

PHS News

January 2020

Newsletter of the Peace History Society
www.peacehistorysociety.org



President's Column



Michael Clinton

The concluding remarks of my President's Column in the previous PHS Newsletter looked forward to the October 2019 PHS conference at Kent State University, co-sponsored with the Peace Studies Section of the International Studies Association and KSU's School of Peace and Conflict Studies, and acknowledged the recipients of the various PHS awards to be presented there. That conference has now slipped into the past (where all things go),

the prizes have been distributed, and the memories of the inspiring ideas, engaging conversations, and rewarding experiences that took place during sessions, over meals, and in moments solitary and shared mingle with thoughts in anticipation of the next PHS conference at Kennesaw State University in 2021. Many thanks to Pat Coy and Landon Hancock, who did the lion's share of organizing the conference at Kent State; they've already sent out the conference report, which confirms—as it felt at the time—that the conference was a success in all respects.

If anything, the conference sometimes felt too successful in the sense that I found myself making hard choices about which panel to attend, on one occasion ducking out of one room after Gail Presbey's presentation on "Commemorations of Gandhi's Salt March in 1930" and slipping into the next to hear Joe Jones speak about 1970 as "a Singular Anguished Year for Vietnam War Resister Migration to Canada" and David Hostetter on "Peace Apostate" Robert Pickus. On the other hand, a panel titled "Past as Prologue: Historical Peace Movements" brought together several PHS comrades—with Robert Shaffer presiding, Pat Coy, Marc Becker, Kevin Callahan, and Scott Bennett giving presentations, and more than a few familiar PHSers in the audience—which made it feel (almost) as if I had a full day's worth of conference in one session. Conversations over meals and drinks slowed the pace and offered opportunities to get to know colleagues a bit more by, for instance, hearing personal memories about the 1970 Kent State shootings while sharing a casual lunch or, in another instance, sorting out some questions about *Peace & Change* and the 2021 conference with Heather Fryer and Robbie

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Lieberman over breakfast. The May 4 Visitors Center on the KSU campus, plus the Listening Wall—a creative, dynamic, interactive exhibit inaugurated at the conference—as well as the Readers Theatre production of the play “May 4 Voice: Kent State, 1970” and other events and performances further enhanced the cultural experience of the conference. The International Studies Association’s journal *Research in Social Movements, Conflict and Change* issued a call for papers to be published in a volume related to the conference theme, “Commemorating Violent Conflicts and Building Sustainable Peace”; my hope is that it will feature several contributions from PHS members who participated in the conference.

As noted above, one of the happy duties that I had as PHS president was to emcee the ceremony presenting the various awards that the PHS offers every other year.

Unfortunately, two of the recipients were unable to attend: Michael Kazin, who was awarded the inaugural Elise Boulding Prize, and Barbara Keys, who was awarded the Charles DeBenedetti Prize. Instead, they sent words of thanks that are included in this issue of the Newsletter, along with the statements from the respective committees that awarded them the prizes. Nan Kim, recipient of the Scott Bills Memorial Prize, and Wendy Chmielewski, recognized with the PHS Lifetime Award, were there to be honored, and they honored us in return with their thoughtful remarks. A PHS Conference Scholarship went to Lina Tuschling, from Kennesaw State University, who served double-duty in her session on “Linguistic Violence and Narratives of Genocide” by chairing as well as co-presenting a paper titled “Opposition from Within—Israeli Soldiers Resist the Occupation.” I was also very pleased to present my predecessor as PHS president, Deborah Buffton, with a

plaque to express our collective gratitude for her service.

Speaking of honoring PHS colleagues for their service, please join me in extending appreciation to Mitch Hall, who will be stepping away from his role as PHS Newsletter editor with this issue. Mitch has filled each issue over the past two years of his editorship with items of interest that connect PHS members with each other, with the PHS past, with current publications, with partners whose engagement as scholars and activists intersect with our own, and more. While it may be impossible to fill Mitch’s shoes, we are very fortunate that Ginger Williams, another longtime PHS member and former PHS president, has agreed to take over that role. It is a rich and vital source of communication for the organization, one that allows the distinctive voice and perspective of its editor to resonate with the PHS membership. Mitch has done an excellent job in sustaining the newsletter as a channel for keeping the PHS community informed, and I want to extend my deep personal gratitude to him for that and for all the service he’s given to the PHS over the years.

Best wishes to everyone for a peaceful new year,

--Mike Clinton

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Peace & Change Update

As another year comes to a close I am moved to reflect upon the many people whose contributions to *Peace & Change* have made the journal a decades-long success. It has a solid team today in

Managing Editor Andrew Wilson, Book Review Editor Michael Clinton, editorial assistants Robyn Bruneau and AnnClaire MacArt, the steadfast Editorial and PHS Boards, our publishing partners at Wiley, and the expanding community of authors, reviewers, and readers that make the journal richer every year.



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2:00 AM · Oct 25, 2019 · Twitter Ads Composer

Metric	Results
Impressions	20,760
Tweet Engagements	298
Retweets	8
Likes	23
URL Clicks	129
Results Rate	0.62%

Peace & Change had an excellent year in 2019, starting with the thirty-eight articles that appeared in print, representing approximately 25 percent of all submitted manuscripts. The disciplinary mix included history, political science, rhetoric, sociology, and disability studies, with the special issue from the 2017 “Remembering Muted Voices” conference, guest edited by David Hostetter, being a true highlight. The great majority of authors came from North

America and Europe, which indicates that I have work to do to encourage submissions from a more broadly international authorship. The journal’s widening readership, however, makes this a promising prospect. Wiley recorded 36,400 *Peace & Change* article downloads between January and October 2019, representing 31.6 percent increase from 2018. While the US, UK, Canada, Central America, Northern Europe and Japan still form the majority of *Peace & Change* readership, there were more than 100 downloads each from Brazil, South Africa, Ireland, Turkey, Belgium, Egypt, Singapore, Azerbaijan, and China—all notable increases from previous years.

