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THE ESTABLISHMENT RESPONDS

POWER, POLITICS, AND PROTEST SINCE 1945

Edited by
Kathrin Fahlenbrach, Martin Klimke,
Joachim Scharloth, and Laura Wong

PALGRAVE MACMILLAN TRANSNATIONAL HISTORY SERIES

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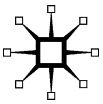

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Foreword

"A Delicate Balance": Protest Movements, Global Transformations, and the World Orders since the 1960s

Akira Iriye

In 1916 the English mathematician and philosopher Bertrand Russell wrote a letter to President Woodrow Wilson, appealing to him to try to bring the European war to an end. "If a plebiscite of the nation were taken on the question whether negotiations should be initiated, I am confident that an overwhelming majority would be in favour of this course, and that the same is true of France, Germany, and Austria-Hungary." Russell believed that the "Press … is everywhere under the control of the Government," but that in "other sections of Society feeling is quite different." But he recognized that "public opinion remains silent and uninformed, since those who might give guidance are subject to such severe penalties that few dare to protest openly, and those few cannot obtain a wide publicity."[1]

Russell himself was to spend two years in prison because of his antiwar activities. His example anticipated the state-society relationship that was to characterize many countries' histories in the subsequent decades. But he also encountered a different experience when he visited China shortly after the war (and his release from prison). There he felt social forces, especially those guided by the educated ("a civilized Chinese is the most civilized person in the world," he noted), were more powerful than the government and that sooner or later they would revolutionarize their country.[2] This, too, was a development that would repeat itself during the twentieth century; society would overwhelm the state, replacing the latter with a new political structure, thus in turn becoming a new state (and giving rise to new social movements).

As the chapters that follow reveal, the state-society relationship is infinitely variable. In many instances it exists in a precarious balance. To borrow from a literary example, Edward Albee's play "A Delicate Balance" may be taken as an apt description of this state of affairs. Written in 1966, the drama exemplified one important aspect of the decade, the breakdown of authority, or the challenge posed to the political and social order. In this drama, a delicate balance has been maintained by a family whose core members are an aging couple living in a middle-class suburban home. Both the husband, a retired businessman, and his wife try to preserve some sense of order in their life, a task that

has become complicated as the wife's sister, an alcoholic, has moved in. The couple have lost their only son, and their only daughter, age thirty-two, has been divorced three times and is being separated from her fourth husband. Not a very enviable circumstance, and eventually the "delicate balance," maintained by familial norms, certain words, even facial expressions, and gestures that they all understand, breaks down when they are visited by another couple, close friends of the husband and wife, who have become frightened for no particular reason and decide to move in with this family.[3]

The story, with its purely domestic context, may be irrelevant to the world elsewhere, but we may nevertheless see it as suggestive of the sense, which was widely felt in the 1960s, of the breakdown of the delicate order that had held the nations and societies more or less together in the post–World War II world. For the generation that had experienced World War II, the new "realities" in the postwar era—notably the Cold War, decolonization and nation-building, economic reconstruction and growth—had been familiar themes that everybody understood and could relate to. At least to those living in the liberal capitalist democracies in the West, the world appeared to be getting better—more stable, more prosperous, and more just than anything they had experienced before the war. Even for others, however, it could be said that most individuals identified with their respective countries, within each of which they recognized some basic structure of politics and social relations. Whether living in one of the industrial democracies or in a developing country, in a capitalist welfare state or under a communist dictatorship, whether enjoying a middle-class way of life oriented toward consumerism or condemned to agrarian poverty, individuals could define themselves in familiar frameworks and relate to the world in terms of some shared vocabulary. In short, there existed some recognizable order on the basis of a delicate balance between state and society.

As was the case in Albee's play, the delicate balance maintained by familiar words, gestures, and ways of life was never entirely orderly or stable, and it was always subject to internal tensions and fissures. Indeed, the years after 1945 are usually understood in the framework of the Cold War that had always contained the possibility of turning into a third world war, which certainly would have been the end of any order. As a recent opera titled "Dr. Atomic" suggests, history seemed to have entered a new phase with the first successful explosion of nuclear devises in July 1945. In Peter Sellars's libretto, Robert Oppenheimer who oversaw the development of the first atomic bombs, says, a few minutes before the explosion, "there are no more minutes, no more seconds! Time has disappeared; it is Eternity that reigns now!"[4] A sense of order calibrated by time seemed to have come to a stop. But at least one could make sense of the contemporary world in such a framework and then go on living. There was certainty in uncertainty. Moreover, wars, whether cold or hot, had been familiar themes in modern history, just as family crises and domestic violence had always been present in social relations. These crises, whether domestic or worldwide, could still be comprehended within the framework of some balance.

The delicate balance breaks down when even the concept of balance is no longer relevant, when the precarious equilibrium that had underlain social relations becomes unhinged so that one must look for new ways of understanding what is happening. What the protest movements of the 1960s and beyond

did may be seen as a large-scale version of such a phenomenon. The protests served to push the already precarious equilibrium off the cliff, to unbalance completely the familiar national as well as world orders. In a sense, the worldwide protest movements served the role that the two visitors in Albee's play did, to act as a catalyst for disruption, disorder, and transformation.

So the inevitable question, just as in Albee's play, was whether a new order would emerge to reestablish some balance. The chapters in this volume describe how the "establishment"—the state, business leaders, educators, and the like—sought to do so. Their task was complicated, however, because the world in which the balance might, or might not, be restored and reinforced began to change drastically in the wake of the protest movements of the 1960s. States and societies remained, but both now operated in an environment in which global, transnational forces were altering the ways in which the state-society relationship was worked out.

In this connection, it would be useful to note what David Edgar, a playwright, has written of the 1960s: "With millions of others, I saw in the worldwide youth revolt of 1968 the prospect of a world without poverty, exploitation and war, and the possibility of my generation bringing that utopia about."[5] That such a world has not emerged is less important than the fact that, especially since the 1970s, such a vision of "the generation of 1968" has never disappeared and has, in some instances, even prodded governments in various parts of the world to take these objectives seriously. There emerged something like a shared perception of goals and ideals across national boundaries, promoted both by states and civil societies. The world was entering a phase of globalization and transnational movements to such an extent that the state-society balance now had to be worked out not just within nations but also throughout "the planet earth," an idea about the world community that emerged in the wake of man's first trip to the moon in 1969.

Global and transnational forces had long existed, but it was in the last decades of the twentieth century that they came to challenge the world of independent states, questioning the traditional formulas and agendas for order and balance. One can see this in the rapid march of technological and economic globalization; in the steady expansion in the number and size of nonstate actors such as multinational business enterprises, religious institutions, ethnic identities, and nongovernmental organizations; and in the worldwide concern with such issues as environmental degradation, energy shortages, and human rights that were not soluble within separate national communities and had to be dealt with by the international community as a whole. To the extent that nations, non-national entities, and individuals everywhere cooperated in coping with these human as well as ecological problems, a new global balance would come a step closer to realization. Any domestic order would have to be an integral part of the global order.

In promoting a new balance in state-society relations in an increasingly transnational world, we may need to go back to the ideas of humanity and civilization. As Bruce Mazlish has noted, in the 1915 condemnation of the Armenian genocide, the governments of Britain, France, and Russia invoked these ideas, coupling "humanity and civilization" in opposition to acts of barbarism.[6] To be human was to be civilized, and vice versa. Since then, the

concept of humanity has become internationally accepted, as most explicitly seen in the worldwide support, at least in principle, for the promotion of human rights. Since the 1970s, moreover, the idea of "human security" has gained currency, the point being that the basic needs of individual humans, be they physical or spiritual, political or economic, should be the concern of all countries, whose pursuit of often conflicting national security agendas should not stand in their way. Human rights, human security, and humanitarian missions to help global migrants and refugees, who today account for 5 percent of the total population, suggest that the notion of humanity is here to stay, from which it would not be possible for states or societies to free themselves.

As Mazlish has pointed out, however, somehow "civilization" has dropped out from the coupling of "humanity and civilization." But it need not be. We would do well to consider bringing the idea of civilization back to contemporary discourses on human affairs. Quite often civilization is presented as a plural noun, "civilizations." That reflects the idea that there are a number of different civilizations, some of which may be compatible with one another but others may be in conflict. Throughout the twentieth century, much was made of the alleged conflict among civilizations, and even today some hold on to that view. To counter such determinism, others, notably the United Nations, and in particular UNESCO, have been promoting dialogue among civilizations, an effort that is based on the idea of diversity among human beings. On the other hand, others continue to use the term civilization in the singular, to connote the essential sameness of all humans and their achievements.

The concept of civilization is as old in India, China, and elsewhere as in the West and suggests that for centuries people have differentiated between civilization and barbarism. No matter where they are, they have shared the notion that in order to live with one another they must engage in what Europeans in the nineteenth century called "civilized intercourse." That would include tolerance for diversity and mutual understanding as well as cooperation to promote common well-being. If the protest movements in the second half of the twentieth century—and the establishment's responses to them—meant anything, it must certainly have been to prod them both to rediscover the critical imperative of civilized intercourse. As Ian McEwan, the contemporary British writer, wrote in *Enduring Love* (1997), "Observing human variety can give pleasure, but so too can human sameness."[7] The search for common humanity across national, political, cultural, and social boundaries will continue, even as states seek to maintain some semblance of order among increasingly divergent populations.

Notes

1. *The Autobiography of Bertrand Russell: The Middle Years, 1914–1944* (Boston, 1969), 23.
2. Ibid., 173.
3. Edward Albee, *A Delicate Balance* (New York: Penguin Books, 1997).
4. Peter Sellars, "Doctor Atomic" (Lyric Opera of Chicago, 2007/2008 season), 12.
5. David Edgar, "Pentecost," Stratford Festival of Canada, August 3 to September 21, 2007, program note, 5.
6. Bruce Mazlish, *The Idea of Humanity in a Global Area* (New York, 2008).
7. Ian McEwan, *Enduring Love* (New York, 1997), 4.

Introduction

Kathrin Fahlenbrach, Martin Klimke, Joachim Scharloth, and Laura Wong

In a speech on worldwide student unrest, the executive secretary of the Inter-Agency Youth Committee Robert Cross in 1968 discerned five factors that separated current youthful unrest from its historical precedents. According to Cross, "quantitative growth, democratization of education, 'post-modernism,' the education explosion and the creation of a 'youth class'" distinguished student activism at the end of the 1960s. Due to its global dimension and an increasing utilization of violence, governments worldwide suddenly paid attention to this phenomenon after years of polite yet largely unsuccessful requests for change voiced by the students. What was even more significant was that, in Cross's view, students had formed the "first truly international generation":

> A steady stream of student activists have become internationally self-perpetuating and multiplying. [...] The 1968-style international student movement is international not because it is organized but rather because young people in many countries are facing the same human problems and applying the same basic approaches to their solution. It is equally certain, however, that a great cross-fertilization, a very rapid and effective student grape-vine, functions. What happens in New York is known overnight in Paris and Manila. The speeches of Rudi Dutschke are in the hands of Mark Rudd faster than you can seem to get your mail delivered.[1]

For Cross, this meant that neither universities nor policymakers could afford to ignore this young generation any longer. Despite the obvious dangers of disorder, overly rapid change, a public backlash, and constant disturbances of the peace, student unrest, in his interpretation, was by and large constructive. As "a brutally honest critic of our world and ourselves," the student activist therefore provided an indispensable contribution for the development of society when put to good use by political decision-makers:

> He is, this unrestful student, our ally for he cries out for change, for equality, for justice, for peace, for morality, for honesty—as we do beneath our facades of experience and maturity and, often, callousness. He only seems to be an enemy because he tends to shame us into thinking anew

> and aloud the long dormant thoughts and dreaming the long buried dreams of a bright future that we too once harbored.
>
> If we can learn to let him speak freely—
> If we can truly listen to what he says—
> If we can try to understand what he means—
> If we can react to his purposes and not his effrontery—
> If we can use wisely his outcry as a stimulus for needed change and overdue improvement held back too long by inertia and vested interests—
>
> then, the unrestful student of the twentieth century may become that long sought for change agent needed to bring about the modern, free, peaceful, just world we are all seeking.[2]

Cross's analysis of student protest at the end of the 1960s is particularly telling in two respects. First, it acknowledges the global collective identity and connectivity of the student movements. Second, it frankly recognizes that this wave of dissent had become a phenomenon that the government could conveniently co-opt and utilize to foster policy objectives.[3] Consequently, Cross's analysis fittingly illustrates the complex relationship between the "establishment" and protest movements that had emerged after World War II.

As long as there have been formalized structures of government, there have been acts of protest and social movements directed against their actions or their very existence, provoking a dynamic of interaction between protesters and representatives of these institutions. Social movements are, in fact, most often defined in relational terms, as "collectivities acting with some degree of organization and continuity, partly outside institutional or organizational channels, for the purpose of challenging extant systems of authority, or resisting change in such systems, in the organization, society, culture, or world system in which they are embedded."[4] Protest phenomena that fit this definition can be found in abundance in the period from 1945 to 1990, for example: the June 1953 workers' uprising in East Germany, the revolts in both Poland and Hungary in 1956, the student movements of the late 1960s in the West, the efforts to generate a "socialism with a human face" of the Prague Spring in 1968 in Czechoslovakia, as well as the Polish Solidarity movement of the early 1980s and the so-called Velvet Revolutions of 1989/1990, to name but a few.

As junctures of the Cold War, these expressions of dissent and the response they provoked from governments and society shaped postwar history. With respect to the 1950s, for example, the events of 1953 in East Germany led to a tightening of government control, ideological as well as physical repression, and the build-up of a close net of domestic surveillance.[5] In Poland, on the other hand, the revolts in June and October 1956 not only transformed Warsaw's comprehensive ideological grip on all parts of Polish society and put an end to mass terror, but also channeled Polish patriotism and reconfigured Soviet-Polish relations with the appointment of the new first secretary Wladyslaw Gomulka.[6] Imre Nagy, his Hungarian counterpart, by contrast, was unable to manage popular discontent in his country enough to ward off a Soviet invasion.[7] All of these events profoundly affected international relations and foreign policy strategy, leading U.S. diplomats, among other things,

to engage in a major review of "liberation" and "rollback" ideology and to grudgingly accept the Soviet line of "peaceful coexistence."[8]

Yet protest movements also managed to transcend the bipolar geopolitics of East and West during the Cold War, and continue to affect global policymaking today. Since 1945, protest movements and activist networks have impressed their positions to affect policy outcomes and legislation on a whole host of issues ranging from nuclear proliferation, the implementation and enforcement of human rights, the international trade with illegal "blood diamonds," as well as the proliferation of landmines.[9] Furthermore, global perspectives have likewise influenced the reactions of official decision-makers. Decolonization, for example, not only transported conflicts from the periphery to the colonial nations when many immigrants from the so-called Third World moved into them, but also shaped the response of local officials and law enforcement agencies to domestic protest, as can be seen in the case of the massacre of Algerians in October 1961 in Paris and the strategies employed by the local prefect of police Maurice Papon.[10] Along the same lines, East German officials in 1989, when faced with domestic demonstrations that escalated in size and intensity, seriously considered a "Chinese solution" modeled on the vicious crackdown on dissidents in Tiananmen Square in June of that year.[11]

In many of these conflicts, the "establishment" itself became the target of protesters. This term, of course, is problematic, and already engendered ample debate among the editors, contributors, and reviewers of this book. Its origins can be found in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century descriptions of (legal) church structures in England. American writer and philosopher Ralph Waldo Emerson also used it frequently in the nineteenth century.[12] It gained prominence again through Rose Macaulay's 1923 novel *Told by an Idiot* and, more importantly, through the conservative British journalist Henry Fairlie, who defined it in a 1955 newspaper column as not only "the centres of official power … but rather the whole matrix of official and social relations within which power is exercised," insisting that the "exercise of power in Britain (more specifically, in England) cannot be understood unless it is recognised that it is exercised socially."[13]

The British media picked up on Fairlie's use of the term, which gained even wider currency with the 1965 publication of *The Established and the Outsiders*, a sociological study by Norbert Elias and John Scotson on the social community structures of a suburban area near an industrial city in central England.[14] In the context of C. Wright Mills's "power elite" and Herbert Marcuse's "one-dimensional man," two formative texts of the New Left, the protest movements of the late 1960s subsequently adopted and popularized the expression to describe existing power structures in society.[15] Writing in October 1968, even Henry Fairlie himself saw the success of the term in the dissent of the young generation and the rise of the counterculture. In his view, protesters were drawn to this label because it appeared to confirm their defeatist outlook and conspiracy theories. With their being disillusioned by the state of society and their seeming inability to change it, he saw the concept serving as "an infantile replacement for the political utopianism that no one any longer has the heart to nourish."[16]

Despite its illustrious career and continuing utilization from various sides of the political spectrum, we have decided to retain the term in the title of our book, following the *Oxford English Dictionary's* definition of "establishment" as "a social group exercising power generally, or within a given field or institution, by virtue of its traditional superiority, and by the use esp. of tacit understandings and often a common mode of speech, and having as a general interest the maintenance of the status quo."[17] In doing so, we neither proclaim it to be a theoretically sufficient concept nor a methodologically all-encompassing one. Rather, our aim is to use it as a starting point to foster interdisciplinary discussion about the broad impact of social movements, activist networks, and protest phenomena on social, legal, political, as well as cultural and economic structures as exemplified by the contributions in this volume.

The extremely rich scholarship on social movements has always involved the in-depth exploration of their elements, actors, dynamics, repertoire, cognitive and emotional orientations, contexts and conditions, as well as capacities for mobilization.[18] In our current understanding, social movements emerged as distinctive players in public politics during the second half of the eighteenth century in Western Europe and North America. Three interrelated features characterize them as agents in the political field; they are considered "campaigns of collective claims on target authorities; [...] array[s] of claim-making performances including special-purpose associations, public meetings, media statements, and demonstrations; [... and] public representations of the ... worthiness, unity, numbers, and commitment" of the causes they advocate.[19] Whereas previous movements may have shared some of these features, the combination of all three is what many scholars have come to see as a necessary qualification for "full-fledged social movements."[20]

Although individual acts of dissent, singular mass meetings, open letters, and such that fail to coalesce into more comprehensive campaign efforts or sustained engagements with the public sphere are not included in traditional analytical frameworks dedicated to movement research, they nonetheless form part of the larger field of contentious politics.[21] Only recently have the dynamics of reciprocal actions and the larger repercussions they initiate in domestic institutions and cultures, as well as in the area of international relations, become the subject of systematic scholarly inquiry.[22] Research on their short- and long-term consequences, however, is still grappling with a variety of conceptual and methodological challenges.[23] Given the elusive nature of protest movements, this is hardly surprising. One major obstacle to attaining a comprehensive picture is the plethora of transformations that may (or may not) have been initiated, influenced, or shaped by social movements, so that it often seems challenging if not impossible to come to a clear understanding of their impact. Scholars have started to point to how movements affect the state and the legal system, public and national policy, the cultural field, as well as domestic and international norms.[24] They have also begun to assess biographical consequences and the effects of sociopolitical structures on the mobilization and repertoire of protest movements.[25] However, it is striking that sociologists and political scientists largely dominate this literature. Despite the quality of these works and their treatment of historical topics, there seems to be very little dialogue with a number of other disciplines,

including history, anthropology, and media and communication studies. Representatives of these disciplines, in turn, even when writing about protest movements, often shy away from considering the theoretical and methodological tools applied in the field of social movement research. While the separation of the disciplines undoubtedly has its heuristic value and merits, it might prevent us from producing a more nuanced understanding of how movement and "establishment" interactions trigger social, cultural, and political transformations.

The aim of this volume is to provide such an integrated approach, focusing on the manifold reactions protest movements have triggered since 1945. Drawing on contributions from a wide range of disciplines, it seeks to illustrate the many ways in which political parties, economic players, foreign policymakers, and the intelligence community have experienced, confronted, and even contributed to domestic and transnational forms of protest. Presenting an alternative analytical framework that integrates various social actors (institutionalized politics, the media, academics, law enforcement, and intelligence agencies), the book seeks to showcase the entanglements of protest movements with all parts of society. As such, it is an attempt to promote future interdisciplinary debate.

In this spirit, the first section of this book introduces analytical models and approaches to protest movements and institutional responses to them. Marco Giugni and Lorenzo Bosi start by presenting the major theoretical and methodological trends in the research of social movement outcomes. Differentiating between political, cultural, and biographical impacts—both for movement participants and the society they are embedded in—they highlight the gaps and obstacles in the current literature, pointing, for example, to the issue of effect stability, interrelated and unintended effects, and causal attribution. Giugni and Bosi call for a more reflective comparative perspective across countries and movements that would transcend a mere accumulation of case studies. Their aim is to shift the focus to the long-term processes and reciprocal mechanisms that determine the impact of protest, both by looking at grassroots action and by the "establishment" response.

Ralph Negrine then focuses on the significance and development of professional communication strategies among protest movements and their utilization to achieve specific goals. Juxtaposing an environmental campaign from the 1980s with more recent examples of grassroots activities, Negrine explores how advances in alternative and online media have expanded the media repertoire of today's social movements. He illustrates how activists, facilitated by the traditional mainstream media and the rapid spread of information and communication technology, have transformed previous forms of mobilization, thereby posing new challenges to their opponents. In his view, future research needs to take into account the publicity activities as an essential resource in the professionalization of dissent and its political communication, paying particular attention to the relationship between applied media strategies and the makeup and objectives of protest groups.

Nicole Doerr and Simon Teune sharpen the focus on mediatization by presenting a model for investigating the effects of visual codes on social movement outcomes. Using the "Sword into Ploughshares" emblem of the East

German peace movement of the 1980s as an example, Doerr and Teune illustrate the central role images and iconography play in contentious politics. Drawing on the "pictorial" and "iconic turn" in the humanities, they characterize the visual as a space of contestation and images as crucial signifiers in domestic and international struggles for recognition. Whereas scholars have traditionally highlighted the textual at the expense of the visual, Doerr and Teune include visual tools and markers as a vital component in any understanding of the contexts of movement activities, their framing work, as well as the construction of collective identities, thereby underlining the value of systematic empirical studies in this area.

Finally, Ellen Messer-Davidow rounds out the opening theoretical section with an analysis of the institutionalization of academic feminism, which provides an account of how a protest movement can converge with an establishment institution. Detailing the dissemination of feminist ideology and activism across U.S. campuses in the first half of the 1970s, Messer-Davidow describes the rapid growth of the academic field from the first formal publications to academic programs and the establishment of a vibrant discipline. In the battle for recognition, feminism and women's studies gradually carved out spaces for themselves by means of institutional representation at annual meetings of organizations such as the American Sociological Association (ASA) and the Modern Language Association (MLA). In addition to penetrating commissions and caucuses, feminist scholars and activists founded their own organizations (e.g., the Committee on the Status of Women and Sociologists for Women in Society), meetings (e.g., the Berkshire Conference of Women Historians), and publication outlets (e.g., *Women's Studies* or *Feminist Studies*). In retracing the discipline's efforts to balance between forming new and independent organizational structures and making difficult inroads into traditional associations and structures, Messer-Davidow offers a unique case study that sheds light on the ways that grassroots activism can transform knowledge structures and power relations.

The second section of the book explores the connection between protest movements and political change as well as transformations in legal norms. The first contribution by Manfred Berg evaluates the reaction of U.S. political elites to the African American Civil Rights movements from the late 1950s to the mid-1960s. Berg argues that our current image of the movement as a success story of democracy and racial integration tends to gloss over the deep-seated obstacles it faced at the time, which, among other things, included a largely indifferent or outright hostile court of U.S. public opinion. Highlighting the "Massive Resistance" and insistence on gradual reform in the South, Berg recounts how Southern politicians such as George Wallace adjusted their electoral strategies to exploit widespread antipathy toward the civil rights struggle, thereby playing into popular sentiments of miscegenation and race wars. Likewise, Berg points to the reluctance of both the Eisenhower and Kennedy administrations to intervene in local racial disputes. Despite the global damage segregation and racial discrimination wrought on the image of the United States, it was primarily the domestic pressure of the African American grassroots mobilization that forced the white liberal Cold War establishment to act, leading to the "rights revolutions" of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the

Voting Rights Act of 1965. This landmark legislation also spawned a general "surge of rights consciousness in American culture" that extended to other religious and ethnic minorities and, in subsequent decades, would go on to shape gender and sexual equality legislation.

Sarah Snyder then demonstrates how the Helsinki Final Act of 1975, an international agreement that included the commitment to human rights, spurred a transnational movement that became a crucial factor in altering the course of the Cold War. The act itself resulted from remarkable cooperation among activists, politicians, and diplomats and laid out a promise of human rights, leading not only to the installation of the Conference on Security and Cooperation as a permanent diplomatic platform, but also to the formation of a transnational "Helsinki network." This advocacy network, comprised of a wide range of activists, dissidents, NGOs, journalists, and the like from a variety of countries, was dedicated to monitoring compliance with the Helsinki Accords; in 1978, it found institutional representation in the U.S.-based Helsinki Watch, and, in 1982, in the foundation of the International Federation for Human Rights (IHF). As Snyder points out in her analysis of Soviet reactions to these efforts in the 1980s, this network—with the help of Eastern European dissidents and Western politicians—was able to encourage and enforce the participating states to "respect human rights and fundamental freedoms, including the freedom of thought, conscience, religion or belief, for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion" as mandated by the declaration. Through its monitoring groups, it exercised a profound influence on the reform efforts of the Soviet general secretary Mikhail Gorbachev and his minister of foreign affairs Eduard Shevardnadze in the second half of the decade. Moreover, it had a substantial impact on the Soviets' attempts to improve their regime's human rights record and policy at the end of the Cold War, thus facilitating the system's eventual collapse.

The next contribution compares the development of reproductive policies across a range of European countries, including East and West Germany, France, and Romania. Authors Lorena Anton, Yoshie Mitobe, and Kristina Schulz outline how abortion legislation in most Western European states remained essentially unchanged until the 1970s, even though a growing number of women sought to terminate their pregnancies in Britain, where the procedure had been legalized in 1967. It was the social movements of the late 1960s and the emerging women's movement of the early 1970s, in particular, that succeeded in putting the issue on the political agenda. Legislative efforts in France in 1974 and in West Germany in 1976, however, did not fully decriminalize abortion, but inscribed certain conditions that differed in each country and remained a source of continuing debates.

In Eastern Europe, by contrast, reproductive policies initially followed Soviet law, which had legalized abortion in 1955. The official rubric emphasized the need for this law to achieve gender equality so that the socialist state could be built up by enabling women to join the workforce. In East Germany and Romania, these shared policies gave way to stricter regulations and pronatalist measures for demographic or nationalistic reasons. In 1972, however, with a higher birthrate and a greater need for a female workforce, and also swayed by debates in the Federal Republic, among other factors, East Germany returned

to a more liberal position and largely relaxed its laws. Romania, on the other hand, categorically prohibited abortions below the age of 45 (40 from 1972 to 1985) from 1966 to 1989 and turned "socialist motherhood" into one of the ideological cornerstones of its regime, thus subjecting women's reproductive function to the control and service of the state. The political structure of both countries precluded social movements from exercising any influence on political decisions and legal change in this area.

The third section of the book traces the repercussions and impact of domestic and transnational protest on international relations. Giles Scott-Smith begins by expanding our understanding of the dynamic between protest movements, foreign policy, and intelligence agencies, analyzing the International Documentation and Information Center (Interdoc). The establishment of this institution in The Hague in 1963 marked a concerted psychological warfare initiative of Western powers to counter the communist doctrine of "peaceful coexistence" and public diplomacy efforts. Funded in large part by the West German Federal Intelligence Service (BND), Interdoc was designed as a central hub for information exchange and the coordination of programs among Western intelligence agencies. Among its achievements, it engaged in training anticommunist "cadres," monitoring Soviet methods of psychological warfare, and spreading information in "counter activities" at high-profile events such as the Soviet-sponsored World Youth Festivals. In the first half of the 1960s, Interdoc's aim was to utilize young people from the West to influence the opinion of their peers in the East and other parts of the world, but it subsequently shifted its emphasis to undermining the impact of the New Left. Concerns about communist collaboration with student protesters in the West even led to the foundation of Interdoc Youth (IY). However, the withdrawal of West German funding under new chancellor Willy Brandt and his foreign policy shift toward Ostpolitik undermined the organization's efforts.

Providing a counterpoint to this analysis of Western initiatives, Kimmo Rentola investigates the reaction of the Soviet leadership to the protest movements of the late 1960s. Rentola contends that, for Soviet officials, the events of 1968 in the West, in particular the French May, indicated an unexpected instability in Western societies that provided an opportunity for change in favor of the Kremlin's objectives. In the face of global student unrest, Moscow adjusted its own revolutionary theory, but it also detected a new political configuration and a weakness in social democratic forces that it sought to exploit to its own advantage. As Rentola illustrates for the case of Finland, Soviet decision-makers tried to capitalize on the dissatisfaction of the youth and labor movements in the country to offset conservative gains in the polls by initiating changes in the diplomatic presence and tightening control of the Finnish Communist Party. When their far-reaching design failed to bring about a leftist shift in the Finnish political sphere, however, the Soviets resorted to economic incentives to stabilize their relationship with their neighbor, trying to manage the emergence of the New Left and détente by other means.

Moving further into the 1970s, Tobias Wunschik offers a comparison of how law enforcement and intelligence agencies in both East and West Germany

reacted to the security challenge that left-wing terrorist groups such as the Red Army Faction (RAF) posed until the late 1990s. Wunschik details how the threat of RAF terrorism prompted West German authorities to restructure and professionalize the nation's police force, to vastly increase personnel at the Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution, and to ratify a wide range of counterterrorism legislation. He also discerns growing flexibility in the Federal Republic's fight against terrorism as it increasingly emphasized witness protection and terrorism exit programs in the 1980s. This trend continued in the early 1990s when the government made public attempts at reconciliation that were extremely controversial, signaling a new attitude toward left-wing terrorism after the collapse of the Soviet Union.

The response by East German regime, on the other hand, as Wunschik portrays it, betrayed a mixture of cautious solidarity with the terrorists based on shared ideological goals, but also critical distance. Although the German Democratic Republic provided a secure hinterland for many members of the RAF and other left-wing terrorist organizations that targeted West Germany, East Berlin remained mindful of the potential domestic and international repercussions that lay in providing such a safety zone. Consequently, the East German State Security Service (Stasi) offered logistical support and military training for international terrorism while, at the same time, closely monitoring the goals and movement of terrorist groups—West German ones, in particular—and using them as informants about other international terrorist networks. Far from cooperating with their West German counterparts, East German intelligence officials actively sabotaged their investigations. However, toward the mid-1980s, East German support for international terrorism was restricted by emerging ideological differences and economic interests with regard to the West among the leadership.

Taking into account the role of international organizations, Javier Alcalde's study of the Control Arms Campaign explores the evolving impact and professionalizing lobbying practices of NGOs in relation to the United Nations. Alcalde compares two different campaigns concerning the regulation of small arms and light weapons (SALWs): one led to the July 2001 Program of Action to Prevent, Combat and Eradicate the Illicit Trade in SALW, which failed to achieve an international agreement at a UN review conference in summer 2006; the other, the Control Arms Campaign, sought to establish an arms trade treaty (ATT) that eventually passed the First Committee of the UN General Assembly in October 2006. He shows how the International Action Network on Small Arms (IANSA) drew upon the successful example of the International Campaign to Ban Land Mines to change the outcome of its campaign: It strategically refocused on a single issue, restructured the transnational NGO network to include OXFAM and Amnesty International, and set a different institutional target based on majority voting procedures. By improving coordination, framing the campaign's goals more clearly, as well as finding a more concise and concerted lobbying strategy, it was able to win over a majority of states, many of whom even cosponsored the resolution. Alcalde's contribution illustrates not only how the institutional framework and mobilizing strategies of transnational activist network determine their results, but also underscores the necessity for greater attention toward processes of learning as

well as the more complex world of today's international relations, which feature national interests and international organizations in addition to opposing (trans)national advocacy networks; in this case, for example, IANSA and the National Rifle Association (NRA) or the World Forum on the Future of Sport Shooting Activities (WFSA).

The fourth section looks at cultural contestations and the corporate reactions and economic policies they triggered. Anna Pelka's analysis of Polish youth fashion of the 1950s and 1960s provides an example of successful government co-optation of an aesthetically motivated protest. Pelka outlines the efforts of the governing Polish United Workers' Party after World War II to establish an official vision of socialist fashion that included a specific choice of colors and accessories. When the country's youth embraced Western clothing, such as British or U.S. military apparel, fashion preferences soon evolved into an ideological battleground in the war between socialism and capitalism. Conflicts over fashion came to a head when the *Bikiniarze* ("Jitter-buggers") emerged in the early 1950s, representing a working-class youth subculture drawn to Western-style outfits, music, and dance. However, the liberalization policy of the first party secretary Wladyslaw Gomulka substantially altered the previous state policy of crackdowns, criminalization, and arrests starting in 1956. Gomulka soon moved from the practice of tolerating the popular fashion inspired by Italian movies and French existentialism to a phase of co-optation and manipulation: State-owned fashion production began to model its clothing design on Western examples, thereby "nationalizing" it in order to regain control of domestic fashion patterns and their dissemination as part of a compromise between grassroots demands and official ideological constraints. This transition went hand in hand with a greater emphasis on traditional folk culture, thus creating a space for "Western" cultural items manufactured by the Polish state. Nonetheless, the state's new political associations failed, in the long run, to prevent the young generation from questioning the system.

In the final essay, Veronika Kneip shifts the focus away from the state to multinational corporations and their response to transnational campaigns directed against them. Drawing on the results of a ten-year study of 109 anticorporate campaigns that aimed to change certain corporate policies or force corporate actors to adhere to social and environmental standards, Kneip establishes a typology of the various forms of possible corporate reactions: Corporations can confront the charges against them by ignoring them and intensifying their actions, or by invoking legal measures to prevent the campaign's actions. Second, they can seek cooperative policies to accommodate these claims through negotiations or roundtables. Third, they can engage in active reinterpretation wherein, while addressing the campaign's issues either directly or indirectly, they also provide a counternarrative in an attempt to exploit these issues for the benefit of the corporation (e.g., launching initiatives and certification or production regulations on its own). Kneip calls for a greater exploration of the mechanisms and mutual dynamics between corporate and anticorporate actors to provide insight into the role activist networks and social movements play in the processes of (global) governance and self-regulation. These dynamics, of course, must also be understood in

conjunction with national and international political institutions, as well as the media. Together with Pelka's contribution, Kneip's illuminates the crucial need to incorporate the economic sector in our understanding of the impact of protest phenomena—an understanding that this volume seeks to expand by identifying repercussions in specific areas of society and by hoping to inspire additional venues for future research in this direction.

Notes

1. Robert Cross, "World-Wide Student Unrest," Speech, Department of State, C/Y, 1968, in: RG 59, IAYC Records, Speeches (Material), Box 5, NA.
2. Ibid., 10.
3. On U.S. government responses to student protest during the 1960/1970s, see Jeremi Suri, *Power and Protest: Global Revolution and the Rise of Détente* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003); Nicholas John Cull, *The Cold War and the United States Information Agency: American Propaganda and Public Diplomacy, 1945–1989* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 233–292; Martin Klimke, *The Other Alliance: Student Protest in West Germany and the United States in the Global Sixties* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2010); Reinhild Kreis, *Orte für Amerika: Deutsch-Amerikanische Institute und Amerikahäuser in der Bundesrepublik seit den 1960er Jahren* (Stuttgart: Steiner Verlag, 2011). For the analysis of "1968" by the French government, please see Maurice Vaïsse et al., eds., *Mai 68 vu de l'étranger: les événements dans les archives diplomatiques françaises* (Paris: CNRS éditions, 2008).
4. David A. Snow and Sarah Anne Soule, *A Primer on Social Movements* (New York, NY: W. W. Norton, 2010), 6f. Sidney Tarrow defines social movements as "collective challenges based on common purposes, in sustained interaction with elites, opponents and authorities." See his *Power in Movement: Social Movements and Contentious Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 4. See also Michael Hanagan, Leslie Page Moch, and Wayne Te Brake, *Challenging Authority: The Historical Study of Contentious Politics* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1998).
5. Gary Bruce, *Resistance with the People: Repression and Resistance in Eastern Germany, 1945–1955* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2003).
6. As Pawel Machcewicz has demonstrated, the regime moved to a more subtle system of selective repression instead. See his *Rebellious Satellite: Poland, 1956* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2009).
7. See Charles Gati, *Failed Illusions: Moscow, Washington, Budapest, and the 1956 Hungarian Revolt* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2006).
8. See Walter L. Hixson, *Parting the Curtain: Propaganda, Culture, and the Cold War, 1945–1961* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997), 57–86. Or more recently, A. Ross Johnson, *Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty: The CIA Years and Beyond* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2010).
9. On nuclear proliferation, see Lawrence Wittner, *Resisting the Bomb: A History of the World Nuclear Disarmament Movement, 1954–1970* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1997); Matthew Evangelista, *Unarmed Forces: The Transnational Movement to End the Cold War* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1999); Lawrence Wittner, *Toward Nuclear Abolition: A History of the World Nuclear Disarmament Movement, 1971–Present* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2003). For the other issues, see representatively Helen Yanacopulus, "Cutting the Diamond: Networking Economic Justice," in Miles Kahler, ed., *Networked Politics: Agency, Power, and Governance* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2009), 67–78; Sarah Snyder, *Human Rights Activism and the End of the Cold War: A Transnational History of the Helsinki Network* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011); Ken Rutherford, *Disarming*

States: The International Movement to Ban Landmines (Santa Barbara, CA: Praeger, 2011). On the general role of transnational advocacy networks, see Kathryn Sikkink, "The Power of Networks in International Politics," in Kahler, ed., *Networked Politics*, 228–247.

10. See, e.g., Jim House and Neil MacMaster, *Paris 1961: Algerians, State Terror, and Memory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006).
11. Mary Elise Sarotte, *1989: The Struggle to Create Post-Cold War Europe* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2009), 16–22.
12. A search in Emerson's complete works renders 23 results. See "The Complete Works of Ralph Waldo Emerson," Digital Centenary Edition, Library of the University of Michigan, http://quod.lib.umich.edu/e/emerson/ (accessed February 25, 2011).
13. Rose Macaulay, *Told by an Idiot* (New York: Boni and Liveright, 1923), 117; Henry Fairlie, "Political Commentary," *The Spectator*, September 23, 1955, 380, 1.
14. Norbert Elias and John L. Scotson, *The Established and the Outsiders; A Sociological Enquiry into Community Problems* (London: F. Cass, 1965).
15. C. Wright Mills, *The Power Elite* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1956); Herbert Marcuse, *One-Dimensional Man: Studies in the Ideology of Advanced Industrial Society* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1964).
16. Henry Fairlie, "Evolution of a Term," *New Yorker*, October 19, 1968, 173–185. See also his *Bite the Hand That Feeds You: Essays and Provocations*, edited by Jeremy McCarter (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), 68–91, 90.
17. John Andrew Simpson, *Oxford English Dictionary* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), 405.
18. For an introduction to the ever-growing literature on social movements, see David A. Snow, Sarah Anne Soule, and Hanspeter Kriesi, eds, *The Blackwell Companion to Social Movements* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Pub, 2004); Vincenzo Ruggiero and Nicola Montagna, eds, *Social Movements: A Reader* (London: Routledge, 2008); Jeffrey Roger Goodwin and James M. Jasper, eds, *The Social Movements Reader: Cases and Concepts*, 2nd ed. (Oxford [etc.]: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009); Doug McAdam and David A. Snow, eds, *Readings on Social Movements: Origins, Dynamics and Outcomes* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010).
19. Charles Tilly and Lesley J. Wood, *Social Movements, 1768–2008* (Boulder: Paradigm Publishers, 2009), 7. See also Charles Tilly, *Contention and Democracy in Europe: 1650–2000* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).
20. As Tilly and Wood have noted, "no one owns the term," yet many scholars have come to adopt this working definition. See Tilly and Wood, *Social Movements*, 7.
21. Charles Tilly and Sidney G. Tarrow, *Contentious Politics* (Boulder, CO: Paradigm Publishers, 2007).
22. As such, they have also been integrated into representative editions of literature on social movements. See the various contributions in Jeff Goodwin and James M. Jasper, eds, *The Social Movements Reader: Cases and Concepts*, 2nd ed. (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009), 409–440, which also includes a section devoted to the influence of specific institutions on movements (311–370); and Doug McAdam and David A. Snow, ed., *Readings on Social Movements: Origins, Dynamics and Outcomes* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 659–734. For the most recent collection, see Thomas Olesen, ed., *Power and Transnational Activism* (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2011).
23. See Marco Giugni, "Was It Worth the Effort? The Outcomes and Consequences of Social Movements," *Annual Review of Sociology* 98 (1998): 371–393; Jennifer Earl, "Methods, Movements, and Outcomes," *Research in Social Movements, Conflicts and Change* 22 (2000): 9–13; see also the essay by Marco Giugni and Lorenzo Bosi in this volume.

24. For an introduction to and overview of the state and legal impacts of social movements, see Edwin Amenta and Neal Caren, "The Legislative, Organizational, and Beneficiary Consequences of State-Oriented Challengers," in Snow, Soule, and Kriesi, ed., *Blackwell Companion to Social Movements*, 461–488. For public and national policy, see David S. Meyer, Valerie Jenness, and Helen M. Ingram, eds, *Routing the Opposition: Social Movements, Public Policy, and Democracy* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005); Felix Kolb, *Protest and Opportunities: The Political Outcomes of Social Movements* (Frankfurt: Campus Verlag, 2007); Rory McVeigh, *The Rise of the Ku Klux Klan: Right-Wing Movements and National Politics* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2009). For cultural transformations and changes in norms, see Jennifer Earl, "The Cultural Consequences of Social Movements," in Snow, Soule, and Kriesi, ed., *Blackwell Companion to Social Movements*, 508–530; Sanjeev Khagram, James V. Riker, and Kathryn Sikkink, eds, *Restructuring World Politics: Transnational Social Movements, Networks, and Norms* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2002).
25. See, e.g., Marco Giugni, "Personal and Biographical Consequences," in Snow, Soule, and Kriesi, ed., *Blackwell Companion to Social Movements*, 489–507; Christian Davenport, Hank Johnston, and Carol McClurg Mueller, eds, *Repression and Mobilization* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005); Charles Tilly, *Regimes and Repertoires* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006).

Part I
Theoretical Models and Approaches

1
The Impact of Protest Movements on the Establishment: Dimensions, Models, and Approaches

Marco Giugni and Lorenzo Bosi

A broad consensus exists within the literature on collective action that protest movements can have a multitude of important, intended, and unintended impacts on the establishment. There is, however, less agreement on how we can measure such effects, a problem that has clearly hindered systematic investigations in this important area of research. This chapter argues that the methodological question of how to study the impact of protest movements on the establishment leads to a much broader theoretical issue and to the main challenge facing researchers of social movement outcomes to date, namely, how to establish a link between movement activities and political, social, and cultural changes.[1]

The aim of this chapter is to stimulate theoretical and methodological reflections about how to study the effects of protest movements on the establishment. We do this by extending our field of analysis and focusing not only on the impacts on the establishment, but more broadly on the range of potential outcomes associated with collective action. Throughout this discussion particular attention will also be directed toward how, conversely, the establishment responds to protest. We refer to this response as the external political dimension of social movement outcomes.

In the following sections we review the difficulties scholars can face in studying the impact of protest movements on the establishment, and give suggestions as to the most fruitful avenues for further research. In our view this particular field of study would benefit most from further comparative empirical research and from the search for those mechanisms and processes by which social movements provoke impacts on the establishment in a dynamic manner. Throughout, we draw on empirical examples obtained from the literature on contentious politics.[2]

Protest Movements and Their Areas of Impact

Several scholars have already established helpful classifications of movement outcomes, which point to two main differences. On the one hand, we can

distinguish between the political, cultural, and biographical impacts of movements. Political impacts are those effects of movement activities that alter a movement's political environment. Cultural impacts are changes wrought on a movement's broader environment, such as public opinion or the value orientations and life-course patterns of a society. Personal and biographical impacts are effects on the lives of individuals who have participated in movement activities—effects that have been brought about at least in part due to involvement in those activities.[3] On the other hand, some authors distinguish between internal and external impacts.[4] Internal impacts are those changes that occur, or are produced, within the movement or movement organization; external impacts refer to the effects that movements have on their external environment. If we combine these two dimensions, we obtain a schematic typology that includes six main domains where effects are possible (table 1.1). Although touching on all these different dimensions, our description of the external political dimension focuses particularly on the possible impacts of protest movements on the establishment.

An example of an internal political effect is a change in the power relations within a movement or a social movement organization. Social movements are not static or homogenous actors possessing a single, fixed program and strategy, but ongoing social processes of contention. The dynamic of internal power relations may induce competition among a movement's groups and organizations. Competition for influence over the support base and the sectors of public opinion that the movement wishes to represent is an ongoing process. Certain groups may demobilize, leaving the movement in the hands of other cohorts of activists. This can lead to change in the movement trajectory as a result of modifications in the composition of the movement itself.

External political effects[5] are those outcomes of movement activities that alter the movement's political environment. They are often referred to as "substantive political changes" or "changes in the political institutions."[6] Substantive political changes include the alteration of decision-making processes, especially of the state's provision of economic goods and changes to

Table 1.1 A typology of social movement outcomes

	Internal	**External**
Political	Power relations within a movement or social movement organization	Substantial (policy), procedural, institutional change
Cultural	Value change within a movement, social movement organization, or movement sector	Public opinion and attitudes
Biographical	Life-course patterns of movement participants	Aggregate-level life-course patterns Life-course patterns of movement targets

the legal rights of the challenging groups.[7] Apart from bringing about changes in decision making and legislative processes, social movements can contribute to the opening of new channels of access to the political system, increasing discussion between government and citizens or integrating social movement organizations in consultative bodies, such as roundtables and commissions.[8] Social movements can also provoke institutional changes[9] or new concepts of democracy[10] by altering power relations between different contenders within the political system.

In analyzing the outcomes of social movement mobilization, scholars have mostly been interested in explaining the positive effects of mobilization. As we know, protest movements can also have negative impacts.[11] The establishment's responses to protest movements, for example, can take the form of physical repression.[12] Yet, the range of different opportunities the establishment has for responding to protest movements is not limited to simple acceptance or repression. As Jack Goldstone writes, "the choices of repression or reluctant influence are only two steps on a much wider scale, especially once one recognizes the internal heterogeneity of 'the state' as involving multiple players and parties."[13] State establishments weigh the costs and benefits of sustained protests.[14] Joseph Luders's work reminds us of the importance of third parties (e.g., the Ku Klux Klan or the Citizens' Council in the American South) in constraining the responses by local establishments in different subregions of the southern United States to the Civil Rights movement's principal goals, from 1954 to the 1970s.[15] Third parties can act not only as constraints in the relation between the establishment and protest movements but countermovements can also be encouraged as actors capable of responding indirectly to social movement protest, for example, when the establishment sees a protest campaign as a threat, but is not willing to overtly repress it. In this situation, the establishment has the option to build or rely on new institutions in order to deal with the protest movement. During the 1960s, for example, the FBI launched a domestic counterintelligence program (COINTELPRO) with the aim of undermining the growing New Left and Black Power movements in the country.[16] Another example at the international level is the U.S. State Department's development of the Inter-Agency Committee on Youth Affairs (IAYC), which aimed to challenge transnational youth activism in the early 1960s.

Cultural effects receive much less attention than political effects. Cultural effects entail changing participants' views and, in the long run, affecting the identity,[17] frames of reference, and discourse of larger movement sectors.[18] One example is the worker's movement in the late nineteenth century. We can also find more recent instances, such as the cultural legacy of the left-libertarian movements of the late 1960s and 1970s. The latter movements created a culture where personal politics were central, and also set the stage for the creation of countercultural communities. Social movements help to create social capital that is of high significance for their participants and is ultimately relevant in developing group identities.[19]

At the same time, effects on public opinion or on the attitudes of different sectors of society can be categorized as external cultural impacts.[20] The difficulty of identifying such broad cultural effects lies in the very definition of culture. Sociologists distinguish at least three different dimensions of culture,

each having its own long-standing tradition within the discipline.[21] These include the social-psychological dimension of culture, in which culture is embodied by individual values, beliefs, and meanings; the traditional sociological dimension relating to cultural production and practices, in which culture is formed by signs and their signified meanings; and a broader dimension usually embraced by anthropologists and social historians, in which culture frames the worldview and social situation of communities or subcultures. Scholars have explored the consequences of protest movements for all three dimensions of culture. The social-psychological approach examines the role of social movements in shaping the general public's values, beliefs, and opinions.[22] When approaching culture as cultural production and practices, social scientists look at the impact of movements on literature, media coverage, visual culture, music, fashion, science and scientific practice, language, and discourse.[23] The community-oriented approach, on the other hand, studies the effects of movements on the formation and reproduction of collective identities and subcultures.[24]

Finally, there is a substantial body of literature that deals with the biographical impacts of activism.[25] Virtually all of these scholars look at life-course patterns of movement participants. Most, but not all, focus on the impact of involvement in the New Left movements. Participation in social movements seems to have had profound effects on the lives of activists.[26]

While these studies deal with internal biographical effects, some scholars have also examined the aggregate-level changes induced by involvement in movement activities. In particular, McAdam and collaborators have highlighted the crucial role of the "baby boomers" as a generational cohort in the protest movements of the 1960s and the broader cultural shift resulting from it.[27] An impact of this kind goes well beyond individual life histories to affect broader processes of change at the structural level. A further silent zone, where research is much needed in the future, is the life-course patterns of movement's targets. We might look, for example, at how right-wing activism in a particular society affects the biographies of Jewish people or ethnic minorities living in that society. For this new strand of research, the literature on victims of violence can be particularly helpful, specifically as it entails the trauma experienced by victims of hate crimes.[28] In the end, however, these types of impact can be subsumed under the broader category of unintended cultural effects, as biographical impact refers at least partially to changes in cultural patterns among movement participants (internal) or of social movements' targets and the society at large (external).

Theoretical and Methodological Obstacles

The study of social movement outcomes, including the impact on the establishment, is one of the most problematic areas of inquiry in the field of collective action. A number of theoretical and methodological obstacles are connected with this: goal adaptation, time reference and effect stability, interrelated effects, unintended and perverse effects, as well as causal attribution.

Goal adaptation refers to the reaction of protest movements to changes in their environment and to the internal dynamics of different organizations and

groups within the movement itself. As movements transform, they adapt their goals accordingly. In other words, the aims of social movements are not immutable, but change over time. The Northern Ireland Civil Rights Movement, for example, shifted from an inclusive movement demanding "British rights, for British citizens" to an exclusive one calling for "British out" during the 1960s and early 1970s.[29] Establishment responses—police repression, lack of political responsiveness, and counter-mobilization—together with the internal battles between moderates and radicals, transformed the movement's originally reformist agenda into an ethno-nationalist call for mobilization aimed at Irish reunification. The change in the movement's internal composition also eventually signaled a transformation of its goals. An analysis of the outcomes of a movement must not only look at how the movement's goals change over time, but also take into account the relations between its moderate and radical political factions. Social movements are too often seen as being comprised of homogeneous actors with static goals, an approach that overlooks the internal dynamics of competition between various groups and organizations.

Time reference and effect stability are terms that describe the notion that the impact of protest movements on the establishment may be delayed or temporary (meaning that they can be reversed or eroded). For example, a strong commitment by former activists to a movement's cause could affect policy outcomes if former activists penetrate the establishment. The integration of committed movement leaders and activists into the institutional process or professional communities is indeed one means of getting a movement's goals onto the public agenda and into policy. Because the time-lag between collective action mobilization and the manifestation of its impacts can be substantial, ranging from a few days to years or even decades, the challenge is to determine when an observed change can still be considered the result of protest activities. The French student movement of May 1968 is an example of temporal reversal in the impact of a movement on the establishment. The protest was successful in fostering an educational reform, namely, the Orientation Law for Higher Education, introduced by Education Minister Edgar Faure in July 1968. However, by September of the very same year, myriad revisions to the law served to erode its reforming effects after the struggle for power moved away from the streets and back to parliamentary politics.[30] Here, the initial outcome of the movement was reversed after only a brief period of time. However, in other cases the results of social movements erode after a longer period of time, posing further challenges for establishing causal connections.

When we speak of the interrelated effects of a movement, we refer to the idea that the consequences of collective action are not independent from each other, but rather mutually influential. For example, cultural changes can be translated into different establishment responses or bring new problems from the private realm to the public agenda. Protest movements have the ability to raise the public profile and salience of a particular set of issues by introducing changes in cultural values, opinions, and beliefs in social and political public discourse. Strong and clear changes in public opinion favorable to a movement's message can indirectly, but significantly, influence the process of policy change and, more specifically, the influence on the establishment.

If elected officials sense the prospect of electoral success or that increased support for their mission may be gained by placing the movement's message on their political agenda, it may be co-opted to form part of the governmental agenda, and eventually bring about changes in legislation. Looking at the history of the Civil Rights movement in the United States, for example, Thomas Rochon underlines that racial segregation was first de-legitimized at a cultural level and that only subsequently did blacks begin to obtain rights at the political level through the responses of the U.S. establishment.[31]

Unintended and perverse effects refer to protest movement consequences that are not among their stated goals. Major impacts of protest movements on the establishment often have little or nothing to do with a movement's stated goals.[32] Consider, for example, police repression, which arises in response to social protest. Or look at the long-term biographical consequences of collective action, at the spillover effects from one movement to another, and at the incorporation of new values, beliefs, discourses, and alternative opinions. These can all be examples of unintended changes, be they positive or otherwise, resulting from protest movements. Looking exclusively at a social movement's agenda therefore limits the analysis, excluding the broader consequences of movements, which are ultimately essential to understanding the dynamic development of the struggle. The issue of unintended and perverse effects is related to the problem of the often very narrowly defined concepts of success and failure. Success implies that the social movement's stated program has been realized. While looking at social movements' successes "provides a sharp focus and draws attention to specific ends of collective action and the means devoted to attaining them,"[33] this perspective can also limit the examination of unanticipated impacts of social movements that may or may not have been beneficial to the constituency of those movements.

The dilemma of causal attribution, finally, seems the most fundamental problem in this field of research. The term refers to the difficulty of establishing a cause-and-effect relationship between an observed change and its supposed causes. With regard to the study of the impact of protest movements on the establishment, causal attribution refers to the difficulty of determining whether or not a particular change, such as the establishment's revision of legislation, is actually the result of protest activities. The central question is how we can be sure that the relevant change we are attributing to a protest movement would not, in fact, have occurred without the movement. This problem is all the more important when we deal with movement consequences other than the impact on the establishment, such as broader cultural or biographical changes.

Fully acknowledging the significance of women's movement around the world in the last century, this would be another case that highlights the blurry boundaries and methodological challenges in reference to the dilemma of exact causal attribution. When looking at the history of the women's movement, the task is to ascertain that women's emancipation is a direct outcome of the mobilization capacity of the movement, separating it from other influences, such as the overall influence of modernization on the change in women's status and roles. To be sure, comparative studies on women's emancipation in different countries illuminate the relevance of the women's movement

in reducing economic, social, and political discrimination against women. These comparative cross-country studies can also lead us, counterfactually, to theorize about what might have happened had the women's movement not mobilized as it did. The challenge of postulating the existence of specific causal paths from such a comparison remains formidable, given the difficulty of methodologically distinguishing between the impact of actions attributed specifically to the women's movement and those of other sociopolitical actors or developments in the political system that cause the observed changes. It is easier to take a comparative approach if we look at political or legal outcomes that may be illustrated empirically, as opposed to cultural or biographical outcomes, which are more difficult to quantify. In short, the problem of determining causality in movement outcomes poses a major difficulty in disentangling the role of protest from other factors.[34]

Our task would be much simpler if there were only unambiguous relationships between movement activities and their alleged outcomes. Things are, unfortunately, much more complex. On the one hand, movements often have the greatest effect, as mentioned earlier, not by meeting their stated goals, but by bringing about other, unintended outcomes. Alternatively, influences other than social movements themselves usually contribute to outcomes, such as the independent actions of authorities, interventions of other interested parties, environmental changes, and the grinding on of nonmovement politics. The main task, therefore, is not so much to find ways to measure the general impact of protest movements, but rather, as Tilly suggests,[35] to find ways to show the linkages between movement activities and particular types of effect. One could then search for relationships between certain characteristics of social movements and specific impacts wrought on the establishment, for example.

Such an analysis leads to two interrelated conclusions: first, that the major effects of protest movements have little or nothing to do with the public claims their leaders make; second, that critical causal theories concern not only the effects of a movement, but the very dynamics of social movement mobilization and movement interactions with other actors. In other words, to cite Tilly again, "only well-validated theories of social movement dynamics will give analysts a secure grip on social movement outcomes."[36] To reach this goal, we face at least four challenges: to define the range of potential consequences of movements; to specify the types of consequences on which we want to focus; to search for the plausible relevant factors in such observed change; and to reconstruct the causal patterns or histories of the movement's actions that have led to the observed change.

A Research Agenda for the Future

The most recent works on the establishment's policy responses to protest movements are headed in the right direction. They shift the focus of attention from direct effects, such as the organizational features of movements likely to be conducive to success,[37] to look at indirect effects by taking into account the crucial role of external factors.[38] The most important findings of recent research come from the idea that protest movements' political impacts on the

establishment are contingent upon the presence of facilitating external factors pertaining to their social and political environment.[39] This new emphasis on the conditional and interactive nature of movements' effects bodes well for future research.[40]

Another promising line of inquiry exists in studies that go beyond a narrow focus on the establishment's adoption of policies (focusing on changes in legislation or government spending as indicators of public policy) in order to embrace a broader view, which also considers what comes before and after adoption.[41] Though we still know too little about the other effects of protest movements in the stages prior to and following the adoption of specific legislation, we will likely find that impacts on the establishment vary according to the stage of the policy process.[42]

Research can also be enhanced by bringing a comparative perspective to the study of the consequences of protest movements.[43] Recently, more comparative analyses in this area have been undertaken, but most previous existing studies are still confined to single case studies. Single case studies certainly provide important insights, but comparisons across both countries and movements will allow the researcher to situate findings in a broader perspective. The importance of a comparative perspective is underwritten by two basic tools of scientific research: controls, which lead to the rejection of rival hypotheses and explanations, and empirical generalizations, which help to extend research findings beyond the specific case at hand.

The most dramatic boost to the literature may actually be attained by shifting the focus of analysis from conditions favoring the impact of social movements to a search for the processes and mechanisms leading to protest movement impact, thus making a stronger case for causal linkages between movement activities and the establishment's policy response or other types of effects.[44] This would also be in line with the recent proposal by McAdam et al. to shift to more dynamic explanations of social movements and contentious politics.[45] Most importantly for our purposes, it follows directly from Tilly's insight that the study of social movement outcomes must start with a theory of their mobilization and interactions. At a preliminary level, for example, Bosi has built on Tilly's approach to support a reading of social movements' impacts that considers how different outcomes' domains (political, cultural, and biographical) mutually influence one another. Impacts in one domain may, in Bosi's view, affect another domain, and a consequence occurring at one stage can give a significant boost to future broader outcomes, sometimes even well past the end of the cycle of contention that has initially originated protest. Social movements that seem not to be achieving their explicitly stated goals at the policy level in the short term, for example, can gain cultural or biographical impacts that may be fundamental to subsequent political changes or victories in the long term. The reverse applies as well: immediate achievements may well vanish or be eroded in view of long-range developments. Understanding the reciprocity of social movement impacts is a fundamental challenge for researchers who want to better understand how contingently protest action relates to political and social change processes in order to more dynamically portray movement outcomes. The variety of ways in which movement outcomes may influence each other in the short term or

over an extended period of time can be broken down into different hypothetical trajectory processes, which do not follow a fixed order. Bosi shows that adopting such an approach could benefit both theoretical understanding and empirical analysis of the consequences of social movement mobilization.[46]

In conclusion, we suggest that the study of the impact of protest movements would benefit greatly by incorporating the cumulative knowledge derived from the two most frequently employed approaches: a static approach that makes use of meaningful comparisons to single out conditions and factors leading to the movement's impact; and a more dynamic approach that looks at the processes and mechanisms underlying the causal chains that lead from movement action to an observed change.

Notes

We thank Martin Klimke, Katrin Uba, and Laura Wong for their helpful comments on previous drafts of this chapter. We would like to invite readers interested in the topic of social movement outcomes to visit the website of MOVEOUT, an international network of scholars aimed at strengthening the research in this field, at the following address: http://www2.statsvet.uu.se/moveout/Home/tabid/2943/language/sv-SE/Default.aspx.

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2. Throughout this chapter, the terms "outcomes," "effects," "impacts," and "consequences" are used interchangeably, as are the terms "social" and "protest" movements.
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2
Professionalizing Dissent: Protest, Political Communication, and the Media

Ralph Negrine

Exploring "the overall relationship between protest movements and their interaction in a larger social and cultural context" necessitates paying some attention to the communicative strategies of such movements. It is, after all, through these strategies that protesters seek to persuade and mobilize supporters. Communicative strategies are furthermore the means through which movements confront "the embodiment of things to overcome and the major target of criticism," namely, the "establishment."[1]

Yet it would be a mistake to consider all protest activity, whether in the past or in the present, as consisting of no more than confrontations between opposites. While many of the examples cited in this book draw on the history of disruption, disorder, and confrontation between movements and the establishment, there are countless others that could be used to illustrate not so much the opposition to the establishment as the ways in which the skilled application of communicative strategies can be employed to lead to favorable outcomes. Put differently, if the establishment continues to be the target of criticism, there may be ways other than direct action and confrontation through which it can be challenged. Protest movements can, therefore, take on different forms and utilize different strategies, including communication strategies, to overcome those that they confront. In the past, traditional or mainstream media very much mediated the public face of movements; today, traditional or mainstream media have become somewhat less important as new information and communication technologies (ICTs) open up new possibilities of creating local, national, and global networks of action through which to challenge the establishment.

One of the central aims of this chapter is to explore the idea that those who currently engage in political activities, be it electioneering or political protests, have become more aware of the need to adopt a professional approach to their communication strategies so as to better organize themselves, persuade and mobilize supporters, and challenge opposition.

While the aims of this chapter are straightforward, it is surprisingly difficult to begin to establish the grounds by which claims in support of a transition

to more professional practices can be identified. One reason for this is that it is difficult to make such claims when the precise meaning of the word "professionalization"[2]—and, indeed, of the components of that transition—is far from obvious. If one considers the idea of a profession as an occupation that has a specific body of knowledge, which controls entry and progression and regulates itself, it is much easier to identify a moment in time when a transformation from an occupation to a profession could be said to have taken place. But the idea of professionalization as commonly used is usually a much looser description or interpretation of a process of change. In the world of politics and of political communication (which includes forms of protest), the idea of professionalization is much more likely to be concerned with the changing nature and structures of organizations and the strategies and practices used by communicators, rather than the changing attributes of a particular body of knowledge or control of entry in respect of occupational practice. In this context, the idea of professionalization is one that is suggestive of change in practices over time without necessarily incorporating moments of transition, which could be used to signal the emergence of a professional approach to the challenges of communication.

This is not to deny that changes in practices have taken place over time and continue to do so. Such changes, though, cannot necessarily be considered as indicators of professionalization for the simple reason that they often take place in a context—political, technological, or social—that is itself changing. So, for example, how does one compare the levels of professionalization of dissent or of politics in the 1980s with activities today, given the transformative changes in ICTs that have taken place in the intervening years?

One possible answer to this question could be that the introduction of the new communication technologies actually makes little difference in the sense that the reflective organization or movement has always been professional, that is to say, it has always made use of whatever means of communication were available to it to organize, to strategize, and to communicate with members and supporters. The new communications technologies are thus simply new additions to its communication armory. A different answer would be that ICTs offer new possibilities and may even give rise to a variety of new forms of movements and activities. Consequently, ICTs create a new environment—political, technological, and social—that must be considered when discussing professionalization. Comparisons over time are therefore not particularly helpful since one is not looking at directly comparable examples.

Rather than choose between these alternative accounts of change, it is perhaps more fruitful to examine similarities and differences across time periods that still permit us to explore the idea of professionalization. If one were to compare the ways in which campaigning groups or protest movements sought to gain attention and bring about change in the 1980s with those of today, one would probably find that certain core or key elements of their organizational makeup and strategic thinking have remained unchanged despite the changing nature of politics and the very different communication environment that we now inhabit. Though the activities taking place three decades ago reflected, among other things, the level of understanding that individuals and groups then had about what sort of organization and strategic thinking was necessary

to achieve success, to work with the media and to connect with the world of politics, many of the core elements of campaigning and strategy are surprisingly similar to those employed today. In this way, the forward thinking and strategic organization—the reflective organization—displays elements of what we would recognize today as professionalism. For such organizations, ICTs are simply additional tools because they are constantly reviewing their practices and the possibilities for better forms of communication. Such an organization has not become more professional (or more modern) because it is using the Internet; it has always been professional in its approach to achieving its objectives. By contrast, an organization that is unreflective—that is, one that is not forward thinking or strategic—could not become professional overnight simply through its use of ICTs. It could still use ICTs in an unprofessional and amateurish manner.

It follows that one can explore the idea of professionalization without necessarily becoming embroiled in a discussion of how or whether newer ICTs have completely reconfigured the political, social, and communication environment. Information and communication technologies have undoubtedly introduced a different set of considerations that all groups and movements have to deal with, ranging from how best to create an online local, national, and global presence to how best to link up with supporters and activists. Similarly, the fragmentation of the traditional audiovisual media and the decline of the print media have forced campaigners to reassess how best to use these media, if at all. Not surprisingly, then, modern campaigns are advised to make use of a mix of media to reach their intended audiences just as, one would argue, were their predecessors. As in the past, it is not a matter of choosing between the use of different media; it is a matter of deciding how best to use different media. In this way, part of the trend toward professionalization may be the realization of the complexities of campaigning; of the need to mix and match objectives with audiences, members, and targets; and of the need to be reflective about the task at hand. The professionalization of politics and dissent is thus part of the process of learning how to best achieve one's intended objectives, today as in the past.

These ideas are developed further in the first part of this chapter, which offers a particular way of exploring the interaction of groups or movements with the media and the world of politics. The second part of this chapter deals with the ways in which ICTs are used by groups or movements and the ways in which these have changed the organization and nature of movements. These points are developed further in the third part of the chapter where the focus is on one specific and brief case study. The chapter concludes with some comments on protest, political communication, and the media and a consideration of how these relate to the broader topic of the establishment's response.

From Amateur to Professional?

In the conclusion to his study of the anti–Vietnam War demonstration in London in 1968, Graham Murdock suggested that "the press played an indispensable role in the process of managing conflict and dissent, and legitimating

the present distribution of power and wealth within British capitalism."[3] Today, such a bold statement would need to be qualified, but its central message—that the media are part of the process of governance—would not raise many eyebrows. What might look odd today, though, would be the view that it is only the establishment that has the resources to use the power of the media to pursue its own agenda. The process through which news is produced is open to contestation and the establishment and groups and movements can be in contention.

One good example of this, from the 1980s, when the realization of the importance of the media for gaining political advantage was beginning to become established, is the single-issue campaigning group CLEAR, the Campaign for Lead-Free Air.[4] As the name suggests, CLEAR was set up to encourage the government of the day to remove lead additives from petrol. At the time, lead additives in petrol were a major contributor to air pollution and hence led to respiratory problems. As children were most exposed to this sort of pollution, they were at high risk of being affected. The campaign's message was thus simple: remove lead from petrol and thereby reduce damage to children.

CLEAR was run by Des Wilson, a well-known campaigner, who, about the same time, had written a book about campaigning, *Pressure: The A to Z of Campaigning in Britain*.[5] In the book, the section "M for Media" occupies by far the largest number of pages, and this reflects not only an appreciation of the importance of the media for campaigns in general but also the need for careful and strategic use of the media. As Wilson was well aware, a media sympathetic to a campaign or cause was a powerful asset.

One of the highlights of CLEAR was the release of documentation in support of the campaign's objectives to the *Times* newspaper. Very briefly, before the launch of the campaign, Wilson had obtained a copy of a letter written by the then Chief Medical Officer that appeared to contradict the government's position on the issue. Rather than using the letter at the campaign's launch, Wilson held it back for some weeks and planned to use it once the initial impact of the launch had died down. The letter, in his eyes, would reestablish the momentum of the campaign. As he pointed out at the time, "As a leak it was an extremely good story. As an exclusive to one newspaper, it clearly was a real scoop."[6] Following a meeting with Harold Evans, then editor of the *Times*, Wilson got his front page story on February 8, 1982.

But the media campaign was only part of a much broader strategy. MPs were courted and political parties were asked to pledge their support for a move to unleaded petrol if elected to power. This process of gathering support and creating a head of steam had the effect of isolating the government and, in due course, there was a change of policy. Whether or not change came about primarily because of the campaign alone is a matter that deserves its own, and separate, discussion; the point of using this example is that it illustrates aspects of what the "professionalization of dissent" might include, such as a centralized organization run by experienced professional campaigners (full-time employees) with carefully constructed strategy and tactics. Those leading the campaign would make strategic use of the media, an approach that would also involve organizing broader campaigns to pressurize or gain support from others, for example, organizing letter-writing campaigns to reach elected

representatives. Underpinning all this is the fact that those who run the campaign have the knowledge—both received and born out of experience—of how best to do so.

