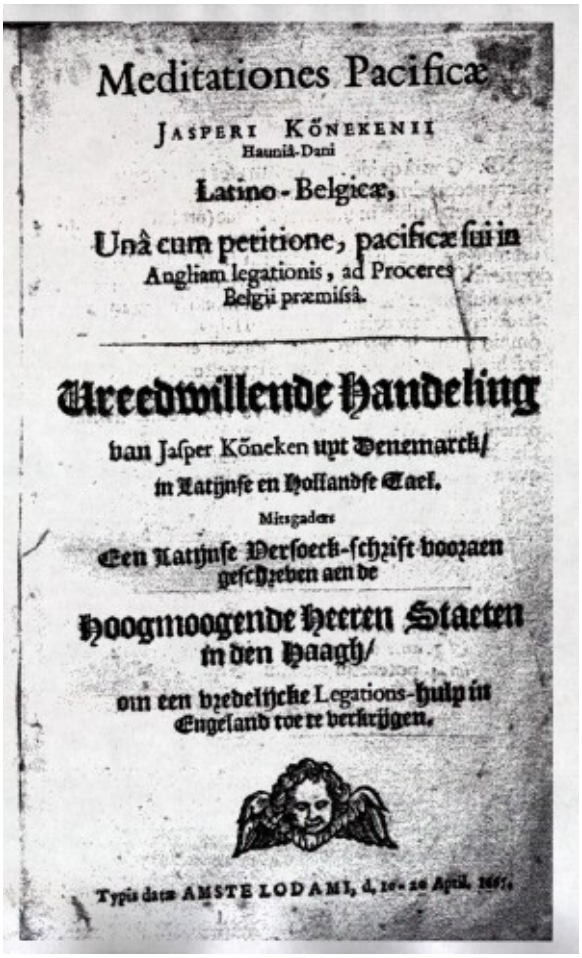
Holger Terp

The Danish Peace Academy

2026



Meditationes Pacificæ

JASPERI KÖNEKENII
Hauniâ-Dani

Latino-Belgicæ,

Unâ cum petitione, pacificæ fui in Angliam legationis, ad Proceres Belgii præmiſsâ.

Vreedwillende Handeling

van Jaſper Köneken uyt Denemarck/ in Latijnſe en Hollandſe Tael.

Mitsgaders

Een Latijnſe Verſoeck-ſchrift voorgaen geſchreven aen de

Hoogmoogende Heeren Staeten in den Haagh/

om een vredelijcke Legations-hulp in Engeland toe te verkrijgen.

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1. The Danish Peace Academy as a Civil-Society-Based Research and Documentation Institution

A Scholarly Assessment of the Work of the Danish Peace Academy and Holger Terp

Abstract

The Danish Peace Academy represents a distinctive form of research, documentation and dissemination outside the traditional university institutions.

Since its establishment in 2000, the Academy has built an extensive digital environment devoted to peace history, peace movements, pacifism, antimilitarism, disarmament, war, international politics and political culture.

The Academy's principal research significance does not necessarily lie in the production of traditional peer-reviewed research articles, but in the construction of a specialized research infrastructure: bibliographies, catalogs, chronologies, personal and organizational registers, digitized texts, documents, images, music and other cultural-historical sources. The Academy itself describes these functions as its "research tools".

In particular, Fred på tryk, Peace in Print, Danish Peace History, the documentation of Ellen Hørup, Gandhi, Greenham Common, peace songs and the history of nuclear weapons demonstrate a consistent effort to make source material that is otherwise dispersed and partly difficult to access searchable and usable.

This assessment is supported by international research into community archives and digital research infrastructures. Archival and information research has increasingly emphasised that bibliographies, catalogues, archives, metadata and digital collections are not merely auxiliary functions, but constitute infrastructure on which humanities research depends.

There is also documentation that parts of Terp's work have been used outside the Danish Peace Academy's own context. His material on Greenham Common, for example, has been used as visual and source material in recent academic research on the visual culture of the peace camp, while his documentation of the Danish peace and Gandhi tradition is cited in more recent historical research.

The article therefore concludes that the Danish Peace Academy is most accurately characterised as a civil-society-based, normatively oriented research and documentation environment with considerable bibliographical, archival, cultural-historical and digital research value.

Keywords: peace history, peace movement, bibliography, digital humanities, community archives, civil-society research, pacifism, Holger Terp, Danish Peace Academy.

1. Introduction

The Danish Peace Academy is an unusual Danish research and documentation project.

The Academy's digital collection includes, among other things, an encyclopaedia of peace and security policy, a historical chronology, an electronic library, bibliographies, and databases containing documents, poems, music and songs about peace and war. From the beginning, the Academy has presented these functions as research tools.

It is therefore insufficient to characterise the Danish Peace Academy solely as a political association or as a dissemination project.

Conversely, it is not methodologically correct to equate the Academy with a university or a traditional research institute. The Danish Peace Academy developed as a civil-society project and does not possess the institutional structure, funding or ordinary peer-review procedures characteristic of the university sector.

The relevant philosophy-of-science question is therefore not whether the Danish Peace Academy "is a university", but what kind of knowledge institution it actually constitutes, and what research significance can be attributed to the material produced, registered, digitised and made accessible there.

This article argues that the Danish Peace Academy is best understood as a civil-society-based digital research archive, a bibliographical research project, a source publisher and a specialised peace-historical research environment.

This characterisation can also be placed in a broader international research context. Research on community archives has shown that archive projects outside established institutions can play an independent role in collecting, describing, preserving and disseminating historical material.

2. A Research Environment outside the University

The Danish Peace Academy is organisationally different from a university institution. It should therefore not be assessed by whether it meets the criteria for being a university.

The more relevant question is whether it performs functions that, within the research system, are normally undertaken by libraries, archives,

documentation centres, museums, special collections and research infrastructures.

To a considerable extent, the Danish Peace Academy does so.

International research into humanities research infrastructure points precisely to the fact that libraries, archives, catalogues, bibliographies and search systems are not merely administrative aids. They enable researchers to identify, locate, verify and use historical sources.

Ciaran B. Trace, for example, describes the archive as part of the infrastructure supporting humanities research and emphasises the importance of bibliographical, classificatory and informational processes that make material retrievable and usable.

The work of the Danish Peace Academy can therefore be assessed through a broader concept of research than that represented by the traditional research article.

3. Holger Terp and the Librarian's Research Method

Holger Terp qualified as a librarian in Copenhagen in 1992 and has been active in Danish peace movements since the beginning of the 1980s. He initiated Fred på Nettet, co-founded the Danish Peace Academy in 2000, and has served as editor and webmaster of the Academy's website. He has also produced a large number of bibliographical and historical works.

This background is central to understanding the Academy's method.

The work is strongly shaped by librarianship disciplines:

- bibliographical registration
- systematisation
- classification
- source referencing
- searching and retrieval
- digitization
- full-text archiving
- personal and organisational registers
- chronological documentation.

Terp's research profile is therefore not primarily that of the classical university researcher. It lies to a considerable extent in the roles of bibliographer, documentalist, editor, digital source publisher and historical communicator.

This matters because research systems can easily underestimate work that does not appear as traditional research publications.

A large part of the humanities research process takes place before the analysis itself: the researcher must first be able to find the material, identify it, verify its provenance and understand its context.

This is precisely the function that the work of the Danish Peace Academy often performs.

4. Fred på tryk as Bibliographical Research

A central example is Fred på tryk: Bibliografi over dansk freds- og sikkerhedspolitisk litteratur 1881–1988, published in 1989.

The work is registered in Danish library collections and was published as an independent bibliography.

The research significance of the bibliography lies in making an otherwise dispersed field of research visible.

Peace literature has often been published through organisations, associations, political movements, small publishers, journals and other channels outside ordinary scholarly book production. It can therefore be difficult to find through conventional literature searches.

A bibliography such as Fred på tryk is therefore not merely a list of books.

It functions as a map of a field of research.

It makes it possible to identify what has been written, when it was written, by whom, and within which political and historical contexts.

The fact that the work has been registered and mentioned outside the Danish Peace Academy's own website also demonstrates that it exists as an independent bibliographical publication and not merely as an internal working tool.

5. Peace in Print and International Research Infrastructure

The international continuation of this method is Peace in Print: The History of the Peace Movements – A Short Bibliography.

The Danish Peace Academy describes the bibliography as an evolving, freely accessible and multilingual bibliography of the history of peace and peace movements. It covers more than 500 years of history and includes literature in a wide range of European languages.

The bibliography is divided, among other things, into:

- library catalogues and research tools
- bibliographies
- personal bibliographies

- lists of peace movements
- literature on the history of peace movements.

The section concerning library catalogues and research tools is itself extensive. The current database gives 1,715 records.

What matters is not only the number of records, but the function performed by the bibliography.

It attempts to connect the researcher with libraries, archives, catalogues, collections and existing research.

This is precisely one of the functions that modern research in digital research infrastructures identifies as crucial to humanities research. Digital archives become fully useful for research only when their materials are structured, described, connected and searchable.

Peace in Print can therefore reasonably be described as a digital research infrastructure for peace history.

6. The Danish Peace Academy's Bibliographical Method in a Broader Research History

It is important to place Terp's bibliographical work within a longer tradition.

Peace in Print is not based on the assumption that the Danish Peace Academy is the only place where peace-historical literature has been registered. On the contrary, the bibliography contains references to existing libraries, research bibliographies and collections, including the Nobel Institute Library, the Peace Palace Library and the Swarthmore College Peace Collection.

This is methodologically interesting.

Terp's work consists to a considerable extent in connecting existing research infrastructures and making them more visible to researchers.

This means that the bibliographical value of the Danish Peace Academy need not necessarily be measured by how many sources are “owned” by the Academy, but by how effectively it helps researchers find existing sources and research.

This function corresponds to the broader understanding of research infrastructure, in which bibliographies, catalogues, archives and metadata act as intermediaries between historical materials and researchers.

7. Danish Peace History

A third central area is Danish Peace History.

The project seeks to present Danish peace and antimilitarist history from a long-term perspective and deals, among other things, with political antimilitarism, the League of Nations, refugee work, non-violent resistance during the Second World War, the Cold War and the campaign against nuclear weapons.

The work is characterised by extensive literature and source references and appears as an ongoing digital working project rather than as a completed university monograph.

This form has both strengths and weaknesses.

Its strength is that new sources and references can continually be added.

Its weakness is that the scholarly status of the text can be more difficult to assess because it has not necessarily undergone the same editorial and peer-review process as a university publication.

It is therefore most accurate to regard Danish Peace History as a digital historical working and documentation project that can serve as an entry point to further research, while individual historical claims should be checked against the primary and secondary sources cited.

8. Ellen Hørup, Gandhi and Biographical Documentation

The work on Ellen Hørup shows how the Danish Peace Academy's method is also applied to individuals.

Terp's documentation of Ellen Hørup records an extensive body of writing and her international engagement, including her connection with Gandhi. The Academy's material identifies, among other things, articles in Politiken, Calcutta Review, India Bulletin, India Today, Modern Review and other publications.

The work is interesting because it combines bibliography, biography and source publication.

It also has a broader academic foundation. Terp was co-editor, together with E. S. Reddy, of Friends of Gandhi: Correspondence of Mahatma Gandhi with Esther Faering (Menon), Anne Marie Petersen and Ellen Horup. The work thus connects his documentation with an international tradition of research and source publication concerning Gandhi and the Scandinavian reception of Gandhi.

This is an important example of the fact that Terp's work has not existed solely within the Danish Peace Academy's own digital world.

9. External Academic Use

An important change from a purely internal assessment of the Danish Peace Academy is to investigate whether other researchers have actually used the material.

There is documentation of such use.

A recent research work on the reception of Rabindranath Tagore in Denmark refers to Holger Terp as a peace researcher and activist and refers to his work in connection with documentation of the internationalist and peace-oriented milieu surrounding India and the Indian independence movement.

Even clearer is the use of the Danish Peace Academy's material on Greenham Common.

Research on the visual culture of Greenham Common uses photographs from the Academy's collection, including material from the Greenham Common Women's Peace Camp's Songbook. The photographs are credited to Sigrid Møller, Holger Terp and the Danish Peace Academy.

This is important because it demonstrates the difference between claiming that a collection is valuable for research and being able to show that researchers actually use it.

The Greenham example demonstrates the latter.

Terp's digitisation and documentation have thus become part of the source base that other researchers can use in their own research.

10. The Danish Peace Academy as a Community Archive

International research on community archives provides a useful theoretical framework for understanding the position of the Danish Peace Academy.

A systematic review of research on community archives emphasises that such projects can perform functions including collecting, appraising, describing, organising, preserving and disseminating documentary material. At the same time, they may be closely connected with activism and social justice.

Research also indicates that community archives do not necessarily follow the same ideals of neutrality as traditional archival institutions. They may be created by people who themselves belong to the movement or environment whose history they document.

This perspective is relevant to the Danish Peace Academy.

The Academy is not merely a neutral repository of peace-historical documents. It was developed by people with an active commitment to the peace movement and is explicitly oriented towards peace culture, pacifism and criticism of militarism.

It should therefore be understood as an activist or civil-society-based archival and research environment rather than as a neutral national archive.

That does not automatically make the material less valuable.

It makes it interesting from a source-critical perspective.

11. Activism and Research

The relationship between activism and research is central.

Can a project with a political and normative starting point be scientifically relevant?

Modern research on community archives indicates that the question should not be answered through a simple opposition between neutrality and activism. Community archives can challenge traditional ideas of archival neutrality while at the same time producing material that is important for historical research.

The decisive issue is therefore not whether the Danish Peace Academy has a normative starting point.

It does.

The decisive issue is whether the user can identify:

- who produced a source
- when it was produced
- whether it is a primary or secondary source
- whether the text was written by the Danish Peace Academy itself
- which sources support a historical claim
- whether an interpretation can be independently verified.

These are ordinary principles of source criticism.

The Academy's normative orientation should therefore not lead to an automatic rejection of its material. It should lead to more explicit source-critical use of it.

12. The Danish Peace Academy as Digital Humanities

The digital character of the Danish Peace Academy is particularly interesting.

The Academy's website functions not merely as a presentation of an organisation, but as access to:

- bibliographical databases
- electronic books
- chronologies
- encyclopaedia articles
- documents
- images
- music
- historical sources.

This combination of different source types makes it possible to move between bibliography, text, image, sound and historical context.

Modern research in digital humanities emphasises precisely the importance of structured, integrated and searchable digital archives. Digitised and born-digital archives can open up new research methods, but their research value depends to a considerable extent on metadata, structure, interoperability and retrievability.

The work of the Danish Peace Academy can therefore be seen as an early civil-society-based form of digital humanities infrastructure.

This does not mean that the entire Danish Peace Academy website can automatically be labelled “digital humanities” in the narrow disciplinary sense.

But its functions are close to some of the central activities with which modern digital humanities are concerned: digitisation, metadata, text collections, linking sources and digital access to cultural heritage.

13. The Cultural History of the Peace Movement

The work of the Danish Peace Academy also goes beyond traditional political history.

The Academy has built documentation of peace songs, protest music, songbooks, photographs and other cultural material. The collection includes, among other things, material from Greenham Common and documentation of songs and music connected with peace and antimilitarist movements.

This is significant for research because social movements do not exist only through organisations and political resolutions.

They also exist through:

- music
- images
- posters
- rituals
- slogans
- symbols
- personal narratives
- collective memories.

Research on Greenham Common demonstrates concretely how such material can enter contemporary cultural-historical research. Photographic material from the Danish Peace Academy has been used as visual source material in research on the aesthetics and political culture of the peace camp.

The Academy's collections thus become relevant not only to peace history, but also to research into social movements, visual culture, gender, political communication and collective memory.

14. Source Criticism, Metadata and Provenance

Precisely because the Danish Peace Academy contains so many different types of material, metadata and provenance are crucial.

A researcher should be able to see whether a text is:

- a primary source
- a historical secondary source
- a newspaper article
- a bibliography
- educational material
- a political commentary
- or a text written by the Danish Peace Academy itself.

This distinction is not merely technical.

It is crucial to the research usability of the material.

International archival research stresses that description, classification, provenance and context are essential if archival material is to be used as a research source.

The Danish Peace Academy's further development should therefore not only concern adding more material. It should also make the existing structure of the collection even more explicit.

This applies especially to:

- metadata

- dates
- author information
- source provenance
- version history
- the distinction between primary and secondary sources
- information about digitisation
- references to external archives and libraries.

The clearer these details are, the easier it becomes for other researchers to verify and reuse the material.

15. Dependence on an Individual

A particular characteristic of the Danish Peace Academy is the major role played by Holger Terp.

The Academy's own documentation shows that Terp has been an initiator, co-founder, editor and webmaster and has been responsible for a large number of bibliographical and historical projects.

This continuity is a strength.

It has made it possible to work in a concentrated manner on the history of the peace movement over several decades.

But dependence on an individual is also an institutional vulnerability.

When a very large part of a research infrastructure is built and maintained by one central person, important knowledge about structure, metadata, source selection and technical solutions may remain implicit rather than documented.

This is a recognised problem for smaller community archives and activist archives, where limited resources, technical expertise and continuity can constitute significant challenges.

For the Danish Peace Academy, this means that a substantial part of future work should consist of institutional and technical documentation of the research infrastructure itself.

16. The Scholarly Significance of Bibliographical Work

It is important to reject the idea that bibliographical work is merely a preliminary stage to “real research”.

A bibliography can itself be a research result.

It can:

- define a field of research

- identify gaps in the literature
- reconstruct authorships
- document rare or difficult-to-access publications
- make dispersed sources searchable
- connect researchers with archives and collections
- make a field of research historically visible.

Peace in Print is a clear example of this. The bibliography contains not only books about the peace movement, but also references to research tools, library catalogues, archives and earlier bibliographies.

It thereby functions as a research infrastructure that can support the research of others.

17. From Activist Documentation to Research Infrastructure

The development of the Danish Peace Academy can therefore be understood as a movement through several stages.

First came the peace movement's need to document its own history and political arguments.

Then came the bibliographical work, in which existing literature was registered.

After that came digitisation, which made the material available on the internet.

Finally, a more complex research infrastructure emerged in which bibliographies, chronologies, documents, images, music and historical texts were connected.

In several respects, this development corresponds to the broader development within community archives and digital humanities, where local or movement-based collections can develop into research resources with wider applications.

The particular significance of the Danish Peace Academy therefore lies not only in what it itself believes about peace and war.

It also lies in the fact that the Academy has made it possible for others to investigate what the peace movement has written, produced, sung, organised and preserved.

18. An Assessment of Holger Terp's Research Profile

On the basis of the material as a whole, Holger Terp's research profile can be characterised as that of a librarian, documentalist, peace historian and

digital research communicator with a long-term specialisation in the history of the peace movement.

His work combines four principal areas:
1. librarianship and bibliographical method
2. historical documentation
3. digital source publication
4. peace-policy and pacifist engagement.

This is a different research profile from that of the traditional university researcher.

But it is not outside the world of research.

On the contrary, it fulfils a function that universities and traditional research institutions have not always had the resources or incentives to undertake: systematic documentation of a specialised and partly marginalised historical field.

The external use of Terp's material strengthens this assessment. His documentation, for example, forms part of recent research on Greenham Common and historical research into Danish-Indian and internationalist milieus.

19. What Can Reasonably Be Concluded?

A scholarly assessment should at the same time avoid overstating the documentation.

On the present basis, it cannot simply be claimed that the Danish Peace Academy has attained the same academic status as a university, a national research centre or a professional research library.

Nor is there a basis for claiming that all historical presentations by the Danish Peace Academy have been peer-reviewed or broadly accepted by historians.

The stronger and more precise conclusion is different:

The Danish Peace Academy has created a research-usable documentation infrastructure, and parts of this infrastructure have in fact been used in external research.

This is an important distinction.

It means that the research significance of the Danish Peace Academy does not rest solely on the Academy's own self-assessment.

20. Overall Assessment

The Danish Peace Academy should not be assessed as a university.

But neither should it be reduced to an activist website.

The most precise scholarly characterisation is:

The Danish Peace Academy is a civil-society-based, normatively oriented digital research and documentation environment with considerable bibliographical, archival, cultural-historical and research value.

Its most important contribution is the construction of a specialised research infrastructure for the study of the history of peace movements and peace culture.

The work on Fred på tryk, Peace in Print, Danish Peace History, Ellen Hørup, Gandhi, Greenham Common, peace songs, nuclear weapons and Danish antimilitarism demonstrates a consistent interest in collecting, registering, digitising and making historical material accessible.

This is an independent form of research production.

At the same time, the significance of the Danish Peace Academy has been supported by external use. Material from the Academy has been used as source and visual material in recent academic research, including studies of Greenham Common and Danish-Indian peace and internationalism history.

21. Conclusion

The Danish Peace Academy represents a distinctive form of research and documentation outside the established university institutions.

Its scholarly significance lies not primarily in the institution's formal status, but in the research infrastructure created through decades of documentation work.

The Academy's bibliographies, digital library, chronologies, encyclopaedia, personal and organisational documentation, and collections of music, images and historical documents together constitute extensive material for the study of the history of peace, war and peace movements.

Holger Terp's work is central to this development. His background as a librarian and his long-term engagement with the peace movement have produced an unusual combination of bibliographical documentation, historical interest and digital dissemination.

It is therefore more precise to speak of civil-society-based research and documentation than of a simple opposition between “activism” and “science”.

The Danish Peace Academy's normative starting point should naturally form part of any critical use of the material. But a normative starting

point does not exclude research. What matters is that sources, method, interpretation and normative conclusions can be identified and assessed separately.

External research strengthens this conclusion. Terp's work has not merely been presented by the Danish Peace Academy as relevant to research; specific parts of the material have been taken up, cited or used by other researchers. This includes documentation of the Danish peace and internationalist tradition and the extensive material on Greenham Common.

The historical significance of the Danish Peace Academy can therefore be summarised as follows:

For more than two decades, the Danish Peace Academy has built an independent, digital and civil-society-based research infrastructure for the study of the history of the peace movement. Its most important contribution is not only its historical interpretations, but the extensive bibliographical, archival and digital documentation that makes the otherwise dispersed cultural heritage of the peace movement accessible to the public and to future research.

The strongest scholarly argument for the Danish Peace Academy is therefore not that it should be regarded as a university.

It is that it has performed a number of functions on which research depends: finding, registering, preserving, digitising, connecting and making sources available.

Selected Notes and Sources

The Danish Peace Academy, Research Tools of the Danish Peace Academy. The Academy itself describes its encyclopaedia, chronology, electronic library and databases of documents, poems, music and songs as research tools.

Holger Terp, CV and bibliographical information. Documents his training as a librarian, engagement in the peace movement, co-founding of the Danish Peace Academy, and work on Fred på tryk, Peace in Print and Danish Peace History.

Holger Terp, Fred på tryk: Bibliografi over dansk freds- og sikkerhedspolitisk litteratur 1881–1988, Copenhagen, 1989.

Holger Terp, Peace in Print: The History of the Peace Movements – A Short Bibliography. Online edition of the Danish Peace Academy.

Holger Terp, Peace in Print, “Library catalogues and research tools”. The current online edition gives 1,715 records in this section.

Holger Terp, Danish Peace History. See, among other things, the sections on political antimilitarism and the League of Nations.

Holger Terp, Ellen Hørup and Mohandas Gandhi.

Holger Terp & E. S. Reddy, Friends of Gandhi: Correspondence of Mahatma Gandhi with Esther Faering (Menon), Anne Marie Petersen and Ellen Horup.

Daniel Henschen, “Det indiske forbillede: Metafysisk længsel, kulturkritik og ...”, Kulturstudier 2023.

Translation status: consolidated English working master. Further articles from the Danish source will be added in the original order.

2. Holger Terp and the Struggle against Forgetting

There are people who collect things. And then there are people who collect traces.

Holger Terp belongs to the latter category.

In Denmark at the Bottom, he tells of a life that begins with a question many people take for granted: Where do I come from? For Terp, the answer is not simple. His childhood is marked by child welfare institutions, foster care and adoption, and his knowledge of his own family later has to be reconstructed through church registers, records, archives and other documents.

Here, a possible key to his life can be found.

The man who, as an adult, would collect and register an enormous amount of material on peace, war and political movements is also the child who experienced how difficult it can be to find the traces of a person's history.

It is not possible to prove that one directly caused the other. But as a literary reading of the autobiography, the connection is striking.

Terp's life can be read as a movement from identity to documentation and from documentation to peace research.

The Child Who Lacked a History

Terp's account of his beginnings is strikingly documentary. Family members, grandparents, birth, child welfare, adoption and foster family are not merely remembered; they are investigated. He searches archives for information and tries to piece together a history that is not simply available within the family.

This creates a particular situation. Where others may inherit their family history as a story, Terp has to find his to a greater extent.

Names, dates and institutional documents become pieces of a puzzle. And when documents are missing, the absence itself becomes significant.

An archive can tell us something through what it contains. But it can also tell us something through what no longer exists.

When Memory Is Not Enough

Terp describes his own memory as uncertain. It is therefore necessary to reconstruct parts of his life through other people's recollections and through documents.

Here one of the autobiography's great paradoxes emerges: the man who cannot always rely on his own memory becomes determined to preserve information.

Books, journals, archival records, bibliographies, databases and websites become his tools. He collects. He registers. He classifies. He tries to make it possible to find things again.

One may, of course, call this a collector's obsession. Terp himself approaches his collecting habit with humour. But there is another way of understanding it.

The collection creates continuity. Where life may be marked by ruptures, the archive can create coherence. Where people can disappear, their names can be preserved. Where memory fails, the document can remain. Collecting thus also becomes a way of holding on.

The Outsider

Terp's youth takes him through environments far removed from established middle-class life. He becomes a sailor, lives for periods on the margins of society and comes to Christiania in the early 1970s.

Christiania becomes an encounter with an alternative society—but also with a world in which traditional authorities are challenged.

This suits a personality that throughout life seems to have had a strong need to investigate things for himself.

Terp is critical of authorities. But he is not opposed to knowledge. On the contrary. He is sceptical of authority when it cannot document itself.

That is an important distinction. He wants to know where information comes from. He wants to find the source. He wants to see the document.

The same person who can be politically critical of the system can therefore be intellectually almost obsessed with systematic organisation.

From Resistance to Method

The encounter with militarism becomes a decisive turning point.

Terp chooses conscientious objection. Resistance to being required to learn the use of violence begins as a personal moral choice, but later develops into a broader political and historical commitment.

Here something characteristic of his life begins. An experience becomes an attitude. The attitude becomes a question. The question becomes research. And the research becomes documentation.

This may be the most important method in Terp's life. He does not merely settle for believing that something is wrong. He wants to investigate how it came to be that way.

From Activist to Archivist

When Terp later becomes more involved in the peace movement, he discovers that the movement of which he himself is a part has a long and extensive history. But the history is scattered. Publications disappear. People are forgotten. Organisations dissolve. Archives are lost.

This is where his earlier experiences and personal inclinations meet. The activist becomes an archivist. The librarian becomes a historian. The collector becomes a documentalist.

He begins not merely to work for peace. He begins to work so that the history of peace can be found.

That is an important distinction. For a peace activist, the goal is peace. For a documentalist, another goal is that the world should not forget that people have tried to create it.

The History of the Forgotten

Terp's interest in peace history can therefore be seen as an extension of his own search for origins. First he investigates his own family. Then he becomes interested in the lives of other people. Then in the history of organisations. Finally in the historical development of the peace movement as a whole.

The personal question grows: Who am I? becomes Where do I come from? which becomes What happened to those who came before me? and ends in a much larger question: What have people throughout history done to prevent war?

This is where peace research becomes more than political. It becomes a question of memory.

The History of War Is Full—the History of Peace Disappears

Terp turns the historical perspective on its head in his own way. History books are full of wars. Wars have dates, generals, battlefields, weapons and monuments.

But what about all those who tried to prevent war? Where is their history? Where are their archives? Where are their names? Where are their books?

It is precisely this void that Terp attempts to fill.

His work on the peace movement can therefore be seen as a kind of counter-archive to traditional military history. He collects what might otherwise easily be overlooked.

The Place of Humour

This could have made his autobiography heavy and bitter. It does not quite do so.

Terp often writes with dry humour and a considerable measure of self-irony. This also applies when he describes age, illness, social problems and his own peculiarities.

Humour does something important. It prevents the narrative from becoming a pure victim story.

He presents himself as a person who has both been subjected to things and made strange choices himself. This gives the self-portrait a particular independence.

He does not necessarily need to appear as a hero or martyr. He can also be the strange collector with too many books, too many projects and a computer that can no longer cope with his work.

An Intellectual Home

If the biological family history is difficult to find at the beginning of life, Terp gradually creates another kind of belonging. It becomes an intellectual home.

It consists of books, historical figures, peace activists, organisations and ideas. He creates connections between them. He gives them space. He records their names. He preserves their publications.

In this way he creates something resembling a historical family. It is not a biological family. It is a community of people who share an idea of peace. And Terp becomes their archivist.

The Struggle against Forgetting

It is therefore possible to see a common motif throughout Denmark at the Bottom: Terp struggles against forgetting.

He struggles against personal forgetting because his own memory is not always sufficient. He struggles against family forgetting by looking for people whose traces have become faint. He struggles against institutional forgetting when archives are discarded or information disappears. And he struggles against historical forgetting when the people and ideas of the peace movement risk disappearing from collective memory.

It is the same struggle on an ever larger scale.

From Identity to Documentation

Seen in this way, Terp's life project is almost geometric:

- Identity — He tries to find out who he himself is.

- Documentation — He discovers that the past must be found through traces.
- Collection — He begins preserving the traces.
- Library — He develops methods for organising them.
- History — He discovers that other people's stories are also missing.
- Peace research — He makes it his life's project to document the history of peace and the peace movement.

It is this development that makes his life more interesting than an ordinary account of a Danish peace activist.

From the Child without a History to the Archivist of the Forgotten

There is ultimately an almost poetic circle in it all. As a child, Terp depends on others to tell and document his history. As an adult, he tries to find it. Later he begins documenting himself. And finally he documents others.

He thus moves from being an object of registration to becoming a subject of registration. From the person who is entered into systems to the person who enters people into history.

This may be the most precise way of understanding his life.

He begins with a question about his own sense of belonging. He ends by creating a place where others can belong historically.

This is why Holger Terp's work with peace history can be understood as more than activism and more than library work. It is also an attempt to say: You shall not be forgotten.

Perhaps this is where his personal history and his historical project meet. The child who searches for traces of his own history becomes the adult who spends the rest of his life ensuring that the traces of others do not disappear.

From “Who am I?” to “Who must not be forgotten?” That is the movement running through Holger Terp's life.

What Is the Danish Peace Academy, Really?

The Danish Peace Academy was established in 2000 and describes its purpose as disseminating knowledge about war, peace, international law and pacifism. It has built an extensive digital body of material comprising an encyclopaedia, chronologies, bibliographies, books, articles, documents, and material on peace movements, music and songs.

It is therefore more precise to regard it as a private, pacifist documentation archive and dissemination project than as an academy in the ordinary

university sense. This distinction is important when assessing its credibility.

Holger Terp — Strengths

Terp has a genuine professional background as a librarian and has worked with the peace movement since the beginning of the 1980s. Among other things, he has been involved with Never Again War, the Conscientious Objectors' Association, the Gandhi Information Centre and the Danish Peace Council. He was a co-founder of the Danish Peace Academy and has since served as its editor/webmaster.

His greatest strength, in my assessment, is the collecting and bibliographical work. The amount of material he has registered is genuinely impressive. His bibliography includes, among other things, Fred på tryk, Peace in Print, historical bibliographies, material on Danish peace organisations, and documentation of peace songs and antimilitarist culture.

Here the Danish Peace Academy has a value that should not necessarily be underestimated, even if one disagrees with Terp's political conclusions.

The Main Weakness: Political Bias

Here one needs to be considerably more critical. Terp does not conceal his basic outlook. On the presentation page, for example, war is described as an "expression of barbarism", and the project views peace culture as a driving force for the development of a better society.

This means that the Danish Peace Academy should not be treated as a neutral research institution.

The important point, however, is that bias does not necessarily mean that the information is incorrect. There is a difference between "The source has a particular political starting point" and "The source is unreliable."

It is more appropriate to read it as an engaged primary or secondary source from the perspective of the peace movement.

Terp's Method

Terp's material varies greatly in character. Some of his works are bibliographical or documentary and can be checked relatively easily. Others are clearly argumentative and polemical.

A good example is his article on the EU Constitutional Treaty, in which he argues that the treaty promotes militarism. He states that he uses treaty texts, official documents, dissertations and analytical articles.

It is positive that sources are actually given. At the same time, the conclusion is politically framed. One should therefore distinguish between:

- the documents reproduced by Terp;

- his interpretation of the documents;
- his political conclusion.

It is especially the last point that requires independent verification.

There is also a certain circularity in Terp's material. The Danish Peace Academy contains many texts by Terp himself, while Terp's own works are simultaneously registered and made part of the bibliographical universe. This does not make the material worthless, but it means that one must be careful about using self-documentation as evidence that Terp's interpretation is broadly accepted.

It is somewhat like using an organisation's own archive as documentation of the organisation's importance: highly interesting as source material, but insufficient as independent confirmation.

The Archival Value Is High

Here, in my view, the Danish Peace Academy deserves substantial recognition. The collection contains, for example, historical material on Danish peace organisations, opposition to nuclear weapons, the women's peace movement, Gandhi, the First World War, the Vietnam War, Greenland, international politics and peace songs.

There is also material that may be difficult to find together elsewhere.

This makes the collection relevant to historians, journalists, students and researchers investigating the peace movement itself.

And here there is an important point: a source does not have to be neutral to be historically valuable.

On the contrary, it can be a very valuable source for investigating how the Danish peace movement itself has understood war, NATO, nuclear weapons, the United States, the Soviet Union/Russia, the EU and Danish security policy.

Overall Assessment

The source text gives the following assessment:

Documentation work — 8/10

Bibliographical work — 8/10

Historical archival value — 8/10

Neutrality — 3/10

Academic peer review — 2–3/10

As a source for the peace movement's own history — 9/10

As the sole source for controversial political questions — 3/10

I would not dismiss the Danish Peace Academy as untrustworthy. That would be too simple. But neither would I use it uncritically as an authoritative academic source.

The most precise characterisation in the source text is: an extensive and potentially very valuable private documentation archive, created from a clearly pacifist and antimilitarist perspective, in which the documentary material is often more valuable than the political conclusions.

Terp's great achievement is especially that he has collected, digitised, systematised and made accessible material from the history of the Danish peace movement. His weakness is that the boundary between documentation, interpretation and political argument sometimes becomes unclear.

If, for example, one is investigating NATO, the war in Ukraine, nuclear weapons, US foreign policy or Danish defence policy, the source text recommends using the Danish Peace Academy as one interesting source among several and then comparing Terp's presentation with official documents, research literature and sources representing a different security-policy perspective.

3. Johan Galtung

Peace Science and Peace Research — with Johan Galtung as a Pioneer

Introduction

Peace science and peace research denote an interdisciplinary field of research that examines the causes of war, violence and conflict, as well as possibilities for preventing violence and creating peaceful relations between people, groups and states. The terms are often used synonymously with peace research, peace studies, and peace and security-policy research.

The Danish Peace Academy defines peace research as interdisciplinary, university-based research in international politics, with emphasis on conflicts and the aim of creating insight into the conditions for preventing violence between states and groups and promoting harmonious and creative relations between nations and population groups. Peace research thus becomes both an investigation of conflicts and a search for the conditions of peace.

This duality makes peace research interesting as a scientific field. On the one hand, it is expected to produce systematic and verifiable knowledge about war, conflict and peace. On the other hand, the field has from the beginning had a practical and normative purpose: to contribute to the prevention of war and violence. The question therefore becomes whether peace research is simply research about peace, or whether it can also be understood as a genuine peace science—a science that has peace as its particular subject while also wishing to contribute to the advancement of peace.

The Historical Roots of Peace Science

Peace science is not solely a product of the period after the Second World War. The Danish Peace Academy points to a number of earlier attempts to make the study of peace and war the subject of systematic scientific inquiry.

As early as 1872, the jurist Louis A. J. Baba used the term La science de la paix. The French sociologist Raphaël Dubois later used the term pacifisme scientifique in lectures at the University of Lyon during the period 1904–1914. Early peace research dealt, among other things, with the causes of war, international law, international organisations, federalism, treaties and arbitration.

After the First World War, work on international politics became more institutionalised. The establishment of the League of Nations contributed to the development of both peace education and research into international

relations. The first chairs in international politics were established, and institutions emerged that made international conflicts and patterns of co-operation the subject of systematic study.

An important work in this development was Quincy Wright's A Study of War. The work attempted to define war as a research subject, collect empirical data on wars and synthesise existing research on war and conflicts. It thereby created an important foundation for modern peace research.

From War Research to Peace Research

Peace science cannot be reduced to the study of war. A central question is precisely the relationship between peace and conflict: Why do conflicts arise? When do conflicts develop into violence? Which social, political and economic conditions promote or inhibit violence? And how can conflicts be managed without violence?

The Danish Peace Academy therefore describes peace research as an interdisciplinary science in which history, political science, psychology, international studies, sociology and economics serve as tools.

Interdisciplinarity is essential. War and peace cannot simply be explained through a single academic discipline. War can simultaneously be a political, historical, economic, psychological, legal and social phenomenon. Likewise, peace cannot be understood solely as the absence of military conflict. It may also be connected with social relations, justice, development, human rights and possibilities for non-violent conflict resolution.

In this sense, peace research can be understood as a form of war-prevention science: it attempts not merely to understand why wars arise, but also to create knowledge that can be used to prevent them.

Johan Galtung and Modern Peace Research

Among the central pioneers of modern peace research is the Norwegian scholar Johan Galtung. The Danish Peace Academy's biographical entry describes Galtung as a Norwegian interdisciplinary peace researcher and pacifist and as one of the pioneers of modern peace research. He was trained as a mathematician and founded the Peace Research Institute Oslo (PRIO) in 1959, which he led until 1970. In 1964 he initiated the Journal of Peace Research.

Galtung's background is interesting from the philosophy-of-science perspective. He did not originally come from a traditional humanities or political-science education, but from mathematics. Nevertheless, his work became strongly interdisciplinary. His peace research came to include sociology, politics, economics, psychology and international relations.

This combination of mathematical training and interdisciplinary social research is characteristic of Galtung's project. Peace research was not merely to consist of moral reflections on peace. It was to develop concepts, theories and methods that could be applied to the systematic analysis of conflicts.

Galtung's Significance for Peace Science

Galtung's significance therefore lies not only in his individual writings. He also contributed institutionally to establishing peace research as an academic field.

The creation of PRIO in 1959 and the Journal of Peace Research in 1964 were important steps in this institutionalisation. Peace researchers had previously often had to work within already established academic fields. With the development of dedicated peace-research institutes and journals, peace research could gradually develop into a more independent field.

Galtung thus becomes an example of the transition from peace as a political and philosophical ideal to peace as a subject of organised scientific research.

Peace Research or Peace Science?

Here the central conceptual problem arises.

The Danish Peace Academy's entry uses peace research and peace science as synonyms. The same applies to terms such as peace research and peace studies.

One can nevertheless distinguish analytically between the concepts.

Peace research can be understood as research investigating peace, war, violence and conflicts. The term primarily says something about the research activity.

Peace science, by contrast, can be understood as the stronger claim that peace constitutes an independent scientific subject area—and perhaps even the basis of an independent discipline.

This distinction is not necessarily one made by the Danish Peace Academy itself. But it is useful when examining the epistemological status of peace research.

The question then becomes: Can peace be studied scientifically in the same way as war, economics, politics or social structures? And if peace research simultaneously seeks to promote peace, can it maintain a clear distinction between scientific analysis and political or moral commitment?

Science and Normativity

This question is particularly important in Galtung's work.

Peace science does not arise from a value-neutral desire merely to record that wars exist. It is interested in how violence can be prevented and how peace can be promoted. The Danish Peace Academy's definition of peace research contains precisely this purpose.

This does not necessarily mean that research ceases to be scientific. But it does mean that the researcher must be conscious of the difference between:

- an empirical description of how conflicts actually develop;
- a theoretical explanation of their causes;
- a normative assessment of which social conditions are desirable;
- a practical proposal for how violence or conflict can be prevented.

A scientific peace research must therefore be able to explain when it is describing and explaining, and when it is recommending or seeking to influence developments.

This is not a problem that applies only to Galtung. It is a fundamental question for peace research as a whole. But Galtung's work makes the question particularly clear because his research is explicitly linked to an ambition to make peace something that can be studied, explained and promoted.

From Negative to Positive Peace

A central part of Galtung's thinking is that peace should not be defined solely as the absence of war. Such a definition can be called negative peace: there is no direct armed violence.

A broader understanding of peace also includes the social conditions that enable people and groups to live together without violence. The research interest thereby moves from asking only why wars arise to examining the structures and relationships that can create or maintain violence.

This considerably expands the subject area of peace research. Economic conditions, political institutions, social hierarchies, discrimination, development and relations between groups can all become relevant areas of peace-scientific research.

Peace thus becomes not merely a question of diplomacy and military conflict. It also becomes a question of the structures of society.

The Institutionalisation of Peace Research

The development in which Galtung participated led to the creation of peace-research institutes and academic environments in many countries. The Danish Peace Academy's overview mentions institutions in the Nordic

countries, Britain, Germany and the United States, as well as international organisations for peace researchers.

Peace science was thus gradually institutionalised through universities, research institutes, journals, organisations and educational programmes.

This institutionalisation is important for understanding peace research as a science. A scientific discipline consists not only of theories and methods. It also has institutions, research communities, journals, education and professional standards.

Galtung's work at PRIO and with the Journal of Peace Research should be understood in this context. He was not merely the author of a series of books and articles; he also helped create the institutional frameworks in which peace research could develop as an international field.

A Critical Scientific Assessment

Galtung's contribution can therefore be assessed on at least three different levels.

First, he contributed to the institutionalisation of peace research. PRIO and the Journal of Peace Research are central elements of this history.

Second, he contributed to theoretical development through attempts to develop concepts and models for understanding peace, conflict and violence.

Third, he contributed to an expansion of the concept of peace, in which peace is understood not only as the absence of war but also in relation to social and structural conditions.

At the same time, this breadth makes Galtung's work difficult to place within a single traditional discipline. His project is interdisciplinary and combines empirical research, theory, philosophy and normative conceptions of peace. This is both a strength and an epistemological challenge.

An assessment of Galtung should therefore not ask only whether his theories are politically or morally appealing. The scientifically relevant questions are how his concepts can be defined, operationalised and investigated empirically, and how his normative assumptions can be distinguished from the empirical claims being made.

Conclusion

Peace science and peace research have historically emerged in the tension between the study of war and the desire to prevent war. The field is interdisciplinary and draws on history, political science, sociology, psychology and economics. The Danish Peace Academy's definition also shows that peace research is not merely about understanding conflicts, but about

creating knowledge concerning the conditions for preventing violence and promoting peaceful relations.

Johan Galtung occupies a central place in this development. As a trained mathematician, interdisciplinary researcher and institutional pioneer, he helped make peace research an international academic field. The establishment of PRIO in 1959 and the initiative behind the Journal of Peace Research in 1964 illustrate his institutional importance.

The decisive epistemological challenge, however, lies in the relationship between science about peace and science for peace. Peace research seeks both to understand the world and to contribute to changing it. Precisely for this reason, a scientific assessment of Galtung's work must examine both his empirical and theoretical contributions and the normative assumptions underlying his concept of peace.

Peace science can thus be understood as more than a synonym for peace research. As an analytical concept, it points to the ambition to make peace an independent scientific problem: not merely to ask why people wage war, but also what creates, maintains and enables peace.

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4. John Scales Avery (1933–2024)

Theoretical Chemist, Pugwash Activist and Chairman of the Danish Peace Academy

Introduction

John Scales Avery (26 May 1933–4 January 2024) occupies a distinctive place in recent Danish peace history. He was a trained scientist and worked as a theoretical chemist at the University of Copenhagen, but his activities extended far beyond research. From the beginning of the 1990s he became a central Danish participant in the Pugwash movement, and from 2004 to 2015 he was chairman of the Danish Peace Academy.

Avery thus belonged to the tradition of scientific peace activism that emerged after the development of the atomic bomb: the idea that scientists have not only a responsibility to develop new knowledge, but also to address the political and human consequences of the technologies that science makes possible.

His peace-policy work focused particularly on nuclear weapons, nuclear disarmament, the social responsibility of scientists, militarism, international cooperation and the United Nations. His later writing broadened the perspective to include poverty, population, resources, the environment and climate change. For Avery, the problem of peace thus became a question concerning global social development as a whole.

1. Childhood and Education

John Scales Avery was born on 26 May 1933 in Lebanon into an American family. He was educated at Phillips Academy in Andover and continued his studies in the United States. He obtained a bachelor's degree in physics from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and a master's degree from the University of Chicago. He later continued with theoretical chemistry at Imperial College London, where he completed his PhD in 1965.

This educational background is important for understanding his later peace-policy work. Avery did not come to the peace cause as a politician or traditional organisational activist, but from the natural sciences.

His scientific production included, among other subjects, quantum chemistry, the structure of atoms and molecules, thermodynamics, hyperspherical harmonic functions, and later questions of evolution and information theory. The University of Copenhagen research portal records, among

other things, his research in theoretical chemistry and his book Science and Society from 2016.

2. University of Copenhagen

Avery came to spend a substantial part of his professional life in Denmark and was affiliated with the University of Copenhagen as a theoretical chemist.

Translation status: The English working master has now been extended through the opening section of the John Scales Avery article. The remaining articles will continue in the original order.

3. Pugwash

Avery's most important international peace-policy affiliation was the Pugwash Conferences on Science and World Affairs.

The Pugwash movement was founded in the 1950s in response to scientists' concern about nuclear weapons and the risk of nuclear war. The movement was named after Pugwash in Canada, where the first conference was held in 1957. Bertrand Russell and Albert Einstein were among its initiators.

Avery himself states that from 1990 he was chairman of the Danish national Pugwash group. The Danish Peace Academy's biographical encyclopaedia similarly states that from 1990 he was Pugwash's contact person in Denmark.

This work became a central part of his identity as a peace activist.

The 1995 Nobel Peace Prize

In 1995, Pugwash received the Nobel Peace Prize for its work on the nuclear-weapons problem and for creating an international arena in which researchers from different countries could meet and work on disarmament and international security.

It is important, however, to formulate Avery's relationship to the Nobel Prize correctly. The prize was awarded to the Pugwash movement, not to Avery personally. Avery was part of the Danish Pugwash context working within this international tradition.

This distinction should be maintained in a scholarly Danish Peace Academy biography.

4. Nuclear Weapons and Nuclear Disarmament

The nuclear-weapons problem stood at the centre of Avery's peace-policy work.

His argument was shaped by a scientific understanding of the consequences of nuclear weapons, but also by a strong moral and international-law dimension. He did not regard nuclear weapons as merely another weapons system, but as a threat to the survival of civilisation itself.

One example is his work for a nuclear-weapon-free zone in the Nordic region. In the Pugwash context, he argued that Scandinavia could be a first step towards such an arrangement.

In 2008, as chairman of the Danish Pugwash group, he was behind a symposium on strengthening the Non-Proliferation Treaty and the International Atomic Energy Agency. Among other things, he emphasised the need to maintain the treaty's disarmament dimension.

Avery was thus not merely a commentator on the nuclear-weapons debate. He participated actively in the international discussion of the NPT, nuclear disarmament and nuclear-weapon-free zones.

5. The Danish Peace Academy

Avery's most important institutional role in Danish peace history was his chairmanship of the Danish Peace Academy.

According to the Academy's own biographical material, he became chairman in April 2004, while Avery's own biography gives the period 2004–2015.

The Danish Peace Academy was and remains an independent, non-commercial peace-historical and peace-education project comprising, among other things:

- a peace and security policy encyclopaedia
- chronologies
- a digital library
- article collections
- documentation
- music and song collections
- material on peace movements and peace culture

Under Avery, this digital documentation work became an important part of his activities.

His own books and articles are therefore not the only things of interest to his biography. The Danish Peace Academy's digital production during his chairmanship is itself part of the historical documentation of his work.

6. Avery as Author

Avery was an unusually productive author.

The Danish Peace Academy's digital library contains a large number of his books and essays. Among the registered titles are:

- Progress, Poverty and Population
- Space-Age Science and Stone-Age Politics
- Information Theory and Evolution
- Science and Society
- Energy, Resources and the Long-Term Future
- The Climate Emergency: Two Time Scales
- The Ecological Impact of Militarism
- Eliminating the Causes of War
- Ethics for the Future
- Famine, Disease and War
- Why War?
- Collected Essays

The Danish Peace Academy's bibliography thus shows how his writing moved from classical peace and disarmament questions towards a broader analysis of the problems of civilisation.

7. Science and Society

A central work is Science and Society.

Several of the questions running through Avery's intellectual work are brought together here: the relationship between science and society, the responsibility of scientists, and the question of how modern science should be used. The book was published by World Scientific in 2016.

The title itself is characteristic. For Avery, science was not value-free in the sense that the researcher could disclaim all responsibility for the application of research results. This idea had particular significance after the development of nuclear weapons.

Here his two identities as researcher and peace activist meet.

8. Information Theory and Evolution

Avery's scientific interests simultaneously extended far beyond nuclear physics and disarmament.

In Information Theory and Evolution (2003), he sought to connect information theory, thermodynamics, statistical mechanics and evolution. His approach encompassed not only biological evolution but also human and cultural development.

This shows an important aspect of his thinking: he often sought connections between apparently different scientific and social phenomena. The same holistic view later appeared in his peace-policy writing.

9. From the Nuclear Threat to the Crisis of Civilisation

In Avery's later works, nuclear war becomes part of a broader complex of problems. He increasingly addressed:

war → militarism → resources → poverty → population → environment → climate → the future of civilisation.

The Danish Peace Academy's digital library shows precisely this development in his works. It contains writings on nuclear weapons and war as well as books on climate, resources, economic equality, population and global sustainability.

Avery therefore did not regard peace as merely the absence of military conflict. In his view, peace also required a society capable of dealing with the global problems threatening human living conditions.

10. Why War?

Why War? is particularly relevant to understanding his overall peace thinking.

The title continues a question with a long intellectual history, but Avery applied it to the modern nuclear age. The question was not only why people wage war, but also why human societies continue to accept war as a political institution even after nuclear weapons have made its consequences potentially catastrophic.

His answer was closely connected with his belief that humanity must develop alternatives to the institution of war.

11. The Social Responsibility of Scientists

One of Avery's strongest themes was the social responsibility of scientists.

This idea arose naturally from his Pugwash engagement. If scientists had been decisive in developing nuclear weapons, scientists also had to help find ways out of the nuclear arms race.

Avery made this issue a subject in its own right in his writing. The Danish Peace Academy bibliography records, among other things, his work The Social Responsibility of Scientists.

Pugwash thereby became not only an organisation for disarmament, but also a particular conception of the ethical responsibility of science.

12. The Danish Peace Environment

Avery was part of a broader Danish peace environment comprising researchers, peace organisations, journalists, writers and activists.

His particular position derived from his ability to function as a link between several environments: university – Pugwash – peace movement – Danish Peace Academy – international disarmament policy.

The Academy's own sources document that the Danish Pugwash environment included, among others, Anders Boserup, Mogens Pihl and Joseph Rotblat, while Avery himself held a leading function in the Danish group.

Avery's history should therefore not be isolated from the wider Danish peace movement. His activities formed part of a larger network in which questions concerning nuclear weapons, NATO, disarmament, the United Nations and international security were discussed.

13. The Digital Legacy of the Danish Peace Academy

A significant part of Avery's historical importance lies in his participation in developing the Danish Peace Academy's digital documentation.

The Academy's English index, for example, records his annual reports, books, articles and a large amount of other material. Its library also contains several of his works in full text.

This material has a double function. First, it documents Avery's own views and activities. Second, it constitutes contemporary documentation of the intellectual work of the Danish peace environment at the beginning of the twenty-first century.

This makes the Danish Peace Academy's archive particularly important for future historical treatment of Avery.

14. Source-Critical Considerations

A scholarly biography of Avery should distinguish between different types of sources.

Avery's own writings — His books, essays, lectures and articles are primary sources for his own thinking and activities. They should not automatically be used as objective documentation of how other actors perceived events.

Danish Peace Academy material — The Academy's documentation is very important for the institution's own history, but must also be read with awareness that Avery himself held a leading position in the organisation.

Pugwash material — Pugwash conference reports and documents are central to reconstructing his international work. For example, Pugwash material from 2009 documents his function as chairman of the Danish national group.

Memoir material — Avery's later memoirs, including 67 Years in the Peace Movement, are valuable autobiographical sources, but methodologically must be treated as memory and self-presentation, not as an unproblematic final authority.

This distinction is particularly important in a Danish Peace Academy biography, because the purpose should be to document Avery historically—not merely to reproduce his own interpretation of himself.

15. Chronology

1933 — Born 26 May in Lebanon.

1950 — Graduates from Phillips Academy, Andover.

1950s — Studies physics at MIT and the University of Chicago.

1965 — Receives a PhD in theoretical chemistry from Imperial College London.

1970s–1980s — Scientific work in theoretical chemistry and quantum chemistry.

1988–1997 — Technical adviser to the WHO European Region.

1990 — Becomes associated with the Danish Pugwash group and assumes a leading role.

1995 — Pugwash receives the Nobel Peace Prize.

1998 — Member of the Danish Peace Commission.

2003 — Information Theory and Evolution is published.

2004 — Becomes chairman of the Danish Peace Academy.

2004 — Pugwash meeting on nuclear weapons held in Copenhagen.

2007 — Energy, Resources and the Long-Term Future.

2008 — Participates as Danish Pugwash chairman in a symposium on the NPT and IAEA.

2009 — Works, among other things, for a nuclear-weapon-free zone in the Nordic region.

2013 — Collected Essays published by the Danish Peace Academy.

2015 — Ends his chairmanship of the Danish Peace Academy.

2016 — Science and Society is published.

2017–2022 — Continues extensive writing on peace, nuclear weapons, climate, environment, economics and global politics.

2024 — Dies on 4 January.

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Archives and Collections

The Danish Peace Academy is the most important digital collection for Avery's Danish peace-policy activities. The collection contains his books, articles, annual reports, Pugwash material and other documentation.

The John Scales Avery Archive contains his own books and articles and is particularly valuable as a primary source for his self-presentation and intellectual development.

The Pugwash Conferences on Science and World Affairs are the central institutional source for his international disarmament work.

The University of Copenhagen Research Portal is central to documentation of his scientific production.

Digital Sources

- John Scales Avery — official website and work archive
- The Danish Peace Academy
- Avery — Peace and Security Policy Encyclopaedia
- The Danish Peace Academy's digital library
- University of Copenhagen Research Portal — John Scales Avery

Overall Assessment

In the history of the Danish Peace Academy, John Scales Avery should be understood as more than a single peace activist. His particular importance lies in the connection between natural science, nuclear-weapons policy, Pugwash, peace research and digital peace-historical documentation.

He continued a scientific peace tradition associated with Einstein, Russell and Pugwash, but developed it in a broader direction in which the nuclear-weapons problem was connected with militarism, economic inequality, resources, the environment and the long-term survival of civilization.

His chairmanship of the Danish Peace Academy from 2004 to 2015 also makes him a central figure in the Academy's own history. The Academy's extensive digital collection of his works means that Avery is not only an object of historical documentation; he is also one of the important producers of the documentation that future historians may use to write the history of the Danish peace environment at the beginning of the twenty-first century.

5. From Aage Bertelsen to Jan Øberg and Holger Terp

Peace Education as a Danish Humanist Tradition

Introduction

What does it mean to teach peace? The question may initially seem simple, but becomes more complex when peace is understood not merely as the absence of war, but as a human, political and educational practice. From this perspective, peace education can mean much more than telling pupils about wars and peace treaties. It can involve developing the ability to think critically, understand conflicts, practise non-violence and civic courage, understand human rights, and assume democratic responsibility.

In a Danish context, an interesting intellectual-historical line can be drawn from Aage Bertelsen (1901–1980), through Jan Øberg (born 1951), to Holger Terp's later work with peace education and peace history and the construction of the Danish Peace Academy.

The connection between Bertelsen and Øberg is well documented. Øberg himself has emphasised Bertelsen's importance for his development as a peace and futures researcher. Together with Johan Galtung, Øberg later wrote about Bertelsen as a "Danish educator for peace". They describe him as a pacifist, civilian resister, teacher and philosopher and highlight his work both during the occupation and as a schoolmaster.

But this history does not end with Øberg. Holger Terp's work with peace education, peace history, bibliographies, teaching materials and the establishment of the Danish Peace Academy can be seen as a later institutional and documentary continuation of the same basic idea: peace must be learned, investigated, documented and communicated.

The article's central question is therefore: How can Aage Bertelsen's humanist and pacifist educational work be understood as part of a Danish tradition of peace education, and how is this tradition continued through Jan Øberg and Holger Terp?

1. Aage Bertelsen — From Civic Courage to Peace Education

Aage Bertelsen is first and foremost known for his role in the rescue of Danish Jews in October 1943. Together with his wife Gerda, he was a central actor in the Lyngby group's efforts to help persecuted Danish Jews reach Sweden. Øberg and Galtung describe how the group organised the rescue of more than 7,000 Danish Jews.