There is much to look forward to in 2020 thanks to our contributing authors who are bringing such intriguing topics as chromatology, youth hosteling, transnational antislavery movements, multimedia messaging, African indigenous peacebuilding approaches, and the politics of emotion to our understandings of peace past and present. I hope that many of you will submit your own work to *Peace & Change* at peaceandchange@peacehistorysociety.org and that you’ll encourage your colleagues to do the same. Wiley is making the review and editorial process easier by implementing the user-friendly Scholar One author-editor interface and by making production-ready manuscripts searchable and citable online weeks (and often months) before the release of the print issue through its Early View platform.

Peace & Change articles are also getting powerful signal boosts as part of JSTOR’s thematic collections, as regular features in *Peace Science Digest*, and through Wiley’s new social media campaign that aims links to free curated *Peace & Change* content toward participants at peace studies

conferences and events. The pilot campaign for the PHS conference in October brought 600 Twitter engagements (clicks, likes, retweets) and over 200 visits to the special digital collection, which is a very good result for a first run. Where else should Wiley campaign? Let me know--your suggestions are warmly welcomed.



Heather Fryer, Creighton University

Andy Wilson's great work as editor of [Peace & Change Blog](#) keeps the peace studies conversation lively by publishing short-form pieces throughout the year. We welcome contributions on every aspect of peace history or peace studies, from the field, the archives, the classroom, the galleries and performance spaces, and from the movements themselves. Every contribution, comment, and share makes the discussion more robust and more mainstream within the academy. We encourage you to visit often, add your input, and share the blog widely.

I continue to believe that, together, we can bring peace scholarship into the mainstream of academic practice and support the work of peacemakers and peacebuilders everywhere. I am grateful to all of you for

the part you play in making this aspiration a reality and pledge to do all that I can in the coming year to make *Peace & Change* the best possible representation of the Peace History Society, its mission, and its time-honored values.

--Submitted by Heather Fryer, Editor

Kent State Conference Reports

Prize Winners

Scott Bills Memorial Prize: NAN KIM

Nan Kim's 2016 book, *Memory, Reconciliation, and Reunions in South Korea: Crossing the Divide*, is an innovative and interdisciplinary exploration of South Korea's postwar past and its very personal contemporary implications. She has written a historically contextualized ethnographic study of shifting perceptions of North-South Korean familial relations following the Korean War. Trained as a cultural anthropologist, Kim draws on classical anthropological theorists and her application



Nan Kim and Shelley Rose

of them to modern Korea. Her fieldwork draws on interviews with Korean families and is informed by the key anthropological works of Van Gennep, Victor Turner, Mary Douglas, and Sigmund Freud, among others. In short, Kim's book is an important contribution to our understanding of Korean history and demonstrates the incredible potential of applying interdisciplinary methods in peace history.

Kim's analysis of the everyday impact of separation and reconciliation is an excellent methodological contribution to the field of peace history. She analyzes the "liminality" of family members who were politically detained on either side of the 38th Parallel following the Korean War and then, in 2000, came to symbolize the potential for shifting inter-Korean relations in the historic and intensely personal cross-border family reunions organized for that year. In her words, "the reunions opened a liminal space to recognize the war's staggering human devastation, invoking a sense of bereavement to which both sides could lay claim." (17) This potential proved to be very short-lived, Kim argues, owing to external political dynamics impinging on the two nations after 9/11. Kim's book is a significant contribution to the English-language historiography on Korea, and showcases the connections between the local consequences of geopolitics and the global legacies of the Cold War and 9/11.

PHS Lifetime Award:

WENDY CHMIELEWSKI, George Cooley Curator of the Swarthmore College Peace Collection

The Peace History Society is proud to award its 2019 Lifetime Achievement Award for outstanding service to PHS and peace

history to Dr. Wendy Chmielewski, the George Cooley Curator at the Swarthmore College Peace Collection. Wendy joins the ranks of previous award winners such as Harriet Hyman Alonso, Sandi Cooper, Charles Chatfield, Lawrence Wittner, Blanche Wiesen Cook and Geoff Smith. Dr. Chmielewski's service to the Peace History Society and the field of peace history is extensive

She has served the Peace History Society as President, Vice President, a member of the PHS Board, and on a number of award committees. She has also served on the Board of Editors for H-Peace and our journal *Peace & Change*.



Deborah Buffton, Wendy Chmielewski, Sara Koopman

Her scholarship is extensive. Her published works—too numerous to cite here—relate to women's peace activism, political activity, and diplomacy from the 19th through the 21st centuries. She has presented her work at conferences in the United States, the UK, and Turkey. Her current projects include work on transatlantic peace efforts between British and American women in the mid-19th century, a monograph with Jill Norgren on women who campaigned for political office before they could vote, and finally, a digital database of the biographical records of nearly 4,000 US women who ran for

public office before 1920. This last one, in particular, will be a crucial contribution to future generations of peace researchers.

Which brings me to her immeasurable contribution to peace research as Curator of the Swarthmore Peace Collection. Over the course of her career, Dr. Chmielewski has expanded and preserved the archive's manuscript collections, won grants to digitize audio-visual recordings on women's peace activism, the anti-nuclear movement, and the movement against the Vietnam War, and developed websites, databases, and an award-winning research guide. Many of us have spent lengthy amounts of time in the library's basement going through boxes of papers and photos, making copies by the boatload, and meeting fellow researchers. Indeed, it is hard to imagine how the field of Peace History would even exist without the work she has done to make material on the history of the peace movement accessible to scholars and students, and provide a welcoming place to conduct research and make connections with others in the field.