Now 30 years later, in the early twenty-first century, one can find those very same things underpinning how successful contemporary campaigns and movements work, particularly with regards to the media. In his 2005 book *How to Win Campaigns*, Chris Rose, an ex-Greenpeace, ex-Friends of the Earth (FoE) activist, makes points that echo those of Des Wilson.[7] On the use of the media, Rose writes: "For most voluntary non-governmental organizations (NGOs), their only resource to secure real change is public persuasion. Business has money, government has law, but campaigns have only public support. Communication is the campaigners' instrument for change, not simply a way to publicize an opinion."[8]

In a later section of the book, "Old Media, New Media," Rose points out that creating a media strategy is about planning how best to use media. Some media are good for one thing, whereas others are better for other things: the largest part of the population is better reached by using non-news media, but "conventional TV, radio and newspaper remains important to the world of decision-makers" as it is "effectively their local media."[9]

While Rose's book acknowledges that not all groups and movements need be planned and well organized and run by professionals, he admits that he "favor(s) campaigns planned as projects with critical paths."[10] For Rose, then, organization and planning and a proposition underpinning the movement are some of the keys to success.[11] In this, one can see strong similarities between the past and the present: CLEAR had the sort of proposition (and organization and planning) that brought success and it pursued it to its logical conclusion.

For those who seek to discuss the professionalization of dissent, the similarities and the differences between these two moments in time raise some interesting issues about comparative analysis. But the similarities and differences also have significant implications for the study of the ways groups and movements work and for the study of professionalization, dissent, and the media. Five such implications are worthy of note. The first is whether some forms of organization and some strategies are more likely than others to succeed. Are centralized organizations better than loosely federated ones, for example? The second is that while the two books cited earlier stress the importance of using the traditional, or mainstream, media, they also make the important point that the production of news in the mainstream media is the outcome of a process of negotiation between sources and producers of news. Therefore, groups and movements—as outsiders and as sources of news—do have an opportunity to lead and control the media-agenda, but they need to have the skills to do so. The third point follows on from this. Although the media have their own favorite news sources, those who may not feature among them can still obtain media coverage by employing the media's own overwhelming desire for all things newsworthy. As de Jong et al. point out, "By conforming to the requirements of contemporary news production, even radical activists can sometimes get their alternative analysis and point of view across in the mainstream media."[12] As with setting the media-agenda, groups

and movements can acquire the skills to win the media's attention for the purposes of publicizing their activities.

The fourth point to take into account—and it has implications for how we explore the issue of the acquisition of professional knowledge—is that organizations need no longer rely on handed-down folklore to guide their practices and strategies; relevant and appropriate knowledge relating to campaigning, media use, and organization are now readily available from a plethora of media trainers and professional communicators and activists who are only too eager to pass on their skills. As in politics and commerce more generally, those running campaigns can now learn how to run them and how to use the media from those who have done both, and more. Those who are already skilled—and who can be designated and recognized as professionals—thus spread their knowledge far and wide through books, tutorials, seminars, and other forms of dissemination activities. There is, therefore, an extensive and experience-based knowledge base that underpins thinking about campaigns and their organization in this century and every campaign is, in its own way, benefiting "from previous efforts."[13] But, and this is a relevant question that cannot be dealt with here, if professional campaigners have now learned how to deal with the media, have media practitioners altered their own practices in response? Have they, for example, become more aware of and more cautious about the strategies aimed at gaining publicity or for setting the agenda? Have public relations skills created a journalistic culture that disregards or dismisses them?[14]

Perhaps the most intriguing of the implications of change, the fifth, is the one that highlights the emergence and rapid embedding of ICTs in the lives and work of organizations, including the establishment, and individuals. Put simply, but explored more fully in the next section, have ICTs altered the ways in which protest is planned and organized, members and supporters persuaded and mobilized, and movements networked in the global political landscape?

The Internet and Global Activism

The "old" media are usually characterized by their top-down, centralized, and geographically limited properties and by the extensive role that journalists play in mediating communication. For some, this makes the media a site of struggle between movements and the establishment as they compete for favorable coverage; for others, it contributes to the view that the media are no more than part of the establishment's armory in its response to challenges. The Internet, by contrast, is organized very differently: there are multiple sources of information, interconnections across space and time are instantaneous, and the role of mediators is lessened or disappears altogether as anyone can become a source of communication. This "network of networks" makes it ideal for the rapid "diffusion of protest ideas and tactics efficiently and quickly across national borders."[15] These properties also make it more difficult for the establishment to oversee, guide, or control the content and processes of communication.

Other features of the Internet, such as websites, can also be of immense use. They are sources of information, discussion forums, and places for coordinating

activity, but they are also spaces to which one can contribute information. They can also usefully be seen as the thing that binds a movement together and gives it coherence. Importantly, by using the Internet for communication purposes, groups and movements bypass the traditional media as the sole sources of information for consumption by activists, members, and public alike. Movements are no longer mediated by or fearful of "bad" publicity.

All these features, it has been argued, can give rise to different organizational and strategic considerations for groups and movements. As Lance Bennett explains, the features of the Internet, and ICTs more generally, create the potential for different types of social movements to come into being.[16] "The networking and mobilizing capacities of these ongoing campaigns make campaigns, themselves, political organizations that sustain activist networks in the absence of leadership by central organizations."[17] Such campaigns are more like flexible coalitions or heterogeneous movements[18] that come together to take part in actions but do not necessarily have a long life cycle. The Internet therefore allows for the "formation of large and flexible coalitions exhibiting the strength of thin ties that make those networks more adaptive and resistant to attack than coalitions forged through leader-based partnerships among bureaucratic organizations …"[19] The Internet thus provides "an 'electronic spine' that connects key activists."[20] Words such as "polycentric (distributed) communication networks" and "hubs" give further indications of how the Internet connects these diverse and "ideologically thin".[21] movements.[22] Such flexible coalitions and heterogeneous movements are clearly the antithesis of the centralized and centrally organized groups that are more characteristic of traditional single-cause groups.

However, research by Pickerill and Webster suggests that campaigning groups need to be aware of the limitations of relying too heavily on websites and of being too thinly stretched. Information presented on websites, they claim, "is not much concerned with persuasion through argument, explanation or analysis. Rather there appears to be an *assumed audience* that is already converted…"[23] In which case, websites may not be about persuasion and influencing policy formers in the way that traditional protest or cause groups used communication; nor are they about getting mainstream media attention, which was something that traditional groups worked hard to cultivate. They can become an end in themselves rather than part of a much larger exercise in communication, persuasion, and mobilization.

There is a danger, also, that the more stretched the network, the less those on the fringes are able to connect politically to those more centrally involved. As Pickerill and Webster observe, "While… coordination means that campaigns may 'stretch' across space, there is also a danger of *weakening ideological coherence and personal commitment*, especially in coalition organizations… where little is required of those who draw on the web site."[24] This is especially true of those campaigning movements such as Amnesty and FoE that have become part of what Jordan and Maloney call "the protest business," that is, protest movements where policy is made centrally, where supporters are no more than a source of income, and where political action is normally undertaken by the professional staff rather than by the individual supporter. These attributes, and others, create a situation where the professional campaign

movement—with full-time paid employees, strategic, and centrally directed—becomes almost detached from its supporters and where supporters (or members) are part of it only in as much as they contribute membership fees.[25]

While these attributes are not necessarily linked to the existence and use of the Internet (Jordan and Maloney's research was conducted in the mid-1990s), it is possible to see circumstances where it can lead to greater centralization and a tendency for greater direction from a central authority. As movements make more use of the Internet's facilities, such as better websites, better information dissemination, and so on, they can become more detached from their members. Yet there is a countertendency that arises precisely because of the Internet's infrastructure allowing for activists and members to intervene more easily. A good example of this arose in the summer of 2007 when FoE executives "approached the broadcaster BSkyB to set up a joint campaign on climate change which could be worth more than £1.7m." Objections to the plan from senior FoE campaigners and staff split the organization and gave extra publicity to a proposal that many saw as damaging to the group's profile. In this case, the proposal was dropped. It proved, however, a good illustration of how the professional organizer may sometimes be at odds with the wider membership and how publicity—both internal and external—can itself be a form of pressure for change.[26]

If the preceding discussion illustrates how loose coalitions and campaign groups can bypass traditional gatekeepers and connect directly to their members, activists, and each other, it also hints at the risk that they run of being totally ignored by the traditional media; if they are too concerned about their own internal communication on the Internet (or through other means), they will not be able to connect to a larger constituency of potential supporters whose access to information may come mainly through the traditional media. Unless they make efforts to actively disseminate their information through traditional media, they are likely to become known only to activists and supporters and be at the mercy of the media, which might, or might not, pay them any attention.

If we accept the argument that the Internet has changed the circumstances and conditions of (global) activism, such changes can bring forth both strengths and weaknesses: flexibility and maneuverability are undoubtedly strengths, but thin ideological links and polycentricity may be weaknesses. Does such activism make it easier or more difficult to challenge the establishment and does it make it easier or more difficult for the establishment to challenge activism? Flexible coalitions, as we have seen, can come together quickly and respond rapidly to calls for action, be it at a local, national, or international level. Very often, though, the establishment—or representatives of the establishment such as the police—is well prepared for action; it, too, is aware of the content of Internet traffic and of mobile telephony. It, too, is aware of potential threats to "law and order" and the need for surveillance and policing. In which case, the establishment is well able to meet the challenge even of activists who work in a leaderless and flexible federation. The fact that such challenges tend to be in public spaces and at public targets such as banks, shops, airports (see later), and the like, and not at those individuals or groups who can bring about change, further limits their efficacy. As the example in

the next section illustrates, one can exploit the properties of the new and old media as part of a campaign or movement but this does not necessarily amount to a sustained or serious challenge to the establishment. In the short term, a campaign may be no more than an irritant; in the long term, and to succeed, it may need to change the terms of the debate and so challenge the establishment at the level of ideas and solutions rather than by force.

The Internet, the Mainstream Media, and the "Information War"

While the Internet provides a means of connecting individuals and members of groups and movements, the mainstream media offers the opportunity to move beyond the immediate base of support and to reach a wider audience of potential supporters and those in positions to bring about political change. As the example of the Camp for Climate Action illustrates, a group can work—needs to work—with both the Internet and the mainstream media to publicize its activities, to challenge the establishment, and to seek to bring about change.

The Camp for Climate Action

In summer 2007, the Camp for Climate Action, a loose coalition of environmentalists, wanted to set up camp near London's Heathrow airport as part of its campaign against the expansion of the airport and to publicize the need for action on climate change.[27] In response, the British Airports Authority sought a court injunction to stop this action taking place on the grounds that the camp would disrupt the normal functioning of the airport. Although the injunction was not upheld, specific members of groups affiliated to the camp were prevented from taking part in any activity whatsoever within a certain radius of the airport. News coverage of the injunction reflected the political spectrum: conservative media were generally supportive, while the more liberal media were concerned with any restrictions on the fundamental democratic right to protest.

In spite of the threat of an injunction and efforts to prevent protests from taking place around the airport, the camp was set up on August 12, 2007. Those who conveyed the agreed views of camp residents acknowledged that while in the past there had been "a zero-access policy with regards to the mainstream media," this had now changed and that engaging with the media was now seen as "essential to fully communicate what the camp is about to as wide an audience as possible, and the media team are working hard to facilitate this process."[28] The media team limited media access to certain times of the day, journalists had to be accompanied at all times, and they had to stick to a tour. By opening up the camp in this way, it was felt that a better picture of camp life and its underlying purpose would become available in the media.

Broadly speaking, this certainly did happen. Mainstream media coverage tended to focus on the camp itself, its generally peaceful nature, and on the aims and objectives of those taking part thus providing the wider general public with a sense of what the campaigners were seeking to achieve. At times,

the coverage was quite favorable and highlighted the breadth of support for the ideas behind the protests. The media did this by showing that support for the action came from a variety of individuals, including local elderly residents and householders, and not simply from professional activists. But at other times, media coverage tended to present a picture of peaceful protest and a calm atmosphere, yet one pregnant with danger. As often happens in media coverage, commentators sought to describe the present but could not restrain themselves from suggesting that forms of disruptive direct action could still take place in the future.[29] And so while many of the voices quoted in the media emphasized the peaceful nature of the protest, commentaries nonetheless alerted media audiences to the possibility of future direct action and thus imminent disruption. Obviously, with such a loosely organized protest, no one could guarantee that direct action would not take place and this helps explain why the coverage could be both favorable and problematic. When direct action did take place, as the media had expected and predicted, it simply confirmed what they had said in the first place.

The ensuing direct action in the form of sit-ins and protesters chained to gates brought about the inevitable police response and this provided the usual repertoire of the imagery of protest and dissent.[30] As often happens with protests and demonstrations, once "law and order" is disrupted, the authorities—usually in the guise of the police who always seem to be there and prepared—step in to reestablish order and normality. And, as often happens, disruption is short-lived as the massed forces of the police step in to clear away all those who stand in their way. Two things usually follow on from this phase of a campaign. The first is that the aims and objectives behind the campaign may, just may, become more commonplace and more acceptable as alternatives to the way things are done. In this example, the idea that airport expansion is undesirable may have become more acceptable and more widespread. At the level of ideas, then, such a campaign can change the terms of the debate, as it were. But, and this is the second point, for this to happen the ideas need to be in constant circulation; unfortunately, once protesters have been cleared away, the mainstream media also move away and are no longer interested in the protests and the ideas. Campaigns then almost disappear from public view although they remain active within their communication networks and among their members.

This example and the example of FoE (given earlier) touches on the importance of the links between movements and the mainstream media and the need for careful and considered strategizing if challenges to the establishment are to be any more than irritants. In both these examples, we see the traditional media opening up a window onto the activities of these movements. Such news stories not only publicize their activities but also frame how we should see them. For movements, the issue is how to negotiate the needs of the media with their own needs. This may be more of a problem for thinly connected movements since they are liable to split or fragment with divisions and separate activities quickly replacing the imagery of unity and calm. To capitalize on favorable coverage requires, in other words, centralized and professional activity, something which may go against the nature of loose flexible coalitions. Not playing by the rules of the media, however, risks paying a heavy price.

It follows, therefore, that experienced media professionals must be employed in some capacity to exploit the traditional media. They can not only help frame the way the media mediate their activities but, in so doing, also help frame the objectives of the movement. Drawing on their research, Pickerill and Webster observed that, in the conduct of a media or information "war," there is little need for "massed ranks of infantry," but there is a need for "knowledge warriors"—the cadre of technically skilled and highly trained experts (i.e., "a professionalized military force") who "fly airplanes and handle surveillance and missile systems."[31] The "warriors" are the people who can help target with precision those parts of the media, the wider public, and the establishment in order to achieve maximum impact. Des Wilson (see earlier), it could be argued, is a good example of just such an information warrior using well-honed skills to handle the media and to efficiently and rapidly reach those he wished to influence. Even the Camp for Climate Action—that supposedly loose federation of an assortment of people—had realized the importance of correctly handling the media by making suitable arrangements to control journalists. Without the focus on winning (if only the argument), effort may be spent on activities that gain publicity or that only involve activists but that probably achieve little else.

Conclusion

It would be difficult to argue that the newer forms of communication have not added new dimensions to the way that political groups and movements organize themselves and publicize their activities and aims and objectives. As has been shown, movements are now more aware of the need to have the mainstream media on their side, as the Camp for Climate Action did in 2007, and, at the same time, to continue to use the newer media to connect with activists, members, and publics. The studied use of old and new media is at the core of the theme of professionalization of dissent: it focuses on carefully worked out strategies and tactics to achieve aims and objectives by use of appropriate media.

Such levels of professionalization have also been seen in the communication of politics, more generally, and it illustrates how both old and new media are often used together for maximum effect. So, for example, in the U.S. presidential campaign of 2008, Barack Obama's team made strategic use of social network sites and viral communication to generate support and publicity. Yet contenders for the presidency still needed to use traditional media to break out of the circle of the virtual communities and groups and an estimated two billion dollars[32] was spent on television spot ads. More recently, in the British general election of 2010, the old medium of television played a much more significant role than all the new media.

Nevertheless, if we wished to generalize and to begin to develop an understanding of the professionalization of dissent, we would most probably start with the observation that, despite differences, all groups and movements need to be in the public eye: this means achieving publicity for strategic and tactical reasons. Publicity gives groups a public profile, it draws attention to their aims and existence, it makes others aware of their aims and objectives, it can garner

new members, and it can alert the establishment to the depth and strength of the group. None of this is, or should be, publicity for its own sake. The reflective, strategic, professional group uses the media as a resource for achieving its aims and objectives.

Publicity, though, is also a signal of sorts to the establishment. It alerts the forces of "law and order" to potential threats and disruption, it also signals the start of a struggle to win the media war and to define the nature of the action or disruption. Was the Camp for Climate Action a peaceful protest on behalf of a wider (and less vocal) public or was it no more than a group of activists intent on causing havoc during the airport's busiest summer months, inconveniencing passengers? Using the media to define the nature of the movement can help frame future actions and reactions. Using undue force to disperse peaceful protesters damages the establishment considerably more than using reasonable force to disperse activists bent on disrupting normal life. The struggle to win the media war is therefore part and parcel of how the establishment is challenged and how it can also fight back.

More generally, the establishment, as in the past, continues to meet challenges and confrontations through old and new methods. The latter would include monitoring and surveillance and through careful manipulation of the public dissemination of the imagery of protest via news media, the newer would include surveillance of Internet traffic or control of Internet traffic (surveillance, e.g., of Twitter in Iran in 2008–2009, and of the Internet in China more generally). Just as protest movements and dissenters, groups and individuals have professionalized their activities, so too has the establishment. But the balance of power between the challengers and the challenged is in flux: one of the significant implications of the new media has been the ability to make available information in ways that was unimaginable even a decade ago. That information can often, and is often, used to challenge the establishment because it is no longer under its control and is no longer mediated by it. Be it mobile phone footage that paints a different picture of police action and contradicts their statements, or leaks to Wikileaks[33] that exposes questionable military activity, that information introduces a level of monitoring[34] of the establishment that is relatively novel. In these ways, challenges to the establishment need not necessarily be visible, old-style, full-frontal assaults—be it protesters disrupting airports or street demonstrations—but can be specific and targeted releases of information that undermine its credibility and power. Greater openness and transparency are, in this scenario, real challenges to any establishment that wishes to retain control of all aspects of a society and its people.

Notes

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2. Ralph Negrine and Darren Lilleker, "The Professionalization of Political Communication: Continuities and Change in Media Practices," *European Journal of Communication* 17 (2002): 305–324.

3. Graham Murdock, "Political Deviance: The Press Presentation of a Militant Mass Demonstration," in Stanley Cohen and Jock Young, eds, *The Manufacture of News: Deviance, Social Problems and the Mass Media* (London: Constable, 1979), 173.
4. For a fuller discussion, see Ralph Negrine, *Politics and the Mass Media in Britain* (London: Routledge, 1989).
5. Des Wilson, *Pressure: The A to Z of Campaigning in Britain* (London: Ashgate, 1985).
6. Ibid., 135.
7. Chris Rose, *How to Win Campaigns: 101 Steps to Success* (London: Earthscan, 2005). See also http://www.campaignstrategy.org/.
8. Ibid., xiii.
9. Ibid., 151.
10. Ibid., 210.
11. Ibid., 188–195.
12. Wilma De Jong, Martin Shaw, and Neil Stammers, eds, *Global Activism, Global Media* (London: Pluto Press, 2005), 7.
13. Rose, *How to Win Campaigns*, 201.
14. Brian McNair, "PR Must Die: Spin, Anti-spin and Political Public Relations in the UK, 1997–2004," *Journalism Studies* 5(3) (2004): 325–338.
15. Pippa Norris, *Democratic Phoenix: Reinventing Political Activism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 9–10. An aside: the fuel protests that closed down the United Kingdom in 2001 were organized by mobile phone. This illustrates how different communication technologies can give rise to different forms of organization and patterns of protest. See Brian Doherty, Matthew Paterson, Alexandra Plows, and Derek Wall, "Explaining the Fuel Protests," *British Journal of Politics and International Relations* 5 (2003): 1–23.
16. Lance W. Bennett, "Communicating Global Activism: Strengths and Vulnerabilities of Networked Politics," *Information, Communication & Society* 6 (2003): 143–168.
17. Ibid., 150.
18. Jenny Pickerill and Frank Webster, "The Anti-War/Peace Movement in Britain and the Conditions of Information War," *International Relations* 20 (2006): 407–423.
19. Ibid., 146. See also selected chapters in Frank Webster, ed., *Culture and Politics in the Information Age: A New Politics*? (London: Routledge, 2001).
20. Pickerill and Webster, "The Anti-War/Peace Movement," 418.
21. Bennett, "Communicating Global Activism," 150.
22. This chapter was written before the rise of Twitter, which itself allows for speedy and very flexible communication between like-minded people and campaigners.
23. Pickerill and Webster, "The Anti-War/Peace Movement," 419; emphasis in the original.
24. Ibid.; 418.
25. A. G. Jordan and William Maloney, *The Protest Business* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997), 22. This sort of movement is also referred to as a "mail-order campaign."
26. Sean Carrell, "Plan to Link Up with BSkyB Splits Friends of the Earth," *The Guardian*, August 6, 2007. http://www.guardian.co.uk/environment/2007/aug/06/conservation.broadcasting.
27. www.climatecamp.org.uk. Other groups involved included: airport watch and plane stupid (http://www.airportwatch.org.uk/index.php and http://www.planestupid.com/, respectively).
28. Camp for Climate Action. *Background to the Camp Mainstream Media Access Policy* (August 13, 2007): www.climatecamp.org.uk.

29. Examples of coverage include—
    Airport Protest Gathers Strength (August 13, 2007):
    http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk/6943549.stm;
    Heathrow Eco-protesters Steal a March on Police (August 13, 2007):
    http://politics.guardian.co.uk/homeaffairs/story/0,,2147592,00.html;
    Eco-village With a Stark Warning (August 13, 2007):
    http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk/6944526.stm;
    on divisions within the camp, see http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk/6919085.stm.
30. See BBC news reports (August 19, 2007):
    http://news.bbc.co.uk/player/nol/newsid_6950000/newsid_6953800/6953859. stm
    ?bw=bb&mp=rm&asb=1&news=1;
    http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk/6953518.stm.
31. Pickerill and Webster, "The Anti-War/Peace Movement," 409.
32. Katherine Q. Seelye, *New York Times*, "About $2.6 Billion Spent on Political Ads in 2008," December 2, 2008: http://thecaucus.blogs.nytimes.com/2008/12/02/about-26-billion-spent-on-political-ads-in-2008/ (accessed June 2010).
33. See www.wikileaks.org.
34. J. Keane, *The Life and Death of Democracy* (London: Simon and Schuster, 2009).

3
The Imagery of Power Facing the Power of Imagery: Toward a Visual Analysis of Social Movements

Nicole Doerr and Simon Teune

Introduction

An athletic body holds aloft a hammer in one hand, ready to strike the sword held in the other. A red circle frames this blue icon, surrounded by a biblical quotation in black lettering that reads "Swords into Ploughshares" (see figure 3.1). East Germans wore cloth patches bearing this symbol in the early 1980s as a call for peace between the Eastern and Western blocs.[1] The patch was modeled on a statue by the decorated representative of Soviet Realism Yevgeny Vuchetich. The Soviet Union donated the statue to the United Nations in 1959. Warsaw Pact countries used the icon as a positive reference point in their apology for the Soviet world as a stronghold of world peace. However, when the patch was distributed throughout the Protestant Church during protests against the military training of East German students in the early 1980s, the government forbade wearing the symbol in order to prevent its "misuse." In reaction, peace activists cut out the print and continued to wear the patch with a hole in the center, thereby highlighting the absence of the image.

The interpretation of the peace icon demonstrates the power of visual codes in social movements. Movements depend on public displays of their claims when they challenge the status quo. As they often lack money, as well as direct access to mass media and to institutional decision-making processes, social movements take to the streets and other such visible public arenas to make themselves heard. Overly complex messages are hard to transmit in such environments. So while a message need not be overly simple, it should be straightforward enough to allow the intended recipients to form an attachment to it.[2]

The elements of anger, critique, and hope that breed protest are condensed in visual codes. Like other domains of cultural production, the visual realm, or simply "the visual," represents a site where meaning is produced and contested. The visual can be understood as a space in which challengers confront the establishment and provoke reactions. These interactions produce specific,

Figure 3.1 "Swords into Ploughshares" (1980s), patch used by the GDR peace movement. Photo: Robert Harnack

contingent visualizations of power.[3] As part of their social and political engagement, social movement actors shape the visual to promote their cause and gain leverage. The production of images and the development of visual codes is thus one of the battlefields for social movements and their environments. Allies, countermovements, authorities, and mass media transform or challenge these visual codes according to their agenda.[4]

The use and alleged misuse of the "Swords into Ploughshares" patch represents a complex and contentious episode of twentieth-century history. The controversy over this visual symbol accounts for protest against Soviet authoritarianism, the expression of grievances in repressive regimes, and the central role of visual codes in contentious politics.

Peace groups in East Germany acted in a precarious context. As cultural and political engagement was channeled through state-led institutions, free public meetings were forbidden. Churches were the only arenas that were public, yet relatively autonomous; opportunities to express dissent beyond church walls, however, were limited. Given the circumstances, wearing the patches of the Soviet statue was a way to publicly express disagreement with official policy without, initially, violating government regulations. This use of the "Swords to Ploughshares" image recurs throughout this chapter as an illustration of the visual dimensions of political contention.

Despite the obvious significance of the visual realm, the sociological analysis of social movements and their interactions with the establishment has failed to systematically apply this framework to its scholarly repertoire. This essay argues that the omission of visual aspects has left a gap in the canonized research of social movements. This is all the more striking in the light of a rich literature that explores the role of the visual in political conflict. In order to sketch the visual dimension of social movements, we first discuss

the potential of visual studies in the analysis of social movements. Then, we look at the literature analyzing the visual in media studies, cultural studies, and gender theory. Finally, we offer a systematic approach to the visual analysis of protests and social movements.

Tracing the Visual in Social Movement Analysis

Literature dealing with social movements frequently refers to the use of symbols and the importance of visual expression. For example, the first issue of the German journal *Forschungsjournal Soziale Bewegungen*, founded to foster discussion between activists, politicians, and social movement scholars, focused on the symbolic expressions of movements. The issue's preface praised symbols as "part of the dynamic" and a "proof of life" of social movements.[5] While there are valuable historical contributions to the visual language of the labor movement and the national socialist movement, most of the scholarly work on contemporary contention has addressed the issue only superficially. The reasons for this are manifold. Like other domains of the social sciences, social movement analysis has focused on textual sources in the form of manifestos, leaflets, websites, newspaper articles, or interviews. In this context, an image is considered as merely the illustration of a textual message rather than as a medium with its own logic that contains a specific message of its own. By and large, researchers have not recognized the insights that deeper analysis of the visual aspects offers into social reality. While methods of studying different forms of text are highly advanced in social movement research, conceptual approaches to the interpretation of visual information lag behind. The perspectives and the methodological tools developed by scholars of visual studies have rarely been applied to the study of social movements and the protest events they generate.

One reason for this neglect of visual codes is the fact that social movements themselves developed a logocentric culture, at least in those countries where movement research first emerged. For substantial parts of the Old and New Left, the visual was indeed regarded as more or less an illustration of textual messages. In that sense, social movement research mirrored the social reality of the object under study. As a consequence of the textual fixation, the analysis of visual aspects has not been a fundamental element in the analysis of contentious politics. However, the "classic agenda" of social movement research,[6] that is, the analysis of political opportunities, mobilizing structures, collective action frames, and repertoires of contention, would benefit tremendously from a closer look at visual manifestations.

Since the mid-1990s, movement scholars have devoted more and more energy to the analysis of cultural aspects of social movements.[7] In the wake of this "cultural turn," scholars also turned to the visual aspects of social movements. In her account of women producing *arpilleras*, or appliqué pictures on cloth, Jacqueline Adams points out that analyzing a visual medium enriches the main strands of social movement research: "movements can use art to carry out framing work, mobilize resources, communicate information about themselves, and, finally, as a symbol of the movement."[8] Indeed, the context and identity of movements, their establishment of interpretative frames, and proliferation of messages have already been analyzed with reference to images.

The visual representation of movements allows us to understand the context of movement activity and its dynamic interaction with authorities, mass media, and target audiences.[9] Images produced by social movements are part of the struggle over meaning. As such, these images become a reference point for those who seek to understand or interpret a movement and for those who seek to support, co-opt, delegitimize, or demobilize it.

As images can serve as a medium for the representation of complex messages, visual codes play a significant role in the framing work of social movements. In her analysis of Chilean *arpilleras*, Adams underlines three framing functions of these works of art: depicting the terrible conditions of life in Chile, portraying the Pinochet regime as evil, and conveying an alternative way of thinking.[10] Christian Lahusen argues similarly in his analysis of public campaigns. He devotes a significant part of his study to the use of visual media in general and to campaign and organization logos in particular.[11] Though movements may try to use images as a sort of Trojan horse to convey their messages, they remain dependent on mass media for the formation and dissemination of their imagery.[12] Kathrin Fahlenbrach has shown that mass media, in particular, attempt to connect diffuse and complex protest movements with images that visualize their messages.[13] These media images provide orientation not only for uninvolved citizens, but also for activists themselves, who actually readapt to the public image of the movement of which they are a part. Several authors have pointed to the condensation of movement messages in media images. As "news icons," images can be used to refer to social problems as they are seen by social movements.[14] They may also replace proper arguments with "argumentative fragments."[15]

Some analyses of movement images have focused on displays of collective identity, whereby visual codes serve to underline connections among activists, expressing their shared attachment to a certain movement. Nicole Doerr has argued that images trigger novel verbal arguments and rational deliberation about collective identity inside transnational and local social movements.[16] At the same time, images also make a movement and its adherents recognizable to outsiders. This is very obvious in the cases of visual markers of identity such as clothing or symbols.[17] In a more abstract way, Jesus Casquete defines the act of taking to the streets to build a collective body as the visualization of a collective identity.[18] Colors are also a visual source of orientation. Red, green, brown, and pink are commonly understood to refer to the labor, environmental, national socialist, and the gay movements, respectively. The use of these colors is contested within the movements, however, as they are markers distinguishing in-groups from out-groups.[19] In their analysis of a tripartite protest march against the 1999 Joint Summit of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank in Prague, Chesters and Welsh discuss the colors attached to a protest march as the emerging representation of a collective identity for protesters who share a common repertoire of action.[20] Researchers working on the most recent waves of protest in the women's, gay, and lesbian movements have noted that the visual has also been used to rethink identity and collective memory within social movements.[21] The processes of collective identity-building are not only mediated via visual self-representation, however. As Fahlenbrach shows in the case of the 1960s German student

movement, the mass media's reflection of the movement's image actually reshaped the movement itself.[22]

Exploring social movements' visual expression is particularly important when it comes to looking at transnational protest events and processes, where actors cannot necessarily rely on a shared verbal language. The organizers of the "EuroMayday Parade Against Precarity," for example, were able to diffuse their claims through the invention of a sophisticated visual protest iconography that was disseminated via electronic and independent media.[23] Virtual communication and interactive online protest activities working with multilingual translations of claims also foster a common identity across borders. In this context, visual tools and icons of protest can be regarded as an important medium and an immaterial resource to mobilize for protest and to find a common language.[24] Specific traditions of interpreting images may, however, keep visual codes from being internationally accessible.

Visual Studies and Political Conflict

Building a systematic approach to the analysis of the visual aspects of social movements does not mean starting from scratch. As far back as the Weimar Republic, analysts and activists were studying the visual level of political conflict and propaganda by national socialist movements in order to strengthen socialist visual politics.[25] Propaganda posters and other forms of imagineering in East-West bloc confrontations during the twentieth century have been a rich source for scholars of the visual in political conflict.[26] Since the 1980s, scholars from various disciplines have underlined the growing importance of the visual realm, often referring to it as the "pictorial turn."[27] Art history, media studies, and other fields have identified "visual culture" as a field of knowledge and understood the circulation of images as a tool for the collective production of meaning, and thus as an intrinsically political process.[28]

Social scientists have hesitated to transfer the debate focusing on images to the political realm, even though the concept of symbolic politics has played an important role in the understanding of political processes.[29] Claims for the recognition of visual studies in political science have already been made,[30] however, and methods for such an analysis have been proposed.[31] Conceding different degrees of autonomy to images in their relation to text, scholars recognize the significance of visual codes in global conflicts and in political leaders' assertions of legitimacy.[32] Unfortunately, however, most of the available knowledge is based on case studies with their limits to generalization, whereas systematic and comparative empirical studies in this field remain a rarity.

Indeed, the study of images reveals blind spots in social movement research. One of the major lines of discussion connecting visual studies and grassroots activism focuses on the concept of visibility. In the tradition of Michel Foucault, where hegemonic power involves the manipulation of the visual, the first step for challengers is gaining visibility through acts of self-representation.[33] A lively exchange between research, art, and activism has emerged along these lines. Feminism and queer studies (as well as migration studies) have contributed to the establishment of visual culture as an area of research in Europe and North

America.[34] At the same time, activists in feminist, queer, or labor-related networks utilize visual studies research to adjust the visual appearance of their collective activities for greater impact.[35] Scholars of visual culture and gender studies have, in turn, critically debated the potential and hazards of strategies of visualization that aim at creating visibility for groups and persons that are excluded or marginalized within public discourse.[36]

While considering the processes and limitations of image diffusion, the study of the visual in social movements also needs to focus on the actors involved in the diffusion process, on the institutional practices they employ, and the reception of manufactured images. The first systematic empirical fieldwork on the visualization of European Union integration and migration policies exemplifies the role of political actors behind the production of media images.[37] Visual stereotypes of an invasion of migrants planning to overwhelm Europe, for example, were fostered by governments and public officials trying to frighten citizens with exaggerated images.[38] Scholars in visual and media studies have called for empirical research on the production of media images that are ideologically embedded within hegemonic discourses[39] and for research on the political effects of the images as they are decoded by different social groups and actors, especially within transcultural audiences.[40] A focus on the visual requires special attention to the potential misunderstandings and failures of translation,[41] and to the long-term effects of images on collective memory.[42] In addition, images have to be analyzed as carriers of affective and emotive stimuli.[43]

Media analyses have shown that by using electronic media as channels of diffusion, radical religious groups, media entrepreneurs, and right-wing political parties have great potential to create deep and long-lasting rifts. They may do this by employing certain images and texts that disgust some ethnic, religious, or social groups while remaining distant or indecipherable to others, as in the case of the Muhammad cartoon controversy emanating from Denmark in 2006.[44] With the amplified circulation of images in virtual spaces of everyday life such as YouTube, Facebook, or Second Life, the immediate and yet complex communication potential of the visual becomes an all the more relevant field for empirical research.[45] Social movement analysts would do well to learn from visual and media studies. This would enable them to consider protest activities as forms of symbolic action, going beyond a rationalist or deliberative perspective. Such an approach would allow them to treat symbols and images of political processes as means of symbolic production,[46] which have external political effects (mobilizing the audience against the establishment) and internal effects (creating and sustaining collective identity).[47]

Movements and the Visual: Mapping the Field

So far, the idea of a visual analysis of movements has been discussed on a general level. But what should one actually look at in order to understand visual representations and the struggles that occur around them? The range of visual aspects of contentious politics is vast. The image of "Swords into Ploughshares" is just one example of the visual struggles that occurred between peace activists and the authoritarian East German establishment during the Cold War.

Other approaches might include looking at the imagery of the Protestant Samiszdat, oppositional clothing, or the appearance of bike-tours and festivals that take the place of forbidden demonstrations.[48] Furthermore, the use of the Soviet statue could be analyzed in different phases of the conflict, or it could be compared with earlier symbols of oppositional movements.

In an attempt to systematize the visual aspects of social movements, we offer a model for such an analysis (see table 3.1). On the horizontal axis, the table distinguishes the forms of visual expression that are part of social movements (body, object, image, and graphic design). These various forms are reshaped in a process of "mediatization," which alters their appearance and impact. A protester's gesture at a demonstration captured from two different photographic angles can evoke either threat or determination, for instance. The vertical axis shows the levels of interpretation that might be applied to the visual expressions of a movement (identity, mobilization, framing, and external relations). The visual analysis of a social movement might concentrate on just one expression, analyzed with reference to a single interpretative focus, such as the effects of physical gestures on collective identity. A more comprehensive analysis could include more dimensions, for example, all forms of expression observed at a given protest event, interpreted at various levels. We use the example of the "Swords into Ploughshares" iconography to illustrate our classification scheme here.

The human body itself is a citizen's most basic element in the expression of protest. The way one is dressed and the manner in which one behaves or performs can generate and transmit specific messages. In the case of collective action, individuals gather in large numbers to increase the effect of their message and to create a collective body that is cohesive and possibly intimidating. In the case of the "Swords into Ploughshares" patch, the printed piece of cloth became part of a rebellious outfit. Beyond the shelter of the church premises, it was worn on individual bodies, rather than displayed on banners or posters.

Social movement activists also create objects that visualize dissident thinking. From puppets carried at protest marches to shack villages erected on the construction sites of large infrastructure projects, objects are used to represent criticism or alternative solutions. In the repressive environment of East Germany, where copying subversive text was illegal, the printed fabric patches represented an innovative form of critique.[49]

Table 3.1 A model for the visual analysis of social movements

			Focus of interpretation			
			Identity	**Mobilization**	**Framing**	**External relations**
Form of expression	Body	Mediatization				
	Object					
	Image					
	Graphic design					

The most obvious form of visual expression used by social movements is the image. This might include symbols, allegories, cartoons, or illustrations of the message to be transmitted. Images tap in the cultural stock of visual knowledge. Like words and expressions in language, images refer to a shared system of meaning that is open to reinterpretation and contention. The image of a worker turning a tool of destruction (sword) into a tool of production (ploughshare) was part of the official iconic language used by Soviet ideology. The East German peace movement reappropriated the allegory, thereby rendering it unsuitable for any further official use and diminishing its official propagandistic value.

Another element of the visual realm generated by social movements is graphic design. Like other forms of expression, the layout of posters, leaflets, and other forms of media can locate a movement in a certain visual tradition. It can signal adaptation to a specific target group or underline the amateur or professional character of a medium. The graphic design used for the patch, with the script arranged in a circle around the central symbol, resembles patches that were used in the new social movements of West Germany, such as the symbol of the smiling sun used by the antinuclear power movement. In this way, the peace movement in East Germany constructed a virtual connection with like-minded Germans on the other side of the Iron Curtain.

All of these forms of expression used by social movements can be transformed through the process of mediatization. Gestures, objects, and images need a carrier to transmit their messages beyond the immediate situation in which they are expressed. The medium that serves as a carrier plays a key role in actively shaping the visualization of a movement. A photograph of conflict, for example, can create the impression of either flagrant police brutality, or of violent protesters.[50] As mentioned earlier, the mass media can be an important vehicle for spreading images of dissidence. When press outlets choose which photos to disseminate, however, they obey their own logics of representation, not the wishes of activists. Editors covering a mass demonstration during which a few participants fight with the police will very likely use one of the violent images, however unrepresentative it might be, as opposed to other less confrontational images of the event. A closer look at mediatization therefore allows for a more comprehensive study of diffusion processes and the roles of different actors, such as those of activists and of mainstream media in the dissemination of visual images. Such analysis can yield insight into how the original visual material gets transformed into the image that eventually gains recognition in mainstream society. It also allows for a deeper understanding of the institutional practices that influence which images eventually become embedded, while providing insight into the interactions between the transmitters, brokers, and recipients involved in the dissemination process.

The gestures, objects, and images of a social movement that have passed through media carriers to enter the broader public sphere can be examined from an iconographic perspective. This analysis highlights their role in the emergence of a collective identity, in the mobilization of resources, in the framing work of a movement and in a movement's relations with the public. The "Swords into Ploughshares" patch was the actual object that identified an oppositional community. It became the symbol of a formerly invisible rift between

critics of the East German government and its supporters. Even after they were forced to remove the image, peace activists continued to visibly demonstrate their conviction through the gesture of wearing the patch without the criminalized image, or by cutting a hole as large as the patch in their shirts. The image and the subsequent void became visual frames signifying criticism of militarism and state repression. The recontextualization of the sculpture was an act of *détournement*, of holding a mirror to state doctrine that conjured up peace and at the same time prepared for war. As peacefulness was part of the official state image, the use of the icon resonated with East Germans to whom this image incorporating both Soviet propaganda and Protestant pacifist heritage was already familiar. As the image was widely used in official imagery, the reference to this celebrated sculpture could hardly be interpreted as a provocation, at first. But as the peace movement attracted more and more adherents and church officials began to challenge the concept of paramilitary education and military service, the adaptation of official imagery lent a powerful new connotation to the image, which made it intolerable to authorities. The symbol also served to politicize youth and draw them into the peace movement. Confronted with such subversive critique, which had readily gained public visibility, the East German authorities decided to get rid of the symbol and prosecuted those who used it. However, the ban proved double-edged. Even the void left by the cut-out image continued to question the credibility of state socialism.

The model proposed in this essay can and should be used in a more comprehensive approach that cannot be elaborated in this chapter: in the study of visual aspects of social movements time and space are two additional dimensions. As argued earlier, images have a history. They are part of a collective memory that shapes the imagination of both producers and consumers of images. A diachronic analysis of contentious images allows tracing their diffusion and semantic alteration. On the level of space, the study of cross-regional and cross-national diffusion of visual forms will improve our understanding of contentious dynamics. The analysis of difficulties and misunderstandings in the translation of locally specific and contingent visual knowledge can help us to better understand the function of political and discursive opportunity structures and the conditions of scale shift.

Conclusion

The production and manipulation of visual codes is an important field of social movement activity. Images are emitted in movement environments and processed, transformed, and challenged by different actors such as allies, countermovements, authorities, and mass media. However, the relevance of images remains a largely unexplored aspect of social movement analysis.

This chapter makes a case for the systematic introduction of visual studies into the analysis of social movements. We argue that the study of images complements the existing approaches of social movement theory in an important way. Visual studies provide methodological and conceptual tools essential for analyzing of the role of visual media in political communication.

The case of the "Swords into Ploughshares" patch—the most important symbol of the peace movement in East Germany—shows that the collective

cultural stock of images is an active site of struggle over meaning. The use of the Soviet statue is an example of a successful appropriation of official imagery. The establishment responded to this reinterpretation with a ban, removing the image from official publications. In the transitional period, the "Swords into Ploughshares" symbol was even proposed for the flag of a democratic East Germany, in a constitution drafted by the dissident civil rights group *Neues Forum*; a telling illustration of the imagery of power facing the power of imagery.

Notes

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11. Christian Lahusen, *The Rhetoric of Moral Protest: Public Campaigns, Celebrity Endorsement and Political Mobilization* (Berlin, New York: de Gruyter, 1996).
12. See also William A. Gamson, David Croteau, William Hoynes, and Theodore Sasson, "Media Images and the Social Construction of Reality," *Annual Review of Sociology* 18 (1992), 373–393.
13. Kathrin Fahlenbrach, *Protestinszenierungen. Visuelle Kommunikation und kollektive Identitäten in Neuen Sozialen Bewegungen* (Wiesbaden: Westdeutscher Verlag, 2002).
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15. John W. Delicath and Kevin Michael DeLuca, "Image Events, the Public Sphere, and Argumentative Practice: The Case of Radical Environmental Groups," *Argumentation* 17/3 (2003), 315–333.
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4
Studying Power/Knowledge Formations: Disciplining Feminism and Beyond

Ellen Messer-Davidow

> Let us come back to the definition of the exercise of power as a way in which certain actions may structure the field of other possible actions.
>
> —Michel Foucault, *Power*

We owe to Michel Foucault an elaboration of the power/knowledge nexus—the many ways that the microtechniques of power and knowledge are intricated in the processes of producing subjects, managing institutions, and proliferating discourses. In *The Birth of the Clinic* (1963) and *Discipline and Punish* (1971), he shows us how the practices of partitioning space, seriating time, ordering perception and cognition, and documenting cases in clinics, schools, factories, and prisons simultaneously produced the Western social order and the human sciences. Foucault insisted that he was investigating practices, not institutions, telling an interviewer in 1978 that:

> In this piece of research [for *Discipline and Punish*], as in my other earlier work, the target of analysis was not "institutions," "theories," or "ideology" but *practices*—with the aim of grasping the conditions that make these acceptable at a given moment; the hypothesis being that these types of practices are not just governed by institutions, prescribed by ideologies, guided by pragmatic circumstances—whatever role these elements may actually play—but, up to a point, possess their own specific regularities, logic, strategy, self-evidence, and "reason." It is a question of analyzing a "regime of practices"—practices being understood here as places where what is said and what is done, rules imposed and reasons given, the planned and the taken-for-granted meet and interconnect.[1]

While this statement encapsulates the important insights into practice that Foucault developed in his books, I think it underplays the role he himself

assigned to institutions. To cite but one example, *The Birth of the Clinic* demonstrates that institutionalization is a precondition for the formation and maintenance of a regime of practice. Consider his account of what happened in late eighteenth-century France when the governing body, in its revolutionary zeal to rid the nation of elitism, abolished the medical colleges and societies, outlawed the guilds, nationalized the hospital funds, and released patients. Deinstitutionalization left the ill to seek family care or languish alone, and in any case to be the prey of charlatans with dangerous therapies and financial scams. Competent medical care was not restored until the state assembled a new infrastructure of medical colleges, hospitals, and regulatory agencies.

One might speculate on which trends in French intellectual and political life of the 1960s and 1970s prompted Foucault's contrarian statement that his work did not analyze institutions, but during these same decades American activists, many of whom were also intellectuals, aimed their sights at both institutions and practices. Among the famous examples I could mention are these: Berkeley Free Speech Movement leaders developed a critique of the university for its in loco parentis treatment of students and its research serving the imperialist corporate-liberal state; Mississippi Freedom Summer volunteers used innovative pedagogical practices to liberate black children from the subjugation instilled in them by southern schools and participated in the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party's attempt to unseat the state's white delegates at the Democratic Party convention; Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) sponsored the Economic Research and Action Projects (ERAP) to help the urban poor organize themselves in order to pressure the municipal government into making community improvements; and Second Wave feminists recruited masses of women through consciousness-raising practices while also using protest, litigation, and legislation to make structural changes.[2] These movements understood that institutions and social systems consisted of practices regularized by rules and routines.

Today a great deal of scholarship in the social sciences, law, and business is predicated on the assumption that a social formation consists of these interacting yet essentially discrete components—individuals, mediating institutions, and the state with its economic, political, and sociocultural subsystems.[3] What is believed to differentiate the components, if we think about it, is their power and implicitly their size; so commonsensical is this model that people often complain about the "little guy" who is victimized by predatory big businesses or thwarted by government bureaucracies. Scholars who work within the model usually tilt their explanations of complex phenomena such as poverty or racism toward one component: for instance, conservatives attribute black poverty in the United States to the individual's flaws in character and values, liberals to underfunded ghetto schools and safety net programs, and progressives to the inequalities entrenched in economic, political, and social systems. We do have more complex models of the social formation such as ethnomethodology, which describes the structuring of social interaction; structurationism, which theorizes the coproduction of action and structure; and post-Marxian overdetermination, which posits that every element in a social formation is at once a determinant and an effect of all other elements in the formation.[4]

In *Disciplining Feminism: From Social Activism to Academic Discourse*, I based my analysis of academic feminism on three propositions. First, institutions consist of actors' practices, which in turn are fueled by institutionally allocated resources, regularized by institutional rules (policies and customs), and distanciated over space, time, and population.[5] But what fundamentally distinguishes institutional practice from idiosyncratic practice are the source and mode of formalization. Students who stand in line to exit one classroom and walk to another when a bell rings perform a routine formalized by the institution; the school has divided the day into class periods, bounded the periods with bell ringing, and determined the protocol for moving between classrooms. By contrast, an individual who washes his hands whenever he comes in contact with an object or a person also performs an ordered procedure, but one prompted by inner compulsion, not institutional rules.[6] The rule-bound nature of practice led me to a second proposition: institutions have structure precisely because they have the authority and capacity to determine the rules that organize their subjects' practices. American universities, for instance, structure education by approving the courses that make up the curriculum, determining the types, number, and duration of courses that faculty members teach and students take, imposing the standards of teacher and student performance, and providing the material resources needed for educational activities. Third, when a protest movement converges with an establishment institution, the former aims to change the latter's structure, and the latter usually responds by attempting to preserve the status quo. What they fundamentally contest are the structured practices and structuring rules.

Perhaps for this reason scholars tend to assume that conflict is the basic modality of movement-institution interaction. The conflict perspective has produced valuable insights into confrontation tactics, escalation scenarios, and win or lose outcomes. In *The Spiral of Conflict: Berkeley 1964* (1971), a detailed study of the Berkeley Free Speech Movement, Max Heirich emphasized the strategies used by the students and administration to escalate the conflict. In *America Divided: The Civil War of the 1960s* (2000), Maurice Isserman and Michael Kazin tell a panoramic story about the forces—presidential administrations, Congress, the Supreme Court, the Civil Rights and Black Power movements, the Defense Department and antiwar movement, the New Left and the New Right—that clashed on the 1960s battlefields and became, to quote the title of their last chapter, "Winners and Losers." The win/lose perspective has spawned various ways of explaining movement failure, among them co-optation and balkanization. The concept of co-optation, which is borrowed from Marxian thought, attributes movement failure to activists who, by cooperating with establishment institutions, allow movements to be compromised or appropriated. Movement alumni will recall witnessing unsavory moments when accusations of "selling out" were slung at those perceived to be consorting or even communicating with "the enemy." The concept of balkanization, which combines the older notion of interest-group politics in political science with the newer discourse of identity-based politics, attributes movement failure to the internal proliferation of identities, divergence of interests, and intensification of antagonisms. These two concepts have retained such a powerful grip on the scholarly imagination that

some reviewers of *Disciplining Feminism* thought I was analyzing feminism's co-optation by academe and its balkanization by identity politics. But I was analyzing structured and structuring processes.

As the title indicates, I wrote the book to understand how social activism became academic discourse. Between 1969 and 1972, Second Wave feminists envisioned an insurgent project they would insert into higher education in order to use its resources to make academic and societal change, but by the mid-1970s their project had been reformatted by the very system it had set out to transform. In what follows, I want to describe how institutionalization, intellectualization, and bureaucratization disciplined feminism and then discuss how we might study other such hybrids that exist today.

The Institutional-Disciplinary Order

To study the fate of any social-change project originating in a movement and inserted into academe, one must combine the history and sociology of movements with analysis of the institutional-disciplinary order. In the early 1970s when feminists envisioned their insurgent project, the core infrastructure of American higher education looked like a gigantic grid: on one axis were 3,500 universities and colleges and on the other were more than 200 disciplines. The institutions and disciplines meshed in various ways: (1) each university or college was a collocation of disciplines institutionalized as departments, programs, and research centers; (2) each discipline was constituted by the activities performed on campuses, in its professional association or learned society, and through grant agencies, publishers, and similar organizations; (3) nationwide academic institutions were networked through their membership in higher-education associations, such as the National Association of Land-Grant Universities and the American Council on Education; and (4) similarly, the geographically dispersed practitioners of each discipline were networked through conferences, publications, and membership in professional associations, which provided venues for exchange and, in some instances, for disciplinary job markets.

This infrastructure, to paraphrase Timothy Lenoir, organized and regulated the knowledge enterprise: it produced the knowers, defined the objects and relations of knowledge, channeled the resources, and created the hierarchies of value. Together, institutions and disciplines constituted knower identities and career stages—the tweedy senior classicists and trendy young sociologists, nerdy physics majors and the harried law students who labored at such knowledge sites as archives and libraries, clinics and laboratories, classrooms and lecture halls. They defined the norms of practice—objectivity in economics, balance in journalism, and thick description in anthropology—and enforced them through student examination and faculty peer review. Intellectually, the institutions and disciplines defined the objects of knowledge and their relations: genes and mutations in biological science, texts and canonicity in literary studies, culture and ethnocentrism in anthropology. Together, they marked out the channels through which people and resources flowed. Students traveled the pathway from undergraduate enrollment through disciplinary majors to graduation, and assistant professors careened through six years of

probation to be tenured or, unhappily, terminated and tossed back into the job market. Budget requests flowed from the disciplinary departments through the college deaneries to the central administration, and allocations flowed back down. Finally, the elements of this enterprise were rated and ranked—from lowly community colleges to elite Ivies, underpaid instructorships to lavishly endowed professorships, ephemeral conference papers to prize-winning books, lackluster tutoring programs to nationally distinguished departments.[7]

Yet the academic knowledge enterprise did not function autonomously because it was penetrated by extramural forces that enabled, constrained, and otherwise disturbed its activities. Government agencies and private foundations reviewed and funded research projects and education programs. Publishers vetted and circulated knowledges. Legislatures enacted bills to regulate academic activities, executive agencies monitored for compliance, and courts enjoined certain practices. Public constituencies—alumni, parents, sports fans, art lovers, farmers, business leaders—expressed their views on everything from football coaching to agricultural services, scientific discoveries to tuition increases, long-haired hippie students to anything tinged with scandal. And that is to say nothing of the movements pressuring higher education from the 1960s onward.

Out of the Vortex

To trace the process that reformatted feminism, we need to start with the vortex of 1960s activism and especially 1968, the year when one cataclysmic event after another stunned Americans: the January Tet Offensive and the March massacre of civilians at My Lai ignited antiwar marches and draft board raids across the country; the April assassination of Martin Luther King Jr. triggered massive demonstrations by African Americans; later that month, Columbia University's appropriation of residential land in Harlem and its participation in a federal defense project spurred hundreds of students to occupy campus buildings until they were hauled away by the police; the June assassination of Senator Robert Kennedy while he was campaigning for the Democratic Party's presidential nomination retraumatized the nation; that summer, black protests and police violence roiled dozens of cities; and at the August convention of the Democratic Party, Chicago mayor Richard Daley called out 25,000 police and national guards who brutalized protesters, journalists, campaign staffers, and ordinary Chicagoans on their way home from dinner. These events, which climaxed years of civil unrest on the part of African Americans, college students, and faculty, and to a lesser extent poor whites, turned bystanders into activists, converted liberals to leftists or neoconservatives, and prompted SDS members to join the Weather Underground or enter doctoral programs. Just so, some women retreated to domesticity but many more organized an independent feminist movement.

Feminism's liberal strain began to congeal in the early 1960s from a network of women associated with labor organizations, education, the professions, and the newly established national and state commissions on the status of women. When federal agencies dragged their feet on enforcing nondiscrimination provisions of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, several of these women founded the

National Organization for Women (NOW) in 1966 as a civil rights organization that would bring pressure to bear on governmental and nongovernmental institutions. Although not the only feminist organization, NOW was the largest by far, growing from 35,000 members in the mid-1970s to 250,000 in the early 1980s thanks to its mobilization of women around passage of the Equal Rights Amendment to the U.S. Constitution (which ultimately failed).[8] From 1964 onward, feminism's leftist and radical strains were incubating within the Civil Rights and New Left movements where, despite the rhetoric of participatory democracy, women were the butts of pervasive sexism. Movement men ignored them in face-to-face conversations, shouted them down in meetings, forgot to invite them to speak at protest events, and ordered them to perform the presumably female tasks of making coffee and stuffing envelopes. In the tumult of 1968, disaffected movement women formed independent women's liberation groups in New York, Boston, Washington, D.C., Gainesville, Chicago, Minneapolis, San Francisco, Seattle, and elsewhere, some adopting a socialist-feminist agenda and others a radical-feminist one.[9] That same year geographically dispersed women gathered at two national events: a relatively small and unnoticed feminist planning conference held in Silver Spring, Maryland, and a large protest at the Miss America pageant in Atlantic City, which the media sensationalized by incorrectly reporting that the participants had engaged in bra-burning.

Into Academe

Also early in 1968, several professors and graduate students launched the New University Conference (NUC), a radical left organization that aimed to catalyze change from within the academy. The line of activism stretching from the Civil Rights and New Left movements through NUC to disciplinary transformation is quite clear. Many of NUC's members had honed their organizing skills by participating in the Mississippi Freedom Summer, the Berkeley Free Speech movement, SDS events, and such antiwar groups as Resist. Sociology faculty and graduate students who had attended NUC's first large meeting in March 1968 launched the Sociology Liberation Movement (SLM), which sponsored meetings at the August 1968 convention of the American Sociological Association (ASA) that triggered other groups—the Eastern and Western Unions of Radical Sociologists, women's sociology caucuses at Berkeley and Johns Hopkins, and the ASA radical women's caucus. At the 1969 ASA convention, these organizations joined forces with black, Chicano, and gay groups to disrupt mainstream sessions and sponsor radical events. The largest was a feminist panel that attracted 500 people and gave birth to two feminist organizations, the ASA Committee on the Status of Women and the independent Sociologists for Women in Society, that continue to do important work today.

At the December 1968 convention of the Modern Language Association (MLA), NUC members orchestrated a similar drama. They sponsored radical events, disrupted mainstream sessions, and hung posters in the lobby of the main convention hotels, an act that provoked the MLA to call out the New York City police. The resulting arrest of the poster squad prompted NUC members to escalate the conflict: they orchestrated a lengthy sit-in that

sprawled across the hotel lobby, a takeover of the business meeting, and a floor vote that elected an NUC radical as the MLA's second vice president, a position that succeeded to the presidency two years later. The MLA capitulated to several demands, among them the establishment of the MLA Commission on the Status of Women and recognition of the grassroots Caucus for Women in the Modern Languages in 1969.[10] The ASA and MLA were not the only targets. By the end of 1968, NUC had choreographed revolts in several disciplinary associations, sparking the formation of feminist, black, gay, and radical caucuses that pressed for change. The women's commissions and caucuses sponsored convention sessions, free-standing conferences, and publications that in turn fueled feminist research, women's studies program-building, and other initiatives on campuses across the country.

During the 1969–1970 academic year, the ideas about feminist power/knowledge that had percolated in the movements and disciplinary associations bubbled onto campuses: feminists at Cornell, SUNY Buffalo, Rutgers, Chicago, San Diego State, and Portland State taught the first women's studies courses. That spring KNOW Press entered the picture. Operating from a Pittsburgh garage and managed by members of the local NOW chapter , this obscure press issued a curious item: photocopied on a stack of unbound pages with holes punched along the left margin, presumably for binder rings supplied by the purchaser, were the syllabi for 17 courses taught during that academic year. From the shabby format and word-of-mouth marketing, no one would have expected this bundle of paper to inaugurate *Female Studies*, a ten-volume series (five volumes published by KNOW Press and five by The Feminist Press) that drove the astonishing growth of feminism throughout the American higher-education system.

During 1969–1970, academic feminists taught perhaps two-dozen courses that relied on outdated books about women and movement papers on women's oppression. By the end of the 1972–1973 academic year, they had institutionalized a new field of knowledge. In only four years, they taught 4,600 courses and launched 100 women's studies programs. They published scores of scholarly books with mainstream presses, founded a dozen small feminist presses, and established a half-dozen scholarly journals including *Feminist Studies*, *Women's Studies*, and *Women's Studies Abstracts*. Their goal was equality in higher education, the means was reciprocal action at the national and local levels. Feminist groups in the disciplinary associations sponsored scholarly publications and issued studies of women's status, while those on campuses agitated for women's studies courses, nondiscrimination policies, and increased numbers of women in graduate and professional programs, on the faculty, and in administrative positions.

By 1980, feminists had assembled a massive academic infrastructure consisting of over 800 women's studies programs, close to 20,000 courses, scores of feminist journals, thousands of feminist books and articles published by virtually every academic press and journal, women's commissions and caucuses in all disciplinary associations, and two national organizations—the National Association of Women's Studies and the National Council for Research on Women.[11] No other venture in the history of American higher education had even approximated this exponential growth. But while others

were celebrating the extraordinary achievement, I was worrying because something in this process had severed academic feminism from movement feminism. Instead of developing into a power/knowledge hybrid that used academic resources to transform society, the once insurgent project had taken three familiar forms: the curriculum of women's studies courses and programs, the intellectual field of feminist scholarship, and the institutional office for equal opportunity.

Fault Lines

During this period of intense activism in society and higher education, fault lines began to crackle across academic feminism. Early in 1971, the nine members of the MLA Commission on the Status of Women collaborated with colleagues at the University of Pittsburgh to plan "Women and Education: A Feminist Perspective," the first national conference on academic feminism. Hoping to make it inclusive, they organized three days of scholarly papers, workshops on teaching and program building, films, meal-time discussions, and interest-group meetings. That November, some 90 women trekked to Pittsburgh, but by the end of the first day they had factionalized. The students felt overwhelmed by the loquacity of faculty members, the young professors complained that prominent scholars dominated the discussions, and the community activists objected to the academicizing of women's studies. The antagonisms that fractured the Pittsburgh conference also flared up at dozens of academic institutions where feminists clashed over two visions of women's studies, one that would integrate community and campus feminists into the program and the other that would enhance the program's intellectual and educational legitimacy in order to insert it more firmly into academe.[12]

As it turned out, developments within the publishing industry supported the second vision. During the 1960s and 1970s, the industry was divided into three sectors: the commercial sector published mass-market and trade books (including textbooks) with sidelines devoted to high-culture and intellectual topics; the academic sector consisting of university presses and disciplinary associations monopolized scholarly books and journals; and the alternative sector consisted of small presses and periodicals devoted to the arts, culture, local history, movement politics, and so on. At this time the economics of commercial publishing were favorable to the circulation of feminist polemics because firms sought high-yield books that would support their unprofitable titles. Hoping to capture the burgeoning feminist market, they published controversial books that became best-sellers: for instance, Betty Friedan's *The Feminine Mystique* (Norton, 1963), Caroline Bird's *Born Female: The High Cost of Keeping Women Down* (McKay, 1968), Kate Millet's *Sexual Politics* (Doubleday, 1970), Robin Morgan's *Sisterhood Is Powerful* (Random House, 1970), and Vivian Gornick and Barbara K. Moran's *Woman in a Sexist Society* (Basic Books, 1971). These early feminist books, which hybridized scholarly, creative, and activist contents, provoked scathing criticism from establishment book reviewers who felt threatened on two counts: feminism challenged their gender ideology, and hybridity exceeded their specialism-based competencies.[13] The reviewer

backlash, when amplified by the media, dampened the commercial sector's enthusiasm for feminist work.

One would expect left publications, which were major venues for exposing the abuses of the imperialist corporate-liberal state, to welcome feminist work, but the male gatekeepers who controlled publishing activities let their sexism trump their politics and refused to hear about what they called "the woman question." My survey of publications throughout the 1960s revealed, astonishingly, that the major left periodicals—*Liberation*, *New Left Review*, *New Left Notes*, *Leviathan*, *Radical America*, and *Ramparts*—had published, in total, fewer feminist articles than had such traditionally female magazines as the homemaking *McCall's* and *Ladies' Home Journal*, the trendy *Mademoiselle* and *Glamour*, and the high-fashion *Vogue* and *Bazaar*. After 1970, left periodicals began to feature feminist work, but only because angry movement women either made demands or, as in the case of *Rat*, seized control of the premises and the production process.[14]

Meanwhile, gripped by disciplinary orthodoxies, scholarly presses and journals rejected feminist work for being what they regarded as political or polemical. During the 1960s, university presses published less than a dozen feminist books, most in the fields of literature, history, psychology, and anthropology, a trend that continued through the 1970s. My survey of the contents of six leading journals—*American Journal of Sociology*, *American Sociologist*, *PMLA*, *Art Bulletin*, *New Literary History*, and *Critical Inquiry*—revealed that from the late 1960s to the late 1970s each journal published less than a half-dozen articles addressing women or gender. Out of three dozen articles published by all of the journals, only five challenged the gendered conventions of the parent discipline; the rest replicated the accepted approaches in, for instance, sociology of sex differences, interpretation of female-authored fiction, and commentary on portrayals of women in artworks.[15]

The Legitimacy Problem

The early feminists were caught in a bind. On one hand, their institutions pressed them to demonstrate that women's studies courses were based upon scholarly literatures and to publish their own research. On the other, these feminists did not have scholarly literatures because the disciplines had trivialized the study of women, and they were unlikely to publish their own research because academic presses and journals repudiated any work tinged by a feminist perspective or departing from the male-centered topics of the disciplines. In 1972 when political scientist Jean O'Barr asked her department chairperson for permission to teach a course on Third World women, the response she received typified the legitimation bind:

> The chairperson looked at me as if I were from another planet and announced that the only way new courses entered the curriculum was when a distinguished research literature on the subject existed. I thought about the piles of mimeographed papers on the floor of my study at home. I looked at him and surprised even myself by confidently asserting that there was now an extensive research literature in existence on the subject of Third World women and development.[16]

Rather than O'Barr's bravado, what many feminists felt was fear. If their institutions refused to approve women's studies courses and to tenure feminist faculty, then they would not be able to use institutional resources to transform higher education and society.

Understandably, they did what they had to do. Some organized campus women, who pressured the administration and departments to hire and tenure women faculty, approve feminist courses, and fund women's studies programs. Others targeted publishing itself, founding academic-feminist journals and making them exemplars of scholarship. In 1972, Wendy Martin launched *Women's Studies* as an interdisciplinary journal that would feature feminist work in the social sciences, humanities, arts, and law. Reflecting on that time, she recalled that feminists on her campus and at MLA conventions were agonizing over the failure of department chairs and deans to give credit for feminist research when they made decisions about tenure and promotion. Apparently she too was agonizing over the problem of scholarly legitimacy because she confessed that in order to preempt accusations of intellectual anemia she overemphasized rigorous scholarship for both the journal and her own women's studies course at Queens College CUNY. *Feminist Studies*, another interdisciplinary journal founded in 1972, took a different route to scholarship. Originally planning to feature a mixture of work by activists, attorneys, journalists, artists, and scholars, editor Ann Calderwood found herself trolling through mediocre journal submissions, and, seeking higher-equality work, turned to her colleagues who presented papers at the Berkshire Conference of Women Historians. While the 1972 Berkshire Conference provided her with diverse types of feminist work, the 1975 conference featured scholarly papers, some using traditional disciplinary methods to investigate women's lives and others pushing the disciplinary envelope by using the new methods of oral history, psychohistory, and demography. Calderwood's reliance on Berkshire papers propelled the contents of *Feminist Studies* in a scholarly direction. In 1975, the prestigious University of Chicago Press launched *Signs*, an interdisciplinary feminist journal that hewed to the most rigorous standards of research, analysis, and documentation.[17] Arguably it was *Signs*, more than any other feminist journal, that won the establishment's respect, pried open the doors of mainstream journals, eased the legitimation crisis of women's studies, and intensified the disciplining of feminist work.

The antifeminist publishing trends I described earlier were reversed by the new economics that took hold of the industry in the 1990s. Media conglomerates, which had gobbled up once-independent commercial publishers, demanded that they make a profit on each and every title, seek the sensational, and use niche marketing techniques to attract identity- and issue-based consumer groups. Thus incentivized (as corporate lingo put it), publishers issued feminist and other books they once had considered too controversial but now viewed as a means of generating buzz and bucks. University presses, faced with increased competition from the commercial sector and shrinking subventions from their parent institutions, also sought hot topics in feminist, ethnic, LGBT,[18] and cultural studies. In the leftist publishing sector, white male editors welcomed a broader range of progressive work; they had undergone a conversion experience, coming to respect feminism's achievements and to fear the conservative takeover of the state.

Re-forming the Intellectual Core

Personal reminiscences and scholarly critiques written by women who were graduate students or young faculty members before the emergence of Second Wave feminism show us how disciplinary knowledges and practices had alienated women. Although the sciences, humanities, and arts differed in many respects—such as investigating natural, social, or artifactual objects; using scientific or humanistic methods; and maintaining unified or diversified knowledge cores—they were similarly infused by gender ideology. Each discipline promulgated a history of the great men who built the field, each maintained a canon of elegant male-authored theories or works, each attributed its advances to some type of masculine reason or creative genius and, if it accepted female graduate students, each attempted to train them as male-gendered practitioners.

In 1971, Elaine Showalter wrote about the 1960s undergraduate literature curriculum, describing the texts that students read and the thinking they were taught. First-year anthologies typically devoted as much as 95 percent of their contents to male-authored writings and bore such titles as *Man in Crisis* and *Conditions of Men*. Over the next three years, students encountered negative images of women in the "great works" of literature—shrewish wives, martyred mothers, promiscuous lovers. The discipline's all-encompassing masculinist culture taught women "how to think like a man" and in the process alienated them from their female identities: "Women are estranged from their own experience and unable to perceive its shape and authenticity, in part because they do not see it mirrored . . . by literature. Instead they are expected to identify as readers with a masculine experience and perspective, which is presented as the human one."[19] Feminist sociologist Dorothy E. Smith reached a similar conclusion about the gendering of her discipline. Reporting on a symposium convened to discuss male-to-female battering, she explained that the male psychiatrists, psychologists, and sociologists expected to dispense their expert knowledge to the lowly female social workers, who were supposed to passively absorb the facts and theories. But when some of the women objected to the power/knowledge hierarchy, the men repeatedly chastised them for being emotional rather than logical, essentially battering them with words in an ironic imitation of the battering the symposium was discussing.[20]

Operating within the gendered framework, male professors criticized female students for any performance they regarded as either too feminine because it displayed professional weakness or too masculine because it usurped their professional power. When Suzanne Juhasz wrote papers in her literature doctoral program, she "tried to learn how to 'pass' for male," but apparently she was unsuccessful because the men on her dissertation committee told her she hadn't used "enough topic sentences and conclusions," hadn't clearly proved her thesis, "wasn't being 'logical,'" in short "was being too feminine."[21] In the physics doctoral program at Harvard, Evelyn Fox Keller easily mastered the skills, earned top grades in her courses, and dreamed of becoming a theoretical physicist. But her professors repeatedly undercut her aspirations, telling her she could not possibly understand what she thought she had learned and that her ambition was unrealistic because no woman had ever succeeded in theoretical

physics at Harvard. Writing about the years of shaming and shunning, Keller believed her professors were intentionally punishing her "for stubbornly pursuing an obviously male discipline."[22] The disciplines' gendered knowledges and hostile socializing practices that alienated female students also had positive effects; they precipitated the formation of their feminist identities and fueled their determination to revamp the disciplinary cores. Showalter, Smith, Juhasz, and Keller all became prominent feminist scholars and critics of the male-gendered disciplines that had attempted to expel them.