But if Bertelsen is understood only as a resistance member, an important part of his historical significance is overlooked.

Bertelsen was also a schoolmaster and pacifist. He was headmaster of Aarhus Cathedral School from 1947 to 1969. According to Øberg, Bertelsen regarded himself primarily as a teacher and educator and believed that the school should be an institution of Bildung, where pupils not only learned a curriculum but were confronted with the world and its problems. Bertelsen invited, among others, Johan Galtung to speak at the school in 1968.

This is important for understanding Bertelsen's peace education. His starting point was not that pupils should merely know what peace was. They should learn to think about peace.

Teaching about peace can be factual: What was the First World War? What was the Second World War? What is NATO? What is the United Nations?

Peace education in Bertelsen's broader sense asks instead: Why do wars arise? What makes people accept violence? How can injustice be resisted? What can an individual do?

Teaching thereby also becomes a form of ethical and democratic education.

2. October 1943 — History as Moral Experience

Bertelsen's book October 43 is a central source for understanding his experiences during the occupation.

The book is interesting not merely because it tells what happened. It can also be used to investigate how people make choices under extreme historical conditions.

- When does passivity become a moral problem?
- What does civic courage mean?
- Why do some people help others while others remain passive?
- What happens when a state makes a minority into an enemy?
- How can non-violent resistance function?
- What responsibility do ordinary citizens have under a dictatorship?

The decisive point, however, is that October 43 should not be turned into an uncritical heroic narrative.

Bertelsen's book is a memoir source. It was written after the events and represents Bertelsen's perspective. It must therefore be compared with other sources and with historical research.

But precisely as a memoir source it is highly valuable because it provides access to the human experience behind the historical event.

3. From Resistance to Pacifism

There is an interesting tension in Bertelsen's life. He actively participated in resistance to the German occupation, while at the same time becoming a prominent pacifist.

This may initially appear contradictory: How can someone who participates in resistance to a dictatorship simultaneously oppose violence?

But the tension can also be understood as a point of development. The experience of 1943 may have sharpened the question of how violence arises in the first place and how it can be prevented.

Bertelsen's pacifism was therefore not necessarily an expression of passivity. On the contrary, it can be understood as an active belief that conflicts should be handled by means other than military force.

This understanding becomes central to later peace research.

4. Jan Øberg — The Pupil Who Became a Peace Researcher

Jan Øberg is the most direct connection between Bertelsen's school work and modern Danish peace research.

Øberg attended Aarhus Cathedral School during Bertelsen's period as headmaster. In a speech at the school in 2019, Øberg said that he owed much of his later life as a peace and futures researcher, international mediator and academic to the Cathedral School—and especially to Aage Bertelsen. He described Bertelsen as an unconventional schoolmaster, humanist and pacifist.

Øberg's recollection is important because it shows how a teacher can influence a pupil far beyond the school years.

Bertelsen did not merely give Øberg knowledge. He gave him an interest in the world's problems.

According to Øberg, Bertelsen was a school leader who could break with traditional teaching. Instead of remaining exclusively within narrow subject boundaries, he could, for example, use a mathematics lesson to talk about Albert Schweitzer and Albert Einstein.

This educational approach can be summarised as follows: The school should not isolate pupils from the world's problems. It should enable them to understand them.

This is a basic principle that is also close to modern peace education.

5. Bertelsen and Johan Galtung

The connection between Bertelsen and peace research becomes even clearer through Johan Galtung.

In the 1960s Bertelsen took an interest in the new academic peace research in the Nordic countries. He invited Galtung to Aarhus Cathedral School in 1968. Galtung and Bertelsen thus met personally, and according to Galtung himself, Galtung's work influenced Bertelsen's subsequent thinking.

Galtung later became one of the most influential figures in modern peace and conflict research.

Among other things, he helped develop an understanding of peace that distinguishes between negative peace—the absence of direct violence—and positive peace, in which unjust and violence-producing structures must also be addressed.

Bertelsen's school pedagogy thus becomes interesting in relation to academic peace research:

- Bertelsen: How are people educated for peace?
- Galtung: How do we analyse peace and conflict scientifically?
- Øberg: How is peace research translated into analysis, criticism and practical conflict work?

6. Holger Terp — Peace Education as Documentation and Institution

This is where Holger Terp's work enters the history.

Terp's contribution differs from Bertelsen's and Øberg's in being more closely connected with documentation, dissemination, teaching materials and the construction of a digital peace-historical infrastructure.

Terp has, among other things, worked with bibliographies of Danish peace and security literature. His CV at the Danish Peace Academy highlights Fred på tryk: Bibliografi over dansk freds- og sikkerhedslitteratur, 1881–1988 and his work on Peace in Print.

This work is not merely bibliographical. It is also educational for peace.

If peace education is to be possible, there must be sources, books, historical documents, teaching materials, concepts, timelines, research references and access to the peace movement's own history.

Terp's work of collecting and digitising this material can therefore be seen as a form of peace-historical infrastructure.

7. The Danish Peace Academy

This becomes particularly clear in connection with the establishment of the Danish Peace Academy.

In 2000 Terp wrote about plans for a Danish Peace Academy. The vision included creating teaching materials for different age groups—from sixth grade to postgraduate level—as well as material on current peace-policy issues, a peace and security policy encyclopaedia and a chronology of the development of peace and security policy.

An interesting development occurs here. With Bertelsen, peace education is connected with the individual teacher and the living school. With Øberg, it becomes connected with peace research, conflict analysis and international work. With Terp, emphasis is placed on making knowledge about peace accessible and systematically organised.

It can therefore be presented as three forms of peace-educational practice:

Aage Bertelsen — the formative school and the personal teacher

Jan Øberg — peace research, conflict analysis and international practice

Holger Terp — documentation, dissemination and digital peace education

The three forms complement one another.

8. Peace Education as Conflict Understanding

Terp's own texts also show that peace education is not only about historical documentation.

In an article on conflict management in schools, Terp argues for the importance of teaching conflict management and points to the Swedish tradition of peace education. He mentions, among others, Karin Utas Carlsson's work on conflict management and refers to Johan Galtung as a central peace researcher.

Here Terp's work approaches the core of peace education directly: pupils should not merely learn what conflict is. They should learn how to handle conflict.

This means that peace education may also include communication, conflict resolution, mediation, active listening, non-violence, perspective-taking, critical media literacy, human rights and democratic participation.

Peace education thus becomes a practical competence.

9. From Historical Memory to a Culture of Peace

An important common dimension in Bertelsen, Øberg and Terp is the relationship between history and the future.

Bertelsen looked back at 1943 and tried to draw lessons from the experience. Øberg has sought through his work to analyse contemporary conflicts and develop alternatives to military thinking. Terp has worked to preserve and make the historical experiences of the peace movement accessible.

A chain therefore emerges:

Memory → analysis → education → action.

History does not become a museum. It becomes a tool for understanding the present.

And peace education is not merely teaching what happened in the past. It becomes a way of asking: What can we learn from history that will make us better able to prevent violence in the future?

10. Source Criticism and Methodological Problems

A scholarly account must nevertheless be cautious about presenting this development as an unbroken tradition.

There are different historical actors, different periods and different ideas.

Bertelsen's significance for Øberg is well documented through Øberg's own recollections. But the recollection is retrospective. Øberg knows today that he became a peace researcher, and this may affect his interpretation of his youthful experiences.

Similarly, Bertelsen's October 43 must be treated as a memoir source and not as a completely neutral account of 1943.

Finally, Terp's work should not automatically be presented as a direct continuation of Bertelsen's pedagogy. It is more precise to speak of an intellectual-historical affinity and a possible tradition in which different generations have worked on related questions.

The scientifically interesting task is precisely to investigate this connection without presupposing it.

11. A Danish Tradition of Peace Education

On the basis of the material, a preliminary model of a Danish peace-educational tradition can be proposed.

First link: Bertelsen — the human being. The central question is: What does the individual do when others are subjected to injustice? The answer is found in civic courage, humanism and active resistance to oppression.

Second link: Øberg — the conflict. The question becomes: How do we understand the conflicts that create violence, and how can they be handled without violence? Here peace and conflict research enters.

Third link: Terp — knowledge and education. The question becomes: How do we make the history, research and methods of peace accessible to pupils, students and the public? Here documentation, bibliography, digitisation and teaching materials become central.

The model can be described as: Bertelsen → Bildung; Øberg → analysis; Terp → dissemination. Or, more briefly: The human being → the conflict → knowledge.

12. The Fundamental Purpose of Peace Education

The tradition can be summarised in a broader definition:

Peace education is education that develops people's ability to understand conflicts, recognise injustice, communicate across differences and seek non-violent solutions to human and political conflicts.

This definition extends beyond traditional teaching about war. It is about Bildung. It is about critical thinking. It is about democratic participation. And it is about giving people alternatives to violence.

Conclusion

Aage Bertelsen, Jan Øberg and Holger Terp belong to different generations and worked under very different historical conditions. Nevertheless, their work can be read together as parts of a Danish tradition of peace education.

Bertelsen represents the humanist and formative dimension. His life shows that pacifism need not mean passivity. His participation in the rescue of Danish Jews in 1943 shows that non-violent humanism can involve courage, risk and active action.

Øberg represents the scientific and international dimension. He himself has emphasised that Bertelsen had a decisive influence on his life course, and together with Johan Galtung he later placed Bertelsen in history as a Danish peace educator.

Terp represents a third dimension: peace education as documentation, dissemination and institutional practice. Work with peace bibliographies, peace history, teaching materials and the Danish Peace Academy shows

how the experiences of the peace movement can be preserved and made accessible to new generations.

The historical development can therefore be summarised: Aage Bertelsen taught that the human being must act. Jan Øberg taught that the conflict must be understood. Holger Terp has worked to ensure that the experiences and knowledge are preserved and made accessible.

Peace education thereby becomes not education in passive peace, but education in civic courage, critical thinking, conflict understanding, non-violence and human responsibility.

Perhaps this is the most important common legacy of Bertelsen, Øberg and the Danish peace-educational tradition: Peace should not merely be desired. It must be understood, learned, documented and practised.

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6. Anders Boserup (1940–1990)

Physicist, Peace Researcher and Theorist of Non-Offensive Defence

Introduction

Anders Boserup occupies a central place in the history of Danish peace and conflict research. He belonged to the generation that grew up with the nuclear age and had to confront a fundamentally new question: How could humanity prevent a war in which the very means of war could destroy civilisation?

Boserup's particular historical significance lies in his attempt to transform this question from primarily a moral and political problem into a scientific, strategic and security-policy problem. His work moved from opposition to nuclear weapons and the peace movement through peace and conflict research to international questions of disarmament, arms control and defence strategy. Its culmination was his work on Non-Offensive Defence and the idea of preventing war by changing the very character of defence systems.

His life therefore connects a number of environments normally treated separately: the Campaign against Nuclear Weapons, the Danish Institute for Peace and Conflict Research, PRIO, SIPRI, Pugwash, the Danish Government's Disarmament Policy Committee, and the later institutionalisation of peace research in Denmark.

From Physics to Peace Research

Anders Boserup was born on 15 January 1940 and died on 4 May 1990. He graduated as a physicist in 1965, but subsequently moved into sociology and peace and conflict research. From 1972 he was an associate professor at the Department of Sociology at the University of Copenhagen.

The transition from natural science to social science was significant for his later work. The nuclear age had made natural science directly political. Physics had made nuclear weapons possible, but the question of their political and military use could not be solved by physics alone.

Boserup therefore worked at the boundary between natural science, social science, security policy and the peace movement.

The Campaign against Nuclear Weapons

In Denmark, the emergence of nuclear weapons had created a new peace movement since the late 1950s. The Campaign against Nuclear Weapons was founded in 1960 and brought together people from different political

and cultural environments in opposition to nuclear weapons and the nuclear arming of Denmark.

The Campaign against Nuclear Weapons (continued)

Boserup was active in this movement. The Campaign organised, among other things, the major Easter marches, which became one of the most visible forms of Danish opposition to nuclear weapons.

His engagement in the peace movement is important for understanding his later development, but the connection must be treated critically. Participation in the Campaign against Nuclear Weapons is not in itself evidence that his later research was politically determined. The historical point is rather that the peace movement raised questions which Boserup later worked on within research and security-policy institutions.

The Danish Institute for Peace and Conflict Research

In 1966, Boserup, together with Claus Iversen and Ib Jarvad, helped establish the Danish Institute for Peace and Conflict Research. The institution formed part of the international development in which peace research became established as an independent field during the 1960s.

In the same year, Boserup and Claus Iversen published “Demonstrations as a Source of Change” in the Journal of Peace Research. The study examined the British and Danish Easter marches and analysed peace demonstrations as a form of political influence.

This work is significant because Boserup was no longer merely a participant in or observer of the peace movement. He made it an object of systematic research.

This reveals a characteristic duality in his work: the peace movement was both a historical and political reality and an object of research.

International Peace Research

Boserup quickly became part of the international peace-research environment. He was connected with the Peace Research Institute Oslo (PRIO) and was a member of the editorial board of the Journal of Peace Research in the early 1970s.

At the same time, his research became broader than the Danish peace movement's original focus on nuclear weapons.

He worked, among other things, on chemical and biological weapons, arms control and international law. Through the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI), he published The Prevention of CBW in 1971 and CBW and the Law of War in 1973.

Boserup's work thus came to encompass the entire spectrum from weapons technology and international law to international security.

SIPRI and Weapons of Mass Destruction

His work on chemical and biological weapons shows that Boserup's peace research was not simply political argument for peace.

The Prevention of CBW examined possibilities for preventing chemical and biological warfare, while CBW and the Law of War analysed the issue in relation to the laws of war.

This part of his work is important for understanding his overall research project. He sought not merely to answer whether particular weapons ought to exist, but what institutional, legal and strategic mechanisms could restrict their use.

Pugwash

Another central international network was the Pugwash movement, which since 1957 had brought researchers together around nuclear weapons, weapons of mass destruction, disarmament and international security.

Boserup participated in Pugwash work and had the opportunity to discuss military-strategic questions with researchers and experts from both East and West.

At the Pugwash conference in Banff in 1981, he presented the paper “Deterrence and Defense”. It was a central contribution to his later work on the relationship between deterrence and defence.

For Boserup, the decisive question was whether a defence system intended to deter an opponent could simultaneously increase the risk of war. This made it necessary to examine the very design of military forces.

From Deterrence to Non-Offensive Defence

Here lies the core of Boserup's intellectual project.

During the Cold War, security policy relied to a large extent on deterrence. The idea was that a potential aggressor should know that an attack would trigger such high costs that the attack would not be worthwhile.

But deterrence also created a paradox. If a country was to be able to threaten an effective counterattack, it also had to possess military forces with offensive capabilities.

Boserup therefore asked whether security could be created in another way. His answer was the theory of non-offensive defence.

Defence as War Prevention

The basic idea was that military forces should be organised so that they were sufficient to make an attack difficult or impossible, while at the same time being as little suited as possible to offensive warfare.

It was therefore not necessarily a demand for immediate unilateral disarmament. It was a proposal to change the very structure of security policy.

Traditional security policy had often asked: How can we win a war, or make it possible to threaten war?

Boserup's perspective instead asked: How can a defence system be designed so that war becomes less likely?

It is this shift from warfare to war prevention that gives his work its particular significance in the history of peace.

Non-offensive defence was therefore not identical with pacifism. It was an attempt to develop a strategic theory capable of functioning in a world in which states continued to regard military defence as necessary.

The Debate over Defensive Defence

Boserup's theory was not without criticism.

A fundamental difficulty was that the distinction between offensive and defensive weapons is not always unambiguous. The military character of a weapons system also depends on its location, range, mobility, organisation and the strategy in which it is employed.

The Swedish peace researcher Wilhelm Agrell discussed precisely this problem in an analysis of the relationship between offensive and defensive military strategy.

This is important in a scientific assessment of Boserup. His theory should neither be presented as a simple solution to the security dilemma nor reduced to utopian peace thinking. It was an attempt to solve a concrete strategic problem, but it also contained difficult questions concerning technology, geography, mobility and political intention.

The Foundations of Defensive Defence

Boserup's work on defensive defence strategy culminated, among other things, in the book The Foundations of Defensive Defence, which he edited together with R. R. Neild.

The book was published in 1990, the same year Boserup died, and brought together contributions from researchers and military experts from both East and West. The work was connected with the international discussions on defensive defence strategy in the Pugwash environment.

The book is important because it shows that the discussion of non-offensive defence was not merely a Danish or Nordic debate. It formed part of a larger international discussion about European security during the Cold War.

Boserup's project had thus moved from the political protest of opposition to nuclear weapons to a question concerning the scientific and technical design of military strategy.

The Government Disarmament Policy Committee

Boserup also gained a place in the official Danish disarmament-policy debate.

From 1981 to 1983 he was a member of the chairmanship of the Government Disarmament Policy Committee (Statens Nedrustningspolitiske Udvalg, SNU). He also served as an adviser on international disarmament questions.

This part of his career shows that the boundary between peace research and state security policy was not absolute.

Boserup could simultaneously be a critical researcher and an adviser. This made him a characteristic representative of a generation of peace researchers who wanted research to have practical significance for security and disarmament policy.

The Institutionalisation of Peace Research

Boserup's significance was not limited to his own books and articles. He also helped build the institutional framework for Danish peace research.

The development from the Danish Institute for Peace and Conflict Research to the later Copenhagen Center for Peace Research (COPRI) represents the institutionalisation of peace and conflict research in Denmark.

Boserup held a central position in this environment. Thus, research that had originally maintained close links with the peace movement of the 1960s gradually became an established part of the Danish research system.

An Intellectual Biography

Anders Boserup's life can therefore be read as a history of several successive shifts.

He began as a physicist at a time when natural science had created nuclear weapons.

He became involved in opposition to nuclear weapons, where the question was how nuclear war could be prevented.

He became a peace researcher, where war and peace were made objects of systematic research.

He worked with SIPRI and Pugwash, where the questions became internationalised and connected with arms control and strategic stability.

And he developed the theory of non-offensive defence, where the problem was formulated as a question of how the structure of defence itself could contribute to war prevention.

This development can be summarised as:

The Atomic Age → opposition to nuclear weapons → peace research → arms control → Pugwash → defensive defence strategy → war prevention.

This is not, however, a mechanical line of development. Each stage represents different institutions, professional environments and political contexts. Boserup's significance lies precisely in his movement between these worlds.

Source-Critical Assessment

A scholarly biography of Boserup must distinguish between the different types of sources.

His own books and articles are the most important sources for his theories and arguments.

SIPRI's bibliography documents his work on chemical and biological weapons.

Pugwash material and contemporary publications are central to his international work on deterrence and defensive defence.

Institutional sources can document his functions in research institutions and official committees.

Finally, the Danish Peace Academy's material is important for documenting his connection with the Danish peace movement, but should be used together with contemporary and independent sources.

A fundamental editorial principle should be:

Later assessments must not automatically be used as documentation of what Boserup actually thought or did.

A distinction must be maintained between Boserup's own statements, contemporary documents, institutional records, later research and the peace movement's own historical representations.

Chronology

- 1940 — Anders Boserup is born on 15 January.
- 1965 — Graduates as a physicist.

- 1960s — Becomes involved in Danish opposition to nuclear weapons.
- 1966 — Co-founds the Danish Institute for Peace and Conflict Research.
- 1966 — Publishes, together with Claus Iversen, the study of the British and Danish Easter marches.
- 1971 — The Prevention of CBW is published through SIPRI.
- 1972 — Becomes lecturer at the Department of Sociology, University of Copenhagen.
- 1972–1974 — Member of the editorial board of the Journal of Peace Research.
- 1973 — CBW and the Law of War is published.
- 1981 — Presents "Deterrence and Defense" at the Pugwash conference in Banff.
- 1981–1983 — Member of the chairmanship of the Government Disarmament Policy Committee.
- 1980s — Works intensively on non-offensive defence and European security.
- 1990 — The Foundations of Defensive Defence is published.
- 1990 — Anders Boserup dies on 4 May.

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Overall Assessment

Anders Boserup should not be remembered merely as a Danish peace researcher of the Cold War.

His wider historical significance lies in his attempt to connect the peace movement's demand for security without nuclear war with a scientific analysis of how security could actually be organised.

His most important question was therefore not merely how particular weapons could be abolished, but how security could be created without making states dependent on the ability to wage offensive war.

In this way Boserup represents a particular development in post-war peace thinking: from protest against nuclear weapons to research into the causes of war, then to a strategy of non-offensive defence, and finally to the conception of war prevention as an independent security-policy objective.

It is this connection that makes Anders Boserup an important figure in Danish peace history, international peace research and the intellectual history of Cold War security policy.

7. Peace in Print

Holger Terp: Peace in Print: The History of the Peace Movements: A Short Bibliography. The Danish Peace Academy.

Introduction

Holger Terp's Peace in Print is an extensive bibliographical work on the history of the peace movement. It differs from traditional historical accounts in that it does not itself provide a continuous narrative of the development of the peace movement. Instead, it functions as a research tool, registering literature on peace, pacifism, antimilitarism and organised peace movements.

The bibliography covers more than 500 years of history and includes publications in a number of European languages. The electronic edition is explicitly conceived as a developing and freely available online bibliography to which new titles can be added continuously.

Purpose and Scholarly Relevance

Terp's project has a clear research justification. The history of the peace movement is a transnational field in which relevant literature is often scattered across different languages, library collections, and both academic and organisational publications.

Peace in Print attempts to solve this problem. The bibliography includes bibliographies, personal bibliographies, registers of peace organisations and literature on the history of peace movements. The overall registration is organised in successive sections and, in the current online version, reaches 1,888 entries.

It is particularly valuable that Terp does not restrict himself to English-language research. The technical introduction especially highlights English, German, French, Danish, Swedish and Norwegian literature and states that the registration of Danish and Norwegian literature is intended to be comprehensive.

Peace in Print therefore has a function extending beyond peace research itself. It can be used in contemporary history, political history, international history, women's and gender history, organisational history and studies of social movements.

Method and Source Base

Methodologically, Peace in Print is interesting because Terp adopts a broad understanding of what can function as relevant research material. The bibliography includes not only monographs, but also journals,

conference reports, organisational publications, annual reports, meeting minutes and other forms of material produced by peace organisations.

This is a significant strength. Peace movements have often been documented precisely through their own organisations, congresses, membership journals and campaign material. Such sources risk disappearing from ordinary bibliographical research if one searches only traditional academic databases.

Terp also points out that many of the registered books themselves contain bibliographies, reference lists and indexes. Peace in Print thus becomes not merely a list of literature, but a network of further research trails.

Structure and Searchability

- library catalogues and research tools
- bibliographies
- bibliographies of individuals
- lists of peace movements
- literature on the history of peace movements

This structure makes the work useful both as an introduction to a research field and as a specialised reference work.

A particular strength is the ability to search by authors, organisations, countries, keywords and languages.

Critical Assessment

The greatest methodological weakness is simultaneously the work's greatest strength: its bibliographical breadth. Peace in Print documents that a publication exists, but registration does not necessarily imply a critical assessment of the publication's scholarly quality.

This means that the user must distinguish between, for example, peer-reviewed research, political pamphlets, organisational histories, memoirs and activist publications. The bibliography therefore cannot be used automatically as a quality ranking of research literature.

This is particularly important in peace history, where the boundary between research and political engagement is often fluid. A scholarly user must therefore supplement Peace in Print with ordinary source criticism and with databases, catalogues and research overviews from established research institutions.

Another limitation is that, according to Terp himself, the bibliography is a developing project. It should therefore not be regarded as definitive or complete. Terp explicitly asks for information about publications missing from the database.

This is both a weakness and a strength: the weakness is that completeness cannot be guaranteed; the strength is that the work is constructed as a dynamic research tool.

The Author's Position

A scholarly assessment should also consider the author's position within the field he describes. Holger Terp is a trained librarian and has been active in Danish peace movements since the beginning of the 1980s. He was among the initiators of the Danish Peace Academy and has produced a number of bibliographical and historical works on the peace movement.

This background gives him considerable knowledge of the material that Peace in Print seeks to register. At the same time, it raises a potential source-critical question: the bibliography was created by a person personally engaged in the field being documented.

This should not in itself be regarded as disqualifying. On the contrary, insider knowledge can be an important precondition for identifying difficult-to-access publications and organisational archives. But the user should be aware that Peace in Print is primarily a documentation project within the history of the peace movement, not a neutral meta-analysis of the entire research field.

Overall Assessment

From a scholarly perspective, Peace in Print is best understood as a bibliographical infrastructure project rather than as a historical work in the traditional sense.

- its international and multilingual approach
- its long historical time span
- its registration of both academic and organisational literature
- its connection between library material, research literature and the peace movement's own publications
- its free and continuously available digital form

The limitation is that bibliographical registration is not the same as scholarly quality assessment. The user must therefore conduct a source-critical assessment of individual titles. Nor should the work be regarded as complete, since it is deliberately constructed as a continuously developing bibliography.

Peace in Print is an important bibliographical contribution to the study of peace-movement history. Terp's work has particular value as research infrastructure because it brings together material that is otherwise scattered internationally and makes it possible to identify literature, organisations

and historical traces that can be difficult to find through ordinary searches.

Its scholarly value therefore lies primarily not in historical interpretations, but in the systematisation and visibility of a large body of source material. For researchers and students, Peace in Print is best used as a first bibliographical level, which should subsequently be supplemented with original sources, research databases and critical assessment of individual publications.

Source text's overall assessment: 4½/5 — a significant bibliographical research tool, but not an independent historical analysis.

8. New Danish Historical Bibliography

A Scholarly and Bibliographical Assessment

Introduction

Holger Terp's New Danish Historical Bibliography is an ambitious bibliographical project situated within a long Danish tradition of systematic registration of historical literature. The work was published by the Danish Peace Academy and existed at least in 2016–2017. The title is presented in Danish, English, French, Spanish and German, suggesting an ambition to make the material useful beyond a narrowly Danish context.

The title nevertheless raises a central epistemological question: What does "new" mean in New Danish Historical Bibliography, and how does the work relate to the already existing Danish Historical Bibliography, which historically has been produced in association with the Danish Historical Society, the Danish Association of Local Historical Societies and the Royal Danish Library?

This question is crucial because a bibliography is not simply a list of books. It is the result of a series of scholarly choices: what is included, what is omitted, how material is classified, what information is registered, and which bibliographical authorities are used. A bibliography is therefore also an interpretation of a research field.

1. The Bibliographical Tradition

The Danish Historical Bibliography has a special status in Danish historical research. The current database contains approximately 152,000 records and covers Danish history broadly from the Viking Age to 2016. It includes books, journal articles, articles in anthologies and commemorative volumes, as well as extensive local-history literature.

The bibliography's particular scholarly value lies partly in its classification system. For the more recent material, records are classified by time, place and subject, allowing users to make relatively precise systematic searches. This distinguishes the bibliography from an ordinary library catalogue.

It is important to emphasise that the Danish Historical Bibliography is not simply an old project that has been replaced by Terp's work. The Royal Danish Library continued to play an active role in the bibliography well into the twenty-first century. Bibliographical registration and classification, for example, formed part of concrete work at the Royal Danish Library in 2012.

The institutional foundation matters for the bibliography's authority. This does not mean that a private bibliography is necessarily less accurate, but institutional bibliography normally has a more explicit system for standardisation, control, classification and continuing maintenance.

2. Terp's Project

Terp's New Danish Historical Bibliography should first and foremost be understood as an independent bibliographical documentation project. It forms part of a larger body of work in which Terp has worked for many years with bibliographies and historical documentation collections. His Danish bibliographical material includes, among other things, Peace in Print, which registers literature on the history of peace movements in several European languages.

This is a significant strength. Terp has therefore not merely produced a single bibliography, but developed a particular working method in which bibliography also functions as an entry point to historical subjects and documentation.

New Danish Historical Bibliography nevertheless appears to have a different character from the institutional Danish Historical Bibliography. Whereas the latter was developed as a professional bibliographical infrastructure, Terp's project appears more as a personal, thematic and cumulative documentation collection.

This does not make the project unimportant. On the contrary, its personal approach can provide access to material and connections that are not necessarily visible through standardised library searches.

3. Methodological Criticism

The decisive question, however, is how clearly Terp describes his bibliographical method.

- which sources have been examined
- which criteria determine inclusion
- whether registration is selective or comprehensive
- how duplicates and different editions are handled
- how articles, books, journals and digital sources are distinguished
- how bibliographical errors are checked
- when the information was last verified

On this point, Terp's project is more difficult to evaluate than the Danish Historical Bibliography. The institutional bibliography has a documented professional infrastructure and an explicit classification system.

Bibliotek.dk, for example, describes selection in the historical bibliography as based on “qualified professional judgement”.

Professional judgement is not in itself a problem. All bibliographical selection involves judgement. The problem arises only if the user cannot reconstruct the principles underlying that judgement.

A scholarly bibliography therefore does not have to be “neutral”. It must be transparent.

This is the most important methodological criticism that can be made of Terp's project: its value is considerable, but its scholarly reproducibility would be greater if the registration and selection principles were described as explicitly as in the established professional bibliographical tradition.

4. Source-Critical Assessment

Bibliographical information has a special status as a source. It is not a historical argument in the traditional sense, but metadata about historical sources. An error in a title, author name, date or edition can therefore have a chain effect: a later researcher may reproduce the error if the bibliography is used as an authoritative reference.

This makes the question of source hierarchy important.

The institutional bibliography has access to the Royal Danish Library's collections and bibliographical infrastructure. Historically, it has been emphasised that the historical bibliography needed direct access to the Royal Danish Library's collections and research tools.

Terp's bibliography should therefore not automatically be equated with the institutional bibliography at the level of bibliographical control.

This does not mean that Terp's information is wrong. It means that the user should distinguish between registration and bibliographical verification.

In scholarly work, a Terp record should therefore, where possible, be checked against a library catalogue, the original publication or the institutional bibliographical database.

5. Comparison with the Danish Historical Bibliography

The difference can be summarised as follows:

- Institutional basis — Holger Terp: personal/private project; Danish Historical Bibliography: the Royal Danish Library and historical professional institutions.

- Purpose — Terp: broad documentation and dissemination; Danish Historical Bibliography: professional bibliographical registration.
- Classification — Terp: more heterogeneous; Danish Historical Bibliography: systematic classification.
- Control — Terp: largely dependent on the project's own documentation; Danish Historical Bibliography: institutional bibliographical infrastructure.
- Article registration — Terp: varies according to the project's scope; Danish Historical Bibliography: very extensive.
- Local history — Terp: relevant; Danish Historical Bibliography: very strong coverage.
- Accessibility — Terp: free digital access; Danish Historical Bibliography: integrated into Bibliotek.dk.

The established Danish Historical Bibliography is particularly strong in the registration of articles, including material in local-history yearbooks and anthologies.

Terp's work should therefore not be assessed by asking whether it can "replace" the Danish Historical Bibliography. It cannot.

The relevant question is whether it can supplement it. The source text's answer is yes.

6. The Bibliography as a Source for Research History

There is another dimension that deserves greater attention: Terp's bibliography can itself be studied as a historiographical document.

When an individual researcher or librarian selects historical literature, an image is simultaneously created of what is regarded as relevant history. Bibliographies are therefore never completely innocent registration systems. They reflect their creators' professional interests, working methods and access to sources.

This is particularly interesting in Terp's case because his other bibliographical work is strongly concerned with peace, security, political and social history. His overall production shows a clear interest in subjects such as NATO, the Vietnam War, nuclear weapons, Greenland, intelligence services and peace movements.

New Danish Historical Bibliography can therefore also be read as an expression of a particular understanding of what historical documentation ought to include.

This is not a weakness in itself. On the contrary, it can be a research strength as long as the user is aware of the premise.

7. The Digital Dimension

Terp's work also has an important cultural-heritage function. Free access means that the material can be used by researchers, students, local historians and interested members of the public without access to a specialised institution.

Here the project differs from traditional printed bibliographies. Digital publication makes it possible to create a living documentation resource, but at the same time creates requirements for version control.

- version date
- change history
- source base
- standard for names and titles
- persistent identifiers
- corrections, where applicable

Without such information, it can be difficult for future researchers to determine which version of the bibliography formed the basis of a particular research reference.

Conclusion

Holger Terp's New Danish Historical Bibliography should not be regarded as a competitor replacing the institutional Danish Historical Bibliography. Its scholarly importance lies rather in its function as a supplementary bibliographical and documentary resource.

Terp's principal contribution is his strong interest in collecting historical material and making it accessible outside traditional institutional frameworks. His long experience with bibliographical work strengthens the project's value, and the free digital access makes the material practically useful.

The decisive limitation is the bibliographical method. Whereas the Danish Historical Bibliography has a strong institutional infrastructure, systematic classification and documented professional registration practice, Terp's project appears more as personal documentation work. It should therefore be used with ordinary source-critical caution.

The most precise scholarly characterisation is: New Danish Historical Bibliography is a valuable, broadly conceived and personally shaped bibliographical documentation collection whose greatest research potential lies as a supplement to the institutional Danish Historical Bibliography and as an independent testimony to Holger Terp's extensive bibliographical work.

Terp's work therefore has considerable documentary and research value, but should not automatically be accorded the same bibliographical authority and degree of methodological standardisation as an institutionally produced Danish Historical Bibliography.

Sources and Bibliographical Basis

- Bibliotek.dk, “Danish Historical Bibliography”.
- The Royal Danish Library, bibliographical documentation concerning the Danish Historical Bibliography.
- LIBRIS, bibliographical registration of Danish Historical Bibliography.
- Lex, “Professional Bibliography”.
- DBC Digital, “Sources in the Data Well”, information on the Danish Historical Bibliography.

9. The History of Greenland as a Research Guide

Bibliography, Sources and Historiography in Holger Terp

Abstract

Holger Terp's Greenland History / The History of Greenland — Keywords and Literature References, compiled in 2015, is a bibliographical documentation project bringing together literature, archival references and other sources for the study of Greenland's history. The work differs from traditional historical accounts in that it does not seek to establish a single comprehensive narrative of Greenland's past. Its primary function is to guide the reader towards literature, archives, libraries, museums, legislation and other sources.

The article argues that the work's scholarly significance lies especially in its function as a research guide and in its documentation of the infrastructure through which Greenland's history has been preserved and written. At the same time, its limitations are discussed: especially the lack of systematic inclusion of Greenlandic-language literature, the mixing of different types of sources, and the difference between the original 2015 version and the later digitally updated text.

Keywords: Greenland, bibliography, historiography, colonial history, archives, Realm of Denmark, Thule Air Base, security policy, Greenlandic historiography.

Introduction

An essential precondition for historical research is that the researcher can find the sources on which the research is to be based. This may seem obvious, but it is particularly important for Greenland's history, where material is scattered among Greenlandic and Danish archives, museums, libraries and special collections.

Holger Terp's Greenland History / The History of Greenland should be understood in this context. On the title page the publication is described as Keywords and Literature References compiled by Holger Terp, 2015, and is therefore not presented as a traditional historical monograph.

The work functions rather as a research guide. Its purpose is to make it easier for the reader to identify relevant literature and sources within a wide range of areas of Greenland's history.

This genre should be assessed on its own terms. The decisive question is therefore not whether Terp has written a complete synthesis of Greenland's history, but whether his documentation work gives the researcher better opportunities to investigate the history independently.

A Work between Bibliography and Historiography

Terp's work occupies an interesting position between bibliography, reference work and historiography.

It does not merely register books about Greenland. It also points to archives, libraries, museums, legislation and digital collections. The publication thereby becomes a guide to the research infrastructure itself.

This is clear in the sections on the Greenland National Museum & Archives, the Danish National Archives and the Arctic Institute's documentary archive.

It is therefore more than a traditional list of literature. The work also documents where the history is located.

This is important because historians do not work only with already published interpretations. Archival material, photographs, maps, administrative documents, church registers and museum objects may be decisive in testing or qualifying existing research.

Archives as a Historical Research Field

One of the work's strongest aspects is its attention to archives.

Terp refers, among other things, to the Greenland National Museum & Archives, where records from public institutions and private individuals are preserved, and to older material dating back to the eighteenth century. He also points out that significant parts of older archives from South Greenland were lost when the Hans Hedtoft sank in 1959.

Such information is not merely practical. It has historiographical significance.

The historian always works with a past in which some things have been preserved and others lost. The history of archives therefore also becomes part of the history of what can be investigated at all.

Terp also refers to archival guides and research projects, including Einar Lund Jensen's work on archival searches and connections between East and West Greenland. He explicitly notes that he first found a particular archival guide in January 2023.

This illustrates a fundamental problem in bibliographical work: even experienced researchers may discover relevant sources only at a late stage because material is scattered or inadequately registered.

Libraries and the Book Trade

Terp's treatment of library services is another characteristic element.

He asks how literature on Greenland was registered before electronic databases and internet-based search systems. This includes compulsory deposit, the Royal Danish Library, the Greenland National Library and older national bibliographies.

This gives the work a secondary function as a history of bibliography.

As early as 1890, Peter Lauridsen published Bibliographia Groenlandica, registering works, dissertations and manuscripts concerning Greenland up to that year. Terp thus places his own work in a longer tradition of making scattered literature on Greenland searchable.

The Naval Library is also discussed, including its former extensive collection of nautical, naval and polar literature.

It is precisely such references that make the work interesting beyond its immediate bibliographical function.

Greenlandic Literature

Terp openly states that the guide contains no references to works in Greenlandic because he does not himself master Greenlandic.

This is a significant limitation, but also an important methodological disclosure. The reader can take it into account when using the work.

This also means that Terp's work should not be used as a complete bibliography of Greenlandic historiography. It must be supplemented with Greenlandic-language literature and research from Greenlandic institutions and authors.

Interestingly, the work simultaneously records the scale of Greenlandic book production. The available version states that DanBib in 2023 registered 555 books about Greenland's history, of which 129 were in Greenlandic and 55 in English.

This shows that the absence of Greenlandic-language titles from the guide itself is not because this literature does not exist. On the contrary, Terp's own information points to its considerable extent.

The Realm of Denmark as a Bibliographical Problem

Terp explains the substantial inclusion of Danish literature through Greenland's historical connection with Denmark through the Realm of Denmark, particularly in the areas of security and foreign policy and natural resources.

This justification is significant.

A large part of the documentation required by the researcher was produced by Danish authorities, institutions and research environments. A

bibliography of Greenland's history will therefore necessarily contain substantial amounts of Danish material.

At the same time, it is important to maintain that institutional production of sources is itself historically conditioned. The Danish state's role in Greenland influenced both administration and the production and preservation of historical documents.

The material must therefore be read both as historical sources and as products of particular institutional and political relationships.

Security and Military History

A particular area of Terp's work is security and military history.

The work contains references to the American presence, military installations, Thule Air Base, and weapons technology and strategic issues.

Terp himself warns that information about military matters and weapons should be treated critically because some information may be secret, concealed or "polished".

This warning should not be understood as an argument against military-historical research. On the contrary, it underlines the necessity of critical comparison of sources.

Greenland's security history may require comparison of:

- official government documents
- military archives
- international agreements
- diplomatic documents
- parliamentary debates
- press archives
- personal archives
- documents released at a later date

Here Terp's work has a particular function as a guide to a field in which material has historically been difficult to access.

Thule Air Base and Security-Policy Historiography

Terp's bibliography has particular relevance for research on Thule Air Base and the relationship between Denmark, Greenland and the United States.

The material belongs to a broader documentation of the intersection between Greenland's history, Danish foreign and security policy, and American strategic interests.

For research in this field, the bibliography is most useful as a guide to further sources rather than as a substitute for the original documents themselves.

Greenland's History as a Research Guide — Conclusion

The Danish Peace Academy's encyclopaedia itself refers to Terp's Greenland History as documentation for the many cases concerning the Americans in Greenland.

This is an area in which more recent research has increasingly used archival material to examine decolonisation, foreign policy and Greenland's status.

One example is research into the ending of Greenland's colonial status in 1945–1954, in which material from the Danish National Archives and Danish foreign-policy documents play a central role.

Terp's work can therefore be seen as a bibliographical supplement to more analytical research.

Relation to Recent Greenland Research

Since 2015, research on Greenland's colonial history and decolonisation has developed further.

An important example is Denmark and the Colonies: Greenland — The Arctic Colony from 2017, which brings together contributions by a number of researchers on Greenland's history and colonial development.

Later research has further problematised the relationship between colonisation, decolonisation and historiography. Ilisimatusarfik's publication database, for example, records recent research on Greenland, Denmark, colonial history, decolonisation and historiography.

This does not make Terp's work obsolete. On the contrary, a bibliography from 2015 can be used to investigate the research situation that existed before the later literature was published.

It thereby also acquires the character of a historiographical time document.

Bibliography as Historiography

A central point of Terp's work is therefore that a bibliography is not necessarily scientifically neutral or insignificant.

What is registered, and how the material is organised, tells us something about the contemporary understanding of the research field.

Terp's work, for example, makes archives, library services, military history, foreign policy and security questions visible as research fields. At the

same time, he draws the reader's attention to significant limitations on access to material.

The bibliography can therefore be read on two levels:

- as a guide to research on Greenland
- as a source for the history of how this research has been organised and made accessible

The second level is, in the source text's assessment, underestimated.

Source-Critical Remarks

Terp's work should, like all bibliographies, be used critically.

A number of different source types appear side by side: scholarly publications, archival material, government documents, legislation, newspaper articles and digital resources.

This is not in itself a weakness. A researcher may precisely need to compare these different kinds of material.

A future edition could nevertheless be strengthened by classifying sources more clearly according to their character and scholarly status, especially for users who do not already have experience with historical source criticism.

A distinction should also be made between Terp's own information and the historical information that he quotes or refers to. A bibliographical guide is not necessarily the primary authority for the historical assertions that appear in it.

The 2015 Edition and Continuing Updates

A particular bibliographical problem arises because the document is originally dated 2015, while the currently available digital version contains later information.

This is evident, among other things, from the note concerning an archival guide that Terp first found in January 2023, and from the statistics concerning DanBib registrations from 2023.

It is therefore methodologically useful to distinguish between Terp, Holger (2015), Greenland's History / The History of Greenland, and the later digitally updated version.

The continuing updating is simultaneously a strength. Bibliographical work has limited value if it is frozen at a particular moment. New books, digitised archives and new cataloguing continually change the research landscape.

Conclusion

Holger Terp's Greenland's History / The History of Greenland should first and foremost be understood as a bibliographical research guide and documentation collection.

Its most important contribution lies in its breadth and in its attempt to connect the interested reader with the literature, archives, libraries, museums and other institutions where Greenland's history can be investigated.

Its principal strengths are:

- the breadth of the subjects registered
- the inclusion of archival and library material
- the attention to military and security history
- the documentation of Thule Air Base and the American presence
- the explicit account of the work's linguistic and bibliographical limitations

Its most significant limitation is that Greenlandic-language literature could not be systematically included, and that the registered sources represent different genres and levels of scholarship.

These factors should not lead to the work being dismissed as incomplete. A research guide does not need to be a complete history in order to have scholarly value.

On the contrary, Terp's work may have particular significance as documentation of the research landscape surrounding Greenland's history.

It is therefore more precise to describe the publication as research infrastructure rather than as a history book.

Its basic function is not to bring the story of Greenland to an end, but to make it easier to find the sources from which new histories can be written.

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10. Base Policy, Thule Air Base and Pituffik Space Base

Introduction

Base policy concerns the stationing of foreign troops, weapons—including nuclear weapons—and military equipment.

In Danish security policy, a principle of restraint concerning the permanent stationing of foreign troops and nuclear weapons on Danish territory has existed since the beginning of the 1950s. This principle, however, was never applied to Greenland without qualification.

The American military presence in Greenland therefore constitutes a particular chapter in Danish and Greenlandic security policy. The establishment of Thule Air Base in 1951–1953, the subsequent forced relocation of the local population, the secret Danish acceptance of American nuclear weapons, the Thule accident in 1968, the construction of radar and communications systems, and later negotiations concerning missile defence show that Thule Air Base is not merely a matter of military history.

It is simultaneously a history of Danish foreign and security policy, American great-power policy, Greenlandic colonial history, nuclear policy, Indigenous rights, the environment, democracy and sovereignty.

The Danish Peace Academy's original entry on base policy and Thule Air Base brought these issues together in one extensive documentation complex. The present version continues that documentation and updates it with more recent research, official documents and declassified American material.

1. Greenland as an American Strategic Area

The history of Thule Air Base begins before the construction of the base itself.

During the Second World War, Greenland's strategic importance to the United States increased considerably. The German occupation of Denmark in April 1940 created a situation in which Greenland was in practice cut off from Denmark.

The Danish envoy in Washington, Henrik Kauffmann, independently concluded an agreement with the United States in 1941 concerning the defence of Greenland. The agreement gave the United States extensive opportunities to establish airfields, radio stations, meteorological stations, ports, roads and other military installations.

The agreement was subsequently ratified by the Danish Parliament in 1945.

A fundamental problem arose already at this point: Greenland was not an independent state, and the Greenlandic population did not have the same opportunity as Denmark and the United States to influence the agreement's content.

After the Second World War, American interest in Greenland did not diminish. On the contrary, Greenland's position between North America, the Soviet Union and Europe became increasingly important during the emerging Cold War.

2. The 1951 Defence Agreement

On 27 April 1951, the United States and Denmark concluded a new agreement concerning the defence of Greenland. The agreement entered into force on 8 June 1951.

It was concluded under the NATO Treaty and gave the United States extensive rights in connection with the establishment and operation of defence areas in Greenland.

Article II allowed the United States to assist Denmark in establishing and operating defence areas which the two governments considered necessary for the defence of Greenland and the wider North Atlantic area.

The agreement also gave the United States extensive practical rights within the defence areas, including the ability to establish and operate facilities, station personnel, store supplies, and control ships, aircraft and vehicles.

At the same time, Danish sovereignty over Greenland was formally maintained.

The agreement also provided that the United States should show due respect for laws, regulations and customs concerning the local population and Greenland's internal administration.

A central source-critical question is how this provision was translated into practice.

3. Parliament and Parliamentary Control

The defence agreement was signed before the Danish Parliament had considered it. The parliamentary committee submitted its report only after the agreement had been signed. In this connection, the Foreign Minister undertook that the government would discuss major changes to the basis on which parliamentary approval rested with the Foreign Policy Committee.

The Danish Parliament approved the agreement on 1 June 1951.

This parliamentary process is important for understanding Danish base policy. It shows that security-policy decisions concerning Greenland were to a considerable extent handled within a closed foreign- and security-policy system.

The democratic issue becomes still clearer when the decision-making process is considered alongside the extensive American military activities that followed shortly afterwards.

4. Operation Blue Jay and the Construction of Thule Air Base

Construction of the American Thule base began in 1951 under the code name Operation Blue Jay.

The base was built in an area already inhabited by a local Inuit population, and the installation significantly restricted traditional hunting and trapping areas.

Thule quickly became one of the United States' most important military installations in the Arctic.

From an American strategic perspective, its location was ideal. The base was close to the shortest route between the Soviet Union and North America and could therefore be used for early warning, bomber operations, communications, satellite control and, later, missile defence.

But American strategic rationality had another side: the local population was not genuinely involved in the decision to establish the base.

5. The Forced Relocation of the Thule Population

The establishment and expansion of the base led in 1953 to the relocation of the local population from Uummannaq, the former Thule.

The Danish National Archives documents that the population was given approximately three weeks' notice and was moved about 150 kilometres north to Qaanaaq.

Recent historical research states that the affected population consisted of approximately 116 Inughuit divided among 27 families. They had not been involved in the decisive decisions and did not wish to leave their area.

The relocation was not merely a geographical transfer. For a hunting population, access to particular hunting and trapping areas was fundamental to the entire economic and social way of life. The relocation therefore changed the population's access to areas that had formed the basis of its existence.

The new housing in Qaanaaq also proved inadequate for the Arctic climate in several cases. A recent review by the Danish National Archives documents problems with construction and rehousing.

The forced relocation thus became one of the most serious consequences of the American military expansion in Greenland.

6. Misrepresentation of the Relocation

The original Danish Peace Academy material emphasises the question of how the Danish state presented the relocation.

A press release from the Greenland Department in 1953 explained, among other things, the population's wish to move in terms of deteriorating hunting opportunities resulting from the American base and traffic to and from it.

Later, a central question became the extent to which the official explanation concealed or failed to reflect the actual reasons for the relocation.

This question was subsequently examined in connection with the Thule case and the Investigation Committee of 4 June 1987, the so-called Ziegler Committee.

7. The Ziegler Committee

The Investigation Committee of 4 June 1987 was established to investigate the circumstances surrounding the relocation of the Thule population. The committee submitted its report in 1994.

The Danish Peace Academy's own reference article on the Ziegler Commission emphasises that the commission concluded that the relocation did not constitute a forced relocation in the legal sense.

That conclusion did not, however, end the issue.

The subsequent court case demonstrated that historical, legal and political assessments of the relocation differed.

It is therefore important to distinguish between the factual decision to relocate the population, the population's ability to oppose the decision, the legal assessment of the decision, and subsequent political and historical assessments of the relocation.

8. The Thule Case and the Supreme Court

The Thule population later brought claims for compensation against the Danish state.

The Eastern High Court delivered judgment in 1999, and the case was subsequently considered by the Supreme Court.

The Supreme Court delivered its judgment on 28 November 2003 and largely upheld the High Court's result.

The case contained both a collective and an individual compensation element. Official Danish material states, among other things, that the Thule population as a collective was awarded DKK 500,000, while certain individual claims were awarded DKK 15,000. Claims for the right to return to the former settlement and for a general right of use and hunting were not granted.

The Supreme Court's treatment of the case also included an important legal discussion of the concept of Indigenous peoples.

The European human-rights-law treatment of the case notes that the Supreme Court found the interventions in 1951 and 1953 lawful, while not considering it necessary to decide whether the Thule population of that time should, according to contemporary international-law concepts, be designated as a distinct Indigenous population group.

The Thule case thereby became both a compensation case and an important part of the later debate on colonialism and Indigenous rights in Greenland.

9. Danish Nuclear Policy and Thule

A central element of base policy concerning Thule is nuclear weapons.

During the Cold War, Denmark officially pursued a restrictive nuclear policy. In practice, however, Greenland was treated differently from the rest of Danish territory.

In 1957, the American ambassador Val Peterson was asked to investigate the Danish government's position on American storage of nuclear weapons at Thule.

Prime Minister H. C. Hansen issued a secret written statement on 18 November 1957.

Later declassified American documents show that the United States understood the Danish government's response as acceptance that the United States could introduce nuclear weapons into Greenland without prior Danish approval in each individual case. An American telegram from January 1968 records the American interpretation of H. C. Hansen's response and simultaneously emphasises that the matter was to remain secret.

More recent research and documentation have therefore strengthened the original Danish Peace Academy analysis of a Danish-American double policy.

Lex likewise summarises the historical development by stating that H. C. Hansen's secret letter gave the United States a green light to store nuclear weapons at Thule without informing the public or the Greenlandic population.

10. Nuclear Weapons at Thule

American documents show that nuclear weapons were in fact stationed at Thule.

This included, among other things, nuclear warheads for the Nike-Hercules air-defence system. Later published material indicates that during the period around 1959–1965 there were 48 nuclear warheads for the Nike-Hercules system at Thule.

American strategic nuclear involvement was, however, broader than the storage itself.

Thule formed part of the American system of strategic bombers, early warning and nuclear deterrence.

At the same time, nuclear-armed bombers conducted Arctic patrols as part of Operation Chrome Dome.

The Danish population was not informed about the scale of these activities.

It is therefore insufficient to describe Thule as an ordinary NATO base. It was an integrated part of the United States' global nuclear strategy.

11. Camp Century

In 1960, the United States established Camp Century under the ice sheet approximately 225 kilometres east of Thule.

The original Danish Peace Academy entry correctly emphasises that Camp Century had a nuclear reactor and was not a nuclear weapons storage facility. The Peace Academy chronology documents that the transportable nuclear reactor was installed in 1960.

Camp Century nevertheless had a broader strategic dimension. It was connected with the secret Project Iceworm, which investigated the possibility of placing nuclear-armed missiles in a tunnel system beneath the ice sheet.

The project was never realised.

Camp Century nevertheless demonstrates how far American military and technological plans for Greenland extended during the Cold War.

12. The Thule Accident of 1968

On 21 January 1968, an American B-52 bomber crashed near Thule.

The aircraft was carrying nuclear weapons.

There was no nuclear explosion, but the conventional explosives in the weapons detonated in the accident, and radioactive material was dispersed over the area.

The accident was part of American nuclear-alert policy under Operation Chrome Dome.

The American government launched an extensive clean-up operation, Operation Crested Ice.

The accident also changed the political relationship between Denmark and the United States. The previous secrecy surrounding American nuclear activities in Greenland could no longer be maintained in the same way.

13. The Agreement of 31 May 1968

The accident was followed by a series of diplomatic negotiations.

On 31 May 1968, notes were exchanged between Denmark and the United States. The agreement stated that the United States should not store nuclear weapons in Greenland or fly over Greenland with nuclear weapons without the consent of the Danish government.

It is important, however, that newly declassified material now makes it possible to look behind the formal wording of the agreement.

In 2025, the National Security Archive published additional American documents concerning the Thule accident and the negotiations. The material shows that a secret understanding was simultaneously being developed that would allow American nuclear-armed overflights in a serious national-security situation.

This makes the 1968 agreement an especially interesting example of the difference between public policy and secret security-policy practice.

14. The Clean-up after the Thule Accident

The clean-up following the accident was carried out under the name Operation Crested Ice.

American and Danish authorities worked to remove wreckage and radioactive material.

Questions were subsequently raised concerning health consequences for the people who worked on the clean-up.

The Association of Radiation-Affected Thule Workers became a central actor in this debate.

The Danish Peace Academy's original material also documented later international investigations and criticism of the Danish state's handling of the case.

The declassified American documents published in 2025 now provide a much better basis for investigating the concrete extent of the clean-up operation and American assessments of radioactive contamination.

15. Greenland's Airspace as a Nuclear-Weapons-Free Area

After the Thule accident, the question of Greenland's nuclear status became clearer.

Denmark wished to maintain a nuclear-weapons-free policy.

But the historical development shows that Danish policy did not always have the same practical meaning for Greenland as for Denmark.

It is precisely this difference that makes Greenland central to the study of Danish nuclear policy.

In the public Danish debate, nuclear-weapons freedom was gradually made into a principle that was also to apply to Greenland.

But the earlier secret agreements and American operations show that actual policy had been more complex.

16. The Radar Case

After the Cold War, Thule's strategic significance did not diminish.

The American radar at Thule formed part of the Ballistic Missile Early Warning System, BMEWS, and thus of the surveillance of possible ballistic-missile attacks against North America.

In 1960, Thule Air Base came under the United States Aerospace Defense Command.

Later, the radar's role was expanded through the American missile-warning and space-surveillance system.

The US 12th Space Warning Squadron currently describes its mission as including real-time missile warning and space surveillance using a phased-array radar.

The original Danish Peace Academy entry noted that the American mission description contained almost no mention of Denmark or Greenland. This raises an important question about how much information the Danish and Greenlandic public has actually had access to concerning the base's military functions.

In the 1990s and early 2000s, Thule again became the centre of a security-policy debate.

17. The American National Missile Defence

The United States developed a national missile-defence system, later referred to as Missile Defense. The geographical position of the Thule radar made it relevant to the system.

The contemporary Danish Peace Academy documentation described how the modernisation of the radar was placed within the broader development of American missile defence. The material also included discussion of the ABM Treaty, American radars, satellites, command systems and different types of interceptors.

In 2003, the Danish government accepted modernisation of the Thule radar.

This was politically controversial because the modernisation was linked to American missile defence.

18. Milstar, Milsatcom and Satellite Control

Thule was not merely a radar station.

The American military also had satellite-related communications and control functions in the area.

- Air Force Satellite Control Network (AFSCN)
- Milstar
- Milsatcom
- GPS-related functions
- satellite communications
- strategic communications
- connections to American command systems

The American military presence thus developed from a classical aircraft and radar base into an installation that also formed part of global information and command systems.

This is important for understanding base policy. A modern military base does not necessarily have to contain large numbers of soldiers or

traditional weapons systems to have strategic significance. A radar, satellite station or communications installation can be equally central to modern warfare.

19. 1979 and the Change in Danish Base Policy

In 1979, another important shift occurred in Danish base policy when Denmark accepted the pre-positioning of military equipment in connection with the United States' COB programme.

The COB programme was later abandoned in Denmark.

This development shows that the Danish principle of restraint concerning foreign military installations was not static.

Danish base policy was continually adapted to NATO and American military needs.

Thule nevertheless remained the most prominent exception because Greenland had already been incorporated into the American strategic structure.

20. The Environmental Case

Environmental problems surrounding American military installations in Greenland became an independent political issue.

At Thule, questions were raised concerning waste, oil, PCB, heavy metals and other pollution.

The original Danish Peace Academy material linked the environmental issue to Article XI of the 1951 defence agreement and to international environmental rules.

In a contemporary version, it is important to distinguish between documented pollution conditions, the responsibility of authorities, treaty obligations, Greenlandic environmental standards, and the legal assessment of whether particular conditions constituted a treaty violation.

In 2004, environmental issues were incorporated more directly into the new agreement framework.

