

PHS News

May 2022

Newsletter of the Peace History Society
www.peacehistorysociety.org



TABLE OF CONTENTS

President's Column

1

--*David Hostetter*

PHS Officers and Board Members

3

“Eyes on the Stars—Feet on the Ground:”
A Tribute in Memoriam to the Contributions
of Professor Howard Jones, 1941-2022

4

--*Donald A. Rakestraw*

Who Speaks for the World?

11

--*Larry Wittner*

New Essays on U.S. Foreign Policy History
and Resource Guide Website

14

--*Roger Peace*

Forthcoming Series: Studies in Peace
History

16

--*Michael Clinton*

Forthcoming Book:

Breaking the War Habit: The Debate over
Militarism in American Education

17

--*Charles Howlett*

Geoffrey Smith Obituary

20

Peace History Society at the AHA, January

2023

23

Call for Papers: Movement(s) in a Dynamic
World: Interdisciplinary Perspectives

February 24-25, 2023

24

President's Column



David Hostetter

Divisive Concepts in an Epoch of Incredulity

Novelist Margaret Atwood asserts that “War is what happens when language fails.” Daily dispatches of the horrors happening in Ukraine remind us how great that failure has become,

while reports from Afghanistan, Yemen, Eritrea, Syria, and other warzones underscore the need for compassionate solidarity with those caught in lethal conflicts. Hopes for sustainable peace have been fractured, while even discussion of reform and resistance in history has been dubbed “divisive.”

Like the admonition we give to tussling toddlers, peace historians will need to use our words to help thaw the current winter of despair. PHS has long fostered education regarding alternatives to war and methods for building peace through teaching, publishing, and organizing conferences. Continuing our work in the face of current anguish is one small piece of building the groundwork for a peaceful world.

The constraints imposed by covid prompted PHS to conduct the 2021 conference virtually. Many thanks to our hosts at Kennesaw State University for organizing *Struggling for Justice, Struggling for Peace: Peace History Engages with Visions and Movements Around Racial, Climate, Gender, and Social Justice*. Conducting the conference online enabled presenters and attendees from around the world to participate. Incorporating the benefits of a virtual gathering with in person meetings will be a challenge for future conference planners.

Awards presented during the conference included the Elise M. Boulding Prize, the Charles DeBenedetti Prize and two Lifetime

Achievement awards. The Boulding Prize, which honors a nonfiction book by a single author in the field of Peace History, went to Mona L. Siegel for her book *Peace on our Terms: The Global Battle for Women's Rights after the First World War*. The DeBenedetti Prize, which is given for a journal article, book chapter, or book introduction on peace history, went to Kimberly Jensen for her article *A “Disloyal” and “Immoral” Woman “In Such a Responsible Place”: M. Louise Hunt's Refusal to Purchase a Liberty Bond, Civil Liberties, and Female Citizenship in the First World War*, which was published in *Peace and Change*. Charles Howlett and Peter van den Dungen received Lifetime Awards in recognition of their service to PHS.

On March 8, in celebration of International Women’s Day, award winners Kimberly Jensen and Mona Siegel, with facilitation by Carl Bouchard, discussed their work regarding women’s peace activism during World War I via Zoom. This event marked the first time PHS conducted a virtual panel in addition to the annual conference.

A committee is working to find a new editor for *Peace and Change*. Gail Presbey, Kathleen Kennedy, and Matt Meyer from the International Peace Research Association are reviewing applications with hopes of having a new team in place later this year. Many thanks to Ian Fletcher, Robert Shaffer and Tim Smith those who have worked with Heather Fryer during the transition.

During these challenging times it is good to know that a committed network of scholars striving to teach about peace movements and peace making. Former Secretary-General of the United Nations Kofi Annan reminds us of the role of education in the work for peace:

“Education is, quite simply, peace-building by another name.

It is the most effective form of defense spending there is.”

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*“Eyes on the Stars – Feet on
 the Ground:” A Tribute in
 Memoriam to the
 Contributions of Professor
 Howard Jones, 1941-2022¹*

Donald A. Rakestraw, Professor of
 History and Department Chair, Winthrop
 University, on behalf of fellow students of
 Howard Jones, our professor

“Was it Mirabeau ... or some other master of human passions, who has told us that words are things? They are indeed things, and things of mighty influence.” Daniel Webster, 1833

Few American scholars have produced a body of work that chronicles and scrutinizes the record of US influence

and impact on international peace and conflict to rival that of University of Alabama Research Professor of History Emeritus Howard Jones. From his epic work on Anglo-American relations in the 1830s and 1840s to his magnum opus on My Lai and from his comprehensive diplomatic textbook, *Crucible of Power*, to his stimulating lectures, Dr. Jones’s exhaustive research and balanced presentation of the complexities of US foreign policy successes and failures have contributed substantially to our understanding of the history of peace and conflict in the modern world. The essay that follows will touch on a few examples of his work while offering a modest tribute to the decades of personal investment he made in his students, colleagues, and the discipline--and, for that matter, in all who have a genuine desire to understand the historical contexts and the shifting dynamics driving conflict and resolution.

