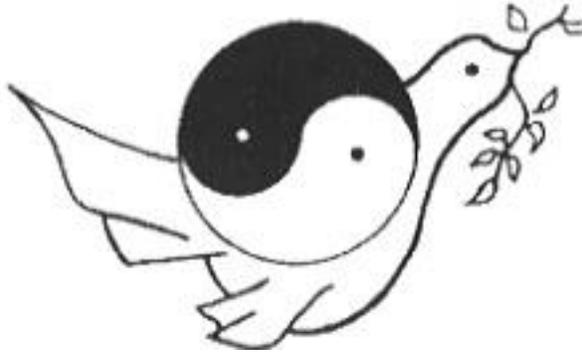


PHS News

January 2015



**Newsletter of the
Peace History Society**
www.peacehistorysociety.org

President's Column



Greetings Peace History Society Members!

Having just completed my term as president of PHS, I wanted to take a few moments to reflect upon some of the recent happenings in the organization. One of the most important pieces of news is that when *Peace & Change* editor Erica Kuhlman finishes her term in May 2015, Heather Fryer of Creighton University will take over as the new editor. Heather is the author of *Perimeters of Democracy: Inverse Utopias and the Wartime Social Landscape in the*

American West, a former PHS board member, and was program co-chair of the 2013 Peace History Society Conference. She has some great ideas for the journal and will be able to smoothly step in to take up the excellent work Erica has accomplished over the last three years. The organization is also starting to gear up for the October 22-24, 2015 PHS Conference on "Historical Perspectives on War, Peace, and Religion," at St. Joseph University in West Hartford, CT. The paper proposal deadline is Feb. 1, 2015 so you still have time to apply if you are interested in presenting. Planning is even underway for a co-sponsored conference in 2017 at the National World War I Museum in Kansas City, MO. This conference will focus on issues of conscientious objection, civil liberties, and peace activism during World War I – and continuing thereafter during other wars.

PHS continues to be in a healthy financial situation due primarily to our presence in the Wiley Online Library. Nevertheless, for the organization to remain strong we need an active and committed membership. I hope, therefore, when renewal notices arrive you will continue to support the society. I would like to thank the PHS board and my fellow officers, Kevin Callahan, Marian Mollin, and David Hostetter, for making my two years as president run so smoothly. It was an honor to represent the organization and I look forward to all the exciting developments in the future.

Christy Snider, Berry College

In Memoriam:

Charles Chatfield, 1934-2015

F. Hilary Conroy, 1919-2015

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**Peace History Society: For membership
information, costs, & activities, go to:**
www.peacehistorysociety.org

Send material for the next issue (July 2015) of PHS News to editor Robert Shaffer, Shippensburg University, at roshaf@ship.edu, by June 15. News of recent publications, conference reports, teaching articles, resources of interest, commentaries, etc. is welcome.

New PHS officers and board members

Peace History Society members voted in December 2014 for a new slate of officers to lead the organization beginning in 2015, and for seven new executive board members to join the six continuing members. Here are the candidate statements (slightly edited) of the new officers and board members.

President: Kevin Callahan (2 year term)



Kevin is Professor of History at the University of Saint Joseph, Connecticut. Kevin is currently Vice President of PHS and on-site coordinator for the 2015 PHS conference at the University of Saint Joseph. He has served as book review editor of *Peace & Change*, program co-chair of the 2007 PHS conference on gender and peace, and twice as a board member (2012-2013, 2004-2007). He is author of *Demonstration Culture: European Socialism and the Second International, 1889-1914* (2010).

Vice-President: Scott Bennett (2 year term)

Scott is professor of history at Georgian Court University. He is past president, vice-president, and board member of PHS and serves on the editorial board of *Peace & Change*. He has written or edited three books on peace history; his most recent book, co-edited with Charles Howlett, is *Antiwar Dissent & Peace Activism in World War I America: A Documentary Reader* (2014). He is completing a book manuscript on Igal Roodenko, and writing a biography of David McReynolds.

Treasurer: Ginger Williams (4 year term)

Ginger received her Ph.D. in Latin American History from the Florida State University in 1993. She has taught History at Winthrop University since 1996, and in 2006 she created its minor program in Peace, Justice, and Conflict Resolution Studies. Ginger has been a member of the Peace History Society since 1999, and has served the Peace History Society in different capacities since 2004: as Vice President from 2008-2009, as President from 2009-2010, and as host and co-chair of PHS conferences at Winthrop in 2005 and 2009. Her current work focuses on social movements in Latin America and the U.S.

Secretary: Andrew Barbero (2 year term)

Andrew is currently a Ph.D. student in history at Southern Illinois University, and an Adjunct Professor at the University of Southern Indiana. He has served as PHS board member the past two years, and was program co-chair of our 2013 biannual conference. Andrew seeks especially to grow PHS membership, and to promote graduate student and junior scholar development.

Board Candidates (4 year term)

Deborah Buffton – “I am a professor of History at the University of Wisconsin-La Crosse and a member of the Executive Committee of the Wisconsin Institute for Peace and Conflict Studies (since 1993). I served twice

as Executive Director (1995-98 and 2007-2010). My research and teaching has concerned the effects of war on civilians, society, and culture in a global context, as well as peace and nonviolent resistance movements. Because it is important to act for peace as well as study it, I participate in numerous peace actions locally.”

Michael Clinton – “I’ve been involved with the Peace History Society since my time as a graduate student, serving an earlier term on the board and now as book review editor of *Peace & Change*. The PHS has been at the center of my professional life and reflects how my identity as a scholar intersects with my personal values. My hope is to contribute to the continued success of the PHS as a home as welcoming for colleagues as it’s been for me.”

Leilah Danielson – “I am an associate professor of history at Northern Arizona University. I have a record of service and research related to the Peace History Society. I served a term as secretary of the organization and presented my research at several of its annual conferences. My research examines the role of culture and religion in shaping peace activism. As a member of the board, I would encourage the organization to support research that relates peace history to larger cultural and historical developments and to historiographical and theoretical trends, particularly the recent transnational and global ‘turn.’”

Eric Morgan – “I am an assistant professor at the University of Wisconsin-Green Bay, where I teach courses on 20th century America and African history in the Democracy and Justice Studies program. My scholarship on citizen activism in the global arena has been featured in *Diplomatic History*, *Enterprise & Society*, and *Peace & Change*, among other publications. My current book project explores American involvement in the struggle against apartheid in South Africa during the 1970s. I would particularly like to work on expanding conversations surrounding teaching, especially how to better connect our students to their communities to enact social change.”

Ben Peters – “I am an assistant professor of Religious Studies at the University of St. Joseph and the co-chair for the 2015 PHS conference on Peace and Religion. I have published articles on 20th century American

Catholic conscientious objection and currently have a book manuscript under review. My interest in the PHS board stems from a desire to actively support an academic organization that focuses on the history of peacemaking and nonviolence.”

Doug Rossinow – “My interest in peace history has always linked it to other fields—the history of radicalism and religious studies in particular. I also have interests in military history and, increasingly, in transnational history. In general, I think PHS should continue to reach out to as broad a swath of historians and other scholars as possible.”

Mona Siegel – “I am a professor of modern European history at California State University, Sacramento. My research interests focus on questions of pacifism, internationalism, feminism, and anti-colonialism in the early twentieth century. I was the fortunate recipient of the 2011-12 DeBenedetti Prize, and I welcome this opportunity to give back to the peace history community as well as to help shape its agenda as we approach the 100th anniversary of the Paris Peace Conference.”

The continuing members of the PHS executive board through 2016 are Kathleen Kennedy, Harriet Alonso, Sandi Cooper, Robert Shaffer, and Ian Christopher Fletcher.

With the vacancy on the board created by the election of Andrew Barbero as Secretary, the current board elected Rich Updegrove, a recent Ph.D. from Northern Arizona University now teaching at high school in Minnesota, to serve out that term. Rich presented his research on Barbara Deming and Virginia Woolf at the 2011 and 2013 PHS conferences.

Ex-officio board members are Christy Snider (past president), Erika Kuhlman (*Peace & Change* editor), Wendy Chmielewski (Swarthmore College Peace Collection), and Marc Becker (Web editor).

Members of the International Advisory Council are: Nadine Lubelski-Bernard (Belgium), Peter van den Dungen (Britain), Nigel Young (Britain), Benjamin Ziemann (Germany/Britain); Martin Klimke (Germany);

Anne Kjelling (Norway), Elena Diez Jorge (Spain), Margarita Sanchez Romero (Spain), Ralph Summy (Australia), Kevin Clements (New Zealand), Kazuyo Yamane (Japan), Takao Takahara (Japan).

Special thanks to outgoing executive board members Scott Bennett, Kristen Gwinn-Becker, Toshihiro Higuchi, Robbie Lieberman, Prudence Moylan, Amy Schneidhorst, and E. Timothy Smith for their service for the past four years!

PHS CALL FOR PEACE HISTORY SESSIONS AT AHA 2016 ATLANTA

The Peace History Society is eager to raise our visibility and engage with fellow scholars at the American Historical Association meeting in Atlanta in January 2016. The fast-approaching deadline for AHA proposals is 15 February 2015. We encourage all PHS members to consider submitting peace-history themed session proposals to the AHA. We also invite PHS members to step forward to participate in a highly interactive five-person roundtable to be proposed to the AHA with formal PHS co-sponsorship. This roundtable would focus on current approaches – local, national, transnational, and global – to the history of peace advocacy and antiwar activism around the Vietnam War. The roundtable format involves presenting very short papers and then engaging in discussion with audience members and fellow panelists. If you would like to take part in this PHS co-sponsored roundtable session, please write IMMEDIATELY to BOTH Ian C. Fletcher (icfletcher@gsu.edu) and Robbie Lieberman (rlieberm@kennesaw.edu) with an expression of interest. Please write “PHS at AHA” in the email subject line. We will endeavor AS SOON AS POSSIBLE to put together a diverse panel and follow up with requests for paper proposals and bio-sketches.

In Memoriam:

Charles Chatfield, 1934-2015

F. Hilary Conroy, 1919-2015

As this issue of *PHS News* was being prepared, we learned the sad news of the passing in January 2015 of two of the founders of the Committee for Peace Research in History (the predecessor of PHS). Charles Chatfield, of Wittenberg University, and Hilary Conroy, of the University of Pennsylvania, were major figures in the development of peace history and of new perspectives on U.S. relations with other nations.

We include here a statement about Charles Chatfield by newly-elected PHS president Kevin Callahan, a eulogy by long-time friend and associate Sandi Cooper, which was to be read at his funeral, and several other recollections of Charles by PHS members. We also include an obituary of Hilary Conroy prepared by his family.

Charles Chatfield, 1934-2015

Statement by Kevin Callahan, PHS president, Jan. 19, 2015:

With sadness, PHS friends learned yesterday from his wife Mary that Charles Chatfield, a pioneer in peace history – both in America and abroad - and one of the founders of PHS, has passed. Find attached his obituary, <http://www.peacehistorysociety.org/chatfield.php>, where one can express messages of condolences and make a donation in support of his peace work.

Charles was the recipient of our first Lifetime Achievement Award – given in 2007 at Georgian Court University, where his remarks in receipt of the award and responses by Sandi Cooper and Blanche Wiesen Cook are recorded.

<http://www.peacehistorysociety.org/lifetime.php>



(Charles Chatfield, left, accepting the PHS Lifetime Achievement Award in 2007 from Scott Bennett)

Here are some articles about honors Charles received to get a glimpse of his impact.

<http://www.springfieldnewssun.com/news/news/local/witt-prof-helped-to-build-history-of-peace/nT9WY/>

http://www4.wittenberg.edu/news/1998/hirtc_hair.shtml

Some of Charles's key scholarly works include:

The Garland Library of War and Peace: A Collection of 360 Titles (1960s-1970s), editor, with Sandi Cooper and Blanche Wiesen Cook;

For peace and justice: Pacifism in American, 1914-1941 (1973)

Peace Movements in America (1973, editor)

(continued on next page)

Peace Movements and Political Culture (1988, editor, with Peter van den Dungen)

An American Ordeal: The Antiwar Movement of the Vietnam Era (1992, with Charles DeBenedetti – an award-winning book)

American Peace Movement: Ideals and Activism (1992, with Robert Kleidman)

Peace/Mir: An Anthology of Historic Alternatives to War (1994, editor, with Ruzanna Ilukhina)

Transnational Social Movements and Global Politics: Solidarity Beyond the State (1997, editor, with Jackie Smith)

Charles Chatfield, 1934-2015

By Sandi E Cooper, City University of New York (College of Staten Island and the Graduate School)

I met Charles, our beloved Charles, in the late 60's when Blanche Cook was organizing the Garland Library of War/Peace Reprints. In no time it was clear that we were a team. We remained a team for decades and decades, though it seems like yesterday when it began.



(Charles receiving the Peace Hero award in 2012 from the Dayton, Ohio International Peace Museum)

Charles was one of our role models in every conceivable fashion. Peace history as a field – created or (re)created after the Kennedy assassination and amid the Vietnam War – was the new kid on the block and had to establish its credentials as a scholarly pursuit. Academics are notoriously slow in admitting the validity of something that developed after they finished grad school. That peace research in history is a recognized and respected arena of scholarship and teaching now – unquestioned – is due in no small measure to Charles' steady hand, critical intelligence and unfailing devotion. He represented a standard of excellence, a clarity of understanding and a quiet manner of delivery. He knew how to critique your work in constructive ways that did not make you feel like a crushed insect. That Charles came to peace research at least in part from religious conviction and others among us rarely if ever set foot in a house of worship, made no difference whatsoever in our joint projects. It reflects an approach for mutual respect which we sorely need today.

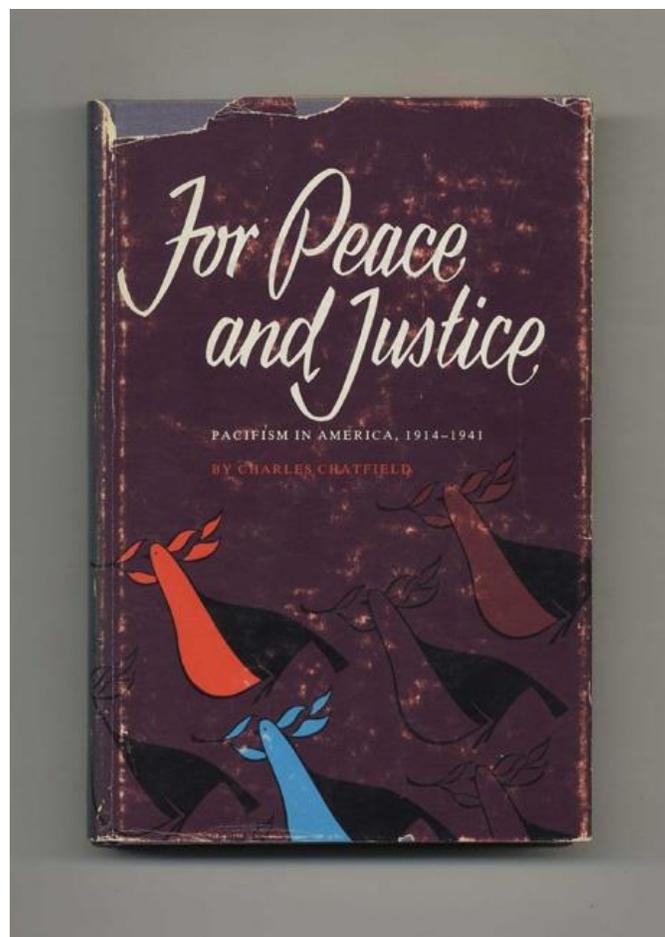
In the Garland Library, he was responsible for at least a third of the 270 odd titles which were reprinted with original introductions, and those he wrote have passed the test of time. His knowledge of American peace movements and religious ideologies provided the whole Garland Library with acute insights and intellectual respectability. Over the years as author and editor, Charles' steady hand made the rest of us rise to our very best. He pioneered collaborations with scholars across the globe as evidenced in the wonderful essay collection *Peace Movements and Political Cultures* which he co-edited with Peter van den Dungen from Bradford University in the UK. Here Charles and Peter situated the

vast varieties of peace activism in the historical and cultural fields of their origins, demonstrating that international movements could be constructed out of variegated national cultures.

It was Charles who organized the wonderful collaboration with the Moscow scholars in 1990 and found the funding for us to visit Moscow and bring the Russian scholars to the U.S., which resulted in the published work, *Peace/Mir* – the only such documentary collection of peace sources produced by a U.S. and Russian set of collaborators. We all benefitted from the atmosphere then of glasnost, which seems to have slipped away.

