

Abstracts
Peace History Society Conference, October 26-28, 2023
“Peace & Protest, Past & Present”

❖ **Jenna Altomonte and Todd Rowan, “The Politics of Memory: Campus Martyr Memorials” (Panel 3)**

Unveiled on February 8, 2022, the Orangeburg Massacre Monument serves to commemorate the lives of South Carolina State University students Henry Smith and Samuel Hammond, and Orangeburg high school student Delano Middleton. All three individuals were murdered near campus by South Carolina state troopers during an integration protest on February 8, 1968. In Ramallah, Palestine, Birzeit University houses a campus memorial that commemorates over 20 students killed by Israeli Defense Forces in the 2010s. In each case, the campus memorials signify past brutality and the continued fight for equality, civil rights, and self-determination. The Orangeburg Massacre Monument centers on honoring the three victims who engaged in a non-violent protest against police brutality and racial segregation. At Birzeit, the memorial serves as both a past reminder of the violence imparted on the students and the continued fight for visibility and agency. The premise of this paper serves to unpack the political responses to public memory surrounding the erection of campus-based memorials to slain students. We critically analyze the terminology, frameworks, and issues of erasure concerning the legacy of students fighting for civil liberties. Citing Orangeburg and Birzeit, we seek to problematize how said memorials are framed against authoritarian entities (ex. police, military, apartheid states) and how students and solidarity-building organizations work to subvert divisive narratives surrounding their construction.

❖ **Marc Becker, “Latin American mediation of Cold War Conflicts” (Panel 6)**

Brazilian president Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva has recently been in the news because of his unwillingness to join the United States in arming Ukraine in its fight against the Russian invasion, instead proclaiming that Brazil is a land of peace that favors mediation of conflict. At first this proclamation may seem odd considering stereotypical assumptions that Latin America is a region of violent civil conflicts, but this paper considers predecessors to Lula’s positioning in international conflicts. In the early 1960s as relations between Cuba and the United States rapidly spun downward and dangerously close to a nuclear conflagration with the Soviet Union, several Latin American countries including Brazil, Mexico, and Chile resisted joining the United States in its attempts to overthrow the Cuban revolution. Similar to Lula in 2023, the leaders of these countries called for mediation of the conflict, proclaiming that they favored peaceful resolution in an international venue such as the United Nations rather than resorting to armed force. While other countries under conservative governance in the United States sphere of influence in Central America and the Caribbean willingly joined in bellicose actions against Cuba, the small South American country of Ecuador also declared itself to be a land of peace and urged mediation of the conflict. This paper will examine how a small country on the margins of the cold war sought to insert itself into much larger international conflicts in order to bring about a peaceful resolution and avoid what it feared would be a much more disastrous outcome.

❖ **Deborah Buffton, “The Art of Dissent and Peacebuilding” (Panel 3)**

This paper will examine public art and public spaces that are devoted to peace, peacemaking, and conflict resolution. While military monuments, memorials, and spaces abound in our world, peace art and spaces are less obvious, but they exist. Public peace art can include, for example, “Kindred Spirits” (a metal sculpture in County Cork, Ireland), silhouettes of bicycles to remember people who were “disappeared” throughout Latin America, and *arpilleras* (fabric art created to call for

justice). Public spaces devoted to peace can include transnational peace parks and gardens (e.g., the “W” International Peace Park, West Africa) that help build peace between nations, and urban spaces which seek to “redeem” areas where violence occurred (e.g., Peace Park, Janesville, WI). But as we examine when, why, and by whom this art and these spaces were created, we discover the complicated and sometimes fraught discussions that arise when one person’s peace image is an affront to someone else. This paper will examine peace art and spaces around the world, considering when and how they came about, why they succeed or fail in achieving peace, and how they shape our understanding of peace.

❖ **Kevin J. Callahan, “Forging Peace and Internationalism: The Example of Austrian Socialist Victor Adler during the Second International, 1889-1914” (Panel 16)**

International socialism in the era of the Second International (1889-1914) was a force for peace and antimilitarism in the years preceding the outbreak of World War I. Its most famous from an array of anti-war campaigns carried out in Fall 1912 culminating with the November Extraordinary International Socialist Congress held in Basel, Switzerland led to a nomination for the 1913 Nobel Peace Prize. Austrian socialist leader Victor Adler was unquestionably one of the most significant leaders of international socialism, yet, his role has been understudied and overshadowed by more well known individuals like August Bebel, Karl Kautsky, Jean Jaurès, Vladimir Lenin, Keir Hardie and the political theorists of Austro-Marxism. Based mainly on archival sources from Vienna and Amsterdam, this paper will reconstruct and analyze Adler’s activities at some of the most important sites where socialist internationalism was practiced and performed: May 1st celebrations as an international day of labor and peace, international socialist congresses, and possibly involvement in international peace campaigns/demonstrations. Through his skill as a diplomat and mediator, Adler was integral to the crafting of many of the Second International’s most important resolutions on May Day and antimilitarism. While expressing privately skepticism of the ability of international socialism to influence Europe’s decision-makers in matters of war and peace, Adler championed nonetheless socialist internationalism and peace publicly as a moral obligation (essentially a public protest) to highlight the barbarism and mass devastation that would result in a European-wide war.

❖ **Isabel Cook, “Exposing shelters: the antinuclear activism and poetry of CND's Pat Arrowsmith” (Panel 4)**

Pat Arrowsmith (born 2 March 1930) is one of the best-known British peace campaigners and antinuclear activists. A key figure in the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament and the establishment of their Aldermaston Easter marches, she has also campaigned against racial discrimination, against the British military presence in Northern Ireland, against the Vietnam War, and for women's and gay rights, serving eleven prison sentences as a result of her protest actions. Alongside her activism, she is also a novelist and poet. Her poems from the Cold War period, many of which were originally published in publications such as *Peace News* and *Tribune*, cover many of the same causes she addressed in her activism, criticising nuclear policy and civil defence advice, and often taking an ecocritical perspective. Arrowsmith's contribution to peace campaigns in Britain is part of the historical record, but her poetry has been overlooked by scholars. Informed by material from LSE's Arrowsmith archive, this paper highlights parallels between Arrowsmith's poetry and her activism, specifically discussing her preoccupation with shelter and her scepticism towards the nuclear civil defence discourse in Cold War Britain. In word and deed, Arrowsmith inverts the norms around which underground spaces are places of refuge, and which are places of violence.

❖ **Peter Cousins, “The Christian-Humanist Peace Praxis of Jean and Hildegard Goss-Mayr: From Protest to Movements” (Panel 5)**

Jean and Hildegard Goss-Mayr were at the heart of the International Fellowship of Reconciliation (IFOR), as Travelling Secretaries and later Vice-Presidents, for up to fifty years. The IFOR, founded in 1919 as a Christian pacifist response to the First World War, sought the means to take action vis-à-vis the pressing questions posed by events of the 20th century. The now little-known praxis of the Goss-Mayrs, who served the IFOR on all continents, was an answer, and proved influential in preparing a nonviolent movement in Latin America, parts of Africa, and the Philippines. Drawing on original papers from the Goss-Mayr archive at Vienna, my presentation explores the Christian-humanist peace methodology that Jean and Hildegard developed. This is succinctly set out in papers from the late 1980s, a few years before Jean’s death, when they were invited to speak at the ‘Ethics on Nonviolence’ conference in Moscow (itself taking place at a significant time and place in history). The present paper will explore the Goss-Mayr form of nonviolent praxis, as refined over their decades of work and captured in their files. This approach will be illuminated by the empirical case study, exploring events from their fifteen years of engagement in Latin America, based on papers from the same archive. The presentation thereby captures anew the freshness of their protest methodology, one that ultimately played a significant role in building and strengthening liberation movements around the world.