In December 2021, about twenty of Professor Jones’s former students from across several generations met with him virtually and he, though in poor health,

¹ <https://www.dignitymemorial.com/en-ca/obituaries/northport-al/howard-jones-10614820>

commanded the floor, moving from two-dimensional square to two-dimensional square addressing each of us, asking for updates on our careers, our projects, and our lives. As the hour progressed (with him on his perch at the familiar kitchen bar), it quickly became apparent that the investment he had made in us at our different stages of study and work had borne substantial dividends. He taught us how to write (no passive voice), how to research (commit to fleshing out the entire story, leaving no source concealed beneath an unturned stone), and how to translate our efforts into a thoroughly balanced and genuine product--whether in print or lecture. In round-robin discussion it also became apparent that his investment yielded exponential returns as the training we accrued passed to our own students and from them to theirs.²

Students of history who have not had the good fortune to work with Professor Jones may join those who have by

engaging any number of his published works--all insightful and convincing, direct and evenhanded, and, perhaps, as he described John Adams's model treaty, "idealistic in conception and realistic in purpose." In his outstanding two-volume textbook, *Crucible of Power: A History of US Foreign Relations* (2001), one finds not only measured treatment of US diplomacy dating from the seeds of the American Republic to the 21st century global war on terrorism, but also a grasp of the recurring elements that threaten peace, disrupt peace, restore peace, and then reset to resume the cycle. Some of these elements are, of course, contextual, but all collectively show how "modern" nations and their animators continuously move through the cycle. Whether from the machinations of diverse players in the late 18th century Revolutionary Period or the maintenance of a tenuous peace through nuclear deterrence in the Cold War, all share--and are manipulated by--the recurring

² One of his early students, Tim Johnson, volunteers that, as a professor, Dr. Jones was "demanding but kind" with a "unique ability to be both a taskmaster and a friend, a mentor and a confidant" His mentorship, Tim continues, reflected his belief that "he was training the next generation of historians, and the high bar he set for his students was a bar that he put in place

through his own actions--he led by example." Tim concludes by noting that Jones was "a tenacious researcher and consummate wordsmith, and those of us who were privileged enough to learn from him still feel his influence years (and in some cases decades) later." Tim's sentiments are embraced by all who shared the privilege of studying with Howard Jones, "Our Professor."

strain of competing domestic and foreign interests and influences.

In 1977 UNC Press published *To the Webster-Ashburton Treaty: A Study in Anglo-American Relations, 1783-1843*, a first effort from a young professor instantly acknowledged for its excellence with, among other awards, a Pulitzer Prize nomination. This monograph examined the mounting tensions between Washington and London that threatened a third Anglo-American war. Howard later invited me to collaborate on an expansion of this work to include the Oregon Treaty of 1846 in *Prologue to Manifest Destiny: Anglo-American Relations in the 1840s* (1997). Both works address the impact of statecraft on the preservation of peace, detailing the threats to peace between the United States and Britain that had been building--some for decades--and the application of adroit diplomatic skills by Daniel Webster, on the one hand and, in *Prologue*, the provocative rhetoric of James Polk on the other. Although the Webster-Ashburton and Oregon treaties demonstrate different approaches to preservation of peace, they both introduce clear examples of the diverse

issues that threaten its disruption, from tangible border disputes to abstract matters of national honor and from domestic politics to interdependent economics, all competing for influence, good or ill.

Jones's extensive work in the period of the American Civil War yielded three monographs, *Union in Peril: The Crisis over British Intervention in the Civil War* (1992); *Abraham Lincoln and a New Birth of Freedom: The Union & Slavery in the Diplomacy of the Civil War* (1994); and *Blue and Gray Diplomacy: A History of Union and Confederate Foreign Relations* (2010). For the student of the Civil War enamored with the Xs and Os of this or that battle, these books may not ignite the passion. For those interested in the history of peace and its fragility, they are a treasure. In these volumes he once again brings balance to an often singular and agenda-laden topic. In the first two, his goal is not to address the issues that fractured the nation, but rather the elements that *prevented* the domestic conflict from disrupting the peace of the entire Atlantic World--a near certainty on more than one occasion, none more so

than in the weeks between Second Bull Run and Antietam when mounting pressures on the Lord Palmerston ministry and the apparent *fait accompli* of southern independence resulted in the height of interventionist deliberations. In his review of *Union in Peril*, Martin Crawford noted that Jones “roamed discriminately among the tangled undergrowth of diplomacy, economics, politics, and, not the least forbidding, international law.” That he, Crawford continued, “emerges relatively unscathed from such an effort is a tribute both to his scholarly stamina and to his perspicacity.” On *Union in Peril’s* exhaustive sequel, *Blue and Gray Diplomacy*, reviewer Phillip Meyer concisely asserted that “Howard Jones has reshaped the history of Civil War diplomacy.”

In his book on Lincoln, Jones reconciles the tension between wartime expediency and the status of American slavery with Lincoln’s effort to prevent European intervention and his evolution toward emancipation. Again, students wishing to explore the frequently awkward dance between peace and conflict will learn much from this volume. In a succinct

reminder of the hazards of segregating puzzle pieces from the whole, Jones concludes: “Indeed, nearly all the explosive matters that arose in foreign relations revolved around slavery and the interventionist question, demonstrating the inseparability of domestic and foreign affairs and thereby posing one of the greatest perils the republic ever faced.”