Given the pervasiveness of such experiences, it is understandable that academic feminists set out to denaturalize biology's "sex" and constitute "gender" as ideologically infused social arrangements. The reigning biological paradigm, which also informed many schools of thought in the social sciences and humanities, held that the XX and XY sex chromosomes functioned like master molecules to direct fetal sex differentiation and, in concert with hormonal processes, to determine sex-dimorphic bodies, minds, personalities, and abilities. Feminists in several disciplines mounted a wide-ranging attack on virtually every register of the paradigm. Using the research literature on individuals with XO, XXY, and XYY chromosomal pairings who did not conform to the male/female bodily and behavioral types, feminist biologists undercut the claims of biological determinism and dimorphism. Their efforts were supported by feminists in other fields: psychologists exposed the fallacies of mainstream research on sex differences in cognition, abilities, and behaviors; literary critics probed sexist language and stereotypes; and anthropologists described societies organized on equitable gender principles and on nongendered principles. Moreover, by rediscovering women as agents of culture—leaders, reformers, educators, authors, artists, and scientists—and writing them into disciplinary histories, feminists were able to expose the concepts that had produced male-centered knowledges—for instance, "economic man" and the sexual division of labor, the "virile leader" and the public/private dualism, and the "man of genius" and the canon of great works. Within the disciplines, feminists proliferated specialist discourses, which were integrated by the cross-disciplinary theorizing of gendered subject and social formations.

Simultaneously, however, identity proliferation took hold within feminist studies. Beginning early in the Second Wave, feminists who did not bear privileged identities criticized their white, middle-class, and heterosexual sisters for marginalizing women of other races, ethnicities, classes, and sexualities. This discourse was extraordinarily productive: on one hand, ritualized accusations sparked hostilities that sometimes sabotaged the coalitions needed to make social and academic change; on the other, thoughtful criticism inspired scholarship on diverse women's histories, contributions, and oppressions that complexified the male/female gender model. Socialist-feminists, for instance, braided the strands of class difference into gender analysis, and African American feminists replaced this "dual systems" model by adding races, ethnicities, and sexualities to the analysis. Such black women as attorney and civil rights activist Pauli Murray and sociologist Deborah King argued that black women existed at the crossroads of oppressions by gender, race, class, and sexuality, which in turn produced not additive but multiplicative effects. Over the years, the research on multiple identities and oppressions led both

feminist and mainstream scholars to a more sophisticated theorization of the interactivity between the power/knowledge nexus and the processes of subject and social formation.[23]

Bureaucratizing Equal Opportunity

The institutionalization of women's studies programs and feminist scholarship was not only concurrent with but dependent upon the outcome of women's struggle for equal treatment in the American higher-education system. During the 1970s, women's commissions in the disciplinary associations issued dozens of status studies showing that the academic system was riddled with sex stratification and sex segregation that corresponded to prestige hierarchies. By institution, male faculty members predominated at elite Ivy League institutions, public research universities, and prominent liberal arts colleges, while female faculty were relegated to two-year colleges, women's colleges, and state universities emphasizing undergraduate education. By rank, men predominated at the levels of full and associate professor, while women held mainly nontenure track instructorships and a minority of assistant professorships. Across the disciplines, sex segregation mirrored the gender stereotyping of fields as intellectually "hard" and "soft": male faculty and graduate students monopolized the physical and natural sciences, mathematics, economics, political science, philosophy, engineering, business, and law. Women outnumbered men only in such "feminine" fields as education, social work, nursing, and home economics. Men held virtually all top administrative positions from university president down to department chair, while women were scuttled into midlevel positions in student affairs, continuing education, public relations, and alumni affairs. Gender stereotyping was commonplace in the processes of teaching, mentoring, hiring, and promoting. A 1972 report issued by the Wingspread Conference, convened to promote the advancement of women in higher education, discussed the opinions of male professors: they considered female graduate students to be incapable of superior performance, assumed that they would give priority to family over career, and expected them to demonstrate their ability and commitment by earning higher grades than male students.[24] Other reports quoted comments made by male professors about women seeking faculty positions—for instance, "Will your husband…feel threatened?" "Do you intend to have children?" and "She just broke up with her boy friend and so is free to accept a job anywhere in the country."[25]

These discriminatory practices were precisely what Congress intended to eliminate when it passed the Civil Rights Act of 1964, as amended in 1972. Title VI, which applied to academic and other institutions that received federal funding, prohibited discrimination on grounds of sex, race, and national origin. Authorized to secure compliance, federal agencies instructed academic institutions to halt any ongoing discrimination and develop affirmative-action plans that would remedy the effects of prior discrimination. On most campuses, faculty members opposed affirmative action and administrators made sure that equal-opportunity offices were too understaffed to function effectively. The resistance on campuses was abetted by the federal agencies themselves. From the late 1960s through the late 1970s, they backlogged thousands of discrimination

complaints, ignored institutions that failed to file affirmative-action plans, and, when presented with indisputable evidence of discrimination, seldom issued "cease and desist" orders or terminated the funding of noncompliant institutions. Determined to overcome these obstacles, women and racial minorities pursued two courses of action: they pressured their institutions to appoint women and racial minorities to decision-making positions in the administration and on key faculty committees, and they filed discrimination lawsuits. But the courts were reluctant to embroil themselves in the intricacies of academic processes. Out of nearly 300 sex-discrimination lawsuits brought by faculty women between 1972 and 1984, the courts ruled for the defending institutions in about 200; when they did find for plaintiffs, it was more often on the basis of a procedural violation than a substantive act of discrimination.[26]

In the early 1970s, just as public universities were beginning to implement affirmative action in student admissions, two white men filed lawsuits that journeyed to the Supreme Court. In 1971, Marco DeFunis, twice rejected by the University of Washington Law School, claimed that the admissions program discriminated against him by accepting "less qualified" racial-minority applicants. Then in 1974, after the Supreme Court ruled that the case was moot because DeFunis was a few months away from law school graduation, Allan Bakke, twice rejected by the University of California Medical School at Davis, filed suit on essentially the same grounds. Both cases attracted the attention of the media, the public, and advocacy organizations; the two-dozen *amicus* briefs submitted by conservative, progressive, and academic groups in *DeFunis v. Odegaard* (1974) ballooned to 86 briefs in *Regents of the University of California v. Bakke* (1978). Once affirmative action became a flashpoint public issue, academic institutions realized they were caught in a predicament: if they failed to eliminate discrimination, they would invite litigation by women and racial minorities; but if they implemented sex- and race-conscious remedies, they would invite litigation by disgruntled white men.

The *Bakke* ruling fueled the conflict over affirmative action. The justices had split into two four-person camps, leaving Justice Lewis F. Powell to somehow craft an Opinion of the Court. Siding with one camp, he found that the Davis medical school admissions program violated Title VI's nondiscrimination mandate; and palliating the other camp, which argued that the program was legal under both Title VI and the equal protection clause of the Constitution, he declared that a university could use race as one of many factors in applicant evaluation, but it would have to show that any race-conscious measures were narrowly tailored to serve a compelling government interest. The ambiguous structure of the *Bakke* opinion and the justices' numerous pronouncements, which filled nearly 100 pages, allowed affirmative-action opponents and supporters to cherry-pick the statements that supported their positions. Over the next 20 years, as conservative justices replaced liberal and moderate ones, the Court narrowed what could count as remedies for race and sex discrimination, thereby restricting what academic institutions could do to provide equal access and treatment. Meanwhile, the emboldened conservative movement mounted a wide-ranging attack on other academic reforms that did not comport with their ideology—feminist and ethnic studies programs, gay student groups, the teaching of noncanonical literature, research on global warming,

critiques of American exceptionalism, and anti-hate speech and anti-sexual harassment policies. When conservatives captured the Congress and regained the presidency with the election of George W. Bush, they were finally able to weld their movement organizations to the government in a seamless policy-making process that attempted to restructure the higher-education system.[27]

No Ending

The story of academic feminism has plenty of ironies and no ending. The insurgent project that set out to transform academic and social institutions was transformed by them. Once reformatted as a research field, a curriculum, and an equal opportunity bureaucracy, it lost the capacity to make societal change. Depending upon where it was located in the academic landscape, it was more or less severed from real-world practice. Embedded in disciplines that lacked nonacademic applications, feminist studies circulated its knowledges to scholarly experts. Embedded in education, social work, and law, its knowledges seeped unevenly into nonacademic arenas. Feminist scholars produced histories and analyses of social change, but since they did not teach the practices of making change—the "how to" of framing issues, recruiting supporters, mounting campaigns, escalating conflict, and negotiating outcomes—they could not fuel feminist activism.

Ironically, just when feminism had a respected place in higher education, the forces against which it had struggled—establishment groups, globalizing capitalism, and neoliberal government—began to restructure higher education. Starting in the early 1980s, academic institutions found themselves crunched on one side by the soaring costs of facilities maintenance, library acquisitions, new technologies, and personnel benefits and on the other side by stagnating revenues for general operations, student financial aid, and virtually all research but that on military and security issues. The 2008 economic meltdown turned this budget crunch into a full-blown fiscal crisis; as deficit-burdened state and federal governments slashed their higher-education appropriations, the institutions housing feminism looked to trim programs they regarded as peripheral to the core fields of the liberal arts and sciences.

Although it is impossible to predict the fate of academic feminism within this economically driven restructuring, one thing is certain. We can no longer focus exclusively on the convergence of activism with academe because the activities in these and all other sectors are now caught up in the immense convulsions of global capitalism. So what should scholars of power-knowledge formations do? The short answer is we will have to start analyzing all over again.

Notes

1. Michel Foucault, "Questions of Methods," in James D. Faubion, ed., trans. Robert Hurley and others, *Power* (New York: New Press, 2000), 225; emphasis in the original.
2. See Max Heirich, *The Spiral of Conflict: Berkeley 1964* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1971) (Berkeley Free Speech Movement); Paul Lauter and Florence Howe, *The Conspiracy of the Young* (New York: World, 1970), 27–53 (Mississippi freedom

schools); Wini Breines, *Community and Organization in the New Left, 1962–1968*, new ed. (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1989) (ERAP); Barbara A. Crow, *Radical Feminism: A Documentary Reader* (New York: New York University Press, 2000) (consciousness raising); and Anita Shreve, *Women Together, Women Alone: The Legacy of the Consciousness-Raising Movement* (New York: Viking, 1989) (consciousness raising).

3. As one example, see Anne N. Costain and Andrew S. McFarland, *Social Movements and American Political Institutions* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 1998). A quick glance at the table of contents shows that this volume is divided into sections on theories of American politics and social movements, movement mobilization, and action targeting political parties, government, and the courts. In other words, the individual/institutional/state formula is reflected in not only the book's format but also in its title.
4. See Harold Garfinkel, *Studies in Ethnomethodology*, rpt. of 1961 ed. (Cambridge, UK: Polity, 1991) (on ethnomethodology); Anthony Giddens, *The Constitution of Society* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1984) (on structuration); and Stephen Resnick and Richard Wolff, "Althusser's Liberation of Marxian Theory," in E. Ann Kaplan and Michael Sprinker, eds, *The Althusserian Legacy* (New York: Verso, 1993), 59–72 (on overdetermination).
5. For diverse approaches, see Giddens, *Constitution of Society*; Aldon D. Morris, *The Origins of the Civil Rights Movement: Black Communities Organizing for Change* (New York: Free Press, 1984); Walter W. Powell and Paul J. DiMaggio, eds, *The New Institutionalism in Organizational Theory and Analysis* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991); Donatella della Porta and Mario Diani, *Social Movements: An Introduction* (Oxford, UK, and Malden, MA: Blackwell, 1999).
6. The line between rule-bound and inner-driven practice is not entirely bright. Although a city creates traffic rules that incur penalties when violated, many drivers do violate these rules. By contrast, cults seem to be more successful at instilling such feelings as fear and awe that, in turn, compel the members to obey the rules.
7. See Timothy Lenoir, "The Discipline of Nature and the Nature of Disciplines," in Ellen Messer-Davidow, David R. Shumway, and David J. Sylvan, eds, *Knowledges: Historical and Critical Studies in Disciplinarity* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1993), 70–75, and the preface, vii–viii; and Tony Becher, *Academic Tribes and Territories: Intellectual Enquiry and the Culture of Disciplines* (Milton Keynes, UK: Society for Research into Higher Education and Open University Press, 1989).
8. Barbara Ryan, *Feminism and the Women's Movement: Dynamics of Change in Social Movement Ideology and Activism* (New York: Routledge, 1992), 73. Often referred to as the First Wave of American feminism, organizations predating NOW included those associated with women's suffrage, such as the National American Women's Suffrage Association (1890), the National Women's Party (1917), and the League of Women Voters (1920); with labor struggles, such as the Women's Trade Union League (1903); and with reproductive issues such as Planned Parenthood (1942). Second Wave organizations established around the time of NOW include the Women's Equity Action League (1968), which focused on education and employment, and the National Abortion Rights Action League (1968). Generally categorized as liberal-feminist organizations because they worked the channels of official politics—lobbying, legislation, and litigation—they advocated for changes considered quite radical at the time.
9. Left feminists reworked socialist, Marxist, and progressive ideologies and agendas, and radical feminists emphasized woman-centered institutions and cultures. For more information on the liberal, left, and radical strains, see Ruth Rosen, *The World Split Open: How the Modern Women's Movement Changed America* (New York: Penguin, 2000); Susan M. Hartman, *The Other Feminists: Activists in the Liberal Establishment* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998); Alice Echols, *Daring To Be Bad: Radical*

Feminism in America, 1967–1975 (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1989); and Barbara A. Crow, *Radical Feminism: A Documentary Reader* (New York: New York University Press, 2000).

10. Ellen Messer-Davidow, *Disciplining Feminism: From Social Activism to Academic Discourse* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2002), 100–111.
11. Lacking an official count of women's studies courses in 1980, we can only estimate the number. If the 800 programs offered 10–15 courses a year (an introduction, a senior seminar, and topics courses), the national total would be 8,000–16,000. But many of the remaining 2,700 institutions that did not have programs did offer feminist courses through mainstream departments.
12. Messer-Davidow, *Disciplining Feminism*, 119–125.
13. Ibid., 133–137.
14. Ibid., 131.
15. Ibid., 143–149.
16. Quoted in ibid., 84.
17. See Patrice McDermott, *Politics and Scholarship: Feminist Academic Journals and the Production of Knowledge* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994); and Messer-Davidow, *Disciplining Feminism*, 138–143.
18. LGBT stands for "lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender."
19. Quoted in Messer-Davidow, *Disciplining Feminism*, 39.
20. Ibid., 33–34.
21. Quoted in ibid., 40.
22. Ibid., 22–24.
23. Ibid., 191–201; and Marilyn Jacoby Boxer, *When Women Ask the Questions: Creating Women's Studies in America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998). Today such nonacademic organizations as the U.S. Bureau of Census, the National Institutes of Health, and the United Nations nuance their research by sex, race, ethnicity, socioeconomic class, level of education age, nationality, and other categories. Ibid., 191-201;
24. Esther M. Westervelt, *Women's Higher Education: Some Unanswered Questions: Report of the Wingspread Conference* (Racine WI: Johnson Foundation, 1972), 7–8.
25. Ad Hoc Committee on the Status of Women in the Profession, *The Status of Women in Sociology 1968–1972* (Washington DC: American Sociological Association, 1973), 24–27.
26. See Messer-Davidow, *Disciplining Feminism*, 62–79.
27. For more information on the conservative assault, see Ellen Messer-Davidow, "Manufacturing the Attack on Liberalized Higher Education," *Social Text* 36 (Fall 1993): 40–80; and "Why Democracy Will Be Hard to Do," *Social Text* 86 (Spring 2006): 1–35.

Part II
Legal Norms and Political Change

5
Race and Reform: The Establishment Responds to the African American Civil Rights Movement

Manfred Berg

In August 1965, the members of the interracial "community action board" of Clarksdale, Mississippi, were invited to the White House. The Johnson administration wanted to display Clarksdale, a town in the Delta region of the Magnolia state and a hotbed of civil rights activism during the early 1960s, as an encouraging example that racial progress and cooperation could be achieved even in the Deep South. In Washington, the delegation from Mississippi met with the president's wife, Lady Bird Johnson, who told the visitors "how happy she was that the racial problems of the South were over now, so that they could move on to new challenges." Andrew Carr, a white member of the Clarksdale group, who was a wealthy cotton planter and a supporter of civil rights—a rare combination indeed—later noted that when listening to the first lady he began wondering if the Johnson administration "really knew what it was getting into."[1]

From the vantage point of history, Lady Bird's optimism sounds outright naïve. Even in August 1965, it was obvious that America's racial problems were far from over. Although the Civil Rights Act of 1964 had banned segregation in the public sphere and the Voting Rights Act, passed shortly before the Clarksdale delegation came to Washington, secured ballot access for African American voters in the South, white supremacist resistance to integration had by no means come to an end and black empowerment was still in its infancy. Moreover, beginning in the summer of 1964, riots in the black ghettoes were frightening Americans. Only five days after LBJ signed the Voting Rights Act, the black Watts district of Los Angeles exploded in rage, leaving dozens of people dead and hundreds injured. Over the next four years most of America's big cities outside the South lived through a series of "long hot summers" of violent unrest. The ghetto riots became a major factor in the unraveling of the so-called liberal consensus, which had sustained the civil rights reforms and Great Society programs of the Johnson administration.[2]

However, if we take a closer look at the expectations that mainstream white Americans harbored of the 1964/1965 civil rights legislation, Lady Bird's

welcome remarks to the delegation from Clarksdale appear quite representative of what most white liberals hoped for at the time. The national consensus in favor of desegregation and voting rights that had emerged during the early 1960s in response to the dramatic nonviolent protest by the Civil Rights movement was predicated on the assumption that these reforms would lead to a swift "solution" of the race question and allow Americans to return to "normalcy." For obvious reasons the leaders of the Civil Rights movement had deliberately nurtured these expectations for years. "Give us the ballot," Martin Luther King Jr. proclaimed in 1957, "and we will no longer have to worry the federal government about our basic rights." If southern blacks could vote, Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), predicted in a letter to the *New York Times* in 1960, "many aspects of civil rights now considered ponderously in Washington will plague the Hill less and less as the state capitols and county courthouses will take over. The Hill can then concern itself with the myriad 'normal' problems of federal state relationships, budget, defense, foreign policy, and space."[3] Protecting black civil and political rights, such rhetoric suggested, would facilitate orderly change and eventually make the race problem go away.

In today's America, the black Civil Rights movement is widely regarded as the most important social movement of twentieth-century U.S. history. Indeed, it not only brought an end to institutional racism but became a model for the "new social movements" of the 1960s and beyond. Equally important, the Civil Rights movement triggered a "rights revolution" that has profoundly transformed American political culture. The movement's legacy has been firmly integrated into public memory as a great American story of liberty and progress. More than 700 streets all over the United States are named after Martin Luther King Jr. Southern communities that once were strongholds of segregation have erected memorials and museums to celebrate the black struggle.[4]

Still, it would be seriously misleading to read back our present-day perspectives into the minds of Americans during the 1950s and 1960s. In his recent account of American history during the second half of the twentieth century, the historian Richard Abrams observes that "if 'the people'—that is, the majority of Americans—had had their way, little would have happened toward enlarging civil rights, civil liberties, sexual freedom, women's rights, the quality of life for the poor, the monitoring of business practices on behalf of consumer interests and the environment, …" Rather, Abrams argues, these achievements resulted "from the leadership of a relatively small group of liberal men and women who commanded strategic positions in business, education, and government."[5] Surely, no reader familiar with the history of the Civil Rights movement will take issue with Abrams's assessment that the majority of white Americans were either indifferent or outright hostile toward black equality. Whether his vindication of liberal elites as agents of progressive change is justified, however, remains a matter of debate.

In this essay, I will attempt an interpretive overview of how American political elites reacted to the African American Civil Rights movement and how this reaction was linked to U.S. foreign and domestic policy. The majority of

white elites, I argue, did not embrace a comprehensive vision of racial reform. Rather, they initially treated black protest as an unwelcome disruption of the widespread consensus that "the Negro problem" could only be "solved" by gradual change and, most of all, "patience" on the part of the oppressed minority. White liberals hoped that political reforms would satisfy the demands of African Americans and keep the race issue at a low profile. But ultimately the movement's successful efforts at political mobilization and nonviolent direct action tactics forced both the establishment and American society at large to face the realities of racism squarely. Black protest triggered political and social changes that few Americans—black or white, establishment or ordinary people—could have foreseen.

The White Establishment of the South

Until the mid-1960s the black Civil Rights movement primarily targeted the institutional racism of the South. It is therefore appropriate to begin this overview with the racial attitudes of white southerners. Recent historiography has somewhat modified the traditional image of the "solid South" united in defense of white supremacy. Inspired by the New Deal liberalism, interracial groups such as the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, the Southern Regional Council, and the various councils on human relations at the local and state levels worked for racial change. Most southern liberals, however, advocated fairness and justice for blacks based on the "separate but equal" doctrine. The leading intellectual proponents of racial moderation in the South, men such as the newspaper editors Hodding Carter of Mississippi or Ralph McGill of Georgia, espoused gradualism and political rights, but shied away from embracing integration. Fundamental opposition against segregation and unqualified support for the legal, political, and social equality of the races remained confined to a small and isolated minority. White southerners who questioned white supremacy could be sure to incur social ostracism and possibly personal threats.[6]

When the 1954 U.S. Supreme Court decision in *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas* ordered the desegregation of public education, the white South reacted with "Massive Resistance," including large-scale mob violence and deadly terrorism. It may be true that "most white southerners identified neither with the Civil Rights movement nor with its violent resistance," as the historian Jason Sokol writes in his account of how ordinary whites experienced the collapse of their world during the upheavals of the 1950s and 1960s.[7] Nevertheless, there can be no doubt that an overwhelming majority strongly opposed desegregation. According to a 1960 poll taken in several states of the Deep South, 86 percent of all whites claimed to be "strict segregationists," while a miniscule 0.6 percent confessed to favor integration. Even in Greensboro, North Carolina, a city priding itself on being the vanguard of the progressive "New South," 70 percent of white citizens wished to retain segregation. The historian Numan Bartley has estimated that perhaps one-fourth of all white southerners were willing to consider violent resistance in defense of white supremacy.[8]

Most historians agree that the escalation of racist violence against desegregation and civil rights activism mirrored a breakdown of leadership on the part of southern elites. Newspapers deliberately fanned hysterical fears of miscegenation and race war. Nearly all congressmen and senators from the South signed the infamous "Southern Manifesto" of March 1956, calling for resisting the *Brown* ruling by all legal means. Southern legislatures passed almost five hundred laws specifically tailored to obstruct school desegregation. The open defiance of federal law and authority, the historian Clive Webb writes, "emboldened racial extremists to believe they could act with impunity in brutally repressing black civil rights." And even though only a minority of white southerners actively participated in racist violence, the troublemakers were not simply the proverbial "rednecks" but "included people drawn from a broad cross-section of the community," according to Webb. The largely middle-class White Citizens' Councils, organized as the respectable wing of Massive Resistance, boasted 250,000 members.[9]

Southern politicians quickly realized that their constituents rewarded defiance and confrontation. Those leaders who spoke in favor of moderation and compliance faced almost certain defeat at the polls. Ironically, two of the most notorious race-baiters of the era, Arkansas governor Orval Faubus and Alabama governor George Wallace, were both racial moderates in the populist tradition before they revised their electoral strategies to please the prosegregationist sentiment among southern voters. Wallace learned his lesson when he was defeated in the 1958 Democratic primary for the Alabama governorship. Concluding that he had lost because of his moderate stance over the race issue, Wallace infamously vowed that he would never be "outniggered" again. In the 1960s, he emerged as the most successful racial demagogue in American politics whose appeal reached far beyond the Mason-Dixon line. In his 1968 presidential bid, Wallace carried five southern states and garnered 13.6 percent of the popular vote, the best showing of a third-party presidential candidate in 44 years. Only after the Voting Rights Act had reenfranchised southern blacks did traditional race-baiting slowly disappear from southern politics. Eventually, even George Wallace repudiated his racism and publicly apologized to African Americans.[10]

Southern business leaders are often considered as the one elite group with a particular stake in racial moderation. After all, the Civil Rights movement's boycott strategies were aimed at sending a message to merchants and department store owners that segregation was bad for business. Southern proponents of economic progress could also not ignore the fact that violence and chaos would keep away much-needed capital and industry. Still, historians disagree over the role of the business community in the process of desegregation. Some scholars argue that businessmen hardly differed from other southerners in their racial attitudes and at best agreed to token concessions in order to maintain control and minimize change. Others admit that they were mostly concerned about the image of their cities but insist that "the desire to attract new industry and to maintain a progressive image was one very potent force leading to the southern willingness to abandon segregation." Surely the infamous Atlanta restaurant owner Lester Maddox, who stood in the door of his barbecue place toting pistols and ax handles to keep out blacks, was

an exception. Yet many merchants also worried how their white customers would react to integration. As case studies from 14 cities all over the South demonstrated some time ago, the picture is far from uniform. In some places, including Dallas, Texas, or Tampa, Florida, businessmen took the lead in forming biracial committees charged with hammering out local desegregation plans. Elsewhere, as in New Orleans, Louisiana, or Birmingham, Alabama, they remained in the rearguard of change. In many localities, business elites at first allowed the extremists to take control but reclaimed their leadership once they realized that the economic cost of Massive Resistance had become intolerable. According to the historian Steven Lawson, "cooperation came from merchants and businessmen who calculated that ugly racial incidents did not make good dollars and cents."[11]

In a similar vein, the role of white religious leaders in the South has been the subject of controversy among historians. While David Chappell considers them racial moderates when compared to the political elite, Jane Dailey has pointed to the role of religious discourse in the defense of white supremacy.[12] Yet, in spite of recent scholarship that has greatly enriched our understanding of the variety and complexity of racial attitudes among white southerners, there is no question that, by and large, the response of the southern intellectual, political, and commercial establishment to the Civil Rights movement was characterized by hostility and evasion.

The Establishment in the North and in the Nation

The South was not as radically different from the rest of the United States as it is often assumed. To be sure, African Americans could vote north of the Mason-Dixon line, and segregation was not mandated by law. But many white Americans outside Dixie also harbored strong reservations against the desegregation of their everyday lives. According to nationwide polls taken shortly before the Civil Rights movement's March on Washington in August 1963, more than 50 percent of the white respondents objected to black neighbors. About one-third did not want their children to attend an integrated school and one-fourth resented the idea of working next to blacks or going to the same church. As recent historiography by Thomas Sugrue, Arnold Hirsch, and others has shown, the resistance of working-class ethnic whites in the North, a core constituency of the New Deal coalition, against the racial integration of their neighborhoods was every bit as violent as in the South. When Martin Luther King Jr. launched his open housing campaign in Chicago in 1966, the marches through white neighborhoods triggered hateful mob assaults King called worse than anything he had experienced in the Deep South.[13]

In public discourse, most Northern opponents of racial change did not openly engage in race-baiting but preferred the coded language of states' rights, legislative sovereignty, and private property. Like southern "moderates," northern conservatives pontificated that social acceptance and equality had to be earned and could not be legislated. When the struggle against Jim Crow entered its crucial stage in the spring and summer of 1963, David Lawrence, the conservative columnist and publisher of *US News & World Report*, nostalgically conjured up the spirit of Booker T. Washington whom most white

Americans at the time associated with black deference and accommodation to white leadership.[14]

A typical representative of the conservative establishment's outlook on race was President Dwight D. Eisenhower. In the late 1940s, General Eisenhower had opposed the racial integration of the armed forces because he feared that "social experiments" would impair the military's effectiveness. In speaking to blacks, President Eisenhower assumed a condescending and paternalistic posture that was completely out of touch with the new African American self-confidence. In 1956, for example, he sent an address to the annual convention of the NAACP in which he urged "patience and forbearance," prompting an angry rebuff from NAACP leader Roy Wilkins. When Ike dispatched the 101st airborne division to Little Rock, Arkansas, during the school integration crisis of September 1957, he did so because he could no longer tolerate the continued defiance of federal law by Governor Faubus, not because he favored school desegregation. As a matter of fact, Eisenhower refused to publicly endorse the Supreme Court's *Brown* ruling and privately expressed his sympathy for the anxieties of white southerners. In his memoirs, Roy Wilkins acidly quipped that if General Eisenhower "had fought World War II the way he fought for civil rights, we would all be speaking German today."[15]

In contrast, racial liberals believed that racism was an irrational and morally intolerable aberration from America's egalitarian creed. In particular, Cold War liberals deplored that racial discrimination impaired U.S. international prestige in the momentous struggle against world communism. As early as 1947, President Truman conceded that, in order to make its case for democracy against communism, America had to come up with "practical evidence that we have been able to put our own house in order … But we cannot, any longer, await the growth of a will to action in the slowest state or the most backward community. Our National Government must show the way."[16] This did not mean, however, that liberals welcomed black civil rights activism, especially the nonviolent direct action protest that forced the race issue onto the American agenda in the late 1950s and early 1960s. President John F. Kennedy's vision of New Frontiers to which he promised to lead the American people did not include a vigorous stride toward black equality. Instead, he favored a cautious and incremental approach to racial change predicated on executive action aimed at strengthening the right to vote of southern blacks and on promoting integration and equal opportunity in all federal programs and services. To avoid violence, civil rights should be pursued on a "quiet, unpublicized basis."[17]

All the same, nonviolent protest by the Civil Rights movement made sure that race relations became the most salient and controversial domestic issue of Kennedy's presidency. When in the spring of 1961, the Freedom Riders, testing a recent desegregation ruling on interstate travel handed down by the Supreme Court, were brutally assaulted by vicious mobs unrestrained by southern authorities, Kennedy faced exactly the situation he had hoped to avoid. Although he finally dispatched federal marshals to Alabama to protect the riders, the president was furious and told his aide Harris Wofford: "Stop them! Get your friends off those buses." But the issue did not go away, as much as JFK hoped it would. The interplay of nonviolent direct action and

violent responses from white supremacists time and again forced the Kennedy administration to intervene in order to vindicate both the rule of law and federal authority. In the fall of 1962, the violent confrontation over the integration of the University of Mississippi led to a crisis that prompted some observers to speak of a "state-sized civil war."[18]

Race and U.S. Foreign Relations

In the wake of the crisis at "Ole Miss," a commentator from India noted that it was hard to find another government that would "throw thousands of men and huge resources behind the application of a single individual to enter a university because the law said he had the right to be there." Foreign perception of America's racial crisis had become increasingly important since the United States was involved in a global ideological contest with the Soviet Union. U.S. leaders from Harry Truman to Lyndon Johnson were painfully aware that America's domestic racism undermined U.S. credibility in the Cold War, especially in the emerging nations of the so-called Third World. When diplomats from the newly independent African nations arrived in the United States and tried to set up chanceries and homes or traveled outside of the big cities, they often encountered discrimination and harassment. On one occasion the ambassador from Chad was thrown out of a Maryland restaurant by a waitress who later innocently explained that he looked like any "ordinary nigger" to her and she could not have possibly known he was a diplomat. Much to his chagrin, President Kennedy was repeatedly forced to make personal apologies to African diplomats. JFK would have preferred to sidestep the problem, suggesting that the diplomats fly rather than drive when traveling throughout the southern and border states.[19]

In recent historiography, the Cold War is often depicted as a catalyst of the civil rights struggle. As Gunnar Myrdal presciently stated in his groundbreaking 1944 study *An American Dilemma*, "America, for its international prestige, power, and future security needs to demonstrate to the world that American Negroes can be integrated into its democracy." Historians, such as Thomas Borstelmann, Brenda Plummer, and Mary Dudziak, have demonstrated that African Americans deliberately used the Cold War to pressure the federal government into pursuing more active civil rights policies. As early as 1947, the NAACP petitioned the United Nations, calling upon the world organization "to step to the very edge of its authority" in protecting black Americans who found no protection from their own government. The damage racism did to America's international credibility formed an important discursive interface between the Civil Rights movement and the Cold War liberals, at least until the mid-1960s when the movement's radical wing repudiated the liberal consensus.[20]

We must be careful, however, not to exaggerate the impact of the Cold War on the establishment's response to the black struggle for freedom and equality. To begin with, the Cold War was a double-edged sword for the movement. While the ideological confrontation with communism provided black leaders with a potent rhetorical weapon, it also imposed considerable constraints on them, especially during the heyday of the McCarthy era from the late 1940s to

the mid-1950s. The anticommunist hysteria infested all corners of public life in America and grotesquely blurred the distinction between dissent and treason. Southern racists were among the most vociferous red-baiters and tried their best to discredit the Civil Rights movement as a communist conspiracy. As far as America's international reputation was concerned, white supremacists could not have cared less. When President Kennedy appealed to southern governors to take precautions that foreign dignitaries be treated with "proper hospitality," Arkansas governor Faubus, the chief culprit of the violent escalation in the 1957 school crisis at Little Rock, bluntly declined any responsibility, if foreign diplomats, "prompted by their communist advisers," provoked trouble.[21]

Although international concerns were part of the liberal discourse on race, they did not bear out at the policymaking level. No single civil rights measure can be directly attributed to foreign policy considerations. To put the argument squarely: in implementing the civil rights reforms of the 1960s, the liberal Cold War establishment did not respond to foreign policy constraints but to the relentless pressures emanating from the black grassroots movements all over the South. Foreign policy came into the picture mostly because the brutal violence that white supremacists inflicted on peaceful African Americans was televised all over the world and caused enormous embarrassment to the leader of the "Free World." In the wake of the shocking images of racist violence from Birmingham, Alabama, in the spring of 1963, President Kennedy remarked wearily, "All the money we spent for USIA [United States Information Agency, the agency of U.S. cultural diplomacy] might well have been saved after the picture of the Negro and the dog at Birmingham."[22]

Furthermore, domestic racial reforms had little impact on U.S. foreign policy, at least in the short run. Cold War imperatives continued to determine U.S. policies toward the newly independent African nations and the apartheid regime of South Africa—key international concerns of the Civil Rights movement. For all practical purposes, Thomas Borstelmann's assessment of the Truman administration's policy toward South Africa aptly characterizes American priorities throughout most of the Cold War: "The hopes of the liberal and moderate Cold Warriors . . . to create a more racially egalitarian and inclusive Western alliance were. . .sacrificed to the newer but deeper American conviction of embracing all anticommunists." This situation only changed in the late 1980s when Cold War tensions began to relax and Congress, responding to a broad-based antiapartheid lobby, passed the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act, which led to a massive divestment of U.S. capital.[23]

The Rights Revolution

In contrast, the domestic impact of the Civil Rights movement on American politics and culture can hardly be exaggerated. Even if their vision of change was limited and they continued to hope that the "Negro problem" would go away, the racial liberals of the Kennedy and Johnson administrations eventually accepted that tokenism would no longer do. By the spring of 1963, JFK had come to the conclusion that he needed to confront the racial crisis head-on

and proposed a comprehensive civil rights bill, including a far-reaching ban on segregation—the key goal that African American civil rights activists had been fighting for since the late nineteenth century. But it was Kennedy's successor Lyndon Johnson, a southerner by birth, who pushed through the sweeping reforms of 1964/1965. In the congressional battle over the 1964 Civil Rights Act, which lasted for 82 days and involved the longest filibuster in American legislative history, Johnson vowed that the bill would be passed no matter how long it took. When he proposed his Voting Rights Bill to the Congress in March 1965, responding to the movement's protest campaign in Selma, Alabama, LBJ cited the civil rights anthem "We shall overcome!" Many members of Congress and spectators in the gallery broke out in thundering applause and some had tears in their eyes. Moreover, the president also acknowledged that equal rights were not enough to create equality of opportunity and that some affirmative action had to be taken to heal "the scars of centuries," as he put it in his famous 1965 speech at Howard University. America, he insisted, needed "equality not just as a right and theory, but equality as a fact and as a result."[24]

The wide margins by which the Civil Rights Act and the Voting Rights Act were passed appeared to signal a sea change in white America's attitude toward the race question. Support also came from private institutional donors such as the Rockefeller, Ford, and Carnegie foundations, which began making large contributions to the various groups and organizations within the Civil Rights movement, preferably to fund voter registration and education campaigns. The protest phase of the black struggle, white liberals hoped, could now be ended and supplanted by the political process. Indeed, the Voting Rights Act, which placed registration and elections in large parts of the South under federal supervision, yielded spectacular results within a short period of time. Between 1964 and 1970, black voter registration in the southern states soared from 35 to nearly 60 percent, almost the same level as for white southerners, while the number of black elected officials skyrocketed from fewer than 25 to more than 700.[25]

Nevertheless, liberal hopes for a gradual and orderly "solution" to the race question literally went up in smoke during the second half of the 1960s. The ghetto riots, the Black Power challenge, and the war in Vietnam polarized Americans and led to the unraveling of the liberal consensus. When Martin Luther King Jr. was assassinated in April 1968, one black observer commented that America stood "on the threshold of the most critical period in its history since the first shot was fired on Fort Sumter in 1861."[26]

Although a racial war was eventually avoided, the historical analogy of the Civil War and Reconstruction has often been employed in pondering the achievements of the Civil Rights movement. Pessimists have continued to warn that the Second Reconstruction, that is, the civil rights revolution of the 1960s, might end much like the First Reconstruction between 1865 and 1876, namely, with a betrayal of African Americans. Along these lines many historians on the left have crafted a narrative of backlash and decline. According to their judgment, the civil rights reforms of the 1960s remained incomplete because they were confined to "formal equality" and stopped short of meaningful social change. Since then, the story continues, conservatives have been

hell-bent on eradicating whatever progress the Civil Rights movement had achieved, while the liberal establishment tacitly colluded in the backlash. Despite a public masquerade of tokenism and symbolic inclusion, an omnipresent structural racism continues to obstruct the advancement of the black masses, according to this point of view.[27]

Looking back at American race relations since the 1960s, I find this pessimistic narrative to be vastly exaggerated. Racism and inequality, to be sure, can easily be found in American society. However, the achievements of the Civil Rights movements have not only proven resilient to the notorious backlash. They have also transformed American society and culture in profound ways that extend far beyond the realm of race relations. Unlike the First Reconstruction, when the freedpeople had few allies among the white elites and their rights were sacrificed at the altar of reconciliation between the North and the South, the Second Reconstruction has "produced a well-developed, biracial public sphere that [is] now a fairly normal part of US political life," according to political scientist Richard Valelly. The legacy of the Civil Rights movement is firmly embedded in a much broader framework of social movements and institutions representing a surge of rights consciousness in American culture. The Civil Rights Act of 1964, for example, not only prohibited employment discrimination on account of race but also included religion, national origin, and sex. As a matter of fact, women, both black and white, may have been the "biggest winners" of the law as they quickly advanced into skilled and professional positions. American political, economic, and administrative elites as well as racial, ethnic, and cultural minorities, including Hispanics, Asian Americans, and gays and lesbians, have all developed a stake in the new orthodoxy of diversity. In the 2003 affirmative action cases involving the University of Michigan, corporate America, university administrations, and the military jointly lined up to testify before the Supreme Court, arguing that special efforts were needed to insure that American institutions reflected America's diversity.[28]

Of course, this is not exactly what the establishment of the 1950s and 1960s had envisioned when it responded to the black mass protest. Instead of making the race question go away, the civil rights reforms have made race a permanent item on the American agenda. Today many conservatives claim that America should return to color-blindness as the true goal of the civil rights struggle. This notion strikes me as a misreading not only of the movement's core objectives but of American history at large. Ever since its indigenous peoples first came into contact with Europeans and Africans, America has been a multiracial society, albeit one that was built on racial oppression, exploitation, and exclusion. The Civil Rights movement, obviously, did not "solve" America's "race problem" once and for all. But it has created the conditions for facing these problems within the framework of a multiracial democracy. Arguably this will stand as one of the most momentous transformations in all of American history. Indeed, the election of Barack Obama, the son of an African father from Kenya and a white American mother from Kansas, to the presidency of the United States in November 2008 has impressively demonstrated that the multiracial democracy for which the Civil Rights movement fought is no longer a hollow phrase or a remote dream.

Notes

1. Quoted in Nicholas Lemann, *The Promised Land: The Great Black Migration and How It Changed America* (New York: Vintage, 1992), 315.
2. The literature on the history of the 1960s, including the Civil Rights movement, the race riots, and the unraveling of the Great Society, is vast. For accessible overviews, see John Morton Blum, *Years of Discord: American Politics and Society , 1961–1974* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1991); Maurice Isserman and Michael Kazin, *America Divided: The Civil War of the 1960s* (New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000); John A. Andrew, *Lyndon Johnson and the Great Society* (Chicago: I.R. Dee, 1998).
3. King quoted in James Melvin Washington, ed., *A Testament of Hope. The Essential Writings and Speeches of Martin Luther King, Jr.* (San Francisco: HarperCollins, 1991), 197; Wilkins to *New York Times*, February 4, 1960, in Records of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Library of Congress, Manuscript Division, Part III, Series A, Box 267 (NAACP III A 267).
4. Van Gosse, "A Movement of Movements: The Definition and the Periodization of the New Left," in , Jean-Christophe Agnew and Roy Rosenzweig, eds, *A Companion to Post-1945 America* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2002), 277–302; Samuel Walker, *The Rights Revolution: Rights and Community in Modern America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998); Renee C. Romano and Leigh Raiford, eds, *The Civil Rights Movement in American Memory* (Athens, GA, and London: The University of Georgia Press, 2006).
5. Richard M. Abrams, *America Transformed: Sixty Years of Revolutionary Change, 1941–2001* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), xv.
6. For the most important works on southern racial dissent, see Morton Sosna, *In Search of the Silent South: Southern Liberals and the Race Issue* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1977); Anthony P. Dunbar, *Against the Grain. Southern Radicals and Prophets 1929–1959* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1981); John Egerton, *Speak Now against the Day: The Generation before the Civil Rights Movement in the South* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1994); Patricia Sullivan, *Days of Hope: Race and Democracy in the New Deal Era* (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 1996); David L. Chappell, *Inside Agitators: White Southerners in the Civil Rights Movement* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994).
7. Jason Sokol, *There Goes My Everything: White Southerners in the Age of Civil Rights, 1945–1975* (New York: Vintage Books, 2006), 4.
8. For the opinion polls in the South, see Earl Black and Merle Black, *Politics and Society in the South* (Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 1987), 198–205; Numan V. Bartley, *The Rise of Massive Resistance: Race and Politics in the South During the 1950s* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1969), 13–17; William H. Chafe, *Civilities and Civil Rights: Greensboro, North Carolina, and the Black Struggle for Freedom* (New York, 1980), esp. 28–41.
9. Clive Webb, ed., *Massive Resistance: Southern Opposition to the Second Reconstruction* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 3–17, 6 (quotes). The volume is an excellent introduction to the recent research on the history of southern resistance. On the White Citizens' Councils, see Neil R. McMillen, *The Citizens' Council: Organized Resistance to the Second Reconstruction, 1954–64*, 2nd ed. (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1994).
10. Roy Reed, *Faubus: The Life and Times of an American Prodigal* (Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 1997); Dan T. Carter, *The Politics of Rage: George Wallace, the Origins of the New Conservatism, and the Transformation of American Politics* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1995), 96 (quote); Stephan Lesher, *George Wallace: American*

Populist (Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 1994); Numan V. Bartley, *The New South 1945–1980* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1995), 417–454.

11. See Elizabeth Jacoway and David R. Colburn, eds, *Southern Businessmen and Desegregation* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1982), esp. introduction by Jacoway, 1–14, 13 (quote); Steven Lawson, "From Sit-in to Race Riot: Businessmen, Blacks, and the Pursuit of Moderation in Tampa, 1960–1967," in ibid., 257–281, 280 (quote); on Lester Maddox, see Sokol, *There Goes My Everything*, 182–187; for a study with a special emphasis on the local business community, see also Glenn T. Eskew, *But for Birmingham: The Local and National Movements in the Civil Rights Struggle* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998).
12. David Chappell, "Disunity and Religious Institutions in the White South," in Webb, *Massive Resistance*, 136–150; Jane Dailey, "The Theology of Massive Resistance: Sex, Segregation, and the Sacred after *Brown*," in ibid., 151–180.
13. Louis Harris, "Majority of Whites on Discrimination: It Hurts Abroad; Housing Big Issue," *Washington Post*, August 26, 1963, A1 a. 2, http://proquest.umi.com (accessed March 12, 2008); Thomas J. Sugrue, *The Origins of the Urban Crisis: Race and Inequality in Postwar Detroit* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996); idem., *Sweet Land of Liberty: The Forgotten Struggle for Civil Rights in the North* (New York: Random House, 2008); Arnold R. Hirsch, "Massive Resistance in the Urban North, Trumbull Park, Chicago, 1953–1966," *Journal of American History* 82, no. 2 (1995): 522–550; James R. Ralph, *Northern Protest: Martin Luther King, Jr., Chicago, and the Civil Rights Movement* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993); Jeanne F. Theoharis, Komozi Woodward, and Matthew Countryman, eds, *Freedom North: Black Freedom Struggle Outside the South, 1940–1980* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003).
14. See the op-ed pieces by David Lawrence in: *US News & World Report*: "The Only Hope," June 10, 1963; "But-," June 24, 1963; "Booker T. Washington Speak Again!," September 2, 1963, copies in: Carl Brauer, ed., *Civil Rights During the Kennedy Administration 1961–1963* (Frederick, Md.: University Publications of America, 1986), Reel 3. Modern historians have taken a much more differentiated and favorable view of Booker T. Washington; see, e.g., Robert J. Norrell, *Up from History: The Life of Booker T. Washington* (Cambridge, Mass.: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2009).
15. Robert F. Burk, *The Eisenhower Administration and Black Civil Rights* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1984); Eisenhower's address to the 1956 NAACP convention, June 26, 1956, NAACP III A 2; Wilkins's speech at the convention, July 1, 1956, NAACP III A 245; Roy Wilkins, *Standing Fast: The Autobiography of Roy Wilkins* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1994), 222.
16. *The Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: Harry S. Truman: 1947* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1963), 312; on the intellectual underpinning of the liberal orthodoxy on race, see Walter A. Jackson, *Gunnar Myrdal and America's Conscience: Social Engineering and Racial Liberalism, 1938–1987* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1990).
17. The literature on Kennedy's civil rights policy has grown considerably in recent years. For a synthesizing assessment, see Manfred Berg, "'Ink for Jack': John F. Kennedy and the Promise of Racial Liberalism," in Manfred Berg and Andreas Etges, eds, *John F. Kennedy and the 'Thousand Days': New Perspectives on the Foreign and Domestic Policies of the Kennedy Administration* (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter, 2007), 221–242.
18. Harris Wofford, *Of Kennedy and Kings: Making Sense of the Sixties* (New York: Farrar–Straus–Giroux, 1980), 153; Berg, "'Ink for Jack,'" 237–238; Raymond Arsenault, *Freedom Riders: 1961 and the Struggle for Racial Justice* (New York: Oxford University

Press, 2005); William Doyle, *An American Insurrection: The Battle of Oxford, Mississippi, 1962* (New York: Doubleday, 2001).

19. Mary L. Dudziak, *Cold War Civil Rights: Race and the Image of American Democracy* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2000), 165 (India quote); Thomas Borstelmann, *The Cold War and the Color Line: American Race Relations in the Global Arena* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001), I; Wofford, *Of Kennedys and Kings*, 127; Renee Romano, "No Diplomatic Immunity: African Diplomats, the State Department, and Civil Rights, 1961–1964," *The Journal of American History* 87 (2000): 546–579.
20. Gunnar Myrdal with the assistance of Richard Sterner and Arnold Rose, *An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy* (New York: Harper & Row, 20th anniversary edition, 1962), 1016; Manfred Berg, *"The Ticket to Freedom": The NAACP and the Struggle for Black Political Integration* (Gainesville, FL: The University Press of Florida, 2005), 119–124. The literature on the linkage between the Cold War and black civil rights has mushroomed in recent years. In addition to Dudziak, *Cold War Civil Rights*, and Borstelmann, *The Cold War and the Color Line*, see esp. Brenda Gayle Plummer, *Window on Freedom: Race, Civil Rights, and Foreign Affairs, 1945–1988* (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 2002).
21. On the predicament of the Civil Rights movement during the Red Scare, see Manfred Berg, "Black Civil Rights and Liberal Anticommunism: The NAACP in the Early Cold War," *The Journal of American History* 94, no. 1 (2007): 75–96; Jeff Woods, *Black Struggle—Red Scare: Segregation and Anti-Communism in the South, 1948–1968* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2004); Kennedy and Faubus quoted in Berg, "'Ink for Jack,'" 236–237.
22. For a more detailed argument, see Manfred Berg, "Ein Amerikanisches Dilemma: Die Rassenfrage und der Kalte Krieg," in Manfred Berg et al., eds, *Macht und Moral. Beiträge zur Amerikanischen Außenpolitik des 20. Jahrhunderts* (Münster: LIT Verlag, 1999), 189–207; Manfred Berg, "Das Problem des 20. Jahrhunderts: Die Internationale Geschichte und die Transformation der Rassenfrage in den USA," in Manfred Berg and Philipp Gassert, eds, *Deutschland und die USA in der Internationalen Geschichte des 20. Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2004), 171–192; the Kennedy quote is from the minutes of a meeting with business leaders on June 4, 1963; see Brauer, *Civil Rights During the Kennedy Administration*, Reel 3.
23. Thomas Borstelmann, *Apartheid's Reluctant Uncle: The United States and Southern Africa in the Early Cold War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 202; Donald R. Culverson, *Contesting Apartheid: US Activism, 1960–1987* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1999).
24. See Johnson's speech, "To Fulfill These Rights," in George E. Curry, ed., *The Affirmative Action Debate* (Reading: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 1996), 16–24, 17–18; Andrew, *Lyndon Johnson and the Great Society*, 23–55; Berg, *"The Ticket to Freedom,"* 204–220.
25. On the funding from the foundations and the impact of the Voting Rights Act, see Berg, *"The Ticket to Freedom,"* 188–189, 241, 255–256; Steven F. Lawson, *In Pursuit of Power: Southern Blacks & Electoral Politics, 1962–1982* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1985).
26. Chuck Stone, *Black Political Power in America* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1968), 247.
27. C. Vann Woodward, *The Strange Career of Jim Crow*, 3rd rev. ed. (New York-Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1974), of course, was the first historian to compare the two reconstructions but his outlook was distinctly optimistic. A standard textbook of the "decline school" is Manning Marable, *Race, Reform, and Rebellion: The Second Reconstruction and Beyond in Black America, 1945–2006*, 3rd ed. (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2007); for a historiographic account along these lines, see also Kevin Gaines, "The Historiography of the Struggle for Black Equality since 1945," in

Jean-Christophe Agnew and Roy Rosenzweig, eds, *A Companion to Post-1945 America* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2002), 211–234. For a discussion of the "structural racism" paradigm, see my essay Manfred Berg, "Struktureller Rassismus oder pathologisches Sozialverhalten? Die Debatte über die Black Underclass in den USA," in Winfried Fluck and Welf Werner, eds, *Wie viel Ungleichheit verträgt die Demokratie? Armut und Reichtum in den USA* (Frankfurt/M.: Campus Verlag, 2003), 47–70.

28. Richard M. Valelly, *The Two Reconstructions: The Struggle for Black Enfranchisement* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2004), 200; Terry H. Anderson, *The Pursuit of Fairness: A History of Affirmative Action* (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 159, 267–273.

6
"Promising Everything under the Sun": Helsinki Activism and Human Rights in Eastern Europe

Sarah B. Snyder

The 1975 Helsinki Final Act spurred an explosion of dissident activity in Eastern Europe, eventually leading to the development of a transnational network committed to reform in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. The agreement was the culmination of three years of negotiations by representatives of 35 European and North American states at the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) and contained principles to govern East-West interactions in Europe. In addition to reaching an agreement on the inviolability of frontiers, which was the original impetus for the Soviet desire to hold the conference, the Helsinki Final Act committed the CSCE states to respect human rights and facilitate human contacts across East-West borders.[1] The agreement's final provision set a follow-up meeting to evaluate Helsinki implementation in two years' time, which provided the rationale for the formation of nongovernmental groups to monitor adherence to the accord. Importantly, the first review meeting led to a second, and a whole series of meetings followed, fostering links among Helsinki activists and cementing the CSCE and human rights advocacy onto the international diplomatic agenda. Advocates for implementation of the Helsinki Final Act succeeded in unifying and supporting dissidence, advancing a human rights agenda on an international stage, offering incentives for change in Eastern Europe, and facilitating the transition to a new Europe at the end of the Cold War.[2]

The rise of Helsinki monitoring groups in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe was an unanticipated consequence of the Helsinki Final Act and initially precipitated a wide range of government repression including harassment, forced exile, and imprisonment. Yet transnational activism supporting compliance with the Helsinki Final Act persisted and gained the support of Western and neutral governments, such that by the time Mikhail Gorbachev became Soviet general secretary in 1985, Soviet progress on human rights had become necessary for Gorbachev to attract Western support for his policy

agenda. Over time the transnational Helsinki network moderated the Eastern European establishment's response to the rise in human rights activism in the wake of the Helsinki Final Act and contributed to the end of the Cold War.

The Helsinki Network

In order to understand how the Soviet and Eastern European response to human rights activism evolved over time, an examination of the components, agenda, and tactics of this transnational network committed to implementation of the Helsinki Final Act is necessary. The network operated through the intertwined efforts of dissidents, human rights activists, and Western politicians and diplomats to champion human rights and East-West contacts in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.[3]

The monitoring groups that developed across Europe and made up a transnational Helsinki network called upon the Soviet Union and others to uphold their Helsinki commitments and drew international attention to their reports of human rights abuses. Groups such as the Moscow Helsinki Group served as an essential conduit of evidence of Eastern human rights abuses. They exposed Eastern practices, often succeeding in focusing international attention on a particularly troubling case. Helsinki groups generally utilized similar tactics—nonviolence, working within the constitution, and calling on governments to honor obligations to international agreements—and they faced the same punishments, including expulsion from the Soviet Union, long prison terms, or harassment, to name a few. Over the years, a transnational Helsinki network came to include Eastern human rights activists, Jewish refuseniks, ethnic nationalists, diplomats, legislators, international NGOs, journalists, and political leaders. Together, and across national borders, they pressed for adherence to the human rights and human contacts provisions of the Helsinki Final Act. In time, the broader transnational Helsinki network was able to affect implementation of the Helsinki Final Act, secure improved observance of human rights, and fundamentally shift Eastern European politics and society.

Shortly after the signing of the Helsinki Final Act in August 1975, U.S. representative Millicent Fenwick (Republican-New Jersey) returned from a trip to the Soviet Union determined to enhance the United States' role in protecting human rights. Fenwick was so moved by her personal meetings with dissidents and their relatives in the USSR that she proposed a joint legislative and executive committee to monitor compliance with the Helsinki Final Act and to press for greater international implementation. The result of her efforts, the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe, became a strong advocate for U.S. activism on human rights and an essential part of the transnational Helsinki network.

The early establishment of the Commission offered an outlet for the Eastern monitoring groups, which would emerge shortly thereafter, and their research on violations of the Helsinki Final Act. As one of the first bodies to undertake Helsinki monitoring, the Commission facilitated the development of a network of groups and individuals committed to the implementation of the Helsinki Final Act and heightened the influence of the Helsinki process over time.[4]

Commissioners and their staff highlighted Helsinki violations through hearings, publications, and press releases; for many years, the Commission was the most comprehensive source on Helsinki compliance in the United States.

At the same time Fenwick established the Commission, human rights activists in the Soviet Union, prompted by publication of the Helsinki Final Act in Soviet newspapers, proceeded to form their own group dedicated to compliance with the agreement. The Public Group to Promote Fulfillment of the Helsinki Accords in the USSR, popularly known in the West as the Moscow Helsinki Group, included activists with a range of agendas but a common goal of monitoring Helsinki implementation. The establishment of the Moscow Helsinki Group and the Commission within a month of each other raised the international profile of the Helsinki agreement and led Helsinki compliance to remain in the forefront of East-West relations.

The Helsinki Final Act served as a common foundation for human rights nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) in the communist bloc. In Moscow Helsinki Group member Ludmilla Alekseeva's view, the Helsinki Final Act produced a "collective phenomenon of Soviet dissent." In her words, the Helsinki process enabled the "unification of the human rights movement with religious and national movements" because all were working toward rights outlined in the Helsinki Final Act. As evidence of this dynamic, the Moscow Helsinki Group was made up of Jewish refuseniks, ethnic nationalists, and human rights activists.[5] The Moscow Helsinki Group further offered an important connection between dissidents in Moscow and concerned people around the world, and the group immediately sought to join a broader network by sending its reports to Western NGOs and all CSCE signatories. [6]

The Moscow Helsinki Group also inspired the formation of many other monitoring groups in the East and the West. The development of grassroots groups first expanded within the Soviet Union to Lithuania, Armenia, Georgia, and Ukraine, with the establishment of groups such as the Christian Committee for the Defense of Believers' Rights in the USSR, the Working Commission to Investigate the Use of Psychiatry for Political Purposes, and the Ukrainian Public Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Agreements in the USSR. Subsequently they extended to Poland, Czechoslovakia, and beyond. Some of the most prominent new groups in Poland were the Polish Workers' Defense Committee, created in the spring of 1976, and the Movement for the Defense of Human and Civil Rights, which focused on Helsinki monitoring. Charter 77, a grassroots effort launched in January 1977, drew contradictions between Czechoslovak law, the government's signature of the Helsinki Final Act, and life in Czechoslovakia.

The first Helsinki monitoring groups directed their attention to the upcoming CSCE Follow-up Meeting opening in Belgrade, Yugoslavia, in October 1977 where the 35 CSCE states would reconvene to evaluate progress toward implementation of the Helsinki Final Act. Each monitoring group worked to document violations of the Helsinki Final Act and distributed their research to sympathetic CSCE delegates. U.S. ambassador to the Belgrade Follow-up Meeting Arthur J. Goldberg, drawing upon documentation provided by the U.S. Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe as well as Eastern monitoring groups, was particularly outspoken at the meeting, ensuring a rigorous

review of Helsinki compliance. Through their complementary efforts, Helsinki monitoring groups and CSCE diplomats established a standard whereby those who disregarded their Helsinki obligations would be publicly humiliated in an international forum. Yet the Belgrade Meeting did not produce new commitments and repression continued in Eastern Europe.

In the aftermath of the limited successes of the Belgrade Meeting, the still nascent Helsinki network looked toward the subsequent review meeting to be held in Madrid, Spain, beginning in November 1980. In anticipation of Madrid, Goldberg suggested the Helsinki monitoring efforts would benefit from a U.S.-based group made up of private citizens. This group, established in 1978, became Helsinki Watch, the most influential Western-based NGO focused on Helsinki compliance.[7] Helsinki Watch's formation proved critical because as Eastern repression of Helsinki activists escalated, Western NGOs were increasingly needed to lead the monitoring effort.

Faced with a profusion of different groups trying to advance their objectives through the Helsinki process, Helsinki Watch recognized forging connections between like-minded groups across CSCE states could facilitate more effective human rights advocacy. As such, Helsinki Watch initiated the formation of an international nongovernmental organization, the International Helsinki Federation for Human Rights or the IHF as it was called, which proved to be a significant development in the Helsinki process. For the myriad of interest groups spread across CSCE countries, the IHF's founding created a means to connect with one another more easily while establishing a central organization to better guide the overarching network. The establishment in November 1982 of the IHF marked a transition to a Helsinki "coalition," which could pursue a common approach, enabling Helsinki advocates to pursue joint strategies and tactics, thereby heightening their effectiveness.[8] With the IHF, there was clear evidence of the development of a "global community" focused on achieving adherence to the Helsinki Final Act.[9] Regrettably, at the same time that Western activists were succeeding in organization and coordination efforts, the Moscow Helsinki Group felt compelled to stop work: "The Moscow Helsinki group has been put into condition where further work is impossible … Under these conditions the group … has to cease its work." In the aftermath of the Group's September 1982 decision to disband, monitoring of Soviet Helsinki compliance was based primarily in the West.[10]

Those groups and individuals that made up the Helsinki coalition worked over the subsequent years at CSCE review meetings and outside the formal CSCE negotiations to influence Western and Eastern governments to comply with the terms of the Helsinki Final Act. The unrelenting efforts of the Helsinki coalition finally achieved some progress after Mikhail Gorbachev became general secretary in 1985 and embarked upon a reform campaign.

The Network's Influence

The Helsinki network sought to influence Eastern European and Soviet human rights practices directly and indirectly. Initially, human rights activists on both sides of the Iron Curtain sent direct appeals to communist leaders. As those

petitions had little discernible effect, they turned instead to "leverage politics," or drawing upon an influential figure, such as CSCE ambassadors or Western political leaders, who could advance their agenda more effectively.[11] Evidence of the eventual influence of Helsinki activism on Soviet or Eastern European leaders can be seen in Soviet behavior during the Vienna CSCE Review Meeting held from 1986 to 1989, and specifically the Soviet government's surprising proposal there to host a human rights conference in Moscow, which was the centerpiece of a calculated strategy to project an improved Soviet image to the West.

One important element of this new Soviet attitude toward the CSCE was the effort expended by the Soviet delegation to interact with journalists in the early stages of the Vienna Meeting, where they held six press conferences in one week alone. In contrast with previous meetings, Soviet delegates were willing to accept lists of refuseniks and political prisoners as well as to meet with a range of NGOs and concerned individuals. In the words of one observer, the Soviets tried to draw a contrast between their new openness and "the bad old days."[12] Indeed, according to its own foreign minister Eduard Shevardnadze, the Soviet Union's policy of increased contact with the press was due to the influence of *glasnost*.[13]

The Soviets also created governmental bodies that supposedly addressed domestic human rights in an attempt to indicate a more receptive attitude toward such concerns. First, in July 1986, they established a bureau on humanitarian affairs in the foreign ministry, whose leader, Yuri Kashlev, also headed the Soviet delegation in Vienna.[14] U.S. ambassador to the CSCE Vienna Meeting Warren Zimmermann and other U.S. policymakers determined there was little substance behind the new Humanitarian and Cultural Affairs Administration, but it nonetheless signaled progress. In their view,

> The primary function of the office, rather, seems to be propaganda, i.e., to defend Soviet human rights practices and to criticize Western countries for alleged abuses of human rights. The fact that the Soviets felt obliged to create such an office, however, does indicate increased Soviet sensitivity to Western human rights criticism.[15]

The Soviet Union also formed the Public Commission for International Cooperation in Humanitarian Problems and Human Rights in late 1987. Headed by Fedor Burlatsky, a Gorbachev adviser, the Public Commission was charged with monitoring Soviet and other CSCE states' Helsinki compliance as well as reforming Soviet legislation.[16] According to an official statement, the Public Commission was designed "to achieve conformity of Soviet legislation with the obligations assumed by the Soviet Union in the Helsinki Final Act and in UN human rights documents."[17] In Burlatsky's view, the Public Commission served as a "legal opposition," focusing on political and civil rights and recognizing the rights of informal political groups.[18] The Public Commission's creation may have been prompted by concerns about potential criticism of the Soviet human rights record in Washington during Gorbachev's visit there, as the announcement of its establishment came only a few days before Gorbachev traveled to the United States. At least initially, the Public

Commission seemed designed more for propaganda purposes than to advocate or implement change.

The most striking and potentially important Soviet initiative in these years remained its proposal to host a CSCE meeting in Moscow. At the outset of the Vienna Meeting in November 1986, Soviet foreign minister Eduard Shevardnadze had announced a Soviet proposal to host a conference on human contacts, information, culture, and education in Moscow as one of the experts' meetings to follow Vienna.[19] The Soviet initiative suggested a significantly changed attitude toward the CSCE and a growing recognition that demonstrating a positive record on human rights was beneficial to Soviet interests. Writings by Soviet leaders such as Shevardnadze and Gorbachev indicate an evolving commitment to human rights ideals. According to Anatoly Adamishin, "Some people believed that moving forward in the field of human rights was not a concession to the West but an indispensable prerequisite for the country's development, which needed long-overdue democratic reforms."[20] The proposal became the defining issue of the Vienna negotiations; for many observers, progress on the proposed Moscow conference served as a barometer of Eastern advancement on human rights, as the acceptance of the Moscow conference proposal and thus agreement on a concluding document necessitated Soviet progress on human rights.

Some delegates were adamant that they would not consider the proposal given the USSR's abysmal rate of Helsinki compliance, whereas others thought that its merits should be explored. A Canadian delegate likened it to "Hitler suggesting in 1938 that Berlin should host a conference on the welfare of the Jews," and an editorial in the Austrian *Die Presse* suggested the fulfillment of such a proposal would be like "a debate in the fox den about raising chickens."[21] As the Soviets were slow to expand fully on their proposal, Western delegations, in consultation with NGOs such as the IHF, began amassing a list of conditions that might be necessary for its acceptance.[22]

The litany of conditions considered by Western governments would have seemed entirely implausible a few years earlier, but by 1987 there was meaningful movement by the Soviets. In that year, the Soviet Union made important strides, including releasing 140 political prisoners in February, ceasing to jam the U.S. government's radio broadcasting service Voice of America in May, and allowing German and Jewish emigration to rise significantly.[23] In a further sign of increasing Soviet willingness to resolve human rights cases, the Soviet government responded for the first time to the Commission's entreaties by resolving 137 cases of the 442 it had raised several months earlier.[24] In September 1987, U.S. secretary of state George Shultz began to see genuine change in the Soviet position when Shevardnadze told him, "Give me your lists and we will be glad to look at them."[25] Not only was Shevardnadze an improvement over former Soviet foreign minister Andrei Gromyko in his willingness to listen to Shultz's concerns and occasionally act on one of the cases that Shultz had mentioned, but by 1987, U.S. ambassador to the Soviet Union Jack Matlock argues, "Shevardnadze actually began to try to change the system."[26]

Soviet leaders pursued a range of steps to win support for their proposed conference, including inviting some of their most ardent opponents to Moscow: the International Helsinki Federation and the Commission on Security and

Cooperation in Europe.[27] In Helsinki Watch executive director Jeri Laber's view, the Soviets chose to invite the IHF, a longtime critic of Soviet authorities, due to its influence at Vienna and the Soviets' overwhelming desire to host a human rights conference.[28] Indeed, according to Soviet delegation head Yuri Kashlev, "We are engaged in a dialogue on human rights in the Soviet Union not only with those who like us but those who criticize us as well."[29]

Swedish IHF delegate Frantisek Janouch's firsthand account of his time in Moscow illustrates the lengths to which the Soviets went to curry favor for the conference. Janouch wrote, "Almost anything was permitted during that one week: Jewish demonstrations as well as demonstrations of Hare Krishna devotees, and many more things, unknown or at least unusual in Moscow."[30] According to Janouch, Shevardnadze's deputy Anatoly Adamishin tried to persuade the IHF to support the conference proposal, going so far as "promising everything under the sun."[31] Although the IHF representatives encountered a wide spectrum of views on the proposed conference among those they met in Moscow, Janouch personally saw value in allowing a conference to induce the Soviets to develop a favorable human rights record:

> I am convinced that the organization of a conference on humanitarian issues in Moscow could have a positive influence on future developments in the USSR. The earliest date the conference could meet in Moscow is 1990, probably one or two years later. During the period of preparation the Soviet authorities will logically make sure that fundamental human rights are respected. This means that the present relatively liberal attitude of the Soviet authorities will go on for several more years—and will clearly progress even further during the actual conference.[32]

In Janouch's view and also in that of others, agreeing to the conference would ensure an initial period of respect for human rights and by the time the conference closed, it would be too late for the Soviets to reverse course and return to repressive human rights practices.

After returning from Moscow, the IHF shared its impressions with the Vienna CSCE delegations and began a public campaign in support of a Moscow conference. Leading the campaign, Helsinki Watch executive director Jeri Laber wrote an opinion piece for the *International Herald Tribune* outlining the argument for the meeting:

> A Moscow human rights conference would … give the Soviet people a forum for discussing their government's past, present and future human rights practices. It would allow an infusion of Western ideas and values, including the concept that respect for human rights cannot merely be legislated from above but requires the active participation and vigilance of private citizens.[33]

There is some irony that its trip to Moscow led the IHF to work toward the same goal as the Soviet Union, though clearly for different reasons. Likewise, there is incongruity in the Soviets' courting of the IHF, which had long fought

against Soviet repression. The reach of IHF's influence with CSCE delegations, however, was such that Soviet authorities were forced to take steps to win over this transnational coalition of Helsinki monitors.