❖ **Anthony Eames, “Moral Democracy and Victorian Values: British Disarmament Debates in the 1980s” (Panel 7)**

In the early 1980s, politicians in Britain framed their country’s relationship to nuclear weapons as the central factor in the relationship between morality and politics. For those in favor of disarmament, especially those within the coalition of Labour MP Tony Benn, the path to eliminating nuclear weapons created the rare opportunity to reform British society and governance to create a “moral democracy.” Those in favor of Britain’s continued commitment to its nuclear deterrent, specifically Margaret Thatcher, believed that the restoration of society’s “Victorian Values” could only be accomplished by triumphing in the disarmament debate. Drawing on the papers of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament and other prominent antinuclear groups in the LSE special collections, official British government records, and the papers of the Conservative Research Department at Oxford University, this paper will show how the competing drives to reform democracy and restore Victorian Values reshaped the United Kingdom’s political parties, altered the relationship between local governments and central government, and increased the prominence of moral arguments in British society.

❖ **Clara-Anna Egger, “Campaigning for a feminist peace – WILPF’s activism in between the World Wars” (Panel 10)**

The Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom (henceforth WILPF) is the oldest existent women’s peace organization in the world. Founded amidst the Great War by activists of the major international suffrage organizations, the WILPF served as an alternative to the lacking pacifist initiatives in women’s rights circles. This grassroots feminist pacifist organization advocated internationally for permanent peace without resorting to violent means. After the armistice was signed, WILPF continued its international peace work, unencumbered by the military conflicts of WWI. Part of its activism was to organize mass demonstrations for the lifting of the allied blockade (known as the *Hungerblockade*) and launched campaigns to raise awareness of the impact the blockade had on the populations of Germany and Austria, particularly on their

children. WILPF women called for demonstrations and introduced petitions to pressure the Allied powers into raise the blockade and put an end to the suffering caused by food insecurity in Continental Europe. Despite advocating for humanitarian causes, the women's peace movement was also a staunch advocate for universal disarmament and established the largest petition campaign to this day: the disarmament petition. In my paper, I aim to demonstrate how the WILPF mobilized people for both humanitarian (famine in Germany) and political causes (disarmament, citizenship of married women) and launched large-scale protests for human rights. I am particularly interested in exploring how the women's peace association internationalized its campaigns, which means of communication were used to disseminate information, and which methods were applied to raise public interest.

❖ **Jerry Elmer: “Conscription, Conscientious Objection, and Draft Resistance in American History” (Panel 9)**

This presentation will focus on the arguments in my book, *Conscription, Conscientious Objection, and Draft Resistance in American History* (Brill, 2023), the first single-volume history of conscription in America from pre-Revolutionary War state militias through the Vietnam era. Previous books, both scholarly and for general audiences, have examined only selected portions of this history. The book takes a detailed look at both the operation of governmental conscription mechanisms and the popular opposition to conscription: organized and unorganized, violent and nonviolent, public and clandestine, legal and illegal. Anti-conscription activity – and its relationship to anti-war sentiment and pacifism – is a major theme of the book. In addition, by considering conscription (and its opposition) across several centuries, the book is able to discern and discuss similarities and differences during different eras. This is also the first book to include a scholarly and detailed look at legal aspects of conscription in the United States throughout the centuries (both statutory and case law). This includes an analysis of constitutional litigation pertaining to conscription as well as discussion of conscription-related cases in the U.S. Supreme Court, lower federal courts, and state courts.

❖ **Tina Filipović, “Antifascism, Disarmament and Non-Alignment: Yugoslav Partisan Veterans as Agents for Peace” (Panel 2)**

Believing in the saying that “none can speak more eloquently for peace than those who have fought in war” (Ralph Bunche, 1950), Yugoslav partisan veterans were devoted to actions for the promotion and implementation of peace, disarmament, solidarity and antifascism across the world. Within the bodies for international veterans' cooperation structured on the federal, republican and local levels of their organization – Union of Associations of Fighters of the National Liberation War (*Savez udruženja boraca narodnooslobodilačkog rata*; SUBNOR) – former partisans participated in international veterans' organizations and developed various forms of cooperation with similar veterans' organizations from numerous European states. Antifascism, ideas on national and social equality, and the principle of non-interference in other's affairs proved to be the links of paramount importance that bound two organizations from different countries together, regardless of their “East” vs. “West” divisions. After being kicked out from the Federation of Resistance Fighters in April 1950 due to the Cold War tensions and Tito-Stalin split in the previous years, SUBNOR participated in the creation of today's largest veterans' international organization – the World Veterans Federation. Global actions on general disarmament, antiwar campaigns, reduction of geopolitical rivalry and local crisis hotspots in cooperation with the UN have intensified in the next few decades. More than 300 veterans, among whom were members of SUBNOR, as one of the organizers of the meeting, gathered in November 1971 in Rome to form a joint agreement on the principles of future European politics, safety and cooperation whose

conclusions entered into the Helsinki Final Act in 1975. With the development of the Non-Aligned Movement, SUBNOR established networks and connections with several veterans' organizations from Africa and Asia, mostly with Algerian, Malian, Egyptian, Indian and Indonesian veterans, thereby rounding off its circle of international cooperation. These channels for transnational communication, exchange of knowledge, technologies and ideas, and the promotion of mutual interests of veterans, such as sustaining world peace, seemed precious for Yugoslav partisan veterans. This paper will therefore focus on veterans' agency and strategies for the promotion of antifascism, peace and disarmament.

❖ **Erica Fugger, “Seeding Global Nonviolence: How Transnational Activists Cross-Pollinated Radical Approaches to Peace during the American War in Vietnam” (Panel 15)**

During the Vietnam-American War, transnational peace organizing networks built radical solidarities across lines of social difference and pioneered diverse tactics of civil disobedience that are seeing a resurgence in contemporary movements. In 1964, Buddhist activist Zen Master Thích Nhất Hạnh created a program that trained urban young people to offer first aid and empowered peasants in the countryside through rural development initiatives. The School of Youth for Social Service offered an alternative pathway beyond the ideologies of revolutionary violence, and decolonized liberal peacebuilding approaches by framing nonviolence as a tradition rooted within Vietnamese Buddhism and larger anti-imperial struggles. In 1965, Christian leaders from within the Fellowship of Reconciliation-USA traveled to Vietnam to learn more about this movement and subsequently sponsored Thích Nhất Hạnh to speak to the American people about Buddhist perspectives on the war. Nhất Hạnh further succeeded in helping convince civil rights leaders like Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. to critique U.S. military intervention, framing resistance against the war as an anti-racist and anti-colonial solidarity struggle. Through these transnational activist networks, Thich Nhat Hanh also interacted with public intellectuals like Bertrand Russell and Jean-Paul Sartre, who sought to hold the U.S. accountable for war crimes and genocide through a people's tribunal model of international justice. Consequently, this presentation will offer insight from my research on collaborations between Buddhist peace activists and the American anti-war movement, exploring the diffusion of principled nonviolence, exchange of resistance strategies, and mobilization of transnational networks to demand an end to the conflict.