Charles DeBenedetti Prize:
BARBARA KEYS

DeBenedetti Prize Committee Statement:

The Charles DeBenedetti Prize is presented biannually to the best English-language journal article, book chapter, or introduction written on the subject of peace history. This year, the Peace History Society awards the 2017-2018 Prize to Barbara Keys for her article "The Telephone and Its Uses in 1980s U.S. Activism," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 48, no. 4 (Spring 2018): 485-509. Keys's study of the telephone's importance in fostering relationships and bolstering community within the 1980s Central America Movement, organized against U.S.

intervention in Latin American civil wars, is a truly unique piece of scholarship, one that pushes peace history into new territory, broadening the field beyond the coverage of flagship events and actions to explore the quotidian of day-to-day organizing as it existed on the ground. In doing so, Keys employs an innovative methodology that not only ties together social history and the history of technology, but just as significantly documents the history of emotion as mediated through a particular mode of technology. More than just an organizing tool to get out the vote or coordinate protests, activists used the aural and haptic potentials of the telephone to build feelings of intimacy and trust across the movement. Ably complimenting her archival research with oral histories and findings from psychology, sociology, and biology, Keys showcases a new approach to the writing of peace history that future scholars will build on and take in new and exciting directions.



Barbara Keys, University of Melbourne

In addition to presenting Keys with the Charles DeBenedetti Prize, the Peace History Society would like to extend an

honorable mention to Marian Mollin for her article “The Solidarity of Suffering: Gender, Cross-Cultural Contact, and the Foreign Mission Work of Sister Ita Ford,” *Peace & Change* 42, no. 2 (April 2017): 232-252.

Barbara Keys Statement:

I thank the prize committee and the Society for this honor from an organization whose scholarly mission is today more relevant than ever. In his own work, Charles DeBenedetti wrote in passing of the importance of the phone in mobilizing people. For much of the second half of the 20th century, talking on the phone was, to activists, like breathing--it was something you did without thinking about very much because it was essential. As my article suggests, we can benefit today from re-learning why it’s so important to *talk* to each other.

Elise Boulding Prize: MICHAEL KAZIN

Elise Boulding Prize Statement:

The Elise Boulding Prize recognizes an outstanding English-language nonfiction book by a single author that has a substantial bearing on the field of peace history. The prize committee has decided to present the inaugural Elise Boulding Prize to Michael Kazin, for his book *War Against War: The American Fight for Peace, 1914-1918*. In this book, Kazin provides an excellent synthesis of the American peace movement during World War I. The book is especially strong in combining the voices of citizen antiwar activists with those of elected government officials trying to keep the United States out of the global conflict. Focusing on Morris Hillquit, Robert La Follette, Claude Kitchin, and Crystal Eastman, along with a fascinating cast of other rebels against war, he sketches a vivid

account of the broad antiwar coalition. Kazin’s work demonstrates that radicals, progressives, internationalists, as well as some conservatives believed war was barbaric, uncivilized, economically unsound, and just plain wrong for America. As Kazin points out, few Americans understand the impact of ‘The Great War’ on the subsequent history of the United States. With a strong narrative, sparkling prose, and mature judgements, *War Against War* will appeal to a broad popular audience, as well as to scholars.



Michael Kazin, Georgetown University

Michael Kazin Statement:

Thank you for this award. It is a great honor to have my name connected in any way with that of Elise Boulding, who devoted her life to writing and teaching about peace and organizing to bring it about. I regret that, due to a prior commitment to speak at a conference in Italy, I cannot be with you at Kent State—a place that certainly deserves a prominent mention in any history of peace activism.

I wrote *War Against War* to answer what I thought were two good and important questions: How did the opponents of what was the greatest war in history try to persuade Americans to keep their nation from entering it? And, despite building a mass movement of remarkably diverse parts, why did they fail?

My search for answers happily compelled me to study the rich body of literature by and about antiwar activists and their adversaries. It also led me to think about how difficult it was to organize a durable peace movement in the face of obstacles that included ideological rivalries, competition from other urgent issues, political opposition, and state repression.

Yet, the movement and its allies in Congress came tantalizingly close to succeeding. If the Germans had not resumed unlimited submarine attacks on neutral shipping in the North Atlantic, the peace forces would have had a decent chance of winning. To stroll even farther down the perilous path of counterfactual speculation: no doughboys on the battlefields of France would have increased the chances of a negotiated settlement of the war, albeit after yet more slaughter on both sides. And absent a German defeat and the punitive peace settlement that followed, the rise of Hitler and his party would have been far less likely. So, the Americans who waged what William James called a war against war may have been fighting to alter nothing less than the fate of the world in the twentieth century.

This is the first book I've written about the struggle for a peaceful world. But I have been involved, albeit intermittently, in that struggle since I attended a rally against nuclear testing with my mother in Madison Square Garden in the spring of 1960. So, I lift a glass of good Chianti to toast the essential work of my fellow historians and activists. As Brecht wrote: change the world, it needs it.

Plaque of Appreciation to previous PHS President: DEBORAH BUFFTON



Deborah Buffton and Michael Clinton

***PHS Conference Travel Grant:
LINA TUSCHLING, Kennesaw State
University***



Michael Clinton and Lina Tuschling

Comments

The PHS bi-annual conference took place at Kent State University from October 24-26, 2019 in conjunction with the Peace Studies Section of the International Studies Association and the Kent State School of Peace and Conflict Studies. Various groups of PHS members gathered informally for meals, conversations, meetings, and session presentations. Below are a few brief remarks from some of the sessions I attended.



Esplanade linking conference sites and campus

About 25 people plus the four panelists attended the session on “Revisiting Vietnam Peace Movements and U.S. Foreign Policy.” Richard Rubenstein noted both parallels and differences between the 1960s social movements and the current opposition to actions promoted by President Donald Trump and his supporters. Jeffrey Bachman made a case for identifying the Vietnam War as a genocidal war of aggression. Joseph Jones spoke of the estimated 17,000 US draft-age men who emigrated to Canada, their impact on Canadian society, and the interactions between the two nations. David Hostetter focused on Robert Pickus as an antiwar activist who maneuvered against a prevailing radical majority at the 1965 Berkeley teach-in.