As an officer of the Peace History Society, author, editor, teacher, organizer and eminent scholar, Charles lived a full life, one that most of us can only envy. But besides professional respect, we all loved him and treasured his friendship. Blanche Cook joins me in hailing our dear colleague and buddy. May he rest in peace and may his family take solace from memories of a marvelous human being who made a difference.

P.S. After writing this, I found a review of a book that would not have seen the light of day without Charles. Charles (Chuck) De Benedetti was working on a history of the peace movement during the Vietnam War when he died – at age 44. Our Charles picked up, revised, finished and published de Benedetti's last work which received enormous praise even in the book review of *The New York Times*! This was in fulfillment of a promise made to Chuck, another testament to Charles' inherent decency.



(For *Peace and Justice: Pacifism in America, 1914-1941*, by Charles Chatfield)

Remembering Charles Chatfield

By Charles Howlett, Molloy College

This past November I gave Charles a call to see how things were going. Occasionally, I would call or send an email. Mary would respond on behalf of Charles via email—she remains as gracious and warm as was her husband. It was always great to communicate with Charles and to let him know how much he meant to me. Our last phone call was short but engaging; he could not talk for very long but he was eager to find out how things were going. I gave Charles an update as to how the World War I conference went at Georgian Court

University. Of course, the first thing he wanted to know was who else was there from the Peace History Society. I mentioned, of course, Scott Bennett who was the principal organizer, Harriet Alonso, Robert Shaffer, Wendy Chmielewski, Kevin Callahan, Dave McFadden, and Michael Clinton. These were the names that quickly came to my mind. A brief pause at the other end of the phone line and then one sensed a degree of satisfaction. I knew that he was happy that the Society was well-represented at this conference. I also mentioned that Scott personally addressed the opening session to remind everyone regarding his health and to keep him in everyone's thoughts. He felt comforted knowing that people cared about him and that he was still part of us.

I could devote countless lines to all of Charles's scholarly contributions. But what I would like our membership to remember is how Charles guided younger peace historians like me to become better people and to keep alive the real meaning of fellowship. When I first joined the Council (then Conference) on Peace Research in History, now the Peace History Society, I was finishing my doctorate under the guidance of the late Arthur A. Ekirch, Jr. One of the books Ekirch suggested I consult was Charles' *For Peace and Justice*. It provided me with rich insight into the concept of liberal pacifism and the role of social activism. As a military veteran, influenced by the anti-Vietnam War protests, I wanted to know much more about other courageous Americans who chose olive branch over sword. Charles' book became a beacon for me in terms of background to my study about John Dewey's role in the post-World War I peace movement. It was at that point in the mid-to-

late 1970s that I began to develop lines of communication with Charles. Occasionally, I would ask him questions about his own research interests and how might I use it for my own investigative purposes. Graciously and professionally, Charles would always write back with sound advice and a word of good cheer.

Where Charles really showed me the meaning of professional collegiality and support—fellowship—occurred in the late 1980s when, as a high school teacher, I decided to write a book about *Brookwood Labor College*. It was a real task given my teaching responsibilities, raising a family, and attempting to do real scholarly work. The manuscript had its ups and down and had been rejected. Nevertheless, Charles wrote words of encouragement and actually told me to persist in seeing it through to publication, despite my own inclination to abandon the project. Ultimately, it was finally published and I have Charles to thank for it. It was Charles who also suggested to Boston University sociologist Irwin Sanders that I write the reference work on the *American Peace Movement* for G.K. Hall & Co. I would not have done so if it were not for Charles' encouragement. He was a kindred spirit who enjoyed seeing young scholars move along in their discipline. Kindness is an apt adjective to describe Charles' persona. He understood what fellowship is all about.

I always looked forward to his Christmas missive describing what he and Mary were doing and how his children and grandchildren were getting along. He knew the importance of family as well as his extended family—the Peace History Society. He truly cared about other people and he did whatever he could to maintain the importance of historical peace research. I

should add that what he did for our late friend Chuck DeBenedetti was truly remarkable. Charles told me of driving up to the hospital in Toledo on numerous occasions to assist Chuck and make sure that *An American Ordeal* became a reality. It was a real calling for Charles to see it though in memory of Chuck. He gave the gift of life to Chuck through this work. That is only one of many examples of Charles' generosity and why I nominated him for PHS' first Lifetime Achievement Award. How proud he was that day in 2007 with Mary at his side.

If there is a fitting way to capture Charles the person, husband and father, and scholar to his cause, I would like to evoke the words in Robert Bolt's popular play, *A Man for all Seasons*. Prior to Sir Thomas More's execution, Henry VIII's representatives pleaded with him to acknowledge the king's right for an annulment against the wishes of the Catholic Church. Sir Thomas refused and looked at his accusers and stated, "When you go to heaven for following your convictions and I go to hell for not following mine, will you join me for fellowship sake"? Charles had the courage of his convictions in the name of fellowship and in the true interests of peace and justice. He helped make the Peace History Society what it is today and his spirit will live on through all of us.



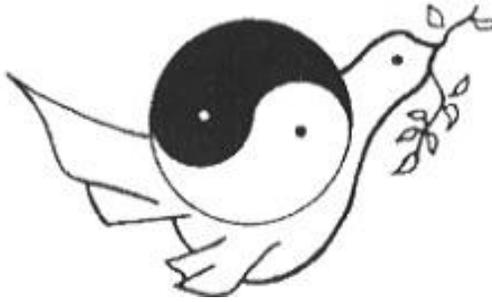
Charles Chatfield, 1934-2015

Harriet Hyman Alonso:

I met Charles in 1990 when Cynthia Maude invited me to join him and Louis Kriesberg as series editors for the Syracuse Studies in Peace and Conflict Resolution at Syracuse University Press. Of course, I knew of his work and reputation and was very shy about working with such an esteemed scholar. Really, I had nothing to fear. Charles made me feel at home immediately. I used to joke that I was the "affirmative action" editor, the one there to push for books by and about women. He thought that was a hoot. We worked on the series for ten years and then both of us resigned because we felt the press was not giving our authors the support they needed, especially in terms of marketing. We then worked up a proposal for another press (which shall remain nameless) for a series on peace history and were all set to go when the first Iraq war started and the press's director said it was inappropriate to start a peace series. The one book under contract was published, but no others. Throughout the years, Charles and I kept in touch by email and phone and sometimes even snail mail. We saw each other at special conferences in Europe, and when I gave a paper at a Jane Addams conference in Dayton, he and Irwin Abrams drove over and took me out for dinner. What a special pair! When I started to write on theater and peace/human rights, Charles shared his enthusiasm and love of the theater with me, and a whole new world opened. I feel very very fortunate to have had him in my life. His heart was so huge that he could embrace all of us without reservation.

James Juhnke:

Charles was a remarkably gifted and generous friend and scholar. I greatly appreciated his visits to Bethel College in Kansas, especially his contribution to our 1992 conference on "Violence and Nonviolence in the American Experience." (His presentation there, "Revisionism with



a Vision,” was published in *Nonviolent America, History Through the Eyes of Peace*, along with his essay, “Nonviolence and United States History.”) My wife, Anna, and I were privileged to have a meal, and be hosted overnight, by Mary and Charles in their home. Among other things, he introduced me to a bird feeder that would defeat the squirrels. He helped Carol Hunter and me in our quest for a publisher for our book, *The Missing Peace, The Search for Nonviolent Alternatives in United States History* (2001, 2004). He was a great inspiration to me and to all others who aspired to be scholars of peace history.

Nigel Young:

Charles was one of the people who inspired me to get into Peace research in 1961-62 and to study peace movements in particular; a fine person and historian. An important contributor to our field.

*Wendy E. Chmielewski, curator,
Swarthmore College Peace Collection:*

Charles was a dear friend to PHS and to all who knew him. Several years ago he made sure his papers came to the Swarthmore College Peace Collection, and they are a wonderful addition to our collection. His grandson is a first year student at Swarthmore, and Charles was eager for him to apply here.

F. Hilary Conroy, 1919-2015

Hilary Conroy, history professor, died peacefully at his home in Media, Pennsylvania January 11 at the age of 95.

Dr. Conroy pioneered East Asian history at the University of Pennsylvania, where he taught from 1951 to 1990. A protégé of Delmer Brown and Woodridge Bingham at the University of California, he moved to Pennsylvania during the McCarthy era to escape California’s loyalty oath and begin a career at Penn.

Uncommonly kind and innocent, he was a stalwart figure, dependable and towering to his family for almost a century. Eschewing hospitals and nursing homes, he was cared for in his own home by his daughter Sharlie for the last six years after his wife passed away in December 2008.

Born in Normal, Illinois December 31, 1919, son of a plumber and a mother who told him, in the Depression, “there is always room at the top,” ‘Hil’ graduated as Valedictorian from Bloomington High School in 1937 where he also starred in tennis along with his sister Helene. He won a full scholarship to Northwestern University, where he majored in history and minored in English, studying with humorist Bergen Evans.

Raised with a conservative Midwestern suspicion of war, in 1944 he enlisted on the suggestion of his newly wed wife Charlotte (nee Alger) in the Naval Language School, becoming a Japanese interpreter in military intelligence. Having to leave his wife and newborn daughter Sharlie Jo behind in California, he followed orders to Tokyo in August 1945. He would use his year in Japan, working for Gen. Douglas McArthur, in part as an opportunity to help with reconciliation and contemplate the roots of

conflict. Returning to Berkeley in 1946, he changed his doctoral focus from Europe to Japan, writing a dissertation on *The Japanese Frontier in Hawaii*.

and with many others helped create the Committee for Concerned Asian Scholars. At the same time, he was co-authoring with Woodbridge Bingham and Frank Ikle *A History of Asia*. He also began a long list of edited volumes with a study of immigration called *East Across the Pacific*, particularly enjoying when he could incorporate articles by his daughter and son, as well as his students, into his books. He would finish his last book, entitled *West Across the Pacific* on US Pacific policy, in 2008.

Through the Association for Asian Studies, his students established a prize in his name in 2010 to help international scholars from different countries work on reconciliation and mutual understanding.

In Pennsylvania, he joined the Religious Society of Friends (Quakers) especially in order to work against war, which had now confronted two generations in a row of young Conroy men with drafts in their early twenties. He hoped to give his son Rusty (born in 1948) the chance to become a conscientious objector if another generational war emerged.

In 1958-9 Hilary Conroy worked for the American Friends Service Committee's international seminar programs for students and diplomats back in Tokyo. In the meantime his book *The Japanese Seizure of Korea* won praise in history and international relations, in Japan, Korea and the United States.

When the next war came, he co-founded the Conference for Peace Research in History and its journal *Peace and Change*,

Hilary and Charlotte's marriage was an anchor for family and friends, lasting 65 years.

A memorial service will be held Saturday February 28, 2 pm, at Pendle Hill Study Center in Wallingford PA. In lieu of flowers, contributions may be sent to Pendle Hill.

**Peace History Society
2015 Conference
Call for Papers –
Deadline February 1, 2015!**

**Historical Perspectives on War,
Peace, and Religion**

October 22-24, 2015

**University of Saint Joseph
West Hartford, Connecticut**

The PEACE HISTORY SOCIETY invites paper proposals for its ninth international conference that focus on the inter-relationships among war, peace and religion. Religious traditions and beliefs have always played a prominent role in study of war and peace, as in scholarship on the Crusades, Islamic Jihad, Joan of Arc, Mohandas Gandhi, Khan Abdul Ghaffer Khan, Thich Nhat Hanh, The Asian Conference of Religions for Peace and Christian Peacemakers Teams. This conference seeks to shed light on the relationship religious traditions and beliefs have had with the making of war and peace in all areas of the world. We are most interested in papers that take a historical approach to this topic. We welcome panel and paper proposals that compare different historical periods and geographies as well as those that focus on a particular event, person, place or time-period. Paper proposals about peace history not related to the conference theme will also be considered.

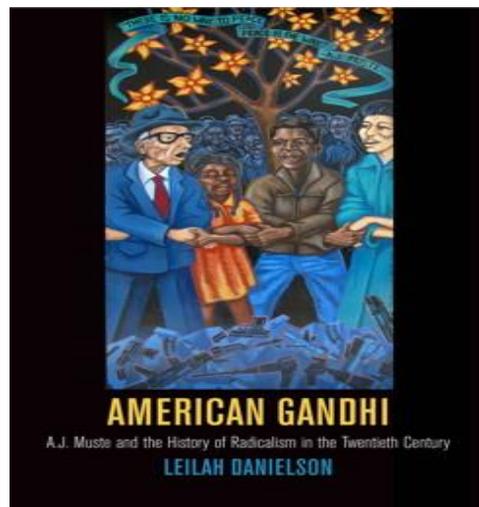
Topics might include but are not limited to: the role religious traditions and figures have historically played in peacemaking; the historical development of the just war theory and its relationship to religious belief; comparative analysis of the understandings of war and peace within and among particular religious traditions; historiographical examination of how religious tradition, beliefs, images and performances that have been interpreted in histories of war and peace; exploration of

how individuals engage religion to make meaning of their experiences of peace and war.

Limited travel assistance might be available for graduate student presenters. Strong conference papers will be given consideration for publication in a special issue of the journal *Peace & Change* to be co-edited by the program co-chairs. For more information on the PHS and for conference updates, visit the PHS website, www.peacehistorysociety.org. Please forward proposals for individual papers or a panel (limit of 250 words per paper) and a one page CV for each participant to *both* program committee co-chairs by February 1, 2015:

Prudence Moylan Department of History Loyola University Chicago pmoylan@luc.edu	Benjamin Peters Department of Religious Studies and Theology University of Saint Joseph bpeters@usj.edu
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**Conference keynote speaker:
Leilah Danielson,
Northern Arizona University,
author of *American Gandhi:
A.J. Muste and the History of
Radicalism in the 20th Century*
(University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014)**



**“Envisioning Peace,
Performing Justice:
Art, Activism, and the Cultural
Politics of Peacemaking”
The Peace History Society’s 2013
conference, Oct. 24-26, Southern
Illinois University**

By Heather Fryer
Creighton University,
and Conference Co-Chair

Somewhere around 2011, a group of historians, theater scholars, and artists at Southern Illinois University Carbondale envisioned hosting a Peace History Society conference focusing on the role of the arts in the history of peace activism. Already an interdisciplinary conversation, the conference would draw scholars from across the humanities, social sciences, and fine and performing arts to reveal both the artistic and performative dimensions of peacemaking and the vital roles that artists and activists have played as visionaries, critics, interpreters, and promoters of peacemaking efforts. Taking advantage of Carbondale’s decades-long history as a center of countercultural activity in a conservative region, Carbondale artists and activists would be invited to attend, making the conference not just a historical investigation of the relationship between art and activism, but also a conversation among artists, academics, and activists. The timing of the conference would coincide with Non-Violent Carbondale’s “11 Days for Peace,” when social justice organizations, libraries, houses of worship, and cultural institutions hold public arts events, lectures, marches, film series, and children’s activities geared

toward creating a “culture of peace” within the community and, hopefully, the wider world.

It was within this fertile environment that “Envisioning Peace, Performing Justice: Art, Activism, and the Cultural Politics of Peacemaking,” opened on October 24, 2013 with readings by poets Joseph Brown, S.J. and Judy Jordan. Hearing both poets speak their soul-stirring stanzas put everyone in touch with the ways in which activist art amplifies the particular and animates the universal within the human experience. Art can function in spaces where petitions, lobbying efforts, rallies, and election campaigns cannot reach (though whether such political acts can be undertaken through artful means is another question). This phenomenon was crystallized in the performance of labor songs by recording artist and music scholar Bucky Halker. Leading conference participants in classics such as Woody Guthrie’s “Union Maid,” one might have wondered whether they were participating in an art form or engaging in a bit of activism by fearlessly endorsing union membership within the (usually quiet) spaces of a university library. By the end of the opening reception, such questions and ideas abounded, grounded in an experience of activist art and performance on an academic stage (albeit a rather unique one).