❖ **Janet Gerson, “Teaching Peace History Through Tribunal Documentation” (Panel 18)**

Teaching peace history through tribunal documentation offers an opportunity to examine a more comprehensive account of efforts to make peace after war. Historians typically rely on official state and mainstream media accounts. Official authorities declare the onset of war and also declare its end, often accompanied by peace negotiations and treaties. However, these narratives leave out so much of what actually occurred. Post-conflict tribunals take place to fill in the gap in existing official courts. Due to their ad hoc formulation, tribunal preparation and proceedings raise questions of legality, legitimacy and morality, thereby challenging dominant narratives. Post-conflict tribunal documentation offers primary source material for investigation into *who* can write a history of the war, *whose voices* can be heard, *what account* of the events and processes can prevail, and from this discursive struggle, *what understandings* emerge for relationships of peace, justice, and democracy (Gerson & Snauwaert, 2021). Three alternative tribunals will be introduced for their historical context, intentions, and significant historical learning: Bertrand Russell Tribunal on the Vietnam War (1967-68), WWII Comfort Women Tribunal (2000), and the World Tribunal on Iraq (2003-5).

❖ **Laura Haendel, “The Tank as a Symbol of War – and Peace?” (Panel 3)**

For decades, German peace protesters and anti-military movements have used tanks as a symbol for peace: Crossed-out silhouettes, mock-ups, and artistic interpretations of tanks served many purposes in the fight against arms exports, high military expenditures, wars, and environmental destruction. Utilizing examples from our own collection at the German Tank Museum, this paper explores the use of this symbol in different demonstrations, as well as for different parties, movements, and institutions in Germany since 1990s until today. The central case study focuses on the recent shift the tank symbol underwent during the Russo-Ukrainian war since early 2022 as members of the German government lobby for the export of weapons into a war zone – to Ukraine. Interestingly, these are members of the Green party (Bündnis 90/Die Grünen) that originally grew out of the peace and environmental movement in 1991. For their purposes, they devised a new use of the tank symbol: While framed as a powerful “game changer”, the German main battle tank *Leopard* is heralded as a bringer of peace for the Ukraine. Simultaneously, proponents of the export aim to change the same tank’s image on social media by using animal print clothes or leopard emoji in order to mask its use as a deathly weapon.

❖ **David Hostetter, “Foundation for Change: The Pacifist Research Bureau and the Implementation of Nonviolence” (Panel 15)**

Launched by religious pacifists and leading peace activists during the Second World War, the Pacifist Research Bureau aimed to develop research-based literature on the philosophy of pacifism, the creation of a peaceful world, and the application of sacrificial good will to confront evil. The interfaith members of the Bureau included A.J. Muste, E. Raymond Wilson, Dorothy Day, Clarence Pickett, Henry Cadbury, Mildred Scott Olmsted, Richard Gregg and Jane Evans. From 1942 through 1949 the Philadelphia-based Bureau, under the direction of Quaker lawyer Harrop Freeman, produced pamphlets pertaining to post-war peace plans, economics, conscientious objection and the application of nonviolence. Analysis of the records and publications of the Bureau, as well as efforts of its members, addresses key questions about the thinking and action of prominent peace activists during the depths of World War II and the early years of the Cold War. Evaluation of the scope and influence of the Bureau’s work provides insight into the evolution of pacifist conviction in relation to the nonviolent protest agenda of the post-World War II era.

❖ **Jóhanna Jochumsdóttir, “The Watershed Years: Suffrage, Feminism and Peace in Britain 1908-1914” (Panel 16)**

The years leading up to World War I saw the growth of the peace movement and the heights of the suffrage movements in Britain. Whereas the question of women’s suffrage was a contentious subject in many peace organizations, many suffragists interpreted the two issues as inseparable; the attainment of a peaceful international order predicated upon women’s full citizenship and political rights. The summer of 1911 saw the largest women’s procession that had been organized to date in imperial London, the Women’s Coronation Procession held on June 17 and attracting crowds of over 40,000 participants carrying over 700 banners representing both suffrage and peace societies. A month later, an international gathering about peace, the First Universal Races Congress, brought together two thousand people for a four-day gathering with a wide representation of intellectuals and activists, government officials and representatives of religious communities from all continents of the world. Women’s suffrage was, however, perceived as a

“political” subject not to be included in the program. This paper traces Edwardian women’s nonviolent protest to their exclusion from the conversation about peace, as well as their direct actions inserting their voices into the discourses about the “organisation of humanity” and the establishment of peace, making the realization of both, as well as the possibility of “any true or righteous ideal,” dependent on elimination of “male domination.”

❖ **Theresa Keeley, “Preventative Medicine & the Vietnam War: Doctors’ Debates over Care of Injured Children” (Panel 17)**

In January 1967, the Committee of Responsibility to Save War-Burned and War-Injured Vietnamese Children (COR) publicly announced its formation. The physician-led group sought donated medical support “to treat and rehabilitate seriously mutilated young victims of the war who cannot be adequately cared for in war-torn Vietnam” and \$3 million for this endeavor. COR’s proposal sparked an intense debate among medical professionals. Was it moral and ethical to dedicate resources to care for war-injured children when far greater numbers of Vietnamese suffered from preventable diseases? If a doctor practiced preventative medicine, did that mean eradicating disease through improved sewage facilities and inoculation programs in Vietnam, or was the best medicine ending the war? Should a doctor be “nonpolitical” and what did that mean? These debates took place in medical journals and the popular press. Less obvious, however, were the links between many of these physicians and the Johnson administration as well as the U.S. government’s use of medicine in Vietnam to dampen U.S. opposition to the war and to gain Vietnamese civilian support. In exploring these issues, this paper relies on archival documents from COR, the Lyndon B. Johnson Presidential Library, honorary COR chairs Dr. Albert Sabin and Dr. Helen Brooke Taussig, as well as press articles and medical journals.

❖ **Seth Kershner, “Forgotten Front: The Anti-Vietnam War Movement at Community Colleges” (Panel 17)**

Decades of historical scholarship have chronicled the antiwar activities that roiled U.S. college campuses during the late 1960s and early 1970s. Yet significant gaps remain in the historiography of the anti-Vietnam War movement. Most notably, historians have almost entirely ignored two-year colleges. Studying student movements at two-year colleges presents challenges for the researcher. Most community college antiwar groups were ephemeral in nature and did not keep records of their activities. Moreover, two-year colleges themselves often lacked sufficient resources for organized preservation efforts. Thus, there is little in the archival record to aid historians. My paper tells the story of student movements on community college campuses in New York State by drawing upon oral histories, student newspapers, and—critically—years of detailed reporting by police spies. In the 1960s and ‘70s, the New York State Police Bureau of Criminal Investigation monitored all “subversives” in the state. After a legislative inquiry forced their intelligence-gathering operation to shut down in the late 1970s, state archives officials snatched up the spy files—more than one-hundred boxes worth—and made them available to researchers. Since a majority of community college students were from relatively low-income backgrounds, chronicling the history of protest on two-year campuses gives historians another angle from which to counter the persistent myth that antiwar activism failed to penetrate the most working-class sectors of U.S. society and will expand on recent scholarship—by Penny Lewis and others—that challenges tidy binaries of “hard hats and hippies,” working-class hawks and antiwar elites.