A roundtable on “Vietnam War Opposition in History and Memory: Expanding our View” included Robbie Lieberman, Ian Fletcher, Karin Aguilar-San Juan, David Zeiger, Charles E. Jones, and Jerry Lembcke. Lieberman argued for connecting issues of poverty, racism, and militarism to broaden popular views of the

antiwar movement. Filmmaker Zeiger addressed the revisionist interpretation of Ken Burns’ recent series on the Vietnam War, and how this further reinforces misrepresentations of the antiwar movement and its interactions with the military.

The panel on “Past as prologue: Historical Peace Movements” drew an audience of around 20. Patrick Coy discussed the Logan Act and highlighted the role of the Fellowship of Reconciliation in seeking release of US hostages during the Persian Gulf War. Marc Becker spoke about Latin American Peace Committees and grassroots movements, and the influence of such factors as the mainstream media and the Communist Party. Robert Shaffer examined how *The Nation* and *Christian Century* applied Just War Theory to the conflict in Korea, noting their rejection of the war’s legitimacy at least by the time of allied moves north of the 38th Parallel. Kevin Callahan raised the provocative question of whether political assassination is ever justified in the cause of peace, using the 1916 example of Austrian Socialist Friedrich Adler. Scott Bennett identified Igal Rodenko’s aborted meeting with Mohandas Gandhi (due to Gandhi’s death) for his connection with the international pacifist movement and his work in the social justice movement.



Robert Shaffer presenting during session

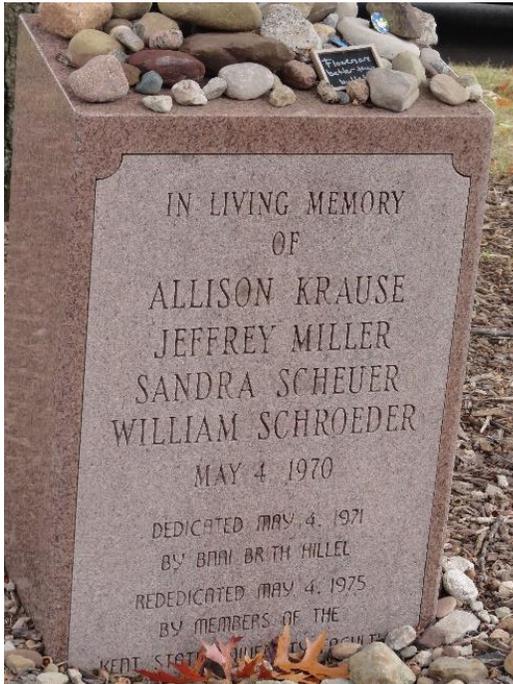
In addition to the sessions, a dozen members gathered adjacent to the May 4 Visitors Center on the evening of October 25 for the PHS board meeting. The Visitors Center itself was a popular destination throughout the conference.



Michael Clinton and Gail Presbey preside over the PHS business meeting.



May 4 Visitors Center at Kent State University



Memorial to the four students killed at Kent State, May 4, 1970



One of four memorials marking the deaths of students at Kent State, May 4, 1970. The pagoda sculpture in the distant background marks the location of National Guard troops who fired the shots.

--Comments submitted by Mitch Hall



Vietnam Moratorium: Fifty Year Commemoration

Ball State University Vietnam Moratorium Committee 50th Anniversary Reunion and Commemorative Conference

“Reunite, Remember, Rekindle”



On October 10-11, 2019 Ball State University in Muncie, Indiana hosted a spirited cross-generational reunion and conference to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the student-led Vietnam Moratorium Committee (VMC) and to reflect on peace activism in our current day. The VMC demonstrations, which began in October 1969, and the 2019 reunion were both spearheaded by Dr. Mary Munchel Posner. An English major and graduate of the Ball State University Honors College, she continues a forty-year career as a clinical psychologist in Tell City, Indiana. Dr. Posner planned the fall event with the assistance of Dr. William Michael Doyle, Professor emeritus of History, and Gerry Waite, Research Fellow at the BSU Center for Peace and Conflict Studies, and a Vietnam veteran who has been active in Veterans for Peace for more than three decades.

The October 2019 gathering was significant for several reasons: it was the sole 50th commemoration by a local VMC group—an extension of the nationwide committee which drew some two million protesters against the war in 1969; it featured an inspirational keynote address by the draft resistance leader David Harris, who subsequently authored numerous books, including *Our War: What We Did in Vietnam and What It Did to Us*; and it brought together in probing conversation student and faculty activists from 1969, current students and faculty, veterans of the Vietnam, Iraq, and Afghanistan wars, and Muncie community members. It is impossible fully to capture the spirit and substance of the unfolding events, which can be watched in their entirety at <https://sites.bsu.edu/vmc50/livestream/>.

In her opening address, “We Gave Peace a Chance—So Can You,” Posner recalled organizing the VMC group at Ball State after returning from a student leadership conference in Texas and finding no other student who was willing to take the initiative. In doing so, she evolved from being a self-described goody-two-shoes into a passionate leader of monthly nonviolent antiwar demonstrations on campus and in the Muncie community. The VMC faced intense criticism from Ball State’s student newspaper and had little support from campus leaders. It continued its protest, however, with the support of the Newman Center, including a trip to Indianapolis to demonstrate against Richard Nixon’s visit. The group’s activities garnered the attention of NBC, which aired a report on the VMC in February 1970. (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6BwiWN89HT8&feature=youtu.be>) Posner recalled the powerful shock of the shootings at Kent State on May 4, 1970. Finally, people were awakened to the VMC’s cause.

As she recalled, some two thousand people staged a sit-in against the shootings and Ball State University President John Pruis agreed to fly the flag at half-mast.

