

PHS NEWS

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President's Column



Gail Presbey

Dear PHS Members,

It has been a pleasure to serve as your President, after several years as Secretary. Mike Clinton has included a report of our fall conference but let me tell you what I thought about that conference from the perspective of someone who wasn't in charge of the entire event, so I could enjoy it. The Gwynedd Mercy campus was beautiful, and we came just at the right weekend when the autumn leaves were in full color. It was great to see everyone again, in person instead of through email and zoom. After a productive Board meeting, we had a great reception for all attendees in Assumption Hall, in a regal house at the center of campus, with wood paneling, chandeliers and large portraits on the wall.

The next three days were jam-packed with plenaries and many concurrent panel sessions. We would break for delicious and healthy lunches with great vegan and vegetarian options. Those were also occasions to catch up with each other and meet new scholars and students interested in our area of study. I encourage you to go to [the](#)

[conference website](#) and see many recordings from conference sessions that are available there (as well as photos). With special displays on the American Friends Service Committee (in the library) and the War Resisters League 100th anniversary (in the foyer) there was plenty to observe in between sessions. For the latter, there will also be a chance to see it again, at the American Historical Association conference in January 2025 (this is a PHS initiative, we are co-sponsoring with WRL). There was a great plenary panel on WRL with Matt Meyer and others sharing their reflections on the longstanding organization, its continuities and its changes as it discerns its mission and methods over the decades. We had a keynote talk by George Lakey and musical presentations by the Gwynedd Mercy choir!

We were very happy to present several awardees with our several PHS awards for articles and books. Some awardees were there in person and others were present live online to receive their awards and share some brief words. Mona Siegel, who coordinated the award process this year, has written an article in this newsletter that describes all of our awardees. As our attendee who traveled the farthest, Sakiko Kaiga joined us all the way from Japan in order to receive her award! We really appreciated the opportunity to meet her.

Apart from all the educational events and all the fun, there was also some business accomplished in the Board Meeting and General meeting. We have decided to make the Prize Coordinator an official position on the Board. (If you are interested in this opportunity to serve, let me know!).

We confirmed and continued the practice of giving conference attendees who are not already members a free one-year membership. People had a chance to meet the two new co-editors of *Peace and Change*, Renee Bricker and Yi Deng. They gave us updates on the journal, which you may realize is now fully online. (They are looking for volunteer reviewers! Please contact them to tell them of your willingness and your area of specialization). We also discussed our general practices regarding signing on to AHA public statements on current events, particularly those that involve peace and war issues. (For example, since then we signed onto [an AHA statement](#) supporting students protesting on campus these past few months, regarding the ongoing violence in Gaza.) At our General Meeting we discussed options of venues and sponsors for our conference two years from now. A small committee will form to outline the responsibilities of conference hosts, after which we hope to secure hosts for our 2026 conference.

You may have noted that we are updating our web page that hosts our past newsletters. Sorry for the inconvenience. We hope to restore the past issues soon. Thank you so much to Ginger Williams, our outgoing newsletter editor who has put out the newsletter for several years. Thank you to Toshi Higuchi, our current Secretary, for stepping up to organize this issue. We are so glad that you are part of our Society. We look forward to working with you further to promote our common interests in peace.

Sincerely, Gail Presbey

PHS President

PHS Officers and Board Members, 2024

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Report on the 2023 Peace History Society Conference

Michael Clinton

The Peace History Society (PHS) held its biennial conference at Gwynedd Mercy University (GMercyU) from October 26 to 28, 2023. Organized around the theme “Peace & Protest, Past & Present,” the conference featured 49 presenters across 16 panels, two plenary sessions, two exhibits, a choral performance, a keynote address, an opening reception, two lunches, and a publications and organizations fair. In addition, PHS convened a meeting of its Board and conferred awards for

publications, lifetime achievement, and travel. The first PHS conference to be held in a hybrid format, it attracted 75 attendees—56 in person, with the remainder participating virtually. GMercyU assumed \$7500 of the total costs for hosting the conference, as well as the honorarium and related expenses for the keynote speaker, and PHS covered the \$1063 in expenses above that amount. The PHS Treasurer has information about the net revenue gained from registration payments minus the amount paid toward costs by PHS. This report provides further detailed information about the conference, with some observations intended to be of some guidance for hosts of future PHS conferences.

Conference Planning

Restrictions imposed by the Covid-19 pandemic caused the 2021 PHS conference hosted by Kennesaw State University to be held as an entirely virtual event. Discussion among PHS Board members and officers following the conference indicated a preference to integrate at least some virtual elements as part of subsequent conferences as a way to broaden access and participation for those who were interested in participating but found it inconvenient to attend on site. Consequently, the proposal submitted by GMercyU in February 2022 to host the 2023 PHS conference committed to providing technical support to accommodate the event in hybrid format. It also proposed to create a website with: updated information about the conference; a portal to process registrations and provide access to online sessions; content appropriately reflecting the conference theme, such as an online exhibit; and digital space to make recorded sessions publicly available after the conference. As the following section on Conference Proceedings indicates, GMercyU provided these resources, which

remain accessible to anyone who would like to review [the conference program](#), [sessions](#), and [exhibits](#).