Because the acceptance of the Moscow conference proposal and thus agreement on a concluding document necessitated Soviet progress on human rights, the improvements in the USSR and Eastern Europe in this period demonstrate the influence of the Helsinki process on Soviet policymaking. They were central to the successful end to the Vienna Meeting and all of the political, social, and economic changes that followed. By the end of 1988, there were considerable improvements in the Soviet human rights situation: 600 political prisoners had been released, emigration had swelled to 80,000, and radio jamming had ended.[34]

Conclusion

The Vienna Meeting and its agreement on the conference in Moscow represented an end to the traditional East-West divide that characterized the CSCE and Europe. As Jeri Laber notes in her memoirs, "Reforms we had demanded as conditions for the Moscow human rights conference—the release of political prisoners, free emigration, and an end to jamming of foreign radio stations-had actually come to pass."[35] That the Soviet Union would propose hosting a conference on human rights, meet numerous conditions to gain its acceptance, and agree to the far-reaching Vienna Concluding Document illustrates the influence of longtime Helsinki advocacy on Soviet political leaders. The agenda of the Helsinki network—that Eastern changes in human rights be central to the question of East-West relations—shaped Gorbachev's course of reform. Years of activism had ensured human rights a permanent place on the Cold War diplomatic agenda, which led Gorbachev to address human rights issues in order to achieve his international diplomatic goals. As Gorbachev recognized changing the Soviet role in the CSCE was important to normalizing relations with the West, he slowly undertook measures to do so. The Soviet decision to propose a human rights conference in Moscow and efforts by Soviet leaders to win the support of the IHF is evidence of the strength of Helsinki activism in influencing Soviet behavior; importantly, this influence has broader implications for how we should think about the end of the Cold War.

The effect of transnational Helsinki activism can be further seen in the events that shaped the end of communism across Central and Eastern Europe. In the aftermath of the Vienna Meeting, Helsinki monitors, long persecuted by Eastern regimes and championed by supporters in the West, participated in grassroots movements in pursuit of human rights and freedoms that fueled change across Europe.[36] There was, of course, considerable variation across Eastern Europe in the degree to which human rights demands were central to activism against the existing governments.[37] Such differences, however, do not undermine the direct and indirect influence of human rights activism at the time. The broader Helsinki network's influence throughout this period shaped the scope and pace of change, contributing to the transformation of Europe.

The transnational character of the Helsinki network heightened its effectiveness and enabled it to serve as an agent of change in Eastern Europe. When Vaclav Havel was in the United States for his first visit as president of Czechoslovakia, he spoke at Helsinki Watch's offices in New York, testifying to the strengths and significance of the transnational connections that made up the Helsinki network. In his remarks, Havel emphasized the influence Western allies such as Helsinki Watch had on the end of the Cold War: "I feel that I'm here as a friend among friends. I know very well what you did for us, and perhaps without you, our revolution would not be."[38]

Notes

1. My use of the term "transnational network" is based on the definition of transnational advocacy networks formulated by political scientists Sanjeev Khagram, James V. Ricker, and Kathryn Sikkink: "sets of actors linked across country boundaries, bound together by shared values, dense exchanges of information and services, and common discourses." Sanjeev Khagram, James V. Riker, and Kathryn Sikkink, "From Santiago to Seattle: Transnational Advocacy Groups Restructuring World Politics," in Sanjeev Khagram, James V. Riker, and Kathryn Sikkink, eds, *Restructuring World Politics: Transnational Social Movements, Networks, and Norms* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2002), 7. For more on transnational advocacy networks, see Margaret Keck and Kathryn Sikkink, *Activists beyond Borders: Advocacy Networks in International Politics* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998).
2. This chapter concentrates on the contribution of the Helsinki network to changing human rights practices in Eastern Europe. Other activists protested for disarmament, trade union rights, environmental protections, and nationalist prerogatives.
3. My use of the term human rights is guided by the definition outlined in the 30 articles of the 1948 UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights upon which the Helsinki Final Act was based. The human contacts provisions of the Helsinki Final Act addressed issues such as family reunifications, binational marriages, and travel restrictions.
4. The CSCE meetings subsequent to the signing of the Helsinki Final Act were known collectively as "the Helsinki process."
5. The term refusenik referred to those, usually Jewish, who had been denied permission to emigrate. Ludmilla Alexeyeva, *Soviet Dissent: Contemporary Movements for National, Religious, and Human Rights* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1985), 345–346. I have chosen to use the anglicized version of her name, under which she published in the United States, only in the citations. Discussion of Alekseeva's role will use the proper transliteration.
6. Joshua Rubenstein, *Soviet Dissidents: Their Struggle for Human Rights* 2nd ed. (Boston: Beacon Press, 1985), 221.
7. Jeri Laber, *The Courage of Strangers: Coming of Age with the Human Rights Movement* (New York: Public Affairs, 2002), 97–99.
8. Khagram, Riker, and Sikkink, "From Santiago to Seattle," 7.
9. Akira Iriye describes a "global community" as "the establishment of networks of communication through intergovernmental organizations and international nongovernmental organizations, that was clearly evident, as seen in the accelerating pace of interchanges and cooperative activities on the part of those organizations, their increased funding, and the way real-time communication was becoming possible." Akira Iriye, *Global Community: The Role of International Organizations in the Making of the Contemporary World* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 192.

10. Paul Goldberg, *The Final Act: The Dramatic, Revealing Story of the Moscow Helsinki Watch Group* (New York: Morrow, 1988), 278, 284; and Laber, *The Courage of Strangers*, 182–183.
11. Keck and Sikkink, *Activists beyond Borders*, 16.
12. William Korey, "Helsinki, Human Rights, and the Gorbachev Style," *Ethics and International Affairs* 1 (1987): 113–133; Roland Eggleston, "The New Soviet 'Openness' in Vienna: Many Words, Little Substance," Radio Liberty Background Report, November 10, 1986, Helsinki, Vienna, 1986–1989, Box 1118, Old Code Subject Files, Soviet Red Archives, Records of Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty Research Institute, Open Society Archives; Memorandum, Nagler and Minnema to National Committees, November 20, 1986, Memos, 1986, Box 20, Correspondence and Memoranda, Records of the International Helsinki Federation for Human Rights, Open Society Archives; William Korey, *The Promises We Keep: Human Rights, the Helsinki Process and American Foreign Policy* (New York: Institute for East West Studies, 1993), 227, 271; and Orest Deychakiwsky, "Helsinki Review Process: Making Progress Slowly, but Surely," *Ukrainian Weekly*, January 18, 1987, 7.
13. Eduard Shevardnadze, *The Future Belongs to Freedom*, trans. Catherine Fitzpatrick (New York: Free Press, 1991), 44.
14. Transcript, Press Conference with Ambassador Zimmermann, December 3, 1986, CSCE Vienna—November 1986, Box 6 Unprocessed, Joint Baltic American National Committee Records, Immigration History Research Center, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minnesota; and Korey, *The Promises We Keep*, 220.
15. Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe Hearing, September 11, 1986, 99th Congress/2nd Session.
16. Julia Wishnevsky, "Burlatsky on Goals of Soviet Human-Rights Commission," Radio Liberty Research, February 17, 1988, Human Rights, 1988–1988, Box 692, Old Code Subject Files, Soviet Red Archives, Records of Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty Research Institute, Open Society Archives; Alexander Rahr, "USSR-Fedor Burlatsky to Head New Human Rights Commission," December 1, 1987, Politics: Human Rights: General, 1987–1988, Box 20, New Code Subject Files, ibid.; and Korey, *The Promises We Keep*, 220.
17. Viktor Yasmann, "An Official Human Rights Organization in the USSR: 'New Thinking' or Propaganda?" Radio Liberty Research, January 12, 1988, Human Rights, 1988–1988, Box 692, Old Code Subject Files, Soviet Red Archives, Records of Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty Research Institute, Open Society Archives.
18. Stephen F. Cohen and Katrina Vanden Heuvel, *Voices of Glasnost: Interviews with Gorbachev's Reformers* (New York: Norton and Company, 1989), 174.
19. It was only the second proposal of the entire Vienna Meeting, submitted on December 10, 1986. CSCE/WT.2, December 10, 1986, Organization of Security and Cooperation in Europe Archives, Prague, Czech Republic; Eduard Shevardnadze (USSR), November 5, 1986, CSCE/WT/VR.3, Organization of Security and Cooperation in Europe Archives; and Bohdan Nahaylo, "Shevardnadze Proposes International Conference on Humanitarian Issues in Moscow," November 5, 1986, Human Rights, 1986–1987, Box 692, Old Code Subject Files, Soviet Red Archives, Records of Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty Research Institute, Open Society Archives.
20. Anatoly Adamishin, "Vienna," in Anatoly Adamishin and Richard Schifter, *Human Rights, Perestroika, and the End of the Cold War* (Washington, D.C.: United States Institute of Peace Press, 2009), 153.
21. Janie Leatherman, *From Cold War to Democratic Peace: Third Parties, Peaceful Change, and the OSCE* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2003), 184; and Laber, *The Courage of Strangers*, 260.
22. Roland Eggleston, "West Considers Soviet Proposal for Humanitarian Meeting in Moscow," Radio Liberty Research, December 4, 1986, Helsinki: Vienna, 1986–1989,

Box 1118, Old Code Subject Files, Soviet Red Archives, Records of Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty Research Institute, Open Society Archives; and Letter, Howe to Avebury, May 7, 1987, Correspondence: National Committees: United Kingdom, 1986–1992, Box 19, Correspondence and Memoranda, Records of the International Helsinki Federation for Human Rights, Open Society Archives.

23. Stefan Lehne, *The Vienna Meeting of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, 1986–1989* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1991), 106.
24. Commission cochair Steny Hoyer called the Soviet response "a positive move forward because it is the first time the Soviets have ever responded directly to a list presented by the official U.S. commission monitoring the Helsinki Accords. Hopefully this is an indication that the Soviets are willing to take specific steps to fulfill their Helsinki humanitarian commitments." According to the Commission, the 137 cases that the Soviets resolved involved over 300 individuals seeking emigration from the Soviet Union for a long time. "Soviets Announce Resolution of Commission Cases," *CSCE Digest*, April 1987, CSCE Digest, Box 6, Joint Baltic American National Committee Records.
25. George P. Shultz, *Turmoil and Triumph: Diplomacy, Power, and the Victory of the American Ideal* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1993), 986.
26. Jack Matlock, *Reagan and Gorbachev: How the Cold War Ended* (New York: Random House, 2004), 265. By October 1987, the Soviets had granted exit visas to 6,000 people, more than six times than allowed in 1986; however, 7,500 cases remained. After meeting with Shevardnadze in Moscow, Shultz believed the Soviet system of reviewing applications was finally effective. AP, "Soviets Sending Positive Signals on Human Rights, Shultz Says," October 22, 1987, Politics: Human Rights: General, 1987–1987, Box 19, New Code Subject Files, Soviet Red Archives, Records of Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty Research Institute, Open Society Archives.
27. The Soviet Union also invited the Commission to send a delegation to the Soviet Union from November 14 to November 18 in order to garner support for its Moscow conference proposal. Although not discussed in this chapter, Soviet officials tried to convey a similar impression of progress and openness during the Commission's visit. For further discussion of the IHF mission to Moscow and the Helsinki network more broadly, see Sarah B. Snyder, *Human Rights Activism and the End of the Cold War: A Transnational History of the Helsinki Network* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011).
28. Letter, Schwarzenberg to Gorbachev, November 27, 1987, Delegation to Moscow: General, 1987, Box 3, Project Files, Records of the International Helsinki Federation for Human Rights, Open Society Archives; and Laber, *The Courage of Strangers*, 283.
29. Judy Dempsey, "Moscow Go-ahead for Rights Group," in Annual Report 1988, Box 1, Publications, Records of the International Helsinki Federation for Human Rights, Open Society Archives.
30. Diary, Frantisek Janouch, January 24–31, 1988, Box 3, Project Files, Records of the International Helsinki Federation for Human Rights, Open Society Archives.
31. Ibid.
32. Ibid.; and International Helsinki Federation for Human Rights, *On Speaking Terms: An Unprecedented Human Rights Mission to the Soviet Union* (Vienna: International Helsinki Federation, 1988), 46–47.
33. Annual Report, 1988, Box 1, Publications, Records of the International Helsinki Federation for Human Rights, Open Society Archives.
34. Laber, *The Courage of Strangers*, 304; and Milan Hauner, "A Softening of the Soviet Stance on Human Rights?" Radio Liberty Research, December 7, 1988, Human Rights, 1988–1989, Box 693, Old Code Subject Files, Soviet Red Archives, Records of Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty Research Institute, Open Society Archives.
35. Laber, *The Courage of Strangers*, 304.

36. For a divergent interpretation, readers should consult Stephen Kotkin, *Uncivil Society: 1989 and the Implosion of the Communist Establishment*, with a contribution by Jan T. Gross (New York: Modern Library, 2009), in which Kotkin argues against the existence of a meaningful opposition or civil society in Eastern Europe.
37. For further discussion of this point, see Constantine Pleshakov, *There is No Freedom without Bread!: 1989 and the Civil War That Brought Down Communism* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2009), 5.
38. Laber, *The Courage of Strangers*, 349; and William I. Hitchcock, *The Struggle for Europe: The Turbulent History of a Divided Continent, 1945 to the Present* (New York: Anchor Books, 2004), 347.

7
Politics of Reproduction in a Divided Europe: Abortion, Protest Movements, and State Intervention after World War II

Lorena Anton, Yoshie Mitobe, and Kristina Schulz

After World War II, European states developed new policies toward human reproduction. The deep transformations that occurred in the debates over abortion and over concepts such as "motherhood" and "reproduction" on both sides of the Berlin wall exemplify the relation of the "politics of reproduction" to the political systems of postwar Europe.[1] This essay presents four case studies of national reproductive policies in Western Europe (Federal Republic of Germany and France) and Eastern Europe (German Democratic Republic and Romania), comparing different states' involvements in abortion legislation in order to analyze the debates, protests, and silences that divided people and policies along national and bloc lines in Europe after 1945.

Europe and the Politics of Reproduction after 1945

The "Iron Curtain," which separated war-torn Europe into Western capitalist and Eastern socialist bloc nations for four decades, not only dramatically affected the foreign policies of these states, but also greatly influenced their domestic and private spheres. The reproductive politics and policies which that in this period exemplify significant transformations in the overall relationship between public policy and the private sphere in Western and Eastern European countries.[2]

In Western Europe, experiences under the Nazis and other authoritarian regimes during the interwar period, including their far-reaching control over everyday life, led to deep mistrust and suspicion of any form of government intervention in the private sphere following World War II. Following Robert G. Moeller, "Policies that ostensibly protected the family were in fact policies that defined the social and political status of women."[3] It is therefore no wonder that reproductive politics, particularly abortion issues, remained on Western states' agendas. In order to mask this state regulation of "private

matters," discussion of it in the political sphere was effectively stigmatized to the extent that, in spite of a growing discrepancy between the judicial and practical approaches to abortion, legislation in most of Western Europe remained unchanged until the 1970s, with the significant exception of Britain and the Netherlands. When abortion was legalized in Britain in 1967, large numbers of women from the European continent came to Britain for abortions. In 1973, 57,776 (52.3 percent) of the 110,568 legal abortions in Britain were carried out on foreign women. Of this group, a total of 11,326 came from West Germany and 35,293 from France.[4] The same phenomenon could be observed in the Netherlands. Although abortion there remained illegal until 1981, many were conducted in Dutch nonprofit abortion clinics. These clinics were started by groups that had originally supported legal abortion in England, then moved to the Netherlands, where the operations could be carried out with greater skill and at lower prices. In 1974, 80,000 abortions were carried out in 13 Dutch nonprofit clinics. It was seen that 60 percent of these operations were performed on nonresident women (mainly from Belgium, France, and West Germany).[5]

In contrast, the reproductive politics of Eastern European countries followed the example of the Soviet Union, which legalized abortion in 1955, two years after Stalin's death. The official reason the Soviet leadership gave for legalization was that it would reduce "the harm caused to the health of women by abortions performed outside hospital" and "give women the possibility of deciding for themselves the question of motherhood."[6] After World War II, all socialist countries in Eastern and Central Europe except Albania had passed similar legislation by the 1960s when, again following the Soviet Union, they reinstituted legal restrictions on abortion.

Reforming Abortion Legislation in Western Europe

In Western Europe, repressive legislation concerning contraception and abortion was the subject of political, ethical, medical, and popular debate from the 1960s onward. In many countries, civil society engaged in the reform process through social movements.[7] According to social movement theories, structural strains are a main feature of advanced Western industrial society because of its ongoing functional differentiation. The less able intermediary agents, such as political parties and associations, are to integrate grievances that derive from that structural change, the more likely social movements are to emerge.[8] The women's movement marked the beginning of a series of new social movements that characterized Western European societies after 1968.[9] The family, traditionally considered the domain of women, underwent particularly rapid change after World War II. The model of the extended family was replaced by that of a nuclear family. In parallel, and in particular during the 1960s, the educational system expanded and was to replace the family as the main instrument of socialization. These structural transformations led to new questions about women's roles in society, where, despite expanded educational opportunities, most women remained shut out of the competitive labor market and locked into the roles of housewife and mother.[10]

It was through the struggles over abortion that many women began to recognize their individually experienced inequality as part of a broader social problem. Aside from its concrete judicial dimensions, "free abortion" was an expression of grievance that went far beyond reproductive liberty. Therefore, it contributed to the formation of a new collective identity for women. By reflecting on patriarchy, feminist activists completed the critique of capitalism that most of them shared with the protest movements of the late 1960s.[11] This chapter concentrates on mobilization processes in France and West Germany as they help to identify the roles that social movements play in the field of reproductive politics. The two case studies are developed through detailed constellation analyses, which take into account both the movements' actions and the responses of the establishment.

In France, the punishment for abortion had been regulated since 1920 by Section 317 of the French criminal code. The law had already been amended several times prior to the 1955 modification, which remained the legally binding version until the reform of 1974. According to the 1955 version, anyone "who carried out or attempted to carry out a termination on a pregnant woman (or on a woman suspected to be pregnant)" could be punished by either a prison sentence ranging from one to five years or by a substantial fine.[12] The 1920 law prohibited the distribution of contraceptives as well as the publication of information concerning them. The question of distribution, in particular, triggered the mid-1960s debates over possible liberalization of the law.

The issue of distribution first appeared on the political agenda during the 1965 presidential campaign, when François Mitterrand, a young candidate from the democratic left, spoke out in favor of reforming the law. Despite Mitterrand's defeat in the elections, his campaign pledges initiated a debate that led to the passing of the Neuwirth Law in 1967.[13] This law authorized the production of information about contraceptives, as well as their distribution. It did not, however, touch the taboo subject of abortion itself.

The debate flared up again in the spring of 1971 over a campaign to liberalize abortion rights.[14] In response, the Ministry of Health compiled a report in 1972, which was to be the basis for a draft bill. The commission in charge, however, proved unable to produce a draft that could gain political consensus. The plan was put on hold and revived in 1974, when Valéry Giscard d'Estaing from the liberal-center party *Union pour la Démocratie française* became president of the French Republic. Following his election pledges to assist women, he set up the *Secrétariat aux questions féminines* and appointed a woman, Simone Veil, as head of the Ministry of Health. Under her direction, a draft bill on the decriminalization of abortion was compiled and accepted by the National Assembly in December 1974, coming into effect on January 17, 1975. The law, known as the *Veil Law*, legalized the termination of a pregnancy within the first 10 weeks of pregnancy (12 weeks as of 2001).

The "thick description" of the French case allows one to identify the moments of interaction between the women's movement and the "establishment," which, in this case, means the legislator. What impact did the French women's movement have on the reform process? The abortion campaign had been launched in spring 1971 by a group of women who had formed the *Mouvement de libération des femmes* (MLF) in the summer of 1970.[15] In search

of an issue that would mobilize the masses, the MLF prepared a manifesto in which 343 women publicly admitted that they had had abortions. The manifesto, which appeared in the *Nouvel Observateur* (one of the most widely circulated magazines in France) on April 5, 1971, triggered a social movement advocating the liberalization of abortion and jump-started the new women's movement. Numerous activist groups, family planning organizations, and women's centers were quickly formed.[16] While the movement was a nationwide one, Paris remained the center of this increasingly dynamic mobilization, acting as the main reference point for groups in other cities, such as Toulouse and Lyon.

Within the MLF, a subgroup concentrating on abortion, called the *Mouvement pour la liberté de l'avortement* (MLA), emerged. The MLA established contacts with other organizations lobbying for reform. In 1973, these groups merged to form the *Mouvement de liberté de l'avortement et de la contraception* (MLAC). As an officially registered public association, the MLAC gained greater acceptance among French legislative authorities than had the feminist activists of the MLF. In autumn 1973, the MLAC was even invited to express its opinions on a draft bill that had been compiled by a government commission. This was also the case for *Choisir*, an association founded parallel to the MLAC, by the well-known lawyer Gisèle Halimi, and the writer and philosopher Simone de Beauvoir.[17] *Choisir* successfully exerted influence upon some political figures, first and foremost upon Michel Rocard, an influential representative of the Socialist Party, who gained power following his involvement with politics that were open to women's needs. Thanks to such maneuvering, the women's movement was able to influence the course of the negotiations, which eventually led to agreement upon a moderate model that legalized abortions carried out within a limited time period following conception. In order to reach this consensus, the women's movement had to give up its initial, more radical demands. In France, the movement's influence upon the reform process therefore depended on activists' willingness to go through official channels, to use classical forms of public intervention (association building, lobbying), and to be politically flexible enough to sacrifice their more radical demands, such as the general abolition of the 1920 Abortion Act and the coverage of abortion by public health insurance.

In the Federal Republic of Germany, it was Section 218 of the civil code, deeply rooted in the 1871 Criminal Code, which attracted the most criticism. The debate first emerged in progressive medical and legal circles during the 1960s.[18] The issue was delicate, as the abortion paragraph of the code was based on a slightly moderated version of the "Ordinance to Safeguard Marriage, Family and Motherhood," which had been passed in 1943 by the Nazis.[19] According to this paragraph, abortion carried a prison sentence of one–five years for the woman having the abortion and one–ten years for the person who performed the operation. When the social-liberal coalition coming into office in 1969 announced far-reaching reforms of the civil code, it triggered a heated debate between supporters and adversaries of the liberalization of Section 218. This resulted in the parallel composition of four draft bills at the legislative level, which were submitted to the Bundestag (lower house of the German parliament) for approval in 1974. With a narrow majority, the

deputies voted for the most liberal variant, which insured the unconditional right to termination within the first 12 weeks of pregnancy. Shortly afterward, representatives of the Christian Democratic parties filed a complaint with West Germany's Constitutional Court. In February 1975, the country's highest court declared the unconditional right to termination within the first 12 weeks unconstitutional. New drafts were prepared and one year later, the German parliament ratified a resolution that permitted abortion only under specific circumstances.

The new women's movement also intervened in the debate on the reform of abortion law in the Federal Republic of Germany. In contrast to France, no previously existing group took over the organization of the campaign. Rather, it was only in the mobilizing process itself that a collective action structure was formed, which, in the name of women, advocated the abolition of Section 218 of the code and extended its demands into other areas. In June 1971, *Aktion 218*, a very loosely organized federation consisting of delegates belonging to women's groups from all over the country, took over the coordination of the protests. *Aktion 218* succeeded in integrating allies from the social democratic camp, from progressive circles of the trade unions, and from medical associations involved in the protest actions. In 1974, a representative from *Aktion 218* was invited to a parliamentary hearing in Bonn to represent the views of the activists.[20] The rapidly changing political situation and new elections at the end of 1972, however, prevented his testimony from having any further immediate consequences. Nevertheless, the majority of the SPD (Social Democratic Party) voted for a liberal pregnancy termination bill in early 1974, which was initially accepted—albeit narrowly—and was only repealed as a result of the decision of the Federal Constitutional Court. After the protests receded in 1974 and 1975, *Aktion 218* disbanded.

"Medical Abortion" and "No Punishment" Practices

Abortion legislation reform was adopted in France in 1974 and in Germany in 1976, after having been the subject of long and virulent controversies involving lawyers, priests, doctors, politicians, prolife movements, women's associations, and feminist groups. However, the reform laws legalized abortion under specific circumstances that differed in both countries.

The Veil Law, passed by the French parliament, did not completely decriminalize abortion, but instead temporarily suspended (at least partially) the corresponding article (Article 317) of the French penal code.[21] This reform took unwanted pregnancy as an aggravating factor of social inequality into account and considered socioeconomic concerns as legitimate reasons for abortion. The *Veil Law* placed all decisions regarding abortion under the authority of the medical system. Feminists criticized three aspects of the law: First, the law did not apply to foreign or unmarried women under the age of 18. Second, the costs of the procedure were not covered by the public health system. Third, a woman who wanted to have an abortion had to undergo a multilevel consultation process, which required that the procedure be carried out in a hospital, instead of the gynecologist's office. Feminists alleged that by introducing these rules, the legislation's primary goal was to reduce the number

of abortions, not to give women free choice. Furthermore, they criticized the fact that although permission for an abortion could be obtained more easily, women were actually under greater control than before. Instead of removing decision-making structures, the new law simply exchanged medical for legal authority. The obligatory sojourn in a hospital was, from this perspective, an instrument that transformed an issue of general concern to all women into an individual health problem. The new law thus served as a means to change the status of a woman seeking abortion from that of a "member of an antinormative group to the status of an abnormal, ill person," thereby masking the political content of the issue of reproduction.[22]

The demand for legal abortion also remained unsatisfied in the German Federal Republic. When the bill that had been ratified by parliament in 1974 was invalidated by a decision of the Federal Constitutional Court, members of parliament had to decide on a new draft prepared by a government commission shortly thereafter. This new bill, which was finally passed by parliament in 1976, basically prohibited abortion at any stage of pregnancy. Until the law was reformed in 1995, following German reunification, the termination of a pregnancy remained illegal. Exceptions could be allowed in certain cases, such as when the pregnancy was considered a serious threat to the health of the pregnant woman; where serious disorders in the fetus were detected; where the woman had been a victim of rape or incest; or where highly detrimental social conditions could be documented by experts or authorities. Furthermore, medical and social counseling became compulsory and the abortion could, as in France, only be performed in hospitals, by authorized doctors. After long negotiations following the fall of the wall, the Bundestag and Bundesrat agreed to a new law in July 1995. This law, in force until today, declares abortion "unlawful, but not punishable"[23] under certain circumstances. As Lynn Kamenitsa points out, despite attempts to mobilize in favor of the less restrictive legislation effective in the former GFR, women's groups hardly had any say in these debates.

In both France and West Germany, the legislation reconciled moral objections against abortion with social practice by advocating controlled, medically monitored abortions. In France, abortion could be carried out at the request of the pregnant woman, but in West Germany, it remained illegal and was exempt from punishment only in strictly limited cases regulated by authorities. On the individual level, the new legislation, especially in the French case, meant real relief for many women. But on the collective level, abortion ceased to be a mobilizing issue after 1974 in France, and after 1976 in West Germany. In this respect, the abortion campaign in the first half of the 1970s was a "successful failure" of the women's movement.[24] Although it did not fully achieve its initial goals, the movement successfully mobilized a considerable segment of the population and helped to put the issue of abortion on the political agenda. In France, as in the Federal Republic of Germany, abortion legislation reform marked a turning point in the history of the women's movements of the 1970s. Within the social movements, the campaign had been the least common denominator uniting women's groups with otherwise different agendas. Externally, the women's movements in France and West Germany found allies willing to use their resources (members, money, prestige, and infrastructure) to exert pressure on the authorities. When the abortion issue ceased to

be the connecting element between groups and organizations, the divergent strategies of women's groups then came to the fore, leading to a multiplication of projects and activities and the end of the unified social movement. The question arises as to whether or not the partial liberalization of abortion, which contributed to the breakdown of a united women's movement through the partial satisfaction of its claims, represents a specifically Western pattern of defusing the abortion issue.

Women, the Nation, and the Socialist State: Reproductive Policies and Abortion Legislation in Eastern Europe

After World War II, communism brought a new economic science based on the concept of political economy to Eastern Europe. This new approach focused on collective, as opposed to individual, property. In order to revolutionize the economic sector, communist governments planned to massively expand the workforce by employing women in all sectors of the economy. One method by which the socialist state tried to push more women into the workforce during the 1950s was the liberalization of abortion laws in all Soviet satellites. In attempting to build prosperous economies after the war, most of the socialist states developed highly nationalist regimes, which required complementary pronatalist policies. The abortion and pronatalist policies instituted in East Germany and Romania exemplify this phenomenon and offer a unique view on state involvement in the reproductive sphere.

During the immediate postwar period in East Germany, the problem of unwanted pregnancies resulting from mass rape in the Soviet occupation zone led to a harsh confrontation with existing antiabortion regulations. Since a great number of women were seeking illegal abortions, the ban on abortion for reasons of rape was lifted between 1945 and 1950, with the law changed by exceptional provision. Estimates of the number of abortions performed during these years range from five hundred thousand to one million.[25] Medical abortions were generally approved in case of rape by a foreigner (in most cases a Red Army soldier) up until the last month of pregnancy. In such cases, abortions were performed in public hospitals at public cost.[26]

Moreover, abortion on medical, social (excepting the East German state of Saxony-Anhalt), and criminal (only in the state of Mecklenburg) grounds, performed in the first three months of pregnancy by a licensed doctor, in hospital, were allowed during 1947 and 1948 in East Germany.[27] After this exceptional period, however, the old abortion laws were once again strictly enforced in an attempt to repair East Germany's low birthrate and devastated demographic makeup.[28] On September 27, 1950, all abortions except those performed on medical (if the life of the pregnant woman was endangered by the continuation of the pregnancy) and eugenic grounds (if it was believed that the child would be born with a mental illness or severe physical handicap) once again became illegal.

In the 1960s, however, calls for legalization of abortion began to strengthen. Physicians increasingly supported the liberalization of the abortion laws, because of the rising social cost of illegal abortions (such as the death of the

woman) and the deterioration of public health through the high number of illegal abortions.[29] Female intelligentsia and white-collar employees demanded the right of abortion through petitions,[30] and the government began to advocate the necessity of relaxing the abortion laws due to factors such as the relatively high birthrate of the late 1950s and early 1960s,[31] and also developments in the economic sphere that made female labor more important and led to an expansion of women's responsibilities and importance at work and in the home.[32]

In 1965, the official reasons given for this relaxation of laws were the promotion of sexual equality in higher education, employment, marriage, and the family. In fact, the aims were to reduce social costs, to improve the health situation, and to maintain the female labor force. Abortion was made legal under six conditions: (1) medical grounds; (2) eugenic grounds; (3) if a woman was older than 40 or younger than 16; (4) if a woman already had five children to care for; (5) if a woman had had her fourth child fewer than 15 months after her third child; (6) if a woman had become pregnant as the result of rape, incest, or other criminal action.[33]

In 1971, after the succession of Secretary General Walter Ulbricht, who had been fundamentally opposed to abortion, by Erich Honecker, the debate over the legalization of abortion became more intense in the East German parliament (Volkskammer). Supporters of legalization put forward two main reasons: First, the state lost an important part of the workforce when a woman had to reduce her full-time work to part-time in order to look after her home and children[34]; second, a woman should be able to decide for herself whether or not to have an abortion.

The East German satellite party of the Christian Democratic Union (CDU), however, opposed the legalization of abortion, as did its West German counterpart. The party argued that the right to life could not be compromised, and that a society based on humanism could not be created if the legal protection for unborn children was abandoned. It also contended that any legalization would lead to a further decline in birthrates.[35] For the first time in the history of East Germany, the CDU cast a vote of disagreement and thus rejected the legalization bill in the Volkskammer. Despite this vote, however, the Volkskammer ratified the bill on March 9, 1972, by about 500 votes (14 votes against and 8 abstentions).[36] This was partially due to the fact that the influence of the Catholic Church in East Germany was considerably weaker than in West Germany.[37]

The conditions outlined in the new 1972 law were as follows: (1) a pregnant woman had the right to a first-trimester abortion performed by a physician in a specialized hospital. In this case, the doctor was required to explain the exact procedure and any potential consequences to the patient. (2) When the pregnancy was further than 12 weeks along, abortion was allowed only in case of a serious threat to the health of the woman, as determined by a special medical committee. (3) Abortions were not allowed if a pregnant woman had suffered complications as a result of a previous abortion, or if she had had an abortion within the past six months. (4) All costs of the preparation for, execution of, and treatment following the procedure, as well as the costs of contraceptives, were to be covered by insurance.[38] These conditions were

guaranteed for any woman who had East German citizenship, who was married to a citizen, or who had permanent residence. Only in cases where the woman was less than 18 years of age was written consent required.[39] Finally in 1972, abortions within the first 12 weeks of pregnancy were legalized in East Germany with little dispute in the Volkskammer, and without any public debate or feminist movements comparable to those in West Germany.[40]

An important question is whether or not the intention of these new abortion laws was to demonstrate respect for women's rights and dignity. As the historian Donna Harsch points out, there were always limits to the state's ability to control private behavior. Furthermore, she points to the state's ongoing attempts to suppress the independence of medical experts.[41] In addition, the number of petitions for the legalization of abortion and the movement in general had grown since 1966, and the number of legal abortions performed between 1966 and 1970 increased from 17,558 to 20,226 per year.[42] The East German leadership was therefore hard-pressed to avoid the legalization of abortion. Government officials believed that debate in the West also shaped popular sentiment in the East, citing the common language and the increasing number of petitions, especially during 1970 and 1971.[43] They also believed that the legalization of abortion, which had been a demand of the labor movement since the Wilhelmine Era, had to be accomplished sooner than in West Germany.[44] The legalization of abortion also meant that from January 1, 1972, people from East Germany would no longer need visas to visit Poland, where since 1956 abortion was legal for foreign women.[45]

East Germany gradually recognized that birthrates could not be increased by strict control or by the complete liberalization of abortion, but rather through family policy and public education. In 1971, the authorities started to provide practical help along the lines of: sufficient housing for multichild families, loans for growing families (1,000 DM for the first child, 2,500 DM for the third child, and a loan repayment exemption in case of additional children), 4,593 full-time nurseries, and kindergartens covering 73 percent of the population, maternity leave for mothers (a general annual vacation of four weeks), reduction of the working hours of mothers with at least three children (40 hours per week, instead of the normal 43 hours and 45 minutes), 1,030 counseling centers for pregnant women and 10,233 centers for mothers.[46] These family policies supported women through childbirth and child-rearing and helped to avoid death and illness through illegal abortions. They secured both a healthy and active female labor force and increased birthrates. Furthermore, due to new initiatives in public sexual education, such as the free distribution of the contraceptive pill (the deregulation was complete by 1965, and from 1972 the contraceptive pill Ovosiston was freely available to women over 16), the number of suicides among pregnant women decreased by one-fifth.[47]

As a result of the new policies, the East German birthrate did temporarily decline between 1971 and 1972, but then rose again from 1973 to 1978, due mainly to the new family policies. In comparison to West Germany, where abortion laws were stricter, the general birthrate in East Germany was higher: in 1970 the total fertility rate was 2.01 in West Germany versus 2.19 in East Germany, 1.45 versus 1.54 in 1975, and 1.44 versus 1.94 in 1980.[48] The new family policies and better public education thus accomplished the aims of

creating a healthy female workforce and increasing childbirth after the legalization of abortion.

As indicated earlier, the differing abortion laws in East and West Germany expressed the social and political difficulties of both Germanies. The standardization of abortion laws following German reunification in 1990 proved, therefore, not only a procedural problem but also a sociopolitical one. Women's organizations favoring East German abortion laws and their policies on childbirth and childcare tried to influence policymakers to adopt East German laws for reunified Germany.[49] The bill submitted to parliament in 1992 recommended that abortion be allowed for pregnancies in the first 12 weeks, following a consultation at a counseling center. The federal state of Bavaria and 249 members of the federal parliament, however, opposed this bill as it did not correspond with the constitutional duty of the protection of life. This was followed by a formal objection in the federal constitutional court. The constitutional court accepted the statement, blocking the legalization of abortions within the first 12 weeks of pregnancy. This procedure was similar to what had taken place in West Germany in 1974. It was only on June 29, 1995, five years after the reunification, that the reform of the pregnancy and family protection laws (Schwangere und Familienhilfeänderungengesetz) was approved by an overwhelming majority of the federal parliament. Nevertheless, these abortion laws are still largely based on West German laws.[50]

In Romania, from 1966 to 1989, the Communist Party prohibited abortion in the name of the sanctity of the Romanian state. In the second half of the 1980s, the so-called golden era of Romanian communism, Nicolae Ceauşescu—the head of the Communist Party—even proclaimed publicly that "the fetus is the socialist property of the whole society. Giving birth is a patriotic duty. Those who refuse to have children are deserters, escaping the law of natural continuity."[51] In the Romanian public sphere, reproduction was thus fundamentally associated with the nation and its needs. Every communist subject had to participate in Ceauşescu's projects, and above all, every Romanian woman had to fulfill the role of becoming an exemplary socialist mother by having a large family. Even though all of the other communist states in Eastern Europe prohibited abortion in one way or another during their socialist eras, Romania's "politics of duplicity" concerning reproduction stand out as a singular example of force and negativity, whose consequences are still powerfully felt.[52]

After World War II, all Central and Eastern European satellite states followed the Soviet lead in legalizing first trimester in-hospital abortions upon the woman's request. Romania revised its penal code in 1948 (Article 482) outlawing abortion, but in 1955 the text of a related decree allowed for abortion on demand, if the pregnancy represented a threat to the woman's health or if one parent suffered from a serious hereditary illness.[53]

In 1957, the government legalized abortion, through what was at the time one of the most liberal policies in Europe. As a result of the lack of almost any contraceptive education, however, repeated abortions became typical for Romanian women. Demographic studies show that by 1965, the end of this most liberal period of Romanian history with regard to reproductive policies, Romanian women had four abortions for each delivery, the highest rate ever

reported in any European country up to that time. In other words, abortion had become the main instrument of birth control. The new regime's plan "to raise the Romanian nation" thus necessitated new pronatalist policies.[54]

Then, in autumn 1966, without prior announcement, Ceauşescu's regime strictly prohibited abortion.[55] This abrupt change in Romanian abortion law had a dramatic effect. In October 1966, the date of the antiabortion decree, the monthly birthrate was of 14.5.[56] Within a single year, it rose to 36.1. In a few years, however, the expected demographic boom steadily decreased.[57] Women, forced to seek alternative methods of family planning, had rediscovered old fashioned methods of contraception or created new ways of terminating unwanted pregnancies.[58] The antiabortion law was modified again in 1972 (before the International Conference on Demography, held in 1974 in Bucharest) by Decree 53/1972. The decree lowered the age at which a woman could request an abortion from 45 to 40, in accordance with international agreements. In 1985, however, the required age threshold was again raised to 45 (Decree no.441/1985). It was only after the overthrow of Ceauşescu in December 1989 that the Romanian government reversed the restrictive abortion legislation. The new law, which remains in effect today, authorized the import, production, and sale of modern contraceptives and permitted abortion on request through the first trimester if performed by qualified personnel.

To achieve its desired demographic makeup, Ceauşescu's regime had, from the very beginning, developed numerous pronatalist public policies. The strategies applied consisted of *pro-familia* and control measures. For example, divorce was very difficult to obtain, especially for couples with children under 16 years of age. Family allowances were liberalized and increased, and income tax was reduced for families with three or more children. At the same time, a "childless tax" (reflecting approximately 2 percent of the individual's income) was introduced and levied on childless men and women over 26, regardless of their marital status. Women who performed their own or received illegal abortions were given prison sentences lasting from six months to two years. Persons supporting or helping with the procedure received similar or even harsher punishments. At the same time, the party tried to initiate even more direct control over women's bodies by introducing compulsory gynecological exams. Moreover, although their sale was not prohibited by law, the official import of modern contraceptives gradually ceased. Starting with the first antiabortion decree, sexuality was discussed publicly only in terms of reproduction, preventing any truly comprehensive sexual education from taking place. Seminars were organized periodically during school, village meetings, or in the workplace to disseminate information on supposed maternal education. In public discourse, motherhood was presented daily as the fulfillment of a woman's destiny. In time, the only role for sexuality in one's family was the one of conceiving and giving birth to the nation's children.

In communist Romania, the state's regulation of abortion cannot be understood in the same context as the reproductive politics that played out in Western Europe. One could thus not speak about abortion as related to women's movements, or associated forms of protest. As pronatalism was officially constructed for the nation's "greater good," protesting against one's own nation was officially unimaginable. Rather, abortion in Romania was

one of the devices with which the party's "New Man" would be constructed. In fulfilling its demographic goals, the Party developed a sustained national campaign of coercion and legitimization, implemented day by day through state propaganda.[59] While women were expected to be good political activists and workers, motherhood slowly came to represent the only successful form of legitimation for women in Ceauşescu's Romania.[60] Women's reproductive functions were thus unambiguously instrumentalized in the service of the socialist state. Romanian communist society expected that every woman should be a "socialist mother," and her reproductive record therefore emerged as the central criterion based on which she was to be evaluated by the society. Any open protest against the state's reproductive policies and its interference in the private sphere was thus impossible.

As a consequence, any illegal abortion turned into a metaphoric form of underground protest against the socialist state. Public or private discussion of abortion remained taboo during communist times and continues to be so in contemporary Romania. In addition to claiming a great number of lives, unsafe clandestine abortions often permanently damaged the health of many more women. During pronatalist times, maternal and infant mortality rates were the highest in Europe, although the Communist Party used all its methods to keep its internal affairs quiet. As Henry P. David underscored in 1992, "unofficial estimates indicate that nearly 20 percent of Romania's 5.2 million women of reproductive age may be infertile, more than twice the proportion expected for a population that size."[61]

The effects of pronatalist policies implemented by Ceauşescu's regime proved to be disastrous both during and after the communist period in Romania. Even today, almost twenty years after communism, one can hardly speak about genuine or effective reproductive health education within Romanian society, even among the younger generations. Although modern contraceptives are readily available, the number of abortions is still extremely high, as are the numbers of self-induced abortions and cases of child abandonment.[62] This paradoxical phenomenon is due to the development of a specific "abortion culture"—a remnant of the communist past, which still characterizes many aspects of Romania's reproductive health mentalities.[63] A critical examination of the pronatalist period and its legacies is therefore more urgently needed today than ever.

The "Abortion Problem" and the Socialist States: From Soviet Models to National Policies

As the two cases from Eastern Europe illustrate, abortion legislation in the socialist states immediately after World War II was related to the need to bring women into the workforce on a massive scale. Another factor contributing to the widespread postwar legalization of abortion in Eastern Europe (which was much less apparent in Western Europe) was the concept of gender equality, allowing women control over their own lives and bodies. Along with promoting women in production areas and in politics, communist officials wanted to create a new woman, equal to any new man, as the gender-ideal of each communist system. Following Marxist dogma and the Soviet model of the

early 1930s, the communist states developed national discourses and policies that promoted equality between men and women. The legalization of abortion was thus a part of this gender rights propaganda, developed sometimes in contrast to and in competition with the West, as seen in the case of East Germany, which was eager to beat West Germany to the punch in resolving abortion issues.

Nevertheless, after major social protest against the Soviet Union in the 1950s and 1960s, such as the Hungarian Revolution or the Prague Spring, some Eastern European socialist countries started to develop strong nationalistic regimes. In this respect, Romania under Ceauşescu is an exemplary case. There, abortion became an ideological and demographic problem because a strong nation could supposedly be created without strong demographic development. As Yuval Davis argued, the strength of a nation is usually seen in the size of its population: in giving birth to a large nation, women are the first responsible for constructing its force.[64] Accordingly, they (and their bodies) are affected most by pronatalist policies that are generally developed in accordance with strong abortion interdictions and prohibitive regulations on contraception. In this political phase, legal abortion went on from initially being a sign of women's equality to become a real impediment to the construction of strong socialist nations, which eventually led to the partial or total criminalization of abortion. In other cases, such as Poland, where religion was the main factor influencing demographic policies, the liberalization of abortion became a tool in the socialist state's attempts to interfere with the influence of the Catholic Church. The socialist states of Eastern Europe started out with shared policies regarding abortion immediately after 1945. Although the majority followed Soviet strategies concerning abortion and contraception during the entire communist period, certain states, especially those where strong nationalistic or religious cultures were dominant, turned away from the Soviet model toward more individual and nationalistically oriented strategies.

The approach to abortion as an issue related to socialist state-building and women's rights were, nevertheless, the common point in the reproductive politics of European socialist states. The state strongly interfered in, and sometimes even dictated, the structures of the private sphere of its socialist subjects, which made any social protest related to reproduction policies almost impossible. Women's bodies were appropriated in the process of constructing communism and omnipresent propaganda continuously extolled its benefits. After the fall of the communist regimes, new laws were passed, and intensive sexual education programs were started in each country. It was at this point that former subjects of the socialist state, postcommunist citizens and women, in particular, began speaking publicly about their experiences, in an attempt to usher in a new era of reproductive politics.

Conclusion: Politics of Reproduction in a Divided Europe

The question remains whether abortion politics in Europe after 1945 can be separated into characteristically Western or Eastern European forms, or whether national strategies outweighed bloc allegiances. At first glance, the cases

analyzed differ substantially from one another: whereas France opted for relatively progressive abortion legislation in 1974, allowing abortion on demand within the first three months of pregnancy, West Germany adopted more restrictive legislation in 1976, decriminalizing the termination of pregnancy only in narrowly defined cases. East Germany and Romania, on the other hand, seem to have taken different paths. In 1972, East Germany passed a liberalized law that resembled the French decision of 1974, whereas Romania had the strictest legislation in Europe, lasting for more than 20 years (1966–1989).

The comparative framework nonetheless shows commonalities in the debates on both sides of the Iron Curtain. First, the liberalization of reproductive politics in Eastern European countries started earlier than in Western Europe. During the 25 years following the end of the Nazi regime, which had very strong influences on the family, interventionist reproductive policy remained taboo in West Germany, even in times when high birthrates and economic growth were likely to favor women's appearance on the labor market. This was similar in France, where the Vichy regime had also maintained strongly interventionist family policies. In East Germany, by contrast, changes in abortion legislation were more clearly linked to economic and population considerations than in West Germany. It should be taken into consideration, however, that the East German regime wanted to emphasize gender equality in a socialist state and that there were far fewer Catholics in East Germany than in West Germany. For Romania, of course, the Soviet Union and its liberal abortion politics served as its main policy example in the immediate postwar period.

Second, the argumentative structure of negotiations, as well as the establishment's responses to the abortion issue in the communist and capitalist worlds, differed greatly. The main values dominating the debates in the East were, for the antiabortion side, the "socialist family" —especially the "socialist mother"—and on the proabortion side, the desire for more women in workforce that went hand-in-hand with arguments for gender equality. By contrast, Western European defenders of the ban on abortion argued for the protection of the unborn being (fostered by the horror of Nazi eugenics) and for demographic expansion, as in the case of France's "Grand Nation."

Third, we can point to the considerable role that social movements in Western Europe played in putting the issue of abortion on the political agenda. In both France and West Germany, the history of abortion politics and the emergence of the new women's movements are intertwined. In contrast, due to the repressive political conditions in Eastern European societies, social movements were almost invisible in the public discourse related to abortion and reproduction in East Germany and in Romania. Following claims of the antiauthoritarian New Left, the women's movements in Western Europe claimed that the "the personal is political" and considered human relationships to be the starting point for social transformation. In socialist countries, the private sphere was from the beginning inseparably linked to politics and influenced by them. Although communism was to be constructed by the people and for the people, state control over the public and private spheres, in fact, allowed no space for ideological protest.

Neither Western nor Eastern European governments in the second part of the twentieth century understood reproductive policies primarily as a means

to fulfill the fundamental right of choice. The state's involvement in the private sphere, even in the strictest pronatalist regimes, was never fully successful, generally causing more damage than benefit to the nation's reproductive health and demographic evolution. In an era where reproduction politics remain intensely contested and increasingly complicated, a glance backward may prove a good starting point from which to approach the new demographic challenges of contemporary Europe.

Notes

1. F. Ginsburg, R. Rapp, "The Politics of Reproduction," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 20 (1991): 311–343.
2. For extensive discussions on this issue, see especially: Mary Katzenstein and Carol Mueller, eds, *The Women's Movement of the United States and Western Europe* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1987); Faye D. Ginsburg and Rayna Rapp, eds, *Conceiving the New World Order: The Global Politics of Reproduction* (Berkley: University of California Press, 1995) ; Anita Grossmann, *Reforming Sex: The German Movement for Birth Control and Abortion Reform 1920–1950* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995); Henry P. David and Joanna Skilogianis, eds, *From Abortion to Contraception. A Resource to Public Policies and Reproductive Behavior in Central and Eastern Europe from 1917 to the Present* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1999); David Hoffmann, "Mothers in the Motherland: Stalinist Pronatalism in Its Pan-European Context," *Journal of Social History* 34, no. 1 (Autumn 2000): 35–54; *Abortion Policies: A Global Review*, UN Population Division, 2002 (3 vol.): http://www.un.org/esa/population/publications/abortion/profiles.htm; Donna Harsch, *Revenge of the Domestic: Women, The Family, and Communism in the German Democratic Republic* (Princeton/Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2007).
3. Robert G. Moeller, "Reconstructing the Family in Reconstructing Germany: Women and Social Policy in The Federal Republic, 1949–1955," *Feminist Studies* 15 (1989): 137–169, 137.
4. Malcolm Potts, Peter Diggory, and John Peel, *Abortion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 298–332, 392.
5. Ibid., 403–404.
6. Field, 1956, cited in Henry P. David, "Abortion in Europe, 1920–1991: A Public Health Perspective," *Studies in Family Planning* 23, no.1 (January–February 1992): 1–22.
7. For a comparative view, see Dorothy McBride, ed., *Abortion Politics, Women's Movements, and the Democratic State: A Comparative Study of State Feminism* (Oxford: University Press, 2001).
8. Dieter Rucht, "The Impact of National Contexts on Social Movement Structures: A Cross-Movement and Cross National Comparison," in Doug McAdam, John D. McCarthy, and Mayer N. Zald, eds, *Comparative Perspectives on Social Movements: Political Opportunities, Mobilizing Structures, and Cultural Framings* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 185–204.
9. Dieter Rucht and Friedhelm Neidhardt, "Auf dem Weg in eine 'Bewegungsgesellschaft' ? Über die Stabilisierbarkeit sozialer Bewegungen," *Soziale Welt* 44 (1993): 305.
10. This problem was stated in a very prominent way by Betty Friedan (1921–2006) whose 1963 book, *The Feminine Mystique*, rapidly became a best seller in Europe as well.
11. On this subject, see Kristina Schulz, "Echoes of Provocation: 1968 and the Women's Movements in France and Germany," in Gerd-Rainer Horn and Padraic Kenney, *Transnational Moments of Change: Europe 1945, 1968, 1989* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2004), 137–154.

12. Cf. Janine Mossuz-Lavau,, *Les lois de l'amour. Les politiques de la sexualité en France (1950–1990*) (Paris: Payot, 1991).
13. François Isambert and Paul Ladriere, *Contraception et avortement. Dix ans de débat dans la presse (1965–1974*) (Paris: Editions du CNRS, 1979).
14. For the French case, see Jean C. Robinson, "Gendering the Abortion Debate: The French Case," in , Dorothy McBride Stetson, ed., *Abortion Politics, Women's Movements, and the Democratic State* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 87–110.
15. Cf. Schulz, "Echoes," 139f.
16. On the French women's movement, see also Françoise Picq, *Libération des femmes: Les années-mouvement* (Paris: Seuil, 1993).
17. See Choisir, *Avortement. Une loi en procès. L'affaire de Bobigny. Sténotypie intégrale des débats du tribunal de Bobigny (8 novembre 1972). Préface de Simone de Beauvoir* (Paris: Gallimard, 1973).
18. The so-called Contergan-Skandal pushed forward the debate on eugenic abortion. Contergan was a tranquilizer recommended especially for pregnant women. Its use resulted in birth defects. Cf. Jürgen Gerhards, Friedhelm Neidhardt, and Dieter Rucht, *Zwischen Palaver und Diskurs: Strukturen öffentlicher Meinungsbildung am Beispiel der deutschen Diskussion zur Abtreibung* (Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1998), 14. From a perspective of comparative political sciences: Myra Marx Ferree, "Resonance and Radicalism: Feminist Framing in the Abortion Debate of the United States and Germany," *American Journal of Sociology* 109 (2003): 304–344.
19. The section of the 1943 antiabortion regulation to which the death penalty applied was abolished in 1945.
20. "Stellungnahme der Sprecherin der 'Aktion 218', Barbara Nirumand, vor dem Sonderausschuß des Deutschen Bundestages anläßlich des Hearings vom 10.–12. April 1972," Gerhardt Kraiker, *§218. Zwei Schritte vorwärts, ein Schritt zurück* (Frankfurt: Fischer, 1983), 105–114.
21. The suspension became definite with the adoption of the Pelletier Law in 1979.
22. Chantal Horellou-Lafarge, "Une mutation dans les dispositifs de contrôle social: le cas de l'avortement," *Revue française de sociologie* 23 (1982): 411.
23. Lynn Kamenitsa, "Abortion Debates in Germany," in Stetson, ed., *Abortion Politics*, 111–134, 128.
24. Roland Roth and Dieter Rucht, eds, *Die sozialen Bewegungen in Deutschland seit 1945: Ein Handbuch* (Frankfurt: Campus, 2008), 29.
25. Michael Gante, *§218 in der Diskussion. Meinungs—und Willensbildung 1945–1976* (Düsseldorf: Droste, 1991), 43.
26. Anita Grossmann, *Reforming Sex: The German Movement for Birth Control and Abortion Reform, 1920–1950* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 193–194.
27. Hilde Benjamin, "Juristische Grundlagen für die Diskussion über den *§218*," in Kristen Thietz, ed., *Ende der Selbstverständlichkeit? Die Abschaffung des §218 in der DDR, Dokumente* (Berlin: Basis Druck Verlag GmbH, 1992), 18, 47.
28. Donna Harsch, "Society, the State, and Abortion in East Germany 1950–1972," *American Historical Review* 102, no. 1 (1997): 58.
29. Ibid., 64.
30. Ibid., 74–75.
31. The number of births in 1955 was 293,280; in 1960 it was 292,985; in 1965, 281,058; and in 1970, 236, 929. Ralf Rytlewski and Manfred Opp de Hipt, *Die Deutsche Demokratische Republik in Zahlen 1945/49–1980* (München: Beck, 1987), 41–42.
32. Harsch, "Society," 65.
33. "Wortlaut der Instruktion von 1965 zur Anwendung des §11 über den Mutter—und Kinderschutz und die Rechte der Frau vom 27. September 1950," in Thietz, ed., *Ende*, 200–204; Harsch, "Society," 62.

34. The number of female workers in 1971 who had infants was 387,400 (49.7 percent of the total number of workers), of which 29 percent worked part-time. "Bericht über die Entwicklung der Beschäftigung der Frauen in der Produktion," in Thietz, ed., *Ende*, 140–141.
35. "Erklärung der katholischen Bischöfe und bischöflichen Kommissare in der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik," in Thietz, *Ende*, 158–159.
36. *Volkskammer der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik*, Berlin, 4. Tagung (March 9, 1972), 82.
37. In 1970, 44.6 percent of people in West Germany belonged to the Catholic Church, and 49 percent to the Protestant Church. According to statistics from 1986 and 1988 in East Germany, the population consisted of 30.6 percent Protestants, only 6.6 percent Catholics, and 61.5 percent atheists. This strong Catholic influence in West Germany was the reason why East German type abortion laws were not enacted in West Germany. *Statistisches Jahrbuch der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik* (Berlin: Staatsverlag der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik, 1990), 451; *Statistisches Jahrbuch für die Bundesrepublik Deutschland* (Wiesbaden: Statistisches Bundesamt, 1991), 68.
38. Gesetz über die Unterbrechung der Schwangerschaft vom 9. März 1972, in *Gesetzblatt der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik* (March 15, 1972), Berlin, 89–90.
39. Deutsche Presse-Agentur, *DPA Hintergrund. Archiv—und Informationsmaterial*, Hamburg (April 5, 1974), 5.
40. Cf. Harsch, "Society," 82.
41. Ibid.
42. The number of legal abortions in 1965 was about a half the number in 1966, while the number in 1964 was about 1/30th of those in 1966. Cf. Donna Harsch, *Revenge of the Domestic: Women, the Family, and Communism in the German Democratic Republic* (Princeton/Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2006), 268, 271.
43. Harsch, "Society," 78.
44. Chizuko Ueno et al., *The Invisible Wall in Germany: Women Rethink Reunification* (in Japanese) (Tokyo: Iwanami, 1993), 191.
45. *Neues Deutschland* (December 23, 1971); Harsch, "Society," 80–82.
46. *Jahrbuch der DDR*, 1979, 335–336; *Vorwärts* (February 20, 1975); Deutsche Presse-Agentur, 3; cf. Akira Saito, *Consumption and Women: An Aspect of German Social History 1920–1970* (in Japanese) (Tokyo: Nihonkeizaihyôronsha, 2007), 284.
47. Deutsche Presse-Agentur, 3; *Vorwärts* (February 20, 1975); Harsch, *Revenge*, 268.
48. Michael Hubert, *Deutschland im Wandel: Geschichte der deutschen Bevölkerung seit 1815* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1998), 288.
49. Toshiko Himeoka, "The Unification of Germany and Feminism," in Hiroko Hara and Kaoru Tachi, eds, *From Motherhood to Power: Bringing Up the Next Generation: For the Society which Bears and Brings Up* (in Japanese) (Tokyo: Shinyôsha, 1991), 293–294; Ueno, *The Invisible Wall in Germany*, 192–196.
50. On this subject, see Yoshie Mitobe, "Mein Bauch gehört dem Staat? Politics of Abortion Law Reform in the Seventies," in Osamu Kawagoe and Hidetaka Tsuji eds, *Life of the Social State: State, Community, and Individual in Twentieth-Century Germany* (in Japanese) (Tokyo: Hôsei University Press, 2008), 243–278.
51. Henry P. David, "Abortion in Europe, 1920–1991: A Public Health Perspective," *Studies in Family Planning* 23, no.1 (January–February 1992): 13.
52. Gail Kligman, *Politica duplicităţii, Controlul reproducerii în Romania lui Ceauşescu* (The Politics of Duplicity: Controlling Reproduction in Ceauşescu's Romania) (Bucharest: Humanitas Publishing House, 2000).
53. Decree no. 456/1955, published in "The Official Gazette of the Grand National Assembly of the Romanian People's Republic," *Buletinul Oficial al Marii Adunări Naţionale a Republicii Populare România* no. 3/November 1, 1955, which was the

official legal publication of the Romanian State, under different titles starting with its first appearance in 1832 (today "The Official Gazette of Romania"—*Monitorul Oficial al României*).

54. Bernard Berelson, "Romania's 1966 Anti-Abortion Decree: The Demographic Experience of the First Decade," *Population Studies* 33, no. 2 (1979): 209.
55. In short, the famous Decree no. 770/1966, "For the regulation of the interruption of pregnancy" (rom. *Pentru reglementarea întreruperii cursului sarcinii*), limited abortion on request to: (1) women whose life, in a judgment of a special commission, was endangered by the pregnancy; (2) women whose children were faced with hereditary diseases, or the risk of congenital deformity; (3) women who were physically, psychologically, or emotionally incapacitated; (4) women over 45 years of age; (5) women already supporting four or more children; or (6) women whose pregnancy resulted from rape or incest.
56. The birthrate refers to the annual number of births per 1,000 persons.
57. H. David and N. H. Wright, "Abortion Legislation: the Romanian Experience," *Studies in Family Planning* 2 (1979): 205-210.
58. We are using the term "unwanted pregnancy" to include not only undesired pregnancies, but also and especially a pregnancy impossible for the mother to see through, from a socioeconomic point of view.
59. For a more in-depth description of the creation of the socialist-mother tradition by means of propaganda, see Lorena Anton, "Abortion and the Making of the Socialist Mother during Communist Romania," in Lisa Bernstein, ed., *(M)Othering the Nation: Constructing and Resisting Regional and National Allegories Through the Maternal Body* (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2008), 49–61.
60. Cf. Baban and David, "The Impact of Body-Politic on Women's Body" (http://www.mona-hungary.org, section "Gender-related academic studies, papers," retrieved 2006); Thomas J. Keil and Viviana Andreescu, "Fertility Policy in Ceauşescu's Romania," *Journal of Family History* 21, no. 4 (October 1999): 478–492.
61. David, "Abortion," 1–22.
62. Cf. *Reproductive Health Survey: Romania, 2004 (Romanian Ministry of Health*, World Bank, UNFPA, USAID, UNICEF) (Buzău: Alpha MDN, 2005).
63. See in this sense B. Johnson et al., "Women's Perspectives on Abortion in Romania," *Social Science and Medicine* 42, no. 4 (1996): 521–530; J. L. Leibowitz, *Reproductive Choice in Romania: Cultural Models of Abortion and Contraception* (2003, PhD dissertation, University of Connecticut); Vasile Gheţău, *Declinul demografic şi viitorul populaţiei României* (The Demographic Decline and the Future of Romania's Population) (Bucharest : Alpha MDN, 2007).
64. Nira Yuval-Davis, *Gen şi naţiune* (Gender and Nation) (Bucharest: Univers Publishing House, 2003).

Part III
International Relations

8
Psychological Warfare for the West: Interdoc, the West European Intelligence Services, and the International Student Movements of the 1960s

Giles Scott-Smith

Introduction: The Ideological Struggle between East and West

With the onset of the Cold War in the late 1940s Western governments and intelligence services recognized the need to establish and support civilian organizations to engage in the "battle of ideas" with the Soviet bloc.[1] Communist front organizations and infiltration in the realms of international labor, student and youth movements, women's groups, and journalism were threatening to dictate the ideological discourse and political affiliation across these fields of activity.[2] Responding to this situation in 1948, George Kennan, then head of the State Department's Policy Planning Staff, had promoted the initiation of "political warfare," both overt and covert, across a whole range of activities from economic policy and strategic political alliances to "black" propaganda and underground resistance movements.[3] Later the same year, sanctioned by NSC directives 4, 4A, and 10/2, the Office of Policy Coordination (OPC) was created to coordinate all manner of covert activities aimed at undermining support for communism abroad.[4] These foundations soon produced results. In May 1949, the National Committee for a Free Europe (NCFE) was set up by U.S. business elites to mobilize support for undermining Soviet control in the East, mainly by means of broadcasts via Radio Free Europe.[5] In June 1950, this was followed by the arrival of the Congress for Cultural Freedom (CCF), a body designed to organize, in the name of freedom of thought, support for anticommunism (and antineutralism) among the (predominantly) European intelligentsia.[6] The British Foreign Office and MI6 also contributed to these developments, most notably through the formation of the World Assembly of Youth in 1948 and support for the high-brow CCF journal *Encounter*.[7] By 1953, a whole series of international fronts and counterfronts were operating,

competing for the allegiance of influential professional communities around the world.[8]

Despite the success of these efforts, during the early 1950s the overall outlook of Western political or psychological warfare was one of "negative anticommunism." Taking Western ideals and values for granted, the aim was to highlight the brutal realities of life under communist rule and the concomitant threats posed by communist parties and their allies in the West. Due to the Soviet determination to cause division in the West and split NATO, attempts were made to coordinate these activities transnationally. The most important effort within Western Europe was *Paix et Liberté*, a French-led international network under the leadership of parliamentary deputy Jean-Paul David, which sought to guide an anticommunist propaganda campaign via affiliated groups across Western Europe. During 1952–1953, David, with the backing of French Foreign Minister Georges Bidault, attempted (unsuccessfully) to develop *Paix et Liberté* into the propaganda arm of NATO itself.[9]

However, *Paix et Liberté's* methods were somewhat simplistic, concentrating on the use of pamphlets, posters, and radio broadcasts to discredit the communist peace campaign. The limitations to this approach became increasingly evident following the death of Stalin in March 1953, and David's ambitions were never fully realized. The organization's message remained one-dimensional: Communism was a violently repressive ideology, and the Soviet Union, through its proxy organizations in politics, the trade unions, and across society at large, propagated lies to cover this up by presenting itself as promoting peace and freedom. Whereas this had a function in the tense days of 1950–1951 when the Korean War broke out, by the mid-1950s the complexities of peaceful coexistence had undermined *Paix et Liberté's* usefulness and the French government ceased its support in 1956.[10] However, the organization was renamed, the French bureau continuing as the *Office National pour la Démocratie Française* and the international committee as the *Comité International d'Action Sociale* (CIAS). The remnants of this network would provide one of the foundations for the development of Interdoc in a few years' time. *Paix et Liberté's* national committees functioned as "a sort of role of vigilance, of conscience" in the war of ideas, but the changing East-West environment demanded a new approach.[11] This would ultimately involve not only a network separate from NATO and, significantly, U.S. direction, but also an outlook more profound than the negative propaganda of David and his associates, which offered no alternative beyond the need for Western anticommunist solidarity.

The Soviet strategy of "peaceful coexistence" that emerged under Stalin's successors as Soviet head of state (Georgy Malenkov, then Nikolai Bulganin and Nikita Khrushchev) raised many questions about the anticommunist strategy of the West. The Kremlin's portrayal of the Soviet Union as a reformist state searching for a stable accommodation with the West brought pressure to bear on Western governments to justify why they would not accept these overtures.[12] "Rollback" and "Liberation," the catchwords of the early 1950s, which referred to the determination to undermine and overthrow the Soviet control of Eastern Europe, were effectively null and void well before the Red Army crushed the Hungarian revolution in November 1956.[13] Despite Eisenhower's

attempt to capitalize on the change of Soviet leadership, it remained difficult for the West to seize the initiative. In these circumstances "the excesses of American anticommunism (represented most obviously in McCarthyism, 'liberation,' and massive retaliation) appeared at times to be the greater threat to international peace and stability."[14] Soviet strategy also broadened the East-West contest into an explicitly global ideological struggle. In October 1959, Khrushchev outlined his position in no less than *Foreign Affairs*:

> In its simplest expression it signifies the repudiation of war as a means of solving controversial issues … We say to the leaders of the capitalist states: Let us try out in practice whose system is better, let us compete without war … The main thing is to keep to the positions of ideological struggle, without resorting to arms in order to prove that one is right … We believe that ultimately that system will be victorious on the globe which will offer the nations greater opportunities for improving their material and spiritual life.[15]

The Eisenhower administration soon recognized the implications of this "new type of Cold War," where the powers of persuasion and international public opinion could be decisive. Communist peace overtures were aimed at splitting the Western alliance and garnering support among youth, intellectuals, and other influential groups. Eisenhower himself, a convinced advocate of psychological warfare, used his 1958 State of the Union address to denounce the USSR's "total cold war," which incorporated "trade, economic development, military power, arts, science, education, the whole world of ideas." Responding to the challenge, he declared the United States would "wage total peace" by "bringing to bear every asset of our personal and national lives." Yet although the psychological dimension was elevated to a higher level of importance by the Eisenhower administration, the driving impulse remained the same as before: increased efforts on all fronts to declare the truth and display the reality of Western freedoms and good intentions in contrast to Soviet tyranny, duplicity, and lies. Soviet communism itself was still largely regarded as at best a political and psychological aberration and at worst as a veritable evil.[16]

The Formation of Interdoc

The origins of Interdoc lie in the dissatisfaction with this outlook felt by certain sections of the West European intelligence communities. Above all it was recognized that the potential effects of Soviet strategy on Western morale required some form of integrated response, which took the appeal of communism seriously. To this end, in 1957, a series of discussions or "colloques" was begun by French intelligence officer Antoine Bonnemaison, then head of the *Guerre/Action Psychologique* section of the *Service de Documentation Exterieure et de Contre-Espionage* (SDECE). Bonnemaison's role in SDECE was that of coordinator of a network of psychological warfare organizations—the *Cinquième Bureaux*—via a public front, the *Centre de Recherche du Bien Politique*. The colloques were initially an important form of rapprochement around common

security concerns between the French and West German intelligence communities, in the wake of the Federal Republic joining NATO and the Anglo-French debacle of Suez. Alongside members of the intelligence community, the meetings were attended by invited representatives from the military, politics, business, academia, and the media, and were held once or twice a year. From 1958 onward, the French and Germans were joined by participants from Britain, Belgium, Italy, the Netherlands, and Switzerland. The Dutch were represented by Louis Einthoven, then head of the *Binnenlandse Veiligheidsdienst* (BVD—the domestic security service)—who soon brought in as support the head of the BVD's training division, Cees van den Heuvel.[17] The broad concern of these meetings was the effect that peaceful coexistence initiatives would have on the outlook and political loyalties of Western populations, and "to discuss the question of Communist infiltration into industry, scholastic and public life and to determine what steps should be taken to deal with the problem."[18]

Communist strategy focused on speeding the disintegration of the capitalist West by focusing on three dividing lines: between workers and capitalists, between the West and the Third World, and between the United States and Europe. In these circumstances the military origins of psychological warfare had to be abandoned in order to emphasize that this was now a matter of everyday concern within every sector of civilian life. Western values, once taken for granted, now needed to be clarified, amplified, and literally ingrained into those sectors of the population who were most "vulnerable": businessmen, trade unionists, religious officials, the military, and students. As van den Heuvel wrote at the time: "Psychological warfare has two sides: The build-up of moral strength within one's own side and the undermining of the morale of the opposing side."[19]

The Dutch took the initiative to develop an institutional arrangement that could back up the twice-yearly colloques with a permanent base, and on February 7, 1963, the official statutes of the International Documentation and Information Center (Interdoc) were signed in a Hague solicitor's office. The two parties involved were fronts for their respective intelligence services: The German *Verein zur Erforschung sozialpolitischer Verhältnisse im Ausland*, based in Munich, and the Dutch *Stichting voor Onderzoek van Ecologische Vraagstukken* (SOEV). Cees van den Heuvel, having left the BVD, was named director. Although the French had played a crucial role in the formation period, de Gaulle's insistence on an independent foreign policy forced Bonnemaison, much his chagrin, to withdraw as a partner. The *Bundesnachrichtendienst* (BND), the German intelligence service, took responsibility for the largest share of the budget.

