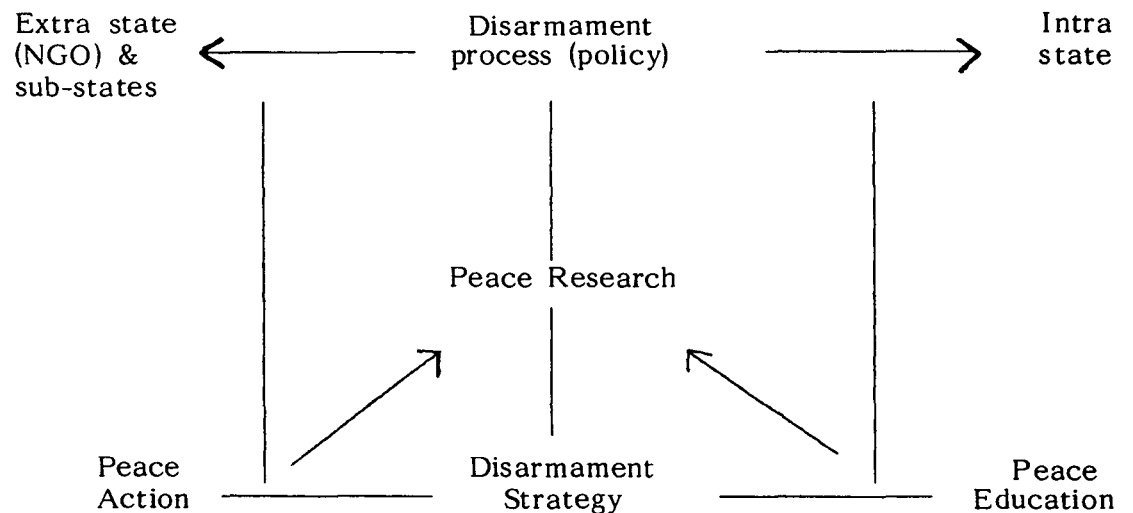
Suggested Relationship

In a world where two parallel movement - the peace research movement and the peace movement are existing, one cannot imagine how they can be totally apart from one another since both their goal is one - to make the world more peaceful, to establish stable peace. So the relationship should be of a constructive competition, maintaining the possibility always of fruitful co-operational productive criticism. Peace Research should not be sub-ordinated to peace movement or vice versa but there should be a healthy coordination among the two. they should

13. Schmid, loc cit. 1974, pp.2.

14. Young, loc cit, 1983, p.176

be equal partners in trying to make the world more peaceful and to enhance the creative potential of human societies. Indeed, the question is not if there is a relationship between peace research and the peace movement. The question is what kind of relationships obtains in the overall socio-cultural pattern of society and what kind of relationship there should be in order that feedback mechanisms work with optimum efficiency. Nigel Young has suggested a model of the interrelationship as follows¹⁵.