❖ **Ana Kladnik, “Peace, Disarmament, and Defence System: Neutral and Non-Aligned European States during the Cold War” (Panel 2)**

Neutral and Non-Aligned European States was a Cold War era informal grouping of states in Europe which were neither part of NATO nor Warsaw Pact but were either neutral or members of the Non-Alignment Movement. The group brought together neutral countries of Austria, Finland, Sweden, and Switzerland on one, and non-aligned Yugoslavia, Cyprus and Malta on the other hand. They all shared interest in preservation of their independent non-bloc position with regard to NATO and Warsaw Pact. Neutral and non-aligned countries advocated for peace and disarmament and cooperated within the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE). The question of defence and security in neutral and non-aligned countries was widely discussed. Especially after the intervention of the Warsaw Pact forces in Czechoslovakia in 1968, countries underwent a reform process of their defence systems. In the Yugoslav Republic of Slovenia, for example, organisations such as volunteer firefighters, Red Cross or Scout associations, became part of the Civil Protection organisation, which was part of the General People's Defence. Civil Protection units operated on the republican and municipal level as well as in local communities and in the working organisations. While on the one hand this development shows militarisation of the society, the general social climate in Slovenia in the 1980s supported demilitarisation and envisioned Slovenia and Yugoslavia as a state with no army. This presentation will investigate and compare the defence systems in neutral Austria and non-aligned Yugoslavia, especially during the 1970s and 1980s from the perspective of municipalities and the history of everyday life.

❖ **Jane Kopecky, “WWII COs: Germfask CPS: The Alcatraz Camp” (Panel 9)**

This presentation will focus on my recent book, *World War II Conscientious Objectors: Germfask, Michigan: The Alcatraz Camp* (2020). During WWII, 12,000 conscientious objectors (COs) served in 151 Civilian Public Service (CPS) camps nationwide. Most of the camps were administered by peace churches, although the government operated four camps, including CPS #135, located in Germfask, Michigan. In collaboration with the Michigan State Board of Mental Health, Germfask was set up in to observe noncooperative COs who, in other camps, had engaged in nonviolent protests against CPS (“slave labor camps”), trivial work assignments, the government-peace church alliance in administering conscription, and other ills. Approximately 100 of the most ardent CO war resisters were held for 13 months in Germfask in 1944 and 1945. Many of these militant COs had advanced college degrees and the ability to influence fellow CPS campers. Accordingly, Selective Service isolated them to prevent them from triggering discontent with other COs. At Germfask, approximately 20 percent of the men -- including Corbett Bishop, Don DeVault, Richard Lazarus, and Art Partridge -- were the ring leaders. To protest, they used work and hunger strikes, work slowdowns, and other forms of noncooperation. They lived together in a nonconformist barrack. They refused to clean their barracks or empty the garbage. Some put themselves on sick leave. They disregarded rules concerning camp leave and came and went as they pleased. Some walked out of camp (AWOL) and sentenced to terms in federal prisons.

❖ **John Laaman, “Abandoning Peace in War: The Militarism Debate in the Methodist Episcopal Church, South” (Panel 5)**

The Great War erupted in Europe in 1914. Initially, southern churches, mirroring public opinion in the United States, viewed the war with horror and actively advocated the country stay out of the conflict. However, three years later, the United States declared war on Germany and entered the Great War. Southern Christians, against like most Americans, generally viewed this decision positively and supported the war effort, largely abandoning their earlier rhetoric of opposition to the war overseas. Nevertheless, there were elements within many churches in the South that were reluctant to support the war or vigorously opposed the decision to declare war. The Methodist

Episcopal Church, South was one denomination that experienced this shift. Although southern Methodists spoke out against the horrors of the “European War” during the three years of American neutrality at the beginning of the conflict, their rhetoric soon changed when the United States declared war on Germany in April 1917. This paper uncovers why southern Methodists en masse turned their attention to supporting the war effort, and links these stories with those of other members, particularly from the Woman’s Missionary Council, who chose to align themselves with peace doctrines found in the denomination’s history. The experiences of this church ultimately highlight the intricacies of church politics as well as the complicated relationship between the church and the state.

❖ **Yurii Latysh, “Conscientious Objection and Draft Evasion in Ukraine during the Russian-Ukrainian War” (Panel 11)**

My presentation will be devoted to the problem of forced mobilization of Ukrainian men into the army. After the Russian attack on Ukraine on February 24, 2022, general mobilization began in Ukraine. All men between the ages of 18 and 60 were banned from leaving the country. Most of these men have never served in the military. Many of them, in order to avoid mobilization, buy false documents about diseases, hide from military recruiters, try to go abroad. More than 13 thousand men tried to illegally leave Ukraine, 9100 wanted to cross the border (near 15 men died), the rest used false documents. The right to alternative service does not extend to martial law. Ivano-Frankivsk Police took 46-year-old Christian conscientious objector Vitaly Alekseenko into custody on 23 February to begin serving his one-year jail term for refusing the call-up to the military at a time of war. His requests to perform an alternative civilian service were ignored and he has appealed to the Supreme Court. In six other criminal cases since February 2022, courts handed conscientious objectors suspended prison sentences and terms of probation. In three of the cases state that they base their objection to military service on their Christian faith. The court decisions in the other three cases describe only the individuals' conscientious objection to killing people. Three Jehovah's Witness young men are currently on trial under Criminal Code.

❖ **Chris Lombardi, “Military Resistance is Conscience in Action” (Panel 9)**

This presentation will focus on my recent book, *I Ain't Marching Anymore: Dissenters, Deserters, and Objectors to America's Wars* (New Press, 2020). I argue that the stories of dissenting servicemembers are important to understanding the course of American history, and that an attention to race, class and trauma suggests a dynamic understanding of peace. This presentation will survey antiwar dissent by soldiers and veterans from the 18th century to the present. My book, *I Ain't Marching Anymore*, grew out of my years working for the Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors in the 1990s. At CCCO, working with a team of veteran volunteers, I answered phone calls from military personnel seeking a way out. From this experience, I concluded that antiwar soldiers and veterans are key to understanding what it means to be a citizen. In their stories, we can see conscience evolving in real time. In the country’s first wars, young recruits like Jacob Ritter discovered conscientious objection long before the phrase was invented, turning to the new nation’s Quaker influences for help; the latter almost led to the 1787 inclusion of conscientious objection in the Second Amendment. Meanwhile, new American citizens in uniform revolted against an army that neither fed nor clothed them (see the 1781 “Mutiny in January”) or ordered them somewhere they didn’t belong. Nineteenth-century America was about who gets to be a citizen, and the era’s dissenting soldiers included abolitionists like Harriet Tubman (who received a military pension, was an active recruiter for United States Colored Troops, and joined the raid at Combahee Ferry) and Lewis Douglass. Douglass went on to speak out against the new war in the Philippines, as the 20th century began. After that war and CO’s first golden age in World War I, we follow the century’s wars right up to the first Gulf War, and dissent in the

newish “All-Volunteer Force.” The latter force spawned new kinds of resistance in the 21st century, including the world-changing actions of Chelsea Manning.

❖ **Henry Maar, “Three Megatons of ‘Peace’: The MX Missile Controversy and the Meaning of Survival in the Late Cold War” (Panel 7)**

In the late Cold War, the “Missile eXperimental,” or “MX,” was the centerpiece of the United States’ nuclear arms buildup during the renewed Cold War arms race of the late 1970s and early 1980s. Its combination of multiple warheads with precise accuracy and a lethal payload measured in megatonnage gave it the potential to be the deadliest weapon invented. It had the potential to become what one Air Force General deemed, “man’s largest project,” with basing plans requiring more man power to build than the Panama Canal, and costs soaring into the tens of billions of dollars. But for all the furor and commotion the weapon created, the weapon was never stationed as envisioned and instead created a larger, drawn on debate that hung on opposition both to basing the weapon and the weapon itself. This paper draws on new archival evidence from the Ronald Reagan Presidential Library as well as materials from the Swarthmore College Peace Collection to re-examine the MX missile controversy. Through the story of the MX, I demonstrate the flexibility of the meaning of survival during the Cold War. Whereas nuclear strategists used the MX to contemplate survivable nuclear war, arms contractors used it to ensure survival of their lucrative defense contracts. For the citizens of Utah and Nevada, where MX was to be deployed, the missile was seen as a threat to the survival of life itself. By blending the stories of politicians and the arms race with those of the people on the ground, we see not just multiple sides of the arms race, but show the effect of average citizens on national security policies. I contend in this paper that the MX missile ultimately was successfully resisted by antinuclear activists who turned a sensitive national security issue into a political uproar for politicians of both political parties.