Scholars across the discipline acknowledge the scope of Jones’s work, often echoing the sentiments of eminent historian Richard Immerman who praised Jones’s “remarkable breadth as a historian of U.S. foreign relations,” an assessment, incidentally, that preceded the publication of *Blue and Gray Diplomacy*, *The Bay of Pigs* (2008), and *My Lai: Vietnam, 1968, and the Descent into Darkness* (2017), all three serving to reinforce that “remarkable breadth.” To move effortlessly (or so it seems to outside observers) between 19th century statesmen-crafted diplomacy and the soul-numbing reality of *My Lai’s* exposure of calloused incompetency is a skill almost exclusive to Howard Jones. There is, perhaps, no better example of the range of his repertoire than *Mutiny*

on *the Amistad* (1987). A similar assessment to that made above by Crawford seems appropriate for Jones's masterful treatment of the *Amistad* saga, deftly addressing competing domestic tensions as well as those of diplomacy and international law. Stephen Spielberg's decision to consult Jones for his film *Amistad* is more than just another tribute to the quality of both his research and his pen; it also acknowledges Jones's flexibility in making his voice approachable to a broader audience.

His decade-long investment in producing what Kevin M. Boylan described as the "most comprehensive account of My Lai yet published" provides a glimpse into something fundamental in much of Jones's writing: he not only gives voice to his subjects, he "lives" their experience and empathizes with their pain and loss. He recounted to a number of colleagues (me among them) the many times he shared his findings on My Lai with his wife Mary Ann, moments that left them both emotionally drained. When the book finally appeared, no one could engage it without sinking into the darkness and suffering as if sharing a

palpable, almost tangible, experience with the words on the page. In this, perhaps his finest effort, he lifts the fog that has long blurred truth and fiction with no regard for the threat his clarity poses to fabricated, rigid, and long-held preconceptions. Finding the competing elements to get to the truth and to secure his trademark balance required mining, respectively, the memoirs of the dead and the memories of the living, from Washington to Hanoi. Roger Spiller described Jones's treatment as "a searing investigation of a war crime so savage it could not be ignored or excused, and whose aftermath still courses through the veins of America's conscience." William T. Allison declared that Jones "has peeled away the complexity of the My Lai massacre and its cover-up to reveal more clearly than ever the dark horror, willful deceit, and moral incompetence of this mass killing and its aftermath."

Shortly after its publication, Dr. Jones gave a talk to an auditorium of faculty and students at Winthrop University in which he told the story, indeed, peeling "away the complexity" that had long served as subterfuge to reveal the stark image of man's inhumanity to man. It

remains the only moment in my career when I saw history presented with such power and passion that it left typically jaded college students unable to contain their emotions. This reaction, in fact, was the case for faculty and students alike.

Jones's penetrating analysis of America's Vietnam experience did not begin with *My Lai* or even its significant and revealing predecessor, *Death of a Generation* (2003). It began in 1984 with the development of one of the first college courses in the nation to examine America's open wound in Southeast Asia. None of his writing more clearly establishes his determination to present balance than does his approach to this course. He and his colleague, Asian scholar Professor Ronald Robel, designed the course to present both sides of the conflict fairly. Jones would deliver the American perspective of a Vietnam that seemingly came into existence *only* when America discovered it in the mid-twentieth century; and Robel would counter with the description of an old and rich culture of a people with roots two millennia deep, celebrating a heritage that lionized the elephant-mounted Trung sisters who challenged the cruelty of Han rule in 40 AD. The

creative nature of the course immediately elevated it to one of the most popular courses on campus. In our visit with Dr. Jones in December, the subject of *the Vietnam* class soon surfaced and quickly dominated the conversation, all lauding it as a uniquely effective, inspiring, and cathartic academic experience. "The US-Vietnam War" continued to be one of the most successful courses at the university well into the 21st century, only ending at the passing of Dr. Robel and the retirement of Dr. Jones.

As we near the fiftieth anniversary of his first monograph, Dr. Jones has completed yet another book manuscript. This one—a treatment of the foreign policy of Theodore Roosevelt—he has kindly shared with me, and I can only describe it as "vintage Jones." As is his practice, he exhausted the primary evidence on Roosevelt and, in doing so, revealed a flawed, relatable man capable of overturning the apple cart, but equally capable of righting it. There is no better example of the application of diplomatic finesse applied to redeem order from chaos and to restore peace (to right the apple cart) than TR's success at maneuvering antagonists to the peace

table at Portsmouth, ending the Russo-Japanese War. A familiar story, perhaps, but told with the art of Jones: “Petty issues? ... this was no gathering of friends. The two peoples were still at war, with the Japanese insisting they had won and the Russians maintaining they had not lost.... The minute thus became the monumental, compelling Roosevelt to navigate his way through this delicate tangle of long time ethnic and racial animosities, visceral anger and personal resentment, and intense national pride on both sides. How to bring peace to a historical relationship built on war and rumors of war?”

Many who cast Roosevelt as the imposing figure on Mount Rushmore or the rough-riding horseman appearing in images from the Spanish-American War may be surprised to see a more delicate side of Roosevelt, especially when reading complementary pages that fall outside of the monograph’s purview. After spending considerable time with TR and getting to know him intimately through detailed reflections of his painful and personal losses, Jones felt compelled to share this insight in an internet blog titled “The Impact of Love and Tragedy

on Policy.” I have mentioned his ability to draw emotion from his words, and this is clear through much of his work; but the fullness of this gift is evident when one reads the blog piece in tandem with the Roosevelt monograph. For example, it is apparent from the words relating Roosevelt’s affection for his first wife, Alice, and his devastation at her death that Jones found a deep connection with the 26th president. This is understandable. Dr. Jones crafted his work on Roosevelt after experiencing the same deep loss with the passing of his lifelong partner, Mary Ann.