The three parties agreed, among other things, that American forces in the Thule defence area should respect Greenlandic environmental standards, and that Danish and Greenlandic representatives should have the possibility of access to the area for environmental inspection, subject to military and security considerations.

21. The 2004 Igaliku Agreement

On 6 August 2004, the United States, Denmark and Greenland signed a new agreement in Igaliku.

The agreement amended and supplemented the 1951 defence agreement.

It marked an important difference from 1951 because Greenland's Home Rule Government now participated directly as a party to the agreement.

The agreement stated, among other things, that Thule Air Base was the only defence area in Greenland.

It also stipulated that the flags of Denmark, Greenland and the United States should be present at the base.

The agreement further contained provisions for local cooperation. Greenland's Home Rule Government was given the opportunity to appoint a representative who could consult the American commander at Thule concerning local matters affecting the Home Rule Government.

The parties also undertook to consult one another on questions concerning the American military presence in Greenland.

This was an important step towards greater Greenlandic participation.

22. The Democratic Deficit

The original Danish Peace Academy material nevertheless raised a fundamental question: How much democratic control is there really over the American military presence in Greenland?

This question was formulated particularly sharply in Holger Terp's analysis of the 2004 agreement, which pointed out that decisions concerning modernisation of the Thule radar and American military systems could occur before the full political and parliamentary debate had taken place.

The criticism at the time included the question of whether the public had sufficient access to information about the radar's function, satellite communications and American military systems at the base.

The criticism can today be formulated more generally: the more technologically and strategically integrated a military installation becomes, the more difficult it becomes for parliaments and publics to control its concrete functions.

This is a central democratic question in modern base policy.

23. Greenlandic Self-Government

Greenland's political position changed fundamentally with Home Rule in 1979 and self-government in 2009.

The Self-Government Act recognises the Greenlandic people as a people with a right to self-determination under international law.

Defence and security policy, however, remain matters for the Realm.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs states that foreign, defence and security policy cannot be assumed by Greenland in the same way as a number of other areas.

A fundamental tension therefore exists: Greenland has gained self-government and recognition as a people with a right to self-determination, but does not have full control over the security policy exercised on Greenlandic territory.

Thule/Pituffik is the clearest example of this relationship.

24. From Thule Air Base to Pituffik Space Base

On 6 April 2023, Thule Air Base was renamed Pituffik Space Base.

The United States Space Force explained that the name change was intended both to reflect the base's role in space and space-surveillance systems and to recognise Greenlandic cultural heritage.

The name change is therefore more than cosmetic.

It marks the transition from the classical Thule Air Base, especially associated with Cold War bombers, nuclear weapons and BMEWS, to a modern strategic installation with functions in missile warning, missile defence, space surveillance, satellite control, communications, strategic surveillance and Arctic security.

The base houses, among others, the 12th Space Warning Squadron and the 23rd Space Operations Squadron Detachment.

25. Pituffik in the New Great-Power Competition

The security-policy significance of Pituffik has not diminished after the Cold War.

On the contrary, the Arctic has again become a central strategic area.

Russia's military presence in the Arctic, China's growing interest in the region and increased American attention to space and missile surveillance have given Pituffik new strategic significance.

The United States Space Force itself describes the base's function as part of North American missile warning and space surveillance.

The history of the base has therefore moved from bombers → nuclear weapons → BMEWS → missile defence → satellite and space surveillance.

But the geographical logic is largely the same: Greenland is strategically located between North America, Europe and the Arctic.

26. The New American Documents from 2025

An important development for research is the publication in 2025 of a substantial quantity of previously classified American documents concerning United States nuclear policy in Greenland.

The National Security Archive has published documentation covering 1947–1968, including H. C. Hansen's secret understanding from 1957, nuclear weapons at Thule, nuclear-armed overflights and the Thule accident.

In October 2025, the National Security Archive published additional material concerning the Thule accident and the clean-up. The material shows how the accident triggered both an extensive American clean-up operation and a political crisis surrounding Danish nuclear policy.

This new material is important because it makes it possible to check earlier Danish and American accounts directly against the original American documents.

It thereby also strengthens the value of older Danish critical documentation, which had long pointed to the fact that the public history of Thule was not identical to the internal American and Danish security-policy reality.

27. Thule as a Case Study in Base Policy

Thule Air Base is particularly suitable as a case study in base policy because four political levels meet there:

Great-power policy: The United States has regarded Greenland as a strategic area for the defence of North America for more than 70 years.

Danish security policy: Denmark has used the American military presence as part of its NATO and security-policy system.

Greenlandic politics: Greenland has gradually gained greater political influence over matters concerning the base, without having full competence over defence and security policy.

The rights of the local population: The forced relocation of the Thule population shows that security-policy decisions have had direct consequences

for people who themselves did not participate in the decision-making process.

28. Realism and Postcolonial Analysis

Thule can be analysed through classical realist security-policy theory.

From this perspective, the establishment of the base was rational. The United States sought to protect North America against the Soviet Union, while Denmark sought security guarantees through the American and NATO-based defence system.

But the realist analysis does not explain the whole history.

A postcolonial perspective asks different questions:

- Who defined the security need?
- Who had decision-making authority?
- Who bore the human costs?
- Why was the Greenlandic population not involved?
- Why was nuclear policy handled differently in Denmark and Greenland?
- How much real influence has Greenland had over military decisions?

It is precisely the combination of these perspectives that makes Thule Air Base a particularly interesting research case.

29. Base Policy as Colonial Policy

The history of Thule Air Base cannot be understood without taking Danish colonial history into account.

In 1951, Greenland was still a colony. The 1953 Constitution changed Greenland's constitutional status, but did not overnight change the power relations that had characterised Danish administration.

The forced relocation of the Thule population took place precisely during this transitional period.

It is therefore historically important that American military expansion not be viewed merely as a relationship between two sovereign states.

There was also a third level: the Greenlandic population.

This tripartite relationship — the United States, Denmark and Greenland — is essential for understanding the whole history of Thule.

30. The Agreements and the Democratic Question

A recurring theme in the history of Thule is the difference between formal sovereignty, actual control and democratic participation.

Denmark has formally held sovereignty over Greenland.

The United States has had extensive military rights.

Greenland has gradually acquired greater political influence.

But these three developments have not always proceeded simultaneously.

In 1951, American military freedom of action was extensive, while Greenlandic political participation was limited.

In 2004, Greenland participated directly in the agreement.

Today, Greenlandic authorities are part of the political dialogue concerning the base, but defence and security policy remains at the level of the Realm.

A fundamental democratic question therefore remains: Can a state conduct security policy on a territory where the local population does not have full competence over security policy while that population has a right to self-determination?

Thule Air Base is a concrete example of this principled problem.

31. Source Criticism

A scholarly account of the history of Thule Air Base should distinguish between three types of material.

Primary Sources

- the 1951 defence agreement
- the 1968 notes exchanged between Denmark and the United States
- the 2004 agreement
- American diplomatic documents
- Danish government documents
- Danish parliamentary documents
- the Investigation Committee's material
- court judgments
- American military documents
- declassified archives

Secondary Literature

- Jens Brøsted and Mads Fægteborg, Thule: Fangerfolk og militæranlæg

- the Danish Institute for International Studies, Greenland during the Cold War
- Bo Lidegaard's work on Henrik Kauffmann
- Jean Malaurie's Thule — The Far North
- recent research on base policy
- legal research on the forced relocation
- recent research on Camp Century and military infrastructure

The original Danish Peace Academy entry already contains an extensive bibliography with these and many other titles.

Critical and Political Sources

The Danish Peace Academy material also contains articles from Information, Berlingske, Politiken, Greenpeace, organisations representing Thule workers and other critical actors.

These sources should not be dismissed as "non-scientific". They can be important contemporary documents for studying the political debate.

But their assessments should be distinguished from documentation of the factual events.

32. The Danish Peace Academy's Role as a Documentation Archive

The Danish Peace Academy's entry on base policy and Thule is therefore best understood as a digital documentation and research archive rather than as a traditional peer-reviewed scholarly article.

The entry's particular strength is its breadth.

- base policy
- the defence agreement
- the Thule population
- the compensation case
- nuclear weapons
- H. C. Hansen's letter
- Camp Century
- the Thule accident
- Operation Crested Ice
- BMEWS

11. Laws, Regulations, Statutory Instruments, etc. Concerning Compulsory Military Service, Conscription and Soldiers' Service in Denmark

Introduction

Holger Terp's Laws, Regulations, Statutory Instruments, etc. Concerning Compulsory Military Service, Conscription and Soldiers' Service in Denmark is an extensive electronic attempt to collect Danish legislation and administrative provisions concerning military recruitment, conscription, soldiers' service and conscientious objection from the Middle Ages to the twentieth century. The material is arranged chronologically and ranges from the levy system in the Middle Ages through the land militia of 1614 and 1701, the abolition of the Stavnsbånd, the introduction of general conscription in 1849, the conscription laws of 1861 and 1869, legislation on conscientious objection from 1917 onwards, and conscription legislation at the end of the twentieth century. Terp himself states that the list is incomplete and invites readers to submit information about missing material.

As scholarly work, the text should therefore not primarily be assessed as a traditional monograph with a coherent thesis and argument. It is rather a digital source register, chronology and working bibliography. This is both its principal strength and its greatest weakness: it provides access to a very large body of material, but carries out only a limited amount of the source-critical and legal-historical analysis required to turn the material into a scholarly historical account.

1. Subject and research relevance

The subject is important. The history of conscription is not merely military history, but concerns central questions about the relationship between the individual and the state, social class, property relations, the labour market, state formation, constitutional history and civil rights. Terp's chronology documents in particular how military recruitment gradually changed character. In 1701 the land militia was organised so that one soldier was to be supplied for every farm district of 20 tønder hartkorn of peasant land. The National Archives confirms that recruitment at that time mainly concerned men from the peasantry, and that reserve rolls contained information about young men liable for service. The major legal-historical transition occurred in 1848–49. Before 1849, conscription had in practice particularly been a burden on the rural population. The Act of 12 February 1849 made military service general for the male population regardless of status or origin. Terp's material is therefore valuable as an entry point

into an investigation of how an originally status- and geographically differentiated recruitment obligation developed into a constitutional principle of general conscription.

2. Source-related strengths

The greatest merit of Terp's work is the chronological compilation of scattered legal sources. He registers not only statutes, but also ordinances, circulars, notices, regulations, administrative arrangements, political documents and individual cases. The material thereby shows that the history of conscription cannot be understood through the major conscription laws alone. This is particularly clear for the period 1701–1788. Terp's registration of the land militia, reserve rolls, passport and testimonial regulations, and rules concerning desertion shows that military obligation was embedded in a wider administrative system. The National Archives likewise states that the levy rolls from 1701 onwards are a central source for reconstructing the actual mobility and recruitment of conscripts. Another important strength is that Terp connects normative legislation with practice. For example, he notes that the land militia's formal six-year term of service could in practice become considerably longer. This is historically interesting because legal norms and actual administration were not necessarily identical. Research on the land militia documents cases in which men were kept in service far beyond the original six years.

3. The principal methodological weakness: chronology without sufficient analysis

The material's greatest problem is that it often records events without explaining their legal significance. For example, the ordinance of 22 February 1701 is mentioned as the beginning of an extensive conscription arrangement. Terp describes it as an arrangement under which young peasant men were to appear before a recruitment board, but the legal structure was more complicated. The land militia was fundamentally based on the levy-district principle, in which land area and hartkorn determined how many soldiers an area had to supply. The National Archives specifically describes the obligation as one soldier for each levy district, linked to the peasantry and landed property. It is therefore methodologically problematic to present the 1701 system as though it were already a modern, personal and general military obligation. It was not. It was a historical hybrid of land-based recruitment obligation, land militia, administrative registration and personal military service. A genuine legal-historical account would have needed to distinguish between the following:

- recruitment obligation
- military service
- obligation to remain available
- levy-district obligation
- Stavnsbånd bondage
- personal military obligation
- economic military burden
- actual call-up

Terp's material contains information that makes such distinctions possible, but makes them only sporadically.

4. The problem of the term "værnetvang"

The title uses the term "værnetvang", whereas Danish legislation normally uses the designation "værnepligt". The current Conscription Act regulates værnepligt, and following the legislative amendment in 2025 Danish conscription includes both men and women, with section 1 changed so that "man" was replaced by "citizen". "Værnetvang" can be a legitimate analytical concept, particularly if the purpose is to investigate the coercive element of conscription. But the term is normatively charged. A scholarly account should therefore clearly define whether "værnetvang" is: 1) a historical source term, 2) a legal term, 3) an analytical term, or 4) Terp's own political-philosophical designation. This distinction is important because a historian can otherwise easily impose a modern interpretation on older legal relationships.

5. 1849 as a decisive legal-historical break

Terp's chronology is highly valuable, but precisely 1849 should have been treated much more analytically. The Act of 12 February 1849 provided that all male persons holding Danish nationality in the Kingdom of Denmark were subject to conscription regardless of status or origin. This was a decisive principled change. Conscription was now made a personal civic duty rather than primarily a status-based and agricultural burden. It is nevertheless important not to portray 1849 as an immediate and complete principle of equality. The Act contained various exemptions and arrangements, just as substitution through the system of replacement and number exchange enabled different forms of substitution. Terp mentions this, but could usefully have analysed the difference between formal universality and the actual social distribution of the burden. This issue had already been discussed in contemporary debate. Aleksis Petersen-Studnitz showed in 1883 that the designation "general conscription" concealed a

considerable difference between the nominal obligation and the number of persons actually selected for military service. This is a central point that could have formed one of the analytical axes of Terp's account.

6. The Constitution and conscription

Another area in which Terp's material could be strengthened considerably is the relationship between general conscription and the Constitution. The constitutional conscription provision continued the principle that an able-bodied man should contribute his person to the defence of the fatherland according to the more detailed provisions of law. The provision dates from the Constitution of 1849 and was continued in later constitutional revisions. The decisive legal question is not merely that conscription is mentioned in the Constitution, but what the constitutional provision legally authorises and how much discretion the legislature has. Here Terp's account lacks a genuine constitutional-law analysis. A scholarly treatment should, among other things, examine whether the Constitution protects a particular military system or merely the principle of a duty of defence; whether the legislature may change the group subject to conscription; whether conscription can be replaced by civilian service; how section 81 relates to the constitutional rights of liberty; and what significance international human rights have.

7. Conscientious objection and civilian service

Terp's treatment of conscientious objection is among the strongest parts of the collection. Here the material goes beyond military history and documents an important development in the relationship between freedom of conscience and state coercion. Act no. 625 of 13 December 1917 concerning the use of persons liable for military service in civilian work was a significant break. It made it possible for persons for whom military service was incompatible with their conscience to be transferred to civilian state work. Under the Act, civilian service could last 20 months on first call-up. Terp's documentation of the Act's provisions is particularly valuable. It also shows that the first arrangement was not simply an exemption system: conscientious objectors transferred to civilian work remained on the levy roll, were subject to disciplinary provisions and could be punished for refusing the work. It is therefore more precise to describe the arrangement as an alternative fulfilment of the conscription obligation than as a complete right to escape the military burden.

8. Source-critical problems

There are, however, significant problems with the scholarly form. Terp himself states that the list is incomplete. This is unproblematic in a working database, but means that the material cannot be used as documentation that a particular statute or ordinance was the only or most important rule at a given time. In addition, source references are inconsistent. Some information is accompanied by precise references to journals and pages, others by more general bibliographical references, and some entries appear to have been taken directly from secondary literature or earlier material. There are also editorial errors. A striking example is the formulation of the period "1874–1823", which is obviously chronologically impossible and must be a writing or transcription error. Terp's source is an article about the recruitment board in 1883, and the original article documents statistics for 1883. Such errors are not necessarily serious in a private digital register, but become problematic if the material is cited as scholarly authority without checking it against the original sources.

9. Periodisation and incompleteness

Another weakness is the very uneven degree of coverage. Some periods are treated in great detail, particularly 1701–1788, 1848–49, 1914–1917 and the 1960s. Other periods are covered much more summarily. The collection therefore reflects Terp's own research interests, especially conscientious objection, antimilitarism and peace policy. This is not in itself an error. On the contrary, it makes the material interesting as an example of activist documentation history. But a scholarly review must note that the selection is not neutral in the classical historical sense. It would be a significant improvement if each historical section clearly marked: primary source → secondary source → Terp's interpretation.

10. The relationship between law and practice

The collection's greatest unused research potential lies, in my assessment, in the relationship between legal text and actual administration. The National Archives, for example, emphasises that the recruitment administration's archives make it possible to follow the movements and actual recruitment of persons liable for military service. The recruitment administration was also placed under civilian authorities during large parts of the period, including the Ministry of Justice and later the Ministry of the Interior. A full scholarly study should therefore combine legislation, preparatory works, administrative circulars, levy rolls, recruitment-board

protocols, ministerial files, judgments, petitions, newspaper material, political debates and personal accounts. Terp's collection is highly useful as a map showing where to look, but it cannot by itself document how the rules were actually administered throughout the country.

The more recent development

An important problem in using Terp's collection as a current reference is that it does not reflect the latest fundamental changes. In 2025 full equality between women and men in conscription was introduced. Act no. 715 of 20 June 2025 amended, among other things, section 1 of the Conscription Act so that conscription was no longer limited to men but covered Danish citizens subject to the Act's conditions. The Act entered into force on 1 July 2025. The Danish Defence simultaneously states that both men and women are now called to Forsvarets Dag, and that well over 99% of conscripts in recent years have voluntarily chosen to serve. This also demonstrates an important historical point that could have been central to Terp's work: legal conscription and actual compulsory recruitment are not the same. A state can maintain a legal conscription system while almost all actual recruitment takes place voluntarily.

Overall assessment

Holger Terp's collection has considerable documentary and practical research value. It brings together a large number of otherwise scattered pieces of information and refers to many statutes, ordinances, administrative rules, journals, archives and secondary works. As a digital working database it is therefore useful, especially for researchers wishing to identify relevant primary sources. As a scholarly account, however, it has substantial limitations. The most important are:

- lack of a systematic methodological description
- lack of a consistent distinction between primary and secondary sources
- uneven source criticism
- some obvious editorial and chronological errors
- insufficient distinction between legal norm and actual practice
- limited constitutional and legal-theoretical analysis
- a clear normative preference in the use of the term “værnetvang”

It is therefore most precise to characterise the work as a valuable, but not fully scholarly processed, digital source register. Its scholarly significance lies primarily in its ability to function as a research map of Danish conscription and recruitment history. For scholarly use, however, its information should be checked against the original statutes, Lovtidende,

Rigsdagstidende, ministerial archives, and levy and recruitment-board material.

Overall professional assessment

- As a documentation collection: very useful.
- As a bibliographical working tool: valuable, but incomplete.
- As legal-historical analysis: insufficient.
- As an independent scholarly account: it cannot without further qualification be called a research monograph.
- As a basis for further research: highly useful.

The most important scholarly task indicated by Terp's material is not simply to write an even longer chronology, but to investigate how the Danish state historically transformed a collective defence burden into a personal civic obligation—and how this obligation was repeatedly differentiated in practice according to status, social position, economic circumstances, sex, conscience, health and military needs. It is precisely in this tension between coercion, law, equality and actual military service that the central legal history of conscription lies.

12. Literature on Conscientious Objection

Creation, content and significance in the history of research

Introduction

I prepared Literature on Conscientious Objection as a bibliographical mapping of literature and other material concerning conscientious objection, conscription, and the movements and organisations associated with this field. The bibliography was published by Det Danske Fredsakademi as Version 1. It is important to emphasise what the work is—and what it is not. It is not a historical monograph and not an attempt to write the history of conscientious objection. It is a bibliography whose purpose is to make scattered and often difficult-to-access material visible to others. I therefore also stated from the beginning that the list was incomplete and that accounts were only indicated. At the same time, readers were invited to send information about missing literature on conscientious objection and conscription to Fredsakademiet. This declaration of incompleteness is not merely a limitation, but part of the bibliography's character. It is intended as a working tool and as a contribution to continuing collection and documentation.

A scattered field of literature

The work on the bibliography showed that literature on conscientious objection does not constitute one clearly bounded research field. The material is found across different institutions, organisations and political environments. There are academic studies, public reports and administrative publications, but also pamphlets, manuals, organisational journals, information material and political writings. The bibliography registers, for example, Svend Erik Larsen's study Militærnægterproblemet i Danmark 1914–1967, but also numerous publications from Militærnægterforeningen, Aldrig Mere Krig and other organisations. It was important to me not only to register literature that would traditionally be regarded as research. Conscientious objection is also a field of historical practice, and the organisations' own publications are therefore an important part of the material.

The breadth of the bibliography

The bibliography contains 147 entries. Its chronological range is considerable. Among the early titles is Olaf Forchhammer's Jeg nægter from 1909, while the material continues to publications from, among other years, 1995 and 1997. The geographical scope is not exclusively Danish either. Norway occupies a significant place, and there is also material connected with other countries and international questions. For example, Norwegian

literature on conscientious objection, material on the French soldiers' movement and publications on South African conscientious objectors are registered. This reflects the fact that conscientious objection is not only a Danish phenomenon. Danish discussions must be viewed in connection with a broader international peace and antimilitarist tradition.

From conscription to conscientious objection

A recurring feature of the material is that conscientious objection cannot be isolated from the question of conscription. Literature is therefore also included that does not necessarily concern conscientious objection in the narrow sense, but illuminates the history of conscription, its administration and the circumstances of persons liable for military service. This includes, among other things, Hans Chr. Bjerg's writings on conscription, Rudi Thomsen's Den almindelige værnepligts gennembrud i Danmark, and various official publications on recruitment boards, call-up and civilian service. This broader documentation is necessary if conscientious objection is to be understood historically. Refusal presupposes a system against which the refusal is directed. Legislation, recruitment, call-up and civilian service are therefore not merely background material, but part of the field itself.

The organisations' own publications

A substantial part of the bibliography consists of publications from organisations and groups working with conscientious objection and antimilitarism. Several editions of Før sessionen, Vilkår for militærnægtere, Militærnægtervilkår and Militærnægterhåndbogen are registered, along with material from Militær- og Nægterforeningen, Militærnægternes Oplysningskontor, Aldrig Mere Krig and various local or temporary groups. Some of the material is very short. Other publications are larger studies or manuals. The bibliography also registers special forms such as comics, song and action handbooks, and different types of guidance material. At first sight this may seem a very heterogeneous collection. But precisely this heterogeneity is historically interesting. It shows how conscientious objection was communicated and organised in practice.

Source-critical considerations

The organisations' own publications are valuable sources for their views, activities, arguments and self-understanding. At the same time, they have a particular tendency and purpose. An antimilitarist pamphlet should therefore not be read as a neutral description of the military or conscription. It should be read as a historical statement by a particular actor in a particular situation. The same applies to official publications. A guide from

the Conscription Administration or Ministry of Defence is not neutral in an absolute sense either. It was produced within a particular administrative and political framework and reflects the authorities' understanding of conscription and conscientious objection. The bibliography contains both types of material. Its task is therefore not to decide which source is “right”. Its task is to make the material accessible so that it can be investigated and compared.

The bibliography as a working tool

I have described the list as incomplete, and it is important to maintain this characterisation. A bibliography of this type cannot simply be made final. Material on conscientious objection is scattered. Some is published in ordinary book form and can be found in library catalogues. Other material was issued in very small editions. The bibliography contains, for example, publications which, according to the bibliographical notes, are not found in Bogfortegnelsen. Other writings were produced by local groups, working groups or conscientious-objector camps. This means that some of the material can only be found through special collections, organisational archives or private collections. A bibliography of this field will therefore necessarily depend on which materials can actually be located. The invitation to submit information about missing literature is consequently an essential part of the project. The bibliography is intended to be expanded.

The bibliographical form

Another point is that bibliographical information is not only about registering a title. Where information has been available, publisher, year, page count, edition, ISBN, ISSN, notes and subject terms have also been recorded. The notes can be historically significant. They may show, for example, when a publication was printed in a particular number of copies, when it is a reprint, or when a publication continues an earlier series. Such information can later be used to investigate not only what was written, but also how material was distributed. A pamphlet printed in 40,000 copies, for example, had a different potential reach from an internal document in a very small edition.

Conscientious objection as a social and political movement

The bibliography also shows that conscientious objection cannot be understood solely as an individual matter of conscience. The material includes questions about pay and working conditions for conscripts, soldiers' movements, antimilitarism, human rights, civil disobedience and international peace policy. There is material on the struggle for soldiers' pay and a 40-hour working week, political soldiers, the French soldiers' movement and

conscientious objection as a human right. This broadens the understanding of the subject. Conscientious objection can be both an individual choice and part of a wider political or social movement.

The research-historical value of the bibliography

Today Literature on Conscientious Objection can also be regarded as a document of the period in which the bibliography was created. It registers not only older literature, but also shows which materials were considered relevant to collect at a particular time. It therefore tells us something about how conscientious objection was understood and documented. The bibliography is thus both a tool for finding sources and a source for the history of research. This is especially interesting because much of the material might otherwise disappear from ordinary bibliographical memory. Small pamphlets, internal publications and organisational material rarely have the same chances of survival as commercially published books.

Limitations and possibilities

I have not attempted to present the bibliography as a complete or finished list. It is explicitly designated Version 1, and I have also pointed out that the list is incomplete and that accounts are only indicated. With today's possibilities the work could naturally be developed further. A digital continuation could, for example, allow searches by year, country, organisation, subject term and source type. One could also distinguish more clearly between research, primary sources, organisational material and administrative material. But such development should not change the fundamental principle: that small, temporary and political material can also be important if one wants to understand the history of conscientious objection.

Conclusion

Literature on Conscientious Objection is an attempt to collect scattered material and make it accessible. I have not sought to create a finished history of conscientious objection, but to create a bibliographical starting point for further research. That the list is incomplete is therefore not concealed. It forms part of the bibliography's own presentation. It should be read as Version 1 and as a working tool that can be supplemented with new discoveries. The bibliography's historical value lies precisely in its breadth. It contains research, legislation, public documents, organisational publications, pamphlets, guides and personal or organisational accounts. Taken together, the material makes it possible to investigate conscientious objection from several perspectives: as a legal problem, a matter of conscience, political protest, social movement and part of the international history of peace and antimilitarism. From this perspective, an incomplete

bibliography is not necessarily a failed attempt to create a complete bibliography. It can be something else, and perhaps more useful: a map of a historical landscape that others can continue to explore.

13. Holger Terp – Bibliographer, Historian and Digital Documentalist

A scholarly assessment of New Danish Historical Bibliography and the collected authorship, 1989–2020s

Summary

This article examines Holger Terp's bibliographical, historical and publishing work from the late 1980s to the 2020s, with particular focus on New Danish Historical Bibliography. It argues that Terp's work should be understood as more than a series of individual bibliographies and articles. It constitutes a coherent project in which bibliography, source publication, historiography, digitisation and public dissemination are integrated. The development runs from the printed professional bibliography Fred på tryk from 1989, through work on the history of the peace movement and Peace in Print, to an extensive digital documentation environment. At the same time, the subject field expands from peace and security policy to women's history, the history of Greenland, music and cultural history, the Vietnam War, nuclear weapons, conscription and Danish security and intelligence history. On the basis of Terp's own publication overview and the digital original sources, the strengths and weaknesses of this working method are assessed. The conclusion is that Terp's most important research contribution lies in his extensive work identifying, registering, digitising and making historical material accessible. At the same time, bibliographical information requires source-critical checking and clearer documentation of registration principles and editorial methods.

1. Introduction

Holger Terp's name is inseparably associated with Det Danske Fredsakademi and with many years of work in peace history, bibliography and digital documentation. It can initially be difficult to place his work within one tradition. He is at once librarian, bibliographer, editor, historical author, journalist, digital communicator and source publisher. His publications include professional bibliographies, historical studies, personal bibliographies, newspaper articles, reviews, radio contributions and digital source collections. This makes a traditional analysis of authorship difficult. If one looks only at the historical articles, one overlooks the bibliographical infrastructure. If one looks only at the bibliographies, one overlooks the historical and publishing activity. The purpose of this article is therefore to view Terp's work as one integrated bibliographical and historical project. The central question is: What scholarly and cultural-historical

significance does Holger Terp's combined bibliographical and documentary work have, and what place does New Danish Historical Bibliography occupy in this development?

2. Method and source base

The analysis is based primarily on Terp's own publication and CV page and the original digital works in the library. In addition, the individual digital works are used as primary documentation of the structure of the bibliographies and Terp's historical method. It is important to distinguish between three forms of documentation: 1) Terp's own bibliographical registration, in which he describes his work; 2) the digitised original texts, which can be checked directly; and 3) secondary bibliographical registers and library catalogues, which can be used to verify information. This distinction is essential. A bibliographical statement on a website is not necessarily identical to a controlled bibliographical record in a national library system. The article should therefore not be understood as an uncritical reproduction of Terp's CV, but as a first bibliographical mapping of the documented production.

3. 1989: Fred på tryk

The first major point in the development is Fred på tryk: Bibliografi over dansk freds- og sikkerhedspolitisk litteratur, 1881–1988. The work establishes the bibliographical method that would later characterise large parts of Terp's production. The method is basically classical: literature is identified, registered and organised within a defined subject field. But already here something characteristic of Terp's work appears. Peace and security policy is not treated merely as a current political question. It is made the subject of historical bibliographical documentation. A research tool is thereby created. This is a significant difference between the bibliographer and the ordinary communicator. The communicator explains what a subject is about. The bibliographer attempts to make it possible for others to investigate the subject systematically.

4. From bibliography to history

In the 1990s the work expands. Terp works, among other things, with Ellen Hørup, Danske Kvinders Fredskæde and the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. Here he moves from bibliographical registration to historical documentation. A good example is the work on Ellen Hørup. The historical material is not treated only as literature references. It is made available as source material. This is methodologically important

because Terp thereby establishes a practice in which bibliography functions as an entry point to the source.

5. Digitisation as a methodological turning point

In the second half of the 1990s the Internet comes to play an increasingly important role. Terp establishes Peace on the Net in 1996 and later takes a central role in building digital platforms. This changes the character of bibliography. The traditional bibliography says: Here is a book or article. Digital documentation can say: Here is the bibliography—and here you can go directly to the source. This is not merely a technical change. It is a methodological change. The bibliography becomes part of the research infrastructure itself.

6. Peace in Print

This development culminates provisionally in Peace in Print: The History of the Peace Movements. The work is international and multilingual and covers several hundred years of peace history. It includes, among other things, bibliographies, personal bibliographies, catalogues of peace movements and research tools. It is particularly interesting that Terp also registers the bibliographical tools themselves. The bibliography thereby becomes reflexive: it documents not only the literature on a subject, but also the systems through which research on the subject can be conducted. This is an important scholarly aspect of the work.

7. Danish Peace History

With Danish Peace History, Terp's role as historian becomes even clearer. Here historical presentation is combined with bibliographical documentation. Terp is therefore no longer only the person who helps other researchers find the literature. He also attempts to write history himself on the basis of the collected material. This creates an interesting dual role: the bibliographer produces the basis for the historian, while the historian simultaneously produces new bibliographical references. The two activities support one another.

8. Personal bibliography: Fredrik Bajer

Another important element is the work on Fredrik Bajer. A personal bibliography has a particular research function. By systematically registering a person's writings and related sources, it becomes possible to reconstruct an authorship, a political career and a historical network. This is microhistory on a bibliographical basis. The method has considerable value,

especially when applied to historical figures whose production is scattered across newspapers, journals, books, organisations and archives.

9. Newspaper articles and public historiography

Terp's authorship cannot be understood without his extensive journalistic activity. The CV documents articles in, among others, Information, Arbejderen, Politiken, Berlingske Tidende, Ingeniøren, Hvidovre Avis, Køkkenrullen and other publications. Documented subjects include Danish peace history, the student movement, Greenland and military policy, Gandhi, the peace movement, the PET Commission, civil disobedience, fighter aircraft, Afghanistan, nuclear weapons, conscription, Syrian arms trade, protest music and peace songs. These texts do not all have the same scholarly status. A newspaper article is not a peer-reviewed research article. But it can be historically valuable in another way. It documents how historical questions were communicated and discussed publicly. Terp's journalistic production is therefore also part of his public historiography.

10. The PET Commission and civil disobedience

A particularly interesting example is the work on the PET Commission and the peace movement. Terp published several versions of the material, including in Arbejderen and on digital platforms. This makes a genuine textual-historical analysis possible: What changes between versions? Which sources are added? Which arguments are reformulated? How does the text change when it moves from newspaper to digital research environment? Here Terp's own publication history becomes an object of research. It is an example of how digitisation not only makes older material accessible, but also creates new opportunities for studying the transmission of texts.

11. Music as a historical source

One of the most original elements of Terp's work is the treatment of music as historical documentation. In 2014 he worked, among other things, with songs of the First World War, peace songs and Lili Marleen. Later the music of the Vietnam War was also documented. This approach expands the traditional source material of political history. A song is not merely entertainment. It can be political propaganda, protest, collective memory, an expression of contemporary attitudes, and documentation of social movements. Terp's music bibliographies are therefore an example of an expansion of cultural-historical source material.

12. Military and security history

Another main line is military and security history. Terp has written and documented material on American nuclear-weapons production, Danish fighter aircraft, conscription, arms trade, NATO, Greenland, the Defence Intelligence Service, Afghanistan, Libya and Syria. The work on American nuclear-weapons production is particularly extensive. The English Nuclear Weapons Production in the US, 1942–2011 reaches, according to the publication overview, approximately 400 pages. Here bibliography becomes the basis for a larger historical documentation work.

13. New Danish Historical Bibliography

In 2017 New Danish Historical Bibliography appears. The work must be understood against the background of the preceding almost three decades of work. It is therefore misleading to regard it as an isolated project. Rather, it represents a further development of the method established with Fred på tryk: registration → systematisation → digitisation → accessibility → historical contextualisation. Compared with the institutional Danish Historical Bibliography, however, there are important differences. Terp's bibliography does not have the same institutional anchoring or the same standardised production apparatus. In return, it has another strength: it is closely connected to a very broad digital historical documentation environment. It should therefore primarily be assessed as an independent and supplementary bibliographical project.

14. Bibliographical method

Terp describes his working method as a combination of libraries, databases, the Internet and archives. He uses bibliographical essays, library catalogues and archive catalogues depending on the nature of the material. This method is rational because historical material is found in different information environments. At the same time, it places considerable demands on documentation. A fully reproducible scholarly bibliography should, as far as possible, state which catalogues were searched, when they were searched, which inclusion criteria were used, how duplicates are treated, how different editions are registered, how errors are corrected, and how digital sources are version-controlled. Terp's work is not always equally transparent here. This is the principal methodological reservation.

15. Source criticism

The digital form also creates special source-critical problems. A web page can be changed. A URL can disappear. A PDF can be replaced. A text can be edited without a version number. A bibliographical record can therefore be harder to verify in ten years than a printed book with a fixed edition and ISBN. This is not a problem unique to Terp. It is a general problem in digital humanities. But precisely for that reason Terp's work should also be seen as an early example of digital cultural-heritage documentation, in which questions of version control and long-term preservation become central.

16. Terp's authorship, 1989–2020s

The overall development can be summarised as follows:

- 1989–1994: Professional bibliography
- 1995–1999: Peace, women's and organisational history
- 1996–2003: Digital information dissemination
- 2004–2008: Personal bibliographies, peace history and publishing
- 2009–2010: History, civil disobedience, music and digital documentation
- 2011–2013: Nuclear weapons, military history and conscription
- 2014–2016: Cultural history, music, Greenland and arms trade
- 2017–2018: New Danish Historical Bibliography and broader historical projects
- 2019–2020s: Source publication, security history and digital documentation

The development is therefore not linear in the sense that one discipline replaces another. Rather, working methods are layered on top of one another. Bibliography does not disappear when Terp becomes a historian. On the contrary, it becomes one of his most important historical working tools.

17. Scholarly assessment

An overall assessment must take both strengths and limitations into account.

Strengths

- The scale is considerable.
- The breadth of material is unusual. Terp works with literature, newspapers, personal archives, organisational history, music, political documents and military-historical material.

- Accessibility is an important quality. A large part of the material is available digitally and can be used by researchers, students and interested readers without physical access to a special archive.
- There is a significant connection between bibliography and source publication. Users are often not merely told that a source exists; the source may also be available digitally.
- For many years Terp has worked with areas that have traditionally been marginal in national historiography: the peace movement, conscientious objectors, women's peace work, protest music and alternative security-policy perspectives.

Limitations

The most important limitation is the varying degree of bibliographical standardisation and methodological transparency. In addition, genre boundaries are sometimes unclear. Historical research, political commentary and journalism stand side by side. This is not in itself a problem, but it requires users to assess the material according to genre. Finally, Terp's own CV is not necessarily a complete bibliography. The absence of an article from the CV cannot therefore by itself be taken as evidence that the article does not exist.

18. Terp as a digital documentalist

The most comprehensive term for Terp's work as a whole is, in my assessment, digital documentalist. The term captures the work better than "historian" or "bibliographer" alone. The digital documentalist: 1) locates historical sources; 2) registers them; 3) organises them; 4) digitises them; 5) creates connections between them; 6) gives them historical context; and 7) makes them accessible to others. It is precisely this combination that characterises the digital environment. Terp's significance therefore lies not only in the texts he has written himself. It also lies in the information environment he has built around the texts.

19. Conclusion

Holger Terp's work should be understood as a coherent project of more than three decades in bibliography, history and digital documentation. The starting point was Fred på tryk from 1989. Later came work on Ellen Hørup, Danske Kvinders Fredskæde, Fredrik Bajer and Danish peace history. With Peace in Print the project became international and digital. The field was then expanded to nuclear weapons, military policy, Greenland, the Vietnam War, music, conscription and security history. In this development New Danish Historical Bibliography occupies a central position. It

should not be assessed as a competitor that necessarily replaces the institutional Danish Historical Bibliography. Its significance lies rather in continuing an independent bibliographical tradition and connecting it with extensive digital documentation work. The scholarly assessment must therefore be twofold. On the one hand there are methodological limitations, especially concerning standardisation, version control and documentation of search and selection procedures. On the other hand, the scale, breadth and accessibility of historical material are considerable. The most precise overall characterisation is therefore: Holger Terp has over more than three decades developed an independent digital bibliographical and historical documentation project in which bibliography, source publication, historiography and public dissemination are integrated. His most important scholarly contribution is therefore not necessarily one particular book or article. It is the documentation infrastructure as a whole. From a bibliographical and cultural-historical perspective, this is itself a significant piece of Danish digital research and documentation history.

Source list and digital original sources

Digital original sources should therefore be cited with the title of the source, responsible person or organisation where known, the hosting collection or website, the date or version when available, and the date on which the digital source was consulted. Where an item has been digitised from a physical original, the digital copy should not be confused with the original archival object.

This source list distinguishes between bibliographical descriptions, digital research tools, and digital original or primary-source material. The distinction is important because a bibliography is evidence that a publication or source has been identified, whereas the original digital source must be assessed in its own historical and documentary context.

- Holger Terp's CV and publication overview
- digital library

New Danish Historical Bibliography

Peace in Print

- Peace in Print – research tools

Danish Peace History

- Fredrik Bajer bibliography
- Ellen Hørup material

14. Chronology of the Peace Cause and International Politics

Introduction

Chronology of the Peace Cause and International Politics, prepared by Holger Terp for Det Danske Fredsakademi, is an extensive digital documentation project that connects the history of the peace cause with the broader history of international politics. The current collected edition is dated 2024, while the digital chronology consists of a large number of year and month pages covering historical periods from antiquity to modern times. The work differs from a traditional historical monograph. It is not primarily organised around a coherent argument, but around a chronological registration of events, people, organisations, treaties, conflicts, peace initiatives and political developments. This makes the chronology particularly interesting for research into peace and security policy because it makes visible actors and events that do not necessarily have a similarly prominent place in traditional state-centred historiography. The central scholarly question is therefore not only whether the information in the chronology is correct, but also what kind of historical knowledge the work produces, how that knowledge is selected, and how the work should be used as a source in academic research.

An alternative historiographical perspective

The chronology's greatest strength is also its most characteristic methodological feature: it adopts a pronounced peace-historical perspective. This is already expressed in the title. It is not merely a chronology of international politics, but a chronology of the peace cause and international politics. The peace movement, pacifism, disarmament and various forms of peace-policy engagement are thereby placed at the centre. This perspective represents an important supplement to traditional international history. Whereas classical diplomatic history has often concentrated on states, governments, wars and treaties, the chronology also includes non-state actors. One example is the registration of Fredrik and Mathilde Bajer's work and the establishment of Dansk Kvindesamfund in 1871. Here Danish women's history is connected with international peace and organisational history. International peace initiatives and transnational organisations are likewise registered in a way that makes it possible to investigate the peace cause as a social and political movement rather than merely as a result of state decisions.

This is historiographically valuable. It opens for an understanding of international politics in which political influence does not move exclusively from governments to international organisations, but also from civil

society, movements and individuals into the international political arena. The perspective is nevertheless not neutral. When the peace cause is a central organising principle, certain historical actors and events become more visible than others. This is not necessarily a problem; all historiography is based on selection. But in a scholarly assessment it is necessary to recognise that the chronology should not be read as a complete or value-neutral registration of world history.

The chronology as a historical method

Chronological organisation has an obvious strength: it makes complex historical developments manageable. Users can follow development year by year and compare the development of the peace movement with international conflicts, political institutions and social changes. The chronology can, for example, begin with very early examples of international conflict resolution. The entry on the peace treaty between the Egyptian Pharaoh Ramses II and the Hittite king Hattushili III discusses one of antiquity's best-known peace and friendship treaties. Such registration is interesting because it makes it possible to adopt a long historical perspective on peace and conflict resolution. At the same time, the example shows a methodological challenge: the further back in history one goes, the greater the dependence on later historical reconstructions and interpretations.

The chronology therefore documents not only historical events; it also conveys already existing historical interpretations. The same applies to modern history. The entry on the Korean War in 1951 includes, for example, accounts by the Danish journalist and resistance figure Kate Fleron after her journey to North Korea. The chronology refers to contemporary publications and describes, among other things, her accounts of the war's consequences for the North Korean population. This is an interesting example of both the work's strength and its source-critical problem. A contemporary eyewitness account is a valuable historical source, but it is also a source with a particular perspective. It documents first and foremost what Fleron saw, experienced and wished to communicate. It cannot simply be used as neutral documentation of the Korean War as a whole. The researcher should therefore distinguish between the source as historical testimony and the source as documentation of a historical reality.

The source base

The chronology's source apparatus is extensive and constitutes one of its greatest academic qualities. There are examples of references to archival material, historical books, journals, contemporary documents and international institutions. A concrete example is an entry from 1951 concerning the Danish-American agreement on the defence of Greenland. Here

reference is made to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs publication Dansk udenrigspolitik 1948–1966 and to a specific appendix. This is methodologically stronger than an entry that refers only to a secondary website. The user is given the opportunity to proceed to the underlying documentation. Another example is the registration of the murder of the UN mediator in Palestine, Folke Bernadotte, on 17 September 1948. Here both Bernadotte's own book and a document from the UN Department of Public Information are used.

Examples such as these show that the chronology can potentially function as a highly effective research tool and source register. There is, however, a difference between containing source references and documenting a fully developed source-critical method. The central question is therefore how systematically the sources have been assessed. An academic historical account should normally make it possible to assess a source's origin, contemporaneity, tendency, dependence and context. In the chronology, such information is not necessarily sufficiently developed within the individual entries. This means that researchers should regard the chronology as a secondary or tertiary link in the documentation chain. Where a historical claim is important to an analysis, the researcher should as far as possible follow the reference back to the original source.

Selection and selection bias

One of the most important methodological questions is what determines which events are included. The chronology contains not only major international events. It also records smaller political, organisational and social events. The eighteenth-century chronology contains, for example, information about taxes, military administration, religious groups, William Penn, the Great Northern War, political institutions and the establishment of various organisations. This breadth is impressive, but it also creates a classification problem. When very different events are placed within the same chronological structure, it becomes difficult to determine which criteria make them historically relevant to "the peace cause and international politics". This applies, for example, to information about social reforms or domestic political conditions. They can naturally be relevant to peace and security policy, but the connection should be explained if the chronology is to function as a rigorous scholarly account. The problem can be described as selection bias: what is registered comes to appear historically significant, while what is not registered becomes less visible. It is therefore important that users do not confuse the chronology's contents with a complete description of historical reality.

Peace perspective and normativity

Another important aspect is the work's normative dimension. A peace-historical work cannot be expected to be completely value-free. The choice of "the peace cause" as a historical perspective implies an interest in particular political and social processes. This can be seen, for example, in the registration of pacifist protests during the First World War. An entry from April 1917 describes a protest meeting against US participation in the war and the conflict between pacifist and militant demonstrators. Such information is valuable because it documents internal conflict within the peace movement. But it should be analysed according to the same source-critical principles as information about governments, military organisations or belligerent states. This is a central point for a thesis: a peace-oriented source is not necessarily more neutral simply because its purpose is peace. On the contrary, peace movements, like states and military institutions, can have strong interests in how historical events are presented. The chronology should therefore not be rejected because of its normative perspective. It is more productive to make the perspective part of the analysis.

From chronology to historical analysis

The chronology's greatest limitation is that it primarily answers the questions what and when, whereas an academic thesis often requires answers to how and why. The fact that a peace organisation is established at a particular time does not necessarily tell us why it arose, which social groups supported it, which international circumstances influenced it, or what actual political significance it acquired. Likewise, registering a war or peace agreement cannot by itself explain the underlying structures. This means that the chronology works best as the first stage of an analytical process:

Chronology → source identification → source criticism → comparative research → historical analysis.

It should therefore not replace historical research, but be used to make such research easier.

The example of Denmark, NATO and Greenland

A particularly interesting area for a Danish thesis is the relationship between the peace cause, Danish security policy and NATO. The chronology records, for example, the Danish Parliament's consideration of the agreement between Denmark and the United States on the defence of Greenland in 1951 and simultaneously documents the parliamentary discussion of the government's obligations. This demonstrates the chronology's potential. It can be used to identify specific documents and decision-making processes which can subsequently be investigated in greater depth. But if the

material is to be used to investigate questions of Danish neutralism, opposition to NATO or Danish security policy, the chronology must be supplemented with, for example, parliamentary proceedings, foreign-policy documents, contemporary newspapers, the organisations' own material and existing research on Danish foreign and security policy. The chronology can thus identify the research object, but cannot alone provide the complete analysis.

The example of the Second World War and the policy of cooperation

A similar example is found in the chronology's treatment of the German occupation of Denmark. An entry from May 1940 refers to cabinet meeting minutes and to the official report on the work of the government and Parliament during the occupation. Here the source base is interesting because the chronology actually points onward to central primary-source material. This illustrates one of the chronology's most important academic functions: it can create a connection between a short historical registration and much more extensive archival material. But here too the researcher should be attentive to the hierarchy of sources. Cabinet minutes document the government's internal decision-making process, but do not necessarily tell the whole story of public attitudes, the resistance movement or the international context. Scholarly treatment therefore requires triangulation of several types of source.

15. The Danish Peace Academy's Guide to the History, Culture and Politics of the United States

Introduction

The Danish Peace Academy's Guide to the History, Culture and Politics of the United States is an extensive Danish documentation and bibliographical project prepared by Holger Terp and published by Det Danske Fredsakademi in 2012. The editorial work was completed on 21 December 2012, and the work was published with ISBN 978-87-91085-06-2. It may be freely copied with acknowledgement of the source. An assessment of the work should begin with its own genre and declared function. It is not written as a traditional university textbook, nor does it attempt to provide a complete, coherent synthesis of United States history. The author explicitly states that the purpose is to give interested readers easy access to freely available sources concerning American conditions throughout the country's history. At the same time, he stresses that the description is not complete, but sufficiently comprehensive for further work, particularly in the field of security policy.

The character and purpose of the work

The guide covers an unusually broad area. Its contents include geography, nature, climate, demography, history, earlier peace movements, earlier political and social movements, wars, culture, music, politics, presidents, government, the military, intelligence services, political parties, peace movements, conscientious-objector organisations, religion, social conditions, education, universities and economics. It is thus an attempt to establish a broad point of entry into the United States as a historical, political and cultural society, but with particular emphasis on areas within the Danish Peace Academy's field of interest. This delimitation should not in itself be regarded as a scholarly weakness. All research is shaped by choices of questions, sources and perspectives. The decisive question is whether these choices are visible to the user. In this case they are in fact stated relatively clearly in the introduction.

The bibliographical and documentary dimension

Perhaps the work's greatest scholarly strength lies not in its continuous narrative but in its extensive registration of material. It refers to a very large number of books, documents, archives and digital resources. A considerable part of the older literature has been digitised and made accessible through, among other services, the Internet Archive. The author explains that older literature is included to illustrate earlier perceptions and

knowledge of the United States, and that this also has an interest for the history of science.

This is an important methodological choice. A book from, for example, 1839, 1890 or 1917 need not be read as modern historical research. It can instead be a primary source for contemporary ideas about the United States. In this way older literature acquires an independent scholarly function.

The work therefore functions simultaneously at several levels:

- as a bibliography
- as a digital source guide
- as a documentation collection
- as a historical reference work
- as an introduction to peace and security-policy research
- and as an entry point to further independent investigation

Primary sources as a research resource

A prominent feature is the systematic interest in primary sources. Already in the first historical sections there are older geographical descriptions, maps, travel accounts, historical works, catalogues and other contemporary or historical documents. The work therefore does not merely give the reader a finished interpretation, but opens the possibility of investigating the material on which interpretations can be based. This is an important difference from a traditional textbook. In a traditional synthesis, the reader encounters primarily the historian's interpretation. In a documentary guide, the ambition is rather to lead the reader from a subject to the sources in which the subject can be investigated. The work can therefore be particularly useful for students, journalists, teachers and researchers who wish to go beyond ordinary reference works.

Source criticism and source hierarchy

There is nevertheless a methodological challenge. The material is highly heterogeneous. It includes research literature, historical books, official documents, publications of political organisations, peace-organisation material, contemporary accounts and different forms of digital information. Such sources can all have value, but they do not have the same function. An official government report documents, for example, what a government claimed or recorded. A political organisation's pamphlet can document the organisation's views. A research article can provide a historical analysis. A memoir can document a person's experience of an event. The scholarly user must therefore be able to distinguish between what a source tells us and what can actually be concluded on the basis of the source. The work

could be strengthened methodologically by classifying sources more systematically according to type. But this is primarily a proposal for improving an already extensive documentation project, not an argument that the project loses its value.

The perspective: peace, war and security policy

The Danish Peace Academy's perspective is clearly present. The work gives considerable attention to war, militarism, weapons, military policy, peace movements, conscientious objectors, nuclear weapons and security policy. This is directly connected with the Academy's field of expertise. The author himself states that the guide is intended, among other things, to exemplify the Academy's areas of competence. This should not automatically be called "bias". A specialised research perspective is not in itself unscientific. On the contrary, specialisation is often precisely what makes it possible to collect material not adequately covered by broader historical accounts. It is therefore more precise to describe the work as perspective-based documentation. It gives the reader a particular view of the United States, but it is an open and visible view. The work does not claim to be a complete description of the United States. On the contrary, it explicitly states that the description is incomplete and that its particular strength lies in security policy.

Historical breadth

Although the work has a security- and peace-policy emphasis, it is important not to reduce it to a work about American military policy. The contents show a much broader ambition, including culture, music, religion, social movements, education, universities, economics and demography. Particularly interesting is the combination of cultural and political history. Music and peace songs, for example, are included not merely as illustrations but as historical documents. The cover itself is an example: the American peace song Let Us Have Peace from 1861/1869 was chosen as the cover illustration, and the music and song have been digitised and made available through the Internet Archive. This demonstrates a method in which cultural expressions are regarded as historical sources for political and social currents.

Older literature

A particularly interesting methodological aspect is the collection of older literature. The author points out that older literature is included to show the knowledge and perceptions that existed at the relevant time. This opens a history-of-science dimension often overlooked in ordinary historical accounts. A historical book is not only a source for what it describes. It

is also a source for the period in which it was written. Older American historiography can therefore be studied on two levels: What does it tell us about the historical event? And what does it tell us about the contemporary way of understanding the event? The guide's extensive registration of older material makes it possible to work with both questions.

Digital dissemination and open access

The work should also be seen in the light of digital development. It was prepared with a clear ambition to lead readers to freely available sources. The author writes that virtually all the literature referred to is freely accessible, and that further material can be found elsewhere in the Danish Peace Academy. This gives the work a special character as digital research infrastructure. The Academy's library also contains the work together with a number of other bibliographical and historical works by Holger Terp, including studies of Danish peace history, peace movements and music. The guide should therefore not be assessed only as a book, but as part of a larger digital documentation project.

Factual errors and editorial control

A scholarly assessment should naturally also be able to point out concrete errors. There is, for example, an error in the introductory historical overview where the Declaration of Independence is dated to 1773. The American Declaration of Independence was adopted in 1776. This is a real error and should be corrected in a new edition. But it is important to distinguish between a factual error in a large documentation work and a methodological deficiency in the work as a whole. In a work of several hundred pages containing a very large number of bibliographical registrations, editorial errors can occur. The scholarly question is therefore whether the errors are systematic and alter the work's overall documentary value. There is no basis for concluding this solely from individual errors.

Relation to traditional academic historiography

The work should not compete directly with a modern university textbook on United States history. A university textbook normally aims to synthesise existing research and create a coherent historical narrative. The Danish Peace Academy's guide has another main purpose: to make sources and information searchable and accessible. The difference can therefore be formulated as follows. The traditional historical synthesis says: Here is the historian's overall interpretation of the research. The documentary guide says: Here is an extensive selection of material that can lead you to your own investigation. The two genres should not be judged by identical criteria.

Research value

- Bibliographical value: it collects a very large number of references, including older literature that can otherwise be difficult to locate.
- Documentary value: it points to primary sources and historical documents that can be used for independent research.
- Peace- and security-policy value: it provides particularly extensive documentation of war, the military, weapons, peace movements and security policy.
- Digital-historical value: it represents an early Danish form of open-access digital research communication in which literature and sources are connected through electronic references.

Overall assessment

A more precise scholarly assessment of the Danish Peace Academy's guide to the history, culture and politics of the United States must therefore be nuanced. It is not a traditional academic textbook and should not be criticised for not being one. It is an extensive documentary and bibliographical work seeking to make a very large and heterogeneous body of material about the United States accessible to the reader. Its strength lies particularly in the breadth of registered sources, digital accessibility and specialised documentation of peace-, war- and security-policy subjects. Its perspective is clear, but the perspective is also consistent with the Academy's declared field of expertise. It is therefore more precise to speak of a specialised perspective than of a lack of neutrality. There is nevertheless room for methodological improvements. A future edition could classify source types more clearly, distinguish primary sources from secondary literature, and mark the difference between historical documentation and the author's interpretation more explicitly. Factual and bibliographical errors should naturally also be corrected. These matters do not, however, alter the work's basic character and value.

Conclusion

The Danish Peace Academy's Guide to the History, Culture and Politics of the United States should above all be regarded as an extensive, freely accessible bibliographical and documentary research resource. Its scholarly importance lies not primarily in providing the final and definitive interpretation of United States history, but in enabling readers to find, compare and investigate a large number of historical and contemporary sources. The work is therefore best placed at the intersection of historical documentation, bibliography, digital humanities, peace research and public education. It is precisely this combination that makes the project distinctive. A fair scholarly assessment should therefore not ask why the work is not a

traditional university book, but how effectively it performs the task it has actually set itself: creating access to a large and largely freely available body of source material about the United States while making visible the peace- and security-policy dimensions of American history, culture and politics.

16. Danish Peace History

A pioneering work in Danish peace history

Abstract. Holger Terp's Danish Peace History is an extensive documentation and historical-writing project concerning peace, pacifism, antimilitarism, conscientious objection, nonviolence and international peace work in Denmark. The project extends from the medieval leding system to the Cold War and the modern peace movement. This article assesses the work as a historiographical project and examines its empirical basis, original hypotheses, methodological challenges and significance for contemporary peace and conflict research. The main conclusion is that Danish Peace History should above all be understood as a pioneering work establishing a large and previously scattered field of research rather than as a completed synthesis. Its principal contribution is the combination of documentation, bibliographical mapping, historical writing and identification of research gaps.

1. Introduction

Holger Terp's Danish Peace History begins with a programmatic claim: when the history of peace disappears, myths arise, including the myth that everyone accepted their rulers' policies and that there was no opposition. Terp also observes that early Danish ideas about peace and pacifism have not yet been fully investigated, and that Danish peace work is represented only to a limited extent in the international academic literature. This is the work's central historiographical problem. Terp does not merely seek to write a history of organised peace associations. He wants to document a broader historical field comprising conscientious objection, resistance to conscription, religious opposition to war, antimilitarist politics, internationalism, women's peace work, refugee assistance, the League of Nations, nonviolent resistance and nuclear disarmament. The work should therefore not be assessed solely by the criteria of a traditional university monograph. It is also a documentation project and research infrastructure.