The conference setting immediately drew the focus toward hazier matters concerning the categorization of—and relationship between—such things as “envisioning” and “catalyzing;” “aesthetics” and “tactics;” “art spaces” and “political arenas;” and even “artist,” “activist,” “audience,” and “artworks.” Presenters representing disciplines as various as history,

performance studies, art history, literature, political science, communication studies, anthropology, sociology, theater, library science, and museum studies examined a wide range of eras, societies, and movements. Their wide-ranging subject matter considered everything from influence of public art on peace messaging (Deborah Buffton, and Shelley and Matthew Clay-Robison); hitchhiking as performance (Jack Reid); feminist-inflected arguments for peace in literature (Kathleen Brown) and international conferences (Christy Jo Snider); flag-themed clothing as a medium for political expression (Laura Kidd); global Internet petition campaigns (Versha Anderson); women's arts and craftivism (Anastasia Pratt); centuries-old public festivals (Martin Kalb); anti-war guerrilla theater (Ryan Kirkby); opposition to war toys (Rachel Waltner Goossen)—and much more. Presentations were by no means limited to U.S. art and activism, but covered Ghana (Baba Jallow), Peru (Kristin Sekerci), Poland (Meghann Pytko), Nigeria (Sarah Muenster-Blakley), Kashmir (Subh Mathur), and Canada (Donald Maxwell). The papers did not just delineate the possibilities and limitations of art, activism, and the cultural politics of peacemaking. They demonstrated, more significantly, that these possibilities and limitations are difficult to calculate and measure, and that the actions of the artful activists and activist artists resist easy categorization or generalization.

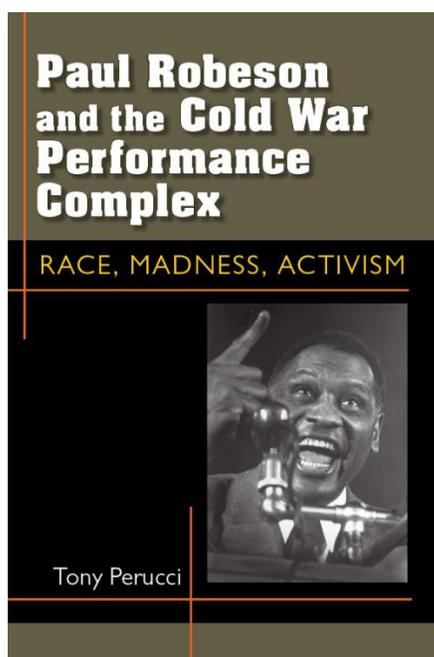
A riveting performance of E. L. Doctorow's musical *Ragtime* by SIUC Theater Department provided a living example of the flexibility of these categories. The play, set in New York at the turn of the twentieth century, is less a work of "historical fiction" than (to quote Christopher Lehmann-Haupt of the *New York Times*) "an experiment in

historical montage." The narrative created from the historical record and the historical imagination of a prolific novelist in mid-1970s gives twenty-first century audiences a window into the "American experience(s)" of immigrants, people of color, women, organized labor, captains of industry, and even Harry Houdini. The characters' struggles, interwoven within all-too-real

economic and social structures, encourage audience members to write their own family stories into the vivid American tableaux on the stage. Lehmann-Haupt noted that the novel moved white readers like himself to "root so hard for the black pianist [Coalhouse Walker] to get revenge on the white people who humiliated him that we forget his story is fundamentally an epiphany of black militancy in the 20th century." Everyone who attended the SIUC production of *Ragtime* experienced, to some degree, this manifestation of the artistry of the performers, directors, designers, and others involved in this delightful, moving production. The ability and the will to invoke such an effect is, without question, a political act. Even if a play organizes audience members within different "uses" and "thems" or changes the shape of power structures within the mind's eye for just

an hour or two, it will have shifted power nonetheless.

As excellent keynotes do, Tony Perucci's "The Complex and the Rupture: Paul Robeson and Cold War Performance Culture" brought these many threads together in his intriguing presentation of Robeson as "performer" in the broadest possible sense. Focusing on the Peekskill Riots and the theatrical dimensions of the HUAC hearings, Perucci's interventions into peace- and performance studies went beyond



crafting a "new Robeson" amidst existing biographical treatments. Instead, he located Robeson within the Cold War "performance complex" -- the assemblage of multiple performance practices and discourses that reinforce power through networks of capital and other forms of domination -- as well the "ruptural performance," which engages and destabilizes the solidity of the performance complex through creative and embodied action.

Diverse in subject matter, the conference panels illuminated numerous ways in which activism and art have made peacemaking possible within various performance complexes in different eras

and places. Collectively, the papers revealed that "art" and "activism" are not two separate phenomena that fuse in particular moments in peace history, but that politicized and aestheticized populism is a phenomenon of its own that merits the attention of peace studies scholars and peace activists alike.

Seeing "Envisioning Peace, Performing Justice" go from concept to CFP to vibrant interdisciplinary conference was a thrill and a privilege. The organizers (Andrew Barbero of SIU was program co-chair, and Anne Fletcher of SIU was local coordinator, with help from Robbie Lieberman and Ronald Naversen) are grateful to the Board and Membership of the Peace History Society, our gracious and generous hosts at Southern Illinois University Carbondale, and all of the presenters and participants for their contributions to a vibrant, enlightening, and truly enjoyable conference.

On the PHS 2013 conference:
Congratulations from the Dean...

Date: Mon, Oct 28, 2013

Subject: Peace!

To: Robbie Lieberman, Anne Fletcher, and Ronald Naversen

I'm so proud of the work you did to make sure the conference was so successful. People all over campus and all over town have been singing the praises of the conference and accompanying activities. Thank you so much for your roles. We've done quite a few conferences, but none I've been prouder of than this one.

Thanks

Kimberly

**KIMBERLY KEMPF-LEONARD, Dean
COLLEGE OF LIBERAL ARTS
SOUTHERN ILLINOIS UNIVERSITY**

PHS Awards bestowed at the conference in Carbondale

1. Lifetime Achievement Award



(From left: Christy Jo Snider, Marian Mollin, Clinton Fink, Berenice Carroll, and Robbie Lieberman, at the 2013 PHS conference)

Berenice Carroll, professor emerita of Political Science at Purdue University and a founder of the Committee on Peace Research in History, the precursor of the Peace History Society, received the PHS Lifetime Achievement Award.

Berenice served as secretary-treasurer of CPRH from 1967-1969, and as editor of *Peace & Change* from 1972 to 1980. She organized numerous conference panels for CPRH and PHS at meetings of the American Historical Association in these early years of the organizations, often editing them for later publication. She recalled attending the first public meeting of the CPRH at the December 1964 AHA convention – and was immediately “hooked.” She explained: “Until then I had not thought that academia would allow me to join the activist and research components of my life as one. The idea was liberating and exhilarating.” The very next year she presented a paper at a

CPRH session at the AHA, on German disarmament and rearmament in the 1920s and 1930s. The material was drawn from her dissertation research at Brown University, but the theme also sought, she has written, “to show how historical experience could be applied to the current debates on effectiveness of inspection for disarmament.” (Berenice’s first book, *Design for Total War: Arms and Economics in the Third Reich*, was published in 1968.)

In the 1960s Berenice was one of three female historians intimately involved in the CPRH – the others were Sandi Cooper and Blanche Wiesen Cook – and, according to Cooper, Berenice was a pioneer in the recognition of the significance of gender to the practice and study of war and diplomacy. She became an influential scholar of women’s history more generally, editing the ground-breaking collection, *Liberating Women’s History: Theoretical and Critical Essays*, in 1976, as well as co-editing *Women’s Political and Social Thought: An Anthology* (2000). More recently, she has written an introduction (with Clinton Fink) for a new edition of Jane Addams’s *New Ideals of Peace* (2007). Also among her many enduring scholarly contributions in the field of peace history is the 580-page *Peace and War: A Guide to Bibliographies* (1983), co-edited with Fink and Jane Mohraz.

Berenice directed the Women’s Studies Program at Purdue in the 1990s, and she has served as president of the National Women’s Studies Association. A conference in her honor at Purdue in 2007 led to the establishment of the Berenice A. Carroll Feminism, Peace, and Social Justice Award, which each year honors several graduate and
(continued on next page)

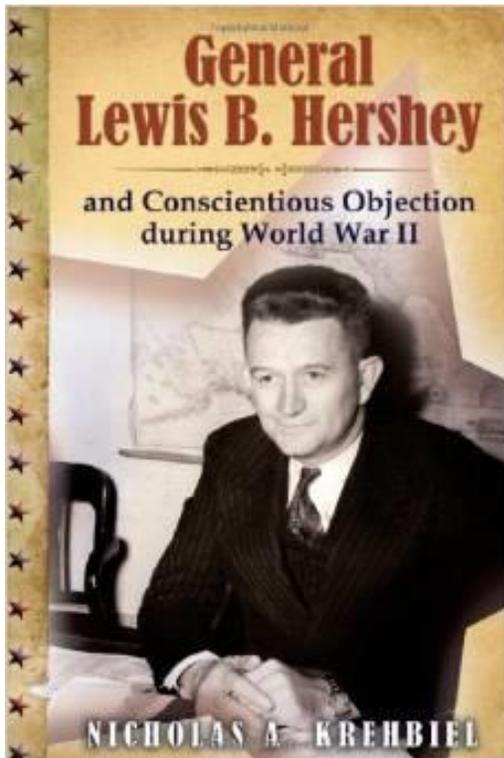
undergraduate students at that university.

Berenice has described some of her experiences in CPRH and PHS, as well as her thoughts about the intersections of scholarship and activism, in "The Historian in a Time of Crisis": A Memoir of Peace History," in *Peace & Change* 30 (January 2005).

2. Scott Bills Memorial Prize

Nicholas Krehbiel won the Scott Bills Memorial Prize, which is given bi-annually for an outstanding English-language work, either a dissertation or a first book, in the field of Peace History. The prize carries a cash award of \$500.

Nicholas's prize was in honor of his book, *General Lewis B. Hershey and Conscientious Objection During World War II*, published in 2011 by the University of



Missouri Press. Krehbiel is assistant professor of history at Bethel College in Kansas.

Scott Bennett of the award committee commented: "Nicholas Krehbiel's excellent book offers an important and sympathetic reassessment of General Lewis Hershey's stance toward pacifists and conscientious objectors during World War II. Krehbiel provides new information on Hershey's relationship with religious pacifists, his defense of religious liberty, and his role in creating and supervising Civilian Public Service—a program of alternative civilian service for pacifists—during the war."

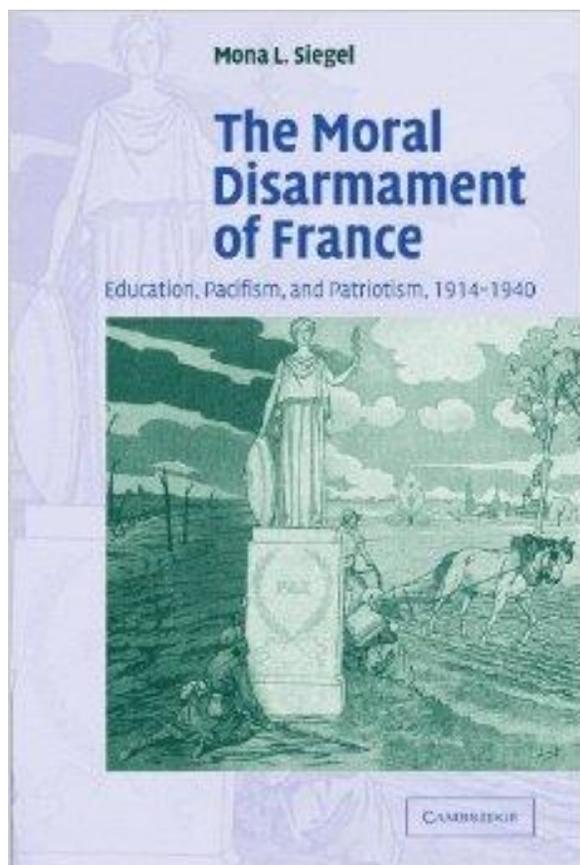
3. Charles DeBenedetti Prize

This prize is awarded every two years to the author of an outstanding English-language journal article, book chapter, or introduction on peace history. **Mona Siegel** won the 2011-2012 prize for "Western Feminism and Anti-Imperialism: The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom's Anti-Opium Campaign," which appeared in the January 2011 issue of *Peace & Change*. The prize carries a cash award of \$500. The prize committee, which consisted of Melissa Klapper, Marc Becker, and Marian Mollin, had this to say about the article:

"The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF) is a familiar organization to peace historians, but the full scope of their activism is less well-known. Drawing on both a close reading of the organization's records in the Swarthmore College Peace Collection in addition to a broad knowledge of related secondary literature, Mona Siegel provides a probing

analysis of WILPF's engagement in an anti-opium campaign in the 1920s. Her examination of the transnational intersections of feminism and anti-imperialism provides crucial insights that advance our understandings of both the important contributions as well as the shortcomings of this organization. Siegel's well-written article is a model of serious and engaged scholarship, and it is for this reason that we are pleased to award her the 2011-2012 DeBenedetti Prize in Peace History."

Siegel, who is associate professor of history at California State University at Sacramento, is also the author of *The Moral Disarmament of France: Education, Pacifism, and Patriotism, 1914-1940*, published in 2004.



2013 Graduate Student Travel Award Recipients

The Peace History Society was pleased to be able to defray travel costs to its 2013 conference in Carbondale for the following graduate student participants:

Versha Anderson, Colorado State University
Shelley Clay-Robison, University of Baltimore
Elizabeth Hawley, The Graduate Center, CUNY
Ryan Kirkby, University of Waterloo, Canada
Martin Smith, Univ. Illinois Urbana-Champaign
Jack Reid, Northern Arizona University
R. L. Updegrove, Northern Arizona University

PHS 2017 Conference Planning Already Underway

The 2017 PHS conference will be on the theme, "Remembering Muted Voices: Conscience, Dissent, Resistance, and Civil Liberties in World War I through Today." The conference will be co-sponsored with several other organizations, several of which have a special interest in the treatment of pacifist religious groups and individuals during World War I. Co-sponsors include:

American Friends Service Committee;
Brethren Historical Library and Archives;
Historians Against the War; three Hutterian Communities; Center for Mennonite Brethren Studies, at Tabor College, Kansas; Mennonite Central Committee, U.S.; Mennonite Historical Society, *Mennonite Quarterly Review*; National World War I Museum; Plough Publishing House.

The conference will be at the National World War I Museum in Kansas City, MO, October 19-21, 2017. David Hostetter will be PHS representative on the program committee, while Scott Bennett and Christy Snider will represent PHS on the planning committee.

Reflections on World War I...

The First World War Centenary: An Opportunity for Peace Scholars

By Ian Christopher Fletcher
Georgia State University

I recently gave a public lecture on the British and the First World War as part of a double bill with a colleague who spoke about soldiers of color in the American, British, and French armies. Happily, our audience was large and interested. By expanding my coverage to encompass the empire, from Britain and Ireland to Africa, the Caribbean, Egypt, and India to the dominions of Australia, Canada, New Zealand, and South Africa, I was able to show the global scope of the war. Likewise, by extending my story from the prewar turbulence of 1911-13 through the war years (divided into what I described as the challenges of 1914-16 and the costs of 1916-18) to the postwar turbulence of 1919-21, I highlighted unfolding movements and struggles in both metropole and colonies across the era. The frequently contentious participation of women, workers, colonial subjects, and opponents of war or empire revealed a far wider range of protagonists than simply politicians, diplomats, and generals. Judging from the questions and comments we received, the audience was intrigued by approaches that took into account issues of race, class, gender, and citizenship. Perhaps such approaches resonate today, compared to fifty years ago, because of people's increasingly polycentric and even bottom-up sense of the world.

The centenary of the First World War, which is now underway and will run at

least until 2019, represents an opportunity for historians of peace, peace movements, antiwar dissent and resistance, and struggles for social justice and human rights to bring forgotten narratives and fresh perspectives into the mix. One remarkable feature of the war is the ambivalence that envelops it to this day. While some people may be committed to the notion that right was on one side or another, or a view of the conflict as the outcome of a systemic trajectory, say the contradictions of capitalist imperialism, or the expression of institutional and ideological forces, such as the *Realpolitik* of diplomacy or the collective appeal of nationalism, many are simply appalled by the enormous suffering and destruction caused by the war, the inability of either governments or armies to end it sooner, and the seeming pointlessness of it all, from the offensives that gained a few meters of mud to the treaties that set the stage for further wars rather than secured a real and durable peace. This ambivalence stems from the palpable fact that the First World War was neither the war to end all wars nor the war that made the world safe for democracy. It can open a space for critical commemoration, a space in which we can not only remember but also rethink the war and its significance. I visited Verdun as a little boy fifty years ago, like my father as a schoolboy had some thirty years earlier. It is still with me, the grey sky, the stunted landscape, the drowned trench with its bayonets, the ossuary under the hall, the great lawn of graves. But now I have some knowledge of not only those who fought the war but also those who fought against it, some insight into the ways in which that past shaped this present, some understanding of the need to re-imagine a future of and for peace.