There is, of course, an ample dose of the prodigious, blustering, and colorful Roosevelt in the book manuscript as well as a reminder of Jones’s insistence on balance as suggested throughout this essay: “Roosevelt remained,” Jones concludes, “what he was at the beginning of his presidency: an advocate of peace derived from the conflict between American exceptionalism and *realpolitik*, the former based on white supremacy and the latter dependent on a strong military establishment—with no resolution of the enigmatic relationship between the ideal and the reality and no

guarantees of peace either at home or abroad.” To read more on this superb addition to the Jones catalog will require joining a growing queue, eagerly awaiting its publication.

Finally, to borrow the words of Dr. Jones from a 1992 article on the Truman Doctrine: “It is fitting to conclude by returning to where this essay began, with the lessons of history. We historians like to quote George Santayana’s remark that people who do not know the past are doomed to repeat it, for that provides a powerful justification for our existence. But a corollary exists that is quite as important: Learning the *wrong* lessons from history dooms us just as surely as does ignorance.” Howard Jones’s approach throughout his career and between the covers of too many books for this brief essay to touch encourages us to pull back the veil and examine all perspectives and ponder every nuance to get the story right. Only then can we properly consider the competing elements that act and react in the ebb and flow of peace and conflict. Only then can we embrace the *correct* and reject the *wrong* lessons from history. His students and all who seek to understand

(and act on) this concept owe Howard Jones a debt of enduring gratitude; his words “are indeed things, and things of mighty influence.”

Rock Hill, SC 2022

Who Speaks for the World?

Lawrence S. Wittner, Professor of History
Emeritus at SUNY/Albany and the author of
Confronting the Bomb (Stanford University
Press).

Russia’s brutal war upon the nation of Ukraine should remind us that, for thousands of years, great powers have used their military might to launch military assaults upon smaller, weaker societies.

Since World War II alone, these acts of aggression have included France’s colonial wars in Indochina and Algeria, Britain’s military intervention in the Middle East and Africa, the Soviet Union’s military conquest of Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and Afghanistan, China’s invasions of Tibet and Vietnam, and America’s wars in Indochina, Iraq, and Afghanistan.

Today, great power crimes against humanity, often driven by imperial arrogance and ambition, remain a plague upon the world.

Centuries ago, farsighted thinkers began suggesting that wars of aggression could be prevented by establishing a federation of nations to safeguard the peace. Writers such as Dante Alighieri, Immanuel Kant, Alfred Tennyson, and H.G. Wells promoted the idea of moving beyond individual nation-states to create a government representing all of humanity.

By the twentieth century, even officials of national governments began to take this idea seriously, particularly after the vast slaughter of World Wars I and II exposed the terrible consequences of international conflict and great power imperialism. The result was the formation of the League of Nations and, when this international confederation proved too weak to cope with the world crisis of the 1930s and early 1940s, the United Nations.

Launched in 1945 with the primary goal of saving future generations from “the scourge of war,” the United Nations moved the world closer to a peaceful, governed planet. The signers of its Charter agreed to “refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state.” Its General Assembly provided a forum for discussion of global issues by all nations, large and small. Its Committee on

Decolonization supervised the end of colonialism across vast swathes of the globe.

In addition, the United Nations smoothed the path for political settlements of numerous small wars, issued the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, established an International Criminal Court, and developed significant programs for economic development, world health, social justice, and environmental sustainability.

Even so, despite these concessions to civilized norms, the great powers were not willing to give up their traditional dominance of world affairs. Structurally, this was expressed through the UN Security Council, with five imperial powers being granted permanent membership and veto power. Behaviorally, it was expressed by their powerful armies, by their wars of aggression against smaller nations, by their development of nuclear weapons, and by their insistence upon their right to retain and use them. Again and again, their rulers showed that they really did think that they had the right to run the world.

Are the people of the world condemned to live forever under the heels of the great powers? Or is it still possible to take another

step along the road to a peaceful, humane planet?

At the moment, the United Nations is the major governmental structure that transcends the desires of a particular nation's rulers and acts in support of all humanity. When it comes to peace, climate change, world health, women's rights, refugee resettlement, the eradication of poverty, and a host of other issues, the United Nations invariably defends the interests of the entire world. Given this vital role on a planet still riven by the belligerence of rogue nations, hasn't the time arrived to strengthen it?

Some of the ways to strengthen the United Nations have been evident for years.

One of the most obvious is to remove the permanent membership and the veto power of the great powers in the UN Security Council. There is no logical reason for them to have these privileges. Furthermore, they have often abused them.

Another is to create a UN Parliamentary Assembly, with elected delegates from throughout the world. Such an assembly would enhance the world organization's democratic and participatory character by adding an entity chosen by people, rather than by governments.

Yet another is to give the United Nations power to levy taxes to cover its expenses. A UN tax on currency speculation (the "Tobin tax"), for example, would end the organization's impoverishment, free it from the need to beg for emergency funds from the great powers, and enable it to adequately fund vital global programs.

In addition, the United Nations could develop a standing rapid military deployment force, available to contain violent crises before they become full-scale wars and humanitarian disasters. Meanwhile, the great powers could be disarmed down to the level of domestic policing. This reduction in their military might would do a great deal to reduce their imperialist tendencies.

These kinds of UN reforms are based on the principle that no single country or small group of countries adequately represents the world and its multiplicity of peoples. The world can—and should—speak for itself.