Various factors prevented PHS from organizing a conference committee assigned with the task of deciding a conference theme, which was instead proposed by myself to the conference program committee—Scott Bennett, Wendy Chmielewski, and Shelley Rose. The theme was framed to cast as wide a net as possible to attract proposals. At that time, expectations about generating a sufficient pool of proposals were uncertain, as some discomfort about in-person gatherings lingered and experience with conferences in a virtual environment still limited. A call for proposals was distributed on December 1, with a submission deadline of March 1 (eventually extended to March 31), through the following sites: the PHS website, H-Net, the SHAFR News blog, the AHA Events Calendar, and H-Soz-Kult. A total of 45 individual proposals and eight panel proposals were submitted through the dedicated e-mail created for conference communications; the program committee rejected twelve of the individual proposals and none of the panel proposals. In the meantime, the keynote speaker, plenary sessions, exhibits, and other features of the conference fell into place due to the efforts and connections of the program committee members and other colleagues. A program committee meeting generated several prospects as potential keynote speakers, with George Lakey at the top. Lakey not only matched up well with the conference theme as an activist engaged in peaceful protest for peace and other causes over decades, but he lived nearby in Philadelphia and had just published a [memoir](#). David Cortright had also completed a [book](#) to recognize the twentieth anniversary of the movement to protest the

U.S. invasion and occupation of Iraq and expressed interest in organizing a panel around the focus of the book; he recommended historian Rusti Eisenberg, veteran and activist Jonathan Hutto, and CND general secretary Kate Hudson to join him on the panel, and Robert Shaffer agreed to moderate. Scott Bennett had been in contact with prominent members of the War Resisters League (WRL), which was commemorating its centenary anniversary; the WRL contributed an on-site and virtual [exhibit](#), a plenary session, and a panel on war tax resistance to the conference. Don Davis, archivist for the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC), headquartered in Center City Philadelphia, agreed to work with two GMercyU students to create an on-site and virtual [exhibit](#) that linked the history of the AFSC with the conference theme.

Among the GMercyU colleagues who contributed to the conference, I'd like to acknowledge three who provided critical support during the planning process: Dan Parker, administrative assistant for the School of Arts & Sciences, who was involved in every part of organizing and coordinating the various resources that the conference required, on-campus and beyond; Dr. Cindy Casey, Program Coordinator and Assistant Professor of Computer Information Science, who collaborated with Marc Becker to design the conference web portal; and Carol Evans, Assistant Professor of Music, who curated a program of songs around the theme of peace, justice, and protest that was performed by the campus choral group, the Voices of Gwynedd, as a lead-in to George Lakey's keynote address.

Conference Proceedings

Based on feedback received personally during and after the conference, attendees seemed very satisfied. A fuller and clearer

assessment of what attendees thought about the conference would require an online survey to record reactions and reflections; however, no such survey was developed, which was an oversight and a missed opportunity, especially given the precedent of the hybrid format. One recommendation, then, is to include plans to survey attendee feedback about the conference—I could assist the host of the next conference to develop a template that would be available for subsequent hosts to adapt and use.

Although the conference was generally successful, there were of course several instances where better planning would have resulted in better outcomes and a smoother process. Reflections about those examples in this report could be helpful as hosts of future conferences make their own plans. One thought relates to scheduling and timing. For instance, the first evening of the conference featured the PHS Board meeting held in a hybrid format, followed by a reception. The technical aspect of the hybrid meeting ran smoothly; however, as has been the custom in the past, the Board meeting was arranged as a working dinner, and so a buffet meal was available for on-site attendees. This delayed the start of the meeting in addition to creating an awkward situation with virtual attendees standing by until everyone on-site had served themselves. If future Board meetings are to be held in a hybrid format, then, dinner should be scheduled at another time rather than arranged during the meeting itself.

More broadly, the conference schedule was perhaps too full. Attendance at the keynote address was disappointing, for instance, which was likely due to its scheduling at 8:30 PM, a time selected to give attendees the opportunity to have dinner and return to campus in time after a day of sessions that was already quite packed. It would have

been better to have scheduled the keynote during the afternoon, perhaps sacrificing a plenary session.

The hybrid format was tricky and a source of stress. Prospective hosts of future conferences should consult the IT experts at their institutions to ensure sufficient personnel and resources. Specific circumstances related to the “great resignation” phenomenon that accompanied the early wake of the Covid pandemic resulted in some challenges, so the challenges may not be as daunting as they were experienced in GMercyU’s case. Two IT specialists were on hand to coordinate the technology required to make the virtual side of the hybrid event function properly. This was not sufficient to handle the practical tasks of running and monitoring the programs that provided access and interaction between on-site and virtual participants and attendees while also ensuring that each panel was recorded properly. Few students had volunteered to support the conference and those who did lacked the technical knowledge to allow them to fulfill the necessary roles. One major glitch occurred on the first day of sessions, when it was discovered that the Zoom platform had changed a protocol that the IT specialists had used in setting up sessions in three different rooms at the same time. This caused some disruption as the support staff tried to figure out what had gone wrong, then created new links to replace the ones that had already been made available to virtual attendees in the conference program. Additional support staff would likely have helped to resolve these issues more quickly or avoid them altogether. In the end, most if not all virtual attendees experienced little disruption accessing panels, and nearly [all presentations were recorded and are now available through GMercyU’s Kaltura site.](#)

C-SPAN sent a crew to record the first plenary session that featured a discussion about David Cortright's book *A Peaceful Superpower*. The recording has been [uploaded to C-SPAN's website](#). Arranging to have C-SPAN come to campus to record the session provides a lesson about the advantages of large university resources versus small university resources. Jonathan Hutto, one of the participants in the session, suggested contacting C-SPAN in April. I received no response to the inquiry that I made to C-SPAN through the e-mail address dedicated to soliciting ideas about events that it might cover. In July, I contacted David Cortright about the situation, with the hope that he would have some advice, as he had been featured on C-SPAN on several occasions. He put me in contact with the Communications Program Director at the University of Notre Dame, and after that arrangements with C-SPAN were made. In short, it helps to have an effective and sufficiently resourced office of communications or press relations—as well as established connections and/or a prominent name—in order to get C-SPAN coverage, which would be nice to have at future PHS conferences.