There are many ways peace historians can participate in the First World War centenary, in our teaching, scholarship, and outreach to communities, movements, and broad publics. Many of us are probably already doing so, connecting some of our teaching about issues of war and peace to the centenary as well as presenting aspects of our research at the exciting conferences being held this year and in the next several years. For example, this fall the students in my modern British, Irish, and imperial history course will produce for their final project a portfolio of documents and images about the year 1914. It would be great if we could share something of our individual efforts as teachers, researchers, and public scholars through *PHS News* and the PHS website and conferences. Perhaps it will be possible for us to undertake a collaborative PHS project drawing on our collective talents and interests. Many of us are paying attention to whether news stories, magazine articles, books, exhibits, and documentaries about the war and the centenary discuss the prewar peace movement, antiwar dissent, or, more generally, the contemporaneous contestation of racial, class, and gender hierarchies. Thus one project could be to promote, as part of the centenary, awareness and discussion of efforts to prevent war and then, as the war spread, to end it and to envision and build a just and peaceful world. This could take the form of creating model lesson plans for schools, writing newspaper op-ed pieces, arranging interviews on community and public radio stations, and/or organizing talks in college and community venues. Such a project would offer participants the chance to work with other PHS members, with colleagues who might join PHS as a result of the experience, and with partners such as educators, journalists,

librarians, and activists and advocates from peace and justice networks.

Leader World War I Scholar Says “Commemorating the Great War Necessarily Has a Pacifist Character”

Jay Winter is the Charles J. Stille Professor of History at Yale University and the editor of the three-volume, 2300-page *Cambridge History of the First World War*, published in 2014.

<http://news.yale.edu/2014/08/04/yale-remembers-world-war-i-historian-jay-winter-conflicts-centennial>

An Episode in Peace History:

Hard Choices – Jeannette Rankin’s Two Votes against War

By Charles F. Howlett
Molloy College

When German troops invaded Belgium on August 4, 1914, it marked what *New York Times* journalist Steven Erlanger calls the “Conflict that Shaped the Modern World.” The beginning of World War I 100 years ago marked a turning point in history and forever changed the course of civilization. The late historian Barbara Tuchman pointed out that when the “Guns of August” resonated throughout the lowlands on the European Continent there would be no turning back as nations were now committed to bigger and better armaments with deadlier consequences. The facts do speak for themselves: some 14 million lives lost, nearly 7 million troops permanently disabled, huge swaths of various European nations in ruins, and empires destroyed forever.



For nearly three years the United States, despite pressure from preparedness advocates, avoided going to war. In 1916, President Woodrow Wilson’s re-election campaign motto was “He Kept Us Out of War.” However, after February 1, 1917, when Germany reopened unrestricted submarine warfare by breaking the “Sussex Pledge,” and especially after March 18,

when Germany torpedoed three armed American merchant vessels with fifteen lives lost, the inexorable march to war had begun.

A special session of Congress was called for the evening of April 2, 1917. Every seat was filled and the galleries packed with sober and somber leaders from all walks of American life. As he gazed out upon his audience, the bespectacled Wilson called for a holy crusade to make the world “safe for democracy.” Fittingly, it had to be a holy crusade in keeping with his strong religious upbringing in the Blue Ridge Mountain region of western Virginia. He invoked a series of idealistic principles based upon lasting peace and self-government for all peoples. Caught up in the moment, the Senate voted in favor of a declaration of war by a count of 82 to 6. Two days later, on April 6, the House voted 373 to 50 to support the president’s call to arms.

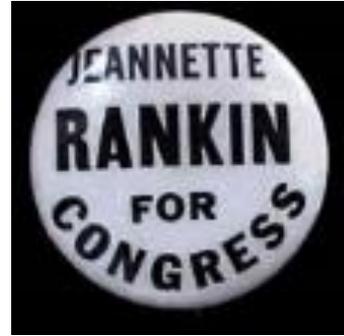
While the overwhelming majority of elected officials supported Wilson, there was one female member of Congress who courageously voted against going to war. Jeannette Rankin was her name and she did so as a matter of conscience, not once, but twice! A former social worker and Republican from Montana, she was the first woman to sit in the legislature of any sovereign nation. In the years preceding World War I she was deeply involved in the woman’s suffrage movement. When it became clear, however, that the United States would be drawn into the conflict, she wrote, “I was the angriest person you ever saw. I was in a rage because no one had ever seriously taught us about the nature of war itself or given us any inkling of the causes of this specific war.” Linking the vote for women to war, she insisted that “women should get the vote because they would help keep the country out of war.” Her view, by the way, was consistent with Jane Addams, recipient of the Nobel Peace Prize in 1931, who led a delegation of American women to Europe at the start of the war in an effort to convince neutral nations to end it.

Despite a week of tense debate and intense pressure from colleagues and constituents back home to take a patriotic stand, Rankin’s conscience would not bend. She did not garner the headlines that other dissenters such as Robert M. LaFollette, Claude Kitchin, and George W.

Norris achieved. Her principled stand, however, is important for its consistency, if not for its effectiveness. When it came to hard choices, she never went back on her word or looked for an excuse. It cost her reelection to Congress. However, after a 23-year hiatus from office, she was once again reelected to Congress in 1940. Ironically, the world was involved in a greater conflagration and, once more, she would be called upon to vote on a war resolution, this second time against Japan.

On December 8, 1941, therefore, the choice she faced was even more difficult than that in April of 1917. Yet, as she wrote, “I think the men in Congress all sensed that I would vote ‘No’ again. If I had done otherwise, I do not think I could have faced the remaining days in Congress. Even men who were most convinced that we had to get into the war would have lost respect for me if I had betrayed my conviction.” Of course, her dissenting vote raises eyebrows, and it should. Clearly, this was probably not the most judicious or shrewd course to pursue given that, in this particular case, the alternative to war was granting a blank check to fascist regimes hell bent on carrying out indiscriminate death and destruction. In this instance, her vote brings to mind what the late Pulitzer-Prize-winning historian and pioneer in peace history Merle Curti observed in his 1973 Introduction to the *Garland Library of War and Peace*: “...beyond these means of active and passive resistance to war is the perpetual dilemma of what to do when the values of peace are in apparent conflict with decency, humanity, and justice.”

Naturally, as we ponder the future and look back to the past, we need to remind ourselves that Rankin’s stand against war stood in marked contrast to those who, in the words of social critic Randolph Bourne, succumbed to “the pleasure in power and the pleasure in obedience.” Rankin agreed with Bourne’s 1918 assessment that “War stimulates it to the highest possible degree, sending the influences of its mysterious herd-current with its inflations of power and obedience to the farthest reaches of the society, to every individual and little group that can possibly be affected.” Indeed, World War I ushered in the modern world in more ways than one. It made war “the health of the state” ever since.



Clearly, Rankin was well aware of the magnitude of her vote. She understood the real consequences of modern warfare in a democracy. It’s not the vote readers should focus on here, but the consequences beyond the immediate moment at that particular time. Appropriately, her votes, both in 1917 and 1941, are analogous to Bon Jovi’s song “It’s My Life”: “This ain’t a song for the broken-hearted, No silent prayer for the faith-departed....This is for the ones who stood their ground....Better stand tall when they’re calling you out, Don’t bend, don’t break, baby, don’t back down.” For Rankin the choice ultimately became very easy as she chose conscience over politics. Now that’s a real leader, one who upholds the true meaning of the word democracy and one willing to suffer the consequences for making those hard choices. As we mark the 100th anniversary of the Great War, which was its name in journalistic accounts and in the history books for a mere twenty-five years, it’s time for the press to look at the other side of the story – to those who also held out hope for a world without war by not going to war.

My thanks to Larry Rosenthal, Director of the Program in Peace and Justice Studies at Wellesley College, for his helpful comments on this brief article. Larry is completing a major anthology, *War No More: Antiwar and Peace Writing* (New American Library).

Charles F. Howlett is, with Scott Bennett, co-editor of *Antiwar Dissent and Peace Activism in World War I America: A Reader*, published by University of Nebraska Press on the centennial of the war. Rankin’s essay “Two Votes against War” is included in this book.

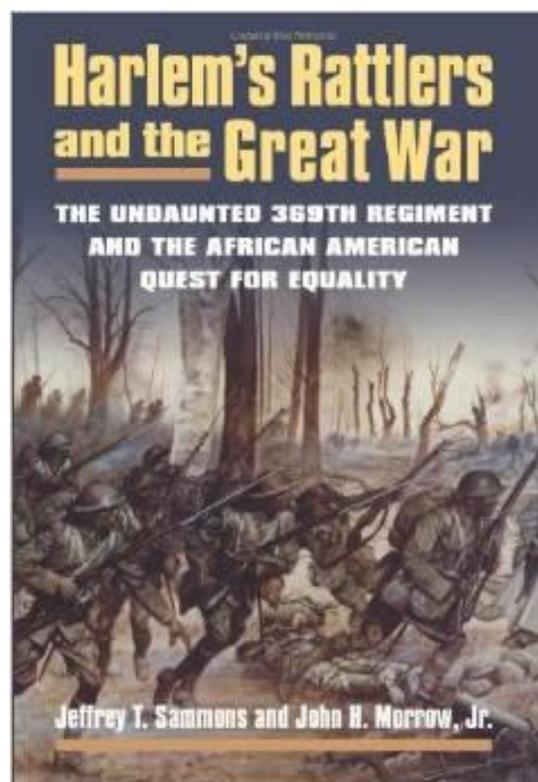
World War I: Dissent, Activism, & Transformation October 17-18, 2014, Georgian Court University, Lakewood, N.J.

Georgian Court University, with co-sponsorship by the Peace History Society, hosted a highly successful conference in October 2014 on “World War I: Dissent, Activism, and Transformation,” among the first of the major academic conferences to appear as the centennial commemorations of the war get underway. The seventeen panels and plenary sessions, with over fifty presenters, covered pacifist and antiwar responses to the war in the U.S. and Europe, but also debates over the war’s meaning among progressives and radicals, responses to the Versailles Treaty and the task of reconstruction in Europe, depictions of the war in literature, commemorations of the dead, and new perspectives on the trauma suffered by soldiers and observers.

A major plenary session discussed efforts by African Americans to be able to participate on equal terms in the war. Jeffrey Sammons (New York University) and John Morrow, Jr. (University of Georgia) presented fascinating material from their deeply-researched new book, *Harlem’s Rattlers and the Great War: The Undaunted 369th Regiment and the African American Quest for Equality* (2014), while Chad Williams (Brandeis) brilliantly examined W.E.B. DuBois’s feelings of guilt in the 1920s and 1930s for his war-time plea that African Americans “close ranks” behind their government.

Adam Hochschild, author of the 2012 best-selling *To End All Wars: A Story of Loyalty and Rebellion, 1914-1928*, gave a keynote address which placed the war’s outbreak in the context of European self-confidence in the era of imperialism, even as he highlighted the courage of dissenters in various nations. Harriet Hyman

Alonso (City College of New York) gave the other keynote address, on the development before and during World War I of a feminist-pacifist peace movement. Ingrid Sharp (University of Leeds) described in a lunch-time talk the participation of scholars in the widespread public commemoration in Britain of this war, still a major touchstone of British identity and memory. She described the sometimes difficult path that scholars must navigate between the seemingly “official” story of patriotic enthusiasm and a more critical approach to issues of failed objectives, imperialist assumptions, and the value of the antiwar undercurrent at the time. Sharp urged U.S. scholars to participate in similar public

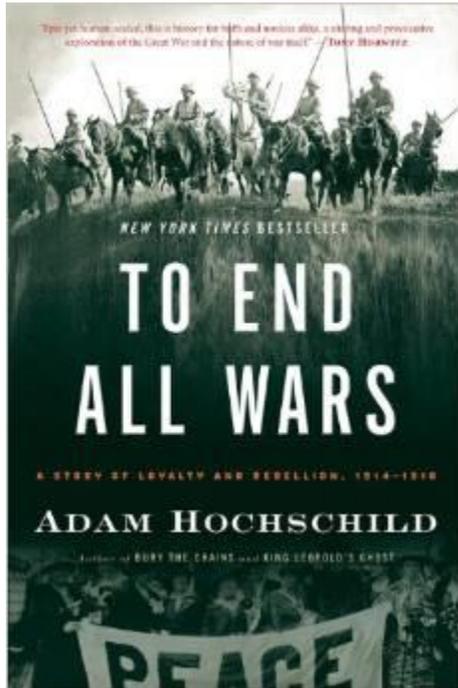


history events, and her talk provided a kind of road map of how to do so.

The plenary session on “Wounded Men as Prologue and Epilogue” included challenging papers re-examining the nature of shell shock (Jerry Lembcke, College of the Holy Cross), on hospitalization of the injured in

Britain (Fiona Reid, University of South Wales), and on the masculine ethos of war (John Dippel, independent scholar).

This observer could not, of course, attend all of the sessions, and can only mention here a few of the more exciting and



innovative papers that he heard. Michael McGuire (Marian Court College) described post-war Quaker reconstruction efforts in France and their impact of Franco-German relations, while David McFadden (Fairfield University) discussed similar efforts in Russia as an early example of “people-to-people diplomacy.” Levon Chorbajian (University of Massachusetts-Lowell) spoke on “Lying about the Armenian Genocide from 1915 to the Present,” while Cynthia Wachtell (Yeshiva University) introduced nurse Ellen LaMotte’s *The Backlash of War* as “the best antiwar book from the First World War you’ve never read.” Ingrid Sharp in one paper and Edward Larkin (University of New Hampshire) in another uncovered examples of German resistance to the war, while Kathleen Brown (St. Edward’s University) examined women’s antiwar poetry in one California newspaper. Elizabeth McKillen (University of

Maine) recounted the largely unknown story of the labor clauses in the Versailles Treaty, and the strange bedfellows who allied in opposition to these provisions. Aldo Antonia Lauria Santiago (Rutgers) presented research-in-progress on the treatment of Puerto Rican laborers on U.S. military bases during the war, while Andrew Chatfield (American University) surveyed support by Americans for Indian nationalism in this time period. Jessica Adler (Florida International University) examined the impact of the war on American medical care, while Maryanne Rhett (Monmouth University) deconstructed the gendered language of Britain’s Balfour Declaration.

Among the many noteworthy aspects of this conference was its heavy international representation. In addition to the presentations by Reid and Sharp, noted above, Nadine Akhund (Sorbonne) spoke on the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace; Ehud Manor (Oranim College, Israel) dissected the debates on the war in the Yiddish-Socialist newspapers of New York City; Dalea Bean (University of the West Indies, Jamaica) examined the complex struggle over voting rights for Jamaican women after the war; Annmarie Hughes (University of Glasgow) described the effects of the war on women and children in Scotland; and Andrew Johnston (Carleton University, Canada) presented the views of French antiwar academics.

The themes of the conference – “Dissent, Activism, and Transformation” – made the topics and discussions broader than a more traditional “peace history” conference, but the three strands intertwined nicely in the papers, plenaries, and keynote addresses. Congratulations to Scott Bennett and the organizing group of faculty members at Georgian Court University – Paul Cappucci, Karen Goff, Rumu Das Gupta, Araceli Hernández-Laroche, Jonathan Kim-Reuter, Suzanne Pilgram, Gail Towns, and Johann Vento – for their hard work on this rewarding conference.

Robert Shaffer

Whose History of the Vietnam War Will Prevail?

Two organizations of scholars and activists are mobilizing to counter what they see as unbalanced commemorations being planned by the Pentagon to mark the 50th anniversary of important steps in the U.S. war in Vietnam, such as the introduction of U.S. ground troops in March 1965 and the launching of the broad bombing campaign, Operation Rolling Thunder, later that same month.

Long-time antiwar activists David Cortright, Tom Hayden, and John McAuliff have initiated **The Vietnam Peace Commemoration Committee**, which is planning an academic conference in Washington, D.C. on April 30 and May 1 (with substantial input from New York University and Notre Dame University), a celebration and commemoration on May 2, also in Washington, of the wide range of antiwar activities from 1965 to 1975, and an anniversary trip to Vietnam in April. The group has also sent an Open Letter, with hundreds of signatures of prominent and not-so-prominent scholars and activists, to Gen. Claude Kicklighter of the Pentagon's commemoration program, protesting what it calls "serious official historical omissions" in the Pentagon's public programs so far "which cause a flawed understanding of lessons we need to absorb as a country." (The Pentagon's web site for its activities is www.vietnamwar50th.com.)

Veterans for Peace, through what it is calling the "Full Disclosure Campaign for an Honest Commemoration of the Vietnam War," has issued a parallel call for teach-ins during March 2015 to mark the 50th anniversary of the first wave of teach-ins in the 1960s on college campuses that challenged the U.S. government's line on what the nature of the war in Vietnam.