Interdoc was formed to fulfill three main tasks: study, advice, and coordination. Concerning study, Interdoc would effectively operate as the central exchange point for a network of national institutes, its regular conferences providing ideal meeting places for communication. The second task, advice, involved first, making contact with new partners in Europe and then increasingly in the Third World, and second, extending the discussions of the colloques and becoming a training center for anticommunist "cadres" in strategic sectors of democratic society.[20] The third task, coordination, was meant to overcome the lack of integration of Western efforts to combat communist influence.

The Training Function: The Ostkolleg in Cologne

Even before the official foundation of Interdoc, van den Heuvel laid the basis for the transnational network he wanted to build. For the formation of anticommunist "cadres" he sought quality locations for courses in communism and anticommunism for participants from the media, the military, and the universities. In 1961–1962, the focus for this fell on the *Ost-Kolleg* of the West German Federal Agency for Civic Education (*Bundeszentrale für Politische Bildung*, originally *Heimatdienst*) in Cologne, an institute that fell under the responsibility of the German interior ministry. The Ost-Kolleg had been established in 1957 for the purpose of facilitating and promoting the study and understanding of Soviet communism and East-West relations, and its participants included members of the BND and the Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution (*Bundesamt für Verfassungsschutz*).[21] Initially, van den Heuvel aimed to establish a similar seminar/training center in the Netherlands, but at the end of January 1962, he secured an arrangement for 16 seminar places for Dutch participants (2 places for each eight-week seminar) over the following year as a trial run. Should these visits go well, the intention was to choose participants from information service personnel, political parties, and the BVD itself.[22]

The early seminar visits were undertaken by four SOEV associates in May 1962, and they returned with a very positive report. The quality of the speakers was high, the focus was broader and more useful than just on the "German question," and it provided a perfect stimulus for clarifying SOEV thinking on communism.[23] The trial period having been successfully concluded, in January 1963, three weeks before the official opening of Interdoc, van den Heuvel arranged for up to 20 Dutch participants per year, with British and French participants also welcome if he could arrange it.[24] Broadening the approach, from early 1964 onward small student groups from Leiden and Utrecht, particularly from the law faculties (a prime site for the Dutch elites), were regularly attending Ost-Kolleg seminars in Cologne. The registration was carried out via the relevant student organizations, in Leiden this being the *Leidse Studentenbeweging voor Internationale Betrekkingen* (SIB), so that no relation with Interdoc or its affiliates was apparent to the participants. Hans Beuker (October 1962), Pieter Koerts (March 1963), and several other members of the Dutch student circle around van den Heuvel made the trip to Cologne to assess the value of the courses there.[25] These student training trips continued through to 1972, when the withdrawal of German funding from Interdoc caused a drastic reduction in its activities.

Youth Festivals as an East-West Ideological Battleground

The relevance of youth for international politics during the Cold War, and particularly the impact of an increasing transnational radicalism during the 1960s, has attracted increasing attention in recent years.[26] Foremost among this has been the thesis of Jeremy Suri that a growing "international language of dissent" and popular dissatisfaction with the static reality of the East-West divide pushed world leaders into the accommodations of détente.[27]

The approach to student radicalism sketched here will be slightly different. Interdoc represented, first, an attempt to manage Cold War differences and, second, to direct social change down certain paths that would ultimately benefit the West. While Suri claims that détente was deeply conservative in outlook, for the Interdoc circle any rapprochement with the East *necessarily* offered new opportunities for cross-border engagement and the possibility for fomenting social change. In this sense the need of the West Germans to adapt to recognizing a permanent German Democratic Republic combined with the Dutch wish to unpack and dismantle communist ideology. Youth was a prime element within this strategy.

From the beginning Interdoc's activities also included planning "counter-actions," referring to an active engagement with and sabotage of communist-sponsored events, in particular in the youth and student field. The catalyst for this was the gradual development of the large-scale Soviet-sponsored international youth festivals being run by front organizations such as the World Federation of Democratic Youth (WFDY) and the International Union of Students (IUS). Following the first such festival in Prague in 1947, similar events held every two years had attracted an increasing participation from around the world. The sense of momentum gathered by the success of the 1957 Moscow festival led to the decision to go on the offensive and hold the following events outside of the communist bloc: Vienna in 1959, and Helsinki in 1962.[28]

For Vienna a study group consisting of "about 60 young people from Germany and other European countries" was assembled under German direction for the purpose of participating in and observing the festival.[29] This was deemed a useful exercise, so that when the Eighth World Youth Festival in Helsinki was announced for August 1962, a similar operation was planned. This time van den Heuvel acted as team leader for a European group consisting of about 30 Dutch, British, French, German, and Belgian students. At the core of this group he assembled a three-man Dutch team, two of whom he already knew through either family ties or close friends, to take part in a training program in The Hague some seven or eight months before the Helsinki event opened.[30] This involved meetings on a Saturday, once a fortnight, where the students were instructed in the workings of communist ideology, the organization and propaganda methods used by communist front organizations, and the realities of life behind the Iron Curtain. For this purpose van den Heuvel and his colleagues used the same training materials that they had developed for their training courses at the BVD. The aim of this preparation was to ensure that the students would be able to understand, withstand, and literally dismantle the arguments they would encounter from pro-Soviet delegates at the festival. The students had been well chosen since they already held strong anticommunist views, but this program took them several steps further along the line of Western-style "indoctrination." Helsinki was to be "a case study" for the embryonic Interdoc on how this kind of communist-controlled event functioned (methods of manipulation, use of different media, ways of organizing meetings, and so on) and how it could best be combated.[31]

The group of three signed up for the conference in the early summer of 1962. Since they were not members of the left-leaning student organizations

running the trip to Helsinki, they had to be careful not to arouse suspicion that they were working together.[32] The trip by train to Finland included stops in East Berlin (as guests of the *Freie Deutsche Jugend*), a visit to the former Sachsenhausen concentration camp, and Brest-Litovsk. Van den Heuvel and his former BVD colleague Herman Mennes traveled separately to Helsinki, where they communicated with the group via other personnel (acting as "cut-outs" to avoid suspicion). At some point the decision was taken "to make a point" and not to just observe, causing one of the three Dutch students, Hans Beuker, to register to speak during a festival colloquium on the role of students in solving problems related to the Third World. It seems that the speech he gave was prepared by van den Heuvel and Mennes and passed secretly to Beuker before the session.[33] When his time came he proceeded to denounce the one-sided focus of the meeting on Western imperialism and instead criticized the Soviet domination of Central Asia, the Baltic States, and Eastern Europe, claiming that in contrast to the decolonization of the Western empires, the continuing forms of Soviet oppression deserved more attention.[34] As was to be expected, such a statement caused uproar and a series of speakers from the Soviet Union and the Eastern bloc came forward to denounce Beuker. Suddenly this orchestrated event, designed to present a united anti-Western anticapitalist offensive, had been thrown onto the defensive. To avoid appearing as an *agent provocateur*, Beuker, after some discussion with his colleagues, decided to return to the Netherlands by train as planned instead of making a swift exit by plane. Surrounded by suspicious and hostile students, Beuker nervously made the three-day trip back to Amsterdam, trusting that the publicity surrounding his statement would protect him.

Once back in the Netherlands, Beuker and the others took part in an evaluation of the Helsinki operation, which was regarded by all as highly successful. The subsequent report made clear that the delicacy of Finnish-Russian relations had originally ruled out any "counteractivities," but that "during the festival it seemed possible to do something in that field." Alongside van den Heuvel's group other associations had attended to offer alternative views and engage in discussion, particularly with Third World students, the most impressive of these "counterinfluence" groups being the Swiss *Aktionskomitee Wahret die Freiheit*. The report ended by remarking that the attempts to disrupt the smooth operation of the festival had met with some limited success, and thus optimistically claimed that "the ninth [youth festival] in a country outside the Communist sphere of influence might well mean the end of Communist world youth festivals old style."[35]

However, this side to Interdoc's work did not expand much further. Van den Heuvel continued his coordinator role from Helsinki for the West European anticommunist student network. Referred to initially as the Strasbourg group, then the Luxembourg group, it is not clear for whom van den Heuvel fulfilled this role.[36] A smaller International Union of Students meeting in Florence in February 1964, entitled "Freedom and Disarmament," was the site of a second "counteraction" under the direction of van den Heuvel's deputy Herman Mennes. Pieter Koerts delivered a prepared statement similar to Beuker in Helsinki, but with far less impact and less press coverage.[37] But Florence did serve an important purpose for continuing the connections built up around

the Vienna and Helsinki festivals, and useful cooperation was established with, among others, the *Liga für Freiheit* in Zurich, the Swiss wing of the ongoing French-based anticommunist *Paix et Liberté* network. Meanwhile, the hope was that a large-scale follow-up to Helsinki would be organized so that the success there could be repeated. However, the attempt to set up major Soviet-sponsored youth festivals in the Third World, namely in Algiers (1965) and Accra (1966), ended in failure due to political instability in both Algeria and Ghana. At van den Heuvel's instigation an approach was made by the Dutch National Student Council to the organizers in Algiers to see if some form of participation could be arranged (thereby expanding access to the event), but the negotiations, like the event itself, did not get very far.[38] For Accra, the Luxembourg group (this time consisting of student representatives from Britain, the Netherlands, and West Germany) was already busy with planning "countermeasures" when the fall of Nkrumah cancelled the event.[39]

When the next World Youth Festival did eventually take place in Sofia in 1968, the political circumstances had changed. Divisions within the Eastern bloc and the arrival of the New Left in the West caused the Sofia festival to be disrupted by divisions within the socialist ranks themselves. Czechoslovaks, Romanians, and Yugoslavs organized a counterfestival of their own, and the attendance (for the first time) by noncommunist and New Left groups from West Germany caused a running confrontation with their counterparts from the East.[40] Van den Heuvel did arrange for two students from Leiden to attend as observers. Again as with Helsinki, a full training program was prepared beforehand to send them "fully briefed," but once in Bulgaria, it appears that their cover was too thin for them to attempt anything approaching Beuker's declaration.[41] The final counteraction seems to have been at the tenth festival in East Berlin in 1973. Van den Heuvel's son Christiaan, then a politics student at the Vrij Universiteit in Amsterdam, attended the festival independent of the Dutch delegation and delivered a ten-minute call for free movement of people and ideas at a session in Humboldt University. The audience this time remained "dead silent" and he did not receive the same hostile response from the festival hosts as Beuker had in Helsinki eleven years before.[42]

But Interdoc's view on East-West relations had already been disrupted by then by developments within the West itself. The rise of youth radicalism, fueled by the U.S. Civil Rights movement and opposition to the Vietnam War, complicated the whole approach to utilizing student contacts to open up the East. The arrival of the New Left posed new challenges and demanded new analyses.

The New Left and the Formation of Interdoc Youth

Although there were contacts with the Leiden-based COSEC (Coordinating Secretariat), the central office of the (CIA-sponsored) International Student Conference (ISC), it is clear that the Interdoc network aimed to establish its own particular presence in the international student field. This was perhaps a control or sphere of influence issue, considering the CIA role in the ISC and the strong West European orientation of Interdoc, or it could have been a deliberate tactic to avoid blending the roles of two institutions with close links

to the intelligence communities of different nations (which could have raised some unnecessary suspicions). In the late 1960s it is clear that van den Heuvel and his associates sought to make use of ISC's network for building their own response to the New Left: Interdoc Youth (IY).[43]

Youth politics began to figure prominently at Interdoc conferences. In May 1964, in Lunteren, near Utrecht (Netherlands), a seminar was held on the relationship between youth and communism in the West, followed by another in Eschwege (Germany) entitled "Considerations for an Active Peace Policy." The year 1965 saw two further seminars, this time in Locarno (Switzerland) and Zandvoort (Netherlands), covering the possibilities for making use of increasing social, cultural, educational, and business contacts across the Iron Curtain. The report on the Zandvoort event, which involved representatives from Britain, France, Italy, the Netherlands, and Switzerland, makes clear where the intentions of Interdoc lay within the broader context of East-West relations. Increasing contacts were an opportunity not just for ensuring peace but for *transforming attitudes*:

> It might be useful to emphasize that our work complements the official policy of coexistence on the political, economic, scientific and cultural level. It can form a parallel current and must occasionally even run counter to it since we want to influence the situation in the East indirectly yet actively. While the main task of official policy in the contacts with the governments of the Eastern bloc is a gradual relaxation of tension between East and West through small steps in limited areas, our main wish is to modify the basis of the communist, totalitarian and therefore undemocratic system.[44]

A list of activities outlining how Interdoc could play this role was laid out, stretching from informing prospective participants at scientific conferences in the East about what they were likely to experience, to offering training programs at the Ost-Kolleg and the University of Erlangen for travelers and guides.

The radical turn in youth politics in the West began to turn the attentions of Interdoc toward the meaning and importance of the New Left. This complicated the original Interdoc thesis from the early 1960s that Western youth were susceptible to communist influence, since there was now emerging a vocal, active, and radical leftism that considered Eastern and Western regimes as equally oppressive. The disruptiveness of New Left activists at the Sofia festival in 1968 demonstrated their determination to be independent from both sides of the ideological Cold War.

Looking to gather together expert opinion on these developments, a conference was held in September 1968, in Zandvoort, which brought together a series of papers offering theoretical and country-based studies on youth, radical politics, and violence. Significantly, in his presentation van den Heuvel himself rejected the notion that there was "an international communist conspiracy" behind the New Left movements. In stark contrast to the position, say, of the FBI and COINTELPRO, van den Heuvel instead highlighted the subtle shifting alliances and contradictions between orthodox communism

and its radical youthful variants. Because of the uncertain effects these developments could have on East-West relations, he concluded:

> It is essential that there be a constant and careful watch on the relations between the two movements [New Left and communism]. However, merely to keep watch on this phenomenon would be an inadequate response to the challenge of student radicalism. Much more is needed, and above all to reduce student radicalism to more normal democratic proportions.[45]

In other words, the New Left represented a potential disruption of the kind of managed East-West environment that Interdoc had been striving for since the early 1960s. Carefully laid plans on how to turn détente to the West's advantage were now being challenged by a wave of diverse and sometimes incoherent protests that rejected the neat East-West divide and those who maintained it.

Some of the papers from the Zandvoort conference were published, and this was followed by a second short volume in early 1969 that concentrated on the New Left phenomenon in Britain, West Germany, and the United States.[46] During the same period, van den Heuvel brought in a young journalist, Karel van Wolferen, to write a full-length study of student radicalism in the West, which resulted in 1970 in the well-researched publication *Student Revolutionaries of the 1960s*.[47] Van Wolferen, who had spent some time in Berkeley over the previous year, had given a presentation at Zandvoort that argued there was no worldwide radical conspiracy, only localized disturbances with wide-ranging but similar characteristics. His study identified that "those who organized the struggle had not the slightest intention of arriving at tangible goals. Reaching one's goal would have meant an end to the all-important struggle."[48] He recalled that there were clearly two camps at Zandvoort, those like himself with a more sanguine attitude and those, especially among the German representatives, who insisted on the need to be constantly alert against the potential all-encompassing threat. For van Wolferen there was a "push to make things more threatening than was justified." The BND and their associates were "chasing ghosts."[49]

Nevertheless, from these meetings plans were set in motion for a more substantial response to the New Left. Following a preliminary meeting at Erlangen in January, a more formal gathering took place in The Hague during March 29–30, 1969, which saw the arrival of IY. A total of 18 participants from eight countries in Western Europe attended. The broad aims stated that the new organization "shall act as a basis for information and not indoctrination," and that it aimed "to inform and cooperate, with those people of the younger generation who share the view that Western democratic values need protection against dangers from outside as well as from within."[50] An ambitious roster of activities was planned, including regular seminars, a periodical (*Youth Forum*), the formation of national working groups in the eight countries involved, and exchange trips to the Eastern bloc.[51] Interdoc Youth's secretariat was established on the top floor of Interdoc's offices at 10 van Stolkweg in The Hague, under the leadership of secretary-general Uwe Holl, and it began its operations

on April 1, 1969. The official link with Interdoc was through the IY chairman, Herman Mennes. Holl's task was not only to act as a clearing-house for information and to initiate and coordinate activities, but also to expand IY's reach among the youth of the Third World.

For the next 18 months Holl attempted to establish and run IY from his secretariat's office in The Hague, but it was an uphill struggle. For a start its goals were not entirely clear. At a meeting of IY representatives in Richmond, West London, in October 1969 "the Board of Interdoc Youth found itself in the situation to explain, discuss and even to defend the aims and the purpose" of the new organization.[52] The appearance there of two Dutch journalists also necessitated a clear public statement. Following Richmond, Holl clarified the network's principal aim to be "approaching members of the younger generation of all political shades if they accept that radical violent solutions are not the answer to our problems in society and in the East-West confrontation."[53]

Close relations were built up with Interdoc's recently established West Berlin office, an ideal location for organizing week-long multinational group seminars for students, trainee diplomats, and businessmen on the realities of the Cold War confrontation. In May 1970, an IY conference was held in West Berlin, involving a series of lectures on the political situation in the city, the motivations for recent student violence, and a "visit to East Berlin for those who want to go there."[54] Increasing student exchanges with the East presented more opportunities, such as the Leiden group that traveled for two weeks to the Soviet Union "with the help of IY" in early 1970.[55] Mennes also arranged a lecture series on East-West relations for students at the prestigious international business school Nijenrode, near Utrecht, further extending IY's contact base.

Yet from the beginning IY faced a difficult task. The divisions that came out in Richmond had highlighted the different opinions on what the organization should or could achieve. While interest in its purpose and activities did begin to spread thanks to the tireless promotional work of Holl, the constantly shifting location and involvement of his members, due to the variable demands of student and working life, meant that it was almost impossible to create a consistent, coherent organization with a stable base.[56] And just when there was optimism that something worthwhile was being created, the whole set-up came apart.

Plans for a large conference in the autumn of 1970 began to unravel during the summer. Hopes for a location in Norway or the castle at Burg Gutenfels along the Rhine went unrealized, and in the end the event had to be postponed to make way for the main Interdoc conference in Rimini, Italy, at the end of October 1970. It was in Rimini that everything changed. Up to that point the largest share of the Interdoc budget had been provided by the BND, but the arrival of Brandt's SPD government in 1969, and the consequent pursuit of *Ostpolitik* signaled a policy shift that did not tolerate BND-funded operations that might collide with official government policy toward the East. The BND still had to sort out what to do with its relation with Interdoc, but cost-cutting had to begin immediately and IY was considered one of the expendable activities. Holl recalled reeling in shock at this reversal, since

the formation of IY had originally come about due to BND concerns. Holl and other IY board members proposed changing the group's name to "The Hague Group" and switching its focus to "all impacts which a Europe on its way to unity will have on world-affairs."[57] But the writing was already on the wall. In December 1970 the BND declared that the link with Interdoc would have to be broken, and financial constraints forced a complete stoppage of IY activities.[58] Interdoc itself continued in a reduced form, van den Heuvel shifting the energies of his small staff toward both solidifying transatlantic relations and pursuing links with Eastern Europe through to the mid-1980s.

Conclusion

Interdoc's engagement with youth and students through the 1960s illustrates a key transition in how this relationship developed. In the early 1960s, the aim was to forge alliances with individuals and student organizations in the Netherlands and around Western Europe in order to use them as "channels of influence" within the increasing interchange that was occurring between West and East. Through its cadre-formation approach, within which students formed a key constituency, Interdoc represented a determined attempt to manipulate discourse on the Cold War in both East and West. As van den Heuvel wrote in July 1960, the aim "is a psychological influencing of the opponent party, *one's own party*, friend and neutral, in the interests of the own warfare [*sic*]."[59] That this position exudes the elitism of the intelligence services goes without saying.

Interdoc Youth was therefore an extension of what was already taking place with the Ost-Kolleg and the Strasbourg groups. However, the main difference was in the nature of the challenge. The New Left, as van Wolferen and other observers within Interdoc circles insisted, was not a coherent opponent and was particularly difficult to address from any orthodox Cold War standpoint. Interdoc Youth's effort to build a transnational coalition to highlight the follies of youthful (violent) rebellion was therefore an attempt to strengthen the middle ground against those who accepted no middle ground. This, together with the problem of finding consensus for what IY should set out to achieve, were problems from the start.

It is certainly true that rising youth radicalism caused concern at the higher reaches of global politics. In this sense the value of Suri's work comes from his linkage of different regions, in doing so placing developments in China during the Cultural Revolution in a wholly new light. Others have concentrated on how the social disruption either helped or hindered power politics. American officials under presidents Johnson and Nixon feared that the gradual entry of student activists into positions of responsibility and influence would eventually lead to a neutralist West Germany wanting to opt out of NATO and the European Community, thereby threatening the U.S.-led postwar alliance.[60] In the East, Brezhnev and others initially saw opportunities for utilizing social upheaval in the West for their own purposes before retreating into a more conservative posture based on détente.[61]

Interdoc, on the other hand, was operating largely outside of the black-white, gain-loss logic of the superpowers. During the 1960s it seemed clear that

sociopolitical change was picking up momentum, and the danger was that this could get out of control in both East and West. The cadre-building process and the establishment of IY were attempts to propagate a greater awareness of the threat posed by "peaceful coexistence" and, later, by the New Left. But whereas "peaceful coexistence" could be turned to the West's advantage through increased cross-border contacts, the New Left could not, since it threatened the cohesion of Western societies *and*, due to its erratic disruptiveness, the successful, peaceful transformation of East-West relations.[62] It would be wrong to play up the significance of IY. Nevertheless, it was gathering increasing interest at the time of its enforced cancellation. As a result, this should go down as a particularly interesting and innovative example of the establishment responding to the unique circumstances of youthful revolt in the late 1960s.

Notes

1. On the significance of this development, see Scott Lucas, "Mobilizing Culture: The State-Private Network and the CIA in the Early Cold War," in Dale Carter, ed., *War and Cold War in American Foreign Policy, 1942–1962* (New York: Palgrave, 2002), 83–107.
2. On the Soviet position in 1945–1946, see D. Nadzhafov, "The Beginning of the Cold War between East and West: The Aggravation of Ideological Confrontation," *Cold War History* 4 (2004): 140–174.
3. "The Inauguration of Organized Political Warfare," May 4, 1948, Policy Planning Staff [George Kennan]. *FRUS, 1945–1950: Emergence of the Intelligence Establishment* (Washington DC: Department of State), 668–672. Political warfare was a term originated by the British during World War II. A useful definition: "A form of conflict between states in which each protagonist seeks to impose its will on its opponent by methods other than the use of armed force. For practical purposes, the principal weapon of political warfare may be described as the combined operation of diplomacy and propaganda." "The Strategy of Political Warfare," n.d., quoted in W.E.D. "Changing Concepts," in W. Daugherty and M. Janowitz, eds, *A Psychological Warfare Casebook* (Baltimore: Operations Research Office, 1960), 16.
4. NSC 4, 4A, and 10/2, *FRUS, 1945–1950: Emergence of the Intelligence Establishment*, 640–642, 649–651, 713–715.
5. See Arch Puddington, *Broadcasting Freedom: The Cold War Triumph of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2003); Sig Mickelson, *America's Other Voice*: *The Story of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty* (New York: Praeger, 1983).
6. See Peter Coleman, *The Liberal Conspiracy* (New York: Free Press, 1989); Frances Stonor Saunders, *Who Paid The Piper*? (London: Granta, 1999).
7. See Richard Aldrich, "Putting Culture in the Cold War: The Cultural Relations Department and British Covert Information Warfare," in G. Scott-Smith and H. Krabbendam, eds, *The Cultural Cold War in Western Europe* (London: Frank Cass, 2003), 109–133; Hugh Wilford, *The CIA, The British Left, and the Cold War* (London, Frank Cass, 2003), 262–296.
8. The sequence of Western-orientated fronts went as follows: August 1948, WAY (to oppose World Federation of Democratic Youth); December 1949, International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (to oppose World Federation of Trade Unions); June 1950, CCF; November 1951, International Federation of Deportees and Resistance Internees (to oppose Fédération Internationale des Résistants); January 1952, Coordinating Secretariat of the International Student Council (to oppose the

International Union of Students); May 1952, International Federation of Journalists (to oppose the International Union of Journalists); July 1952, International Commission of Jurists; August 1952, World Confederation of Organizations of the Teaching Profession (to oppose communist dominance of World Federation of Teachers Unions). "Non-Communist International Organizations," July 20, 1959, WP(59)1, AC/52 Committee for Information and Cultural Cooperation, NATO archive, Brussels.

9. On Paix et Liberté, see P. Regnier, La Propagande Anticommuniste de Paix et Liberté, France, 1950–1956, PhD dissertation, Université Libre, Brussels, 1987; Jean Delmas and Jean Kessler, eds, *Renseignement et Propagande pendant la Guerre Froide, 1947–1953* (Brussels: Complexe, 1999); B. Ludwig, "Le Comité Européen et International Paix et Liberté," *Bulletin de l'Instituut Pierre Renouvin* 20 (Autumn 2004): 13–33.
10. Paul Koedijk, "Van 'Vrede en Vrijheid' tot 'Volk en Verdediging,'" in B. Schoenmaker and J. Janssen, eds, *In De Schaduw Van De Muur: Maatschappij en Krijgsmacht rond 1960* (The Hague: Sdu, 1997), 69.
11. Ludwig, "Le Comité Européen et International Paix et Liberté," 22, 31.
12. Vladislav M. Zubok, *A Failed Empire: The Soviet Union in the Cold War from Stalin to Gorbachev* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2007), 94–122.
13. See Peter Grose, *Operation Rollback: America's Secret War behind the Iron Curtain* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2000); Gregory Mitrovich, *Underming the Kremlin: America's Strategy to Subvert the Soviet Bloc, 1947–1956* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2000).
14. Ken Osgood, *Total Cold War: Eisenhower's Secret Propaganda Battle at Home and Abroad* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2006).
15. Nikita Khrushchev, "Peaceful Coexistence," in Norman Graebner, ed., *The Cold War: A Conflict of Ideology and Power* (Lexington, MA: D.C. Heath, 1976), 126–128.
16. "Annual Message to the Congress on the State of the Union," January 9, 1958. *Public Papers of the Presidents: Dwight D. Eisenhower, 1958* (Washington DC: Office of the Federal Register, 1959), 2–17; B. W. Cook, *The Declassified Eisenhower* (New York: Penguin, 1984), 149–183.
17. *Tasks for the Free World Today*: *Thoughts on Positive Anti-Communism* (The Hague: Interdoc, 1964), 93; Louis Einthoven, *Tegen De Stroom In* (Apeldoorn: Semper Agendo, 1974), 232–233; Brian Crozier, *Free Agent* (London: HarperCollins, 1993), 30–33.
18. "Interdoc," May 20, 1963, File: Prospectus Interdoc, archive of C.C. van den Heuvel, Nationaal Archief, The Hague (hereafter "CC").
19. C. C. van den Heuvel, "De psychologische oorlogvoering in verband met de BVD-taak," File: SOEV 2, CC.
20. C. C. van den Heuvel, "Hoofdlijnen van een Internationaal Instituut," October 12, 1959, CC (no file number).
21. On the West German research establishment and how it studied the East during the Cold War, see Corinna Unger, *Ostforschung in Westdeutschland: Die Erforschung des europäischen Ostens und die Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft, 1945–1975* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2007).
22. File: Ost-Kolleg 1961–1964, CC.
23. "Rapport over de OSTKOLLEG cursus 13 mei–20 mei 1962," File: Ost-Kolleg 1961–1963, CC.
24. "Gesprek in Ostkolleg met Bahro en Nitsche op 16 januari 1963," File: Ost-Kolleg 1961–1963, CC.
25. "That was unbelievable, the best professors on communism … for one week you had most excellent lectures." Interview with Hans Beuker, Houten, September 3, 2003.
26. See Martin Klimke, *The Other Alliance: Global Protest and Student Unrest in West Germany and the US, 1962–1972* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2009).
27. Jeremi Suri, *Power and Protest: Global Revolution and the Rise of Détente* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003), 3.

28. On the early festivals and the West's response, see Joel Kotek, "Youth Organizations as a Battlefield in the Cold War," in Scott-Smith and Krabbendam, eds, *The Cultural Cold War*, 168–191.
29. "VIIIth World Youth Festival—Helsinki—29th July to 6th August 1962," private report written by Cees van den Heuvel, p. 1. It is not stated which German individuals or institutions coordinated the Vienna operation.
30. The three Dutch students were Hans Beuker, Pieter Koerts, and George van der Pluim. Koerts was a family relation of van den Heuvel, and Beuker knew him from childhood.
31. Interview with Hans Beuker, Houten, September 3, 2003; interview with Pieter Koerts, Amsterdam, June 2, 2004. Along with George van der Pluim, these two made up the three-man student group.
32. Both the Netherlands Youth Association and the Netherlands Student Council, the principal student bodies, rejected official participation but did "recognize the value of individual participation by young people and students from the Netherlands, who are prepared to defend their views at the festival" ("VIIIth World Youth Festival," 7).
33. Interview with Hans Beuker, Houten, September 3, 2003; interview with Pieter Koerts, Amsterdam, June 2, 2004. Since the festival "disciplinary service" (Finnish communists) "kept very strict watch at the debates, discussions and seminars" ("VIIIth World Youth Festival," 11), Beuker was right to comment in the interview that had the organizers checked his identity properly he would not have been given the chance to speak.
34. The full title of the colloquium where Beuker spoke was "The Role of Students in the Struggle for National Independence and for Solving the Political, Economic, and Social Problems of the Colonial and Underdeveloped Nations." For the text of Beuker's statement, see the report of the Bonn-based Büro für Politische Studien, *Frieden und Freundschaft? Weltjugendfestspiele, Funktion und Wirkung* (Bonn: Walter Lütz, 1963), 159.
35. "VIIIth World Youth Festival," 1–2, 27–28, 32.
36. The name referred to the locations of the coordination meetings. The change of name from Strasbourg to Luxembourg is a further indication of the withdrawal of French participation in Interdoc during 1963.
37. Interview with Pieter Koerts, Amsterdam, June 2, 2004.
38. Correspondence with Gert van Maanen, international secretary (1962–1963) and president (1963–1964) of the National Student Council, November 21, 2006.
39. File: UK No. 32 1966, UK No. 43 General Correspondence, CC.
40. Nick Rutter, "The Better Germans: The German Rivalry at the World Youth Festival 1951–1973," unpublished paper.
41. Interview with Alexander Heldring, The Hague, June 30, 2004. Heldring, a young trainee diplomat then working on a study of the Federation Internationale des Resistants for Interdoc, was van den Heuvel's first choice to go to Sofia, but concerns over how this might affect his diplomatic career caused the Dutch Foreign Ministry to reject this plan.
42. Interview with Christiaan van den Heuvel, The Hague, May 27, 2009. Cees van den Heuvel, who wanted to offer some "resistance" to the festival, was at the time in West Berlin and passed the speech to Christiaan by means of a "runner" to the East. Christiaan later wrote his master's thesis on the event: "Nederland en het 11de Wereldjeugdfestival," C. van den Heuvel, February 1979.
43. File: AK No. 25, International Student Organizations, CC. This includes material from the ISC that was clearly being used by Interdoc Youth to build its own circle.
44. "Preparation for East-West Contacts," Interdoc Conference, Zandvoort, September 24–25, 1965, 3 (author's copy).

45. Cees van den Heuvel, "International Aspects of the Radical Student Movement and Relations with Communism," *The New Left* (The Hague: Interdoc, 1968), 50.
46. *The New Left* (The Hague: Interdoc, 1968); *The New Left in The United States of America, Britain, The Federal Republic of Germany* (The Hague: Interdoc, 1969).
47. Karel van Wolferen, *Student Revolutionaries of the 1960s* (The Hague: Interdoc, 1970).
48. Ibid., 33.
49. Interview with Karel van Wolferen, Amsterdam, January 12, 2005.
50. "Interdoc Youth," March 29–30, 1969, The Hague, File: Interdoc Youth, CC.
51. Belgium, Britain, France, Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, and West Germany.
52. "Working Paper for IY Board Meeting, Strasbourg, 14 March 1970" (author's copy).
53. U. Holl to L. Brink, October 30, 1969 (author's copy).
54. Outline of Berlin Conference, May 25–30, 1970 (author's copy).
55. "Extra-ordinary Board meeting of Interdoc Youth, Berlin, 29th May 1970" (author's copy).
56. Interview with Uwe Holl, December 18, 2005.
57. "Draft for Interdoc Youth's possible activities after 1st January 1971," Uwe Holl (author's copy).
58. See Giles Scott-Smith, "Interdoc, Peaceful Coexistence, and Positive Anti-Communism: West European Cooperation in Psychological Warfare 1963–1972," *Cold War History* 7 (Spring 2007): 19–43; Interdoc: Dutch-German Cooperation in Psychological Warfare, 1963–72," in B. de Graaf, B. de Jong, and W. Platje, eds, *Battleground Western Europe: Intelligence Operations in Germany and the Netherlands in the Twentieth Century* (Amsterdam: Het Spinhuis, 2007), 169–192.
59. Discussion document, File: SOEV Map 3, CC (emphasis added).
60. See Martin Klimke, "A Growing Problem for US Foreign Policy: The West German Student Movement and the Western Alliance," in Belinda Davis, Martin Klimke, Carla MacDougall, and Wilfried Mausbach, eds, *Changing the World, Changing the Self: Political Protest and Collective Identities in 1960s–1970s West Germany and the United States* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2009), 105-131.
61. See Kimmo Rentola, "The 1968 Movements in the Cold War: A Case Study," paper given at the conference New World Coming: The Sixties and the Shaping of Global Consciousness, Queens University, Ontario, June 13–16, 2007.
62. In his Zandvoort presentation van den Heuvel recorded how radical students from the West had themselves disrupted the 1968 World Youth Festival in Sofia because of their opposition to "conservative communism."

9
The Year 1968 and the Soviet Communist Party

Kimmo Rentola

On his first day in office, President Richard Nixon ordered a CIA analysis of world youth unrest.[1] Nixon's action emphasizes the clear connection between the 1968 youth movements and great power policy decisions. Since then, however, the vigorous fields of movement history and Cold War history have taken quite separate historiographical paths. Combined analyses of their interdependence have only recently taken off.[2]

Jeremi Suri offers the seductive theory that world leaders in opposite Cold War camps pursued a "balance of order," whereby they brought about détente and refrained from challenging one another in order to protect themselves against global youth unrest. While this explanation applies to the Soviet leadership's approach to unrest within their own camp, they appear to have looked differently upon the possible consequences of 1968 within the Western camp. The research on Soviet attitudes, which forms the basis for this chapter, originated as an attempt to explain unusual Soviet behavior in Finland in the late 1960s. Initially, it seemed that the Soviets were simply more nervous than usual, but there was more than that. Soviet Communist Party (CPSU) ideological circles were, in fact, engaged in deep discussion over the possible effects that 1968 might have on Western Europe.

Even if the background, outlook, and style of Western youth movements separated them from the Soviet political elite so sharply as to make finding any affinities between the two unlikely, Moscow ideological circles nevertheless followed Western youth unrest attentively. This short-lived and now forgotten Soviet attention represented not only an ideological exercise, but also an attempt to make distinct political gains, particularly in terms of weakening U.S. positions in Europe. As a Western democracy under Soviet influence, Finland provided an ideal testing ground for these ideas.

The Year 1968 as a Revolution and the Soviets

In retrospect, 1968 may primarily seem a year of cultural revolution, or revolution of the mind, attitudes, and habits.[3] The contemporary student vanguard, however, saw 1968 as a prelude to political revolution and the seizure

of power. This belief was not only limited to youth. In France, in particular, even experienced politicians recognized that power at the highest levels was open to reappropriation.[4] Western countries such as France and Italy seemed to be on the brink of fundamental changes; a shift toward the left, at the very least, seemed plausible.

New movements, unable to immediately create their own language, tend to resort to old vocabulary. The Jacobins imitated ancient republican Rome, the Bolsheviks drew from the Jacobins, and the post-1968 vanguard from the language and organization of the Bolsheviks. Even the ever-peaceful social democratic Sweden saw a "revival of Leninism."[5] In 1969, New Left students everywhere felt the need for a revolutionary party.[6] Stalin became trendy. Eldridge Cleaver of the Black Panther Party became a Stalin fan. The Milanese *Movimento studentesco*'s antiauthoritarian origins were not enough to prevent them from chanting "Beria, Stalin, Ghepeu!"[7]

The brand of Leninism selected in any given country or university depended on local supply and demand: in other words, on local political traditions and on the condition of the national left wing. Young revolutionaries favored Trotskyism and the styles of the Chinese, Cuban, and Vietnamese governments over that of the Soviets.[8] The *groupuscules* were small, but it was ideologically important for the CPSU to guard their legacy as the true Leninists and heirs of 1917 and to prevent the Chinese from gaining a foothold in Europe. "It is a fact that nowhere is a fight against imperialism taking place without our [Soviet] participation," Prime Minister Kosygin deemed necessary to stress to Mao Zedong already in 1965.[9] By 1968 the issue was much hotter. KGB intelligence was ordered to penetrate radical Western youth movements to obtain even the tiniest bits of information about the Maoists.[10] The interest was not mutual, however, for Western new leftists paid only occasional attention to the current Soviet Union.[11]

In retrospect, the invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968 was the obvious point at which the Soviet decline became irreversible.[12] The message was not immediately clear to Soviet leaders, however. On the contrary, their perception was that the all-important "global correlation of forces" had changed decisively in their favor that year. The United States appeared to be losing ground. Strategic arms parity, the Vietnam War, and the lame American reaction to the occupation nourished the Soviet view that the balance had tipped in their favor. Even the cautious foreign minister Andrei Gromyko assessed that "the new correlation of forces is such that they [the West] no longer dare to move against us."[13]

Seen from this self-confident angle of new strength, Western movements aroused attention in the CPSU Central Committee offices in Moscow's Old Square, particularly when student upheaval was accompanied and followed by a huge revival of workers' strikes[14]—a traditional sign of great things to come. Suddenly, Western societies seemed fragile. In addition, new leftism had acute tactical utility, which was always a factor for Moscow. The Soviets needed to punish and to put pressure on the main Western European communist parties for having condemned the invasion of Czechoslovakia. One suitable method was to criticize them for insufficiently reacting to events and for having espoused defective revolutionary theory. In October 1968,

Vadim Zagladin, deputy head of the CPSU International Department (MO), told Enrico Berlinguer of the Italian party that a "peaceful road to socialism" remained an exception and would not be automatically accepted in Moscow. East Germans, who initially favored the French party's handling of May 1968, began to criticize the French for superficial analysis and lack of attention to nonparliamentary means of action.[15] This sudden sea change was reminiscent of the beginning of the Cold War in 1947, when the French and Italian parties were severely reprimanded for maintaining policies initially approved of or even ordered by the Soviets themselves.

Hope for a revolution in the West, largely abandoned by the Soviets by the mid-1960s at the latest, again raised its head. By late 1968, one prominent old guard theoretician announced that "the way to socialism has become shorter than before in many countries."[16] Bright young men in MO think-tanks—connected with swiftly emerging Soviet third-worldism[17]—went further. Anatoly Chernyaev saw 1968 as finally bringing the postwar period to an end and opening up a new stage. According to him, deep economic crisis or a similar catastrophe was no longer a necessary precondition for revolution in the West. Even the revolution itself would change. Swift and open seizure of power, as in Prague in 1948, would not be necessary. In highly developed countries "the revolutionary situation will apparently be 'limited' to a political crisis of short duration (caused by most different and surprising factors), whereupon the task remains only to pick the perfectly ripe fruit." He based his theory on the idea that post-1968 developments would force social democracy to change. The Vietnam War would isolate the United States; a new generation with new ideas and aspirations would take over in Europe. The potential for left-wing alliances had already been demonstrated in France, Italy, Spain, and Finland. Not even the dictatorship of the proletariat need remain a one-party act.[18] For the Soviets, this was fresh thinking indeed, even if the novelties were packed in old molds.

This ideological current reached its apex at the end of 1969, when certain heavyweights lent their voices to the interpretation, and bent it. According to chief ideologist Mikhail Suslov, peaceful coexistence could not be reduced to only economic competition, it could also create new opportunities for revolutionary struggle. The year 1968 created new room for initiatives and advances by revolutionary and progressive forces.[19] It is, admittedly, odd to connect an old dogmatist with unruly youth, but Suslov had in fact already reached out in a similar manner in 1962, recognizing Che Guevara, despite his appearance and critical remarks.[20] A key subordinate of Suslov, MO head Boris Ponomarev, felt Lenin's definition of a revolutionary situation was no longer valid. He argued that ordinary material complaints might now turn against capitalism as a whole, and with the present relation of forces, revolutionaries in any given country could be supported by socialist countries, making the export of counter-revolution more dangerous for the imperialists. His interpretation emphasized the "subjective factor," or the will of the revolutionaries to begin.[21]

This idea made it to the top level of ideological codification, namely, the CPSU theses on Lenin's centenary, where the Central Committee stated that deep political crises could arise unexpectedly in the West, and that minor conflicts could easily overflow. Communists should therefore stay abreast of

momentary demands and avoid lagging behind the mass movements generating revolutionary charge.[22] This was an attempt to translate the French *événements* and the Italian *autunno caldo* into Soviet jargon. In his Lenin centenary speech, party leader Leonid Brezhnev said that events in France, Italy, and Japan, as well as the recent miners' strikes in North Sweden, demonstrated that a new political situation was emerging in the capitalist countries, making it important to find "the concrete road or 'the specific turn of events'" leading to an opportunity for revolution.[23]

How Serious Was It?

Although we now know that ideology had real weight in Soviet decision-making,[24] it is natural to question just how seriously these discussions should be taken. It certainly should not be dismissed as regular run-of-the mill rhetoric, since the idea of an unexpectedly rapid turn of events leading to fundamental changes in the West was an unusual one, which flourished for only a couple of years following 1968.

At the same time, it must be acknowledged that the tempting prospect of seizing upon a revolutionary moment in the West was hardly compatible with détente, which had begun in earnest in 1969. A few caveats are nevertheless in order for this self-evident conclusion. In 1969 and in the first half of 1970, détente was just beginning to bud and the Soviets remained full of hesitation, suspicion, and fear that they would end up being duped. They had to reassure reluctant allies, such as Fidel Castro, the Vietnamese, and the East Germans, that the first tentative steps toward détente did not mean selling out and could even bring rewards.[25] What was more, the Soviets needed to convince themselves of the possible benefits of détente, despite their own dark ideological atmosphere where even the rehabilitation of Stalin was being considered.[26] Without China and the clashes on the Ussuri River, Moscow might not have dared to embark upon Willy Brandt's *Ostpolitik* at all.[27] Even in June 1970, when the Bahr-Papier was written and chances for an agreement with the West Germans looked fair, Ponomarev reminded Finnish communist leaders that "the social democrats do not usually keep their promises." To be on the safe side, he added that on the other hand, they were susceptible to pressure by the working masses.[28]

If China was the threat pushing the Soviets to détente, there was also a certain allure, namely, the possibility of driving a wedge between the United States and its West European allies. After the August 1970 accords, the Soviet ambassador explained to the president of Finland that Bonn was aiming at independence from the United States through *Ostpolitik*; when speaking to Finnish communist leaders, the ambassador claimed the accords were a result of the changing correlation of forces between the two camps and of SPD's adaptation to it.[29] The Soviets hoped that European détente would strengthen the effects of 1968 and of the Vietnam War, which had, as they saw it, created a crisis for European social democracies, forcing these traditional archrivals of communism to reconsider their positions, particularly in Scandinavia. Indeed, Olof Palme, the new prime minister of Sweden, had participated in anti-U.S. demonstrations and taken the lead in opening Nordic social democrats' direct

relations with Hanoi, while the labor movement funded the South Vietnamese Provisional Revolutionary Government offices in Nordic capitals.[30] Hanoi was by then pro-Soviet and had even approved of diplomatic struggle, so the Soviets could plan "intensification, to our benefit, of DRV [Democratic Republic of Vietnam] foreign policy activity, [and the] utilization in our interests of its certain international prestige."[31] According to the Soviet Foreign Ministry Scandinavian department head, the Nordic situation was rapidly changing. "Recently a serious struggle has begun over who will influence the policy of these states, and this is in fact nothing else but a reflection of the fact that this area is the theater where two power lines [erővonal] meet."[32]

At this stage, the Soviets saw détente and "anti-imperialism" as compatible. To imagine changes in Western Europe ever leading to revolution was a stretch, even though revolution was not what it used to be. While new ideas had to be fitted into old Soviet ideological molds in order to be acceptable, the new type of revolution in Europe was certainly not as dreadful as in the older scenarios, given that it represented a maturation of objective preconditions to the extent that it would "probably be conspicuous for its relative gradualness, its multistage nature, the presence of transitional forms and its comparatively peaceful character." Had ideological terms been unnecessary, such changes hardly have deserved the title of "revolution" at all. As Ponomarev later described it, even when there was "no revolutionary situation (…) in the classical sense," in some countries there was certainly "something in the air": One issue still smacked of the old days: the stress remained on the initiative, or the need to get things going, since "socialism will never come (…) if the lever of revolutionary power is not manipulated, if people simply stand by, arms folded, waiting for history to take its course."[33]

In sum, post-1968 Soviet revolutionary dreams reflected real changes in ideological thinking, but this current was dependent upon and limited by the fates of the European détente. The two were compatible in 1969–1970, but the future was open. Alternating combinations and emphases of the "revolutionary-imperial paradigm" were no novelty in the history of the Soviet Union.

The Test in Finland

These were words. What about deeds? The Finnish case demonstrates both the degree of seriousness as well as the limits of Soviet post-1968 revolutionary ideas. After World War II, Finland succeeded in remaining democratic and capitalist, despite being under the considerable political influence of its big neighbor, the Soviet Union, to which it had been bound by a military treaty since 1948. In peacetime, Finland aimed at neutral foreign policy; longtime head of state President Urho Kekkonen carefully cultivated the relations with the Kremlin. A coalition government of center and left parties, including the Communist Party, had been in power since 1966.[34] The leftist youth movement and the new wave of labor strikes appeared more slowly than in Western Europe; in 1969–1970 it seemed that the strongest periods were yet to come.

In terms of the aforementioned thinking, Finland was interesting at least for three reasons. First, being a Nordic country, Finland and Finnish social democracy would reflect and influence developments in Scandinavia. It might

be possible to introduce a dose of pro-Soviet attitudes from Finnish foreign policy into Scandinavia, and "anti-imperialism" the other way round. Second, the experiences of the strong Finnish Communist Party might be used to influence even stronger parties in France and Italy. To preserve their prestige and legitimacy, if any remained, the Soviets needed to prove that the *spinta propulsiva* of the October revolution was not exhausted. They also needed to stay abreast of new developments, and to prevent them from turning into alternative forms of socialism as had the Prague Spring. Third, some example of an advance toward socialism under Moscow's wing might be produced in Finland because the Soviets already wielded a heavy influence over its politics, with the Social Democrats having recently entered into the magic sphere. That influence might be pushed a bit further, in Western circumstances, with a low risk of heavy Western countermeasures.

In early 1970, the Finnish bulletin of the CPSU International Department presented a theoretical case study, where reactionary forces, seeing that resistance was hopeless, would surrender and hand over power. This was most likely to happen in a small state with a bigger neighbor that had already experienced a revolution of its own.[35] No such country was named; the readers certainly knew such a country. The article was published under the name of an unknown professor of law, but the idea had been developed a decade earlier by a political figure, Aleksei Belyakov, who now occupied a high position as Ponomarev's first deputy at the CPSU International Department, in charge of Western Europe.[36] He could no longer put his name to such a volatile text.

Why should the Soviets bother with Finland, which was already under their influence? If state relations had proceeded smoothly, the pressure of status quo would have prevented such signals, but since 1968, disquieting trends had emerged in Finnish foreign and domestic policy, to the point where the Soviets began to fear "losing" the country. The center-left government, which included the communists, employed regular reformist policy, which was slightly left-leaning, but not in any respect radical. In Soviet eyes, that constituted a bad example for any other Western Communist Party aspiring to government.

In foreign policy it was not so much what the Finns were doing, but rather their changing surroundings, that disturbed Moscow. Finland's line became unpalatable to the Soviets when they saw how neutrality tempted the Czechs, Hungarians, and Poles. Even the Finnish 1969 initiative for a European security conference was eyed suspiciously. Although the Soviets badly wanted such a conference with general recognition for postwar borders, they did not want to let the Finns promote their own interests on the side.[37] The Nordic Customs Union Plan (NORDEK), initially not opposed by Moscow, was soon seen as a dangerous step toward the EEC. To top it all, the Soviets were irritated by the United States' new warmth toward Finland. In 1970, for the first time in nine years, President Kekkonen was invited to Washington, where Olof Palme of Sweden was unwelcome because of his stand on the Vietnam War.

The March 1970 elections aggravated Soviet fears. The right wing won by a landslide, the center-left government coalition lost 29 seats (in a parliament of 200), and the pro-Soviet parties and politicians were hit worst, reflecting voters' shock over Czechoslovakia. KGB Helsinki chief V. S. Stepanov said to President Kekkonen that after this, Finnish people were no longer trusted in

Moscow.[38] Even worse, it seemed that Kekkonen, soon 70, would be retiring, and before that spoiling his good name in Moscow by toying with the idea of a right-wing government, visiting the United States, and often lagging even behind the Swedes in foreign policy.[39]

To stop the slide, Moscow acted swiftly. It was a classic Cold War situation, where "leaders can feel both very vulnerable and very opportunistic at almost the same moment of time."[40] The Finnish communist chairmen were invited to Moscow for emergency consultations. The haste was partly triggered by the U.S. crisis following Nixon's invasion of Cambodia. For a time, it seemed that the United States would be plunged into a crisis even deeper than *mai '68* or *l'autunno caldo*. For Ponomarev, the Kent State shootings showed that "it is no longer only between blacks and whites. Thus, US supporters do not have much chance [in Finland]." The Americans were losing their grip, lacking the resources to support their clients as before.[41] Ironically, Mao Zedong agreed with his enemies in Moscow, postponed any rapprochement with the United States, and waited for the world peoples "to rise up, including people in the imperialist countries."[42]

For Ponomarev, negotiations with Germany gave further proof of Soviet strength. He remarked, "They are courting us." The momentum was favorable for the communists. As for Finland, right-wing election advances occurring simultaneously with leftist ascent (youth, trade unions) convinced Soviet ideologists that Finnish society was polarizing rapidly. Ponomarev saw the country as a laboratory: "To whose benefit does time work? Should the pace be accelerated in Finnish Communist Party interests?" As a first step, senior politburo member Arvid Pelshe promised Soviet help in getting communist initiatives onto the platform of a renewed center-left government.[43] Such clear interference in domestic affairs was a bold step.

Even bolder was the appointment of Aleksei S. Belyakov as ambassador to Helsinki instead of the customary career diplomat. It was a major bureaucratic coup, which demonstrated the weight of ideology in Soviet decision-making during the uncertain early days of détente, and reflected the "primacy of the party," controlled by Brezhnev; hitherto, in the top troika, Prime Minister Kosygin had overseen state affairs with Finland. Suslov, who cultivated critical attitudes to bourgeois Finland, controlled appointments and was on record describing Finnish foreign policy as "a rotten egg, the shell pure white, but the interior disgusting."[44] Now he was sending a former thaw liberal to clean up the mess in Finland.[45]

Belyakov could be blamed for current troubles because he had previously advised the local comrades. In 1965, when Finnish communists were preparing for cooperation with social democrats and participation in government, he emphasized the importance of defining revolution "as a process and not just as an incident in a single country." In Finland, the move toward "a national form of socialism" would begin with *two* left-wing parties. No violence would be needed.[46] Brezhnev explained in cruder terms: Finnish comrades had exceptional chances to advance the cause, having the benefit of a splendid model right over their Eastern border.[47]

Brezhnev repeated this in 1969,[48] when prospects seemed to brighten with the changes in social democracy, the ascent of leftist youth, and the revival in

trade union militancy. These Western phenomena were witnessed firsthand by Belyakov and his trusty theoretician Yuri Krasin, who both spent several weeks in Italy during the hot autumn.[49] Following that, Belyakov strongly supported Finnish communists' resolute stand on strikes, bluntly emphasizing the outcome: "The President capitulated. This was correct."[50]

As ambassador, Belyakov counted his first victory immediately upon arrival in July 1970, when the center-left coalition government was reinstated in Helsinki, in order to avoid further aggravating the Soviets. The Finnish statesmen were particularly concerned about Kosygin's confidential announcement that in a few weeks he would be free from his government duties, for after Khrushchev, the Finns had dealt with him.[51] The government platform included novel radical elements, and the communist attitude was more aggressive and leftist than previously. After heavy election losses, party chairman Aarne Saarinen believed that the voters could be recaptured by going to the left, a step instigated by Moscow. In foreign policy, rifts between Finland and the Soviets on neutrality and other issues were temporarily settled during Kekkonen's visit to Moscow, where the 1948 treaty was again renewed.

Yet things did not calm down. In August, it was reported that the new Soviet ambassador was involved in activities inappropriate for a diplomat, such as interfering in Communist Party policies and instigating strikes.[52] While intelligence reports typically contained misunderstandings and exaggerations, and this situation was clearly being described and interpreted in terms of the scars left on Finnish political culture by previous crises, the reports were not entirely baseless. The ambassador *did* have a specific mission. He was to hold the different wings of the Communist Party together, to encourage them to adopt a more radical line and stronger role in the government, to bring about "the permanent isolation of the right wing,"[53] and to correct the defects in Finland's foreign policy. This was the minimum Moscow expected of him. Beyond that, he had a bolder and more comprehensive assignment, which, if achieved, would correct Finnish communists' vague ideas of the socialist state and their "underestimation of the issue of maintaining the power [Unterschätzung der Fragen der Machterhaltung]" for good.[54] As Belyakov saw it, the Finnish Communist Party had to choose between integrating itself as an appendage of bourgeois and social democratic Finland, or to become "a real party of struggle to shake the foundations of this capitalist Finland."[55]

CPSU ideologists did not anticipate that the communists could suddenly seize power; rather, they hoped for a shift to the left, through the radicalization of social democracy, supported by strikes and the youth movement. The Soviets urged Finnish communist leaders to welcome leftist youth, despite their heresies, which time would surely correct. Communists "sometimes come late to utilize new forces—others will have occasion to manipulate."[56] To witness it with their own eyes, Belyakov and politburo veteran Arvid Pelshe even showed up at the movement headquarters, the Helsinki Old Student House, where grey Russian suits were usually never seen.[57]

It might have been sufficient for the Soviets to get only an impression of success in Finland. Having talked for five years with Ponomarev, Belyakov, and the KGB, social democratic foreign minister Väinö Leskinen believed that "deep down the Russians don't give a damn [ge fan i] about the communists.

For them the issue is power and state and security."[58] Brezhnev's Soviet Union was Potemkin country. What Soviet ideologists primarily needed in Finland was a showpiece to influence developments elsewhere. Belyakov claimed that French and Italian comrades were looking at the Finnish experience "with a magnifying glass in their hand."[59] They weren't, in fact, but Belyakov himself wanted to impress them with a Finnish example. He felt that the post-1968 French, in particular, were in need of a clear identity and a convincing revolutionary project, so that revolution could again become "the dominant source for legitimation for the French Communist Party."[60] Dark currents in Moscow made life hard for former liberals such as Belyakov and his comrades, forcing them to prove their credentials. Given their past, they might have secretly cherished hopes of finding a two-way street, where new Western communist thinking would also influence Soviet ideology.[61]

This design for Finland was the fruit of the first insecure phase of détente, when its limits were still being tested. But even then, it was not sensible for the Soviets to bring about any large-scale disturbances in Finland. Everything had to go smoothly, so as not to arouse worldwide attention. The Soviets believed that they possessed a powerful vehicle for this: by hinting at the Czech occupation, they would be able to paralyze any Finnish resistance. In November 1968, Belyakov saw that Kekkonen was indeed afraid "that the USSR might send tanks into Finland."[62] As ambassador, he hinted at this threat most unsubtly. While dining with Finnish generals, he referred to "the very small chance that the Soviet armed forces would need to come to Finland." Of course, he personally hoped that this threat might never be "turned into reality."[63]

Hopes for a "revolution from above" were based on the assumption that the office of the President of the Republic would soon be vacant. The CPSU ideologists cherished the idea that Kekkonen would be succeeded by a left-wing and pro-Soviet social democrat leading a left coalition.[64] Who then would have become the Salvador Allende of the north? The only one with sufficient political weight was foreign minister Väinö Leskinen, despite the fact that until his conversion in 1964, he had been a leading (and skillful) anti-Soviet politician, and a key CIA contact. In 1969, Ponomarev was still suspicious of him "internally, genuinely,"[65] but by the summer of 1970, Saul had at last succeeded in turning himself to Paul. Talking about Leskinen, Ponomarev admitted that even hardened Mensheviks such as Vyshinski or Maiski had joined the Bolsheviks and distinguished themselves.[66] Leskinen was not there to hear this, and was far from being fully aware of Soviet designs, but as a seasoned professional, he sensed a window of opportunity. He still had "wolf eyes," it was said.

This design for Finland did not enjoy unanimous support in Moscow and was not the general line of every Soviet actor. High up, though his influence was descending, Kosygin regarded sudden changes in Europe in negative terms and thought it in Soviet interests to maintain the status quo in Europe.[67] As for foreign policy professionals, most Soviet diplomats would have been content with reasonable corrections to the Finnish line; the ranking Soviet diplomat in Helsinki stressed stability and said that there were "no objective preconditions for any upheaval [omvälvning] in Finland."[68] KGB foreign intelligence mainly wanted to continue as usual and warned that any imbalance or adventure would lead nowhere and only profit the right wing.[69] When

the new ambassador was appointed, the KGB sent Viktor Vladimirov, an old hand in presidential machinations, to Helsinki as a station chief, indicating their preference to continue with a favored center politician. Immediately upon arrival, Vladimirov began to obstruct Belyakov's efforts. So, the leftist design for Finland was no shared endeavor, but rather an ideological operation of the CPSU Central Committee International Department and its custodians. Brezhnev's outlook for the Finnish communists, quoted earlier, suggests that he was aware of the ideas, but true to his style, only on a vague level and without strict commitments. "If Misha [Suslov] read the text and found everything OK, then I'm absolutely calm."[70]

Failure

The idea for Finland did not work out, failing miserably within the span of a few months' time. Faulty Soviet analysis was the main cause. Youth and strike movements did develop rapidly, but their effects on society were not what Moscow had expected, for despite the already looming anticipation of a great metalworkers' strike, these movements' nature differed considerably from expectations fostered by Soviet political theory. Social democracy did not change as Soviet ideologists had hoped it would: the old anti-Soviet right-wing social democracy faded, but it was replaced by Nordic reformism rather than leftism. In the Communist Party, the moderate majority opted for a gradual development of society and abandoned the radical turn that had briefly followed the disappointing elections. Party chairman Aarne Saarinen complained that during that time, the ambassador had been "stuck on the Finnish Communist Party like a leech."[71]

Disappointed with the poor performance of the mainstream left, Belyakov in Helsinki and the Soviet press in Moscow began a heavy pressure campaign, on both domestic and foreign[72] policy issues, but the results were counterproductive. When Moscow supported the Communist Party minority, the moderate majority did not give in, but hardened their resolution to remain moderate, in the best Finnish tradition of stubbornness, about which Molotov had already complained.[73] As for Leskinen, when he realized how much the Soviets expected, he sought protection and support from Sweden's four top social democratic leaders in a hasty secret meeting in a Stockholm safe house.[74] Last but not least, President Kekkonen showed it was futile to hope for a voluntary handing over of power. Having confirmed that the ambassador lacked full support in the Soviet camp,[75] he began a resolute counteroffensive. After a series of domestic and foreign moves to take the edge off the pressure, Kekkonen complained directly to the KGB station chief that it was "futile to imagine Finland to be in pre-revolutionary condition."[76]

By the beginning of December, it was obvious that no smooth transition was possible, and new problems emerged. To avoid a public crisis, Soviet leaders quietly dropped their radical designs. Once again, Finland proved to be "the country of unrealized catastrophes."[77] The Kremlin sent their troubleshooter deputy foreign minister V. V. Kuznetsov to tell Kekkonen that no change was on the cards, none had ever been planned, and that Soviet leaders were united in this position. The last two claims were lies, but that was a minor nuisance as long as the first one remained valid. For strict secrecy, Kuznetsov

crossed the border unofficially. The day before at the same border, the main Soviet negotiator in strategic arms limitation talks, deputy foreign minister V. S. Semyonov, who was certainly aware of the troubles in Helsinki, pondered aloud to his American counterpart, Paul Nitze: "There are many layers in the Soviet Union: we are able to act in many ways. We are capable of extreme action; we can also be prudent."[78]

The Soviet leaders did not stick to their design, as time had clearly run out, *kairós* was passed by and would not recur.[79] What seemed possible for Finland in May was no longer feasible in December. The vistas opened up by 1968 were fading fast and the French and Italian cases were losing their urgency. Ratification problems with the German accords made any European disturbance utterly undesirable. "When the Soviet Union is aiming at a European balance, then the USSR can not foment unrest in Finland, because it could lead to a disturbance of balance in Europe," the KGB's Vladimirov explained to Kekkonen.[80] Troubles in Poland reminded the Soviets of the blessings of a peaceful neighbor. The most important factor, however, was that American weakness could no longer be counted upon. When the Chinese-U.S. rapprochement was reactivated and Mao said "let Nixon come," the Soviets had to approve of the United States as full partner in détente and even contend for a summit. In December, the Soviets made a reasonable SALT proposal, opening the way to a breakthrough.[81] Once again, the "imperial" prevailed over the "revolutionary" in Soviet foreign policy.

In Helsinki, the Soviet minister of defense Marshal Andrei Grechko, heavily drunk, assured his Finnish hosts "[live] as you please and keep your country as you wish [...] We do not want to change your social system."[82] Belyakov himself now spoke against big strikes and tried to return to square one like a regular ambassador, but that failed, because he drank and talked too much, while the KGB continued to obstruct his efforts. On February 18, 1971, he left Helsinki "on official business for about one week," and was never again seen in Finland. On the same day, foreign minister Andrei Gromyko gave the Warsaw Pact allies a new assessment of Finnish initiatives on European security:

> The Americans have several times expressed their disapproval of this policy to the Finns. Sometimes we can note dissatisfaction on the socialist side as well. It would be desirable—they say—if the Finns were more consequent. We must take into account that the Finns' behavior is as it is, with its uncertainties. In our work we must rely on the Finns and enhance the positive features of their behavior.[83]

The Soviets switched their basic tactics. When heavy political pressure did not yield results, Finland's slide to the West would be prevented by increasing economic cooperation. Let money talk—that was the language the capitalists certainly understood.

Consequences of 1968 and Détente

The following summer, in 1971, CPSU International Department readjusted their theories in a conference with their Finnish comrades. Belyakov was

nowhere to be seen. Vadim Zagladin now explained that the European "period of release" had proved "somewhat relative, for US influence continues." This was not what his boss Ponomarev had said a year earlier. Despite that change, the Soviet ideologists would not admit that détente automatically strengthened the status quo. On the contrary, "History [shows]: in a period of détente, rapid changes are possible. An active political line can leave this possibility open."[84]

Yuri Krasin still wanted to incorporate the New Left. "We should find means to utilize this great force" from whom the communists could learn the necessity of action. For him, the New Left was "proof of the existence of great revolutionary potential."[85] This potential in Finland, however, had by then been fenced in. Instead of pushing the mainstream left and in particular the social democrats further left, as Moscow ideologists had hoped, younger New Leftists searching for fundamental opposition to Finnish society mostly opted for the isolated Stalinist minority wing of the Communist Party. This was an ironic example of how "the swirling momentum of those two years" often made people turn political "somersaults in great waves."[86]

Boris Ponomarev had the last word at the conference. Instead of acceleration, he now praised the virtues of slowness. He drew this wisdom from Chile, which served as a reminder of the Marxist "truth" that "the ruling classes will not voluntarily hand over their power."[87]

The Soviet attempt to exploit the 1968 experience brought no clear results, while the spectacular results of détente lead us to think that it was inevitable from the beginning.[88] But as shown here, 1968 introduced new and partly adversary elements into this process. It even "reformulated the impasse of revolution or radical change in Europe, rather than putting an end to it."[89] Détente should be understood as a contradictory process involving various domestic, regional, and international actors, with very different and contrasting motivations. To cope with the contradictory political consequences of 1968 and to accommodate them to the détente project was probably even more difficult for the Soviet Union than for other actors. The ambiguity and inconsistency of Soviet actions was an early—and at the time, largely unrecognized—sign of their loosening grip and the terminal crisis of their ideology.

Notes

1. An earlier abridged version of this essay was published in K. Dubinsky et al., ed., *New World Coming: The Sixties and the Shaping of Global Consciousness* (Toronto: Between the Lines, 2009), 56–67, 440–443. For a monograph-size argument, K. Rentola, *Vallankumouksen aave: Vasemmisto, Beljakov ja Kekkonen 1970* (Helsinki: Otava, 2005). Regarding Nixon, see Christopher Andrew, *For the President's Eyes Only* (New York: HarperCollins, 1995), 554.
2. Jeremi Suri, *Power and Protest: Global Revolution and the Rise of Détente* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2003), 216, 261, quoted later; Martin Klimke, *The Other Alliance: Student Protest in West Germany and the United States in the Global Sixties* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010).
3. Cf. the subtitles of two seminal books: Arthur Marwick, *The Sixties: Cultural Revolution in Britain, France, Italy, and the United States c.1958–c.1974* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998); Gerd Koenen, *Das rote Jahrzehnt: Unsere kleine deutsche Kulturrevolution 1967–1977* (Köln: Kiepenheuer & Witsch, 2001).

4. Tony Judt, *Postwar: A History of Europe since 1945* (London: Heinemann, 2005), 411. Pompidou, Mendès-France, and Mitterrand are mentioned.
5. Martin Wiklund, "Leninismens renässans i 1960-talets Sverige," *Den jyske Historiker* 101 (July 2003).
6. Todd Gitlin, *The Sixties: Years of Hope, Days of Rage* (New York: Bantam Books, 1987), 383–384; Max Elbaum, *Revolution in the Air: Sixties Radicals Turn to Lenin, Mao and Che* (London: Verso, 2002).
7. Carlo Feltrinelli, *Senior Service* (Milan: Feltrinelli, 2001), 401. "Ghepeu" stands for GPU, the secret police.
8. Cf. the country articles in M. Klimke and J. Scharloth, eds, *1968 in Europe: A History of Protest and Activism, 1956–1977* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008).
9. Lorenz M. Lüthi, *The Sino-Soviet Split: Cold War in the Communist World* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008), 294–295.
10. The Archives of the Security Police of Finland (Supo), personal file no. 11608, Reports on A. P. Akulov's meetings with Johan von Bonsdorff from January 1969 on; J. von Bonsdorff, *Kun Vanha vallattiin* (Helsinki: Tammi, 1988), 277–278; National Archives (NA II, College Park), Department of State, Record Group 59, Central Foreign Policy Files 1967–1969, Pol 12 Fin, Helsinki Embassy Airgram no. 442, November 26, 1969, J. P. Owens's report on discussion with Akulov; Tore Forsberg, *Spioner som spionerar på spioner* (Stockholm: Hjalmarson & Högberg 2003), 315. In the CPSU CC International Department files there are KGB reports (in 1970 and in 1973) on Finnish Maoists (Rossiiski gosudarstvennyi arkhiv noveishei istorii RGANI, f. 5, op. 62, d. 596; op. 66, d. 1199).
11. Tariq Ali noted this in retrospect, looking at the cover of the first number (1968) of the *Black Dwarf*. T. Ali and Susan Watkins, *1968: Marching in the Streets* (London: Bloomsbury, 1998), 8–9.
12. Matthew J. Ouimet, *The Rise and Fall of the Brezhnev Doctrine in Soviet Foreign Policy* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2003), 58; Vladislav Zubok, *Zhivago's Children: The Last Russian Intelligentsia* (Cambridge: Belknap, 2009).
13. Brezhnev's speech for Czech party officials, December 9, 1967; his letter to Dubček, April 11, 1968; Dubček's report on Kosygin's views, March 25, 1968, in *The Prague Spring 1968: A National Security Archives Documents Reader*, ed. J. Navratíl et al. (Budapest: Central European University Press, 1998), 18, 74, 98; Vladislav Zubok, *A Failed Empire: The Soviet Union in the Cold War from Stalin to Gorbachev* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2007), 208–209.
14. Donald Sassoon, *One Hundred Years of Socialism* (London: I.B. Tauris, 1996), 357–382.
15. Maud Bracke, *Which Socialism, Whose Détente? West European Communism and the Czechoslovak Crisis, 1968* (Budapest: Central European UP, 2007), 243, 250.
16. Boris Leibzon, "Communists in the Present World," published in the CPSU CC Intl Dept Finnish-language bulletin, *Sosialismin teoria ja käytäntö* (hereafter *STK*), December 27, 1968. The Soviets began this publication after the occupation of Czechoslovakia. Finnish being as it is, the article titles are given in English. All *STK* articles were initially published in the Soviet press—except, possibly, Kositsyn's, mentioned later—but for the sake of the argument it needs to be shown that the CPSU ideologists considered them fit for publication in Finnish.
17. Odd Arne Westad, *The Global Cold War: Third World Interventions and the Making of Our Times* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 202–206.
18. Anatoli Chernyaev, "Some Problems of the Labor Movement in Capitalist Countries," *STK*, April 3, 1969. Much later, this author would show up as Gorbachev's key advisor. His diary, now published, begins only in 1972.
19. M. A. Suslov, "Leninizm i revolyutsionnoe pereobrazovanie mira," *Kommunist* no. 15, October 1969.

