

# PHS News

## August 2015



Newsletter of the  
Peace History Society  
[www.peacehistorysociety.org](http://www.peacehistorysociety.org)

### President's Letter

By Kevin J. Callahan



Greetings Peace History Society Members!

On behalf of the entire PHS board and executive officers, it is our honor to serve PHS in 2015 and 2016. PHS is currently preparing for our fall conference on **Historical Perspectives on Peace, War and Religion** to be held in October at the

University of Saint Joseph, Connecticut. Perhaps surprisingly given the prominence of religion and faith to inspire peacemakers, this is the first PHS conference with its main theme on the nexus of religion and peace. The conference theme has generated a lot of interest from historians and scholars in other disciplines, including political science and religious studies. We are expecting scholars and peacemakers from around the globe in attendance: from Australia, Russia, Nigeria, Rwanda, Germany and Costa Rica. Panel topics include the American Catholic peace movement with commentary by Jon Cornell, religion and the struggle against Boko Haram, and religion and the pursuit of peace in global contexts and many others.

Our keynote speaker, Dr. Leilah Danielson, Associate Professor of History at Northern Arizona University, will speak directly to the larger conference themes and will reflect PHS's interdisciplinary approach. Dr. Danielson's book, *American Gandhi: A.J. Muste and the History of Radicalism in the 20th Century* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014), examines the evolving political and religious thought of A.J. Muste, a leader of the U.S. left.

*For the full conference program, see pages 9-14! Make plans now to attend the conference in Connecticut in October!*

We will continue our tradition of announcing the winners of the Scott Bills Memorial Prize (for a recent book on peace history), the Charles DeBenedetti Prize (for a recent article on peace history), and the Lifetime Achievement Award for service to peace history, as well as presenting travel

awards for graduate students. Special thanks to Ben Peters and Prudence Moylan for putting together a rich program and to all the prize committee members: Scott Bennett, Deborah Buffton, Mike Clinton, Andy Barbero, Mona Siegel, Erika Kuhlman, Ginger Williams, Christy Snider and Robert Shaffer.

Our journal, *Peace & Change*, remains a significant voice in the field of peace studies and conflict resolution. We have been most fortunate to have amazing editors; most recently, Erika Kuhlman of Idaho State University finished up her term and Heather Fryer of Creighton University has just begun her tenure. Our finances remain strong, in good measure due to our successful collaboration with Wiley Online, and we are using our resources effectively to promote our organization. For example, our PHS advertisement in the April 2015 issue of the AHA's *Perspectives on History* might help explain why we received more book nominations for the Bills Memorial Prize than in recent contests. Our membership numbers are stable and PHS always welcome its members to take on even greater roles in our society, so we continue to generate the leaders of the society for the future.

Pax,  
Kevin J. Callahan,  
University of Saint Joseph  
West Hartford, Connecticut

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**Peace History Society:**  
**For membership information, costs,**  
**& activities, go to:**  
[www.peacehistorysociety.org](http://www.peacehistorysociety.org)

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### **Newsletter editor:**

Robert Shaffer, at [roshaf@ship.edu](mailto:roshaf@ship.edu)

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- 2) Forty Organizations to Congress: Support the Iran Deal;
- 3) Historians Against the War on the Iran agreement

The deadline for submission of material for the next issue of *PHS News* is January 15, 2016. Announcements of members' publications or presentations, conference reports, teaching ideas, commentary on peace-related issues, and brief reports on archival finds are welcome. Send material by e-mail material to editor Robert Shaffer at [roshaf@ship.edu](mailto:roshaf@ship.edu)

## **Passing the Baton: From one editor to the next at *Peace & Change***

*PHS News* asked the outgoing editor of *Peace & Change*, Erika Kuhlman of Idaho State University, several questions about what she learned from serving in that position and what advice she would give her successor. We asked the incoming editor, Heather Fryer of Creighton University, questions about her background and her goals for the journal. Here are their responses:

### **Ten Questions for Erika Kuhlman:**

1. *What was the most enjoyable or rewarding part of your job as editor?*

I think I enjoyed most seeing the huge geographic span of academics out there concerned about war and working to help end war and bring about peace.

2. *What was the most unexpected aspect of serving as editor?*

Perhaps it should not have been, but I felt ill-prepared to deal with the variety of language abilities I found in submissions.

3. *What will you miss most as you step down?*

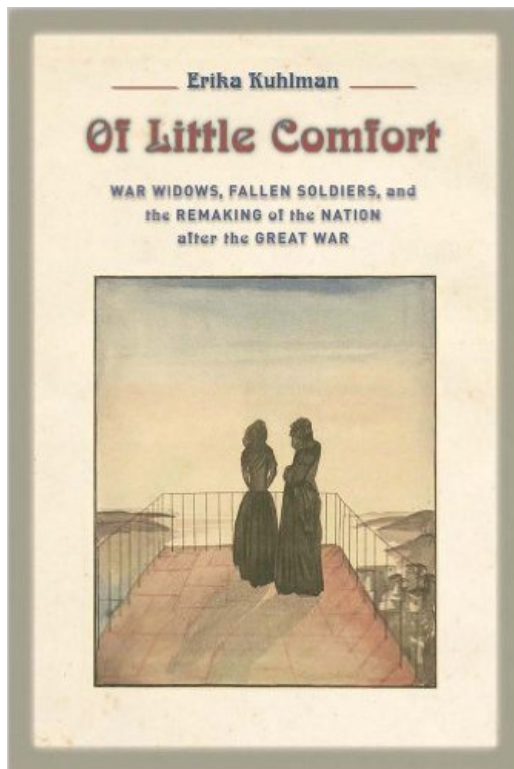
Helping eager authors see their names in print.

4. What *won't* you miss as you step down?

Summer work! Although, it seems that the work never ends, regardless....

5. What is the most important piece of advice you can give to people submitting articles for publication in the journal?

Make sure that you (at least) visit our website for information regarding formatting and read past articles to get an even better sense of our style.



6. What is the most important piece of advice you can give to the incoming editor, Heather Fryer, and beyond her to future Peace & Change editors?

Be well organized and do the smaller tasks as they come in, instead of putting them on the back burner.

7. Were there any entirely inappropriate submissions Peace & Change that you can tell us about, in general terms?

Yes, we received a submission from someone at the Army War College; the

submission was clearly not about peace or change.

8. How has serving as editor of this journal affected your own work as a scholar and as a teacher?

I think I keep editors in mind much more often as I do my own scholarship! The experience has made me better able to help students with their writing.

9. Are there any specific aspects of “peace history” that you think are especially ripe as research fields for scholars looking for new projects?

For me, the articles that were the most engaging were those with a more “public history” kind of bent; for example, we mid-wifed an article about war/peace-oriented museum exhibits that I found very timely as we reached the centenary of the First World War.

10. Are there any individuals who provided important help to you as editor whom you wish to thank?

I would like to thank all the PHS board members who responded to requests to review articles; it was great to feel as though we were all working on this endeavor together. Also, thanks to a fabulous managing editor, Lori Barber. And thanks to the committee that chose me to do this very special job.

## Six Questions for Heather Fryer

1. Why were you interested in applying for the position as editor of Peace & Change?

A lot of things came together in such a way that it made sense for me put my hat in the ring when the call for applications came out. I have always loved doing editorial work but had not had the opportunity to do any since about 2002 when I edited the catalogue to accompany a museum exhibition for which I served as chief curator. Fast forward to about 2011, when some PHS colleagues suggested I serve as program

co-chair for the 2013 PHS conference on “Envisioning Peace, Performing Justice: Art, Activism, and the Cultural Politics of Peacemaking.” I was honored to be approached for this important role because PHS had been an intellectual home for my long-standing scholarly projects and an incubator for the ideas that formed my new ones. So I accepted the position and enjoyed it thoroughly. Assembling panels as constellations of papers in conversation with each other was a stimulating and satisfying challenge, as was the process of co-guest editing the special issue of *Peace and Change* based upon a selection of conference papers. Working with the authors as they developed their articles reminded me of how unique this sort of



Heather Fryer

collaboration is. It's exciting to point out new possibilities within a piece of work that an author may not have seen in previous drafts, to work with an author to find just the right turn of phrase, and to put articles together in such a way that each illuminates different aspects of the others in a way that opens up new vistas on previously visited terrain. I owe so much of the success of my own work to the perceptive, sensitive, and creative work of great editors and am always so pleased when I can pay that forward to fellow scholars.

It was kind of bittersweet when the special issue went to print, because I had enjoyed working with the authors and my co-

editors so much. It was at this moment that the call for applications for the next editor came out and I felt prepared for and greatly enthusiastic about the work. As fortune would have it I was installed last year as the Fr. Henry W. Casper, SJ Professor of History, which affords me the time and the resources to focus on the journal to an extent that was not possible on my regular teaching schedule. And now that I have had a chance to get my feet wet in my new editorship, I am finding that the more that I do this work, the more I enjoy it. It's like having front-row seats to everything that is happening in peace history and peace studies.

## 2. How do your own research and teaching interests most dovetail with the kinds of articles and reviews in our journal?

In AHA-taxonomy terms, I am a social and cultural historian of the post-frontier American West. So the connections between my work and peace studies are not immediately obvious. But the twentieth century West was (and remains) a zone of encounter and a site of conflict. Legacies of violent conquest continue to shape many people's lived experiences, and the American national rhetorics of exceptionalism, of expanding the empire for liberty, and the nuance-stifling glaze of the progress narrative have animated the federal presence in the region as it has the development of US foreign policy and the extension of the US military presence. There are so many unexplored histories of how Westerners have negotiated systems of structural inequality, resisted wartime measures to suppress individual liberties, and created communities of resistance and initiatives for peaceful coexistence and human security when such things had been considered impossible.

My first book, *Perimeters of Democracy: Inverse Utopias and the Wartime Social Landscape in the American West*, (University of Nebraska Press, 2010) is about the frequent use and demographic impact of confinement structures during wartime to manage groups of people that the federal



government cast as having “enemy tendencies” in times of war. The Indian reservation system was the template, and from this came the structures for the mass incarceration of Japanese Americans during World War II, the segregation of multi-ethnic shipyard laborers (many African American) in a specially built plywood city from 1943-47, and manner in which scientists on the Manhattan Project were profiled and contained at Los Alamos (spoiler: profiling led to the unjust treatment of loyal scientists profiled as some shade of “red” and people who did not fit the profile took advantage of less-restrictive conditions to conduct espionage).

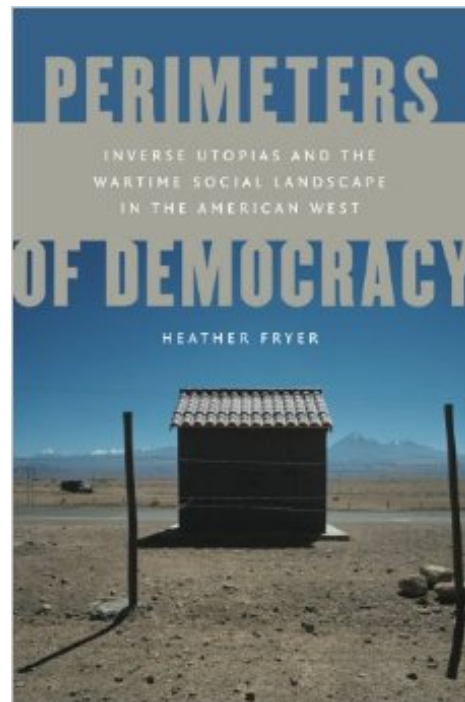
I am completing two book projects that stem from *Perimeters*. The first is a study of Rosalie Hankey Wax, an anthropologist who worked in two of the most racially tense conflict zones in the mid-century West: Tule Lake Resegregation Center during World War II and the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation in the days leading up to the second siege at Wounded Knee. The second is a study of Boys Town founder Father Edward Flanagan, including his approaches to racial integration, his civic empowerment of children, and his attitudes as a Catholic priest to his boys serving in the US armed forces. And I am starting a project from my summer outpost here in Hilo, Hawaii, on the forced integration of previously segregated ethnic communities after two disastrous tsunamis destroyed entire ethnic enclaves. This stems from my belief that climate change is going to be an increasingly active agent in the unfolding history of peacemaking.

At Creighton, I am fortunate to be on the faculty of the Cortina Community, which is a living-learning community dedicated to peacemaking, sustainability, and social justice. This year, I launched a freshman course titled “Waging Peace in the Twentieth Century” that considered peacemaking the watersheds and put war and oppression in the background. This was one tough intellectual exercise, especially for me who has had decades of conditioning of war as the focal center of all of human activity. I have a whole list of *Peace and*

*Change* articles on peace studies pedagogy on my summer reading list so I can reflect on this first run and make next year’s course an even more solid (and enticing) introduction to peace studies.

3. *Have there been any particular articles in Peace & Change over the years that have made an especially strong impression on you?*

Yes, definitely. I’ll try to tell you about just a few on my list without falling into a historiographical essay. I would have to start with the series of articles on the Japanese American confinement, which was a big part of my dissertation-now-book. Lane Ryo



Hirabayashi’s article on the intersections of ethnography, biography, and autobiography in the archival documents remains helpful in my current projects, and Scott Bills’ essay “Public Memory, Commemoration, and the ‘Regime of Truth’” sets forth the causes and the consequences of the selectiveness of social memory that makes redress for racial injustice so difficult to secure.

I was also struck by the richness of the collection of essays on Kent State published in

April 1996. The combined works of Geoffrey Smith, Darlene Clark Hine, Michael Schwartz, Todd Gitlin, and Scott Bills give a clear-eyed, thorough assessment of the significance of an event that, having been born in the late 1960s, has always been hard for me to get a solid historical perspective on. I was pleased that peace historians were not taking “yeah, that was horrifying” as a complete and final answer to this massacre’s lingering multiple questions.

For me, some of the most compelling articles in *Peace and Change* are those that have brought me to full consciousness of what the intellectual task of peace history and peace studies really entails. This changes over time, and has regained new salience as the global community has engaged the U.S.-led “War on Terror.” The direction of the field, in my view, should not take its lead from historiographic trends as it does, quite fruitfully, in other fields. Instead, it should take stock of our own agency as scholars and contributors to peacebuilding processes in one form or another. Lawrence Wittner’s article on Merle Curti’s development as a peace researcher provided me an exemplar. Curti’s scholarly interests in recovering peace activists from the far reaches of the archives came, in part, from the questions his experiences of World War I left him with. Although he was considered to be a social and intellectual historian, fore-grounding “citizen heroes” of peacemaking remained a steady component of his scholarly practice. In doing this, and in encouraging other scholars to do the same, Curti gave early peace researchers a mission: if scholars who promoted the study of war could study and feature their major figures, so too must those who would promote the study of peace. Scholarship sets the stage for dialogue and developing a shared future vision, which in turn sets the stage for a host of political potentialities and social possibilities.