2. The author's method and research position

Terp points out that he is not a trained historian or peace researcher, but a librarian. He describes his method as the use of librarianship tools and places particular emphasis on historical dissertations and printed primary sources. Secondary literature is used, among other things, to investigate how history has previously been presented. This methodological self-description is important. The project's strength lies to a large extent in the

ability to find, register and assemble scattered material. This is a different form of historical research from the classical archive-based monograph, but it is not for that reason less relevant. Bibliographical and documentary research can be decisive for establishing a research field. Before a synthesis can be written, one must know which people, organisations, texts and archives exist. Terp's work can therefore be described as a combination of documentation, historiographical criticism, bibliographical mapping, historical synthesis and a research programme.

3. Jesper Baltzarsen Könecken and the first student revolt

One of the work's most interesting concrete contributions appears at the beginning. Terp examines Jesper Baltzarsen Könecken, who during the war between Denmark and Sweden in 1657–1659 preached that war was incompatible with Christianity. Könecken also wrote to the Swedish king Charles Gustav demanding that the war be stopped. The particularly interesting point is Terp's comparison of Könecken with Holger Rørdam's research on the students of the University of Copenhagen. Rørdam documented that around 600 students were associated with the university, but that fewer than 266, according to the available information, participated in the defence. Terp thereby points out that more than 300 students did not fulfil their military duty at that time. He also notes problems with the surviving registers and the later loss of parts of the university archive.

This is a good example of Terp's method. He does not necessarily discover an unknown event. He discovers a new research question in known source material: Was the absence of students from military service an expression of resistance to military service? This cannot automatically be answered affirmatively. Absence can have many causes. But the question is historically legitimate, and it is important that Terp presents the sources that make the question possible to investigate.

4. Medieval leding and the problem of anachronism

In the chapter “Forced Conscription during the Viking Age” Terp examines the leding system. He refers, among other things, to Niels Lund's article on kværsæde and C. A. Christensen's research on the landed property of Roskilde Cathedral. Terp argues that institutional coercion to perform military service must be seen in connection with a lack of voluntariness among peasants and fishermen. At the same time he points out that there is no documentation of early conscientious objection. Here we are at the boundary between documentation and hypothesis. It can be documented that a coercive mobilisation system existed and that sanctions existed for

non-participation. It cannot, however, automatically be concluded that persons who avoided the leding were pacifists. The most precise formulation is that Danish Peace History identifies possible pre-modern forms of resistance to military mobilisation, rather than documenting modern pacifism in the Viking Age.

5. The concept of peace before 1849

The chapter “Light in darkness” is central because Terp attempts to identify Danish roots of peace thinking before the modern peace movement. He discusses the Peace of God, the king's peace and various medieval concepts of peace, as well as literature on peace and war in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. He highlights, among other works, Jens Søffrensen Nørnissom's En liden Tractat om den edle oc dyrebar Guds Gaffue, som er Fred, oc huor fra den kommer, oc om Wfred oc Krig from 1647. Erasmus, Grotius, Kant and Jesper Baltzarsen Könecken are also examined in connection with Danish peace thought. Terp's most important point is not necessarily that there existed a continuous Danish pacifist tradition. His more important contribution is to document that peace as a religious, legal and political concept has a history extending further back than the modern peace movement.

6. From absolutism to modern antimilitarism

In his treatment of 1660–1849 Terp moves between military history, social history and peace history. He examines conscription, peasants' relationship with the military system and possibilities for avoiding military service, using research by Birgit Løgstrup and Gunnar Lind among others. A particularly interesting example is Terp's discussion of resistance to conscription in Norway during the Napoleonic Wars. In 1802 residents of Lejrdalen refused to report for military service, after which a military expedition was sent against the area. The source documents a concrete collective resistance to conscription. This illustrates Terp's broad understanding of peace history: it can also be the history of conflicts between the state's military demands and popular resistance.

7. Schleswig 1849: civil resistance to mobilisation

The chapter on resistance to war in Schleswig during the Danish-German war in 1849 is methodologically interesting. Terp shows how mobilisation in December 1849 was made difficult, among other things because local authorities would not carry out the ordinary conscription procedure. He cites material from the Danish General Staff and describes how officials

and agitators opposed conscription. Here there is a much stronger empirical basis than in the early medieval chapters. There is direct documentation of resistance to mobilisation. But here too one must distinguish resistance to war from pacifism. Opposition to Danish mobilisation in Schleswig could have been national, local, political or social and need not have been based on principled opposition to war.

8. Liberal political antimilitarism 1849–1914

This is one of the strongest chapters in the work. Terp follows the development from the political debate about defence and conscription before the Constitution through radical political culture to the institutionalisation of the peace movement. He highlights Malte Bruun Nyegaard, Viggo Hørup, Edvard Brandes, Fredrik Bajer and Mathilde Bajer. As early as 1836 Nyegaard argued against general conscription and increased military expenditure and emphasised diplomacy as a better means of securing the country. Terp also points to major research gaps, for example the absence of a modern biographical treatment of Fredrik Bajer's work after 1908 and the lack, in his view, of a history of the Danish Christian peace movement. This is where Danish Peace History functions particularly well as a research programme: it not only says “Here is the history”; it also says “Here is what we still do not know.”

9. Fredrik Bajer, Mathilde Bajer and internationalism

Terp points out that Fredrik Bajer was not only a Danish politician but also an international peace organiser. He connects him with the Inter-Parliamentary Union, the International Peace Bureau and Dansk Fredsforening. At the same time Terp gives Mathilde Bajer and other women a more visible place in peace history. This is not merely a matter of adding women's names to a male history. It changes the understanding of the organisational structure of the peace movement itself. The Danish peace movement was embedded in international networks from the beginning, and women played an important role in those networks. Terp's project thus connects Danish peace history with gender history and transnational history.

10. The First World War and pacifism

The period around the First World War is particularly important because modern conscientious-objection legislation developed during this period. Terp highlights the Danish conscientious-objection law of December 1917 and Peter Brock's observation that Denmark introduced alternative

service at this time without requiring a religious justification. Terp then asks a very interesting question: Why was the law formulated in this way? This is an example of a genuine historical research hypothesis. The legislation is documented. The research question concerns its political and ideological prehistory. Terp's point is that the Danish arrangement cannot necessarily be understood solely as a result of religious pacifism, but must also be investigated in relation to political antimilitarism.

11. Denmark and the League of Nations

The chapter on Denmark and the League of Nations expands the analysis from the peace movement to state international policy. Terp describes how Denmark reduced its military after joining the League of Nations in 1920 and how disarmament was connected with the new international order. At the same time he documents an important contradiction: Denmark was not a completely pacifist country. George Lansbury is highlighted for observing that Denmark continued to have conscription and a smaller defence force. This is important because it shows that the project does not require a dichotomy between "war country" and "peace country". A country can simultaneously have military institutions and pursue a relatively strong disarmament or peace policy.

12. Nonviolence and Niels Lindberg

One of the most interesting links to later international peace research is found in the treatment of the Danish book Kamp uden Vaaben from 1937. Terp documents that Niels Lindberg and his co-authors attempted a comparative assessment of nonviolent struggle, military resistance, terrorism and guerrilla warfare. He connects later Gene Sharp's interest to this material. This is historically interesting because it places Danish peace thought within an international development that would later become central to theories of civil resistance. Terp identifies a Danish text that can be regarded as part of the intellectual prehistory of later research into nonviolent political action.

13. Ellen Hørup and the transnational perspective

Terp's treatment of Ellen Hørup is another strong point. He documents her work with Journal des Archives in Geneva in 1938–1939, an international news service with correspondents in London, Paris, Geneva, Copenhagen and Chicago. He also notes that he has not found research references to Journal des Archives in the international literature. This is exactly the type of research gap that makes the project valuable. Terp does not merely

document a previously overlooked person. He identifies concrete international archival and media-historical material that other researchers can investigate.

14. Refugee work

The chapter on refugee work before the Second World War expands peace history from political activity to humanitarian practice. Terp describes how Melanie Oppenheim, Kirsten Gloerfelt-Tarp and Thora Daugaard worked in 1938 to bring Jewish children from Germany and Austria to Denmark. According to the work, 325 children came to Denmark, most of whom were later sent on to Haifa. Terp also includes relief work connected with the Spanish Civil War. This section is important because it shows how peace movements, antifascism, humanitarianism and refugee work could overlap. Peace history thereby also becomes a history of protecting civilians.

15. The Cold War and the dilemmas of the peace movement

In the chapter "Flexible double standards policies during the Cold War" Terp examines Danish security policy, NATO, Greenland and Thule Air Base. He highlights the tension between official Danish policy against nuclear weapons on Danish territory and the question of American nuclear weapons and military activities in Greenland. He refers to a Danish-American agreement from 1950 and later investigations of Thule Air Base. Here the work is again both historical and documentary. Terp does not merely identify official policy, but attempts to locate the administrative and international documents that can illuminate the difference between publicly declared policy and actual security-policy practice. This is a classic historical question of policy versus practice. Conclusions about secret or unofficial nuclear-weapons policies must, however, be assessed on the basis of the concrete archives and subsequent research.

16. Methodological criticism: pacifism is not the same as resistance

The most important methodological criticism of Danish Peace History is not a lack of sources. It is the historical breadth of its concepts. The following phenomena should not automatically be identified with one another: resistance to conscription, desertion, antimilitarism, conscientious objection, religious pacifism, political pacifism, internationalism, nonviolence and peace policy. They can overlap, but they have different historical meanings. A peasant who avoids conscription may be economically motivated. A socialist may be antimilitarist without being an absolute pacifist.

An internationalist may work for arbitration without rejecting all forms of military force. A conscientious objector may be religiously motivated without being a political activist. This conceptual differentiation is especially important for the older chapters, but should be seen as an opportunity for further development rather than a rejection of the project.

17. From teleology to genealogy

Another possible objection is that the long chronological narrative may appear teleological. If the Viking Age leding, medieval concepts of peace, Könecken, nineteenth-century antimilitarism, Bajer, the League of Nations, nonviolence and nuclear disarmament are presented as stages in one line of development, history can appear to have moved inevitably towards the modern peace movement. But the work can be read in a more methodologically sustainable way: as a genealogy of different forms of resistance to war and militarisation. A genealogical history need not claim that medieval actors thought like modern pacifists. It instead investigates which historical practices and ideas later became available to new actors. Danish Peace History then becomes less a story of "progress towards pacifism" and more a history of changing forms of opposition to war and militarisation.

18. What is actually original?

The work's originality should be assessed on several levels. Empirical originality: Terp identifies people, texts, organisations and publications not commonly represented in standard works on peace history, with Könecken and Kamp uden Vaaben as good examples. Perspective originality: well-known events such as the wars of 1848–1851, 1864, the First World War, the League of Nations and the Cold War are examined from the perspective of peace and resistance. Synthetic originality: scattered phenomena are brought together in a coherent Danish peace-historical narrative. Bibliographical originality: the extensive work with literature, archives and bibliographies makes the work a tool for other researchers.

19. Where Terp's work anticipates later research

The treatment of Mathilde Bajer, Ellen Hørup, Thora Daugaard and other women makes peace history into gender history. Connections between Danish actors and the International Peace Bureau, the League of Nations, War Resisters' International and other international organisations show that the peace movement cannot be understood within national borders. Terp's interest in conscientious objection shifts attention from the state's conscription system to the individual's conscience and political rights. The

treatment of Kamp uden Vaaben and Niels Lindberg points towards the later research field of nonviolent political resistance and documents a direct connection with Gene Sharp's work. Refugee work shows the connection between peace work, international solidarity and protection of civilians. In these respects the work is more modern in its problem orientation than its working form may initially suggest.

20. Conclusion

Danish Peace History is not a completed, traditional academic synthesis. Its scholarly significance lies elsewhere. It is a pioneering work, a documentation project, a bibliographical resource and a research programme. Its most important contribution is to make it possible to see Danish history from another angle: not only as the history of the wars Denmark participated in, but as the history of the people, organisations and ideas that sought to prevent war, limit militarisation or develop alternatives to violence. Its most convincing sections are those where Terp combines concrete source documentation with the identification of a research gap. Here the work functions as genuine scholarly infrastructure. Its weaker sections are those where different forms of resistance to war risk being gathered under the concept of pacifism, or where a long historical connection may appear more continuous than the sources securely document.

The most precise peer assessment is therefore: Danish Peace History is a significant pioneering work whose primary scholarly originality lies in establishing and documenting a previously fragmented Danish field of peace-historical research. It should be read both as a historical synthesis and as a catalogue of research questions, many of which have not yet been definitively answered. Its scholarly value therefore lies not only in the conclusions it already reaches, but at least as much in the questions it makes possible to ask.

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17. Christianity, War and Pacifism

A critical scholarly reading of Holger Terp's Can a Christian Be a Soldier? Variations on the Peace Politics of the Sermon on the Mount

Holger Terp, Can a Christian Be a Soldier? Variations on the Peace Politics of the Sermon on the Mount, Det Danske Fredsakademi, 2020, 79 pp.

Introduction

Holger Terp's Can a Christian Be a Soldier? Variations on the Peace Politics of the Sermon on the Mount is a distinctive work in Danish literature on Christianity, war and peace. The book combines church history, biblical interpretation, pacifist ethics and modern peace policy. Terp states that the book consists of two main parts: "a church-historical presentation and an analysis of Christianity's attitude to pacifism". The title asks a simple question: Can a Christian be a soldier? But the question quickly develops into a much broader question concerning Jesus' teaching, the use of violence, the state, militarism and the Christian's responsibility for peace. It is important to assess the book on its own terms. It is not written as a narrow academic monograph in church history. It is an interdisciplinary and explicitly normative work attempting to reread Christian history from a peace and pacifist perspective. Terp's clearly pacifist starting point is therefore not in itself an argument against the book's scholarly relevance. The decisive question is how convincingly sources, historical interpretations and normative conclusions are connected.

1. The book's methodological self-positioning

Already in the preface Terp makes his philosophy-of-science starting point clear. He criticises traditional historiography for being closely linked to rulers and institutions and argues that the peace perspective is underrepresented in Danish humanities and social-science research. He points, among other things, to the Defence Academy's research into military history and theory of war as opposed to the absence of a comparable state-supported Danish peace-research institute. This is an interesting observation, but also one of the book's most debatable general claims. It requires broader research-historical documentation if it is to stand as a scholarly claim about the entire Danish university and research system. Terp is methodologically candid, however, when he later writes that he is "neither a church historian nor a theologian" and describes what follows as "sporadic glimpses into a long history". This is important because it shows that the author does not claim to provide a complete church-historical

synthesis. The book should rather be read as a critical peace-theological and peace-historical synthesis than as a specialist monograph in ancient church history.

2. Militarism as the book's broader social criticism

Terp's analysis of Christianity is part of a much broader criticism of militarism. He describes militarism as military domination, enthusiasm for the military and a political social order in which the military element plays a prominent role. On pages 5–7 militarism is connected, among other things, with military expenditure, nuclear weapons, arms production, autonomous weapons systems, police and the state's use of force. This gives the book a character extending far beyond traditional theology. Terp is not merely trying to determine whether a Christian may be a soldier; he wants to investigate what kind of social order lies behind acceptance of military violence. This is a strength because Christian pacifism can otherwise easily be reduced to individual conscience ethics. With Terp the question becomes structural: Which institutions and economic interests maintain the war system? But this is also where the book becomes methodologically uneven. The concept of militarism comes to cover several different phenomena: military institutions, military ideology, the arms economy, state coercion and political nationalism. A more rigorous analysis would distinguish these analytically.

3. The soldier and military service

The book's central question becomes interesting when Terp moves from the general criticism of militarism to the soldier's concrete moral situation. On page 17 he distinguishes ancient military service from modern conscription and notes that the population of Judaea was not subject to conscription in the modern sense. This is an important distinction because otherwise it is easy to project modern ideas about military service directly onto ancient societies. On pages 18–19 he introduces different definitions of the soldier and conscientious objector, including the conscientious objector as a person who for reasons of conscience, morality, politics or religion does not wish to be a soldier. Here the title shows its strength. “Can a Christian be a soldier?” is not necessarily the same question as “Can a Christian participate in a just war?” Terp insists on taking the soldier's role itself seriously, including obedience, weapons use and institutional participation.

4. The Sermon on the Mount

The theological core of the book is the chapter “Variations on pacifist themes in the Sermon on the Mount”. Terp cites Matthew 5:38–39 on not resisting evil and Matthew 5:44 on loving one's enemies. This is a strong starting point. If Christian ethics is to take Jesus seriously, these statements cannot simply be treated as pious ideals without consequences for concrete political and military ethics. Terp's merit is that he insists that the Sermon on the Mount must have practical consequences. His position becomes especially clear at the end of the book, where he argues that Christianity in its basic understanding is about life, neighbourly love and justice, while war is based on violence, power and profit. He concludes directly: “Therefore soldiers in war cannot be Christians.” This is the book's strongest normative claim. But it should not be confused with a historical statement. What Jesus says, in the sense asserted by Terp, is a hermeneutical question; the fact that Christians throughout history have interpreted these words differently is a historical question; and whether the pacifist interpretation is morally right today is a normative question. The argument is strongest when these three levels are held together without being confused.

5. Origen and early Christianity

A central historical example is Origen. Terp quotes his Contra Celsum for the statement that Christians do not take up arms against any nation but have become children of peace through Jesus Christ. This is important evidence of a strong pacifist current in early Christianity. Terp also uses Wikipedia as a secondary source in his presentation of Origen. This is a clear place where the work could be strengthened academically. When a central church father is used as a historical argument, a direct reference to a critical edition or authoritative scholarship would be much stronger. At the same time, Terp's use of Origen should not be dismissed for that reason. Origen is a real and significant witness to Christian pacifism. The problem is rather how representative this witness is of early Christianity as a whole. Recent research is important here. Despina Iosif argues in Early Christian Attitudes to War, Violence and Military Service that early Christians did not have one uniform position on war and military service, incorporating both pacifist sources and literary and archaeological evidence of Christians in the military. More recent research by Erik Sengers and Ruben van Wingerden similarly argues that Christians served in the military before Nicaea while influential Christian thinkers and individual Christian soldiers argued against military service. This research therefore

weakens an unequivocal historical thesis that early Christianity as such was pacifist. It does not necessarily weaken Terp's normative argument. Rather, it shows that a conflict between different Christian interpretations of military service existed early on.

6. From Augustine to Aquinas

Terp also discusses Augustine and Thomas Aquinas and describes the development of the Christian just-war tradition. The issue becomes especially interesting because the Christian tradition is not simply divided between Christianity and non-Christianity. The conflict also takes place within Christianity. Augustine accepted war under certain circumstances, and Aquinas later systematised criteria for bellum iustum. Terp reproduces, among other things, the requirements of legitimate authority, just cause and right intention. This is an important counterargument to a simple identification of Christianity with pacifism. Modern research also shows that the relationship between Aquinas and pacifism cannot be reduced to a simple opposition. Gregory M. Reichberg has analysed Aquinas's treatment of Matthew 5:39, "Do not resist evil", in connection with his just-war theory. Reichberg concludes that Aquinas rejected pacifism as the appropriate mode of action for the state while retaining it as the church's proper response to evil. This is significant because the question is not simply whether Aquinas was "for or against war". It concerns how different forms of Christian ethics are distributed between church, state and individual. Terp's pacifist position can therefore be understood as a rejection of this institutional division.

7. Historical practice and theological norm

A crucial methodological question is whether the existence of Christian soldiers can be used as an argument against Christian pacifism. The answer must be no, at least not by itself. The fact that Christians have been soldiers documents Christian military service. It does not in itself document that military service is compatible with Jesus' ethics. Conversely, Origen, Tertullian or other pacifist church fathers do not by themselves document that all Christians should be pacifists. Here one must distinguish descriptive church history from normative Christian ethics. Terp's project is interesting precisely because he asks not only "What did Christians do?" but also "What should a Christian do?" This distinction should be emphasised even more clearly because it makes the book's actual argument stronger.

8. Tolstoy and modern Christian pacifism

On page 57 Terp discusses Leo Tolstoy and his radical reading of the Sermon on the Mount. For Terp, Tolstoy represents a Christianity that does not limit Jesus' command of nonviolence to private morality, but allows it to have consequences for courts, prisons, the military and the state. This is an important transition from early-church pacifism to modern Christian peace thinking. Terp also connects Tolstoy with Gandhi and highlights the influence of Tolstoy's pacifist writings on Gandhi. One of the book's great strengths appears here: pacifism is not presented as an isolated theological doctrine, but as a historical tradition moving between Christianity, ethics and political practice.

9. Dorothy Day and active pacifism

Terp also includes Dorothy Day and the Catholic Worker movement. He quotes her 1942 statement that the movement's manifesto is the Sermon on the Mount and that they will not participate in armed war. This example is significant because it demonstrates that Christian pacifism does not necessarily mean political passivity. On the contrary, pacifism can be understood as an active form of resistance to war. One of the book's strongest points is therefore that pacifism is presented not as an absence of political action but as another political and moral form of action.

10. The book's conclusion

The book's conclusion is unambiguous. Terp writes that Christianity, in his understanding, chooses life, neighbourly love and justice, and that Christianity and violence are therefore opposites. The conclusion is that “soldiers in war cannot be Christians”. This conclusion can naturally be challenged theologically. But it cannot simply be criticised as inconsistent with the book's argument. On the contrary, it follows from a particular interpretation of the Sermon on the Mount. The central question is therefore not whether Terp is a pacifist. That is openly evident in the book. The central question is whether his interpretation of Jesus' love of enemies is theologically and ethically convincing.

11. Scholarly assessment

The book has three marked strengths. First, it has a clear problem: the question of the Christian soldier is concrete and historically delimited while opening very large questions of Christian ethics. Second, Terp is consistent in his attempt to take the Sermon on the Mount seriously. He does

not reduce Jesus' love of enemies to an abstract ideal but asks what it means for military violence. Third, the book connects church history with modern peace policy and thereby shows that Christian pacifism is not only a historical question. There are also substantial weaknesses. The historical presentation is selective and often summary. Terp's own description of the work as “sporadic glimpses” is therefore appropriate. It should not be used as the basis for detailed conclusions about the whole history of Christianity without comparison with specialist research. The source base is also uneven. Direct primary sources are used alongside secondary literature and internet sources. In particular, the use of Wikipedia in the treatment of Origen is methodologically weak and could easily be replaced by research literature. Finally, the concept of militarism is very broad. It gives the text political force but sometimes reduces analytical precision. These weaknesses should not, however, lead to the opposite exaggeration that the book is merely a political polemic without scholarly value. It contains genuine historical material, an identifiable theological argument and a coherent normative thesis.

12. Conclusion

Can a Christian Be a Soldier? should be read as an interdisciplinary, normative peace-theological work with church-historical ambitions rather than as a traditional academic monograph. Its historical material cannot by itself prove that Christianity has historically been pacifist. Recent research instead shows that Christians already in the early church took different positions on military service. But this is not necessarily a decisive argument against Terp's central project. His most important question is not only historical. It is hermeneutical and ethical: What follows from Jesus' love of enemies if it is taken seriously as a norm for Christian action? On this point Terp's book is both challenging and consistent. It forces the reader to confront an uncomfortable contradiction: Can one on the one hand confess Jesus as the one who commands his disciples to love their enemies and on the other accept a professional role in which one is expected, under certain circumstances, to kill the enemy? The Christian just-war tradition provides a possible answer by distinguishing individual Christian ethics from the state's responsibility. Terp's pacifism rejects this solution and instead argues that Jesus' ethics must also apply to the state, the military and war. This basic disagreement, more than individual historical examples, constitutes the book's real theological significance. The book is methodologically uneven but intellectually consistent. It is not sufficient as the sole basis for a scholarly account of Christianity's relationship to war,

but it deserves to be taken seriously as a Danish contribution to the Chris-

tian pacifist tradition.[1][2][3][4][5][6][7][8][9][10][11][12][13][14][15][16][17][18][19][20][21][22][23]

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3 Holger Terp, Can a Christian Be a Soldier? Variations on the Peace Politics of the Sermon on the Mount (Det Danske Fredsakademi, 2020), p. 2. The book is available as a PDF and consists of 79 pages.

4 Terp, Can a Christian Be a Soldier?, p. 2. Terp compares, among other things, the Defence Academy's military research with the absence of a state-supported Danish peace-research institute.

5 Ibid., p. 61. Terp explicitly writes that he is neither a church historian nor a theologian and describes the material as “sporadic glimpses into a long history”.

6 Ibid., pp. 6–7. Terp defines militarism, among other things, as military domination, military enthusiasm and a political social order in which the military element plays a prominent role.

7 Ibid., pp. 5–6. See also the book's treatment of autonomous weapons systems and nuclear weapons.

8 Ibid., p. 17.

9 Ibid., pp. 18–19.

10 Ibid., p. 49. Terp cites Matthew 5:38–39 and continues with Jesus' command to love one's enemies.

11 Ibid., p. 68.

12 Ibid., p. 61. Terp quotes Origen's Contra Celsum concerning Christians as “children of peace”.

13 Ibid., p. 61. Terp's account of Origen refers here to the English-language Wikipedia article on Origen.

14 Despina Iosif, Early Christian Attitudes to War, Violence and Military Service, Gorgias Press, 2013.

15 Erik Sengers and Ruben van Wingerden, “Between sinner and superhero. Military service and Christian life from Nicaea till present day”, International Journal of Philosophy and Theology 86 (2025), pp. 268–286.

18. Étienne de La Boétie – Voluntary Servitude and Civil Disobedience

Introduction

Étienne de La Boétie (1530–1563) was a French jurist, judge, humanist, translator and poet. He is particularly known for Discours de la servitude volontaire, commonly translated as On Voluntary Servitude. The Danish Peace Academy's Peace and Security Political Encyclopaedia treats La Boétie as an early thinker in the field of civil disobedience and refers at the same time to the Danish edition Frivillig Trældom, translated and commented on by Børge Olesen in 1976.

La Boétie's short work has had an unusually long afterlife. This is due in no small measure to the fundamental question it raises: Why do people obey a ruler when they are many more than the rulers? The question turns the traditional conception of political power upside down. Instead of investigating only how the ruler coerces the population, La Boétie examines how obedience itself helps create and maintain power. This is the problem that later made the text relevant to theories of political resistance, nonviolence and civil disobedience.

Voluntary servitude

La Boétie's central concept is the apparent contradiction in the expression voluntary servitude. Servitude is normally associated with coercion, while voluntariness is associated with freedom. La Boétie therefore asks how people can come to accept their own subordination. His analysis is not merely about the physical power of a tyrant. It concerns the social

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16 Terp, Can a Christian Be a Soldier?, p. 23.

17 Ibid., p. 23. Terp reproduces criteria for bellum iustum, including legitimate authority, just cause and right intention.

18 Gregory M. Reichberg, "Thomas Aquinas Between Just War and Pacifism", Journal of Religious Ethics 38, no. 2 (2010), pp. 219–241.

19 Terp, Can a Christian Be a Soldier?, p. 57.

20 Ibid., on Tolstoy and Gandhi.

21 Ibid., on Dorothy Day and the Catholic Worker movement.

22 Ibid., conclusion.

23 Ibid., p. 68.

mechanism through which many people, through obedience, adaptation and participation, make a ruler's power possible. A central thought is that a small number of people cannot control an entire society alone. Power must somehow be supported by institutions, officials and people who carry out orders and accept the authority of the system. A recent sociological analysis from 2026 similarly emphasises the significance of habit, ideological influence and interests arising in a hierarchical system of participation.

The historical placement of the text

La Boétie's text has a complicated textual history. It was printed in the 1570s, but scholarship has long debated when it was originally written and which political situation it responded to. Bibliographical and research sources often date the text to around 1549, while later editions may give other dates. It is therefore methodologically important not to turn one date into certain proof of the text's original composition. Its later history is also important. It was used in connection with religious and political conflicts in sixteenth-century France and later read as a defence of liberty and a criticism of tyrannical power. Michel de Montaigne, La Boétie's close friend, is one of the most important sources for our knowledge of him. Montaigne described Discours in a way that influenced later understandings of the text's age and character.

La Boétie and civil disobedience

The Danish Peace Academy's entry on civil disobedience defines the concept as a deliberate opposition to perceived unjust or abusive exercise of power and lack of democracy through nonviolent and peaceful means. It also stresses that disobedience here is understood as active rather than merely passive failure to obey. The Academy places La Boétie among early forerunners of civil disobedience and mentions William Lloyd Garrison, Henry David Thoreau, William Whipper and Leo Tolstoy in the same context. Gandhi is highlighted as one of the first to use civil disobedience as a collective form of action in a mass movement.

A crucial scholarly distinction is necessary here. La Boétie did not use the modern concept of civil disobedience. It would therefore be historically anachronistic to present him as the author of a modern theory of civil disobedience. It is more precise to say that his analysis of obedience's importance for the maintenance of power can form part of the intellectual prehistory of civil disobedience.

From obedience to resistance

La Boétie's argument can be summarised as a question of what happens when people no longer participate in maintaining a particular power structure. This is where the connection to civil disobedience arises. If power presupposes obedience, withdrawal of obedience can become a political means. But this is not the same as a fully developed theory of civil disobedience. Modern theory developed much later. Henry David Thoreau's essay Civil Disobedience was published in 1849 and is central to the modern conceptual history. Later thinkers such as Leo Tolstoy and Mahatma Gandhi developed nonviolent resistance further, with Gandhi using civil disobedience as a collective political action. Thus three historical levels can be distinguished: La Boétie as an analysis of obedience, subordination and the dependence of power on the participation of the subordinated; Thoreau and other nineteenth-century writers as a more explicit theory of the individual's right and duty to refuse participation in injustice; and Gandhi and later movements as the development of civil disobedience into an organised and collective nonviolent form of action.

Power and participation

La Boétie's special significance lies in his analysis of the social foundation of power. A ruler may have a military, officials, laws and institutions, but these function only through people. Soldiers obey orders. Officials administer decisions. Citizens pay taxes. Institutions transmit rules and norms. Power is therefore not merely a matter of physical coercion. It also depends on human participation. This has made La Boétie interesting to modern political theory. Saul Newman, for example, has compared La Boétie's problem of voluntary servitude with Michel Foucault's analyses of power and government. The question can therefore be read as one of political agency: if people themselves help maintain power, do they also have the possibility of changing power relations by ceasing to participate?

The Danish Peace Academy's presentation

The Academy's two entries should be read together. The entry on La Boétie is brief and places him directly in connection with civil disobedience, referring to De la servitude volontaire ou Le contr'un and Børge Olesen's Danish edition from 1976. The entry on civil disobedience provides the broader intellectual-historical framework. It describes civil disobedience as nonviolent resistance to perceived unjust power and mentions a long series of historical persons, organisations and forms of action. The presentation has the advantage of making it possible to see connections between different historical forms of resistance to power. From a scholarly

perspective, however, it should be supplemented with a clearer distinction between La Boétie's historical text and the modern category of civil disobedience.

Source-critical considerations

A scholarly treatment of La Boétie should distinguish primary sources from secondary literature. The most important primary source is naturally Discours de la servitude volontaire itself. Attention must also be paid to its transmission and different historical editions. A bibliographical study of Malcolm Smith's edition, for example, shows that the textual basis draws on manuscript tradition, while the early printed editions of 1574, 1576 and 1578 have their own textual history. Secondary literature should then be used to investigate dating, authorship, historical context, reception and political significance. Finally, modern concepts should be used cautiously. When a sixteenth-century work is interpreted through concepts from the nineteenth or twentieth centuries, later political ideas may be projected backwards into the text. This does not mean modern concepts may not be used. It means they should be used as analytical tools rather than claims about what La Boétie himself necessarily meant by a concept developed later.

Scholarly assessment

La Boétie's significance lies above all in the radical reformulation of the question of political power. He asks not only “How does the ruler rule?” but “How does the ruler's rule become possible through the obedience of the subordinated?” This makes On Voluntary Servitude relevant to political philosophy, sociology, intellectual history and the study of nonviolent resistance. The Danish Peace Academy's connection to civil disobedience is therefore intellectually interesting, but should be understood as a later interpretation of La Boétie's problematic rather than as a direct identification of his sixteenth-century concepts with the modern theory of civil disobedience.

Conclusion

Étienne de La Boétie's Discours de la servitude volontaire is an early and significant contribution to the analysis of political obedience and power. His fundamental insight is that power cannot be understood only as something the ruler possesses and uses against the population. The stability of power also depends on the obedience and participation of many people. From this arises a connection to civil disobedience. La Boétie did not develop a modern theory of civil disobedience, and his text should not simply be described as such. But his analysis provides an early perspective on the

question that later becomes central to civil disobedience: What happens to power when people refuse to participate in maintaining it? The Academy's two entries can thus be read as parts of a larger intellectual history in which questions of obedience develop into questions of conscience, resistance, nonviolence and collective political action. The most precise characterisation is therefore that La Boétie can be regarded as an important intellectual-historical forerunner of the problematic of civil disobedience, while the concept itself and organised theory of civil disobedience belong to a much later historical period.

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19. Erasmus of Rotterdam

A scholarly and source-critical assessment of the Danish Peace Academy's presentation

Introduction. Erasmus of Rotterdam (c. 1466/1469–1536) occupies a prominent place in European humanism, the prehistory of the Reformation and early European peace thought. His extensive writings include theology, philology, education, politics, religion, war and peace. The Danish Peace Academy's encyclopaedia entry on Erasmus places him primarily in a peace- and security-policy context. It highlights his extensive pacifist production and refers to works such as Dulce bellum inexpertis, Querela pacis, Institutio principis christiani and Moriae encomium. This presentation has a solid basis in Erasmus's own writings and in international Erasmus scholarship. But the designation "pacifist" is not unproblematic. Scholarship contains a genuine interpretive debate over whether Erasmus should be called a pacifist or whether his position is more precisely described as Christian irenicism—a striving for peace, reconciliation and unity within Christendom. The purpose here is therefore not merely to repeat the Academy's characterisation, but to examine its scholarly basis and limitations.

1. The Danish Peace Academy's source

The Academy's entry forms part of the Peace and Security Political Encyclopaedia. The encyclopaedia is described by the Academy as a work with documented definitions in Danish and English, where factual comments and criticism are welcomed. It is important to distinguish this kind of internet encyclopaedia entry from a scholarly monograph or peer-reviewed article. The entry is a secondary dissemination source, but it also has a further function as a bibliographical research tool. The Academy's working method explicitly emphasises primary and secondary sources, bibliographies, research surveys and source criticism. The Academy also states that changes to web texts are documented and that older versions may be available through its archive. This is methodologically important because electronic encyclopaedia entries can otherwise be difficult to cite in historically stable form.

2. Erasmus and criticism of war

The core of the Academy's presentation is Erasmus's criticism of war. This is unquestionably a central part of his writings. In Dulce bellum inexpertis —often rendered as "War is sweet to those who have not experienced it"—

Erasmus attacks the idea that war is heroic, glorious or natural. He presents war as morally destructive and as a practice opposed to Christianity's ideal of peace. His peace thinking is also expressed in Querela pacis (The Complaint of Peace), where peace is presented as a moral and religious necessity. This part of Erasmus's writings has received considerable attention in modern peace history. Peter van den Dungen, for example, argues that Erasmus occupies a special place in modern peace history because he attacked with unusual consistency the idea of war as a natural, necessary or glorious institution.

3. The political dimension

Erasmus's peace thinking cannot be isolated from his political thought. In Institutio principis christiani (The Education of a Christian Prince), Erasmus discusses how a Christian ruler should be educated and exercise power. The ruler does not merely have a right to power; he has a moral responsibility towards his subjects. The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy notes that Erasmus accepted monarchy as the normal form of government of his time while placing substantial moral demands on the prince. He stressed, among other things, the need for counsel and government that took society's interests into account. This is important for understanding his peace thinking. Erasmus's ideal of peace was not merely an individual moral ideal. It was also a demand directed at princes and political institutions. In this view war arises, among other things, from rulers' ambitions, desire for honour, economic interests and inability to solve conflicts through negotiation.

4. Was Erasmus really a pacifist?

Here the principal scholarly problem arises. James D. Tracy, in The Politics of Erasmus: A Pacifist Intellectual and His Political Milieu, placed Erasmus directly within a pacifist interpretive framework. The book was published by the University of Toronto Press in 1978 and is 216 pages long. Tracy's work is therefore an important basis for the Academy's use of the term “pacifist”. But later research has questioned the designation. Nathan Ron argues in “The Christian Peace of Erasmus” that Erasmus's peace thinking is more accurately described as irenic than pacifist. His argument includes the point that Erasmus's concept of peace was not universal in the modern sense. It was fundamentally rooted in Christianity, and in particular historical circumstances Erasmus could accept or support war against non-Christian enemies. This objection is important. It does

not make Erasmus's extensive criticism of war disappear. It means that the historical meaning of the word “pacifism” should be used precisely.

5. Pacifism or irenicism?

A useful analytical distinction can therefore be made. Pacifism is often used in modern research for a principled rejection of war as a means of conflict resolution. Irenicism denotes a broader peace and reconciliation thinking in which peace, unity, moderation, dialogue and conflict resolution are prioritised without necessarily rejecting every conceivable war under all circumstances. If Erasmus is assessed according to a modern absolute pacifist definition, the designation is problematic. If he is assessed historically as a Renaissance humanist and Christian intellectual, his persistent criticism of war, his appeals to princes and his emphasis on negotiation and peace are highly distinctive. It is therefore academically defensible to use the word pacifist for Erasmus if it is made clear that it is an interpretive historical designation. It is less defensible to present it as an uncontested historical category.

6. The Danish Peace Academy's particular perspective

The Academy's article has a legitimate scholarly specialisation: it views Erasmus through the lens of peace and security history. This is both the article's strength and its limitation. Its strength is that it highlights a dimension of Erasmus's writings that can easily be overshadowed by his significance for humanism, biblical philology and the theological conflicts of the Reformation era. The limitation is that Erasmus's peace thinking risks being detached from its religious, humanist and political context. It is therefore important to read the Academy's article together with Erasmus's own writings and international scholarship.

7. The Danish Peace Academy as a research-historical source

The Academy's own documentation is also interesting in this context. The Academy describes itself as The Danish Peace Academy and makes a peace and security political encyclopaedia, a virtual library, bibliographical materials and databases available. Its working description stresses that larger research tasks should use at least one primary source and five secondary sources, and that electronic texts should be documented. This makes the Academy interesting as research infrastructure rather than merely a collection of popular articles. A scholarly assessment of the Academy's Erasmus article should therefore distinguish Erasmus as a historical primary source, modern Erasmus scholarship, the Academy's own

peace-historical interpretation, and the bibliographical documentation connecting the three levels.

8. Conclusion

The Danish Peace Academy's presentation of Erasmus as a central peace-thinking and pacifist intellectual has a substantial scholarly basis. Throughout his mature career Erasmus wrote important texts against war and for peace, and his appeal to Europe's princes was closely connected with Christian humanism. The scholarly problem is therefore not primarily whether Erasmus opposed war. That is well documented. The more interesting question is what the word "pacifist" should mean when describing a European thinker of the sixteenth century. Tracy represents an interpretation in which Erasmus can be understood as a pacifist intellectual. Ron has argued for irenicism rather than pacifism and pointed to the limits of Erasmus's concept of peace. Van den Dungen's more recent peace-historical treatment nevertheless maintains Erasmus's exceptional importance for European peace thought. The most precise conclusion is therefore that Erasmus was one of the important peace thinkers of early modern European history, while whether he should in a strict historical sense be called a pacifist should remain an open research question. This also makes the Academy's entry more interesting, not less: it can be read as an example of how a Danish peace-historical tradition interprets Erasmus, and can itself therefore form part of the research history of understandings of Erasmus and pacifism.

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20. Hugo Grotius, Natural Law and the Development of International Law

Introduction

Hugo Grotius (1583–1645) occupies a central place in European legal history and in the development of early modern natural and international law. He was a Dutch jurist, theologian, philosopher and author who dealt with some of the seventeenth century's fundamental questions: What is law? What rules apply between states? When can war be just? And what limitations apply to states' use of force? The Danish Peace Academy's entry on Grotius calls him “the founder of international law” and highlights Mare Liberum from 1609 and De iure belli ac pacis libri tres from 1625. The other entry, on international law, places Grotius in a broader tradition with Alberico Gentili, Erasmus of Rotterdam, Pierre Dubois, Samuel von Pufendorf, Christian Wolff and Emer de Vattel. This provides a relevant starting point for examining Grotius's historical importance, but also for asking how precise the designation “founder of international law” really is.[24]

Grotius and natural law

A fundamental element of Grotius's thought is natural law. He seeks to identify legal principles that do not depend solely on the legislation of an individual state but can be justified more universally through human reason and the social nature of humanity. Grotius distinguishes between divine and human law. The Academy's presentation highlights this distinction and describes how Grotius connects natural law with both God's will and human reason. It is therefore misleading to portray Grotius as a thinker who simply abolished the connection between religion and law. His thought remains deeply shaped by Christian theology. The novelty lies rather in the attempt to formulate a rationally grounded law that can apply across political and religious divisions. Recent research has emphasised precisely this aspect: Grotius sought to develop natural law into a system of general rules making it possible to speak of law between different political communities. His project can therefore be understood as an attempt to create a legal middle ground between sheer political power and theological authorities.

Mare Liberum

Grotius's Mare Liberum was published in 1609 and is one of his best-known works. He argues for the principle of freedom of the seas and for

24 Ibid., p. 61.

the right to free navigation and trade. The historical context is essential. Grotius wrote the text in connection with a conflict over Dutch commercial interests in Asia. Research into the work's origins shows that it was connected with the Dutch East India Company and with a concrete conflict concerning the seizure of a Portuguese merchant vessel. Mare Liberum was therefore not merely an abstract philosophical or legal work; it also formed part of a concrete political and economic conflict. On the one hand it formulates a principle that later became important for the law of the sea: the sea cannot simply be made the exclusive property of a state. On the other hand, the argument served specific Dutch commercial and expansionist interests. A scholarly assessment should therefore recognise this double interpretation.

De iure belli ac pacis

Grotius's major work De iure belli ac pacis libri tres appeared in Paris in 1625. It deals with the law of war and peace and attempts to systematise principles concerning natural law, causes of war, states' rights and the rules of warfare. It remains a central primary source in the study of Grotius. An important aspect is that war is not presented as an area in which law ceases to apply. Grotius instead investigates when a war can be just, which rights can justify war, and which actions are permissible during war. The Academy's entry reproduces Grotius's distinction between war itself and the question of the justice of war. This is important for the development of legal regulation of international conflict. If states are subject to legal principles, war cannot be determined solely by the power of the strongest. There must also be rules for when force can be justified and how it may be used. Grotius's theory therefore contains both a jus ad bellum dimension, concerning the right to initiate war, and a jus in bello dimension, concerning the rules applicable during war. His work thus contributed to the longer development of the idea that war itself can be subject to legal limits.

Grotius as “founder of international law”

The Danish Peace Academy calls Grotius “the founder of international law”. The designation has a long tradition but should be used cautiously. Grotius did not develop international law from nothing. Before him there was already an extensive European tradition discussing natural law, war, peace, sovereignty and relations between political communities. The Academy's own entry mentions Alberico Gentili, Erasmus of Rotterdam and Pierre Dubois as earlier contributors. Later Samuel von Pufendorf, Christian Wolff and Emer de Vattel further developed different parts of the tradition. Grotius's particular importance therefore lies more in his

systematisation than in being the first person to deal with international law at all. De iure belli ac pacis brought together legal, philosophical, historical and theological arguments in a comprehensive system that had great influence on later legal thought. It is therefore more precise to describe Grotius as one of the most important early systematising theorists of natural and international law rather than as its sole founder.[2526]

The relationship between law, state and sovereignty

Grotius's thinking about international law is connected with his understanding of the state. He accepts the idea of state sovereignty, but sovereignty does not necessarily mean that the state stands outside all legal or moral limitation. The Academy emphasises that Grotius connects the formation of society with a form of social contract while arguing that a ruler should not exercise power arbitrarily. This shows an important tension: on the one hand the authority of the state and ruler is recognised; on the other hand higher legal principles limit that authority. The same tension is central to his international-law thinking. If each state is sovereign, how can rules exist that constrain its actions? Grotius's answer includes the idea that states form part of a larger society of nations in which common legal principles can regulate their relations.

Peaceful conflict resolution

Grotius's thought is not only about war. The Academy's entry also highlights possibilities for peaceful conflict resolution, including negotiation, compromise and third-party adjudication. This is important because Grotius should not be reduced to a theorist of "just war". Legal regulation of war forms part of a broader conception of how conflicts between people and political communities can be handled. In Grotius there is therefore a basic idea that legal procedures and principles can limit the need for force. Law functions not only as a justification for war but also as a means of resolving conflicts without war.

Historical and scholarly assessment

The Academy's articles have the strength of placing Grotius in a broad historical development. They connect his work with the later development of international law, international organisations and humanitarian law. As sources, however, the articles should be used critically. They are encyclopaedia presentations, not research monographs or original research

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25 See Iosif and Sengers/van Wingerden above.

26 Danish Peace Academy, "Grotius, Hugo / Huig de Groot", Peace and Security Political Encyclopaedia, G 79.

articles. Some formulations are also highly categorical. This applies particularly to the designation of Grotius as “the founder of international law” and the claim that early international-law thinkers “freed international law from theology”. The latter formulation is especially problematic if understood as a complete separation between religion and law. Grotius's own works show that theological ideas continued to play an important role. It is more precise to describe his work as a development of the rational and legal dimension of natural law rather than as a complete secularisation of law. Another source-critical point concerns Mare Liberum. The work cannot be understood independently of Dutch commercial interests in the early seventeenth century. Research has emphasised that Grotius's argument was closely connected with Dutch commercial and colonial expansion in Asia. This makes it necessary to distinguish between the universal legal argument in the text and its concrete historical application.

Conclusion

Hugo Grotius was a central figure in the development of early modern natural and international law. His importance lies particularly in his attempt to systematise principles of law, war and peace and apply them to relations between political communities. Mare Liberum contributed to discussions of freedom of the seas, navigation and international trade, while De iure belli ac pacis developed a much broader theory of natural law, war, peace and relations between states. Grotius's work thus became an important part of the intellectual development that later shaped modern international law. It is nevertheless more precise to regard Grotius as a central systematiser of early international law than as its sole founder. His work built on earlier legal and philosophical traditions and was itself developed further by later natural-law and international-law thinkers. An overall assessment must also take account of the tension between Grotius's universal legal arguments and the concrete historical context in which his works operated. Mare Liberum in particular shows how legal theory can have both a principled and a political-economic function. Grotius's lasting significance therefore lies not only in his role as “founder of international law”, but in his extensive attempt to formulate a rational and legal system for relations among people, states, war and peace. It is this systematisation that makes his works central to understanding the historical development of international law.[2728]

27 Danish Peace Academy, “International ret; folkeret”, Peace and Security Political Encyclopaedia, I 57.

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21. Anthony Benezet / Antoine Bénézet

Anthony Benezet (1713–1784) was a French-American educator, Quaker, abolitionist, advocate of the rights of Black people, friend of refugees, and pacifist. He became one of the eighteenth century's most prominent opponents of slavery and the slave trade in the North American colonies, while also working for education, religious freedom, peace, and better conditions for Indigenous peoples.

Benezet was born on 31 January 1713 in Saint-Quentin, France, into a Protestant Huguenot family. The family left France because of religious persecution and lived in England from 1715 before emigrating to Philadelphia in 1731. There Anthony Benezet became a member of the Society of Friends (Quakers). The Haverford College archive describes him as a prominent Quaker, philanthropist, and educator.

After a short period as a businessman, Benezet devoted himself to teaching. From the 1740s he worked at the Quaker school in Philadelphia and became known as the "Gentle Schoolmaster." His educational practice was characterized by opposition to corporal punishment and by a view of education as a means of moral and social improvement.

In 1754 he began to lead a school for girls in Philadelphia, often described as the city's first secondary school for girls. At the same time, he worked to make education available to Black children. As early as about 1750 he taught Black people in evening classes, and in 1770 he made an important contribution to establishing a free day school for African American children.

Benezet's educational work was closely connected with his opposition to racism. He rejected the contemporary belief that Black people were intellectually or morally inferior. His own experience as a teacher became an important argument for the fundamental equality of human abilities and dignity. He therefore sought not only to abolish slavery but also to improve the opportunities of formerly enslaved and enslaved people through education.

Opponent of Slavery and the Slave Trade

Benezet became a pioneer of organized opposition to the slave trade and slavery. He worked with other leading Quakers and reformers, including John Woolman, Benjamin Franklin, and Benjamin Rush. The Library of Congress has highlighted his writings and his work for the education of free Black people as important contributions to the early American anti-slavery movement.

In 1759 he published Observations on the Inslaving, Importing and Purchasing of Negroes, and in 1771 his major work Some Historical Account of Guinea, its Situation, Produce, and the General Disposition of its Inhabitants appeared. The book examines the origins and development of the slave trade and its moral and human consequences. It draws, among other things, on travel accounts and other European sources and at the same time attempts to present African societies and cultures more positively than was customary at the time.

Benezet's abolitionism was religious, moral, and critical of society. As a Quaker, he regarded slavery as incompatible with Christianity, but he also argued from human experience, reason, and natural law. His writings became part of the transatlantic abolitionist debate and helped connect North American and British opposition to the slave trade. The Library of Congress has highlighted Benezet as a central figure in the development of early Atlantic abolitionism.

In 1775 Benezet was among the initiators of the Society for the Relief of Free Negroes Unlawfully Held in Bondage, an organization that worked to assist Black people who were unlawfully held in slavery. His connection with Benjamin Franklin was likewise significant; Franklin became an active supporter of Benezet's antislavery work and corresponded with him about the injustice of the slave trade.

Pacifist and Peace Activist

Benezet's work against slavery cannot be separated from his pacifism. For him, violence, war, slavery, and oppression were different expressions of a fundamental lack of respect for human life and human dignity.

During the French and Indian War, in 1755 Benezet, together with other Quakers and parts of the population of Pennsylvania, protested against the military legislation and taxes intended to finance the war. His opposition was based on the Quaker peace testimony and on his conviction that Christianity could not be reconciled with war.

In 1756 Benezet and Israel Pemberton helped establish the Friendly Association for Gaining and Preserving Peace with the Indians by Pacific Measures. The organization's purpose was to promote peaceful relations with Indigenous peoples and oppose military solutions to conflicts. Benezet's archive contains material concerning war taxation, Indigenous peoples, education, slavery, and peace.

His pacifist views were also clearly expressed in his writings. Among his peace writings are Thoughts on the Nature of War, and its Repugnancy to the Christian Life from 1776 and Considerations on Several Important

Subjects from 1778, in which he discusses war and its incompatibility with the Gospel. In 1780 he published The Spirit of Prayer, With Some Thoughts on War.

Refugees, Indigenous Peoples, and Social Reform

Benezet's own background as a Huguenot refugee influenced his understanding of persecution and religious intolerance. He was involved, among other things, in helping Acadians who had been driven from their homes, and he took an interest in the situation of Indigenous peoples in North America.

In 1784 he published Some Observations on the Situation, Disposition, and Character of the Indian Natives of this Continent. Here he sought to correct prejudices against Indigenous peoples and emphasize their humanity and moral qualities. His letters show that shortly before his death he was still working to combat prejudice against Indigenous Americans.

Benezet also concerned himself with temperance and the social consequences of alcohol. In 1774 he published The Mighty Destroyer Displayed, a work on the harmful effects of strong spirits. The title was published under the designation “A Lover of Mankind,” and bibliographical sources attribute the work to Benezet.

Works

Benezet's writings include:

- Observations on the Inslaving, Importing and Purchasing of Negroes (1759)
- Some Historical Account of Guinea (1771)
- The Mighty Destroyer Displayed (1774)
- Thoughts on the Nature of War, and its Repugnancy to the Christian Life (1776)
- Considerations on Several Important Subjects: On War and its Inconsistency with the Gospel; Observations on Slavery; and Remarks on the Nature and Bad Effects of Spirituous Liquors (1778)
- The Spirit of Prayer, With Some Thoughts on War (1780)
- Some Observations on the Situation, Disposition, and Character of the Indian Natives of this Continent (1784)

His Some Historical Account of Guinea was published in Philadelphia in 1771 and reprinted in London in 1772. The work became an important text in early English-language abolitionism.

Legacy

Anthony Benezet died in Philadelphia on 3 May 1784. He left an extensive network of letters, writings, and contacts documenting his work for peace, education, the abolition of slavery, and better conditions for Black and Indigenous people. His personal papers from 1750–1784 are held, among other places, in Haverford College Libraries' Special Collections and include letters concerning slavery, war taxes, education, peace, and relations with Indigenous peoples.

Benezet should therefore not be remembered solely as an abolitionist. His work constituted a comprehensive program for peace, human equality, education, and social reform. His Quaker Christianity provided the ethical foundation for a consistent opposition to slavery, racism, war, and religious intolerance.

He belongs among the early North American thinkers who connected the struggle against slavery with a broader conception of universal human rights and peaceful conflict resolution. His writings and practical work contributed to the transatlantic development of abolitionism and to a conception of peace in which human dignity, rather than military power, should be the basis for the development of society.

Archives

Haverford College Libraries, Special Collections: Anthony Benezet Papers, 1750–1784. The collection contains letters and other documents concerning slavery, the slave trade, war taxes, education, peace, and Indigenous peoples.

Swarthmore College, Friends Historical Library: material concerning Anthony Benezet and the Quaker movement's peace and reform work.

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22. Jesper Baltzarsen Könecken

A Danish Religious Enthusiast, Conscientious Objector, and Opponent of War

Faith, Conscience, and War in Seventeenth-Century Denmark

A Source-Critical Historical Account Based on Holger Fr. Rørdam's Documentation

Jesper Baltzarsen Könecken (1629–1715) occupies a distinctive place in Danish church and peace history. He was theologically educated, a preacher, author, and religious dissenter, but also a consistent opponent of Christians' participation in war. His story is at the same time the story of a person who placed personal conscience and the words of Christ above the demands of the established church and state authority.

It is especially Holger Fr. Rørdam's study Efterretninger om Sværmeren Jesper Baltzarsen Konechen that has preserved extensive source material about him. Rørdam published a number of previously little-used documents from the Consistory's proceedings, royal orders, Könecken's own writings, and a list of his printed and handwritten works. Rørdam's article is therefore not merely a biographical account but also a significant source edition.[1]

Könecken should not simply be made into a modern pacifist. His argument is consistently Christological and biblical. But if pacifism is understood as a principled rejection of war and killing, his views stand remarkably close to what later became known as Christian pacifism. Even more interesting is his view that an individual Christian cannot obey a secular authority when its demands conflict with Christ's commandments.

His story can therefore be read as an early example of the connection between peace, freedom of conscience, and resistance to state coercion.

1. Childhood, Poverty, and Education

Jesper Baltzarsen Könecken—also spelled Konechen, Kiim, and Chonich by Rørdam—was born in Copenhagen on 9 August 1629. He was the eldest of six siblings. His father, who according to Rørdam was probably German, died in 1645 and left the family in great poverty.

Könecken's ability was nevertheless noticed. Bishop Jesper Brochmand took care of him and helped him reach his student examination. Later he became a tutor in the household of Professor Peder Spormand, with whom he developed a close and friendly relationship. He also received support from other wealthy benefactors.

Rørdam particularly emphasizes his thorough knowledge of the Bible. This is an important feature of the later Könecken. His religious radicalism was not an expression of a lack of theological education. On the contrary, his biblical studies appear to have been a prerequisite for his later conflicts with established theology.[2]

After his theological examination he became a tutor or private teacher in various distinguished households, including that of the royal physician Dr. Bulche. He occasionally wrote poetry in Danish and Latin and at the same time prepared for the ministry. He preached regularly in Copenhagen's churches and received several offers of ministerial positions in Scania, which he did not accept.[3]

This career is important to keep in mind. The young Könecken was not from the beginning a marginalized outsider. He was a promising theologian with access to educated circles and the prospect of an ordinary ecclesiastical office.

It was his religious development that changed this.

2. The Swedish Wars and the First Peace Action

The precise point at which Könecken adopted his radical religious views cannot be established by Rørdam. But during the siege of Copenhagen in 1658–59 his position had become so pronounced that he tried to persuade the city's defenders to lay down their weapons.

Rørdam states that Könecken tried to persuade citizens and students to lay down their arms because: “all war is forbidden to Christians in the New Testament.”[4]

This is one of the most important statements in the entire material. It shows that Könecken's opposition to war was not merely a protest against a particular Danish war policy. He argued from a general Christian principle.

He simultaneously did something even more striking: he wrote directly to the Swedish king Charles Gustav.

In two letters, dated 16 September 1658 and the beginning of August 1659, he urged the king to stop his undertaking and leave Frederick III in peace. He described the Danish king as his “weaker Brother” and appealed to Charles Gustav to be satisfied with the gains he had already achieved.[5]

Könecken therefore directed his peace appeal at both sides. He did not merely criticize the Danish war effort. He addressed the Swedish war leader and asked him to stop the war.

This is decisive if we are to understand him as a historical figure in peace thought. He did not act only as a conscientious objector who wanted to be free from fighting himself. He also sought to persuade those in power to stop making war.

3. Quakers and Weigelianism

Rørdam connects Könecken's early peace activity with Quaker teaching, but he does so with an important reservation.

The English Society of Friends had been founded in the 1640s, and at the end of 1657 a Quaker came to Copenhagen. This person was arrested by royal order.

Rørdam expressly notes, however: "we know nothing certain about whether Jesp. Konechen came into contact with him."[6]

This is methodologically important. One therefore cannot simply call Könecken a Quaker. It can, however, be stated that his own views had clear similarities with the radical Protestant tradition of nonviolence.