20. John Lee Anderson, *Che: A Revolutionary Life* (New York: Grove Press, 1997), 581.
21. B. N. Ponomarev, "V.I. Lenin—velikii vozhd revolyutsonnoi epokhi," *Kommunist*, no. 18, December 1969.
22. The CPSU CC theses were published in Finnish in *STK*, January 15, 1970; originally in *Pravda*.
23. Brezhnev's speech on April 21, 1970, published in *Pravda* and as a booklet. Soviet ideologists adapted strikes into old molds and neglected new features. An example of the latter, Moscow party school professors saw increased female participation in trade unions to be in contradiction of working-class demands, since women would remain principally bound by family ties. Supo, Special Files on the Finnish CP, Notes from Prof. Shertsyuk's lecture, February 1970.
24. John Lewis Gaddis, *We Now Know: Rethinking Cold War History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 290.
25. Csaba Békés, "The Warsaw Pact, the German Question and the Birth of the CSCE Process, 1961–1970," in O. Bange and G. Niedhart, eds, *Helsinki 1975 and the Transformation of Europe* (New York: Berghahn, 2008), 121–124.
26. Library of Congress, Manuscript Division, The Papers of D. A. Volkogonov, CPSU Politburo minutes, December 17, 1969; Rossiiski gosudartsvennyi arkhiv sotsial'no-politicheskii istorii (RGASPI, Moscow), f. 558, op. 11, d. 1414a, CPSU Politburo voting list of December 19, 1969, *Pravda* article drafts with comments, correspondence on the issue.
27. M. E. Sarotte, *Dealing with the Devil: East Germany, Détente and Ostpolitik, 1969–1973* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001), 19–21, 41.
28. Kansan arkisto (KA, People's Archives, Helsinki), Erkki Kivimäki papers, Box 10, Notes by Kivimäki on discussions with Ponomarev and Kapitonov, June 11, 1970.
29. J. Suomi, *Taistelu puolueettomuudesta: Urho Kekkonen 1968–1972* (Helsinki: Otava, 1996), 466–468; KA, Archives of the Finnish Communist Party (SKP), Politburo minutes, September 9, 1970; G. Niedhart, "Der alte Freund und der neue Partner: Die Bundesrepublik und Supermächte," in D. Junker, ed., *Die USA und Deutschland im Zeitalter des Kalten Krieges 1945–1990*, vol. II (Stuttgart: DVA, 2001), 48–50; Raymond Garthoff, *Détente and Confrontation: American-Soviet Relations from Nixon to Reagan* (Washington D.C.: Brookings, 1985), 75–81, 175, 196.
30. Arbetarrörelsens arkiv och bibliotek (ARAB, Stockholm), The Swedish Social Democratic Party files (SAP), F 02 H: 2, Report by Juan Bosch on his trip to various Asian countries, November 21, 1969; Carl-Gustaf Scott, "Swedish Vietnam Criticism: Social Democratic Vietnam Policy a Manifestation of Swedish Ostpolitik?" *Cold War History* 9 (2009): 2; see also Rhiannon Vickers, "Harold Wilson, the British Labour Party, and the War in Vietnam," *Journal of Cold War Studies* 10 (2008): 2.
31. Ilya V. Gaiduk, *The Soviet Union and the Vietnam War* (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 1996), 216–217, quoting a political letter from the Soviet embassy in Hanoi, June 25, 1970.
32. Hungarian State Archives (MOL, Budapest), Foreign Ministry files (KÜM) XIX-J-1-j, 80 dobor (Top secret 1970), Memcon with N. D. Belokhvostikov (Head of Department) by Ferenc Esztergályos (Head of Department), March 13, 1970, no. 144-001469.
33. Yuri Krasin, *Sociology of Revolution: A Marxist View*, trans. Jim Riordan (Moscow: Progress 1972), 201, 173; the same ideas already in J. A. Krasin, "Historical Necessity and Revolutionary Initiative," *STK*, September 11, 1970, originally in *Voprosy filosofii*. The quote from Ponomarev in 1976, Jonathan Haslam, *Russia's Cold War: From the October Revolution to the Fall of the Wall* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press 2011), 296.
34. For details and analysis, see David Kirby, *A Concise History of Finland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

35. A. P. Kositsyn, "On the Ways to Build up the Dictatorship of the Proletariat," *STK*, January 22, 1970. In the same issue, Ponomarev's article on revolutionary theory was published.
36. A. Belyakov and F. Burlatski, "Leninskaya teoriya sotsialisticheskoi revolyutsii i sovremennost," *Kommunist*, no. 15, September 1960, 10–17. Here was the idea of peaceful advance to a socialist revolution on the basis of existing institutions and without distinct break; the best chances were in smaller nonmilitarized developed countries with neutralist tendencies and cooperation with socialist countries. A. S. Belyakov (b. 1917) held jobs in Zhdanov's secretariat and then in the Central Committee apparatus. In 1957, he was picked by the Finnish-born politburo member O. V. Kuusinen for a seminal role in Khrushchevite ideological reconstruction, where he was a leading liberal (CPSU program committee minutes for the autumn of 1959, RGASPI, f. 586, op. 1, d. 66). In 1963, he was appointed deputy head and in 1965 the first deputy head of the International Department.
37. Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amts (PAAA, Berlin), Ministerium für Auswärtige Angelegenheiten der DDR (MfAA), C1175/76, "Warum sind die herrschenden Kreise Finnlands an der europäischen Sicherheit interessiert," A memo based on consultations with the Soviets, February 6, 1970; Hungarian report, March 13, 1970, cited earlier.
38. Kekkonen's diary, May 11, 1970, *Urho Kekkosen päiväkirjat*, ed. J. Suomi, vol. 3 (Helsinki: Otava, 2003).
39. PAAA, MfAA, C 1371/73, Heinz Oelzner's notes on discussion with Soviet ambassador A. E. Kovalev, June 24, 1970. The conclusion was harsh: "Es ist offenbar so, dass seitens der sowjetischen Genossen in letzter Zeit stärkere Vorbehalte gegen die politischen Absichten Kekkonens und sein Vorhalten gegenüber der Sowjetunion bestehen." PAAA, MfAA, C 1368/73, Information letter no. 7, by Oelzner on June 26, 1970.
40. Melvyn P. Leffler, "Bringing it Together: The Parts and the Whole," in Odd Arne Westad, ed., *Reviewing the Cold War: Approaches, Interpretations, Theory* (London: Frank Cass, 2000), 44.
41. KA, Aarne Saarinen papers, Box 8, Saarinen's notes on talks in Moscow, May 7–8, 1970. On the U.S. crisis, Terry H. Anderson, *The Movement and the Sixties* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 549–555; Henry Kissinger, *The White House Years* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1979), 513. On the significance given to this crisis even afterward by the CPSU ideologists, see Krasin, *Sociology of Revolution*, 108–109 and postscript; Yu. A. Krasin, *Revolyutsiei ustrashennye* (Moskva: Izd. pol. literatury, 1975), 133134, 157–158, 177 ff.
42. Kuisong Yang and Yafeng Xia, "Vacillating between Revolution and Détente: Mao's Changing Psyche and Policy toward the United States, 1969–1976," *Diplomatic History* 34 (2010), 401.
43. Saarinen's notes, May 7 and 8, 1970, quoted earlier.
44. Supo, Information report no. 8, September 11, 1964. There was a source in the SKP headquarters. Receiving the report, Kekkonen recorded having met Suslov several times, but having hardly spoken with him, "a fanatic and completely without humour, a doctrinaire ideologist (…) a teetotaller to top it all." Kekkonen's diary, October 22, 1964.
45. Belyakov himself indicated having come to Helsinki to avoid a worse position. CIA Directorate of Intelligence Report, "Finlandization," in Action: Helsinki's Experience with Moscow, August 1972, 43–44, www.foia.cia.gov/CPE/ESAU/esau-55.pdf.
46. KA, SKP, Secreteriat minutes, January 15, 1965, Hertta Kuusinen's report on talks with Belyakov; Belyakov in SKP politburo minutes, February 10, 1965; KA, Toivo Pohjonen papers, Pohjonen's notes on Belyakov, October 14, 1965.

47. KA, SKP politburo minutes, February 23, 1965, Brezhnev's remarks in interparty discussions on February 19, 1965.
48. KA, Kivimäki papers, Kivimäki's notes on a discussion with Brezhnev, March 27, 1969.
49. On their arrival, *l'Unità*, August 24 and September 4, 1969. On the hot autumn, Robert Lumley, *States of Emergency: Cultures of Revolt in Italy from 1968 to 1978* (London: Verso, 1990), 207-41.
50. Erkki Kauppila's private papers, undated memo by Kauppila, October 1969, titled "For You to Read and Destroy." Kauppila was a Russian-speaking SKP politburo secretary. In an interview with the author on May 31, 2004, he presented and explained this paper.
51. The National Archives (TNA, Kew), Prime Minister's Office (PREM) 13/3490, Report by Graham, to be forwarded to Harold Wilson, June 10, 1970. The source was former (and future) Finnish prime minister Ahti Karjalainen, just returned from Moscow, not mentioned in the report.
52. The first comprehensive report by the security police was the top secret bulletin no. 4/70, August 28, 1970. Only a crude outline of the complicated evidence can be presented here.
53. KA, Kivimäki papers, Box 10, Kivimäki's notes on Belyakov's talk on June 10, 1970, in Moscow.
54. SAPMO-BArch, DY 30/IV A 2/20/1027, "Analyse über die Politik der Kommunistischen Partei Finnlands," a memo dated at the Intl Dept of the SED Central Committee on August 27, 1970. Unsigned, probably written after consultations with the CPSU CC. Incapability to utilize processes in the SDP was also mentioned as a Finnish communist defect.
55. Kauppila's memo on Belyakov's words, mentioned earlier, October 1969.
56. KA, Kivimäki papers, Box 10, Erkki Kivimäki's notes on A. Kozlov's lecture in the CPSU CC, June 1970.
57. Supo, Special files on SKP for 1970, Report by Pelshe's security guards on the visit from March 2 to 7, 1970.
58. Utrikesdepartementets arkiv (UD, Stockholm), HP 1 Af 290, Ambassador Hägglöf to Wachtmeister, August 19, 1970.
59. KA, SKP Central Committee minutes, March 21–22, 1970, Reports by J. Simpura and A. Saarinen on talks with Belyakov.
60. Bracke, *Which Socialism, Whose Détente*?, 309–310.
61. This was hinted at by Yuri Krasin, interviewed by the author.
62. Kekkonen's diary, November 8, 1968. Part of the increasing role of the CPSU International Department, Belyakov had, since 1965, met social democrats and President Kekkonen. His predecessors only dealt with communists. Kekkonen approved of the new face, who spoke up as openly as the KGB hands, but was more of a politician.
63. Urho Kekkonen Archives (UKA), Yearbook 1970, Memo by Lt. Gen. L. Sutela on the visit in the Soviet embassy, October 19, 1970.
64. In his memoirs, a KGB political line officer claimed that the ambassador "downright showed off with this idea." Albert Akulov, *Vuodet Tehtaankadulla* (Keuruu: Otava, 1996), 148.
65. KA, Saarinen papers, Saarinen's notes on talks in Moscow, August 4, 1969.
66. KA, Kivimäki papers, Box 10, Kivimäki's notes on Ponomarev and Kapitonov, June 11, 1970.
67. SAPMO-Barch, DY 30/ J IV 2/202/82, Ambassador P. A. Abrassimov's information to Ulbrict about discussions between Kosygin and Bahr, February 13, 1970; Sarotte, *Dealing with the Devil*, 40.

68. UD, HP 1 Af: 287, Report by Ambassador Hägglöf on discussions with Georgi Farafonov, September 30, 1969.
69. RGANI, f. 89, per. 57, d. 20, Yuri Andropov to the CPSU CC on December 31, 1970; and two KGB memoirs, Akulov (*Vuodet Tehtaankadulla*) and Viktor Vladimirov, *Näin se oli* … (Otava, 1993). According to the latter (pp. 202–204), in Helsinki KGB the Belyakov approach was supported only by the son-in-law of G. K. Tsinev, KGB deputy chairman and a crony of Brezhnev.
70. A. M. Aleksandrov-Agentov, *Ot Kollontai do Gorbacheva* (Moskva: Mezhd. otnosheniya, 1994), 161–164.
71. Quotation from an intelligence report in Kekkonen's diary entry on September 25, 1970. A moderate economic line was driven through in the SKP Central Committee on September 25 and 26, 1970.
72. PAAA, MfAA, C 1371/73, Oelzner's report on Belyakov's meeting (on November 3) with GDR and Polish ambassadors, November 12, 1970.
73. KA, Saarinen papers, Saarinen's notes on discussion with Belyakov, October 31, 1970; partially published in Aarne Saarinen, *Kivimies* (Helsinki: Otava, 1995), 199–201.
74. PAAA, MfAA, 1371/73, Oelzner's memo on Belyakov's talk (November 12) with five ambassadors, November 19, 1970; UD, HP 1 Af 291, top secret, unsigned memo, dictated by foreign minister Torsten Nilsson, November 16, 1970 (trip to Stockholm). A week later, Palme showed up in Helsinki, but Kekkonen did not record the discussion in his diary.
75. In addition to domestic intelligence and KGB hints, the president received critical information on Belyakov's designs from Hungarian embassy sources. UKA, Kustaa Vilkuna to Kekkonen, November 15, 1970, with attachment. Later, prime minister Jenő Fock told the Finns that in the socialist camp the Hungarians were like persons who wanted "to relieve themselves in a swimming bath and did so quietly in the water," unlike the Czechs, who "insisted on doing so from the diving board." TNA, Foreign and Commonwealth Office (FCO) 33/1578, Report by A. C. Stuart on Fenno/Soviet/Hungarian relations, January 21, 1971.
76. Kekkonen's diary, December 2, 1970.
77. UD, HP 1 Af: 290, Ambassador Ingemar Hägglöf's lecture in Stockholm, August 25, 1970.
78. NA, RG 59, Subject-Numeric Files 1970–1973 Political and Defence, Box 1728, Memcon between Semyonov and Nitze, December 14, 1970.
79. "Successful action, particularly large-scale action of a drastic kind, often depends on making a delicate judgment about what is realistically possible at what point of time, on identifying the *kairós*—the moment that must be seized now because it will never recur." Raymond Geuss, *Philosophy and Real Politics* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008).
80. Kekkonen's diary entry, December 28, 1970.
81. Chen Jian, *Mao's China and the Cold War* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2001), 154–157; Garthoff, *Détente and Confrontation*, 146–147; Keith H. Nelson, *The Making of the Détente: Soviet-American Relations in the Shadow of Vietnam* (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 1995), 91.
82. UD HP 1 Af 292, Hägglöf to Wachtmeister, February 8, 1971; TNA FCO 33/1578, Paul Lever's report on February 3, 1971.
83. MOL, M-KS-288 f. (Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party Political Committee), group 32, 12. dobor, Warsaw Pact foreign ministers' conference, Bucharest, February 18 and 19, 1971, Comrade Gromyko's speech.
84. KA, Kivimäki papers, Box 10, Notes by Kivimäki on discussions with Zagladin and Shaposhnikov, June 29, 1971; KA, Aimo Haapanen papers, Box 59, Notes on Shaposhnikov and Zagladin, June 29, 1971.

85. KA, SKP, International Dept H 29, Papers of Moscow seminar 1971, including Krasin's lecture on July 2, 1971.
86. Sheila Rowbotham, *Promise of a Dream: Remembering the Sixties* (London: Verso, 2001), 234.
87. KA, Aimo Haapanen papers Box 59, Notes on Ponomarev, July 7, 1971.
88. For a fine analysis of the significance and consequences of the 1970s détente for the Soviets, see V. Zubok, "The Soviet Union and détente of the 1970s," *Cold War History* 8 (2008): 4.
89. Bracke, *Which Socialism, Whose Détente?*, 2.

10
Combat and Conciliation: State Treatment of Left-wing Terrorist Groups in West and East Germany

Tobias Wunschik

A Preliminary Note

Following the disbandment of the June 2 Movement (*Bewegung 2. Juni*) in 1980, the Red Army Faction (RAF) in 1998, and the gradual disappearance of the Revolutionary Cells between 1991 and 1993, various secrets surrounding these left-wing terrorist groups have been revealed.[1] However, due to former members' political conception of themselves as part of a closely controlled secret group participating in necessary "armed combat," few are willing to make statements, even today, about their contributions to the actions of the groups or their internal structures. Meanwhile, other ex-terrorists have distanced themselves from their ideological convictions at that time, not wishing to face up to that part of their past, posing further difficulties to research into this period.

Furthermore, on the side of the state, those involved in combating terrorism are also reluctant to reveal too many details, even in the case of West Germany (Federal Republic of Germany). This was even more true for the German Democratic Republic, until enraged citizens forced the opening of the archives at the Ministry for State Security in the winter of 1989/90. Even the division of the East German secret police concerned with left-wing terrorism had to tolerate its structures and procedures being disclosed in the medium term.[2]

After the formation of left-wing terrorist groups such as the RAF, the June 2 Movement, or the Revolutionary Cells (RZ), both German states had to find ways of interacting with them, thus allowing a partial comparison of their reactions.[3] Admittedly, the roots of the politically motivated violence lay solely in the Federal Republic and their activities focused almost exclusively on spheres of "imperialism." However, the unpredictable left-wing terrorists' many journeys through East Germany (e.g., via Schönefeld Airport in East Berlin) alarmed the political authorities in East Berlin particularly, as they were already employing excessively strict security measures.

This essay will examine the relationship between the intelligence services[4] and left-wing terrorist groups in both German states, which had very different structures, methods, and stipulations. In East Germany, the highly centralized State Security, which existed within a party dictatorship, barely needed to comply with the law and only had to justify itself to the Socialist Unity Party (SED) leadership. In contrast, the federally organized police and the Office for the Protection of the Constitution in West Germany had to act according to the law,[5] had separate areas of responsibility, and operated under parliamentary supervision as well as the suspicious eye of the media.[6] Nevertheless, it was the same violent criminal terrorists who were causing trouble for both German states, making interaction between West and East Germany concerning the handling of offenders by no means unheard of. This will be explained in more detail later.

It would be impossible to name all factors and structural components in the fight against terrorism in Western societies, as the processes of shaping parliamentary opinion, the role of the public and media, and the implications of citizens' and opinion makers' perception of being threatened are far too complex. Particular attention should be given here to the way that the secret police, in addition to the executive and legislative branches of government, dealt with terrorism. Despite the aforementioned problems concerning sources, in this case, it is important to construct an empirical argument so as not to leave any room for conspiracy theories.[7] It was precisely the so-called RAF-Stasi connection that triggered unfounded assumptions about an RAF and Stasi-led antiunification conspiracy, for instance, in connection with the murder of Detlev Karsten Rohwedder, chairman of the Treuhand Agency. Even research into international terrorism has fallen victim to the disinformation of the secret police.[8] For this reason, empirical methods will be used here to analyze the fight against left-wing terrorism by the security services in both German states.

Between Repression and Political Openness: Dealing with Terrorism in the Federal Republic

The Fight against Terrorism at the Legislative and Executive Levels

After 1970, authorities at both the federal and state (*Länder*) levels reacted to the hitherto unknown terrorist threat to the Federal Republic by strengthening, centralizing, specializing, and professionalizing the police forces.[9] From 1970 to 1980, police numbers increased by 40 percent,[10] and between 1968 and 1989, employees at the Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution increased from 2,200 to 8,000.[11] In addition, special units were also set up: After the failed attempt to free the hostages in September 1972, so-called mobile task forces (MEK) were formed at the state level, as well as the Border Guards 9 (GSG 9) at the national level.[12]

In September 1971, the Federal Criminal Police Office (BKA), who had been largely insignificant up until this point, received the overall responsibility for solving terror attacks carried out by the RAF, as well as searching for the

perpetrators.[13] In fact, the BKA had the whole police capacity of the federal *Länder* at its disposal for a national manhunt in May 1972.[14] In the medium term, it was successful: On June 1, 1972, RAF members Andreas Baader, Holger Meins, and Jan-Carl Raspe were arrested in Frankfurt. The political climate became noticeably less tense and contemporaries predicted the end of the Baader-Meinhof group.[15] However, this turned out to be a fatal underestimation of the longevity of left-wing terrorist organizations: In the course of solidarity actions in the extreme left-wing scene, the groups had a consistent intake of new members.[16]

The legislature reacted to the terrorist threat by providing the executive with new capacities, as well as intervening itself in criminal procedure law. This resulted in the Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution officially being given permission to use intelligence resources in June 1972.[17] In addition, the defense options of the accused were curbed, in particular with the "Lex RAF" in 1974. This law included a ban on the so-called multiple defense counsel (which aimed to speed up proceedings). The so-called second Counter-Terrorism Policy came into force in 1976 and contained a new introduction to Article 129a (Propaganda for a Terrorist Organization), as well as a settlement on the exclusion of defense lawyers.[18] Critics complained that the counterterrorism legislation was mainly concerned with demonstrating the will and ability of the ruling authorities to defend their monopoly of power in the event of "symbolic siege conditions."[19]

The West German government proved itself open to blackmail on a single occasion following the June 2 Movement's kidnapping of Peter Lorenz, a West Berlin politician, when it agreed to the release of imprisoned left-wing terrorists in exchange for the release of the hostage.[20] In 1977, as the terrorist threat in the Federal Republic reached its peak in a period known as the "German Autumn,"[21] the government was able to point to its special forces' success in freeing the hostages in Mogadishu.[22] However, this outcome was overshadowed by the unsuccessful search for the kidnapped president of the Confederation of German Employers' Associations, Hanns-Martin Schleyer. Moreover, serious mishaps occurred during the search, which increasingly feature in discussions today.[23] In autumn 1977, the significance of the "attack on the heart of the state" was further heightened with the Schleyer kidnapping dominating the headlines, the crisis squads meeting over several weeks in Bonn, and the kidnappers having seemingly gained the upper hand. The government declared a state of emergency, which included a gag order on the media, widespread eavesdropping on telephone conversations, and a communication ban for the imprisoned left-wing terrorists. For the most part, these actions had no legal basis and the state-led fight against terrorism operated in a juridical grey area during this period.[24] On a global level, the intensive manhunt for Schleyer's kidnappers led to the foundation of the so-called Vienna Club, where the security agencies of several West European states agreed on measures to combat terrorism and initiated the exchange of information.[25]

While the challenge posed by terrorism certainly influenced police force reform in the 1970s (restructuring, professionalization of police officers, and improvements in the training program),[26] it did not directly cause them.[27] Toward the end of the 1970s, a modernization of the manhunt procedure

(through the computer-assisted compilation of leads and objects of suspicion and the precautionary ascertainment of the legal environment of the RAF) increased the prospects of police success.[28] According to observers, this period was also characterized by the fact that the conflict between the state and the terrorists turned into a police issue. As the public became more or less acclimated to the situation, the fight against terrorism proved an evermore inappropriate basis for establishing domestic security regulations, even on a symbolic level. Instead, a growing number of voices expressed their concern that the Federal Republic was on its way to becoming a "big brother" state, due to the extension of police power to carry out searches.[29]

After the arrest of the leading second-generation RAF members Brigitte Mohnhaupt and Christian Klar in November 1982, the terrorist threat in the Federal Republic eased noticeably. Once again, the police believed that they had successfully broken up the RAF. While the number of attacks in 1983 and 1984 did decrease, a new generation of left-wing terrorists emerged[30] and undertook a further "offensive" soon after. At the same time, the offenders disappeared from the manhunt "radar screens," in the medium term, so that police only occasionally managed to find them. It is as yet unclear whether this was due mainly to better camouflage, stronger "mimicry," a general move to greater professionalism, or a new approach known as "after-work terrorism."

In December 1986, the legislative body reacted to the unsuccessful manhunt by strengthening laws relating to the fight against terrorism. This included expanding Article 129a (Propaganda for a Terrorist Organization) and introducing a six-month minimum sentence for anyone violating the article.[31] Other new laws concerning security (e.g., the introduction of machine-readable identity cards) were not directed toward the fight against left-wing terrorist groups.[32] The effectiveness of the counterterrorism laws had already become doubtful at this point, especially with regard to the threat of punishment for the forefront of organized terrorism: "No terrorist is influenced by the fact that the endorsing of criminal acts is a punishable offence."[33]

Resources and Methods of the Secret Police

The "preliminary clarification" of terrorist offences in the Federal Republic was carried out by both the Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution and the Federal Criminal Police Office.[34] In practice, however, the main task of the former was clarifying terrorist risks, although they did not have police powers. In contrast, the police authorities were called on for danger prevention and were supposed to be involved in preventative action. Above all, however, they were supposed to take part in criminal proceedings.[35] This difficult differentiation often led, in practice, to coordination difficulties, especially in the combat of terrorism. It was precisely in this area that the constitutional authorities and the police found themselves competing against each other to a certain extent. Furthermore, personal differences between their managers also often hindered cooperation.[36]

Terrorist groups, particularly the RAF, were operating conspiratorially underground and were out to kill members of the political and economic elite in the

Federal Republic. For this reason, the deployment of secret police means and methods (such as the recruitment of informants) appeared to be an urgent necessity.[37] In reality, however, the security authorities' informants rarely had good enough contact to the RAF to contribute to arrests. Most informants had direct contact to the perpetrators, such as Peter Urbach,[38] Khaled Djihad,[39] and Klaus Steinmetz, although they themselves were not members of the groups.[40] Furthermore, neither the supporters of terrorist groups nor the contact persons of other terrorist organizations always knew about planned attacks or the whereabouts of the terrorists. The Office for the Protection of the Constitution in Lower Saxony also failed when it tried to lure a criminal—forced to act as an informant—to an imprisoned RAF supporter by instigating a mock escape attempt known as the Celle hole in 1978.[41] The authorities experienced further embarrassment in 1991 regarding Siegfried Nonne, a mentally instable, alleged RAF supporter and former informant who had already been "ditched" by the Hessian authorities five years earlier.[42] In cases where the authorities were able to contribute to the arrest of left-wing terrorists, it was generally through more traditional intelligence methods, such as tapping telephones.[43]

Among those former terrorists who gave any kind of statement at all, it was usually first given to investigators after their public withdrawal from the scene or their arrest. In the first case, some terrorists wanted to mark the end of their involvement with other terrorists and publicly owned up to their past, usually by writing an autobiography. However, their accounts were mostly too general to offer the prosecution authorities any leads. They themselves attempted to hide from the police for as long as possible so as not to be branded traitors (as in the case of Michael "Bommi" Baumann or Hans-Joachim Klein). Although with time more and more of the detained terrorists grew ready to make comments, most of the statements came too late to help police apprehend the former terrorists' accomplices. The biggest hurdle to overcome in this collaboration was the unwillingness of the politically motivated perpetrators to cooperate, since the severity of their crimes made their release from prison (with the subsequent duty to inform) unthinkable. When members or supporters of terrorist groups were actually released (e.g., due to a lack of evidence), they were always met by their former companions with deep distrust, fearing they would be betrayed, as in the case of Monika Haas.[44]

Although the actual infiltration of terrorist groups by informants proved almost impossible, many (ex-)terrorists were at least prepared to give evidence to the constitution protection or prosecution authorities after their arrest. From the start, key witnesses were prepared to cooperate with authorities in order to reduce their sentences. The willingness of some to give evidence was prompted by the suspect becoming hopelessly entangled in contradictions after arrest.[45] In order to encourage statements, suspects were often led to believe that they would receive a complete exemption from punishment, as in the case of Jürgen Bodeux.[46] Till Meyer was told after his arrest that his son would be "ancient" by the time he was released from prison after serving his anticipated life sentence.[47] At the time of the Schleyer kidnapping, Knut Detlef Folkerts was arrested in the Netherlands and was on the one hand threatened with the death sentence and on the other, offered one million DM for his contribution to finding the hostage.[48]

According to the number of group members who gave statements, former June 2 Movement members were more likely to give statements than were former RAF members.[49] Therefore, it was not wholly unfitting that the extreme left-wing scene made the criticism that no one turned out traitors more abundantly than the June 2 Movement.[50] The relatively large numbers willing to make statements may have been a consequence of it being less closed off to outsiders than the rest of the extreme left-wing scene. In this way, it was comparatively easy for informants to gain access. It was also possibly due to the fact that more of its members came from working-class backgrounds and lacked the bourgeois self-hatred and intellectual masochism displayed by the RAF members.[51]

The Metamorphosis of the Fight against Terrorism: The Key Witness Ruling, the Exit Terrorism Program, and the Kinkel Initiative, 1989–1991

At the end of the 1980s, shortly before the collapse of the socialist bloc, the fight against terrorism became markedly more flexible and underwent a strong shift of emphasis.[52] Significant here was that the founders of the RAF, based around Horst Mahler, Andreas Baader, Gudrun Ensslin, and Ulrike Meinhof, were time and again boosted by new "generations" of supporters. The increase in members largely evened-out the success of the police manhunts, due to the extensive political solidarity within the far left-wing scene generated by the arrest of RAF members. "Indeed, between 1972 and 1977, it was almost exclusively the topic of prison conditions that enabled the group to increase its membership."[53]

It was against this backdrop that the government sought new ways of fighting terrorism, primarily through the Key Witness Ruling; the Exit Terrorism Program initiated by the Office for the Protection of the Constitution (for those wanting to leave the scene); and the so-called Kinkel Initiative. This last scheme, in particular, aimed to break the vicious circle of solidarity and new recruitment processes in the medium term, while seeking a more effective political solution for the terrorism problem. Individual opportunities to escape the underground terrorist scene (in the form of the Exit Terrorism Program and the Key Witness Ruling) had to be seized quickly, however.

The so-called Exit Terrorism Program, drawn up by the Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution, targeted both those on the fringes of or heavily involved in terrorist groups, who were looking to get out. The program aimed ultimately to completely exempt them from punishment and at the same time, maintain their personal and political identities. It was arguably Christoph Seidler and Barbara Meyer, both said to belong to the RAF (although never prosecuted as such), who mainly benefited from the program. As no further participants were anticipated, the program stopped in 2001.

A ruling on key witnesses for terrorist offences had already been the subject of controversial discussions in 1976 and 1986,[54] although it only became law in 1989. In hindsight, the Key Witness Ruling was largely unsuccessful in the fight against left-wing terrorism, as no third-generation RAF members were willing to become "traitors" in return for a lesser punishment. Nevertheless,

the ruling did make it easier for police to later solve the crimes committed by the second generation of the RAF; in the summer of 1990 in the still-existing GDR, ten former group members were arrested, ten years after disassociating themselves from terrorism.

However, some individuals at the heart of active, left-wing terrorist groups were tempted by neither a reduction in their sentences through the Key Witness Ruling nor the Protection of the Constitution's Exit Terrorism Program. Given the ideological convictions of those concerned and the sanctions with which both those opting out and those becoming "traitors" were threatened by their former comrades, it was hardly possible for opting-out processes to be promoted from the outside. Furthermore, every reduction in the state's abilities to punish had the detrimental long-term consequence of diminishing the deterrent effect of this threat.[55]

On the other hand, the "political solution" offered by the Kinkel Initiative achieved much more than had been expected. In the context of a hunger strike by the RAF prisoners in February 1989[56] and their demand to be held together, the then secretary of state at the Federal Ministry of Justice, Klaus Kinkel, held discussions with prisoner Brigitte Mohnhaupt.[57] The Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution allegedly also attempted to contact members of the RAF who were residing illegally in the Middle East.[58] The interdepartmental "Co-ordination Group in the Fight against Terrorism" then developed a concept that would exploit legal grey areas to secure the release of long-serving RAF prisoners. The Federal minister of justice, Klaus Kinkel, made this proposal public in January 1992 when submitting the offer of reconciliation between the RAF and the state.[59]

This promoted the complex process of bringing about a new way of thinking for RAF members, in which the defeat of the socialist idea per se (since 1989) certainly played a considerable role. As a result of this new orientation, the RAF announced a tentative end to "armed combat" several months later (in April 1992).[60] Moreover, because the Kinkel Initiative met with opposition in the political sphere and thus came to a halt, the imprisoned RAF members began a fierce dispute about the right way forward. In October 1993, Christian Klar and Brigitte Mohnhaupt announced that a part of the group had broken away from the other RAF prisoners.[61]

It was precisely because underground RAF members were striving toward a new orientation and wanted to align themselves with the views of the legal far-left scene more strongly than ever before that Birgit Hogefeld was able to meet with an important contact from this scene for the first time in February 1992. Unknown to her, the contact man had already been working as an informant for the Protection of the Constitution Office in Rheinland-Pfalz for several years (Klaus Steinmetz). Thus, it was not the authorities that led Steinmetz to the left-wing terrorists, but the RAF itself that sought contact with him, albeit by chance. In June 1993 in Bad Kleinen, the authorities took the opportunity, presumably without the knowledge of the informant, to seize the wanted perpetrators and were able to arrest Birgit Hogefeld; Wolfgang Grams committed suicide after a gunfight with police.[62]

Differences of opinion within the RAF finally led to the group's formal dissolution declaration in 1998. This gave an additional boost to the possibility

of an early release from prison for long-serving RAF members, who found that the transformed political climate of the 1990s meant their requests were more and more often successful, in accordance with the idea of the Kinkel Initiative. In the most prominent case to date, the Court of Appeal in Stuttgart ruled in March 2007 that Brigitte Mohnhaupt should be released on parole. Furthermore, eight RAF members were granted amnesty by Federal presidents Johannes Rau, Roman Herzog, and Richard von Weizsäcker, as well as by the minister president of Rheinland-Pfalz, Bernhard Vogel. Federal presidents Richard von Weizsäcker and Horst Köhler also held personal discussions with two RAF prisoners, Peter-Jürgen Boock and Christian Klar. Although their appeals for amnesty were both rejected at first, their private discussions with the highest representatives of the German state enhanced their image politically.[63] In 2010, Birgit Hogefeld (RAF) and Johannes Weinrich (Revolutionary Cells) were the only German left-wing terrorists who remained in prison, either because of the gravity of the charges against them or the fact that they were arrested at a later time.

Therapy without Symptoms: Dealing with Terrorism in the GDR

The Fight against Terrorism according to the SED

In principle, the liberal social order of Western societies is much more susceptible to violence-prone political extremism than the structure's dictatorial states.[64] With no free press or functioning public sphere, terror attacks went largely unreported in East Germany, depriving the perpetrators of their necessary impetus. In addition, the constrictive police controls left little room for maneuver. Politically motivated violence therefore remained an exception in the GDR, as it was practically impossible to build up illegal structures.[65]

For their part, the left-wing terrorist groups that were founded in the Federal Republic did not target the GDR as, in principle, they shared a certain fundamental socialist consensus and model of political interpretation in keeping with that of the SED. Furthermore, both sides sympathized with Third World left-wing liberation movements and wanted to fight against "imperialism" and "capitalism."[66] In 1972, writing that its aim was "a unified, socialist Germany, siding with the working class of the GDR and its party and never against them,"[67] the Baader-Meinhof Group was positively courting the favor of the SED regime. As it was, Ulrike Meinhof had already aligned herself with the political interpretations of the SED regime before she went on the run.[68]

The second generation of the RAF, which began to emerge in 1975, was, however, more indifferent toward, and to some extent critical of, East Berlin.[69] Indeed, in one case, the simulations of the West German left-wing terrorists were even a cause of concern for the socialist bloc, as, in an attempt to obtain the release of their imprisoned comrades through threat, the June 2 Movement wanted to kidnap all four allied commandants in Berlin, including the Soviet representative.[70] Nevertheless, in general, the RAF, the June 2 Movement, and the Revolutionary Cells did not consider the GDR a possible target for attack, but rather a safe hinterland in the fight against their main enemy, the "imperialist" Federal Republic and its representatives.

Nonetheless, from the point of view of the State Security Service, international terrorism also indicated a series of potential security risks for the GDR. The Stasi feared that having led to the emergence of left-wing terrorism in the Federal Republic, the processes of political radicalization that occurred at the end of the student movement could induce similar developments in a weaker form or with some delay in the GDR and thus also lead to politically motivated violence. The journeys of the left-wing terrorists through the GDR, as well as their personal contacts to East German relatives and acquaintances, were considered a further possible source of danger, as they could possibly exert their influence on them. From the point of view of the Stasi, the unpredictability of the perpetrators could result in a threat to the GDR at any time, especially from the group centered around the internationally sought "top-terrorist" Carlos (with its German offshoot, the international branch of the Revolutionary Cells).

The SED state considered terrorism with Palestinian roots to be particularly threatening, especially after the "Black September" attack during the Olympic Games in Munich in 1972. Because the Stasi feared that something similar could occur the following year during the World Festival of Youth and Students in East Berlin, they formed their own organizational unit, which was to become a division specifically focused on counterterrorism (Section XXII) in 1975.

In practice, the State Security Service of the GDR adopted a very pragmatic attitude toward left-wing terrorism stemming from the Federal Republic. Since averting danger was the highest priority,[71] State Security was willing to tolerate and even support international terrorism, as long as, and in order that, these groups did not turn against the GDR. Thus, armed with substantial protection, the RAF, Revolutionary Cells, and the June 2 Movement were able to do as they pleased. In this way, the GDR followed the "not in my backyard" principle, by shifting potential threats or dangers onto others rather than tackling them themselves; that is, State Security believed that the best way to avoid a terrorist threat to the GDR was to endorse a threat to the Federal Republic.[72]

In turn, this required gathering intelligence to find out everything about the left-wing perpetrators, as well as their aims and plans. This was also the motive behind the decision, in 1980, to admit eight former RAF members (and later two more), who had left the scene, into the GDR, where they were then obliged to reveal what they knew. At the same time, they were physical pawns, ensuring that active RAF members in the West would indeed never turn against the GDR. However, the readiness of the Stasi to support the left-wing terrorists went much further than this. Between 1980 and 1982, the East German secret police gave active RAF members the opportunity to take part in discussions on ideological principles, as well as allowing them—to some extent—to hold their military training in the GDR. Thus carefully shielded, the West German guests were able to practice shooting at a limousine with rocket-propelled grenades, which was linked to the assassination attempt on U.S. general Frederik Kroesen.[73]

Furthermore, the East German secret police also proved to be astonishingly tolerant toward members of the "international branch" of the Revolutionary Cells grouped around Johannes Weinrich. The division responsible, Section XXII, sought close contact with Johannes Weinrich in 1979, as well as with

Magdalena Kopp the following year.[74] For this reason, when Weinrich landed at Schönefeld Airport in East Berlin in May 1982 with explosives in his luggage, this "import of explosive materials" was not punished according to GDR law. Because of his "good relations with the Stasi,"[75] the left-wing terrorist was allowed to keep his firearm and only had to hand over the explosives.[76] Moreover, in August 1983, this explosive material was even given back to him. In the subsequent explosion at the "Maison de France," one person died and a further 21 were injured, some very badly.[77]

Resources and Methods of the Secret Police

In the "handling" of international terrorism, as it was known in the jargon of Mielke's Stasi, the Stasi informants, known as unofficial collaborators (IM), were especially important. The division responsible, Section XXII, announced its intention, in the draft of a 1977 internal service briefing, to formally recruit active left-wing terrorists from within terrorist groups. This passage had been erased, however, in the policy document that later came into force,[78] presumably due to fears of possible complications and the "loss of face" that would result for East Berlin. In practice, ex-terrorists or members of their families, as well as the lawyers of left-wing terrorists were recruited as alternatives. They provided good insights into the "scene" and were supposed to deliver relevant information about these groups and their plans. The girlfriends of Palestinian terrorists were also engaged as unofficial collaborators.[79]

In this way, between one (against the French Action Directe) and six informers (against the group led by Abu Nidal) were utilized against individual terrorist groups.[80] For example, the only IM utilized against Action Directe was former RAF lawyer Klaus Croissant,[81] who presumably knew the then commanders of the French left-wing terrorists at best only indirectly. Croissant's partner Brigitte Heinrich, from the extreme left-wing scene in Frankfurt also became an IM[82] and was tasked by Section XXII with checking the possible connections of left-wing terrorists in the GDR.[83] For information against the RAF, Section XXII resorted to former terrorist Till Meyer, who had easily been enlisted due to common ideological convictions.[84] His main task was to provide false information to West German journalists trying to trace the whereabouts of former RAF members now living in the GDR. On the orders of his case officers, he would put them off the scent when they asked him for assistance.[85] Former RAF member Werner Hoppe also worked as an IM for the Stasi.[86] Even those who had turned their back on the RAF and were now based in the GDR became IMs, after first undergoing so-called operational controls (OPK); among others, these included the former terrorist Werner Lotze.[87] By enlisting and thus making the Stasi aware of any rumors emerging about their real pasts, they could supposedly safeguard their new bogus identities.

In the meantime, active terrorists traveling through the GDR were at the very least stopped and questioned. If perpetrators wanted in the West crossed the border, State Security often used this opportunity to arrest those concerned and question them on their personal knowledge in long interrogations (as in the case of Hans-Jürgen Bäcker, Michael "Bommi" Baumann, and Inge Viett). This process sometimes involved imprisonment and solitary confinement and

the way in which they were treated depended arguably on their willingness to cooperate. Many left-wing terrorists readily revealed their knowledge, being well-disposed toward the SED state due to their ideological stances. Harry Dahl, head of Section XXII, therefore addressed Weinrich as "son," for example, and proved himself to be very open to all his requests.[88] Needless to say, in spite of this, State Security tried to find out even more about their guests, for example, by intercepting their telephone conversations and secretly making copies of their personal documents.

Interdependencies

Although both German states were threatened by terrorist violence to very different extents and reacted very differently to it, there were certain interdependencies in the way the perpetrators were treated. One theme that emerged regularly was the search for Carlos and his gang. Thus, in November 1983, a Palestinian source living in the GDR informed the West Berlin Office for the Protection of the Constitution that Weinrich traveled regularly to Berlin. However, this source was a double agent, also working as an IM for the Stasi. Another source for the State Office for the Protection of the Constitution in North Rhine-Westphalia then learned that Carlos himself had stayed in the GDR at the beginning of 1984. This was reported on January 7, 1984, by West German newspapers, which had evidently been provided with this information intentionally. However, in this case, it transpired that the media had been given incorrect information, as Carlos had not in fact been in East Germany on the date in question.[89] In April 1984, the aforementioned double agent reported to the Office for the Protection of the Constitution that Weinrich had again stayed at the Palast Hotel in East Berlin on a specific day.[90] As a result of this, a high-level debate took place in Bonn among the ministries and services responsible. The Public Prosecutor's Office in Frankfurt became involved and was supposed to request the arrest of those grouped around Carlos as soon as the aforementioned source reported Weinrich being back in the GDR. However, things did not progress this far, as undisclosed "measures" were instituted by the Stasi,[91] presumably in order to conceal a ban on travel or even the arrest of the source.

Thanks to its direct link to left-wing terrorists (e.g., through questioning during bilateral discussions), constrictive border controls and use of specific secret police measures (such as listening in to telephone conversations and radio reconnaissance), State Security Service at times had a better idea of the whereabouts of the left-wing terrorists (including those outside the GDR) than did the West German authorities. For example, it was aware that two supporters of the former June 2 Movement had not, as the West German authorities supposed, gone underground again (and also had nothing to do with the murder of Gerold von Braunmühl) but were actually in Nicaragua on the date in question.[92]

The Stasi did not assist the West German hunt for internationally wanted terrorists, however, for by keeping their "inside" information for themselves, they were able to use it to their own advantage. In fact, the Stasi deliberately brought the efforts of the West German prosecution authorities to a

halt by either not responding or by giving misleading answers to their search requests.[93] The State Security Service even thwarted the Federal German police by first checking whether the West German security authorities were aware of the forged passports being used by active RAF terrorists and then, when necessary, warning them to stop using them.[94] In at least one case, the Stasi went on the offensive by attempting to impede the Cologne Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution's combat on terrorism.[95] The ideas of Erich Mielke, spread by spymaster Markus Wolf, went even further, with plans to incorporate the RAF into the Stasi's sabotage strategy against the West in the event of a military conflict between the blocs.[96]

However, around 1983 or 1984, State Security adopted a more cautious line and attempted to restrain their violent action-prone "guests," no longer giving them such generous support. By far the most important reason for this change of policy was that it was becoming more and more difficult to keep secret the fact that internationally wanted terrorists were residing in the GDR. Presumably, it is the Stasi's tactical fear of external complications that led them to take a stricter line toward the violent criminals rather than any moral objection to the political course it had been following up to that point.[97] For these reasons, the Ministry for State Security also urged the terrorists more strongly than before to move around the GDR as discreetly as possible.

From this point on, State Security acted with distinctly more caution toward plans to re-form the June 2 Movement.[98] Furthermore, it was no longer willing to tolerate members of the group around Carlos staying in the GDR. State Security was now so blatantly shadowing Weinrich that he could have no more doubt that his further presence was undesirable, as the allied secret service in Hungary had already demonstrated.[99] Although Weinrich and Kopp continued to meet up with the officers responsible for Section XXII,[100] they were much less communicative than before. They had still rather hoped that they would be able to involve the Stasi in their arms trading. During a discussion in 1983, a disgruntled Carlos supporter even threatened to carry out an attack on the GDR because of the lack of support from the Stasi.[101] This (purely hypothetical) terrorist threat was however the consequence of the Stasi's tolerant attitude toward different terrorist groups and not the reason for it.

Furthermore, East Berlin's reduced tolerance of internationally wanted terrorists resulted from an ideologically founded skepticism concerning certain forms of "individual terrorism."[102] The West German left-wing terrorists had just as little respect for the Soviet stipulation of "peaceful coexistence" as for the leading role of the communist parties. They had also not chosen the working class as their sole "revolutionary subject."[103] The underlying tendency of the SED, which was to strike a blow to West German "imperialism" by supporting left-wing terrorism, also opposed the economic interests of East Berlin.[104] Moreover, the large-scale police manhunts triggered by terrorist attacks proved to be detrimental to the State Security Service, as did heightened general security measures in the Federal Republic,[105] which led to Stasi messengers and agents in the West also being threatened with arrest.[106] Additionally, from the point of view of the SED, the terrorist attacks were also used by the West as a pretext for suppressing the "democratic forces," that is, the German Communist Party (DKP) and its front organizations.[107]

The cutback of support also affected the active RAF terrorists from the Federal Republic. During their occasional stays in the GDR, it had already become clear that the GDR was less willing to let itself be used to the terrorists' ends than hoped and due to disappointment on both sides, they reduced contact considerably after 1984. However, this also resulted in contact with the RAF "illegals" being badly ruptured. Just as the federal German authorities responsible for the manhunts had managed, to a large extent, to lose track of the third generation of the RAF, it was apparent that the Stasi was also increasingly groping in the dark, although this is difficult to substantiate due to problems obtaining the files.[108] It did not, however, necessarily indicate that the East German secret police had better information in this period of time.[109]

State Security's growing fears of its connections to the terrorist scene being discovered proved well-founded. In 1986, the true identities of three of the ten former RAF members in the GDR were revealed. In March of that year, the Stasi feared that the West German intelligence service had tracked down Silke Maier-Witt, as their Soviet counterparts had disclosed at that time.[110] Because of this, Maier-Witt felt impelled to leave her home and surroundings almost overnight and only reappeared 15 months later in another part of the GDR with a new identity (after undergoing cosmetic surgery).[111] The Stasi spread rumors to make her sudden disappearance appear plausible.[112] In December 1987, the Federal Criminal Police Office delivered a so-called nonpaper to East Berlin on this subject.[113] No acknowledgment from East Berlin was ever received,[114] however, and in March 1988, the federal government followed it up once more on a political level.[115]

Conclusion

In the divided Germany of the 1970s and 1980s, there was a certain basic pattern to the tactical interaction in the secret police's fight against terrorism. The tendency of the Stasi was to try and thwart the efforts of the Federal Republic to catch the left-wing terrorists. Mielke's organization preferred to conceal the perpetrators and question them, in order to be able to profit from their knowledge. Many of them proved to be informative, something (along with a latent ideological sympathy) which was also related to the threat of punishment in the West. Over the course of time, the West German security authorities became better informed about how the Stasi sponsored international terrorism, and attempted to implicate it.

Until about 1984, the free reign accorded to the left-wing terrorists by the Stasi considerably increased the terrorist threat to the Federal Republic and set the GDR in contravention of the state's obligation to fight against terrorist violence, as set out in international law.[116] The SED regime did not, however, go to the extreme of according the terrorists all possible forms of state assistance. Although different left-wing terrorist groups were offered a base of operations and their members on occasion accepted training and information from the secret police, there was, as far as is known today, no wide-ranging provision of financial support or weapons, and the left-wing terrorists were also not permitted to recruit new members in the GDR.[117] Although the Stasi supported terrorist activities through its own actions or lack of actions, it did

not, ultimately, bring about the phenomenon of politically motivated violence in the West. This was, indeed, despite the antagonism between the two states, the rhetoric of class struggle and a certain amount of gloating over the threat to domestic security within the Federal Republic.

The West German security authorities only managed to influence the Stasi's "fight against terrorism" to a very small degree, and even then only in cooperation with public opinion worldwide, as the SED regime became concerned with its reputation and increasingly integrated itself into international committees and agreements. The question of whether the efforts of the West German security authorities to convict the East German secret police of patronizing international terrorism actually contributed to State Security adjusting its course in 1983 and 1984 must, for the present, remain unanswered. It is possible that these changes would have taken place anyway, as those who had fled the RAF could not have remained clandestine forever due to the close links within the two Germanys. Furthermore, even the unpredictable Carlos had at some point blown his chances with every one of his hosts. There were phases of intensive observation, as well as close cooperation with the left-wing terrorists: with the RAF between 1980 and 1983, with the Revolutionary Cells from 1979 to 1983, and with the June 2 Movement from 1978 to 1980 and from 1983 to 1984. However, each case ended sooner or later in mutual disappointment. On the one hand, this was because it was difficult (for the Stasi) to control terrorist groups and on the other, from the point of view of the left-wing terrorists, even the support of the East German secret police had its limits.

Because of the differences in their political systems, the fight against terrorism in both parts of Germany featured very specific characteristics. Some parallel developments occurred, nevertheless. For example, after the attack on the Olympic Games in Munich in 1972, the powers of executive authorities to avert danger and combat terrorism were increased in both East and West Germany, depending on the type of terrorist threat they considered themselves exposed to. This translated into the setting-up of police intervention forces in the Federal Republic and the expansion of the secret police in the GDR. The attacks in West Berlin and Stockholm in 1975 led to the almost simultaneous formation of the Terrorism Division (TE) at the Federal Criminal Police Office and of the counterterrorism division, Section XXII, at the Ministry of State Security in the GDR, despite their very different profiles.

The SED regime had structural advantages when dealing with left-wing terrorists: Inside the GDR, the police state allowed practically no scope for politically motivated violence. Furthermore, compared to the left-wing terrorism that had evolved in West Germany, the Stasi was by and large free to act as it wished—without any constitutional misgivings, using all resources available to the secret police, and without the obligation to justify themselves to the public. Nevertheless, it was not due to its being a police state that the GDR was "more successful" in combating terrorism, but rather because it was hardly affected at all by politically motivated violence—and could act purely opportunistically. It could afford to act according to the "not in my backyard principle" and focus on conciliation, because the left-wing terrorists did not have their sights set on the SED regime whatsoever. On the contrary, the Federal

Republic had to respond to an "attack on the heart of the state" and a strategy of conciliation toward unpredictable perpetrators of violence was considered with good reason by the democratic commonwealth as unacceptable.[118]

Both sides attempted to persuade the terrorists they had arrested, as well as their supporters, to give evidence and act as informants. The prosecuting authorities and intelligence services in West Germany tended only to be able to recruit minor figures from the terrorist scene. In contrast, the East German State Security was capable of persuading even wanted terrorists to give evidence, due to shared ideological convictions and because it had the tactical advantage of being able to promise the prospect of release at any moment. In West Germany, recruitment typically occurred in prison, whereas in the GDR, the process often began by being stopped at the border.

In both German states, the extent of the threat of terrorist violence was overestimated—in the Federal Republic, the danger was real, whereas in the GDR, it was virtual. In West Germany, the alternating dramatization and build-up processes between the government, public, and media were responsible for the overemphasis of the terrorist threat. In East Germany, however, it was not the unsuspecting public and censored media, but rather the excessive security concerns of the policymakers that contributed to the dramatization. In both German states, the search for appropriate responses to terrorist violence proved a very drawn out process in which public pressure played a considerable role. Although the SED regime hardly needed to consider public opinion in its own country, the Stasi adopted a more defensive line in order to avoid worldwide condemnation for sanctioning terrorism. In the Federal Republic in the 1970s, amid heated public debate, the police force was expanded, its competencies were strengthened, and interventions in criminal law proceedings occurred. It was only at the end of the 1980s and beginning of the 1990s that a stronger political solution to the problem began to take shape, in particular with the so-called Kinkel Initiative. Up to this point, the fight against terrorism in the Federal Republic had resembled a futile therapy, whereas the approach taken by the SED regime could be likened more to sedation than therapy. East Berlin was able to permit itself this course of action as the GDR did not have to suffer the consequences.

Notes

1. See esp. Wolfgang Kraushaar, ed., *Die RAF und der linke Terrorismus*, 2 vols. (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 2006); Butz Peters, *Tödlicher Irrtum: Die Geschichte der RAF* (Berlin: Fischer, 2004).
2. Peter Siebenmorgen, "'Staatssicherheit' der DDR," *Der Westen im Fadenkreuz der Stasi* (Bonn: Bouvier, 1993); Tobias Wunschik, "Die Hauptabteilung XXII: 'Terrorabwehr,'" *MfS-Handbuch*, Teil III.16, Behörde der Bundesbeauftragten für die Stasi-Unterlagen (BStU) (Berlin: Bundesbeauftragte f. d. Unterlagen d. Staatssicherheitsdienste d. ehem. DDR, 1995).
3. A similar, pressing problem (in this case, that of a terrorist threat) can provoke similar reactions from states, despite their different political structures, particularly when they are geographically close to one another and have cultural similarities. See Katharina Holzinger, Helge Jörgens, and Christoph Knill, "Transfer, Diffusion und Konvergenz: Konzepte und Kausalmechanismen," in *Transfer, Diffusion und*

Konvergenz von Politiken (Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 2007), 11–35, 25.

4. In the context of West Germany, the term "intelligence service" is commonly used to emphasize the renunciation of the active measures used by the secret service (such as sabotage or assassination). See Mark Alexander Zöllner, *Informationssysteme und Vorfeldmaßnahmen von Polizei, Staatsanwaltschaft und Nachrichtendiensten: Zur Vernetzung von Strafverfolgung und Kriminalitätsverhütung im Zeitalter von multimedialer Kommunikation und Persönlichkeitsschutz* (Heidelberg: Müller, 2002), 285.
5. See the law detailing cooperation between the federal government and Länder in matters concerning the protection of the constitution: "Gesetz über die Zusammenarbeit des Bundes und der Länder in Angelegenheiten des Verfassungsschutz," September 27, 1950 and December 20, 1990 (BVerfSchG); the law on the Military Counter-Intelligence Service: "Gesetz über den Militärischen Abschirmdienst," December 20, 1990 (MADG); law on the Federal Intelligence Service: "Gesetz über den Bundesnachrichtendienst," December 20, 1990 (BNDG), all last amended on May 5, 2007; law on the restriction of the privacy of correspondence, post, and telecommunications: "Gesetz zur Beschränkung des Brief-, Post- und Fernmeldegeheimnisses," August 13, 1968 (Artikel 10-Gesetz), as amended on February 18, 2007.
6. See law on the parliamentary control of intelligence service activity: "Gesetz über die parlamentarische Kontrolle nachrichtendienstlicher Tätigkeit des Bundes," April 11, 1978 (PKGrG), as amended on July 29, 2009. See also Maximilian Baier, *Die parlamentarische Kontrolle der Nachrichtendienste und deren Reform* (Hamburg: Kovac, 2009); Stefanie Waske, *Mehr Liaison als Kontrolle: Die Kontrolle des BND durch Parlament und Regierung 1955–1978* (Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 2009); Wolbert K. Smidt, Ulrike Poppe, Wolfgang Krieger, and Helmut Müller-Enbergs, eds, *Geheimhaltung und Transparenz: Demokratische Kontrolle der Geheimdienste im internationalen Vergleich* (Berlin: Lit, 2007); Karl-Ludwig Haedge, *Das neue Nachrichtendienstrecht für die Bundesrepublik Deutschland: Ein Leitfaden mit Erläuterungen* (Heidelberg: Kriminalistik-Verl., 1998), 310–319.
7. See Gerhard Wisnewski, Wolfgang Landgraeber, and Ekkehard Sieker, *Das RAF-Phantom. Wozu Politik und Wirtschaft Terroristen brauchen* (München: Droemer Knaur, 1993), and overall considerably more realistic, Michael Müller and Andreas Kanonenberg, *Die RAF-Stasi-Connection* (Berlin: Rohwolt, 1992).
8. See Claire Sterling, *The Terror Network: The Secret War of International Terrorism* (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1981). It was later discovered that Sterling's theories were largely based on a disinformation campaign by the CIA Directorate of Operations; Bob Woodward, *Veil: The Secret Wars of the CIA* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1987), 124–129; Richard K. Betts, "Politicization of Intelligence: Costs and Benefits," in Richard K. Betts and Thomas G. Mahnken, eds, *Paradoxes of Strategic Intelligence: Essays in Honor of Michael I. Handel* (London: Frank Cass, 2003), 59–79, 78.
9. Hans-Jürgen Lange, ed., *Wörterbuch zur Inneren Sicherheit* (Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 2006), 102–103.
10. Klaus Weinhauer, "'Staat zeigen': Die polizeiliche Bekämpfung des Terrorismus in der Bundesrepublik bis Anfang der 1980er Jahre," in Wolfgang Kraushaar, ed., *Die RAF und der linke Terrorismus*, 2 vols. (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 2006), 932–947, 935.
11. Herbert Reinke, "'Innere Sicherheit' in beiden deutschen Staaten," in Clemens Burrichter, Detlef Nakath, and Gerd-Rüdiger Stephan, eds, *Deutsche Zeitgeschichte von 1945 bis 2000: Gesellschaft-Staat-Politik: Ein Handbuch* (Berlin: K. Dietz, 2006), 650–682, 666.
12. See Weinhauer, "'Staat zeigen.'"
13. Dorothea Hauser, *Baader and Herold: Beschreibung eines Kampfs* (Berlin: Fest, 1997), 172.

14. See Dieter Schenk, *Der Chef: Horst Herold und das BKA* (Hamburg: Hoffmann und Campe, 1998), 108.
15. "Kommen Sie raus, Ihre Chance ist gleich null," *Der Spiegel* no. 24 (1972): 19–32, 22.
16. Tobias Wunschik, *Baader-Meinhofs Kinder: Die zweite Generation der RAF* (Opladen: Westdt. Verl., 1997).
17. Hans-Jürgen Lange, *Wörterbuch*, 102.
18. Karsten Felske, *Kriminelle und terroristische Vereinigungen – §§ 129, 129a StGB. Reformdiskussion und Gesetzgebung seit dem 19. Jahrhundert* (Baden-Baden: Nomos, 2002), 396.
19. Sebastian Scheerer, "Gesetzgebung im Belagerungszustand," in Erhard Blankenburg, ed., *Politik der inneren Sicherheit* (Frankfurt a. M.: Suhrkamp, 1980), 120–168, 130.
20. See Michael März, *Die Machtprobe 1975. Wie RAF und Bewegung 2. Juni den Staat erpressten* (Leipzig: Forum Verl. Leipzig, 2007); Klaus Stern, *Die "Bewegung 2. Juni" und die Lorenz-Entführung*, Thesis, Gesamthochschule Kassel, (Kassel: Gesamthochschule Kassel, 1998).
21. See among others, Jeremy Varon, *Bringing the War Home: The Weather Underground, the Red Army Faction, and Revolutionary Violence in the Sixties and Seventies* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004), 278-289.
22. See J. Paul de B. Taillion, *Hijacking and Hostages: Government Responses to Terrorism* (Westport: Praeger, 2002), 125–138; Tim Geiger, "Die 'Landshut' in Mogadischu," *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte* no. 3 (2009): 413–456.
23. See Weinhauer, "'Staat zeigen.'"
24. Wolfgang Kraushaar, "Der nicht erklärte Ausnahmezustand. Staatliches Handeln während des sogenannten Deutschen Herbstes," in Wolfgang Kraushaar, ed., *Die RAF und der linke Terrorismus*, vol. 2 (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 2006), 1011–1025, 1014.
25. Heiner Busch, "Von Interpol zu TREVI—Polizeiliche Zusammenarbeit in Europa," *Cilip* 30, no. 2 (1988): 47, cited in *Innere Sicherheit im politischen System der Bundesrepublik Deutschland*, ed. Hans-Jürgen Lange (Opladen: Leske und Budrich, 1999), 145.
26. See, among others, Reinhard Haselow, Stefan Noethen, and Klaus Weinhauer, "Die Entwicklung der Länderpolizeien," in Hans-Jürgen Lange, ed., *Innere Sicherheit im politischen System der Bundesrepublik Deutschland* (Opladen: Leske und Budrich, 2000), 131–150, 140.
27. Karrin Hanshew, "Daring more Democracy? Internal Security and the Social Democratic Fight Against West German Terrorism," *Central European History* no. 1 (2010): 117–147.
28. Schenk, *Der Chef*, 206.
29. Albrecht Funk, Udo Krauß, and Thomas v. Zabern, "Die Ansätze zu einer neuen Polizei," in Erhard Blankenburg, ed., *Politik der inneren Sicherheit* (Frankfurt a. M.: Suhrkamp, 1980), 16–90, 19.
30. Sebastian Scheerer, "Deutschland. Die ausgebürgerte Linke," in Henner Hess, ed., *Angriff auf das Herz des Staates*, vol. 1 (Frankfurt a.M.: Suhrkamp, 1988), 193–429, 377.
31. Felske, *Kriminelle und terroristische Vereinigungen*, 400, 451.
32. Lange, *Innere Sicherheit*, 33, 36.
33. Scheerer, "Gesetzgebung im Belagerungszustand," 120–168, 128.
34. Christoph Gröpl, *Die Nachrichtendienste im Regelwerk der deutschen Sicherheitsverwaltung: Legitimation, Organisation und Abgrenzungsfragen* (Berlin: Duncker und Humblot, 1993), 346–349.
35. H. Joachim Schwagerl, *Verfassungsschutz in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland* (Heidelberg: Müller, 1985), 110–111.

36. Schenk, *Der Chef*, 245.
37. Estimates assume the authorities for the Protection of the Constitution had about 5,000 informers. See Rolf Gössner, *Geheime Informanten. V-Leute des Verfassungsschutzes: Kriminelle im Dienst des Staates* (Munich, 2003), 158. See also Klaus Lüderssen, ed., *V-Leute: Die Falle im Rechtsstaat* (Frankfurt a.M.: Suhrkamp, 1985).
38. See, among others, Markus Mohr, "'S-Bahn-Peter': Eine Textcollage zur Familien- und Kriminalgeschichte der Westberliner APO," in Markus Mohr and Klaus Viehmann, eds, *Spitzel: Eine kleine Sozialgeschichte* (Berlin: Assoziation A, 2004), 123–134.
39. Djihad, who provided information willingly and who wanted his lover Marion Folkerts to be released from prison in West Germany, made the arrest of Sieglinde Hofmann, among others, possible in 1980 in Paris thanks to his information. *Der Focus* no. 42, October 16, 2000; http://www.focus.de/politik/deutschland/terrorismus-unser-mann-in-beirut_aid_187207.html (August 10, 2011).
40. Butz Peters, *Der letzte Mythos der RAF: Das Desaster von Bad Kleinen* (Berlin: Ullstein, 2006).
41. Christa Ellersiek and Wolfgang Becker, *Das Celler Loch: Die Hintergründe der Aktion Feuerzauber* (Hamburg: Galgenberg, 1987).
42. *Der Spiegel* no. 42 (1999): 107–108.
43. Schenk, *Der Chef*, 240.
44. Michael Müller and Andreas Kanonenberg, *Die RAF-Stasi-Connection* (Berlin: Rowohlt, 1992); *Neue Juristische Wochenschrift* no. 31 (1992): 1975–1976. See also: http://www.nadir.org/nadir/initiativ/forum_haas/ (August 10, 2011).
45. See, among others, the record of interrogation from Harald Sommerfeld from May 7, 1972; Hamburger Institut für Sozialforschung (HIS), Archiv, SAK 500, Box 15, Sachaktenordner 15, Bl. 10–16.
46. Heinrich Hannover, *Terroristenprozesse: Erfahrungen und Erkenntnisse eines Strafverteidigers*, vol. 1 of *Terroristen und Richter* (Hamburg: VSA Verl., 1991), 147–156.
47. See interviews from Margot Overath with Till Meyer from July 14, 1985, and September 26, 1985, cited in Margot Overath, *Drachenzähne: Gespräche, Dokumente und Recherchen aus der Welt der Hochsicherheitsjustiz*, vol. 3 of *Terroristen und Richter* (Hamburg: VSA-Verl., 1991), 110.
48. *Der Spiegel* no. 17 (2007): 29.
49. Tobias Wunschik, "Die Bewegung 2. Juni," in Wolfgang Kraushaar, ed., *Die RAF und der linke Terrorismus*, 2 vols. (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 2006), 531–561. The following June 2 Movement members (or their militant forerunners) all made statements under very different conditions: Annekatrin Bruhns, Hella Maher, Ulrich Schmücker, Reiner Hochstein, Volker Weingraber Edler von Grodek, Rudolf Putnik, Michael "Bommi" Baumann, Harald Sommerfeld, Heinz Brockmann, and Thomas G., as well as Jürgen Bodeux, who was also associated with the group. Former RAF members who gave statements more or less willingly included: Gerhard Müller, Peter Homann, Karl-Heinz Ruhland, Volker Speitel, Hans-Joachim Dellwo, Verena Becker, Angelika Speitel, Peter-Jürgen Boock, and eventually Klaus Steinmetz.
50. *Bewegung 2. Juni, Der Blues: Gesammelte Texte der Bewegung 2. Juni*, 2 vols. (n.p. n.d.), 270.
51. Gerd Koenen, *Das rote Jahrzehnt: Unsere kleine Kulturrevolution 1967–1977* (Köln: Kiepenheuer und Witsch, 2001), 379.
52. *"Wir haben mehr Fragen als Antworten," RAF: Diskussionen 1992–1994*, ed. ID-Archiv/Amsterdam (Berlin: Ed. ID-Archiv, 1995); Alexander Straßner, *Die dritte Generation der "Roten Armee Fraktion": Entstehung, Struktur und Zerfall einer terroristischen Organisation* (Wiesbaden: Westdt. Verl., 2003).
53. Scheerer, "Deutschland: Die ausgebürgerte Linke," 193–429, 380.

54. Felske, *Kriminelle und terroristische Vereinigungen*, 391, 429.
55. Friedhelm Neidhardt, "Aufschaukelungsprozesse im Vorfeld des Terrorismus," in *Im Vorfeld des Terrorismus: Gruppen und Masse*, Kriminalistische Studien vol. 3, part 1 (Bremen: Schäfer, 1986), 53–63, 59.
56. See, among others, Erich Bauer, "Hungerstreik und Mordanschlag auf Alfred Herrhausen," in Uwe Backes and Eckhard Jesse, eds, *Jahrbuch Extremismus & Demokratie*, vol. 2 (Bonn: Bouvier, 1990), 207–217; Wolf-Dieter Narr, "Politik im Hungerstreik," in *Blätter für deutsche und internationale Politik* no. 5 (1989): 527–531.
57. Klaus Kinkel, "Pawlowsche Reflexe auf die RAF" (interview with Kinkel), *Tageszeitung (taz)*, April 18, 1992, 6.
58. Brigitte Mohnhaupt, "Hier ist Durchmarsch," *Konkret* no. 1 (1991): 48–49, 48.
59. Peters, *Tödlicher Irrtum*, 672.
60. Rote Armee Fraktion, circular from 10.4.1992, *Konkret* no. 6 (1992): 20–21, 20.
61. *Tageszeitung (taz)*, October 11, 1993, 4; Brigitte Mohnhaupt, "Wir machen jetzt eine Sache offen," *Frankfurter Rundschau*, October 28, 1993.
62. See, among others, Peters, *Der letzte Mythos der RAF*; Wilhelm Dietl, *Die BKA-Story* (München: Droemer, 2000), 240–259.
63. *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, May 8, 2007, 5.
64. See, among others, Paul Wilkinson, *Terrorism and the Liberal State* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1986).
65. See Tobias Wunschik, "Das Ministerium für Staatssicherheit und der Terrorismus in Deutschland," in Heiner Timmermann, ed., *Diktaturen in Europa im 20. Jahrhundert—der Fall DDR* (Berlin: Duncker und Humblot, 1996), 289–302.
66. See Martin Jander, "Differenzen im antiimperialistischen Kampf: Zu den Verbindungen des Ministeriums für Staatssicherheit mit der RAF und dem bundesdeutschen Linksterrorismus," in Wolfgang Kraushaar, ed., *Die RAF und der linke Terrorismus*, 2 vols. (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 2006), 696–713, 698, 705.
67. RAF, unpublished manuscript from May 1972, cited in Iring Fetscher, Herfried Münkler, and Hannelore Ludwig, "Ideologien der Terroristen in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland," *Ideologien und Strategien*, eds Iring Fetscher and Günter Rohrmoser, vol. 1 of *Analysen zum Terrorismus*, ed. Bundesministerium des Inneren (Opladen: Westdt. Verl., 1981), 16–271, 217. It is not clear whether the letter was sent or not.
68. See Kristin Wesemann, *Ulrike Meinhof. Kommunistin, Journalistin, Terroristin—eine politische Biografie* (Baden-Baden: Nomos, 2007).
69. See Gert Schneider and Christof Wackernagel, *Der Prozeß gegen Christof und Gert ist ein Prozess gegen die RAF: Dokumentation zum Düsseldorfer RAF-Prozess*, part III, ed. M. A. W. Hanegraaff van de Colff (Amsterdam: M.A.W. Hanegraaff van de Colff, 1980), 19.
70. No preparations were made, however, particularly after the RAF had fervently disagreed. See Volker Speitel, "Wir wollten alles und gleichzeitig nichts" (interview with Speitel), *Der Spiegel* no. 31 (1980): 36–49, 49.
71. See command 17/79 zur Aufklärung subversiver Pläne linksextremistischer Organisationen, 8.12.1979; BStU, ZA, Doc. reference (DSt) 102619.
72. Siebenmorgen, "'Staatssicherheit' der DDR," 206.
73. Helmut Voigt, "Es ging um Schmidt/Strauß," *Der Spiegel* no. 26 (1991): 94 f.; *Der Spiegel*, no. 14 (1991): 22–26.
74. Information from Section XXII/8 on the group "Separat" from November 27, 1984; BStU, ZA, HA XXII 5203, Bl. 23–59.
75. Magdalena Kopp, *Die Terrorjahre: Mein Leben an der Seite von Carlos* (München: Dt. Verl.-Anst., 2007), 183.
76. See Oliver Schröm, *Im Schatten des Schakals: Carlos und die Wegbereiter des internationalen Terrorismus* (Berlin: Links, 2002); Fritz Schmaldienst and Klaus-Dieter

Matschke, *Carlos-Komplize Weinrich: Die internationale Karriere eines deutschen Top-Terroristen* (Frankfurt a. M.: Eichborn, 1995).