❖ **Hope Elizabeth May, “Forward Into Memory: A Mnemotechnics of Peace and Justice History” (Panel 18)**

Practiced by the Ancient Greeks, the “Art of Memory” was a sophisticated set of practices using visual images to retain large quantities of information. Used in the Middle Ages in connection with the teaching of ethics and the virtues, the Art of Memory leverages the power that place, sight, and order have upon the mind. Since 2013, I have been developing peace and justice pedagogy inspired by the ancient Art of Memory. In this session, I discuss my decade long experience developing this approach in Europe, South Korea, and the U.S., and the notion of the “Memory Parlor” which, although inspired by the Ancient Art of Memory, differs from it in important ways.

❖ **Brian Mueller, “From Rambo to Gandhi: Veterans Fighting for Peace in Central America in the 1980s” (Panel 17)**

On Veterans Day, November 11, 1984, at the Vietnam Veterans Memorial in Washington, D.C., President Ronald Reagan declared that the soldiers who had returned from Southeast Asia were “forever in the ranks of that special number of Americans in every generation that the Nation records as true patriots.” The brave and selfless veteran is the ultimate symbol of patriotism. Yet, some of the patriots Reagan extolled in his speech had transformed from warriors to peaceniks. Whereas the president sought to exorcise the ghosts of the Vietnam War in an effort to gain public support for interventions in Central America, men who had served in Vietnam, most notably Charles Liteky, George Mizo, and S. Brian Willson, hoped to conjure them. These veterans went on fact-finding missions to Central America to bring Reagan’s undeclared war home to the

American people. Upon their return to the United States, they told stories of how the U.S.-backed Contras, or counterrevolutionaries, had decimated towns and villages across Nicaragua, maiming and killing innocent men, women, and children. Interestingly, the same masculine traits that compelled these men to enlist in the military encouraged risk-taking in pursuit of peace. For more than forty-five days in the fall of 1986, Liteky, Mizo, Willson, and World War II veteran Duncan Murphy sat on the steps of the U.S. Capitol as part of a hunger strike, or “Fast for Life.” Through their peace activism, these veterans contested the meaning of patriotism, which for many Americans, including Reagan, meant uncritical support of war.

❖ **Alexander Nagel, “Where Peace Makers, Peace Movements and Museums Meet: On Empathy and Negotiating Peace Through Antiquities from Yemen Abroad” (Panel 3)**

Understanding the history of looting of art from ancient cemeteries in Yemen after WWII has become of interest in recent years, especially since Yemeni antiquities are still being illicitly trafficked in the twenty-first century. Being aware of the complex situation, in 2014, a group of Yemeni students founded an organization to promote a peaceful image of Yemen and its diverse cultures and legacies in Washington, D.C. Highlighting actions in support of peaceful dialogue and nonviolent protest, The Yemen Cultural Institute for Heritage and the Arts (YCIHA) organizes musical events, workshops, discussions and exhibitions. At the same time, the project “The Last of the Qataban” collected information about the ways antiquities which had left Yemen were presented in the context of current narratives of rescuing and peace negotiation. Through UNESCO co-sponsored meetings in the Gulf of Aden and elsewhere in these last years, collaborations ensured that the current narratives of ‘rescuing antiquities’ were understood critically in context in time and place. This presentation will introduce aspects of the history of the public engagement and research on the future role of museums, academics, and intellectuals. As a peaceful protest, the publication of narratives in which Yemen antiquities are presented as rescued or safeguarded in a museum abroad is critically examined. First and foremost, the paper will ask: Is the past indeed a peacekeeper? Addressing aspects of the instrumentalization of cultural heritage focused policies and activities in the museum environment, the author invites the audience to examine a close reading of archival documentation and evidence.

❖ **Oluchukwu Ignatus Onianwa, “The Global Dimensions of Protests for Peace during the Nigerian Civil War, 1967-1970” (Panel 6)**

This paper investigates diverse dimensions of peaceful protests that occurred during the Nigerian Civil War, 1967 to 1970. The study deploys historical narrative approach for data analysis while it utilizes primary sources such as archival materials and newspapers and magazines obtained from the British National Archives Kew London, and secondary sources such as books, journal articles, and internet materials for data collection. The Nigerian Civil War was a spectacular postcolonial conflict in Africa. Internal political instability, regional crises and military *coup d'état* were the salient causes of the fighting. From 1968, the failure of peaceful settlements and the anxiety that military operations would lead to the massive loss of lives created a global consciousness and desperation that crystallized into protests. Different dimensions of protests for peace were developed by individuals and groups. These tactics were fasting; hunger strike; boycott; issuing of *communiqué*; street protests, verbal attacks and the voluntary burning to death by some individuals talking about a 17-year-old high school student Regis in Lille, France, who burned himself to death on 17 January 1970 followed by Pierre Pinoncelli and Robert Gerevens to protest Biafra's situation. While the protesters were divided into pro-Nigerian groups and pro-Biafran associates the common thing was that they were keen to see peaceful settlement of the war. The peace protests

of the conflict were transnational in nature because the majority of the protesters were non-Africans. Common voices and actions on the call for peace that herald the protests showed that human beings can actually share in the plight of one another undermining their nationality or race.

❖ **David S. Patterson, “Amos Pinchot: Patrician for Peace” (Panel 8)**

Gifford Pinchot, a principal founder of the American conservation movement, is well known to historians, but the accomplishments and travails of his younger brother Amos, a committed pacifist, do not resonate readily with peace activists or peace historians. My paper explores the origins of Amos’s peace ideas and his involvement with peace movements opposing U.S. military involvement in both World Wars. In a previous book, I wondered why this wealthy New Yorker supported women peace activists and opposed U.S. involvement in World War I. Subsequently, I discovered that his pacifism derived from his miserable experiences in the Spanish-American War. He had volunteered in a cavalry unit, but he contracted malaria in Puerto Rico and was incapacitated for several years. A recovered Amos, a talented writer, attacked business monopolies and ran unsuccessfully as a Progressive party candidate for Congress in 1912. Rebelling against stuffy Victorian culture, he was attracted to new ideas, especially free speech and antimilitarism, and in the World War stoutly defended civil liberties and became a spiritual father of the ACLU (1920). The libertarian element in his political thought caused him after 1934 to reject President Roosevelt and the New Deal. His opposition to concentrated power, combined with his antiwar views, prompted him to resist FDR’s moves toward helping the European allies and even to condone antisemitic views blaming Jews for interventionist pressures. In 1940-1941, he became a leader in the conservative-oriented America First Committee. After Pearl Harbor, Amos went into an emotional tailspin and never recovered.

❖ **Roger Peace, “From the Anti-Imperialist League to the Central America Movement” (Panel 8)**

This presentation highlights the efforts of various peace and justice movements in the 20th century to prevent the U.S. from making costly mistakes in its foreign policies. Briefly addressed are efforts to prevent or halt U.S. imperialism in the Philippines, “Yankee imperialism” in Latin America, Cold War militarism and subterfuge, the Vietnam War, and U.S. support for terrorism and human rights abuses in Central America.