Rørdam also points to Könecken's connections with other religious dissenters. He associated with M. Niels Svendsen Chrøniche, who in 1656 had been convicted of Weigelian opinions, and with the Norwegian Baltazar Trebsdorf. Rørdam further believes that German writings of a Weigelian tendency had a significant influence on Könecken.[7]

Könecken himself, however, presented his teaching primarily as rooted in the New Testament. Rørdam notes that he repeatedly spoke of "the Christians of the New Testament."

It is this self-understanding that should remain central.

4. The Apostle of Peace

After the siege, Könecken began to act as what Rørdam calls an Apostle of Peace.

His religious conviction became more visible, and his preaching brought him into conflict with the ecclesiastical authorities.

In the summer of 1659 he was summoned by his confessor, Pastor Jens Justesen Berg, who wished to examine his views and calm him. He did not succeed.

Könecken had answered questions from Bishop Hans Svane both orally and in writing in a manner that differed from the teaching of the Danish church. The bishop therefore prohibited him from ascending the pulpit, and his confessor temporarily excluded him from communion.[8]

Könecken did not respond with silence. He wrote to “all learned Christians,” especially the university teachers. Among other things, he began from Paul's statement that all authority is from God.

He posed a paradoxical question: If all authority is from God, what happens when one authority makes war against another? Subjects who allow themselves to be used in the war would then be opposing another authority that is also instituted by God.

This argument is characteristic of Könecken. He did not merely use the Bible to legitimize obedience. He used the Bible to problematize obedience.

5. The Pulpit and Direct Preaching

Könecken later became a tutor to the German pastor Jørgen Harder in Hollænderby on Amager.

Harder offered him the opportunity to preach on the third day of Pentecost in 1660. Könecken regarded the offer as a calling from God and preached despite the bishop's prohibition.

The pastor became apprehensive, however, and dismissed him shortly afterwards.

Könecken returned to Copenhagen. There he began to appear as a penitential preacher. Since he was forbidden to preach from the pulpits, he spoke after sermons or interrupted priests during their sermons.

On one occasion he stood before the king's seat in the Castle Church and began to speak. Above all, he wished to show that he was not the heretic many considered him to be.

Under-Secretary Erik Krag threatened him with Blåtårn if he repeated his appearance. Könecken's answer was characteristic: Erik Krag too should speak, for all Christians were spiritual priests.[9]

Here another central element of his theology emerges. If all Christians are, in a spiritual sense, priests, ecclesiastical preaching cannot be a monopoly of the ordained clergy.

It was not only his view of war that was radical. He also challenged the institutional priesthood.

6. The Conflict with the Monarchy

A decisive turning point came when Archbishop Hans Svane had prepared a church prayer for the annual day of thanksgiving for the repelled assault on Copenhagen on 11 February 1659.

In the prayer, Psalm 20 was applied to the king, who was called “the Lord's anointed.” This offended Könecken.

He believed that titles belonging to Christ should not be transferred to an earthly king.

But his criticism went further. He maintained that according to the New Testament Christians were forbidden to exercise secular governmental power. They could obey, but not rule in secular matters.[10]

Here the question of war became connected with the question of state power. If Christ is the true king, what legitimate right does an earthly Christian king have to exercise power? And if Christians are not to rule with the sword, how can they legitimately wage war?

7. The Trial of 1663

The conflict culminated in 1663.

Könecken was imprisoned and, by royal order, brought before the Consistory Court at the University of Copenhagen. Jens Justesen was appointed prosecutor.

The royal authorization has been preserved and reproduced by Rørdam. Frederick III authorized Justesen to conduct the case against the student Jesper Kiim, who had been imprisoned in the tower.[11]

The case is unusual because we have access to the actual proceedings. Könecken is not merely described by his opponents. His own answers have been preserved.

8. The Charges

Jens Justesen summarized Könecken's “strange teaching” under four main points: his teaching on the law and the New Testament; his teaching on faith and justification; his teaching on ecclesiastical office; and his teaching on secular authority.[12]

This shows that by this time Könecken had developed an extensive theological system.

The question of peace was therefore only one element of a larger religious critique.

Könecken demanded that his own writings be produced. Among them were a printed song about secular authority from 1662 and the manuscript De bellis Christianorum Novi Testamenti—“On the Wars of the Christians of the New Testament.”[13]

The title alone is significant. Könecken had written a separate theological work on the relationship between Christianity and war.

9. Romans 13

One of the most interesting points in the interrogation concerns Romans 13: “There is no power except from God.”

This passage was central to the Lutheran justification of the authority of government.

Könecken did not deny that authority had a divine origin. But he distinguished between the fact that God permits or establishes an authority and the proposition that all its concrete actions are therefore legitimate.

This is a crucial distinction.

For Könecken, authority could be divinely ordained without its concrete acts of war necessarily being God's will.

He developed this idea much more fully later in his written declaration of 10 August 1663.

10. Christianity and Secular Power

During the interrogation Könecken was asked what power Christ had.

He replied that it was the spiritual and royal dignity referred to by the Apostle Peter, where Christians are described as a spiritual and royal priesthood.

He then maintained that secular power did not belong to Christians “qua jus,” that is, as a right. It could exist “ex indulgentia,” as a divine indulgence.[14]

This distinction is central. Könecken thus acknowledged that God could permit a secular order even though it did not represent the Christian order in its true meaning.

His argument was therefore less simple than a pure rejection of all authority. He could accept authority as an existing social order, but refused to give it absolute theological legitimacy.

11. “Pura mansisset ecclesia”

In one of his central formulations Könecken distinguishes between right and God's indulgence: “Aliud est loqvi de jure sive officio debito Christianorum, si pura mansisset ecclesia...”

The meaning is that one must distinguish between what properly belongs to Christians if the church had remained pure and what God permits in

the actual historical situation out of consideration for human weakness. [15]

This is a very characteristic line of thought. Könecken works with an ideal of original Christianity which he believes can be found in the New Testament. The historical church, however, has departed from this ideal. The Christian must therefore return to the original norm.

12. War as the Decisive Test

During the interrogation Könecken was asked about the relationship between Christian authority and a hostile power.

He gave an answer central to his peace thought. Even if there were a Christian authority, it should imitate Christ and rather suffer injustice than repay it by the same means. He referred to First Peter 2 and Christ as the example.

A Christian authority attacked by another power should therefore regulate itself according to Christ's example, who submitted to Pilate.

This was not a rejection of authority as such. It was a rejection of its right to repay violence with violence.

13. The Father and the Defense of His Children

Professor Rasmus Hansen Brochmand asked Könecken a concrete question: May a father not defend his children if someone attacks them or wants to kill them?

Könecken answered yes—but his answer is revealing. He listed a number of nonviolent or indirect means: the father should first pray to God for protection. Then he should seek to understand the cause of the attack. If words were of no use, he should seek help from neighbors or the authorities. And then he should act according to God's will.[16]

When Professor Johan Wandal asked whether it was not the law of nature to repay violence with violence—vim vi repellere—Könecken admitted that this could be the law of nature.

But it was not the law of Christianity.

This distinction is perhaps the most precise formulation of his ethics of peace. He did not necessarily deny that self-defense could be natural. He denied that it was therefore Christian.

14. “The King” and Christ

Könecken went still further in his criticism of monarchy. He maintained that, in view of acknowledged truth, no one should take the name of king, because the true royal title belonged to Christ alone.

If people nevertheless bore this title, it was according to him ex indulgentia et ex usu—by God's indulgence and because of the actual social order—but not ex jure, as a genuine Christian right.[17]

This is a remarkable political-theological position. He did not necessarily seek to overthrow the king. He merely denied him absolute theological legitimacy.

15. De bellis Christianorum Novi Testamenti

The professors asked Könecken whether he would retract the manuscript De bellis Christianorum.

He replied that he still saw no substantial reason to retract it. He did, however, admit that some parts might have been imperfectly presented, including his treatment of Romans 13.[18]

It is worth noting that Könecken does not here appear as a person claiming infallibility. He could admit that something in his presentation might be wrong. But he refused to retract the central position.

16. His Theological Reading

The professors asked whether he had read works by, among others, Socinus, Smalcius, Ostorodus, Enjedinus, Felgenhauer, and other theological writers.

Könecken replied that before composing De bellis Christianorum he had had only limited knowledge of such writings. He mentioned, among other things, a German book entitled Irenicum and Tempel Gottes.[19]

This is important for the question of his intellectual influences. It is not sufficient to say that Könecken simply copied Quakers, Socinians, or Weigelians.

His own explanation is that he based his position primarily on the Bible. But his reading of the Bible took place in an environment in which several radical Protestant traditions were available.

The most defensible conclusion is therefore that Könecken had both his own biblical arguments and was situated in an international intellectual environment that made particular interpretations possible.

17. The Written Declaration of 10 August 1663

One of Rørdam's most important documents is Könecken's own written declaration of 10 August 1663.

Here he develops his teaching on authority more systematically.

He admits that the estate of authority itself is ordained by God. There must be people who possess external power to punish evil and protect good.

But it does not follow from this that every action performed by the authorities is divine.

Könecken distinguishes between the office and the concrete acts of the office.[20]

This is decisive for his peace thought. He can acknowledge the state without acknowledging every war. He can acknowledge the necessity of authority without acknowledging its right to act against Christ's commandments.

18. War as God's Judgment—but Not Necessarily God's Will

In the same declaration Könecken formulates a remarkable distinction between war as an event and human warfare.

He writes that bellum may be God's judgment and work with regard to the person who is struck by it, while warfare itself is not necessarily God's will with regard to the person who wages it.

He refers to Ecclesiastes: there is "a Time to war, and a Time for Peace."[21]

Thus his theology becomes more nuanced than the simple statement "all war is forbidden." He acknowledges that war can exist as part of the historical order of the world and even be understood as God's judgment.

But this does not give human beings the right to wage war. There is a difference between what God permits to happen and what God commands human beings to do.

This distinction is central to understanding Könecken's pacifism.

19. Conscience

Könecken's declaration ends with a strong statement of conscience.

He declares that he finds no evil conscience in his teaching because he believes it agrees with God's revealed word. He is even willing to suffer imprisonment or death for his conviction.[22]

This is where his theology becomes personal action. It is one thing to write that Christians should not wage war. It is another to declare oneself willing to suffer for that conviction.

Könecken's concept of conscience is not, however, modern individualism. He does not say: “I have a right to my own opinion.” He says instead: “I must obey what, according to my conscience, I understand as God's word.”

Conscience is therefore bound to Scripture.

20. The Judgment

On 19 September 1663 the judgment was delivered.

Könecken was found guilty of having rejected the Lutheran Christian confession and the Unaltered Augsburg Confession, which was in force in the realm.

The Consistory emphasized in particular his deviations from specific articles and his association with various condemned sects. But the decisive issue was his attack on the “institution, power and office” of the highest Christian authority.[23]

He was therefore permanently expelled from the university and lost his academic civic rights. He was at the same time placed at the king's mercy and displeasure.

The latter expression shows that the case was no longer merely academic. It had acquired a state dimension.

21. The University's Official Judgment

The subsequent university program has been preserved. Here the religious deviation is presented as a danger to both church and society.

The program describes the religious sects as a plague that could spread and corrupt society.

Könecken is accused, among other things, of papist and Socinian opinions; Weigelian and Anabaptist views; having declared all wars illegitimate; having taught that subjects had no military obligation toward their authority; and having denied that the highest civil authority was a true institution of God.[24]

The university then declares him permanently excluded. The members of the academy are at the same time warned against associating with him.

The document is important because it shows the other side of the conflict. For Könecken the question was conscience and Christian obedience. For

the university it was a question of religious order, orthodoxy, and the stability of society.

22. Exile

After the judgment Könecken was kept for some time in university custody. He himself called this milder form of imprisonment custodia liberalior.

On 30 October 1663 a royal order was issued for his release—but only on condition that he undertake to leave the king's realms and lands.

He travelled to Scania at the beginning of December.

Before his departure he had posted a protest against the accusations made against him. He later regretted that he had not had time to answer all the charges, partly because he did not know all the sects of which he had been accused.[25]

This detail is another argument against an uncritical identification of Könecken with any particular religious sect. He was accused of belonging to many movements. But he himself appears to have understood himself as something else: a Christian who wanted to return to the original teaching of the New Testament.

23. Scania

After arriving in Scania, Könecken submitted an apology against the Copenhagen professors' accusations to Bishop Peder Vinstrup in Lund.

He did not, however, obtain a lasting place to stay in Scania. The bishop found him too troublesome and had him expelled.[26]

Thus his exile from Denmark was followed by another religious conflict. Könecken was unable simply to settle down and live quietly as a private person. His religious calling was, for him, binding.

24. The Netherlands

After about a year in Scania, Könecken travelled to the Netherlands. Here he found himself in a completely different religious and political world.

The Netherlands was itself at war with England at this time. For Könecken this meant that his peace message again had a concrete political occasion.

He began by speaking to the public from the steps of Amsterdam's town hall. It nearly cost him his life.

After this experience he changed his strategy. Instead of speaking directly to crowds, he addressed state leaders, clergy, and other influential persons through pamphlets.[27]

This change is significant. Könecken had now become an international peace campaigner.

25. Writings to Statesmen and Diplomats

Könecken wrote in both Dutch and Latin.

He addressed his writings to state leaders and to foreign envoys in The Hague.

He tried to raise enough money to have the writings printed and distributed.[28]

His peace message was therefore not merely a personal religious confession. It had become a public activity.

He wanted to influence those in power. His aim was not only that individual Christians should refrain from killing. He wanted peace among peoples.

26. Denmark as an Example

In a Dutch pamphlet from 1666 Könecken returned to Denmark.

He regretted that Denmark had allowed itself to become involved in war. His argument was that if Denmark in the earlier war had remained calm, humbly trusted in God, and not sought help from the Dutch and Brandenburgers, the country would not have become involved in the war.

Könecken did not criticize the soldiers alone. He criticized the entire political culture: authorities and subjects, high and low, teachers and people had, according to him, all said: "Now is the time; now something must be risked."[29]

This is an early critique of a political war mentality. War is not presented as an unavoidable natural disaster. It begins with human decisions.

27. Amsterdam and the Apostolic Calling

Könecken lived for several years in Amsterdam. He supported himself by teaching children and as a proofreader in printing houses.

But his religious convictions did not weaken. On the contrary, Rørdam believes that they grew.

Könecken began to see himself as the bearer of a universal apostolic calling. His task, according to this self-understanding, was to unite the

Christian sects, create peace among peoples, and restore New Testament Christianity to the world.[30]

Here we find one of the most striking changes in his life. The young theologian who had refused to take up arms during the siege of Copenhagen had now become a self-appointed international peacemaker.

28. The Attempt to Return

In 1677 Könecken attempted to return to Denmark.

He did not succeed.

He soon came into conflict with the Copenhagen clergy, especially Gerlak Siass at St. Peter's German Church. He was arrested.

He was released again, but only on condition that he leave the country within a specified period and never again appear in the king's realms and lands.[31]

This is strong confirmation of the continuity of his conflict. More than a decade had passed since the judgment of 1663. But his fundamental religious position was unchanged.

29. Lübeck

Könecken went to Lübeck.

There he settled as an auctioneer and married the merchant's daughter Lucia Pasche.

But here too his conflicts with the clergy continued. Colloquies and negotiations with him were held again and again.

Rørdam's formulation is characteristic: Könecken “was and remained the same.”

He died in Lübeck on 26 September 1715 at a very advanced age.[32] He was then 86.

30. Könecken's Writings

Rørdam's list of Könecken's writings is particularly valuable. It shows that his production was larger than earlier bibliographers had known.

Among the writings are: Alle sande Christnes, det er: Guds Salvede oc i Christo Hellige indlemmede Børns Bøn, from 1659; Deo CXV. K. Davids Psalme, from 1660; En Vise angaaende den verdslige Øvrighed, printed in 1662; the manuscript De bellis Christianorum Novi Testamenti, submitted to the Consistory; Meditationes Pacificæ, from 1665; Pacifica Belgis, also from 1665; Testimonium Veritatis, Amsterdam 1665; Koninckliycke

Basuyn-schrift, from 1666; In Servatore Deo Regia Tuba, from 1668; Brief-Memorial van het Apostolische Comploor, from 1670; as well as later writings from the 1690s and the beginning of the eighteenth century.[33]

This bibliography is crucial to our understanding of Könecken. He was not merely a man who made a few provocative statements in his youth. He wrote about his religious and political convictions for decades.

31. Meditationes Pacificæ

The title Meditationes Pacificæ—peaceful or peace-oriented meditations—shows how central the concept of peace had become in Könecken's later writings.

Rørdam records the work as published in 1665 in Latin and Dutch and addressed to the high estates in The Hague. In the same context his first letter to Charles Gustav is mentioned.[34]

Another work, Pacifica Belgis, was an address to King Charles II on peace between the Netherlands and England.

Könecken was therefore not interested only in Denmark's wars. His peace thought had become international.

32. Testimonium Veritatis

In Testimonium Veritatis from 1665 Könecken collected, among other things, the protest against the university's accusations and his apology.

The title means “Testimony of Truth.” It fits his self-understanding well. He did not see himself as a rebel, but as a witness.

He believed he had a duty to testify to what he found true in Christ's teaching.

This self-understanding also explains why he could continue despite imprisonment, exile, and public condemnation.

33. Koninckklijcke Basuyn-schrift

One of the most interesting later writings is Koninckklijcke Basuyn-schrift uyt de Heylige schriftuure.

The title can roughly be rendered as “The Royal Trumpet Writing from Holy Scripture.”

It was addressed to the warring brothers in Holland and England and to their supporters and mediators, including Danes and Swedes.[35]

Here Könecken's international peace project becomes clear. He was no longer writing only to Denmark. He was trying to speak into the European world of war.

At the same time he wanted to contribute to a unification of the Christian sects.

34. A Christianity Without Violence

It is now possible to summarize Könecken's religious project.

He believed: that Christ is the true king; that the Christian is bound by Christ's teaching; that all Christians are, in a spiritual sense, priests; that secular authority can be a divinely permitted institution without having absolute theological right; that the state's concrete actions are not automatically God's actions; that war can exist as historical reality without therefore being legitimate Christian action; that the Christian should overcome the enemy with good; and that conscience must hold fast to this even when it entails suffering.

This is a coherent system. It is not merely a series of random provocations.

35. Was Könecken a Pacifist?

The question of whether Könecken can be called a pacifist must be answered with historical precision.

If “pacifist” means a modern political ideologue arguing from international law, democracy, antimilitarism, or modern human rights, the designation is misleading. Könecken was not such a person.

His argument was Christological. He did not first ask: What is the most rational international peace order? He asked: What has Christ commanded?

But if pacifism is understood as the principled conviction that Christians should not wage war or kill their enemies, Könecken is a very clear representative.

His own manuscript was entitled De bellis Christianorum Novi Testamenti. During the siege of Copenhagen he tried to persuade people to lay down their arms. He wrote to Charles Gustav and asked him to stop the war. He repeated his peace appeal in the Netherlands. He wrote to political leaders and diplomats. And he was willing to suffer imprisonment and death for his conscience.

This is difficult to surpass as documentation of an early Christian pacifist position.

36. But Was He Denmark's First?

Here caution is required.

Calling Könecken “Denmark's first pacifist” is a later categorization. Rørdam does not call him a pacifist. He calls him a “religious enthusiast” and “Apostle of Peace.” It is later peace-historical writings that have made the designation “Denmark's first pacifist” more common.

The academically defensible formulation must therefore be: Könecken is one of the earliest documented Danish persons who consistently and publicly argued against Christians' participation in war.

If further research cannot identify an earlier Danish person with an equally consistent and documented position, he may with some justification be described as one of Denmark's first pacifists. But “first” is a strong historical claim that requires a broader comparison with medieval and early modern traditions of peace and nonviolence.

37. Rørdam's Own Historical Position

A scholarly treatment of Könecken must also relate critically to Rørdam.

Holger Frederik Rørdam was himself a theologian and church historian. He was a very productive scholar and worked intensively with sources concerning Danish church, university, and school history.[36]

His Könecken article is valuable because he brings large quantities of original material to light.

But his concepts belong to the nineteenth century. He calls Könecken a “religious enthusiast.” He uses categories such as “false teachings,” “fanatics,” and “enthusiastic ideas.” These terms should not be adopted uncritically as modern historical diagnoses. They tell us something about Rørdam's perspective and that of his sources.

At the same time, Rørdam is not merely negative. Toward the end he writes that there was something warm-hearted and sincere about Könecken and his writings that could reconcile the reader with his enthusiastic ideas. He also emphasizes that Könecken was not marked by the bitter and hateful tone he found among other separatists.[37]

This is an interesting assessment. Rørdam thus sees both Könecken's theological errors and his sincere moral seriousness.

38. A Modern Source-Critical Assessment

Könecken should therefore be examined on three levels.

First: What did he himself say? Here his own letters, declarations, and writings are central.

Second: How was he perceived by his contemporaries? Here the Consistory's interrogation, judgment, and university program are decisive.

Third: How did Rørdam interpret him? Here we must take account of nineteenth-century church-historical concepts and Rørdam's own theological position.

If these three levels are mixed together, one risks either turning Könecken into a modern hero or repeating the contemporary accusation that he was merely a "religious enthusiast." Neither is sufficient.

39. Könecken as a Conscientious Objector

The perhaps most modern aspect of Könecken's story is not pacifism itself, but the relationship between conscience and the state.

He did not deny that the state existed. Nor did he deny that God could have a purpose in there being authority.

But he denied that the state had the right to determine human conscience in questions where, in his view, God's word was clear.

It is therefore possible to see Könecken as an early precursor of Christian conscientious objection.

Historically he stands before the modern conscientious-objector movements, but he already formulates the fundamental dilemma: What does a person do when the state demands an action that his faith forbids?

Könecken's answer was: One must obey God.

40. The Paradox of His Doctrine of Authority

There is, however, an interesting paradox.

In his written declaration Könecken acknowledged that authority was an institution from God. He believed there should be persons with external power to protect good and punish evil.

But he simultaneously denied that this arrangement gave authority the right to do anything it wished.

His political thought therefore cannot be called simple anarchism. He did not want a society without authority. He wanted an authority subordinate to God. And he wanted the Christian not to repay violence with violence.

It is rather a form of radical Christian anti-violence ethics within a continued acceptance of the necessary order of society.

41. Könecken and Love of the Enemy

The core of his peace thought is Christ's example.

For Könecken, Christ is not merely savior. Christ is an example.

When Christ suffers under Pilate without resorting to violence, this becomes a model for Christian action.

Therefore Christian authority cannot be exempt from Christ's commandments either.

Könecken does not accept the argument: “The private Christian must love his enemy, but the state may wage war.” He believes the same Christian command applies to everyone.

The Christian king cannot have one morality as a private person and another as ruler. The Christian state cannot suspend Christ's commandments.

This is what makes his position so radical.

42. Könecken as European Peace Thought

After his exile, Könecken became increasingly international.

He wrote in Latin and Dutch. He addressed the estates in The Hague. He wrote to English and Dutch actors. He wrote about Denmark and Sweden. He tried to influence diplomats. He wrote about the war between the Netherlands and England.

His peace thought thus became part of a larger European Protestant discussion.

He was not an isolated Danish eccentric. He was a Danish participant in international radical Protestant culture.

43. The Project of Religious Unification

Könecken's project was larger than peace.

He also wanted to unite the Christian sects.

In the Koninckliycke Basuyn-schrift he writes that he wants God to reform and unite the various Christian sects in a true spiritual unity.[38]

This is important. Könecken's peace thought was not only about relations between states. It was also about relations between churches.

For him the two forms of peace were connected. A divided Christianity was a sign of human religious error. If Christianity returned to Christ's true teaching, it could also contribute to peace among peoples.

44. Legacy

Könecken largely disappeared from general Danish historical consciousness.

It is especially Rørdam's research that makes it possible to reconstruct his life. Rørdam found more writings than earlier bibliographers knew and made a large number of archival documents accessible.

It is especially the legal material from 1663 that gives Könecken historical substance.

Without these documents he could easily have been reduced to a legendary "first pacifist." With the documents we can see a much more complex person: a theologically educated man; a religious radical; a critic of the priesthood; a critic of monarchy; a conscientious objector; a peace campaigner; an international writer; and finally a man who maintained his fundamental views for more than half a century.

45. Conclusion

Jesper Baltzarsen Könecken was a child of the religious world of the seventeenth century, but his ideas reach far beyond that world.[29][30]

His opposition to war arose from a radical reading of the New Testament. He believed that Christ's command to love one's enemy applied to all Christians—including kings and authorities.

He did not accept that the state could suspend this command.

He distinguished between God permitting an authority and God thereby approving every one of its actions.

He distinguished between the law of nature concerning self-defense and Christianity's command of nonviolence.

And he made conscience the place where the conflict between God and the state was decided.

His life therefore shows that Danish peace thought has roots reaching far back before the organized peace movements of the nineteenth century.

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29 Peter Borschberg, "Hugo Grotius' Theory of Trans-Oceanic Trade Regulation: Revisiting Mare Liberum (1609)", Institute for International Law and Justice, Working Paper 2005/14.

30 Hugo Grotius, De iure belli ac pacis libri tres, Paris, 1625. Modern English edition: The Rights of War and Peace, ed. Richard Tuck, Liberty Fund, 2005.

It is not necessary, however, to turn him into a modern pacifist in order to recognize his historical significance.

It is more precise to say: Jesper Baltzarsen Könecken was a radical Danish seventeenth-century Christian who consistently argued against Christians' participation in war and for the precedence of conscience over human coercion.[313233]

His peace thought was not secular. It was not liberal in the modern sense. It was not based on modern human rights. It was based on Christ. And that is precisely why it is historically interesting.

Könecken's fundamental question was not whether war was politically expedient. It was: Can a person who wishes to be Christ's disciple do what Christ himself forbade?[34]

His answer was no.[35]

He lived by this answer. He preached it. He wrote it. He was imprisoned for it. He was expelled for it. And he continued to preach peace until he died in Lübeck in 1715.[36]

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31 Holger Fr. Rørdam, Efterretninger om Sværmeren Jesper Baltzarsen Konechen, in Kirkehistoriske Samlinger, 2nd series, vol. III, pp. 225–261. Rørdam himself emphasizes that the reproduced legal proceedings from 1663 had not previously been used.

32 Rørdam, pp. 225–226. Könecken's birth, family circumstances, his father's death, Brochmand's support, his position as tutor to Peder Spormand, and his knowledge of the Bible.

33 Rørdam, p. 226. After his theological examination Könecken was a tutor, wrote Danish and Latin poetry, preached in Copenhagen, and received offers of ministerial positions in Scania.

34 Rørdam, p. 226. The statement that "all war is forbidden to Christians in the New Testament."

35 Rørdam, p. 226, note 1. The letters to Charles Gustav are dated 16 September 1658 and the beginning of August 1659 and were later printed in Könecken's Dutch writings.

36 Rørdam, pp. 226–227. Rørdam expressly writes that it is not known with certainty whether Könecken had contact with the Quaker who came to Copenhagen in 1657.

It is this consistency that makes Jesper Baltzarsen Könecken a remark-

able figure in Danish peace and intellectual his-

tory.[37][38][39][40][41][42][43][44][45][46][47][48][49][50][51][52]

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37 Rørdam, p. 227. Niels Svendsen Chrøniche, Baltazar Trebsdorf, and the Weigelian writings.

38 Rørdam, pp. 227–228. The prohibition from the pulpit and exclusion from communion.

39 Rørdam, p. 228. The episodes in Copenhagen's churches and the conversation with Erik Krag.

40 Rørdam, p. 229. Könecken's reaction to the designation “the Lord's anointed” and his view of Christians' relationship to secular authority.

41 Rørdam, pp. 229–230; appendix 2. Royal authorization of 27 July 1663.

42 Rørdam, p. 230. Jens Justesen's summary of the charges.

43 Rørdam, p. 230. The printed song about secular authority and the manuscript De bellis Christianorum Novi Testamenti.

44 Rørdam, pp. 230–232. Könecken's distinction between jus and indulgentia.

45 Rørdam, pp. 231–232. Könecken's formulation concerning the pure church and the condition of the historical church.

46 Rørdam, pp. 232–233. The conversation with Rasmus Hansen Brochmand about a father's defense of his children and Könecken's distinction between the law of nature and the law of Christianity.

47 Rørdam, p. 233. The royal title as something belonging to Christ alone.

48 Rørdam, pp. 233–234. Könecken's answer to the question of retracting De bellis Christianorum.

49 Rørdam, pp. 233–234. Könecken's information about the theological books he had read.

50 Rørdam, appendix 4, pp. 255–256. Könecken's written declaration concerning secular authority.

51 Rørdam, appendix 4, p. 256. Könecken's distinction between bellum and belligeratio.

52 Rørdam, appendix 4, p. 256. Könecken's declaration concerning conscience and his willingness to suffer imprisonment or death.

Primary Sources and Literature

Rørdam's article is based, among other things, on the Consistory's court records and copybook, Sjællandske Tegnelser, the manuscript collections of

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53 Rørdam, pp. 248–250. The Consistory's judgment of 19 September 1663.

54 Rørdam, appendix 6, pp. 257–258. The university's Latin relegation program. It mentions, among other things, Socinianism, Weigelianism, and Anabaptism, as well as Könecken's rejection of Christians' military obligation.

55 Rørdam, pp. 249–250. The relegation, the protest, the stay in Scania, and the apology to Bishop Peder Vinstrup.

56 Rørdam, p. 250. The expulsion from Scania.

57 Rørdam, pp. 250–251. Könecken's activity in Amsterdam and his change from public speech to written peace propaganda.

58 Rørdam, pp. 250–251. Appeals to statesmen, clergy, and envoys in The Hague.

59 Rørdam, pp. 251–252, with reference to Koninckliјcke Basuyn-schrift from 1666.

60 Rørdam, p. 252. Könecken's self-understanding as the bearer of a universal apostolic calling to create peace and restore New Testament Christianity.

61 Rørdam, p. 252; appendix 7. Royal order of 18 August 1677.

62 Rørdam, p. 252. The stay in Lübeck, marriage to Lucia Pasche, the continuing conflicts with clergy, and the date of death, 26 September 1715.

63 Rørdam, pp. 259–261. The list of Könecken's writings. Rørdam notes that he had found far more writings than Worm and Nyerup knew, and that several had probably been lost.

64 Rørdam, p. 260. Meditationes Pacificæ, Pacifica Belgis, and Testimonium Veritatis.

65 Rørdam, pp. 260–261. Koninckliјcke Basuyn-schrift and its address to the warring parties in Holland and England, as well as Danish and Swedish supporters/mediators.

66 On Rørdam as a theologian and church historian, see Dansk Biografisk Leksikon/Lex. He worked especially with Danish church, university, and

the Royal Library, and Könecken's own writings. The appendices include, among other things, the royal order concerning the English Quaker in 1657, royal orders concerning Könecken in 1663 and 1677, Könecken's own declarations, the university's relegation program, and a bibliography of his writings.[39]

Holger Fr. Rørdam: “Efterretninger om Sværmeren Jesper Baltzarsen Konechen”, Kirkehistoriske Samlinger, 2nd series, vol. 3, pp. 225–261. The digitized text and image reproduction are available through Det Danske Fredsakademi.

Holger Fr. Rørdam: De danske og norske Studenters Deltagelse i Kjøbenhavns Forsvar mod Karl Gustav, Copenhagen 1855. The work is registered together with the Könecken article in the historical bibliography.

Dansk Biografisk Leksikon: the article on H. F. Rørdam provides the background to his historical work and his work especially with Danish church and university history.

Final Source-Critical Remark

The most important difference between this account and a traditional “peace biography” is that Könecken is not primarily assessed here according to the modern question of whether he was a pacifist. The starting point is his own documents.

What can be documented is that in 1658–59 he opposed war, wrote to Charles Gustav, argued from the New Testament, developed an extensive teaching on Christians' relationship to weapons and authority, maintained this teaching during the Consistory's interrogation in 1663, was relegated and exiled, and thereafter continued his peace activity in the Netherlands.

On this basis it is historically well founded to describe Jesper Baltzarsen Könecken as an early and unusually consistent Danish representative of Christian nonviolence and conscientious objection.

The designation “Denmark's first pacifist,” however, is a retrospective interpretive term and should not be presented as a historical fact unless it is accompanied by a comparison with the other Danish traditions of peace and nonviolence before 1660.

[39] Rørdam's source base and appendices are identified in the preceding bibliography and source-critical discussion.

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school history and was a central source editor.

23. Leo Tolstoy – Author, Pacifist and Peace Thinker

Leo Tolstoy (1828–1910) was a Russian count, landowner, author, religious thinker, anarchist and pacifist. He is world-famous for the novels War and Peace and Anna Karenina, but his later writing developed into an extensive critique of war, militarism, state power, the death penalty and organized religion. At the same time, Tolstoy became an important source of inspiration for the modern nonviolence and peace movement.

From Officer to Pacifist

Tolstoy was born in 1828 into an aristocratic Russian family. As a young man he became an officer and took part in the Crimean War, including the siege of Sevastopol. His experiences of war later became important for both his literature and his view of violence and militarism.

In his early Sevastopol stories Tolstoy tried to portray war without the heroic romanticism that often characterized contemporary war literature. The soldiers are people with fear, pain and doubt, while the reality of war stands in contrast to the idea of military honour.

His great historical novel War and Peace, published in the period 1865–1869, deals with the Napoleonic Wars and the relationship between the individual and the great forces of history. The novel is not a pacifist manifesto in the narrow sense, but it contains an extensive critique of heroic historiography of war and of the idea that great men alone create history.

The Religious Conversion

After the publication of his great novels, Tolstoy underwent a profound religious and existential crisis. He began searching for a form of Christianity which, in his view, could be translated directly into human life.

He rejected the authority of the Russian Orthodox Church and instead placed particular emphasis on the Sermon on the Mount and the command not to repay evil with evil. From this he developed a radical Christian ethic based on love, simplicity, nonviolence and human equality.

Tolstoy's religious development was therefore also a political development. If violence was morally wrong for the individual, it was also problematic, in his view, when violence was exercised by the state, the army or the church.

The Doukhobors

Tolstoy's connection with the Doukhobors became an important practical example of his thinking about peace.

The Doukhobors were a Russian religious movement that rejected parts of Orthodox teaching and emphasized inner Christian conviction. They

developed a strong tradition of nonviolence and resistance to military service. In 1895 Doukhobor men in the Caucasus refused military service and burned their weapons. The response of the Russian authorities was severe persecution.

Tolstoy saw in the Doukhobors a concrete example of people trying to live according to the Christian principle of nonviolence. He therefore became personally involved in their cause and wrote about their situation.

In 1898 he wrote, among other things, The Emigration of the Doukhobors, describing the conflict between the Russian state and the Doukhobors' religiously grounded refusal of military service.

For Tolstoy, the Doukhobors' situation was not merely a question of religious freedom. It raised a fundamental question: Can a person with a good conscience obey a state when the state requires participation in war and violence?

Tolstoy and the Doukhobors' Emigration to Canada

Tolstoy's engagement also had practical consequences. He helped create international attention around the Doukhobors' situation and contributed financially to their emigration.

In 1898 efforts were made to move a larger group of Doukhobors out of Russia. Tolstoy contributed financially, including through income from his writing, while English Quakers and other supporters also participated in the relief effort.

The first larger groups began arriving in Canada at the end of 1898 and beginning of 1899. About 7,500 Doukhobors came to Canada in connection with this mass emigration.

Tolstoy's relationship with the Doukhobors was thus religious, political and personal. He was in contact with the Doukhobor leader Pëtr Verigin, and their correspondence documents an important common concern with faith, nonviolence and human freedom.

Criticism of the State and Militarism

Tolstoy's pacifism gradually developed into a more comprehensive social critique. He believed that the state maintained its power through coercion and violence and therefore criticized, among other things, the military, conscription, the death penalty and war.

His criticism was not limited to Russia. Tolstoy regarded militarism as an international problem and believed that ordinary people were made responsible for actions which they had a moral duty to refuse to perform.

His solution was not violent revolution. On the contrary, he believed that change had to begin with the individual's conscience and a refusal to participate in violent systems. This position is often associated with non-resistance to evil, civil disobedience and religiously grounded pacifism.

Tolstoy and Gandhi

Tolstoy's ideas acquired particular importance through his relationship with Mohandas K. Gandhi. The two corresponded, and Gandhi read Tolstoy's writings on nonviolence, Christianity and state power.

The relationship is historically important because Tolstoy's ideas later became part of a broader tradition of nonviolent resistance. Gandhi developed his own political and religious philosophy under different historical and cultural circumstances, but Tolstoy was among the thinkers who influenced his development.

Tolstoy's relationship with the Doukhobors and Gandhi therefore shows how his ideas moved from literature and religious ethics into concrete forms of peaceful resistance.

Literature and Peace

Tolstoy's literary and peace-political writing cannot be completely separated. His novels examine people's moral choices, while his later essays and religious writings attempt to formulate direct answers to questions of violence, conscience and society.

Anna Karenina and War and Peace are first and foremost great literary works, but they also contain Tolstoy's continuing interest in human moral responsibility. In his later stories this problem becomes more direct.

An example is The Death of Ivan Ilyich, in which a person is forced to confront the question of whether the life he has lived has actually been meaningful.

Legacy

Tolstoy's importance to peace thought lies especially in the connection between personal morality and political action. He argued that peace could not be created solely through treaties and political institutions. It also had to begin with the individual's rejection of violence.

The Doukhobors gave him a concrete example of this idea. They refused military service because of their religious convictions, and Tolstoy regarded their resistance as a practical demonstration of the principles he himself had developed. Modern research emphasizes precisely the connection between Doukhobor antimilitarism, Tolstoy's doctrine of non-resistance, and his efforts on behalf of their emigration to Canada.

Tolstoy died in 1910, but his ideas about nonviolence, conscientious objection, civil disobedience and the precedence of conscience over state demands have continued to influence peace and human-rights thought.

Conclusion

Leo Tolstoy was thus both one of world literature's greatest authors and an important peace thinker. His development from Russian officer to radical pacifist was not a single break, but a long process in which experiences of war, literature, religious searching and social conflicts became connected.

The Doukhobors occupy a special place in this development. They made Tolstoy's principle of nonviolence concrete and showed him that religious conviction could lead to actual resistance to militarism and military service. Tolstoy's help with their emigration to Canada was at the same time one of the most concrete expressions of his peace-political engagement.

Tolstoy can therefore be understood as an important link between the Russian religious and pacifist tradition of the nineteenth century and the international nonviolence movement of the twentieth century.

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24. Bertha von Suttner – From Peace Literature to International Law

Bertha Felicie Sophie von Suttner, born Countess Kinsky von Wchinitz und Tettau (9 June 1843 in Prague – 21 June 1914 in Vienna), was an Austrian author, pacifist and one of the international peace movement's most prominent figures before the First World War. She received the Nobel Peace Prize in 1905 as the first woman. Her importance, however, extends far beyond her literary work. She was a central link between literary pacifism, the organized peace movement, the arbitration movement and the emerging field of international law.

Suttner worked for war between states to be replaced by peaceful conflict resolution through arbitration, negotiation and international law. Her activity must therefore be seen as part of the broader development in which the peace cause in the second half of the nineteenth century moved from moral and religious opposition to war toward organized international work for institutional alternatives to war.

Aristocratic and Military Background

Bertha Kinsky was born into the Austrian aristocracy. Her father, Franz Graf Kinsky von Wchinitz und Tettau, had been a field marshal lieutenant in the Austrian army. Her family therefore belonged to the social and political world closely connected with the Habsburg monarchy and its military traditions.

This background is important for understanding her later pacifism. Suttner developed from being part of the European aristocratic environment into a prominent critic of militarism. Her opposition to war was therefore not an expression of distance from a military world she had never known, but developed against the background of intimate knowledge of European aristocratic and military culture.

In the 1870s she worked as a governess in the von Suttner family and married Arthur Gundaccar von Suttner. The couple spent several years in the Caucasus, where they supported themselves partly through literary work.

Alfred Nobel and the Question of Peace

An important turning point came in 1876, when Bertha von Suttner briefly worked as Alfred Nobel's secretary in Paris. The employment was short, but the relationship developed into a lifelong friendship and extensive correspondence.

Nobel and Suttner discussed, among other things, war, peace, international politics and possibilities for creating a more peaceful international order. Suttner later became an important advocate of the peace cause in her contacts with Nobel.

The relationship between the two has also been connected with the creation of the Nobel Peace Prize. It cannot, however, simply be established that Suttner alone caused Nobel's decision. Nobel had his own thoughts about war and peace, but their many years of contact demonstrate the connection between the international peace movement and the later Nobel Prize.

The Arbitration Movement

Suttner's peace thinking developed closely in connection with the international arbitration movement.

Arbitration meant that conflicts between states should be capable of being settled by a neutral body rather than through war. This idea became increasingly important in the peace movement during the second half of the nineteenth century.

For Suttner, peace was therefore not only a matter of personal morality or condemnation of the suffering caused by war. Peace also required another way of organizing relations between states. International conflicts had to be handled through law, negotiation and arbitration.

This connection between pacifism and international law became decisive for her later work.

Die Waffen nieder!

In 1889 Suttner published the novel Die Waffen nieder! (Lay Down Your Arms!). The work became her international breakthrough and one of the nineteenth century's best-known literary attacks on war and militarism.

The novel's main character, Martha von Tilling, experiences a series of European wars and sees at close range how war destroys human lives and families. Her attitude develops from traditional acceptance of war toward active engagement against militarism.

The novel's importance lay partly in its ability to make the consequences of war understandable to a broad public. Suttner did not write a political treatise on international law, but a novel in which the reader experiences war through its human consequences.

Literature thereby became a political means.

Die Waffen nieder! helped make the peace cause part of public debate and was translated into a number of languages. The novel also gave Suttner a

position from which she could move from literary pacifism to active organizational and educational work.

From Literature to Organized Peace Work

After the success of the novel, Suttner became increasingly active in the German-speaking peace movement. She participated in international peace congresses and worked to make the peace movement more than a collection of individuals. It should become an international organization capable of influencing politicians, parliamentarians and the public.

Die Waffen nieder! and Die Friedens-Warte

Together with Alfred Hermann Fried, Suttner began publishing the journal Die Waffen nieder! in 1892. The journal became an important organ of the German-speaking peace movement.

In 1899 the journal was renamed Die Friedens-Warte. Fried took over editorial leadership, while Suttner continued as an important contributor.

The journal served as a forum for discussion of peace policy, international politics, arbitration, disarmament and international law. It also shows how the peace movement of this period developed from a moral protest against war into a movement with increasingly concrete political and legal objectives.

Suttner's journalistic activity was thus a continuation of her literary work. Where Die Waffen nieder! had made the peace cause accessible through the novel form, Die Friedens-Warte made it possible to discuss current political questions continuously.

International Peace Bureau

Suttner also became closely connected with international organizational work. She was active in connection with the International Peace Bureau, founded in 1891 and developed into a central association of international peace organizations.

Her engagement shows how the peace movement began building an international organizational network. Peace organizations could exchange information, coordinate congresses and influence public debate across national borders.

This was an important step in the development of the modern international peace movement.

The Hague and International Law

The institutional side of peace work became particularly clear around the Hague Conferences.

The First International Peace Conference at The Hague was held in 1899 on the initiative of the Russian government. The conference considered, among other things, international arbitration, warfare and rules for conflicts between states.

Suttner was present in The Hague and followed the conference's work closely. She was not a diplomatic delegate, but gained access as an observer and became a visible representative of the international peace movement.

The conference led, among other things, to the establishment of the Permanent Court of Arbitration. The idea of arbitration was thereby connected to an international institution.

For Suttner this was central. Peace should not depend only on the goodwill of statesmen. International mechanisms had to be developed that made it possible to resolve conflicts without military force.

She later described her experiences in Die Haager Friedenskonferenz: Tagebuchblätter, published in 1900.

Peace Movement and International Law

Suttner's historical importance becomes particularly clear when her pacifism is seen in connection with the development of international law.

She was not a lawyer in the traditional sense, but she was an important public communicator of the idea that international relations could be subjected to rules and institutions.

The central question was whether states could commit themselves to resolving their conflicts through legal procedures rather than war.

This idea was closely connected with the international arbitration movement and at the same time became part of the development toward a more institutional international system.

Suttner therefore worked in a field where pacifism, internationalism and international law overlapped.

Nobel Peace Prize 1905

In 1905 Bertha von Suttner received the Nobel Peace Prize. She was the first woman to receive the prize.

The prize was international recognition of her many years of work for peace. It also made her name even better known outside the peace movement's own circles.

The prize did not change her fundamental political engagement. She continued to lecture, write and participate in international peace activities.

Suttner used her international fame to continue arguing against armament and militarism and for international arbitration and cooperation.

The Peace Movement before the First World War

Suttner's work must be seen in the particular international situation around 1900. Europe was marked by nationalism, imperialism, armament and rivalry among the great powers. At the same time, an international network was developing among organizations, congresses, parliamentarians, lawyers and activists working for peaceful conflict resolution.

Suttner was one of the people who connected these different environments.

Her activity shows that the international peace movement before 1914 did not consist only of protests against war. It also included concrete efforts to create international arbitration, international legal rules, institutions for conflict resolution, international cooperation, limitation of armaments and international organization of peace work.

Thus Suttner belongs to a larger history of the development of international society.

The Threat of War and the Final Years

Suttner continued her peace work until her death. She participated in international peace congresses and repeatedly warned about the consequences of Europe's continuing armament and great-power rivalry.

In 1914 she was still working for the peace cause. She died in Vienna on 21 June 1914—only days after the Sarajevo assassination and a little more than a month before the outbreak of the First World War.

The historical timing is remarkable. Suttner died precisely when the European international order that the peace movement had attempted to reform was heading toward collapse.

She therefore did not experience the actual outbreak of the world war, but her life's work stood immediately before its greatest historical test.

Lay Down Your Arms! on Film

Suttner's peace message continued after her death. As early as 1914, Lay Down Your Arms! was filmed by Nordisk Film.

The film, Ned med Vaabnene!, was shot before the outbreak of the First World War and is an early example of how peace literature was transferred to the new mass medium of film.

The film also shows that Suttner's message had acquired cultural reach beyond her books and lectures.

Historical Assessment

Bertha von Suttner's importance cannot be reduced to her role as the author of Die Waffen nieder! or as a recipient of the Nobel Peace Prize.

Her historical importance lies above all in the connection between several developments that later became central to international peace work.

She contributed to popularizing pacifism through literature, organizing the international peace movement, promoting the idea of international arbitration, supporting the development of international institutions, communicating international law to a broader public, creating links between peace organizations and political environments, and making the question of peace an international political issue.

Suttner thus represents a phase in the history of the peace movement in which the goal was no longer merely to condemn war, but to build institutional alternatives to war.

It is this development that connects her work with the Hague Conferences, the arbitration movement and the later development of international organizations and international law.

Legacy

After her death Bertha von Suttner became an international reference figure for pacifism. Her novel Die Waffen nieder! continued to be published and translated, while her name became associated with peace organizations, schools, prizes and other peace-political initiatives.

Her historical importance, however, is greater than her legacy as a pacifist icon. Suttner stood at the centre of a transition from nineteenth-century peace societies to a more modern international peace movement. She was also part of the intellectual and political development that sought to make international conflicts subject to legal and institutional solutions.

In this context her life is an example of the early development of an idea that later became crucial to international society: peace between states requires not only a willingness to make peace but also international rules, institutions and procedures for peaceful conflict resolution.

Bertha von Suttner died before this development had reached its goal. The First World War also showed how limited the peace movement's influence still was.

But the ideas for which she worked—international arbitration, international law, interstate cooperation and institutional conflict resolution—did not disappear with her. They were continued in international organizational work after 1918 and later in the development of the League of Nations, the United Nations and the modern international legal system.

Suttner should therefore not only be remembered as the woman behind Lay Down Your Arms! and as the first woman to receive the Nobel Peace Prize. She should also be seen as one of the actors who formulated and popularized the idea that war could be replaced by law and institutional conflict resolution as the basis for relations between states.

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25. Fredrik Bajer (1837–1922)

Fredrik Bajer was a Danish officer, politician, author and peace organizer. He was a member of the Folketing from 1872 to 1895 and became one of the most prominent Danish advocates of neutrality, international arbitration, parliamentary cooperation and women's political rights. In 1908 he received the Nobel Peace Prize together with the Swedish peace politician Klas Pontus Arnoldson.

Bajer's historical importance lies especially in his attempt to turn the peace cause into practical political and international organizational work. He was not alone in this development, but formed part of an extensive network of Danish and international peace activists, politicians and organizations.

From Officer to Politician

Bajer was born on 19 April 1837 at Vester Egede vicarage in Zealand. He trained as an officer and took part in the war of 1864. After leaving the army in 1865, he became involved in politics and organizational work.

In 1872 he was elected to the Folketing, where he represented Det Forenede Venstre. He remained a member until 1895. His parliamentary work included questions concerning neutrality, defence, arbitration and women's rights.

Bajer's political activity took place alongside extensive work outside Parliament. He sought to build organizations and international connections that could give peace policy a more permanent political and institutional form.

Neutrality and Danish Peace Work

A central element of Bajer's political thinking was Danish neutrality. In 1882 he was among the initiators of Foreningen til Danmarks Neutralisering, which became an important part of the organized Danish peace movement.

Bajer did not regard peace work as a matter of moral appeals alone. He worked with concrete political and legal mechanisms which, in his view, could prevent war. International arbitration was especially important.

His own publications document this development. His writings include Om Krigs Forebyggelse ved Voldgift from 1886, Om Voldgiftstanken i Norden 1850–1890 from 1891, and Organisationen af Dansk Fredsforening, also from 1891.

Women's Rights

Bajer was also engaged in women's legal and political equality. He played a central role in connection with the establishment of Dansk Kvindesamfund in 1871 and later worked in Parliament for women's suffrage and eligibility for election.

Bajer's role should not, however, be presented in isolation. The early Danish women's movement resulted from a broader network of people and international currents of ideas. Aleksis Petersen, for example, had already contacted Bajer in 1870 concerning international questions relating to the women's movement.

His wife, Mathilde Bajer, simultaneously had an independent and significant role in both the women's and peace movements. A historical account should therefore avoid reducing the development of the women's movement to Fredrik Bajer's efforts alone.

International Organization

From the 1880s Bajer's peace work acquired an increasingly international dimension. He took part in international peace congresses and worked to connect national peace societies through permanent international organizations.

In 1891 Bajer was among the central initiators of the establishment of the International Peace Bureau in Rome. The organization became a permanent international coordinating body for the peace movement, and Bajer became its first president.

Historically it is more precise, however, to describe Bajer as a central initiator and organizer among several rather than as the organization's sole founder. Its establishment was the result of a longer development within the international peace movement. Bajer documented this development, among other places, in Les Origines du Bureau international de la Paix from 1904.

Bajer also worked for international parliamentary cooperation. He saw parliamentarians as potential actors in the development of international solutions to conflicts and in spreading arbitration and international law.

The Nobel Prize

In 1908 Bajer received the Nobel Peace Prize together with Klas Pontus Arnoldson.

The Nobel Prize was recognition of many years of work for the peace cause. For several decades Bajer had worked to connect Danish peace policy with the international peace movement and to develop institutional alternatives to war.

In his Nobel lecture of 1909 Bajer described the organizational development of the peace movement. He emphasized the interaction between peace societies, parliaments and governments and the importance of international arbitration and organization.

Bajer as Author and Source

Bajer left an extensive political and peace-political body of writing. It includes works on neutrality, arbitration, peace organization, parliamentarianism and international cooperation.

His own writings are central primary sources for the study of his political ideas. At the same time they must be read critically. Bajer was both a historical actor and an author of accounts of his own time. His texts therefore tell us not only what happened but also how he himself wished to present the development.

A systematic bibliography of Bajer's writings makes it possible to check later accounts against his own publications and to identify different editions and international versions of his works.

Criticism and Historical Assessment

Bajer's importance should not be confused with unlimited political influence. He was a member of Parliament for more than two decades and a prominent organizer, but he was not the politician who alone shaped Danish foreign, defence or security policy.

His strength lay especially in developing ideas, organizational work and international networking.

His peace-political project was also characterized by strong confidence in international arbitration, neutrality and institutional cooperation. The organizations built by the peace movement proved unable to prevent the First World War. This is an important historical limitation of the political project of which Bajer was part.

It should nevertheless be avoided to judge Bajer's ideas solely by later events. In his own time, the establishment of permanent international peace organizations, arbitration arrangements and interparliamentary connections were new attempts to develop alternatives to the traditional methods of great-power politics.

Another source-critical issue concerns Bajer's role in founding organizations. His own writings and later accounts can create a person-centred picture. It is therefore important to investigate which initiatives were actually his and which were developed in cooperation with others.

This applies, among other things, to the International Peace Bureau and Dansk Kvindesamfund. In both cases it is historically more precise to investigate the network of actors than to look for a single founder.

Historical Significance

Fredrik Bajer's historical importance lies primarily in the connection between Danish peace work, neutrality policy, international arbitration, parliamentary internationalism, women's political rights and international peace organizations.

He helped move the peace cause from being predominantly a moral and ideological question to also becoming a question of institutions, organizations, international law and parliamentary cooperation.

His importance should neither be exaggerated nor reduced. Bajer was not solely responsible for the development of the international peace movement, but he was one of its prominent organizers and communicators.

Source Criticism

A scholarly study of Bajer should distinguish between three main types of material.

Primary sources: Bajer's own books, articles, speeches, letters and memoirs, together with contemporary organizational and archival documents.

Secondary literature: Later historical studies of Bajer, Mathilde Bajer, the women's movement, the peace movement and Danish parliamentarianism.

Documentation sources: Bibliographies, encyclopaedic entries and digital collections that make it possible to identify and locate the historical material.

Fredsakademiet's Bajer entry should primarily be understood as a documenting and bibliographical secondary source with a clear peace-historical perspective. This does not make the source less valuable, but means that it should be supplemented by independent historical works and primary sources on controversial or interpretive questions.

At the same time, Fredsakademiet's material has independent historiographical value because it documents how the history of the Danish and international peace movement has been collected, registered and communicated.

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Overall Assessment

Fredrik Bajer should historically be understood as a Danish politician, thinker and international organizer who helped develop the peace movement from a collection of national and moral initiatives into a more permanent international system of organization and cooperation.

His historical significance becomes most precise when he is not presented as an isolated peace hero but placed within the network of people, organizations and ideas that together shaped the modern peace movement.

26. Fredrik and Mathilde Bajer

Fredrik Bajer, 1837–1922, and Mathilde Bajer, born Pauline Matilde Theodora Schlüter, 1840–1934, were among the Danish pioneers of the women's and peace movements in the latter part of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth.

Fredrik Bajer was a liberal politician, republican, peace advocate and author. He was trained as a lieutenant and language teacher and took part in the war of 1864. After leaving the military he became involved in political and international work. He was a member of the Folketing from 1872 to 1895 for Det Forenede Venstre and worked, among other things, for women's rights, international arbitration and international cooperation.

Mathilde Bajer was a women's-rights campaigner, pacifist and organizer. She married Fredrik Bajer in 1867, and the couple had six children. Her engagement in the women's cause and the peace cause was not tied solely to her marriage; she was an independent organizer and initiator in several of the period's central associations.

Dansk Kvindesamfund

In 1871 Fredrik and Mathilde Bajer were among the initiators of the establishment of Dansk Kvindesamfund. The association was originally established as a Danish branch of the international Association Internationale des Femmes. Mathilde Bajer became the first president, while Fredrik Bajer served as secretary and adviser. The connection with the international organization was broken that same year, however, and Dansk Kvindesamfund continued as an independent Danish organization.

Mathilde Bajer wished to maintain the international connections and a more politically oriented line. Later, disagreement over the political objectives of the women's cause became an important reason why she sought other organizational forms.

Kvindelig Fremskridtsforening

In the 1880s Mathilde Bajer resumed active public work. She took part in Dansk Fredsforening, which Fredrik Bajer had initiated in 1882, and worked to connect the women's cause and the peace cause. Among other things, she participated in her husband's campaigning and herself spoke about both women's rights and peace.

In 1885/86 Mathilde Bajer helped found Kvindelig Fremskridtsforening together with Johanne Meyer and other women's-rights campaigners. The association represented a more political and socially oriented direction than the contemporary Dansk Kvindesamfund. It worked, among other

things, for women's political rights and for the women's, peace and labour causes. Mathilde Bajer was the association's first chair.

The association also played a role in social conflicts. During the women's strike at Ruben's textile factory in 1886, Mathilde Bajer and Johanne Meyer helped bring the conflict to arbitration. Mathilde Bajer also organized the first Nordic women's meeting in Copenhagen in 1888.

Peace Work

Fredrik Bajer's peace work became increasingly extensive from the 1880s. In 1882 he initiated Foreningen til Danmarks Neutralisering, later Dansk Fredsforening. He worked for neutrality, international arbitration and institutional forms of peaceful conflict resolution.

In 1891 he was among the initiators of the establishment of the International Peace Bureau in Bern and led the organization until 1907. He was also engaged in interparliamentary cooperation. In 1908 he received the Nobel Peace Prize together with the Swedish peace activist Klas Pontus Arnoldson.