In these same months, a navy journalist stationed in DaNang wrote a passionate critique of the war that he sent to be published in an underground newspaper at Ball State. Posner, who served as the newspaper's editor, later met the letter's author, Lou Posner, and the two subsequently married. A self-described activist and revolutionary to this day, Posner urged students at the conference to commit themselves to a cause for social justice about which they are passionate.



Mary Munchel Posner and David Harris at Ball State University, October 11, 2019.

David Harris, former Stanford University student president and founder of the anti-draft organization, The Resistance, delivered a powerful keynote address about the necessity of remembering the war and our duty to accept it as our own, so that we can process its place in our history. If we don't, he said, it will own us. Framing his talk as an "instant memory package," he outlined the grounds on which the war was immoral, beyond its evident political failure. He further discussed citizens' shared accountability for the war—a conviction which led to his own civil disobedience against the draft in the 1960s, for which he

spent nearly two years in prison. Finally, he underscored that the war ended because of citizens' protests against it. We deserve a note of thanks, he said, but we won't get it. So I'll say it: "Thank you."

Harris closed by reminding the audience that democracies work because citizens take issues personally. Most important, he stressed that we are what we *do*—not what we think or write—and that it is important to keep movements open and not draw lines in the sand. These and many other points were taken up in a series of enlightening panel discussions, on activism for peace and social justice from the Vietnam era until today, and on the experiences of Ball State war veterans.

In closing, Phil Orth, a BSU/VMC alumnus who performed at every campus rally fifty years ago, brought out his guitar to lead participants in song. The conference was staged against a wall of 1000 origami cranes, folded by a veteran of the war in Afghanistan. They symbolized a wish for world peace expressed by a young Japanese girl in the wake of the bombing of Hiroshima. Participants received strands of the cranes to take with them as a memento of the day.



Panel with David Harris, convened by Gerry Waite.

As a panel convener and audience member, I was moved and inspired to hear the diverse personal testimonies of individuals with ties to Ball State and Muncie spanning fifty years, as we joined together to reflect on and rekindle a commitment to waging peace. Following Ball State's event, Mary Munchel Posner was invited to speak at George Washington University on the 50th commemoration of the National Mobilization for Peace

(<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dDQEdojpHLk&t=>) and at a rally at the White House

(<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8SM--UNTkmk>).

--Submitted by Elizabeth Agnew, Associate Professor of Religious Studies, Ball State University.

Archival Report: Wisconsin Historical Society

The GI Press, 1964-1977

The Wisconsin Historical Society recently completed a massive digitization project, containing over 88,000 page images with searchable text taken from more than 2,400 periodicals and other items such as pamphlets and posters created by or for U.S. military personnel during the Vietnam War era. Many were produced underground by U.S. soldiers or veterans who opposed the war, using mimeograph machines or other inexpensive technology. These materials document the Vietnam War through the words of young people caught up in it. It is intended to complement official records published by the U.S. government and the civilian underground press of the time, both of which are readily available elsewhere.

THE GI PRESS COLLECTION



Origin of the Collection

In 1994, Dr. James Lewes began collecting primary sources for his University of Iowa PhD dissertation on opposition to the war by Vietnam-era soldiers, published in 2003 by Praeger as *Protest and Survive*. After completing the book, Dr. Lewes continued to search in American and European archives for more antiwar writings by soldiers. "I believe the producers of the GI Press and the movements they supported and that supported them," he recently wrote, "have been effaced from the historical record. This has resulted in a deliberate misrepresentation of the Vietnam era." Over the last decade, he travelled two continents with a portable scanner, digitizing tens of thousands of pages held by more than a dozen repositories as well as files owned by individual veterans and former editors.

In 2014, the Wisconsin Historical Society agreed to host the scans online. Several peer institutions that had contributed their holdings to Dr. Lewes agreed to permit them to be integrated into the Wisconsin project. More than 90 percent of the pages shown here came from the International Institute for Social History in Amsterdam (which contributed nearly 60 percent of the titles), the Wisconsin Historical Society, the Walter P. Reuther Library at Wayne State University, or private collections maintained by former editors of the publications. They form an unparalleled source for studying the

Vietnam War from a new angle. “The digitization and online publication of these documents,” writes Dr. Lewes, “will create a virtual archive allowing, first and most importantly, former GI activists to recover the materials they published during the war; and second, allow scholars to access these source materials and reconstruct and reevaluate the legacy of these former GIs and their civilian supporters”

Dr. Lewes emphasized that, “We should all first thank those young soldiers who risked decades-long jail sentences by publishing these papers during the 1960s and 1970s. Many were advised and chose to remain anonymous, so their names are forever lost to history. It is these young men (mostly) and women who have inspired my work over the years and to whom the collection is dedicated.”

Special thanks are extended to Veterans for Peace Chapter 13 in Philadelphia for taking the project under their wing and offering a way to get non-profit status. In addition, Huub Sanders of the International Institute of Social History in Amsterdam allowed the project to grow in ways unimagined by giving unlimited access to the Institute’s important research collections.

The free digital resource may be accessed via the Wisconsin Historical Society’s extensive digital collections page, at <https://bit.ly/37PEplk/>. The GI Press electronic archives may be searched by title, place of publication, or by date. Given the sheer size of the collection, researchers are encouraged to use very specific keyword terms (examples: Peace Talks, My Lai, Berkeley, Melvin Laird) in order to limit one’s search results to a manageable size.

--Submitted by Matthew Blessing, State Archivist and Administrator, Library-Archives Division, Wisconsin Historical Society

U.S. Foreign Policy History & Resource Guide Website Report

“Cold War Interventionism, 1945-1990”

The most recent essay on the U.S. Foreign Policy History & Resource Guide website, “Cold War Interventionism, 1945-1990,” [Link: <http://peacehistory-usfp.org/cold-war/>] challenges the dominant view of the Cold War as being necessary, effective, and, for the United States, victorious.