In a similar vein, I appreciated the 2002 article, “What Are We Talking About?” by Tony Nguyen and Frank Blechman, in which they tabulated the number of articles in peace research journals, including *Peace and Change*,

that addressed theory and practice, research, ethics, and service. They found that theory and practice receive the greater portion of scholars’ attention, which raised some interesting questions about research and praxis. But the great part of this, to me, is two researchers would raise this self-reflective question and that *Peace and Change* would publish the findings. I think this sort of accountability is admirable and important.

Charles De Benedetti’s article, “Educators and Armaments in Cold War America,” published posthumously in October 2009 with a wonderful introduction and postscript by Charles Howlett, crystallized the challenge for peace studies scholars and teachers. The global pursuit of security through annihilation left teachers questioning what responsible civic education would have to look like, and while teachers engaged an active dialogue on education in 1945, by 1948 education became an “instrument of national policy” employed in the national security structure. I think there’s something about the conceptual inconsistency of “security through annihilation” that has made it difficult for most systemic, evidence-based, thoroughly rational peace education to take root. Or maybe that’s a reading of the article through the lens of my own experience, but either way the article has stayed with me.

*4. How do you think having Peace & Change based at Creighton University can help the History program there or the college as a whole?*

The History Department and the College of Arts and Sciences at Creighton are thrilled at the arrival of *Peace and Change* because its mission dovetails nicely with Creighton’s Jesuit Catholic mission. One of the central goals of Jesuit education is to form “contemplatives in action” who are prepared to work for social justice. These values are infused in our teaching and research practices, so Creighton is very pleased to make a home for *Peace and Change*. Having *Peace and Change* in Creighton’s

History Department is bringing students and faculty new opportunities to engage with peace history and peace studies in ways that support their professional practices. It also is a catalyst for the Creighton community to look more broadly at peacebuilding histories and practices outside of the Catholic, Christian, and even religious traditions. So I see the institution and the journal as having closely aligned missions that are mutually supporting and have the potential to promote growth in one another.

*5. Do you have any specific ideas about raising the visibility of the journal among historians and among peace studies scholars and programs?*

As funny as this might sound from a person who has never even had a Facebook account, I think that digital and social media are untapped resources with great potential for raising the profile of *Peace and Change*, for



bringing more scholars into conversation, and for keeping those conversations going between issues. I have been talking to Wiley and to the journal's new managing editor about starting a Twitter account to announce upcoming articles, book reviews, and special issues. In addition, there are plans under way to start a *Peace and Change* blog, not just to get the word out about content, but to post current and historical articles of interest, features about teaching peace studies, information on emerging peace movements,

responses from readers to content in the journal, and anything else that might be of interest to historians, peace studies scholars, and programs (whose work we can highlight in this digital space). Digital media is easy to circulate to various scholarly organizations, programs, and individuals who might never have considered their work in terms of its relevance to peace studies. So I will encourage everyone to get in on these conversations and to share the links with colleagues within and outside of PHS.

*6. What kind of advice have you been getting as a new editor from previous editors of the journal, or from others, about being an editor of an academic journal?*

I am lucky to have received so much helpful information and to have drawn from the wisdom of Erika Kuhlman, Robbie Lieberman, and colleagues who have edited academic journals of various kinds. The one piece of advice that I have heard from every one of these experienced editors is to find a good managing editor—and I have! Andy Wilson is a doctoral candidate in the Department of History at the University of Nebraska, Lincoln who has been instrumental in setting up digital infrastructure and who is already doing a great amount of the work of moving manuscripts through the first stages of the blind peer review process. His own scholarship on the international dimensions of the Nicaraguan Revolution, which includes the Anti-Contra War movement in the United States, Latin America and Europe, intersects with the interests of many PHS members. He will be doing work for the journal at the October 2015 PHS conference and we hope that he will have the opportunity to meet many PHS colleagues. I, too, am looking forward to getting better acquainted with the people and the scholarship that makes PHS so vibrant in my new role as editor of *Peace and Change*.

And speaking of input and suggestions, I would love to hear PHS members' ideas about the journal. I'll be available to chat at the PHS conference and am always happy to receive emails, at [HeatherFryer@creighton.edu](mailto:HeatherFryer@creighton.edu).



**Peace History Society, Biennial Conference, 2015**  
**“Historical Perspectives on War, Peace, and Religion”**  
**University of Saint Joseph, West Hartford, Connecticut:**  
**Draft Program**

Note: Changes may be made to this program as the conference approaches.

Early registration for PHS members (due by Sept. 25) is \$100, which includes all meals listed here. Rates are reduced from graduate students, adjunct or retired faculty, and independent scholars. (Non-members pay somewhat more, so becoming a PHS member makes sense for those attending.) The closest airport is Bradley International, which is between Hartford and Springfield. For full registration information, as well as hotel and transportation information, go to: <http://www.peacehistorysociety.org/phs2015/>.



*Keynote speaker Leilah Danielson of Northern Arizona University, Friday at 1:30*

**Thursday, October 22: Welcome Reception (6:00-7:00) and Dinner (7:00- )**

**Friday, October 23**

**Continental Breakfast (8:00)**

**Welcoming Remarks (8:30-9:00)**

**Session I (9:00-10:30) – Concurrent Panels**

Panel 1 – Religion and the Politics of War and Peace

Moderator: Jen Cote (USJ)

Doug Rossinow (Metropolitan State), “Writing the History of American Zionism: National, Transnational, and Postnational Perspectives”

Robert Shaffer (Shippensburg), “*The Christian Century* and Mainline Protestantism’s Opposition to Harry Truman’s Cold War Policies”

Lawrence J. McAndrews (St. Norbert), “Patriotic Prelates: 9/11, George W. Bush, and the U.S. Catholic Bishops”

Panel 2 – Ending Militarism, Seeking Justice

Moderator: Prudence Moylan (Loyola, Chicago)

Christy Jo Snider (Berry), “Narrow Nationalism vs. World Loyalty: The Debate over Religious Discrimination in the International Federation of University Women during the 1930s”

Philip Wight (Brandeis), “The Violence of Economic Growth as God: E.F. Schumacher’s Religion of Permanence”

Trevor Burrows (Purdue), “Tracing ‘Religion’ in the Work of the Student Peace Union, 1959-1964”

Panel 3 – Engaging with the World War I and Vietnam War Commemorations:

A Workshop for Teachers, Researchers, and Activists

Ian Fletcher (Georgia State)

Yael Simpson Fletcher (independent scholar)

Karin Aguilar-San Juan (Macalester)



**Session II (10:45-12:15) – Concurrent Panels**

Panel 4 – Religious Explorations of War in the Service of Justice

Moderator: Father Cheah (USJ)

Nancy Gentile Ford (Bloomsburg), “‘To Dispel this Depression and Gloom’: American Chaplains in World War I”

Tom Pynn (Kennesaw State), “Jain Principles, Practices, and the Idea of Just War”

Deborah Buffton (Wisconsin-La Crosse), “The Uses of Christianity for Peace and War in Remembering World War I”

Panel 5 – Anti-Military Movements in Latin America

Ginger Williams (Winthrop), “The SOA and U.S. Militarism in Latin America: Sixty Years of Defending an Institution”

Marc Becker (Truman State), “Ecuador’s early no-bases movement”

Marian Mollin (Virginia Tech), “Not Political? Ita Ford, the Maryknoll Sisters, and the Use of Faith to Foment Social Change”

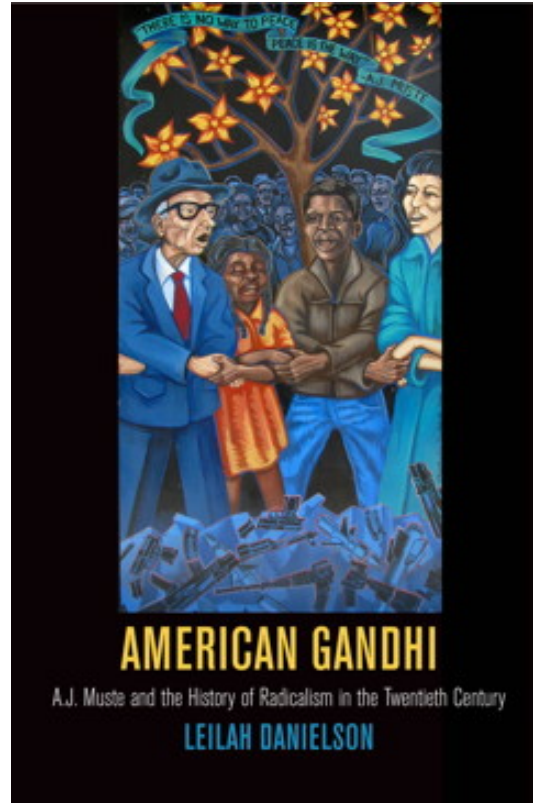
Panel 6 – Campuses of Compassion in Connecticut

Agnes Curry and Nancy Billias (USJ), and other Connecticut university chapters, TBA

**Lunch (12:30-1:30)**

**Keynote Session (1:30-2:45): Leilah Danielson (Northern Arizona):**

“American Gandhi: A.J. Muste and the History of Radicalism in the 20th Century”



*The cover of Danielson's 2014 book on A.J. Muste*

**Peace History Society general membership meeting (all invited) (3:00-4:00)**

**Session III (4:00-5:45) – Concurrent Panels**

**Panel 7 – Religion and the Pursuit of Peace in Global Context**

Moderator: Kevin Callahan (USJ)

Takuo Namisashi (University for Peace, Costa Rica), “The Role of Religions in the Construction of Anti-War Society – From the Post-Pacific War Period in Japan”

Ke Ren (Univ. of Indiana, South Bend), “Reformist Monks, Muslim Generals, & International Anti-Aggression: Religious Organizations & the Rassemblement Universel pour la Paix in Wartime China, 1938-40”

Jean de Dieu Basabose (Shalom Educating for Peace, Rwanda), “The Role of Spiritual Culture in Building a Resilient Human Society: The Contribution of Religions in the Aftermath of the 1994 Rwandan Genocide”

David W. McFadden (Fairfield), “The Protestant Social Gospel, the Search for a Historical Jesus, & Openings to Soviet Russia in the 1920s”

Panel 8 – Religion meets the Challenge of Peace

Moderator: Sister Ann Caron (USJ)

Stephen Minnema (Viterbo), “Menno and Munster: The Anabaptist Quarrel over the Sword of the Lord”

John Laaman (Auburn), “In the World, But Not of It: The Church of God and Its Peace Doctrine”

Andrew Bolton (independent scholar), “Peace & Violence in the Mormon Quest for the Kingdom of God”

Ellie Stebner (Simon Fraser), “John Amos Comenius (1592-1670): An Ambassador of Peace”

Panel 9 – Religious Leaders and the Practice of Peace

Moderator: Shyamala Raman (USJ)

Elizabeth N. Agnew (Ball State), “A Deliberative Devotion: Jane Addams and Mohandas Gandhi”

Deborah Kisatsky (Assumption), “Religion, War, and Peace: Ballou, Tolstoy, and Gandhi in Comparative Perspective”

Jeffrey D. Meyers (Lutheran School of Theology, Chicago), “The Theological Embrace of Gandhian Nonviolence by Protestant Pacifists in the First Half of the Twentieth Century”

Irina A. Gordeeva (Russian State Univ. for the Humanities), “From the ‘weapon of the weak’ to civil resistance: Russian radical pacifists & Russian sectarians in the late 19th & first third of the 20th century”

**Banquet and Awards Presentation (6:00-7:30)**

**Saturday, October 24, 2015**

**Continental Breakfast (8:00-8:30)**

**Session IV (8:45-10:15) – Concurrent Panels**

Panel 10 – Religion and Peace in Places, Actions, Memorials

Moderator: Nancy Billias (USJ)

Stephanie Boyle (N.Y.C. College of Technology), “The People Demand: Media, Religion and Gender and the Egyptian Revolution of 2011”

Shelley Rose (Cleveland State), “Place Matters: Occupied Spaces in German Peace History, 1921-1983”

Luther Adams (Univ. of Washington-Tacoma), “An Issue near the People’s Heart: Letters, Writing and the Protest against Police Brutality in the 1930s and 1940s”

Panel 11 – Non-Violence for the Irreverent: Secular Pacifists and Their Religious Histories

Moderator: Sandi Cooper (CUNY)

Scott Bennett (Georgian Court), “David McReynolds, the War Resisters International, and Transnational Opposition to the Vietnam War”

Amy Schneidhorst (Univ. of Illinois, Chicago), “Three Steps, One Bow: Creative Community Building as Strategy for Border-Free Peace against U.S. Asia Pivot Policy”

R.L. Updegrove (independent scholar), “Godless Nonviolence: A Tradition of Secular Nonviolence”

Panel 12 – Education for Peace or War

Moderator: Chuck Howlett (Molloy)

Ellen Ross (Swarthmore), “John Jackson (1809-1855) and Rachel Tyson Jackson (1807?-1883): On Religion, Peace, and Education”

Scott Harding (Univ. of Connecticut) & Seth Kershner (Northwestern Connecticut Community College), “Exploring Faith-Based Opposition to Militarism in Education”

Chantel Lavoie (Royal Military College, Canada), “Reading Together, Fighting the Good Fight: A Little Book for Mothers and Sons (1919)”

Panel 13 – Religion and the Struggle against Boko Haram

Moderator: Ian Fletcher (Georgia State)

Samuel Abioye (National Open Univ. of Nigeria, Abuja), “Historicizing the Role of African Traditional Religion in the Fight Against Terrorism (Boko Haram) in North-East Nigeria”

James Okolie Osemene (Univ. of Ibadam) & Rosemary Ifeanyi Okoh (Univ. of Ibadam), “Engendering Human Security Consciousness: Comparative Analysis of the Role of Religious Institutions in Taming Terrorism in Nigeria”

James Olusegun Adeyeri, “Nigerian State and the Boko Haram Insurgency: A Study in Causation and Strategy for Peace and Security”

### **Plenary Session (10:30-12:15): The American Catholic Peace Movement: Past and Present**

Moderator: Ben Peters (USJ)

Michael Baxter (Regis, Colorado), “On the Front Lines in ‘The Army of Peace’: Ben Salmon's Catholic Witness to a Church and a World at War”

Robert P. Russo (Lourdes, Ohio), “The Causes and Consequences of Dorothy Day’s Pacifist Stance”

Andrew Barbero (Southern Illinois), “God’s Fool for Peace: Fr. Carl Kabat, Antinuclear Activism, and the Radical Catholic Peace Tradition at the Dawn of the Twenty-first Century”

Respondents: Tom Cornell (Catholic Peace Fellowship); Peter Maurin (Catholic Worker Farm, N.Y.); Chris Allen-Doucot (Hartford Catholic Worker)





**Lunch (12:30-1:30)**

**Session V (1:30-3:00) – Concurrent Panels**

Panel 14 – Peace, Religion and the State

Moderator: Shelley E. Rose (Cleveland State)

Joseph Jones (Univ. of British Columbia), “Canadian Mennonite Assistance to American Vietnam War Refugees”

Guy Aiken (Univ. of Virginia), “American Quakers and Nazi Germany”

Stephen Morgan (Notre Dame), “Reluctant Peacemakers: Rhenish Missionaries & the Herero Genocide”

Panel 15 – Understanding the Causes of Violence

Moderator: Agnes Curry (USJ)

Breann Fallon (Univ. of Sydney), “God and Genocide: Fetishisation Behind Specified Slaughter”

Jusuf Salih (Univ. of Dayton), “The Rhetoric of Anger: Violence and War in Bosnia & Herzegovina”

Gail Presbey (Univ. of Detroit, Mercy), “Gandhi’s views on Terrorism and Counter-Terrorism during the British Rule of India”

Panel 16 – Islam and Traditions of Peace or War

Moderator: Ken Long (USJ)

Aboubakr Tandia (Univ. of Bayreuth, Germany), “Islam and Peace Building in Independent Senegal: A Journey through Biographies and Traditions”

Mahmood Baballah (King Fahd School of Translation, Univ. Abdelmalek Saadi, Morocco), “The connotation of peace and war: Beni Hassan as case study”

Ali Askerov (Univ. of North Carolina, Greensboro), “Islam: A Religion of War or Peace?”