PHS Awards

As usual, PHS made presentations of its awards at the conferences (see the next column for the winners).

It's worth noting that Saikiko Kaiga came from Japan to accept her award. Tracy K'Meyer was also on hand to receive congratulations for her honorable mention. All the other recipients were able to take part in the awards ceremony virtually.

PHS also presented travel grants to the following recipients: Clara-Anna Egger (\$600), Tina Filipović (\$500), and Erica Fugger (\$534).

Conclusion

The hybrid format offered several advantages that recommend its continuation for future PHS conferences: it enabled broader participation geographically, especially from presenters outside the United States; it also made it possible for under-resourced scholars—and tighter academic budgets have been increasing this number—to participate by eliminating the costs that accompany travel; and we were able to celebrate our award recipients who might otherwise not have been able to travel to the site of the conference. The technical challenges associated with the hybrid format will become easier to navigate over time and with further experience—and already have. The number of attendees who did not present was rather small, in fact; as soon as the call for proposals was distributed, people expressed how much they looked forward to being together again in person, something that was still a matter of speculation as we emerged from the pandemic. We now have some data to help clarify the “unknown” about the ratio of in-person to virtual attendees in a hybrid environment.

In closing, I would like to convey my gratitude for the support and encouragement that I received from many PHS colleagues and look forward to seeing many of you—whether in person or virtually—at the next PHS conference.

The 2023 Article, Book, and Lifetime Achievement Awards

Mona Siegel

The Peace History Society congratulates the winners of its 2023 article, book, and lifetime achievement awards. Through their research and activism, these scholars

illuminate important ways groups and individuals have labored to foster peace around the world. To read more about this year's winners, please visit the [Peace History Society website](#).

The **Elise M. Boulding Prize** for an outstanding English-language nonfiction book (not a first book or dissertation) by a single author in the field of Peace History is awarded to **Victoria Wolcott** for her book *Living in the Future: Utopianism and the Long Civil Rights Movement* (University of Chicago Press, 2022).

Honorable mention for the Boulding Prize is awarded to **Tracy K'Meyer** for her book *To Live Peacefully Together: The AFSC's Campaign for Open Housing* (University of Chicago Press, 2022).

The **Scott Bills Memorial Prize** for a first book or a dissertation in English on a topic related to peace history is awarded to **Sakiko Kaiga** for her book *Britain and the Intellectual Origins of the League of Nations* (Cambridge University Press, 2021).

The **DeBenedetti Prize** for an English language journal article, book chapter, or book introduction on peace history is awarded to **Michelle Tusan** for her article "The Concentration Camp as Site of Refuge: The Rise of the Refugee Camp and the Great War in the Middle East," *Journal of Modern History*, 93, no 4, (December 2021): 824-860.

The **Lifetime Achievement Award** for outstanding scholarship and exemplary service to the Peace History Society is awarded to **Blanche Wiesen Cook**, Distinguished Professor of History and Women's Studies and John Jay College and the Graduate Center of the City University of New York.

Congratulations

PHS members, Seth Kershner and Chuck Howlett, were recipients of the History of Education Society's Outstanding Book Honorable Mention for **BREAKING THE WAR HABIT: THE DEBATE OVER MILITARISM IN AMERICAN EDUCATION**. The work was also co-authored by Scott Harding of the University of Connecticut's School of Social Work.

War Resisters League 100th Anniversary Exhibit

Gail Presbey

War Resisters League was founded in 1923, and in 2023 they took stock of the rich history of their movement by offering a traveling exhibit of eight vertical panels and a horizontal timeline, full of information and photos that portray the highlights of their movement. One really gets the sense that WRL addressed a host of key issues with foresight, moral sensitivity, and keen nonviolent strategies. The display was exhibited at the PHS conference in October 2023 at Gwynedd Mercy University. PHS is also sponsoring the exhibit which will be shown at the AHA conference in January 2025. It would be important that more educators and students as well as the members of civil society see this exhibit and

learn from the examples of peace activists and leaders of the past. There is also an 84-page book that contains the exhibit's information, entitled *WRL100, 1923-2023, War Resisters League: 100 Years of Resistance to War and the Causes of War Centennial Traveling Exhibit* (New York: War Resisters League, 2023). The exhibit was researched and written by Ruth Benn and Ed Hedemann. This review covers both the exhibit and the book. Both the exhibit and the book link through use of QR codes to additional in-depth information on several topics introduced more briefly.

The exhibit situates the WRL by alluding to precursor organizations and movements that also used nonviolent tactics and philosophies such as the Abolitionist movement, the Underground Railroad, the Suffragists and the IWW (Wobblies). Jessie Wallace Hughan and Rev. John Haynes were two key founders of the group which began in October of 2023. (They had earlier founded the Anti-Enlistment League in 1915 in the context of the First World War.) They wanted WRL to be secular and to include both men and women. They affiliated their group with the Netherlands-based War Resisters International. Their early focus was on having individuals sign pledges to not participate in war. As Hughan explained, wars could not be fought if people refused to participate in them. In 1928 they held a large rally on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the end of the First World War. Even at that early date they already addressed the issue of how JROTC and ROTC training of the youth was a form of indoctrination that made young people think that war was acceptable and normal. One also sees at this early date that WRL was warning the public that the arms merchants were strongly influencing the foreign policy of the U.S. government.

Gandhi's work in South Africa and India, including the Salt March of 1930 greatly influenced one of the WRL co-founders, John Haynes Holmes. In the 1930s up to 1937 there was a strong anti-war sentiment in the US. WRL paired up with Fellowship of Reconciliation, the Quakers, and A.J. Muste. Albert Einstein became the Honorary Chair in 1933. The Second World War created some disunity in the peace movement, as some decided there were good reasons for war while others maintained their Conscientious Objector status. Some key members of WRL met by being imprisoned in the same cell block for their CO status. The use of the Atomic Bomb during the war intensified opposition to war for many. The exhibit tells the story of WRL member Bent Andresen who on Aug. 6, 1945, left his Civilian Public Service camp (where he was laboring due to his conscientious objector status) in order to begin a leafletting campaign denouncing the use of atomic weapons. After traveling for miles and distributing 4,000 leaflets he was arrested and incarcerated in California. The draft resisters during World War Two would broaden the WRL nonviolent movement to include issues of anti-colonialism, civil rights, nuclear abolition, and further criticisms of the military-industrial complex.

As soon as World War Two CO's came out of jail, they began protesting nuclear testing in the Bikini Islands and elsewhere. Sailors on the boat called "The Golden Rule" tried to interrupt testing by sailing into test sites. One key example of how anti-colonialism and anti-war work was intertwined was when Bill Sutherland, A.J. Muste and others attempted to stop nuclear testing in the Sahara Desert. Other anti-nuclear weapons actions were closer to home, as when WRL joined in a Catholic Worker led direct action to non-cooperate with a Civilian Defense Air Raid drills in New York City. WRL

popularized a new symbol for peace that began as an anti-nuclear symbol using the conflated letters in the semaphore signal alphabet (used by the railroads) for “N” and “D” (for nuclear disarmament). As the decades went by, activists also laid on the railroad tracks to stop the Rocky Flats facility from building weapons. WRL wrote training manuals suggesting various tactics that could be used by protestors. It would be a challenge to help the general public to even fathom the loss that nuclear weapons would create in a very short time. One photo shows banners that were carried during a large parade related to the United Nations Second Special Session on Disarmament. The series of banners displayed every page of the Manhattan phone book, and called the banners the World War Three Memorial. The dropping of atomic bombs is part of U.S. history, undoubtedly, and we need to focus on it more than we do. And yet, when the Enola Gay (the plane that dropped the atomic bomb on Hiroshima) was added to the exhibits at the Smithsonian Air and Space Museum, there was another occasion for protest. The debate was over the context – how was this plane displayed? Was it considered a crowning technological achievement? Did the exhibit repeat the rationale that it saved millions of lives by bringing the Second World War to a speedy end? While historians debate how to interpret and understand the ending of the war, WRL and others saw the exhibit as a focal point enabling civil society to revisit and rethink their evaluations of this act of war, as the bomb not only killed hundreds of thousands in Japan but set off an international nuclear arms race that endangers humanity.

As the U.S. prosecuted the war in Vietnam, WRL helped to organize people nonviolently. Draft card burnings grew larger. Walks for peace went from San

Francisco to Moscow, and Quebec to Guantanamo. The largest mass arrests were from May 3 to 5, 1971, when 13,500 people were arrested. Such large actions would continue decades later and on an international scale, when on Feb. 15, 2003 (one month before the U.S. invasion of Iraq), 6 to 10 million people in 600 cities and 60 countries demanded peace instead of war.

But the international connections of WRL had been building for many years. WRL has 90 affiliated groups in 40 countries. There was a six-day protest at CIA headquarters in 1961 against the Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba. Tactics involved fasting for peace. They were again protesting the U.S. embargo of Cuba in 1971, and publicizing their “Statement on the Middle East” in 1973. Yes, back in 1973 they condemned violence on all sides (both Israel, the PLO, and Arab States) and demanded that the U.S. end military aid there. Since activist Daniel Berrigan had taken the same public stand but was soon vilified for it, WRL gave its peace award to Berrigan in 1974.

In addition to their role in actions, WRL also published news magazines (such as *Conscientious Objector* and *The Nonviolent Activist*) and posters, among other printed material, and in this way tried to spread their message. The exhibit and book show many examples of WRL posters. And so in this way, this exhibit and book itself are examples of what WRL has been doing all along – finding innovative ways to spread the message of nonviolence and peace. And WRL has changed over the decades, with the influx of new generations and their new foci and sensibilities. When WRL would lose members (for example, when some led due to the Middle East statement), others would come in. There was a big jump in membership from the 60s to the 70s.

WRL supported farmworkers, the LGBTQI community, Native Americans, and the Women's movement. They protested the prison-industrial complex and opposed the death penalty. They protested in 1977 when the Supreme Court rolled back its ban on capital punishment in order to allow it in certain states. When hate crimes were directed at the Muslim community in the U.S. after 9-11, WRL rallied to defend Muslims and to ask Americans to rethink misguided responses to the attack. Nowadays the WRL realizes that there is a "poverty draft" as youth from poor communities turn to the Armed Forces because their other options are so limited. So WRL addresses the economic factors that keep our society spending billions on weapons instead of education and anti-poverty programs. There is a need for new priorities on Congressional budgets that will also address the environmental crisis as well. WRL organized a campaign to "Stop the Merchants of Death" who made their profits at weapons expos while U.S. youth were dying of gun violence.

As the exhibit says when introducing the timeline of their most notable moments in history, they explain that the WRL "evolved into" an organization "that embraces a radical mission to actively oppose all forms of war as well as the institutions, systems, and cultures that promote militarism and cause war." (p. 64) Recapping in timeline fashion many of the events already described in the preceding panels, one notices a list of "firsts" and very significant and new events. But there is also a lot of continuity in the decades. Yes, the message morphs and grows broader and deeper, but the same emphasis is there throughout – the need to educate and organize people to end the dangerous dependence on war for human wellbeing. Once the true toll of neglected current needs so as to build weapons of mass

destruction and a militarist culture is realized, people can turn to the WRL for further guidance on the nonviolent tactics that can be used to change the trajectory of human history to be more peaceful. Those who teach U.S. history should not neglect the substantial contribution of this large peace movement which has sometimes succeeded in tempering the drums of war, although much work remains to be done.

News from Peter van den Dungen

My review of Corinne Chaponnière's brilliant biography, *Henry Dunant: The Man of the Red Cross*, was published in *The Journal of Military History* (87/3, July 2023). That he, and many other laureates of the Nobel peace prize, were not 'legitimate' recipients has been persuasively argued by Fredrik S. Heffermehl in [The Real Nobel Peace Prize: A Squandered Opportunity to Abolish War](#) (2023). The Norwegian peace activist and lawyer who waged a long campaign against the Norwegian Nobel Committee for not respecting the will of Alfred Nobel passed away a few weeks after the presentation of his book in Oslo on 11th November when he also celebrated his 85th birthday. A friend of the author, I wrote an obituary that appeared on the websites of several peace organisations, including [World Beyond War](#) and [the Global Campaign for Peace Education](#).

An initiative I took to commemorate the bicentenary of the founding in England of the Huddersfield Auxiliary Peace Society (1822-2022) resulted in the publication of an article titled 'Opposing the Evils and Enormities of War: The Huddersfield Auxiliary Peace Society in the 1820s' by David Griffiths in the *Huddersfield Local History Society Journal* (Issue 34, 2023/24). This year (2024) is the 100th anniversary of

the congress of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF) in Washington, D.C. where Dr Gertrud Woker, Dr Naima Sahlbom, and Ester Akesson-Beskow established the International Committee Against Scientific Warfare, focusing on opposing chemical and biological warfare. Woker's bestselling book, *The Coming Poison Gas War*, was commissioned by WILPF, and underwent numerous editions which were condemned and burned in the infamous 1933 book burnings in Nazi Germany. The Tehran Peace Museum – established by survivors of the chemical attacks by Iraq in the long war against Iran in the 1980s – accepted my proposal to show an exhibition highlighting these early women pioneers. An illustrated report is [on the Museum's website](#).

The 11th triennial conference of the International Network of Museums for Peace (INMP), hosted by *Fredens Hus* (the Swedish peace museum), was held at Uppsala University in August 2023. An abstract of my paper, 'Bringing history to life by remembering and celebrating significant peace anniversaries in peace and anti-war museums', is in [the 115-page Abstract Book](#) (at p. 16). My book, *Peace Museums: Selected Essays* (of the past four decades) is forthcoming (Springer). I will be presenting a paper at the conference *Protesting War in the Twentieth Century* at Northumbria University in Newcastle (13-14 June 2024) titled ['Paying the Price for Resisting War in Wilhelmine Germany: The Case of G. F. Nicolai'](#).

Integrating Alternatives to War in the Study of United States Foreign Policy History

Roger Peace

The study of U.S. foreign policy should come with a warning: This is "difficult history." The contradictions between words and deeds are profound, and the effects of U.S. wars and foreign policies have often been debilitating. Much like the study of slavery and racism in the United States, presenting an accurate picture of the U.S. role in the world casts a shadow on the nation's character. Teaching this history is made more difficult by general ignorance of foreign affairs; by an aura of national pride surrounding America's foreign missions, buttressed by celebratory histories; and by the fact that we have yet to reach a turning point on war. Although the UN Charter of 1945 outlaws aggression, this has yet to be enforced. Nor, for the most part, has there been a normative shift in the study of war, as most textbooks continue to "normalize" war.

I am nonetheless encouraged by many critical and insightful studies that have been published by scholars, journalists, and others. The authors and co-authors of the various essays on the [U.S. Foreign Policy History & Resource Guide](#) website have utilized these many works in presenting a coherent picture of U.S. interactions with the world. What the reader will find in these essays, generally speaking, is (1) a view of international affairs from multiple angles; (2) a focus on decision-making and the choices available to leaders, especially alternatives to war; (3) an investigation into the results of U.S. policies and wars; (4) a critique of official rationales and ideological frameworks; (5) an examination of the people and movements promoting peace and justice alternatives; and (6) a review of potential historical lessons.

To be sure, military history draws lessons from past wars, identifying errors and contemplating future war strategies. Peace history should do likewise, concentrating on

how wars could have been avoided in the past, with implications for the future.

To professors, teachers, and instructors: If you are teaching about U.S. wars and foreign policies and would like to share your teaching experiences, including questions, conundrums, and best practices, I would like to put together some teaching examples and advice in a special section on the website in the future. Contact me at rpeace3@gmail.com.

[U.S. Foreign Policy History & Resource Guide](#)

The Swarthmore College Peace Collection Welcomes a New Curator

Sahr Conway-Lanz



I appreciate this opportunity to introduce myself to the Peace History Society as the new curator of the Swarthmore College Peace Collection. I started at Swarthmore in February 2024, and the new position has kept me busy to such a degree that I am just starting to connect with Peace History Society members and explore future collaborations. I appreciate the long-

standing relationship between the Peace Collection and the Peace History Society. Although I realize I have big shoes to fill following the work of long-time curator Dr. Wendy Chmielewski, I look to keep the relationship a vibrant and productive one.

To say a little about myself, I am trained as a historian but have spent most of my career working as an archivist and curator. Ever since I conducted dissertation research in the Peace Collection as a graduate student, I had hoped that I would have the opportunity to work for this amazing collection. My Ph.D. is in the history of U.S. foreign relations from Harvard University where I worked with Ernest May and Akira Iriye and also served as a lecturer in the History Department.

My history research has focused on human rights and the problems of war and violence. My book, *Collateral Damage: Americans, Noncombatant Immunity, and Atrocity After World War II* (2006), examined how American officials and a broader public struggled with articulating sensible distinctions between legitimate and illegitimate violence in war after World War II in the wake of the atomic bombings and Nazi and imperial Japanese war crimes. My article in *Diplomatic History*, "Beyond No Gun Ri: Refugees and the United States Military in the Korean War" won the 2006 Bernath Article Prize from the Society of Historians of American Foreign Relations. My current areas of research include the history of archives and two book projects, one on the relevance of pacifist ideas to current U.S. foreign policy and the other on the history of how Americans have and have not held members of their armed forces accountable for harming noncombatants in war.

I previously served as a manuscript historian in the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress where I curated over 700 collections in the area of U.S. international relations including the papers of Madeleine Albright, Woodrow Wilson, and Henry Ford's Peace Plan. I have also worked as an archivist at Yale University, the National Archives and Records Administration, and Bryn Mawr College.

The Peace Collection is currently in a transition phase as we hire new staff, especially since long-time archivist Anne Yoder retired earlier this year. However, my colleagues and I are eager to work with you and the broader research community. Please reach out to us at peacecollection@swarthmore.edu for assistance with the collection or with ideas for collaboration.

As both an archivist and historian, one of my major interests is building better understanding between historians and archivists. With that end in mind, I look forward to collaborating with the Peace History Society and its members.

PHS Member Spotlight

This new brief profile series aims to introduce members to the rest of the community, highlight their accomplishments, and thank them for being a member. This issue features three new members.

Gary Perkins

Independent Researcher



<https://perkinsg.academia.edu/>

Alma mater/s: 3rd degree Burns - University of Life!

Fields of Interest: I hold an ongoing interest in my faith as a Jehovah's Witness, conflict management, holocaust remembrance and the background of the peace movement in Britain, Germany, America and elsewhere

Describe the development of your interest in peace history. What led you to study peace history?

A life changing event: Meeting Holocaust survivor Magdalena Kusserow in 2002. Magdalena's whole family were victimised, including her two brothers who were executed in Nazi Germany for their stand as Jehovah's Witness conscientious objectors, while Magdalena herself was imprisoned in Ravensbruck concentration camp for women. Yet throughout her life she held no bitterness, but exuded love and joy.

What brought you in contact with Peace History Society?

By recommendation of my friend Andrew Bolton.

What projects are you currently working on?

A book entitled *The Threat of Peace: The Suppression of Bible Students in WWI America and Their Subsequent Re-emergence*. My thanks to Jay Beaman from Portland whose incredible work makes this possible!

Is there an article, book, movie, blog etc that you would recommend to our PHS members?

Lest Innocent Blood Be Shed by Philip Hallie highlights the life of André Trocmé and is an inspiring read, while *Pacifism in the Twentieth Century* by Peter Brock and Nigel Young is a great academic start to the subject.

What do you value most about peace history? Why is peace history important to you?

Alongside faith, it gives purpose and direction to my life. History explains, to some extent, why people often are the way they are. But peace history provides examples of individuals that dare to break the mold and, in so doing, show a better way is possible.

Jonathan W. Hutto, Sr.

Community Organizer-Peace Advocate



<https://www.linkedin.com/in/jonathan-w-hutto-sr-51423044/>

Alma mater/s: BA (Political Science), Howard University, 1999; Secondary Education (History), Old Dominion University, 2009

Fields of Interest: Peace History -- Peace Advocacy -- Waging Peace

Describe the development of your interest in peace history. What led you to study peace history?

It began during my undergraduate years working in tandem with the late Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party Chairman Lawrence Guyot in NW WDC. It cemented deeper during my enlisted years within the United States Navy where I waged Peace within the active duty ranks with the support of Peace-Scholar Practitioner David Cortight. My study of Peace was the nexus of sustained grassroots organizing coupled with deep research. A paper I'm pasting documenting my commitment in this realm: <https://www.peacejusticestudies.org/chronicle/a-child-of-the-student-non-violent-coordinating-committee-sncc/>

What brought you in contact with Peace History Society?

Jeff Richard Schutts wrote a review of my book "Anti-War Soldier" within *Peace & Change* (Fall 2009):

<https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1468-0130.2009.00605.x>

What projects are you currently working on?

I have a pending Anti-Discrimination Disability Case before the Department of Veterans Affairs. I published on the background of this case via the Online Magazine of the National Lawyer's Guild Military Law Task Force:

<https://nlgmltf.org/military-law/2024/the-struggle-against-racism-within-the-u-s-military-a-lived-experience/>

Is there an article, book, movie, blog etc that you would recommend to our PHS members?

Paths of Dissent edited by Andrew Bacevich and Danny Sjrnsen. I have a published essay within this volume: <https://us.macmillan.com/books/9781250832498/pathsofdissent>

What do you value most about peace history? Why is peace history important to you?

I value most the potential Peace History has for sparking advocacy and creative risk taking within present and future generations, I bear witness. Through the praxis of grassroots mobilization as an undergraduate student at Howard University (Sept 1996) I bumped into a pillar of Peace History (Lawrence Guyot) that impacted my life, eternal. It happened to me again as an Active Duty Seaman

within the United States Navy coming upon the historical advocacy and scholarship of David Cortright ten years later in early 2006.

Amy Schwartzott

Associate Professor and Curator of University Galleries, North Carolina Agricultural and Technical State University



Alma mater/s: Ph.D. (Art History), University of Florida, 2014; MA (Art History), University at Buffalo, 1998; BA (Behavioral Science), Drew University, 1987

Fields of Interest: African art, contemporary African art, southeastern African art, Mozambican art, post-conflict resolution and peace in art, the power of art

Describe the development of your interest in peace history. What led you to study peace history?

My interest in peace history was spurred on by my continuing research in the Mozambican grassroots project, TAE (Transformacao de Armas em

Enxadas/Transforming Weapons Into Tools). My initial contact and ensuing research and involvement with this potent project has led me to investigate other diverse peace projects which are based upon art as a platform or mechanism for peace.

What brought you in contact with Peace History Society?

I initially learned of the Peace History through a Call For Papers. I was intrigued and previously unaware of its existence. I was and continue to be interested and committed to working with like-minded academics and scholars who focus specifically on peace.

What projects are you currently working on?

I am currently working on a manuscript for a book on the impact of Mozambique's TAE project (artists who use recycled pieces of weaponry from this Nation's protracted history of war) and how their knowledge of, participation in this project has initiated their continued use of recycled materials as both media and a technique in the creation of their artwork.

Is there an article, book, movie, blog etc that you would recommend to our PHS members?

Can Art Stop a Bullet: William Kelly's Big Picture film

What do you value most about peace history? Why is peace history important to you?

Peace history allows us to survive and evolve peacefully toward achieving a world without fear, destruction and war

Yurii Latysh

Visiting Professor, The State University of Londrina (Brazil)



<https://www.facebook.com/j.latysh/>

Alma mater/s: Ph.D. (History), Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv, 2007; MA (History), Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv, 2004; BA (History), Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv, 2003

Fields of Interest: Memory Studies, Historiography, Ukrainian History, Decembrist Movement, Soviet and Post-Soviet History, Alcohol Studies

Describe the development of your interest in peace history. What led you to study peace history?

Unfortunately, there is war in my homeland, Ukraine. Two years ago, Russia attacked my country, occupying and destroying towns and villages, killing civilians and soldiers. Therefore, all people are interested in finding a peaceful end to the war, in saving the Ukrainian people from extermination.

What brought you in contact with Peace History Society?

I attended last year's conference.

What projects are you currently working on?

I am currently working on the project "Chronicle of Historical Politics" in the journal *Historical Expertise*, where Dr Serguey Ehrlich and I are doing a quarterly chronicle and analytical review of the politics of memory during the Russo-Ukrainian War.

Is there an article, book, movie, blog etc that you would recommend to our PHS members?

Latysh Yurii, "“Get away from Moscow!”: Main Trends of Ukraine’s Politics of Memory during the Russo-Ukrainian War,” *Russia’s War in Ukraine: Implications for the Politics of History in Central and Eastern Europe* (Lublin: Institute of Central Europe, 2023).

What do you value most about peace history? Why is peace history important to you?

The Russo-Ukrainian war is not a war for economic interests (like most known wars), not a war between ideologies, nor only for the occupation of new lands. Ongoing wars and conflicts are often over “restoration of historical justice.” These are wars for history, for memory, and for Zigmunt Bauman’s Retrotopia – the ideal past, the Utopia of the past. Among them: Russo-Ukrainian war, Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict, Arab-Israeli wars, Kosovo conflict, potentially Taiwan conflict.

A war for the past, a war for history, cannot end with a peace treaty or a compromise division of territories. Peaceful post-war coexistence between former enemies is impossible or unlikely. Such a war is waged until the final victory of one side and the surrender of the other side. Each of these conflicts has the potential to escalate into a world war and exterminate humanity. Therefore, we must look for ways to peace. The history of the peace can help us.

Carole Sargent

Faculty Director, Office of Scholarly Publications, Georgetown University



<https://gufaculty360.georgetown.edu/s/contact/00336000014RIViAAK/carole-sargent>

Alma mater/s: PhD, University of Virginia, 1994

Fields of Interest: Roman Catholic sisters and nuclear disarmament, Plowshares movement

Describe the development of your interest in peace history. What led you to study peace history?

I pivoted to writing about Catholic sisters and nuclear disarmament while living in an activist peace community in Washington DC. That led me to publish a book about the Plowshares antinuclear movement (*Transform Now Plowshares* by Megan Rice, Gregory Boertje-Obed, and Michael Walli (Liturgical Press 2022)); and two books with lead editor Drew Christiansen SJ and the Holy See (*A World Free from Nuclear Weapons: The Vatican Conference on Disarmament* (2020) and *Forbidden: Receiving Pope Francis's Condemnation of Nuclear Weapons* (2023), both with Georgetown University Press).

What brought you in contact with Peace History Society?

In the fall of 2022, Michael Clinton invited me and Dominican sister Jeanne Clark OP, who worked together on a book about her activism, *All The Way In: A Story of Activism, Incarceration, and Organic Farming* (Orbis Press, with Roberg Ellsberg as editor, 2022), to present for the Peace History Society. He was great, and I realized it made sense to join. Based on that good experience I decided to join, and I attended and gave a Plowshares paper on David Cortright's panel in the fall of 2023.

What projects are you currently working on?

At the invitation of Carol Gilbert OP, I'm writing a biography of Ardeth Platte OP, currently titled *Actions, Not Words: The Life, Activism, Incarceration, and Antinuclear Legacy of Ardeth Platte OP*.

Is there an article, book, movie, blog etc that you would recommend to our PHS members?

Judith Butler's newest book, *Who's Afraid of Gender*. Toxic masculinity is behind a lot of war. Women can be violent, too, and I don't think in binaries, but Butler gives us a lot to consider about gender being a performance.

What do you value most about peace history? Why is peace history important to you?

I think we are taught war, from the competitive and inherently capitalist environment of our earliest schools with their emphasis on awards, rank, and Darwinian schoolyard politics, right through to our careers that are about beating out other candidates for rewards and glory. We have to be taught peace as well. It isn't easy. It goes against the grain.

Call For Submissions

Home Front Studies

Home Front Studies is calling for article submissions. Published by the University of Nebraska Press, this interdisciplinary, peer-reviewed journal explores the concept of the home front, broadly considered, in times of war, civil war, and similar conflicts from the late nineteenth century to the present day. Its interests include the roles of art, discrimination, finance, gender, identity, literature, music, morale, propaganda, race, and/or sexuality as experienced by civilians on home fronts in locations around the world. Its interdisciplinary editorial board is

open to submissions from across the humanities.

All submissions must be original, unpublished, and not under review elsewhere. HFS welcomes manuscripts of up to 9,000 words, inclusive of endnotes. Prepare contributions in accordance with the most recent edition of the Chicago Manual of Style, using humanities-style endnote citations.

HFS uses Editorial Manager to process submissions at this page:

<https://nebraskapressjournals.unl.edu/journal/home-front-studies/>

Please direct any questions about manuscripts in development to the journal's editor, James J. Kimble (james.kimble@shu.edu)

Book Announcements

Conscription, Conscientious Objection, and Draft Resistance in American History, by Jerry Elmer, is a new book published by Brill. It is the first in Brill's new series "Studies in Peace History." The book is available on [Brill's website](#) at a 25% discount by using promotional code 72425 at check-out. The author is an experienced public speaker and is available to speak without honorarium in any college or university class in which all or part of the book is an assigned portion of the class syllabus.



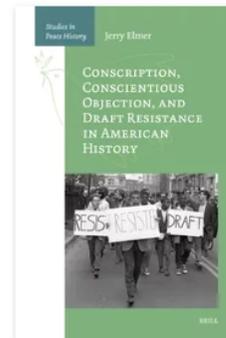
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Conscription, Conscientious Objection, and Draft Resistance in American History

Author: Jerry Elmer

Conscription, Conscientious Objection, and Draft Resistance in American History is the definitive history of conscription in America. It is the first book ever to consider the entire temporal sweep of conscription from pre-Revolutionary War colonial militia drafts through the end of the Vietnam era. Each chapter contains an examination of that era's draft law, the actual workings of the conscription machinery, and relevant court decisions that shaped the draft in practice. In addition, the book describes the popular opposition to conscription: organized and unorganized, violent and nonviolent, public and clandestine, legal and illegal. Using sources never before utilized by historians, including government documents obtained in Freedom of Information Act requests, the book demonstrates how anti-conscription sentiment has been far deeper than is popularly appreciated.



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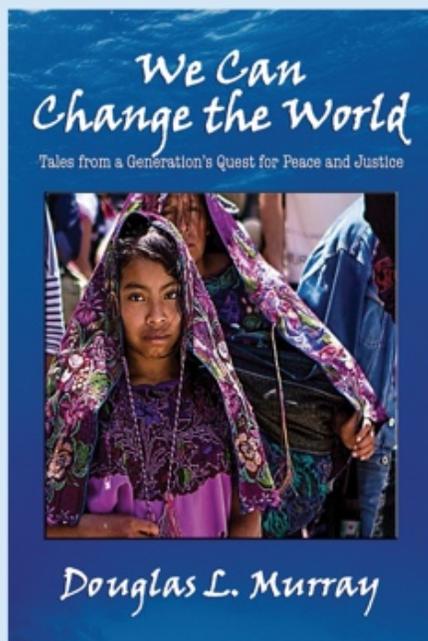
[General Interest](#)

We Can Change the World: Tales from a Generation's Quest for Peace and Justice, by Douglas L. Murray

You are receiving this announcement because you are the subject of, contributed to, or indicated an interest in, this or other projects by the author, or in related topics.

NEW RELEASE

(ISBN 978-1-62880-277-1)



A HEMISPHERIC SOJOURN from Santiago to Ottawa, *We Can Change the World* captures the passions and motivations of largely unknown actors through the civil rights, anti-Vietnam War and Women's Liberation movements, the Cuban and Nicaraguan Revolutions, the Chilean Coup, the Salvadoran civil war, the South Africa anti-apartheid campaign, the struggle for Mayan cultural survival, human rights initiatives, and more. *We Can Change the World* is both homage and cautionary tale, bringing to life everyday people engaged in extraordinary acts, some noble and worthy of celebration, others tragically misguided. It is a unique revisiting of many of the defining moments of our times.

Early Praise for *We Can Change the World*:

"A unique approach to memoir...defined by a search for social justice."

Ron Jacobs, author of *Daydream Sunset: Sixties Counterculture in the Seventies* and *Nowhere Land: Journeys Through a Broken Nation*. From a review in *CounterPunch*, "Life and Life Only"

"It's amazing that the stories of the thousands and thousands of young people (and plenty of old ones, too) whose actions did indeed change the world, have remained untold...until now. Doug Murray has created an essential corrective to history as it is known. The stories are lively, vibrant, and essential to understanding not just the past, but the world we live in today."

David Zeigler, filmmaker/director, *Sir! No Sir!*

"I tried to put off reading *We Can Change the World* in order to get caught up with some deadlines. My mistake was reading the first page. I couldn't stop. What an amazing book it is. It reawakens the tragic and beautiful magic realism that underpinned those years for so many of us."

Margaret Randall, author of *I Never Left Home: Poet, Feminist, Revolutionary*

"Beautifully written by a gifted storyteller. *We Can Change the World* brings to life our generation's triumphs, tragedies, and ongoing passion for social justice. Destined to be one of the summer's best reads."

Craig McNamara, author of *Because Our Fathers Lied: A Memoir of Truth and Family from Vietnam to Today*

"A tribute to our generation, and an encouragement to moral imagination for those that follow."

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Toshihiro Higuchi is Associate Professor of History at Georgetown University.
He is the Secretary of the Peace History Society.

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