This 50,000-word essay – 108 printed pages on PDF download, sans endnotes and images – begins with a discussion of the philosophies of socialism and communism, and three different manifestations. It moves on to examine the rhetorical uses of anti-communism, the geopolitical origins of the Cold War, and the nature of U.S. interventionism. According to one scholarly study by Lindsey O’Rourke, *Covert Regime Change: America’s Secret Cold War* (2018), more than two-thirds of 64 U.S. covert operations during the Cold War were aimed at undermining democracy rather than supporting it. These interventions include five attempted assassination plots, 13 U.S.-backed military coups and insurrections, 16 election manipulations, and 14 sabotage and destabilization operations in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. The essay critiques eleven U.S. interventions in different parts of the world, apart from the Korean and Vietnam wars. The last section offers a brief summary of findings.

There is, of course, no shortage of scholarly studies of the Cold War. The website essay draws from many scholarly studies, synthesizes main themes, and is written in accessible language for students and the public. Please use it in your classrooms.

Interestingly, some of the most noted historians on the Cold War, including George C. Herring, Melvyn Leffler, Fredrik Logevall, and Arnold A. Offner, challenge the dominant narrative that the U.S. had no choice but to “contain” the Soviet Union. There were indeed choices available at the time. The website essay lays out six of them in Section III, ranging from the most peaceful - Henry A. Wallace’s Global New Deal and Eleanor Roosevelt’s call for empowering the United Nations – to the most warlike – U.S. covert rollback operations (which did happen) and a nuclear attack (which did not happen).

The website essay is especially useful for analyzing Cold War rhetoric, comparing official claims with on-the-ground reality. Here is one sample dealing with the Truman Doctrine:

Truman firmly fixed the Cold War mission into the American consciousness. In seeking Congressional approval of a \$400 million aid package to the governments of Greece and Turkey, Truman set out to “scare the hell out of the American people,” as advised by Senator Arthur Vandenberg of Michigan. He did so by artfully connecting the civil war in Greece to Soviet control in Eastern Europe and to a mythical struggle between freedom and totalitarianism, supposedly represented by the United States and the Soviet Union, respectively. This specious framing made it appear that Greece was the immediate target of a grand Soviet-communist plot to take over the world.

Truman’s description of the situation in Greece omitted a crucial fact: the Soviet Union was not aiding the Greek communists. Stalin stuck to the agreement that he and Churchill made in October 1944, staying out of Greece. “Containment”

of the Soviet Union, in other words, had already been achieved with respect to Greece through a quiet big power agreement. Truman’s ideological paradigm furthermore distorted the facts on the ground. He labeled the Greek government “democratic,” despite the fact that it ruled with an iron fist, and he described the communist-led rebels as being engaged in “terrorist activities,” though repression had pushed them into a state of rebellion. The foreign nation intruding on Greece was not the Soviet Union, but Great Britain, which had sent tanks in December 1944 to crush the Greek left, followed by support for the formation of a prototype fascist government. The United Nations could offer no assistance to the U.S. because the U.S. was acting against the spirit, if not the letter, of the UN in abetting war rather than seeking a mediated solution.

Truman dealt with Eastern Europe rather briefly in his speech, saying that the “peoples of a number of countries of the world have recently had totalitarian regimes forced upon them against their will,” noting Poland, Romania, and Bulgaria. While it was true that the Soviet Union imposed pro-Soviet governments on these nations, this was technically a right of occupation and the U.S. acted similarly in Japan and South Korea. Truman also failed to note that America’s allies, Britain and France, imposed their wills on a far greater number of people in their African and Asian colonies. Indeed, at that very time, the French were engaged in a colonial war to restore their imperial control in Vietnam.

Truman used the word “communist” only once in his speech but used the word “totalitarian” four times, presumably to connect the alleged “communist threat” to the well-grounded Nazi threat of World War II. According to George Herring, “In

portraying the war in Greece as a struggle between Communism and freedom, U.S. officials misinterpreted or misrepresented the conflict, ignoring the essentially domestic roots of the insurgency, blurring the authoritarian nature of the Greek government, and greatly exaggerating the Soviet role.”

The president’s call to action followed: “I believe that it must be the policy of the United States to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures. . . . If we falter in our leadership, we may endanger the peace of the world—and we shall surely endanger the welfare of our own nation.”

By this invocation, Truman extended U.S. “national security” to the world. Henceforth, the loss of U.S. influence anywhere would presumably constitute a threat to U.S. national security. Political commentator Walter Lippmann called it a “strategic monstrosity,” which it was if examined from the vantage point of legitimate national security requirements; but it was rather a clever design if global hegemony was the goal. U.S. interventionism in any part of the world could now be justified in the name of protecting “free peoples,” later described as the “free world.”

Having taught 35 “U.S. in the World” history classes at the community college level over the years, I have come to the view that the most effective way of countering war and militarism is to cultivate critical thinking and evaluation, enabling students to pierce through the fog of war rhetoric that inhibits peacemaking. The same tools allow them to recognize and challenge whitewashed history.

The U.S. Foreign Policy History & Resource Guide website is an open resource, educational, and noncommercial entity sponsored by the Peace History Society and the Historians for Peace and Democracy. I am the sole author of the Cold War essay. Other historians have written or co-authored other essays. There are currently nine essays on the website, from the War of 1812 to the Central America wars of the 1980s. Seven more are planned, the next being the post-Cold War era. I am currently looking for assistance in researching and writing a cogent essay on “U.S. territorial expansion and Native American resistance.”