*West Hartford, Connecticut: **the** place for peace scholars to be on October 22-24, 2015!*



## Newly Acquired Manuscript Collections in the Swarthmore College Peace Collection, now open to researchers

By Wendy E. Chmielewski, Curator

The Swarthmore College Peace Collection (SCPC) in southeastern Pennsylvania houses a wide variety of formats and resources on non-governmental efforts towards peace around the world. Collection resources date back to the early nineteenth century and continue through the present day. New resources are acquired on a daily basis. Some of the new manuscript collections acquired since the beginning of 2014 are listed below:

### Genesee Valley Citizens for Peace Records

Genesee Valley Citizens for Peace, headquartered in Geneseo, New York, was formed in 1972 as a nonviolent activist group which worked against the Vietnam war, for amnesty for war resisters, for nuclear disarmament (with particular emphasis on Seneca Army Depot in Romulus, N.Y.), and for a change in national priorities to stress human needs rather than military spending. Members are currently active in opposing U.S. participation in war in the Middle East and elsewhere. GVCP is affiliated with Peace Action of New York State.

### C. Douglas Hostetter Papers

Douglas Hostetter has been a dedicated peace activist, writer, and photographer since at least the 1970s when he was involved in the Vietnam anti-war movement. He was involved in relief efforts in Indochina in the 1970s. Hostetter worked for the New England regional office of the American Friends Service Committee in the 1980s, and then joined the Fellowship of Reconciliation as that organization's executive secretary (1987-1993). Additional Hostetter papers, especially covering his involvement with the Bosnian Student Project in the 1990s, may be found in the FOR Records, also in the SCPC.



### Military Families Speak Out Records

Military Families Speak Out (MFSO), is an organization opposed to the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan whose members have relatives or loved ones who have served in the military since the fall of 2002. The MFSO collection includes material on almost 4,000 military families throughout the United States and in other countries.

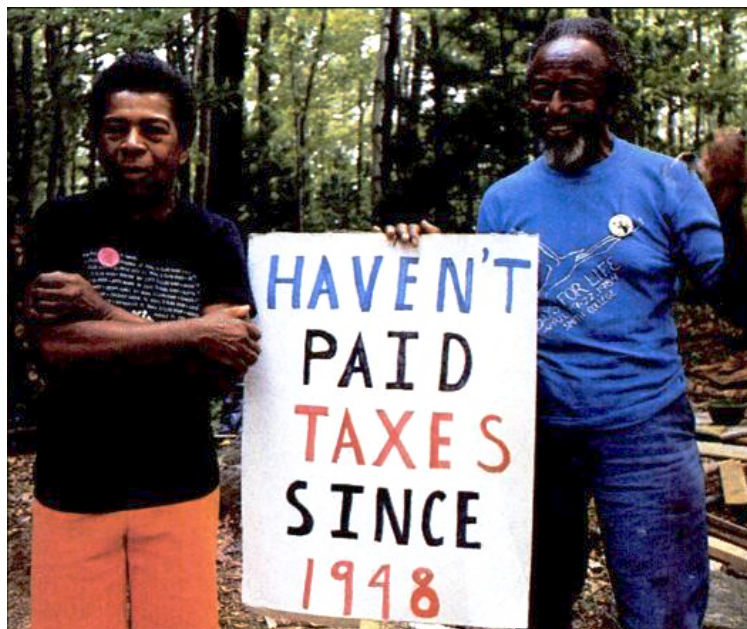
## **Juanita Nelson and Wallace F. Nelson Papers**

Wally Nelson (1909-2002) and Juanita Nelson (1923-2015) were long time peace activists, tax resisters, civil rights activists and practitioners of non-violence and sustainable intentional/communal living. Wally Nelson was a conscientious objector during World War II; having vowed not to support war, he served almost three years in federal prison. With other COs Wally protested the racial segregation in prison by participating in hunger strikes. After the war he participated in the 1947 Journey of Reconciliation, which was the first Freedom Ride to integrate public transportation, and which was sponsored by the Congress of Racial Equality and the Fellowship of Reconciliation. Wally later became a full-time organizer for CORE. Juanita Nelson began her first protests in the late 1930s against segregation, and while a student at Howard University she was arrested for protesting “whites only” dining facilities in Washington, D.C.

The Nelsons joined the pacifist Peacemakers group in 1948, becoming war tax resisters and life-long practitioners of non-violence. Juanita and Wally also lived at the intentional, racially-integrated community at Koinonia Farm in Georgia, raised their own food in a small village in New Mexico, and then moved to Deerfield, Massachusetts in 1974. In Massachusetts they were associated with Quaker-run Woolman Hill, where they were homesteaders. The Nelsons adopted the income-reduction method of war tax refusal and cut their expenses dramatically — building a house with salvaged materials and without electricity or plumbing, and growing the majority of their own food on a half-acre of land, and living on less than \$5,000 per year.

Both Nelsons will be long remembered for their over 40 years as peace and civil rights activists, tax resisters, and practitioners of non-violence and sustainable intentional/communal living. The way they lived out their convictions, and their leadership in social justice inspired many.

The Nelson Papers consist of thousands of documents, photographs, and other items relating decades of activism for peace and social justice.



*War tax resisters Juanita and Wallace Nelson, undated photo*

## **Carol Rainey Papers**

Carol Rainey is a feminist, peace activist, poet and writer. This collection contains Rainey's

writings and correspondence with friends, including Frank D. Moore, poet Denise Levertov, and peace activist Marion Bromley.

### **Daniel A. Seeger Collected Papers**

In the late 1950s Daniel Seeger had applied for, and was denied, conscientious objector status due to an explicit provision of the Universal Military Training and Service Act of 1948 which required people to base their beliefs on a Supreme Being if they were to receive CO exemption from military service. In 1965, after years of appeals, the U.S. Supreme Court, in *United States of America vs. Daniel A. Seeger*, delivered a unanimous verdict in Seeger's favor. The Court held that it was not reasonable to exclude agnostic people who did not believe in a Supreme Being from conscientious objector classification, and that to do so would amount to the establishment of religion. The Seeger collection in the SCPC concerns various aspects of this important court case.

### **Topsfield Foundation Records**

The Topsfield Foundation, Inc. was founded in 1982 by retired businessman Paul J. Aicher to enhance civic engagement and improve the quality of public life in the United States. In its early years the Foundation aided grassroots citizens' groups in working against nuclear proliferation. In 1984 the Foundation began publishing the state-by-state *Grassroots Peace Directories* to provide networking information for these organizations and the larger peace movement. In the mid-1980s Aicher created "Access, a Security Information Service," based in Washington, D.C., to further the exchange of information and viewpoints on international affairs and conflict transformation. At about the same time he also helped form OPTIONS to improve and deepen the debate over security policy and to increase public participation in policy formation.

These collections, and hundreds more located in the Peace Collection, are open to all researchers. Finding aids for these and other collections are on-line at: <http://www.swarthmore.edu/Library/peace/>. Please contact SCPC Curator Wendy E. Chmielewski at [wchmiell@swarthmore.edu](mailto:wchmiell@swarthmore.edu) for further information and to make an appointment to visit the Peace Collection.

**Editor's Note:** The SCPC website lists over thirty books published in 2015 alone which made use of one or more manuscript collections at SCPC. Here are a few of them:

Sarah Bridger, *Scientists at War: The Ethics of Cold War Weapons Research* (Harvard University Press)

Lara Campbell, Michael Dawson, and Catherine Gidney (eds.), *Worth Fighting For: Canada's Tradition of War Resistance from 1812 to the War on Terror* (Between the Lines)

Scott Harding and Seth Kershner, *Counter-Recruitment and the Campaign to Demilitarize Public Schools* (Palgrave Macmillan)

Vincent Intondi, *African Americans Against the Bomb: Nuclear Weapons, Colonialism, and the Black Freedom Movement* (Stanford University Press)

John Kinder, *Paying with their Bodies: American War and the Problem of the Disabled Veteran* (University of Chicago Press)

Amy Kittelstrom, *The Religion of Democracy: Seven Liberals and the American Moral Tradition* (Penguin)

Tiyi Morris, *Womanpower Unlimited and the Black Freedom Struggle in Mississippi* (University of Georgia Press)

Karen Paget, *Patriotic Betrayal: The Inside Story of the CIA's Secret Campaign to Enroll American Students in the Crusade against Communism* (Yale University Press)



## Peace History at Recent Academic Conferences

### Organization of American Historians, St. Louis, April 2015

By Robert Shaffer

#### PHS at the OAH

Peace History Society members organized a round-table discussion at the April 2015 Organization of American Historians conference in St. Louis on the topic, “Activists, Writers, and Expansive Ideas about Peace in the Early Cold War Years.” Building on the conference theme of “taboos” in U.S. history, the panelists presented ways in which certain types of taboos both made it more difficult for ideas about peace to be heard in American society and have contributed to the relative lack of attention to such ideas by historians.

Robbie Lieberman of Kennesaw State University spoke about three African American novelists whose writings in the post-World War II years clearly demonstrated revulsion with war and yearnings for peace. Nevertheless, Lieberman argued, reviewers at the time and scholars more recently have tended to portray these novelists as focused almost solely on civil rights issues, thus narrowing the scope of their concerns and unfairly divorcing the movements for peace and civil rights.

Marian Mollin of Virginia Tech argued that the gendered ideology of the World War II and post-war years coded pacifism as effeminate, and thus weak, making it more difficult for pacifist ideas and alternatives to be taken seriously. Nevertheless, Mollin also described the efforts by many male pacifists, especially those imprisoned as conscientious objectors during World War II, to transcend these gendered assumptions by engaging in what she called the tactics of “the masculine spectacular.”

Rich Updegrove, who recently received his recent Ph.D. from Northern Arizona University and who is now teaching high school social studies in Duluth, Minnesota, examined the difficulties faced by writer, theorist, and activist Barbara Deming in having her ideas of pacifism as androgynous accepted in the 1960s and 1970s by pacifists, feminists, and the broader literary culture.

Leilah Danielson of Northern Arizona University hypothesized that advocates of peace and anti-militarism have received less attention than they deserve in part because contemporary critics and more recent scholars perceived them as unrealistic, utopian, and often overly religious, and thus unworthy of serious attention. Danielson also argued that peace historians and peace studies scholars have played into this marginalization by trying to meet critics on the level of “realism,” thus abandoning, at least in part, the task of critically portraying pacifists on their own terms.



*Left to right: Robbie Lieberman, Leilah Danielson, Marian Mollin, and Rich Updegrove unwinding after their peace history panel in St. Louis*

The discussion with the audience highlighted two major issues: the relation of peace history or peace studies to other emerging



fields, such as human rights studies and transnationalism; and the need to investigate concretely how different groups of people used the calls for “peace” in different ways and for different purposes. (I had the honor to serve as moderator for the panel.)

## Urban History and Peace History

Michelle Nickerson of Loyola University Chicago gave the keynote speech at the Urban History Association luncheon during the OAH conference, under the provocative title, “Burn Draft Cards, Not Cities: Catholic Leftist Politics of the Vietnam Era.” Nickerson’s lecture provided fascinating and compelling background to the failed attempt by anti-war activists to destroy files in the Camden, New Jersey draft board office in August 1971, an action which led to their arrests and a celebrated court case known as the “Camden 28.”



*Michelle Nickerson after her Urban History Association luncheon address*

Nickerson argued that the mainly Catholic anti-draft protesters, who were all white, were acting not only from anti-war

principles but from their embrace of the “preferential option for the poor” which was then emerging among many Latin American and other Catholics around the world. Moreover, she stated that these anti-draft activists acted explicitly in solidarity with the increasingly Black, Puerto Rican, and poor residents of the



rust-belt city, residents victimized by the police and the political power structure. Thus, the Camden 28 sought to disrupt a system of conscription in that city’s draft board which disproportionately targeted these disadvantaged groups.

Firmly tying peace history with urban and civil rights history, Nickerson focused on the coincidence of a so-called “Puerto Rican riot” against police brutality occurring on the very eve of the draft board raid – a “coincidence” which illuminated one aspect of the motivations of these direct-action Catholic leftists in working for a more just society.

## Other Panels

One of the occupational hazards of large conferences is that panels appealing to similar audiences are often scheduled in the same time slot. So I was not able to attend three other panels relevant to peace history that ran concurrently with our panel on peace activists. Two of these panels dealt explicitly with historical memory and contested versions of public history; the third revisited a landmark effort in the 1970s to reign in the increasingly lawless “national security state.”

In one, film-maker Linda Hoaglund showed excerpts from “Things Left Behind” (2013) on the atomic bombings in Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The panel, including Hiroko Takahashi of Hiroshima City University, Naoko Wake of Michigan State University, and Elyssa Faison of the University of Oklahoma, examined the memory of these bombings in Japan and the U.S.