New Essays on U.S. Foreign Policy

History and Resource Guide

Website

Roger Peace, Retired History Professor at Tallahassee Community College, and longtime member of the Peace History Society.

Three new essays have been added to the U.S. Foreign Policy History & Resource Guide website since last year: [“Introduction: The Fifth Estate”](#) by Roger Peace; [“The U.S. and World War II”](#) by Jeremy Kuzmarov and Roger Peace; and [“Africa and the War on Terror”](#) by Elizabeth Schmidt.

The title of the introductory essay, “The Fifth Estate,” conveys the idea that the history profession has a responsibility to the public to question official rationales, search out the truth, and present an accurate and honest accounting of the past. The essay is especially useful for students in that it explains how history is written and why historians differ in their interpretations. Peace scholars may find the six-point structure of analysis useful for their own studies.

The essay identifies an evolving international moral architecture of prohibitions against aggression and in support of human rights, and argues that such ethical standards should be used when examining the conduct of nations. It cautions historians against “normalizing” war, treating war as a permanent condition of international relations rather than as a problem to be solved. In effect, this means defining progress as moving toward a more cooperative world order and nonviolent conflict resolution at all levels.

A cogent critique of the historiography of U.S. foreign policy leads to the conclusion that, while progressive historians have voiced ample criticism of U.S. foreign policies, the diplomatic history field as a whole has been immobilized by a lack of agreement on fundamental interpretations. What lessons, after all, should be conveyed to the public and to political leaders? If, on the one hand, as many nationalist-minded historians have argued, Pax Americana has produced a stable, peaceful international order for the last seven decades, then, by all means, let it continue. If, on the other hand, U.S. foreign policies have been characterized by unnecessary wars, rogue operations, propaganda, and obstruction of a more

cooperative international order, then reform is in order; it is time to create something new.

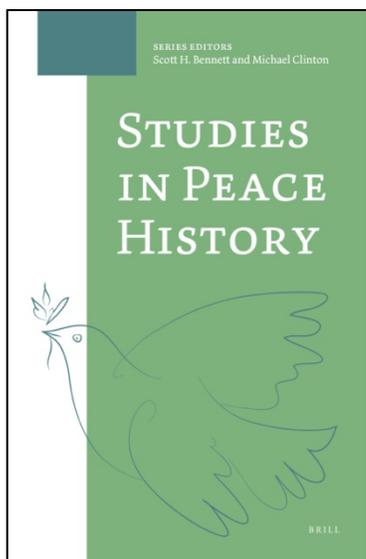
The Second World War is a difficult war to write about for peace-minded scholars. Jeremy Kuzmarov and I have approached it by challenging its popular moniker as “the good war,” noting a number of caveats. Typically overlooked is the U.S. policy of appeasement toward fascism during the interwar years, which included allowing U.S.-based corporations to invest in Nazi Germany and doing virtually nothing to help European Jews. The essay also brings the reality of war home through soldiers’ diaries and correspondents’ reports. Other features of interest include the predominant role of the Soviet Union in defeating Nazi Germany, the “race war” in the Pacific, the mass internment of Japanese American citizens and residents, how the U.S. shifted from military and economic targets to mass civilian bombing, and the Truman administration’s decision to use atomic bombs. The diplomatic record does not support the argument that the bombs were necessary to force Japan’s surrender. As with all essays on the website, the WWII essay is chock full of photos and images, and divided into sections and subsections for easy navigation.

In “Africa and the War on Terror,” Elizabeth Schmidt, author of *Foreign Intervention in Africa after the Cold War: Sovereignty, Responsibility, and the War on Terror* (2018), and *Foreign Intervention in Africa: From the Cold War to the War on Terror* (2013), offers a cogent analysis of how U.S. leaders mislabeled disparate civil disturbances in African countries as “terrorism” and relied on counterproductive military “solutions.” Rather than reduce terrorism, U.S. military actions have strengthened autocratic regimes, exacerbated human rights abuses, and undermined the goals they purported to promote. Schmidt also dispels some common misconceptions about Islam, noting that the vast majority of Muslims worldwide condemn terrorism.

The website, now with 13 essays, was established in 2016 with support from the Historians for Peace and Democracy and the Peace History Society. If interested in assisting in the research and writing of future essays (see home page, <http://peacehistory-usfp.org>) or helping with outreach to teachers, professors, students, and others, [please contact me](#).

Forthcoming Series: *Studies in
Peace History*

Michael Clinton, Gwynedd Mercy University.



Series Editors: Scott H. Bennett and Michael Clinton

Studies in Peace History promotes new scholarship on peace history and on the movements, groups, people, and actions that have opposed both war and its causes. Conceptually, this series understands peace to include pacifist, antiwar, and antimilitarist positions. Since wars have social, political, economic, cultural, and psychological roots, this series is also concerned with the relationship between peace and social justice movements aimed at reducing the social causes of conflict. Books in this series

include historical monographs and biographies; critical and/or annotated editions of letters, diaries, and other primary texts; and edited collections of primary or secondary texts. Studies in Peace History welcomes proposals for English-language manuscripts addressing all periods and regions based on archival research and published primary sources by historians and other scholars. Proposals that combine historical topics and approaches with other disciplinary perspectives and methodologies will be considered.