Mathilde Bajer took part in Dansk Fredsforening from the beginning and simultaneously developed her own international peace work. In 1906 she founded Danske Kvinders Fredsforening together with Sophie Alberti, where she became vice-chair. She also represented Danish women in international peace work and participated in international peace congresses.

Her international engagement was supported financially, among others, by the English Quaker and peace activist Hannah Priscilla Peckover. Mathilde Bajer became an honorary member of Ungdomsforeningen Pax in 1914 and the following year participated in the women's procession to Amalienborg. In 1917 she was refused entry into Germany on the grounds of her pacifist activities.

Women's Cause and Peace Cause

For both Bajers, the women's cause and the peace cause were closely connected. Fredrik Bajer worked in Parliament for women's rights and repeatedly introduced proposals for women's suffrage. In 1880 the so-called Bajer law was enacted, giving married women control over what they earned through independent work.

Mathilde Bajer worked simultaneously through associations, meetings, campaigning and international networks. Her engagement shows that the women's movement was not only a question of national reforms but was also connected with international questions of peace, disarmament, arbitration and international cooperation.

Legacy

Fredrik and Mathilde Bajer's work took place in a period when organized women's and peace movements were growing both in Denmark and internationally. Their work should therefore be seen both as a common political project and as two different forms of activism.

Fredrik Bajer's most important contribution lay especially in parliamentary and international peace work, while Mathilde Bajer's activities took place to a large extent through women's organizations, social movements and international women's and peace networks.

Mathilde Bajer received the Medal of Merit in gold in 1931 for her work for women and peace. Fredrik Bajer's international peace work was recognized, among other things, by the Nobel Peace Prize in 1908.

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27. Viggo Hørup and the Fortification Question – Politics, Parliamentarianism and Antimilitarism

Introduction

Viggo Hørup (1841–1902) occupies a prominent place in Danish political history. He was a lawyer, journalist, editor and politician and became one of the most prominent figures in Venstre's struggle against Højre and the Estrup government. His name is particularly associated with the famous speech in the Folketing on 29 March 1883, when, in connection with defence appropriations, he asked: "Hvad skal det nytte?"—"What good will it do?"

Hørup's political importance cannot, however, be reduced to his opposition to military expenditure. The fortification question was closely connected with the contemporary constitutional struggle and the question of parliamentarianism. The struggle over Copenhagen's fortifications was therefore a defence-policy, economic and constitutional conflict at the same time.

This article examines Hørup's role in the fortification question with particular focus on Fredsakademiet's presentation. It also assesses Fredsakademiet's two entries, "Hørup, Viggo" and "Københavns Befæstning; befæstningssagen", critically.

Copenhagen's Fortifications and the Political Conflict

The discussion of Copenhagen's fortifications had roots in the Three Years' War of 1848–1850, but intensified after Denmark's defeat in 1864. Fredsakademiet's entry on the fortification question emphasizes 1864 as a decisive turning point in the Danish defence debate.

In the 1880s the defence question became increasingly closely connected with the political conflict between Højre and Venstre. The issue was not only whether Denmark needed military defence, but also who should determine defence policy and how the expenditure should be financed.

After 1881 the fortification question thus became part of the larger constitutional struggle. Fredsakademiet describes how the struggle for parliamentarianism was connected with the question of 1864, nationalism and militarism on one side and democracy and parliamentarianism on the other.

This is an important point. The fortifications cannot be understood solely as a military-historical construction. They became a political symbol of the conflict that developed between the Estrup government and the majority in the Folketing.

Hørup's "Hvad skal det nytte?"

On 29 March 1883 Viggo Hørup delivered his famous speech during the second reading of the defence bill. Fredsakademiet's chronology records the event as the day Hørup gave his “Hvad skal det nytte?” speech.

The expression later became a political slogan. Lex describes the speech as Hørup's attack on “militarism” and at the same time emphasizes that it was directed not only against Højre but also against the more defence-friendly forces within Venstre.

This is important for understanding Hørup. His antimilitarism was not merely a party-political question. In the early 1880s he developed a more independent and radical military-policy position, which also created tensions within Venstre.

Karsten Thorborg has treated Hørup as a politician in Historisk Tidsskrift and emphasized that his development on military issues took him further than parts of the rest of Venstre. The date 29 March 1883 thus became an important point in the development of Hørup's independent political profile.

The Fortification Question as a Constitutional Struggle

It is nevertheless insufficient to interpret Hørup's speech as a purely antimilitarist contribution. The fortification question had a clear constitutional dimension.

Venstre had a majority in the Folketing, while Højre had a strong position in the Landsting and held governmental power. The conflict therefore also concerned whether a government could continue its policy when it did not have a majority in the Folketing.

A study of Venstre's struggle for popular self-government shows precisely that Hørup's 1883 speech connected the question of Copenhagen's fortifications with the question of the government's parliamentary responsibility. Hørup emphasized that the Folketing had previously rejected the fortification project and that the matter was therefore also a question of the relationship between the Folketing and the government.

Thus “Hvad skal det nytte?” became more than a question of whether a particular military investment was sensible. It became a question of which political authority should determine Denmark's defence policy.

The Provisional Laws and Construction of the Fortifications

The conflict intensified further when the Estrup government carried out the fortification construction through provisional appropriations. Fredsakademiet's entry emphasizes that the actual fortifications were expanded through provisional appropriations under Estrup.

The fortifications thereby became closely connected with the so-called provisional period. This is an important historical context because the conflict over the fortifications did not end with Hørup's speech in 1883. It continued throughout the 1880s and was only politically concluded with the defence settlement of 1894.

Fredsakademiet points to 1894 as a decisive moment and connects the settlement with the political system change of 1901. The connection between these events should nevertheless be treated with nuance. The fortification question was one of several factors in the long constitutional struggle, and the system change of 1901 cannot be explained by the defence issue alone.

Hørup as an Antimilitarist

Fredsakademiet's entry on Hørup describes him as a pacifist and emphasizes him as one of the pioneers of Danish antimilitarism. This characterization fits the entry's overall peace and security policy perspective.

Methodologically, however, it is important to distinguish between Hørup's historical actions and the later categorization of him as a "pacifist". Hørup was a strong critic of militarism and an opponent of Copenhagen's fortifications, but his political argumentation must also be understood in relation to his views on state finances, parliamentarianism and the political struggle for power.

Fredsakademiet's entry therefore has a clear tendency, understood as a particular thematic and interpretive weighting. This is not necessarily an error. On the contrary, it is a strength if one wishes to study Hørup from a peace and antimilitarist perspective. But the entry should not stand alone as the basis for an overall characterization of Hørup's political work.

Fredsakademiet's Source Base

Fredsakademiet's entries are secondary historical accounts. They are not contemporary sources for Hørup's political activity but later syntheses based on existing literature and sources.

The Hørup entry also shows that Fredsakademiet refers to a considerable body of literature. The works mentioned include Erik Arup's 1941 biography, Karsten Thorborg's article in Historisk Tidsskrift from 1981, Torben Krogh's biography from 1984, Søren Mørch's Hørup er med from 2004, and Peter Lauritsen's Hvad skal det nytte? På sporet af Hørups demokrati.

It is an important strength of the entry that the literature base is visible. The reader can thereby proceed to the individual works and verify the account.

At the same time, different types of sources should be distinguished. Hørup's own speeches, articles and letters are primary sources, while

biographies and research articles are secondary sources. Fredsakademiet's entry is an additional interpretive layer on top of these materials.

Søren Mørch's Hørup er med, for example, is based on Hørup's articles and letters and combines their reproduction with Mørch's own historical analysis. This makes the work particularly interesting because Hørup's own formulations can be compared with a later historian's interpretation.

Fredsakademiet's Particular Perspective

Fredsakademiet's two entries should therefore be read as part of a particular historiography. The Hørup entry emphasizes his opposition to national liberalism, provisional legislation, militarism and Copenhagen's fortifications. The fortification entry connects defence policy with the conflict between militarism and democracy.

This perspective has a clear connection with Fredsakademiet's purpose and field of study. It does not mean that the account is therefore unreliable. Source criticism should instead ask: Which questions is the text good at answering, and which questions require other sources?

Fredsakademiet is particularly useful if one studies Hørup's antimilitarism, peace-political argumentation and the historical significance of the fortification question. If, on the other hand, one wants to study Hørup's overall political strategy, his relationship with Christen Berg, his journalistic work or his private life, the material must be supplemented by other sources.

Hørup between Politics and Journalism

Hørup's importance extended far beyond his work in the Folketing. He was a journalist at Morgenbladet and in 1884 became, together with Edvard Brandes, co-founder of Politiken.

His journalistic work is central because his political arguments were not made only in Parliament. They were also communicated to a wider public through the press. Hørup thereby helped develop a political public sphere in which journalism and parliamentary politics were closely connected.

His historical importance should therefore be studied on at least three levels: as parliamentarian, as journalist and as political communicator of ideas. The fortification question is particularly interesting because all three dimensions meet here.

Conclusion

Viggo Hørup's role in the fortification question cannot be reduced to whether he was for or against military expenditure. The conflict around

Copenhagen's fortifications was closely connected with the Danish constitutional struggle and the development of parliamentarianism.

Hørup's "Hvad skal det nytte?" speech of 1883 became a powerful expression of his antimilitarist position, but the speech must also be understood as a contribution to the struggle over the political importance of the Folketing. The fortification question thus became both a defence-policy and constitutional question.

Fredsakademiet's presentation is valuable because it clearly emphasizes this connection and places Hørup in a history of Danish antimilitarism and peace policy.

At the same time, the presentation has a clear thematic tendency. It should therefore be supplemented by Hørup's own speeches, articles and letters and by historical studies taking other perspectives.

The source-critical point is not that Fredsakademiet's presentation should be rejected, but that it should be placed in its proper historiographical perspective. It is a secondary account with a pronounced peace and security policy focus. Precisely for that reason it is particularly useful for studying how Hørup has been interpreted as an antimilitarist, while a broader understanding of him requires a larger and more varied source base.

Hørup's historical importance thus lies at the intersection of parliamentarianism, journalism, antimilitarism and political public life. The fortification question is one of the most important routes to understanding this intersection.

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28. Karl Liebknecht

Born 13 August 1871 in Leipzig – murdered 15 January 1919 in Berlin.

German socialist politician, antimilitarist, lawyer and author.

Karl Liebknecht was the son of the German social-democratic politician Wilhelm Liebknecht. He studied law and economics in Leipzig and Berlin and performed his military service as a one-year volunteer in 1893–1894. In 1897 he received the degree Dr. jur. et rer. pol. from the University of Würzburg and subsequently worked as a lawyer in Berlin. He joined the SPD in 1900 and soon became active in the party's youth work and in the socialist antimilitarist movement. In 1908 he became a member of the Prussian Landtag and in 1912 was elected to the German Reichstag.

Liebknecht became internationally known as an antimilitarist through the publication of Militarismus und Antimilitarismus unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der internationalen Jugendbewegung in 1907. The work was written especially for the socialist youth movement and contained an extensive analysis of militarism's social and political functions. Liebknecht regarded militarism as closely connected with existing social and power relations and argued for specifically socialist antimilitarist propaganda. He wrote, among other things, that antimilitarism had to be connected with international solidarity among workers and with the struggle for peace.

Because of the work Liebknecht was convicted of high treason in 1907 and was held in fortress detention at Glatz from October 1907 to June 1909. At the same time he became a leading figure in the socialist youth movement and was chairman of the Socialist Youth International from 1907 to 1910.

As a member of the Reichstag, Liebknecht dealt extensively with militarism, armament and the armaments industry. He criticized, among other things, the business practices of German arms companies and played a prominent role in the parliamentary treatment of the Krupp affair in 1912. His work sought to document connections between the armaments industry, state institutions and militarist interests.

At the outbreak of the First World War in 1914, Liebknecht unsuccessfully attempted to persuade the SPD Reichstag group to reject war credits. On 4 August 1914 he voted, after submitting to party discipline, for the first war credits. On 2 December 1914, however, he was the only member of the Reichstag to vote against further war credits. From this point he became one of the most prominent opponents of German war policy.

Liebknecht was not a conscientious objector in the modern sense. In February 1915 he was called up for military service and employed as an Armierungssoldat. At the same time, within the limitations imposed by military service, he continued his political opposition to the war. Together with Rosa Luxemburg and other opposition socialist figures, he participated in the work of the group Internationale, later known as the Spartacus Group or Spartacus League.

In 1916 Liebknecht was excluded from the social-democratic Reichstag group. On 1 May that year he took part in an antimilitarist peace demonstration on Potsdamer Platz in Berlin, where he was arrested. He was convicted of high treason and sentenced to imprisonment; on appeal the sentence was set at four years and one month in a penitentiary. During his imprisonment he continued his political and theoretical work.

Liebknecht was a close political ally of Rosa Luxemburg. Together they led the revolutionary left wing of the German workers' movement and the Spartacus movement. After his release in connection with the German Revolution in October 1918, he and Luxemburg took over the leadership of the Spartacus League and participated in publishing its newspaper Die Rote Fahne.

On 9 November 1918 Liebknecht proclaimed a free socialist republic from the Berlin Palace, while Philipp Scheidemann had proclaimed the German republic from the Reichstag earlier the same day. Liebknecht thus wanted the revolution to develop in a socialist and council-democratic direction.

At the turn of the year, 30 December 1918–1 January 1919, Liebknecht participated in the founding of the Kommunistische Partei Deutschlands (KPD). Together with Rosa Luxemburg he was one of the party's leading figures. During the January fighting in Berlin in 1919 he came into conflict with the social-democratic government under Friedrich Ebert and called for its removal. After the uprising Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg were arrested by soldiers from the Garde-Kavallerie-Schützen-Division. On 15 January 1919 both were murdered.

Karl Liebknecht's historical importance lies especially in the connection between socialism, antimilitarism and criticism of war and armament. His antimilitarism was not merely a general demand for peace, but formed part of a socialist analysis of militarism as a social and political instrument of power. In Militarismus und Antimilitarismus he presented militarism as closely connected with the social relations of capitalism and at the same time emphasized the importance of international solidarity among workers.

His writings and political activity have subsequently received very different interpretations. After his death he became a central symbolic figure for the German communist movement, while his role must also be seen within the broader history of the split in the German social-democratic movement during the First World War and the revolution of 1918–1919.

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See also: Zeth Höglund; Rosa Luxemburg; Spartacus League; antimilitarism; militarism; First World War; German Revolution 1918–1919.

29. Hans Paasche – Officer, Colonial Critic, Pacifist and Revolutionary

Hans Paasche (1881–1920) was a German naval officer, author, colonial critic, pacifist and political activist. His life and writing reflect some of the central conflicts in Germany from the imperial period through the First World War and the revolution of 1918–1919.

He is particularly known for Die Forschungsreise des Afrikaners Lukanga Mukara ins innerste Deutschland, in which, through the perspective of a fictional African traveller, he criticized German militarism, colonialism and European civilization.

Paasche's historical importance lies not least in the tension between his own past as an officer in the German colonial power and his later development into a prominent critic of militarism and colonialism.

Military Career and German East Africa

Hans Paasche began his military training as a naval officer in 1899. In 1904 he was sent to German East Africa, the German colonial territory that mainly comprised present-day Tanzania as well as Rwanda and Burundi.

Paasche participated in German military operations during the Maji-Maji uprising of 1905–1907. He was therefore not outside the colonial system but was for a period himself part of the military power that maintained German colonial rule.

This experience later became decisive for his development. Paasche's own memoirs and later writings show that his encounter with colonial warfare contributed to changing his view of violence, military power and colonial policy. His self-presentation must nevertheless be treated critically: it was written after the events and cannot alone be used as neutral documentation of his actions.

Paasche left active military service as a Kapitänleutnant in 1909. He nevertheless returned to East Africa on a private journey in 1909–1910 together with his wife. It is therefore misleading to present 1909 as the point at which he was sent home from Africa because of malaria and never returned.

From Colonial Officer to Cultural Critic

After returning, Paasche developed an increasingly strong interest in nature, life reform, vegetarianism, the youth movement, pacifism and criticism of modern industrial society.

His attitude was shaped by criticism of the European idea that technological and military strength was automatically an expression of cultural progress. Instead he began to view European society from the outside and compare it with his experiences in Africa.

This development should not be presented as a simple transition from "colonialist" to "anticolonialist". Paasche himself had been part of the German colonial project. What is historically interesting is precisely how experiences within this system later became part of his criticism of the system's values.

Lukanga Mukara

Paasche's most important literary work is Die Forschungsreise des Afrikaners Lukanga Mukara ins innerste Deutschland, published in 1912–1913.

The work consists of a series of fictional letters from the African Lukanga Mukara, who travels through Germany and describes German society. Paasche thus reverses the traditional colonial gaze. Normally it was the European who described and judged the African. In Paasche's work it is instead an African figure who regards Europeans as strangers.

The device enables Paasche to criticize German militarism, nationalism, consumer culture, social conventions and the idea of European cultural superiority.

The work must nevertheless be used critically. Lukanga Mukara is a literary construction created by a German author. The text therefore cannot be used as direct evidence of what Africans in general thought about Europe. It is primarily a source for Paasche's own cultural criticism and for ideas about Africa and Europe present in German society around 1912.

At the same time, the work is interesting because Paasche uses his experiences from Africa to turn the colonial gaze back upon Germany.

The First World War and Pacifism

At the outbreak of the First World War, Paasche was confronted with the militarism he had already criticized.

His pacifist and antimilitarist activity brought him into conflict with the military authorities. In 1916 he left the German navy after a prolonged conflict concerning his political and antimilitarist activities.

During the war his activity became increasingly openly pacifist. In 1917 he was arrested and placed in Schutzhaft. He was held in a psychiatric institution in Berlin-Charlottenburg in connection with the authorities' persecution of him.

It is therefore more precise to describe him as a political prisoner than to present the stay as an ordinary psychiatric hospitalization.

The Revolution of 1918

The German Revolution in November 1918 radically changed Paasche's situation.

On 9 November 1918 he was freed by revolutionary sailors. On the same day he became involved in the revolutionary soldiers' council movement in Berlin.

It is historically misleading to call this the establishment of “the first soldiers' council”. Workers' and soldiers' councils had already been formed elsewhere in Germany, including Kiel. Paasche participated in the formation of a soldiers' council in Berlin and subsequently became a member of the Vollzugsrat der Groß-Berliner Arbeiter- und Soldatenräte.

His role in the council movement shows how far his political development had gone. The former naval officer was now engaged in the revolutionary movement that sought to transform German society after the collapse of the empire.

Socialism and Communism

In 1919 Paasche joined the German Communist Party, KPD.

His political development cannot, however, be reduced to a simple transition from pacifism to communism. His worldview contained several simultaneous currents: antimilitarism, pacifism, life reform, the youth movement, socialism and revolutionary criticism of the existing society.

His political engagement must therefore be seen in the context of the profound crisis Germany experienced after the First World War.

Colonialism and Historical Significance

Paasche is particularly interesting for colonial history because his life illustrates a marked contradiction.

He was first an actor in the German colonial system and participated as an officer in the military suppression of the Maji-Maji uprising. Later his experiences in Africa became part of the basis for his criticism of colonialism, militarism and European culture.

He should therefore neither be presented uncritically as a modern anti-colonialist nor reduced to an ordinary German colonial officer. The historical interest lies in the development between these positions.

His writing also provides an example of how experiences from the colonies could be used to criticize European society itself. In Lukanga Mukara,

Germany becomes the object of a foreign gaze, and the European idea of cultural superiority is turned back upon Europeans.

Death in 1920

Hans Paasche was shot and killed on 21 May 1920 at his estate Waldfrieden.

He was killed during a military operation in connection with the political unrest after the Kapp Putsch. The official account described the death as occurring during an attempt to escape, but the circumstances were disputed, and Paasche has been treated in historical literature as the victim of a political murder.

His death occurred at a time when right-wing and military forces were engaged in violent conflict with revolutionary and socialist groups in post-revolutionary Germany.

Historical Assessment

Hans Paasche can be summarized as a person whose political and cultural development passed through several phases: naval officer → colonial actor → critic of colonial violence → pacifist and antimilitarist → cultural critic → revolutionary socialist.

This development is more important for historical understanding of Paasche than any single political label.

His own writings are valuable historical sources, but they must be read critically. His memoirs are self-presentations, and Lukanga Mukara is literary fiction. Neither can simply be treated as objective documentation.

The combination of personal colonial experience, literary cultural criticism and political activism makes Paasche an unusual source for understanding German society around the First World War.

His history shows how a person who had himself been part of the institutions of colonialism and militarism could develop a radical critique of those same structures. At the same time, it shows that such a critique does not necessarily free the author from the colonial ideas of his time. It is precisely this tension that makes Paasche's life and work historically and academically interesting.

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30. Mahatma Gandhi: My Experiments with Truth – From the First Danish Edition to the 2008 Reissue

My Experiments with Truth is above all an autobiographical text, but at the same time a moral and philosophical document. Gandhi does not merely describe his life; through his memories he examines how a human being can approach truth through practical experience, mistakes, self-discipline and nonviolence. This combination makes the work important as a historical source, an autobiography and documentation of the development of Gandhi's thought.

The Danish publication history is itself noteworthy. Gandhi's autobiography was first translated into Danish and published in 1930, but only the first volume appeared. Bibliotek.dk registers the edition under Nye Veje. Gandhi's autobiography thus had an early Danish presence, but Danish readers did not have access to the complete work for decades.

In 2008 this situation changed with the Danish Peace Academy's publication of My Experiments with Truth in two volumes. Volume 1 was a reissue of the earlier Danish translation, while Volume 2 was published in Danish for the first time. The edition was edited and illustrated by Holger Terp.

The First Danish Edition

Gandhi began work on his autobiography in the 1920s. The Danish translation was published in 1930, with Ester Menon as introducer. According to the documentation of the Danish Peace Academy, only the first volume was published. One reason was that the publisher behind the Danish edition went bankrupt after the experience of publishing Gandhi.

This is an important part of the work's Danish reception history. There was an early Danish interest in Gandhi and his ideas, but the economic and organizational circumstances surrounding the publication meant that the Danish public did not gain access to the whole autobiography.

The first Danish edition should therefore be regarded both as a document of Gandhi's international influence and as an early indication of the Danish peace movement's interest in his ideas.

The 2008 Reissue

The 2008 reissue was more than an ordinary reprinting. Volume 1 was a reissue of the first Danish version of Gandhi's autobiography, edited and illustrated by Holger Terp. The publication information states that the volume appeared on 28 May 2008.

Volume 2 had a special significance. It was the first Danish publication of the second part of Gandhi's autobiography. According to the Danish Peace Academy's contemporary documentation, Holger Terp found a handwritten manuscript at the Royal Danish Library, typed the text and supplied some missing passages with translations. Illustrations and scholarly references were also added.

The publication of Volume 2 was therefore not merely a reissue, but work to make previously inaccessible Danish textual material available to the public.

Gandhi's Autobiographical Method

The distinctive feature of My Experiments with Truth is Gandhi's understanding of autobiography. He does not present his life as an uninterrupted story of success. Instead, he describes his life as a series of experiments.

This is important because Gandhi thereby makes error part of the process of understanding. He seeks to understand how his moral principles work in practice. Truth is not merely something he claims to have found; it is something he attempts to approach.

This method also has direct significance for the source-critical value of the work. Gandhi himself points to the problem of writing an autobiography. In the second part, for example, he acknowledges that he cannot tell everything he remembers and that every autobiography is necessarily incomplete and one-sided. He therefore describes the writing itself as another of his “experiments with truth”.

This self-reflection is crucial. Gandhi is aware that the text is not a neutral historical account but a personal interpretation of a lived life.

Truth, Ahimsa and Satyagraha

The central concept of the work is truth. Gandhi connects truth with the moral discipline that should enable a person to act without violence.

Here the concept of satyagraha becomes central. The term may be translated approximately as “holding fast to truth” and was developed by Gandhi as a form of active nonviolent resistance.

Satyagraha is therefore more than a method of political protest. It presupposes a particular morality in the person who uses it. Political struggle cannot be separated from the individual's efforts at self-mastery.

The same applies to ahimsa, the principle of nonviolence. Gandhi makes his own life a laboratory in which he tests how these principles can be

translated into practical action. The work is therefore as much an ethical experiment as a political autobiography.

Source-Critical Assessment

As a historical source, My Experiments with Truth must be used critically. Gandhi is simultaneously author, principal character and interpreter. He decides which events to include and how to interpret them.

This does not make the work less valuable. On the contrary, it is a particularly important source for Gandhi's own self-understanding. But a distinction must be made between the question "What does Gandhi himself believe happened?" and the question "What can we historically document happened?"

For the first question the autobiography is a central source. For the second it must be compared with letters, contemporary newspapers, official documents, other people's memoirs and modern historical research.

It is also important to recognize the retrospective character of the text. Gandhi writes about his earlier life from a later point in life. Events are therefore interpreted in the light of the moral and political experiences he had already acquired.

The Scholarly Significance of the Reissue

The 2008 edition has particular research value because it not only makes the older Danish text accessible again but also makes the second part available in Danish for the first time. The Danish Peace Academy's own documentation explicitly describes Volume 2 as the first Danish publication of the second part.

The edition can therefore be seen as an example of how bibliographical work, archival work and peace-historical research can complement one another. The discovery of handwritten material at the Royal Danish Library made it possible to reconstruct part of the Danish translation history that would otherwise have been difficult to access.

At the same time, the edition must be described precisely. It should not be presented as a new original Gandhi text. It is a Danish editorial edition of Gandhi's autobiography: Volume 1 is based on the existing Danish translation, while Volume 2 is based on previously unpublished Danish translation material that has been worked on, supplemented and edited.

The Danish Peace Academy's Role

The Danish Peace Academy has made a range of Gandhi-related materials available through its electronic collection. My Experiments with Truth

stands alongside other Gandhi publications, including Friends of Gandhi, Young India and speeches and articles by Gandhi.

The reissue should therefore be seen in a broader context. The purpose is not only to preserve an older Danish book but to provide access to historical sources on peace, nonviolence and international politics.

Conclusion

My Experiments with Truth is simultaneously an autobiography, a moral inquiry and a historical source. Gandhi's distinctive method is to present his life as a series of attempts to understand and practise truth. His errors and defeats are therefore not necessarily concealed but form part of the moral developmental history he wishes to tell.

The Danish publication history adds another dimension. The first Danish edition of 1930 made Gandhi available to Danish readers, but only the first part of the autobiography was published. Only with the Danish Peace Academy's 2008 edition were both parts made available in Danish. Volume 1 was a reissue of the earlier Danish translation, while Volume 2 represented the first Danish publication of the second part on the basis of the discovered manuscript material and subsequent editorial and translation work.

From a scholarly perspective the edition is therefore interesting on two levels. First, it provides access to Gandhi's own account of the development of his ideas about truth, nonviolence and satyagraha. Second, it documents part of the history of Gandhi's reception and the history of the peace movement in Denmark.

This dual character makes My Experiments with Truth more than a historical autobiography. It is also a source for Gandhi's intellectual history, for Danish reception of Gandhi, and for the history of how peace and nonviolence literature has been preserved, translated and made available to new generations.

31. Friends of Gandhi – A Source Edition on Danish-Indian Connections

E. S. Reddy and Holger Terp (eds.): Friends of Gandhi: Correspondence of Mahatma Gandhi with Esther Færing (Menon), Anne Marie Petersen and Ellen Hørup. New Delhi: National Gandhi Museum; Berlin: Gandhi-Informations-Zentrum; Copenhagen: The Danish Peace Academy, 2006, 288 pp. ISBN 81-87458-12-7.

Friends of Gandhi is primarily a source edition, but its significance extends further. By collecting Mahatma Gandhi's correspondence with three Danish women—Esther Færing (later Menon), Anne Marie Petersen and Ellen Hørup—E. S. Reddy and Holger Terp document an important, but long relatively overlooked, chapter in Danish-Indian relations. The edition is also an example of how transnational history can be reconstructed through personal networks, mission archives, press history and correspondence.

The printed volume was published in 2006 by the National Gandhi Museum, Gandhi-Informations-Zentrum and the Danish Peace Academy. A digital edition was made available by the Peace Academy in parallel. Bibliographical catalogues register the printed edition as 288 pages.

A Source Edition Rather Than a Monograph

The book's greatest strength is also its clearest methodological character. Friends of Gandhi does not attempt to write a new comprehensive biography of Gandhi or a full history of Danish-Indian relations. Instead, it makes extensive and partly previously inaccessible source material available.

In the introduction E. S. Reddy explains that his starting point was an investigation of Gandhi's contacts with people outside India. He already knew of Gandhi's letters to Esther Færing, but through work with the Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi, the Gandhi archives in Ahmedabad and the National Gandhi Museum in New Delhi he discovered a much broader Nordic network. Contact with Holger Terp was decisive because Terp could contribute material from Danish libraries and archives, including correspondence not available in the Indian archives. Reddy explicitly describes Terp's contribution as decisive for completing the project (Friends of Gandhi, pp. 13–14).

This is an important scholarly result. The edition shows that Gandhi's history cannot be written solely from Indian and British archives. It must

also be sought in the European environments where his ideas were received, interpreted and put into practice.

Source Criticism

The editors are relatively explicit about the limitations of the material. They state that almost all of Gandhi's letters and annotations come from the Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi, while supplementary material was collected through their own research. They also emphasize that only a fraction of the letters to Gandhi has survived. Letters from the Gandhi archives in Ahmedabad and New Delhi have therefore been supplemented with material from other archives, and some passages could not be deciphered (Friends of Gandhi, pp. 23–24).

This is sound source-editing practice. The reader is told that the material is not a complete correspondence and that the survival of the sources is asymmetrical.

The asymmetry is especially clear in the relationship among the three women. Most of the material concerns Esther Færing/Menon. The editors point this out and note that Gandhi wrote more letters to Færing between 1917 and 1920 than to his own children. The correspondence with Anne Marie Petersen is less extensive, while the material concerning Ellen Hørup is smaller still (Friends of Gandhi, pp. 19–21).

This is not a weakness of the edition as such, but it is important for its use. The title Friends of Gandhi can suggest three roughly parallel relationships. The sources instead show three very different relationships, of which Færing's is by far the most extensively documented.

Esther Færing: The Personal and Religious Relationship

The correspondence between Gandhi and Esther Færing is the centre of gravity of the book. Færing arrived in India in 1915 as a teacher for the Danish Missionary Society. Together with Anne Marie Petersen she visited Gandhi's ashram in January 1917, and the meeting determined much of her later life. She began to use khadi, became a vegetarian and increasingly identified with India and the nationalist movement. At the same time she came under pressure from the mission leadership and the British authorities (Friends of Gandhi, pp. 25–29).

The correspondence shows Gandhi in a dimension that can disappear in political and intellectual-historical accounts: as personal adviser and religious interlocutor. He addresses Færing as “Bapu” and at times treats her almost as a member of the family. At the same time, he uses her questions to elaborate views on truth, nonviolence, religion, Christianity, self-discipline and the constructive programme.

Færing's correspondence can therefore be read as a kind of dialogical history of religion. Gandhi is not simply the teacher instructing a European disciple; Færing's Christian questions also force him to formulate and clarify his own views. This is where the edition has particular value for the history of religion.

Anne Marie Petersen: Mission, Nationalism and Education

Anne Marie Petersen represents a different type of relationship. Whereas Færing's letters are often characterized by personal and religious devotion, Petersen's correspondence is more political and intellectually argumentative. The editors describe her relationship with Gandhi as an exchange of views on the Indian freedom struggle and Gandhi's constructive programme. Gandhi even published her letters as documentation that the Indian national movement was not necessarily anti-Christian or anti-European (Friends of Gandhi, pp. 19–20).

Petersen's importance, however, lies not only in her relationship with Gandhi. She was a central actor in the attempt to establish a national Christian girls' school in Porto Novo, later Seva Mandir. Her work illustrates an important paradox: Christian mission and Indian nationalism did not necessarily have to be opposites.

This makes Petersen's history particularly interesting. She could be a missionary, Christian, nationalist sympathizer and critic of colonial authority at the same time. Later research has shown that her religious and cultural development was more complex than the picture normally found in missionary history.

Karen Vallgårda's article Omvendte omvendelser is an important supplement. She shows how Petersen and Færing changed their views of India and Indian religion while retaining elements of the Christian and European ideas with which they had arrived. Vallgårda emphasizes the tension between cultural encounter, religious change and colonial legacy.

Ellen Hørup: Gandhi Outside the Missionary World

Ellen Hørup is the third and very different figure. She was a journalist, antifascist and political activist rather than a missionary. Her interest in Gandhi emerged only in the late 1920s, and her engagement was expressed especially through journalism, organization and international solidarity with the Indian freedom struggle.

The editors emphasize her work organizing support in Denmark and her establishment of the International Committee for India in Geneva (Friends of Gandhi, pp. 20–21).

Here Friends of Gandhi becomes more than a collection of missionary-history sources. Hørup shows how Gandhi's ideas could move from the Indian nationalist and religious context into a European secular, antifascist and internationalist political culture.

The fact that the material on Hørup is much less extensive than Færing's is also one of the edition's limitations. It is nevertheless supplemented by a valuable appendix on Hørup's meeting with Gandhi and Caroline "Bokken" Lasson in 1931, connecting the letters with the wider Scandinavian dissemination of Gandhi (Friends of Gandhi, pp. 421–424).

Christianity and Gandhism

One of the book's most interesting aspects is that it does not conceal the religious disagreements between Gandhi and the two missionaries. On the contrary, it reproduces evidence that Færing found it difficult to accept Gandhi's view that truth could be found in several religions. Petersen still hoped in 1921 that India would become Christian. The editors thus present material that complicates any simple account of the three women as European "Gandhians" (Friends of Gandhi, pp. 20–23).

This is important because the title and emphasis on "friendship" might otherwise lead to a harmonizing interpretation. The friendship was real, but it was not necessarily based on religious or ideological agreement.

The tension between disagreement and mutual respect is one of the edition's strongest historical points.

The Postcolonial Challenge

From the perspective of later historical research, this is where the edition's interpretive framework can most clearly be questioned.

The editors document the missionaries' disagreements with Gandhi and their original Christian views of India. But they do not systematically develop the colonial and racial background of these ideas. Later research has taken up this analysis.

Vallgårda argues that Færing and Petersen initially shared a number of contemporary European ideas about Indians and Indian religion as religiously, morally and culturally inferior. At the same time, they underwent real and significant change, gradually incorporating elements of Indian culture and religion and beginning to criticize parts of the colonial order.

This perspective does not diminish the value of Friends of Gandhi. On the contrary, it shows how the book can be used even more productively than its own introduction may suggest: as extensive primary material for studying how colonial identities were negotiated and changed.

The Significance of the Editorial Work

The most original feature of the edition is therefore not simply that it reprints Gandhi letters already found in the Collected Works. Its scholarly value lies in combining those letters with material from Danish archives and in reconstructing the biographies of the three Danish women and their networks.

The references identify when a letter comes from the Collected Works, when a document comes from the Gandhi archives, and when material was found in Danish collections. In the Hørup section, for example, a letter from the Danish National Archives is identified as having been preserved through Terp's intervention.

This archival work matters because it changes the research object. Gandhi no longer appears only as an Indian political leader with international followers; his relationships become embedded in concrete Danish institutional, religious and political networks.

Conclusion

Friends of Gandhi should be regarded as an important source edition and pioneering work in the study of Danish-Indian and Nordic-Indian connections. Its greatest achievement is to make scattered and partly difficult-to-access material available in a unified form.

The edition has three clear limitations. First, the material is strongly asymmetrical, with Esther Færing's correspondence dominating. Second, the voices of Indian actors themselves are largely absent. Third, the theoretical discussion of mission, race, colonialism and religious cultural exchange is less developed than in later research.

These limitations should not be confused with defects in the source collection itself. Its extensive documentation has made it possible for later researchers to ask new questions. Vallgårda's research is a good example: Friends of Gandhi is used directly in her documentation of Esther Færing and Anne Marie Petersen and contributes to a more nuanced understanding of their religious and cultural development.

The most precise characterization of Friends of Gandhi is therefore not that it provides the final interpretation of Gandhi and the three Danish women. Its significance lies instead in establishing a research repository from which such an interpretation can be developed.

The book also documents something larger: Gandhi's international history was not created only through his famous encounters with politicians and intellectuals. It was also created through letters, friendships, missionaries, journalists, teachers and activists. In this context the connection with

Esther Færing, Anne Marie Petersen and Ellen Hørup is not a marginal story, but a concrete example of how Gandhian ideas were translated, transformed and transmitted in a European context.

This is the lasting scholarly value of Friends of Gandhi.

Twenty Years after Friends of Gandhi: From Archival Discovery to Research Infrastructure, 2006–2026

Twenty years after publication, Friends of Gandhi can be assessed differently from its contemporary reception. In 2006 it was primarily a source edition collecting and publishing correspondence between Mahatma Gandhi and three Danish women: Esther Færing (Menon), Anne Marie Petersen and Ellen Hørup. In 2026 it appears increasingly as a piece of research infrastructure.

The decisive question is therefore not simply how many times the book has been cited, but what became possible after its publication. The answer is substantial. Friends of Gandhi helped move the three women from being scattered figures in missionary, women's and peace history to documented actors in the history of Gandhi's international networks, Danish-Indian relations and the European reception of nonviolence.

2006: From Scattered Archives to a Unified Source Base. The edition's most important methodological innovation was the linking of Indian and Danish sources. Reddy writes that Holger Terp undertook extensive work on Gandhi's correspondents and Nordic interest in Gandhi and India, finding valuable material in Danish libraries and archives, including Gandhi letters not available in India. The material was then combined with biographical information and photographs and made available on the Danish Peace Academy website.

The project in fact consisted of two parallel editions. The printed Indian edition is registered at 288 pages and ISBN 81-87458-12-7, while the Peace Academy's English online edition has ISBN 87-91085-02-0 and 426 numbered pages.

Esther Færing: From Gandhi Disciple to Historical Case. Karen Vallgårda's research is particularly significant. Her article Omvendte omvendelser examines the two Danish missionaries' encounter with India as a process of religious and cultural transformation. Færing can therefore no longer simply be described as “Gandhi's friend” or as a Danish missionary fascinated by India; her history becomes an example of cultural negotiation, religious transformation and ambivalent decolonization.

Anne Marie Petersen: From Missionary to Transnational Actor. Friends of Gandhi provided a unified and accessible documentation of Petersen's

personal relationship with Gandhi. More recent research increasingly presents her as a transnational actor in education and liberation rather than simply as a Danish missionary.

Ellen Hørup: The Clearest Documented Afterlife. Lone Rünitz's biography Ellen Hørup: Kvinden, verdensborgeren og rebellen from 2019 explicitly acknowledges Holger Terp's work. Rünitz writes that Terp secured Hørup's extensive private archive for posterity, sorted it, prepared lists of letters and created a personal bibliography that she used extensively. She also notes the 2006 publication of Friends of Gandhi by Terp and E. S. Reddy.

The research-historical chain can therefore be described as: Terp's archival work → Friends of Gandhi → Rünitz's biography → newer digital presentation of Hørup.

An important methodological point is that the archive was more important than the book alone. The second contribution was the source network established around the book and the Peace Academy's web archive. Friends of Gandhi is therefore best understood as the centre of a larger digital source project rather than as an isolated book.

2019: Gandhi Research Connected with Social-Movement History. Work by Tord Björk and Marko Ulvila examines not only Gandhi as an intellectual-historical figure but how Indian nonviolence was translated into Nordic peace, solidarity, environmental and social movements. The framework thus becomes: India → Gandhi → Danish networks → Nordic solidarity → European social movements.

2026: Hørup Enters European Digital Heritage. Europeana published on 30 January 2026 a digital story entitled Ellen Hørup – Bringing ahimsa to new popular movements in Europe. It presents Hørup as journalist, feminist and pacifist and as an important transmitter of Gandhi's ideas in Europe. Friends of Gandhi is included among the recommended further readings.

At the same time, the reach of the work should not be overstated. There is no basis here for claiming that Friends of Gandhi has become an internationally central Gandhi monograph or a standard work widely cited in general Gandhi research. Its afterlife is more specialized and network-based.

The historiographical movement from 2006 to 2026 can be described in four stages: 2006 – documentation; 2008–2015 – contextualization; 2019 – biographical synthesis; 2024–2026 – public digital heritage.

The main conclusion after twenty years is that the book became important not primarily as a new interpretation of Gandhi, but as a documentation

platform that made it possible to write new histories of the people and networks in which Gandhi participated.

The lasting contributions are source expansion, personalization of transnational history through three women with different religious, political and social positions, and digital accessibility.

From the perspective of 2026, the history of Friends of Gandhi is therefore not only the history of a book published in 2006. It is the history of how archival work can create new research objects. Esther Færing became a study in religious and cultural transformation; Anne Marie Petersen a case in the encounter between mission, Grundtvigianism, Indian nationalism and education; and Ellen Hørup was rediscovered as journalist, feminist, pacifist and transnational India activist.

The publication was not the endpoint of the research. It became one of its prerequisites.

A particular observation concerns Rünitz's acknowledgement in 2019. She states not merely that she used Friends of Gandhi, but that Terp secured Hørup's archive, sorted it, prepared lists of letters and compiled the bibliography she used extensively, and that this work was a prerequisite for her book. This places the archival work in a broader research chain rather than treating it simply as editorial assistance.

Bibliographic Reference

Reddy, E. S. & Holger Terp (eds.): Friends of Gandhi: Correspondence of Mahatma Gandhi with Esther Færing (Menon), Anne Marie Petersen and Ellen Hørup. New Delhi: National Gandhi Museum; Berlin: Gandhi-Informations-Zentrum; Copenhagen: The Danish Peace Academy, 2006.

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32. Gandhi and Nordic Countries

Holger Terp and E. S. Reddy (eds./collectors), 2006–. Gandhi and Nordic Countries. The Danish Peace Academy, Copenhagen. Digital research and documentation collection.

Gandhi and Nordic Countries is a digital research and documentation project on Mahatma Gandhi's connections with Denmark and the other Nordic countries. The project was established in connection with cooperation between the Indian Gandhi researcher E. S. Reddy and the Danish peace historian Holger Terp. Its principal purpose is to collect, register and make available source material on Gandhi's Nordic connections.

The collection represents a transnational research perspective. Gandhi is not examined only as an Indian political and religious thinker, but also through the Nordic people, organizations and environments that took an interest in his work, philosophy and the Indian independence movement.

The project's significance lies especially in documenting an area that has traditionally had relatively limited space in Gandhi research: Gandhi's reception and connections in the Nordic countries.

Sources and Documentation

A substantial part of the project consists of digitized and transcribed historical documents together with bibliographical and biographical information. The material includes correspondence, newspaper and journal texts, bibliographies, biographical information and documentation on Nordic people interested in Gandhi.

The collection places particular emphasis on Denmark but also includes material concerning Norway and Sweden. It thereby makes it possible to investigate both individual connections and broader Nordic networks around Gandhi.

A central aspect is the combination of Indian and Nordic sources. E. S. Reddy's extensive Gandhi research and work with Gandhi's archives were combined with Holger Terp's investigations in Danish libraries, archives and collections. A connection was thereby established between international Gandhi research and Danish peace and cultural history.

Holger Terp's Research Contribution

Holger Terp's work with Gandhi and Nordic Countries should be seen in connection with his broader research into peace movements, pacifism, internationalism and Nordic peace history.

An important result is the identification and documentation of people who functioned as links between Gandhi and the Nordic countries, including Ellen Hørup, Anne Marie Petersen and Esther Færing.

Terp's research has thereby contributed to shifting attention from Gandhi as an isolated historical person to the international networks in which his ideas were received, interpreted and transmitted.

This perspective is methodologically important. Gandhi's international significance cannot be investigated solely through his own writings and political activities. It must also be investigated through the people who read him, corresponded with him, met him or worked to disseminate his ideas in other countries.

Ellen Hørup

Ellen Hørup occupies a special position in the material. She was a journalist, internationalist, feminist and peace activist and worked actively to disseminate information about Gandhi and the Indian independence movement in Danish and international public life.

The documentation makes it possible to investigate how Gandhi was interpreted in a European pacifist and anti-colonial environment. It also shows that Gandhi's Nordic connections were not only religious or personal but were linked to contemporary international peace and women's movements.

Anne Marie Petersen and Esther Færing

The documentation on Anne Marie Petersen and Esther Færing makes it possible to study the connection between Gandhi, Christian missionary environments and Danish-Indian cultural relations.

Their histories are especially interesting because they occupy the tension between mission, colonialism, Christianity, Indian nationalism and Gandhi's criticism of British colonial rule.

The material thus makes it possible to investigate how European women working in India gradually developed more complex understandings of Indian culture, religion and national self-determination.

Research Significance

Gandhi and Nordic Countries can be placed within several research fields: Gandhi studies; modern Indian history; Nordic history; transnational history; peace and pacifism history; colonialism and anti-colonialism; missionary history; women's and gender history; internationalism; intellectual history; and digital history and digital source collections.

The project's particular value is its source-oriented and transnational character. It does not merely provide a biographical account of Gandhi, but

documents the concrete connections between Gandhi and people in the Nordic countries.

Historiographical Perspective

The project should be viewed as part of international research into Gandhi's global reception. It contributes to nuancing the idea that Gandhi was primarily an Indian or British-Indian historical phenomenon.

Gandhi's ideas about nonviolence, civil disobedience, peace, religious tolerance and colonialism were discussed outside India during his own lifetime. Nordic sources show how his ideas were received and reshaped in a European context.

The project therefore also has value for the study of the international circulation of ideas. Nordic material can be examined as an example of how political and ethical ideas move between different cultural and historical contexts.

Methodological Assessment

As a research project, Gandhi and Nordic Countries is primarily a documentation and source collection. Its strength therefore lies not mainly in presenting one comprehensive interpretation of Gandhi but in making extensive and previously scattered material available.

It is nevertheless necessary to use the material critically. The people documented in the collection were not necessarily representative of the Nordic population as a whole. They were people with a particular interest in India, Gandhi, peace work, mission or international politics.

The material should therefore be used to investigate Gandhi's Nordic networks and reception rather than as evidence of a general Nordic attitude toward Gandhi.

Overall Assessment

Gandhi and Nordic Countries has scholarly significance as an early digital, transnational documentation project on Gandhi's connections with the Nordic countries.

Its principal contribution is to identify and collect sources, people and bibliographical information that make it possible to investigate Gandhi's Nordic reception on a more empirical basis.

Holger Terp's contribution is especially significant in relation to Danish and Nordic documentation and the placement of Gandhi within a broader history of peace movements, internationalism and anti-colonialism. Cooperation with E. S. Reddy simultaneously connects the Nordic material to international Gandhi research.

As a research-bibliographical resource, Gandhi and Nordic Countries should therefore be classified as a digital primary-source and research collection rather than simply as an ordinary publication.

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33. Jean Jaurès – Socialist, Antimilitarist and Peace Campaigner

Jean Jaurès (1859–1914) was a French socialist, politician, historian, philosopher and journalist. He was one of the European labour movement's most prominent advocates of social justice, internationalism and opposition to militarism and war. On 31 July 1914 he was murdered in Paris, only days before the First World War broke out among Europe's great powers.

The Danish Peace Academy's lexicon characterizes Jaurès as a French socialist, anti-imperialist and antimilitarist and records his participation in the Second Socialist International's congress in Copenhagen in 1910.

The Socialist Jaurès

Jaurès was born in Castres in 1859. He was educated at the École normale supérieure and began as a teacher and philosopher, but gradually entered politics. He was elected to the French parliament and developed into one of French socialism's most important speakers.

His political thought connected socialism with republican democracy, social reform and international solidarity. He played a prominent role during the Dreyfus Affair and defended Alfred Dreyfus against the nationalist and antisemitic campaign. In 1904 he founded the newspaper L'Humanité, and in 1905 he was among the central forces behind the unification of French socialist organizations in the SFIO.

For Jaurès, socialism was not only a national political project. Workers' interests were fundamentally international, in his view. European workers therefore had a common interest in preventing national conflicts from developing into war.

Antimilitarism

Jaurès's antimilitarism became an increasingly important part of his political work. He did not criticize the existence of every form of national defence, but the militarism which, in his view, made the army a political instrument and turned armament into a self-reinforcing element of relations between states.

In L'Armée nouvelle, published in 1911, he developed a proposal for a democratically organized army based on the population rather than a privileged military caste. He thereby sought to reconcile national defence with democracy and social equality.

His programme included criticism of the arms race, support for simultaneous international disarmament and opposition to war as a means of resolving international conflicts.

Jaurès's antimilitarism should therefore not be understood as a simple demand for unilateral disarmament, but as part of a broader political project in which democracy, socialism and international law were to limit the risk of war.

Imperialism and Colonialism

Jaurès's criticism of militarism was closely connected with his criticism of imperialism. He saw a connection between the European great powers' economic and colonial interests, their rivalry and the risk of war.

He criticized, among other things, French policy in Morocco and warned that competition among the European powers for colonies could contribute to international conflicts. At the same time, his attitude to colonialism developed historically and was more complex than a contemporary label such as “anti-imperialist” might suggest.

His opposition to colonial expansion became part of the nationalist criticism directed against him. Opponents accused him, among other things, of weakening France and of being too accommodating toward Germany.

The International Labour Movement

Jaurès was active in the Second Socialist International and worked for the labour movement to act collectively against militarism. His participation in the International's congress in Copenhagen in 1910 places him directly in the international socialist peace movement.

For Jaurès, internationalism was not merely an ideal. It was to be translated into practical political cooperation. If socialists in France, Germany, Britain and other countries could act together, he believed the labour movement could become an important force against war.

This idea became especially important during the Balkan Wars and the European crisis of 1912–1914. Jaurès was among the leading advocates of making the struggle against the danger of war a central task of the International.

Against the Three-Year Military Service

French rearmament became a central political issue for Jaurès. In 1913 he opposed the law extending compulsory military service from two years to three. He believed the law was both provocative and militarily questionable and feared that it would contribute to the European arms race.

His opposition made him still more unpopular among French nationalists. At the same time he was criticized by parts of the left because his proposal for a democratic popular defence did not correspond with all syndicalist and antimilitarist positions.

34. Emil Flusser – War as Disease

The Doctor Who Wanted to Diagnose War

Emil Flusser (1888–1942) was a physician, paediatrician, military doctor, pacifist and anti-nationalist. He is relatively little known today, but his book Krieg als Krankheit (War as Disease), published in 1932, represents an early attempt to apply medical and psychological thinking to the causes and prevention of war.

Flusser belonged to the generation of European physicians whose experience of the mass destruction of the First World War led to an expanded understanding of the physician's social responsibility. For Flusser, it was not sufficient to treat the victims of war. Medical science should also concern itself with the processes that made war possible.

His principal work was published with a foreword by Albert Einstein.[1] After the Nazis came to power in Germany in 1933, the book was caught up in the book burnings, and Flusser himself later became a victim of the Holocaust.[2]

Biography

Flusser was born in 1888 and trained as a physician. He specialised in childhood diseases and practised as a doctor in České Budějovice, then Budweis in Bohemia.[3]

During the First World War he served as a military doctor. His war experiences had a significant influence on his later pacifist and anti-nationalist positions. The Peace Academy's biographical entry states that Flusser became a pacifist and anti-nationalist as a result of his wartime experiences.[4] The formulation should, however, be used with some source-critical caution. That the war had a decisive importance for his political and ethical development is well documented, but the precise causal connection between his experiences and his later views requires documentation from his own letters, memoirs or other contemporary sources.

Flusser was Jewish and, together with his family, became a victim of Nazi persecution. He died in 1942.[5]

Krieg als Krankheit

Flusser's most important work appeared in 1932 under the title Krieg als Krankheit. The book is at once a medically inspired, psychological, philosophical and pacifist work.

Its starting point is that war should not be understood as a normal or inevitable condition of human societies. Flusser instead attempts to regard war as a pathological social condition.

He therefore applies medical terminology to a social phenomenon. The discussion concerns disease, causes, symptoms, awareness of illness, treatment and prophylaxis.[6]

The book's chapters deal, among other things, with the causes of disease, herd behaviour, collective affect, neurosis, medical competence and the prevention of war.[7]

The central question thus becomes not only how war is waged, but why human beings and societies become capable of accepting war at all.

War as a Psychological Epidemic

A central element in Flusser's thought is the idea of war as a psychological epidemic. Peter van den Dungen has characterised Flusser as an early precursor of the medical peace movement and specifically emphasises his understanding of war as the result of a collective psychological process.[8]

Flusser attempts to explain how people can lose their individual judgement in a collective situation. Nationalism, obedience to authority, group identification and emotional influence acquire importance in his account of the process by which war can be accepted as legitimate or necessary.

This line of thought can today be read as an early precursor of questions later treated within social psychology, political psychology, and research into propaganda and conflict.

Flusser naturally did not have access to the later empirical research in these fields. His analysis is therefore primarily of historical interest as an early attempt to formulate an interdisciplinary perspective.

The Doctor as Peace Worker

Flusser expanded the traditional responsibility of the physician.

If the physician's task is to protect human life and health, then, in his view, physicians must also concern themselves with the prevention of war. War creates not only wounded soldiers and civilian victims; the collective acceptance of war itself must be examined as a health and social problem.

This argument later became an important element of the international medical peace movement.

Van den Dungen therefore calls Flusser a "forgotten precursor of the medical peace movement".[8]

Flusser's significance thus lies not only in his pacifism. It also lies in his attempt to make the prevention of war part of the physician's ethical responsibility.

Einstein and Flusser

The fact that Albert Einstein wrote the foreword to Krieg als Krankheit is an important document of the book's contemporary intellectual position.[1]

Einstein himself was strongly engaged with the prevention of war and, during the interwar period, worked with various international peace initiatives.

Einstein's foreword should not, however, be regarded as scientific evidence for Flusser's theory. It primarily documents that the project was taken seriously by an internationally known scientist and pacifist.

Scientific Assessment

By present-day philosophy-of-science criteria, Krieg als Krankheit cannot be regarded as an empirically verified medical theory of war.

Flusser does not establish operational diagnostic criteria that can be used to determine when a war constitutes a "disease". Nor does he empirically test his theory in the manner expected of a modern scientific hypothesis.

The concept of "war as disease" therefore functions on several levels: as a medical metaphor, as a psychological explanatory model, as an ethical argument, and as a programme for prevention.

It is especially the last aspect that makes Flusser interesting. His question is not merely what war is, but how it can be prevented.

His model therefore cannot simply be described as modern medical science. It does, however, represent an early attempt to connect medicine, psychology, ethics and peace policy.

Source Criticism of the Peace Academy's Presentation

The Peace Academy's entry on Emil Flusser is brief and has the character of an encyclopaedia entry.[4] It cannot in itself replace a scholarly biography or historical monograph.

Its strength is that it points towards central sources and makes Flusser's own work accessible. It is particularly important that Krieg als Krankheit can be read as a primary source.

A scholarly presentation should, however, distinguish between: what Flusser himself writes; what contemporary reviewers wrote about him; what later historians have concluded; and what constitutes a contemporary interpretation.

This distinction is particularly important regarding the claim that his war experiences directly led to his pacifism and anti-nationalism.

The Book Burning and Flusser's Fate

Krieg als Krankheit was published the year before the Nazis came to power. In 1933, books by Jewish, pacifist and politically undesirable authors were publicly burned in Germany. Flusser's book was among those affected by this campaign.[2]

The connection between the book's content and its later fate is historically significant. Flusser had written against militarism and nationalism at a time when political developments in Germany were moving in the opposite direction.

His later fate must not, however, be used as evidence of the scientific validity of his theory. It demonstrates above all the historical context in which the work was written and later suppressed.

Flusser as a Forerunner

Flusser is interesting because he occupies a transitional field between several disciplines.

He was a physician, but wrote about society.

He was a pacifist, but attempted to justify pacifism through medical thinking.

He wrote about psychology without being a modern social psychologist.

And he described war as disease without possessing a theory of disease in the modern clinical sense.

It is precisely this intermediate position that makes him interesting in the history of science.

His work can be seen as an early formulation of a question that remains relevant:

What psychological and social processes make it possible for human beings and societies to accept organised violence?

Modern research has developed far more precise methods for investigating this question. Flusser did not have these methods, but he identified the problem at an early stage.

Conclusion

Emil Flusser was not the originator of a modern scientifically documented theory of war as disease. Krieg als Krankheit should rather be understood as an early interdisciplinary attempt to analyse war through medical and psychological concepts.

His particular significance lies in connecting three questions:

What does war do to human beings?

Why do human beings accept war?

Can war be prevented in the same way that disease is prevented?

Flusser answered these questions from the medical, psychological and pacifist intellectual world of the interwar period. His answers cannot simply be transferred to contemporary science, but his formulation of the problem remains relevant.

In this sense, Flusser can reasonably be regarded as an early precursor of the medical peace movement and of later attempts to understand war as a health, psychological and social problem.

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[3] van den Dungen, Peter: "Dr. Emil Flusser: Forgotten Precursor of the Medical Peace Movement", Medicine, Conflict and Survival, vol. 12, no. 2, 1996, pp. 90–106.

[4] Peace Academy: "Flusser, Emil", Peace and Security Policy Lexicon.

[5] van den Dungen, Peter, 1996.

[6] Flusser, Emil, Krieg als Krankheit, 1932.