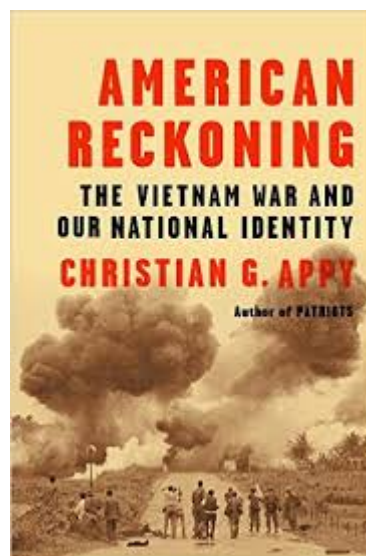
In another, representatives of the National Park Service and of the Northern Cheyenne tribe joined Ari Kelman of Penn State University in discussing changing interpretations and presentations of the 1864 Sand Creek massacre in Colorado; Kelman is the author of a recent book on the massacre of 200 Cheyenne and Arapaho Indians by the Colorado militia.



The third panel, “The Church Committee at 40: Surveillance and Reform since the 1970s,” looked at the long-term impact, or

not, of the Senate investigations into CIA-directed covert operations, assassinations, and other dirty tricks of U.S. foreign policy. The round-table including Kate Scott of the College of William and Mary, Athan Theoharis of Marquette University, Laura Kalman of the University of California, Santa Barbara, and John Fox of the FBI.

How to characterize episodes of violence in the American past was also the key issue in a panel on “Ethnic Cleansing or Genocide? Native Peoples and the United States,” a session which PHS member Marc Becker of Truman State University chaired, and in a panel on “Memorializing Massacres in the American West,” which covered anti-labor and anti-Indian violence. There was also a session on “Teaching World War I during the Centennial: New Sources and New Interpretations,” which focused on materials to use in high school Advanced Placement or college-level survey classes.



I was able to attend a “State of the Field” session on “Military History/History of the Military,” and am pleased to report that it demonstrated much overlap between the concerns of peace history and the “new” military history. Indeed, panelist Christian Appy of the University of Massachusetts, the author of a new book, *American Reckoning: The Vietnam War*

*and Our National Identity* (2015), referred to the Peace History Society as he discussed the need for critical analyses of war and militarism. Meredith Lair of George Mason University, who gave an impressive overview of new works on the social history of soldiers' lives, recounted as well some of the hostility she has encountered from more traditional military historians over her book, *Armed with Abundance: Consumerism and Soldiering in the Vietnam War* (2014). Tami Davis Biddle, who teaches at the U.S. Army War College and whose studies of strategic bombing during World War II raise questions of ethics and efficacy, described a class she was teaching about World War I which exposed current Army officers to the full range of views about that war, including antiwar voices and the writings of disillusioned veterans. The panelists convincingly demonstrated that the field of military history has come a long way, and that there is plenty of room for dialogue between military and peace historians.

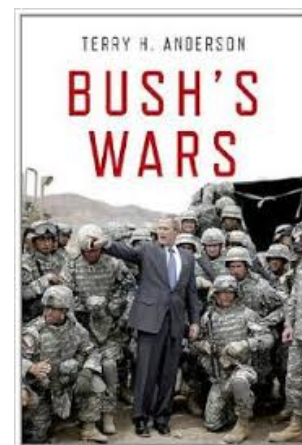
## **Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations conference, Arlington, VA., June 2015**

By Robert Shaffer

Discussion of international cooperation, human rights diplomacy, efforts to prevent war, and critical analyses of war abounded at the annual conference of the Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations (SHAFR), which was held in Arlington, Virginia – almost in the shadow of the Pentagon – in June 2015. Here are just a few examples.

A high-profile panel, “Comparing America’s Wars in Vietnam, Iraq, and Afghanistan,” addressed a packed room, with nary a good word to be heard about U.S. policy-makers in either case. Terry Anderson of Texas A & M and David Anderson of the Naval Postgraduate School, both U.S. military veterans, joined Marilyn Young of New York University and John Prados of the National

Security Archive in the discussion, which was chaired by Christian Appy of the University of Massachusetts. Between them, the four speakers have authored or edited a whole shelf of books relevant to this topic, including but by no means limited to: *Bush’s Wars*, by Terry Anderson (2012); *Vietnam: The History of an Unwinnable War, 1945-1975* (2009) and *Hoodwinked: The Documents that Proved How Bush Sold Us a War* (2004), by Prados; *Iraq and the Lessons of Vietnam: Or, How Not to Learn from the Past* (2007) and *Bombing Civilians: A Twentieth Century History* (2010), both co-edited by Young; and *The Columbia History of the Vietnam War* (2011), by David Anderson. Marilyn Young and David Anderson have each served as president of SHAFR.

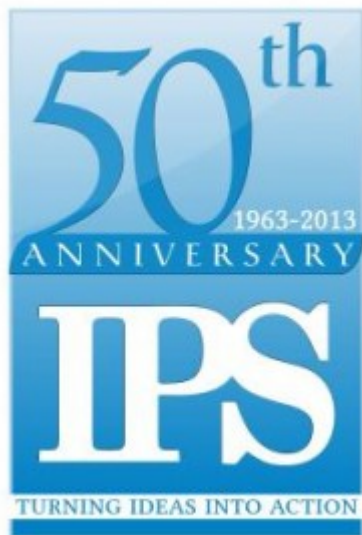


There were two panels at the conference on African American internationalist visions and activism, which included, among other presentations, analyses by Robyn Spencer of Lehman College, CUNY of Robert Williams and the Vietnam War; by Ronald Williams II of the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill on TransAfrica; and by R. Joseph Parrott of the University of Virginia on the impact of African liberation on African Americans.





A panel on “American Critics of U.S. Empire” profiled antiwar writers, intellectuals, and activists from the 1940s to the 1980s. Robert Shaffer of Shippensburg University uncovered the opposition to the early Cold War by former New Deal official Harold Ickes. Brian Mueller of the University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee, described the Institute for Policy Studies’s analysis of the “national security state” during the Vietnam War era. (Mueller’s related essay on Arthur Waskow of the IPS appears in the July 2015 issue of *Peace & Change*.) Michael Allen of Northwestern University examined the transnational connections of the nuclear disarmament movement of the 1980s and the significant impact it had in helping to end the “cold war consensus.”



The impact of peace activists and American internationalists – often referred to at SHAFR as “non-state actors” – became clear in other presentations, as well, on a range of panels. Shannon Nix of the University of Virginia uncovered clear links between activists outside of government and key Congressional representatives and their aides in the 1970s in pressuring the Carter administration to end its support of the Somoza regime in Nicaragua. Anya Jabour of the University of Montana

discussed “International Social Work and Transnational Feminism between the World Wars,” with their ideals of “world fellowship.” Seth Anziska of Columbia University detailed the role of some American Jews whose outreach to Yasser Arafat through “citizen diplomacy” helped lead to the PLO’s recognition of Israel. And there were many other similar examples of such scholarship at this conference.

### **Songs of Social Protest, Limerick, Ireland, April 29-May 1, 2015**

By Robbie Lieberman  
Kennesaw State University

I attended a conference on this topic in Limerick, Ireland, April 29-May 1, 2015. Sponsored by the research cluster on Popular Music and Popular Culture at the University of Limerick, the conference was attended by people from all over the world. Over the course of three days, ethnomusicologists, historians, and social scientists presented their work and carried on rich discussions on themes that crossed geographical and disciplinary boundaries.

Topics of presentations included aboriginal rights in Australia; censorship and the media in the Philippines, Portugal, Brazil, and elsewhere; the umbrella movement in Hong Kong; the Occupy Gezi movement in Turkey; Bob Dylan’s and John Lennon’s antiwar songs; Pussy Riot’s performance in the media; and music and social movements in various parts of Africa. But this list doesn’t do justice to the passion with which people talked about their research and the many overlapping themes, such as the form and content of protest songs, their links to movements for peace and justice, and the attempts to censor or silence protest singers.

My own paper was called “The Strange History of ‘Kumbaya’: Challenging Cultural Defusion of Songs for Peace and Justice.” I talked about the song’s origins as an African American spiritual, its links with the U.S. left and the peace movement in the early cold war

era, its uses at moments of great tension during the civil rights movement, and then the way it began to be used in a snide and cynical way. I concluded with some recent work to reclaim the original meaning of the song. One example is its inclusion in the credits of the movie *Selma* as part of a medley that one blogger called “a revelation. These songs were built to travel the distance from slavery and incarceration to freedom, and that’s why you can still hear them being sung today.” My paper suggested that when people casually dismiss attempts to find common ground or seek compromise as “kumbaya moments” they do a serious injustice to historical memory and distract attention from issues that dearly need it. “Kumbaya” was never intended to mean being passive in the face of injustice; in fact it meant just the opposite. Singing together, whether it was “We Shall Overcome” or “Kumbaya,” meant finding the strength to continue the struggle. “Kumbaya” is not the greatest song by any means, but in mocking it we undermine our own struggles for peace and justice.

In addition to the provocative papers presented, the conference featured a number of cultural events, including music in some form every evening. One night featured the performance of a local band, another recorded songs played by a DJ (one of the conference organizers) at the Scholars Pub, located on the university campus, and finally a banquet (of fish and chips) at a pub in downtown Limerick at which Irish protest singer Damien Dempsey performed in front of a very enthusiastic crowd. We were also treated to a reading from Irish writer Joseph O’Connor and a workshop on how to write a protest song.

At the end of our three days together, people said lengthy farewells, exchanged contact information, and expressed interest in continuing the conversations that began in Limerick. The organizers plan to publish a book based on the papers given at the conference, and there is also discussion of having a similar conference every other year. Anyone who does related work is free to join the research cluster—and many

presenters did join in the wake of the conference—and we continue to explore other ways to share our work and support each other.



*Ireland on the eve of the popular vote for marriage equality, which passed overwhelmingly (photo by Robbie Lieberman)*

It was a fascinating moment to be in Ireland, as there were signs everywhere about the upcoming referendum on marriage equality (which has since passed). We stayed with a working class couple who had a large picture hanging in the wall of our bedroom that I thought was worth sharing with readers of this newsletter:





# Vietnam: THE POWER OF PROTEST

## **“The Battlefield of Memory”: Commemorating the Vietnam Antiwar Movement**

By Ian Christopher Fletcher  
Georgia State University

“Vietnam: The Power of Protest,” the conference called by Tom Hayden and the Vietnam Peace Commemoration Committee (VPCC) held in Washington, D.C. over the May Day weekend, marked a double anniversary: fifty years since the virtually simultaneous escalation of the American war in Vietnam and expansion of the antiwar movement in the U.S. in 1965, and forty years since the end of the conflict in 1975. After 1975, with some antiwar activists working to build a real peace between Vietnam and the U.S., and many others becoming engaged in long years of antinuke campaigning and Southern Africa and Central America solidarity work, there was hardly time for anyone besides historians and social scientists to take stock of the movement and its impact on U.S. politics and policy. The movement’s profound challenge had, arguably, almost been forgotten in public life until the Afghanistan and Iraq wars produced a new antiwar movement, spanning an older generation of Vietnam-era activists and a younger generation of soldiers and veterans as well as students. By the time the Pentagon announced

its plans to commemorate the Vietnam War, the need to recall the Vietnam antiwar movement and discuss its enduring significance had become urgent. As the VPCC puts it, we are “fighting on the battlefield of memory.”

Participating in the conference was a very moving experience for me. I became involved in the antiwar movement as a kid during Moratorium in 1969. At the conference, therefore, I was amazed to be able to see and listen to people like Julian Bond, Ron Dellums, and Susan Schnall, people I had come to know of and greatly respect in those years; to join hundreds of other conferees in singing along with Holly Near after all those years; to walk with everyone to the new Martin Luther King



*Former U.S. Representative Ron Dellums (D-Calif)  
speaking at the conference*

Memorial on the Mall, where we heard Margaret Prescod, in an impassioned speech, connect the *now* of struggle, past and present.

This commemorative linking of Dr. King with the antiwar movement was one example of the effort made by the conference organizers to highlight the contribution of Black, Chican@, and Puerto Rican activists, the depth of opposition to the war in communities of color, and the ways the war was thoroughly intertwined with racial and social injustice in the U.S. Asian American activists also played important parts in the movement, and I was particularly sorry that among the many conference break-out sessions and mini-plenaries I could not attend the discussion

devoted to Vietnamese, Cambodians, and Laotians in the U.S. during and after the war.

My impression was that the bulk of conferees had taken part in the movement and thus the event served as a sort of reunion and rendezvous with history, like recent gatherings of activists from the civil rights-black power movement. I heard several people say that, once they learned about the conference, they were determined to be there even if it meant driving all night, and I witnessed other people run into each other who had not seen each other for decades. The program's break-out sessions and mini-plenaries offered many opportunities for participants to give accounts of their antiwar experience, to reflect on what it has meant for them, and in some cases to revisit and reexamine differences that shaped and sometimes ruptured the movement.

I was glad to see staff from the Activist Video Archive ([www.activistvideoarchive.org](http://www.activistvideoarchive.org)) recording the experiences of many attendees, in a room set aside for this purpose. The Archive will make recollections available online, which should serve as a valuable resource for teachers and researchers. There are stories yet to be told as well as lessons still to be learned. Half a century later, however, it must be admitted that time is no longer on our side.

Tom Hayden, Heather Booth, and other members of the Vietnam Peace Commemoration Committee want to continue this effort of commemoration, education, and engagement with the questions of peace and democracy that resonate from the Vietnam War to the present. One suggestion that appeals to me is to organize grassroots conferences where people can explore the history of local antiwar movements, connections to the national and global antiwar movements, and legacies for ongoing peace and justice work in their communities. The Peace History Society may want to consider a dialogue with the VPCC about the possibility of cooperating on an event or initiative that brings together historians and veteran activists. In any case, individual PHS members are undoubtedly already involved in commemorating as well as

researching and teaching the Vietnam antiwar movement, and our upcoming PHS conferences might serve as a venue for us to share what we're doing and to support each other in these efforts.



### **“The Vietnam War Revisioned by Those Who Opposed It”**

Sociologist James Loewen, author of *Lies My Teacher Told Me*, posted a wide-ranging account of the conference on History News Network on May 12, 2015. Excerpts follow, focusing on Loewen's comparison of this event with similar recent commemorations of episodes of the civil rights movement. For his full report, go to <http://historynewsnetwork.org/blog/153625>.

“The various fiftieth [anniversary] reunions of the Civil Rights Movement...were at least somewhat triumphant. Although they recognized the continuing injustices in our society, they also took pride in the changes that they had wrought, especially in the South. This peace reunion was much more subdued. Speakers were careful not to praise the peace movement for ending the Vietnam War — credit for that went primarily to the Viet Cong and North Vietnamese Army...

There are reasons why peace movement alumni find it harder to congratulate themselves ...Our society has formed a consensus that it is wrong to deny people citizenship, voting rights, jury duty,...etc., based on race. We have not formed a consensus that it is wrong to invade other countries thousands of miles away that pose no threat to our existence. On the contrary, we do it all the time.