This series will feature titles that address such core themes in peace history as:

- peace movements, leaders, activists, organizations, and campaigns
- antiwar dissent opposition and resistance to specific conflicts
- conscientious objectors
- draft resistance
- disarmament and arms control
- campaigns against nuclear weapons
- peace treaties
- protests within the military
- remembrance and reconciliation
- peace education
- women, gender, and peace
- cultural expressions and peace
- peace and environment

- legal history of peace action
- transnational connections promoting peace
- peace and nonviolence
- links between peace history and nonviolent social justice and reform

Authors are cordially invited to contact the series editors Scott H. Bennett and Michael Clinton to inquire about the process for submitting proposals. Proposals may be submitted to the publisher at Brill, Wendel Scholma. [You can find Brill's guidelines for book proposals here.](#)

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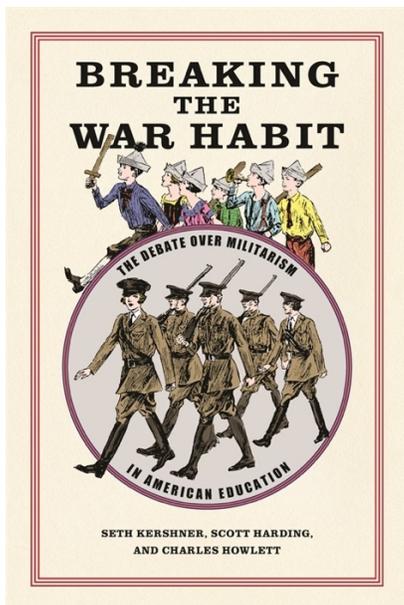
Forthcoming Book:

Breaking the War Habit: The Debate over Militarism in American Education

Charles Howlett, Professor Emeritus of Education at Molloy College.

Breaking the War Habit: The Debate over Militarism in American Education

[Scott Harding](#), [Charles Howlett](#) and [Seth Kershner](#)



How the peace movement challenged military culture in schools.

The Pentagon currently spends around \$1.4 billion per year on recruiting and hundreds of millions annually on other marketing initiatives intended to convince the public to enlist-costly efforts to ensure a steady stream of new soldiers. The most important part of this effort is the Pentagon's decades-long drive to win over the teenage mind by establishing a beachhead in American high schools and colleges.

Reviews:

Breaking the War Habit provides an original consideration of the militarization of schools in the United States and explores the prolonged battle to prevent the military from

infiltrating and influencing public education. Focused on the Junior Reserve Officer Training Corps (JROTC) in high schools and the Reserve Officer Training Corps (ROTC) in higher education, the authors expose the pervasive influence and economic leverage bestowed on the military as it recruits children and youth.

Breaking the War Habit highlights those who have resisted the privileged status of the military and successfully challenged its position on campuses across the country. A "scrappy band of activists," the Committee on Militarism in Education (CME) initiated this work following World War I, publicizing the rise of school militarism and its implications. For two decades, CME's activism shaped public debate over the meaning of militarism in U.S. society and education settings, resulting in numerous victories against ROTC and JROTC programs. The authors also explore how, since the mid-1970s, military "counter-recruiters" have contested military recruiters' largely unchecked access to high school students, raising awareness of a "school-to-military pipeline" that concentrates recruitment in urban (predominantly Black and low-income) regions.

This is a really interesting book that skillfully examines the history of resistance to the ROTC in the United States and, equally importantly, places the many points of resistance in their historical context. The scholarship is sound, and the use of oral history and archival sources make for a series of convincing arguments about the nature and scope of resistance to school militarization.

—David Rosen, author of *Child Soldiers in the Western Imagination: From Patriots to Victims*

A clearly organized and well-articulated book that offers a contribution to the history of anti-JROTC and counter-recruiting activism across U.S. history. . . . The authors engage a range of materials, particularly from the archives, that make their contributions especially unique and compelling.

—Nicole Nguyen, author of *Curriculum of Fear: Homeland Security in U.S. Public Schools*

About the Author/Editor:

- SCOTT HARDING is associate professor in the School of Social Work at the University of Connecticut. He is the coauthor of *Counter-Recruitment and the Campaign to Demilitarize Public*

Schools and Human Rights-Based Community Practice in the United States.

- CHARLES HOWLETT is professor emeritus of education at Molloy College. He is the author, coauthor, or editor of fifteen books about American peace movements and the history of higher education.
- SETH KERSHNER is an PhD student in the department of History at the University of Massachusetts Amherst. He is the coauthor of *Counter-Recruitment and the Campaign to Demilitarize Public Schools.*

Chuck Howlett had two articles recently published:

"Fighting War Hysteria," *New York Archives* (Fall 2021)

"Challenging the War Habit: The Committee on Militarism in Education and Its Battle against the Reserve Officers' Training Corps," *New York History* (Summer 2021).