77. Because of this, years later Johannes Weinrich was given a life sentence for murder and for causing a bomb attack. The Stasi officer responsible was sentenced to four years imprisonment. See, among others, the *Tageszeitung (taz)*, January 18, 2000, 7; Wilhelm Dietl, *Die BKA-Story* (München: Droemer, 2000), 287.
78. See Dienstanweisung 1/81 zur Aufklärung, vorbeugenden Verhinderung, operativen Bearbeitung und Bekämpfung von Terror- und anderen operativ bedeutsamen Gewaltakten from March 16, 1981; BStU, ZA, DSt 102735, p. 23; Entwurf einer Dienstanweisung von 1977 zur vorbeugenden Verhinderung, Aufklärung und Bekämpfung von Terror- und anderen schwerwiegenden Gewaltakten; BStU, ZA, HA XXII 865.
79. See analysis of Section XXII from April 24, 1987, to assess the effectiveness of the IM work in Section XXII; BStU, ZA, HA XXII 17846, Bl. 12–29.
80. See analysis of the director of Section XXII/8 on IM work based on results obtained in 1988 at the qualification and expansion of the IMs in the categories IMB/IMS, February 22, 1989; BStU, ZA, HA XXII 521.
81. *Tageszeitung (taz)*, January 5, 1993, p. 1; and February 12, 1993, p. 2.
82. See BStU, ZA, AIM 278/89. See also Hubertus Knabe, *Die unterwanderte Republik. Stasi im Westen* (Berlin: Propyläen, 1999), 79–87.
83. See BStU, ZA, AOPK 12480/88.
84. *Tageszeitung (taz)*, January 31, 1992.
85. Till Meyer, *Staatsfeind: Erinnerungen* (Hamburg: Hoffmann und Campe, 1996), 454 f.
86. *Frankfurter Rundschau*, June 27, 1996, 3.
87. See Tobias Wunschik, "Biographisches Porträt: Werner Lotze," in Uwe Backes und Eckhard Jesse, eds, *Jahrbuch Extremismus und Demokratie*, vol. 5 (Bonn: Bouvier, 1993), 177–189.
88. Interrogation of Günter Jäckel from May 27, 1991; HIS, Archive, We, J/100, 021, Bl. 155.
89. See information from Section XXII/8 on the group "Separat" from November 27, 1984; BStU, ZA, HA XXII 5203, Bl. 23–59; progress report on the status of the handling of the operational process "Separat" from May 9, 1985; BStU, ZA, HA XXII 19465, Bl. 121–136.
90. See progress report on the status of the handling of the operational process "Separat" from May 9, 1985; BStU, ZA, HA XXII 19465, Bl. 121–136.
91. Information on Section XXII/8 on the group "Separat" from November 27, 1984; BStU, ZA, HA XXII 5203, Bl. 23–59.
92. See information on Section XXII/8 from October 20, 1986; BStU, ZA, AOPK 17445/91, Bl. 73–75; Information G/026400/02/07/87/09; BStU, ZA, AOPK 17445/91, Bl. 87.
93. See, among others, Report of the Central Department IX on the status of measures taken up to this point in the West Berlin manhunt for Till Meyer from June 21, 1978; BStU, ZA, HA XXII 1190, Bl. 73–78.
94. For example, the Stasi captain concerned with the RAF members, Walter Lindner (cited in *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, January 9, 1992, 6).
95. See recommendation from Col. Horst Franz from February 12, 1985, to carry out offensive measures against the Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution (operational process "Reiter"); BStU, ZA, HA XXII 5619, Bl. 3 f. According to Stasi estimates, the "adversarial intelligence service was extensively misinformed and unsettled with long-term effects." Significant results regarding the fulfillment of the tasks related to the plan and combat of Section XXII from July 18, 1985; BStU, ZA, HA XXII 5601, Bl. 233–238.

96. See interview with Markus Wolf, *Tageszeitung (taz)*, August 25, 1994, 10.
97. Cf. also the official consultations between the GDR and the USA on issues concerning the fight against terrorism from February 1988; BStU, ZA, HA XXII 18138.
98. See Tobias Wunschik, "Die 'Bewegung 2. Juni' und ihre Protektion durch den Staatssicherheitsdienst der DDR," in *Deutschland-Archiv* no. 6 (2007): 1014–1025.
99. Schröm, *Im Schatten des Schakals*, 200, 210.
100. See Kopp, *Die Terrorjahre*, 185.
101. Information from Section XXII/8 on the group "Separat" from November 27, 1984; BStU, ZA, HA XXII 5203, Bl. 23–59.
102. Inge Viett, "Wahr bleibt …," *Konkret* no. 3 (1992): 28 f.
103. Martin Jander, "Differenzen im antiimperialistischen Kampf: Zu den Verbindungen des Ministeriums für Staatssicherheit mit der RAF und dem bundesdeutschen Linksterrorismus," in Wolfgang Kraushaar, ed., *Die RAF und der linke Terrorismus*, 2 vols. (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 2006), 696–713, 705.
104. See Wolfhard Klein, "Nix, oder wie's war," *Konkret* no. 10 (1992): 32 f.
105. See, among others, letter from Mielke to the director of the service units, April 7, 1977, on political-operational measures since the attack on Buback; BStU, ZA, SdM 1931, Bl. 276–280.
106. See procedures to implement the measures assigned in the letter from the Minister of State Security from March 6, 1975; BStU, ZA, HA VII Bdl. 581 (Wg. 13–24).
107. See, among others, the evaluation of Section XXII on the judicial settlements concerning the fight against terrorism in the Federal Republic from November 14, 1978; BStU, ZA, HA XXII 777, vol. 4, Bl. 2–4.
108. See the report of the Central Department XXII/8 on RAF member Birgit Hogefeld from November 30, 1989, in: BStU, ZA, HA XXII 5619, Bl. 127–128.
109. See Information A/06534/25/02/86/08; BStU, ZA, HA XXII 43, Bl. 11–12.
110. Cf. Statement of Section XXII/8 from March 31, 1988; BStU, ZA, HA XXII 19481, Bl. 18–19.
111. Response of Section XXII/8 to the Federal Republic's "Non-Paper" (BKA—Federal Criminal Police Office) from January 4, 1988; BStU, ZA, HA XXII 19481, Bl. 55–56.
112. Cf. Report of Section XXII/8 on the status of the reintegration of the IM "Anja Weber" from July 23, 1986; BStU, ZA, HA XXII 19481, Bl. 46–49.
113. Cf. Statement of Section XXII/8 to the Federal Republic's "Non-Paper" (BKA) from January 4, 1988; BStU, ZA, HA XXII 19481, Bl. 55–56.
114. According to the president of the Federal Criminal Police Office at that time, Hans-Ludwig Zachert. *Focus*, February 24, 1997, 15.
115. See comment from Section XXII/8 from March 5, 1988; BStU, ZA, HA XXII 19481, Bl. 58; recommendations of Section XXII/8 on the continuing course of action, from March 10, 1988; BStU, ZA, HA XXII 19481, Bl. 59–61.
116. Thomas Herzog, *Terrorismus: Versuch einer Definition und Analyse internationaler Übereinkommen zu seiner Bekämpfung* (Frankfurt a. M.: Lang, 1991), 141.
117. Thus the broader dimensions of state support for the terrorist groups. See Brigitte Lebens Nacos, *Terrorism and Counterterrorism: Understanding Threats and Responses in the Post-9/11 World* (New York: Pearson Longman, 2008), 118.
118. Ibid., 199–200.

11
The Control Arms Campaign: A Case Study of NGO Impacts on International Relations after the Cold War

Javier Alcalde

Introduction

Research in the field of international agreements on small arms and light weapons (hereafter SALW) has focused mainly on specific aspects of the problem viewed from an international relations perspective, whereas the social movement dimension of the topic has been largely under-researched. Moreover, this research has been almost exclusively done by insiders, either activists or academics, closely connected to the NGO sector. As a result, this perspective may be biased toward overemphasizing the NGO role in these processes. In addition, the majority of these works do not cover more recent events.[1] This essay expands und updates previous analyses, taking into account the events of 2006, while also contributing original empirical research from an outside perspective.

Initiatives dealing with small arms were initially implemented at local, national, and regional levels. The International Action Network on Small Arms (IANSA), founded in 1998, however, came to represent a global network of civil society organizations working to stop the proliferation and misuse of small arms. Upon its founding, IANSA grew rapidly to include more than 700 member groups in over 100 countries, with a membership composed of a wide range of organizations, including policy development organizations, national gun control groups, research institutes, aid agencies, faith groups, victims, human rights and community action organizations.

When the first UN Conference on SALW adopted a Program of Action to Prevent, Combat and Eradicate the Illicit Trade in SALW in July 2001, three years after IANSA's founding, it seemed to confirm a turning point for global-scale actions on small arms. Unfortunately, the first conference held to review this program of action, in summer 2006, failed to achieve any conclusive agreement. In October 2006, however, the First Committee of the UN General Assembly, dealing with disarmament and international security issues, passed

a significant resolution supporting the creation of a future arms trade treaty. In the latter case, the international Control Arms campaign, launched in 2003 by IANSA, OXFAM, and Amnesty International, obtained positive results from their efforts to help pass the resolution. In both contexts, NGOs attempted to play a part in the global movement for the promotion of peace and human rights shaping the work of the UN. Though an intergovernmental institution, the UN allows and sometimes even facilitates cooperation by its officers with particular groups of transnational activists, who are skilled at combining effective lobbying with protest activities characteristic of their political culture. The UN debate on SALW, in particular, offers an opportunity to study the impact of social movements on international relations, a field that has frequently faced analytical challenges.[2] In the cases examined here, I argue that the resolution passed in the UN General Assembly represents success by a relatively clear and uncontested standard, as opposed to the July 2006 small arms revision conference. In accounting for the two different outcomes, this chapter focuses on the way in which the rules of the game changed from one setting to the next. My main argument affirms that the institutional setting (voting rules, number of issues on the agenda, NGO access to the negotiations, and so on) greatly affects the degree to which civil society can make an impact.

The first two sections of this chapter describe the evolution of the issue on the UN agenda. The third section presents the negotiations that culminated in the Program of Action in 2001. The fourth analyzes the failure of the UN Review Conference on SALW in summer 2006. The fifth traces the path leading from the creation of Control Arms to the First Committee resolution in October 2006, examining leadership issues and framing strategies, in particular. The sixth section portrays the uniqueness of this case where both opponents are civil society actors. As a lesson from the landmines case, the seventh section presents the different bargaining settings for the Program of Action and the arms trade treaty resolution. The conclusion elaborates on the impact of civil society groups in influencing international agreements.

Evolution in the International Agenda

In the early 1990s, only two NGOs were addressing small arms problems from an advocacy point of view.[3] In 1995, on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the founding of the UN, then-UN secretary general Boutros Boutros-Ghali presented his *Supplement to an Agenda for Peace*, which introduced a new global threat: the spread and misuse of SALW.

At that time, only 10 percent of the governmental statements made during the debates of the UNGA First Committee included the small arms problem. In December 1995, in Resolution 50/70B, the UNGA asked the secretary general to prepare a report on SALW in collaboration with a group of governmental experts, the UN Small Arms Panel. The conclusion of this so-called Group of 1997 was a recommendation to hold a conference on the illicit SALW trade. By that time, half of the governmental statements mentioned small arms. A second group of experts (the Group of 1999) presented a report in 1999, which dealt with the objectives, field of application, agenda, dates, and location of the conference. Following this process, the small arms issue continued

to evolve on the UN agenda, achieving mention in a noteworthy 80 percent of governmental statements in the years prior to the UN 2001 Conference.

In recent years, a process of specialization has taken place, in regards to both the description of the problem and possible ways to solve it. The analysis of data from the UNGA First Committee and from the final session of negotiation concerning the program of action shows to what extent the framing of the issue has been refined in comparison to the previous decade.[4] Regarding the definition of the problem, there are four fields in which governments have admitted links to SALW proliferation: human security, stability, criminality, and development. As a consequence, all negative effects of SALW in these fields were included in the final program of action approved at the conference, with the unique exception of human rights violations, due to the strong opposition of some states. With reference to the solution of the problem, states accepted that each aspect of the problem should be dealt with using specific political and legal tools, although not all measures received the same degree of support.

The Program of Action to Prevent, Combat, and Eradicate the Illicit Trade in SALW

In July 2001, the UN Conference on the Illicit Traffic of SALW in All its Aspects took place in New York. There, states agreed on a program of action, which for the first time established a series of measures to deal with small arms proliferation on a global scale.[5] A program of action is not a legally binding document, and this one failed to include some of the points that many states, the research community, and IANSA consider crucial.[6] Among the excluded points were: transfers to nonstate actors, civilian possession of guns, regulation of specific categories of SALW (such as man-portable air-defense systems), and problems stemming from the excessive demand for weapons.

Following the example of the International Campaign to Ban Landmines (ICBL),[7] the document presented the problem of small arms proliferation as a humanitarian one, for which civil society organizations participating in the conference cited the 500,000 deaths occurring annually due to SALW as prime evidence.[8] Despite major efforts by some states to restrict the language of the document to just the illicit trade in SALW, the Program of Action to Prevent, Combat and Eradicate the Illicit Trade in SALW (hereafter PoA) agreed to treat the problem "in all its aspects." This was because the majority of states came to see SALW not as a narrowly defined arms control problem, but as a human security issue.[9] A broad definition of security and small arms problems allowed a wide variety of states to cooperate and a diverse range of NGOs to work together on this issue. Thus, the PoA was a consensus document that showed worldwide agreement that the problem is multidimensional and global. As a consequence of the need for consensus, human rights abuses and violations of international humanitarian law were never openly debated at the conference.

As a soft law document, the PoA provided no specific legal measures and its language remained nonbinding, leaving wide margins for states to exercise discretion or interpretation through frequent use of ambiguous clauses, such as "where applicable," "as appropriate," "where needed," or "on a voluntary

basis." In this way, most objections were met. The text encouraged, but did not oblige. Soft law documents can often be a first step toward the creation of hard law, however. They frequently represent a commitment between states that would prefer a binding document and those more reticent to accept any kind of rule. Generally speaking, the PoA represented a moderate result, with some outcomes lower than NGO claims.[10] The long-term success of the PoA must be judged by the effective implementation of its various measures at national, regional and global levels.

The Review Conference of the PoA (June–July 2006)

In the first review conference (hereafter RevCon) of the PoA, states had to reaffirm their commitment to eradicate illegal traffic in SALW. They were supposed to adopt a new consensus document to complement the PoA, which would establish common guidelines for the future. The conference ended without agreement, however. A small number of countries were intransigent in their positions and the rest of them were too undecided to see negotiations through to an agreement.[11]

Overall, the RevCon was a failure. After two weeks of intense negotiations, the only positive assessment came from those, such as the ambassador of Sri Lanka (and president of the RevCon), to whom the success of the conference meant a personal success. Thus, RevCon president Prasad Kariyawasam said in his final speech that it had been "a success of participation and media coverage."[12]

The management of the process was severely criticized for having had too short a negotiation phase, and also for the weak position assumed by Kariyawasam. The RevCon president may have kept a low profile because fellow Sri Lankan Jayantha Dhanapala, who was previously responsible for disarmament issues, was a candidate in the October 2006 elections for UN secretary general. Finally, the informal, "off-the-record" negotiations, which took place during the last days, were held in English, in the absence of translators. Francophone countries complained that they were thereby marginalized from the process.

The role of NGOs in pressing for the inclusion of their proposals in the final document was remarkable and acknowledged by many governments, but they were obviously not influential enough.[13] Up to 45 delegations to the conference counted civil society representatives among their members. Regarding movement strategies, some activists criticized the decision to have 16 different speeches made on behalf of IANSA, a situation similar to the 2001 meeting, where they delivered 12 speeches. As the activist Mary Wareham argued, "Governments pay more attention if we have one strong statement calling to leadership [...]. IANSA is a network with many interests in it, but it should be possible to put all of this together into a strong unified voice."[14]

In the process around the Program of Action, what ultimately mattered was unanimity. For this reason, the objective in the RevCon from the beginning was to reach an agreement with the most reluctant states. As the Italian representative to a coordination meeting between the EU and the NGOs said, the expected outcome was the minimum common denominator. In the end, however, this minimum in common came to virtually nothing.

Within the group of reluctant countries, the U.S. delegation was the main player. The representative's speech vigorously expressed the delegation's limits (munitions, gun possession by civilians, arms transfers to nonstate actors, and new processes of revision for the PoA), showing the Bush administration's difficulties in participating in multilateral commitments. It did not exclude, however, the possible codification of global guidelines for a future agreement in arms trade, but other countries, including Cuba, India, Iran, and Pakistan, were not flexible in this respect. On other points, Venezuela, Egypt, and Israel had no negotiable positions. Finally, two of the main small arms producers, China and Russia, maintained hard positions and low profiles, relying on consensus rule, where a sole negative voice was enough to block negotiations.

Most Latin-American, African, and Asian governments supported proposals for stronger regulation, but they did not fight actively to impose their preferences, lacking the necessary strength to convince their opponents. On another front and consistent with the literature on EU international influence,[15] a divided European Union was not able to effectively defend their positions and lacked both vertical and horizontal coherence.[16] There were important divergences among EU members. Whereas the two delegations that held the EU presidency during 2006 (Austria and Finland) retained formal leadership, support for the effective leading role of the United Kingdom was not shared by all members, particularly France. Other member states were simply unable to clearly signal their positions. Some groups of developing countries (such as the Caribbean Community, CARICOM), vetoed all mention of development in the PoA text, when such outcome would, in fact, have benefited them. Their reasoning could be summarized, "we do not want to lose money from programs of development aid to be put in programs of SALW control." Yet, donor countries stated that the proposal was not about transferring funds, but creating new funds to deal with two problems that, as acknowledged in the PoA, were closely related. In any case, the level of European leadership recognized in the landmines case was not so evident here, perhaps because SALW involved broader interests, a view affirmed by a member of the European Parliament, who stated:

> In the landmine case, the EU was producer and exporter, but not purchaser. Because of that, it was easier to convince some governments that opposition to the mine ban did not benefit them and, on the contrary, they could make a very good impression if they supported the campaign. In the SALW case, the EU is a producer and an exporter, but also a purchaser.[17]

The Control Arms Campaign: Evolution of the NGO Network

In October 2003, there was a scale shift in the NGO network for arms control.[18] OXFAM, Amnesty International, and IANSA decided to focus on a single issue and thus created the Control Arms campaign, adopting the idea of an arms trade treaty (ATT), originally proposed a decade earlier by a group of Nobel Peace Prize winners, led by Costa Rica's prime minister Oscar Arias. The

Table 11.1 Differences between the UN Program of Action (PoA) and the Arms Trade Treaty Proposal (ATT)

Kind of mandate	**PoA**	**ATT**
Legal strength	Politically binding	Legally binding
Trade	Illicit trade	Legal and illegal trade
Weapons	Small arms and light weapons	All conventional weapons
Scope	All aspects	Trade only

Control Arms campaign was founded to promote the adoption of a legally binding international treaty covering not only SALW, but all trade in legal and illegal conventional arms.[19]

It may be argued that the Control Arms campaign was part of a bigger process because it ultimately sought a legally binding treaty on all conventional arms (not only small arms) to cover all arms transfers (not only the legal ones), whereas the PoA only covered small weapons such as pistols or rifles, but not heavy weapons such as cannons, tanks, or airplanes. The PoA's relevance, however, lay in its coverage of the legal trade of SALW "in all of its aspects," meaning not only transfers, but also brokering, civilian ownership, marking and tracing procedures, and so forth. The negotiation processes for developing the PoA and for the proposed treaty proved different, but interconnected, given that in the process of negotiating the PoA, activists tried to insert clauses and articles mentioning efficient controls on small arms transfers as an intermediate step in order to achieve the ATT, while the process of treaty adoption itself could foster debate on small arms issues in the public arena (table 11.1). The signature and implementation of the ATT could have a deterrent effect on those implicated in the illegal traffic and in the inappropriate use of weapons. Thus, violations of the treaty would carry sanctions, which would help to promote respect for and application of the ATT. Moreover, a treaty would reduce the need for most other agreements and would facilitate coordination and application of common standards by different countries.

Organizational Features of the International Campaign

The Control Arms campaign was led by its three big founding organizations (OXFAM, Amnesty International, and IANSA) whose structures complemented one another (see figure 11.1). IANSA, on the one hand, represented a coalition of hundreds of NGOs, most of them small, grassroots organizations working on very different kinds of projects in many different places. On the other hand, both Amnesty International and Oxfam could offer international prestige, reputations, contacts among the press and international organizations, as well as many potential supporters to mobilize. In the words of one of the organizers of the RevCon "IANSA people have to explain what IANSA is, but Amnesty people and Oxfam people don't need to explain who they are. And that is a very good thing for IANSA."[20] IANSA, therefore, generally stood for the hundreds of small organizations, but not necessarily the big ones, that

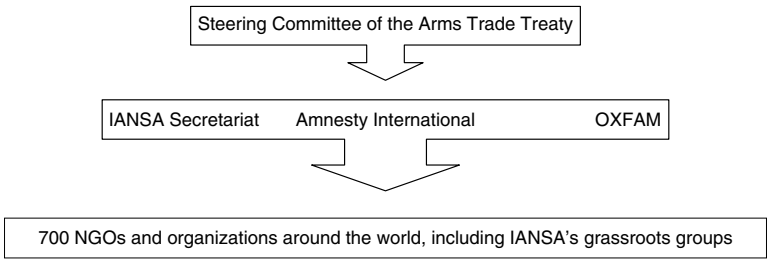

Figure 11.1 Summary of Control Arms' Organization

already had a presence of their own. IANSA was then the umbrella that coordinated all of them, particularly in international negotiations. The same UN official argued that "IANSA has helped us (the UN) and made our life a lot of easier than [it would be] dealing with ten, twelve or fifteen different NGOs … One of the most important things that they have done for us is organizing the speeches for NGOs at each conference."

The secretariats of OXFAM, Amnesty International, and IANSA exchanged information and planned joint actions. All three were based in London (OXFAM in Oxford), which facilitated contacts and coordination. However, this may also have been the root of a geographical bias affecting the priorities of the campaign. This aspect, together with the campaign's partial financial dependence on the U.K. government, was criticized by many inside the coalition, particularly by members from Asian and African countries, such as this activist: "It's very difficult to develop a good and transparent relationship with members of so many different countries. IANSA has been seriously accused of lack of transparency in decision-making … They need to democratize the decision-making process, the leadership. They need to make the leadership representative."[21]

The idea of the ATT proved easy to understand and resonated strongly with previous initiatives such as the Landmine Convention. In the words of Mark Neumann, spokesperson of the campaign and member of the International Secretariat of Amnesty International: "It (the campaign) wasn't limited exclusively to one objective (the ATT), but the ATT was the clearest objective, the most concrete for our supporters to adopt."[22] The campaign's higher coordination body, called the Steering Committee of the ATT, established the overall strategic direction of the ATT initiative and drafted the legal texts in coordination with experts, including individuals from other NGOs, such as Saferworld (also based in the United Kingdom) and the Arias Foundation (from Costa Rica) (see figure 11.1).

Toward the First Committee Resolution: The Path to Success

In the last phase of the Control Arms campaign, NGOs proved more efficient than in other campaigns in the field of security and disarmament. With innovative initiatives, such as the "Race for an Arms Trade Treaty," where activists visited the headquarters of the 192 governments in New York in 192 minutes, the number of countries in favor increased from 60 in mid-2006

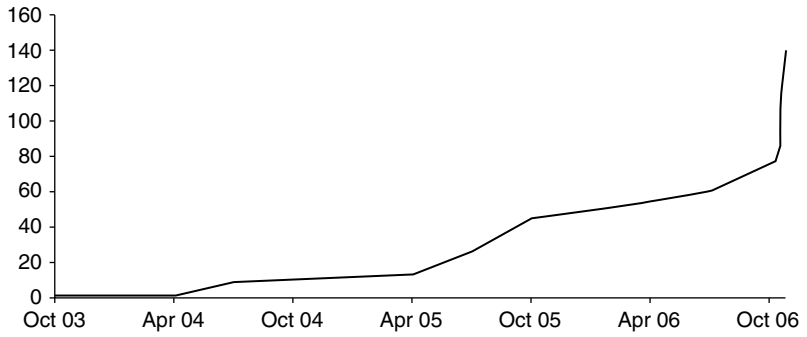

Figure 11.2 Number of countries in favor of the Arms Trade Treaty (ATT; October 2003–October 2006)

to a final figure of 139 (see figure 11.2). This lobbying marathon ended the main phase of the Control Arms campaign. The increase in support was remarkable, given that the campaign, which started in October 2003, had the backing of only ten countries in July 2004: Costa Rica, Mali, Cambodia, Finland, Iceland, Kenya, Slovenia, Brazil, the Netherlands, and Macedonia.

The success of the activists could also be measured quantitatively by the number of countries who cosponsored the resolution: 116. It could be qualitatively measured by the insertion of clear references to human rights and international humanitarian law, which were added in later negotiations, but not included in the first resolution presented by just seven countries.

In October 2006, 139 countries voted in favor of the resolution, 24 abstained, and 28 did not participate. The United States was the only country to openly oppose the resolution. Those in favor included some of the countries most affected by armed conflict and also some of the most important world arms producers, such as France, Great Britain, and Germany and other big exporters, including Brazil, Ukraine, and Bulgaria. Other important producers abstained, however, including China, Russia, India, and Pakistan.

On another front, the United States seemed aware of the importance of consensus rule in the UN context: "The only way for a global arms trade treaty to work is to have every country agree on a standard," said the spokesman for the U.S. mission to the UN.[23] In 2005, the United States was the main arms supplier in the world, having provided a total of $8.1 billion worth of arms to developing countries. That represented 45.8 percent of the total, a far cry from the second and third largest suppliers on the list, Russia (15 percent) and the United Kingdom (13 percent).[24]

Leadership: Plural Coalition of Like-minded States

Many of the participants in the process of negotiations underlined the necessity of strong and plural leadership to success, whereby middle power countries played a major role.[25] Middle power countries are "politically and economically significant, internationally respected countries that have renounced the

nuclear arms race, a standing that gives them significant political credibility."[26] To this definition, Mary Wareham, one of Jody Williams's closest collaborators in the landmines coalition, added the aspect of will:

> Leadership is very important … We need someone that has the skills to go out there and get governments to negotiate something like an ATT.[27] For that you need countries with good records of diplomacy, such as Canada, Norway, the Netherlands, Sweden, New Zealand … It does not matter if you are not a superpower, but if you are willing to put the resources into it and if you are smart enough to do it, then you go out and do it.[28]

In the leading group of countries that presented the resolution to the First Committee of the UNGA, the United Kingdom was the key player, arguably trying to modify the war-friendly image it had gained after participating in the Iraq occupation. Second, Kenya became a regional reference point in several international negotiations on disarmament, including both landmines and small arms. Finland, then holding the EU presidency, had a more active role here than in other cases (it did not sign the landmines treaty in 1997). Costa Rica, as a small Central American state with no army and Nobel Prize-winning prime minister, of course supported the idea from the beginning. Finally, Australia, Argentina, and Japan ensured plural representation. Only countries from the Middle East were missing, partly because they lack an organized civil society to pressure their governments. *Arab News* began its October 28, 2006, editorial, stating that "only a cynic would claim the UN's planned treaty to regulate and limit the international arms trade is an absurdity," without mentioning the position of the Arab governments, as most of them were part of the ad hoc coalitions that blocked the 2006 RevCon.[29]

Framing and Contra-framing Strategies

Framing processes are a central dynamic in understanding the character and course of social movements.[30] The way in which arguments are expressed through clear and simple messages shapes the course of action. In their proposal, the governments of the United Kingdom, Finland, Argentina, Australia, Costa Rica, Japan, and Kenya argued that there were too many gaps, ambiguities, and contradictions in national laws and regional agreements on arms trade, making them too inefficient to control irresponsible trade operations. Moreover, they argued for the existence of a strong moral and humanitarian motivation to efficiently regulate arms diffusion, as more efficient regulation would ameliorate fundamental problems for the international community, such as combating the threats from international terrorism, promoting development in Africa, or stabilizing the Middle East. Thus, the resolution states that the lack of international standards in the conventional arms trade is a factor that increases the negative consequences of conflicts, displacement of people, crime, and terrorism. The uncontrolled proliferation of arms also has opportunity costs for potential development in Third World countries.

Some states, however, framed SALW as the weapons of the weak. Moreover, opponents affirmed that an ATT could have negative socioeconomic consequences for labor markets due to the loss of jobs and the reduction of profits of the defense industry, whereas its supporters argued that a global and binding treaty would protect legal SALW trade by creating a homogeneous situation that would impede irresponsible exporters from reasoning "if I don't sell it, someone else will." After September 11, 2001, some countries even further reduced controls over arms exports in order to be able to provide arms to armies and nonstate groups of "friendly countries" in the name of the "war on terror."

In fact, some states framed an ATT as a threat to national security and their rights of self-defense. This was one of the arguments used by influential groups, such as the National Rifle Association (NRA), regarding the Second Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, interpreted as the civilian's right to bear arms, in the context of both individual and collective self-defense.

Powerful Opponents: The Firearms Lobby

Not only in the United States, but also internationally, the conflict concerning whether or not and how to control the spread of conventional arms became apparent in clashes between progressive and conservative networks.[31] IANSA and a rival transnational network led by the NRA, the World Forum on the Future of Sport Shooting Activities (WFSA), attacked IANSA proposals and personalities, pressured UN negotiators, and opposed gun control legislation in different countries, including Japan and Brazil.

The highly organized campaign against global arms regulation utilized lobbying and framing strategies similar to those of IANSA and Control Arms, which meant that at each international conference, two different sectors of civil society shared the same space. For example, in the RevCon, the only members of civil society within the U.S. delegation were representatives of the NRA. Moreover, 13 gun lobby associations from different countries participated in the space that the UN Department for Disarmament Affairs (UNDDA), the organizers of the event, had reserved for both pro and contra arms control NGOs. Michael Cassandra, UNDDA senior political affairs officer, summarized this in the following way:

> Here we really have the dichotomy of two campaigns working at the same time, which are the gun lobby and the gun control one. This is different and more complex for us to negotiate. Obviously, the NRA has a tremendous influence on the American delegation. They have done what we always recommend NGOs do, which is to influence your government.[32]

The NRA represented a lobby group with millions of affiliates throughout the United States, organized in a structure very similar to that of U.S. multilevel political institutions, able to easily act and coordinate a response to any control initiative in any part of the country. Furthermore, their members proved highly likely to participate in protest events. For example, U.S. activists for gun rights were twice as likely to send letters to their political representatives as activists for gun control.[33] Hardly just a grassroots organization,

NRA leaders learnt how to deal with international organizations such as the UN. UN officer Michael Cassandra elaborated on this point:

> In the international conference they maintain an extremely low profile. But they are here and we know that they are here. They work much more effectively than IANSA. They also have more money. They want us to place them with the other NGOs. That is pure propaganda. I think they do a better job, but I think that's because they play at home. When they go abroad they are not so successful.[34]

The Importance of the Rules of the Game: Insights from the Landmines Case

Current literature tends to distinguish between traditional and new approaches to bargaining contexts.[35] The new approach adds a human security perspective to the typical state security perspective, putting emphasis on the threat to individuals. A second aspect of the new approach is the inclusion of other actors as participants in the process, such as NGOs or international organizations like the Red Cross. Finally, it implies more flexibility regarding the negotiating conditions, particularly the duration of the process, the negotiating environment, and the voting procedures.

In the landmines case, the Ottawa Process inaugurated a new multilateralism that has been understood by many as one of the factors that facilitated the eventual success of NGOs and their governmental allies. By initiating an alternative process to the traditional disarmament fora, it allowed more flexibility in organizational procedures and it considered NGOs as full members of the process. Decisions were taken by majority, overcoming the unanimity rule—a major obstacle in the negotiating context of traditional multilateralism. Table 11.2 summarizes the differences between the two fora.

We can apply a similar framework to the SALW and the ATT cases. In each of these UN negotiation processes, very different rules applied. On the one hand, the RevCon was quite similar to traditional disarmament fora, such as the so-called Convention on Certain Weapons (CCW).[36] On the other hand, the First Committee of the UN General Assembly was a hybrid that shared some of the rules of the Ottawa Process as a model of new multilateralism, but retained some of the constraints of the old approaches (table 11.3). One of the things missing in the SALW process when compared to the model of new multilateralism was NGO access to the decision-making arena. In the words of Mary Wareham,

> by the time the challenge was issued by [Canadian Minister for Foreign Affairs] Axworthy, Canada had accepted the International Campaign to Ban Landmines (ICBL) as a full partner and we were given a seat in the table. And that changed the situation in the sense that in every meeting of the states parties, the ICBL delivered one statement on behalf of the movement. If the group was discussing different thematic topics, then we were at each of them … In the RevCon, for IANSA, it is as if we were back in 1996, still outside the room.[37]

Table 11.2 New multilateralism (Ottawa Process) versus old multilateralism (the Convention on Certain Conventional Weapons)

	Traditional Disarmament Fora	**Ottawa Process**
Initiative	International organization	Invitation by an international political leader
States versus civil society	Participation in regime creation is limited to states	Partnership: NGOs and IGOs participate (almost) as full members
Leadership	Major powers	Coalition of like-minded states
Duration of the process	Long and slow	Short, fast-track
Negotiating environment	Only official channels	Multilateral channels and rules facilitating non-state participation
Voting procedures	Unanimity	Majority
Objective	Complex and ambiguous regulation	Clear, simple, and consistent prohibition

Table 11.3 Two different procedures: RevCon versus First Committee of the UN General Assembly

	Small Arms Revision Conference	**First Committee Resolution**
Initiative	International organization	International organization
States versus civil society	Participation in regime creation is limited to states	NGOs have more access, but there is no partnership
Leadership	Theoretically major powers	Coalition of like-minded medium states
Duration of the process	Long and slow	Faster and more effective
Negotiating environment	Only official channels	Basically official channels, with some gaps for like-minded participation
Voting procedures	Unanimity	Majority
Objective	Complex and ambiguous regulation	Clearer and simpler treaty

To sum up, the main elements shared by the Ottawa Process and the First Committee of the UN General Assembly are the facts that the leadership role was played by a coalition of like-minded states and that the voting procedures went beyond consensus rule. Furthermore, NGOs had more access, but participation in regime creation was limited to states; the process was somehow faster, but official channels were still dominant. All of these factors may have been overemphasized as reasons for success in the landmines' case. At least from the experience of the First Committee, what seems crucial apart from the leadership and the voting procedures was the fact that the objective was framed clearly and in a simple way—a treaty focused on a single issue: arms trade.

Conclusion

Why were NGOs successful in one case and not the other? This chapter has advanced the argument that the primary explanatory factor is the change in the rules of the game from one setting to the next. That is, the institutional setting (consensus versus majoritarian; a plethora of issues on the agenda versus only one, and so on) affects the degree to which civil society can influence the outcome. Between the two international meetings, NGOs improved their coordination and lobbying practices, thereby increasing their political influence, a fact that has been acknowledged by many governments.

After failing in the summer RevCon, the ATT discussion moved forward. While consensus remained important for the PoA framework, based on Cold War disarmament norms, the ATT was able to achieve some progress by going to the First Committee of the UN General Assembly, where only majority approval was required. The UN as a whole does not, therefore, rule by consensus. NGOs can push states to support certain measures, but without modifying certain rules of the game, it does not matter how the majority of states vote if there is an inevitable hold out under consensus voting (such as the United States). This analysis suggests that a successful negotiating environment should include a majority rule of voting and a clear message concerning the objective, as well as plural and strong leadership, which includes civil society actors as full partners in the negotiations.

Civil society organizations can thus be politically influential under a set of conditions, which includes flexible rules of the game and a credible leadership by allied countries willing to exercise resources and organization toward an issue that has humanitarian consequences. Moreover, an effective coalition knows how to combine its resources (research, experience, grassroots membership, and the media), strategies (protest and political pressure, but also communicative processes, such as framing the problem and shaming the irresponsible governments), a flexible organization, and the capacities of their international allies. The case of the recent success of the Cluster Munitions Coalition, which followed the path traced by the landmines campaign and the arms trade treaty resolution, seems to confirm this idea.[38]

On another front, the existence of two rival civil society networks challenges dominant theories of global civil society and the harmonious interaction among like-minded social movements. Further scholarship should thus focus on opposing networks, because their conflicts and competition

are crucial to transnational policy outcomes. As we have seen, in some cases conservative NGOs have been even more successful than progressive ones. To grasp such complexities, serious work that develops current theories both in international relations and in the sociology of social movements is needed.

A final reflection has to do with the temporary assessment of a campaign's effects, which is often difficult to interpret. The positive result of the resolution approved at the end of 2006 in the UN in favor of an arms trade treaty was somehow related to the previous failure in the review conference of the PoA in summer 2006. In this sense, the analysis of this case suggests that it is necessary to refine theoretical concepts in this field.

Notes

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1. See, e.g., Denise García, "Norm Building in the Evolution of the Control of Small Arms in the International Agenda," *Security and Defense Studies Review* 5, no. 2 (Autumn 2005): 225–255.
2. See, e.g., chapter one in this volume .
3. Small Arms Survey, *Yearbook 2003: Development Denied* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), chapter 7.
4. Ibid.
5. UN Document A/CONF.192/15.
6. See García, "Norm Building."
7. See Richard Price, "Reversing the Gun Sights: Transnational Civil Society Targets Land Mines," *International Organization* 52, no. 3 (July 1998): 613–644. The landmines campaign is often portrayed as a model of advocacy campaigns by civil society coalitions. Indeed, it successfully achieved a treaty five years after the creation of the coalition (the ICBL). Their work was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in September 1997, two months before the signing of the treaty. Moreover, the treaty was very soon ratified and entered into force less than two years after signature and it has achieved a high level of compliance. See the Mines Action Canada, *Landmine Monitor Report 2004: Toward a Mine-Free World*, which presents an analysis of the first six years of the treaty implementation (1999–2004). http://www.icbl.org/lm/2004/ (accessed September 2005). See also Javier Alcalde, "The International Campaign to Ban Landmines, the Mine Ban Treaty and Human Security Ten Years Later," *European Political Science 7*, no. 4 (December 2008): 519–529.
8. Estimated by the UN. See United Nations, "Setting the Record Straight." http://disarmament.un.org/cab/smallarms/facts.htm (accessed July 2005).
9. John Borrie and Vanessa Martin Randin, eds, *Alternative Approaches in Multilateral Decision Making: Disarmament as Humanitarian* Action (Geneva: UNIDIR, 2005).
10. See Small Arms Survey, *Yearbook 2002: Counting the Human Cost* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), chapter 5. For more critical views, see the press releases by Human Rights Watch, "UN: "Program of Inaction" on Small Arms," July 19, 2001; and by IANSA "Opportunity Squandered to Introduce Tougher Arms Controls," July 21, 2001.

11. According to IANSA's director, "We are seeing the US seems ready to block many initiatives, despite most of the other countries wanting to advance. I am not sure that the rest of the countries are organized and determined enough to overcome that blocking (…). If we do not achieve progress in this meeting, the whole process of disarmament at the UN is going to lose much credibility." Rebecca Peters, interviewed by the author in New York, July 1, 2006.
12. See final Statement by Prasad Kariyawasam, UN Conference to Review Progress Made and the Implementation of the Programme of Action to Prevent, Combat and Eradicate the Illicit Trade in SALW in all its aspects, New York, July 7, 2006.
13. Through the international campaign Control Arms, more than a million pictures of the faces of campaign supporters were given to Kofi Annan on RevCon's inauguration day, a fact that had important media repercussions.
14. Mary Wareham, Oxfam New Zealand and former coordinator of the U.S. Campaign to Ban Landmines. Interviewed by the author in New York, July 7, 2006.
15. Ole Elgstrom and Christer Jönsson, eds, *European Union Negotiations: Processes, Networks and Institutions* (London: Routledge, 2005).
16. See Javier Alcalde and Caroline Bouchard, "Human Security and Coherence within the EU: The Case of Small Arms and Light Weapons," *Hamburg Review on Social Sciences* 3, no. 1 (June 2008), Special issue on Revisiting Coherence in the Common Foreign and Security Policy. www.hamburg-review.com/fileadmin/pdf/03_01/F_Alcalde_02.pdf.
17. Raül Romeva, MP European Parliament, interviewed by the author in New York, June 28, 2006.
18. For the term "scale shift," see Sidney Tarrow and Doug McAdam, "Scale Shift in Transnational Contention," in Donatella della Porta and Sidney Tarrow, eds, *Transnational Protest and Global Activism* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2005), 121–150.
19. The conceptual difficulties in this terrain also come from the fact that the dichotomy is usually presented in terms of legal versus illicit. In fact, the PoA was actually named "Program of Action to Prevent, Combat and Eradicate the *Illicit* Trade in SALW in All Its Aspects," referring to the moral condition of such kind of trade.
20. Michael Cassandra, United Nations Department of Disarmament Affairs, interviewed by the author in New York, July 1, 2006.
21. Sharif A. Kafi, Bangladesh Development Partnership Centre, Bangladesh, interviewed by the author in New York, June 29, 2006.
22. Mark Neumann, spokesperson of the Control Arms campaign and member of the International Secretariat of Amnesty International, interviewed by the author in New York, July 5, 2006.
23. *The Guardian*, October 28, 2006, http://www.guardian.co.uk/armstrade/story/0,,1933807,00.html (accessed January 2007).
24. Data from a recent report by the independent "Congressional Research Service," http://www.boston.com/news/nation/washington/articles/2006/11/13/Global_arms_deliveries_in_2005 (accessed January 2007).
25. Ronald M. Behringer, "Middle Power Leadership on the Human Security Agenda," *Cooperation and Conflict* 40, no. 3 (2005): 305–342.
26. Middle Powers Initiative, http://www.middlepowers.org/mpi/about.html (accessed January 2007).
27. Jody Williams was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1997 for coordinating the International Campaign to Ban Landmines.
28. Interview with Mary Wareham.
29. "Editorial: Arms Trade," *Arab News*, October 28, 2006, http://www.arabnews.com/?page=7&section=0&article=79913&d=28&m=10&y=2006 (accessed January 2007).

30. David A. Snow and Robert D. Benford, "Ideology, Frame Resonance and Participant Mobilization," *International Social Movement Research* 1 (1988): 197–219.
31. See also Clifford Bob's book manuscript *Globalizing the Right-Wing: Conservative Activism and Transnational Politics* (Forthcoming), chapter 3.
32. Interview with Michael Cassandra.
33. Kristin A Goss, *Disarmed: The Missing Movement for Gun Control in America* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006).
34. Interview with Michael Cassandra.
35. Patrick McCarthy, "Deconstructing Disarmament: The Challenge of Making the Disarmament and Arms Control Machinery Responsive to the Humanitarian Imperative," in John Borrie and Vanessa Martin Randin, eds, *Alternative Approaches in Multilateral Decision Making: Disarmament as Humanitarian Action* (Geneva, UNIDIR, 2005), 51–66.
36. Convention on Prohibitions or Restrictions on the Use of Certain Conventional Weapons Which May Be Deemed to Be Excessively Injurious or to Have Indiscriminate Effects.
37. Interview with Mary Wareham. The activist makes reference to the announcement by the Canadian minister for foreign affairs of the creation of a new and alternative process in September 1996 in Ottawa with the aim of negotiating the landmines treaty (the so-called Ottawa Process), due to the difficulties and slowness of the Convention on Certain Weapons in dealing with that issue.
38. Javier Alcalde, "Agreement in the Dublin Conference on Cluster Bombs," *Elcano Royal Institute for International Affairs* ARI 65/2008. http://www.realinstitutoelcano.org/wps/portal/rielcano/contenido?WCM_GLOBAL_CONTEXT=/Elcano_es/Zonas_es/ARI65-2008.

Part IV
Cultural and Economic Policies

12
Youth Fashion in Poland in the 1950s and 1960s: Ideology, Resistance, and Manipulation

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Introduction

The Polish author and composer Stefan Kisielewski made the following observation in his diary on July 3, 1968:

> How odd that one fought, true to ideals, for these things [music, fashion, cinema, music festivals, and so on] during the Stalinist period, because they represented Western culture. And now the communists have understood that the whole show works in their favor—turning people completely stupid and making them completely harmless for the authorities … Blast! It's just a political and ideological stylization of a generation, which funnily enough, is being carried out in the name of ideology and politics (in actual fact, first and foremost in the name of maintaining power).[1]

Western cultural phenomena, such as fashion, music, dance, and film had radically different meanings for Polish society in the 1950s than they did in the 1960s. It is this transformation of meaning that Kisielewski describes with such disappointment. In the 1950s, people fought to gain access to forbidden Western cultural phenomena. In contrast, during the 1960s, Communist Party ideologists readily employed Western fashion, music, dance, and film to promote their political agenda. Kisielewski's comments raise certain questions concerning the history of youth culture in communist Poland, such as what it actually meant to be "true to ideals," and how young people were to fight against Western culture. How did the Polish United Workers' Party (referred to hereafter as simply "the party") later make use of Western culture? What did the political stylization of a generation actually mean?

This chapter looks at the phenomenon of youth fashion in postwar Poland, placing special emphasis on clothing. Studying youth fashion tells us more than simply what young people wore in the 1950s and 1960s. It shows how

wearing clothing of Western origin became a means of resisting party control, one to which the party eventually reacted by co-opting fashion toward its own ends. The question of exactly why a totalitarian state such as Poland responded to fashion resistance with fashion manipulation is herein analyzed from both aesthetic and historical-political perspectives, which trace the transformation of youth fashion from a weapon of resistance to a state vehicle for the political manipulation of Polish society.[2]

Red Ties against Hand-Painted Ties: Youth Fashion during Stalinism

Youth policy in communist Poland was oriented, from the very beginning, toward molding the younger generation to conform with Marxist-Leninist principles. Karl Marx's "Instructions for Delegates of the Central Council" set the pattern. Marx emphasized the significance of youth education, explaining that "the enlightened section of the working class understands very well that the future of his class and therefore, the future of mankind, depends completely on the education of the adolescent generation of workers."[3] This task was to be carried out through socialist education and the maintenance of complete control over all areas of young people's lives. In order to achieve this, a party-approved youth organization, the Organization of Polish Youth (*Związek Młodzieży Polskiej*), was established in the People's Republic of Poland after World War II. It took over the organization of young people's lives, systematically indoctrinating them in order to produce good future party members.[4] Polish youth were instructed to wear a uniform of green shirts and red ties. In 1954, the Institute of Industrial Design (*Instytut Wzornictwa Przemysłowego*), which was responsible for developing, among other things, fashion collections for state industry, issued instructions concerning this mandatory uniform. In its bulletins, the institute announced that "the school uniform was intended to play a social-educational role in the domain of young people's clothing." It was "a visual symbol of youth," who "had chosen the right path towards the conquest of their social position." Furthermore, the bulletins highlighted that the uniform would bind young people together as a single unit and encourage feelings of solidarity, unity, and equality.[5] Youth clothing style, as propagated by the institute, was based primarily on comfortable cuts corresponding to the form of the body, to be produced in specific colors and worn with only certain accessories. If these rules were not followed, young people might turn to undesirable and extravagant clothing styles, which could lead to the development of "bad" taste or even the "corruption of character" among the youth.[6]

The communist ideologues' ideas of how young people should dress did not correspond, in most cases, to those of the young people themselves. Polish youth reacted to the uniforms and the strict regulations with defiance. Youth fashion had already begun to develop by the end of the 1940s. English pilots' khaki uniforms—the so-called battle dress of military trousers, shirts with epaulettes and big pockets, and khaki ties worn with long military boots, which had been worn immediately after the war due to shortages, not fashion—became the height of style among young people. While the Polish People's Army uniform did not appeal to young people, Western military clothing was

highly sought-after when it arrived in town market stalls via packages from the West or through humanitarian aid organizations.[7] Among these ready-to-wear items, British army uniforms were the most easily obtainable, while U.S. army uniforms were scarcer and thus more desirable. The coat of an American uniform was considered the epitome of youth fashion, but such coats were so expensive on the black market that many young people settled for American jackets adorned with epaulettes, as Polish author Marek Hłasko describes in his book about the younger generations in the postwar period, *The Beautiful Twenty Year-Olds* (*Piękni dwudziestoletni*).[8]

Young people did not, at first, intend the Western military outfits they wore to be a symbol of animosity toward the system. Young people asserting their individual identities through clothing was not particularly unusual, but the conflicting interests represented in the dress of Polish youth in the 1950s led to an ideological battle between the state and the youth. As the ethnologist Leszek Dzięgiel points out, the conflict was provoked by the communists themselves, who attributed undue significance to mundane issues.[9] The conflict over young people's enthusiasm for Western mass culture must be considered within the context of anti-Western propaganda, which in Poland's case was directed at the United States. Communist ideologists in Poland considered wearing clothes from the West, listening to jazz, and dancing the boogie-woogie as the highest forms of betrayal and regarded those who did so as enemies of the system. The ideological war between the socialist and capitalist way of dressing thus became a metaphor for the struggle between socialism and capitalism—for choosing between one's own country and the enemy's.

Official Polish propaganda and imagery monumentalized the clothing problem. Wojciech Fangor's 1950 portrait, *Postacie* (People), in the Art Gallery of Łódź, for example, aptly illustrates the contrast between capitalist and socialist fashions in the depiction of three figures. On the right-hand side stand two socialist workers: The woman wears a simple dark-blue shirtdress and no make-up or jewelry. The man wears white workers' trousers and a grey jacket. The only things identifying them as workers are the shovel they hold and the socialist-style building (which they have presumably constructed) against which they stand. On the left-hand side of the painting is the contrasting figure of another woman. Her hair is coiffed, and she wears make-up and a large pair of sunglasses. There is English script running across her white dress. She carries an elegant bag and wears a necklace. Not only her attire, but also her colors starkly contrast with the rest of the portrait; her white dress glares against the dark grey background of a city in ruins, probably Warsaw. The faces of the workers stand out, too. In comparison with the unpleasant, caricatured figure of the woman in white, the workers are monumental—melancholy and serious, yet somehow sympathetic. The background has a symbolic meaning, too. Are the workers not a metaphor for committed socialists, set to develop a socialist society, while the woman standing against the ruined city symbolizes the destructive effects of capitalism?

The ban on Western clothes triggered conflict between the state and youth, destroying any chance the communist system might have had of gaining popularity with young people. Indeed, it led young people from working-class backgrounds, to whom the system was first and foremost intended to

appeal, to view the party more skeptically.[10] The Bikiniarze, or "jitter-buggers," were among those most opposed to the new system of control. These young, working-class people formed the first postwar subculture, which was closely observed by the party from the beginning of the 1950s until 1956.

These first subculture groups emerged around 1950, initially in the cities, and later in the villages.[11] The available literature dedicated to this sociopolitical phenomenon indicates that the Polish Bikiniarze resembled the English Teddy-boys and the French Zazous, constituting part of a pan-European phenomenon.[12] The Bikiniarze lived in ways that made them stand out from the rest of Polish society. Members usually met in private apartments to hold small parties, where they listened to jazz and danced the boogie-woogie. Their Western-style outfits defied socialist dress codes. They typically wore wide-cut, worn-looking jackets with tight, short trousers to show off their bright, striped socks and thick-soled leather shoes. They sported ducktail haircuts and flat, wide-brimmed hats. Their colorful hand-painted ties, which often featured an island with palm trees and naked women or a white cloud, alluded to American nuclear tests on the Bikini Atoll in 1946 and led to the group's initially pejorative name.[13]

Party officials portrayed the Bikiniarze as hooligans, traitors, and criminals. Initially, most were unaware of party accusations that they led decadent or proimperialist lifestyles. Once the government began their campaign against the Bikiniarze, however, any adolescent identifying with the Bikiniarze faced the possibility of being hunted down by the People's Police, or by groups of volunteers from the Organization of Polish Youth. These encounters usually ended with officials cutting off the ties or ruining the hairstyles of Bikiniarze youth. The press, conforming to party demands, helped to incriminate the Bikiniarze, ridiculing and criticizing them as examples of decadent youth negatively influenced by foreign, middle-class nonculture. The alter-image, which the party promoted, was that of the young activist, dedicated completely to the development of socialism.[14]

The party also began to use the name Bikiniarze as a term for all types of vandalism or rowdy behavior. A 1951 Warsaw district court hearing against a young criminal exemplified the way the party manipulated the image of the Bikiniarze. Polish jazz specialist Marek Gaszyński wrote about the case, which apparently concerned a group of criminals specializing in robbery and blackmail. Although the tenets of Bikiniarze subculture had nothing to do with crime, the press reported it as a "court case against the Bikiniarze," saying they posed a danger to society, served the American imperialists. and undermined the party's authority. The ringleaders of the accused group were given the death penalty and the remaining members were sentenced to long prison terms. According to Gaszyński, party ideologues attributed this crime to the Bikiniarze in order to paint the supporters of this subculture as criminals and inspire hatred for them among Polish society.[15]

It is hardly astonishing that the communists put so much energy into portraying these young people in a bad light. In the eyes of other young people, the Bikiniarze had gained respect through their demonstrative rejection of ideological control. Young people used aesthetics, particularly Bikiniarze fashion, as a type of battle gear for their criticism of the system. Author and

intellectual Leopold Tyrmand, a fan of jazz music and Western culture in general, was banned from publishing in the 1950s due to his ongoing criticism of the communist system. He described the bright socks of the Bikinarze in 1954 as a "line of combat" and a "reason for the communist educationalists to foam at the mouth with rage."[16] Despite public harassment and the political and legal risks they faced, some young people adopted the provocative look of the Bikiniarze, which became a weapon in their struggle to stand up to the party.

In his aforementioned diaries, Kisielewski describes the critical younger generation's struggle with state policies as being "true to ideals." By this he meant that this generation accepted and promoted all that came from the West, and hence all that was officially frowned upon. According to Barbara Hoff, the most important youth fashion designer in Poland during the communist era, this embrace was seen as the only way in which long-term isolation of Polish society from the West could be avoided. Historian Jan Prokop comes to a similar conclusion in his book *Sovietization and its Masks (Sowietyzacja i jej maski*), where he writes that young people could "resist Sovietization more effectively" by emphasizing their connections to the rest of Europe. European ties to Polish culture were, according to Prokop, the best medicine against the loss of spiritual identity.[17] Therefore, despite the difficulty of obtaining clothes, young people in Poland tried to dress like young people in the West. Polish girls, for example, made their own petticoat skirts out of available material, imitating Western models. Around 1955, when French existentialism and black clothes came into fashion, young people dyed their polo-neck jumpers black and made their own sack dresses. They even made shoes at home, creating, for example, the fashionable, flat ballerina pumps popular in the West by cutting out the top, laced part of gym shoes and dyeing them black.[18] As Tyrmand explains in *The Civilization of Communism (Cywilizacja komunizmu*), these actions were often associated by Warsaw girls with conscious resistance to oppression, seen as part of a worthy struggle.[19]

Western Fashion in National Cut: Youth Fashion in the 1960s

Despite the negative portrayals of Western pop culture, youth fashion, and attempts to criminalize youth groups, the Bikiniarze withstood persecution by the Polish state and did not disappear until around 1956, when the so-called thaw period began. The events of the 20th Party Conference in Moscow, which introduced the process of "destalinization" in the communist bloc, coincided with the sudden death of the previous Polish party leader, Bolesław Bierut, and with the brutal crushing of a workers' revolt in Poznań in June 1956. Władysław Gomułka then became the new First Party secretary and promised to pursue a "Polish way to socialism." His model was to condemn Stalinist crimes and pursue new policies that were independent from the Soviet Union and less repressive toward the population.[20] The new direction also brought about a thaw in the domains of art, culture, and media. Publishers released books and critical articles that were previously banned. People went to hear jazz music in concert halls and to see modern paintings in the many newly established galleries. Fashion also liberalized. The Krakow weekly *Przekrój* played an important role in propagating Western lifestyles, including Western

art and literature. For example, Barbara Hoff was able to write with some freedom for *Przekrój*'s fashion section by 1956. Her weekly articles covered the latest trends among Polish youth, including American blue jeans and alternative fashion. She observed that American fashion was mostly favored by Polish men, who wore American jeans or similar dungarees with the cuffs turned-up, colorful shirts, and sports jackets with large vents at the back. Men also wore gym shoes and sported very short hedgehog haircuts.[21]

In the second half of the 1950s in Poland, Italian fashion and looks inspired by French existentialism became more important. The inspirations for these trends came through Italian films (which were being shown in the increasing number of new movie theaters), and through French literature. Young women wore capri pants, wide skirts, and close-fitting pullovers, as well as high-laced roman sandals and butterfly-shaped sunglasses. Brigitte Bardot hairstyles completed their look. Wearing black was the ultimate mark of fashionable existentialism among young men and women. Girls wore black polo-neck jumpers with black trousers or long, tight skirts and ballerina pumps. By far the most popular item of clothing among the young were blue jeans. In 1958, Barbara Hoff wrote a special article for *Przekrój*, titled "Jeans—The Trousers of an Era," introducing this new fashion phenomenon, describing the design and ways of wearing jeans, thereby helping make them an essential fashion article for young people throughout Poland.[22]

Władysław Gomułka's promised liberalization and freedom of opinion soon turned out to have been nothing more than an illusion. In October 1957, the new party members decided to close down the weekly newspaper *Po prostu*, seen as a magazine of the thaw period, because its young editorial staff held critical, anti-Stalinist, and prodemocratic views. The propaganda department criticized any publication that propagated Western youth fashion and Western culture in general. Barbara Hoff recalls numerous conflicts between an outraged civil servant and the head of the editorial staff, Marian Eile, following the release of every issue of *Przekrój*.[23]

The party drew certain conclusions from their experiences in the 1950s. Party members became aware that it was too late to stop the liberalization that had begun and that the sudden return to the old methods of reprisal could lead to strikes. So they attempted instead to accommodate certain demands in attempt to restore social harmony. The party concentrated first on the politically critical youth, its natural constituency. They adopted products of Western mass culture, for which young people had fought so hard in the 1950s, and manipulated them for their own purposes. The new model of the "Polish way to socialism" promised a wide range of mass-produced products for young people, which were popular among Western adolescents. Leopold Tyrmand explains in his discussion of film production how the contents and forms of these products were manipulated:

> During the breakthrough period after Stalin's death, East European film makers used a curious tactic, which they called the struggle for the expansion of constructive freedom. Whilst making servile and conformist films from generally obscure socialist screenplays about communist partisans or workers struggling for a higher production output, they

> dressed their actors, and especially their actresses according to the contemporary Western fashions. Thus, the heroines held unnatural conversations which sounded like quotations from introductory articles in *Prawda*, while sporting the latest hairstyles from the Paris edition of *Vogue*. Needless to say, the film makers saw this as a sign of unbelievable courage and constructive independence, as they were so sensitized to looking for every detail that, in their opinion, did not correspond to purity of communist films that they had to undertake a bitter struggle for every jumper or lock of hair. Yet the audience had no idea of the iron grasp of the censors, they did not hear the dialogue and did not care about the message of the actors. They only saw the jumper and the hairstyle and were happy to be able to catch a glimpse of this expression of pro-Westernization.[24]

Such inconsistencies characterized the whole decade of the 1960s. While literature continued to be censored, with many writers banned from publishing, Polish television and cinemas were showing an increasing number of Western films. In this environment, youth culture flourished and youth fashion inspired the creation of independent product lines in department stores. By 1960, the state-run Warsaw clothing companies were already presenting collections for girls. In the same year, "Dana," a clothing company from Szczecin, began to produce fashion exclusively for young people.[25] Meanwhile, the Krakow cooperative *Rekord* started producing Polish jeans in 1962, and the clothing company *Odra* from Szczecin, and others in Legnica and Wrocław, also began concentrating on young, fashionable clothes.[26] Barbara Hoff went from being a fashion journalist to a designer for the state-run department stores in Warsaw. Other designers, such as Grażyna Hase, Magdalena Ignar, Irena Biegańska, Kalina Paroll, Krystyna Dziak, Małgorzata Zembrzuska, and Jerzy Antkowiak, also began to concentrate on youth fashion. With respect to their age and their target groups, they mirrored their 1960s' counterparts in Western Europe, such as Mary Quant, Pierre Cardin, or Barbara Hulanicki–Biba. There was one major difference between Polish designers and their Western peers, however: Polish designers worked solely with state-run fashion establishments or companies.

The state, however, not only supported the development of Western-oriented young people's fashion, but also allowed new forms of leisure activities, such as hitch-hiking or parties that lasted the whole night (*prywatki*). From the 1960s, the party officially endorsed hitch-hiking as a means of travel. Young people even received hitch-hiker identity cards. In this way, the party could control and formalize this previously informal way of traveling.[27] The youth newspaper *Sztandar Młodych*, the media organ of the Polish youth organization, also propagated jeans and jumpers or flannel shirts, worn with gym shoes, as the compulsory outfit for all hitch-hikers.[28] The Bikiniarze had held all-night parties in the 1950s, despite their being strictly forbidden. During Gomułka's rule in the 1960s, however, the parties were tolerated to a certain degree. The party recommended, however, that the events should be held under adult supervision.[29]

In the 1960s, young people were also dancing to the rhythm of their new favorite music: beat. Polish youths imitated the Beatles' look. The youth press

officially propagated the so-called *Mode à la Beatles*, which favored a slim body form, miniskirts for girls, and tight trousers and ties for boys, as well as new hairstyles, such as the "mushroom" cut. It is interesting to note that even miniskirts, which raised eyebrows worldwide, went on sale in Polish department stores with remarkable speed. Gomułka's model of "the Polish way to socialism" was mainly based on the values of patriotism and nationalism. Therefore, tolerance toward Western cultural models represented a compromise undertaken in order to aid in the propagation of Poland's own homegrown cultural models. Because they could no longer prohibit the imitation of Western trends, the party appropriated them in a way that also promoted Polish culture. This is the inference of a 1959 document from the press agency of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party about the youth press. According to this document, it was not the propagation of Western cultural products that was dangerous, but the possibility that with so many products from the West, Polish traditions could be forgotten. The party feared this could lead to young people becoming completely disassociated from Polish culture and developing a disdain toward their own heritage.[30]

Journalists from Polish Radio, including Mateusz Święcicki, Jerzy Grygolunas, and Edward Fiszer, played on this theme of heritage when they launched a music competition and festival in Opole in 1963. Their idea was to respond to the dominance of Western music among young people by encouraging Polish musicians. For example, Polish beat music was starting to develop at this time, so the festival supported it. All new Western trends in music and fashion initially had trouble winning acceptance by the festival's organizers. Even though the organizers supported Polish beat music, beat music overall won only rarely at the festival and the jury made long-haired musician Tadeusz Nalepa tie back his long hair.[31]

Despite incidents such as this, new fashions such as the Beatles' look spread through the Opole festival. Polish groups, such as Skaldowie and Czerwone Gitary, made hits with their Beatles' looks and music. The group Czerwone Gitary, in particular, bore a strong resemblance to the Beatles, especially when the four handsome young men dressed in Beatles-like jackets and white-frilled shirts. The links between music and fashion were especially apparent when Karin Stanek further popularized jeans by singing "*Tato kup mi dżinsy*!" (Daddy, buy me a pair of jeans!) with the Polish beat group Czerwono-Czarni in 1966. Groups that were inspired by traditional Polish songs or Polish folklore, however, still received more official support. The group No To Co, for example, gained the party's particular attention simply by appearing in national costume while utilizing rhythms from Western beat music.[32] The youth magazine *Dookoła Świata* explained how these groups were supported:

> In the 1960s the first Polish big-beat groups appeared. No officials had shown an interest until they realized there were thousands of these groups. At this point sales of guitars had already reached 500,000 per year and young musicians were making instruments by themselves, imitating the already very popular Beatles. For a couple of years, Polish big-beat groups imitated the most famous Western idols until the time when new, yet familiar elements began to appear in the sets of leading

> groups. It became clear that in Poland's musical scene, mainly the youth scene, a new national Polish style was spontaneously being brewed, full of references to folklore. This style couldn't be ignored. On the contrary, it deserved proper patronage for its improvement, perfection and dissemination. While most of our young groups adopted folklore references, the band No To Co stood out as by far the most successful. No To Co employed folk elements best and most frequently, basing nearly its entire repertoire on Polish traditional melodies. Its music touched us, thus encouraging the group's rapid and impressive rise.[33]

The party particularly encouraged works inspired by Polish folk culture in the 1960s. From as early as the 1940s, the party regarded folk culture as national culture and therefore accorded it high status. The socialist propaganda surrounding such products vividly emphasized links between the power of the folk and folk culture (*sztuka ludowa—władza ludowa*).[34] In 1949, a committee from Poland's Council of Ministers formed an institution known as the Cepelia, an abbreviation of the longer title of the Central Committee for Artistic Weaving and Folk Art (*Centrala Przemysłu Ludowego i Artystycznego*). The council intended Cepelia to combine traditional folk culture and politically acceptable art.[35] This proved to be a useful mixture. Władysław Gomułka, whose policies swung between Soviet demands for control and an independent national course, strongly encouraged the use of native elements in all new cultural undertakings. In the case of fashion design, this meant urging designers to create collections along Western lines while working in elements of Polish folk culture. *Dookoła Świata* defended this "national youth style":

> Until then, the majority of baby boomers dressed according to trends coming from all over the world, which in our terms and conditions did not always convey desirable effects, not to mention emptying teenagers' pockets. So, why not create an individual, national youth style tailored to our conditions and possibilities, which would effectively compete against foreign models?[36]

Cepelia organized an annual fashion show in Warsaw, known as "Cepeliada," where collections of well-known designers or companies working together with Cepelia could present their work. Grażyna Hase was one example of a successful fashion designer who used elements of Polish folklore in her designs from the end of the 1960s through the 1970s. Working one traditional motif through each of her collections, she became known for her use of folk motifs and colors from different Polish regions, as well as her use of various native textiles, such as Polish linen or Milanówek silk.

While Cepelia promoted design using stylized elements of Polish folk art, Wanda Telakowska, a founder and director of the Institute of Industrial Design, took production to a new scale, encouraging designers and clothing companies to combine modern production methods with local techniques, traditional materials, and folk art. This was intended to promote continuity between traditional and contemporary Polish culture by encouraging new design that incorporated Polish traditions.[37] It led to the widespread production of new

fabrics based on silhouette patterns, as well as women's underwear made with traditional embroidery and lace.[38]

The Institute of Industrial Design's cooperation with the Cora clothing company exemplified the blending of traditional Polish elements with modern design and production methods. Designers at the institute first made plans for a new fashion collection incorporating traditional motifs. Cora then produced a number of experimental samples to launch on the market. The initial collection contained 79 articles of women's clothing, spring coats, autumn suits, and many two-piece sets, including trousers and blouses or dresses and waistcoats.[39] Some parts of the collection adopted the traditional design and cut of regional Polish dresses, while others used traditional textiles in modern cuts.[40] Though some pieces were more traditional than others, all of the designs blended modern, international fashion trends with tradition elements to some extent.[41] The idea of promoting fashion with elements of traditional Polish dress corresponded well with the state's desire to promote a new, contemporary folk culture situated somewhere between the actual practices of traditional, village-based Polish culture and folk tradition as idealized by communism.

During the 11th Assembly of the Organization of Socialist Youth in 1970, the government reconfirmed its policy of liberalizing rules on youth recreation, underlining that it did not aim to isolate socialist culture from Western culture, but to create a cultural model that would serve as a weapon in the class struggle between socialism and capitalism.[42] Gomułka's political strategy was not the only case in the Soviet Bloc. As Jane Pavitt indicates in her book *Fear and Fashion in the Cold War*,[43] the political strategy in some countries such as the Soviet Union or Czechoslovakia varied from the 1950s to the 1960s: In the 1950s, everything with a Western origin was rejected, while in the 1960s the aim was to stress the superiority of communism. Competitiveness between both systems, even in the domain of fashion, became a political guideline in the Cold War.

However in Poland this liberalization was partly a consequence of the young "fashion resistance" of the 1950s, which had led Poland to become one of the most Westernized countries in the Eastern bloc. As Kisielewski points out, however, Western fashion, like all of youth culture, lost its character of resistance in Poland when the party appropriated it as a tool for molding the next generation. The new political tactics of tolerating a number of Western elements in popular culture adopted by the Polish state after 1956 resulted partly from the state's earlier experiences with rebellious Polish youth. The government hoped that by catering to, rather than quashing, consumer demands they could prevent discontent among youth and direct attention away from the further-reaching problems of the time, like the March 1968 political crisis. The party, which initially aimed to promote a Polish national culture based heavily on folk culture, was forced to compromise its initial vision by incorporating Western cultural elements into the mass culture it finally promoted. Certainly, the Western music, dance, or fashion trends that the government tolerated were intended to act as vehicles to promote Polish national values. This agenda led the state not only to tolerate certain imported media and practices such as beat music, big-screen films, and hitch-hiking, but to produce its

own jeans and other youth fashion items, paving the way for the establishment of Polish fashion houses. In contrast to the previous generation who had embraced Western culture as a form of political resistance, the generation of young Poles who came of age in the 1960s gladly embraced the state's Western cultural offerings, yet remained uncommitted to any political ideology. Surveys carried out among students of the Warsaw polytechnics in 1958 and 1968 proved that as far back as 1956 politics no longer appealed to young people. They had dissociated themselves from ideological disputes, trying to adapt to the system rather than to change it. It was remarkable that the "mood of political resistance" had diminished. According to historian Piotr Osęka, the rapid end of the thaw period may have led the new young generation to reject political ambitions and set personal happiness at the top in their hierarchy of life goals.[44] As literary critic Henryk Dasko concluded, young people also increasingly prioritized access to goods: "Many of us have replaced political interests with a fascination with foreign clothing, music or automobiles."[45]

Nevertheless, consumerism and political apathy were a short-lived phenomenon. In March 1968 university students, joined by young workers and school pupils, marched demanding freedom of speech after the banning of Adam Mickiewicz's drama "Forefather's Eve" in the program of the Warsaw National Theater and the arrest of several students from the University of Warsaw. This moment marked the starting point for a new generation more critical toward the system—one that would fund "Solidarność" in the 1980s, and one whose way of dressing, as a reflection of their political ideas, dated back to the 1968 protests.

Notes

1. Stefan Kisielewski began to write a diary in 1968, after he was banned from publishing. He continued it until 1980. It was first published as *Diaries* after Kisielewski's death in 1996. The Polish original of the quoted fragments is as follows: "I pomyśleć, że w okresie stalinowskim walczyło się o te rzeczy ideowo, jako reprezentujące zachodnią kulturę. A teraz komuchy zrozumiały, że te wszystkie piosenki pracują dla nich—ogłupiają ludzi całkowicie, czyniąc ich dla rządzących absolutnie nieszkodliwymi (…). O cholera! Jest to po prostu polityczna i ideowa stylizacja pokolenia, dokonywana, o dziwo, w imię ideologii i polityki (a w gruncie rzeczy, oczywiście, w imię utrzymania się przy władzy" (translation by Anna Pelka). Stefan Kisielewski, *Dzienniki* (Warsaw: Iskry, 2001), 42–43.
2. There is some English literature that approaches the issue of the political role of fashion, especially the meaning of fashion in dictatorships. For a discussion of the significant role of fashion in political participation and protest from the French Revolution to Italian and Spanish Fascism and postrevolutionary China, see: Wendy Parkins, ed., *Fashioning the Body Politic, Dress, Gender, Citizenship* (Oxford: Berg Publishers, 2002). Concerning the relationship between fashion and fascism, see: Eugenia Paulicelli, *Fashion Under Fascism. Beyond the Black Shirt* (Oxford: Berg Publishers, 2004); and Irene Guenther, *Nazi Chic? Fashioning Women in the Third Reich* (Oxford: Berg Publishers, 2005). About fashion in socialism, see: Judd Stitziel, *Fashioning Socialism. Clothing, Politics and Consumer Culture in East Germany* (Oxford: Berg Publishers, 2005). About the relationship between fashion and the Cold War, see: Jane Pavitt, *Fear and Fashion in the Cold War* (London: V&A Publishing, 2008).

3. Karl Marx, "Instruktionen für die Delegierten des Zentralrats," in Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, eds, *Werke* (East Berlin: Dietz Verlag, 1962), 16:194, quoted in Walter Friedrich, ed., *Jugend konkret* (East Berlin: Verlag Neues Leben, 1984), 9.
4. Dariusz Libionka, "Ruch młodzieżowy w PRL," *Biuletyn Instytutu Pamięci Narodowej* no. 10 (2001): 23–24.
5. "Przesłanki kształtujące formę odzieży młodzieżowej," *Biuletyn Instytutu Wzornictwa Przemysłowego. Dodatek do "Odzieży"* no. 9 (1954): 179–180.
6. Ibid.
7. Małgorzata Szubert, *Leksykon rzeczy minionych i przemijających* (Warszawa: Muza SA, 2004), 21.
8. Marek Hłasko, *Piękni dwudziestoletni* (Warszawa: Czytelnik, 1989), 91–92. This book was published for the first time in Paris in 1966.
9. Leszek Dzięgiel, "Moda jako forma politycznego protestu. Z życia krakowskich studentów początku lat 50," *Prace Etnograficzne. Zeszyty naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego* no. 34 (1996): 50.
10. Ibid., 50–51.
11. Maciej Chłopek, *Bikiniarze. Pierwsza polska subkultura* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Akademickie "Żak," 2005), 91.
12. Tomasz Szarota, "Zazous, czyli bikiniarze okresu okupacji," *Mówią wieki* no. 2 (1992): 33–37.
13. Szubert, *Leksykon*, 26–27.
14. Mirosław Pęczak, *Mały słownik subkultur młodzieżowych* (Warszawa: Semper, 1992), 12–13.
15. Marek Gaszyński, *Fruwa twoja marynara. Lata czterdzieste i pięćdziesiąte—Jazz, Dancing, Rock and Roll* (Warszawa: Prószyński i S-ka, 2006), 55.
16. Leopold Tyrmand, *Dziennik 1954* (Warszawa: ResPublica, 1989), 140. "Diary 1954" refers to the period between January 1 and April 2, 1954, when Tymand was banned from publishing. The work was first published as a book in London in 1980, by Polonia Book Fund Ed. The first Polish edition was published by ResPublica in 1989.
17. Jan Prokop, *Sowietyzacja i jej maski* (Kraków: Viridis, 1997), 32.
18. Szubert, *Leksykon*, 286.
19. Leopold Tyrmand, *Cywilizacja komunizmu* (Łomianki: LTW, 2006), 66. He began preparing for this book in Warsaw in 1964, although he only began writing it in 1970 after emigrating to the United States. Macmillan published it in New York in 1972, as *The Rosa Luxemburg Contraceptives Cooperative: A Primer on Communist Civilization*. This same year, the Cultural Foundation in London published a Polish version entitled *Cywilizacja komunizmu*. The first edition actually printed in Poland was published by Wydawnictwo Słowo in 1986.
20. Jerzy Holzer, *Der Kommunismus in Europa. Politische Bewegung und Herrschaftssystem* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, 1998), 118.
21. Barbara Hoff, "Młodzież nad morzem," *Przekrój* no. 646 (1957): 16–17.
22. Barbara Hoff, "Dżinsy—spodnie epoki," *Przekrój* no. 700 (1958): 17.
23. Barbara Hoff, interview by author, Warsaw, May 11, 2004.
24. Tyrmand, *Cywilizacja*, 203. Polish original: "W okresie przełomu po śmierci Stalina filmowcy w Europie Wschodniej stosowali osobliwą taktykę, którą nazywali walką o rozszerzenie swobód twórczych. Mianowicie kręcąc służalcze, konformistyczne filmy o komunistycznych partyzantach lub o robotnikach i robotnicach walczących o podniesienie wydajności produkcji, według najbardziej obskuranckich scenariuszy socrealistycznych, ubierali swych aktorów, a zwłaszcza aktorki, zgodnie z aktualnie obowiązującą na Zachodzie modą. Bohaterki wygłaszały więc kwestie przypominające bardziej artykuły wstępne z 'Prawdy' niż normalne dialogi, ale za to na głowach miały najnowsze uczesanie według paryskiego 'Vogue.' Oczywiście

filmowcy uważali to za dowód niezwykłej odwagi i niezależności twórczej, albowiem ich cenzorzy są tak wyostrzeni w tropieniu każdego szczegółu, ich zdaniem niezgodnego z czystością komunistycznego filmu, że filmowcy muszą toczyć śmiertelną walkę o każdy sweter i każdy lok. Ale widz nie zdaje sobie sprawy z żelaznego uchwytu cenzury, nie słucha dialogu i nic go nie obchodzi co aktorzy mają do powodzenia, widzi tylko sweter i lok i jest szczęśliwy, że może sobie trochę popatrzyć na taką manifestację prozachodniości" (translation by Anna Pelka).

25. Anna Pelka, *Teksas-land. Moda młodzieżowa w PRL* (Warszawa: Trio, 2007), 52–53.
26. Barbara Hoff, "Spodnie zwane pożądaniem," *Przekrój* no. 1487 (1973): 12.
27. For more information, see Jacek Sawicki, "Siadaj bracie, dalej hop!" *Biuletyn Instytutu Pamięci Narodowej* no. 10 (2003): 50–52.
28. "Autostop," *Sztandar Młodych* no. 167 (1964): 3.
29. For more information, see Krzysztof Kosiński, *Prywatki młodzieżowe w czasach PRL*, in Dariusz Stola and Marcin Zaremba, eds, *PRL—Trwanie i zmiana* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Wyższej Szkoły Przedsiębiorczości i Zarządzania im. Leona Koźmińskiego w Warszawie, 2003), 305–307.
30. KC PZPR, Biuro Prasy, "Uwagi o prasie młodzieżowej. 9.10.1959," in KC PZPR, Biuro Prasy, *Ocena i kierunki rozwoju prasy młodzieżowej 1958,1959,1970*, in AAN 237/XIX-165: 4–5. This document can be found in Archiwum Akt Nowych (New Acts Archive), within the file referring to the Polish Communist Party Central Committee.
31. Pelka, *Teksas-land*, 67.
32. Ibid., 51.
33. "W latach sześćdziesiątych pojawiły się (…) pierwsze polskie zespoły big-beatowe. Nikt się nimi nie interesował, dopóki nie zauważono, że istnieje ich parę tysięcy. Sprzedano wówczas w ciągu jednego roku około pięciuset tysięcy gitar, młodzi muzykanci własnym przemysłem konstruowali instrumenty, by … naśladować Beatlesów, wschodzących wówczas na firmament sławy. Przez parę lat bardziej lub mniej nieudolnie kopiowano najsłynniejszych idoli zachodniej piosenki, aż do czasu gdy w programach naszych czołowych zespołów zaczęły pojawiać się nowe, swojskie elementy. Sprawa była jasna. Spontanicznie rodził się w naszej muzyce rozrywkowej, raczej młodzieżowej, nowy nurt—nurt narodowy, polski, odwołujący się do folkloru. Nie można było go lekceważyć, wręcz przeciwnie—przez umiejętny mecenat ulepszać, udoskonalać, właściwie propagować. Przejmowały ów nurt wszystkie nasze grupy młodzieżowe—ostatecznym zwycięstwem nowej tendencji były narodziny zespołu 'No To Co.' On najlepiej, najczyściej wykorzystał pierwiastki ludowe, opierając niemal cały swój repertuar o bogate zbiore melodii folklorystycznych. Tym nas ujął, stąd między innymi jego błyskawiczna, imponująca kariera" (translation by Anna Pelka). "Brawa dla organizatorów," *Dookoła Świata* no. 5 (1969): 6–7.
34. Aleksander Jackowski, *Polska sztuka ludowa* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, 2002), 16; Janina Orynżyna, ed., *Piękno użyteczne. Ćwierćwiecze Cepelii* (Warszawa: Zakład Wydawnictw CRS, 1975), 7.
35. Władysław Jeż-Jarecki, *Twórczość ludowa i rękodzieło artystyczne pod patronatem Cepelii*, in *Instytut Wzornictwa Przemysłowego. Seminarium polsko-szwedzkie. Wpływ sztuki ludowej i rękodzieła artystycznego na współczesne wzornictwo* (Warszawa: Instytut Wzornictwa Przemysłowego, 1979), 70.
36. "Dotychczas znakomita większość przedstawicieli wyżu demograficznego nosiła się według wzorów wylansowanych za granicą, co w naszych warunkach nie zawsze dawało pożądane efekty, nie mówiąc o pustoszeniu młodzieżowych kieszeni. Dlaczego więc nie stworzyć indywidualnego, narodowo-nastolatkowego stylu, dostosowanego do naszych warunków, możliwości i skutecznie konkurującego z obcymi wzorami?" (translation by Anna Pelka). "Propozycje na nastoletnią kieszeń," *Dookoła Świata* no. 11 (1969): 14.

37. Stanisław Trzeszczkowski, "Pracownia Środowiskowych Inwencji Plastycznych IWP," *Wiadomości Instytutu Wzornictwa Przemysłowego* no. 4 (1978): 1.
38. Anna Demska and Anna Frąckiewicz, *Między tradycją a nowoczesnością. Instytut Wzornictwa Przemysłowego w poszukiwaniu tożsamości we wzornictwie* (Warszawa: Instytut Wzornictwa Przemysłowego, 2001), 38–39.
39. Wanda Telakowska, "Na marginesie wystawy," *Wiadomości Instytutu Wzornictwa Przemysłowego* no. 8 (1971): 8–10.
40. Ewa Glebko, "Moda i folklor," *Zwierciadło* no. 2 (1971): 12–13.
41. Józef Syroka, "Inspiracja ludowa w pracach projektowych i produkcji 'Cory,'" *Wiadomości Instytutu Wzornictwa Przemysłowego* no. 8 (1971): 45.
42. "Referat na XI Plenum ZG ZMS," Warszawa 1970, in ZMS, AAN, syg. 11/III/36: 71. This document can be found in Archiwum Akt Nowych (New Acts Archive), within the file referring to the Organization of Socialist Youth.
43. Jane Pavitt, *Fear and Fashion in the Cold War* (London: V&A Publishing, 2008), 23–29.
44. Piotr Osęka, *Marzec '68* (Cracow: Znak, 2008), 52.
45. "Wielu z nas zastąpiło zainteresowania polityczne sferą materialną—fascynacją zagraniczną odzieżą, muzyką czy pojazdami mechanicznymi" (translation by Anna Pelka). Henryk Dasko, *Dworzec Gdański. Historia niedokończona* (Cracow: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 2008), 79.

13
Corporate Reaction to Anticorporate Protest: Multinational Corporations and Anticorporate Campaigns

Veronika Kneip

Public campaigns initiated by civil society actors target not only political institutions but also the business world, addressing mainly multinational corporations. Drawing on the empirical results of the research project "Changing Protest and Media Cultures" at the University of Siegen, this essay looks at the relationship between corporations and anticorporate campaigns, focusing on the question of how corporations respond to activist claims.[1] The first part explores the background of anticorporate protest and specifies characteristic aspects of anticorporate campaigns. The second part reviews a range of corporate strategies exemplified by specific cases. Finally, the impact of protest within the market sphere is evaluated against the background of corporate strategies.

Corporate Power and Anticorporate Campaigns

Economic globalization—connected with increasing deregulation and mobility, as well as accelerated information and communication technology—has set the course for corporations to shift production abroad and to defy control by any particular nation state. Through the growing mobility of capital, corporations have gained "exit-options,"[2] which allow them to relocate their business almost anywhere that offers favorable local conditions. To attract or insure investments, national governments often react with policy liberalization that appeals to corporations by easing environmental restraints, granting subsidies and tax relief, or by establishing special economic zones. Such competition to make production locations attractive leads to harmful externalities, such as social costs (e.g., in the fields of environmental or employment protection). Moreover, weak national economies become dependent on multinational corporations. With their financial power, corporations possess enormous potential to exert political pressure on nation states in terms of technical, social, or ecological conditions of economic action. For example, the revenues of the world's most profitable company in 2009, Exxon Mobil, were higher than the gross domestic product of Sweden.[3] Already a 2000 report by the Institute for

Policy Studies asserts that collectively, the 200 largest companies in the world produce about one-quarter of the global GDP.[4] Furthermore, their relevance as political negotiators becomes apparent at the international level, where corporate, nonstate actors wield considerable influence in political processes. For example, the European "High Level Group on Competitiveness, Energy and the Environment," which develops concepts concerning power markets, climate change, and emission trading, is dominated by those corporate actors driving the energy-intensive economy.[5] Palazzo and Scherer rightly refer to companies as "quasi-public actors" in an environment of low transnational regulation, where corporate actions have (global) political consequences.[6]

To the extent to which corporate activities are no longer regarded as politically neutral, corporations or entire industries have become targets of public demands and political protest. Civil society activists directly pressure corporate actors through so-called anticorporate campaigns. Manheim describes them as "multi-faceted coordinated attack[s] on a company's reputation intended to pressure the target company to accede to the campaigners' goals."[7] Until now, research on anticorporate protest has been mainly focused on the United States, Great Britain, and Scandinavia.[8] In contrast, the research project "Changing Protest and Media Cultures" at the University of Siegen concentrates on campaigns carried out in German-speaking countries. Between the years 1995 and 2005, the project identified 109 transnational[9] anticorporate campaigns that have been (partially) conducted by German-speaking civil society actors or that have addressed German-speaking publics and target corporations or industries.[10] In order to display diverse forms of protest, campaigns of varying duration have been included in the study. Temporary campaigns with explicitly identified problems, clearly defined objectives, and solutions are included in the analysis alongside so-called permanent campaigns, which are ongoing. The latter usually feature a comparatively vague agenda (such as climate protection or improvement of labor conditions), but at the same time show a high degree of institutionalization: "The networking and mobilizing capacities of these ongoing campaigns make campaigns, themselves, political organizations that sustain activist networks in the absence of leadership by central organizations."[11]

Under the term "campaign," co-coordinating organizations with durable structures have developed, such as the "Clean Clothes Campaign" or the "International Campaign to Ban Landmines."[12] Those campaigns regularly initiate smaller subcampaigns, which are often more extensive than the single campaigns of less professionalized actors. Temporary and permanent campaigns share the same strategic approach as they implement "planned, preorganized and sustained sequence[s] of activities and communications geared to effect (or prevent) social change . . ."[13] About half of the analyzed campaigns can, however, be characterized as permanent campaigns, a fact that underlines the importance of campaign politics for civil society actors targeting multinational corporations. Permanent campaigns pose a continuous threat for corporations. While most of them confront varying targets in one industrial sector through subcampaigns (such as the "Clean Clothes Campaign"), some focus on a specific company, such as the campaign "Entrüstet Daimler" (Disarm Daimler), against the production of armaments at the Daimler group.

Apart from their structural diversity, anticorporate campaigns deal with a wide range of issues varying from human rights, labor conditions, and peace, to environmental and animal protection, to questions of fair trade and product quality. In many cases, problems are explored from different perspectives by frame bridging or frame extension,[14] which connects diverse issues through overlapping concerns about human rights, environmental issues, and labor conditions. For example, several campaigns targeting oil companies approach the issue of ecological damage through pipelines and oil production while also addressing the exploitation of workers, the intensification of local conflicts through corrupt governments, and the violation of human rights through the destruction of indigenous people's lands.

Furthermore, a wide variety of agents are involved in anticorporate campaigns. Such campaigns are carried out not only by single organizations, but also by broad networks and plural coalitions, which often have different backgrounds and lack coherent ideology. Consumer organizations, old and new social movements, and North- and South-NGOs form campaign coalitions that can be characterized by their collective focus on a campaign issue or target, as well as by the fact that the cooperating organizations retain their individual structures and orientations. Tarrow refers to such specific constellations as examples of "cooperative differentiation."[15] A large number of the campaigns analyzed here are conducted by networks[16] or network organizations,[17] although NGO-structures are also of great relevance because they form the hubs of many network-based campaigns.

Conceptualizing Corporate Reaction to Anticorporate Protest

As mentioned earlier, anticorporate campaigns identify corporations as the source of diverse problems. These campaigns aim to bring about changes in corporate policy and to exert pressure on corporate actors in order to enforce social and ecological norms. But how successful are anticorporate campaigns, and how do they influence corporate action?

Any analysis of the consequences of external pressure on institutionalized actors faces several obstacles. There is the problem of identifying which outcomes are actually caused by social movements and which outcomes may be due to other outside events and actions. Tilly, for example, argues that "Multiple causal chains lead to a plethora of possible effects in a situation where influences other than social movement activity necessarily contribute to the effects."[18] The problem of attributing certain aspects of corporate behavior to the pressure applied by anticorporate campaigns is especially tricky when analyzing permanent campaigns. In addition, most corporations stress the autonomy of their decisions and are unwilling to acknowledge that they respond to external demands.[19] Nevertheless, analyzing the behavior of corporations faced with anticorporate protest sheds some light on the area of conflict and allows for certain conclusions about the impact of anticorporate campaigns.

Based on campaign websites, corporate websites, and media reports, the following systematization illustrates a repertoire of forms of corporate response to anticorporate campaigns.[20] Corporate response strategies can be analyzed in two dimensions: the particular form corporate response takes, and the nature

of the corporation's response to campaign demands. In terms of form, it is possible to differentiate between policies of action and policies of communication.[21] The nature of the response can then be described as confrontational, reinterpretative, or cooperative (table 13.1).

The dimensions and their items are similarly identified (and partially combined) in literature dealing with organizational exposure to external pressure. Cooperative and confrontational reactions to public demands, for example, are frequently distinguished. Zald et al. analyze the impacts of movements on formally hierarchical organizations and differentiate between organizations that adopt policies demanded by movement leaders and activists (such as changes in laboratory procedures for using animals in medical experimentation) and organizations that resist movement imperatives (such as demands to end sexual discrimination in hiring).[22] Moreover, they identify organizations that articulate policies in accordance with movement goals, and even establish "programs and offices that suggest concern with changing the organization consonant with movement demands,"[23] but do not implement substantial changes of their policy directives. Like Zald et al., other scholars refer to symbolic or evasive dimensions of organizational behavior. For instance, Fiss and Zajac concentrate on the symbolic dimension of organizational change, pointing to the "importance of decoupling processes in organizational settings, i.e. situations where compliance with external expectations may be merely symbolic rather than substantive, leaving the original relations within the organization largely unchanged."[24] Oliver identifies five possible strategic responses to the demands of external actors that are exerted on organizations. The first response, "avoidance," defines a symbolic strategy meaning the corporate attempts to preclude or escape external pressures; "manipulation," a second symbolic strategy, is "the purposeful and opportunistic attempt to co-opt, influence, or control institutional pressures and evaluations"; "acquiescence" and "compromise" are cooperative strategies; and "defiance" describes confrontational responses.[25]

Theorists integrating symbolic strategies commonly connect them with policies of communication. Fiss and Zajac see the symbolic management of strategic change as attached to framing processes through which organizations

Table 13.1 Corporate strategies for anticorporate campaigns

	Confrontation	**Reinterpretation**	**Cooperation**
Policies of action	Ignoring	Internal restructuring	Accommodating
	Intensifying	Exclusive coalition building	Integrative coalition building
	Preventing		
Policies of communication	Keeping silent	Counterframing	Public announcing
	Denying	Selective campaigning	Contacting

present their interpretations to key stakeholders. Zald et al. exemplify "symbolic conformity" through the example of leaders of organizations giving speeches or doing public relations work.[26] Beyond that, other authors associate communicative strategies with cooperative or confrontational responses. Heins addresses forms of cooperative and confrontational communication, describing corporate reaction to NGO pressures as "actionistic demonization" and "proactive stakeholder dialogue."[27] Similarly, Rieth and Göbel separate direct contact between corporations and NGOs from corporate strategies of denial.[28]

Altogether, the inductively constituted dimensions and categories are validated by deductively developed findings in organizational theory and research. The analytic framework illustrated in table 13.1 enables a specific view, however, of the distinction between policies of action and policies of communication carried out at varying levels of corporate response. Furthermore, the "reinterpretative" category of corporate response represents a (symbolic) dimension of organizational behavior specific to corporate reaction to anticorporate campaigns. These dimensions and categories are described in detail through the following characteristic examples of corporate strategies for dealing with protest.

Confrontational Policies

Confrontational policies of action arise within corporate behavior in various ways. Three all-embracing strategies can be identified: First, defiance or disregard for campaign demands falls into this category, since corporations ignoring anticorporate protest take a confrontational position even if they are not actively reacting to the demands of their critics. For campaign actors, such a (non-)reaction is problematic because public awareness and public pressure, which are core elements of campaign tactics, largely depend on the dynamics of conflict shaped by both protagonistic and antagonistic action. For example, the campaign "Mit Tempo in die Armut,"[29] targeting producers of sanitary paper, who were harvesting pulp from plantations on the lands of indigenous people, was simply ignored by Procter & Gamble. Then owners of the "Tempo" brand, they did not even react to requests for information concerning their suppliers.[30] Only after two years of campaigning, when Procter & Gamble's European sanitary paper section was taken over by the Swedish corporation SCA (in 2007) did any actual conflict occur. Likewise, campaigns targeting the arms industry generally encounter defiance, as such campaigns question the industry's very right to exist.

Aside from ignoring, confrontational action in response to anticorporate campaigns may be expressed by intensifying the behavior that the campaign has criticized. This strategy attempts to demonstrate corporate action as legitimate and campaign claims as inappropriate and superfluous. For example, campaigns such as "Boykott der Musikindustrie" (Boycott the Music Industry) regard corporate action to protect copying as an infringement on the freedom of information. Nevertheless, the music industry continuously tries to inhibit the digital duplication and exchange of media.[31] Moreover, such a reaction signifies the importance of the particular behavior for the organizational structure of the corporation. Maintaining certain behavior and asserting the right to do so even more forcefully may be of greater importance to the corporation

than the potential threat of increasing public pressure to stop. For instance, the German discount grocery store chain Lidl continues to maintain its hostile position toward unionization, although the campaign of the trade union "ver. di" has widely attacked the company for its position.[32] The rate of unionization among the chain stores has even diminished during the campaign due to closing or reorganization of those stores with those stores with works councils (*Betriebsrat*), or shop-floor organizations representing workers.[33]

Finally, confrontational corporate actions can be expressed through measures taken to prevent or end anticorporate protest—mainly through legal proceedings such as injunctions, actions taken against trademark infringement,[34] or libel suits.[35] Corporate legal action can have a variety of effects on anticorporate campaigns. On the one hand, law suits increase public attention to the issue and are in many cases connected with damage to corporate reputations, as the media often sides with the underdog. Lawsuits undertaken by Nestlé and McDonald's against protest actors are examples of corporate-initiated lawsuits that have resulted in serious damage to the images of the corporations themselves.[36] Nevertheless, legal proceedings and even the possibility of legal consequences must be seen as serious threat for NGOs or social movement actors who lack the financial resources to endure a long-standing court battle.

Just as the strategy of defiance is regarded as a confrontational policy of action, it can also be seen as part of a confrontational policy of communication. This strategy of noncommunication means that the targeted corporation communicates neither with the campaign, nor with the public about the issues raised by the campaign. The decision not to communicate can be seen as an indication of nonrecognition of the issue or the rejection of campaign actors as relevant representatives of concerned stakeholders. By this means, the issue of cultural hegemony through global advertising strategies is largely neglected within corporate communication. Another example is that of E.ON, one of the world's leading energy companies, targeted by the Greenpeace campaign "E.OFF" in order to draw attention to unsafe nuclear power plants. Though E.ON addressed the issue of nuclear energy safety generally, the company did not respond to the concrete accusations of the campaign.[37] In other cases, confrontational policies of communication are revealed through active denial or counterstatements. One striking example is the website "www.cokefacts.org," where Coca Cola responds to accusations of the "Campaign to Stop Killer Coke"[38] by stating that there is no persecution of union members in Colombia or elsewhere and that the corporation prefers to interact cooperatively with diverse civil society organizations.

Based on these examples of confrontational corporate reaction, it appears that confrontational communication is usually followed by confrontational action. Confrontational communication, however, does not necessarily precede confrontational action. It is just as feasible that corporations employ cooperative or reinterpretative policies of communication, followed by confrontational action, which generally takes the form of disregard.

Cooperative Policies

Cooperative policies of communication include official statements through which corporations assert their awareness of the issues raised by the campaign

and confirm their efforts to remedy them. For example, Lidl employed a press agent to stress the company's openness to public demands after it came under criticism from campaigns led by ver.di, Attac, and Greenpeace.[39] Here, the interrelation between confrontational policies of action and cooperative policies of communication becomes apparent. Moreover, cooperative communication strategies often entail direct exchange between campaign actors and targeted corporations in order to compare perceptions and to search for options that are suitable for both parties. Such dialogues are particularly common among campaigns dealing with labor conditions in the textile industry and their corporate counterparts. Garment producers have been targeted by anticorporate campaigns for many years, which may be one reason for their widespread willingness to engage in dialogue. Corporations such as Adidas or Puma, for example, have initiated stakeholder dialogues and held informal discussions with the Clean Clothes Campaign.[40] Furthermore, round tables aimed at establishing codes of conduct with representatives of corporations, NGOs, and governments have been institutionalized in many countries.[41]

In many cases, cooperative communication is a precondition for cooperative policies of action, as the acceptance and appreciation of campaign demands and campaign actors may set the course for compromise. Thus, within the toy and diamond industries, global standards have been developed, which are accepted by both campaign actors and corporations. While campaigns such as "fair spielt" (fair plays) or "Fatal Transactions" critically monitor developments in these industries, demanding greater transparency and adequate mechanisms of control or sanction, corporations are all the while trying to reduce the binding character of the agreements. Nevertheless, both parties generally adhere to the agreed standards.[42] Thus, through global standards campaign actors are integrated into corporate institutions.

Other cooperative actions may, however, accede to campaign demands without any such integration. Such reactions can be characterized as relenting or accommodating. One example is the Greenpeace "Butterfinger Campaign," which in 1999 successfully pushed Nestlé to remove its Butterfinger chocolate bars, containing genetically modified ingredients, from German supermarkets.[43] Another example is the environmental NGO Robin Wood's campaign, which targeted the Swedish furniture house Ikea with the slogan "Achtung! Elch im Tropenwald" (Attention! Elk in Tropical Forests) and forced them to stop selling products made of noncertified tropical wood.[44] The Lidl case also provides an example of cooperative action in response to the demands of anticorporate protest. After being targeted by Greenpeace in 2005 for selling produce with high pesticide levels, Lidl changed their suppliers and established a quality system for their produce section. As a result, the 2007 pesticide report of Greenpeace listed Lidl in first place, just two years after they ranked last.[45]

Reinterpretation

In addition to confrontational and cooperative responses, corporations react to anticorporate campaigns with reinterpretation. Reinterpretative responses find expression both in policies of communication and in policies of action.

Strategies developed in this category are not exactly congruent with symbolic strategies mentioned in the literature, because reinterpretation differs from simple evasion or general assurance of institutional change. It often goes beyond symbolic performance because corporations use reinterpretation in order to develop their own policies without including campaign actors. Hence, reinterpretation can be understood as a mixture between cooperation and confrontation (in many cases concealing confrontational substance with a cooperative surface). Generally, the attribution of reinterpretative reactions to anticorporate campaigns is more ambiguous than cooperative or confrontational reactions because the change in corporate communication or action is not directly connected to interaction with campaign actors.

With regard to policies of communication, reinterpretation becomes apparent through the framing of corporate communication or through larger publicity campaigns. Monsanto, a producer of genetically modified seeds, for instance, has been targeted by various campaigns criticizing it for illegitimate interference with nature through genetic engineering, in general, and the corporation's practice of driving farmers in developing countries into economic dependence, in particular. In its public communications, the corporation does not respond to the accusation of exploiting farmers, which would be a form of confrontational denial. Instead, the issue of exploitation is addressed indirectly and inverted: genetically modified food and crops are portrayed as beneficial for farmers and population in developing countries, through suggestions that the higher productivity and resistance of genetically modified crops more effectively reduce hunger and poverty. A large video gallery on the website displays statements of farmers and scientists, for example, Ouoba Issiaka, a cotton farmer in Burkina Faso, who "soon hopes to grow insect-protected GM cotton to increase his yields and generate income to benefit his family and village."[46]

Larger publicity campaigns may be initiated by single corporations or whole industries. Pharmaceutical corporations, for example, are targeted by anticorporate campaigns such as the "BUKO Pharma-Kampagne"[47] because of research practices said to prioritize profit maximization over human well-being.[48] In June 2004, the German Association of Research-Based Pharmaceutical Companies launched the campaign "Forschung ist die beste Medizin" (Research is the Best Medicine) featuring testimonies from patients suffering from diseases such as rheumatism, diabetes, or Parkinson's disease. The testimonials attempted to illustrate how patients' quality of life had improved because of advanced medicine.[49] This way, the pharmaceutical industry did not directly address the complaints of the anticorporate campaigns, but rather tried to legitimize high prices for pharmaceuticals by underscoring the importance of research—particularly on diseases prevalent in Western countries. Similarly, Lidl has tried to reinterpret the employment issues raised surrounding unionization and labor conditions. Since 2005, shortly after the ver.di campaign began to target the company, Lidl began promoting its apprenticeship positions in public campaigns.[50] In doing so, the company touched on the protested issue of labor, but avoided addressing bad labor conditions by instead emphasizing the opportunities Lidl was providing for young people.[51]

Like the communicative approaches mentioned earlier, reinterpretative policies of action are characterized by their general acknowledgment of certain

protest issues linked with attempts to turn them around to the benefit of the corporation. Action taken in this context does not seek cooperation with campaign actors but gets enforced in a self-directed manner or through exclusive coalitions with either different civil society organizations or other economic actors. Again, the case of Lidl illustrates self-directed corporate reaction. Faced with criticism for their lack of employee representation, the company did not change its attitude toward unionization, but implemented so-called Mitarbeiter für Personal und Soziales (Assistants for Staff and Social Issues) responsible for the bundling and dissemination of requests and complaints.[52] Another example is the introduction of a Fair Trade coffee brand at Nestlé (Nescafé Partners' Blend) after they were targeted by several campaigns concerning the poor wages of coffee producers.[53] Similar to Nestlé, the banana producer Chiquita has been criticized for exploitative trade and labor conditions through campaigns such as the "Bananenkampagne" (Banana Campaign). The company has dealt with those issues by implementing U.S. Rainforest Alliance standards. In 2005, Chiquita added the seal of the Rainforest Alliance to their own logo for bananas sold in Europe.[54] Although this is not an official certification, it suggests that Chiquita bananas have been produced considering social and ecological standards (an assertion still questioned by NGOs such as BanaFair or Attac).

Finally, corporations employing strategies of reinterpretation cooperate within the market sphere itself and respond to anticorporate protest through processes of market self-regulation. Thus, the already mentioned textile industry is indeed open to dialogue with protest actors, but focuses its actions mainly on institutions such as the Fair Labor Association (FLA), which grew out of the Apparel Industry Partnership initiated by former U.S. president Bill Clinton, or the European Business Social Compliance Initiative (BSCI), which is a business-driven platform for the improvement of social compliance initiated by the Foreign Trade Association in Brussels. Both associations established monitoring systems with the aim of ending sweatshop labor. Nevertheless, the BSCI is challenged by civil society actors because of the considerable influence manufacturers have on the monitoring processes and because trade unions have not been integrated in the verification process.[55]

Impacts of Anticorporate Campaigning

The systematization of corporate reactions to anticorporate protests leads to different conclusions concerning the impact of anticorporate campaigns. Although connections between anticorporate protest and corporate behavior can be drawn and confirmed through official statements in certain cases, there is no single, straightforward pattern of corporate reaction to anticorporate campaign action. Because corporations place a high value on public image and sales environments, they actively try to identify and resolve potential threats. Hence, the strategies explained earlier may, to a certain extent, also be employed in a proactive manner. The relationship between reactive and proactive corporate strategies therefore forms the starting point for any in-depth case study. Furthermore, corporate strategies are not always connected to a single campaign or campaign activities, but can often be regarded

as the result of ongoing protest initiated by several, sometimes associated campaigns. Changes across entire industries, in fact, can be associated with the existence of permanent campaigns and campaign networks.

Targeted corporations make use of a wide range of strategies to respond to anticorporate protest. They often combine different tactical approaches, as this essay has illustrated with the case of Lidl. The company's response to some of the campaign demands was cooperative, while to others it was confrontational. Moreover, Lidl tried to influence the public perception of campaign issues through reinterpretation. The demand for greater worker representation, which would necessitate deep structural changes and a loss of power for the company, was met with confrontational or reinterpretative action. The call for pesticide-free fruit and vegetables, on the other hand, which would not entail massive institutional investment but threatened to deter consumers, was answered in a cooperative manner. Former Lidl press agent Thomas Oberle confirms:

> We suffered a loss regarding the sales of our products, when Greenpeace found pesticides in Lidl's fruit and vegetables—there were not only findings at Lidl but also at other discounters; Lidl was just pointed out exemplarily. This in fact caused damage for the company. And this is why we installed a quality system.[56]

These findings raise questions concerning the interaction between protest actors and their corporate adversaries. Like corporate action, anticorporate protest covers a wide range of strategies and may vary greatly in the course of conflict. Various approaches to structuring and systematizing the options for civil society organizations, which aim to influence corporate policy, refer to either cooperative or confrontational strategies.[57] Analyzing the interplay of corporate and anticorporate strategies can be a suitable way to shed light on the ability of anticorporate campaigns to contribute to processes of (global) governance and social self-regulation. However, neither a thoroughly cooperative nor an entirely confrontational exchange between corporations and civil society actors is likely to result in binding agreements regarding corporate policy. On the one hand, the degree of pressure a campaign is able to exert through media coverage or the mobilization of consumers influences how willing a corporation is to undergo substantial change. Shared interpretations and agendas are, on the other hand, a precondition for successful processes of self-regulation.

Besides cooperative and confrontational forms of exchange, the dimension of reinterpretation introduced in this essay plays a decisive role in the dynamics of conflict. Corporate reinterpretation can pose a major challenge for protest actors, as it gives the public the impression that the corporation, rather than the campaign, has taken the lead in setting moral norms and raising societal expectations. In contrast to most confrontational and cooperative reactions, no direct connection between campaign and corporation is established through corporate reinterpretation. Protest actors must, then, repeatedly emphasize their objections, as reinterpretation tends to diminish critical aspects of the campaign's original focus. Anticorporate campaigns

must, therefore, challenge corporate attempts at reinterpretation directly, in order to relate them to campaign demands. This does not mean that corporate reinterpretation should always be condemned as inefficient window-dressing. Strategic cooperation between NGOs and corporations or institutions such as the Fair Labor Association have their merit, and even publicity campaigns should not be looked upon as purely destructive, since they display some recognition of the problems raised by anticorporate campaigns.

Corporations, having become "the most important new political institution in the contemporary political order," rely on acceptance by a wide variety of stakeholders.[58] They may respond to anticorporate protest in order to achieve positive organizational outcomes, or, at the very least, to avoid negative outcomes. While these responses may not be the result of heightened insight or ethical sensibilities, corporations' need for legitimization strengthens anticorporate campaigns' challenges to corporate power. Civil society actors conducting anticorporate campaigns, in turn, need to be aware that scandalizing corporations does not become an end in itself. Creating transparency and enabling a public evaluation of political market arenas and corporate behavior has to take priority over emphasizing the efficiency of the campaign or NGO. In order to maintain democratic legitimacy, campaigning needs to be based on reasonable arguments and has to go beyond creating scandal or rejecting opposing positions merely for strategic reasons.

Although civil society actors can be considered a driving force in holding corporations accountable for the societal impacts of their economic decisions, they rely to a great extent on the support of national or international political institutions. This is especially true when social self-regulation reaches its limits, as in the case of campaign demands that call for structural changes in a corporation's core business. To bring about such change requires not only long-term campaigning and massive pressure from activists, but can often be achieved only through binding political structures. Against this background it is not surprising that all campaigns in the sample dealing with the arms industry focused their attention primarily on political institutions involved with legal regulation of the industry, with the direct address of corporations themselves as an important, but secondary focus. For example, the campaign "Control Arms" has called for an "international, legally-binding Arms Trade Treaty to ease the suffering caused by irresponsible weapons transfers,"[59] and the "International Campaign to Ban Landmines" has urged national governments to sign the Convention on the Prohibition of the Use, Stockpiling, Production and Transfer of Anti-Personnel Mines and on Their Destruction.[60]

Conclusion

The categories of corporate reaction to anticorporate protest developed in this essay provide a preliminary framework for further research. We should bear in mind that even cooperative policies of action do not assure durable social change, such as the improvement of labor conditions or a decrease in environmental damage. Long-term studies need to be carried out and corporate reaction needs to be related to further environmental factors in order to provide deeper insight into the consequences of anticorporate campaigns.

Furthermore, corporate strategies need to be analyzed in terms of media use. As policies of communication are of vital interest, questions arise as to whether or not those strategies are built mainly upon the address of mass media and their gatekeepers, and if so, whether or not new ICTs change not only protest networks and communication but also corporate responses.

Finally, the developed framework provides a promising starting point from which to concentrate on the relationship between anticorporate campaigns and concepts such as corporate sustainability, corporate social responsibility, and corporate citizenship.[61] It is worth noting that more than two-thirds of the German corporations mentioned in the Top 50 of the corporate social responsibility oriented "Good Company Ranking" of *Manager Magazine* are also targeted by at least one of the campaigns within the sample.[62] In light of this, we can assume some connection between political demands placed on corporations and corporations' bid to appear as responsible corporate actors. Such an interrelation may be due to the high visibility of multinational corporations and their brands. These corporations especially depend on their reputation and public acceptance, which may force them to strive for good corporate citizenship and, for the same reason, makes them more vulnerable to attack by civil society actors. Scrutinizing the impact of a corporation's public visibility on both society's demands and (proactive) corporate commitment appears, therefore, fruitful. Moreover, questions arise concerning the implications for less visible corporations. Are they able to elude claims for responsibility and accountability or are they, too, gripped by norm setting processes? Here, analyzing the development of certain industries with regard to changing demands, (voluntary) agreements, and regulation in the realms of social or ecological norms will provide insight into a possible politicization of market arenas.

Notes

1. For further information, see www.protest-cultures.uni-siegen.de.
2. Albert O. Hirschmann, *Exit, Voice, and Loyalty: Responses to Decline in Firms, Organizations, and States* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1970).
3. CNN Money, "Fortune Global 500" (2009): http://money.cnn.com/magazines/fortune/fortune500/2009/full_list/ (accessed July 29, 2009); International Monetary Fund, "World Economic Outlook Database, April 2010" (2010): http:// www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/weo/2010/01/weodata/weorept.aspx (accessed July 29, 2010).
4. Sarah Anderson and Johan Cavanagh, *TOP 200: The Rise of Corporate Global Power* (Washington: Institute for Policy Studies, 2000), 3.
5. Ulrich Müller, "Privilegiert Und Umstritten. Der Einfluss Der Konzerne in Europa," *Inkota Brief*, no. 136 (2006): 19.
6. Guido Palazzo and Andreas G. Scherer, "Corporate Legitimacy as Deliberation: A Communicative Framework," *Journal of Business Ethics* no. 66 (2006): 77.
7. Jarol B. Manheim, "Corporate Campaigns: Labor's Tactic of The 'Death of Thousand Cuts,'" *Labor Watch* (January 2002): 2. Manheim uses the term "corporate campaign" but as I do not only refer to attacks on corporations but also to their counterstrategies and efforts to strengthen their reputation, I choose the term anticorporate campaign to differentiate between corporate and anticorporate strategies.
8. For example, W. Lance Bennett, "Branded Political Communication: Lifestyle Politics, Logo Campaigns, and the Rise of Global Citizenship," in Michele Micheletti, Andreas Follesdal, and Dietlind Stolle, eds, *Politics, Products and Markets: Exploring*

Political Consumerism Past and Present (New Brunswick/London: Transaction Press, 2004), 101–125; Rob Harrison, "Pressure Groups, Campaigns and Consumers," in Rob Harrison, Terry Newholm, and Deirdre Shaw, eds, *The Ethical Consumer* (London/Thousand Oaks/New Delhi: Sage, 2005), 55–67; Jarol B. Manheim, *The Death of a Thousand Cuts: Corporate Campaigns and the Attack on the Corporation* (Mahwah/London: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 2001); Michele Micheletti, "Just Clothes? Discursive Political Consumerism and Political Participation," in *European Consortium for Political Research, Workshop "Emerging Repertoires of Political Action: Toward a Systematic Study of Postconventional Forms of Participation"* (Uppsala: 2004); Jacob Rosenkrands, "Policizing Homo Economicus. Analysis of Anti-Corporate Websites," in Wim van de Donk, et al., eds, *Cyberprotest: New Media, Citizens and Social Movements* (London/New York: Routledge, 2004), 57–86; Dietlind Stolle, Marc Hooghe, and Michele Micheletti, "Politics in the Supermarket: Political Consumerism as a Form of Political Participation," *International Political Science Review* 26, no. 3 (2005): 245–269.

9. Transnational orientation can be expressed through transnational networks of actors or organizations, through addressing of transnational publics, and also through transnational discourses.
10. The search was conducted via the search engine "Google," for websites of civil society actors (e.g., www.germanwatch.de), movement-orientated online media (e.g., www.ngo-online.de), and archives of the supraregional daily newspapers "die tageszeitung," "Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung," and "Süddeutsche Zeitung." Also, the snowball method was applied, i.e., other campaigns that the already-identified campaigns referred to were added to the sample when fulfilling the selection criteria. Afterward, the 109 identified campaigns were systematized along diverse categories such as thematic focus, addressees, goals, discourse strategies, or offers of participation. Afterward, ten cases were analyzed in-depth through methods including qualitative interviews with campaign organizers and representatives of targeted corporations, online-questioning of mobilized actors, and the analysis of online and offline media in Germany, Switzerland, and Austria.
11. W. Lance Bennett, "Communicating Global Activism: Strengths and Vulnerabilities of Networked Politics," in Wim van de Donk, et al., eds, *Cyberprotest: New Media, Citizens and Social Movements* (London/New York: Routledge, 2004), 130. However, institutionalized campaign structures do not necessarily come about without some external influences. Although permanent campaigns set their own agenda, they tend to draw on the resources of larger NGOs (e.g., the campaign "No Dirty Gold" is primarily maintained by Oxfam and EarthWorks).
12. See also chapter eleven in this volume.
13. Christian Lahusen, *The Rhetoric of Moral Protest: Public Campaigns, Celebrity, Endorsement, and Political Mobilisation* (Berlin/New York: de Gruyter, 1996), x.
14. "Frame bridging refers to the linking of two or more ideologically congruent but structurally unconnected frames regarding a particular issue or problem" whereas "frame extension entails depicting an SMO's interests and frame(s) as extending beyond its primary interests to include issues and concerns that are presumed to be of importance to potential adherents." Robert D. Benford and David A. Snow, "Framing Processes and Social Movements: An Overview and Assessment," *Annual Review of Sociology* 26 (2000): 624f.
15. "Maintaining a public face of solidarity towards their opponents while differentiating themselves in their relations with constituents." Sidney Tarrow, *The New Transnational Activism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 177.
16. One example is the German campaign "fair spielt" (fair plays), which calls for the improvement of labor conditions in toy-production and has been initiated by a cluster of church organizations.

17. For example, the "Anti-Pelz Kampagne" (Anti-Fur Campaign) is conducted by the German Humane Society, which is the umbrella organization of various smaller societies and shelters.
18. Charles Tilly, "Conclusion: From Interactions to Outcomes in Social Movements," in Marco Giugni, Doug McAdam, and Charles Tilly, eds, *How Social Movements Matter* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999), 268.
19. This conclusion is based on the analysis of several qualitative interviews conducted with representatives of targeted corporations such as Lidl, Monsanto, and Puma.
20. The essay concentrates on corporate reaction and does not include other aspects that might also be evaluated to measure the impact of anticorporate campaigns, such as public awareness or changes within political institutions (e.g., laws regulating corporate power).
21. Luhmann, e.g., distinguishes between communication and action, whereas Habermas explicitly regards communication as action. Both authors, however, act on the assumption that communication and action are interrelated—either through the concept of communicative action (Habermas) or because communication is assumed to become visible and connectable through its unbundling into action (Luhmann). Empirical findings about corporate strategy suggest a differentiation between policies of communication and policies of action. It remains clear, however, that while analytically distinguishable, communication and action are not separable categories. In the context of anticorporate campaigns, communicative action can rather be understood as a particular type or dimension of action. Niklas Luhmann, *Soziale Systeme: Grundriß einer Allgemeinen Theorie* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1984); Jürgen Habermas, *Theorie des Kommunikativen Handelns: Handlungsrationalität und Gesellschaftliche Rationalisierung* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1981).
22. Mayer N. Zald, Calvin Morill, and Hayagreeva Rao, "The Impact of Social Movements on Organizations," in Gerald F. Davis, et al., eds, *Social Movements and Organization Theory* (Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 245.
23. Ibid.
24. Peer Fiss and Edward Zajac, "The Symbolic Management of Strategic Change: Sensegiving via Framing and Decoupling" (2006): 6, http://aom.pace.edu/amjnew/unassigned/fiss.pdf (accessed August 6, 2007).
25. Christine Oliver, "Strategic Responses to Institutional Processes," *The Academy of Management Review* 16, no. 1 (1991): 157.
26. "Organizations can respond by symbolic conformity, with little change in actual organizational procedures. Thus, leaders can give speeches or do public relations work that implies organizational conformity, even while the core procedures relevant to the expectations are not changed." Zald, Morill, and Rao, "The Impact of Social Movements on Organizations," 265.
27. Volker Heins, "Mächtige Zwerge, umstrittene Riesen: NGOs als Partner und Gegenspieler transnationaler Unternehmen und internationaler Organisationen," in Achim Brunnengräber, Ansgar Klein, and Heike Walk, eds, *NGOs im Prozess der Globalisierung: Mächtige Zwerge - Umstrittene Riesen* (Wiesbaden: VS Verlag, 2005), 183. Apart from this, Heins introduces another category embracing the monitoring of protest actors. Through qualitative interviews with targeted corporations, the strategy of monitoring was identified irrespectively of whether corporations otherwise reacted cooperatively or confrontationally. Thus, monitoring is not a category of its own in the systematization established earlier. Nevertheless, the monitoring of (prospective) protest actors illustrates the relevance of their claims to corporate policy.
28. Lothar Rieth and Thorsten Göbel, "Unternehmen, Gesellschaftliche Verantwortung und die Rolle von Nichtregierungsorganisationen," *Zeitschrift für Wirtschafts- und Unternehmensethik* 6, no. 2 (2005): 253.

29. The campaign initiated by the German NGO Robin Wood takes up the literal meaning of the tissue brand "Tempo" (speed) for their slogan ("With Tempo towards Poverty").
30. Robin Wood, "Mit 'Tempo' in die Armut" (2005), http://www.umwelt.org/robin-wood/german/presse/index-050520 (accessed August 6, 2007).
31. Chaos Computer Club, "Informationsfreiheit ist kein Verbrechen," http://www.ccc.de/campaigns/boycott-musicindustry (accessed August 6, 2007).
32. The name of the German trade union "ver.di" stems from the longer name *Vereinte Dienstleistungsgewerkschaft*, the "united services trade union."
33. Ver.di. "Hintergrundinformationen zu LiDL," http://lidl.verdi.de/hintergrund (accessed August 6, 2007).
34. Anticorporate campaigns often employ brand elements such as logos or slogans in order to deconstruct them in a playful manner (adbusting).
35. In principle, confrontational action may also occur in illegal ways, such as resorting to violence toward campaign actors. For example, such reactions are cited by members of trade union campaigns in South America. Responsibility for violent action cannot normally be attributed to the corporation directly; rather, it is attributed to military or paramilitary regimes.
36. Lisa H. Newton, "Truth is the Daughter of Time: The Real Story of the Nestle Case," *Business and Society Review* 104, no. 4 (1999); Mcspotlight, "The McLibel trial," http://www.mcspotlight.org/case/index.html (accessed August 6, 2007).
37. This information is based on the answer of Greenpeace member Andrej Mischerikow to an e-mail-request received on August 20, 2007.
38. The campaign seeks to "to stop a gruesome cycle of murders, kidnappings, and torture of union leaders and organizers involved in daily life-and-death struggles at Coca-Cola bottling plants in Colombia, South America." Campaign to Stop Killer Coke, "Newsletter July 20, 2004" (2004). http://killercoke.org/NL721.htm (accessed August 6, 2007).
39. PR-Journal. "Lidl erstmals mit Pressesprecher" (2006), http://www.pr-journal.de/redaktion/personalien/lidl-erstmals-mit-pressesprecher.html (accessed August 6, 2007). Whereas the campaign of ver.di focuses mainly on labor conditions within the chain stores, Attac integrates the issue of trading conditions and Greenpeace has criticized Lidl over the identification of pesticides in their produce.
40. Kampagne für Saubere Kleidung, "Aktion fit for fair läuft auf Hochtouren" (2000), http://www.saubere-kleidung.de/download/RB-2000-2-CCC.pdf (accessed August 6, 2007).
41. Although they can be regarded as a form of cooperative exchange, these forums are not free of conflict. For instance, the German part of the Clean Clothes Campaign has left the national round table not only for financial reasons but also because they see an imbalance between dialogue and implementation. Kampagne für Saubere Kleidung, "Rückzug der Kampagne für Saubere Kleidung vom 'Runden Tisch Verhaltenskodizes'" (2004), http://www.saubere-kleidung.de/1-020-info.htm (accessed August 6, 2007).
42. The mentioned agreements are the "Code of Business Practices" of the International Council of Toy Industries committed to "the operation of toy factories in a lawful, safe, and healthful manner" [http://www.icti-care.org/resources/codeofbusinesspractices.html (accessed August 6, 2007)] and the "Kimberley Process," "a joint government, international diamond industry and civil society initiative to stem the flow of conflict diamonds—rough diamonds that are used by rebel movements to finance wars against legitimate governments" [http://www.kimberleyprocess.com (accessed August 6, 2007)].
43. Greenpeace, "Greenpeace-Kampagne erfolgreich: Gen-Schokoriegel geknickt - Nestle nimmt 'Butterfinger' vom Markt" (1999), http://www.netlink.de/gen/Zeitung/1999/990714.htm (accessed August 6, 2007).

44. Robin Wood. "IKEA verzichtet auf Teak ohne FSC-Siegel" (1999), http://www.umwelt.org/robin-wood/german/presse/991027.htm (accessed August 6, 2007).
45. Greenpeace, "Essen ohne Pestizide" (2007), http://de.greenpeace.bimp-asp.de/download/24593.pdf (accessed August 6, 2007); Greenpeace, "Pestizide aus dem Supermarkt" (2005), http://www.greenpeace.de/fileadmin/gpd/user_upload/themen/umweltgifte/greenpeace_ratgeber_pestizide_supermarkt.pdf (accessed August 6, 2007).
46. Monsanto, "Issiaka Wants Access to GMO Crops" http://www.monsanto.com/biotech-gmo/asp/videogallery.asp?fr_story=f1b912023322e2af17061dffc4a0f3421aabc208 (accessed August 6, 2007).
47. BUKO (Bundeskoordination Internationalismus) is an association of about 200 Third World solidarity groups in Germany.
48. Pharmaceutical corporations are accused of concentrating on lucrative, but superfluous or even dangerous, pharmaceuticals. Meanwhile the treatment of diseases prevalent in developing countries is said to be not prioritized or the price of the required drugs is regarded too expensive.
49. Verband Forschender Arzneimittelhersteller e.V. "Patienten," http://www.die-forschenden-pharma-unternehmen.de/patienten (accessed August 6, 2007).
50. Lidl, "Lidl Superazubi on Tour," http://www.superazubi.de/ (accessed August 6, 2007).
51. In light of the fact that many German companies refuse to offer the required number of training places for school leavers, this redefinition can be looked upon as an elaborated strategic response.
52. Wolfgang Hirn, Christian Rickens, and Jörn Sucher, "Managerschwund beim Aldi-Jäger," manager magazin (January 25, 2007), http://www.manager-magazin.de/unternehmen/artikel/0,2828,461991,00.html (accessed August 6, 2007).
53. This case falls somewhere between an example of self-directed action and that of cooperation with civil society organizations, for while the Fair Trade brand has been certified by Fairtrade Labelling Organizations International (FLO), there has been no further cooperation between Nestlé and FLO. Furthermore, the certification remains controversial among the members of the umbrella organization. For example, see Jan Braunholz, "Wettlauf um die Bohne," Lateinamerika Nachrichten (2007), http://www.lateinamerikanachrichten.de/?/artikel/1137.html (accessed August 6, 2007).
54. Chiquita Brands International Inc. "Miss Chiquita bekommt Gesellschaft" (2005), http://www.prnewswire.co.uk/cgi/news/release?id=157207 (accessed August 6, 2007).
55. For example, see Ingeborg Wick, "Workers' tool or PR ploy? A guide to codes of international labor practice" (2005), http://www.suedwind-institut.de/downloads/workers-tool-2005.pdf (accessed February 20, 2008).
56. Interview conducted by Veronika Kneip, December 14, 2006; translation V. K.
57. For example, see Dennis J. Downey and Deana A. Rohlinger, "Linking Strategic Choice with Macro-Organizational Dynamics: Strategy and Social Movement Articulation," in Patrick G. Coy, ed., *Research in Social Movements, Conflicts and Change, Volume 28* (Bingley: Emerald Group Publishing, 2008), 3–38; Antoine Mach, "Macht der NGO über die Unternehmen. Druck, Partnerschaft, Evaluation," 111, http://docs.kampagnenforum.ch/Akteure/NGO_NPO/Mach_Macht_NGO_Unternehmen.pdf (accessed December 12, 2006); Melanie B. Oliviero and Adele Simmons, "Who's Minding the Store? Global Civil Society and Corporate Responsibility," in Marlies Glasius, Mary Kaldor, and Helmut Anheier, eds, *Global Civil Society 2002* (Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 81; Verta Taylor and Nella van Dyke, "'Get up, Stand up': Tactical Repertoires of Social Movements," in David A. Snow, Sarah A. Soule, and Hanspeter Kriesi, eds, *The Blackwell Companion to Social Movements* (Malden: Blackwell Publishing, 2004), 262–293.

58. Neil Mitchell, "Corporate Power, Legitimacy, and Social Policy," *The Western Political Quarterly* 39, no. 2 (1986): 208.
59. Control Arms, "About the Campaign," http://www.controlarms.org (accessed August 6, 2007).
60. International Campaign to Ban Landmines, "What is the Mine Ban Treaty?" http://www.icbl.org/tools/faq/treaty/what (accessed August 6, 2007).
61. A first outline of the relationship between corporate citizenship and anticorporate campaigns has already been developed in Veronika Kneip, "Legitimationsfaktor Bürgerschaft: Die kommunikative Vermittlung von Corporate Citizenship," in Sigrid Baringhorst, et al., eds, *Politik mit dem Einkaufswagen: Unternehmen und Konsumenten als Bürger in der Globalen Mediengesellschaft* (Bielefeld: Transcript, 2007), 223–243.
62. Michael O. R. Kröher, "Good Company Ranking: Die Platzierungen," *Manager magazin* (2007), http://www.manager-magazin.de/magazin/artikel/0,2828,462214,00.html (accessed August 6, 2007).

Epilogue: The Lingering Cold War

Jeremi Suri

The end of the Cold War was not the end of the post-1945 era. If anything, the collapse of the Soviet Union and the diminishment of the communist threat inspired a renewal of social energies that had lingered beneath the surface of superpower politics. Transnational public demands for equality, justice, and much more radical reform—often voiced through protests and other dissident movements—framed the new politics of human rights, ethnic identity, and religious revival around the late twentieth-century world. The fundamental spark for protests in the 1960s remained alive and well: the demand among educated and ambitious citizens for a more beneficial allocation of resources within societies. Protest groups differed in their precise programs, but they all argued that international threats and commitments had misdirected domestic programs. Dissidents on the left and the right demanded a retreat from endless conflict and its costs at home.

Transnational activists after the Cold War, like those during the 1960s, were self-consciously internationalist. They saw themselves as part of a broader cross-cultural New Left, New Right, or even New Faith. They did not reject globalization. The real targets of protests were the managers (or mis-managers) of globalization. The government, business, and other institutional leaders who defined the rules of the markets, allocated public resources, and deployed military force—they were the real targets of criticism across the late twentieth century globe. From continent to continent, public trust in leaders continued to plummet. Public skepticism toward "Establishment" projects—including international regulation, economic development, and centralized reform—grew to a point where traditional progressive dreams about "one world" became almost unthinkable. The fragmentation and decentralization of the early twenty-first century was, in part, a revolt against cosmopolitan elites. The discord of the post–Cold War world was a continuation (and expansion) of earlier unresolved debates about political purpose, legitimacy, and leadership.[1]

How did the "Establishment" respond to these challenges? How did the leaders and institutions most empowered by globalization react to the pressures all around them? That is the fundamental question that historians have begun to examine in depth. If a prior generation of writers pioneered the social and cultural history of dissent, a new cohort of scholars has cut its teeth on the interactions between public activism and political authority—power and protest. The work of social and cultural historians of dissent was necessarily

local and focused on repressed voices. The work of more recent scholars tends to look for patterns across societies and analyze the hidden dimensions of government authority.[2]

The history of the Establishment is a history of contention, adjustment, and repression. It is domestic and foreign, local and global. It encompasses the social history of politics and the political history of society.[3]

A Complex Narrative

There are numerous strands in this complex narrative—many of which are nicely traced in the essays contained within this volume. First, how did the language of *human rights* emerge from the post-1945 world into the present? Scholars have focused on a defining moment at the end of World War II, especially with the creation of the United Nations, but they have also emphasized the role of savvy transnational actors in the aftermath of the 1960s.[4] The opening created by the Helsinki Final Act of 1975, as Sarah Snyder and others explain, empowered and legitimized human rights monitoring, even in the most repressive communist countries.[5] Human rights, in this context, are more than enlightened policymaking or courageous dissent (although there was some of both.) In the last decades of the Cold War, human rights emerged as a contested space shared by both policymakers and protesters, each seeking to manufacture new power from claims about improving the human condition. American President Ronald Reagan and Soviet General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev both appealed to human rights, as did critics from Amnesty International to the young people, who tore down the Berlin Wall. Human rights continue to tie together members of the Establishment and its detractors in ways that produce unexpected outcomes.[6]

Second, what role have *nongovernmental organizations (NGOs*) played in remaking policy? Akira Iriye has reminded us that one of the most consistent modern trends, particularly in the period after the 1960s, is the growth of organizations composed of issue-focused citizens across societies. The NGOs of the late twentieth century—ranging from Human Rights Watch and Greenpeace on the political left to the Heritage Foundation and the Moral Majority on the political right—exert influence by circulating information, mobilizing citizens, and raising money for causes. They are agenda-setters and lobbyists that push and pull at government policies. They challenge the Establishment, but they are also an alternative Establishment in their own right. That point, once again, takes us back to the intersection between the politically powerful and their challengers, the traditional government leaders and the new non-state actors. The divisions between the two became less obvious and more permeable in the last decades of the twentieth century.[7]

Third, and perhaps most significant, *how has the Establishment changed* over the course of the twentieth century? Who are the new members of the Establishment and what do they believe? What are the new ideas that influence Establishment activities? One of the deficiencies of this excellent essay collection, and other studies of the subject, is that they continue to treat the makers of policy and the leaders of institutions as a static group. Members of the Establishment might adjust their actions, but they still appear in many

studies as the same faceless bureaucrats, the same generic wielders of power for inherited and self-serving aims. The very term "Establishment" encourages this kind of ahistorical thinking.[8]

Despite initial impressions to the contrary, one of the striking features of the years after 1968 is how significantly the background and outlook of elites has shifted across the globe. Figures as unprecedented as Barack Obama, Hilary Clinton, Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva, and Nelson Mandela have replaced the Roosevelts, the Churchills, and the Kennedys. Old royalty and colonial-trained rulers are mostly gone. The leaders who control global economic, cultural, and military power in the early twenty-first century are a mix of technocrats, populists, and savvy opportunists. They remain well connected to powerful institutions, but they bring ideas and experiences from the larger global society into their work.

Most of the members of the Establishment in the early twenty-first century were, in fact, a part of the social activism from the 1960s and 1970s. Their views of colonialism, race, and gender reflect this experience. Even the most conservative figures accept basic tenets of national self-determination, civil rights, and feminism that their predecessors would reject. Establishment views of centralized government and national planning also grow out of a consciousness of failed policies from American inner cities to the Cultural Revolution in China. Even the most leftist figures in the elite now assume that small governments and vibrant markets are better than the rigid systems supported in nearly every society a generation ago.

The protests and dissent of the 1960s did not overturn the Establishment, but they changed its composition and prevailing worldview in enduring ways. When scholars discuss how the Establishment "responded" to pressures, they must also examine how the Establishment "changed" to encompass the influences around it. That is what a true social history of politics, and a political history of society, should look like.[9]

The secret of the Establishment's continuity—and why the term still has legitimate meaning—is its constant adaptation. Powerful institutions and individuals found ways to remake themselves in the late Cold War. They preserved (and sometimes expanded) their leverage over the money, machines, and manpower that shape national policies. They strengthened core institutions centered on the military, business, and intellectual life. Most of all, they trained a new set of leaders and managers to carry their legacy into the future. The Establishment endures because it does much more than just respond. It learns.

Legacies

We should ask ourselves, who learned more from the Cold War and the social activism of the period—the people in the streets or those in the fancy offices? What were the lessons learned that affect society most directly in the twenty-first century? The answers are unexpected and often disturbing for scholars who naturally sympathize with the streets rather than with the offices.

Protesters adapted new strategies of direct action, public satire, and even targeted violence to challenge entrenched power. They turned their weaknesses into strengths. The leaders of society, however, found new ways to co-opt calls

for change by adopting limited reforms, mixed with some repression. They used their resources to promise their citizens better lives with less sacrifice, and less political contention. Despite all the wars of the early twenty-first century, young men in wealthy societies now spend less time in the military than before, and they consume more food and entertainment than before. Elites did not buy-off protesters as much as they turned the energies of youth unrest to other purposes.

Moments of global protest reappear intermittently, but rarely with the force of the 1960s. These moments reflect continued reservoirs of social activism and unresolved limits on the ability of the Establishment to serve the interests of its diverse constituents. Inequality and injustice remain potent motivators for dissent across societies.

In the contemporary Middle East the pervasive corruption and incompetence of leaders, combined with the rise of a new set of excluded elites, has contributed to some of the most promising participatory movements in the region since the 1960s. As in North America and Europe four decades earlier, the future of politics in Tunisia, Egypt, Libya, Syria, and other countries will depend on the ability of the people in the streets to become part of the Establishment. If the leaders continue to resist change, and if the protesters reject productive compromises, then the politics of the region will descend into warfare. Successful reform requires persuasion, adjustment, and changes in people, who in turn change institutions. The push and pull on politics must find a stable point of consensus among elites and their challengers.

The end of the Cold War was not the end of the post-1945 era because the dynamics of activism and power are largely unchanged. The rhetoric and technology are different, but the questions of consent, resistance, and compromise remain the same. In an era with few legitimate traditional authorities, the Establishment makes and remakes itself, often mediated now through debates about human rights and projects influenced by nongovernmental organizations. In an era of global power projection, the Establishment is stronger and more vulnerable than ever before.

The protesters around the White House in 1968 recognized the simultaneous strengths and weaknesses of national leaders. So have their successors, tweeting dissident messages around Iran, Syria, China, and other repressive societies. The Establishment remains at the center of contemporary social and political contention.

Notes

1. See, among others, Ronald Inglehart, *Modernization and Postmodernization: Cultural, Economic, and Political Change in 43 Societies* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997); Christopher Lasch, *The Revolt of the Elites and the Betrayal of Democracy* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1995).
2. For some examples of this new work, see, among others, Martin Klimke, *The Other Alliance: Student Protest in West Germany and the United States in the Global Sixties* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010); Gerd-Rainer Horn, *The Spirit of '68: Rebellion in Western Europe and North America, 1956–1976* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007); Jeremi Suri, *Power and Protest: Global Revolution and the Rise of Détente* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2003).

3. For more of my thoughts on this topic, see Jeremi Suri, "Hamilton Fish Armstrong, the 'American Establishment,' and Cosmopolitan Nationalism," *Princeton University Library Chronicle* 63 (Spring 2002): 438–465; "Conflict and Cooperation in the Cold War: New Directions in Research," *Journal of Contemporary History* 46 (January 2011): 5–9.
4. For two representative works, see Elizabeth Borgwardt, *A New Deal for the World: America's Vision of Human Rights* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2005); and Samuel Moyn, *The Last Utopia: Human Rights in History* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2010).
5. See Daniel C. Thomas, *The Helsinki Effect: International Norms, Human Rights, and the Demise of Communism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001). See also chapter six in this volume.
6. For more of my thoughts on this topic, see Jeremi Suri, "Détente and Human Rights: American and West European Perspectives on International Change," *Cold War History* 8 (November 2008): 527–545.
7. See, among others, Akira Iriye, *Global Community: The Role of International Organizations in the Making of the Contemporary World* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004); Michael N. Barnett and Martha Finnemore, "The Politics, Power, and Pathologies of International Organizations," *International Organization* 53 (Fall 1999): 699–732; Jeremi Suri, "Non-Governmental Organizations and Non-State Actors," Patrick Finney, ed., *Palgrave Advances in International History* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 223–246.
8. The introduction to this volume acknowledges this point.
9. This is argument is at the core of my book: *Henry Kissinger and the American Century* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2007). For a different approach, beginning with the same premise that Establishment views reflect social changes within the United States, see Jim Mann, *Rise of the Vulcans: The History of Bush's War Cabinet* (New York: Penguin, 2004).

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