Similarly, our society commemorates on its landscape leaders of the Civil Rights

Movement. Every city has its Martin Luther King Avenue...

Nevertheless, *we were right*. The Vietnam War was wrong. The United States was wrong to "ask" its young men to travel around the world to "stop Communism" in Vietnam. The war killed almost 60,000 Americans and more than a million Vietnamese. It cost a fortune, imperiling LBJ's "War on Poverty." It also changed how Americans view their government, because as the edifice of lies that U.S. leaders constructed about the war collapsed, Americans' trust in government tumbled as well. It has yet to recover."



*Julian Bond in 1966, shortly after he was denied his seat in the Georgia legislature due to his opposition to the Vietnam War. Bond, who recently served as chairperson of the NAACP, also spoke at the VPCC.*

## **"Memory and Silence: Carrying Vietnam Era Antiwar Lessons Forward"**

Rick Cohen also posted a report, at <http://nonprofitquarterly.org/2015/05/04/memory-and-silence-carrying-vietnam-s-antiwar-lessons-forward/>. Excerpts follow on the necessity and difficulty of getting young people involved in learning the lessons of the war:

"Tom Hayden talked about the politics of memory at the 'Vietnam: The Power of Protest' program at the New York Avenue Presbyterian

Church in Washington, D.C. The former state senator and former Chicago Seven defendant referenced the forces that stand for denial and historic cleansing. He was talking about generational denial, but it seems that forgetting happens all the time, that our nation wipes out memories and lessons in increasingly shorter timeframes so that we forget what we learned last year, last month, not just 50 years ago...

Something seems out of balance in the lessons of Vietnam, and part of that comes from realizing that, like the participants in this event, it's the same people talking among themselves. We expected the event would be infused with young people eager to learn from the presence and words of Julian Bond, the SNCC organizer in those days who was elected to the Georgia state legislature and then denied his seat..., former Representative Ron Dellums who represented the East Bay of California and was a prominent antiwar voice in Congress, and Daniel Ellsberg, who expected a life sentence for his release of the Pentagon Papers...

Dellums was actually hopeful about the young people of America today. He said that today's young people don't carry the baggage that the 60-, 70-, and 80-year-olds sitting in the church at the event had to carry, the baggage of the myths about America's history that historians like Howard Zinn and others have corrected in their books for today's young learners. The young generation gets it, he thinks—when they hear it. But that means getting young people into exchanges like the "Lessons of Vietnam" program to learn from the likes of Julian Bond, David McReynolds, Arthur Waskow, and Bill Goodfellow...

It was picture-perfect weather in Washington on Sunday, and the young people were pretty absent from the New York Avenue Presbyterian Church. That may not explain it totally. Maybe it is because the crowd was older, that the opening session, moderated by Phil Donahue, honored octogenarians like Cora Weiss, Judith Lerner, Staughton Lynd, Dick Fernandez, George Regas, and Daniel Ellsberg. When the generations aren't really in effective dialogue and exchange, the lessons of this important period of social movement building and activism will be relegated to the memory and silence that Tom Hayden so eloquently described."



## Other Upcoming Events

### PHS Session at 2016 AHA: “Global Dimensions of Peace & Antiwar Activism around the Vietnam War”

The Peace History Society is co-sponsoring a session entitled “The Whole World Is Mobilizing: Global Dimensions of Peace and Antiwar Activism around the Vietnam War” at the American Historical Association annual meeting in Atlanta in January 2016.

Brief presentations will suggest some significant comparisons and connections. Ian Christopher Fletcher will consider how films contributed to a global movement against the Vietnam War. Naoko Koda will discuss trans-pacific connections between the Japanese and U.S. antiwar movements. Juan Pablo Valenzuela will examine the stance of the Chilean left, especially during Salvador Allende’s 1970-73 Popular Unity government, towards Vietnam and the U.S. Abou B. Bamba will track the question of Vietnam in Africa, where leaders and intellectuals drew on a shared anticolonial history and simultaneously confronted Portuguese colonialism and white-minority rule. Karín Aguilar-San Juan will re-examine Susan Sontag’s trip to Vietnam and her

famous essay about it to rethink the U.S. antiwar movement in light of critical race and critical refugee studies.

The goal is to stimulate a wide-ranging discussion, with members of the audience not only responding to the presentations but also contributing their own ideas and insights. Indeed, audience members may be able to enrich the discussion by sharing their perspectives on such topics as the roles of religious bodies and peace INGOs as well as the nature of antiwar activism in other countries and regions. With a view to a possible collaborative project leading to publication, the members of the roundtable want to think expansively with the audience about what a global approach to the histories of antiwar and peace activism during the Vietnam War could look like.

The two-hour session will take place in Salon B of the Hilton Atlanta, 8:30 a.m., Sunday, 10 January 2016.

### Temple University conference on “U.S. Bases and the Construction of Hegemony,” Oct. 9-10, 2015

The Center for the Study of Force & Diplomacy at Philadelphia’s Temple University is hosting a two-day conference on the impact of U.S. military bases, including resistance to the presence of these bases.

The keynote address, by David Vine of American University, is entitled “Base Nation: How U.S. Military Bases Abroad Harm America and the World.” The film, “Occupy Turkey: Resistance in Baseworld,” directed by Amy Austin Holmes, will also be shown.

Panels will address such issues as the role of bases in drone strikes, and the U.S. military occupations in Germany and Japan.

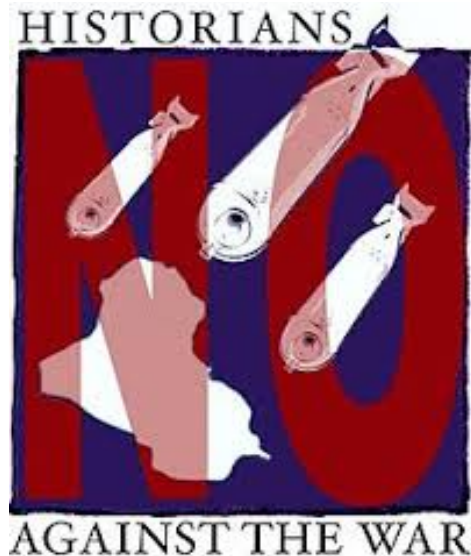
The conference runs from 4:30 pm Friday through late afternoon Saturday, October 9-10. Conference organizers include Andrew Buchanan, Susan Carruthers, Gretchen Heefner, Richard Immerman, and Marilyn Young.

For more information & registration, contact Lafrance Howard at [lafrance@temple.edu](mailto:lafrance@temple.edu).



*A 1965 march in Japan against the Vietnam War*

## Historians Against the War, Israel/Palestine, and the AHA: Round Two



Historians Against the War has announced plans to submit another resolution regarding Israel's violations of academic freedom to the Annual Meeting of the American Historical Association, in Atlanta in January 2016. HAW has been collecting funds and signatures to place an ad about its resolution in the September issue of the AHA newsletter, *Perspectives on History*. The organization will then collect signatures, with a deadline of November 1, for the resolution itself to be placed on the agenda of the AHA's business meeting. A more detailed brochure about Israel's violations of Palestinians' academic freedom is in the works.

HAW's resolutions on Israel/Palestine were major topics of contention at the 2015 AHA annual meeting. (See *PHS News*, Jan. 2015.) The group hopes that its earlier start this year will lead to a more informed debate and better chances for passage.

The new resolution (excluding footnotes) appears below. PHS as an organization has not endorsed the resolution, and *PHS News* is publishing the resolution for the information of its members and readers, and to provide background for those who will be attending the

AHA business meeting. More information on HAW's efforts on behalf of this resolution will be posted at [www.historiansagainstawar.org](http://www.historiansagainstawar.org). Historians Against the War was founded in January 2003 to mobilize historians' efforts to oppose the U.S. war against Iraq, which was then looming.

At the AHA meeting HAW will also co-sponsor, with MARHO: The Radical Historians Organization, a panel discussion on January 9, on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Speakers will include Judith Tucker of Georgetown, and Nancy Gallagher and Sherene Seikaly of the University of California-Santa Barbara.

### Draft Resolution for 2016 AHA Meeting: Protecting the Right to Education in Israel and the Occupied Palestinian Territories

Whereas, members of the historical profession support the Right to Education, including the universal access to higher education enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights; and

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

Whereas, the Right to Education can be exercised only when students and faculty alike have the freedom of movement to teach and study at institutions of their choice; and

Whereas, Israel's restrictions on the movement of faculty, staff, and visitors in the West Bank impedes the regular functioning of instruction and university activities at Palestinian institutions of higher learning; and

Whereas, Israel routinely refuses to allow students from Gaza to travel in order to pursue higher education abroad, and even at West Bank universities; and

Whereas, the Right to Education is undermined or deterred when educational institutions are damaged, or partially destroyed,



and when state authorities raid, and even close, campuses; and

Whereas, during its siege of Gaza in the summer of 2014, Israel bombarded fourteen institutions of higher learning, partially or completely destroying nine of them, including the Islamic University of Gaza, which houses the Oral History Center; and

Whereas, the Israeli military routinely invades university campuses in Jerusalem and the West Bank and frequently impedes entry; and

Whereas, the Right to Education can be exercised fully and freely only when students have access to a broad range of ideas and a faculty of diverse backgrounds; and

Whereas, Israel restricts the right to lecture, teach, or attend Palestinian universities by denying entry to select foreign nationals, including U.S. citizens, thereby denying Palestinian educational institutions the rich experiences enjoyed in other universities worldwide;

Therefore, Be It Resolved that the AHA upholds the rights of all faculty and students, including Palestinians, to pursue their educations and research projects freely and wherever they choose, and therefore

Be It Further Resolved that the AHA calls for the immediate reversal of Israeli policies that restrict the freedom of movement required to exercise this right, including denial of entry of foreign nationals seeking to participate in educational programs; and

Be It Further Resolved that the AHA calls for the cessation of attacks on Palestinian educational institutions, including raids on campuses, which undermine and deter education and endanger historical records;

Be It Finally Resolved that the AHA commits itself to continuing to monitor Israeli actions that restrict the right to education in Israel and the Occupied Palestinian Territories.

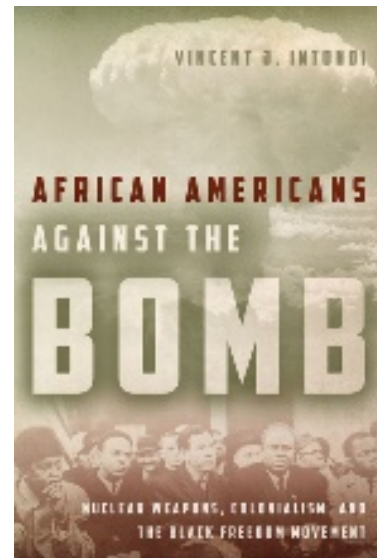
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**Join the Peace History Society –  
go to [www.peacehistorysociety.org](http://www.peacehistorysociety.org)**

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## **Peace Action Fund/New York Awards Gala Will Feature Historian's Presentation**

The William Sloane Coffin, Jr. Peacemaker Award Gala of the Peace Action Fund of New York State, to be held this year on October 13 in N.Y.C., will feature a presentation by Vincent Intondi, author of *African Americans Against the Bomb: Nuclear Weapons, Colonialism, and the Black Freedom Movement* (Stanford University Press, 2015). Intondi is professor of African American History at Montgomery College and Director of Research at American University's Nuclear Studies Institute.



The theme of this year's event is "Peace, Nuclear Disarmament, Civil Rights: The Connection." The main award, named for Rev. Coffin, who served as president of SANE/Freeze (now Peace Action) and as senior minister at N.Y.C.'s Riverside Church, will go to Rev. Herbert Daughtry of the House of the Lord Churches, former chair of the National Black United Front, and a longtime activist in New York City's movements for peace and justice.

The keynote speaker will be Rev. Osagyefo Uhuru Sekou, author, film-maker, theologian, and Black Lives Matter activist. Ticket information and location will be posted at [www.panys.org](http://www.panys.org).

## Member News

**Rachel Waltner Goossen** received the 2015 Roy Myers Award for Excellence in Research from Washburn University in Topeka, Kansas, where she has been a member of the history faculty for fifteen years. The award is given annually in recognition of teaching and scholarship. Most recently, Rachel published "'Defanging the Beast': Mennonite Responses to John Howard Yoder's Sexual Abuse," in the January 2015 issue of *The Mennonite Quarterly Review*. The article interrogates institutional responses to predatory behavior by Yoder, prominent Christian ethicist and America's best-known peace theologian of the twentieth century.

**Seth Kershner** and **Scott Harding** are pleased to present their new book, *Counter-recruitment and the Campaign to Demilitarize Public Schools* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2015). Drawing on archival research and dozens of interviews with activists, their book describes the various tactics used to demilitarize public schools in the United States. They also discuss case studies of successful organizing and advocacy, both past and present. For more info, visit <http://www.palgrave.com/page/detail/counterrecruitment-and-the-campaign-to-demilitarize-public-schools-scott-harding/?isbn=9781137515254>

In April 2015, **Peter van den Dungen** participated in several events in The Hague related to the centenary conference of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF). As a side-event, the International Network of Museums for Peace (INMP), of which he is general coordinator, organised a well-attended round-table entitled 'Vivid Memories of 1915', on the use of historical films for education on women, peace and human rights. As WILPF was in the forefront of the campaign against chemical weapons in the 1920s and 1930s, he organised a

small display on the subject in the headquarters of the Organisation for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons (OPCW), close to the venue of the WILPF centenary conference. In June, in cooperation with the Polish embassy in The Hague, Peter organised a seminar on Jan Bloch on the occasion of the publication of the first biography of him in English: Andrzej Zor, ed., *Jan Bloch (1836-1902) – Capitalist, pacifist, philanthropist* (Warsaw, 2015). Peter contributed the introduction, 'Remembering and Honouring Jan Bloch during the Centenary of World War I.' He also co-edited two issues of INMP's newsletter; see [www.inmp.net/index.php/news/newsletters](http://www.inmp.net/index.php/news/newsletters). On 24<sup>th</sup> May, a programme (including the unveiling of a memorial plaque) was held in the small Van Gogh-church in Nuenen (near Eindhoven, Neth.) to commemorate the famous anti-war sermon of Bart de Ligt exactly 100 years earlier.



**Harriet Alonso** was busy this spring helping to spread the happy news that the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF) reached its 100<sup>th</sup> anniversary at the end of April. In March, she curated a small exhibit on the 1915 International Congress of Women at The Hague for a WILPF celebratory event held at the New York Public Library on 42<sup>nd</sup> Street.