--submitted by Roger Peace, website coordinator

U.S. Foreign Policy History & Resource Guide [link: <http://peacehistory-usfp.org/>]
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Book and Conference Reports

The 150th anniversary of the first publication of Henry Dunant’s *A Memory of Solferino* (1862) was commemorated and celebrated in Geneva in 2012 at a conference where speakers from various countries discussed the reception of the founding work of the Red Cross in their respective societies (Cf. http://www.shd.ch/docs/SHD_Depliant%20SdS.pdf). The proceedings of the conference have recently been published in a volume edited by Roger Durand, the long-time president of the Société Henry Dunant in Geneva, under the title *Le Souvenir de Solferino – Aube de l’Ere Humanitaire* (A Memory of Solferino – Dawn of the Age of Humanitarianism; Geneva: Société Henry Dunant & Editions Georg). Peter van den Dungen contributed a chapter entitled “A

Startling Book’: Charles Dickens and *A Souvenir of Solferino*, 1863. On the early reception of Henry Dunant’s masterpiece in Britain.” Apart from one other contribution in English (on the reception of Dunant’s book in the Netherlands), all other chapters are in French. They deal with the reception of the book in Belgium, France, Germany, and Italy, among other topics.

This year has seen a remarkable upsurge of interest in another 19th century ‘classic’ from the historical literature on peace, viz. Bertha von Suttner’s anti-war novel, *Die Waffen nieder!* (1889). An international bestseller at the time, it can be regarded as the book behind the creation of the Nobel Peace Prize because of the author’s friendship with Alfred Nobel. She was the first woman to receive the prize in 1905. The standard English translation, *Lay Down Your Arms*, was first published in 1892 and reprinted in the Garland Library of War and Peace (New York, 1972). Earlier this year, a reprint was published under the auspices of the Modern Humanities Research Association in Cambridge, UK, edited by Barbara Burns, Reader in German at the University of Glasgow (Cf. www.mhra.org.uk/publications/et-5). She was the main speaker at an international Bertha von Suttner symposium that was organised by the Bertha von Suttner Peace Institute in The Hague on September 21. That day – international peace day – also saw the launch, in the Library of the Peace Palace in the same city, of a new translation of the Dutch edition, *De Wapens Neer!* Published by the Library of the Peace Palace and publishing house Orlando, the volume contains a preface and other editorial material by Jeroen Vervliet, director of the Library. Pictures of the book presentation can be seen in the photo gallery at the end of the report (in Dutch only) at

<https://www.vredespaleis.nl/bezoek/evenementen/boekpresentatie-de-wapens-neer/>

A few weeks later, on October 7-8, another Bertha von Suttner conference was held in Prague – the city where she was born – organised by the PragueVision Institute for Sustainable Security in cooperation with the Friedrich Ebert Foundation, Parliamentarians for Nuclear Non-Proliferation and Disarmament, and the World Future Council. The City of Prague, and the Czech Ministry of Foreign Affairs, also supported the event by providing the venues. The event was organised to celebrate the publication of a new translation of the Czech edition of von Suttner’s novel, *Složte zbraně!* published by Prosveta. The translation was undertaken by a team of some twenty students and their professors from the translation department of the Charles University in Prague. Peter was invited to speak about the legacy of Bertha von Suttner. Full details of the conference – subtitled “130 years of ideas that don’t get old” – are at <http://bertha.praguevision.org> At the end of the conference participants could walk *The Prague Trail for Peace and Non-Violent Resistance* guided by its author, Ondrej Skovajsa. Initiated by Czech Quakers, the 72-page illustrated booklet can be ordered from www.kvakeri.cz

--submitted by Peter van den Dungen, Bertha von Suttner Peace Institute, The Hague

Travel Report

For those of us interested in the history of peace activism, several sites from my 2019 vacation in Scandinavia are attractive destinations. Below are a couple of photos that I hope will encourage others to visit.

--Submitted by Mitch Hall



Nobel Prize Museum, founded in 2001, is located in Gamla Stan, the old town center of Stockholm, Sweden. The building formerly housed the Stock Exchange.

Here is a link to the Museum's webpage:
<https://nobelprizemuseum.se/en/>



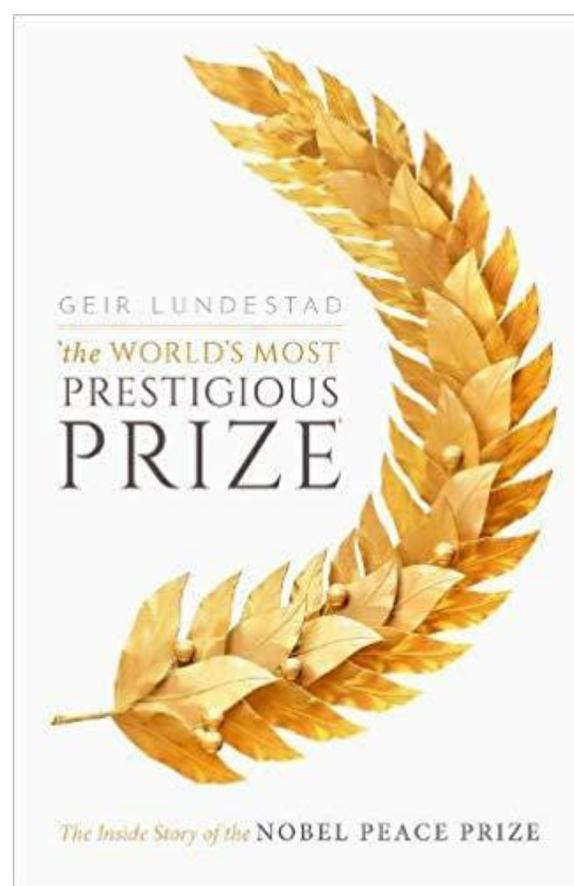
The Nobel Peace Center, opened in 2005, is currently undergoing some renovations in Oslo, Norway.