The AHA's *Perspectives on History* has taken note of the controversy in its Dec. 2014 issue, with an article by Emily Swafford,

"Controversy Surrounds Department of Defense Commemorative Website," at

<http://www.historians.org/publications-and-directories/perspectives-on-history/december-2014/controversy-surrounds-department-of-defense-commemorative-website>

PHS News prints below and on the following pages: 1) the general statement of the Vietnam Peace Commemoration Committee; 2) the open letter to Gen. Kicklighter; and 3) the Veterans for Peace call for campus teach-ins this spring.

1. The Vietnam Peace Commemoration Committee's general statement:

With a substantial appropriation from Congress, the Pentagon has launched a self-serving multi-year commemoration of the war in Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia.

It includes a web site with a far from complete or balanced timeline. Under the guise of honoring Vietnam veterans, thousands of activities are planned all over the country ranging from half-time ceremonies at college football games to curriculums for high school students.

Some see this as an institution seeking to rewrite history to burnish its own reputation; others as an effort to diminish the role of memory about Vietnam, and its lessons, lest they inhibit current and future military interventions. Not surprisingly the depth of opposition to the war and to its false justifications, are barely noted.

A movement is growing of those who were active against the war, as well as of friends who came after, to insure the Pentagon's misleading version of Vietnam is effectively challenged. It is past time to reclaim the history of the protest movement which began 50 years ago this spring. We invite you to join others on your own campus, in Washington and by visiting Indochina during 2015, a year of momentous anniversaries.

Whose History of the Vietnam War Will Prevail? (Continued)

2) Vietnam Peace Commemoration Committee's open letter:

Dear Gen. Kicklighter,

We write on behalf of many veterans of the American peace movement during the Vietnam era with a deep concern that taxpayer funds and government resources are being expended on a one-sided, three-year, \$30 million educational program on the "lessons of Vietnam" to be implemented in our nation's schools, universities and public settings.

We believe this official program should include viewpoints, speakers and educational materials that represent a full and fair reflection of the issues which divided our country during the war in Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia.

We support the announced purpose of honoring our veterans for their idealism, valor and sacrifices, assuming that the full diversity of veterans' views is included. As you know, anti-war sentiment was widely prevalent among our armed forces both during and after service, and was certainly a factor in bringing the war to a close.

Our current Secretary of State, John Kerry, was an important example of GI anti-war commitment. He served with distinction, was wounded in battle, eloquently testified in Congress and joined with Vietnam Veterans Against the War to return ribbons and medals in protest at the Capitol.

No commemoration of the war in Vietnam can exclude the many thousands of veterans

who opposed it, as well as the draft refusals of many thousands of young Americans, some at the cost of imprisonment or of exile until amnesty was granted. Nor can we forget the millions who exercised their rights as American citizens by marching, praying, organizing moratoriums, writing letters to Congress, as well as those who were tried by our government for civil disobedience or who died in protests. And very importantly, we cannot forget the millions of victims of the war, both military and civilian, who died in Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia, nor those who perished or were hurt in its aftermath by land mines, unexploded ordnance, Agent Orange and refugee flight.

These are serious official historical omissions which cause a flawed understanding of lessons we need to absorb as a country

Your official commemoration should be an opportunity to hear, recognize and perhaps reconcile or heal the lasting wounds of that era. If the US government cannot provide a bridge for crossing that Vietnam divide, how can we urge reconciliation in other parts of the world where sectarian tensions are on the rise? We believe, as did such a huge proportion of the US population decades ago, that the Vietnam war was a mistake. No commemoration of the war can ignore that view. How else can we as a nation hope to learn the lessons of Vietnam, to avoid repeating that mistake over and over again?

The commemoration can also provide a model for international reconciliation by respecting the growing ties between the US and Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia. Whether current reality is seen as a hopeful illustration of moving beyond old conflicts or as evidence the war was unnecessary, the

commemoration should not reopen wounds with new friends in Indochina by conveying a one-sided view of our shared history.

Please consider that our government is restricted by laws and precedents from subsidizing "viewpoint discrimination", in the phrase of respected constitutional scholar Erwin Chemerinsky, dean of the UC Irvine law school. Dean Chemerinsky cites the US Supreme Court decision, *Rosenberger v. The University of Virginia* [1995] where the Court found that students at a state-supported institution could not be denied the same benefits that other student groups received simply because of the nature of their views. Other laws and regulations going back to the 1950s forbid the government from using appropriated funds for self-aggrandizing propaganda or "puffery." In 1987, the US Government Accounting Office [GAO] investigated and chastised the State Department for funding propaganda pieces on Central America to influence public opinion in the United States.

As we observe the fiftieth anniversary of the war and the concurrent anti-war movement, we would like you to consider the following:

- [1] an immediate meeting to explore the differences and similarities of our perspectives;
- [2] a voice for peace advocates in reviewing and preparing educational materials;
- [3] a mechanism for attempting to resolve factual disputes as to the war's history;
- [4] invitations to peace advocates, as appropriate, to public conferences and dialogues sponsored by your agency;
- [5] an exploration of your possible presence at the fiftieth anniversaries of the teach-ins and

first march against the Vietnam War next spring.

Thank you for your consideration.

Sincerely,
Vietnam Peace Commemoration Committee
2000 M St. NW, Suite 720
Washington, D.C. 20036
<http://www.ipetitions.com/petition/vpcc>

(To add your name to the open letter, go to the website above. To view a current list of signers of the open letter, go to <http://tinyurl.com/kicklightersigners>

3) Veterans for Peace Campaign:

Call for Teach-Ins on the American War in Vietnam in March, 2015

This March marks the 50th anniversary of the official introduction of US ground troops to Vietnam (March 2) as well as the launching of the bombing campaign, Rolling Thunder (March 8). On March 9, President Johnson authorized the use of napalm, a petroleum-based substance mixed with a thickening agent into a gel that would burn continuously and stick to anything it touched. While US involvement in Vietnam had been growing throughout the post-World War II era, the landing of marines in Da Nang marked a qualitative escalation in a war that resulted in the deaths and displacement of millions of Vietnamese, Cambodians, and Laotians, as well as the deaths of tens of thousands of Americans and the disruption of millions of American lives.

As the Pentagon pursues its program to commemorate the “valor” of US troops in Vietnam which “upheld the highest traditions of our Armed Forces”—as proclaimed by President Obama — we think it is crucial for Americans, and especially young people, to be reminded of the realities of that brutal and unnecessary war.

As the Pentagon seeks to legitimize current and future American wars as it rewrites the history of the American war in Vietnam, we believe it is of the utmost importance that we commemorate the broad-based resistance to that war by young people, people of color, and the soldiers themselves.

March, 2015 is also the 50th anniversary of the teach-in movement which initiated the questioning of the war on college campuses. We are calling for a series of nation-wide teach-ins this March to counter the Pentagon’s propaganda and develop an honest commemoration.

Goals:

1. To understand what is at stake in the Pentagon’s commemoration
2. To understand the devastating impact of the war on the people of Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia, as well as the American people.
3. To unearth stories of the impact of the war as well as resistance to the war.
4. To critique the continuing US policy of intervention and war since the Vietnam War.

Possible audiences and sources of support:

Young people in high school and college; prospective teachers; 60s generation people, including veterans.

The website <http://vietnamfulldisclosure.org> (click on “Events” and “Upcoming Events”) has an extensive list of possible formats and resources for these teach-ins, as well as additional background on the war and its impact.

TEACH IN
WE WON'T GO! RESIST
VIETNAM:
THE WAR AT CORNELL

FEATURING:
FACULTY ANTI-VIETNAM
WAR ACTIVISTS
CORNELL SDS MEMBERS
AFRICAN-AMERICAN
STUDENT ACTIVISTS
FROM THE OOS
CORNELL VIETNAM
VETERANS
CURRENT STUDENTS
AND FACULTY
COMMUNITY MEMBERS
Contact at 607.255.2111 to find out about speaking.

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NOVEMBER 10
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URIS AUDITORIUM**

Co-Sponsored by the Mario Einaudi Center
for International Studies

Cornell University
College of Arts and Sciences **150** Cornell University
Department of Government

Then-Secretary of Defense Chuck Hagel on Veterans Day, November 11, 2014, at the Vietnam War Memorial, Washington, D.C.:

"The Wall reminds us to be honest in our telling of history. There is nothing to be gained by glossing over the darker portions of a war, the Vietnam War, that bitterly divided America. We must openly acknowledge past mistakes, and we must learn from past mistakes, because that is how we avoid repeating past mistakes."

Remembering Three Antiwar Scholar-Activists Who Died in 2014

The obituaries in the *New York Times* followed in quick succession in the spring of 2014 for three extremely influential scholar-activists who for decades challenged U.S. militarism: “**Jonathan Schell**, 70, Author on War in Vietnam and Nuclear Age, Dies” (March 26); “**Vincent Harding**, Civil Rights Author and Associate of Dr. King, Dies at 82” (May 22); “**Gabriel Kolko**, Left-Leaning Historian of U.S. Policy, Dies at 81” (June 11).

Jonathan Schell, who is probably best remembered for his 1982 condemnation of the nuclear arms race, *The Fate of the Earth*, had come to prominence in his early 20s with his explosive critique, based on on-the-scene reporting, of the U.S. devastation of the Vietnamese countryside in *The Village of Ben Suc* (1967). Long a staff writer for *The New Yorker*, he spent the last years of his career at *The Nation*, writing books and essays against the war in Iraq, for the abolition of nuclear weapons, and for a new environmentalism. The Nation Institute, Peace Action Fund of New York State, and other groups sponsored a memorial service for Schell in New York City on June 12, 2014, and excerpts from two of the

addresses at that event follow. A video of the full service can be viewed at:

<http://www.democraticunderground.com/1017196954>. Additional material about Schell’s life and work is available at <http://www.thenation.com/authors/jonathan-schell> and at http://www.nationinstitute.org/fellows/1193/jonathan_schell/

Vincent Harding spent the last thirty years of his life as a professor at the Iliff School of Theology in Denver, and his work as a historian is best represented by *There is a River: The Black Struggle for Freedom in America* (1981). He was also a life-long pacifist who worked closely with Rev. Martin Luther King in the 1960s and who was the first director of the Martin Luther King Jr. Center for Nonviolent Social Change, in Atlanta. Harding earned a prominent place in the history of the American antiwar movement by writing the first draft of Rev. King’s momentous speech against the Vietnam War delivered at Riverside Church in New York City on April 4, 1967. Harding spoke with Amy Goodman of the “Democracy Now” radio program in 2008 about his work with Rev. King and his role in drafting this speech, and portions of that interview follow.

Gabriel Kolko had the most conventional career as an academic historian of these three scholars, teaching at the University of Pennsylvania, the State University of New York at Buffalo, and then for over two decades at Toronto's York University. Trained as an economic historian, he first came to prominence with *The Triumph of Conservatism* (1963), a revisionist interpretation of the Progressive Era. But he soon turned his attention to the U.S. as an imperial power, combining historical works with unremitting criticism in many venues of the American war in Vietnam. A brief survey of some of his works follows.

Jonathan Schell and American Radicalism

By Van Gosse

Franklin & Marshall College,
and former organizing director, Peace Action
(At Schell's memorial, June 12, 2014)

I didn't know Jonathan Schell, although I have been a foot soldier in many of the movements that he inspired. I'm here

to speak as a historian about his place as a major figure in the American radical tradition, and how that tradition, centuries old, played out in his and our lives over half a century.

Historians think in terms of a few basic concepts. We keep asking about origins. When did something begin? We debate the degree of change or continuity over time within a particular phenomenon. And we argue endlessly about periodization: how long something lasts; when it ends.

Jonathan Schell's life allows us to approach our own time as history, and to see its deep and sad and yet also powerful continuities. His life suggests a basic continuity over the past half century for our country, our movements, and the world – a continuity of U.S. militarism and catastrophic empire. And in that context I was struck today by rereading what Tom Engelhardt wrote in *The Nation* about Jonathan a few days ago. Tom remembered that it had been forty-seven years since *The Village of Ben Suc* was published. That struck me quite hard. And then I thought that it will be less than two months until we

hit the 50th anniversary of the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution – a piece of legislative idiocy from which we have not yet recovered. So this is the fifty years I’m talking about, for all of you and for me.

Now, Jonathan burst onto the scene with that book, *The Village of Ben Suc*, and it was the kind of work that galvanized a movement. I know it galvanized my parents, local organizers at a small liberal arts college in rural Pennsylvania. They went out and organized the Gene McCarthy campaign in their county, and that’s how I discovered for the first time that war was not a heroic and glorious thing.

Jonathan did it again at the dawn of the Reagan counterrevolution by playing a central role in birthing the great Nuclear Weapons Freeze movement that thirty-two years ago today, just a few blocks west of here, organized the largest demonstration in U.S. history. And it’s worth letting you know that when I teach U.S. history, the standard survey course that all of us teach, in every textbook, that demonstration, June 12th, 1982, is in there. It’s the benchmark, the barrier against which Reagan broke, if you want, and went to talk to Gorbachev eventually.

And then in our new millennium, our so glorious millennium, Jonathan Schell helped summon again the vast crowds that massed here in New York City on an extraordinarily cold day, February 15, 2003 – I’m sure many of you were there – in the name of United for Peace and Justice, to protest the coming invasion of Iraq. That was the beginning of what he, and the *New York Times* as well, called “the other superpower.”

So he was part of our history. That’s the continuity of his life, and of my life, and of yours. And yet we see how little has changed in terms of the giant triplets of racism, materialism, and militarism, as Dr. King said at Riverside Church in the same

year as *The Village of Ben Suc* came out, forty-seven years ago. This is the period in which we live, of war in Vietnam, and Iraq, and on and on. And it may indeed be just one long period, one long end of empire that appears to not be over yet. It’s playing out in drone warfare. And will it ever end? But it will, that’s the one thing we know, as Tony Kushner, cited earlier, declared: something will change.

It would be tempting to end on this grim note, to suggest this has been one long period of mass destruction, of our government “as the greatest purveyor of violence in the world today,” as Dr. King also said in 1967. Think of how shocking that phrase is forty-seven years later. It’s still shocking to students--to have them read something by Jonathan Schell or hear Dr. King. That suggests that we are still within the same periodization, which is, as I suggested, what historians care about.

But I want to end of a different note. Now, many will claim Jonathan Schell as one of those who simply “spoke truth to power,” that that’s his historical legacy. I want to tell you as a historian of American radicalism that I think that’s all wrong. It’s bad history in terms of how change is made,

and it's a poor guide to any future we might desire. Speak truth to power? Power already knows the truth, from Lyndon Johnson to George W. Bush. And power laughs at those who think that simply affirming the truth – that war is hell, that nuclear warfare could destroy all life – that simply affirming it is sufficient to produce real change.

The lesson of history embodied in Jonathan Schell's amazingly productive life is not to speak to power, but to speak or write to the rest of us: with precise facts, succinct and dramatic narrative, telling detail. In this country, I might add, to speak not from outside, with pity or contempt, but from inside our history--to speak as an American to fellow Americans if you expect to be heard – to mobilize us as “the other superpower.” Without that, I'm afraid, we end up just being the pathetic caricature that was there when I was a little boy, and it's still there on FOX News: those people waving signs that kids ignore. But that's not what we were on June 12, thirty-two years ago, and that's not what we were on February 15, 2003. And we will not be that again. We will be power. That is the legacy of Jonathan Schell's life. He spoke to us with surpassing power, and we are still here and the struggle continues. And that is enough of a legacy for anyone.



Jonathan Schell on Nuclear War & Global Warming

By Cora Weiss

UN Representative, International Peace Bureau
(Schell's memorial, June 12, 2014: excerpts)

Thirty-two years ago today, one million people, from all over the United States and the world, gathered in Central Park as Reverend William Sloane Coffin of the Riverside Church bellowed, “Goodbye Nuclear Weapons!” and dozens of helium balloons floated to the sky.

Thirty-two years ago this year, Jonathan Schell published *The Fate of the Earth*, which he dedicated to his sister, Susie. The book was called “the new bible of our time.” Jonathan's books helped millions of people around the world know the danger of nuclear weapons, and encouraged their mobilization to do something to abolish them.

He once wrote, “We possess the instruments of violence that make it possible for us to extinguish ourselves as a species.” He was equally outraged about the humanitarian as well as environmental consequences of nuclear weapons. Jonathan joined the fast for the abolition of nuclear weapons on May 8, 1995 at Isaiah's Wall, in front of the United Nations. He was with the Rev. William Sloane Coffin, Arthur Miller, Robert Benton, and Peter Yarrow.

Jonathan in 2007 wrote of the relationship between nuclear weapons and climate change: “Global warming and nuclear war are two different ways that humanity threatens to undo the natural underpinnings of human life and all other life. Global warming may help us grasp the real import of nuclear weapons. Climate change could end all life on earth, and destroy the planet. It will do it slowly. Nuclear weapons will do the same, quickly.” That's why those of you, or your moms and

dads, who were in Central Park in 1982, must be with your children and friends on the people's march to prevent further climate change, to prevent the apocalyptic results of climate change, on September 21-22 in Times Square this year.

It's never wise to second-guess the departed, but I bet that's what Jonathan Schell would tell us to do. And we should carry our signs: "Climate change is a threat to peace." "A culture of violence is a threat to the climate." "Nuclear weapons plus climate change equals the apocalypse."

Vincent Harding, the Civil Rights Activist Who Wrote Rev. King's Antiwar Speech

These are excerpts from "Democracy Now," which aired on May 26, 2014, a week after the death at age 82 of Vincent Harding. On this program Amy Goodman re-played an interview she had conducted with Harding in April 2008, and she re-played as well portions of Martin Luther King's April 4, 1967 speech, "Beyond Vietnam: A Time to

Break the Silence," the first draft of which Harding wrote. The excerpts have been lightly edited and joined together without ellipses. Reprinting of these excerpts are based on the Creative Commons non-commercial license of [democracynow.org](http://www.democracynow.org), the originator of this work. For the full interview, go to: http://www.democracynow.org/2014/5/26/remembering_vincent_harding_the_civil_rights

AMY GOODMAN: Harding was involved in numerous civil rights groups, including the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and the Congress of Racial Equality. After King was assassinated, Harding became the first director of the Martin Luther King Jr. Memorial Center and of the Institute of the Black World. He later became a professor at Iliff School of Theology in Denver.

"By the last years of his life, [King] was saying that America had to deal with what he called triple evils: the evil of racism, the evil of materialism and the evils of militarism," said Harding in this Democracy Now! interview in 2008. "And he saw those three very much connected to each other."

AMY GOODMAN: You had known Dr. King for 10 years, from 1958. How did you meet him?

DR. VINCENT HARDING: Oh, it's a long, long story. Five of us who were members of an interracial church in Chicago, on the South Side of Chicago, Woodlawn Mennonite Church, had decided that we wanted to really test out our own convictions about brotherhood, as we termed it then—three white, two black—got into an old station wagon and started out in Little Rock, Arkansas, to drive across the South to pledge to each other that we would not allow ourselves to be separated, because we believed deeply that we were brothers in some God-given way. And as we were driving, we came into Alabama, and it was clear to us that we shouldn't be in Alabama without seeing Martin King. And so, in those days of non-cellphones,

non-computers, non-anything, we simply called his house and told Coretta, who we had not met, that this crazy bunch of folks were driving through, and we wondered if we could come and see him, in Montgomery.

Coretta told him that these five guys were there and wanted to know if they could come and see him. And Martin, in his wonderfully gracious way, said, "Why not? Sure, come on in." And when he heard that we were an interracial group and that we were driving through the South, he was just eager to encourage us.

AMY GOODMAN: What did you talk about?

DR. VINCENT HARDING: I'll tell you what I remember, Amy, and that was that just as we were about to leave, he said to the other black guy, George Edgar Riddick, and me, "You guys especially, you know as a result of being in this peace church, you understand what we're trying to do with nonviolence down here. You guys ought to come down here and help us." I never forgot that. And three years later, my wife and I were down there in the South working in the movement and being next-door neighbors and friends with Martin and Coretta. But I also remember, without the details, that he was joking about the fact that we were really asking for trouble driving through the South with three of the five of us like that.

AMY GOODMAN: Dr. King worked with Lyndon Johnson on the Civil Rights Act of '64, the Voting Rights Act of '65, but then he turns on him around the issue of the Vietnam War.

DR. VINCENT HARDING: King insists that Johnson recognize what great damage the war is doing, both to the people of Vietnam and to the poor people of the United States. So, in a sense, he says to Johnson, "You must turn and see what is going on." He does not turn on Johnson. He is trying to enlighten Johnson as to what the war is doing to devastate the hopes of the poor here and the hopes of the poor abroad.

AMY GOODMAN: So talk about Dr. King's evolution in being willing to speak out publicly around the war in Vietnam. How much risk was he taking?

DR. VINCENT HARDING: Let's talk about a risk that he was very aware of from the outset.

And he would put it in these terms: He was at great risk of damaging his own soul and spirit if he did not speak out against what he knew was terrible. King was, in the deepest part of his being, a pastor, caring for those who were beaten up, caring for those who were in need, and, in the great traditional ways of the Christian faith, caring for the most outcast and those who were considered poor and needy. King was always attuned to that. Had he not spoken on behalf of what the war was doing to those people in this country and overseas, he would not have been able to live with himself.

What he did was to then realize that a struggle was going on within himself and outside of himself. Johnson had, in a sense, made this his war and was determined to carry it on as long as seemed necessary. In addition to that, before the antiwar movement really built up, there were all kinds of wonderful, liberal people, mostly white but also some black, who really were with Johnson on the war. So King knew that as he stood up against the war, he would be going against not only Johnson, but against a lot of people within the civil rights community and a lot of the people who gave money to the civil rights community. People said to him that it was

absolutely dangerous to run the risk of moving against those kinds of people. But King, on the other hand, said that if he really loved this country, he had to speak about what this country was doing to the Vietnamese, and what this country in a sense was doing to itself. And as pastor, as patriot, as lover of the country, he had no other choice but to speak out very clearly and make it plain that what was going on in Vietnam was wrong from every point of view. And he knew that that was a risk. He knew that that would anger Johnson. He knew that that would cause him to lose support from many people in the liberal communities, both black and white. But that was what he knew he had to do.

AMY GOODMAN: April 4th is not only the anniversary of the assassination of Dr. King in 1968, but the anniversary of the speech he gave at Riverside Church here in New York, April 4, 1967, exactly one year

before he was killed. Do you think there's a connection?

DR. VINCENT HARDING: Amy, I have long felt, and I continue to feel, that it is impossible to understand Martin's assassination by only understanding a white segregationist man who killed Martin by himself. I am deeply convinced that Martin's two actions—one, of trying to organize the poor to challenge this government in Washington, D.C., in the Poor People's Campaign; and Martin's determination not just to speak out against the Vietnam, but to speak

out against the entire imperialist and militarist direction of the country—all of that has to be understood when we try to understand Martin's assassination. So, yes, I see a connection.

AMY GOODMAN: Talk about your collaboration with Dr. King on this speech. When did you start to talk about it with him?

DR. VINCENT HARDING: In a way, Amy, as long as Martin and I knew each other, we were talking about the kinds of things that were involved in that speech. We were talking about the tremendous damage that war does to those who participate in it, to those who are the victims of it, to those who lose tremendous possibilities in their own lives because of it. And we were always talking about what it might mean to try to find creative, nonviolent alternatives to the terrible old-fashionness of war as a way of solving problems.

And then, when Vietnam began to develop on all of our screens in the 1960s, we talked a great deal about our country's role and a great deal about the role of those of us who were believers in the way of nonviolent struggle for change and what our responsibility was both as nonviolent believers and as followers of the teachings and the ways of Jesus the Christ. So when Martin was clear with himself that he had to make a major public address on this subject, as fully as he could possibly do it, he was looking for a setting in which that could be done on the grounds of his religious stance particularly. And when clergy and laity against the war in Vietnam invited him to do that at Riverside for the occasion of their gathering in April 1967, it was clear to him that that was the place that he really ought to make the speech or take the stand in the most public way possible.

At the same moment, he was deeply involved in running all across the country again and again, trying to raise money for the work that was going on in the South and in the North, and he didn't have the time to put together the kind of speech that he would want to give on that kind of occasion. And because we knew each other's feelings, thoughts, commitments, convictions about this, he asked me if I would draft this—in a way, draft it for us, because it was our joint convictions that were being spoken. And I did the drafting, and that draft essentially became

the speech, sermon, call, cry of the heart that he put forward in April 1967.

AMY GOODMAN: Where did you write it?

DR. VINCENT HARDING: Mostly in the basement of the house that our family was living in, in Atlanta, not far from the Morehouse campus, not far from the Spelman campus, where I was teaching at the time. My family had gone up to Chicago over the Christmas break. I was alone, working at the house, having the time just to do nothing but work on that speech.

AMY GOODMAN: Did you have discussions with him about it before he delivered it April 4th?

DR. VINCENT HARDING: No. He actually vetted it with several other people who might not be as crazy as I was, to see what their responses were. There were some suggestions of some toning down of some things. But I was very glad that, in a sense, he was saying, in most cases, this is me, and I want to stand with this." And so, we did not talk, really, about it after that process had begun. All of our talking and thinking and hoping had been done before.

AMY GOODMAN: Dr. King's own organization, which you worked with also, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, voted after this speech, the board of directors, not to back Dr. King in his opposition to the war. What effect did that have?

DR. VINCENT HARDING: You know, Amy, I do not remember it as direct as that. What I do know was that there was major opposition within the organization, within the board, as I said, within the civil rights leadership community. Martin, I think, in the face of all of that, from those various points, was clearly disappointed that people were not as ready as he felt they should be to take such a clear stand, which he saw very deeply connected to the work that we were doing here on behalf of the poor. And he was disappointed, but he knew that that had to be expected, when you step out, and he was determined to keep stepping out.

Gabriel Kolko, 1932-2014: Unrelenting Critic of U.S. Empire

By Robert Shaffer

Gabriel Kolko was not a figure of unreserved admiration, even among fellow antiwar historians. Charles DeBenedetti wrote in *Library Journal* in 1985 that Kolko's approach in *Anatomy of a War* "makes for stiff and stilted reading." Saul Landau, a major figure alongside Kolko in the movement against the Vietnam War, reviewing the same book in *The Nation*, said the author at times allowed his interpretation to be "too much colored by his admiration for the Vietnamese Communist Party chief, Ho Chi Minh." Dennis Merrill complained in the *Bulletin of Atomic Scientists* in 1990 that Kolko's framework in *Confronting the Third World* was overly narrow, ignoring the complex interplay of forces at home which contributed to U.S. policy and paying inadequate attention to the voices of those in the Third World itself. Scholars writing in *Peace & Change* in the 1970s respectfully referred to

Kolko as one of the best exemplar of a historiographical school which characterized U.S. foreign policy as dominated by economic concerns, but these scholars routinely went on to criticize this approach as inadequate to explain U.S. actions in the world. Kolko's analysis of the National Liberation Front in South Vietnam became the topic of fierce controversy among the group of historians writing resolutely critical works in the 1980s and 1990s on the U.S. war in Southeast Asia.

But all agreed that Kolko was a voice to be reckoned with. DeBenedetti assured readers that ploughing through the prose in *Anatomy of a War* "was worth the effort, for this work should stand as the most sophisticated Marxist explanation of the war and its significance

for some time to come." (It was also among the first American studies of the Vietnam War to use Vietnamese sources extensively, although in English translation.) Landau held up Kolko's work as an "illuminating...antidote to the shabby patriotism that is being floated as scholarship." Merrill, similarly, warned against the temptation to "dismiss" *Confronting the Third World*, concluding that "Kolko has written a timely and important history of U.S. foreign policy which paints a troubling picture of the past and poses difficult questions for the future." Kolko was correct, wrote Merrill, to point out that "the role of world policeman has been costly" and has led the U.S. "to violate basic

American principles of fair play," and that "the costs of the national security state, moreover, has stretched American finances to the limit and weakened U.S. economic competitiveness."

Gary Hess, in *Peace & Change* in 1975, lauded Kolko for being among the first of the commentators on the Vietnam War to take the story back to the important years of 1945 and 1946. And Gaddis Smith, a rather mainstream diplomatic historian for most of his career, called Kolko's early *The Politics of War: The World and United States Foreign Policy, 1943-1945* (1968) "simultaneously original and dogmatic, perceptive and blind," but "also the most important and stimulating discussion of American policy during World War II to appear in more than a decade."

Kolko spent a brief time in Madison as a graduate student in the 1950s, where he was influenced by William Appleman Williams and his circle of revisionist scholars, but he received his Ph.D. from Harvard. He generally downplayed the idealism of U.S. policy at home and abroad that the Williams school identified, and tended to identify more naked economic self-interest as underlying the actions of American leaders. Kolko articulated this line of thinking most broadly in *Main Currents in American History* (1976). These lines from the conclusion of *Another Century of War?* (2002) cited in a review by Saul Landau, can stand in for the basic analysis that suffused his writings as a whole:

"There is no substitute for political and economic strategies that solve...real [social and moral] challenges rather than worry about what American businessmen and bankers think is in their interest. But since 1946 no administration has thought and acted that way. Instead, they relied on military power to intervene in various places to preserve status quos that perpetuate those economic and social conditions that lead to violence and terrorism."

Or this sentence from the last page of *Anatomy of a War*, written in 1985, which resonates as well with the last fifteen years of wars: "All that the United States has the ability to accomplish today is to impose immeasurable suffering on people whose fates its arms and money cannot control."

Once he turned his attention to the U.S. role in the world in the mid-1960s, he turned out a torrent of scholarship, always with exhaustive research, and always deploying that scholarship in the service of activism. The *New York Times* noted in its obituary that Kolko testified in 1967 at Bertrand Russell's tribunal on U.S. war crimes in Vietnam, and that Kolko "criticized his employer, the University of Pennsylvania, for allowing research on Agent Orange, the toxic chemical used by the United States in Vietnam – an act that played a role in his decision to leave the university in the 1960s."

In more recent years, he strongly condemned U.S. wars in the Middle East and Southwest Asia in books and articles – many in *CounterPunch*. Returning to the theme which he elaborated at the beginning of his career, in *The Triumph of Conservatism: A Reinterpretation of American History, 1900-1916* (1963) – on the basic conservatism of mainstream Progressivism, Kolko warned during the 2012 election campaign "of the essentially conservative nature of today's Democratic Party."

While focusing on an economic analysis, Kolko's conclusions could at times be unexpected. After publishing one of the most comprehensive and critical studies of the American war in Vietnam in 1985, which characterized the outcome as a historic victory

for a determined and effective Vietnamese Communist Party and for the Third World more generally, Kolko followed up a decade later with the harrowing *Vietnam: Anatomy of a Peace* (1997), severely castigating that same Communist Party for its turn toward capitalism. As reviewer Kenneth Christie wrote, "Despite winning this century's longest and one of its most devastating conflicts, the author argues pessimistically, it appears the Communists are in serious danger of losing the peace." Ho Chi Minh biographer William Duiker, in another review, while not entirely convinced by the book's argument, concluded that it "serves as a grim reminder that in contemporary Vietnam as elsewhere, capitalism of whatever variety has losers as well as winners, in the form of landless peasants and unemployed workers deprived of the most elementary social services."

In Kolko's case, even a simple listing of his books on war and foreign relations, spanning five decades, is enough to demonstrate both the range and significance of his scholarship for peace historians:

The Politics of War: The World and United States Foreign Policy, 1943-1945 (1968)

The Roots of American Foreign Policy: An Analysis of Power and Purpose (1969)

Crimes of War (co-editor, with Richard Falk and Robert Jay Lifton) (1971)

The Limits of Power: The World and United States Foreign Policy, 1945-1954 (with Joyce Kolko) (1972)

Anatomy of a War: Vietnam, the United States, and the Modern Historical Experience (1985)

Confronting the Third World: United States Foreign Policy, 1945-1980 (1988)

Century of war: Politics, Conflict, and Society Since 1914 (1994)

Vietnam: Anatomy of a Peace (1997)

Another Century of War? (2002)

The Age of War: The United States Confronts the World (2006)

After Socialism: Reconstructing Critical Social Thought (2006)

World in Crisis: The End of the American Century (2009)

Historians and the Israel/Palestine Conflict

Focus on the AHA, Jan. 2015

By Robert Shaffer

Speaking to a packed room at the convention of the American Historical Association in New York City on January 3, 2015, a panel organized by Historians Against the War (with co-sponsorship by MARHO, the Radical Historians Organization) argued that American historians have a responsibility to participate in the worldwide opposition to mistreatment by Israel of Palestinians in the occupied territories. HAW also sponsored two resolutions which it hoped to bring to the business meeting of the AHA the next day, resolutions protesting what HAW called denial of the academic freedom of Palestinians. (One of the resolutions is reprinted on this page. The second overlaps with the first, but is more limited in scope. The text of the second resolution is at: <http://www.historiansagainstawar.org/aha15/resolution2.html>.)