The exhibit featured photos, programs, and other memorabilia found in the Rosika Schwimmer/Lola Maverick Lloyd Collections in the library. It was great fun to go through the files, looking at familiar historical faces and reading new information about the Hague meeting. The program itself, organized by a WILPF committee headed by Lola Maverick Lloyd's granddaughter, Robin Lloyd, included a skit and several presentations on WILPF's current concerns. The event, which attracted well over one hundred audience members, coincided with the meetings of the UN's Commission on the Status of Women in New York City.



On April 28, Harriet was one of five historians (Adam Hochschild, Mineke Bosch, David S. Patterson, and Jennifer Jenkins being the other four) featured on "Peace In Their Time," a radio documentary production of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation produced by Marilyn Powell. The show, IDEAS, also featured the 1915 Hague Congress. The program is truly excellent as it placed the Hague Congress in the context of World War I and international politics. It will be online for a year, and Harriet encourages all of you teaching peace history to give it a listen and to recommend it to your students. Here's the link: <http://www.cbc.ca/radio/ideas/peace-in-their-time-1.3052046>

This said, Harriet has also somewhat conquered her technophobia to launch a website: <http://harrietalonso.com>. She has also included an article on the origins of the Feminist Pacifist Peace Movement, which she hopes will be useful to faculty and students....and any interested parties. In the future, she plans to add more articles on women and peace.

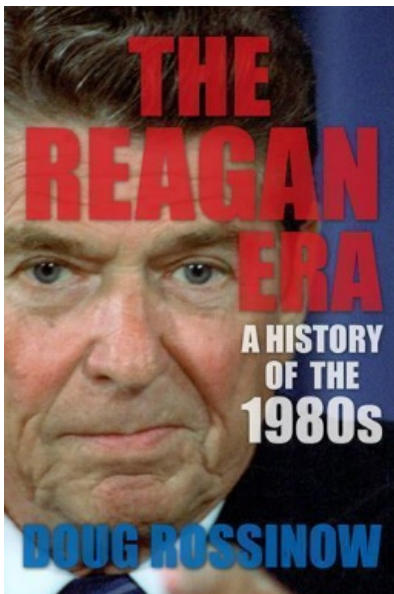
Finally, after forty-eight years of being in the field of education, Harriet decided to retire from that particular work. She began her career in 1967, teaching ESL. However, as the 1980s came into view, she decided to seek a way to unite her political and personal lives. With an MA in Women's History from Sarah Lawrence College and a Ph.D. at SUNY Stony Brook, she entered the world of peace history. Career changes are never easy, but hers worked out really well, with a ten-year stint at Fitchburg State College in Massachusetts and then a sixteen-year run at the City College of New York. She is very happy to be out of the game and eager to continue her involvement with women's, peace, and social justice history through other means. Currently, she is working on two Middle Grade historical novels: one on the Underground Railroad and the other on the 1863 Draft Riots in New York City. And she is also returning to another of her loves – creating political posters using embroidery techniques.

**Doug Rossinow**, a former president of PHS who teaches at Metropolitan State University in Minnesota, has published *The Reagan Era: A History of the 1980s* with Columbia University Press (2015). The Press posted an interview with Doug on its website about the book and about his evaluation of Reagan and Reaganism. Excerpts follow; the full interview is at <http://www.cupblog.org/?p=15994>.

*Q: What were the characteristics or spirit of Reaganism?*

Doug Rossinow: The key to that spirit—and to the agenda—was to elevate the status of wealth in America, and in policy terms to let the wealthy keep more of their money. A new celebration of wealth, and of capitalism, was pervasive in America during the

1980s—and, with a few hiccups along the way, it continued through the 1990s, really up until the Great Recession. Reaganism was a revitalized, energized conservative force in a very broad sense. There were Reaganite preachers and lawyers and even union leaders, not just senators and congressmen. Of course Reagan had a foreign policy agenda too. But since that agenda was driven by a newly aggressive anticommunist stance, the moral basis for Reaganism in domestic and international contexts was the same: upholding freedom, which Reaganites defined fundamentally in terms of the capacity to earn and keep wealth. In some ways we still live in the world Reagan and Reaganites made.



*Q: A lot of younger people, too young to remember the 1980s, don't know much about Reagan, but they believe he played a big role in ending—and winning—the Cold War. Did Reagan win the Cold War?*

Rossinow: Reagan did win the Cold War, but he hadn't expected to, and his policies specifically didn't produce the victory. Reagan wanted to take the fight to the Soviet Union, and to the forces of revolution around the world. He thought Jimmy Carter had been too soft in confronting international communism, even though Reagan really just intensified Carter's policies in Afghanistan, Central America, and Europe. But Reagan did not foresee the Soviet Union collapsing. What he said consistently

was that the Soviets had gained a strategic and technical edge in armaments which many Americans believed in 1980. Reagan's arms buildup, which also amped up something Carter had begun, was massive. It probably didn't cause the Soviets to become more tractable—which they certainly did after Mikhail Gorbachev took power in 1985. Gorbachev was desperate to get out of the arms race. His country couldn't afford it, but this had been building for a long time; rather than saying Reagan bankrupted the USSR with his military spending, we would do better to say that U.S. military spending from Harry Truman through Reagan, collectively, bankrupted the Soviets.

*Q: So, should credit for ending the Cold War go to Gorbachev?*

Rossinow: In making peace and putting the nuclear arms race on a downward trajectory, Gorbachev was the leader, Reagan the follower. Diplomatic historians are pretty united on that point, and with good reason. Reagan ultimately embraced Gorbachev's proposals—but why wouldn't he, when Gorbachev was basically offering to surrender in the Cold War? Winning by default is still winning, and that's what happened in the Cold War's endgame...

In addition, Columbia UP posted Doug's timely analysis of "Reaganism and the Rise of the Carceral State" at [www.cupblog.org/?p=16000](http://www.cupblog.org/?p=16000).

## Peace History Goes to the Theater

Amiri Baraka's last play, staged in New York City by the New Federal Theater in June 2015, was entitled: "Most Dangerous Man in America (W.E.B. DuBois)." The focus, wrote the *New York Times* (June 22), is "on a period late in Du Bois's life when the Department of Justice saw Red, investigating him and several colleagues in connection with their work for the Peace Information Center, an organization thought to have Communist sympathies. Bureaucratic oversights were used as an excuse to discredit and humiliate Du Bois, though he was eventually, and rightly, cleared of any wrongdoing." Baraka, a major figure in the Black Arts movement from the 1960s on, died in 2014.



## Hiroshima/Nagasaki 70<sup>th</sup> Anniversary: An Outpouring of Commemoration, and Solemn Serendipity in the Archives

By Robert Shaffer

I was in my university library on the morning of August 6, combing through late 1940s issues of *The Christian Century* in preparation for my paper the upcoming Peace History Society conference. Among the many noteworthy items that I found was a report on a convocation of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ (a federation of Protestant churches, forerunner of today's National Council of Churches) in St. Louis in March 1946. Under a pretty innocuous headline stating that President Truman addressed the gathering (a bad sign for my thesis that *The Christian Century* and other liberal Protestants were critics of U.S. policy in the early Cold War), the article went on to discuss at much greater length the presentation at the conference of a document entitled "Atomic Warfare and the Christian Faith."

Twenty-two prominent Protestant theologians, which became known as the Calhoun Commission after its chairperson, Robert Calhoun of Yale, drafted the document for the FCC. And it was a blockbuster, denouncing the use by the United States of atomic weapons at Hiroshima and Nagasaki just seven months earlier as "irresponsible" and "morally indefensible." The discussion of the report at the FCC conference led one workshop to call for the "outlawry of all weapons of mass destruction, including the atomic bomb." Such views, of course, were only tangentially connected to the emerging Cold War, of course, but they certainly indicated a willingness on the part of the FCC and *The Christian Century* to be critical of the Truman administration, even as he had just spoken to the group and as it convened in his home state (which was a good sign for my thesis).

It was only when I stopped for lunch several hours later and started reading that day's newspaper that I realized the solemn serendipity of reading in the archives about a critique of the American bombing of Hiroshima on the 70<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the event.

The Calhoun Commission's report was new to me that morning, although a bit of digging quickly revealed that numerous scholars have discussed its significance. Paul Boyer, in *By the Bomb's Early Light: American Thought and Culture at the Dawn of the Atomic Age*, for example, called this "damning indictment" of the bomb's use "the closest thing to an authoritative Protestant response to the atomic bombing of Japan" (p. 202).

So, while my find will not lead to any prizes for historical originality, it reveals – more importantly, of course – that what we find expressed on sometimes crumbling pages in dusty sections of libraries and reading rooms are often still the substance of discussion and debate today. The Calhoun Commission's observations and the FCC's deliberations in 1946 would in many ways be right at home in the outpouring of commemorations in August 2015 of these grisly anniversaries.



*The bombing of Nagasaki, August 9, 1945*

What follows, then, is a haphazard and very incomplete survey of some of the ways scholars, journalists, and activists (and sometimes the three categories overlap, to be

sure) marked the 70<sup>th</sup> anniversaries of the bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

On its website *The Nation* went back to the original sources, posting **Freda Kirchwey's** celebrated editorial, "One World or None," dated August 18, 1945. As Richard Kreitner, *The Nation's* resident archivist, wrote in his introduction, Kirchwey was more concerned about the "obviously long-lasting geopolitical implications" of atomic weapons rather than the issue of whether the specific use of the bomb that month was justified. She also saw positive potential in atomic energy. But individual national sovereignty would need to be limited, and the bomb added an element of urgency to international relations even stronger than had been seen to be the case for most of World War II. Kreitner highlighted this section of Kirchwey's essay:

*If we are to survive our new powers we must understand their full meaning. We shall have to move fast, both internationally and within each country. No longer can we afford a world organized to prevent aggression only if all of the great powers wish it to be prevented. No longer can we afford a social system which would permit private business, in the name of freedom, to control a source of energy capable of creating comfort and security for all the world's people. This seems self-evident, and so it is. But it calls for changes so sweeping that only an immense effort of will and imagination can bring them about. A new conference of the nations must be assembled to set up a World Government, to which every state must surrender an important part of its sovereignty. In this World Government must be vested the final control over atomic energy. And within each nation the people must establish public ownership and social development of the revolutionary force that has thrust into their hands. This program will sound drastic only to people who have not yet grasped the meaning of the new discovery. It is not drastic. We face a choice between one world or none.*

<http://www.thenation.com/article/august-6-1945-the-us-destroys-hiroshima-with-an-atomic-bomb/> for the full post.

"War never  
again!  
Never again  
war!"

-Pope Francis



**Pope Francis** used the anniversary not only to express "revulsion" about these attacks, but to argue against the use of war in the present, and to admonish people that science and human ingenuity can be distorted for enormously destructive ends. Here are sections of the authorized English translation of his August 9 homily, from the official Vatican news network:

*Seventy years ago, on the 6th and the 9th of August 1945, the terrible atomic bomb attacks on Hiroshima and Nagasaki took place. Even after so many years, this tragic event still arouses horror and revulsion. This (event) has become the symbol of mankind's enormous destructive power when it makes a distorted use of scientific and technical progress and serves as a lasting warning to humanity so that it rejects forever war and bans nuclear weapons and all arms of mass destruction. Above all, this sad anniversary urges us to pray and strive for peace, to spread brotherhood throughout the world and a climate of peaceful coexistence between peoples. May one cry rise up from every land, 'No' to war and violence and 'Yes' to dialogue and to peace. With war one always loses. The only way to win a war is never to wage it.*

See: <http://www.news.va/en/news/pope-francis-repulsion-of-hiroshima-nagasaki-attack>

**Peace Action** also highlighted the implications of the anniversary on present-day actions, but with a more critical thrust regarding U.S. policy. Here is a press release from the organization's political director, Paul Kawika

Martin, who was attending the official commemoration in Hiroshima of the bombing:

*Hiroshima, Japan — August 5, 2015 — On the 70th Anniversary of the U.S. atomic bombings (August 6th and 9th), Paul Kawika Martin, the policy and political director of the United States's largest peace organization, Peace Action, released the following statement from the official commemoration in Hiroshima:*



Part of this year's commemoration in Hiroshima

*"Here in Hiroshima, on the 70th Anniversary of the U.S. atomic bombings of this city and Nagasaki, we remember the hundreds of thousands of casualties caused by the most basic of nuclear weapon designs and know that we never want another populous to suffer from such a bomb. Even worse, today's nuclear weapons are several to hundreds of times more destructive.*

*Clearly, these horrific weapons are no asset to any country. The current U.S. plan to waste \$1 trillion over the next thirty years modernizing, maintaining and replacing delivery systems must be stopped.*

*President Obama should heed his Prague speech and live up to U.S. obligations under the Nonproliferation Treaty (NPT) by significantly reducing America's 7,100 nuclear warheads.*

*Additionally, the agreement reached with Iran will verifiably block it from getting a nuclear weapon, making it paramount that the U.S. Congress support the accord."*

*This is Mr. Martin's fourth trip to Japan as a guest of one of the largest peace groups, Ginsuikin. He will also travel to Nagasaki for the commemoration there and to Okinawa to work with the super majority of locals who oppose the U.S. military bases there.*

From: <https://peaceblog.wordpress.com/2015/08/05/peace-action-statement-from-hiroshima-on-70th-anniversary-of-the-u-s-atomic-bombings-of-japan/>

Peace activists in the U.S. commemorated the bombings through a variety of events. In Los Alamos, New Mexico, where the first atomic bomb was built and detonated, 250 people marched on August 6, calling for an end to the production of nuclear weapons. Catholic priest John Dear of Santa Fe, who organizes the annual march, was joined this year by, among others, 86-year-old Rev. James Lawson, an iconic figure from the non-violent civil rights movement. As reported in the *Albuquerque Journal*, Lawson told the crowd, "The fact that billions of people are earning a good living through making the weapons of war, like in Los Alamos, is one of the most dangerous things that has happened to our people, to this nation of ours." For the full report, see <http://www.abqjournal.com/624529/news/we-need-to-abolish-these-weapons-once-and-for-all.html>.



The march in Los Alamos, August 6, 2015

Some events featured the work of historians. Among its line-up of actions, the **Western New York Peace Center** in Buffalo sponsored a presentation on August 6 by **Lawrence Wittner**, past president of the PHS, on "How Peace Activists Saved the World from Nuclear War."

A coalition of groups in New York City sponsored a "Peace Gathering" at the Japanese consulate on August 5, with the goal not only of acknowledging "the catastrophic wrong that was



done to Japan,” but of supporting efforts in Japan today to retain its “peace constitution” and to reject participation in the “United States-Japan military alliance.” Thus, this gathering expressed criticism of both the Obama administration in the U.S. and Shinzo Abe’s conservative government in Japan. Sponsors included **Veterans for Peace, Code Pink, War Resisters League, Pax Christi, Peace Action,** and the **Granny Peace Brigade**. The poster for the event stated that it was “endorsed” by atomic bomb survivors **Shigeko Sasamori, Setsuko Thurlow,** and **Terumi Tanaka,** as well as by **Peter Kuznick,** a history professor at American University and director of that school’s Nuclear Studies Institute.

