If you want peace, go and talk to your enemy!

An Ecumenical Peace Treatise | 2026

With a preface by Konrad Raiser

edition pace

Series: edition pace | First digital edition

Published in cooperation with the
Ökumenisches Institut für Friedenstheologie
(Ecumenical Institute for Peace Theology)

Ralf Becker, Karen Hinrichs,
Heinrich Schäfer, Theodor Ziegler

If you want peace, go and talk to your enemy!

An Ecumenical Peace Treatise | 2026

With a preface by Konrad Raiser

edition pace
First digital edition

This digital version from the online library:
https://friedenstheologie-institut.jimdofree.com/
will be followed by an ISBN book edition

© 2026

Ralf Becker, Karen Hinrichs,
Heinrich Schäfer, Theodor Ziegler

IF YOU WANT PEACE, GO AND TALK TO YOUR ENEMY

An Ecumenical Peace Treatise, 2026
With a preface by Konrad Raiser

(English version of:
Wer Frieden will, muss mit dem Feind reden
Eine ökumenische Friedensschrift | 2026)

Translation with assistance by DeepL-Pro

Series: edition pace | Special Edition
Cover image: East London Blitz Memorial,
Photo: The wub, 2023 | wikimedia.org : CC BY-SA 4.0

First digital edition : OekIF
https://friedenstheologie-institut.jimdofree.com
(https://www.lebenshaus-alb.de)
Publication date: 04.08.2026

Contents

"If you want peace, go and talk to your enemy!"

Preface by Konrad Raiser 8

Summary 9

1. Introduction: Shalom and the Logic of Peace 12
2. Multiple Crises: Challenges for the Ethics of Peace 15
3. Biblical Peace: Recommendations Based on the Logic of Peace 18
   - 3.1 *Swords into Plowshares*: *Micah 4* 21
   - 3.2 *The Sermon on the Mount* 22
     - "Why do you see the speck in your brother's eye, but do not notice the log in your own eye?" 23
     - "Love your enemies …" 28
     - "Do unto others as you would have them do to you, do also to them!" (The Golden Rule) 33
   - 3.3 *Jesus' Victory Over Violence* 39
   - 3.4 *Overcoming the Myth of Violence* 41
4. The Logic of Peace, Political Science, and Practical Love of Enemies 42
5. Options for Action by Christians 48
6. Options for Action by the Churches 51
7. Positive Examples of Christian Peacemaking 56
8. References to other Writings on Peace 61
9. The Lord's Prayer … 63

APPENDIX

Supporters
Supporting Organizations 64
Individual supporters 65
The Editorial Group 68
Notes 69
Links to statements on peace ethics 87
Bibliography for the Ecumenical Peace Document 89

The authors understand that this short treatise on the "necessity of talking to the enemy" primarily contributes to the German debate. We would like to propose a completely different approach to the ethics of peace than the one presented by the Protestant Church in Germany in 2025. Our orientation toward the prophets and the Sermon on the Mount aims at proving its usefulness by promoting a peaceful strategy in regard to the war in Ukraine—a debate, particularly contentious in Germany. We are therefore retaining the original text of the German version without adapting our approach to issues of global ecumenism.

Preface

Konrad Raiser

For some time it seemed that the wide-ranging ecumenical debate about the ethics and politics of responding to violent conflict had finally converged on the common strategic perspective of building "just peace". This convergence is beginning to weaken because wars are being accepted again as means to impose superior power and political interest - in obvious violation of international law. Instead of promoting ways to transform conflict, public debate is focussing again on deterrence and on strengthening defensive capacities. This development is also affecting the churches, particularly in Europe, most notably in Germany.

The German peace manifesto presented here in English translation represents voices from the network of Christian peace movements which intend to influence the internal ecumenical debate in Germany about the ethics and politics of peace. Against the tendency in the institutional churches to follow the predominant public concern for security, this manifesto expresses the conviction that the peace-message of Jesus in the Sermon on the Mount has immediate political implications. The interpretation of the biblical message underlines in particular the call for self-criticism, for intelligent love of the enemy and for practical implementation of the golden rule. According to the manifesto there exists a direct correspondence between these biblical instructions for active peace-making and the concept of "peace-logic" which has been developed in the context of peace research in Germany. It represents a direct challenge to the policy focus on "security-logic". The manifesto uses the example of the Russian war against Ukraine to demonstrate how policies which follow the "peace-logic" can help to limit the impact of war and violence.

The ethical and political arguments presented in this manifesto are of significance far beyond the specific context in which they have been developed. Therefore, the WCC deserves grateful recognition for its willingness to make this English version of the manifesto available for international ecumenical discussion.

Berlin July 2026 Konrad Raiser

"If you want peace,
go and talk to your enemy!"[1]

Summary

Who we are and what we commit to

As members of various churches in Germany, we stand in solidarity and love with the victims of war and refugees. For the sake of those affected, we call on all warring parties to end the violence. We commit ourselves to continuing to support the victims and refugees to the best of our ability through practical aid and our intercession. Given our privileged position in Western Europe, we feel obliged to unmask all warmongering and to call on political leaders to pursue diplomacy that promotes peace.

To whom we address

Our statement is addressed first and foremost to our own churches and organizations in Germany. We are contributing new perspectives to the discourse on peace policy and peace ethics. In doing so, we are guided above all by Jesus' message of peace. At the same time, we address those in politics and society who bear responsibility as sovereign citizens and as representatives of the people.

What is at the center

We are convinced that Jesus' message of peace applies to all people and, especially in the current global situation, can provide important guidance for those in positions of responsibility in politics and society. We view the Sermon on the Mount in particular as highly compatible with the insights of social science research on peace and conflict.

Taking the Sermon on the Mount seriously in politics

The Sermon on the Mount consistently recommends actions that promote peace: these include self-criticism, intelligent love for one's enemies, and the practical application of the Golden Rule. Jesus advises us to first notice the log in our own eye rather than the speck in another's. This emphasizes the importance of self-criticism for our perception, judgment, and action. The concept of "Peace Logic," developed in peace research, strikes us as the best approach for translating biblical guidance into peace-promoting action in the present day.

For peace in Ukraine and for universal international law

Using the example of Russia's war against Ukraine, we demonstrate in this paper how the practice of Peace Logic can serve to curb violence and war. We analyze the escalation since NATO's decision to admit Ukraine in 2008 and the missed and still possible opportunities to build a sustainable, peaceful security order in Europe.

With regard to other wars as well, we advocate for taking into account the interests of all parties to the conflict and for strengthening international law as universal law.

The role of the Churches

Churches can only fulfill their mission as churches of peace. Jesus' message of peace sets the church in contrast to a society marked by violence and injustice and connects it to modern peace research. In times of massive rearmament, churches should unequivocally advocate for military disarmament and for all states to join the UN Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons, and be a strong, clear voice for the dismantling of enemy stereotypes. In this way, they counteract the militarization of society.

For a culture of peace and nonviolence

There are numerous positive examples of Christian peace work worldwide. Credible and effective action by the churches requires support for conscientious objection as well as concrete commitment to civilian conflict management and peacebuilding. As Christians, we should learn and implement practical tools for constructive conflict management. Faith in the nonviolent Jesus and his message of the Kingdom of God frees us from the myth that peace can be achieved through military force and threats. Instead, faith encourages us to engage in nonviolent resistance against injustice and to build a culture of peace and nonviolence.

How this ecumenical peace document came to be

The editorial team was formed during a plenary session attended by a large number of representatives from peace organizations. This text emerged through the interplay of drafts and feedback from the plenary.

Editorial Group

Ralf Becker, Wethen
Rev. Karen Hinrichs, Lahr
Prof. Dr. Dr. Heinrich Wilhelm Schäfer, Bielefeld
Dr. Theodor Ziegler, Baiersbronn

1. | Introduction: Shalom and the Logic of Peace

In the Bible[2], Shalom means more than just the absence of war:

It also means justice, blessing, and a good life. Such a broad understanding of peace and the consistent interpretation of Jesus' message of peace repeatedly set his church in contrast to a society marked by violence and injustice. The Church is loyal to Jesus Christ, not to political systems. It opposes the idolization of power and violence and stands alongside the suffering, the poor, and those who seek to achieve peace through nonviolent means.

Jesus' teachings continue to provide clear, forward-looking guidance for Christians today, as well as for others interested in peace.

In his classic text on peace, the prophet Micah speaks of a peace in which people beat their swords into plowshares and no longer learn the ways of war, but can live without fear from the fruits of their labor, from the fig tree and the vine (Micah 4). We build on this vision of peace and place ourselves in the tradition of biblical prophets and Jesus.

This tradition has always been about Shalom rather than military security.[3] Shalom does not mean having no conflicts. We see in Jesus that he did not shy away from conflicts; but he resolved them nonviolently. And he knew violence. Many had been crucified before him. His radical critique of power was met with a torturous death by the political and religious rulers.

We trust that faith in Jesus' victory over death through the Resurrection also shows us the right path: to promote peace through creative means and thereby resolutely oppose the forces of violence.

Jesus and the biblical prophets were guided by the Kingdom of God—not as a heavenly realm in the hereafter, but as a concrete practice on the path toward a peaceful world. Christian action should follow this direction—and people of other faiths are also invited to join.

The Sermon on the Mount and other texts offer guidance on how to navigate critical situations in a way that leads them toward the Kingdom of God. Thus, alongside the human tendency to do evil, people are also recognized as having the capacity to do good.

We combine the broad understanding of peace as Shalom and our interpretation of biblical texts with insights from modern peace and conflict research, particularly with the practice-oriented concept of "Peace Logic" developed by Hanne-Margret Birckenbach.[4] This concept takes into account five action-guiding principles: violence prevention, conflict transformation, dialogue compatibility, norm-oriented interest development, and error tolerance.

Peace logic, as a concept grounded in the social sciences, explains these principles, which can be particularly well aligned with the perspectives of prophetic theology and the Sermon on the Mount. Therefore, we speak of "peace-logical" recommendations. Those who are not religious can understand the biblical recommendations for action as "regulative ideas" (Kant).

We discuss the ethically responsible approach to a war-like conflict using the example of the war in Ukraine, as this war has triggered decisions in Germany regarding long-term military rearmament.[5] We do so in a self-critical manner. It would be desirable if Christians in Russia and the Russian Orthodox Church were to present a similar, self-critical analysis of the Russian attack on Ukraine.

With regard to the war in Ukraine, we note that none of the analyses and peace-oriented recommendations formulated here justify the violence perpetrated by Russia. However, in accordance with the recommendations of the Sermon on the Mount, the emphasis of our remarks is on self-criticism. Therefore, we do not offer a comprehensive conflict analysis with all the details. Nor do we repeat the familiar narratives about Russian transgressions, as they are frequently found in the media. Rather, in this paper we focus particularly on the West's involvement in the conflict—that is, our own participation. This offers an opportunity to highlight courses of action that have not yet been sufficiently explored.

Other examples of current armed conflicts in the Near and Middle East and in Africa could and should also be examined using this

peace-oriented approach.[6] In doing so, Jesus' recommendation would be equally effective: first remove the "log" from your own eye before turning to the speck in your neighbor's eye. This instruction from the Gospel serves as a guiding principle for the present text. Any one-sidedness that readers may observe is therefore entirely intentional in the spirit of Jesus' recommendation. We are aware that there is always at least a second side to conflicts.[7]

This form of self-criticism is occasionally found even in international politics, as most recently in the Canadian Prime Minister's speech at the World Economic Forum in Davos in 2026: "We knew that some of our actions were wrong…"[8]

We do not describe the situation of victims of war in detail. Nevertheless, it is precisely to them that we direct our special attention. The purpose and goal of any peace-oriented analysis is the swift and lasting end to their suffering—but not through ongoing violence and counter-violence.

This paper cannot cover the entire spectrum of Christian peace ethics and does not address all the issues discussed in similar writings.

Rather, it is intended to provide food for thought on peace ethics based on the Bible.

With this Ecumenical Peace Document, we address people in churches, society, and politics who are interested in the abolition of war through "a continuous and progressive effort" (Carl Friedrich von Weizsäcker)[9] .

With this intention and in the spirit of honestly addressing their own involvement in conflict, the initiatives, organizations, and individuals listed in the appendix support this ecumenical peace document.

2. | Multiple Crises: Challenges for Peace Ethics

Today's world is marked by *multiple crises*: climate catastrophe in many dimensions, epidemics, extreme economic inequality, widespread impoverishment, ruinous competition, curtailment of political participation and fundamental rights, authoritarianism, famines, imperialism, the rollback of international institutions, the undermining of international law, ideologies of domination in cyberspace, unlawful sanctions, terrorism …

All these phenomena are intricately intertwined and are not sufficiently disentangled due to a lack of constructive conflict resolution. Armies are being built up, societies and international relations are being militarized, which ultimately leads to wars. Wars are both a consequence *and* a cause of the other crises. They are caused, for example, by competition for resources and simultaneously deplete those resources. In this way, violence—and wars in particular—exacerbate *all* the problems mentioned above. And they perpetuate themselves—right up to the point of a looming nuclear catastrophe for humanity.

A pro-military peace ethic—real, but is it realistic?

The escalation of a conventional war into a nuclear war, in which just over 1 percent of the nuclear weapons currently ready for deployment would be used, would lead, among other things, to a nuclear winter with massive crop failures and global famines resulting in several billion deaths.[10] Even the conventional military strikes in Gaza and Iran, which the U.S. and Israel currently describe as "precise," are already causing hundreds of thousands of deaths and injuries among the civilian population.[11]

Given the increasing technological complexity of modern warfare—such as cyber operations, autonomous weapon systems, and the use of artificial intelligence—new risks are emerging. The renowned King's College London has demonstrated through simu-

lations of geopolitical crises using common AI bots that, in 95 percent of cases, AI escalates to the use of nuclear weapons.[12]

In contrast, just three percent of G7 military spending could end world hunger,[13] while in Germany, defense-related spending is projected to consume half of the federal budget's revenue by 2029.[14]

Against this backdrop, any peace ethic that justifies military buildup, fails to question enemy stereotypes, and devalues diplomatic peace efforts risks becoming increasingly unrealistic, illusory, and meaningless.

Ways out of the cycle of violence and counter-violence

This paper aims to contribute to breaking these dynamics. It thus ties in with the global Ecumenical Process for Justice, Peace, and the Integrity of Creation, as well as the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals.[15]

The guidance provided by the prophets and the Sermon on the Mount needs to be applied to the present day. The concept of Peace Logic, developed in peace research, seems particularly well-suited for this purpose.

The wars and crises of our time can be overcome if we heed the fundamental recommendations of peace and conflict research that correspond to the biblical message of peace. Another world is possible—this is what we believe as Christians, as do many people from other religious or humanist traditions.

Anyone who wants to make recommendations that promote peace must both put themselves in the shoes of potential opponents and take their own point of view into account. The prophets stood alongside the poorest and most disenfranchised, the widows and orphans, in order to have a standard for their observations and judgments. Jesus did the same. Following this practice means becoming aware of our privileged position as middle-class citizens of a Western society. It is a society whose prosperity is owed to centuries of colonialism.

With this self-critical perspective, we describe today's conflict situations in order to develop recommendations for the prevention and reduction of violence. We must remove the "log" from our own

eye (Matthew 7:5) to make the world more peaceful and to beat swords into plowshares.

> *"Peace requires the ability to see the world through the eyes of others. Especially through the eyes of those we have learned to call adversaries or enemies."*
>
> Fabian Scheidler[16]

3. | Biblical Peace: Recommendations Based on the Logic of Peace

First, a few reflections on our theological approach:

Despite the prohibition against killing mentioned in the Ten Commandments, the Bible frequently describes human practice as violent.[17] However, the classical prophets in particular demonstrate a variety of strategies for reducing violence in the spirit of *Shalom*. In Semitic languages, the term denotes both peace and friendliness in contrast to violence, as well as well-being in the material sense.[18] In the political context, for example, Isaiah demands a willingness for peace from the Israelite king in sharp contrast to the king's claim to participate in Egypt's hegemonic power. (Isa. 30:15 ff.; Isa. 31:1–3). Jesus' path of consistent nonviolent conflict resolution follows this tradition.[19]

Our theological approach differs from common denominational approaches to the ethics of peace, whether Lutheran, Reformed, Mennonite, Pentecostal, Catholic, or from another tradition. The approach aims for ecumenical inclusivity and is therefore grounded in sociologically informed exegesis and its systematic-theological interpretation.[20] This also means orienting ourselves toward the prophetic-Jesus tradition in order to go back to a time *before* early Protestant (Paul) and early Catholic (Pastoral Epistles) interpretations of Jesus' practice. We thus focus—with epistemological reflection—on the prophetic-Jesus strand of the Bible as a source for judgments in peace ethics.

Methodologically, critical exegesis enables us to identify Jesus' words and deeds and contextualize them within social history.[21] From a systematic-theological perspective, the results of this interpretation are applied to current conflict scenarios using critical social science. This is done in order to understand the effects of the prophets' and Jesus' recommendations in current conflict situations—not to demand "obedience to commandments."

Unlike church dogmatics with fixed concepts such as "sin" or "commandment," this theological approach enables a new perspective on entrenched notions. Some dogmatic traditions advocate a

quasi-universalist concept of "sin," whereby all human action and ultimately the world are regarded as unredeemed and evil. In contrast, an approach based on the biblical witness attributes to human beings both a tendency toward the ethically bad and the capacity for the ethically good. This corresponds to the concept of sin as it is developed in biblical primeval history (Genesis 1–11), particularly in the narratives of the serpent, Cain's murder, and the Tower of Babel. In this sequence of narratives, sin is seen as a phenomenon of thought, individual action, and social structures. At the same time, the capacity for good can be recognized in humanity's cultural abilities—for example, in agriculture and playing the lyre.[22]

Instead of "commandments," we use the term "recommendation." The reason for this is not only that commandments in a church context can easily become "law" or religious fetishes.[23] The term "recommendation" goes back to the way Jesus made the Kingdom of God the center of his message, especially in the Lord's Prayer.[24] The form of the plea expresses the realization of the Kingdom of God as a hoped-for ideal. Those who pray should act in this direction. Thus, the Sermon on the Mount and ultimately all of Jesus' reconstructable words and deeds are placed in perspective through the Lord's Prayer: it is about the approximate realization of the Kingdom of God. Christian and all human action should be oriented toward this goal. And such action cannot be demanded through commandments, but can only be recommended as a means of overcoming critical situations. In accordance with Shalom and the concept of the Kingdom of God, the criteria for such recommendations are the life and dignity of every single human being—not the realization of principles or values at the cost of human sacrifice and the escalation of conflicts;[25] and certainly not "Christian" Armageddon fantasies to which entire peoples are sacrificed.[26]

Furthermore, one must assume that the words of Jesus collected in the Sermon on the Mount were spoken in concrete situations and were thus intended as concrete recommendations for action. Their stylization into abstract commandments is attributable to the interests of the church. Finally, for communication with secular people, Jesus' recommendations can be understood as "regulative ideas" (Kant). They serve to focus human thought and action on the dignity and rights of other people.[27] We are therefore not speaking of

"commandments," but rather of recommendations on how to navigate critical situations so that the course of events shifts toward the Kingdom of God. Consequently, these recommendations express the utopian power of religious thought and action.

We will consider, *by way of example*, only one prophetic text and three of Jesus' recommendations from the Sermon on the Mount. We do not claim to be exhaustive regarding the biblical approach to the issues of conflict and peace—which is, after all, extremely diverse and even contradictory. Nor do we claim to address all possible wars or conflicts here, but rather limit ourselves to the perception of the Ukraine conflict. Nevertheless, the biblical claim to validity is universal and also applies to other conflicts such as World War II, Vietnam, Gaza, Lebanon, or Iran—but only on the condition of a different conflict analysis, which can be very effectively achieved using the methods derived from the concept of "Peace Logic."

The aim of the following reflections is therefore not to establish a peace ethic with universal validity. Rather, the goal is to provide some new impetus for an urgently needed renewal of Christian peace ethics.

3.1 | Swords into Plowshares: Micah 4

> *God will judge between many peoples and adjudicate for mighty nations far and wide. Then they will beat their swords into plowshares and their spears into pruning hooks. Nation will not lift up sword against nation, nor will they learn war anymore. And everyone will sit under his vine and under his fig tree, and no one will scare them.* (Micah 4:3–4)

Even though waging war was for the longest time "merely" a craft, involving axes, arrows, spears, and swords, it still caused many people to die, be maimed, or be driven from their homes. That is why the question of how wars can be avoided and overcome has been an urgent one for over two and a half millennia. In the vision of the prophet Micah (chap. 4)[28] , the three prerequisites for war—conflicts, weapons, and soldiers—are contrasted with the four prerequisites for peace in the image of a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. We interpret them here with an eye toward our present:

- Many peoples are making their way to the Temple Mount in Jerusalem. They accept that there is an all-encompassing divine reality above all nations, an authority that transcends their particular interests. They allow this authority to guide them on how peaceful coexistence is possible and what rules must be observed in this regard. They seek justice for existing conflicts in order to resolve them amicably and civilly.
- The deadly weapons used to instill fear even before a war break out are being converted into tools that serve life: "Swords into plowshares" is today's term for *arms conversion*. This is championed, among others, by workers who refuse to participate in arms production and fight for the preservation of the civil clause at universities.[29]
- The capacity for war ("Kriegstüchtigkeit")—that is, the ability and willingness to efficiently destroy others—is eliminated. So too is the hierarchical structure from the commanding powers at the top to the executing soldiers at the bottom. This frees up

resources: young people can become professional peace workers who learn and teach *how to resolve conflicts through civil means*.

- This reorientation also leads to a *lifestyle based on solidarity and sustainability:* everyone lives off the fruits *of their* labor, from *their* vine and *their* fig tree. Currently, we Germans have already used up our share of global resources and generated our part of climate-damaging emissions by May of each year. For the rest of the year, we live at the expense of other peoples—a major cause of conflicts, terrorism, wars, impoverishment, and migration. Peace work therefore includes not only saying no to the military and war but also a commitment to global justice, ecology, and education.

Considering today's weapons of mass destruction, particularly nuclear weapons capable of wiping out all life on Earth, this reorientation must not remain a utopian ideal. It encourages us to rethink our security policy: no longer military, but civilian. In 1959, the Soviet Union presented the United Nations with a sculpture for its headquarters depicting a blacksmith forging a sword into a plowshare. With this motif as their symbol and in this spirit, peace groups in the former GDR succeeded, despite the looming threat posed by the heavily armed and violent state apparatus, in motivating and guiding the population toward the nonviolent overthrow of a dictatorship.[30]

3.2 | Peace-oriented recommendations from the Sermon on the Mount

"Can the Sermon on the Mount be used to govern the world?" This question was once posed to Federal President Johannes Rau. After a moment's thought, he replied: "I would rather ask whether it is possible to govern *without* the Sermon on the Mount."

This applies not least to Jesus' recommendation to first notice the log in one's own eye rather than the speck in another's. It emphasizes the importance of self-criticism for perception, judgment, and action. This recommendation guides the entire Sermon on the Mount and actions that promote peace.

> "Why do you see the speck in your brother's eye, but do not notice the log in your own eye?"

Why do you see the speck in your brother's eye, but do not notice the log in your own eye? Or how can you say to your brother, 'Let me take the speck out of your eye'—when there is a log in your own eye! You hypocrite! First take the log out of your own eye, and then you will see clearly to take the speck out of your brother's eye!
(Mt. 7:3–5)

In the literary context of judgment (7:1–5), perception is addressed here as a prerequisite for one's own judgment (Luz)[31]. The person with the log in their own eye judges the speck in another's eye, but by pointing out the log in their own eye, they themselves become the object of judgment. This vivid comparison describes a severe limitation of perception that prevents correct understanding and action. It draws attention to the necessity of a change of perspective as an opportunity for diplomacy.

Aspects of peace ethics

To perceive the log in one's own eye, a change of perspective is required: seeing oneself from the other party's perspective.

In philosophy and sociology, it is taken for granted that perception depends on the position of the actors. Experiences of culture (German, Russian, South African …) and social living conditions (technocratic boom, impoverishment …) shape people's judgments (freedom/socialism, end of history, best of all worlds…). Therefore, people from other continents perceive the world differently than we Central Europeans do.

Raising awareness of perspective-dependence

This perspective-dependence and corresponding contextual conditions (e.g., democracy/autocracy) significantly impair international political understanding. For example, the "good" fighter against "villains" usually fails to perceive "his own involvement in precisely

the very thing he is fighting against."[32] Consequently, we must become aware of the subjectivity of our own perspectives and their relativity in order to enable a shift in perspective and to understand the criteria, motives, and viewpoints of others. This makes it possible to comprehend *their* understanding of a shared conflict[33] and to compare it with our own understanding. Ultimately, we learn to see *ourselves* from the opponent's perspective and to understand why we are viewed as an enemy by them.