However, the resolutions were drafted in December 2014, too late to be placed on the regular agenda, and HAW and its supporters lost a vote to suspend the rules to bring these proposals to the floor. Many AHA members, including those in a group variously called Historians Against Academic Boycotts and Alliance for Academic Freedom, vehemently opposed the resolutions, on both procedural and substantive grounds. The debate at the AHA in January become muddled at times over the controversial issue of Boycott/Divestment/Sanctions (BDS). HAW insists that its proposals did not constitute a call for BDS (a version of which had been adopted by the American Studies Association a year ago), while opponents at times claimed that they were. In any case, HAW's panel and its resolutions

(continued on page 39)

HAW's AHA RESOLUTION #1 on PROTECTING THE RIGHT TO EDUCATION in PALESTINE-ISRAEL

WHEREAS members of the historical profession support the principles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, including universal access to higher education;

WHEREAS Israel violates its obligation to these principles by refusing to allow students from Gaza to travel in order to pursue higher education abroad, and even at West Bank universities;

WHEREAS members of the historical profession believe that the free exchange of ideas is facilitated by teaching, delivering lectures and participating in conferences;

WHEREAS Israel arbitrarily denies entry to foreign nationals, including U.S. citizens, who seek to lecture, teach and attend conferences at Palestinian universities, denying both faculty and students the rich experience enjoyed by their peers at other universities worldwide;

WHEREAS, members of the historical profession are dedicated to the documentation of human experience through the collection and preservation of historical information;

WHEREAS, the Israeli Defense Forces bombed the Islamic University in Gaza which houses the Oral History Center on August 2, 2014;

THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED that the AHA condemns the acts of violence and intimidation by the State of Israel against Palestinian researchers and their archival collections, acts which can destroy Palestinians' sense of historical identity as well as the historical record itself; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that the AHA calls for an immediate halt to Israel's policy of denying entry to foreign nationals seeking to promote educational development in the Occupied Palestinian Territories; and **BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED** that the AHA calls on Israel to provide free access for Palestinian faculty and students alike to pursue their education wherever they choose.

Historians & Israel/Palestine (cont.)

opened a clear debate on the issue within the wider organization of historians.

The HAW panel featured four senior scholars and one postdoctoral fellow, and they articulated a range of reasons for U.S. historians to get involved in the issue, and varied ways to do so. Moderator Carolyn (Rusty) Eisenberg of Hofstra, the long-time coordinator of United for Peace and Justice's work with Congress, noted at the outset the conflicts on the issue among progressive academics. Most are torn, she said, between dismay at inhumane Israeli policies enabled by the U.S. and sympathy for Israel as a refuge for Jews in the wake of the Holocaust. Eisenberg also placed discussion of the issue in the context of an AHA resolution 45 years ago opposing U.S. conduct in the Vietnam War.

Leena Dallasheh, a postdoctoral fellow at Rice University, and herself a Palestinian who is a citizen of Israel, emphasized the need for scholars to document the presence of the Palestinian people in the region's history – a history which, she stated, Israel tries to erase. She accused Israel, for example, of denying access to relevant archives to Palestinian scholars who are not citizens of Israel. Dallasheh emphasized that the task to dismantle the notion of "Israeli exceptionalism" parallels the efforts of progressive U.S. historians to counter ideas of "American exceptionalism."

Joel Beinin, of Stanford, a former president of the Middle East Studies Association, similarly argued that Israel for decades has been destroying Palestinian cultural resources and historical sites, and that, even if it is not its intention, Israel is dependent upon crushing Palestinians as a people. Historians, he argued, need to be "committed to telling the stories of suppressed peoples," as some U.S. scholars of the Middle East (including him) have been doing since the 1970s. Calling Israel a "client state" of the U.S., and one in which the political climate is consolidating on the right, Beinin forcefully asserted the responsibility of critical intellectuals here to take on this issue.

Linda Gordon, of New York University, did two things on the panel. She recounted the enormous sums of money in U.S. military and other aid given *carte blanche* to Israel – 1/3 of U.S. foreign aid goes to Israel, she said – and concluded that this intervention makes it incumbent upon American progressives to oppose Israel's anti-Palestinian policies. Gordon also tried to place BDS in the context of political strategy, suggesting that economic boycotts focused on West Bank settlements should be a priority (as they are in Europe), rather than scholarly boycotts.

Barbara Weinstein, also of NYU, and a former president of the AHA, took a different tack, focusing on how historians could bring up the issues of Israel/Palestine in our classes. As a scholar of Latin America, she said that she could emphasize, for example, that medieval Iberia featured Muslim-Jewish cooperation and comity, which she said could help students overcome the false argument that eternal "ancient hatreds" and "culture" were behind the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Another example that Weinstein gave would be placing aid to Israel in the context of other U.S. claims to bring democracy to the world, while often in fact subverting democracy.

The discussion following the panel went in two directions, one on U.S. policy, and one on what the AHA should or should not do. On the first track, for example, several people, including Irene Gendzier, a senior Middle East historian, cautioned against over-emphasizing the impact of AIPAC (American-Israel Political Affairs Committee) on U.S. policy. On the specific resolutions that HAW proposed for the AHA, there were divisions, even among progressive historians who probably agree on most issues. Natalie Zemon Davis, another past president of the AHA, spoke on behalf of the resolutions, stating that their specificity and applicability to issues historians are concerned about, such as academic interchange, make them appropriate for the organization. On the other hand, Alice Kessler-Harris, a past president of both the American Studies Association and the Organization of American Historians, while

Historians & Israel/Palestine (cont.)

agreeing with the panelists about the injustice of the Israeli occupation, questioned whether the issue was within the purview of AHA responsibility. Some present argued that there was inadequate documentation to back up the specific claims in the resolutions.

This observer, who is a former member of the HAW board and favored the specific resolutions, nevertheless could see from the statements of some panel members how skeptics could interpret them as a stalking horse for a full BDS proposal to come. (Indeed, the statements of some at the meeting in support of BDS as a general principle contradicted the thrust of these resolutions, which highlight the positive value of the “free exchange of ideas.”) Moreover, it seems incumbent on HAW to be more open in overtures to the Alliance for Academic Freedom, whose website describes itself as an organization of progressives (with its focus to “answer the far left’s critiques of Israel”) and whose supporters include many academics who have long opposed U.S. military policy and who in many cases have been publicly critical of Israeli policies. Just a few such names from the AAF website include Eric Alterman, Peter Beinart, Todd Gitlin, and Susannah Heschel.

For HAW’s commentary on what happened at the AHA, which also includes links to other coverage of the event, see:

<http://www.historiansagainstawar.org/aha15/>

For the Alliance for Academic Freedom, see: <http://thirdnarrative.org/community/campus/aaf/>

Related News on Gaza: Historians Against the War

On July 31, 2014, Historians Against the War began circulating a petition to President Obama and to members of Congress protesting Israel’s attacks on Gaza and U.S. complicity in those attacks. The initial list of forty signers quickly swelled to over 800 U.S. historians and other scholars and over 250 additional scholars from

around the world. For the text of the petition and the full list of signers, go to:

<http://www.historiansagainstawar.org/gazapetition.html>

The Palestine/Israel Working Group of HAW released in August 2014 “International Human Rights Law: Violations by Israel and the Problem of Enforcement,” a pamphlet written by Alice Lynd, with the assistance of Staughton Lynd. It is on-line at

<http://www.historiansagainstawar.org/resources/InternationalHumanRights.pdf>. The same group

issued in December 2014 Ira Chernus, “The Myth of Israel’s Insecurity,” on-line at

<http://www.historiansagainstawar.org/resources/Chernus2014.pdf>.

Related News on Gaza: The AHA

In August 2014, the president, president-elect, and immediate past president of the American Historical Association, Jan Goldstein, Vicki Ruiz, and Kenneth Pomeranz, respectively, sent a strongly-worded “letter of concern” to the chancellor of the University of Illinois regarding an infringement of academic freedom. The contract of Dr. Steven Salaita, who had been hired in October 2013 for a tenured position to begin in 2014, was abrogated after Salaita issued statements on his personal Twitter account critical of Israel’s conduct in Gaza. The university claims that it broke the contract not because of the content of Salaita’s tweets, but because of their lack of “civility.” The AHA leaders do not accept that reasoning, arguing that “the insistence that all speech must be ‘civil’ harbors serious danger for the health of our institutions of higher learning and for American democracy generally. Especially when used as an administrative guideline at a great research university like Illinois, it requires us to raise our voice in protest.” For the full letter, go to:

<http://www.historians.org/news-and-advocacy/statements-and-resolutions-of-support-and-protest/letter-of-concern-to-university-of-illinois-chancellor-regarding-salaita-case>

Member News, and News for Members

Among **Peter van den Dungen**'s recent publications is 'The History of World Peace in 100 Objects: Visualizing Peace in a Peace Museum', in Carmel Borg & Michael Grech, eds., *Lorenzo Milani's Culture of Peace* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014). The book was published in honour of the Italian defender of conscientious objectors, Don Lorenzo Milani (1923-1967).

Peter also contributed a chapter entitled 'Peace Tourism', to the *International Handbook on Tourism and Peace*, eds. Cordula Wohlmuther & Werner Wintersteiner (Klagenfurt: Drava, 2014). The book is a project of the Centre for Peace Research and Peace Education of Klagenfurt University (Austria), in cooperation with the World Tourism Organization (UNWTO). Peace tourism received a terrific boost in Vienna with the inauguration, on 17th & 18th June, of an imaginative project to promote peace history and peace education among the general public. Covering several streets in the heart of the city, near the Mozart house, *Windows for Peace* resembles an open-air museum which aims to inspire people through the lives of peace heroes. This is an initiative of Peace Museum Vienna

(www.peacemuseumvienna.com) to which Peter contributed. The opening was part of a programme to commemorate the centenary of the death of Bertha von Suttner (21st June) to whom several windows are dedicated.

He also contributed to the production of a peace trail for The Hague as part of an EU-funded project, *Discover Peace*, in which peace partners in seven European cities have highlighted in each of their cities places of significance in the history of peace. Booklets, with separate editions in the local language and in English, are in press: www.discoverpeace.eu/choose-a-city. The partner in The Hague is the International Network of Museums for Peace (www.inmp.net) of which Peter is the general coordinator.

INMP's 8th tri-annual conference was held in September 2014 at the No Gun Ri Peace Park in S. Korea under the title, "The role of museums for peace in preventing war and promoting remembrance, historical truth and reconciliation."

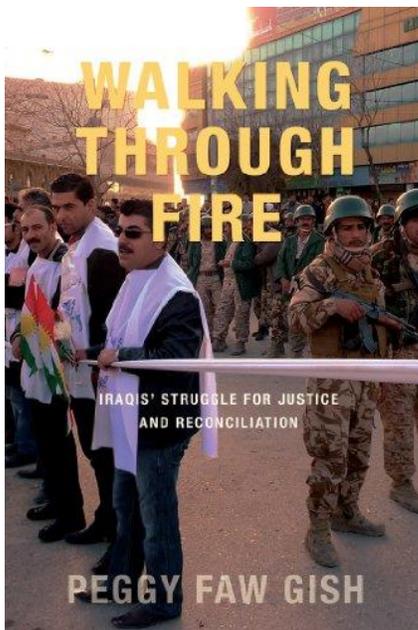
Peter wrote a concise 'History of Peace Studies' at the University of Bradford for the annual 2013/14 report, entitled *Peace Studies 40th Anniversary: Past, Present and Future*: www.brad.ac.uk/ssis/media/ssis/peacestudies/Peace-Studies-Annual-Report-2014-Final.pdf. As part of the celebrations, an international conference, *Why War? Peace Studies in the 21st Century* was held at the University 1-3 May 2014. Bradford Peace Studies owes its origins to a Quaker initiative, and hosts an international Rotary Peace Centre. Since Quakers and Rotary feature in the exhibition *Peace Philanthropy – Then and Now*, it was shown during the conference. Peter initiated this travelling exhibition which was first shown in the city hall in The Hague in August-September 2013 as part of the centenary celebrations of the Peace Palace, gifted by Andrew Carnegie. The 26 text and illustration panels mainly feature individual peace philanthropists from the late 19th century until today. For more information, please contact secretariat@inmp.net

Tisa M. Anders, independent historian, served as a member of a panel on "Successes and Challenges of Working within the Intersection of Latino Studies and Agricultural History," for the Agricultural History Society Annual Meeting, Provo, Utah, June 2014. She also recently revamped her website, <http://www.writingtheworld.com/>, and launched her blog which provides inspiration and hope from history (www.writingtheworld.com/blog).

Patrick G. Coy, professor at Kent State University and director of KSU's Center for Applied Conflict Management, is the author of "Nonpartisanship, Interventionism and Legality in Accompaniment: Comparative Analyses of Peace Brigades International, Christian Peacemaker Teams, and the International

Solidarity Movement,” *The International Journal of Human Rights*, vol. 6, no. 7 (2012). He has also written “Whither Nonviolent Studies?,” *Peace Review: A Journal of Social Justice*, vol. 25, no. 2 (2013). Patrick is also editor of *Research in Social Movements, Conflicts and Change*, which recently published volume 36.

Leilah Danielson of Northern Arizona University writes: “I am pleased to share with my peace history friends and colleagues that my monograph, *American Gandhi: A.J. Muste and the History of Radicalism in the Twentieth Century* has just been published by the University of Pennsylvania Press. The book traces Muste's evolving political and religious views over the course of his long career in the labor movement, the left, and the peace movement, while also charting the rise and fall of American progressivism over the course of the twentieth century. Michael Kazin, historian editor of *Dissent* magazine calls it a ‘first-rate study’ and PHS past president Doug Rossinow describes it as ‘a major work in the history of twentieth-century American radicalism.’ See also <http://www.upenn.edu/pennpress/book/15257.html>. Also, I have a promotion code for a 20% discount that I would be happy to share; email me directly at leilah.danielson@nau.edu.”



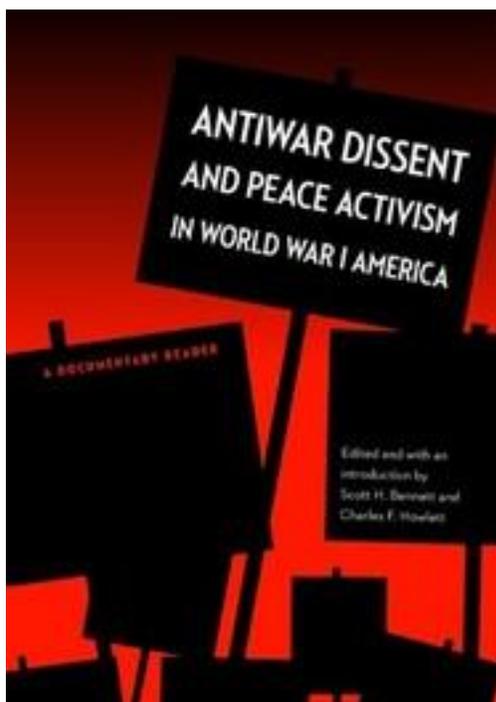
Peggy Faw Gish recently published *Walking Through Fire: Iraqis' Struggle for Justice and Reconciliation* (Eugene, OR: Cascade Books, 2013). Peggy worked in Iraq with Christian Peacemaker Teams before and during the U.S. war in Iraq. Kathy Kelly, of Voices for Creative Nonviolence, wrote about this book: “Peggy Faw Gish steadfastly refused to let war sever the bonds of friendship that had grown between her and numerous Iraqi friends. She witnessed the ongoing U.S. torment of Iraqis. By remaining with people afflicted by economic and military warfare, listening carefully, and honestly chronicling what she saw and heard, she has created a compelling description of life in a country devastated by invasions, dictatorship, sanctions, and war.” For more information, go to <http://wipfandstock.com/walking-through-fire.html>.

David Hostetter is an independent scholar based in Los Angeles. He wrote an entry on the American Friends Service Committee for the 2013 edition of the *Encyclopedia of Race and Racism*, vetted the book *Nations Divided: American Jews and the Struggle Over Apartheid* by Marjorie Feld for MacMillan, contributed an essay titled “Future of Anti-war Movements” to the forthcoming *Encyclopedia of American Reform Movements*, and wrote an article titled “The Purpose of Protest” for the fiftieth anniversary of the Washington Peace Center, published in the *Washington Peace Letter*. He presented a paper titled “Uncommon Commitment: The Fellowship of Reconciliation, The Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom, and the Origins of Peace Advocacy in the Twentieth Century” at the *Dissent, Activism, & Transformation in the World War I Era* conference at Georgian Court University October 2014.

Charles Howlett of Molloy College reports that his illustrated presentation, “The Road to WWII, Bubble Gum Cards, and the ‘Horrors of War,’” has been posted on the Teaching Resources section of the Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations website, at <https://shafr.org/teaching/road-wwii-bubble-gum-cards-and-“horros-war”>. In addition to a historical narrative, the posting reprints some of

the anti-war cards that were circulated by the Bowman Chewing Gum Company in the late 1930s, along with questions appropriate for class discussion. Charles gave a version of this presentation at the 2009 PHS conference.

Howlett and Scott Bennett co-edited *Antiwar Dissent and Peace Activism in World War I America*, a compendium of primary source documents available for classroom use, and published by University of Nebraska Press (2014).



Christopher Powell recently published "Kent State Comes to Canada: Internationalizing the Antiwar Movement," in Carole Barbato and Laura Davis, eds., *Democratic Narrative, History, and Memory* (Kent: Kent State University Press, 2012). He has also published several reviews recently in *Labour/Le Travail*, most recently of Jessica Squires' *Building Sanctuary: The Movement to Support Vietnam War Resisters in Canada, 1965-73* and of Andor Skotnes, *A New Deal for All? Race and Class Struggles in Depression-Era Baltimore*. LLT will be publishing another review in its upcoming edition of Robert Cohen and David Snyder's *Rebellion in Black and White: Southern Student Activism in the 1960s*. In June 2014 he

presented a paper at the Alberta Labour History Institute's conference entitled "Canadian Labour, the Left, and the Vietnam War."

Klaus Schlichtmann, former chair of the West German World Federalists (1980-1992) and now an instructor at Tokyo's Nihon University, writes: "The Nihon Heiwa Gakkai (Peace Studies Association of Japan) asked me to write an article on the current situation of Japan's constitutional pacifism (as formulated in Article 9 of the Japanese Constitution). The article was published in November 2013 in the Nihon Heiwa Gakkai's English-language journal *Peace Studies Bulletin*'s special issue on the occasion of "Forty Years of the Peace Association of Japan." The full journal is available online at: www.psj.org/html/psajnl32.pdf." PHS members will also be interested in the others articles in this newsletter, especially those about the history of the Peace Studies Association of Japan, which was founded in 1973.

Dr. Schlichtmann also has written a paper on "The Role of UCAV, PGM, Nonlethal Weaponry and Cyber Policing," for *Nonkilling Security and the State*, Joám Evan Pim, ed., jointly published in May 2013 by the Center for Global Nonkilling of Honolulu and Creighton University in Omaha. The book is online at: <http://nonkilling.org/pdf/nksecurity.pdf>.

Fredrick Logevall, the Pulitzer Prize-winning author of *Embers of War: The Fall of an Empire and the Making of America's Vietnam*, gave the Presidential Address at the Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations conference in June 2014 in Lexington, Kentucky, on the topic, "Structure, Contingency, and the Vietnam War." A video link of the address is available on the SHAFR website, at: <https://shifr.org/content/shifr-2014-presidential-address-structure-contingency-and-vietnam-war-fredrik-logevall>

A Legacy of May 4, 1970: Doctoral track created in Conflict Analysis & Management at Kent State

The Kent State University Department of Political Science and the Center for Applied Conflict Management announce the creation of a track in “Conflict Analysis and Management” in the Political Science Ph.D degree. The Center for Applied Conflict Management (CACM) is a long-time leader in peace and conflict studies both in the state and nationally.

Established in 1971 as a “living memorial” to the KSU students killed on May 4, 1970 by the Ohio National Guard while protesting the U.S. war in Vietnam and Cambodia, CACM’s undergraduate degree in Applied Conflict Management is the country’s



largest such program. Now doctoral students can also benefit from the award-winning teaching and research of the Center’s conflict management faculty members by choosing the Conflict Analysis and Management track. It is the only such doctoral program available in the state of Ohio.

CACM Director and Professor Patrick Coy commented, “This means that doctoral students receive the best of both worlds: they obtain a doctorate in a traditional discipline like political science even while the Conflict Analysis and Management concentration sets

them apart, establishing them as experts in the cutting-edge and evolving fields of peace studies and conflict management. They can market themselves as both political scientists and conflict management specialists, expanding their employability.”

Call for Papers: *American Quarterly* – Tours of Duty and Tours of Leisure

The American Studies Association’s *American Quarterly* publishes one special issue per year. The 2016 special issue, tentatively titled “Tours of Duty and Tours of Leisure,” will focus on the convergences of tourism and militarism as crucial manifestations of US imperial strategy. US militarism permeates the economy and culture in occupied territories, allied states, and postcolonial regions alike, generating political and economic dependencies in a decidedly colonial grammar. Articles might include, among other topics: theorizations of genealogies of hospitality and occupation; tourisms of battlefields and memorials; sex tourism and its military/militarized clientele; labor histories of tourist & military economies; the relationship between tourism, terrorism, and notions of “security”; and the militarization of tourism through state policies such as travel advisories. Submissions are due August 1, 2015. Learn more about the submission guidelines at <http://www.americanquarterly.org/submit/cfp.html>

Songs of Social Protest

The University of Limerick, Ireland, is sponsoring a conference on “Songs of Social Protest” on April 30 and May 1, 2015. Panel topics may include the effectiveness and “authenticity” of protest songs, relationships to social movements, connections to commercial artists and music, the work of particular musicians, and others. The deadline for the “call for papers” was January 15.

Job Announcements:

Director, Ph.D. Program in International Conflict Management Kennesaw State University

The College of Humanities and Social Sciences at Kennesaw State University, part of Georgia's public system of higher education located in suburban Atlanta, is seeking an experienced scholar to head the interdisciplinary Ph.D. Program in International Conflict Management. The director will lead the program, now in its fifth year, in developing an expanded research profile in the scholarly and practitioner community while continuing to deliver high-quality training to practitioners and future academics. The creation of a School of Conflict Management, which could include the Ph.D. Program, the M.S. in Conflict Management, the Peace Studies Program, and the Center for Conflict Management, is currently under discussion. Candidates will be expected to share their own views on both the creation and implementation of such a School as part of the interview process. It is likely that the next director will lead such a School should the decision to create it move forward. Applications will be accepted until the position is filled. To ensure full consideration, applications must be received by February 10, 2015. Candidates should submit a letter of application; current CV; list of names, addresses, phone numbers, and email addresses of three references; and unofficial graduate transcripts.

For questions about this position opening, please contact the Search Committee Chair, Dr. Akanmu Adebayo, Kennesaw State University, 402 Bartow Avenue, Suite 2039 MD 2205, Kennesaw, GA 30144, aadebayo@kennesaw.edu. For complete details and instructions on how to apply see the full Position Announcement at: <https://facultyjobs.kennesaw.edu/postings/1933>.

Georgia State University Positions in Global Studies

As part of the University's strategic plan to enhance research and teaching on pressing global issues, the new Global Studies Institute at Georgia State University, in Atlanta, Georgia will be hiring faculty over the next three years. Applications are invited for three new tenure-track or tenured positions to begin in Fall 2015. Applications are invited from scholars at the assistant or early associate professor level invested in interdisciplinary approaches to global issues, especially those with training in anthropology, cultural geography, economics, history, political science, religious studies or sociology. Preference will be given to candidates whose work addresses themes related to peace, conflict and post-conflict studies; development, urbanization and migration; or global human rights, labor or social justice movements.

Further information on GSU's strategic vision for internationalization can be found at <http://international.gsu.edu/initiatives/>. We enthusiastically encourage applications from minority and international candidates. Applicants should submit the following (in pdf format) to Ms. Jennifer Pate at jpate3@gsu.edu: 1) a letter outlining their qualifications and plans for individual or collaborative research in global studies; 2) a curriculum vitae; 3) two samples of their scholarly work; 4) evidence of teaching effectiveness (e.g., course syllabi, student evaluations, and statement of teaching philosophy); and 5) three letters of recommendation. A Ph.D. is required at the time of appointment. Application review will begin on December 8, 2014, and continue until the three positions are filled.

From the Editor: U.S. Recognizes Cuba – At Long Last

By Robert Shaffer, Shippensburg University

In April 2009, at a conference at Rutgers University examining the legacy after fifty years of William Appleman Williams's *The Tragedy of American Diplomacy*, the former military officer and now perceptive critic of American empire Andrew Bacevich, of Boston University, predicted that newly-installed President Barack Obama would follow in the footsteps of his predecessors in continuing the familiar American pattern of "empire as a way of life," to borrow the title of another of Williams's books.

Still imbued with the enthusiasm of Obama's 2008 "Yes We Can" campaign, I had the temerity to disagree with Bacevich, suggesting that Obama's intention to close the prison at Guantanamo and his tentative steps that spring to loosen some restrictions on travel with Cuba presaged a real break with the past. Bacevich, who is one of the nicest academics and public intellectuals one could hope to meet, was nonetheless withering in his reply. No substantive change in U.S. foreign relations was likely to come, he reiterated, as the military and foreign policy establishment held sway over Obama, and the new President did not reject any of the basic underlying assumptions of so-called "American exceptionalism."

So after several years of almost unremitting disappointment with Obama's foreign policy – in which he was played for a fool by the U.S. military and by our "ally" Hamid Karzai in Afghanistan; maintained support for Egyptian despot Mubarak far too long, and then resumed support almost instantaneously for the leaders of the military coup in Egypt; let Arab Spring activists in Bahrain suffer rather than offend the hosts of our military base; twisted the Constitution beyond recognition in his military attack that was not "war" in Libya; allowed the

National Security Council to continue electronic surveillance of our major allies; allowed Israel to expand its West Bank settlements and deny Palestinian rights with no restrictions on U.S. aid; and seemed to all but give up on his campaign pledge to close Guantanamo – I was thrilled by the unexpected announcement in December 2014 that the U.S. would resume diplomatic relations with Cuba. I'm not ready to tell Bacevich "I told you so" – he was more right than I had been, and he has doubled down on his criticism of Obama in a cogently-argued January 2015 op-ed, "Barack Obama: anatomy of a failure," in *The Spectator* – but Obama's break with fifty-plus years of U.S. policy toward Cuba will be good for both nations and – I'll admit it – restores my faith in my analytical abilities.

Nevertheless, to a large extent historians' voices have been absent from the public response to Obama's move to restore normal relations with a nation only ninety miles from our shores. The discussion is generally over whether normalization will help or hurt Cuban dissidents – whether it will give more space for free expression or provide cover for Raul Castro's government to suppress opposition. Skeptics wonder whether Cuba will live up to its end of the bargain, especially with regard to freeing political prisoners. Pundits wonder whether the Democrats will pay an electoral price for this gutsy move, especially in Florida, or whether the demographic shift has reached the point where enough younger Cuban Americans have outgrown the tired, unsuccessful anti-Communist politics of their parents and grandparents.

All of these are important questions, but why has there been so little comment on the need for the U.S. to atone for its mistreatment of Cuba? Whatever the now-freed "Cuban Five" did in the exile community of Miami, they never attempted to assassinate U.S. leaders – as the CIA tried to do for years against Fidel Castro. Cuba has never invaded the U.S., as the U.S. did against Cuba did in organizing the Bay of Pigs

invasion. Cuba did not hold on to a section of U.S. territory and use it as a military base, or as a site to commit torture, as the U.S. has done at Guantanamo. And shouldn't the return of Guantanamo to Cuban sovereignty be part of any normalization of relations? Discussion really should cover the pre-Castro years as well: the U.S. restrictions on Cuban political sovereignty in the early decades of the 20th century, the economic power of American landowners and organized crime in Cuba in the mid-20th century, and U.S. support for the dictatorial Batista regime right up to the end of the 1950s.

One welcomes the "realist" approach on Cuba, however belated, of the Obama administration, as well as the courageous advocacy by the editors of the *New York Times* over these past months on behalf of a long-overdue change in U.S. policy. (The scholar in me is itching to find out what the *Times* editors knew, and when they knew it, about negotiations between the Obama administration and the Cuban government.) But without a historical perspective on U.S.-Cuban relations, the discussion seems to be fixated on the concessions of the "democratic" U.S. to "dictatorial" Cuba, rather than a real accounting of the problems that the U.S. has brought to our Caribbean neighbor for over a century.

A historical but also current perspective would note that the U.S. has not always

supported democracy elsewhere. The coups in Guatemala and Chile, to take only two examples from elsewhere in Latin America, aligned the U.S. squarely with dictatorship, contrary to the rhetoric of how best the U.S. today can support democratization in Cuba. Dissenters are treated far more harshly today in Saudi Arabia, an ally of the U.S., than in Cuba. U.S. corporations benefit from the harsh labor conditions and repression of workers' rights in China and Bangladesh. The double standard over the past half century with regard to the American government's demonization of Cuba can be extended on and on.

So what is the role of historians? Of course, historians can and should write letters, comments, and op-eds to newspapers, blogs, and politicians, especially in response to calls by Republicans and some Democrats to maintain the embargo and to oppose normal relations.

But we should also use the current situation as a "teachable moment" in our classrooms. In our U.S. history or world history survey classes, or more advanced classes in U.S. foreign relations or issues of war and peace, the Spanish-American War, the Cuban Missile Crisis, U.S. military bases abroad, and interaction with other American nations are (or should be) major topics of study. Bring the situations up to date: discuss with students how others around the world see the U.S. actions at Guantanamo; present the Cuban fear of U.S. invasion from 1960 to 1962 as a reason for their turn to the Soviets; review the checkered and wildly inconsistent record of U.S. recognition or non-recognition of other nations.

We should use in class articles that have appeared that go beyond the pragmatic argument for recognition, and be on the lookout for others. There's one by John Dickson, a former Senior Foreign Service Office turned public historian, on History News Network (posted Dec. 22, 2014): "Why All of Latin America is Cheering the Re-establishment of Relations with Cuba." The *New York Times* did have an excellent piece (in the print edition on Jan. 2, 2015) which is on my syllabus for the first day of my U.S. history

survey class this spring semester, by William Neuman: “Despite Thaw, American Base at Guantanamo Still Stings for Cubans.” For a more left-wing perspective by a veteran anti-war activist, try Tom Hayden’s “Why the U.S.-Cuba Deal Really Is a Victory for the Cuban Revolution,” at www.thenation.com. For an initial analysis of how the breakthrough in relations occurred, see Peter Kornbluh’s “A New Deal with Cuba,” also at www.thenation.com. (Hayden and Kornbluh each have recent or forthcoming books on U.S. relations with Cuba, by the way.)

And by all means, keep current with Andrew Bacevich’s trenchant analyses of U.S. empire, in his books and op-ed essays. He may not have given Obama quite enough credit on Cuba, but Bacevich is still an excellent guide to the current U.S. role in the world.

Book received by PHS News:

Carol Anderson, *Bourgeois Radicals: The NAACP and the Struggle for Colonial Liberation, 1941-1960* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015). Manfred Berg of the University of Heidelberg calls the book: “a landmark contribution to the literature on African-American anti-colonialism...”

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**Peace History at the OAH,
April 2015**

PHS members Robbie Lieberman, Marian Mollin, Leilah Danielson, and R.L. Updegrove will be participating in a round-table discussion on “Activists, Writers, and Expansive Ideas about Peace in the Early Cold War Years,” at the annual conference of the Organization of American Historians in St. Louis on April 17.

Among the many other panels at this conference that should be of interest to peace historians are two on commemorations today of

massacres in the 19th century U.S. West; remembering Hiroshima and Nagasaki in the U.S. and Japan; *The Nation* as a maker of U.S. history; “subversive” histories of the “American Century”; and teaching World War I during its centennial. For registration and logistical information, go to: www.oah.org.

The Peace Studies Journal, a project of the Central New York Peace Studies Consortium, will publish a special issue in April 2015 on the theme, “**Confronting the Environmental Impacts of War.**” The guest editor for this special issue is Joel Helfrich of Hobart & William Smith Colleges.

More on the Great War: Josh Levithan, an “ex-academic military historian” (his words), has launched a daily blog of World War I, to examine “the history and the literature of the war, largely from the British perspective, as it unfolds.” Levithan explains: “I will post, each day of the next four-plus years, either a piece of writing produced exactly a century before or a discussion of the events of that day in the life of one or more of the writers that the blog follows-- both the usual suspects (Sassoon, Brittain, Owen, Graves, Blunden, etc.) and any lesser-known soldiers or nurses who left sufficient letters or other dated material to track their experiences.” The blog is up and running at: <http://www.acenturyback.com/>