**Kuznick** was also instrumental in organizing an exhibit on the atomic bombings at American University’s Katzen Arts Center, from June 13 to August 16. Here is the description from the museum’s website:

*In commemoration of the 70th anniversary of the attacks, this powerful show will include 20 artifacts collected from the debris of the 1945 atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki as well as 6 large folding screens that depict the horrors of the event. The 1995 Nobel Peace Prize nominees, Iri and Toshi Maruki, created a total of 15 screens over 32 years from 1950. This exhibition, made possible by the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum and the Nagasaki Atomic Bomb Museum, is meant to deepen understanding of the damage wrought by nuclear weapons and inspire peace in the 21st century.*



A watch recovered from Hiroshima, permanently stopped at the moment of the blast, from the American University exhibit

The *New York Times* also gave prominent coverage to the anniversaries. (Dates and headlines given here are to the print edition; the online versions may differ slightly.) The *Book Review* section led off on August 2 with Ian Buruma’s review of **Susan Southard’s** important new book, *Nagasaki: Life After Nuclear War* (Viking, 2015), which focuses on the human (or inhuman) effects and legacy of the bombing. Southard herself contributed an August 8 op-ed, “Nagasaki, the Forgotten City,” with the provocative sub-head, “Was the second atomic bombing entirely unnecessary?” While



not providing a definitive answer to her own question, Southard argues that the “official narrative” provided by U.S. leaders, that the rapid succession of the two bombs led to Japan’s surrender, cannot stand strict scrutiny. (*The Nation* also published excerpts from Southard’s book on its website.)

The *Times* also ran an “Editorial Observer” column on August 8 by **Serge Schmemmann**, “The Fireball That Forever Changed the World,” which emphasized the present-day stakes in the debate over the dropping of the bomb, a debate which Schmemmann states can probably never be resolved but which must continue. Among the important points that Schmemmann makes, despite his agnostic position, is that “[b]eyond



all these debates lies the haunting truth that in the 70 years since the mushroom clouds over Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the United States remains the only state to have used the weapon.”

News articles in the *Times* included a dispatch on August 7 from Hiroshima itself on the official commemoration of the bombing: “At Hiroshima, Japan Again Mourns Dawn of Atomic Age.” While highlighting Prime Minister Abe’s presence at the event and his call for the abolition of nuclear weapons, the report also noted that some demonstrators present protested his government’s efforts to end certain restrictions on the Japanese military. The *Times* also covered the anti-nuclear weapons march in Los Alamos, but with a focus on the dependence of local residents on the federally-financed research facilities and the argument by some residents and employees that the labs today do much more than simply produce weapons (“An Atomic Legacy Splits Peace Activists and Grateful Locals,” Aug. 8).

The *Times* gave readers a chance to weigh in on the issues in an expanded letters section on August 9, under the heading “Evaluating Military and Moral Fallout of Atomic Bomb.” The fifteen letters chosen – out of “thousands” submitted, according to the editors – offered a range of opinions, of course.

Scholars of the decision to drop the bomb and of U.S. military policy also contributed their views to various websites. **Gar Alperovitz**, one of the original “revisionists” on the question, provided some of the evidence for his thesis for *The Nation* under the title “The War Was Won Before Hiroshima – And the Generals Who Dropped the Bomb Knew It.” The title aptly summarizes Alperovitz’s case; see <http://www.thenation.com/article/why-the-us-really-bombed-hiroshima/>.

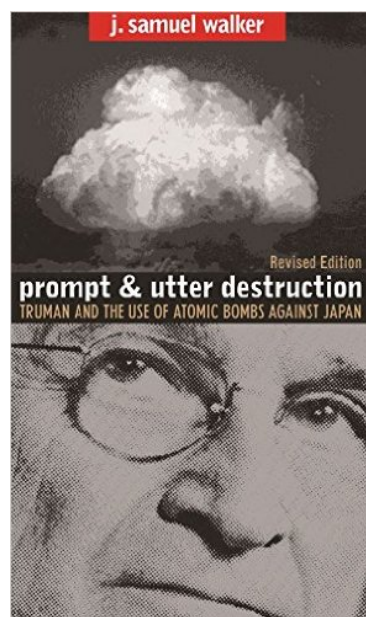
**Christian Appy** took a more sardonic and “cultural studies” approach in “Our ‘Merciful’ Ending to the ‘Good War,’ or How Patriotism Means Never Having to Say You’re Sorry,” on TomDispatch. Appy’s view is similar to Alperovitz’s, but his goal here is “to

dig a little deeper into our lack of national contrition,” and he provides a moving and wide-ranging analysis of several important issues. Appy’s sub-title comes, he tells us, from “an odd fragment of Americana” which kept entering his mind:

*a line from the popular 1970 tearjerker Love Story: ‘Love,’ says the female lead when her boyfriend begins to apologize, ‘means never having to say you’re sorry.’ It has to be one of the dumbest definitions ever to lodge in American memory, since real love often requires the strength to apologize and make amends. It does, however, apply remarkably well to the way many Americans think about that broader form of love we call patriotism.”*

For the full article – a “must-read” for peace scholars and activists – go to [http://www.tomdispatch.com/post/176031/tomgram%3A\\_christian\\_appy%2C\\_america%27s\\_hiroshima\\_and\\_nagasaki\\_70\\_years\\_later/#more](http://www.tomdispatch.com/post/176031/tomgram%3A_christian_appy%2C_america%27s_hiroshima_and_nagasaki_70_years_later/#more)

Not all scholars agree, of course, that there was no justification for the bombings. History News Network provides a debate of sorts. **J. Samuel Walker**, a careful analyst of the Manhattan Project and of the decision to drop the bombs, advocates a middle position in “Harry Truman’s Atomic Bomb Decision: After



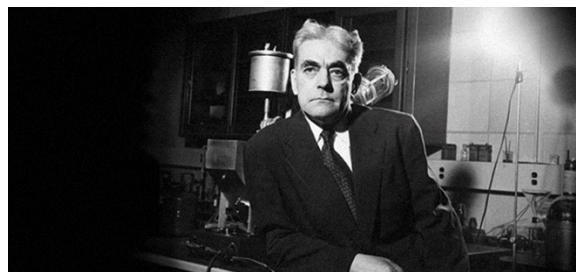
70 Years We Need to Get Beyond the Myths” (posted Aug. 2). Walker argues that Japan was not on the verge of surrender in early August 1945, and thus the “revisionist” view of the decision has flaws. He argues, too, however, that the atomic bombs were not the only alternative to a full-scale invasion of Japan. See <http://historynewsnetwork.org/article/159959>.

In “President Truman and the Atom Bomb Decision: ‘Preventing an Okinawa from One End of Japan to Another’” (posted Aug. 1), military operations historian **Dennis Giangreco** seeks to show that Truman’s decision to drop the bombs was, in fact, based on the advice of others in and out of the military that an invasion of the islands would replicate the bloody Okinawa campaign, and that was a reasonable premise to make at the time of the decision. See <http://historynewsnetwork.org/article/159960>; for a more expansive version of Giangreco’s thesis, with citations, see, for example, his essay in *Pacific Historical Review*, February 2003.

In a “Hot Topics” feature entitled “Hiroshima: What People Think Now,” at <http://historynewsnetwork.org/article/10168>, History News Network provides links to dozens of articles that have appeared on the site over the past fifteen years, from a wide range of perspectives.

In conclusion, I return to the yellowing pages of *The Christian Century* in 1946. One cannot seriously think about the anniversaries of the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 2015 without also thinking about today’s debates over proliferation, abolition, and the proposed agreement with Iran over nuclear weapons development there, just as liberal Protestants sought to address their versions of such issues in the period just after World War II ended. T.R. Hogness, a University of Chicago chemistry professor who had participated in creating the bomb, contributed an essay on atomic weapons to the magazine’s February 20, 1946 issue entitled “Is World Disaster Inevitable?” Hogness observed, as had Kirchwey and as would the Calhoun Commission, that international cooperation was essential to devise a plan to prevent further use of such weapons. Hogness took it for granted that the Soviet Union would consider the Anglo-American monopoly over the bomb as a threat, and that, in

the absence of a strong global protocol, it would, sooner or later, seek to develop its own bomb. Nevertheless, Hogness argued, it was up to the



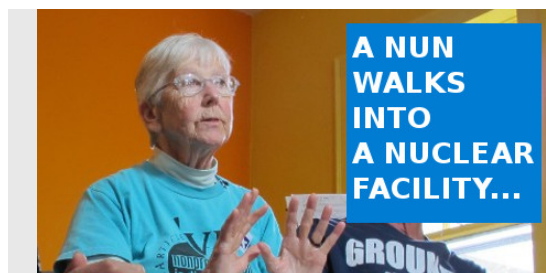
T.R. Hogness

U.S. to make the first concessions in order to break down mistrust and move toward cooperation – “because we own the bomb.”

This self-conscious recognition of U.S. power and of the consequent need for humility and concessions would be helpful today in dealings with Iran and other non-nuclear nations. Thus, Hogness foreshadowed Serge Schmemmann here, and the “haunting truth” that only the U.S. has used such weapons in combat. These points need to be front and center – as many have placed them – as we commemorate the destruction of two cities and 200,000+ people with two bombs 70 years ago.

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Another “must-read” for peace scholars and activists is Eric Schlosser’s “Break-In at Y-12: How a handful of pacifists and nuns exposed the vulnerability of America’s nuclear-weapons sites,” *The New Yorker*, March 9, 2015; see <http://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2015/03/09/break-in-at-y-12>. This almost book-length profile of Sister Megan Rice, below (82 years old at the time of the break-in at the Oak Ridge labs in 2012), Michael Walli, and Gregory Boertje-Obed and their Plowshares movement delves deeply into the the Catholic left.



## Center for Constitutional Rights: Steven Salaita's free speech case moves forward

On August 6, a federal judge handed a stinging rebuke to the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign (UIUC) in its attempt to have Prof. Steven Salaita's case thrown out. Steven was fired from a tenured position based on his personal tweets criticizing Israel's military assault on Gaza last summer.

In denying the university's motion to dismiss the case, brought by CCR and Loevy & Loevy, the court firmly rejected the university's claim that it did not have a contract with Steven, stating, "If the Court accepted the University's



*Steven Salaita*

argument, the entire American academic hiring process as it now operates would cease to exist." The court further rejected the university's attempt to dismiss Steven's First Amendment claims, finding that his tweets "implicate every 'central concern' of the First Amendment."

Hours after the ruling, University of Illinois Chancellor Phyllis Wise, who last year fired Steven, announced her resignation. "[E]xternal issues have arisen over the past year that have distracted us from the important tasks at hand," she said. "I have concluded that these issues are diverting much needed energy and attention from our goals. I therefore believe the time is right for me to step aside."

Meanwhile, Steven has accepted a one-year appointment as the Edward W. Said Chair

of American Studies at the American University of Beirut for this upcoming academic year.

[The latest] ruling follows a June state court decision ordering the university to turn over emails related to the firing that it had refused to divulge, as well as a vote by the American Association of University Professors (AAUP) to censure the university. Earlier this year, the AAUP also issued a report that concluded UIUC had violated academic freedom and due process. The university's leadership has faced sustained criticism and an ever-growing boycott across the academic world.

From "Frontlines of Justice," CCR's weekly e-newsletter, Aug. 10, 2015. For a more complete account from CCR, go to:

<https://ccrjustice.org/home/press-center/press-releases/judge-permits-free-speech-case-against-university-illinois-urbana>

For the comprehensive AAUP report, issued in April 2015, on Prof. Salaita's case, go to:

<http://www.aaup.org/report/UIUC>

For another account of the most recent developments, by Daniel Palumbo-Liu of Stanford University, go to:

<http://www.thenation.com/article/steven-salaita-professor-fired-for-uncivil-tweets-vindicated-in-federal-court/>

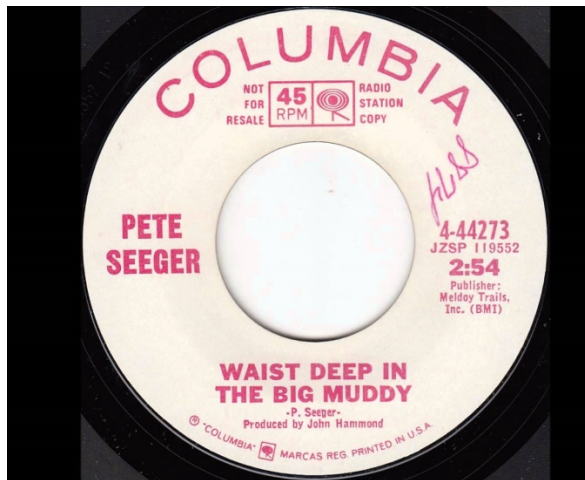
## The Newseum, Washington, D.C.: "Reporting Vietnam" and "Vietnam Music Mondays"

The Newseum, the museum devoted to journalism and a free press located in Washington, D.C. just off the Mall on Pennsylvania Ave. and 6<sup>th</sup> St., has a major exhibit on "Reporting Vietnam" on display for a full year, until September 12, 2016.

As part of the exhibit, the Newseum features a song each Monday on its website and at the museum that connected Americans to the war or that exemplified the ethos of the war-time era. The music series began on Monday, May 4,



2015 with, appropriately, “Ohio,” by Crosby, Stills, Nash, and Young, about the Kent State Massacre. Other anti-war songs profiled as of mid-August 2015 have been: “Machine Gun” (Jimi Hendrix), “Masters of War” (Bob Dylan), “A Change is Gonna Come” (Sam Cooke), “Draft Dodger Rag” (Phil Ochs), “Lyndon Johnson Told the Nation” (Tom Paxton), “Eve of Destruction” (Barry McGuire), “Last Train to Clarksville” (The Monkees) [the Newseum’s website said this one had “a subtle anti-war message”], “For What It’s Worth” (Buffalo Springfield), “Saigon Bride” (Joan Baez), “Waist Deep in the Big Muddy” (Pete Seeger)



and “Alice’s Restaurant Massacre” (Arlo Guthrie). The Newseum has chosen forty songs in all, not all of them against the war.

The songs, with descriptions of their meaning and significance, can be found at <http://www.newseum.org/tag/reporting-vietnam+music/>. (The site is not the easiest to navigate; be forewarned [RS]).

Hugo Keesing, a music historian at the University of Maryland who has compiled the 13-CD, 300-track collection, “Next Stop is Vietnam: The War on Record, 1961-2008,” will give a presentation on “Songs from the Vietnam War Era” at the Newseum on Sept. 12, 2015, at 2:30 pm. Prof. Keesing will play selected songs as part of the program.

For general information about the Newseum, go to [www.newseum.org](http://www.newseum.org).

## The Nuclear Deal with Iran and the Uses of History

By Robert Shaffer

Jimmy Carter, to his lasting discredit, engaged in this exchange during a February 13, 1980 press conference, in the midst of the hostage crisis in Iran:

*QUESTION: Mr. President, do you think it was proper for the United States to restore the Shah to the throne in 1953 against the popular will within Iran?*

*THE PRESIDENT. That's ancient history, and I don't think it's appropriate or helpful for me to go into the propriety of something that happened 30 years ago.*

Of course, acknowledging the historical record – one of the goals of the Iranian militants’ takeover of the U.S. embassy had been to uncover American efforts to support the Shah – might have opened the way for an earlier resolution of the crisis and the lessening of tensions between the U.S. and the new anti-Shah, anti-American government in Teheran.

To his credit, Barack Obama has been more open to historical facts in U.S.-Iranian relations as he seeks to make his case for the proposed deal to prevent Iran’s acquisition of nuclear weapons. Obama has also sought to use historical symbolism in these efforts.

In the course of a wide-ranging interview with influential *New York Times* columnist Thomas Friedman (as published in the print edition on July 15, 2015), Obama said:

*[E]ven with your adversaries, I do think that you have to have the capacity to put yourself occasionally in their shoes, and if you look at Iranian history, the fact is that we had some involvement with overthrowing a democratically elected regime in Iran. We have had in the past supported Saddam Hussein when we know he used chemical weapons in the war between Iran and Iraq, and so, as a consequence, they have their own security concerns, their own narrative. It may not be one we agree with...[but] when we are able to see*



*their country and their culture in specific terms, historical terms, as opposed to just applying a broad brush, that's when you have the possibility at least of some movement.*

The phrase “some involvement” in the 1953 coup might be a bit weak, but on the whole this is a pretty remarkable statement from a sitting American President – perhaps even unprecedented.

Obama then delivered his major address on behalf of the agreement, on August 5, at American University in Washington, D.C., very deliberately choosing the site of John F. Kennedy's June 10, 1963 commencement address at which that other young President announced the start of negotiations with the Soviet Union for a comprehensive nuclear test ban treaty and said that the U.S. would take a first tentative step in limiting the arms race by forgoing atmospheric testing of nuclear weapons. Indeed, Obama began his 2015 speech by describing the circumstances the U.S. faced in 1963, at the height of the Cold War, with many calling on Kennedy “to take military action against the Soviets, to hasten what they saw as inevitable confrontation.” JFK, instead, moved toward negotiations with the other superpower. While “not every conflict was averted,” Obama stated, “the world avoided nuclear catastrophe, and we created the time and the space to win the Cold War without firing a shot at the Soviets.” (Ryan Grim and Jessica Schulberg of the Huffington Post noted, almost as soon as Obama finished his address, that he was “channeling” JFK; see

[http://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/obama-channels-jfk-at-american-university-speech-on-iran\\_55c218fbe4b0138b0bf47e89](http://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/obama-channels-jfk-at-american-university-speech-on-iran_55c218fbe4b0138b0bf47e89).)

There are a few weak spots in this analysis, too – most notably a confusion on chronology of the Cuban Missile Crisis, a refusal to acknowledge the U.S. role in setting the stage for that crisis, and the omission entirely of the Vietnam War. Nevertheless, Obama's recounting of Kennedy's moves toward diplomacy with the Soviets, which included concessions by the U.S., was generally accurate

and effectively mobilized a historical precedent on behalf of the current campaign to convince the American public and enough members of Congress to support the deal negotiated with Iran by the U.S., along with Russia, China, Britain, Germany, France, and the European Union. (The full text of the 55-minute speech is at <https://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2015/08/05/remarks-president-iran-nuclear-deal>.)

Obama, of course, has often sought to “use” history to back up current initiatives. His June 2009 speech in Cairo seeking a new beginning in U.S. relations with the Muslim world included passages on Islamic contributions to world civilization that could have been taken from a 21<sup>st</sup> century World History textbook. (The “new beginning” did not take, to be sure.) Many historians, along with social justice activists, thrilled to Obama's alliterative references in his Second Inaugural Address to “Seneca Falls, and Selma, and Stonewall” as signposts along the journey that Americans were still traveling towards equality. And the President very deliberately chose Osawatimie, Kansas, the site of Theodore Roosevelt's “New Nationalism” speech in 1910, as the venue for Obama's own 2011 speech arguing for a strong federal government role in both economic development and economic justice. (Present-day Republicans were not swayed by that reminder of long-ago Progressive Republicanism.)

To be sure, Obama has also stumbled at times in marshalling historical precedents for his policies, as in his unabashedly “American exceptionalist” argument in September 2013 for military action against Syria. But having criticized the President in the past for such lapses, it is especially gratifying now to be able to congratulate him on his path-breaking and strategically innovative appeals to the historical record.

Critics of the Iran deal have also “used” history to back up their arguments, most notably that the agreement constitutes “appeasement” with an implacable and aggressive enemy. The

agreement's strict procedures for monitoring Iran's research and weapons programs, along with the fact that it is a joint agreement of most of the world's largest powers, are far removed, to say the least, from what happened in Munich in 1938.

To give just one other example of the appeal to history by opponents of the agreement, David Brooks, one of the two resident conservative columnists at the *New York Times*, tried a different, but equally untenable, tack (print edition, August 7, 2015). Brooks argued that the deal represented the third major strategic defeat for the U.S. in foreign affairs in the contemporary period, with the other two being the U.S. loss in Vietnam and the disarray in Iraq today after the American invasion. Brooks attributes these outcomes simply to a failure of will on the part of American leaders and people. If Obama were more committed, Brooks seemed to conclude, we could end both Iranian nuclear efforts and its repressive regime.

Even aside from its pop psychology premise – this emphasis on winners being hungrier for victory may occasionally work in sports, but rarely to explain the outcome of wars and international diplomacy – Brooks's historical analysis is flawed from start to finish. Yes, the U.S. suffered a great defeat in its dealings with Iran, but that defeat came over three decades ago, in 1979, when the Iranian people all but unanimously threw out the U.S.-backed Shah. That revolution did, in fact, lead to a repressive and misogynist regime which has ruled the nation ever since. Nevertheless, the identification of the U.S. with the overthrow of Iranian democracy in 1953 and U.S. support for the Shah's dictatorship for the next quarter-century – as Obama hints at – means that there is precious little support in Iran for American defeat and humiliation of the current regime. Indeed, efforts to do so merely strengthen the more repressive elements in Iran.

Moreover, the two other "big U.S. strategic defeats" which Brooks enumerates – the loss in Vietnam and the morass in Iraq –



*President Kennedy at American University, June 1963, explaining his plan to negotiate with the Soviets to limit nuclear testing*

came about in part due to unilateralist actions of the U.S., without support of the United Nations and against the opposition of most of the world's peoples. Brooks's path – continued efforts by the U.S. to bring down the Iranian regime – would be rejected by the other powers which helped negotiate the present agreement, and would leave the U.S. once again isolated in global diplomacy. Indeed, Brooks's prescription looks eerily similar to the second Bush administration's approach to Iraq in 2002-2003, which led directly to the "strategic defeat" which Brooks bemoans.

The "use" of history is perilous at best, and certainly always subject to contention. President Obama's refreshing, historically-minded comments provide a clear opening through which we can enter the debate, and the facile and emotional appeals by the opponents of the agreement make it imperative that we do so.

I include here three documents that *PHS News* readers may find of interest in thinking about the Iran deal and ways to respond.

First is an endorsement of the agreement by forty peace and social justice organizations.

Second is one of many statements by specific constituencies in support of the deal. Among the many such statements that have appeared – by nuclear physicists, retired American military officers, career diplomats, and the like – I was especially intrigued by the full-page ad in the *New York Times* signed by two dozen Iranian-Americans, including tech company executives, actors, and academics, among others. [www.supportpeace.org](http://www.supportpeace.org), their website, lists signatures of over 1500 other Iranian-Americans.

Third is the statement from Historians Against the War on their blog urging historians to support the peace agreement with Iran.

Finally, among the many articles about the agreement, I include a link to one by centrist political commentator Joe Klein, from *Time*, July 27, 2015: <http://time.com/3960515/why-the-iran-deal-is-a-risk-worth-taking/>. What distinguishes Klein's essay is his brief account of interaction with ordinary Iranians in visits to that nation in 2001 and 2009.

(The commentary above represents the views of its author, and does not necessarily represent the views of the Peace History Society. The three documents reprinted below also do not necessarily represent the view of PHS.)

## **We Are All Connected: Support Diplomacy with Iran**

Dear fellow Americans,

We are Americans of Iranian descent. Like all Americans, we're proud of our great country, and we vigorously defend the U.S. ideals of freedom and opportunity. We've worked together to make this the best country in the world.

Like all Americans, we represent every color on the political and religious spectrum, and we often disagree. But we agree on one thing: that solving problems through communication is better for the world than conflict. In the past few decades, wars have cost Americans thousands of lives and trillions of dollars, and conflict has persisted. When we achieve America's goals through diplomacy instead of war, we all win.

Our message is about people, not politics.

Diplomacy with Iran has the potential to do much more than prevent a war. It provides an opportunity for engagement between cultures, people, and ideas. It creates a chance for Americans and Iranians to create a brighter future that benefits all of our children.

While the government of Iran and the governments of the West have had profound differences, the people of Iran have a long history of tolerance, hospitality, creativity, and innovation that predates modern governments and religions -- and these are values that Americans share. The people of Iran want peace, prosperity, and the pursuit of happiness just as much as Americans do.

We urge you, our fellow Americans, to show your desire for peace and prosperity by supporting the recent agreement among the U.S., Iran, and other major world powers. Join us in embracing this unique opportunity for Americans and Iranians to connect. Let's make history.

**Diplomacy with Iran has the potential to  
do much more than prevent a war.**

[www.supportpeace.org](http://www.supportpeace.org)

## **40 Organizations to Congress: Support the Iran Deal!**

June 30, 2015

To: Members of the U.S. Congress

The following organizations, representing millions of Americans, urge you to support the strong nuclear deal being negotiated currently between world powers and Iran, to vote in favor of an agreement when it comes before Congress and to commit to vote to uphold a Presidential veto should Congress vote against the agreement.

The United States and its partners in the P5+1 expect to secure a final deal with Iran to limit its nuclear program in the coming weeks. Congress may vote on a deal as soon as next month. Your vote will determine whether the U.S. secures peace and cuts off Iran's pathways to a nuclear weapon, or rejects diplomacy in favor of an unconstrained Iranian nuclear program and a new push for war.

This will be among the most consequential national security votes taken by Congress since the decision to authorize the invasion of Iraq.

The American public overwhelmingly supports a diplomatic resolution to the nuclear standoff with Iran and does not want another war. We do not want to see the critical progress that American diplomacy has achieved over the past two years be derailed by some in Congress who prefer military adventurism over diplomatic solutions.

Our organizations will be working in states and Congressional districts across the country to ensure that you and your colleagues hear from your constituents on this critical issue and will hold you accountable for your vote. We hope you will consider this matter carefully and vote for peace.

Sincerely,

American Family Voices  
American Friends Service Committee  
American Values Network  
Americans for Democratic Action  
Americans for Peace Now  
Avaaz  
Church of the Brethren, Office of Public Witness  
Citizens for Global Solutions  
CODEPINK  
Conference of Major Superiors of Men  
Council for a Livable World  
CREDO  
Daily Kos  
Democracy for America  
Friends Committee on National Legislation  
Global Ministries of the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ) and United Church of Christ  
Global Zero  
Historians Against the War  
Institute for Policy Studies  
Jewish Voice for Peace  
Just Foreign Policy  
Mennonite Central Committee U.S.  
MoveOn.Org  
NIAC Action  
National Priorities Project  
Nuclear Age Peace Foundation  
Pax Christi International  
Peace Action & Peace Action West  
Physicians for Social Responsibility  
Presbyterian Church (USA)  
Progressive Democrats of America  
Sojourners  
U.S. Labor Against the War  
United Church of Christ, Justice and Witness Ministries  
United for Peace and Justice  
United Methodist Church, General Board of Church and Society  
USAction  
Win Without War  
Women's Action for New Directions



## Historians Against the War: On Iran Deal, Historians' Voices Are Needed

Posted Aug. 6, 2015, at  
<http://blog.historiansagainstwar.org/>

Since 2003, *Historians Against the War* has spoken out strongly on behalf of peaceful solutions to international problems. This past month, we have received some truly positive news with the signing of the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA) by the United States, its international partners and the government of Iran.

We believe this is an important achievement, which not only reduces the possibility of Iran achieving a nuclear weapon but is a valuable first step in creating a nuclear-free Middle East. It also relieves the economic suffering of the Iranian people, while opening up a door for diplomatic solutions to other longstanding problems.

However, it is no secret that Congressional Republicans are out to kill this deal. And they are receiving a tremendous boost from AIPAC and other well-funded lobbying groups, which have aligned themselves with the Netanyahu government. To be clear: in the absence of a strong grass-roots mobilization, Congress will vote against the deal and could have the votes to override a Presidential veto.

We realize that August is vacation month. **However, historians' voices are urgently needed now in this national debate.** Members of Congress will be back in their district, sounding out their constituents.

### How you can help:

**Sign this petition** in support of the nuclear agreement, which now has more than 400,000 signatures and the support of scores of national organizations  
<http://www.unitedforpeace.org/2015/07/18/petition-act-now-to-save-iran-deal/>

**Call or write your Congressional Representatives and Senators**, letting them know you strongly support this agreement with Iran, and believe that it is in the security interest of the United States and of the Middle East. **Congressional Switchboard: 202-224-3121.**

Consider writing a letter to the editor or submitting an article to your local paper, urging your member of Congress to vote in favor of the agreement.

**Participate in National Day of Action** now scheduled for **Wednesday August 26**, which is being endorsed by numerous organizations (Move-On, CREDO, CODEPINK, United for Peace and Justice, Win Without War and many others) As these are arranged, we can post details. But you don't need to wait. Set up an appointment at local offices, deliver a letter or petition there or conduct a small vigil with a few friends. (We will forward you the relevant links as they become available.)

**It will help our work, if you can send us a quick email letting us know the name and state of your Congressional Representative:**  
[iran2@historiansagainstwar.org](mailto:iran2@historiansagainstwar.org)

Carolyn Rusti Eisenberg and Margaret Power for the HAW Steering Committee