Also with PHS members, Deborah Buffton, David Hostetter, and Christian Peterson, he is

co-editing the Oxford Handbook of Peace History

Geoffrey Smith Obituary



PROFESSOR GEOFFREY SUTTON
SMITH

In the last two years, if you came upon Geoff Smith on the street in Kingston, you would be in the company of a quiet, distinguished gentleman and retired professor. As agreeable as this figure was, it stood in for a remarkable history. The myriad of those who knew him will remember a man of boundless energy, a captivating lecturer, a brilliant scholar, an outspoken political activist, a devoted dad and stepdad, and -certainly not least- a basketball expert and aficionado who brought fun and colour to the game he loved. Also, importantly, he loved his dogs, and they him. Geoff was born in San Francisco to

Dorothy Tuck and Harry Smith and enjoyed a happy and rambunctious childhood in Hillsborough with his brother, Jon, down the road from eight Tuck cousins. He attended San Mateo High School and subsequently completed three degrees in history: a BA at University of California at Santa Barbara, an MA at Berkeley, and a PhD at UCSB under Alex deConde. His thesis, first published in 1973 as *To Save A Nation*, was nominated for the Pulitzer Prize in History. A second edition, in 1992, included a self-critical epilogue. In pioneering and influential articles, he placed an understanding of gender, sex, and sexuality at the centre of his analysis of foreign relations. In 1967 he moved with his then-wife Bonnie and two sons, David and Brian, to Macalester College in St Paul, Minnesota where their daughter Kristin was born. In 1969 Geoff came to Queen's University as a professor in history. The Department Head told him he had been hired because they needed someone whose lectures would attract students. He did not disappoint. The thousands of students whom he taught benefitted from his passion and inventiveness. As Professor of History, and later of Kinesiology, he was endlessly creative in his strategies to engage his students (this could include bringing in his golden retriever to assist). He was nominated

for teaching awards several times and in 2004 he received the Frank Knox Award, the highest honour given to instructors of Queen's by students. It was at Queen's that Geoff met Roberta Hamilton, and in 1986 they moved into a house together. They would be together for the next 35 years, and their home was a place of memorable and sometimes boisterous gatherings for family, friends and colleagues. His flagship course, Conspiracy and Dissent in 20th Century America, drew throngs of students of history and other fields. The 2002 Queen's Journal poll listed it as the Best Class and Geoff Smith as the Best Professor. It was in this class, on September 12, 2001, that he gave what a colleague later described at his retirement as the iconic Geoff Smith moment. Before several hundred students, he delivered a brilliant lecture on the entire context for 9/11, followed by an open mic discussion with students from all backgrounds and persuasions. Geoff made time for all of his students. Some of those he came to know best were engaged with intellectual and political questions. Others came with personal issues, including students who endured hate crimes. For many years his fervent belief in peaceful resolutions of political conflict found a congenial home in the Peace History Society, where he served as President. In 2015 the

Society presented him with its Lifetime Achievement Award. Geoff was also a member of the Society for Historians of America Foreign Relations, attending their conferences where he presented papers, organized sessions, and served as a generous, critical, and witty discussant. His activism found voice in demonstrations in Kingston, including observing Hiroshima Remembrance Day, and protests against the war(s) in Iraq. An enemy of the passive verb, Geoff determined to teach students how to write (better). He edited their work ferociously and was no less stringent performing the task for friends and colleagues. Many of his students have become writers, journalists, and editors. Geoff played an outsized role within Queen's athletics and in particular, the basketball program. He coached the men's team at one point, and for many years, if he thought the crowd could help Queen's win, he had everyone on their feet cheering loudly. Geoff had a lot of fun, a great deal of it spontaneous. No sooner would an idea occur to him than it was being acted upon, from fixing the door knob, to writing a column for the Whig-Standard, to developing a local TV program (Mr Fix-It!) or firing off another perspicacious letter to the Globe and Mail, which, with the assistance of loyal former

students, were often published. Geoff maintained his passion for select areas of his home in California, and particularly for his time camping at and managing the Lair of the Golden Bear in Pinecrest. It was there that he introduced his children to the wonders of the wilderness and a place where lifelong friendships were forged. Meaningfully, a third generation, his grandchildren, have now worked there. Nearer to Kingston, Geoff had a place to enjoy the outdoors - a cottage perched on his own island. It is a spot for both solitude and peacefulness and a destination for time with family and friends. In retirement, he was equally prolific. He developed new passions, including knitting, playing the guitar and notably, as a painter, producing canvasses at an astonishing rate. He was thrilled when Kingston Frameworks mounted a show of his work. Meanwhile, he led a year-long campaign to educate and persuade students on the risks of binge drinking and alcohol poisoning during Homecoming (or anytime), even while he urged the Administration and the City to DO MORE. A wayward student egged his front door, proof that his message was getting out. In the last two years, he had settled into a quieter chapter, and he and Roberta continued to enjoy books (lots of books), good food, and the company of family and

friends. Tracey O'Reilly came into their lives, and helped Geoff regain strength and confidence, and we are very grateful to her, our friend for life. In late March, Geoff was admitted to hospital. One of the nurses caring for him informed him that he had been her professor, and that he had made a huge impression on her. Geoff was so touched. On April 1, three days after making a good recovery from surgery, Geoff's heart simply stopped. He died peacefully. Two weeks earlier, he had celebrated his 80th birthday with family and friends. The news of Geoff's passing has sparked an outpouring of love and grief from friends, colleagues, an avalanche of former students, basketball players, coaches, neighbours and from the many acquaintances with whom he interacted so gregariously in the Kingston community. Geoff will be deeply missed by his children, David (Shawna), Brian (Audrey), Kristin Beltran (Sam), their mother, Bonnie Bryenton; his brother Jon (Moirra) and his children Julia and Stewart; his wife Roberta Hamilton; his stepchildren, Joe (Deanna Bowlby), Sue and Jessica Hamilton (Jay Rayner); and his beloved grandchildren, Avery Smith; Jake and Hannah Grace Smith; Maia and Noah Beltran; Sam and Amelia Rayner; and Ayo Hamilton-Choy. All of us, and countless friends along the way,

including Geoff's lifelong friend, Ted Wright, will miss his enthusiasm, his generosity, and most of all his kindness. The world seems to have shrunk with his passing. Yet, those of us touched and inspired by Geoff will carry his spirit onward, with open hearts and curious minds. If you care to give a donation in Geoff's memory, two of his favourite causes were Médecins Sans Frontières (MSF) and Loving Spoonful.