The logic of violence that has shaped us so far

"Everyone seeks peace, but their own peace" (Georg Picht)[34] . In politics, the media, and the church today, one's own standpoint is often naively regarded as the only normal and correct one. A change of perspective, on the other hand, is frequently defamed as betrayal ("Putin sympathizers"), and self-criticism is avoided.[35] Thus, since 2008, Ukraine's accession to NATO has been pushed forward—in disregard of European agreements that preclude a violation of Russia's security interests (e.g., the Two-Plus-Four Treaty of 1990, the Charter of Paris of 1990, OSCE 1999)[36]. Ukraine's sought-after (treaty-violating)[37] NATO accession ultimately served as a major pretext for Russia's 2022 attack on the country, an attack which violated international law.

Experienced European and U.S. foreign policy figures, including George Kennan and Henry Kissinger, had long warned of a possible war in Ukraine due to its prospects for NATO membership[38]. The warning was ignored, and the prospect of accession is still upheld by some European politicians to this day,[39] although President Zelenskyy is now willing to abandon it.[40] In short, they continue to cultivate the log in their own eye.

Recommendations based on the Logic of Peace

The "log" primarily produces misperceptions. Jesus' recommendation therefore aims at an attitude of "error-friendliness"[41] . It is also one of the guiding principles of the concept of Peace Logic. In the

face of failure, people should critically reflect on factors caused by themselves and learn from experience. There are quality standards in place for this, as well as a wealth of experience with the involvement of churches and social movements in the promotion of peace (see → chap. 6).[42]

Understanding the security interests of others

A conscious shift in perspective goes one step further: one examines one's own actions from the other person's perspective in order to understand *their* experiences of violence, perceptions of threat, and security concerns. What do people in Russia perceive when NATO countries, including the U.S., spend nearly ten times as much money on military buildup as Russia (1.3 trillion / 150 billion USD)[43] and when the U.S. maintains approximately 800 military bases worldwide, while Russia has only about 20, mostly in neighboring countries?[44]

What did Russia's political leaders perceive when, particularly,[45] the West has terminated arms control treaties since 2001[46] (ABM, INF); failed to sign the AKSE Treaty on further conventional disarmament in Europe, which Russia had already signed in 2004; as well as rejected inspection offers from the Russian side (Kaliningrad)[47] and talks on a European security order,[48] and ignored calls for disarmament (New Start, 2026)? What will people in Russia perceive when, starting in 2026, long-range hypersonic weapons with a preemptive first-strike capability are stationed in Germany, thereby triggering a new arms race with a general increase in insecurity?[49]

Looking further afield: What could we learn about ourselves if we take into account what people from the Global South see when they look at Europe or the U.S. in terms of economic exploitation or climate catastrophe?

Reflecting on the West's mistakes

"The West has good reasons to reflect on its own mistakes." With these words, the Chairman of the Munich Security Conference (MSC), Ambassador Wolfgang Ischinger, described in 2022 the West's blind spot regarding NATO's decision to admit Ukraine in

2008: "Why [did we as Europeans] not reject the U.S. government's initiative much more vehemently in 2008: namely—from Russia's perspective—the crossing of a red line."[50]

Even more fundamentally, the former chair of the Working Group for Peace and Conflict Research in Germany, Prof. Dr. Lothar Brock, assesses it as the "biggest mistake" that "after 1990, we did not push much more emphatically for the establishment of a common security system in Europe that included Russia."[51]

A shift in perspective opens new horizons

The log in one's own eye can only be removed through a shift in perspective. Admitting one's own mistakes opens a realistic view of the other party's legitimate interests—and their illegitimate ones. Central to the ethics and Logic of Peace is learning to see through the eyes of others—and doing so in a way that others perceive this. Only then can one help remove the speck from their eye.

A change of perspective is not taken for granted in conflicts. Before and during peace negotiations[52], for example, conflicting parties initially hold the opposing side solely responsible for tensions and construct enemy stereotypes that attribute misconduct solely to the other party.

Conflicts must be analyzed comprehensively

From a peace studies perspective, this behavior fuels conflict because responsibility for the outbreak of violence is attributed solely to the opponent.[53] Instead, a clear and comprehensive conflict analysis is required. Armed conflict should never be viewed as unilateral action by one party to the conflict, but rather as a consequence of an unresolved conflict between two or more parties (e.g., Russia, Ukraine, the U.S., and Europe).[54] One's own party's position should not be regarded as the only possible one in conflict analysis.[55] It can be just as influenced by blind spots[56] as that of the opponent. Furthermore, the opponent's blind spots, along with distorted conclusions, must be understood, even if they are deemed incorrect.

A Jesus-centered ethic requires considering not only objective interests, but also feelings of dignity or even hatred, when analyzing

relationships between opponents.[57] Only in this way can emotions (e.g., fear of losing face) be prevented from blocking a peace-promoting exchange of interests.

Once the conflict is recognized and accepted as a shared conflict, measures can be taken to overcome the political paralysis. In a corresponding process of conflict transformation, the parties involved should initially focus their analyses and measures on their own conflict behavior.[58] Only by confronting *their own* mistakes can the parties reach compromises or even new forms of cooperation—similar to the "depolarization" of dialogue during the Cold War, which led to the resolution of the East-West conflict and various offers of Russian cooperation.

Self-criticism opens the door to dialogue

Ambassador Ischinger (MSC): "From my experience as a negotiator, I know this: if you can create a situation where one party says, 'I admit, we made a mistake there'—that increases the chance that the other side will say, 'We also made a mistake.' If you can create this situation, that's half the battle in terms of negotiation technique."[59]

In this context, it would be sensible for Western politicians to acknowledge that invoking the freedom of every OSCE country to join an alliance of its own choosing is always in violation of the treaty if it thereby infringes upon the security interests of another signatory state. In the European Security Charter (OSCE, Istanbul, November 19, 1999, 8), the right to freely choose "security arrangements, including treaties of alliance" is limited by the requirement that states "will not strengthen their security at the expense of the security of other States."[60]

Instead of ignoring the standard of "collective security," it would be an important step toward peace to acknowledge, in the spirit of Ambassador Ischinger, Russia's insistence on this treaty guarantee. This in no way justifies the violence presently being employed by Russia, but it does open up prospects for bringing it to an end.

In the interest of peace in the current conflict, Western Europeans should resume direct communication with Russia, for example by reopening diplomatic channels of communication.[61] Through traditional diplomacy aimed at conflict resolution and future conflict

prevention[62], mutual perceptions of threat should be acknowledged and overcome.[63]

> "Love your enemies . . ."
>
> *You have heard that it was said, 'You shall love your neighbor and hate your enemy.' But I say to you: Love your enemies and pray for those who persecute you, so that you may become children of your Father in heaven; for he causes his sun to rise on the evil and the good, and sends rain on the righteous and the unrighteous.*
> (Matt. 5:43 ff.)

This central Christian teaching counters the tendency of common sense[64] to hate one's enemies. The opposite of this is intelligent love for one's enemies.[65] "Love," however, does not refer to a romantic notion. The concept of *agape* in the New Testament denotes mercy, peacefulness, justice, self-control, and similar qualities.[66] Love in the sense of *agape* thus refers to a specific form of practical commitment. Those who follow Jesus' recommendation act in accordance with the regulative idea of being oriented toward the Shalom of the Kingdom of God. Love for one's enemies brings about something unexpected in the relationship with the enemy and can thus break open entrenched conflict situations. Even the enemy is accepted by God, for God causes rain to fall on the wicked and the righteous alike. God's love also encompasses adversaries in conflict.[67] Jesus thus recommends "loving even those who have the least right to our love." (Wink)[68]

This categorically prohibits the cultivation of enemy stereotypes, especially when they are linked to the demonization of individuals, groups, or states (systems).

Aspects of Peace Ethics

Western media and politics often portray states that reject Western dominance as fundamental enemies of the West. These self-created enemy stereotypes are then used as a rhetorical trump card when

the West itself violates international law, to taboo critical discussion of its own actions or to downplay the violations. In contrast, the question should rather be: What if peace and international law are also threatened and violated by one's own side—as in the cases of the attacks on Iran and Venezuela that violate international law?

Key Principle: Non-Interference

The most important principle of the UN Charter is non-interference in the affairs of other states. This principle has been in effect since the Peace of Westphalia (1648).[69] Nevertheless, Western economic sanctions alone, by creating shortages of goods, always devastate the most vulnerable social classes in other states (Iraq, Iran, Venezuela, Cuba). Even under military force, it is always the weakest segments of the population who suffer the most. We must not allow our view to be obscured by a so-called "values-oriented"[70] foreign policy, which has now become intertwined with bellicism.[71]

The logic of violence that has prevailed until now

The logic of nuclear deterrence is more dangerous today than ever before. During the Cold War of the 20th century, it was in the interest of both superpowers to maintain the nuclear stalemate and to monitor each other through arms control agreements, the "red telephone," and "open skies" for mutual observation flights. Today, virtually all arms control agreements have been terminated.

From a deterrence stalemate to offensive forward defense

Instead, the military policy of the U.S. and NATO has focused on "forward defense" or conventional—and in specific cases even preventive and nuclear—first strikes. *Multi-domain task forces* (land, air, sea, space, cyber) operate very rapidly worldwide and are intended to ensure that the West continues to dominate the world.[72]

First-strike capability, unassailable superiority, and the demoralization of the enemy are thus the cornerstones of Western de-

terrence and also the backdrop to NATO's eastward expansion. Russia and China, along with all BRICS nations, clearly perceive this logic of dominance but are no longer willing to submit to the West in the future (which, as mentioned, in no way justifies the use of force by these states, yet represents a key to the general reduction of violence in our world).

The pursuit of dominance and influence

To nevertheless justify its own military dominance and the subjugation of any states expected in the future, the West formulates a "values-driven," idealistic foreign policy. The respective adversary is deemed evil, and the West itself is deemed good.[73] The security needs of the opposing side are underestimated and devalued.

Starting in 2004, and particularly following the 2014 change of power in Ukraine—which was significantly supported by the U.S.[74]—, the West contributed significantly to the escalation of tensions there. It has repeatedly rejected Russian initiatives for dialogue[75] and militarily armed Ukraine after 2014.[76] Meanwhile, anti-Russian rhetoric has spread in politics and the media. Ukraine's NATO accession, agreed upon in breach of contract[77], became a pretext for the attack on the country—an attack that remains unjustifiable regardless.

Clinging to irrational enemy stereotypes

Even now (as of spring 2026), NATO is prolonging the "deadly dilemma"[78] of further escalation. After more than four years of war, with immeasurable suffering among the soldiers involved and the Ukrainian civilian population, the typical logic of enemy stereotyping continues to prevail. This remains linked to the projection of downright irrational enemy stereotypes, which we all sooner or later come to regard as reality ourselves. Thus, without evidence and contrary to any rational analysis, it is claimed that Russia will attack NATO; that Russia will "remain our enemy forever" (Foreign Minister Wadephul)[79] and is the "Realm of Evil" (NATO GenSec Rutte)[80]. Russian initiatives for negotiation are countered with: "You can't negotiate with Putin!"

In this cultivation of an enemy image, individual persons (e.g., President Putin) or systems (e.g., Iran) are demonized as a matter of course. Such collective shifts in language regularly take on the character of propaganda.[81]

Concealment of Western aggressions

In contrast, Western aggressions that violate international law (such as the 1999 bombing of Belgrade, the 2003 Iraq War, the assassination of Gaddafi in the 2011 Libyan War, the attacks on Iran in 2025 and 2026, and the hostilities against Venezuela and Cuba in 2026) are concealed. All of this points to a militaristic logic taking on a life of its own,[82] an escalation-induced "clouding of perception"[83] , as well as "war hysteria"[84] , and appears to be developing into "collective psychosis"[85], similar to what occurred during the Cold War. From a peace-oriented perspective, this development is alarming.

Furthermore, it is claimed without evidence that Russia will attack Europe, even though all 17 U.S. intelligence agencies, among others, rule this out as "almost certain" in 2024.[86] In 2025, U.S. intelligence agencies are instead warning of an "unintended escalation" of the war in Ukraine between Russia and NATO, potentially leading to a nuclear war, which is why the war should be brought to an acceptable conclusion as quickly as possible.[87] If, by contrast, unsubstantiated claims of an imminent Russian attack[88] are shielded from criticism by being presented as the only possible scenario, then that claim is treated as absolute. Such a practice is fundamentalist.[89]

It also often happens that the West itself creates actors who, over time, turn against the West itself. This is the case in the run-up to almost all U.S. wars in the Middle East. The best-known examples are the Taliban in Afghanistan and the "rebels" in Syria.[90] These enemies become mirrors of the West itself.

From enemy image to military buildup

A strong enemy image contributes to high military spending, and the arms industry contributes to strong enemy images. From a church perspective, the close connection between the arms industry

and politics through lobbying groups—as observed by organizations such as Lobby Control or Transparency International—may initially stand out.[91] The extraordinarily high profits resulting from skyrocketing stock prices are by no means "innocent" economic figures.[92] They are based on the logic that peace is not good for business, whereas permanent war is.

"The structure is simple: Long wars generate long-term contracts. Occupation regimes generate logistical needs. Nation-building generates construction contracts. Instability generates follow-up contracts. The system has no interest in quick solutions. It has an interest in perpetuation."[93]

Since financing also depends on individual investment decisions, the European Union has summarily classified military investments as sustainable.[94] This creates a clear conscience for the greed of individual investors.

Recommendations based on the Logic of Peace

Those who love their enemy oppose such escalation by encouraging politics[95] to act in accordance with the Logic of Peace and by criticizing hostile discourse.

Concrete steps toward peace

Diplomatic communication between the EU and Russia should be resumed. A first step would be a self-critical analysis of the escalation,[96] to explore possible courses of action, topics, and communication channels. Then a targeted rapprochement could take place[97] , avoiding "communication patterns of threat and accusation"[98] and acknowledging the security interests of the other side. Domestically, hostile language in politics and the media should be scaled back.

The churches should criticize the ideology of hostility and resolutely oppose the creation of enemy stereotypes. Furthermore, they should demand and conduct *objective* analyses of the actions and language of the "enemy." Of particular importance in dealing fairly with the enemy would be strengthening objective frameworks such as international law and applying them to one's *own* side's actions.

Western wars of aggression that violate international law—such as the one against Iran (March 2026)—must not be justified by Western politicians[99]—no matter how brutal and inhumane the political system there may be.

On the issue of nuclear weapons (as well as chemical and biological weapons), the Church and the state are called upon to say a categorical "No!" considering their immense destructive power and long-term impact on uninvolved civilians and future generations.

Church and, above all, political action guided by the spirit of love for one's enemies can, ideally, contribute to the creation of a new European peace order that includes Russia. For Ukraine, what U.S. foreign policy experts have previously recommended could be realized: neutrality, security guarantees, and a bridging role between East and West.[100]

No money for arms

Beyond this perspective, the arms industry and its financing must be viewed critically. The Church of England's Pensions Board, for example, decided in 2025 to sell arms stocks from its own holdings (divestment).[101] German churches should follow suit, if they have not already done so.

In the short term, ending the stock market listing of arms companies would promote peace, as would mutually controlled military disarmament in the medium term. Churches should label any investment in arms as unethical. Another important contribution would be to support whistleblowers from politics and the arms industry, thereby contributing to the transparency of democratic processes.

> "Do unto others as you would have them do unto you!" (The Golden Rule)

Do unto others as you would have them do unto you! This is the essence of the Law and the Prophets. (Mt. 7:12)

The Golden Rule builds on the commandment of love for one's neighbor in the Old Testament (Lev. 19:18b), yet it dispenses with the religious character of a commandment (18b) and formulates a general recommendation for action, a regulative idea. It stands in the tradition of reciprocity rules found in many cultures and claims universal validity, not just for believers. Furthermore, it was used by Jesus in the context of loving one's enemies (Luz)[102]. Thus, the focus is on how to treat strangers and enemies, not like-minded people.[103] The rule requires a shift in perspective. It encourages people to be ethically creative.

Aspects of peace ethics

The Golden Rule presupposes communication and enables harmonious coexistence through the joint development of norms and rules.[104] It is a further development of the adoption of perspective in the admonition regarding the log and the speck in one's eyes. However, it does not focus on self-criticism but emphasizes the recognition of the other's human dignity, similar to loving one's enemies.

Respect for the normative ideas of others

This also includes the recognition of others' normative ideas, coupled with the desire that one's own norms be respected in return. The Golden Rule allows the other to be the "end" (Kant)[105] of one's own actions and does not degrade them to a means. In political practice, it promotes the mutual recognition of different interests and the development of common norms for the nonviolent handling of conflicting interests.

The common negative formulation of the Golden Rule, "Do not do unto others…" emphasizes the renunciation of uninvited interference in the normative orientations of one's counterpart. Ever since the Peace of Westphalia, it has been undisputed that the effects of unequal power can be mitigated only through mutual non-interference. Refraining from interfering in the affairs of others is a form of reciprocity. For Kant and the UN Charter, this is also an important prerequisite for peace.[106]

The logic of violence that has prevailed until now

The Russian attack on Ukraine constitutes a gross violation of international law. However, the Western response to it is not entirely in compliance with international law either: According to the UN Charter (Art. 51), Ukraine does have the right to armed resistance. Third states, however, are obligated to restore peace quickly and without the use of force (Chapter VI, Articles 33, 36, and 37).[107]

Russia's security interests are also enshrined in international law. The war in Ukraine could have been prevented through strict adherence to international law by all parties involved.[108]

According to the Golden Rule, the West must adhere to international law itself if it expects others to do so. This reciprocity is also relevant to the concept of security.[109]

Security—currently confrontational

Today, security is framed in confrontational terms; the actors talk about each other rather than with each other. The days of *collective security* and successful rapprochement (CSCE/OSCE) are forgotten. The U.S. has abandoned arms control and developed a preemptive strike doctrine.[110] The German government is de facto abandoning international law and supporting the U.S. "might makes right" principle as the new world order.[111]

Following the rejection of dialogue prior to the war in Ukraine, the "willing" Europeans, in violation of international law,[112] continue to block talks with Russia and instead engage in "monologues" (Steingart).[113] The impression arises that the elites[114] of the West tend to view non-Western actors and their interests as illegitimate and think only in terms of their own interests.[115]

Domestic political consequences

A confrontational foreign policy also fosters a tendency toward authoritarianism domestically: All proposals for non-confrontational conflict strategies—and certainly any criticism of the system—are regarded as treason, or at the very least as disinformation or an attempt to delegitimize the state.

The disregard for international law is particularly problematic in the context of nuclear armament. All agreements reached to date on limiting global nuclear weapons have been terminated. The nuclear-armed states are not adhering to their obligation under international law to dismantle these nuclear weapons according to a mutually agreed-upon schedule. Countries such as the U.S. and Russia can attack other countries with virtual impunity due to their possession of nuclear weapons.

Consequently, for a long time now, more and more countries around the world have been motivated to develop their own nuclear weapons and threaten to use them. The respective governments generally view this acquisition of nuclear weapons as effective protection against external attacks. Consequently, the bombing of nuclear facilities will not prevent proliferation in either the medium or long term. Only joint development and reliable adherence to international treaties can put an end to the proliferation of nuclear weapons.

The ban on nuclear weapons enshrined in international law has so far been ignored by the nuclear powers and some of their allies.[116] It is irrationally assumed that security in the nuclear age can still be achieved through confrontation—even though a regional nuclear war (e.g., India/Pakistan) would result in billions of deaths (ICAN).[117] The illusory political goal is a Europe as the world's fourth major military power. Theologically, this appears to be an attempt to build a tower reaching to the heavens (Genesis 11)—that is, hubris, the primordial form of sin. In contrast stands the Golden Rule for cooperative strategies.

Both the Catholic and Protestant churches in Germany and worldwide have long denied any ethical justification for the use of or the threat with nuclear weapons.[118] Unfortunately, they have not yet mustered the courage to reject the possession of these weapons of mass destruction in accordance with the UN resolution of July 7, 2017.[119]

Recommendations based on the Logic of Peace

The Golden Rule can indeed be understood as a tool of Peace Logic: with regard to an ongoing war (Ukraine), preventive peacekeeping, and the West's self-centeredness. It can initiate dialogues[120] on global "norm-oriented interest development."[121] In this regard, International agreements provide the normative framework.

In the context of the war in Ukraine, a legal framework exists in the form of the UN Charter's obligation to maintain peace and in form of the CSCE/OSCE treaties. Russia *and* the West have violated these norms. From the perspective of peace research, a negotiation process should be initiated that critically examines the actions and justifications of the parties and aims for a "reform" of their approach.[122]

Dialogue on mutual interests and their legitimacy

The culturally universal Golden Rule could help foster a dialogue within the normative framework (UN, OSCE, etc.) regarding mutual interests and their legitimacy. For example: "Would you want other states to station offensive missiles on your border without your control?" Since this is likely to be rejected, the dialogue could take a solution-oriented approach, for instance by negotiating broadly on mutual disarmament and arms control. A corresponding process of "interest development"[123] involving all stakeholders could reconcile interests with norms.

The principle of "error tolerance"[124] would lead to a self-critical analysis of the policies pursued to date by all parties involved, including sanctions policy and its boomerang effect on Europe's future viability. For Ukraine, a politically and security-technically supported neutrality would be a possible peace-promoting outcome (Vad).[125]

Security through disclosure of desires and intentions

With regard to the concept of security, the Golden Rule presupposes that wishes and intentions are mutually disclosed, which creates trust and predictability. This was a key to the success of the German-

Russian policy of détente in the 1970s and 1980s. The concept of common security has faded due to the neglect of international forums such as the OSCE, the NATO-Russia Council, and the G8. This neglect had specific triggers in each case (mostly Russia's use of force)—but was fundamentally rooted in the U.S.'s global quest for hegemony. Germany, too, today pursues a concept of exclusive military security, with massive rearmament and comprehensive civil society preparations for war.

Preventive diplomacy, on the other hand, would be conducive to peace.[126] Above all, as a permanent institution, it would take precedence over all other aspects of exclusive security. The UN's *Agenda for Peace* (1992)[127] provides a framework for this.

Preventive measures[128] such as confidence-building steps, reliable fact-finding, early warning systems, joint international police structures[129], and UN peacekeeping forces are of current importance. Measures for peacemaking and peacekeeping also remain relevant.[130] "Security with" is always better than "security against."[131]

In the context of Ukraine, the proposal by a group of military officials and diplomats dated January 5, 2026, exemplifies ways to build peace.[132]

This proposal discusses territorial issues, NATO membership, and security guarantees for peace talks with Russia, with the interests *of both* sides being paramount. For a more comprehensive security strategy and the role of Germany and Europe within it, the West would need to step out of its "monologue."

Western dominance—to be replaced by global cooperation

The West's self-centeredness in a changing world stands in contrast to the Golden Rule. It should be replaced by a strategy based on broad dialogue. This requires a serious dialogue with political rivals and the Global South, such as the BRICS countries. This is how it is programmatically formulated, for example, in the positive scenario of *the "*RETHINKING SECURITY*"* initiative (Sicherheit neu Denken), "Europe's Role for Peace in the World."[133]

All of this is all the more urgent because the confrontational focus on self-interest—as observed at the 2026 Munich Security Conference—is once again bringing global transatlantic dominance to

the forefront.[134] In response, Germany and the European Union should return to their founding principles of non-military peacekeeping. Above all, Western dominance worldwide must be replaced by cooperation.

In this regard, the UN proves to be of lasting value. In his 2025 report "The True Cost of Peace"[135], Secretary-General António Guterres lists five points to consider: (1) peaceful conflict resolution through diplomacy; (2) disarmament and arms control; (3) transparency in the arms industry; (4) financing for development; (5) human security through sustainable development.

Ultimately, the question arises: what vision do we, as citizens, have for the future of Germany and Europe? Do we want to become a heavily armed and aggressive power that plunders raw materials; a "fourth world power" locked in rivalry and conflict with its immediate neighbors and all other inhabitants of the globe? Or do we want to make the commitment to peace—born of our German and European history—the foundation of our vision for a peaceful future and help foster peace worldwide?[136]

3.3 | Jesus' Victory Over Violence

The commandment to love one's neighbor as oneself is expanded by Jesus. He challenged his followers to love even their enemies, to renounce violence and retaliation, and to resist the unjust actions of the powerful in a nonviolent manner. Jesus lived what he preached. He stood with the victims of the ruling system of his time, not with the powerful or their accomplices. He did not use violence and distanced himself from the armed group of resistance fighters against the Roman occupation (Zealots).

He was aware of the risks associated with his message of the Kingdom of God and accepted slander, torture, and death by crucifixion. He neither tried to flee nor did he defend himself with violence against the soldiers who arrested him or the authorities who sentenced him to death and sought the crowd's approval for it.

Beware the temptation of a political ethic of strength

Like Jesus, countless people before and after him have been murdered because they criticized the unjust actions of those in power. Jesus was resistant and nonviolent, but not naive. He was fully aware of the danger. He faced it and had to endure torture and death. From the earliest days until today, Christians have understood the message of Jesus' resurrection by God as Jesus' victory over death and over the forces of destruction.

Thus, for believers, Jesus' death on the cross becomes a sign of life. By suffering violence, Jesus frees us from the temptation of a political ethic of strength. His followers, on the other hand, become people of protest against death and against the culture of violence in the form of injustice, the military, and war.

We understand discipleship on the path of peace not merely as an individual choice, but as a matter for the whole Church. It has the task of creating opportunities for services of peace and reconciliation. Jesus trusts us to make peace, to bring about reconciliation, to overcome evil with good, and to practice love for our enemies.

The prohibition against killing—not relativized

We seek to advance a culture of peace and nonviolence rooted in reverence for all life (Albert Schweitzer). We reject the belief in the apparent necessity of violence and resist the temptation to act violently or to relativize the prohibition against killing. We serve life by standing up for the dignity and lives of all fellow human beings and living creatures, as well as by seeking ways to resolve conflicts without violence.

When we look to Jesus Christ, we recognize what God desires for this world: "For the kingdom of God is righteousness and peace and joy in the Holy Spirit" (Rom 14:17). Trusting in God's Spirit, we gain the strength to endure exclusion, threats, and suffering, and as the Church of Jesus, to fight together for a more just and peaceful world through nonviolent means.

3.4 | Overcoming the Myth of Violence

Belief in the myth of the redemptive power of violence is the most widespread religion in the world, the true world religion (Wink)[137] . The (mostly male) armed hero, one of "the good guys," triumphs over "the bad guys" by destroying them. This false myth pervades religious scriptures and is portrayed and celebrated in many films today. Neither Christianity nor other religions are free from it. That is why it is an ongoing task to debunk this myth and to question the seemingly "self-evident" legitimization of violence and weapons.

Churches should expose deception

When considering the crises mentioned at the outset, the myth of the redemptive power of violence offers psychological relief. For by focusing on enemy stereotypes and military prowess, other problems become virtually invisible. The churches owe it to the world to expose this deception—just as Isaiah exposed the idols in Babylon as fetishes.[138]

According to Christian belief, God has redeemed the world through the cross and resurrection (2 Corinthians 5:19; Colossians 1:19–20).[139] It is now up to us, as Christians, to act accordingly, to contribute to the liberation from sin and violence, and to work toward overcoming war. We do not need the idol named "violence." Instead, we join in the "rejection of the spirit, logic, and practice of deterrence" by the Federation of Protestant Churches in the GDR (1983) and the Ecumenical Assemblies in Dresden and Magdeburg (1988/89). Guided by Shalom, we can stand together with all people of good will worldwide for peace, justice, and the preservation of creation.

4. | Peace Logic, Political Science and Practical Love for One's Enemies

The sociological approach known as "Peace Logic," published by a research team led by Prof. Dr. Hanne-Margret Birckenbach[140] as part of the Platform for Civil Conflict Management, explains the meaning of loving one's enemies in contrast to military-security logic.

Military-security logic

In military-security logic, peace becomes a secondary goal. This is because it is assumed that the cause of insecurity originates from an opposing side, whose threatening actions can be repelled by force if necessary. When both sides think and act in a similar military-security logic, this results in a self-perpetuating arms race. Resources are no longer directed toward building and maintaining peaceful relations, but rather toward defensive measures: isolation, severing of communication, and arms buildup. Relations deteriorate and unintentionally amplify risks to the point where conflicts escalate into war.

Violence prevention and reduction through Peace Logic

A security policy grounded in Peace Logic aims to prevent and avert such developments. Security policy based on Peace Logic therefore follows a different, conflict-theoretical basic assumption. This holds that the cause of insecurity does not lie solely with the opposing side. Rather, it lies in the relationships between the relevant elites on both sides. Each side bears its own share of responsibility for these relationships, as the threat and use of violence are always the result of complex conflicts. I can unilaterally change my own contribution to the conflict and thereby also influence the relationships. From a peace-logical perspective, the connection between peace and security cannot arise through demarcation, the cessation of dialogical communication, or rearmament and preparation for

military confrontation, but only through a peace-building transformation of mutual relationships.

The following table (large-format illustration on the following pages) illustrates the difference between military security logic and Peace Logic:

Table | Difference between military security logic and Peace Logic

→ pages 44-45

The Logic of Peace at a Glance

Logic of Peace

Any violence that is imminent, takes place, has taken place

Actions aim to:
Protect people from violence and distress - prevent, reduce and deal with the effects of violence

The problem is a result of destructive conflict dynamics

Actions are aimed at:
Transformation on the basis of a comprehensive understanding of conflict, including own contribution to or role in the conflict

Through civil conflict transformation

Approaches taken:
De-escalating, dialogic, confidence-building, cooperative measures – excluding direct violence

By using the ethos of humanity – human rights and international law

Courses of action:
Implementing norms, modifying one's own interests, recognizing the legitimate interests of others

By reflecting oneself, learning experientially, willingness to recognize mistakes

Approaches to action are directed at:
Dealing constructively with mistakes, avoiding harm through impact assessment, closing perception gaps, implementing non-violent alternatives

In line with this approach by Peace Logic, the long-standing chairs of the Working Group for Peace and Conflict Research in Germany, Prof. Dr. Lothar Brock, and of the Munich Security Conference, Ambassador Wolfgang Ischinger, among others, speak of major mistakes made by the West in the run-up to the war in Ukraine.[141]

Project "From dialogue on contested narratives to improved understanding"

The project "Contested-Narratives-Dialogue," funded by the German Foreign Office in 2018, exemplifies the differing perspectives of Russia and the West on the Ukraine conflict—and thereby highlights concrete starting points for a possible and necessary resolution of the conflict[142] . A key issue in the conflict is thus Ukraine's prospect of joining NATO, decided in 2008. Another key issue is the failure to establish a common European security architecture—agreed upon in the 1990 Charter of Paris—that would integrate Russia on an equal footing.

Statements by the Working Group Peace Logic (AG Friedenslogik)

Statements by the AG Friedenslogik accordingly highlight concrete possibilities for action informed by Peace Logic in the Ukraine conflict.

Rethinking Security Initiative (Sicherheit Neu Denken, SND)

The Rethinking Security Initiative works similarly, proposing, among other things, UN rather than NATO security guarantees for Ukraine as a sustainable peaceful solution to the war in Ukraine. The initiative, which emerged from regional churches, regularly publishes position papers to help understand complex conflicts and highlights corresponding constructive solutions as well as positive future scenarios. SND also brings proposals to discussions with foreign and security policymakers in Germany and Europe, including at the Munich Security Conference and the Conference of European Churches.

The initiative is supported by numerous regional churches and over 150 organizations. It outlines realistic paths toward a humane, de-escalating security policy in the spirit of a "world domestic policy" described as early as 1963 by Carl Friedrich von Weizsäcker:[143] international diplomacy, cooperation, fairness, sustainable lifestyles, and an international police force. Examples from around the world demonstrate the effectiveness of civilian conflict management and nonviolent resistance, even in situations of military occupation.[144]

Further Approaches to a Civil Security Policy

The German Federal Government's Guidelines on Civilian Crisis Prevention, Conflict Management, and Peacebuilding also highlight the diverse spectrum of peacebuilding policies.

Practical tools for constructively and nonviolently addressing social and international conflicts[145] include, among others, the mediation procedures of the Federal Foreign Office, the Center for International Peace Operations, the Civil Peace Service, Peace Brigades International, the Nonviolent Peace Force, the Association for Social Defense, the Campaign for Defense Without Weapons, the Action Committee Service for Peace, the Workshop for Nonviolent Action, as well as Nonviolent Communication and the voluntary initiative Living Without Arms.

5. | Options for Action by Christians

Every Christian can put the biblical recommendations of a shift in perspective, love for one's enemies, and the Golden Rule into practice according to their own abilities and in this way contribute to peace in the world in the spirit of Shalom.

The Four-Ear Model

To this end, a wide variety of practical tools can be learned and applied, many of which have already become widespread in recent decades. The Four-Ears Model by Schulz von Thun provides a foundational understanding. It describes how differently we can perceive, understand, and interpret messages from others.

Active Listening

In active listening (wikipedia.de), we practice repeating what the other person has said. This sharpens our awareness of how much we regularly interpret and misinterpret what we hear—things the other person either didn't say or didn't mean. We repeat the other person's statements until they give the okay: "Yes, now you've understood me."

At first, such exercises often feel artificial and awkward. Yet they make a big difference in everyday life.

Nonviolent Communication

Nonviolent Communication (NVC) goes beyond active listening. It promotes awareness of the feelings and needs underlying our (communication) behavior. NVC offers a practically unlimited range of learning and practice opportunities for perceiving and distinguishing between one's own and others' feelings and needs. NVC enables us to listen empathetically even to messages from the other person

that appear hostile. This makes it possible to formulate our own messages in a way that fosters peace.

NVC is based on relatively simple four-step exercises. These enable the development of communication skills for personal, professional, social, and international conflict situations.

Mediation

The widely established field of mediation offers effective methods for the nonviolent resolution of conflicts ranging from interpersonal to international disputes. For example, in school mediation, the ability to shift perspectives is practiced. Training programs are offered by the Federal Association for Mediation, among others.

Association for Nonviolent Action

The Association for Nonviolent Action offers a range of programs—from brief introductory and continuing education sessions to a two-and-a-half-year part-time training program for peace workers—all grounded in Christian spirituality.[146]

Church Peace Services

Within the Action Community for Peace (AGDF), numerous organizations of the Civil Peace Service (such as Pro Peace and EIRENE) offer a wide range of continuing education and training opportunities. Within the Catholic Church, for example, Agiamondo and Caritas International are active. Anyone wishing to work as a (Christian) peace specialist in Germany or abroad, either part-time or full-time, within the framework of the Civil Peace Service, can contact these organizations.[147]

Studying Peace Studies

Finally, various degree programs in peace and conflict studies and peace education also provide a solid foundation for professional practice.

Solidarity and sustainability in everyday life

In everyday life, everyone can contribute to the realization of God's peace on earth by consciously adopting a lifestyle and economic practices rooted in solidarity and sustainability. Here, too, there is a wide range of concrete opportunities for learning and implementation: here and here.

Financing peace

In addition, Christians can support all these instruments and initiatives—which receive little to no government funding—through financial contributions.

> *"To be true followers of Jesus today also includes embracing his teaching about nonviolence."*
>
> Pope Francis in his message
> for World Peace Day 2017[148]

6. | Ways for the churches to act

Churches can and should act as peacemakers in accordance with the mission established by Jesus Christ. Whether a small initiative or a large national church, according to Jesus' will, his church lives in critical distance from and in solidarity with the society surrounding it. For example, several synods of the Federation of Protestant Churches in the GDR (BEK) in the 1980s clearly rejected the "spirit, logic, and practice of deterrence."[149]

Skepticism toward political promises of salvation

We agree with the Mennonite understanding of the church's mission: "The church maintains a distance from governments and especially from empires. It views with skepticism their religious exaltation, promises of peace and salvation, as exemplified in the Pax Romana, the U.S. 'Manifest Destiny,' the Nazi 'salvation' message, the Russian 'Mir' concept, etc. The church participates in the exodus from enslaving systems of violence."[150]

The church lives in the eschatological tension between 'already' and 'not yet.' It lives in the presence of Christ, the already present reality of God, yet is aware that the universal realization of peace and justice is not something it can achieve on its own.

In times of massive rearmament, churches should unequivocally advocate for disarmament and be a strong, clear voice for peace and the dismantling of enemy stereotypes.[151]

The EKD peace memorandum *Living from God's Peace – Care for Just Peace* („Aus Gottes Frieden leben – für gerechten Frieden sorgen") from 2007 demonstrated the diverse ways in which churches can fulfill this mission: through education and upbringing, by strengthening universal institutions, advocating for the reduction of military capabilities, and expanding civil conflict management.

The statement by the Catholic bishops, *Peace to This House* ("Friede diesem Haus"), from 2024, also comprehensively describes possible political approaches to overcoming violence as

well as numerous areas of action for the Church's commitment to peace.[152]

From the range of options available to the Church for nonviolent conflict transformation, crisis prevention, and peacemaking, we present two examples here:

Commitment to Civil Conflict Management and peace promotion

As previously outlined, the scientifically grounded concept of Peace Logic and its practical application facilitate the implementation of the biblical mandate for peace (see Chapter 3).
Churches can and should act as peacemakers by …

- clearly and unequivocally advocate for these peace perspectives in the political arena and demand their implementation;
- calling for all states to accede to the UN "Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons" (TPNW);
- launch concrete and sustainable national and international peace initiatives to overcome existing or impending violence;
- develop, promote, and support training and education programs for peacemakers to implement the biblical recommendations of a change in perspective, love for one's enemies, and the Golden Rule;
- publicize, finance, promote, and support volunteer[153] and professional national and international peace services;
- finance and establish a network of peace promoters[154] in Germany and Europe as a model for corresponding government programs;
- demand government funding for continuing education and training programs in constructive conflict management;
- promote policies of state and civil society crisis prevention, nonviolent conflict management, and peacebuilding;
- raise awareness of positive examples of international crisis prevention, nonviolent conflict resolution, and peacebuilding worldwide;
- as recommended in the statement by the Catholic bishops, "to counter the nightmarish visions of a humanity tearing itself

apart with powerful images of successful coexistence among people and nations" (DBK 2024, p. 210).

- and actively support initiatives such as "Rethinking Security—From Military to Civil Security Policy"[155] as a contribution to a peace-oriented political culture (EKD 2025, para. 14).

Support for Conscientious Objection

With the transformation of early Christianity from a Jewish sect into the Roman state church, beginning in the fourth century, the originally negative attitude toward war also changed.[156] Church Father Augustine (4th/5th century) formulated conditions in his doctrine of just war under which participation in war would be permissible for Christians. Since then, the major churches have supported all the wars waged by their respective national authorities—right up to the present day, including and especially in Germany!

However, adherence to the criteria of the so-called "doctrine of just war" (e.g., protection of the civilian population, the harm caused by war must not exceed the harm of forgoing defense) is no longer possible in today's reality of war. Therefore, conscientious objection should be elevated by the churches to a Christian standard.

Conscientious objection as a Christian standard

After more than 20,000 German soldiers were executed for conscientious objection during World War II, Anna Haag, a member of the Württemberg state parliament, proposed incorporating the fundamental right to conscientious objection into the Constitution of the new Federal Republic (Art. 4,3). When Germany was remilitarized ten years after World War II, the churches worked to ensure that a civilian alternative service outside the German Army (*Bundeswehr*) was established for conscientious objectors. They also offered conscripts who decided to refuse military service counseling and support for the state's examination of conscience.

The Catholic and Protestant churches currently view both military service and conscientious objection as possible options for Christians. In contrast, the leadership of the Protestant churches in the GDR emphasized as early as 1965: "Rather, the objectors, […]

and also the construction soldiers, […] bear a clearer witness to our Lord's present commandment of peace" (than regular soldiers).[157]

In our understanding, the church fulfills its mission only as a church of peace.

Called to bear clear witness to peace

Church and Peace puts it this way: "It [the church] is called to bear clear witness to peace in a world of violence and war. The commitment to this clear foundation is the impetus for practical, nonviolent engagement alongside the victims of violence and war and excludes the use of weapons. Counseling for those subject to military service must also be based on this theological stance."[158]

We do not fail to recognize that for our fellow citizens who support the military, the protection of freedom, democracy, and state sovereignty is a matter of great concern. However, based on all historical and contemporary experience and in light of today's weaponry, it does not seem possible to us to achieve this through the use of military force. Human life must not be sacrificed, neither in our own country nor in an enemy state. The World Council of Churches expressed this insight at its founding assembly in Amsterdam in 1948: War is "contrary to the will of God".

Church commitment to overcoming war

For this reason, we believe that both the churches and the state have a duty to commit unequivocally to overcoming war. This entails the development of a concept for civil security policy and a foreign and security policy aligned with it. Equally urgent are arms control, disarmament, and the global recognition of the ban on nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction. The threat of their use is tantamount to the threat of genocide.

"Peace be with you" (John 20:19, 21) is his Word that does not merely desire peace, but truly brings about a lasting transformation in those who receive it, and consequently in all of reality. (…) *Peace exists; it wants to dwell within us. It has the gentle power to enlighten and expand our understanding; it resists and overcomes violence."*

Pope Leo XIV on World Peace Day 2026[159]

7. | Positive Examples of Christian peacemaking

Churches and their members around the world are committed to implementing nonviolent strategies to promote peace, often in collaboration with members of other religions. Examples are described in detail in the following two books:

- Markus WEINGARDT: *Was Frieden schafft: Religiöse Friedensarbeit – Akteure, Beispiele, Methoden (What Creates Peace: Religious Peace Work – Actors, Examples, Methods)*. 2014.
  Ten methods of constructive conflict management are described, and their application is illustrated using an example from both the international and national contexts. A story- and image-rich, engaging, and practical book about concrete work for peace.
- Markus WEINGARDT: *Religion macht Frieden* (*Religion Makes Peace)*. 2007.
  Drawing on over 40 international case studies, Weingardt examines the impressive peace-building potential of religions in political violent conflicts, e.g., the role of the Catholic Church in the "Rosary Revolution" in the Philippines, which led to the dictator's downfall.

Further examples of the Church's peacemaking efforts:

- **Sant'Egidio**
  The Christian community of Sant'Egidio, based in Rome, has served as a mediator and observer in numerous successful peace negotiations, including those for Guatemala, Kosovo, Ivory Coast, and South Sudan. Its most significant diplomatic achievement was brokering the 1992 peace treaty for Mozambique, which ended a 16-year civil war; in this effort, Sant'Egidio collaborated with the UN and numerous nations.[160]

In 2025, the rebel groups 3R and UPC in the Central African Republic laid down their arms. The Community of Sant'Egidio played a decisive role in the dialogue between the rebel leaders and state institutions.[161]

- **European ecclesial peace network Church and Peace**
  The ecumenical peace church network Church and Peace brings together Christian communities, church congregations, educational institutions, peace organizations, and peace services from across Europe. As a meeting place and forum for dialogue, the network provides space for reflection and acts as a catalyst for joint projects.[162]

- **Global network Religions for Peace**
  As the world's largest interfaith organization, Religions for Peace is committed to international peace policy and civil society's responsibility for the common good of all people. Based in New York, the network of 90 national member associations, regional and local groups, and religious leaders works closely with the United Nations on an international level.[163]

- **Pilgrimage of Justice and Peace / World Council of Churches**
  As part of its Pilgrimage of Justice and Peace, the World Council of Churches (WCC) encourages all its member churches to engage in peacemaking efforts in order to renew the true calling of the church through a shared commitment to the vital concerns of justice and peace and to heal a world full of conflict, injustice, and pain… and to take concrete steps forward to transform injustice and violence.[164]
  As a foundational document, the WCC Assembly adopted a declaration on the path of just peace in 2013.[165]

- **Pathways to Peace / Conference of European Churches**
  The Conference of European Churches (CEC) was founded in 1959 as a peace organization and played a significant role in overcoming the Cold War after World War II.

Its "Pathways to Peace" initiative promotes justice, reconciliation, and peace as a coordinated response by the European church community to Russia's invasion of Ukraine in 2022. The initiative fosters collaboration among church leaders, intellectuals, and academic institutions to prepare for peace in Ukraine and engages in dialogue with European institutions.[166]

- **Peace ethics process in Baden**
  In 2013, following a broad participatory discussion process, the Evangelical Regional Church in Baden adopted an exemplary path toward a church of just peace: "Guide our feet into the way of peace (Luke 1:79) – a contribution to the discussion from the Evangelical Regional Church in Baden."[167] One of the 12 concrete measures was the development of a exit scenario for military peacekeeping: "Rethinking Security. From Military to Civil Security Policy."[168] This initiative also served as the impetus for the founding of the Freiburg Peace Institute at the local Protestant University of Applied Sciences.
  The brochure "Becoming a Church of Just Peace: A 10-Year Journey—Documentation of the Peace Ethics Process in Baden," published in 2023, describes the subsequent implementation of the resolution.[169]

- **Conciliar Process for Justice, Peace, and the Integrity of Creation**
  The Conciliar Process of mutual commitment to justice, peace, and the integrity of creation, proclaimed by the WCC Assembly in Vancouver, Canada (1983), traces its origins to an initiative by the Protestant churches in the GDR in cooperation with the ecumenical grassroots in the EKD[170] and has had an enormous, global, spiritual, and political impact. This process inspired, among other things, the convening of the first UN Conference on Environment and Development in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil (1992).

- **Nonviolent Revolution in Germany 1989**
  Since the late 1970s, the churches in the GDR had already taken up the impetus of the Conference on Security and Cooperation

in Europe (CSCE) and later of the World Council of Churches' Conciliar Process for Justice, Peace, and the Integrity of Creation, which they themselves had initiated.[171]

Nationwide peace education programs, annual conferences, and the organization and hosting of large ecumenical gatherings in Dresden and Magdeburg made possible the system-transforming nonviolent demonstrations of 1989 and the nonviolent fall of the Berlin Wall, thereby making a major contribution to the nonviolent end of the Cold War and the subsequent far-reaching military disarmament in Europe. Crucial to the nonviolent course of the large demonstration that began at St. Nicholas Church in Leipzig on October 9, 1989, was the "Swords to Plowshares" movement within the churches[172] .

- **Kairos Palestine**

  Kairos Palestine is the largest nonviolent Palestinian Christian movement. It emerged in 2009 as a cry for help from the Palestinian people to the international community amid their desperate situation. Its historic Kairos document on peace theology, "The Hour of Truth—A Word of Faith, Hope, and Love from the Heart of the Suffering of the Palestinian People",[173] was signed by all the leaders of the thirteen Christian denominations of the churches in the Holy Land. An international network of commitment and prayer emerged. In November 2025, the next generation published the Kairos II document, "Faith in the Face of Genocide".[174]

- **Truth and reconciliation commissions in Rwanda, South Africa, Guatemala**

  Christian churches also played a significant role in the Truth and Reconciliation Commissions in Rwanda, South Africa, and Guatemala, as well as in numerous other countries, contributing to peaceful transformation processes in these nations following civil wars.[175]

  The chair of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission established in 1996 to address the crimes of apartheid policy in South Africa was the black archbishop and Nobel Peace Prize laureate Desmond Tutu. One of the commission's goals was to bring

victims and perpetrators into a 'dialogue' and thus create a foundation for the reconciliation of the divided population groups. The priority here was listening to and acknowledging each other's experiences.[176]

- **Pax Christi / Catholic Nonviolence Initiative**
  Pax Christi International promotes an understanding of active nonviolence within the Catholic Church through the Catholic Nonviolence Initiative (CNI) and the Catholic Institute for Nonviolence in Rome.[177]

- **Peace Churches**
  Well-known peace churches that have identified with Jesus's mission of peace for centuries include the Mennonites[178], the Church of the Brethren[179], and the Society of Friends (also known as "Quakers")[180].
  "Nonviolence is, in the traditions of the historic peace churches, not only an essential element of theological ethics but also a 'regulative principle' of all theological reflection. … Social responsibility is shaped by the Christian values and way of life (following Jesus) of a visible church that seeks alternatives to the use of direct, indirect, systemic, cultural, and epistemic violence."[181]

8. | References to other peace documents

This ecumenical peace document focuses on a topic that is also addressed by many church bodies.

In our document, we have incorporated suggestions from the World Council of Churches (WCC), the global Catholic Church, and Christian peace initiatives:

- Message from Pope Leo XIV for World Peace Day 2026[182]
- Christian Call for Peace, Hanover 2025[183]
- Message from Pope Francis for World Peace Day 2017[184]
- European Peace Document "Charta Oecumenica" (ACK 2001)[185]
- Ecumenical Assembly, Dresden 1989[186]
- Statements of the World Council of Churches[187] .

Our approach differs significantly in theological, ethical, and political terms from the following documents of German churches:

- Peace Memorandum of the Council of the EKD from 2025[188]
- Statement on Peace by the German Bishops from 2024[189]

Seeing the world through the eyes of others

"Peace requires the ability to see the world through the eyes of others—including, and especially, through the eyes of those we have learned to call adversaries or enemies. It begins by listening to the other's story, not by telling one's own. It begins neither with the contemplation of the n a r c i s s i s t i c worldview nor the image of the enemy, but with stepping out of the cabinet of images and entering a reality under the sun, in which we recognize that we, too, cast a shadow. If someone shows you an image and says this is your enemy whom you must fight, first take a close look at who is speaking to you. What is this person's story? Have they contributed to peace in the past? Why do they want to drag you into battle? If someone tells you that you must go to war for the sake of good against evil, examine the 'good' ones, study their deeds—and then look at the image of the enemy. Ask yourself who created it—and how. Try to form your own picture. Listen to the stories of those who are supposed to be your enemies, in their own words. Study their deeds as well. Try to understand them, even if you don't approve of them. And then, only then, draw your conclusions."

Fabian Scheidler[190]

9. | The Lord's Prayer . . .

The question for us as Christians is not whether nonviolence works, but whether we want the peaceful path to peace; whether we have hope for this world, whether we, as followers of Jesus, are ready to be the light of the world and the salt of the earth, and to politically develop peace without weapons.

The Lord's Prayer, placed by the evangelist Matthew in the middle of the Sermon on the Mount, is a spiritual source of strength for living according to Jesus' teachings in this real world today. Let us act in such a way that we do not stand in the way of God's Shalom, but move toward the kingdom of justice and peace.

Let us ask what God's will is for our present time. Let us ask to be preserved from the temptation to fight evil with evil means, even to the point of threatening the destruction of all life. Let us ask God for deliverance from our reliance on violence.

Appendix

Supporters

Supporting Organizations

"Taxes into Plowshares" campaign within the Peace Tax Network e.V.
Bonhoeffer-Niemöller Foundation
Christians in the German Peace Society – United War Resisters (DFG-VK)
Church and Peace
Protestant Working Group for Conscientious Objectors Württemberg (EAK)
Forum on Peace Ethics in the Evangelical Regional Church of Baden (FFE)
Women's Group "On the Move for Life"
Main-Taunus Peace Initiative
Peace Ministry of the Evangelical Regional Church in Württemberg
Acting *Nonviolently – Learning Peace Ecumenically*, Inc.
Green Alternative, Inc.
Christian Peace Appeal Initiative
Initiative for Rethinking Security
International Fellowship of Reconciliation – German Branch
IPPNW – International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War | Physicians with Social Responsibility, Inc. German Section
Kairos Europe, Heidelberg
Ecumenical Initiative for the Reform or Abolition of Military Chaplaincy
Ecumenical Institute for Peace Theology
pax christi | German Section
Solidarity Church in the Rhineland
Workshop for Nonviolent Action Baden

Gerd BAUZ | Organizational Consultant | Frankfurt am Main

Dietrich BECKER-HINRICHS | Retired Pastor | Lahr

Prof. Dr. Hanne-Margret BIRCKENBACH | Peace researcher | Hamburg

Susanne BÖDECKER | DFG-VK Staff Member and Consultant for KDV | Stuttgart

Paul BOSLER | Pastor | Nürtingen

Dr. Eberhard BÜRGER | Retired Pastor | Magdeburg

Peter BÜRGER | Theologian and Publicist | Düsseldorf

Susanne BÜTTNER | Dean of the Baden-Württemberg Correctional System | Schwäbisch Gmünd

Maria BUCHWITZ | Chair of the pax christi Diocesan Association of Münster | Münster

Dr. Angelika CLAUSSEN | President of IPPNW Europe | Bielefeld

Dr. Ulrich DUCHROW | Professor of Systematic Theology and Social Ethics | Heidelberg

Horst FIßMER | Retired Pastor | Minden

Erich FREHSE | Retired Pastor | Bonn

Prof. Dr. Josef FREISE | Christian-Muslim Peace Initiative Germany | Neuwied

Hartmut FRIEDRICH | Theologian and Retired Pastor | Gaggenau

Dr. Gudula FRIELING | Teacher | Dortmund

Dr. Ulrich van GEMMEREN | Retired Managing Director | Merzhausen

Udo GROTZ | Retired pastor and religious education teacher | Heitersheim

Rita HORSTMANN | Retired pastor | Cologne

Stefanie INTVEEN | Mediator | Cologne

Aline JUNG | Housewife and organizer of the "Unterwegs für das Leben" pilgrimage routes | Ettenheim

Christian KELLER | Theologian and retired dean | Villingen / Black Forest

Gerhard KERN | President of the Main-Taunus Peace Initiative, retired teacher and concert singer | Hofheim am Taunus

Retired Professor Dr. Rainer KESSLER | Old Testament scholar | Frankfurt am Main

Dr. Heinz KLIPPERT | Economist, learning researcher, peace educator | Landau

Karl Wilhelm KOCH | B.S. in Chemical Engineering, author of the technical book "Nuclear Power Accidents" | Mehren

Robert KÖLBLIN | B.S. in Electrical Engineering, Conscientious Objector | Lörrach

Prof. Dr. Elke KRAHMANN | Political scientist | Kiel

Wolfgang KRAUß | Theological Assistant at the Mennonite Congregation in Augsburg

Dr. Matthias KREPLIN | Senior Church Council Member and Pastor | Karlsruhe

Thomas-Dietrich LEHMANN | Protestant prison chaplain | Berlin

Johannes MAIER | Director of the Ecumenical Peace Discussion Group | Waldkirch-Kollnau

Dr. Eberhard MÜLLER | Biologist and Theologian | Zell am Harmersbach

Reinhard MÜLLER | Retired Pastor, Vice Chair of the Bonhoeffer-Niemöller Foundation | Nieder Seifersdorf

Monika NITSCH | Retired Protestant religion teacher | Düsseldorf

Jacqueline OLESEN | Peace Officer of the Evangelical Peace Congregation | Baden-Baden

Prof. Dr. Gottfried ORTH | Theologian | Rothenburg ob der Tauber

Klaus SCHITTICH | Global Citizen and Human Rights Activist | Freiburg

Rainer SCHMID | Theologian and Religious Education Teacher | Ulm / Danube

Michael SCHWEITZER | Retired Pastor | Ellenhausen

Thomas Carl SCHWOERER | National Spokesperson for the German Peace
Society – United War Resisters (DFG-VK)

Prof. Dr. em. Franz SEGBERS | Social ethicist | Konstanz

PD Dr. Stefan SILBER | Theologian | Saarbrücken

Richard STRODEL | Deacon, Member of IKF Bavaria | Neustadt | Coburg

Klaus WAIDITSCHKA | Editor of Friedenssteuer-Nachrichten and Board Member of CPTI | Mannheim

Dr. Klaus WAZLAWIK | Deep Drilling Engineer | Berlin

Markus WEBER | Certified Theologian, Coordinator for Peace Education
&
pax christi in the Archdiocese | Freiburg

Dr. Markus WEINGARDT | Peace and conflict researcher | Tübingen

Dominik WEIß | Deacon and Theologian | Baiersbronn

Prof. Dr. Dr. h.c. Dietrich WERNER | Theologian | Berlin

Birgit WORZALLA-LAPP | Peace educator, staff member at pax christi and the Peace Light Campaign | St. Märgen

Andreas ZUMACH | Journalist and Author | Berlin

The Editorial Group

Ralf Becker, social entrepreneur, coordinator of the "Rethinking Security" (Sicherheit Neu Denken) initiative since 2019, coordinator of "Nonviolent Action – Ecumenical Peace Education" (Gewaltlos handeln – ökumenisch Frieden lernen e.V.) from 2012 to 2019. Involved, among other things, in the Speakers' Council of the Platform for Civil Conflict Management, in church development in the dioceses of Paderborn and Münster, the "Jubilee 2000" campaign, as well as the coordination of international sustainability dialogues and the implementation of the study "Zukunftsfähiges Deutschland" (A Sustainable Germany) at the aid organization Misereor.

Karen Hinrichs, retired pastor, theologian, and educator; 1989–2004 parish pastor and 2004–2019 senior church councilor of the Evangelical Regional Church in Baden; 2020–2025 lecturer and executive director of the Peace Institute at the Protestant University of Applied Sciences in Freiburg. Publications on peace education and theology. Member of, among others: Ecumenical Institute for Peace Theology, Gewaltfrei Handeln – Ökumenisch Frieden Lernen e.V., International Fellowship of Reconciliation – German Branch, Church and Peace.

Heinrich Schäfer, Prof. Dr. Dr. (ret.), sociologist and Protestant theologian, Bielefeld University; formerly at the Universidad Bíblica Latinoamericana, Costa Rica; since the late 1970s, he has been engaged in field research during two wars and other academic work in Latin America and Germany, focusing on the topic of "Conflict and Peace" from sociological and theological perspectives. His theological approach is a sociologically informed liberation theology.

Theodor Ziegler, Dr. phil., Baiersbronn, religious educator. He contributed to the peace ethics discussion process of the Baden Regional Church as well as to the development of the scenario "Rethinking Security: From Military to Civil Security Policy" and is a member of the Ecumenical Institute for Peace Theology as well as of the German Peace Society – United Opponents of War. Dissertation: "Motives and Alternative Concepts of Christian Pacifists."

Notes

In accordance with the responsibility of sovereign citizens under the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Germany and the legal provisions of the United Nations, our theological and political statements in this text are based on many years of thorough research. To make this at least somewhat transparent to the readers, we provide extensive notes. We apologize that, for reasons of time and resources, we cannot provide some German titles in their English version.

> *"Have the courage to use your own understanding!"*
> (Immanuel Kant, 1784)

---

1 Attributed to Yitzhak RABIN, 1994. Stylistic adaptation by Gordon Matthews.

2 We quote Bible passages from the current ecumenical standard version in German and translate them into English, taking into account the original Hebrew or Greek text, respectively.

3 This distinction between peace and (military) security was also made by Dietrich +BONHOEFFER Rede.

4 Hanne-Margret +BIRCKENBACH *Friedenslogik*. See also the website of Professor Birckenbach's team: https://pzkb.de/friedenslogik/.

5 It is impossible to list here the vast number of current analyses in academic literature and established media in their entirety. Here is a selection:
BAAB, Patrik. ***Front***. BRZEZINSKI ***Weltmacht*** **(=** *Chessboard*). DIESEN ***Ukraine***. HOFBAUER ***Feindbild***. KATCHANOVSKI ***Maidan***. KATCHANOVSKI **War.** KOSTNER ***Ukrainekrieg***. KRONAUER ***Ukraine***. MOUSSEAU and DEVILLERS ***War***. NIDA-RÜMELIN ***Perspektiven.*** NIDA-RÜMELIN ***Epochenbruch***. RICHTER ***Angriffskrieg***. SAROTTE ***Schritt***. SASSE ***Ukraine***. VERHEUGEN and ERLER ***Weg.***
In addition, publications, speeches, and interviews with experts such as Ret. Gen. Harald Kujat, John Mearsheimer, Jeffrey D. Sachs, Seymour Hersh, Anatol Lieven, Benjamin Abelow, Andreas Zumach, Marty Havryshko, Herfried Münkler, Gen. Carsten Breuer, Sabine Fischer, Karl Schlögel, etc.
In addition, various websites of governments, international organizations (UN, OSCE, EU…), think tanks, and academic journals in Germany (such as https://ukraine-nachrichten.de/), Ukraine, the U.S., and Russia.
Finally, for an entertaining and classic piece of journalism, we recommend: SCHOLL-LATOUR ***Zangengriff***.

6 See, for example, for an assessment of the war in the Near and Middle East that

escalated in 2026 from a Christian perspective: https://www.oikoumene.org/de/resources/documents/joint-ecumenical-statement-on-the-widening-conflict-in-the-middle-east. LÜDERS ***Krieg.*** From an Israeli perspective on „7. Oktober" see former intelligence officer Ron LESHEM ***Feuer***.

7 Russia's role in the escalation of the Ukraine conflict is described, for example, in the following titles:
EUROPÄISCHE KOMMISSION **Mythen.** KRAFT **Rechtfertigung**. LANGE ***NATO***. LANGE and MASALA **Krieg.**

8 "We knew that the story of the international rules-based order was partly false: that the strongest powers exempted themselves from the order when necessary, that trade rules were enforced asymmetrically. […] What does it mean for middle powers to live the truth? – First of all, it means calling reality by its name." CARNEY **Auftritt.** Original in video: Carney ***Speech.*** WIMALASENA **Carney**.

9 Thesis III reads that war must be abolished through a sustained and progressive effort. WEIZSÄCKER **Thesen**. Also available on the EKD website (https://www.ekd.de/ekd_de/ds_doc/Heidelberger_Thesen.pdf).

10 IPPNW **Kirche.** Other experts see the danger already at 0.5 percent.

11 ENDT **Gazastreifen**.

12 HELLER **Waffen.**

13 DEUTSCHLANDFUNK **Militärausgaben**.

14 According to its financial plan, the German government plans to drastically increase German military spending to around 152 billion euros by 2029. (BUNDESMINISTERIUM DER VERTEIDIGUNG **Bündnis)** Combined with the additional 1.5 percent pledged to NATO for further defense-related expenditures, this results in planned expenditures of 217 billion euros, which amounts to more than half of the total federal budget revenue of 421 billion euros planned for 2029. (BUNDESFINANZMINISTERIUM **Bundeshaushalt**).

15 OEHME **Gerechtigkeit.**

16 SCHEIDLER ***Friedenstüchtig***.

17 Serious interpersonal or religious misconduct was sometimes punished by the death penalty in the Old Testament. Likewise, in wars of defense, conquest, and retribution, killing (supposedly) on God's behalf was considered a matter of course (e.g., Leviticus 26:6; Judges 4:17; or Joshua 9:15). In contrast, the Ten Commandments' prohibition against killing (Exodus 20:13) forbids killing outright. Even military leaders, faced with the gruesome reality of war, asked themselves: "Must the sword devour without ceasing? Do you not know that this will lead to a bitter end?" (2 Samuel 2:26). Military service was rejected in the same way in early Christianity: "God has forbidden us to kill," states the Church Father Lactantius (aprox. 250–325). "For," he continues, "it is the same whether you kill someone with the sword or with the word, since killing is forbidden." See also: Das biblische Tötungsverbot und das Töten im Krieg, in: Jahrbuch Bibli-sche Theologie 2026 (in preparation). We owe the exegetical insights and the reception in the Early Church to this article.

18 In classical prophecy—especially in Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Micah—and in the theological tradition built upon them, the term is an important topos for both negative and positive peace. The semantic range of the Semitic root *šlm* encompasses primarily two concepts: "on the one hand, 'peace, friendliness,' often in clear contrast to war and enmity; on the other hand, 'well-being, prosperity, happiness,' whereby the emphasis is often very strongly on concrete material goods." (GERLEMANN **šlm**)

19 Interesting biblical examples can be found in Markus WEINGARDT ***Konfliktbearbeitung***.

20 This approach is similar to that of Latin American liberation theology and the socially ethical Geneva ecumenism. From a theological perspective, it is outlined as a European-style contextual theology; from a sociological perspective, as an epistemologically grounded theory of practice. The peace-ethical judgments presented here are thus reflected upon theologically and sociologically in two respects: exegetically and with regard to current social conditions. – Literature on this topic: WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES **Violence**. SCHÄFER ***Praxis***. Similar: CASALIS ***Ideen***. On sociology: SCHÄFER ***Epistemology***. SCHÄFER ***Praxeology***. In concise form: SCHÄFER, SEIBERT und TOVAR ***Religion***.

21 Through the methods of critical exegesis—such as in the excellent commentary on Matthew by LUZ (**EKK**)–-the level of Jesus' words is first uncovered and then positioned within the power structures of the time using a power-sensitive social theory (Bourdieu)–-similar to the work of Gerd Theißen or Luise Schottroff. From a systematic-theological perspective, the orientations derived from exegesis are situated within current social contexts, particularly conflicts; this is also done using power-sensitive sociological and political science theories and on the basis of scholarly analysis of current conflicts (e.g., Ukraine, Gaza, Iran…). In this way, the development of theological-ethical judgments becomes transparent—both exegetically and systematically—with regard to their socio-political conditions. There is no recourse to denominational dogmas or to social common sense. – Bibliography: THEIßEN ***Jesusbewegung***. THEIßEN ***Sozialgeschichte***. SCHOTTROFF ***Gleichnisse***.

22 From a theological perspective, this approach does indeed contradict a fundamentally negative view of humanity, which describes all people as "evil from youth," in order to establish authority as a corrective. But it does not contradict the concept of sin if one reads Genesis 1 through 11 systematically (cf. WESTERMANN ***Genesis***). Chapters 1 through 11 of Genesis deal with all of humanity; the human condition, in contrast to the history of Israel beginning in chapter 12. Sin as a generally human phenomenon is initially (Gen. 3, the serpent) the mental willingness to elevate oneself, one's own group, or one's own values to an absolute ("like God") and to pass categorical judgments on others ("good/evil") such as the fundamentalist demonization of an opponent, among other things. The myth of Cain and Abel then dramatizes the realization of this attitude through action, in this case murder (Gen. 4). The Tower of Babel (Gen. 11) addresses the creation of a hierarchical society that seeks to take God's place in order to exercise power worldwide. The logic of enmity instead of Shalom!

In between, however, Genesis 1–11 also offers positive etiologies of cultural creation: livestock herding and life in tents, life in urban spaces, the music of zither and flute players, and metalworkers as the sons of Cain (Gen. 4:20–22). (For the cultural-historical background, see SCHAIK and MICHEL ***Tagebuch***.) In summary, it can be said that these 11 chapters present a tension between creation and destruction, which often resolves in the direction of destruction. The positive forces under the promises of the divine rainbow (Gen. 9:13), however, are *by no means* considered to have been extinguished.

From a social science perspective, there can be little doubt that humans are capable of cooperation and that, throughout history, they have built entire civilizations through cooperation—just not neoliberal ones. Julian NIDA-RÜMELIN (***Epochenbruch***, p. 68 ff.) draws attention to the significance of this fact for social philosophy. The anthropologists GRAEBER and WENGROW (***Humanity***) rewrite much of world history from the perspective of indigenous cultures. Among other things, one learns that the problems with class society and the control of the few through the use of violence began; but also that many indigenous societies were organized through cooperation and that in these societies there was always the freedom to conceive of and create alternatives. Amitav GHOSH (***Muskatnuss***) provides excellent, well-researched, and literarily masterful insight into the alternative to this—the destructive violence of European colonialism and neocolonialism. In light of the current escalation of neocolonialism, the following works are recommended from a wealth of social science literature: KLEIN ***Schock*** and BEVINS ***Jakarta***.

23 Church tradition has done what institutions often do with context-dependent language and corresponding statements: they transform them into commandments to be obeyed, no matter where or when. Consequently, the recommendations of the Sermon on the Mount (and others) are largely not viewed as context-dependent and meaningful recommendations, but as radical commandments. This gives rise to the problem of applying commandments according to deontological ethics. Traditional Catholic teaching requires adherence to the "commandments" of the Sermon on the Mount only of church officials—in contrast to the Ten Commandments in the Torah to be obeyed by everybody. In the Lutheran tradition, the "commandments" of the Sermon on the Mount are considered relevant only for Christians as individuals. Reformed Christians tend to view them as tools of Christian education. Consequently, with regard to the Sermon on the Mount and many prophets, the purpose-driven teleology of alignment with the regulative idea of the Kingdom of God is lost; moreover the situational creativity of Jesus' recommendations is destroyed. It is also significant here that Jesus' words did not arise from a position of ecclesiastical-institutional power, but from the perspective of marginalized people.

24 This is (according to LUZ EKK, p. 185 ff.) a central text of the Sermon on the Mount, the original form of which likely goes back to Jesus himself. The "Our Father" draws attention to prayer—more precisely, supplication—as a form of practice within the Sermon on the Mount (LUZ EKK, p. 189).

25 Instead of seeking peaceful diplomatic means and reducing human suffering

in accordance with Article 2 and chapt. 6 of the UN Charter, Germany, together with other European countries, has blocked diplomacy. It has rather escalated the conflict in Ukraine and thus prolonged human suffering. This policy at the expense of the Ukrainian civilian population is further intensified in the new "Strategic Partnership": Ukrainian men who have fled are now to be sent back to serve on the front lines, and military-technical cooperation aims to launch attacks on Russia. One cannot help but get the impression that German politicians want to wage a proxy war against Russia at the expense of the Ukrainian civilian population. GOTTSCHALK **Drohnenunternehmen**. LOST IN EUROPE **Protektorat**.

26 This does not, of course, imply the exclusion of law and jurisdiction. But it is a strong argument for aligning law and jurisdiction with the right of *all* people to physical life and corresponding living conditions.

27 A regulative idea (pure reason) does not constitute knowledge, but rather directs thought toward specific goals, such as freedom, God (practical reason), or indeed the Kingdom of God.

28 The same applies to Isaiah 2.

29 This is the case, for example, with the IG Metall union at the Ford plants in Cologne (DEUTSCHE FRIEDENSGESELLSCHAFT **Kriegswirtschaft)** and is a long-standing tradition among dockworkers in the Mediterranean region (WEISS **Dockworkers**)

30 The "Swords into Plowshares" emblem was developed by retired Pastor Harald Bretschneider of Dresden (https://www.ekd.de/bretschneider-erfinder-symbol-schwerter-zu-pflugscharen-50293.htm).

31 LUZ EKK, p. 279 ff. The phrase "Do not judge…" in verse 1 goes back to Jesus and is then explained by subsequent redaction. The image of the log illustrates the recommendation not to judge in that the self of the judge is cast in a new light. The judge becomes the one being judged. The "log" in one's own eye means that this person is virtually completely blind and cannot judge the speck in the other's eye at all (LUZ EKK, p. 379 ff.). Luz continues: It is not a matter of not sticking one's nose into others' affairs. Rather, the focus is on community-oriented behavior, in which the speck in another's eye also constitutes an impairment. Judging is therefore out of place; instead, the focus should be on helping others—for example, through a change of perspective and diplomacy.

32 EISENSTEIN (***Friedenszeitalter***) explains the so-called mirror principle, which follows the logic of self-criticism and is at work in both love for one's enemies and the Golden Rule.

33 This is the so-called Level 2 perspective-taking (or shift 2 in perspective). In a Level 1 shift in perspective, one merely perceives that the other person also sees something I have perceived (such as a gun barrel). In Level 2 perspective-taking, one perceives that the other person sees the same object from a different angle or perspective and thus as something different (the barrel of the gun from the muzzle and thus as a threat). Markus Barth explains that taking on another person's perspective means more than simply directing one's attention to that person […]. Rather, perspective-taking allows one to develop an understanding of how the other person is affected by the situation. (BARTH ***Perspective-***

Taking. An investigation of group-based guilt and perspective-taking using the examples of German colonial crimes in Namibia and the expulsion of Polish citizens during World War II.) In our peace-treatise, we use the term "change of perspective" to avoid the implication that "taking on" means identifying with the position of the other party ("Putin sympathizers"). For the debate on the two terms, see HASCHEM-HUSCH ***Perspective-Shifting***. An interesting journalistic attempt to "crawl into" the Russian mindset: FASBENDER **Augen**.

34 BIRCKENBACH ***Friedenslogik***, p. 21.

35 Examples include the undermining of Ukrainian-Russian peace efforts in Istanbul in March/April 2022 or the misguided recommendation of a Ukrainian offensive in 2023. CHARAP and RADCHENKO **Talks**.

36 Numerous treaties confirm that while signatory states have the freedom to choose their alliances, this must not be done at the expense of the security of other states. This has long been Russia's primary concern regarding NATO's eastward expansion.
We refer to the following official treaties: the Two Plus Four Treaty (September 12, 1990)." September 12, 1990 (hereinafter referred to as the "Two Plus Four Treaty"). The preamble states that, in the interest of consolidating world peace and in the interest of a just and lasting peace order in Europe, the security interests of each [contracting party] must be taken into account; and that cooperation, arms control, disarmament, and confidence-building are necessary for this purpose. In this spirit of collective security, the consideration of the security interests of each contracting state was enshrined in the following treaties, among others. "Charter of Paris for a New Europe." Meeting of Heads of State and Government of the participating States of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE). Paris, November 21, 1990. (hereinafter cited as the "Charter of Paris"); NATO and the Russian Federation: "NATO-Russia Founding Act – Founding Act on Mutual Relations, Cooperation and Security between NATO and the Russian Federation signed in Paris, France, May 27, 1997." NATO – Official text, Paris, May 27, 1997 (hereinafter cited as: NATO-Russia Founding Act). Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe: "OSCE Istanbul Summit. European Security Charter 1999 – German (2000)." OSCE, November 19, 1999, (hereinafter cited as "OSCE 1999").
It is true that NATO has never contractually committed to refraining from eastward expansion. (See SAROTTE ***Schritt***) However, this very commitment indeed has been made and recorded in many speeches and protocols of East-West talks. Depending on one's legal interpretation, they may therefore be legally binding. From a peace-logical perspective, retracting important verbal assurances is certainly not a friendly act. For the verbal assurances (e.g., Foreign Minister GENSCHER, NATO Secretary General WÖRNER, etc.), see NATIONAL SECURITY ARCHIVE **Gorbachev**. NATIONAL SECURITY ARCHIVE **Yeltsin**.

37 Threat to Russian security in violation of the guaranteed "collective security" under the Two-Plus-Four Treaty (September 12, 1990); the Charter of Paris for a New Europe (1990); and the European Security Charter (1999).