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35. Carl von Ossietzky

Carl von Ossietzky (1889–1938) was a German pacifist, republican, journalist and editor. He was born and grew up in Hamburg and married Maud Lichfield-Woods. The couple had a daughter, Rosalinde von Ossietzky-Palm.

Ossietzky began to engage against militarism even before the First World War. In 1913 he published his first anti-militarist articles in Das freie Volk. During the First World War he performed military service. After the war he developed into an engaged pacifist and democrat and worked for the German peace movement. In 1919 he became secretary of the Deutsche Friedensgesellschaft in Berlin and edited the organisation's publications.

At the beginning of the 1920s Ossietzky participated in various organisations and initiatives within the peace and human-rights movements. Among other things, he was associated with the Deutsche Liga für Menschenrechte. At the same time he worked as a journalist and editor, including at Berliner Volkszeitung, and took part in republican political work. In 1924 he helped found the German Republican Party. His political engagement included defending the Weimar Republic, democratic rights, opposition to antisemitism and support for Franco-German reconciliation.

From 1926 Ossietzky worked at the political and cultural journal Die Weltbühne, founded by Siegfried Jacobsohn. After Jacobsohn's death in December 1926, Ossietzky became editor. The journal was an important platform for criticism of militarism, rearmament and the anti-democratic forces in Germany. Ossietzky continued publishing information about secret German rearmament, including the Reichswehr's attempts to circumvent the provisions of the Treaty of Versailles.

The Weltbühne Trial

Ossietzky was prosecuted several times because of his journalistic activities. In the so-called Weltbühne trial, as responsible editor he was held responsible for the publication of an article by Walter Kreiser about secret and treaty-breaking German rearmament. In 1931 he was sentenced to 18 months in prison for treason. After about eight months in prison, he was released in December 1932 as a result of a Christmas amnesty.

It is important to clarify that Ossietzky himself had not written the article that triggered the later conviction. He was convicted as the responsible editor for its publication.

The case became an international symbol of the conflict between freedom of the press, state secrecy and the democratic public's right to control military authorities.

The Nazi Seizure of Power and the Concentration Camps

After the Nazis came to power in January 1933, Ossietzky chose to remain in Germany. He was arrested on 28 February 1933, the day after the Reichstag fire, and was first imprisoned and later transferred to the concentration camps Sonnenburg and Esterwegen-Papenburg.

In the concentration camps he was subjected to abuse and hard labour, and his health was seriously damaged. He developed tuberculosis. Deutsche Biographie states that his health was destroyed during his imprisonment in the concentration camps and that he later died as a result of the consequences of the treatment to which he had been subjected.

The older version of the Peace Academy's entry claims that, in Esterwegen, Ossietzky was injected with pulmonary tuberculosis on the orders of Hermann Göring. This highly specific claim should not be repeated without a precise primary source. It can be documented that Ossietzky was seriously mistreated and contracted tuberculosis, but the formulation concerning an ordered infection requires separate documentation.

The Campaign for the Nobel Peace Prize

After his arrest, Ossietzky's case developed into an international campaign. His friends and political colleagues in German exile worked for his release and to make the Nazi persecution of him known outside Germany.

An important part of this international mobilisation was the campaign for Ossietzky to receive the Nobel Peace Prize. His candidacy was first proposed in 1934. The campaign was promoted, among others, by Berthold Jacob, Hellmut von Gerlach and other German émigrés, as well as by a broad circle of international intellectuals and peace activists. The Nobel Foundation's material describes the campaign as an international effort to secure Ossietzky's release and at the same time bring his case to international attention.

In this context the Freundeskreis Carl von Ossietzky played an important role. The network was organised among German émigrés and international supporters and worked, among other things, to document Ossietzky's situation and create international awareness of the Nazi concentration camps. The scholarly study by Frithjof Trapp, Knut Bergmann and Bettina Herre deals specifically with the work of the Freundeskreis in the period 1933–1936.

Among the people associated with the Freundeskreis or the broader international campaign were Hellmut von Gerlach, Kurt Grossmann, Berthold Jacob, Konrad Reisner, Otto Lehmann-Russbüldt, Rudolf Olden, Ernst Toller, Hilde Walter and Milly Zirker. There were also contacts with a broader circle of international supporters, including Albert Einstein and Willy Brandt. It is appropriate to distinguish between the actual working group of the Freundeskreis and the larger circle of people, organisations and intellectuals who supported the campaign. The Peace Academy's separate entry on the Freundeskreis documents precisely this broad circle of people and refers to archival material and the central research on the network.

The campaign was supported by, among others, the International Peace Bureau, the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, and Quakers. Ossietzky's candidacy thus became part of a broader international peace and human-rights campaign.

The Nobel Peace Prize

In 1936 the Norwegian Nobel Committee decided to award Carl von Ossietzky the Nobel Peace Prize for 1935. The prize was therefore awarded retrospectively in 1936. The Nobel Foundation gives the prize year as 1935 and the year of receipt as 1936. The citation highlighted Ossietzky's defence of freedom of thought and freedom of expression and his contribution to the cause of peace.

Ossietzky could not travel to Norway to receive the prize himself. The Nazi authorities denied him a passport and thereby prevented him from attending the award ceremony. Hitler reacted strongly to the award, and the German authorities subsequently prohibited Germans from accepting Nobel Prizes.

The award of the Nobel Peace Prize made Ossietzky an international symbol of resistance to Nazism. At the same time, the prize was an international public condemnation of the German dictatorship's treatment of political opponents and journalists.

The Final Years

After the Nobel Prize was awarded, Ossietzky was seriously ill with tuberculosis. He was transferred from the concentration camp to a hospital and later to a private sanatorium in Berlin, where he remained under police surveillance. He was not allowed to leave Germany.

Carl von Ossietzky died in Berlin on 4 May 1938, aged 48. His death followed several years of imprisonment, mistreatment and serious illness.

Historical Significance

Carl von Ossietzky occupies a central place in the history of the German peace movement, the Weimar Republic and democratic resistance to Nazism. His journalistic work made secret German rearmament a subject of public debate, while his work for peace, democracy and international understanding placed him in the international pacifist movement.

His imprisonment under the Weimar Republic and later internment in Nazi concentration camps also illustrate the changed political conditions from parliamentary democracy to dictatorship. The Nobel Prize of 1935/1936 made him an international symbol of freedom of thought and expression and of resistance to political repression.

Archives, Sources and Literature

Archives and Primary Sources

International Institute of Social History, Amsterdam: material concerning Freundeskreis Carl von Ossietzky.

Carl von Ossietzky's papers and writings.

Nobel Prize Nomination Archive: nominations of Carl von Ossietzky for the Nobel Peace Prize.

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The Peace Academy's Existing Entry

The earlier Peace Academy article contains an extensive bibliographical basis, including Grossmann, Jacob, Leche Löfgren, Singer, Rieber-Mohn and Ossietzky's own writings. It is therefore a valuable starting point, but should be supplemented with continuous source references, especially for controversial or highly specific information.

36. Rosalinde von Ossietzky-Palm – Pacifist, Refugee and Custodian of Carl von Ossietzky's Legacy

Rosalinde von Ossietzky-Palm (21 December 1919 – 7 February 2000) was a German-Swedish pacifist, social worker and an important mediator of the historical legacy of her father, the journalist and peace activist Carl von Ossietzky. She was born in Berlin and died in Stockholm. She was the only child of Carl and Maud von Ossietzky.

Rosalinde's life was shaped from childhood by the political conflicts that also shaped her father's life. Carl von Ossietzky was a journalist, editor and pacifist and became one of the Weimar Republic's most prominent critics of German militarism and Nazism. After the Nazis came to power in 1933, he was arrested and interned. He was held, among other places, in the concentration camps Sonnenburg and Esterwegen. In 1936 he received, in absentia, the Nobel Peace Prize for 1935. He died in Berlin in 1938 after the serious physical consequences of imprisonment and mistreatment.

Flight from Nazi Germany

As a young woman, Rosalinde von Ossietzky-Palm was directly affected by the Nazi persecution of the family. The Peace Academy's biographical entry states that she fled in 1933, first to England and later to Sweden. There she was helped by people in the international pacifist and anti-fascist milieu, among them Bertrand Russell, Aldous Huxley and Ernst Toller. In Sweden she came into contact, among others, with the Viggbyholm School and Kurt Singer.

She was therefore not merely a family member of a persecuted political personality. She herself became part of the international network working to assist political refugees and make Carl von Ossietzky's case known outside Germany.

According to material from Carl von Ossietzky University Oldenburg, she continued, at the age of 17, her engagement for her father's release and for his nomination for the Nobel Peace Prize. She emigrated to Sweden in 1936, where she among other things began at a theatre school. Later she trained in social work in Stockholm.

The Campaign for the Nobel Peace Prize

A central chapter in Rosalinde von Ossietzky-Palm's life was the international campaign for her father to receive the Nobel Peace Prize.

The campaign was rooted in the international perception of Carl von Ossietzky as a symbol of resistance to Nazism and to German rearmament.

The international campaign contributed to his being awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for 1935, announced and presented in 1936 while he remained under Nazi control.

Rosalinde took an active part in this campaign. Her own memoir article, "Så minns jag kampanjen för fredspriset", is therefore an important primary or memory-historical source for understanding how the campaign was experienced by the family. The Peace Academy's entry refers to this text together with contemporary and later accounts by Kurt Singer.

Her recollection must naturally be read critically. As the daughter of a persecuted person, she had a strong personal commitment, and her account is therefore not a neutral description of events. This is precisely what also makes it historically interesting: it documents a personal perspective on an international political campaign.

Sweden and Her Later Life

After emigrating to Sweden, Rosalinde von Ossietzky-Palm remained there for the rest of her life. She later trained in social work and worked as a social worker.

Her life after 1945 cannot be understood solely as a continuation of her father's history. She developed her own life and professional identity while maintaining her connection with her father's political and historical legacy.

This is also evident in her later work with Carl von Ossietzky's surviving material. She had, among other things, contact with the journalist Axel Eggebrecht concerning a planned film project about her father. In an archivally registered letter from Stockholm dated 1 November 1960, she offered Eggebrecht material about Carl von Ossietzky.

The correspondence shows that Rosalinde was not merely an object of the historiography concerning her father. She herself was active in collecting, mediating and preserving sources for this history.

Preserving Carl von Ossietzky's Legacy

From the 1970s, Rosalinde von Ossietzky-Palm acquired increasing importance for the institutionalisation of her father's historical legacy.

Contact with Carl von Ossietzky University Oldenburg was established in the 1970s through Ossietzky researcher and biographer Elke Suhr. In 1975 Rosalinde first visited the university in connection with discussions about the university's name. She subsequently became involved in the university's relationship with Carl von Ossietzky.

In 1981 she transferred her father's surviving archive to the university. This transfer formed the basis for the Ossietzky Archive established at the university library and for the later annotated collected edition of Carl von Ossietzky's writings.

This is an important part of Rosalinde von Ossietzky-Palm's historical significance. She was not only the daughter of a famous pacifist; she also became an archive creator and cultural-historical mediator who helped ensure that her father's documents were preserved for research.

In 1991 she was appointed the first honorary citizen of Carl von Ossietzky University Oldenburg. The university justified the honour by referring to her work for her father's legacy and her connection with the university.

Rosalinde von Ossietzky-Palm as a Historical Source

Rosalinde von Ossietzky-Palm's significance can therefore be assessed on three different levels.

First, she was a contemporary witness. As a child and young woman she experienced the Nazi persecution of her father and the family's flight.

Second, she was a historical actor. She participated in the campaigns for her father's release and for his nomination for the Nobel Peace Prize.

Third, she became a creator of memory and archives. Through her own recollections, her correspondence and, not least, the transfer of Carl von Ossietzky's surviving material, she actively contributed to the later writing of history.

This means that her statements should not be treated as an objective, complete reconstruction of events. They should be compared with contemporary letters, newspaper articles, archival material and existing historical research. At the same time, her personal perspective has a particular source value because she was close to the events and later herself helped preserve the documentation.

The Peace Academy's Source Basis

The Peace Academy's original entry on Rosalinde von Ossietzky-Palm is short and concentrated. It gives her years of birth and death, her role as a German pacifist, her flight in 1933, the assistance she received from international pacifists, her stay in Sweden and her participation in the campaign for her father's Nobel Peace Prize. The Ossietzky Archive at Carl von Ossietzky University Oldenburg is cited as an archive.

The bibliographical references include, among other things, Rosalinde von Ossietzky-Palm's own account of the Nobel Prize campaign, Ester Gretor's

article on émigré children and Kurt Singer's material on Carl von Ossietzky and Rosalinde.

The entry therefore functions best as an introductory entry for further historical research. Its concise form means that the individual pieces of information are not supplied with individual footnotes, but several of the central facts can be checked through independent institutional sources.

The German Deutsche Biographie records Rosalinde von Ossietzky-Palm with the date of birth 21 December 1919 and date of death 7 February 2000, as well as Berlin as her place of birth and Stockholm as her place of death.

The Name Rosalinde/Rosalinda

There is a minor problem concerning the name. The Peace Academy uses the form Rosalinde von Ossietzky-Palm, while some German records and older sources use Rosalinda von Ossietzky-Palm. Deutsche Biographie's separate authority entry records Rosalinde as the main form, with Rosalinda as a variant.

It is therefore academically sound to use Rosalinde von Ossietzky-Palm as the main name while remaining aware of the variant form when searching older archival and literature catalogues.

Historical Significance

Rosalinde von Ossietzky-Palm's historical significance thus lies at the intersection of pacifism, anti-fascism, political exile, Nobel Prize history and memory culture.

She was born into a family in which politics and peace work already played a decisive role. As a young woman she became a refugee from Nazism. She participated in the work for her father's cause and later became an important person in preserving his historical legacy.

Her transfer of Carl von Ossietzky's surviving material to the university in Oldenburg in 1981 is particularly significant. It made it possible to build a research archive and contributed to the later scholarly publication of his collected writings.

Rosalinde von Ossietzky-Palm should therefore not be remembered only as "Carl von Ossietzky's daughter". She was herself a historical actor: refugee, pacifist, social worker, bearer of memory and custodian of an important political archive.

Source-Critical Conclusion

The Peace Academy's article on Rosalinde von Ossietzky-Palm is a short but significant contribution to the history of peace. It has a clear pacifist

and anti-fascist profile, which is natural for an entry in a peace and security policy lexicon. Its information can to a considerable extent be supported by institutional and archival sources.

It should therefore not stand alone as scholarly documentation, but it works well as a source for further research and as a bibliographical gateway to primary material.

The most important extension of the picture is that Rosalinde von Ossietzky-Palm was not merely a witness to Carl von Ossietzky's history. She helped shape the way in which this history could later be documented, archived and communicated. Her own role in preserving her father's archive and in the relationship with Carl von Ossietzky University Oldenburg thus makes her an independent historical actor.

Rosalinde von Ossietzky-Palm (1919–2000) therefore belongs not only in Carl von Ossietzky's biography. She also belongs in the history of European pacifism, political exile and the subsequent memory of resistance to Nazism.

37. Meulen, Jacob ter

The chapter heading is retained in the form used in the Danish source.

38. Olaf Kullmann

A Scholarly and Source-Critical Assessment of the Peace Academy's Biographical Entry

Introduction

The Peace Academy's entry on Olaf Kullmann constitutes an important contribution to the documentation of the history of the Nordic peace movement. Kullmann (1892–1942) was a Norwegian naval officer, lawyer and prominent figure in the pacifist and anti-militarist movement of the interwar period. His activities ranged from international peace work and criticism of the military establishment to the concrete organisation of the peace movement in Norway and contacts with the Danish peace movement.

The entry is particularly valuable because it does not merely present Kullmann as a biographical person, but also documents a number of his writings, lectures, organisational affiliations and connections with contemporary Danish peace work. This makes the entry useful as a gateway to further research into both Kullmann and the transnational peace movement in the interwar period.

The Source Basis

An important strength of the entry is its extensive use of contemporary sources. The bibliography refers, among other things, to Aldrig mere Krig and Pacifisten, and several of Kullmann's own articles are registered.

Among these are Kampen mod Krigen – vil vi bestaa Prøven?, Du skal ikke slaa ihjel and Vi må vitne. The latter, published in 1941, has particular historical significance because, according to the entry, it was Kullmann's last known article.

The inclusion of Kullmann's own texts makes it possible to examine his political and pacifist argumentation directly. This is methodologically important. A historical presentation of a peace activist should, as far as possible, distinguish between the person's own statements and later interpretations of them.

The Peace Academy's bibliography therefore makes it possible to move from the secondary biographical presentation to the primary sources.

Kullmann and the International Peace Movement

Kullmann's engagement must be seen against the background of the international peace movement of the interwar period. He took part in the Anti-War Congress in Amsterdam in 1932, and his subsequent activities show a

development from individual pacifist conviction to organised political anti-militarism.

A central element of his argument was the question of soldiers' responsibility for participating in war. In connection with the Briand-Kellogg Pact, Kullmann argued that soldiers should refuse to participate in wars of aggression. Pacifism was thereby linked to a concrete strategy: war was not merely to be criticised morally, but opposed through individual and collective refusal of military service.

This part of Kullmann's work is important for understanding international anti-militarism in the 1930s, when questions of conscientious objection, military obedience and international law were discussed intensively.

The Kullmann Case

A central point in Kullmann's biography is the Norwegian trial and the subsequent conflict with the military authorities.

The Peace Academy's entry describes how Kullmann was prosecuted in Norway after his participation in the Amsterdam congress. According to the account, he was acquitted of charges of treason and high treason, but subsequently lost his position in the navy.

This episode should be treated with particular source-critical care. There is an important difference between an accusation, the prosecution's arguments, the court's decision and the subsequent administrative or military decision.

It would therefore be of research value to compare the Peace Academy's presentation with the actual court material, military records and contemporary newspaper reports. Such a comparison could clarify both the legal nature of the charges and the background to Kullmann's dismissal.

Later Norwegian biographical research broadly confirms the central account of the conflict between Kullmann and the Norwegian authorities. The Kullmann case should therefore not be regarded merely as a biographical episode, but also as an example of the tension that could arise in the interwar period between military obedience, state authority and conscience-based anti-militarism.

Kullmann and Denmark

A particular strength of the Peace Academy's entry is its documentation of Kullmann's connection with Denmark.

In 1934 he undertook a lecture tour in Denmark. The entry documents, among other things, his activities in Copenhagen and his arguments to workers not to participate in the transport of material for war.

This documentation has a significance extending beyond Kullmann's own biography. It shows how the peace movement functioned across national borders in Scandinavia.

Denmark was at this time home to several active peace organisations and journals. Kullmann's visit and contacts can therefore be examined as an example of the international and Nordic exchange of pacifist ideas.

The Peace Academy's references to Aldrig mere Krig are particularly valuable in this context because they can be used to reconstruct both Kullmann's lecture activities and the Danish peace movement's response to his ideas.

Organisations and Political Activity

Kullmann's engagement was not limited to lectures and articles. He was involved in organising the Norwegian peace movement and was, among other things, involved in founding Fredspartiet and Folkereisning mot Krig.

This development illustrates an important aspect of his political activity: he sought not only to formulate a moral criticism of war, but also to translate pacifism into organised political action.

At the same time, his organisational affiliations must be treated historically and without the political categories of later periods. The different peace organisations did not necessarily share identical views of pacifism, anti-militarism, international law or the relationship between peace work and party politics.

A closer study of Kullmann's own articles and the organisations' programmes could therefore illuminate how his position developed during the 1930s.

The Occupation and the Final Years

Kullmann continued his peace-political engagement after the German occupation of Norway. The Peace Academy's entry mentions his article Vi må vitne from 1941 and his subsequent fate.

Kullmann died in the Sachsenhausen concentration camp in 1942. His death gives his biography a particular place in the history of the Norwegian peace movement during the Second World War.

It is nevertheless important to distinguish between documentation of his death and any interpretations of the causes of his arrest, internment and death. The latter should be documented through German and Norwegian archival sources if one wishes to establish the precise connection between

his political activities and his treatment by the German occupation authorities.

The Peace Academy's Entry as a Research Source

From a scholarly perspective, the Peace Academy's entry should first and foremost be regarded as a secondary, encyclopaedic source with considerable bibliographical value.

The entry cannot by itself replace a critical historical monograph on Kullmann. It can, however, function as an effective research portal to material that may otherwise be difficult to access.

Its particular value lies in the combination of:

biographical information,

chronological information,

references to contemporary publications,

registration of Kullmann's own writings,

documentation of his activities in Denmark,

and the placement of Kullmann within the international peace movement.

It is precisely this combination that makes the entry interesting for research into the history of the peace movement.

Source-Critical Perspectives

Further scholarly treatment should concentrate particularly on four areas.

First, the most important pieces of information should be supplied with precise source references. This would make it easier for researchers to distinguish documented contemporary information from later editorial synthesis.

Second, primary and secondary sources should be distinguished more clearly. Kullmann's own texts should, for example, be marked as primary sources, while later biographies and encyclopaedia entries should be treated as secondary literature.

Third, the Kullmann case should be investigated on the basis of the original legal material. This applies especially to the indictment, judgment and any military decisions.

Fourth, the connection between the Norwegian and Danish peace movements should be investigated more closely. Here the Peace Academy's registration of Kullmann's lectures and articles in Danish peace journals provides a particularly useful starting point.

Conclusion

The Peace Academy's entry on Olaf Kullmann has considerable historical and bibliographical value. It provides a concentrated overview of a Norwegian pacifist whose activities included international peace work, anti-militarism, organisational work and direct contact with the Danish peace movement.

The entry's greatest scholarly strength lies not only in the biographical text, but in the source material to which it leads. In particular, the registration of contemporary Danish peace publications and Kullmann's own articles makes it possible to investigate his activities on the basis of primary sources.

A further scholarly upgrading would consist particularly in linking the individual biographical statements more closely to the documentation, supplementing the work with Norwegian legal and military archives, and making the original articles and contemporary publications directly accessible.

In this way, the entry on Olaf Kullmann can function not merely as a biographical encyclopaedia entry, but as a documentary gateway to the study of Norwegian, Danish and international pacifism and anti-militarism in the interwar period.

39. Personal Bibliography of Ellen Hørup

A Bibliographical Foundation

Holger Terp: Personal Bibliography of the Journalist Ellen Hørup. Danish Peace Academy, 3rd edition, 2019, 55 pages.

Holger Terp's Personal Bibliography of the Journalist Ellen Hørup is a bibliographical work whose significance reaches far beyond the narrow registration of the production of a single journalist. The bibliography is also a document of the Danish press public sphere in the first half of the twentieth century, a tool for the study of women's history, peace history and international history, and an important foundation for the later historical rehabilitation of Ellen Hørup (1871–1953).

The present third edition from 2019 originates in Terp's major thesis Journalisten Ellen Hørup 1871–1953, written at the Royal Danish School of Library Science in 1992. The bibliography was thus originally prepared as an appendix to a larger research project. In the 2019 edition the material was continued and supplemented with new registrations. The final main register reaches no. 603, after which seven additional entries, nos. 604–610, were added.

It is characteristic of the work that it does not register only Ellen Hørup's own books and articles. It also includes interviews with and references to her, obituaries, and the periodicals she herself published or edited. In addition there are subject, periodical and newspaper indexes. In practice, the bibliography therefore moves between personal bibliography, biobibliography and documentation of reception history.

A Work Based on Scattered Source Material

Ellen Hørup's authorship is difficult to document according to traditional literary-bibliographical principles. Her most important activity did not take place solely through books, but in newspapers, chronicles, journals, contributions to debates and minor publications. In addition there was her work as an editor and organiser, as well as the considerable contemporary debate about her views.

Terp's bibliography takes precisely this publishing reality into account. It is arranged chronologically, and within each month periodical contributions are placed first. At the same time, a clear delimitation has been made concerning Hørup's literary translations, which are not included because, according to the bibliography's method, they are already registered in DanBib under the search term "Ellen Hørup Nielsen".

This brief methodological statement is important. It shows that the bibliography does not attempt to create an artificial impression of absolute completeness, but works with a defined corpus and an explicit delimitation.

The central question therefore becomes not whether every text that can in some way be connected with Ellen Hørup has been included, but whether the selected material has been registered systematically and in a way that makes it possible for other researchers to verify and use it.

From Books to Journalistic Production

The first part of the bibliography registers Hørup's monographs. These include Gandhi's India from 1931, Magtens Vej from 1936, Politik og Krig from 1937, Hvorfor faar vi Krig? and Hvordan Freden reddes from 1938, and Der er kun en Krig from 1946. The posthumous publication Undertrykkere og undertrykte from 1971 is also registered.

What is interesting, however, is that the books constitute only a smaller part of the documentation. From 1912 onwards a large number of articles in journals and newspapers are registered. The bibliography thus makes it possible to follow Hørup's development as a journalist over more than four decades.

The earliest entries show, among other things, her interest in women's issues, the colonial question and international affairs. In the 1920s her journalistic activity in Politiken becomes more prominent, and from the end of the decade India and Gandhi occupy an increasingly large place. In the 1930s her field of interest expands further to the League of Nations, disarmament, international politics, fascism, capitalism, the peace cause and social questions.

The bibliography therefore does something that an ordinary biography can only do with difficulty: it makes it possible to reconstruct the intensity, continuity and breadth of Hørup's journalistic activity.

The Chronological Method as a Historical Tool

The chronological structure is not merely a practical cataloguing principle. It also has a historical function.

When Hørup's articles are registered year by year, it becomes possible to see how particular subjects arise, grow and perhaps disappear. This applies, for example, to her engagement with India. The bibliography already records a chronicle about Mahatma Gandhi in 1928 and then follows a long series of articles about Gandhi, India, the Indian national movement and non-violence.

Similarly, her engagement in the peace cause can be followed through a long series of articles, just as her later work with child welfare becomes extensive.

The chronological method therefore enables the researcher to ask questions that would otherwise be difficult to answer: When does a particular theme become central? How long does Hørup work on it? How does her argument move from one article to the next? Which events trigger changes in her journalistic activity?

The bibliography is thus not itself an interpretation of Hørup's development, but it creates a solid empirical basis for such interpretations.

Reception as Part of the Bibliography

One of the work's most interesting methodological decisions is that Terp does not stop with Hørup's own production.

From no. 487 onwards, "Interviews with and references to Ellen Hørup" are registered. These include contemporary articles about her dental examination, interviews about the World Peace Congress, references to her work for India, and articles about her relationship with her father, Viggo Hørup.

This part of the bibliography is important because it documents Hørup as a public person and not only as an author.

Even more interesting is the registration of the obituaries. It makes it possible to investigate how Hørup was assessed immediately after her death in 1953, and thus what her contemporary reputation looked like. In this way the bibliography also becomes material for reception history.

There is a methodological point here. A public intellectual exists not only through her own texts. Her historical significance also depends on how contemporary newspapers, organisations and other writers responded to her. Terp's expansion of the personal bibliography to include this dimension is therefore well founded.

Significance for Press History

The newspaper index is one of the bibliography's most valuable elements. It shows that Hørup's public activity belongs not only to the major Copenhagen newspapers.

The registration includes Politiken, Berlingske Tidende, Ekstra Bladet, BT, Aktuelt and Arbejderbladet, but also a large number of regional newspapers such as Møens Folkeblad, Odder Venstreblad, Holbæk Amts Venstreblad, Kalundborg Dagblad, Horsens Venstreblad, Silkeborg

Venstreblad and many others. Even the reviews of Magtens Vej in 1936 show how widely her journalistic work could reach.

This has an important research consequence. Hørup's history cannot be reduced to her relationship with Politiken. She was part of a broader Danish press and debate system in which her views were discussed and transmitted across political and geographical boundaries.

The bibliography can therefore be used as a starting point for a press-historical investigation of how particular political questions were treated outside the central Copenhagen media.

The Subject Index

The subject index supplements the chronological arrangement and makes the material useful for thematic studies.

Among the registered subjects are disarmament, fascism, refugees, the peace cause, welfare, India, imperialism, international politics, the League of Nations, non-violence, women's issues, capitalism, communism and war.

The registrations under "India", "Peace Cause", "Welfare" and "Women's Issues" are particularly extensive. This also reveals something about Hørup's activities that does not necessarily emerge from her best-known books: her journalism moved between international and social questions.

A good example is child welfare. Here the bibliography refers to a large number of entries from the 1930s and 1940s. The bibliography therefore documents not merely a single political engagement, but a long-term journalistic concern with children, institutions, welfare and social policy.

The subject index is not a modern controlled subject-heading list in the database sense, and there are some repetitions and cross-references, but it functions effectively as a research tool.

Hørup as Editor

Another strength is the registration of the Danish-language periodicals that Ellen Hørup published or edited.

The bibliography documents, among others, Indiens Venner, Mennesket og Magten, Forældrebladet and Tværtimod. The latter is registered as published in 1951 with Ellen Hørup and Alvar Westerberg as editors.

This expands our understanding of Hørup from journalist to media actor. She did not merely write in the existing press; she also helped create her own forums for particular political and social views.

This is especially important for understanding Forældrebladet, where Hørup's work on child welfare occupies a central place. The fact that Terp later published a separate work on the criticism of child welfare in

Forældrebladet 1943–1950, and that this work is incorporated among the bibliography's later additions, illustrates how the bibliography and the wider research developed in interaction with each other.

The Relationship with Archival Material

The bibliography's significance in the history of research becomes even clearer in light of the archival work surrounding it.

Lone Rünitz states in the introduction to her biography of Hørup that Holger Terp secured an extensive private archive, which was held by Hans Henrik Pusch, son of Ellen Hørup and her former foster son Walter Pusch. Terp sorted the material and prepared lists of letters. Rünitz also explicitly emphasises that she used Terp's personal bibliography extensively.

This information is important for assessing the bibliography's status in the history of research. It shows that the work is not merely a private or isolated documentation collection, but has actually functioned as a basis for later academic research.

Rünitz's Ellen Hørup: Kvinden, verdensborgeren og rebellen, published by University Press of Southern Denmark in 2019, is the first comprehensive modern biography of Hørup and is based, among other things, on material that Terp had assembled.

An Extended Personal Bibliography

In terms of genre, Terp's work is interesting.

A narrow personal bibliography would normally primarily register a person's own publications. Terp's bibliography goes further. It also registers reviews, interviews, references, obituaries and the publications Hørup edited.

It is therefore more precise to describe it as an extended personal bibliography with biobibliographical and reception-historical elements.

This expansion of genre is not a weakness. On the contrary, it corresponds to the historical reality the work seeks to document. Hørup was a journalist, debater, editor and public figure. Her activities therefore cannot be sharply separated into "authorship" and "reception".

Terp's choice means that the bibliography can be used for several different forms of research: literary history, press history, political history, gender history and organisational history.

Methodological Transparency

The most significant criticism that can be raised against the work concerns not the extensive registration work, but the documentation of the working process itself.

The bibliography briefly explains the chronological arrangement and the omission of Hørup's literary translations. But it does not contain a longer systematic account of all the collections, catalogues, newspaper collections and archives that were examined.

For a modern bibliographer, such an account would be desirable. It would make it easier to assess the degree of coverage and to repeat or check the search.

This limitation must, however, be assessed historically. The work was founded in 1992, long before large parts of the Danish historical press were digitised. This means that a significant part of the registration must be understood as the result of manual bibliographical and archival work.

It is precisely this circumstance that makes the work interesting in the history of research. It was not produced through a simple search in a modern full-text database, but is the result of a long-term reconstruction of scattered source material.

Editorial and Bibliographical Problems

As with most extensive retrospective bibliographies, there are also editorial problems.

A clear example is the numbering around no. 487. Number 487 concludes the section on Hørup's own articles, after which the numbering begins again with 487 in the section "Interviews with and references to Ellen Hørup".

There are also some repetitions in the subject index. Such matters should be noted when the work is used for scholarly purposes.

They are not, however, of a nature that undermines the bibliography's principal function. On the contrary, they show that the work should primarily be understood as a historically developed research tool that has been expanded over time, rather than as a modern database with complete machine-controlled consistency.

It is also important to note that the bibliography's later additions show that Terp himself regarded the work as open to continued supplementation. Entries 604–610 include, among other things, three new Hørup texts, Lone Rünitz's biography, Maria Grønlykke's biographical account and Terp's own work on Forældrebladet.

This openness is methodologically sound in a historical bibliographical work.

Significance in the History of Research

The bibliography's greatest scholarly significance therefore perhaps lies not in its title or genre, but in its function as research infrastructure.

Before Terp's work, Ellen Hørup's journalistic production was scattered across newspapers, journals, books and archives. The bibliography brings these traces together and makes them manageable.

This has had a direct impact on later research. Rünitz's explicit thanks to Terp for the bibliography and her statement that she used it extensively document this connection.

It is also worth noting that Ellen Hørup is today much better documented and more visible in research than previously. Lex's biographical article refers, among other things, to Terp's biographical work from 1989 and to Rünitz's biography from 2019 and lists both the Royal Danish Library and the Danish National Archives as repositories holding Hørup material.

Terp's bibliography can thus be seen as one of the works that helped create the documentary basis that made this later rediscovery possible.

Conclusion

Personal Bibliography of the Journalist Ellen Hørup is first and foremost a thorough and extensive documentation project. Its scholarly strength lies in the combination of chronological registration, broad press coverage, thematic indexing, registration of contemporary references and documentation of Hørup's own editorial activities.

The work should not be measured by the same criteria as a modern digital bibliographical database. It is a historically developed bibliographical work whose foundation was laid in 1992 and subsequently expanded through new registrations. Its method is only briefly explained, and there are some editorial inconsistencies. These are real matters and should be taken into account in critical use.

But they must not obscure the main point: the bibliography has made a large and difficult-to-access body of journalistic material manageable for research.

Its value lies especially in the fact that it does not reduce Ellen Hørup to the author of a few well-known books. It documents her as a journalist, editor, debater and international public figure. It makes it possible to follow her work on India and Gandhi, the peace cause, the League of Nations, women's issues, international conflicts, fascism, capitalism, refugee questions and child welfare. At the same time, it documents the public sphere that responded to her views.

On this basis, Terp's work should be placed as an important Danish personal-bibliographical foundation. It is not merely a supplement to a biography of Ellen Hørup. It is an independent research tool that has helped make it possible to write the modern history of her.

The fact that Lone Rünitz, when preparing her 2019 biography, explicitly highlights Terp's personal bibliography as a work she used extensively is the strongest documentation of its significance in the history of research.

Seen from this perspective, Personal Bibliography of the Journalist Ellen Hørup is not merely a list of an author's works. It is an example of how sustained bibliographical registration can function as a prerequisite for later historical research and ultimately contribute to bringing an almost forgotten public figure back into scholarship.

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40. Ellen Hørup and the Critique of Danish Child Welfare 1943–1950

Introduction

Holger Terp's Kritik af børneforsorgen i Forældrebladet udgivet af Ellen Hørup 1943–1950, published in 2019, collects articles from Ellen Hørup's Forældrebladet, which appeared during the period 1943–1950. The publication provides access to a contemporary and strongly critical voice in the debate on Danish child welfare. Hørup dealt with children's homes, child welfare committees, methods of upbringing, punishment, intervention by the authorities, and the legal position of children and parents. Her journalism was not limited to description; she wanted to expose problems and influence public and political debate.

Terp's publication should, however, be seen in conjunction with other historical accounts. The same year saw the publication of Lone Rünitz's Ellen Hørup: Kvinden, verdensborgeren og rebellen, which provides a comprehensive biographical presentation of Hørup's life and social engagement. Rünitz presents Hørup as a journalist and social commentator who throughout her life challenged established authorities and norms. Terp's source collection and Rünitz's biography therefore complement one another: Terp provides access to Hørup's own contemporary texts, while Rünitz attempts to explain the person and engagement behind them.

Hørup's criticism must at the same time be placed within the broader development of Danish child welfare. Anette Faye Jacobsen's research is central here. Jacobsen analyses child welfare in the period 1933–1958 and shows how the field underwent a longer transformation from a more private, authoritarian and Christian-influenced institutional culture towards more professionalised, pedagogical and democratically oriented welfare.

The problem addressed in this review is therefore:

How can Holger Terp's anthology be used as a historical source for examining Ellen Hørup's criticism of Danish child welfare, what source-critical problems arise when Hørup's journalism is used, and how can her criticism be understood in relation to contemporary and later historiography on the development of Danish child welfare towards the reforms of the 1950s?

The central argument of the review is that Terp's anthology has considerable value as a source for contemporary criticism of child welfare, but that Hørup's journalism cannot simply be used as representative documentation of the actual conditions of child welfare. Hørup wrote with a clear

reformist political purpose, which makes her texts tendentious and selective. Precisely this tendency, however, makes them valuable sources for contemporary conflicts, ideas about children's rights and the public problematisation of child welfare.

Ellen Hørup – Journalist, Social Commentator and Rebel

Ellen Hørup's criticism of child welfare cannot be understood in isolation from her other life and work. Rünitz's biography presents her as a woman with an unusually broad social engagement. She worked as a journalist and social commentator and dealt with international questions, women's issues, colonialism, peace and social conditions, among other subjects.

The title Kvinden, verdensborgeren og rebellen is therefore not accidental. It points to Rünitz's interpretation of Hørup as a person who consistently questioned established authorities and norms. This interpretation is important for understanding Forældrebladet because Hørup did not write as a neutral social scientist or civil servant.

She wrote as an engaged actor who wanted to change the conditions she described.

From 1943 Hørup increasingly concentrated on the cause of children and published Forældrebladet. She took up specific cases, visited institutions and criticised both institutional practice and the authorities responsible for child welfare.

Her journalism thus becomes both a source for the history of child welfare and a source for Hørup's own political and moral position.

It is precisely this duality that makes Terp's anthology interesting.

Terp's Anthology as a Historical Source

Terp's principal merit is that he brings together material that makes it possible to follow Hørup's criticism over a longer period. Forældrebladet gives access to a contemporary voice standing outside the official institutions.

This is important in social-historical research. If the history of child welfare is based solely on administrative archives and official reports, the institutions' own perspective can easily come to dominate. Hørup's articles make it possible to examine how child welfare was experienced and criticised from outside.

One example is Hørup's article "Børnemishandling" from 1943. Here she begins with the question of reporting the mistreatment of children and then directs criticism towards the child welfare authorities and those

responsible. She questions whether the authorities could really have been unaware of the problems that she herself believed she could document.

This form of journalism shows Hørup's method: she starts with a concrete case and uses it to raise a more general question about how the system works.

It is effective as journalism, but problematic as representative historical documentation.

Source Criticism – Hørup as a Biased Source

Hørup's articles are clearly tendentious. She wanted to influence readers and create change. Her selection of cases was therefore not random. She was interested in cases in which, in her assessment, child welfare failed.

This means that the researcher must distinguish between two different questions:

What does Hørup tell us about child welfare?

And

What does Hørup tell us about the criticism of child welfare?

For the first question, her journalism is a limited source because it is not representative of all institutions and all children.

For the second question, it is a particularly strong source.

If Hørup describes a case of harsh punishment at a particular children's home, the article can document that she knew of and criticised such a practice. But it cannot by itself establish that the same practice existed throughout child welfare.

Her information must therefore, when used to reconstruct concrete conditions, be checked as far as possible against other sources: institutional archives, official documents, legislation, newspapers, professional publications and personal accounts.

Her tendency does not, however, make the source worthless. On the contrary, the tendency is part of the historical statement. Hørup shows that there was strong contemporary criticism of traditional child welfare, and she also shows how this criticism was formulated.

She is therefore not only an observer of history, but a historical actor.

From Individual Cases to System Criticism

Hørup's particular importance lies in her ability to make system criticism concrete. Child welfare was a complex administrative system, but Hørup described it through children, parents and specific institutions.

In this way questions of legislation and administration were transformed into questions of morality and responsibility.

Her criticism of punishment and discipline illustrates this. She did not automatically accept that the institutions' authority over children could be justified by upbringing. She questioned whether disciplinary methods might in reality constitute abuse.

The same applies to her criticism of the authorities' role. She problematised the fact that children and parents could be subject to decisions against which they themselves had limited opportunities to object.

Thus her criticism touched upon a fundamental question: Who has the right to define the child's best interests?

This is a question that reaches beyond individual cases and into the broader development of the welfare state's relationship with the family.

Hørup in Existing Research

This is where Jacobsen's research becomes central as a historiographical corrective.

Hørup often presents problems through individual cases and concrete experiences. Jacobsen, by contrast, analyses child welfare as an institutional system.

In Jacobsen's account, child welfare in the 1930s was characterised by a number of authoritarian and private structures. Many institutions had a religious background, resources were limited, and upbringing was to a considerable degree based on obedience and discipline. Towards 1958, however, there was a longer development towards professionalisation, pedagogisation and greater attention to democracy and legal protection.

This means that Hørup's criticism should not be understood as an exposure of a system that was not changing at all. On the contrary, there was already reform-oriented criticism of child welfare before Forældrebladet.

Parents' associations and other actors had, among other things, criticised the lack of legal protection and the pedagogical methods used in residential homes. Hørup therefore entered an already existing reform debate.

Her particular importance was that she made this criticism more public, concrete and confrontational.

Public Debate and Reform

Hørup's work became particularly visible at the end of the 1940s. In 1947 she criticised the so-called "svømmercirkulære", which under certain conditions allowed children who could not remain dry at night to be punished.

The case became part of a broader public debate about disciplinary methods in child welfare.

In 1949 Hørup again took up child welfare in connection with a film about Peter Sabroe. She used the story of Sabroe to argue that problems with the upbringing methods in children's homes did not belong only to the past.

What is interesting is that Hørup had criticised these problems for several years. Her arguments were therefore not necessarily new. What was new was rather the public situation surrounding them.

Her journalism can therefore be seen as a form of public mobilisation. She made existing problems visible and created a language that could be used in a broader debate about children's rights and the responsibility of institutions.

This also supports Jacobsen's broader explanation: the reforms did not come from one single critic, but from an interaction between critics, professionals, associations, the press, politicians and authorities.

Rünitz and the Question of Hørup's Historical Significance

Rünitz's biography makes it possible to nuance this further. If Hørup is viewed solely through Forældrebladet, she can easily appear as a person whose main purpose in life was to reform child welfare.

Rünitz instead shows a much broader engagement. Hørup's work with child welfare was one part of a larger lifelong confrontation with what she regarded as unjust or oppressive structures.

This biographical context helps explain her journalistic method. Her confrontation with child welfare authorities was not a break with her earlier work, but a continuation of it.

At the same time, Rünitz's biography must also be treated as a historical interpretation. Whereas Hørup's articles are contemporary primary sources, Rünitz's book was written many years later. Rünitz selects and interprets events and constructs an overall narrative of Hørup's life.

This means that Rünitz's portrait of Hørup should not be left unchallenged. Her biographical interpretation must be held against Hørup's own texts and institutional research.

It is precisely in the tension between these perspectives that Hørup's historical significance becomes clear.

From Criticism to Reform – Without a Direct Causal Chain

A central question is whether Hørup's criticism led to the reforms of the 1950s.

It is tempting to establish a simple causal chain:

Hørup criticised child welfare → the public reacted → politicians implemented reforms.

Such an explanation is too simple, however.

Child welfare was already changing, and there were other reform actors. In addition, developments were influenced by changing pedagogical and psychological ideas, professionalisation and the general development of the Danish welfare state.

Hørup should therefore not be presented as the person who created the reforms.

It is more precise to see her as one of the actors who helped make the problems of child welfare publicly visible.

The development can thus be understood as:

Existing reform criticism → Hørup's concrete and public criticism → increased public problematisation → political and administrative treatment → gradual reforms.

This interpretation preserves Hørup's importance without exaggerating her causal role.

1958 as a Historical Perspective

Although Terp's anthology ends in 1950, it is relevant to follow developments up to 1958. This makes it possible to examine whether some of the questions Hørup raised were reflected in the later reform of child welfare.

1958 marks an important point in the development examined by Jacobsen. The legislation changed, among other things, the framework for the work of child welfare committees, placements outside the home, and the relationship between authorities and families.

The development can therefore be seen as a movement towards greater legal protection and greater emphasis on cooperation with parents.

But here too it is necessary to avoid too simple a narrative. More democracy and greater legal protection did not mean that state control over families disappeared. Rather, it was transformed and professionalised.

This is an important perspective because it shows that reform history is not only about replacing a bad system with a good system. It is also about how forms of social control change.

Hørup's criticism can thus be read as a criticism both of traditional authority and of the way in which authorities exercised power over children and parents.

Historiographical Assessment

When Terp, Rünitz and Jacobsen are read together, they represent three different levels in the understanding of Ellen Hørup.

Terp gives access to Hørup's voice. His anthology is valuable as a collection of contemporary texts and makes it possible to analyse Hørup's argumentation directly.

Rünitz provides the biographical context. She places the child-welfare campaign within Hørup's broader life and social engagement.

Jacobsen provides the institutional and social-historical perspective. Her research makes it possible to understand the child-welfare system as part of a longer transformation of the Danish welfare state.

Together, these perspectives make it possible to avoid two opposite errors. The first would be to treat Hørup's journalism as an objective description of child welfare. The second would be to dismiss her criticism because it was tendentious.

The historically productive position lies between these extremes. Hørup's articles are tendentious sources, but precisely because they are tendentious they document contemporary criticism, conflicts and demands for reform.

Conclusion

Holger Terp's publication Kritik af børneforsorgen i Forældrebladet udgivet af Ellen Hørup 1943–1950 is a valuable source edition for the study of Danish child welfare and Ellen Hørup's journalism.

Its principal strength is that it makes a substantial body of contemporary criticism accessible. The anthology allows the researcher to follow Hørup's arguments over time and to examine how she used individual cases to raise broader questions about authority, punishment, children's rights and the responsibility of the authorities.

The source must nevertheless be used critically. Hørup's journalism is selective and tendentious and cannot by itself document the general condition of Danish child welfare. Concrete claims should therefore be checked against institutional archives, official records, legislation, contemporary press and other sources.

At the same time, the tendentious character of the material is itself historically significant. It documents the existence of a critical public voice and shows how child welfare could be challenged from outside the institutions.

Read together with Rünitz's biography and Jacobsen's research, Terp's anthology makes it possible to place Hørup's criticism within the broader

transformation of Danish child welfare. Hørup was not the sole cause of the reforms of the 1950s, but she was one of the actors who contributed to making the problems publicly visible.

The historical significance of the anthology therefore lies both in what it says about child welfare and in what it says about the formation of public criticism of social institutions. It preserves a contemporary voice that would otherwise be scattered across the pages of Forældrebladet and difficult to use systematically in historical research.

41. Nuclear Weapons Production in the US, 1941–2011

Holger Terp's Nuclear Weapons Production in the US, 1941–2011 is an extensive documentation work on the development of the American nuclear weapons complex from the beginning of the Manhattan Project in 1941 to 2011. Published by The Danish Peace Academy, the work comprises 426 pages. Terp's aim is to document a major, but often less visible, part of nuclear weapons history: the industrial, technological and institutional infrastructure that made the development and production of American nuclear weapons possible.

Rather than focusing primarily on political decisions, individual weapons systems or Cold War strategy, Terp examines the mines, factories, laboratories, companies and government agencies that together constituted the American nuclear weapons complex. This is the work's most distinctive strength. Nuclear weapons are often presented as the result of scientific breakthroughs, military requirements and political decisions. Terp instead adopts a material and industrial-historical perspective in which production itself is central.

Nuclear weapons require not only physicists and military strategists, but also uranium mines, enrichment plants, reactors, chemical factories, specialized components, transport networks and an extensive administrative system. By following this infrastructure, Terp enables the reader to understand nuclear weapons as a complex production system rather than simply as military weapons.

The work therefore addresses a broad problem: how the American nuclear weapons complex was built, which institutions and production facilities formed part of the system, and what human, economic and environmental consequences this production had. Terp attempts to answer these questions through an extensive mapping of the different parts of the nuclear weapons industry.

Methodologically, the work is above all a documentation and compilation project. Terp gathers large quantities of information from different types of sources and organizes the material around institutions, factories and production sites. This method suits his purpose because the American nuclear weapons complex has been geographically dispersed and organizationally complex for more than seven decades.

The limitation is that the work produces a large body of historical material but develops a less comprehensive analytical theory of why the American nuclear weapons complex developed as it did. The reader receives extensive information about what was produced, where it was produced and

which institutions were involved, while having to undertake much of the larger historical synthesis independently.

The source base is extensive and includes American government reports, Department of Energy documents, Government Accountability Office material, historical reports and information from institutions and production facilities. Official sources can nevertheless create source-critical problems because they were produced by institutions that were themselves part of the military and industrial system.

Terp's explicit peace-political perspective is another factor in evaluating the work. The presentation is critical of nuclear weapons and the military-industrial complex and considers not only technological and military significance but also human, environmental and economic consequences. This does not in itself make the work unscientific. What matters is whether the premises are clear and historical claims are documented.

The work is particularly significant when nuclear weapons production is viewed as part of the American military-industrial complex. Terp shows that development was closely connected with universities, private companies, research institutions and the state. Production was therefore not an isolated military project but a large network of scientific, economic and political institutions.

The environmental dimension is especially important. The nuclear weapons industry left extensive contamination problems, and many facilities subsequently required remediation. By including these consequences, Terp extends the perspective from weapons production itself to its long-term social consequences.

Overall, Nuclear Weapons Production in the US, 1941–2011 is an ambitious and extensive documentation work with considerable historical value. Its principal contribution is the systematic mapping of the material and institutional infrastructure behind the United States nuclear weapons programme. Its main limitation is that the extensive documentation is accompanied by less sustained analytical and theoretical argumentation. It is therefore best understood as a comprehensive historical documentation work and secondary source, particularly valuable as a basis for further research.

42. Peace Songs – A documented playlist over 100 years of music

A scholarly assessment of Holger Terp's documentation work

Introduction

Peace Songs – A documented playlist over 100 years of music is an extensive documentation work on music, war, peace, militarism, conscription, political propaganda and peace movements. Compiled by Holger Terp within The Danish Peace Academy, it represents many years of collecting, registering and documenting musical sources.

The work should primarily be understood as an interdisciplinary documentation and research project rather than a conventional musicological monograph. Its purpose is to identify, preserve, systematize and make available a large historical body of material concerning music and peace.

Music as a historical source

One of the work's most important methodological starting points is the treatment of music and song as historical sources. Songs can express attitudes towards war and peace, national identity, military service, enemy images, patriotism, religious ideas, solidarity, grief, longing and political protest. They can also function as mobilizing communication.

Peace Songs examines the broad field between the musical cultures of war and peace. It is a strength that the documentation does not concentrate only on songs that can readily be classified as pacifist. Soldiers' songs, patriotic songs, recruiting songs and songs about military service are also included.

From the First World War to contemporary conflicts

The chronological dimension is central. The First World War is an important starting point because it marked a decisive breakthrough for mass warfare, mass media and modern popular culture. Gramophone records, newspapers, sheet music, concerts and later radio and film made it possible to spread musical messages to much larger audiences.

Peace Songs can therefore also be read as a history of how technological changes affected the dissemination of musical messages about war and peace. This makes the work relevant not only to music history but also to media and communication history.

Soldiers' songs as historical material

An especially original element is the documentation of soldiers' songs and songs about conscription. The history of political music has often focused on public protest, peace demonstrations, antimilitarist movements and

famous protest musicians. Soldiers' own songs represent another kind of source.

They can contain expressions of comradeship, fear, homesickness, humour, frustration, discipline, resistance and relations with the military. They can therefore provide access to a history of experience not necessarily found in official military documents.

Source criticism

Early gramophone recordings are not neutral documents. They are products of particular technological, commercial and cultural conditions. Researchers must distinguish between the original recording, the historical release, later reissues and modern digital copies.

There is also a fundamental difference between music that was written, performed, printed, recorded, preserved and music that present-day researchers can locate. This distinction is essential for a scholarly use of the material.

Discography and digital humanities

A major research quality of Peace Songs lies in the systematic registration of musical sources. The work moves between traditional bibliography and modern digital documentation. Song titles, artists, recordings, publications and historical information are connected with digital collections where possible.

The work thus functions not merely as a book but also as an index to a larger body of digital cultural heritage. It demonstrates how historical research can connect physical archives, bibliographical records, sound collections and the internet.

Peace songs as transnational culture

Peace music cannot be understood solely within national boundaries. Songs, melodies and texts move between countries and languages. They are translated, adapted and given new meanings in different political contexts.

Peace Songs can therefore be used to study the circulation of political ideas through music. Its interdisciplinary character places it at the intersection of music history, cultural history, social history, military history, peace and conflict research, propaganda and media studies, discography, bibliography and digital humanities.

Limitations and research possibilities

A documentation work of this size cannot solve all the analytical problems raised by the material. The most important methodological limitation is

the history of transmission. Oral traditions, local songs, unpublished material and music that existed only in private settings will inevitably be underrepresented.

Documentation alone also cannot determine a song's actual social significance. Further research into reception, sales, performances, songbooks, demonstrations, organizations, media and contemporary descriptions is required.

Research originality

The principal originality of Peace Songs lies in the combination of scope, systematic organization and interdisciplinary documentation. The project brings together material normally dispersed among many different types of source and creates a research repertory that others can use.

Documentation as scholarly work

Documentation is not merely a secondary or technical element of research. In the humanities, documentation itself can make new research possible. When historical material is scattered, uncatalogued or difficult to access, identification and registration constitute a research activity in their own right.

Peace Songs should therefore be understood as research infrastructure: a project that does not merely communicate existing knowledge but establishes material on which others can build.

Overall scholarly assessment

Peace Songs – A documented playlist over 100 years of music is an extensive and original documentation project with considerable cultural and research-historical value. Its greatest strength is not conventional music-theoretical analysis but the systematic collection and documentation of musical sources illuminating more than a century of relations between war and peace.

Its methodological limitations—especially transmission, representativeness and reception—do not remove its basic value. Rather, they identify research questions that the material itself makes possible. The most accurate characterization is therefore an extensive interdisciplinary documentation work and research repertory.

43. The Poet Sang the Peace Song – and the Battle in the Field Stopped

A scholarly assessment of Danish peace music

Holger Terp's The Poet Sang the Peace Song – and the Battle in the Field Stopped: Remarks on the History of Danish Peace Music is an extensive documentation project concerning Danish peace music and its historical, cultural and political context.

Its principal scholarly function is to locate, register, document and assemble historical source material scattered among songbooks, sheet-music publications, journals, archives and other collections. It therefore stands at the intersection of musicology, cultural history, political history, social history, intellectual history and peace research.

An overlooked research field

One of the work's most important contributions is its treatment of peace music as an independent historical field. Peace songs can be musical works, but they are also historical documents. A song can reveal contemporary ideas about war, peace, military service, nationalism, militarism or political conflict and can show how social and political movements sought to mobilize members and the public.

Sources

The methodological basis consists especially of printed sheet music and songbooks. Songbooks reveal not only which songs existed but also which songs particular organizations or groups wanted to sing, which political messages were prioritized and how a common repertoire was created.

Printed music can provide information about text, melody, authorship, publication year, sources and use. Where authorship cannot be established, methodological restraint is important rather than constructing an unsupported attribution.

Primary sources and secondary research

Historical songbooks, sheet music and other original documents are primary sources for the periods from which they originate. Terp's registration and synthesis are secondary processing. At the same time, the work has become a primary source for the documentation history of peace music.

1. as a guide to older primary sources
2. as a historical account of Danish peace music
3. as documentation of how the musical culture of the peace movement was collected and historicized

Originality

The strongest scholarly argument for the work lies in its originality as a documentation project. It aims at systematic and chronological documentation of more than a century of soldiers' and peace music, including older songs concerning military service, war and peace.

This has historiographical consequences. Political protest song is often associated with the 1960s and 1970s, youth revolt, the Vietnam War and the modern peace movement. Documentation of an earlier and recurring repertoire makes it possible to ask how musical ideas about war and peace changed over several generations.

Representativeness

A critical assessment must ask whether the recorded material is representative of Danish peace music as a whole. Printed and preserved material is not identical with music that was actually sung. Many songs may have existed orally, locally or briefly without being printed; others have been lost.

The scientifically defensible formulation is therefore not necessarily that the material constitutes all Danish peace music, but that it documents the part of Danish peace music that can be traced through surviving sources.

Source criticism and verifiability

Historical claims can be tested. If a song is said to have been printed in a particular songbook, the information can be checked. If a melody or text is attributed to a particular person, the attribution can be examined. If a song is said to have been used in a political context, other sources can be sought.

The author's position

Terp's commitment to the peace cause is clear. The work is not written from an assumption of complete value-neutrality. This does not in itself remove its scholarly value. The important distinction is between engagement and lack of scholarly method: a researcher can have a clear political or cultural position while working rigorously with historical sources.

From book to research infrastructure

The continuing work with registers of songbooks, songs, authorship, sources and recordings shows that the documentation has subsequently been expanded digitally. The project thus becomes more than a book about Danish peace music: it becomes a form of research infrastructure.

Conclusion

The work should not be treated primarily as a traditional academic monograph. A more precise description is an interdisciplinary empirical

documentation work combining source mapping, bibliographical research and cultural-historical synthesis.

Its main scholarly value lies in locating, collecting, registering and historicizing a substantial body of Danish peace and soldiers' music. It does not provide the final word on Danish peace music; it makes further research possible on a much better documented basis.

44. World War One Songs

A source-critical and historiographical assessment of a digital documentation project

Holger Terp's World War One Songs. Collected and documented by Holger Terp, The Danish Peace Academy, published in July 2014, is a documentation work on songs of the First World War. It exists as a digital publication in The Danish Peace Academy's virtual library and forms part of its broader work on song and peace history.

1. The work within The Danish Peace Academy's documentation

World War One Songs was not published in isolation. In the same period Terp published, among other works, Første verdenskrigs sange, Introduction to Peace Songs: A documented playlist over 100 years of music and Lili Marleens historie. The project combines bibliography, digitization, song history, discography and peace history.

2. Documentation rather than interpretation

The methodological strength of the work is that documentation and interpretation are largely kept distinct. The primary structure is documentary. In the treatment of American war songs, for example, Goodbye Broadway, Hello France is accompanied by the song text and historical notes concerning General John Pershing and Marquis de Lafayette.

3. The individual song as a documentation unit

The song functions as the central documentation unit, allowing several layers of information to be combined: title, text, author, composer, historical context, persons and events mentioned in the text, references to other sources and, where relevant, recording information.

This is more than a songbook. The documentation attempts to answer the question: What kind of historical source is this song?

4. Goodbye Broadway, Hello France as an example

The song presents American participation in the war through patriotic images of freedom, France, Pershing and Lafayette. Its final section connects the American war effort with Lafayette and the American War of Independence, placing the First World War within a longer narrative of American-French alliance and freedom.

5. The song text as historical source

The project's historical-theoretical significance lies in treating popular music as historical source material. Alongside government archives, diplomatic documents, military reports, speeches, treaties and newspapers, Terp adds commercially produced songs.

A song can be produced by professional composers and lyricists, published commercially and then adopted by audiences who sing it privately or publicly. It can therefore be studied as mass-cultural communication.

6. Production is not reception

A song does not automatically document audience attitudes. The existence of a printed patriotic song does not mean that everyone was patriotic, just as a peace song does not prove that its message enjoyed broad popular support. Terp's documentation is best used to investigate what was produced, published and made available; questions of reception require supplementary sources.

7. The war song as mass medium

The project is especially interesting when the songs are viewed in relation to the media technology of the period: the sheet-music industry, popular music, theatre and vaudeville, the gramophone, music publishing and the mass market for popular songs. The song was therefore not merely an artistic product but also a commodity.

8. From national song to international material

The First World War was a global conflict, and songs allow comparison of national war cultures. The material can be used to examine similarities and differences in American, British, French and German songs and the treatment of the soldier, mother, lover, home, enemy, nation, freedom, death, victory and peace.

9. Propaganda or popular culture?

It is tempting to label every patriotic war song propaganda, but that would be methodologically too simple. There is a distinction between official propaganda and commercial popular culture containing a patriotic message. A complete propaganda analysis requires further investigation of publishers, distribution, sales, press coverage and use.

10. Peace songs and antimilitarism

The work's position within The Danish Peace Academy gives particular attention to peace songs and antimilitarist material. This perspective makes material visible that might otherwise receive less attention in conventional war-history collections.

11. Selection and representativeness

The most serious methodological question is the representativeness of the collection. Later research has referred to more than 14,000 war-related sheet-music publications, whereas Terp's collection contains more than 80 songs related to the First World War. The collection should therefore be understood as a documented selection rather than a complete catalogue.

12. The digital form as part of the method

Digital publication is part of the method rather than merely a digital copy of a book. The virtual library combines PDF, HTML, images and links to external resources. This creates a form of open digital cultural-heritage dissemination, while also creating vulnerabilities when external links, databases or metadata change.

13. Research afterlife

A concrete example of later use is Alexandr Sych's 2022 article Woodrow Wilson's "Fourteen Points": Between the Diplomacy and Propaganda, which cites Terp's World War One Songs and links directly to the PDF edition at The Danish Peace Academy. This demonstrates use of the collection as historical documentation in academic research.

14. Historiographical significance

The work is significant because it makes problems researchable. By collecting and documenting songs, it establishes material from which other researchers can investigate nationalism, propaganda, popular culture, the music industry, soldiers' lives, gender, family, enemy images, pacifism, internationalism and the cultural afterlife of war.

15. Overall peer-like assessment

As a source and documentation project, the work's strengths include systematic attention to historical songs, the connection between song text and historical context, documentation of persons and historical references, international perspective, digital accessibility, and the connection between song history and peace history.

Its principal methodological limitation is that the selection cannot be equated with a complete registration of the total song production of the First World War. This limitation points toward the natural next phase: other researchers can expand, verify and supplement the collection.

Conclusion

World War One Songs should be understood as an early digital international documentation project on the musical culture of the First World War. Its scholarly value lies particularly in its position between archive and research. It preserves songs, identifies them, places them in historical context and makes them available as sources.

The most precise characterization is therefore: World War One Songs is not primarily an analysis of the songs of the First World War. It is documentation that makes such analysis possible.

45. Ain't Gonna Study War No More

A source-critical investigation of the song's origins and development

Down by the Riverside, also known as Ain't Gonna Study War No More, is one of the best-known American songs with an anti-war message. It is commonly described as an old African American spiritual associated with slavery and the American Civil War of 1861–1865. But how old is the song actually?

This question is more difficult than the traditional account suggests. Spirituals were transmitted extensively through oral tradition, so the absence of a printed source does not prove that a song did not exist. Conversely, a claimed Civil War origin cannot be accepted without historical documentation.

The traditional origin story

The song is often described as a slave or Civil War song because its religious imagery fits the African American spiritual tradition. Yet the age of a motif must be distinguished from the age of a particular song. The occurrence of river and baptism motifs in older spirituals does not itself document the existence of Ain't Gonna Study War No More.

The older river and baptism songs

Nineteenth-century sources contain related religious motifs. Down by the River, appearing in material from the late nineteenth century, is particularly interesting. It is not identical to Ain't Gonna Study War No More, but it shows that the river motif already existed in African American religious song. It should therefore be treated as a textual and thematic predecessor, not as proof of the later song.

John J. Nolan, 1902

The original version of the investigation identified John J. Nolan's Down by the River Side from 1902 as the musical source. This attribution requires critical revision. Nolan's song was published as an independent composition in 1902. The title is striking, but similarity of title is not sufficient evidence of musical identity. It should therefore provisionally be regarded as a possible but undocumented musical connection.

1913 – the earliest registered printed occurrence

A bibliographical registration at Hymnary records Ain't Goin' to Study War No More as number 1 in Plantation Melodies and Spiritual Songs, published in 1913. The registration gives the first line Going to lay down

my burden and the refrain I ain't goin' to study war no more, with the melody indicated as [Going to lay down my burden].

This is important because the original investigation identified 1918 as the earliest known printed version. If the 1913 bibliographical registration can be verified against the original edition, the earliest documented printed occurrence moves back by at least five years. It should nevertheless not be treated as the song's date of origin.

1916 – a fully developed version

National Jubilee Melodies from 1916 contains the song as number 12 under the title I Ain't Goin' Study War No More. Hymnary records Phil. V. S. Lindsley as arranger and the melody as [Going to lay down my burden]. The text already contains the characteristic verses about laying down the burden, sword and shield, the long white robe, the starry crown, mother, father and Jesus.

This is significant because by 1916 there is a song whose textual structure and melodic identity are very close to the version later known as Down by the Riverside.

1918 – an earlier assumed first edition

The original investigation gave 1918 as the earliest known printed version. This dating has subsequently been repeated in modern overviews. The bibliographical registration of a 1913 occurrence means that 1918 can no longer automatically be described as the first printed documentation. The original editions require examination.

1920 – Fisk Jubilee Quartet

The song was recorded by the Fisk University Jubilee Quartet in 1920, with release by Columbia in 1922. The recording is important because it provides actual sound documentation. It does not document the song's origin but shows that the song was established in the repertoire by that time.

Carl Sandburg and the living tradition

Carl Sandburg's The American Songbag from 1927 is another important source. The song appears as Ain' Go'n' to Study War No Mo'. Sandburg's material is especially interesting because it documents not only a fixed text but the way the song lived in oral tradition. New verses and variations could be introduced.

Text and music – two different histories

One of the most important methodological points is that the song's text and melody need not have the same origin. The river motif may be older; the text about the burden, sword and shield may have developed within

the African American spiritual tradition; the melody may have an independent history; and the combination may have emerged later.

The question should therefore not necessarily be reduced to "Who wrote the song?" For a traditional spiritual, the more relevant question may be how textual and musical elements came together to form the song now called Down by the Riverside.

A provisional chronology

4. Older African American spirituals – river, baptism and religious motifs
5. 1898, Down by the River – related river/baptism tradition
6. 1902, John J. Nolan, Down by the River Side – possible but undocumented musical connection
7. 1913, Plantation Melodies and Spiritual Songs, no. 1 – earliest registered printed occurrence
8. 1916, National Jubilee Melodies, no. 12 – fully developed version with familiar textual motifs
9. 1918, Plantation Melodies – early printed documentation
10. 1920, Fisk University Jubilee Quartet – early sound documentation
11. 1927, Carl Sandburg, The American Songbag – documentation of a living oral tradition

Can the song be from the Civil War?

On the present evidence, no Civil War origin can be documented. No identified printed or phonographic source from 1861–1865 documents the known Ain't Gonna Study War No More. This does not exclude an oral predecessor, but it means that a Civil War origin cannot be presented as a documented historical fact.

From religious song to peace song

The later history shows how meaning can change. The words about laying down sword and shield made the song suitable as an anti-war song. In the twentieth century it became part of religious, popular and political musical traditions and was later used as a protest song. Later use cannot, however, prove its original function.

Source-critical problems

Research into folk songs raises several general problems: absence of a source is not proof of absence; a shared title or motif is not sufficient to prove musical relationship; a printed version need not be the original version; and the first surviving source may appear many years after a song's actual emergence.

Conclusion

The traditional description of Ain't Gonna Study War No More as a documented slave or Civil War song cannot be maintained on the basis of the sources presently identified. Older African American religious traditions contain the relevant motifs, but they do not by themselves document the particular song during the Civil War.

The original investigation identified 1918 as the earliest known printed version. New bibliographical information points to 1913, while National Jubilee Melodies documents a highly developed version in 1916. The most defensible conclusion is that the song has no identified documentation as a Civil War song; it is documented in print by 1913 at the latest, exists in a fully developed form in 1916 and is documented in sound in 1920.

Further research should compare the original editions from 1913, 1916 and 1918 with John J. Nolan's 1902 Down by the River Side and the Fisk Jubilee Quartet's 1920 recording. Until such comparison is made, the documented history begins in the early twentieth century rather than during the American Civil War.

46. The Story of Lili Marleen

1. The author

The author is Holger Terp, a trained librarian who has been active in Danish peace organizations since the beginning of the 1980s and has worked with peace history, peace songs and documentation of peace movements. He was, among other things, editor and webmaster for The Danish Peace Academy. His bibliography shows that The Story of Lili Marleen was published by The Danish Peace Academy in 2014.

2. Purpose

The primary purpose of The Story of Lili Marleen is to document and tell the history of the song Lili Marleen. Terp examines the song's text, music, recordings, persons and historical significance. The text is also part of The Danish Peace Academy's wider work of documenting peace songs and war songs.

3. Sources

A major strength is the extensive documentation. Terp includes historical editions of the song, information about Hans Leip, Norbert Schultze and Lale Andersen, as well as different versions and recordings. The original text includes documentation concerning the German sheet-music edition with Hans Leip as lyricist and Norbert Schultze as composer.

Terp's work should nevertheless be treated as a secondary source because he investigates and combines information from earlier sources. It is not itself a contemporary document from the First or Second World War.

4. Tendencies

Terp has a clear peace-historical background. His choice of information and way of telling the story can therefore be influenced by an anti-war and peace perspective. This is not necessarily a weakness; it can make him particularly attentive to the song's significance for soldiers' experiences of war, separation and longing.

5. Reliability

Terp's background as a librarian and his many years of historical documentation give the text a strong documentary dimension. Factual information about publications, recordings and persons can often be checked against contemporary documents and independent sources. Claims about the song's origins and the identity of the real Lili Marleen can be more uncertain and require comparison with several sources.

6. First-hand or second-hand source?

The Story of Lili Marleen is primarily a secondary source. Terp was not present when the song was written, recorded or used during the Second World War. He reconstructs its history later on the basis of existing material.

- Terp's own account → secondary source.
- Contemporary documents from the period → potential primary sources.
- Terp's interpretation of those documents → historical interpretation.

7. Historical value

The text has considerable historical value because it shows not only when Lili Marleen was written and recorded but also how a song can acquire different meanings in different historical contexts. The song was originally written by Hans Leip during the First World War but acquired major significance during the Second World War.

8. Overall scholarly assessment

The Story of Lili Marleen is above all a documentation and cultural-historical work. Its principal strength is its extensive collection of material: song texts, translations, recordings, notes and historical references.

Its most important source-critical reservation is that Terp's peace-historical perspective should be taken into account. The text is therefore best used as a secondary source alongside original contemporary sources. Its documentary and cultural-historical value is considerable, provided attention is paid to the author's perspective, the provenance of sources and the distinction between documented facts and later interpretations.

47. Songs of the Vietnam War

Songs of the Vietnam War was collected and documented by Holger Terp for The Danish Peace Academy in 2015. It is a music and documentation work concerning the Vietnam War.

It is most precisely understood as a historical source collection and documentation of the musical culture of the Vietnam War rather than as a conventional monograph about the war itself. Its scholarly interest lies primarily in preserving and making available songs as sources for contemporary political and cultural history.

Music as historical document

The Vietnam War generated an extensive protest culture in which music played a special role. Political songs could express attitudes toward the war, militarism, military service and American foreign policy. Terp's documentation describes how political lyrics in rock music developed strongly during the escalation of the Vietnam War in the 1960s, drawing on the older folk protest tradition.

The songs can therefore be used as cultural-historical primary sources. They do not necessarily document military events themselves, but they document how those events were interpreted and transformed into artistic and political expression.

Source strength

A major strength is systematic documentation. The original publication is The Songs of the Vietnam War / Vietnamkrigens sange, collected and documented by Holger Terp. It forms part of a larger documentation project at The Danish Peace Academy.

The collection makes it possible to examine patterns across songs: enemy images, representations of soldiers, references to government and military institutions, and ideas about peace and political responsibility.

Phil Ochs and the political function of protest song

Phil Ochs provides an illustrative example. His songs included Talking Vietnam, One More Parade, I Ain't Marching Anymore and Cops of the World. They addressed the Vietnam War and other current political questions and often used humour and satire.

Here the song becomes more than an artistic work. It functions as political communication. The transition from traditional folk music to rock and other forms of popular music also shows how protest could move from political milieus into youth culture and mass media.

Source criticism

The songs do not necessarily represent the overall American or international population's attitude toward the Vietnam War. They were selected in significant part because of their relation to protest, peace and criticism of war. The material therefore cannot alone establish the size of opposition to the war.

It is, however, particularly useful for studying the ideas and cultural forms of protest movements. Researchers should ask who wrote a song, when it was written, what event or political situation it addressed, who its audience was, how it was distributed and performed, what image of the war it presented, and which persons or institutions it held responsible.

Place in research

The work occupies an interesting space between political history, music history and peace research. Conventional Vietnam War history naturally addresses American policy, Vietnamese history, military operations, diplomacy and international consequences. Songs of the Vietnam War instead asks: How was the war sung?

Music does not merely reflect society. It can also create political identity and community. When a song is sung at a demonstration, festival or peace movement event, it becomes part of social action.

Overall scholarly assessment

Songs of the Vietnam War should be assessed as a documentation and source-collection work with considerable cultural-historical value. Its strength is not another general account of the war's military and diplomatic history, but the preservation of material about the cultural and musical response to the war.

Its scholarly value is greatest when the songs are treated critically and combined with other historical sources. They can then illuminate emotions, moral judgments, protest, identity and cultural ideas about war and peace that official documents have difficulty showing.

48. Pete Seeger

1919–2014

American civil-rights activist, environmental activist, folk singer, songwriter, music researcher and publicist.

Pete Seeger was one of the twentieth century's most important American folk singers and a central figure in the American folk-music and protest-song movements. His musical work was closely connected with the labour movement, peace movement, civil-rights movement and environmental movement. He also worked as a collector, communicator, organizer and publicist.

Family and musical background

Pete Seeger was born on 3 May 1919 in New York. His father, Charles Seeger, was a musicologist, composer and pacifist, while his mother, Constance de Clyver Edson Seeger, was a violinist. Seeger therefore grew up in a musical and intellectual environment.

At sixteen he encountered Bascom Lamar Lunsford's folk-music festival in Asheville, North Carolina, and became acquainted with the five-string banjo, which became his principal instrument. He entered Harvard intending to become a journalist but left the university in 1938. In New York he encountered Alan Lomax, Woody Guthrie, Aunt Molly Jackson and Lead Belly and worked for a period with Lomax at the Library of Congress's Archive of American Folk Song.

He married Toshi Seeger (1922–2013), a filmmaker and environmental activist who was an important collaborator throughout his life.

Almanac Singers and the labour movement

In 1940 Seeger joined the Almanac Singers with Woody Guthrie, Lee Hays, Bess Lomax and Millard Lampell, among others. The group used folk music in connection with current social and labour questions. Songs were performed at union meetings, demonstrations, strikes and political events.

The Almanac Singers became an early link between the American folk tradition and modern political song. Seeger also made early recordings, including Seven Cent Cotton and You Can't Make A Livin' In A Cotton Gin. During the Second World War he served in the United States Army Air Forces from 1942 to 1945.

People's Songs

On 31 December 1945 Pete Seeger, together with Alan Lomax and Lee Hays among others, helped establish People's Songs in New York. The organization sought to create, promote and distribute songs associated with the labour movement and American people. From 1946 it published the People's Songs Bulletin.

People's Songs represented an important organizational connection between folk music and the labour movement. Its work continued after 1950 in other forms, including through the journal Sing Out!, which became an important forum for American folk music and political song.

Communism and the Cold War

Pete Seeger was a member of the American Communist Party in the 1940s. The Danish Peace Academy's original entry dates his communist affiliation to approximately 1942–1946. This political engagement later became central to official and media treatment of him.

His communist affiliation must be understood in the context of the American left, the labour movement and antifascism of the 1930s and 1940s, while also becoming an important element of American anti-communism after the Second World War.

The Weavers and the blacklist

After the Second World War Seeger helped form The Weavers. The group became one of the most popular American folk groups of the early 1950s. At the same time its members were affected by growing anti-communism.

In 1950 Seeger was included in Red Channels, a publication identifying people in the American entertainment industry who were accused of communist connections. The Weavers were subsequently boycotted and lost access to large parts of radio and television.

HUAC, surveillance and the trial

On 18 August 1955 Pete Seeger was called to testify before the House Committee on Un-American Activities (HUAC). He refused to answer questions about his political and personal associations, arguing that the questions concerned constitutional rights and private matters.

In 1957 Seeger was indicted on ten counts of contempt of Congress. At a jury trial in 1961 he was found guilty and sentenced to prison. In May 1962 an appellate court overturned the conviction because the indictment was defective; the case is known as United States v. Seeger, 303 F.2d 478 (2d Cir. 1962).

The HUAC case affected his access to commercial television for years. His concerts at universities, smaller venues and folk-music events therefore

became an important part of his continuing work. FBI files also documented official surveillance of Seeger and interest in his political activities.

The civil-rights movement

In the early 1960s Seeger became active in the American civil-rights movement. He performed at events in the Southern states and helped spread songs used in the struggle against racial discrimination.

One of the most important was We Shall Overcome. The song had roots in African American religious and labour-song traditions and was developed further by Zilphia Horton, Frank Hamilton, Guy Carawan and Pete Seeger. Seeger was therefore not the song's sole author, but played an important role in its dissemination and in the form known through the civil-rights movement.

Peace work and the Vietnam War

Seeger's involvement in the peace movement continued throughout his career. In the 1960s he became a prominent opponent of American warfare in Vietnam and used songs as commentary on American foreign and security policy.

A central example is Waist Deep in the Big Muddy, recorded on the 1967 album Waist Deep in the Big Muddy and Other Love Songs. When Seeger performed the song on The Smothers Brothers Comedy Hour in 1967, it was removed from the broadcast following intervention by CBS; the following year he was allowed to perform it.

Rainbow Quest

In 1965–1966 Seeger hosted the television programme Rainbow Quest, devoted to folk music. It presented traditional American forms including folk, old-time music, bluegrass and blues and featured many musicians. The programme also functioned as musical documentation and communication of American traditions.

The environmental movement

From the 1960s environmental issues became increasingly important in Seeger's work. In 1966 he released the album God Bless the Grass. His most important environmental work was connected with the Hudson River near his home in Beacon, New York.

Together with Toshi and other activists he worked to clean the river of pollution. The sailing wooden boat Clearwater was used to combine environmental education, music and local mobilization. The project developed into a lasting environmental organization.

Musical work

Seeger's musical production included traditional folk songs, labour songs, peace songs, civil-rights songs, environmental songs and his own compositions. He also worked with film music, wrote books about music and banjo playing, and served as a publicist and musical communicator.

His significance therefore lies not only in songs he wrote himself. He was also an important transmitter of older songs and musical traditions and helped carry them to new generations.

Overall perspective

Seeger's career demonstrates how folk music could function simultaneously as art, historical documentation, political communication, social organizing and cultural memory. His work connected labour, civil rights, peace and environmental concerns through a repertoire in which older musical traditions were repeatedly given new historical uses.

49. Goliath vs David

This chapter examines Holger Terp's A Short History of the Fight Against Organised Peace Work, published by Det Danske Fredsakademi in October 2010. The work is best understood as a documentation project concerning the ways in which governments, military authorities and security institutions have reacted to organised opposition to war, conscription and militarisation.

The central historical problem is the relationship between the relatively limited resources of peace activists and the much greater institutional resources of states. The "Goliath versus David" image therefore functions as a metaphor for an unequal relationship of power, documentation and surveillance. The chapter follows this relationship through selected historical examples, including Leo Tolstoy, the American Civil War, British conscientious objectors during the First World War and reports by Basil Thomson concerning pacifist organisations.

A source-critical reading is essential. An intelligence or police report documents what an institution observed, suspected or believed; it does not automatically establish the actual character of the organisation under observation. Similarly, a military or governmental description of pacifists must be distinguished from the pacifists' own programmes and actions.

The case of British conscientious objectors illustrates the importance of legal precision. During the First World War, conscientious objectors could be court-martialled after refusing military orders. Their prosecution should not simply be described as a criminal penalty for "being pacifists". Basil Thomson's reports from 1918 are valuable primarily as evidence of official concern about organised pacifism.

The chapter's principal contribution is therefore methodological. The history of peace activism must be written from several sides: the activists' own documents, contemporary journalism, parliamentary records, police and intelligence records, memoirs and later historical research. The unequal production of sources is itself part of the history.

50. Eugene Victor Debs, 1855–1926

Eugene Victor Debs was one of the most important American labour leaders and socialist politicians of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Born on 5 November 1855 and dying on 20 October 1926, he combined trade-union activism, socialism, antimilitarism and criticism of war.

Debs worked on the railways and became active in the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen. He later helped establish the American Railway Union. The Pullman strike of 1894 brought him into direct conflict with the federal government, and imprisonment became an important experience in his political development.

From 1897 Debs became increasingly identified with socialism. He was a founding figure in the Socialist Party of America and was its presidential candidate in 1900, 1904, 1908, 1912 and 1920. He also participated in the founding of the Industrial Workers of the World in 1905.

The First World War transformed Debs's political position into a direct confrontation with the American state. In his Canton speech of 16 June 1918 he criticised war, militarism and the suppression of political dissent. He was prosecuted under the Espionage Act, convicted and sentenced to ten years' imprisonment. The Supreme Court upheld his conviction in Debs v. United States in 1919. Even from prison he received almost one million votes in the 1920 presidential election. President Harding commuted his sentence in December 1921.

Debs died in 1926. His historical importance lies not merely in electoral socialism but in the connection he established between labour rights, political democracy and resistance to militarism. His career also demonstrates how wartime governments can treat anti-war speech as a security question.

51. Alfred Salter

Alfred Salter (1873–1945) was a British doctor, socialist politician, social reformer and pacifist associated with the transformation of Bermondsey in south London. His career demonstrates how peace ideas could be connected with public health, housing, municipal reform and social justice.

Salter studied medicine at Guy's Hospital and worked in Bermondsey Settlement. He married Ada Brown in 1900. Together Alfred and Ada Salter became central figures in the local Independent Labour Party and in a programme of social reform later known as the "Bermondsey Revolution".

Salter served on Bermondsey Borough Council and the London County Council and became Member of Parliament for Bermondsey West in 1922. His municipal work included public health, housing, slum clearance, baths, parks and other measures intended to improve the conditions of working-class families.

His pacifism was not separate from this social programme. Salter was associated with Quakerism and became acting chair of the No-Conscription Fellowship in 1918. His position reflected a broader ethical argument: a society committed to human welfare should also question institutions that organised mass violence.

Ada Salter must be included in any serious account of Alfred Salter. She was a reformer and pacifist in her own right, one of the first women elected to Bermondsey Borough Council and the first female Labour mayor there. The Salters therefore represent a form of peace politics in which municipal democracy, social reform and opposition to war were mutually connected.

The chapter concludes that Alfred Salter is best understood not simply as a Labour politician, but as part of a wider British tradition in which pacifism was embedded in everyday social reform.

52. Bertrand Russell, 1872–1970

Bertrand Russell was simultaneously a mathematician, philosopher, writer, public intellectual and one of the most internationally visible British critics of war and nuclear weapons.

During the First World War Russell supported the Union of Democratic Control and opposed militarism and conscription. His political activities affected his academic career: he lost his position at Trinity College in 1916 and was imprisoned in 1918. His wartime writings, including The Ethics of War and Justice in War Time, belong to the intellectual history of modern pacifism.

Russell's philosophical work, especially Principia Mathematica with Alfred North Whitehead, is separate from his peace activism but important for understanding his intellectual authority. After the Second World War he increasingly focused on the nuclear danger.

The Russell–Einstein Manifesto of 1955, signed by eleven prominent scientists, called attention to the existential danger of nuclear war and helped create the intellectual climate from which the Pugwash Conferences developed. Russell also participated in the Direct Action Committee, the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament and the Committee of 100, combining public argument with civil disobedience.

During the Vietnam War Russell supported international investigation and criticism of alleged violations of international law. The Russell Tribunal, held in Stockholm in 1967 and later in Roskilde, was a political and moral tribunal rather than an ordinary court. Its historical significance lies in the attempt to create an alternative forum for evidence and public judgement.

Russell received the Nobel Prize in Literature in 1950. His archives at McMaster University contain a large body of correspondence, manuscripts and organisational records. His career demonstrates how philosophical authority, scientific culture and peace activism could reinforce one another while remaining distinct fields.

53. The History of the Danish Women's Peace Chain and the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, 1915–1924

The Danish women's peace movement during and immediately after the First World War formed part of an international network of women who sought alternatives to military power. The Hague Congress of April–May 1915 was decisive. Danish participants included Clara Tybjerg and Thora Daugaard, and the Danish organisation developed into the Danske Kvinders Fredskæde.

The movement had important roots before 1915. Mathilde Bajer and other Danish women had already participated in organised peace work. The constitutional reform of 1915, which extended political rights to women, provided a broader democratic context for women's international peace activism.

The organisation was founded by women including Clara Tybjerg, Thora Daugaard, Eline Hansen, Louise Wright and Eva Moltesen. Its early programme emphasised arbitration, international law and institutional methods of conflict prevention. It should not automatically be described as an absolute pacifist organisation in the later sense of the word.

Study circles became an important method. During the winter of 1915–16 groups discussed international politics, peace and social questions. The movement also used lectures, publications, local branches, signatures and public meetings. The slogan "Justice before Power" expressed its central political orientation.

Membership figures are difficult to establish precisely. Contemporary claims of approximately 10,000 or 12,000 members should therefore be treated as historical statements requiring source criticism rather than as unquestionable statistical facts.

The international organisation that became the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom was permanently established in 1919. Thora Daugaard became chair of the Danish organisation in 1920. By 1924 the movement had developed a substantial organisational and educational infrastructure.

The historical significance of the Danish Peace Chain lies in the connection between women's political empowerment, internationalism, education and peace work. Its history also demonstrates why organisational sources, contemporary newspapers and later memoirs must be compared carefully.

54. Never Again War 1926–2026

Never Again War was founded in Helsingør on 17 October 1926 as the Danish section of War Resisters' International. Its history belongs to the longer Danish tradition of pacifism, conscientious objection, antimilitarism and humanitarian peace work.

The organisation emerged from a political environment in which the legitimacy of military service and national defence was being debated after the First World War. It represented a more radical position than programmes based solely on arbitration or international law: the central question was whether individuals could legitimately refuse participation in war.

During the twentieth century Never Again War participated in debates on conscientious objection, disarmament, NATO, nuclear weapons, military expenditure and international conflicts. Its history cannot, however, be reduced to a single ideological position. The organisation contained changing generations and responded to changing political circumstances.

The Second World War, the Cold War and the nuclear arms race created different forms of pressure and opportunity. Later campaigns connected conscientious objection with nuclear disarmament and civil resistance. The organisation also maintained international links through War Resisters' International.

A source-critical history must distinguish organisational programmes from the descriptions made by political opponents and security institutions. Intelligence material may document official suspicion or surveillance without establishing that an organisation was controlled by another political force.

The centenary perspective of 2026 makes Never Again War useful as a case study in institutional continuity. Danish pacifism did not disappear when particular campaigns ended. It was repeatedly reorganised around new forms of military technology, international conflict and civil resistance.

55. Arne Nielsen Hansen (1939–2024)

Arne Nielsen Hansen (1939–2024) was a teacher, peace and refugee activist, broadcaster and popular educator associated especially with Frederikshavn and northern Jutland.

Born on 23 July 1939 and dying on 11 June 2024, Hansen worked as a teacher at Frederikshavn Gymnasium & HF from 1972 and retired in 1999. His work combined education with engagement in refugee questions, peace politics and local civil society.

The publication Flygtninge og Fred and the radio project Dialog became important vehicles for this activity. Between 2004 and 2019 Hansen produced a large number of broadcasts dealing with refugees, peace, democracy, climate and environmental questions, as well as local and international affairs. Approximately 1,500 broadcasts are associated with this period.

His work illustrates a form of peace education outside universities. The radio programme created an archive of conversations and interpretations in which local experience was connected with international politics. The final registered podcast, from 16 May 2024, concerned European asylum policy and featured Martin Lemberg-Pedersen.

The source-critical problem is that such an archive contains several levels of authorship: Hansen's own texts, editorial introductions, interviews, recordings and statements by participants. They must not be treated as one undifferentiated source.

Hansen's historical significance lies in the combination of teaching, refugee solidarity, peace education and local media. His work demonstrates how peace history can be produced through ordinary civic institutions and sustained broadcasting rather than only through formal research organisations.

56. The Vietnam Movement in Denmark 1964–1975

The Danish Vietnam movement was a broad and internally diverse field of protest, solidarity and political debate. It included students, intellectuals, socialists, communists, Christians, humanitarian activists and representatives of the New Left. It cannot adequately be described through a single ideological label.

Organisations and campaigns developed from the mid-1960s as opposition to the American war in Vietnam intensified. Demonstrations, meetings, publications, fundraising and international solidarity created a movement that connected Danish domestic politics with events in Southeast Asia.

The demonstration of 27 April 1968 became one of the important public events in the Danish protest history. Carl Madsen's Proces mod politiet, published in 1969, provides one contemporary account of the relationship between protest and policing.

The Kejsergade affair of 1969 illustrates another dimension: the security state. Jørgen Dragsdahl was arrested and later released. PET documentation concerning the Vietnam movement must be treated carefully. Surveillance records are evidence of what the security service investigated, not automatic proof of the political character of those investigated.

The Russell Tribunal, held in Stockholm in May 1967 and in Roskilde later that year, attempted to document and publicly assess the war. It was a political and moral tribunal rather than a state court.

Denmark recognised North Vietnam diplomatically on 25 November 1971. The Paris Peace Accords followed in 1973, and the fall of Saigon in 1975 marked the end of the war's central period. The movement's organisational legacy continued in the Dansk Vietnamesisk Forening.

The Danish Vietnam movement is historically significant because it brought questions of war, imperialism, international law, solidarity and civil liberties into a mass public debate.

57. The Greenham Common Peace Camps Songbooks

The Greenham Common Peace Camps songbooks are an important cultural source for the history of women's peace activism and the British nuclear-disarmament movement. Songs were not merely entertainment. They were used to communicate, remember, teach, organise and create community.

The songbooks preserve material from a movement that was strongly shaped by feminism, antimilitarism and nonviolent direct action. Their value is increased by the fact that much peace-movement culture existed outside conventional archives: handwritten texts, duplicated booklets, local collections and participant memories.

A digital documentation project can make this material accessible to researchers, but digitisation does not remove source-critical problems. Researchers must distinguish original songbooks, later transcriptions, editorial introductions, photographs, participant descriptions and secondary scholarship. Metadata is itself part of the historical record.

The collection also provides a bridge between British and Danish peace cultures. Connections involving Greenham Common, Danish peace camps, Ellen Hørup, Toni Liversage and Danish peace music demonstrate the transnational circulation of songs, ideas and activist practices.

Visual material is equally important. Photographs of camps, banners, performances and collective singing provide evidence of how the movement represented itself. They must nevertheless be distinguished from neutral documentation: photographs are selected views of events.

The Greenham songbooks are therefore best understood as an archive in motion. They preserve not only texts but a social practice. Their historical significance lies in making audible a movement that was organised through participation, memory and cultural production.

58. Jesper Jensen (1931–2009)

Jesper Jensen (1931–2009) was a Danish writer, psychologist, political songwriter, dramatist, translator and cultural figure associated with the political and antimilitarist culture of the 1960s and 1970s.

Born on 6 June 1931 and dying on 15 November 2009, Jensen worked across literature, theatre, satire, political writing and translation. His cultural production belongs to the history of the Danish New Left and the wider politicisation of culture.

Among the works associated with him are Gris på gaflen, created with Leif Panduro and Klaus Rifbjerg, and Åh, sikken dejlig krig with Rifbjerg. The latter premiered at Folketeatret on 28 January 1965. Jensen was also involved with Politisk Revy and its political-cultural environment.

His work extended into educational and political songs. In the early 1970s he participated in Agitpop with Per Schultz, Benny Holst and Arne Würgler. Publications included Skolesange, Europæiske songs, Lærlingesange, Hvor længe endnu, Den sidste olie and material on the Vietnam War.

Jensen's translations were equally extensive, including works by Heinrich Heine and Erich Kästner and translations for theatre and musical productions. The breadth of this activity makes him an important intermediary between international literature and Danish political culture.

He should not be classified simply as an organisational peace activist. His significance lies rather in the way literature, theatre, psychology, song and political criticism could become forms of cultural antimilitarism. His career demonstrates that peace history includes cultural producers as well as formal peace organisations.

59. Cooperation Committee for Peace and Security

The Cooperation Committee for Peace and Security was established on 25 February 1974 and continued until 2005. It operated in a Cold War environment in which questions of nuclear weapons, NATO, détente and international alignment were deeply contested.

The organisation was connected to the World Peace Council and to the Moscow Congress of October 1973, but its Danish membership was broader than a simple party organisation. Participants and associated organisations included Lasse Budtz, K. Helveg Petersen, Carl Scharnberg, Anker Schjerning, Never Again War, the Danish Youth Council, the UN Association, Radical Youth, trade unions, WILPF and organisations connected with the communist movement.

The central historical question is therefore the relationship between broad peace cooperation and communist influence. Intelligence assessments and later political interpretations sometimes emphasised communist influence. Such evidence must be separated from proof of organisational control.

The neutron-bomb campaign of the late 1970s and later nuclear-disarmament initiatives demonstrate the committee's role in public mobilisation. The NATO Double Decision of 1979 and the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan became major points of disagreement inside the Danish peace movement.

PET surveillance provides an important but asymmetrical source base. Records may include open-source material, human sources, observations and communications. They can reveal what the security service considered significant, but they do not automatically establish the objective truth of its assessments.

The committee's history should therefore be written neither as a simple story of communist control nor as a purely neutral peace coalition. It was a contested organisation in a divided international system, and its history demonstrates the methodological difficulty of studying peace movements through security-service sources.

60. No to Nuclear Weapons

No to Nuclear Weapons emerged in Denmark around 1980 in response to the NATO Double Decision of 12 December 1979. It became one of the important grassroots organisations in the Danish nuclear-disarmament movement of the Second Cold War.

The campaign was broadly organised, with local groups, public meetings, demonstrations, petitions, educational activities and cooperation with other organisations. It brought together people with different political backgrounds and was not identical with any single political party.

Women for Peace, the Cooperation Committee for Peace and Security, European Nuclear Disarmament initiatives and other organisations shared some objectives while differing on methods and political interpretation. These differences are historically important because they show that the Danish peace movement was not a homogeneous bloc.

The Peace March of 1981, the Ravnstrup peace camp, the 1986 peace festival and campaigns for nuclear-free zones illustrate the movement's repertoire. The publication Ekstra-Posten and policy pamphlets created a documentary record of the debate.

Contacts with peace activists in Eastern Europe became increasingly controversial. Again, source criticism is essential. Political contact did not necessarily mean political control, just as intelligence-service suspicion did not by itself prove organisational subordination.

PET monitored parts of the movement. The documentation should be read in accordance with a basic methodological principle: intelligence material documents the intelligence service's view of the peace movement, not necessarily the peace movement's actual character.

No to Nuclear Weapons declined after the end of the Cold War and was dissolved in 1991. Its archive and publications remain important for studying grassroots mobilisation, nuclear politics and Danish civil society.

61. Judith Winther and the History of Civil Society

Judith Winther (1924–2004) was associated with Danish peace activism and with the development of a historical understanding of civil society from the perspective of participants in social movements.

Her book Politik fra neden, published in 1992, and the posthumously published Civilsamfundets udvikling og historie, edited by K. Tobias Winther in 2006, are central to the discussion. Winther's own position as an activist and participant is important: she wrote not from a detached institutional distance but from inside civil society.

The concept of civil society creates methodological problems. Modern categories cannot simply be projected backwards onto earlier periods. The historian must distinguish between the historical actors' own concepts and later analytical terminology.

Winther's work is particularly valuable for making visible forms of political participation that are easily omitted from institutional political history. Associations, study groups, voluntary organisations and peace campaigns appear as political actors even when they do not possess formal state power.

Her interpretation of the relationship between East and West also requires careful contextualisation. Later scholarship may revise particular interpretations, but the books remain important sources for understanding how peace activists themselves understood their historical position.

The scholarly value of Winther therefore lies partly in the tension between participant history and analytical history. Her work is not a neutral survey, but neither should it be dismissed merely because it is written from an engaged position. It is both an interpretation and a primary source for the history of Danish civil society.

62. Jørgen Dragsdahl

Jørgen Dragsdahl became a prominent Danish journalist and security-policy commentator from the 1970s onward. His writing concerned nuclear weapons, NATO, the United States, the Soviet Union, détente and the political conflicts of the Cold War.

His journalism and the book Gensyn med den kolde krig, published in 1992, form an important source for the history of Danish security-policy debate between the late 1970s and 1990.

The controversy concerning alleged KGB connections demonstrates the importance of distinguishing between different kinds of evidence. PET or intelligence records may document contacts, assessments or suspicions. A contact with a foreign representative is not by itself proof of being an intelligence agent.

The legal proceedings involving Bent Jensen eventually reached the Supreme Court. The litigation included the Svendborg District Court judgment of 2010, the Eastern High Court judgment of 2013 and the Supreme Court judgment of 3 June 2015. The Supreme Court majority considered several statements concerning Dragsdahl defamatory or insufficiently supported, while two judges dissented on aspects of the case. Other statements were treated differently. The European Court of Human Rights later considered the matter in 2018.

The case is historically important because it connects journalism, intelligence history, academic interpretation, defamation law and the politics of the Cold War. It also demonstrates why a historian must distinguish court findings from later political claims.

Dragsdahl's historical significance is therefore broader than the controversy itself. His career illustrates the role of journalism in shaping Danish security-policy debate and the difficulty of reconstructing contested Cold War histories from sources produced by institutions, journalists and political opponents.

63. Women for Peace 1980–2010

Women for Peace was established in Denmark around 1980 and became a decentralised part of the Danish peace movement. The organisation was associated with activists including Bodil Graae and Janne Houman.

Its central demands concerned nuclear disarmament, lasting peace and the redirection of resources from military purposes towards civilian needs. Its slogans linked disarmament with social welfare and challenged the assumption that military security should dominate political priorities.

A Nordic petition presented at the UN World Conference on Women in Copenhagen in 1980 connected the Danish movement with international women's politics. Hiroshima Day activities, the Ravnstrup peace camp and the Peace Festival of 1986 became important parts of the movement's public culture.

Women for Peace deliberately avoided a conventional central leadership structure. The decentralised organisation used publications such as Køkkenrullen and Grydelappen and maintained contacts with Women in Black, Never Again War, the Danish Peace Council, the Peace Movement Coordination Group and the Danish Peace Tax Foundation.

The movement included many activists, among them Grete Andersen, Birgit Arrenakke Hansen, Aase Bak Nielsen, Inger Bjørn Andersen, Ingeborg Christmas-Møller, Meta Ditzel, Lisbeth Espersen, Bodil Graae, Birgit Horn, Louise Højlund, Grete Møller, Ulla Røder, Britta Skovgaard and Karen Thomsen.

PET surveillance forms part of the documentary record. As elsewhere in this book, such material must be interpreted as evidence of surveillance and institutional assessment rather than as independent proof of the movement's actual political character.

The movement remained active into approximately 2010. Its historical importance lies in the combination of feminism, decentralised organisation, nuclear disarmament and everyday political activism.

64. Ulla Røder – Danish Pacifist, Civil Disobedience Activist and Advocate of Nuclear Disarmament

Ulla Røder, born Bodil Ulla Røder in 1954, became one of the most visible Danish activists associated with nuclear disarmament, civil disobedience and international peace campaigning from the late twentieth century onward.

Her activism developed in a context shaped by the Chernobyl disaster of 1986, nuclear testing, the nuclear arms race and the renewal of civil-disobedience movements. She became associated with Scottish CND, Trident Ploughshares, Never Again War, the Danish Peace Tax Foundation, WILPF, Women for Peace and other networks.

The Danish Peace Commission of 1998 provided an important intellectual and organisational context. Røder's arguments often drew on international law, the Nuremberg principles and the responsibility of individuals to oppose preparations for mass destruction.

On 8 June 1999 Røder, Ellen Moxley and Angie Zelter participated in the Maytime action at Loch Goil. They were acquitted in October 1999. The case became significant in discussions about the relationship between international law, nuclear weapons and domestic criminal law.

Røder later participated in actions at Faslane and Coulport, the Fylingdales Star Wars campaign, Aldermaston and protests concerning the Iraq War. Her methods involved civil disobedience and what activists described as "active disarmament".

Legal history must nevertheless distinguish activists' arguments from judicial holdings. An acquittal in a particular case does not establish a general legal right to damage military property.

Røder received international recognition including the Right Livelihood Award in 2001, shared with Ellen Moxley and Angie Zelter. Her career illustrates the internationalisation of Danish peace activism and the continuing role of conscience, law and civil disobedience in nuclear politics.

Her historical legacy is best understood through her own writings, court records, contemporary journalism, organisational archives and later research, rather than through a single political interpretation.

65. Thoughts on the Denmark of the Future – While the World Is Burning All Around Us

Holger Terp's Thoughts on the Denmark of the Future – While the World Is Burning All Around Us (2019) connects climate, energy, economics, militarisation, war, migration and peace.

The work is not a conventional natural-science monograph. It is a hybrid publication combining documentation, social analysis and normative political argument. Its value therefore depends on keeping empirical claims separate from interpretation and proposals.

One central theme is the environmental cost of military activity. Military emissions, resource consumption, infrastructure and the environmental consequences of war are placed alongside the climate transition. The argument is that climate policy cannot be isolated from questions of military expenditure and international conflict.

Energy policy provides another bridge. Dependence on fossil fuels is interpreted not only as an environmental problem but also as a source of economic and geopolitical vulnerability. Peace becomes part of a broader conception of sustainable security.

The book also reflects a pacifist political position concerning NATO, military expenditure and disarmament. Such normative claims should be identified as arguments rather than presented as empirical conclusions.

Its historical importance lies in the attempt to connect two policy fields that are often treated separately: environmental transition and peace policy. The work belongs to a growing tradition in which security is understood in social, environmental and human as well as military terms.

For research purposes, each factual assertion should be checked against the cited statistical, governmental or scientific source. The publication is strongest when it makes its documentary basis explicit and when the boundary between evidence and political vision remains visible.

66. Bomb Target Norway

Bomb Target Norway is a short documented and illustrated introduction to Norwegian history and policy with particular attention to militarism, nationalism, NATO, nuclear weapons, surveillance and the peace movement.

The work treats Norway's strategic position after the dissolution of the union with Sweden in 1905, the East Greenland dispute, the development of Nordic defence policy and Norway's entry into NATO. Norway should not simply be described as having been "forced" into NATO. Norwegian governments and parliamentarians made decisions within a framework strongly influenced by the strategic power of the United States and the emerging Cold War.

Norway combined NATO membership with important restrictions concerning foreign bases and nuclear weapons in peacetime. This created a recurring tension between alliance integration and national policy.

The nuclear question requires careful terminology. Civilian nuclear research, nuclear-capable delivery systems, preparations to receive nuclear weapons and the permanent stationing of nuclear weapons are not identical phenomena.

The book also discusses political surveillance and the later Lund Commission. Such material is central to understanding how the Norwegian state monitored political movements and how later investigations assessed earlier practices.

The title "Bomb Target Norway" expresses the strategic logic of nuclear planning, but it should not be taken to mean that every military or political action was organised around a single intention to make Norway a nuclear target.

The work is best classified as political-historical documentation rather than a conventional academic monograph. Its main value lies in bringing together military policy, nuclear strategy, surveillance and peace activism in a single research framework.

67. Bomb Target Norway – A Source-Critical Reassessment Fifteen Years Later

Fifteen years after the original publication, Bomb Target Norway requires a source-critical reassessment. The central themes remain important, but some formulations need greater historical precision.

The description of militarism, nationalism and fascism was broader than the evidence necessarily permits. These concepts must be historically differentiated rather than treated as interchangeable characteristics of Norwegian society.

The 1905 separation from Sweden and the East Greenland dispute of 1931–1933 illustrate questions of sovereignty and national interest. Norway's NATO policy similarly involved both Norwegian decisions and strong American strategic influence.

The relationship between NATO membership and Norwegian restrictions on foreign bases and nuclear weapons remains one of the most important features of Norwegian security policy. Nuclear policy must distinguish civilian research, nuclear-capable weapons systems, secret preparations and actual stationing.

The discussion of political surveillance also requires careful source classification. The Lund Commission provides a later investigative framework, while police and intelligence records document the activities and perceptions of the institutions that produced them.

Claims concerning emergency legislation, the Gestapo and international intelligence cooperation must be tied to specific documents. General statements about "secret control" are insufficient without documentary support.

Norway's relationship with the European Economic Community is another example of the need for precision: Norway negotiated and signed the 1972 accession treaty, but membership was rejected by referendum.

The reassessment therefore does not simply reject the original work. It places it within a more precise historical framework. Its continuing value lies in the questions it asks about sovereignty, alliance policy, nuclear deterrence, democratic control and the relationship between security institutions and civil society.

68. Scientific and Critical Assessment of Hiroshima Day 2020

Hiroshima Day 2020 marked seventy-five years since the atomic bombing of Hiroshima on 6 August 1945 and Nagasaki on 9 August. The events marked the beginning of the nuclear age and created a historical problem that remains central to peace research: how should societies assess weapons capable of destroying cities and producing long-term radiation effects?

The bombings must be studied through several kinds of evidence: governmental records, military documents, eyewitness testimony, medical studies, photographs, demographic research and the testimony of hibakusha. The National Archives and Japanese historical institutions provide important primary documentation, while later scholarship has examined immediate mortality, radiation effects and the longer-term consequences.

After 1945 the nuclear arms race produced thousands of nuclear tests. Atmospheric testing spread radioactive material across national borders and affected populations, including Indigenous communities living near test sites. The Partial Test Ban Treaty of 1963 prohibited nuclear tests in the atmosphere, outer space and underwater, although underground testing continued.

Radioactive waste adds another dimension. Nuclear weapons production and testing generated long-lived contamination and created environmental problems that extend beyond the moment of detonation.

Hibakusha testimony has been essential to the international memory of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Hiroshima Day is therefore both a historical commemoration and a political-cultural practice.

The Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty remains a central institutional effort to prevent further nuclear explosions, while the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons represents a different legal approach to nuclear disarmament. The TPNW was adopted in 2017 and entered into force on 22 January 2021.

The historical assessment must distinguish commemoration, legal analysis, scientific evidence and political advocacy. Hiroshima Day is not merely a memorial event; it is also a source field in which the history of nuclear weapons, environmental damage, human testimony and disarmament policy meet.

69. The Danish Defence Intelligence Service (FE) – A Defence with Many Unknowns

The Danish Defence Intelligence Service, FE, raises a methodological problem that extends beyond intelligence history: how can historians investigate institutions whose work is partly secret?

The central source-critical principle is that the absence of documentation is not automatically evidence of absence. At the same time, absence can itself become a research finding when secrecy prevents independent verification.

FE's purpose, legal framework and relationship with democratic control must be distinguished from the assessments and operations recorded in classified material. Intelligence records are produced for operational purposes, not primarily for historians. Their categories therefore reflect institutional needs and assumptions.

The "puzzle" is an appropriate metaphor for intelligence history. Researchers work with fragments: parliamentary documents, legislation, official investigations, released intelligence files, court records, journalism, memoirs and secondary scholarship. The pieces do not necessarily form a complete picture.

The history of FE must also distinguish secrecy from illegality. Secrecy is an ordinary feature of intelligence work, while democratic control requires institutions capable of testing whether secret powers are used within the law.

A historical account should therefore ask not only what FE knew, but how it knew it, what it did not know, which information remained inaccessible and how later institutions evaluated its actions.

The study of FE is thus simultaneously a study of national security and democratic knowledge. Fragmented documentation and unequal access to information are not merely obstacles to research; they are themselves part of the historical object.

70. From Peace Movement to Peace Policy? Danish Peace Activism 1990–2026

The end of the Cold War changed the organisational and intellectual conditions of Danish peace activism. The peace movement did not disappear, but its structures, issues and political functions changed.

During the 1990s the disappearance of the bipolar nuclear confrontation reduced the conditions that had supported large-scale mobilisation. The Kosovo war of 1999 nevertheless demonstrated that questions of intervention, international law and military force remained central.

The invasion of Iraq in 2003 generated a major mobilisation. On 15 February 2003 a large demonstration took place in Copenhagen. Estimates differ: the Danish Peace Academy chronology gives approximately 25,000 participants, while contemporary Fagbladet 3F reported more than 30,000. The difference illustrates why crowd estimates should be treated as source-critical ranges.

On 28 February 2003 the Danish Peace Council was established, with 28 organisations represented at the founding general assembly. The movement increasingly operated through networks, specialist groups, documentation projects and educational initiatives rather than through a single mass organisation.

Afghanistan and Iraq continued the debate. After Russia's full-scale invasion of Ukraine in 2022, peace activists faced a difficult question: how can peace be defended without accepting aggression? This question exposed differences between pacifism, antimilitarism and broader peace-policy approaches.

The contemporary debate also includes the concepts of common security and sustainable security. Morten Dige's 2026 work Når freden står for skud and the OMTÆNKE pamphlet Bæredygtig sikkerhedspolitik i en forrykt verden, published on 22 April 2026, represent recent contributions to this debate.

The "insider" is an important source type. Participants possess knowledge unavailable in official archives, but their accounts are also situated and selective. They should therefore be used alongside organisational records, journalism, governmental documents and independent research.

From 1990 to 2026 Danish peace activism moved from large-scale mobilisation toward a more fragmented peace-policy field. This transformation does not have a single interpretation. It can be studied as organisational decline, adaptation, professionalisation or diversification. The historical

task is to document the change rather than impose one final judgement on it.

71. Betty Nielsen: The Petersen Family Chronicle

Betty Nielsen's The Petersen Family Chronicle (Familien Petersens familiekrønike), published by Det Danske Fredsakademi in 1991/2022, is the final chapter of this book because it changes the scale of historical observation. After chapters concerned with war, international politics, peace movements, nuclear weapons and security institutions, the chronicle turns to the family and the everyday life of ordinary people.

The work resembles genealogy, but it is more than genealogy. It is simultaneously family history, memoir, local history, social history, microhistory and a memory archive. Its historical value lies especially in the way individual lives can illuminate larger structures.

A family chronicle that becomes Danish history

The chronicle follows people whose lives were shaped by work, migration, marriage, illness, education, religion, economic circumstances and local communities. The Brammer, Nielsen and Petersen family histories connect places such as Køge, Ølby, Tryggevælde, Malmö and Hvidovre with wider Danish social history.

The book is strongest when it allows ordinary experience to remain visible. Workers, craftsmen, small traders, women, children and families appear not merely as examples of a statistical category but as historical persons.

Memory as a historical source

Betty explicitly writes from memory and from her mother's side of the family. This distinction is fundamental. A remembered event is not identical to a documented event, and a family tradition is not identical to a verified historical fact.

The chronicle should therefore be read on several levels: documented fact, remembered experience, oral tradition and the author's interpretation. These levels may overlap, but they must not be silently converted into one another.

Oral history becomes written history

The book preserves information that might otherwise disappear when people who carried family memories died. In that sense the act of writing is itself historical work. Oral history becomes a written archive.

The historian should nevertheless ask who remembered, who transmitted the information, when it was written down and whether independent documentation exists. Church registers, censuses, newspapers, property

records, probate records, municipal archives and other sources can sometimes confirm, correct or complicate family memory.

Betty's speciality – from academic history to family history

Betty's speciality lies in making the small meaningful. Her work can be read as a movement from academic historical categories toward family history. Rather than beginning with institutions, she begins with people and allows larger structures to emerge from their lives.

This is particularly significant in relation to her background at the library school. Her work shows an instinct for collecting, ordering and preserving information. The connection should not be exaggerated into a claim that she was producing professional academic historiography, but it helps explain the documentary character of the chronicle.

Women's history

Women are not marginal figures in the family chronicle. They work, manage households, experience illness, make decisions, handle money, enter conflicts and preserve memories. Their lives provide access to forms of historical agency often missing from institutional narratives.

The chronicle therefore belongs to the history-from-below tradition. Its importance is not that every memory can be verified, but that it preserves questions and experiences that formal archives may omit.

Køge, Ølby, Malmö and Hvidovre

The geographical movement of the families creates a local and transnational microhistory. Køge and Ølby provide an industrial and rural context; Malmö represents movement across the Øresund; Hvidovre represents the development of modern suburban Denmark.

The Hvidovre context is especially relevant. Housing, work, migration, associations, everyday life and cultural development form part of the historical environment in which the later family story must be understood. The chronicle is not itself a history of Hvidovre cultural policy, but it can be placed in dialogue with municipal cultural-policy documents, local newspapers and association archives.

Source criticism

The principal methodological weakness is inherent in the genre. Dates may be approximate, memories may have been transmitted across generations, and family interpretations may have become attached to events whose documentary evidence has disappeared.

That is not a reason to reject the book. It is a reason to read it correctly. A family chronicle is a source for memory as well as a source about the past.

Betty's last history

Betty Nielsen died at home on 29 October 2021, her eightieth birthday. According to the family account, she was greeted with a birthday song in the morning. The account states that she received no gifts, cake or greetings except a card from the mayor of Hvidovre, which arrived in time for her to enjoy.

According to the same family account, Betty died between approximately 18:45 and 19:15. She was deeply unconscious. The family remembers that she raised her almost black right hand several times, understood by those present as a kind of final greeting. The account also mentions Alzheimer's dementia, COPD, a bladder infection, difficulty eating and pressure sores as circumstances surrounding her final illness. These details are presented here as the family's account, not as independently verified medical conclusions.

The family remained beside her and held her hand through much of her birthday. This final episode gives the chronicle an unusual circular structure: Betty spent her life preserving memories of others, and the family later became the witnesses preserving the memory of Betty.

The family chronicle as a historical source

The scholarly importance of The Petersen Family Chronicle is therefore not dependent on treating every statement as established fact. Its value lies in the combination of testimony, memory, local context and historical possibility.

The work can be compared with church registers, census records, newspapers, municipal archives, probate material, photographs and private papers. Such comparison can confirm some details and reveal uncertainty in others. The result is not a replacement of memory by documents but a dialogue between the two.

Conclusion

Betty Nielsen's family history closes this book on a deliberately human scale. The preceding chapters have examined institutions, organisations, wars, nuclear weapons, peace movements and political conflicts. The family chronicle reminds us that history is ultimately lived by people.

Betty wrote about the dead so that they would not be forgotten. Her own death therefore becomes part of the same historical process. The family archive continues the act of remembrance.

The Petersen Family Chronicle is thus best understood as a family history that becomes Danish microhistory: private and public, remembered and documented, local and wider than the family itself. Its greatest

methodological lesson is also its simplest: memory is a historical source, but memory must be read critically. Its greatest human lesson is that preserving the lives of ordinary people is itself an act of historical work.