❖ **Gary Perkins, “Hidden in Plain Sight—A Century of Jehovah's Witness Peace Testimony” (Panel 5)**

In his 1988 study, Ted Grimsrud noted that Jehovah's Witnesses presented “a very intriguing case of war resistance.” He continued: “Were such questions capable of being answered, it would be worth exploring how much of a consciousness of opposing war Witnesses had. How did the experience of having so many COs affect Witness church communities? How did the overall experience of World War II shape Witness identity?” Sadly, academics haven't explored Grimsrud's questions since, with the exception of a few brief national cameo portraits. Correctly, Grimsrud lamented that ‘materials were scarce’, too scarce in fact to draw satisfactory conclusions back then. But is this still the case 35 years later? Researcher Gary Perkins considers the religious and social origins of the JW peace stand and explains how the Bible Student experience of WWI shaped Witness identity, pointing to significant examples measuring their opposition to war in numerous countries during the following century. Though not without considerable personal cost, how did individuals from this movement transcend national barriers to provide a peace testimony which impacted international human rights legislation as the total number of Witness conscientious objectors simply refused to be ignored? Perkins concludes that since materials are now abundant,

peace studies scholars should revisit Grimsrud's questions and that, if the religious preferences and prejudices we all have can be put aside, an amazing international landscape picture can be appreciated that for some remains 'hidden in plain sight'.

❖ **Christian Peterson, "Joanne Landy and the Campaign for Peace and Democracy—East and West's Transnational Struggle for a 'Détente from Below,' 1982-1991" (Panel 6)**

My paper will recount how the American Joanne Landy in her capacity as co-founder and co-director of the Campaign for Peace and Democracy--East and West (CPD/EW) worked with Central and Eastern Europeans to build a broad, non-aligned international movement that linked the causes of peace and human rights. Striving to build a "détente from below," she exploited agreements like the Helsinki Accords to support Solidarity and defend the rights of citizens in groups like Freedom and Peace in Poland (WiP) to promote pluralism and peaceful change. She also challenged Western peace activists to speak out against the systematic human rights violations taking place in the Soviet Bloc. Not wanting to become what she called a "liberal elite," Landy and other CPD/EW supporters picketed the embassies of repressive regimes and travelled to countries like Poland to defend repressed peace activists. When viewed from a transnational perspective, Landy's work helped WiP, Charter 77, and others link the issues of peace, human rights, and the pursuit of détente in ways that facilitated the end of the Cold War. In addition to examining how the CPD/EW promoted peace from below, my paper will demonstrate why studying socialist thought and activism can enrich the field of peace history. As the revolutions of 1989 unfolded, she warned that the forces of nationalism, xenophobia, and ethnic hatred would eventually prove fatal for the success of liberal democratic government in the former Soviet Bloc unless activists and governments linked the struggle for individual dignity to economic justice—a message that did not resonate with Soviet Bloc dissenters and the leaders of the post-communist European nations and the USSR as much as she would have liked.

❖ **Plenary 1, *A Peaceful Superpower: A Roundtable Conversation about the World's Largest Antiwar Movement***

On February 15, 2023, millions of people in the United States and around the world took to the streets to warn against the Bush administration's impending war against Iraq. This global event was the largest wave of antiwar protest in history. Twenty years later, peace scholar and activist David Cortright, who participated in organizing and coordinating the protests, has published an account that reflects on the emergence of the movement and its political and communications strategies in attempting to prevent the war and its consequences. This roundtable session features Cortright discussing his book, *A Peaceful Superpower: Lessons from the World's Largest Antiwar Movement*, with a panel of others engaged in the antiwar movement that formed in 2003, including historian Carolyn (Rusti) Eisenberg, former CND director Kate Hudson, and author-activist Jonathan Hutto. The discussion will consider the movement's efforts to end the conflict and win Congressional approval for the withdrawal of troops. Roundtable participants will reflect on the frustrations many activists felt in navigating the limitations of conventional politics, as the impact of the antiwar network's sustained focus on the Iraq issue contributed to the conditions that helped bring Barack Obama to the White House. A digital excerpt from Cortright's book will be made available in advance to all those registered conference attendees.

❖ **Plenary 2, "War Resisters League, 1923-2023: A Century of Revolutionary Nonviolent Activism for Peace & Justice"**

Founded in Oct. 1923 by socialist pacifist Jessie Wallace Hughan, the War Resisters League is the oldest secular, radical pacifist organization in the United States. The “radical pacifist” WRL opposes all wars and armed revolution, supports peace and justice, advocates nonviolent social transformation (often along anticapitalistic lines)—and has represented the main voice on the secular, radical pacifist American Left. The WRL is affiliated with the London-headquartered War Resisters’ International (1921), the world’s major secular radical pacifist international federation. The WRL has articulated an alternative vision of American society, international relations, and social revolution; the ends and means of this radical pacifist vision have challenged both the mainstream political consensus and the Left. Over time, the WRL has evolved from a single-issue pacifist registry, educational forum, and political pressure group dedicated to war resistance, into a multi-issue organization championing nonviolent direct action and civil disobedience to promote peace and justice. Besides opposing all war and conscription, WRL and its members have played a key role in the peace/antiwar, civil rights, civil liberties, antinuclear power, and other social movements; and it has championed civil liberties, including the right of dissent and conscientious objection; and it has popularized and Americanized Gandhian direct action. In part, the WRL has functioned as a “movement halfway house.” assisting and shaping better-known social reform groups. This Roundtable will reflect on the history, contributions, challenges, and significance of WRL on its 100th anniversary (1923-2023). The Roundtable features four WRL leaders—Mandy Carter, Ed Hedemann, Matt Meyer, and Joanne Sheehan—who have been active in the League since the 1970s, and a moderator, Scott Bennett, who has written extensively about the WRL.

❖ **Gail Presbey, “Catholics Supporting the Cuban Revolution: Dorothy Day in 1962, Betty Campbell and Peter Hinde in 1989” (Panel 8)**

My presentation will focus on a few lifelong American Catholic activists who devoted themselves in part to helping American Catholics to change their mind about the Cuban Revolution, to see it as a good development instead of as a threat to their religion. Through their travel and their writing, they hoped to convey an alternative view that was not very popular during the Cold War. Day is the more well known of these three, as she is currently on her way to sainthood. Still, many who know of her know little or nothing about her activism for Cuba. Peter Hinde, who passed away in 2020, was a Carmelite priest. Betty Campbell is still alive and is a Sister of Mercy. She served for many years in Peru, and El Salvador in the 1980s, and for the last 25 years at a Catholic Worker house called Tabor House in Juarez, Mexico. She is still involved in a longstanding peace vigil in El Paso, asking for peace and disarmament. My paper focuses on an unpublished book that Hinde and Campbell wrote in 1989, based on the time they spent in Cuba interviewing many people there in attempts to capture an accurate portrait of the society with all of its flaws and strengths. They thought that the punishment meted out to Cuba in the forms of sanctions and attempts at regime change were unjustified and were examples of U.S. imperialism. They hoped that by challenging American Catholics to rethink their negative views about Cuba, sanctions against Cuba could be lifted. They further hoped that Americans and others around the world would better emulate the strengths of Cuban revolutionary government and its people, and build more equitable societies. In this way they understood the researching and writing of the book as part of their activist efforts.