38 KISSINGER **Avoid.** KENNAN **Error**. NORDEN **Allianz**. BRZEZINSKI **Aggression**.

Following the regime change in Kyiv in 2014, Brzezinski warns the West against insisting on Ukraine's admission to NATO: "The West should reassure Russia that it is not seeking to draw Ukraine into NATO or to turn it against Russia." He also strongly advises the West to engage in compromise-oriented negotiations with Russia. BRZEZINSKI **Krieg**. MATLOCK **There**. On the U.S. strategic concept for Eurasia (without a NATO option for Ukraine), see BRZEZINSKI ***Weltmacht***; an excellent overview of the lead-up to and causes of the war in Ukraine can be found in KOSTNER **Chancen**.

39 HOß **Merz**. Friedrich MERZ: "Das Versprechen der EU-Mitgliedschaft bleibe ebenso bestehen wie die Nato-Beitrittsperspektive, versicherte Merz. Für beides müsse aber zunächst der Krieg aufhören" (The promise of EU membership remains just as valid as the prospect of NATO accession, Merz assured. But for both, the war must first come to an end). According to reports, Michael Roth is maintaining the call for Ukraine's partial accession to NATO: TAGESSPIEGEL EDITORIAL TEAM **Beitritt**. As foreign minister, Annalena Baerbock spoke out in favor of Ukraine's admission to NATO ahead of the 2025 Munich Security Conference, arguing that it would be cheaper than "sending thousands of European troops to Ukraine." KOTSEV and LAMOUREUX **Baerbock**.

40 VOIGT and KÖDEL **Krieg**.

41 BIRCKENBACH ***Friedenslogik***, pp. 146 ff.

42 BIRCKENBACH ***Friedenslogik***, pp. 154 ff., 169. See also below in our ecumenical peace document for possible courses of action and examples of engagement.

43 LIANG, TIAN, DA SILVA, SCARAZZATO, KARIM and RICARD ***Trends***.

44 WORLD BEYOND WAR ***Empires***. USA: 888 bases worldwide, concentrated west of Russia and east of China; Russia: 35 bases regionally in neighboring countries (Abkhazia, Armenia, Syria, Kazakhstan, etc.); China: 6 bases, widely distributed across Asia (Cambodia, Tajikistan…, in Africa Djibouti).

45 Johannes VARWICK (***Frieden,*** p. 138) describes the distinction between the various responsibilities for the termination of disarmament treaties as difficult.

46 The arms control agreements, concluded during the Cold War and in the early 1990s, have been successively terminated over the past two decades. Mutual recriminations naturally play a major role in this issue. In summary, however, it can be stated that the West has contributed to the terminations to a significantly greater extent. This is unquestionably the case with the United States' unilateral termination in 2002 of the 1972 ABM Treaty on the limitation of antiballistic missile systems. A similar situation applies to the 1999 amendment of the 1992 CFE (KSE) Treaty on conventional arms control (New CFE [A-KSE]). Following an agreement, Russia ratified the treaty in 2004; NATO countries have not yet ratified this more far-reaching disarmament treaty due to provisions demanded retroactively for successor states of the Soviet Union, particularly Georgia (South Ossetia) and Transnistria.

The reasons for the termination of the INF Treaty, signed in 1987, regarding the production and deployment of land-based missiles and cruise missiles (with a range of 500 to 5,500 kilometers), remain controversial. While Russia was interested in the treaty to protect Moscow from missile strikes from NATO areas

near the border (e.g., Aegis Ashore in Romania and Poland), NATO pointed to Russian deployments of similar weapons, e.g., in Kaliningrad (which, however, would not have reached Berlin, Paris, or Washington). In any case, the U.S. withdrew from the treaty in 2019.

In the 1992 Open Skies Treaty, NATO and Russia granted each other rights to overflights with video recordings for mutual arms control. The U.S. withdrew in 2020.

The START process on the reduction of strategic nuclear weapons began in 1982 and was to be revised in 2000 (START II). This failed because the U.S. had withdrawn from the ABM Treaty. In 2010, Presidents Obama and Medvedev concluded the New START Treaty, which was set to expire in 2020. For an overview, see SAUER, HAUFF and MASALA ***Beziehungen***. Wiesbaden: Springer, 2024. RICHTER **Sicherheit.**

47 BAUSCH **Nato-Osterweiterung**. See also EPPLER, Erhard. "Die verkannte Demütigung der Russen." (The Misunderstood Humiliation of the Russians). infosperber, July 30, 2016. https://www.infosperber.ch/politik/welt/europas-falsche-politik-gegenueber-russland/.

48 RUSSIAN FEDERATION **Treaty**. See also, regarding the lead-up: VARWICK ***Eskalationsspirale***.

49 The U.S. decision to deploy new hypersonic weapons in Germany was made as part of the establishment of so-called Multi-Domain Task Forces (land, air, sea, space, cyber) worldwide (Pacific, Arctic, Middle East, Alaska, Europe). This perfects the capability for surprise preemptive strikes, making the security situation even more precarious. See in a nutshell VARWICK ***Frieden***, pp. 141–145.

50 See Federal Press Conference (BPK): Munich Security Report 2022 with Wolfgang Ischinger on the Ukraine conflict. Phoenix, 2022..

51 Prof. Dr. Lothar BROCK on May 6, 2022, at the conference "Wie geht Frieden?" (How Does Peace Work?)" hosted by the Weingarten Academy.

52 SENGHAAS ***Weltordnung***, p. 214 ff.

53 This pattern is also evident in the EKD's memorandum, which states that defensive capability, as part of a comprehensive security policy, derives its justification, its goal, and also its limits from the logic of peace. Conversely, the logic of peace can only gain ground where the logic of security creates the conditions for it.

EVANGELISCHE KIRCHE IN DEUTSCHLAND (EKD, Protestant Church in Germany) ***Unordnung***, p. 13. Whether one supports or opposes military defense capabilities, the Logic of Peace we advocate is precisely *not* dependent on conditions that a military security logic would first have to create. Conversely, acting in accordance with the Logic of Peace is what creates the conditions in the first place to prevent a policy of military confrontation from turning into violent escalation.

54 BIRCKENBACH ***Friedenslogik***, p. 76.

55 BIRCKENBACH ***Friedenslogik***,p. 76.

56 See also the project supported by the German Federal Foreign Office, INMEDIO PEACE CONSULT on Russian and Western blind spots in 2019. See also FRANKE **Mediation**.

57 BIRCKENBACH ***Friedenslogik***, pp. 66 ff.

58 GLASL ***Konfliktmanagement***.

59 In the Federal Pess Conference, on the Munich Security Report 2022, Wolfgang Ischinger talked on the Ukraine Conflict. BUNDESPRESSEKONFERENZ **Munich.**

60 ORGANIZATION FOR SECURITY AND CO-OPERATION IN EUROPE. "OSCE **Istanbul** Summit. European Security Charter 1999)." Similarly: Charter of Paris for a New Europe (1990): "Security (on the European continent) is indivisible, and the security of each participating State is inextricably linked to that of all other States." Likewise, the preceding CSCE documents.

61 BIRCKENBACH ***Friedenslogik***, p. 75

62 LAHL and VARWICK **Sicherheitspolitik**, pp. 137 ff., 169 ff. Sanctions and resilience, however, are not among the primary measures of a peace-oriented policy.

63 RETHINKING SECURITY **Europe**, p. 4, 1.4. Reading this document in its entirety is highly recommended. It is largely in line with the views of the authors of this treatise on peace.

64 LUZ, ***EKK*** p. 311.

65 WEIZSÄCKER **Feindesliebe.**

66 LUZ ***EKK***, p. 317.

67 Walter WINK ***Mächte*** (The Transformation of Powers), p. 142 (Further the quotes are re-translated from the German text.). Wink argues convincingly that this is not a matter of perfection, but rather of making no distinctions between people, whether friend or foe. God's love is universal; thus, the love of Christians should also be all-encompassing.

68 WINK ***Mächte***, p. 143.

69 For the following, see HUBER and REUTER. ***Friedensethik*** (Ethics of Peace), pp. 81 ff., 143.

70 The term "value" is not systematically used here in the ethical sense. In media colloquial language, it is often merely a euphemism for "ideology."

71 NIDA-RÜMELIN ***Epochenbruch***, pp. 66, 63–67.

72 GERMAN FOREIGN POLICY **Erstschlag** (Ready for a First Strike). LIEB **Schlachtfeld**. Also in the original, the Nuclear Posture Review of 2022: U.S. DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE ***Strategy***. A document from the "Congressional Research Service" dated April 19, 2024, describes the U.S. Army's Multi-Domain Task Forces (MDTF) as the "organizational centerpiece" of U.S. national security. On April 13, 2021, the Army announced that it would station its second MDTF in Germany; as of now, the deployment is planned for 2026. In contrast, a motion titled "Deeskalation statt Aufrüstung – Stationierung von US-Mittelstreckenraketen in Deutschland stoppen" (De-escalation Instead of Rearmament – Stop the Deployment of U.S. Intermediate-Range Missiles in Germany) was introduced in the Bundestag on September, 10 2024. (BUNDESTAG **Deeskalation**) See also AUTH **Transatlantizismus** (Transatlanticism on a Rampage). On the debate, see BOOR **Implikationen** (Implications of the 2018 U.S. Nuclear Posture Review under International Law), pp. 60–85.

73 See EPPLER **Demütigung.** EPPLER **Lernen**.

74 OBAMA **Interview:** "And since Mr. Putin made this decision regarding Crimea and Ukraine—not because of some grand strategy, but essentially because he was caught off guard by the protests in Maidan, and Yanukovych then fled after we had brokered a deal for a transition of power in Ukraine—(…) has isolated Russia diplomatically and made Europe wary of doing business with Russia. Has allowed the imposition of sanctions that are crippling Russia's economy (…)." Added to this strategy was pressure from the EU (Barroso), which in 2013 issued an ultimatum demanding a severing of economic ties with Russia in connection with the prospect of EU membership.

75 PUTIN **Munich**. Specifically in connection with the war in Ukraine: RUSSIAN FEDERATION **Treaty**. NATO **Press.** See also the following commentaries on various aspects of the topic: WARWEG **Nichtangriffspakt.** LIEVEN **Establishment.** VAD **Ukraine.** BUTYLIN **Medienbericht**.

76 Instead of giving up the goal of getting Ukraine into NATO, NATO has been arming Ukraine since 2014. According to Chancellor Merkel, the Minsk 2 Agreement—which, among other things, provided for partial cultural autonomy for the Donbas—was not implemented by Ukraine but used to buy time for rearmament. MERKEL **Pferdeschwanz**.

77 Threats to Russian security in violation of the enshrined principle of "common security" as set forth in the Two Plus Four Treaty (September 12, 1990); the Charter of Paris for a New Europe (1990); and the European Security Charter (1999).

78 RETHINKING SECURITY **Europe**, p. 4, 1.4.

79 The present German minister of foreign affairs, Johann Wadephul, states publicly that 'Russia will eternally remain our enemy'. EDITORIAL STAFF **Wadephul**. The former foreign minister, Baerbock, has identified "ruining Russia" as a goal of German foreign policy; NATO trainer Florence GAUB attested on the Lanz talk show that Russians have a culturally conditioned "special affinity for violence." See: EDITORIAL STAFF **Baerbock**. GAUB **Russen**. These and similar statements by German politicians and scholars stem from a long tradition of Russophobia. METTAN ***Russophobia***.

80 SCHMALZ **Kriege**. VARWICK **Russland.**

81 It is by no means only "the other side" that employs propaganda techniques ("disinformation"). Western governments and media have a century of experience in this area. A brief introduction: MORELLI ***Kriegspropaganda***. In greater detail: TÖGEL ***Kriegsführung***. A classic: WATSON ***Mind***. New study on cognitive warfare: CLUZEL ***Warfare***. Some current examples: WIESENDAHL **Umerziehung**. BECKER and BEHAM. **Balkan**. LUFT **Teufel**. VARWICK **Zweifel** – BOCKHOLT **Putin-Panik**. TÖGEL **Desinformation**. BECCHI **Kriegspropaganda**.

82 VARWICK ***Frieden***, p. 144.

83 RETHINKING SECURITY **Europe.**

84 SCHULENBURG ***Charter***, p. 10: "A veritable war hysteria has gripped the Western world—especially the European NATO states. Anyone living in Germany, France, Sweden, etc., is constantly being warned by politicians and the media

of a supposedly imminent threat of war."

85 HUBER and REUTER. **Friedensethik**, p. 317.

86 "Russia almost certainly does not want a direct military conflict with U.S. and NATO forces (…)." OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR OF NATIONAL INTELLIGENCE ***2024***, p. 14. See also LIEB **Alarmismus**.

87 "(…) U.S. and Western encroachment has increased the risks of unintended escalation between Russia and NATO. (…) The increased risk of nuclear war creates both urgency and complications for U.S. efforts to bring the war to an acceptable conclusion." OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR OF NATIONAL INTELLIGENCE. ***2025***, p. 18.

88 The claim that Russia will likely attack us by 2029 at the latest is unsubstantiated, among others demonstrated by investigation of the diary Die Zeit entitled "The Russians Are Coming. Maybe" and published on May 26, 2025. (JOERES and KIREEV **Russen**) None of the military experts regularly cited in public could substantiate this claim. Rather, they rely on circular reasoning. See also SELIGER **Kiesewetter**.

89 SCHÄFER ***Fundamentalismen***, pp. 18 ff. A historical concept of fundamentalism limits the phenomenon to the United States around 1900 ("5 Fundamentals," the Monkey Trial, etc.). However, this is not sufficient to describe, for example, fundamentalist patterns of thought and action in other religions. In contrast, a formal concept of fundamentalism achieves this. It comprises three characteristics: 1) An actor claims his own views as absolute. 2) He imposes them on others, either through communicative or physical violence. 3) The context is that of modern societies, not, for example, medieval systems of rule. All three characteristics must occur together.

90 President Obama, for example, helped ignite the Syrian civil war with half a billion dollars through Operation Timber Sycamore—only to later have to carry out airstrikes against the terrorist groups himself. Similar patterns can be seen in almost all U.S. wars in the Middle East. See briefly SCHEIDLER ***Friedenstüchtig***, pp. 117 ff., 123 ff. Also LÜDERS ***Sturm.***

91 GOEßMANN **Kriegslobbyisten**. TRANSPARENCY INTERNATIONAL GERMANY **Korruptionsprävention**. ECHOLS **Winner**.

92 Rheinmetall alone recorded a 67% increase in profits in 2025. STIERLE **Sicherheit** (Security with' or 'security against'?). On U.S. companies, see NEUBER and EICHHORN **Donroe-Doktrin** (Trump and the 'Dornroe Doctrine': Will Decapitation Strikes End America's Endless Wars?). See, in particular, the overview "Defense Industry – Facts & Figures" on Statista.

93 NEUBER and EICHHORN **Donroe-Doktrin**. In the U.S., this logic has already been articulated in a military doctrine: GLEDHILL "**Biden** Wants to Put the US on Permanent War Footing." For the doctrine, see: U.S. DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE ***Defense*** *Industrial Strategy*.

94 SCHMELLER **Waffen**. Nearly 50 billion euros are now flowing from European "green" funds into defense companies. This naturally jeopardizes, among other things, European climate goals. VANDELOISE **Verteidigungsausgaben** (Why defense spending doesn't deserve a sustainability label). Slightly less far-

reaching proposals for "containing the arms industry" can be found, for example, in VARWICK ***Frieden***, pp. 133 ff.

95 Europe is in the process of isolating itself and engaging in a particularly harsh confrontation. This runs directly counter to its potential role as a mediator—but it does promote arms production and the corresponding profits. (RETHINKING SECURITY **Europe**, 2.3.

96 GLASL ***Konfliktmanagement***. Cf. BIRCKENBACH ***Friedenslogik***, pp. 70 ff., 76.

97 BIRCKENBACH ***Friedenslogik***, pp. 78 ff.

98 RETHINKING SECURITY **Europe**, p. 5, 2.4.

99 Merz, Macron, Starmer: No criticism of the U.S. and Israel's violation of international law; instead, warnings to Iran, which is under attack. REICH and HARTWIG **Iran**. Heads of government Merz, Macron, and Starmer are warning Iran—not the U.S. or Israel—against escalating the conflict, following attacks by the U.S. and Israel on Iranian nuclear facilities. Iran should resume negotiations on a nuclear deal—negotiations that were already underway and were interrupted by the U.S. and Israeli attacks. See, among others, N-TV **Iran:** Merz, Macron, and Starmer Call on *Iran* to Halt Its Attacks.

100 BRZEZINSKI **War**. The author underscores that instead of forming part of NATO, Ukraine could perform very ´favorably as bridge between East and West.

101 Following Operation Noah regarding fossil fuels, divestment from the arms trade is now underway—to varying degrees across different departments of the Church. "Church Commissioners for England Publishes Updated Restrictions Policy for Defence Investments" 2025. See THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND. **Investments**. WEBB and GAMBETTA. **Defence**.

102 According to Ulrich LUZ (***EKK***, p. 387), the Golden Rule was most likely located in the section on loving one's enemies in the Q source.

103 According to LUZ (***EKK***, pp. 388f.), the redaction by Luke clarifies this question (Luke 6:32–24): There is nothing special about loving those who love you in return.

104 This communication arises from what is, in principle, a free choice. However, the freedom to establish norms also creates a problem. What if the desire of actor A does not please actor B? If A is a masochist, he would have to act sadistically toward B. (HÖFFE **Regel**, p. 101.) In this context, the negative formulation of the Golden Rule ("Do not do to others…") would serve as a corrective. This makes it immediately clear why Jesus addresses the Golden Rule in the context of loving one's enemies.

105 This comes close to Kant's formula of the categorical imperative. Kant rejected the Golden Rule because of its logic of reciprocity. Instead, he argued, one must act in such a way that the maxim of your will could at all times serve as a principle of universal legislation. This alone—without a weak normative orientation, such as the commandment to love—does not solve the problem. The maxim could, after all, be a profit-oriented neoliberal social order that amounts to social injustice. Further argumentation is therefore required here as well.

106 See, in the context of social criticism, MAUSFELD ***Hegemonie*** (Hegemony or

Decline. The West's Final Crisis?) Frankfurt: Westend, p. 166. See, in contrast, the problem of "human rights belligerence" in NIDA-RÜMELIN ***Epochenbruch***, pp. 59 ff.

107 SCHULENBURG ***Charter***, p. 14, on the obligations under Chapter VI, Articles 33, 36, and 37 (peaceful settlement of disputes), as well as its relationship to Chapter VII, Article 51 (right of self-defense, until the Security Council intervenes).

108 See the documents from 2022 cited above. Also instructive is WETTE **Ukraine**. "Dohnanyi's central thesis, which I endorse, is: 'Putin is the aggressor, but the opportunity to prevent the war lay with the West.'" Dohnanyi focuses in particular on the West's blocking of diplomacy. "In any case, the blocking of negotiations between the West and Russia is, in my view, a serious mistake in terms of security policy." (DOHNANYI ***Interessen*** (National Interests), p. 72.)

109 STIERLE **Sicherheit**.

110 Since 2002, the U.S. has reserved the right to launch a nuclear first strike at its own discretion, in the context of a doctrine of perpetual war. (WHITE HOUSE ***Strategy***.)

111 MERZ **Kanzler**. See also the ARD commentary: NAGEL **Iran**.

112 The fact that she and EU commanders continue to insist on maximalist demands (e.g., KALLAS **Russland**) and refuse any contact with Moscow constitutes a violation of the obligation to negotiate required by the United Nations Charter. (SCHULENBURG ***Charter***, p. 16).

113 STEINGART **Selbstgespräche**: "Anyone reading today's newspapers, which unanimously cheer Europe's supposed unity, might think the press in Germany has been nationalized. A multi-layered reality is being forced into a pro-government one-dimensionality. The uncomfortable truth: Core Europe and Trump have not yet conducted peace negotiations, but rather soliloquies."

114 The concept of the elite is misleading, for it denotes a particularly "select" group but does not specify who selected them or why. According to elite researcher Michael HARTMANN (***Ungleichheit***, p. 21 ff.), the term refers to individuals who "due to their position at the helm of important social organizations are in a position to significantly influence social developments." This includes federal and state politicians, business leaders, high-ranking military officers, church leaders, etc. Despite his doubts, he retains the term. Following sociologist Pierre Bourdieu, one can also speak of a field of power that allows for the interrelation of positions of varying power; e.g., church leaders or professors in a relatively subordinate position compared to politicians and military officials.

115 MAUSFELD ***Hegemonie***, pp. 59 ff., 148 f.

116 SCHULENBURG ***Charter***, p. 33 ff.: "Nuclear sharing" (or extended nuclear deterrence) as a term for the use of the German Air Force in the deployment of U.S. nuclear weapons (against Russia). In addition, we believe that the 2016 Bundeswehr White Paper unlawfully, in violation of the Constitution, introduces the extraterritorial deployment of the Bundeswehr (for example, to "secure" raw materials). See LIEB **Stationierung**. KARCH **Tomahawk** (Tomahawk

in Germany: Deterrence or Is a 'Decapitation Strike' Against Russia Coming?).

117 ICAN **EKD**.

118 The Catholic Church is a leading advocate and signatory of the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons (TPNW) and voted in favor of it at the United Nations in 2017. Pope FRANCIS on nuclear weapons in 2017: "If one considers only the danger of an accidental explosion resulting from some error or misunderstanding, the threat of nuclear weapons—just like their possession—must be strongly condemned." (KATHOLISCHE NACHRICHTENAGENTUR **Atomwaffenverbot**. The Vatican supports an total ban on nuclear weapons. In 2019, the German Commission JUSTITIA ET PAX of the German Bishops' Conference and the Central Council of German Catholics concluded that neither the possession nor the use of nuclear weapons can be justified ethically or politically. With this position, the Commission supports initiatives for a complete ban on nuclear weapons.

The World Council of Churches has actively participated in the civil society efforts that led to the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons: The WCC states that advocating for nuclear disarmament revitalizes and prioritizes ethical ways of life based on truth, right relationships, and very real analyses of possibilities for survival.

The EKD's 2019 rally "Church on the Path of Justice and Peace" stated: "Nuclear weapons are weapons of mass destruction and an existential threat to the entire human habitat. The 2007 Peace Memorandum already emphasized that the 'threat of nuclear weapons can no longer be regarded as a means of legitimate self-defense.' The political goal therefore remains Global Zero: a world without nuclear weapons."

119 ICAN **Treaty**.

120 BIRCKENBACH ***Friedenslogik***, pp. 124 ff., 135.

121 Dialogues aimed at developing a standards-based approach to advocacy are also called for in a discussion paper published by the Protestant Military Chaplaincy in February 2023 (ACKERMANN, ANSELM, BRUNS, et al. **Maß.** The Limits of the Possible: Perspectives on Protestant Peace Ethics in Light of the War in Ukraine. This article from the field of military chaplaincy addresses the issue of dealing with the de facto "conflictual coexistence" of value systems and ways of life. The proposal is based on a critique of notions of unilateral dominance and violent competitive strategies. Instead, it calls for the recognition of the "coexistence of different models of order" and the safeguarding of "nonviolent competition" through "international treaties." Such a model, it argues, is far more valuable than "the fragile order of a balance of deterrence." – In times of upheaval in international relations, this program appears compatible with the Logic of Peace and seems to aim at strengthening existing arms control systems or reinstating those that have been terminated, as well as at strengthening and reforming existing institutions of international law. Accordingly, the position articulated by the military chaplaincy would have to call for the intensive use of peace-oriented diplomacy in the Ukraine conflict.

122 In this context, in the spirit of non-interference, it would be irrelevant which

political regime the parties have. What would be relevant, however, is whether one of the parties—for example, by making maximalist demands—effectively rules out dialogue.

123 See BIRCKENBACH ***Friedenslogik***, p. 140 ff.

124 BIRCKENBACH ***Friedenslogik***, pp. 146 ff.

125 VAD **Merkel-Berater**. See also RETHINKING SECURITY **Europe**, p. 3 ff.

126 RETHINKING SECURITY **Europe**, p. 7 (crisis prevention); BIRCKENBACH Friedenslogik, pp. 48 ff.

127 BOUTROS GHALI ***Agenda,*** on preventive diplomacy, peacemaking, and peacekeeping.

128 LAHL and VARWICK **Sicherheitspolitik**, pp. 137–156.

129 HARMSEN, MAAß, SCHEFFLER, and ZIEGLER ***Weltinnenpolitik*** (Global Domestic Policy and International Policing).

130 The same applies to peacebuilding measures (negotiations, mediation, legal sanctions, UN troops) and peacekeeping measures (border control, monitoring of buffer zones, borders, and elections, police operations, etc.).

131 "Negotiating with the adversary about existing conflicts is worthwhile—and is by no means a sign of weakness, as is often claimed today." SCHULENBURG ***Charter***, p. 17.

132 BRANDT, FUNKE, KLOTZ, TELTSCHIK, SCHULENBURG, and KUJAT. **Verhandlungsfrieden**.

133 RETHINKING SECURITY **Europe**.

134 See "Munich Security Conference 2026" (February 15, 2026), in particular the speeches by Marco Rubio and Friedrich Merz. See also SCHMELLER **Sicherheitskonferenz**; SCHMELLER **Ersparnisse**. MAMEDOV **Sugar.**

135 GUTERRES ***Peace***.

136 In light of the challenges posed by increasing multipolarity, see Julian NIDA-RÜMELIN (***Epochenbruch***, pp. 76ff., 91ff.): "The West, and the European Union in particular, would be well advised to adapt to this early on and find a new role not in conflict, but in cooperation." And further on the vision of a peaceful world: "I consider this utopia of a pacified world and a developing global civil culture to be indispensable. (…) every humanistically motivated practice depends on ideals as regulative ideas." Canadian Prime Minister Mark Carney expressed a similar view at the World Economic Forum: "A world of fortresses will be poorer, more fragile, and less sustainable. And there is another truth. When major powers themselves abandon even the mere appearance of rules and values in favor of the unhindered pursuit of their power and interests, transactional gains will become increasingly difficult to replicate." (Our own back-translation) CARNEY **Auftritt**, with the full text.

137 WINK **Mächte**, p. 50 ff. Wink is quoted according to the German edition.

138 Deutero-Isaiah's critique of idolatry has also gained great significance in secular thought as a critique of fetishism. It is indispensable for theology. MARX ***Kapital***, pp. 85 ff. on the commodity fetish.

139 "For God was in Christ, reconciling the world to himself, not counting their trespasses against them, and entrusting to us the message of reconciliation." (2

Corinthians 5:19). "For it pleased God that in Christ all fullness should dwell, and through him to reconcile all things to himself, whether things on earth or things in heaven." (Colossians 1:19–20).

140 See the BIRCKENBACH website https://www.hanne-margret-birckenbach-wellmann.de/ (presently not working) and her team, the Arbeitsgemeinschaft Friedenslogik (Working Group Peace Logic), www.pzkb.de/friedenslogik.

141 Prof. Dr. Lothar Brock on May 6, 2022, at the conference "Wie geht Frieden?" (How Does Peace Work?). Hosted by the Weingarten Academy (BROCK **Frieden**. Wolfgang ISCHINGER at the Federal Press Conference on February 14, 2022 (BUNDESPRESSEKONFERENZ **Munich**).

142 See Contested-Narratives-Dialogue.

143 BARTOSCH ***Weltinnenpolitik***

144 This link also provides a summary and translation of the studies "Why Civil Resistance Works" by Erica CHENOWETH and Maria J. STEPHAN from 2011 and 2019. In BSV Background Paper No. 41, Christine SCHWEITZER shows that the 2011 Chenoweth study also includes 76 cases of anti-occupation struggles. According to the study, nonviolent and violent anti-occupation struggles are each successful 35% of the time—that is, equally effective—but nonviolent anti-occupation struggles are four times more likely to be partially successful and fail only half as often as violent anti-occupation struggles. In Ukraine, a 2015 survey found that one-third of respondents favored nonviolent resistance in the event of a full-scale Russian military invasion—exactly the same number as those who favored a military defense of their country in such a scenario.

145 EVERS **Konfliktbearbeitung.** Instruments of Civil Conflict Management in International Conflicts.

146 Exercises such as "Changing Perspectives on Chairs," "What Type of Conflict Am I?," "What Drives Me Up the Wall?," "I Am a Conflict," "What Sources of Strength Enable Me to Act Lovingly in Conflict?" as well as complex conflict analyses and positive examples expand awareness of one's own peace-building options in a variety of conflicts. In this process, one's own aggression and conflicts are actually viewed positively—the challenge lies in acting them out and resolving them in a peace-building manner without violence.

147 Peace services in the form of volunteer programs are offered by, among others.

148 See Pope FRANCIS ***Peace***.

149 See FREY **Komplementarität**.

150 We thank Wolfgang Krauß for this formulation from a Mennonite perspective.

151 KÄßMANN **Ausgebürgert**. A Commentary on the EKD Peace Memorandum 2025.

152 DEUTSCHE BISCHOFSKONFERENZ (GERMAN BISHOPS' CONFERENCE) ***Friede.*** ("Peace to This House" – A Message of Peace from the German Bishops).

153 See the following websites: Freiwillige Friedensdienste, Eirene, Friedensdienste im Ausland, , and Ein Jahr freiwillig.

154 Comparable to the nationwide activities, One World Promoters Network that has since been established.

155 See RETHINKING SECURITY.

156 Bishop Athanasius the Great (300–373) writes: "…killing one's enemies in war is not only permitted by law, but also praiseworthy." Augustine (354–430) not only provided a theological justification for just war but also explained that a soldier is not guilty of murder under any law of his state: "On the contrary, if he does not do so, he is guilty of insubordination and disobedience." KESSLER **Tötungsverbot**, para. 4.

157 EVANGELISCHE ARBEITSGEMEINSCHAFT ZUR BETREUUNG DER KRIEGSDIENSTVERWEIGERER (EAK) ***Militär***, p. 355. (PROTESTANT WORKING GROUP FOR THE SUPPORT OF CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS: NO to War and the Military – YES to Peace Services.)

158 CHURCH AND PEACE **Generalsekretärin.**

159 Pope LEO XIV ***Peace***.

160 https://www.santegidio.org/pageID/1/langID/en/HOME.html

161 https://www.santegidio.org/pageID/30408/langID/en/tags/677/CENTRAL-AFRICAN-REPUBLIC.html

162 https://www.church-and-peace.org/en/

163 https://religionsforpeace-deutschland.de/

164 https://www.oikoumene.org/what-we-do/pilgrimage-justice-and-peace

165 https://www.oikoumene.org/resources/documents/statement-on-the-way-of-just-peace

166 https://ceceurope.org/church-response-to-ukraine/

167 https://www.ekiba.de/infothek/arbeitsfelder-von-a-z/frieden-gerechtigkeit-2/kirche-des-gerechten-friendes-2/. Under the button "The Peace Ethics Process in Baden" at the following link, you will find documentation of this process from 2011 to 2016 and the resolution of the Regional Synod.

168 https://www.sicherheitneudenken.de/unsere-vision-2018-2040/international/englisch/

169 https://www.ekiba.de/media/download/variant/355666/broschuere_kirche-des-gerechten-friedens-werden_10_jahre_v4.pdf.

170 Ulrich DUCHROW ***Gerechtigkeit***.

171 https://fore.yale.edu/project/World-Council-Churches-WCC-Justice-Peace-and-Creation-JPC.

172 The demonstration in Leipzig on October 9 was in turn inspired by the success of the first nonviolent demonstration in Dresden the day before, where, following the violent clashes of the previous days, the intervention of the churches had succeeded in forming the "Group of 20," which initiated one of the first peaceful dialogues with the SED regime (https://www.slpb.de/themen/geschichte/friedliche-revolution/gruppe-der-20).

173 https://www.oikoumene.org/resources/documents/kairos-palestine-document

174 https://thepjn.org/kairos-palestine

175 See DEUTSCHER BUNDESTAG ***Versöhnungskommissionen.***

176 On the South African case, see for instance Desmond Tutu ***Forgiveness***.

177 https://paxchristi.net/catholic-institute-for-nonviolence/

178 https://anabaptistworld.org/how-do-mennonites-think-about-peace/
179 https://www.oikoumene.org/de/member-churches/church-of-the-brethren
180 https://quaeker.org/
181 https://www.theologie.uni-hamburg.de/einrichtungen/arbeitsstellen/friedenskirche.html
182 Pope LEO XIV ***Peace***.
183 ÖKUMENISCHE FRIEDENSDEKADE ***Friedensruf***.
184 Pope FRANCIS ***Peace***.
185 ARBEITSGEMEINSCHAFT CHRISTLICHER KIRCHEN IN DEUTSCHLAND ***Charta Oecumenica***.
186 https://www.ecunet.de/fileadmin/mediapool/gemeinden/E_stiftungoekumene/Dresden_1988_89.pdf
187 WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES P**ilgrimage**. See also: CORNELIUS-BUNDSCHUH. ***Krieg***.
188 EVANGELISCHE KIRCHE IN DEUTSCHLAND (EKD). ***Unordnung***.
189 DEUTSCHE BISCHOFSKONFERENZ (GERMAN BISHOPS' CONFERENCE) ***Friede***.
190 SCHEIDLER ***Friedenstüchtig***, p. 173, our translation.

Links to statements on peace ethics

WORKING GROUP OF MENNONITE CONGREGATIONS: Open Letter dated February 16, 2026, to the EKD regarding the 2025 Peace Memorandum.
https://www.mennoniten.de/gerechter-friede-braucht-gewaltverzicht-offener-brief-der-amg-an-die-ekd/

BRANDT, Peter et al., 2026: "Ukraine and Russia: How This War can be ended through a negotiated peace."
https://www.berliner-zeitung.de/politik-gesellschaft/geopolitik/ukraine-war-negotiated-peace-plan-just-peace-europe-li.10012558

EKD Peace Memorandum 2007
https://www.ekd.de/friedensdenkschrift.htm;
https://d3n8a8pro7vhmx.cloudfront.net/globalministries/legacy_url/12566/ekd_peace_memorandum-2.pdf?1419975353

EKD Peace Memorandum 2025
https://www.ekd.de/friedensdenkschrift-2025-91393.htm

GLOBETHICS, 2026: "Changing the narrative: Preparing for Peace."
https://globethics.net/towards-global-alliance-peace

HELLER, Piotr, 2026: "War in Iran: Autonomous Weapons and the Loss of Human Control."
https://www.faz.net/aktuell/feuilleton/debatten/iran-krieg-autonome-waffen-und-der-verlust-menschlicher-kontrolle-accg-110850573.html

ICAN Statement on the EKD-FD, 2026: Ethical Gaps, Security policy shortcomings. – The Evangelical Church for Nuclear Weapons. In: A Counter-Memorandum to the Protestant Discourse on War and Peace. p. 165 ff.
https://solidarischekirche.de/wp-content/uploads/2026/01/SOKI-Umdenkschrift-2026.pdf

INITIATIVE FOR A CHRISTIAN CALL FOR PEACE
of the 2025 Protestant Church Congress in Hanover
https://www.friedensdekade.de/christlicher-friedensruf-2025-verabschiedet/

JUSTITIA ET PAX, 2019: Press release on nuclear weapons
https://www.justitia-et-pax.de/jp/aktuelles/meldungen/20190618_pm_nuclear_weapons.php

DBK (CATHOLIC BISHOPS): Message of Peace 2024
https://www.dbk-shop.de/de/publikationen/die-deutschen-bischoefe/hirtenschreiben-erklaerungen/friede-diesem-haus-friedenswort-deutschen-bischoefe

CEC and CCEE, updated version 2025:
Peace Document "Charta Oecumenica"
https://www.oekumene-ack.de/themen/charta-oecumenica

KOCH, Karl-Wilhelm, 2026: The Protestant Church and Nuclear Weapons. In: A Reassessment of the Protestant Discourse on War and Peace. p. 177 ff.
https://solidarischekirche.de/wp-content/uploads/2026/01/SOKI-Umdenkschrift-2026.pdf

Magdeburg Peace Manifesto 2017
https://www.oekumenezentrum-ekm.de/asset/CQVwkIm4T8CLCRZnXW1G1Q/magdeburger-friedensmanifest-mit-info.pdf

POPE FRANCIS: Message for World Peace Day 2017
https://www.vatican.va/content/francesco/de/messages/peace/documents/papa-francesco_20161208_messaggio-l-giornata-mondiale-pace-2017.html

POPE LEO XIV: Message for World Peace Day 2026
https://www.vatican.va/content/leo-xiv/de/messages/peace/documents/20251208-messaggio-pace.html

SEGBERS, Franz, 2025: Guns or Butter? The EKD Peace Memorandum's Half-Hearted Approach to a Conflict of Objectives. In: A Counter-Memorandum to the Protestant Discourse on War and Peace. Pp. 111ff.
https://solidarischekirche.de/wp-content/uploads/2026/01/SOKI-Umdenkschrift-2026.pdf

Bibliography
on the Ecumenical Peace Treatise

April 29, 2026

The notes include all references, along with their English translations and website addresses, where they are immediately needed. For this reason, there are no references to websites in the bibliography.

Dirk ACKERMANN, Reiner ANSELM, Katja BRUNS, et al., "**Maß** des Möglichen. Perspektiven evangelischer Friedensethik angesichts des Krieges in der Ukraine" (The Limits of the Possible: Perspectives on Protestant Peace Ethics in Light of the War in Ukraine). Protestant Military Chaplaincy. Protestant Church Office for the Bundeswehr, Feb. 21, 2023. https://www.bundeswehr.de/resource/blob/558690606/60b68 1196328321d90e4fcf9297a7501/mass-des-moeglichen-data.pdf (Apr. 11, 2026)

ARBEITSGEMEINSCHAFT CHRISTLICHER KIRCHEN IN DEUTSCHLAND (WORKING GROUP OF CHRISTIAN CHURCHES IN GERMANY). *Charta Oecumenica*. ACK, April 22, 2001. https://www.oekumene-ack.de/themen/charta-oecumenica.

AUTH, Günther. "**Transatlantizismus** im Amoklauf" (Transatlanticism on a Rampage). NachDenkSeiten (blog), March 31, 2024. https://www.nachdenkseiten.de/?p=113043

BAAB, Patrik: *Auf beiden Seiten der Front. Meine Reisen in die Ukraine*. Fifty-fifty, 2023. (On both sides of the front. My journeys to Ukraine)

BARTH, Markus. *Förderliche und hemmende Effekte kollektiver Perspektivenübernahme auf den intergruppalen Versöhnungsprozess* (Promotive and Inhibitory Effects of Collective **Perspective-Taking** on the Intergroup Reconciliation Process). Dissertation. Fernuniversität Hagen, 2012. https://ub-deposit.fernuni-hagen.de/servlets/MCRFileNodeServlet/mir_derivate_00000103/Diss_Barth_Vers%C3%B6hnungsprozess_2012.pdf.

BARTOSCH, Ulrich: *Weltinnenpolitik für das 21. Jahrhundert*. Münster: Lit, 2009.

BAUSCH, Ulrich: „Kurzgeschichte der **Nato-Osterweiterung**“ (A Brief History of NATO’s Eastward Expansion). Aufbruch zum Frieden, November 2025. https://www.aufbruch-zum-frieden.de/wp-content/uploads/2025/02/Papier-Nato-Erweiterung_Dr-Bausch.pdf

BECCHI, Franz. 2025. “Werbung für Rheinmetall in den ‚Tagesthemen‘: **Kriegspropaganda** zur besten Sendezeit“ (Advertisement for Rheinmetall on ‘Tagesthemen’: War propaganda during prime time). Berliner Zeitung. https://www.berliner-zeitung.de/politik-gesellschaft/geopolitik/werbung-fuer-rheinmetall-in-den-tagesthemen-kriegspropaganda-zur-besten-sendezeit-li.2302636 (March 10, 2025).

BECKER, Ralf: „Die Zeichen der Zeit erkennen“. zeitzeichen.net, 23. März 2022.

BECKER, Jörg, and Mira BEHAM. August 5, 2007. “Operation **Balkan**: Werbung für Krieg und Tod“ (Operation Balkan: Advertising for War and Death). Hintergrund.de – Das Nachrichtenmagazin. https://www.hintergrund.de/global es/kriege/operation-balkan-werbung-fuer-krieg-und-tod/

BEEBE, George: „We Need a Rational Discussion about the Russian Threat” Responsible Statecraft, 21. Juli 2024.

BEVINS, Vincent: *Die **Jakarta**-Methode* (The Jakarta Method). Papy-Rossa, 2021.

BIRCKENBACH, Hanne-Margret: *Friedenslogik verstehen – Frieden hat man nicht, Frieden muss man machen*. Wochenschau Verlag, 2023.

BOCKHOLT, Anaïs-Sophie. 2024. “Schüren unsere Regierungen **Putin-Panik**? Experten vermuten ‚orchestrierte Kampagne‘” (Are Our Governments Fanning Putin Panic? Experts Suspect an ‘Orchestrated Campaign’). FOCUS online. https://www.focus.de/politik/ausland/ukraine-krise/schueren-regierungen-putin-panik-experten-vermuten-orchestrierte-ka mpagne_id_259645379.html (February 11, 2024).

BONHOEFFER, Dietrich: „Rede auf der Fano-Konferenz (28.8.1934) : ‚Kirche und Völkerwelt‘.“ In *Teil III: Predigten und Andachten*, Werke Bd. 13: London 1933-1935, hrsg. von Hans Godeking, Martin Heimbucher und Hans-Walter Schleicher. Gütersloher Verlag, 1994, pp. 298-304.

BOOR, Felix: „Völkerrechtliche **Implikationen** des US-amerikanischen Nuclear Posture Review 2018“ (Implications of the 2018 U.S. Nuclear Posture Review under International Law). In *Krieg und Frieden im Völkerrecht*, herausgegeben von Norman PAECH und Carsten NOWROT. Cologne: PapyRossa, 2019.

BOUTROS GHALI, Boutros: *An **Agenda** for Peace. Preventive Diplomacy, Peacemaking and Peace-keeping. Report of the Secretary-General pursuant to the statement adopted by the Summit Meeting of the Security Council on 31 January 1992*. United Nations, 1992. https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/145749?v=pdf

BRANDT, Peter / Hajo FUNKE / Johannes KLOTZ / Horst TELTSCHIK / Michael von der SCHULENBURG / Harald KUJAT. "Ukraine und Russland: Wie dieser Krieg mit einem **Verhandlungsfrieden** beendet werden kann" (Ukraine and Russia: How This War Can Be Ended Through Negotiated Peace). Berliner Zeitung, January 5, 2026. https://www.berliner-zeitung.de/politik-gesellschaft/geopolitik/ukraine-krieg-verhandlungsfrieden-plan-gerechter-frieden-europa-li.10012558

BROCK, Lothar: „‚Wie geht **Frieden**?' – Zusammenhänge zwischen Frieden, Sicherheit und Entwicklung" (How Does Peace Work?'— Connections Between Peace, Security, and Development). Weingarten Academy, May 5, 2022. https://www.akademie-rs.de/fileadmin/akademie-rs/redaktion/pdf/Fachbereiche/INZ/Wie_geht_Frieden_Programmhinweis.pdf

BRZEZINSKI, Zbigniew. "After Putin's **Aggression** in Ukraine, the West Must Be Ready to Respond." Opinions. Washington Post, March 3, 2014. https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/zbigniew-brzezinski-after-putins-aggression-in-ukraine-the-west-must-be-ready-to-respond/2014/03/03/25b3f928-a2f5-11e3-84d4-e59b1709222c_story.html

BRZEZINSKI, Zbigniew. "Wir haben einen neuen Kalten **Krieg**" (We Have a New Cold War). Die Welt, July 1, 2015. https://www.welt.de/politik/ausland/article143275321/Wir-haben-einen-neuen-Kalten-Krieg.html

BRZEZINSKI, Zbigniew: *Die einzige **Weltmacht**. Amerikas Strategie der Vorherrschaft*. 1997; Beltz, Quadriga, 2015. = *The Grand Chessboard: American Primacy and Its Geostrategic Imperatives*. 1997.

German BUNDESTAG. "**Deeskalation** statt Aufrüstung – Stationierung von US-Mittelstreckenraketen in Deutschland stoppen" (De-escalation Instead of Rearmament – Stop the Deployment of U.S. Intermediate-Range Missiles in Germany) Printed Paper 20/12812, Sept. 10, 2024. https://dserver.bundestag.de/btd/20/128/2012812.pdf

BUNDESFINANZMINISTERIUM – Presse: „Bundesregierung stellt finanzielle Weichen für die nächsten Jahre: **Bundeshaushalt** 2025, Eckwerte bis 2029 und Umsetzung des 500-Milliarden-Euro-Investitionspakets beschlossen“. (Federal Government Sets Financial Course for the Coming Years: 2025 Federal Budget, Key Figures Through 2029, and Implementation of the 500-Billion-Euro Investment Package Approved). Bundesministerium der Finanzen, 24. Juni 2025. https://www.bundesfinanzministerium.de/Content/DE/Pressemitteilungen/Finanzpolitik/2025/06/2025-06-24-2-entwurf-bhh-2025-eckwerte-bis-2029.html (April 2, 2026).

BUNDESMINISTERIUM DER VERTEIDIGUNG: „Deutschland investiert in Verteidigung und stärkt das **Bündnis**“ (Germany invests in defense and strengthens the alliance). 26. November 2025. https://www.bmvg.de/de/aktuelles/deutschland-investiert-in-verteidigung-und-staerkt-das-buendnis-6045046 (April 2, 2026).

BUNDESPRESSEKONFERENZ: „BPK: **Munich** Security Report 2022 mit Wolfgang Ischinger zum Ukraine-Konflikt“ (Federal Press Conference. BPK: Munich Security Report 2022 with Wolfgang Ischinger on the Ukraine conflict). phoenix, 2022. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AFhsrK42OdU

BUNDESREPUBLIK DEUTSCHLAND… *Zwei-plus-Vier-Vertrag – Vertrag über die abschließende Regelung in Bezug auf Deutschland*. 12. September 1990. document Archiv.de

BUTYLIN, Nicolas. “Neuer **Medienbericht**: USA haben Waffenstillstand in der Ukraine verhindert“ (New media report: U.S. prevented ceasefire in Ukraine). Berliner Zeitung, February 14, 2024. https://www.berliner-zeitung.de/politik-gesellschaft/geopolitik/usa-haben-putin-waffenstillstand-in-der-ukraine-verhindert-li.2186936

CARNEY, Mark: ***Speech** by Canadian Prime Minister Mark Carney*. Davos, World Economic Forum. Phoenix 2026. (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2lLrpA-kEKg).

CARNEY, Mark: „Dieser **Auftritt** sorgt für Aufsehen: Mark Carneys Rede am WEF im Wortlaut“ (This appearance is making waves: The full text of Mark Carney's speech at the WEF). watson.ch, 21. Januar 2026. https://www.watson.ch/!498900591

CASALIS, Georges. 1980. *Die richtigen **Ideen** fallen nicht vom Himmel: Elemente einer induktiven Theologie* (Good ideas don't just fall from the sky: Elements of an inductive theology). Stuttgart: Kohlhammer.

CHARAP, Samuel and Sergey RADCHENKO: „The **Talks** That Could Have Ended the War in Ukraine“. *Foreign Affairs*, 16. April 2024. https://www.foreignaffairs.com/ukraine/talks-could-have-ended-war-ukraine

CHURCH AND PEACE. “**Generalsekretärin** bei Church and Peace designiert“ (Secretary General Designate at Church and Peace). Laufdorf, February 25, 2026. https://www.church-and-peace.org/2026/02/gener alsekretaerin-bei-church-and-peace-designiert/

CLUZEL, François du. n.d., aprox. 2020. *Cognitive **Warfare**, a Battle for the Brain*. NATO. ACT. Norfolk VA. https://avalonlibrary.net/Cognitive_Warfare_%24MP-HFM-334-KN3.pdf

COMMISSION ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE (U.S. Helsinki Commission): „Decolonizing Russia: A Moral and Strategic Imperative“. Legislation. 23. Juni 2022. https://www.congress.gov/event/117th-congress/joint-event/LC73117/text

COMMISSION ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE: „Decolonization of Russia to Be Discussed at Upcoming Helsinki Commission Briefing“. CSCE, 21. Juni 2022.

Contested-Narratives-Dialogue. n.d. 13. Februar 2026. https://www.contested-narratives-dialogue.org/

CORNELIUS-BUNDSCHUH, Jochen. ***Krieg** soll nach Gottes Willen nicht sein* (War Is Not God’s Will). Evangelical Church in Baden, November 11, 2018. https://www.ekiba.de/detail/nachricht/id/16694-krieg-soll-nach-gottes-willen-nicht-sein/?cb-id=121293

DEUTSCHE BISCHOFSKONFERENZ (GERMAN BISHOPS’ CONFERENCE). “Friede diesem Haus“ – Friedenswort der deutschen Bischöfe. (“Peace to This House” – A Message of Peace from the German Bishops). Bonn, February 21, 2024. https://www.dbk-shop.de/de/publikationen/die-deutschen-bischoefe/hirtenschreiben-erklaer ungen/friede-diesem-haus-friedenswort-deutschen-bischoefe.html

DEUTSCHE FRIEDENSGESELLSCHAFT – VEREINIGTE KRIEGSDIENSTGEGNERINNEN e. V. (DFG-VK) Gruppe Köln: „Kölner IG-Metall-Vertrauensleute bei Ford beschließen Erklärung gegen **Kriegswirtschaft**“. 10. Februar 2026. https://www.friedenkoeln.de/?p=19552

DEUTSCHER BUNDESTAG. *Die Bedeutung von Wahrheits- und **Versöhnungskommissionen** für eine friedliche Zukunft. Drucksache 16/932* (The Importance of Truth and Reconciliation Commissions for a Peaceful Future. Printed Paper 16/932.) Berlin, 2006. https://dserver.bundestag.de/btd/16/009/1600932.pdf

DEUTSCHLANDFUNK. 2024. "Oxfam – Drei Prozent der G7-**Militärausgaben** könnten Hunger in der Welt beenden" (Oxfam – Three percent of G7 military spending could end world hunger.) deutschlandfunk.de. https://www.deutschlandfunk.de/drei-prozent-der-g7-militaerausgaben-koennten-hunger-in-der-welt-beenden-100.html (April 1, 2026).

DIESEN, Glenn: *The **Ukraine** war & the Euraisian World Order*. Clarity Press, 2024.

DOBBINS, James / Raphael S. COHEN / Nathan CHANDLER, u. a.: *Overextending and Unbalancing Russia: Assessing the Impact of Cost-Imposing Options*. RAND Corporation, 2019.

DOHNANYI, Klaus von: *Nationale **Interessen**. Orientierung für deutsche und europäische Politik in Zeiten globaler Umbrüche*. Siedler, 2022.

DUCHROW, Ulrich. 2025. ***Gerechtigkeit**, Frieden, (Über)Leben – Erfahrungen, Kämpfe und Visionen in der weltweiten Ökumene* (Justice, Peace, Survival – Experiences, Struggles, and Visions in Global Ecumenism). Hamburg : VSA.

ECHOLS, Connor. 2022. "Why the War Party Is the Real **Winner** of the Midterms." Responsible Statecraft. https://responsiblestatecraft.org/2022/11/14/arms-makers-win-big-after-stacking-the-deck-with-military-industrial-candidates/ (March 5, 2026).

EDITORIAL STAFF. "Presse zu Merz' Kabinett: ‚**Wadephul** glaubt, dass Russland 'immer Deutschlands Feind bleiben wird'" (Press on Merz's Cabinet: 'Wadephul believes that Russia 'will always remain Germany's enemy.'"') Die Welt, April 20, 2025. www.welt.de/politik/deutschland/article256030958/Presse-zu-Merz-Kabinett-Wadephul-glaubt-dass-Russland-immer-Deutschlands-Feind-bleiben-wird.html

EDITORIAL STAFF. "Ukraine-Krieg: **Baerbock** über Sanktionen – ‚Das wird Russland ruinieren'" (War in Ukraine: Baerbock on Sanctions – 'This Will Ruin Russia'"). Redaktionsnetzwerk Deutschland, February 25, 2022. https://www.rnd.de/politik/ukraine-krieg-baerbock-ueber-sanktionen-das-wird-russland-ruinieren-RZDYS2DEPRK5OST7ZGGRZ6UN4I.html

EISENSTEIN, Charles: „Das ***Friedenszeitalter*** ist ganz nah“ (The Age of Peace Is Very Near). Substack newsletter. *Charles Eisenstein auf Deutsch*, 3. April 2026. https://charleseisensteindeutsch.substack.com/p/das-friedenszeitalter-ist-ganz-nah (April 16, 2026).

ENDT, Christian: „Kriegstote im **Gazastreifen**: Mehr als 100.000 Tote im Gazakrieg“. (War Casualties in the Gaza Strip: More Than 100,000 Dead in the Gaza War.) Die Zeit. 24.11.2025. https://www.zeit.de/politik/ausland/2025-11/kriegstote-gazastreifen-opferzahlen-schaetzung (April 1, 2026).

EPPLER, Erhard: „Die verkannte **Demütigung** der Russen“ (The Misunderstood Humiliation of the Russians). infosperber, 30. Juli 2016. https://www.infosperber.ch/politik/welt/europas-falsche-politik-gegenueber-russland/

EPPLER, Erhard: „**Lernen** aus der Geschichte!“ (Learning from History!) infosperber, 8. Juni 2016. https://www.infosperber.ch/politik/europa/lernen-aus-der-geschichte/

EUROPÄISCHE KOMMISSION: „13 **Mythen** über den Krieg Russlands in der Ukraine – und die Wahrheit“ (13 myths about the russian war on Ukraine – and the truth). Vertretung in Deutschland, n.d. https://germany.representation.ec.europa.eu/13-mythen-uber-den-krieg-russlands-der-ukraine-und-die-wahrheit_de (29. April 2026).

EVANGELISCHE ARBEITSGEMEINSCHAFT ZUR BETREUUNG DER KRIEGSDIENSTVERWEIGERER (EAK) (PROTESTANT WORKING GROUP FOR THE SUPPORT OF CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS), ed. 2007. *NEIN zu Krieg und **Militär** – JA zu Friedensdiensten* (NO to War and the Military – YES to Peace Services). 50 Years of Protestant Work for Conscientious Objectors. Bremen: EAK.

EVANGELISCHE KIRCHE IN DEUTSCHLAND (EKD, Protestant Church in Germany): *Welt in **Unordnung** – Gerechter Friede im Blick. Evangelische Friedensethik angesichts neuer Herausforderungen.* (A World in Disarray – A Just Peace in Sight. Evangelical Peace Ethics in the Face of New Challenges) Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 2025.

EVERS, Tilman. 2000. “Instrumente ziviler **Konfliktbearbeitung** in internationalen Konflikten“ (Instruments of Civil Conflict Management in International Conflicts). In: Ziviler Friedensdienst — Fachleute für den Frieden, ed. Tilman Evers. Wiesbaden: Springer. https://link.springer.com/chapter/10.1007/978-3-322-97498-3_6

FASBENDER, Thomas. "Mit den **Augen** des Gegners: Die Logik der russischen Kriegsstrategie" (Through the Eyes of the Enemy: The Logic of Russian War Strategy). Berliner Zeitung, November 1, 2025. https://www.berliner-zeitung.de/politik-gesellschaft/geopolitik/mit-den-augen-des-gegners-die-logik-der-russischen-kriegsstrategie-li.10003400

FRANKE, Thomas. "Deutsch-russische **Mediation** – Zwei Länder müssen auf die Couch" (German-Russian Mediation – Two Countries Must Take the Couch.) Deutschlandfunk Kultur, January 30, 2019. https://www.deutschlandfunkkultur.de/deutsch-russische-mediation-zwei-laender-muessen-auf-die-100.html

FREY, Ulrich. 2006. "**Komplementarität**' zum ‚gerechten Frieden'" (From 'Complementarity' to 'Just Peace). Wissenschaft & Frieden 2006/4. https://wissenschaft-und-frieden.de/artikel/von-der-komplementaritaet-zum-gerechten-frieden/

GAUB, Florence: „Wir dürfen nicht vergessen, dass auch wenn **Russen** europäisch aussehen, dass es keine Europäer sind, jetzt im kulturellen Sinne, einen anderen Bezug zur Gewalt haben, einen anderen Bezug zum Tod haben" We must not forget that even though Russians look European, they are not Europeans—at least in a cultural sense—and have a differ-ent relationship to violence, a different relationship to death). junge Welt, 14. April 2022. https://www.jungewelt.de/bibliothek/zitat/?id=4845

GERLEMANN, Gillis: „Art. **šlm** genug haben". In *Theologisches Handwörterbuch zum Alten Testament*, Vol. 2, ed. Claus Westermann und Ernst Jenni. Kaiser, 1979.

GERMAN FOREIGN POLICY. "Zum **Erstschlag** bereit" (Ready for a First Strike). https://www.german-foreign-policy.com/news/detail/9068 (November 7, 2022).

GHOSH, Amitav: *Der Fluch der **Muskatnuss*** (The Nutmeg Curse). Berlin: Matthes & Seitz, 2023.

GLASL, Friedrich: ***Konfliktmanagement**. Ein Handbuch für Führungskräfte, Beraterinnen und Berater* (Conflict Management. A Handbook for Executives and Consultants). Haupt, 2004.

GLEDHILL, Julia. "**Biden** Wants to Put the US on Permanent War Footing." Responsible Statecraft, February 23, 2024. https://responsiblestatecraft.org/biden-war-strategy/

GOEßMANN, David. 2023. "Die Stunde der Rüstungs- und **Kriegslobbyisten**" (The Hour of the Arms and War Lobbyists). Telepolis. March 9, 2023. https://www.telepolis.de/features/Die-Stunde-der-Ruestungs-und-Kriegslobbyisten-7539436.html

GOTTSCHALK, Arno. 2026. "Dossier: Deutsche **Drohnenunternehmen** im Ukraine-Krieg" (Dossier: German Drone Companies in the Ukraine War). Substack newsletter. Erhard-Eppler-Kreis, 7. April 2026. https://erhardepplerkreis.substack.com/p/dossier-deutsche-drohnen unternehmen (April 20, 2026)

GRAEBER, David / David WENGROW: *Anfänge. Eine neue Geschichte der Menschheit* (A New History of **Humanity**) Klett-Cotta, 2022.

GUTERRES, António. 2025. *The True Cost of **Peace**: Rebalancing World Military Spending for a Sustainable and Peaceful Future* (A/RES/79/1). Geneva: United Nations. https://www.un.org/en/peace-and-security/the-true-cost-of-peace

HARMSEN, Dirk / Stefan MAAß / Horst SCHEFFLER / Theodor ZIEGLER, ed. 2023. ***Weltinnenpolitik** und Internationale Polizei*. (Global Domestic Policy and International Policing). Göttingen: Brill / V&R unipress. https://www.vandenhoeck-ruprecht-verlage.com/media/pdf/c3/28/be/9783847015260_sample.pdf

HARTMANN, Michael. *Soziale **Ungleichheit**. Kein Thema für die Eliten?* (Social Inequality. Not a Topic for the Elites?) Campus, 2013.

HASCHEM-HUSCH, Bettina. *Zeig mir deine Sicht! Perspektivenwechsel mit agilen Methoden in der Mediation* (Show Me Your Perspective! **Perspective-Shifting** with Agile Methods in Mediation). Vol. 31. Viadrina Series on Mediation and Conflict Management. Wolfgang Metzner Verlag, 2022. https://www.vfst.de/system/files/ebook/sr_viadrina_haschem-husch_978-3-96 117-100-2_e-book_geschuetzt.pdf

HELLER, Piotr. 2026. „Iran-Krieg: Autonome **Waffen** und der Verlust menschlicher Kontrolle" (War with Iran: Autonomous Weapons and the Loss of Human Control.) FAZ.NET. 10. März 2026. https://www.faz.net/aktuell/feuilleton/debatten/iran-krieg-autonome-waffen-und-der-verlust-menschlicher-kontrolle-accg-11 0850573.html (March 11, 2026).

HÖFFE, Otfried. "Goldene **Regel**" (Golden Rule), in: Lexikon der Ethik. München: Beck, 2002, p. 101.

HOß, Dieter / AFP: „Ukraine: **Merz** würde Ukraine erst nach Kriegsende in EU und Nato aufnehmen“ (Ukraine: Merz Would Only Admit Ukraine to the EU and NATO After the War Ends). Die Zeit (Hamburg), April 12, 2025. https://www.zeit.de/politik/deutschland/2025-04/friedrich-merz-ukraine-nato-eu-beitritt

HOFBAUER Hannes. 2016. ***Feindbild*** *Russland. Geschichte einer Dämonisierung.* Wien: Promedia. (*Enemy sterotype Russia. History of a demonization.*)

HRUDKA, Orysia: „Ukraine Trains Leaders for Decolonization of Russia“. International. Euromaidan Press, 18. Juli 2024.

HUBER, Wolfgang, and Hans-Richard REUTER. ***Friedensethik*** (Ethics of Peace). Kohlhammer, 1990.

HUDSON INSTITUTE / JAMESTOWN FOUNDATION: „Preparing for the Dissolution of the Russian Federation“. 28. Februar 2023.

ICAN Deutschland: „Kritik zur **EKD**-Friedensdenkschrift 2025“ Critique of the EKD Peace Memorandum 2025). December 1, 2025. www.icanw.de/action/kritik-zur-ekd-friedensdenkschrift-2025/

ICAN. 2017. “The **Treaty** on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons.” https://nuclearban.de/der-vertrag/

INMEDIO PEACE CONSULT: „Russian-Western blind **spots**: From Dialogue on Contested Narratives to Improved Understanding“. 2019. https://www.inmedio.de/wp-content/uploads/russian_western_blind_spots.pdf

IPPNW. INTERNATIONAL PHYSICIANS FOR THE PREVENTION OF NUCLEAR WAR. 2026. “Massenvernichtungswaffen im Namen der **Kirche**? Stellungnahme zur Friedensdenkschrift 2025 der Evangelischen Kirche in Deutschland“ (Weapons of Mass Destruction in the Name of the Church? Statement on the 2025 Peace Memorandum of the Protestant Church in Germany). IPPNW, 27. Januar 2026. https://www.ippnw.de/commonFiles/pdfs/Dokumente/Stellungnahme_IPPNW_EKD_Denkschrift.pdf (March 31, 2026).

JOERES, Annika, and Maxim KIREEV. “NATO: “Nato: Die **Russen** kommen. Vielleicht” (The Russians Are Coming. Maybe). Die Zeit (Hamburg), May 26, 2025. https://www.zeit.de/2025/21/carlo-masala-russland-angriff-europa-nato-aufruestung

KALLAS, Kaja. “Kein Frieden mit **Russland**? Die geheimen Forderungen der EU” (No Peace with Russia? The EU’s Secret Demands). – Lost in Europe. February 20, 2026. https://lostineu.eu/no-peace-with-russia-the-eu’s-secret-maximum-demands/

KARCH, Heribert. "**Tomahawk** in Deutschland: Abschreckung oder kommt ein ‚Enthauptungsschlag' gegen Russland?" (Tomahawk in Germany: Deterrence or Is a 'Decapitation Strike' Against Russia Coming?). Berliner Zeitung, August 18, 2024. www.berliner-zeitung.de/open-source/us-raketen-in-deutschland-plan en-die-usa-einen-enthauptungsschlag-gegen-russland-li.2245370

KÄßMANN, Margot. 2026. "**Ausgebürgert**. Ein Kommentar zur EKD-Friedensdenkschrift 2025" (Expatriated. A Commentary on the EKD Peace Memorandum 2025). Zivilcourage 1 (2026): p. 17. https://bawue.dfg-vk.de/neue-zivilcourage-ist-da/

KATCHANOVSKI, Ivan. 2024. *The **Maidan** Massacre in Ukraine: The Mass Killing That Changed the World*. Cham: Springer Nature Switzerland.

KATCHANOVSKI, Ivan: „The Russia-Ukraine **War** and the Maidan in Ukraine". SSRN Scholarly Paper No. 4246203. Rochester, NY, 13. Oktober 2022. https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.4246203

KATHOLISCHE NACHRICHTENAGENTUR (KNA): „Vatikan will totales **Atomwaffenverbot** unterstützen" (Vatican Wants to Support Total Ban on Nuclear Weapons). Katholisch.de, 11. November 2017. https://katholisch.de/artikel/15433-vatikan-will-totales-atomwaffen verbot-unterstuetzen (April 11, 2026)

KENNAN, George F. "A Fateful **Error**." Opinion. The New York Times, February 5, 1997. https://www.nytimes.com/1997/02/05/opinion/a-fateful-error.html

KESSLER, Rainer. 2026. "Das biblische **Tötungsverbot** und das Töten im Krieg" (The Biblical Prohibition Against Killing and Killing in War). Manuscript for the forthcoming Jahrbuch Biblische Theologie, 2026. Göttingen, V+R.

KISSINGER, Henry: „How to **Avoid** Another World War". The Spectator, 17. Dezember 2022. https://www.spectator.co.uk/article/the-push-for-peace/

KLEIN, Naomi: *Die **Schock**-Strategie. Der Aufstieg des Katastrophen-Kapitalismus* (The Shock Doctrine. The Rise of Desaster Capitalism) Hoffmann und Campe, 2007.

KOSTNER, Sandra, und Stefan LUFT, Hrsg. 2023. ***Ukrainekrieg**. Warum Europa eine neue Entspannungspolitik braucht*. Frankfurt: Westend. (Why Europe needs a new policy towards Ukraine).

KOSTNER, Sandra: „Verspielte historische **Chancen**". In *Ukrainekrieg. Warum Europa eine neue Entspannungspolitik braucht*. Sandra Kostner and Stefan Luft ed. Westend, 2023. (Wasted Historical Opportunities).

KOTSEV, Maria / Benjamin LAMOUREUX: „‚Die günstigste Möglichkeit für Europa'. **Baerbock** wirbt für Nato-Mitgliedschaft der Ukraine". (The most cost-effective option for Europe.' Baerbock advocates for Ukraine's NATO membership) Der Tagesspiegel Online, February 15, 2025. https://www.tagesspiegel.de/politik/wahlkampfer-bei-munchner-sicherheitskonferenz-verfolgen-sie-hier-die-reden-von-scholz-merz-und-habeck-132 0905 8.html

KRAFT, Ina: „Die russische **Rechtfertigung** des Krieges gegen die Ukraine". Bundeswehr, 23. Juli 2022. https://zms.bundeswehr.de/de/mediathek/zmsbw-dossier-ukraine-ina-kraft-russische-rechtfertigung-5467274 (29. April 2026).

KRONAUER, Jörg: ***Ukraine** über alles.* Konkret, 2014.

KSZE: *„Charta von Paris für ein neues Europa".* Treffen der Staats- und Regierungschefs, der Teilnehmerstaaten der Konferenz über Sicherheit und Zusammenarbeit in Europa (KSZE). Paris, 21.11.1990.

LAHL, Kersten / Johannes VARWICK: ***Sicherheitspolitik** verstehen. Handlungsfelder, Kontroversen, Lösungsansätze* (Understanding Security Policy). Wochenschau Verlag, 2022.

LANGE, Nico / Carlo MASALA: „**Krieg** in der Ukraine: Was, wenn Russland gewinnt?" *Die Zeit* (Hamburg), 19. November 2023.

LANGE, Nico: „Aber die **NATO**! 10 populäre Mythen über Putins Krieg gegen die Ukraine". Münchener Sicherheitskonferenz, 2022.

LESHEM, Ron: ***Feuer**. Israel und der 7. Oktober*. (Fire. Israel and October 7th) Rowohlt, 2024.

LIANG, Xiao / Nan TIAN / Diego Lopes DA SILVA / Lorenzo SCARAZZATO / Zubaida KARIM / Jade Guiberteau RICARD: ***Trends** in World Military Expenditure, 2024*. Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI), 2025, 2. https://doi.org/10.55163/AVEC8366

LIEB, Wolfgang. "**Stationierung** von US-Raketen: Wie Deutschland zur Zielscheibe gemacht wird" (Deployment of U.S. Missiles: How Germany Is Being Turned into a Target). *Telepolis*, January 12, 2025. https://www.telepolis.de/features/Stationierung-von-US-Raketen-Wie-Deutschland-zur-Zielscheibe-gemacht-wird-10236809.html

LIEB, Wolfgang. 2024. „US-Dokument belegt: Deutschland ist das **Schlachtfeld** der Vorwärtsverteidigung der USA." (U.S. document confirms: Germany is the battlefield for the U.S.'s forward defense) Blog der Republik, 13. Juli 2024. https://www.blog-der-republik.de/us-dokument-belegt-deutschland-ist-das-schlachtfeld-der-vorwaertsverteidigung-der-usa/

LIEB, Wolfgang: „Kriegs-**Alarmismus** in Deutschland – die U.S. Nachrichtendienste verlieren in ihrer Bedrohungsanalyse 2025 kein Wort über einen russischen Angriff auf ein NATO-Land“(War Alarmism in Germany – In their 2025 threat assessment, U.S. intelligence agencies make no mention of a Russian attack on a NATO country). Blog der Republik, 18. April 2025. https://www.blog-der-republik.de/kriegs-alarmismus-in-deutschland-die-u-s-nachrichtendienste-verlieren-in-ihrer-bedrohungsanalyse-2025-kein-wort-ueber-einen-russischen-angriff-auf-ein-nato-land/

LIEVEN, Anatol: „How the Russian **Establishment** Really Sees the War Ending“. Foreign Policy, 16. September 2024. https://foreignpolicy.com/2024/08/27/russia-establishment-ukraine-war-end-ceasefire/

LOST IN EUROPE: “Ist die Ukraine jetzt ein deutsches **Protektorat**?“ (Is Ukraine Now a German Protectorate?) 2026.. https://lostineu.eu/ist-die-ukraine-jetzt-ein-deutsches-protektorat/ (April 20, 2026).

LÜDERS, Michael: *Die den **Sturm** ernten. Wie der Westen Syrien ins Chaos stürzte*. (Those Who Reap the Storm: How the West Plunged Syria into Chaos) Beck, 2017.

LÜDERS, Michael: ***Krieg** ohne Ende.* (War without end) Goldmann, 2024.

LUFT, Stefan / Jan OPIELKA / Jürgen WENDLER, ed..: *Mit Russland. Für einen Politikwechsel*. Westend, 2025.

LUFT, Stefan. 2023. “Putin als **Teufel**“ (Putin as the Devil). Overton Magazine. https://overton-magazin.de/hintergrund/politik/putin-als-teufel/ (August 30, 2023).

LUZ, Ulrich: *Das Evangelium nach Matthäus: (Mt 1-7)*. (The Gospel According to Matthew) Vol. I/1. Evangelisch-katholischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament (**EKK**). Benziger, 2002.

MACKINDER, H. J.: „The Geographical Pivot of History“. The Geographical Journal 23, Nr. 4 (1904), pp. 421–437.

MAMEDOV, Eldar. “Rubio’s Spoonful of **Sugar** Helps Hard Medicine Go Down in Munich.” Responsible Statecraft, February 14, 2026. https://responsiblestatecraft.org/rubio-speech-munich/

MARX, Karl. 1962. ***Kapital***, Volume I. Institute for Marxism-Leninism (ed.). Marx-Engels Werke, Volume 23. Berlin: Dietz.

MATLOCK, Jack F.: „I Was **There**: NATO and the Origins of the Ukraine Crisis“. Responsible Statecraft, 15. Februar 2022. https://responsiblestatecraft.org/2022/02/15/the-origins-of-the-ukraine-crisis-and-how-conflict-can-be-avoided/

MAUS, Ingeborg: *Über Volkssouveränität*. Suhrkamp, 2011.

MAUSFELD, Rainer: ***Hegemonie*** *oder Untergang. Die letzte Krise des Westens?* (Hegemony or Decline. The Last Crisis of the West) Westend, 2025.

MEARSHEIMER, John J. „Who Caused the Ukraine War?" Substack newsletter. John's Substack, 5. August 2024.

MEARSHEIMER, John J.: „Why the Ukraine Crisis Is the West's Fault: The Liberal Delusions That Provoked Putin". Foreign Affairs 93, Nr. 5 (2014): 77–89.

MERKEL, Angela: „Hätten Sie gedacht, ich komme mit **Pferdeschwanz**?" (Did You Think I'd Come with a Ponytail?). Die Zeit, December 7, 2022. https://www.zeit.de/2022/51/angela-merkel-russland-fluechtlingskrise-bundeskanzler/komplettansicht

MERZ, Friedrich. 2026. "**Kanzler** Merz zur Lage im Nahen Osten. Die Bundesregierung informiert" (Chancellor Merz on the Situation in the Middle East. The Federal Government Informs). https://www.bundesregierung.de/breg-de/aktuelles/kanzler-statement-naher-osten-2409172 (April 10, 2026).

METTAN, Guy: *Creating* ***Russophobia****. From the great religious schism to Anti-Putin Hysteria*. Clarity Press, 2017.

MICHEL, Casey: „Decolonize Russia". The Atlantic, 27. Mai 2022.

MORELLI, Anne. 2021. *Die Prinzipien der* ***Kriegspropaganda*** (The Principles of War Propaganda). Springe: Zu Klampen.

MOUSSEAU, Frederic, and Eve DEVILLERS. 2023. ***War*** *and theft. The takeover of Ukraine's agricultural land*. Oakland: The Oakland Institute. (Summarized in: ENDRES, Alexandra. 2015. „Ukraine: Wettlauf um die ukrainische Schwarzerde". Die Zeit. https://www.zeit.de/wirtschaft/2015-03/ukraine-landwirtschaft-schwarzerde-monsanto/komplettansicht (7. August 2022).

N-TV. February 28, 2026. "Merz, Macron und Starmer fordern **Iran** zum Stopp seiner Angriffe auf" (Merz, Macron, and Starmer Call on Iran to Halt Its Attacks). ntv.de. https://www.n-tv.de/politik/Merz-Macron-und-Starmer-fordern-Iran-zum-Stopp-seiner-Angriffe-auf-id3041630 5.html

NAGEL, Christina. 2026. "Kommentar zum Angriff auf **Iran**: Das Versagen des Westens" (Commentary on the Attack on Iran: The Failure of the West). tagesschau.de. https://www.tagesschau.de/kommentar/iran-angriff-voelkerrecht-100.html (April 10, 2026).

NATIONAL SECURITY ARCHIVE: „NATO Expansion: What **Gorbachev** Heard". National Security Archive, 12. Dezember 2017. https://nsarchive.gwu.edu/briefing-book/russia-programs/2017-12-12/nato-expansion-what-gorbachev-heard-western-leaders-early

NATIONAL SECURITY ARCHIVE: „NATO Expansion: What **Yeltsin** Heard". National Security Archive, 16. März 2018. https://nsarchive.gwu.edu/briefing-book/russia-programs/2018-03-16/nato-expansion-what-yeltsin-heard

NATO: „Press Conference by NATO Secretary General Jens Stoltenberg Following the Meeting of the NATO-Russia Council". NATO, 12. Januar 2022.

NEUBER, Harald and Moritz EICHHORN. "Trump und die ‚**Donroe-Doktrin**': Beenden Enthauptungsschläge Amerikas ewige Kriege?" (Trump and the 'Dornroe Doctrine': Will Decapitation Strikes End America's Endless Wars?). Berliner Zeitung, March, 3rd 2026. https://www.berliner-zeitung.de/news/trump-und-die-donroe-doktrin-beenden-enthauptungsschlaege-amerikas-ewige-kriege-li.10022061

NIDA-RÜMELIN, Julian, Hrsg.: ***Perspektiven*** *nach dem Ukrainekrieg*. Freiburg: Herder, 2023.

NIDA-RÜMELIN, Julian: *Der* ***Epochenbruch*** (The Epochal Break) Berlin: Matthes *&* Seitz, 2026.

NORDEN, Udo: „Nato: Allianz am **Abgrund** eines großen Kriegs". Berliner Zeitung, 18. August 2024. https://www.berliner-zeitung.de/politik-gesellschaft/geopolitik/nato-allianz-am-abgrund-eines-grossen-kriegs-li.2244019

NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ORGANIZATION / REGIERUNG DER RUSSISCHEN FÖDERATION: „Grundakte über Gegenseitige Beziehungen, Zusammenarbeit und Sicherheit zwischen der Nordatlantikvertrags-Organisation und der Russischen Föderation (Founding Act on Mutual Relations, Cooperation and Security between NATO and the Russian Federation signed in Paris, France, 27-May.-1997)". NATO. Official text:, 27.5.1997.

NATO. "**Press** Conference by NATO Secretary General Jens Stoltenberg Following the Meeting of the NATO-Russia Council." NATO, January 12, 2022. https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/opinions_190666.htm

NORTON, Ben: „US Gov't Body Plots to Break up Russia in Name of ‚Decolonization'". Geopolitical Economy Report, 24. Juni 2022.

OBAMA, Barack: „**Interview** with President Obama". CNN.com – Transcripts, Februar 1, 2015. https://transcripts.cnn.com/show/fzgps/date/2015-02-01/segment/01

OEHME, Friedemann. 2022. „Konziliarer Prozess für **Gerechtigkeit**, Frieden und Bewahrung der Schöpfung". Konfessionskunde online. https://konfessionskunde.de/themen/begriff/der-konziliare-prozess-fuer-gerechtigkeit-frieden-und-bewahrung-der-schoepfung/ (April 2, 2026).

ÖKUMENISCHE FRIEDENSDEKADE (ECUMENICAL PEACE DECADE). *Christlicher **Friedensruf** 2025* (Christian Call for Peace 2025). May 1, 2025. https://friedenstheologie-institut.jimdofree.com/app/download/8564864263/20260221_OeFZ_Friedensruf_neu.pdf

OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR OF NATIONAL INTELLIGENCE: *Annual Threat Assessment of the U.S. Intelligence Community*. Washington D.C., 2024. https://www.odni.gov/files/ODNI/documents/assessments/ATA-2024-Unclassified-Report.pdf

OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR OF NATIONAL INTELLIGENCE. "Annual Threat Assessment of the U.S. Intelligence Community 2025." Washington, D.C., March 2025, p. 18. https://www.dni.gov/files/ODNI/documents/assessments/ATA-2025-Unclassified-Report.pdf

ÖKUMENISCHE FRIEDENSDEKADE: *Christlicher Friedensruf 2025: Ein starker Aufruf zu Frieden, Gerechtigkeit und Gewaltfreiheit*. 1.5.2025.

ORGANIZATION FOR SECURITY AND CO-OPERATION IN EUROPE. *OSCE **Istanbul** Summit. European Security Charter 1999.* OSCE, November 19, 1999. https://www.osce.org/mc/17502

Pope FRANCIS. *World Day of **Peace** 2017: Nonviolence: A Style of Politics for Peace*. Holy See, January 1, 2017. https://www.vatican.va/content/francesco/en/messages/peace/documents/papa-francesco_20161208_messaggio-l-giornata-mondiale-pace-2017.html (April 11, 2026).

Pope LEO XIV. *Message of his holiness Pope Leo XIV for the LIX World Day of **Peace** 2026: Peace be with you all: Towards an unarmed and disarming peace*. Vatican, January 1, 2026. https://www.vatican.va/content/leo-xiv/en/messages/peace/documents/20251208-messaggio-pace.html

PUTIN, Wladimir: „Speech and the Following Discussion at the **Munich** Conference on Security Policy, 2007 (10.2.2007)". President of Russia, 12. Februar 2007. http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/transcripts/24034

REDAKTION ‚DIE WELT': „Presse zu Merz' Kabinett: Wadephul glaubt, dass Russland ‚immer Deutschlands Feind bleiben wird'". *Die Welt*, 20. April 2025.

REDAKTION: „Ukraine-Krieg: Baerbock über Sanktionen – ‚Das wird Russland ruinieren'". Redaktionsnetzwerk Deutschland, 25. Februar 2022.

REICH, Anja, and Josephin HARTWIG. June 22, 2025. "Liveblog US-Angriff auf **Iran**: Merz, Macron und Starmer warnen Teheran vor Eskalation des Konflikts" (Liveblog U.S. Attack on Iran: Merz, Macron, and Starmer Warn Tehran Against Escalation of the Conflict). Berliner Zeitung. www.berliner-zeitung.de/politik-gesellschaft/geopolitik/liveblog-us-angriff-auf-atomanlagen-tel-aviv-zeigt-dank-plakate-fuer-trump-li.2335572

RETHINKING SECURITY (Sicherheit Neu Denken, SND). "**Europe**'s Role in World Peace. Positive Scenario 2025–2040". https://www.sicherheit-neudenken.de/media/download/variant/410614/positiv-szenario-europas-rolle-fuer-de n-frieden-in-der-welt-01.01.2025.pdf

RICHTER, Wolfgang. "Ukraine-Krieg, Abschreckung und **Sicherheit**: Welche Gefahr ist Russland für Europa?" (The War in Ukraine, Deterrence, and Security: What Threat Does Russia Pose to Europe?) Telepolis, March 17, 2025. https://www.telepolis.de/features/Ukraine-Krieg-Abschreckung-und-Sicherheit-Welche-Gefahr-ist-Russland-fuer-Europa-10317383.html

RICHTER, Wolfgang: *Russlands **Angriffskrieg** gegen die Ukraine.* FES, 2023. (The Russian attack on Ukraine) https://peace.fes.de/e/russlands-angriffskrieg-gegen-die-ukraine (04.03.2024).

ROOSEN, Franziska, Hrsg.: *Gandhi. Es gibt keinen Weg zum Frieden. Frieden ist der Weg*. Kösel, 2019.

RUSSIAN FEDERATION. "**Treaty** between the Russian Federation and the United States of America on Security Assurances. Ostinstitut/Wismar, December 19, 2021. https://www.ostinstitut.de/detail/www.ostinstitut.de

SAROTTE, Mary Elise: *Nicht einen **Schritt** weiter nach Osten*. 2021; Beck, 2024. (Not one inch).

SASSE, Gwendolyn: *Der Krieg gegen die **Ukraine***. (The war on Ukraine) Beck, 2022.

SAUER, Frank / Luba von HAUFF / Carlo MASALA, Hrsg.: *Handbuch Internationale **Beziehungen***. (Handbook of International Relations) Springer Fachmedien, 2024.

SCHÄFER, Heinrich. 2004. ***Praxis*** *– Theologie – Religion. Grundlinien einer Theologie- und Religionstheorie im Anschluss an Pierre Bourdieu* (Praxis – Theology – Religion. Outlines of a Theory of Theology and Religion in the Tradition of Pierre Bourdieu). Frankfurt am Main: Lembeck.

SCHÄFER, Heinrich Wilhelm: *Kampf der* ***Fundamentalismen***. (Struggle of fundamentalisms). Verlag der Weltreligionen (Suhrkamp), 2008.

SCHÄFER, Heinrich. 2015. *HabitusAnalysis 1:* ***Epistemology*** *and Language*. Wiesbaden: Springer VS.

SCHÄFER, Heinrich. 2020. *Habitus Analysis 2:* ***Praxeology*** *and Meaning*. Wiesbaden: Springer VS.

SCHÄFER, Heinrich, Leif SEIBERT und Adrian TOVAR. 2024. ***Religion*** *– Dispositionen – Gesellschaftsstruktur* (Religion – Dispositions – Social Structure). Werkzeuge zum Verstehen religiöser Praxis. Weinheim: Beltz Juventa.

SCHAIK, Carel van, and Kai MICHEL. 2016. *Das* ***Tagebuch*** *der Menschheit* (The Diary of Humanity). Reinbek: Rowohlt.

SCHEIDLER, Fabian. 2025. ***Friedenstüchtig***. *Wie wir aufhören können, unsere Feinde selbst zu schaffen.* (Peace-Capable. How We Can Stop Creating Our Own Enemies). Vienna: Promedia.

SCHMALZ, Alexander: „Nato-Chef: ‚Müssen uns auf **Kriege** vorbereiten, wie sie unsere Großeltern ertragen mussten'" (NATO Chief: 'We Must Prepare for Wars Like the Ones Our Grandparents Had to Endure.'). Berliner Zeitung, December 11, 2025. https://www.berliner-zeitung.de/news/nato-chef-rutte-in-berlin-wir-sind-russlands-naechstes-ziel-li.10009837

SCHMELLER, Raphael. "EU-Aufrüstung: Greift die Kommission bald auf private **Ersparnisse** zu?" (EU rearmament: Will the Commission soon tap into private savings?). Berliner Zeitung, March 15, 2025. https://www.berliner-zeitung.de/politik-gesellschaft/geopolitik/eu-aufruestung-private-ersparnisse-li.2307226

SCHMELLER, Raphael. "Merz lässt Macron abblitzen: Eine Szene bei der **Sicherheitskonferenz** in München entlarvt Europas Krise" (Merz Snubs Macron: A Scene at the Munich Security Conference Exposes Europe's Crisis). Berliner Zeitung, February 15, 2026. https://www.berliner-zeitung.de/politik-gesellschaft/geopolitik/merz-macron-eklat-muenchen-europas-krise-li.10019149

SCHMELLER, Raphael. 2025. "Für die EU sind **Waffen** nachhaltig: Wie ‚grüne' Fonds Milliarden in Rüstungsgeschäfte lenken" (For the EU, Weapons Are Sustainable: How 'Green' Funds Channel Billions into Arms Deals). Berliner Zeitung. https://www.berliner-zeitung.de/politik-gesellschaft/geopolitik/gruene-fonds-eu-regeln-ruestungsindustrie-li.10011590 (March 5, 2026).

SCHOLL-LATOUR, Peter: *Russland im **Zangengriff**. Putins Imperium zwischen Nato, China und Islam*. (Russia in a Pincer Movement: Putin's Empire Caught Between NATO, China, and Islam) Ullstein, 2007.

SCHOTTROFF, Luise. 2023. *Die **Gleichnisse** Jesu* (The Parables of Jesus). Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlag.

SCHULENBURG, Michael von der. *Nie wieder Krieg – Die Charta der Vereinten Nationen* (Never Again War – The Charter of the United Nations). Brussels, 2025. https://bsw-ep.eu/wp-content/uploads/DIGITAL_Nie-wieder-Krieg-Die-Charta-der-Vereinten-Nationen.pdf

SELIGER, Marco. "Interview mit Roderich **Kiesewetter**: Ziehen die Deutschen für das Baltikum in den Krieg?" (*Interview with Roderich Kiesewetter: Will the Germans Go to War for the Baltics*?) Neue Zürcher Zeitung, February 5, 2026. https://www.nzz.ch/pro/roderich-kiesewetter-im-gespraech-droht-ein-krieg-mit-russland-ld.1922666

SENGHAAS, Dieter: ***Weltordnung** in einer zerklüfteten Welt.* Suhrkamp, 2012.

SICHERHEIT NEU DENKEN (SND): „Europas Rolle für den Frieden in der Welt". Positiv-Szenario 2025-2040, Wethen, 1. Januar 2025.

STEINGART, Gabor. "Der Westen führt **Selbstgespräche**" (The West is Talking to Itself). FOCUS online, December 16, 2025. https://www.focus.de/politik/deutschland/die-6-wichtigsten-lehren-aus-den-ukraine-friedensverhandlungen_83221d4e-cb77-4fdb-a03b-d5b9073c7645.html (March 10, 2026).

STIERLE, Wolfram. 2025. "'**Sicherheit** mit' oder ‚Sicherheit gegen'? Die Friedenspolitik am Scheideweg" (Security with' or 'security against'? Peace policy at a crossroads). In: Frieden suchen in konfliktreichen Zeiten, ed. Jochen Cornelius-Bundschuh, Jan Gildemeister, and Klara Butting. Schorndorf: Erev-Rav.

TAGESSPIEGEL EDITORIAL TEAM. "*Teil-Nato-**Beitritt** der Ukraine? Vorschlag von SPD-Politiker Roth stößt innerhalb der Partei auf massive Kritik*" (*Partial NATO accession for Ukraine? Proposal by SPD politician Roth meets with massive criticism within the party*). Der Tagesspiegel Online, July 6, 2023. https://www.tagesspiegel.de/internationales/teil-nato-beitritt-der-ukraine-vorschlag-von-spd-politiker-michael-roth-stosst-innerhalb-der-partei-auf-massive-kritik-10101550.html

THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND. 2025. "Church Commissioners for England Publishes Updated Restrictions Policy for Defence **Investments**." https://www.churchofengland.org/media/finance-news/church-commissioners-england-publishes-updated-restrictions-policy-defence-investments

THEIßEN, Gerd. 1977. *Soziologie der **Jesusbewegung*** (Sociology of the Jesus Movement). Munich: Kaiser.

THEIßEN, Gerd. 2004. *Die Jesusbewegung. **Sozialgeschichte** einer Revolution der Werte* (The Jesus Movement. Social History of a Revolution in Values). Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlag.

TÖGEL, Jonas. 2023. *Kognitive **Kriegsführung**. Neueste Manipulationstechniken als Waffengattung der NATO* (Cognitive Warfare. The Latest Manipulation Techniques as a NATO Weapon System). Frankfurt: Westend.

TÖGEL, Jonas. 2025. "Alles ‚**Desinformation**'? Wie der Staat in die Meinungs- und Pressefreiheit eingreift" (All 'Disinformation'? How the State Interferes with Freedom of Speech and the Press). Berliner Zeitung. https://www.berliner-zeitung.de/open-source/alles-desinformation-wie-der-staat-in-die-meinungs-und-pressefreiheit-eingreift-li.2301069 (February 24, 2025).

TRANSPARENCY INTERNATIONAL GERMANY e.V. 2022. ***Korruptionsprävention** im Sicherheits- und Verteidigungsbereich* (Corruption Prevention in the Security and Defense Sector). September 2022. Spotlight 27. Berlin: Transparency. https://www.transparency.de/fileadmin/Redaktion/Publikationen/2022/Scheinwerfer_96_Verteidigung.pdf

TUTU, Desmond. 1999. *No Future Without Forgiveness: A Personal Overview of South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission*. New York: Bantam.

U.S. DEPARTEMENT OF DEFENSE: *2022 National Defense **Strategy** & Nuclear Posture Review & Missile Defense Review*. October 27, 2022. https://www.defense.gov/News/Publications/

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE, USA. *DOD Releases First-Ever National **Defense** Industrial Strategy.* January 11, 2024. (NDIS) https://www.defense.gov/News/Releases/Release/Article/3643326/dod-releases-first-ever-national-defense-industrial-strategy/https%3A%2F%2Fwww.defense.gov%2FNews%2Freleases%2FRelease%2FArticle%2F3643326%2Fdod-releases-first-ever-national-defense-industrial-strategy%2F

VAD, Erich: „Erich Vad im Interview: ‚Über das Schicksal der **Ukraine** wird in Washington und Moskau entschieden'" (Interview with Erich Vad: 'The Fate of Ukraine Will Be Decided in Washington and Moscow'). With Simon Zeise. Berliner Zeitung, 11. Februar 2024. https://www.berliner-zeitung.de/politik-gesellschaft/erich-vad-im-interview-ueber-das-schicksal-der-ukraine-wird-in-washington-und-moskau-entschieden-li.2185298

VAD, Erich: „Ex-**Merkel-Berater** warnt: ‚Soll damit von innenpolitischen Problemen abgelenkt werden?'" (Former Merkel Advisor Warns: 'Is This Meant to Distract from Domestic Political Problems?'). With Raphael Schmeller. Berliner Zeitung, 10. Januar 2026. https://www.berliner-zeitung.de/politik-gesellschaft/geopolitik/ex-merkel-berater-warnt-soll-damit-von-innenpolitischen-problemen-abgelenkt-werden-li.10012709

VANDELOISE, Vincent. 2025. "Warum **Verteidigungsausgaben** kein Nachhaltigkeitslabel verdienen" (Why defense spending doesn't deserve a sustainability label)." Blog Finance Watch. https://www.finance-watch.org/dasblog/warum-verteidigungsausgaben-kein-nachhaltigkeitslabel-verdienen/

VARWICK, Johannes. 2026. "Berechtigte **Zweifel**, dass Russland die Nato bedroht" (Justified Doubts That Russia Threatens NATO). infosperber. https://www.infosperber.ch/politik/welt/berechtigte-zweifel-dass-russlan d-die-nato-bedroht/ (February 18, 2026).

VARWICK, Johannes: *Aufruf: Raus aus der **Eskalationsspirale**! Für einen Neuanfang im Verhältnis zu Russland* (Call to Action: Break the Escalation Spiral! For a New Beginning in Relations with Russia). Berlin, 12. Mai 2021. https://www.johannes-varwick.de/rauf/AUFRUF_Raus-aus-der-Eskalationsspirale_05122021-3.pdf

VARWICK, Johannes: „**Russland**, ‚Reich des Bösen': NATO-Generalsekretär Rutte fällt zurück in die 80er" (Russia, 'Realm of Evil': NATO Secretary General Rutte Falls Back into the '80s.). Der Freitag, December 11, 2025. https://www.freitag.de/autoren/johannes-varwick/auftritt-in-berlin-nato-generalsekretaer-rutte-wirkt-wie-aus-der-zeit-gefallen

VARWICK, Johannes: *Stark für den **Frieden**: Was jetzt für eine rationale Sicherheitspolitik zu tun ist*. (Strong for Peace: What Needs to Be Done Now for a Rational Security Policy) Frankfurt: Westend, 2026.

VERHEUGEN, Günter and Petra ERLER: *Der lange Weg zum Krieg. Russland, die Ukraine und der Westen – Eskalation statt Entspannung*. (The long way to war. Russia, Ukraine, and the West – Eskalation instead of détente) Heyne, 2024.

VOIGT, Eric, Susanne KÖDEL, Reuters, and dpa: „**Krieg** in der Ukraine: Russland misst Nato-Verzicht der Ukraine große Bedeutung zu“ (War in Ukraine: Russia attaches great importance to Ukraine's decision not to join NATO). Die Zeit (Hamburg), 15. Dezember 2025. https://www.zeit.de/politik/ausland/2025-12/ukraine-wolodymyr-selenskyj-nato-beitritt-verzicht-gxe

WARWEG, Florian: „Bundesregierung lehnt Lawrow-Vorschlag zu **Nichtangriffspakt** zwischen Russland und EU-NATO-Staaten ab“ (German Government Rejects Lavrov's Proposal for a Non-Aggression Pact Between Russia and EU-NATO States). NachDenkSeiten, 31. Oktober 2025. https://www.nachdenkseiten.de/?p=141340

WATSON, Peter. 1978. *War On the **Mind**: The Military Uses And Abuses of Psychology*. England: Penguin Books.

WEBB, Dominic, and Gina GAMBETTA. 2025. “Church of England Investing Bodies Diverge on **Defence** Stances.” Responsible Investor. https://www.responsible-investor.com/church-of-england-investing-bodies-diverge-on-defence-stances/

WEINGARDT, Markus, ed.: *Warum schlägst Du mich? Gewaltlose **Konfliktbearbeitung** in der Bibel* (Why Are You Hitting Me? Nonviolent Conflict Resolution in the Bible) Gütersloher Verlag, 2015.

WEINGARDT, Markus: ***Religion** – Macht – Frieden.* (Religion Makes Peace.). Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2007.

WEINGARDT, Markus: *Was **Frieden** schafft. Religiöse Friedensarbeit: Akteure – Beispiele – Methoden* (What Creates Peace: Religious Peace Work – Actors, Examples, Methods). Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, 2018.

WEISS, Helmut: „Hafenarbeiter: ‚Dass wir in Genua die Waffenlieferung an Saudi-Arabien bestreikt haben, entspricht der Tradition‘“ (**Dockworkers**: ‘Our strike in Genoa against the arms shipment to Saudi Arabia is in keeping with tradition’) LabourNet Germany, 9. Februar 2026. https://www.labournet.de/internationales/italien/gewerkschaften-italien/hafenarbeiter-dass-wir-in-genua-die-waffenlieferung-an-saudi-arabien-bestreikt-haben-enspricht-der-tradition/

WEIZSÄCKER, Carl Friedrich von: „Heidelberger **Thesen** (1959)“. In Ibid: *Der bedrohte Friede. Politische Aufsätze 1945-1981.* Nikol, 2020.

WEIZSÄCKER, Carl Friedrich von: „Intelligente **Feindesliebe“** (Intelligent Love of the Enemy). In: Ibid: *Der bedrohte Friede*. Munich, dtv, pp. 533–538.

WESTERMANN, Claus: ***Genesis** 1-11.* Band 1/1. Biblischer Kommentar. Altes Testament. Neukirchener Verlag, 1974.

WETTE, Wolfram. "Krieg in der **Ukraine** – Ein Gastbeitrag von Wolfram Wette" (War in Ukraine – A Guest Contribution by Wolfram Wette). Blog der Republik, January 11, 2023. https://www.blog-der-republik.de/krieg-in-der-ukraine-ein-gastbeitrag-von-wolfram-wette/

WHITE HOUSE. *National Security **Strategy** of the United States of America 2002.* Washington: The White House, September 17, 2002. https://nssarchive.us/national-security-strategy-2002/

WIESENDAHL, Elmar. 2022. "Der Ukrainekrieg und die bellizistische **Umerziehung** der Deutschen" (The War in Ukraine and the Bellicose Re-education of the Germans). Der Freitag. https://www.freitag.de/autoren/der-freitag/der-ukrainekrieg-und-die-bellizistische-umerziehung-der-deutschen (November 23, 2022).

WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES: "Programm zur Überwindung von Gewalt. Zwischenbericht vor dem Zentralausschuß, 1995" (Program for Overcoming **Violence**. Interim Report to the Central Committee, 1995). In: Stierle, Wolfram and Dietrich Werner and Martin Heider, eds. 1996. *Ethics for Life. 100 Years of Ecumenical Economic and Social Ethics*. Rothenburg o. T.: Ernst Lange Institute, pp. 350 ff.

WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES. "Join our **pilgrimage** of justice and peace. Message from the 10th WCC Assembly." World Council of Churches, November 8, 2013. https://www.oikoumene.org/de/resources/documents/message-of-the-wcc-10th-assembly (April 11, 2026).

WIMALASENA, Jörg. „**Carney** in Davos. ‚Das Narrativ von der regelbasierten Weltordnung war teilweise falsch'" (Carney in Davos. The narrative of a rules-based world order was partly wrong.). Der Freitag, 21. Januar 2026. https://www.freitag.de/autoren/wimalasena/das-narrativ-von-der-regelbasierten-weltordnung-war-teilweise-falsch

WINK, Walter: *Die Verwandlung der **Mächte**. Eine Theologie der Gewaltfreiheit* (The Transformation of Powers). Regensburg: Pustet, 2023.

WORLD BEYOND WAR: *Military **Empires**: A Visual Guide to Foreign Bases*. n.d. (2026). https://worldbeyondwar.org/military-empires/

edition pace

Founded by Peter Bürger & Thomas Nauerth