Here is a link to the Center's website:
<https://www.nobelpeacecenter.org/en/>

Recently Published Books

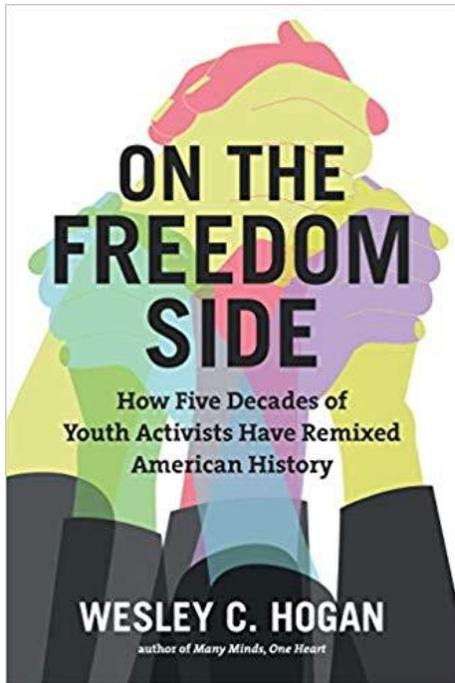
The World's Most Prestigious Prize: The Inside Story of the Nobel Peace Prize is a fascinating, insider account of the Nobel Peace Prize. Drawing on unprecedented access to the Norwegian Nobel Institute's vast archive, it offers a gripping account of the founding of the prize, as well as its highs

and lows, triumphs and disasters, over the last one-hundred-and-twenty years. But more than that, the book also draws on the author's unique insight during his twenty-five years as Director of the Norwegian Nobel Institute and Secretary of the Norwegian Nobel Committee. It reveals the real story of all the laureates of that period - some of them among the most controversial in the history of the prize (Gorbachev, Arafat, Peres and Rabin, Mandela and De Klerk, Obama, and Liu Xiaobo) - and exactly why they came to receive the prize.

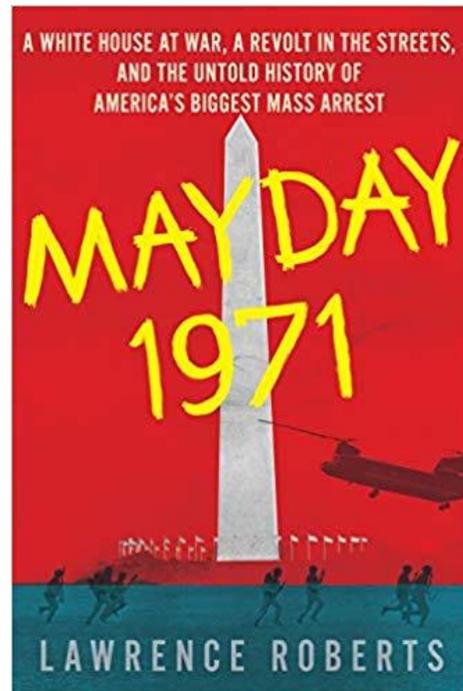


Geir Lundestad. *The World's Most Prestigious Prize: The Inside Story of the Nobel Peace Prize*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2019.

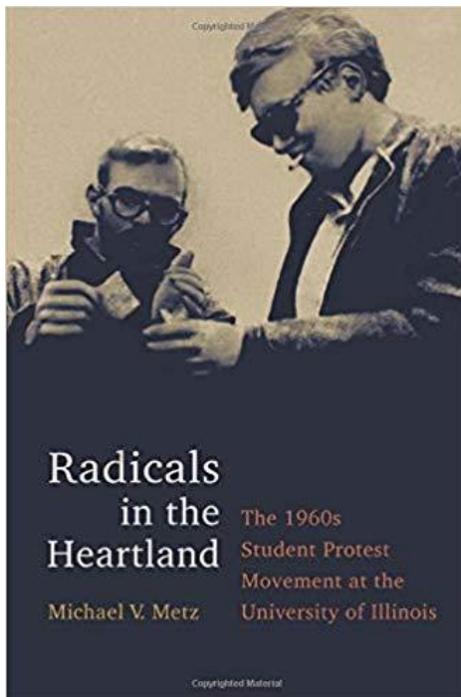
Despite all that has been written about the Nobel Peace Prize, this is the first-ever account written by a prominent insider in the Nobel system.



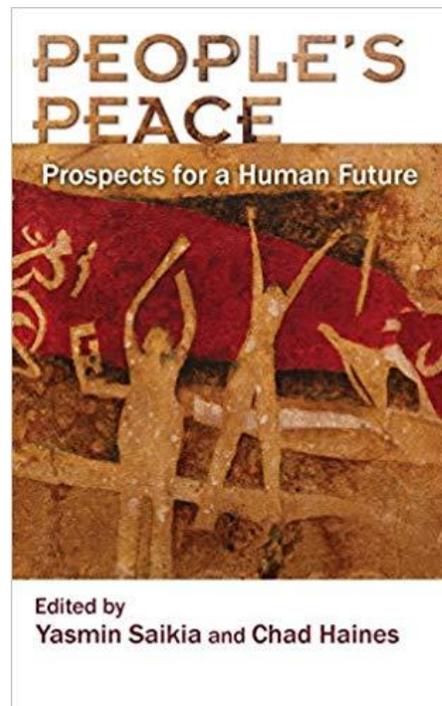
Wesley C. Hogan. *On the Freedom Side: How Five Decades of Youth Activists Have Remixed American History*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2019.



Lawrence Roberts. *Mayday 1971: A White House at War, a Revolt in the Streets, and the Untold History of America's Biggest Mass Arrest*. New York: Houghton Mifflin, 2020.



Michael V. Metz. *Radicals in the Heartland: The 1960s Student Protest Movement at the University of Illinois*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2019.



Yasmin Saikia and Chad Haines, eds. *People's Peace: Prospects for a Human Future*. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2019.

Newsletter Editor



Ginger Williams has accepted the position of PHS Newsletter Editor, beginning with the next issue. She is Professor of History and Director of the Peace, Justice, and Conflict Resolution Studies Program at Winthrop University, Rock Hill, South Carolina. She is also a former President of the Peace History Society.

Please send announcements about individual achievements (such as awards or publications), upcoming related events, or ideas for possible inclusion in the PHS Newsletter to:

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