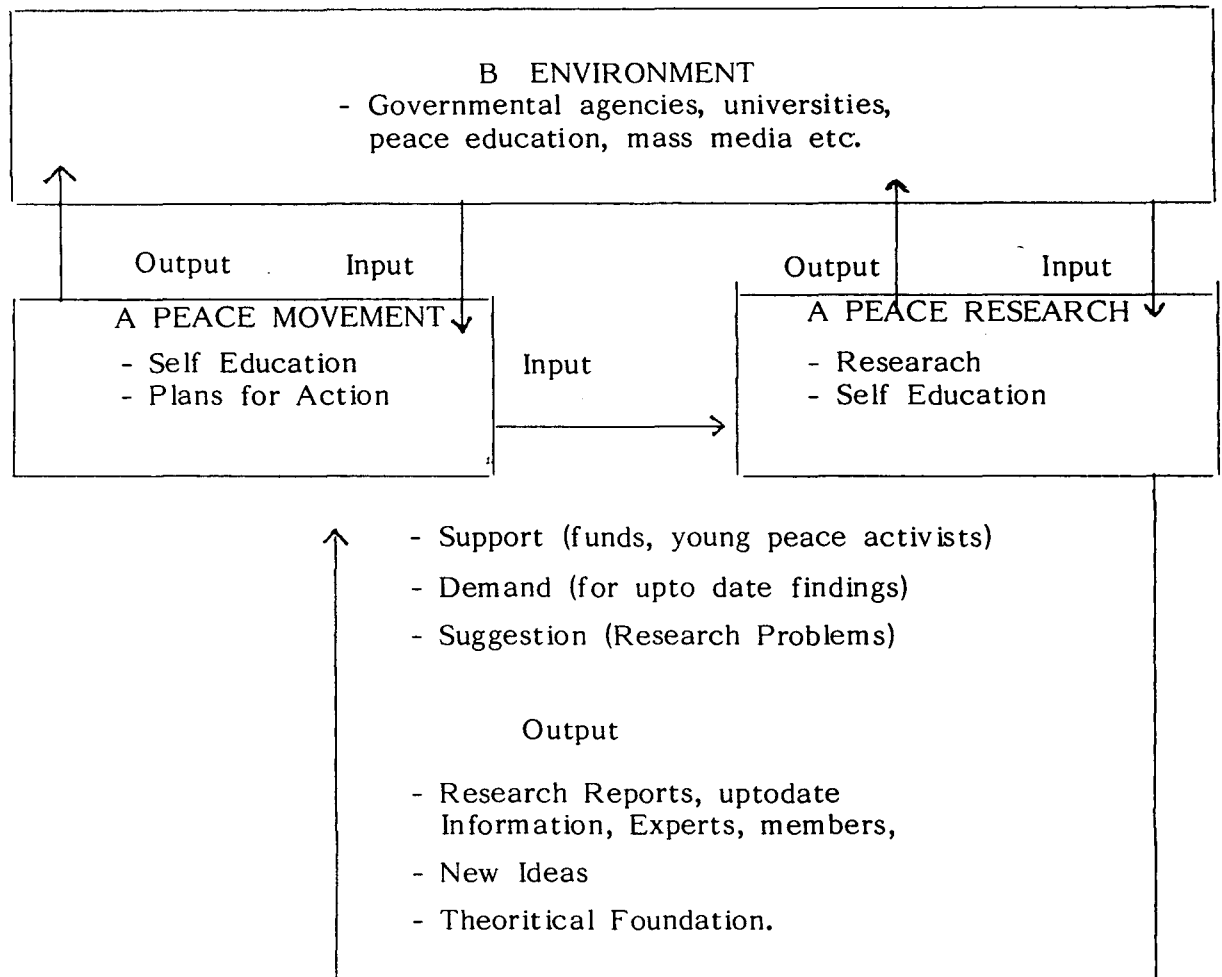


15. Young, loc. cit, 1983, p.176

This model made it possible for Nigel Young to project a new type of peace research, discarding the traditional conventions of what is 'relevant'. According to Young, peace research has accepted conventional realistic models of a disarmament process between roughly symmetrical state actors who can potentially be pressured into accepting rational peace plans and proposals. Young maintains that the realists have not worked enough on the disarmament strategy - on the contrary their empirical work have not been empowering either the researcher or the activist. Young suggests a new approach in which one must break with both state centric and inter-state centred approaches to disarmament. It offers not symmetrical patterned interactions which move up and down the political pyramids of state power, but a draining away of legitimacy and attention from state centred solutions, and national frames of reference. "Such a reality.....offer new insights both to activists and researchers and for a fruitful interchange of both. They can empower and give continuity to the sequence of peace movements which has accumulated a series of heroic & visionary traditions and ideas, but lack of concrete strategy and a history largely of political defeats.

Another extremely simple model of the relationship between peace research, the peace movement and their environment has been suggested by Vilho Harle¹⁶

16. Vilho Harle, "Peace Research & the Peace Movement : Incompatible or Collaborators ?", Peace & the Sciences, Vol.21, 1983, p.12.



This simple input-output model makes it possible to discuss the substantive forms of interaction & co-operation between the basic actors (peace research & the peace movement). It also makes us understand that they do not exist for each other only, their mutual co-operation is only part of the picture. According to the model the peace movement is (A) within the internal (A) and external (B) arena. Within the movement new peace activists must be educated and trained, new campaigns projected etc. Within the external arena the peace movement carries out with peace campaigns and its representatives are obliged to participate in public debates. Peace Research has its own

internal arena (A) At the external area (B) peace researchers are expected to work as experts in governmental councils, lecturers in universities, speakers in mass meetings and participate in public debates. So the model proves that there is no end to opportunities for interaction and co-operation between peace research and the peace movement, given appropriate notions of responsibility and autonomy. The peace movement may offer several inputs to peace research like fund raising, the mobilization of the young for the cause of peace and peace research. The other type of inputs is demand for research reports, upto date information about the arms race, and using the peace scientists as speakers in mass meetings. The third type of inputs are suggestions for problems to be investigated by peace researchers. The output offered by peace research emerge from new hard facts, new ideas and theoretical foundations for emerging peace movements.

Hence, peace research and peace movement must relate to each other in complex but complementary ways to forge an integrative mechanism for making the world less violent and to strengthen international peace as a stable system of relations. By retaining their independent possibilities, there should be interaction between peace movement and peace research. Both must remember that peace will not come as a result of a single act of abolition of nuclear weapons; there has to be a process of confidence building before that can happen. Here peace research and peace movement can both work together to remove the concept of wars from the minds of men and build defences of peace in their minds. Peace Research and Peace Movement can work to build "peoples detente". Though theoretical background is a basic foundation

foundation for an understanding of the functional problems of international society it is important to recognize that theory to be credible and relevant has to be overtaken to practical application resulting in organizational innovations. Peace research hence needs to co-operate with peace movement, so that it does not remain a mere academic exercise. Both the peace researchers and the peace activists must look at peace building. Both need to get away from the obsession of weapons and deterrents for they will not give us peace. "We need to use all available levels & opportunities for communication, to find the points of contacts where confidence building can flourish".

In the epilogue of his important work, "The Anatomy of Human Destructiveness" Erich Fromm wrote, "It is legitimate to imagine that man will complete the full circle and construct a society in which no one is threatened the empirical study of all data shows that a real possibility exists to build such a world in a foreseeable future, if the political and psychological road blocks are removed." Fromm concludes his epilogue by advocating 'humanist radicalism'. In other words, the immediate task of peace research and peace movement is to provide a basis of public enlightenment, to expose the delusions induced by a conception derived from the world of geopolitics and the deadly logic of megadeath technology; to undermine the legitimacy of the power elites who think in these terms. They can both counteract and eventually remove the danger to our species posed by the global war machine - a malignant growth masquerading as "defense" of everything people hold dear.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

The pursuit of peace research and the mass mobilization of peace movements in Western Europe as we saw in the preceding chapters aroused popular consciousness regarding the destructive potential of nuclear weapons and the concomitant determination to halt and reverse the arms race. It evoked a reconsideration of traditional security policy beyond the parameters of the policy of deterrence. The efforts of the peace researchers and peace activists replaced the old Latin proverb 'Sivis **pacem**, para bellum,' (if you desire peace prepare for war) with 'Sivis pacem para pacem', (if you desire for peace there is but one way, prepare for peace). The peace research and peace movement approaches are imaginative, humane and challenging. They appear to offer some hope for introducing change for the better and thus warrant close scrutiny. Their advocacy of unilateral disarmament is predicted on the possibility that peace experienced in Europe since World War II may not be attributable to Nuclear Deterrence. Their insistence on recognizing the humanity and their belief that we compromise our own humanity when we prepare meticulously for Armageddon, offer an opportunity to break out of the vicious circle of distrust - militarization - further distrust. Nuclear weapons cannot be disinvented to be sure but the decision to manufacture, deploy and ultimately use them are made by conscious beings acting in a specific social, political and moral milieu. The actual significance of peace research and peace movement might well be their insistence that this moral and ethical dimension not be overlooked. Peace researchers and peace activists have revealed the fact that even - lasting peace through deterrence is an unrealistic utopia They believe that a balance of military forces cannot stabilize peace. Nearly two hundred years ago Immanuel Kant stated as a general

principle"..... durable general peace due to a balance of power in Europe can be compared to a Swift's house, which had been built by an architect so perfectly, according to all laws of balance that it collapsed when a sparrow sat on it, a mere Chimera." So, the peace researchers and peace activists believe that peace by military superiority is a dream. The general task of bringing about peace is two sided and contradictory. The prevailing discord with its double violence - "war like violence and "structural violence" has to be transformed into positive peace, thereby preventing it from turning into an extensive war. Peace research and peace movement with war preventing and peace creating intentions addresses above all existing governments and the broadest societal groups, which are the only ones able to effect the necessary transformations in international society to overcome mass destructive structural violence.

This is exactly the reason why for the sake of a realistic approach to the problem of security in Europe the peace movements has to look beyond Europe to the dynamics of national and international conflicts in the Third World. To some extent this is already happening. Peace researchers and peace activists are looking beyond the nuclear question to the concept of positive peace and beyond Europe to the Third World. The links between disarmament and development are prominent in campaign material. In order to be a success they have to join hands with peoples of other non-aligned states in seeking a world order based not on military power but on justice and freedom. They profess that the elimination of structural violence inherent in the global community will be the most effective deterrent to nuclear annihilation.

In the judgement of protest co-ordinators the drive for peace has developed into a powerful non-violent grassroots movement that has contributed significantly to a broader understanding of democratic processes. It has fostered a willingness on the part of heretofore unorganized or inactive constituencies to take advantage of their constitutional rights to assemble, speak, demonstrate and participate in defense of their own needs and interests.

The new peace movement in Europe may have reached a political plateau at present but it offers to the peace researcher and the political theorist some new ways of looking at the role of popular, non-governmental initiatives in relation to disarmaments, and in the process break down some of the conventional wisdoms of both the researcher and the political disarmer. Peace movement reflecting the democratization of security policy is also an opportunity for a critical feedback between science and politics.

Certain factors have been specifically noted in the foregoing analysis as contributing to the failure of the peace movements. The following negative factors are :

1. State centricism (chauvinistic nationalism, ethnocentrism).
2. Limited pressure-group concepts of politics (reformist, secular).
3. Alignment (to parties, states, or state centred ideologies or blocs) for example, co-operation by the social democratic left.
4. Reactive and short-term character (lack of social programme resulting in despair).
5. Lack of social alternative (no strategy for political change); disempowerment.

6. Gap between (intellectual/political) leadership and grass roots base (elitism); this may be a generation gap.
7. Lack of strong communal base (amorphous superficial coalition character).

The above are the negative features of the peace movement. but as the new peace movement, or parts of it, especially the new women's peace movement, illustrate, these are exactly the problems that are now met by giving greater prominence to such alternative mediums as the following:

1. Localism and communalism (networks of human relationships).
2. Transnationalism/globalism, networking, linkages (peace as a species issues).
3. Autonomism and spontaneity (initiative from below).
4. Direct action and affinity groups (non-violence).
5. Unilateral initiatives (action first).
6. Activation of affinities (bounding across borders).
7. Non-alignment (the peace movement as an independent force).

Ostensibly the peace movement which occurred since 1979 may have failed but it bears the seed of new strategic orientation. Extra-parliamentary opposition, the ecological sense of nuclear fallout or polluted rain as a transnational issue, the destructured and transnational affinities of women in the new feminism, all these create a new oppositional setting for the future.

The women's peace movement (e.g. the Greenham peace camps), the ecological groups (such as the German Greens), the solidarity with 'Solidarnose' (and other independent movements in the East) are prime examples that illustrate the expression of communal and transnational

leap of political will and popular imagination that is unique of the new movement.

"This subversion or transcendence of existing framework, is the only way in which activists and researchers can break out of the mind set of the exterminists, or the self-fulfilling prophecies of nuclear strategists."

The peace researcher and the peace activist drive home the fact that the benefits of peace seem ignoble if peace is conceived as merely the absence of war. The search for peace may not succeed unless a positive concept of peace is determined & put to operation. Better knowledge about the spread and control of violence and about conditions conducive to peace are critical to the very survival of human race.

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