❖ **Aidan Ratchford, “Che Guevara, Non-Alignment, and Peace through Anti-Imperialism” (Panel 2)**

This paper will explore attempts at Non-Alignment, national self-protection and anti-imperialism in Cuba after the 1959 Revolution, using the lens of Ernesto ‘Che’ Guevara’s diplomatic missions. With the ousting of dictator Fulgencio Batista, the 1959 rebel leadership inherited an underdeveloped, dependent nation requiring major structural change across political, economic

and social strata. Six months into the Revolution, while Cuba faced internal and external sabotage, competing ideological currents, and the mass demand for land reform, Che Guevara embarked on a three month 'Goodwill' tour of the main participants of the 1955 Bandung Conference. The aim of this trip was to bring legitimacy to the Revolution and establish new fraternal, diplomatic and commercial relations with the rest of the world. Additionally, the Cubans were aware that the structural changes needed - and demanded - would necessarily involve a rupture of the existing relationship with the United States. Cuba therefore sought to integrate itself into the emerging movement of countries outside of both US and Soviet spheres of influence, leading to Cuba co-founding the Non-Aligned Movement in 1961. The processes involved and the exchanges with new allies included movements for peace, anti-imperialism and national self-protection, with Cuba coming to be a leading voice for the 'underdeveloped world'. In 1964, Guevara undertook a diplomatic mission across Africa, developing Cuban-African relations which would lead to a decades-long era of solidarity between them. Exploring the various forms of diplomatic exchange on these trips, this paper will consider themes of Non-Alignment, self-protection, anti-imperialism and the promotion of peace.

❖ **Ke Ren, "For Civil Liberties and Against Fascism: The 1933 Far East Anti-War Congress" (Panel 10)**

This paper revisits the history of international anti-fascist and anti-war movements in the 1930s by examining the case of the Far East Anti-War Congress held in Shanghai in September-October 1933. Organized by the China League for Civil Rights in collaboration with the World Committee Against War and Fascism, this congress brought together Chinese liberal and leftist intellectuals with their counterparts from such countries as England, France, and Belgium. Taking place shortly after Japan's occupation of Manchuria and in the context of rising Nazism in Europe, the Far East congress echoed the politics of the Amsterdam-Pleyel movement led by Henri Barbusse and Romain Rolland. While embracing a transnational anti-imperialist and anti-fascist politics, the congress, headlined by the civic leader Song Qingling (widow of the revolutionary Sun Yat-sen) also articulated a critical, anti-war position vis-à-vis both Japanese encroachment and China's Nationalist party-state (the Kuomintang or KMT), which at the time prioritized its civil war against the Chinese Communists while censoring and persecuting its liberal critics, including sabotaging the congress itself. Based on analyses of the proceedings and newspaper accounts of the Far East Anti-War Congress, materials from the Shanghai Library and the Swarthmore College Peace Collection, as well as the writings and networks of the Chinese and European anti-war and anti-fascist activists and intellectuals involved in this secret gathering, this paper argues that Far East congress not only demonstrated a collective commitment to countering fascist expansionism, but mounted a strong critique of dictatorship and domestic warfare, centering the issue of the protection of civil liberties.

❖ **Shelley E. Rose, "Chains of Production, Chains of Protest: Women's Peace Camps: 1980-2000" (Panel 4)**

The NATO Dual Track decision in 1979 catalyzed a global movement in reaction to increased presence of nuclear missiles in the United States, West Germany, and the United Kingdom. In this paper I present a historical framework that contextualizes the well-known Greenham Common Women's Peace Camp in the United Kingdom with other women's peace camp sites such as the Seneca Women's Encampment for a Future of Peace and Justice in New York. I argue that camps are part of a transnational movement sparked not only by the imminent threat of nuclear weapons stationed in Europe, but also recognizing the production sites near the Puget Sound, testing sites in Canada, and storage sites in New York. This chain of production catalyzed the development of

a transnational chain of women's protest camps, creating stark contrasts with the hypermasculinity of weapons of war with the everyday domestic activities of the women's camps.

❖ **Andrew Ross, “Occupied Skies: US Military Tests and Indigenous Sovereignty in the Late 20th Century” (Panel 7)**

This presentation will explore the strategies of Indigenous resistance to US missile testing upon their lands in the late-20th century. Specifically, I will investigate two case studies—Marshall Islander protests against US missile testing at Kwajalein Atoll in 1982 and Diné (or Navajo) resistance to the Theater Missile Defense Extension Test Range “drop sites” in 1994. I approach these expressions of resistance against missile testing as constituting anti-imperial mobilizations within larger traditions of struggle against colonization. I also understand these protests to be socially situated within pacifist movements toward American demilitarization spanning settler and indigenous communities. This work will detail the specific objectives which US military operators hoped to accomplish from missile launches upon and over Indigenous lands as well as how these objectives varied between Marshall Island and Navajo landscapes. Using these two case studies, I will describe the various expressions of sovereignty across the Marshallese and Navajo communities. Finally, I will identify the avenues of grievance through which they communicated with the United States government and military. Using these examples, I hope to draw further attention to forms of US technoscientific imperialism throughout the latter half of the 20th century. My research will highlight the entwined histories of US global militarism and settler colonialism after World War II. Through this presentation, I will contend that historical study at this juncture needs further scholarly attention in order to better understand how US Cold War and post-Cold War power projections built upon previous forms of military domination and political coercion.

❖ **Jusuf Salih, “Peaceful Resistance: A Case Study of Kosovo” (Panel 15)**

As communism started to collapse in East Europe in the late 1980's of the last century, Yugoslavia could not be immune to such a powerful current. Being a mosaic of various nations, it produced aspirations of some ethnic majorities to inquire for more rights and dominate other minor ethnicities. Such example occurred in Kosovo where its majority ethnic Albanian population faced domination of Serbia. With dissolution of its parliament in 1990, Kosovars started to create a so-called shadow state and resisted the Serbian rule. By holding various demonstrations and protesting the Serbian domination and dissolution of their parliament on one hand, Kosovo Albanians organized themselves and created a parallel system that included all aspects of a governance. This system organized parallel education from elementary to the university education. Fired health workers from hospitals opened clinics providing free care for the population. Kosovars organized their own taxation where people voluntarily contributed and covered expenses of teachers and doctors. The Kosovo diaspora contributed by donations that were organized by their government that was in exile. In this peaceful collective resistance, Kosovars managed to referendum and elections. They also created an international information system and media presence that informed the world about their peaceful methods of resistance. This resistance was led by Kosovo intellectual, Ibrahim Rugova. This paper will analyze the peaceful resistance of Kosovo led by Rugova, whose leadership was honored by the European Parliament in 1998 with the Sakharov Prize for Freedom of Thought.

❖ **Carole Sargent, “Catholic Opposition to Nuclear Weapons: The Legacies of Megan Rice, SHCJ, and Drew Christiansen, SJ” (Panel 14)**

This presentation engages Catholic condemnation and resistance against nuclear weapons and commemorates the work of the late Drew Christiansen, SJ, who advised the Vatican on nuclear issues. His last book was the second of two volumes with the Holy See framing Pope Francis's historic denunciation of nuclear weapons. The first, *A World Free from Nuclear Weapons: The Vatican Conference on Disarmament*, featured testimony at the historic 2017 gathering, featuring members of ICAN who received that year's Nobel Peace Prize, along with other Nobel laureates. It was published by Georgetown University Press in August 2020, in time for the 75th anniversary of the nuclear bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The second, *Forbidden: Receiving Pope Francis's Condemnation of Nuclear Weapons* appears this year near the 60th anniversary of the Cuban Missile Crisis, and offers chapters from moral theologians, defense analysts, conflict transformation scholars, and nuclear arms control experts, with testimonies from witnesses, on how to resist nuclear weapons, even if one is in the nuclear decision line. Carole Sargent was Fr. Christiansen's co-editor on both volumes. She has published a book about Megan Rice and Transform Now Plowshares for Liturgical Press in 2022, and she contributed a chapter on the Plowshares movement to *Forbidden*. She will present her Plowshares chapter in a session that honors Fr. Christiansen's legacy, and—in recognition of the sponsors of Gwynedd Mercy University—his unique connection to the Sisters of Mercy.