Peace History Society at the
AHA, January 2023

A PHS-sponsored roundtable featuring five scholars affiliated with the Peace History Society will be held at the 136th Annual Meeting of the American Historical Association in Philadelphia in January 2023. The participants of the session, titled “Constructing Peace History: An Editors’ Roundtable”, include Chuck Howlett—who will chair—Mike Clinton, Heather Fryer, Christian Peterson, and Suzanne Schregel (former president of the AKHF, the German Association for Historical Peace and Conflict Research.) Each of them will share their views about and experiences of editing projects that present peace history in academic handbooks, book series, journals,

and blogs. As projects that take an entire field of scholarship into account rather than concentrating on a specific historical problem within it, the editorial experiences associated with them offer unique opportunities for specialists to engage questions about the definition of the field of peace history and potential directions for its scholarship. As PHS members well know, historians have not reached an easy consensus on how narrowly or broadly to define the field, in part because the very concept of peace itself poses numerous definitional and conceptual ambiguities, evoking different meanings reflecting variables of time, place, perspective, and context. Moreover, peace historians debate the extent to which their research could or should contribute to advocacy. In their experiences editing projects focused on peace and peace advocacy, the panelists and the chair have had to navigate and mediate such issues as:

- how to distinguish "peace history" as a coherent framework from historical scholarship that refers to peace in more incidental ways
- the tensions involved in choosing to produce specialized publications in peace history versus works of “general” history

- the distinctions between peace history and peace studies and the relationship between them
- the audience(s) targeted, such as academics, activists, and more casual readers
- the selection of editorial board members
- the relationship between history and social movements, “activist research”, and the risks and rewards of “engaged” scholarship
- how to balance acknowledging the continued value of traditional approaches (e.g., histories of movements and organizations, the diplomacy of peace treaties) while fostering new directions (e.g., intersections with environmental history, research based on data mining methods)
- establishing peace history's place in academia equal to the status long enjoyed by military history
- whether to maintain traditional and conventional modes of publication or whether and how to adapt to innovative and alternative modes of publication.

Information about the date, time, and location of the session will be forthcoming as the conference approaches. We hope to see plenty of colleagues in Philadelphia and look

forward to the questions and comments that the audience contributes during the session.

Call for Papers: Movement(s) in a
Dynamic World:
Interdisciplinary Perspectives
February 24-25, 2023



Winthrop University's 3rd Interdisciplinary Conference
Movement(s) in a Dynamic World: Interdisciplinary Perspectives
February 24-25, 2023



Winthrop University seeks submissions to its third Interdisciplinary Conference entitled “Movement(s) in a Dynamic World: Interdisciplinary Perspectives.” Pandemic confinement is an all too recent memory, and we have since emerged into a world of shifting Political, Social, Ecological, and Ideological landscapes full of possibility. Where do we go from here? Proposals for oral and poster presentations from Faculty, Students, Community Members, and Social Activists are encouraged. We hope that the broad and inclusive scope of this theme will result in a prismatic representation of Movement(s) drawing on perspectives across academic disciplines and also representing the vital work Movement(s) play in our communities.

Call For Papers

The organizing committee will welcome particularly, but not exclusively, proposals addressing the following themes:

Crossing Disciplines • Migrations • Transitions, Life Changes • Travel • Border Crossings (physical or ideological), Shifting Boundaries • Political Movements • Social Movements (LGBTQ+, Black Lives Matter, MeToo, Disability Rights) • Cultural Shifts • Trends in the Visual and Performing Arts • Movements in Literature, Philosophy, and Religion • Pilgrimages (sacred or secular) • The Human body (possibilities, limitations) • Shifts in Public Health • Sports and Fitness • Symbolic Walks • Nature and the Environment • Climate Change • Local Food and Gardening Movements • Scientific Advances Transformations, Metamorphoses • Restrictions to Movement(s) • Urban and Rural Movements • Departures and Returns • The Data Revolution • Economic Shifts and Capital Flows • Transportation • Transactions, Exchanges • Technological Advancements • Educational Renewal and Educational Justice Movements • Changing Pedagogies • Health Movements and Public Health

Conference Keynote Speaker:

Dr. Lakeyta M. Bonnette-Bailey
Associate Professor of Political Science
Georgia State University

“This is America: Hip-Hop Culture and the Black Lives Matter Movement”





Abstracts (limit 400 words) for individual papers, panel submissions, or posters should be uploaded by October 1, 2022 [HERE](#) (or by using the QR code above). Proposals will be reviewed for their relevance to the conference theme of movement. All participants will be notified about their acceptance to the conference on or before November 20, 2022.

General questions about the Movement Conference should be addressed to movementconference@winthrop.edu.

[Click Here for More Information](#)

Newsletter Editor



Ginger Williams 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.

Newsletter Assistant Editor



Nicole Holbert is a current undergraduate student at Winthrop University, Rock Hill, South Carolina pursuing a Bachelor of Arts in History and Sociology with an Anthropology concentration (May 2022). She is a member of the Phi Alpha Theta National 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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