❖ **Christy Jo Snider, “‘This Place Have Been in a Mess’: Using Place-Based Sources to Teach about the History of Non-Violent Protests and Social Justice” (Panel 18)**

The Civil Rights Movement's use of non-violent protests is a standard topic in most post-Civil War U.S. survey courses. Many students, however, arrive in the college classroom already familiar with events like the Montgomery Bus Boycott and the Birmingham Campaign from their high school curriculums. This familiarity can result in a lack of engagement due to student perception that they already know how social movements in the past made use of non-violent tactics. Incorporating local sources into lectures and lessons about the Civil Rights Movement can provide a new and more personal way for students to think about these topics. The use of place-based sources not only makes historical content more relatable and meaningful, but it also can connect students to people and events in their community. My presentation will examine how I incorporated the Civil Rights history of Rome, Georgia into my classroom and will provide some practical strategies for locating place-based sources and creating educational resources from these documents. It concludes with an evaluation of the impact of these materials on students' understanding of non-violent movements for social justice. I can present this research in either the typical paper format or, if the program committee would prefer, a more interactive workshop model.

❖ **Alexandra Southgate, “‘We do not wish to be defiant’: Anti-Civil Defense Protests 1955–1962” (Panel 1)**

On June 20th, 1955, Judith Malina donned a white lace dress and ventured to meet a friend at New York City Hall to protest a civil defense air raid drill. Malina didn't consider herself an activist and was, instead, an artist. In 1947 she co-founded the avant-garde theater company The Living Theater with her husband Julien Beck. Later, when Malina was being arraigned alongside her fellow protesters she would be glad she wore the white dress because it made her feel that there “was still a certain element of the performer left.” She was arrested alongside 25 other protesters, including Dorothy Day. Their 1955 arrest resulted in an overnight psychiatric evaluation at Bellevue Hospital for Malina and a night spent in jail for Day, but they both were quickly released on bail. The judge adjudicating their case reportedly stated that “by their conduct and behavior, [they] contributed to the utter destruction of the three million theoretically killed in our city.” The

protests became an annual occurrence, and in 1957 they were arrested again and the judge was less lenient; they served a thirty day sentence in the New York Women's House of Detention. In this essay I explore anti-civil defense protests in New York through the lives of Day and Malina in order to articulate their defiance to the state and to normative definitions of citizenship. Through their acts of protest these two women were entangled in a debate on nuclear weapons, national defense, peace, and the meaning of inclusion in Cold War America.

❖ **Pinar Temocin, “Peace and Environmental-oriented Civil Society Organizations and their Involvement in Participatory Energy Policies in Post-Fukushima Japan” (Panel 1)**

The 2011 Fukushima nuclear accident, one of the biggest nuclear catastrophes in history, led to a public backlash and reshaped energy-related discussions in Japan. It went beyond a technical nuclear energy issue and became a contested nationwide socio-political issue for peace organizations and environmentally focused groups. The government's decision to restart nuclear reactors, which had been shut down following the Fukushima accident and a recent focus on nuclear energy for the country's future energy portfolio (20-22%) intensified the debate among civil society organizations and the Japanese government. Consequently, Japanese state-society relations have undergone a significant transformation. Peace and environment-oriented civic organizations involved in energy policies have started to pursue a goal of a nuclear phase-out along with a nuclear-free policy, criticizing the government's energy strategy put forward by the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP), widely known for its pro-nuclear stance. This research focuses on a case study of the environmental civil society organizations (ECSOs) based in Japan. The case study of Japanese environmental civil society organizations involved in energy policies is an exemplar of the creation of deliberative spaces. This research examines the extent to which peace and environmental civil society organizations (with a particular focus on Greenpeace Japan, Friends of the Earth, The Institute of Sustainable Energy Policy, and Renewable Energy Institute) have been influential in the energy decision-making processes since 2011. It highlights the socio-political dimensions of the nuclear energy issue in Japan, including the governmental approaches toward the energy issues, the efficacy level of civic organizations, deliberative and democratic spaces of peace-oriented civic actors, and the interactional dimensions of state-civil society partnership in contemporary Japan.

❖ **Julia Trumpold, “NATO-Double-Track-Decision, the German Peace Movement, and the Reaction of German Authors” (Panel 4)**

The NATO Double-Track-Decision on December 12, 1979, caused a big stir in Germany. NATO announced the deployment of middle range missiles (Pershing II and Gryphon BGM-109G) in answer to the deployment of the Soviet SS-20 in the Soviet Union during the height of the Cold War. The second part of the double track decision was the demand for bilateral negotiations of the superpowers about the zoning of their Intermediate Nuclear Forces in Europe. The German Peace Movement as well as large parts of the German population were against this proposal, because it meant having those middle range missiles positioned in Germany. This paper demonstrates how the German Peace Movement dealt with this threat by organizing some of the largest protest marches in German history. I also analyze how German authors such as Heinrich Böll and Luise Rinser reacted to the NATO decision and how they took part in the Peace Movement. Finally, I share the results from personal interviews of regular Germans who took part in some of the protest marches.

❖ **Jared M. Wright, “The New Era of Hacktivism: Blurring the Line between Violence and Non-Violence in the Ukrainian Cyberwar” (Panel 11)**

To date, hacktivism has been conceptually delineated from cyberwar by specifying that hacktivism is politically motivated computer hacking (e.g., DDOS attacks against a website), while cyberwar involves using computers to attack or damage physical infrastructure (e.g., causing a power grid to fail). Hacktivists claim their actions consist of non-violent symbolic acts of protest analogous to traditional forms of civil disobedience. But since the Russian invasion of Ukraine in February 2022, there has been an unprecedented rise in both hacktivism and cyberwar in this conflict. Hacktivists from Belarus (“the cyberpartisans”) and around the world have been not only digitally disrupting websites and government agencies in Russia, but also working to sabotage physical infrastructure, such as shutting down railroads to stop the transportation of Russian military equipment. Moreover, Ukraine's besieged government has formed its own specialized cyberwar hacker unit and called on hacktivists around the world to join them in what might be thought of as the first crowdsourcing of cyberwarfare. Could this spell a new era for hacktivism, in which the line is becoming more blurred between non-violence and violence? Through a historical analysis of cases of hacktivism, this study identifies four major phases of change: (1) *Emergence* (late 1980s-early 2000s, “Cult of the Dead Cow”); (2) *Popularization* (early 2000s-2012, “Anonymous”); (3) *Cooptation* (2010s-2020s, “Gucifer 2.0”); and (4) *Evolution* (2022-present, “Ukrainian cyberwar”). By mapping the historical development and trajectory of hacktivism as a sociopolitical phenomenon, this study seeks to bring attention to where it is headed and its implications for society.

❖ **Helen Young, “The Nuns, The Priests, and The Bombs” (Panel 14)**

Helen Young will discuss her documentary featuring activists involved in the Plowshares movement, including Steve Baggaly, who will join the discussion. These peace activists, including elderly Catholic nuns and priests, challenge the security and legality of America's nuclear weapons when they break into two top secret facilities: the “Fort Knox” of uranium in Tennessee and a U.S. Navy Trident nuclear submarine base near Seattle. The film follows the federal criminal cases against the activists who are driven by their conviction that nuclear weapons are immoral to “Turn Swords into Plowshares”. The film also follows efforts at the United Nations to negotiate the new Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons.