



PHS NEWS

The Newsletter of the Peace History Society

Vol. 35, No. 3

Fall 1999

Thoughts on the Fate of the Test Ban Treaty

by Larry Wittner

Sometimes, you can see a disaster of epic dimensions shaping up and, yet, are powerless to prevent it. That was the way I felt in early October, when I learned that Senate Republicans--having blocked committee hearings on the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT) for two years--planned to rush it onto the Senate floor and, then, before its proponents had time to mobilize massive popular support behind the measure, kill it. As we now know, that is just what they did. Led by the execrable Jesse Helms and Trent Lott, they ignored the obvious advantages of such a treaty (e.g. stopping additional nations from obtaining nuclear weapons and halting the nuclear arms race among nations that possessed them) and thumbed their noses at the 152 nations that had signed it.

Why did they do this? Clearly the defeat of ratification had its partisan aspects, as attested to both by the party-line division in the voting and by the otherwise inexplicable invocation of Monica Lewinsky in Helms's rebuff to Tony Blair, when the British Prime Minister appealed for ratification of the treaty.

Yet the reality is more sinister. Nuclear weapons have emerged as implements of war in the context of international insecurity. In this sense, they are but the latest in a long line of weapons--spears, swords, bows and arrows, rifles, machine guns, bombs, etc.--that nations have employed to settle their grievances with one another. The problem, of course, is that this

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(Thoughts, cont. from cover)

latest round of weaponry threatens to wipe out all life on earth. Recognizing this-- developing what Mikhail Gorbachev called "new thinking"--millions of people have stepped back from the brink and demanded nuclear arms control and disarmament. But others remain committed to the "old thinking": to safety through weaponry, to "peace through strength." Unfortunately, Helms, Lott, and other Republican leaders cling tenaciously to this latter view.

Indeed, they are quite consistent. They have championed (and obtained) major increases in U.S. military spending in a time of relative peace, refused to pay U.S. dues to the United Nations, and--recently--have revived pressures to build a missile defense system, a variant on the Reagan administration's "Star Wars" proposal. In turn, this will necessitate U.S. withdrawal from its commitments under the 1972 ABM treaty, a key nuclear arms control measure. It also seems likely to trigger a major nuclear buildup by Russia and other nuclear powers. However, this crumbling of the nuclear arms control regime and revival of nuclear competition does not concern Helms and his armchair warriors, for their goal is not to eliminate nuclear weapons, but to stay ahead in the nuclear arms race. Even when Ronald Reagan signed the INF treaty--eliminating intermediate range nuclear missiles in Europe--Helms led the charge against the measure in the U.S. Senate. As for George W. Bush, the "compassionate conservative," he also opposes the CTBT and champions the building of a missile defense system.

Fortunately, these views are quite at odds with public opinion. Pollsters have reported that 80 percent of Americans support the CTBT. Therefore, the possibility exists that, if people make enough fuss about the nuclear test ban during the forthcoming election campaign, it will either lead to a defeat of the "old thinkers" at the polls or will so frighten them that, when the treaty comes up for another vote, some Republicans may suddenly undergo a change of heart. In these circumstances, the treaty might yet be ratified, enabling the United States to take its place in the family of civilized nations.

Larry Wittner is the author of the first two volumes of a trilogy, The Struggle Against the Bomb (Stanford University Press)

DeBenedetti Prize Winner Named

By David McFadden

The Peace History Society is very pleased to announce Professor Robert Shaffer of Shippensburg University as the winner of the Charles DeBenedetti Prize in Peace History for 1997-98. The prize committee, chaired by Professor Susan Zeiger (with help from Professors Patrick Coy and Robert Shulzinger), noted in their citation for the award that Shaffer's article, "Cracks in the Consensus: Defending the Rights of Japanese Americans During World War II," Radical History Review 72 (Fall, 1998) was a *tour de force* of historical scholarship, covering nearly every angle of this important topic. Shaffer identifies a broad coalition that opposed the relocation policy, including peace groups, churches, welfare agencies, socialists, and African-American activists. Unifying their efforts, he argues, was a strong and growing opposition to racism on the part of left-liberals during the 1930s and 1940s. Although these groups were not successful in preventing or rescinding the internment, Shaffer convincingly shows that their community organizing on behalf of interned Japanese Americans was significant nonetheless. Prodigious research and carefully balanced, Shaffer's article honors the "creative spirit of resistance" amidst the prevailing racism and militarism of the war years.

Robert Shaffer is currently assistant professor of History at Shippensburg University, completing his Ph.D., dissertation ("Pearl S. Buck and the Meanings of American Internationalism") at Rutgers University under the direction of Professor Lloyd Gardner. Shaffer comes out of a strong background in teaching and holds a B.A. from Yale (1977) and an M.A. from NYU (1986). He has published articles in Pacific Historical Review, Journal of Women's History, and The Historian, as well as many book reviews and review essays, on the intersections of race, gender, and diplomatic history in the interwar, World War II, and postwar periods.

Shaffer came to his interest in the American left-liberal resistance to Japanese internment in the course of his research on Pearl Buck. Not only did he find that she opposed the internment, he discovered a much wider network of groups and individuals than had been seen previously.

Moreover, Shaffer's research has revealed a much more politically astute and activist Pearl Buck than the common perception, even among historians of U.S. policy in Asia. This insight and research has led Shaffer to a broader reassessment of the American missionary movement as well, which contains not only the seeds of imperialism, but those of anti-imperialist activism.

After finishing his study of Buck, Shaffer plans to work on other aspects of the emerging critical internationalism of the post-war period, particularly the American support for Indian independence.

PHS Remembers Tom Stonier

By Joe Fahey

Tom Stonier, one of the pioneers in the development of Peace Studies as an academic discipline, died of colon cancer at home in South Egremont, Mass. on June 15, 1999. Tom is survived by his wife, Judith, seven children and six grandchildren.

Tom was born in Hamburg, Germany in 1927 and in 1939 he and his family escaped from Nazi Germany, eventually emigrating to the U.S. Tom served in the U.S. Navy at the end of World War II and then went to Drew University (BA) and Yale (Ph.D.) to pursue his career as a biologist. Perhaps his most famous book was his first: Nuclear Disaster (Penguin, 1964). He told me that he heard a lecture by Herman Kahn who held that nuclear war was survivable and this "nonsense" inspired Tom to tell the ghastly story of what would happen if just one 20 megaton bomb was dropped on Columbus Circle in NYC. This book launched Tom into a career in Peace Studies and related fields for the rest of his life.

After a time at Rockefeller University, Tom came to Manhattan College in 1962. Tom was an atheist but he was inspired by Pope John XXIII's encyclical, Pacem in Terris (1963), to investigate the formation of peace courses for college students. In 1966, Tom and three other professors taught the first Peace Studies course at Manhattan College, "The Anatomy of Peace." In 1968, I was privileged to offer the second course, "The Morality of Peace" and these courses served as the foundation of our BA in Peace Studies at Manhattan (1971).

Tom, the program's first director, insisted that Peace Studies would rise or fall on its academic merits and held that the only requirements for a

Peace Studies professor were competence and intellectual curiosity, rather than pacifism. Hence, Peace Studies became an inclusive program and for a time we even gave credit to ROTC courses. One of my fondest memories of Tom and other colleagues was the first Peace Studies seminar in 1971 in which ten faculty members and ten students debated week after week the questions of peace, war, aggression, conflict, and so many other topics. We had few answers but we began to ask the right questions, and when we found an answer we again turned it into a question!

In 1973 Tom spent a sabbatical at Bradford University that, in part, was designed to help Bradford develop its own celebrated Peace Studies program. In 1974 Tom moved to Bradford and in 1975 was appointed as Chair of the Program in Science and Society. Through the years, Tom's inquisitive mind led him to pursue other research topics that dealt with intelligence, communications, and computers.

When he retired to the Berkshire Mountains in the early 1990s Tom returned to Peace Studies and wrote his last book, No More War: The Hidden Evolution to Peace (to be published). Tom gave me the sad assignment to read his last paper that was based on the book at the meeting of the Peace History Society at the Hague last May. In 1979 Tom predicted that the Berlin Wall would fall in the 1980s and it did. In 1999, Tom predicted that war as a social institution would be abolished by 2100!

Historians who are loathe to predict the future may smile at Tom's prediction, but that was the quintessential Tom. He had one of the finest minds I've ever encountered and in his last years we often got together to map out the universe. What fun. The first time I met Tom we debated the war in Vietnam and just four days before he died we debated the war in Kosovo.

When a comprehensive history of Peace Studies is written, Tom Stonier must be given his rightful place as a man who led and inspired the field.

- Joe Fahey is Professor of Religious Studies and former Director of the Peace Studies Program at Manhattan College.

Upcoming Events

Oslo 2000

The Norwegian Nobel Institute, Oslo, is the venue for the next international conference of the Peace History Society, August 11-12, 2000. This program will be held in conjunction with the nineteenth International Congress of Historical Sciences, August 6-13, 2000. Participants in the PHS program are encouraged to register and make local arrangements through the ICHS, although this is not required.

➤ **Call for PAPERS & PARTICIPANTS**
Please send proposals and inquiries to the Chair of the session for which the paper is proposed, and to one of the Program Co-Conveners:

Anne C. Kjelling, Head Librarian, the Norwegian Nobel Institute, Drammensvn 19, N-0255, Oslo, Norway, ack@anobel.no OR
Charles Chatfield, Wittenberg University, Springfield OH 45501-0720, echatfield@wittenberg.edu

The Deadline for fully developed Proposals is **December 31, 1999**.

Conference Program:

Friday, August 11, 2000

Morning. Session 1 – “The Nobel Peace Prize: Instrument for Peace?”

To what extent, and in what ways have the prizes contributed to or been instruments of peace in the 20th Century? How has the Peace Prize reflected varying conceptions of peace and war?

Convener: Anne C. Kjelling (see above address)

Afternoon. Session 2 – “Arms and Disarmament Since 1945.”

To what extent and in what ways was the nuclear arms race constrained by organized public efforts, and what patterns can be discerned in those efforts? To what extent

and in what ways have the other forms of weapons been constrained by organized public efforts, and to what ends?

Convener: **Larry Wittner** (Dept. of History, University at Albany, Albany, NY 12222)

Evening.

PHS dinner at a waterfront restaurant

Saturday, August 12, 2000

Morning. Session 3 – “Gender, Peace, and Peace Research.”

How has gender affected the conceptualization of peace, organization for it or the agenda of peace and human rights? Papers may deal with male and/or female roles, with individuals and/or organizations.

Conveners: **Sandi Cooper**, History Department, 2N215, The College of Staten Island, 2800 Victory Blvd., Staten Island, NY 10314, sansi@cunyvm.cuny.edu

Regina Braker, Eastern Oregon University, LaGrande, OR 97850, brakerr@eou.edu

Afternoon. Session 4 – “Toward a Culture of Peace.”

Following the appeal of Nobel Peace Prize Laureates, in November 1998, the UN called for a “Decade for a Culture of Peace and Nonviolence for the Children of the World” (2001-2010). What might be learned from 20th Century initiatives to orient society toward peace through cultural means such as visual images, writing, memory, and memorials, etc.? Is such a thing as a “peace culture” possible?

Conveners: **Peter van den Dungen**, Department of Peace Studies, University of Bradford, Bradford West Yorkshire BD7 1DP, England

Charles Chatfield (see above address)

*** Norway is going to be a hot spot for academic conferences next year, as the International Society for the Study of European Ideas is meeting in August 14-18 in Bergen. ***

PHS Sessions at AHA Conference

• Peace History Society is sponsoring several sessions at the meeting of the **American Historical Association** in Chicago, January 6-9, 2000. The Chicago Marriott Downtown is the AHA convention co-headquarters.

Session 52 (previously 147) is now on Friday, January 7, 2:30-4:30pm
"Peace and War in European Thought at the Dawn of the Twentieth Century"

Chicago Marriott, State Room

-Joint Session with the Peace History

Society

Chair:

Sandi Cooper, College of Staten Island and Graduate School and University Center, City University of New York

Papers:

The Cultural Context of the Future of War:

Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century

Society, Technology, and Warfare

Grant Dawson, Carleton University

Pacifism and Popular Internationalism in the

Alsatian Working Class

David Harvey, Princeton University

Science for the State: Militarism and Science

in Turn-of-the-Century British Fiction

Alison E. Bright, Drew University

Predictions of Future War in the Fiction and

Illustrations of Albert Robida

Robert Hendrick, St. John's University

Comment:

Rafe Blaufarb, Stephen F. Austin State University

• The PHS Affiliate Society Session, "The Nonviolent Re-Envisioning of US History," will be held Friday, January 7, 9:30-11:30am in the Purdue Room of the Marriott Downtown Hotel.

Chair:

Geoffrey Smith, Queens University

Papers:

Nonviolence and the Paradigms of Race, Class, and Gender in US History

Carol Hunter, Earlham College

The Myth of Redemptive Violence and the War for Independence

James C. Juhnke, Bethel College, KS

Comment:

Barbara Steinson, de Pauw University and

William Trollinger, University of Dayton

AHA Panel 2000

Nuclear Disarmament

Reagan and Gorbachev: Why They Disarmed

Chair:

David Patterson, a former PHS President

Featured Paper Presenters:

- Larry Wittner, another former PHS President, on Ronald Reagan and nuclear disarmament
- Vladislav Zubok, of the National Security Archive, on Mikhail Gorbachev and nuclear disarmament
- Jonathan Schell, author of The Fate of the Earth, and numerous other peace-oriented books, on nuclear disarmament in the 1980s and today

Commentator:

Randy Forsberg, founder of the Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign and currently, director of the Institute for Defense and Disarmament Studies.

* *The Panel is scheduled for Saturday, January 8, 2000, from 9:30 to 11:30am, in the Colorado Room of the Sheraton Hotel in Chicago. PHS members and other interested persons are welcome to attend.**

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Call for Papers:

Research in Social Movements, Conflicts and Change

JAI Press

Patrick Coy & Isidor Walliman,
series co-editors

Submissions of scholarly research papers are invited for publication in *Research in Social Movements, Conflicts, and Change*, published by JAI Press of Greenwich, CT and London, England. This peer-reviewed series has appeared annually for over 20 years and enjoys a wide library subscription base.

A review of *Research in Social Movements, Conflicts, and Change* that appeared in *Political Sociology* hailed it as "an excellent series of original articles...the papers are broad in scope and methodologically diverse...useful anthologies that are theoretically informed and timely."

Papers focused on social or political movements, conflict analysis and resolution social inequality and political change, or nonviolent action are especially encouraged. Email queries regarding appropriate paper topics are welcome and will be responded to promptly. Acceptance decisions will be communicated within two months of receipt of paper submission.

Initial submissions should include three paper copies of double-spaced articles, between 20-40 pages in length. Full submission guidelines are available upon request.

For queries, guidelines, or to submit a paper, please contact the series co-editor and volume editor:

Patrick Coy

Center for Applied Conflict Management
Box 5109

Bowman Hall 302

Kent State University

Kent, OH 44234

Phone: (330) 672-287

Email: pcoy@kent.edu

Call for Papers:

The Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations (SHAFR) invites submissions for its Twenty-Sixth Annual Conference, to be held at Ryerson Polytechnic University, Toronto, June 22-25, 2000.

We welcome proposals from historians and scholars working in related disciplines dealing with the broadest possible range of topics in international history and foreign policy. Given the year and the venue, we particularly invite proposals on the Korean War or on Canadian-U.S. Relations. Preference will be given to complete panels and roundtables.

Please send proposals – including a one-page c.v. for each participant – to the address listed below by November 19, 1999.

Professor Geoffrey S. Smith

SHAFR 2000 Program Committee

Department of History

99 University Avenue

Watson Hall, Room 212

Queen's University

Kingston, Ontario, Canada K7L 3N6

Phone: (613) 533-2150

Fax: (613) 533-6298

Email: smithgs@post.queensu.ca

** PHS Members – Please Note our own Geoff Smith is Program Chair!**

Call for Essays:

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Peace Review: A Transitional Quarterly, is a multidisciplinary journal that publishes essays in peace studies, broadly defined. Relevant topics include war, violence, human rights, political economy, development, culture and consciousness, the environment, gender, race, and related issues. Each issue of *Peace Review* includes Essays devoted to our Issue Theme,

as well as Off-the-Theme Essays,
Peace Profiles and Book Reviews.

.....
Guidelines: For Essays and Peace Profiles –
2500-3500 words; Book Reviews – Single
Book- 1200 words, Multiple Books – 2500-3500
words.

Contact: Peace Review, Peace & Justice
Studies, University of San Francisco, 2130
Fulton Street, San Francisco, CA 94117, phone:
(415) 422-6349/2910, fax: (415) 422-2772/388-
2631

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Peace has been an elusive commodity in the
20th Century. Over 100 million people have
perished in violent conflicts during these
past one hundred years. But even in the
darkest moments the quest for peace has
been kept alive by men and women who
committed themselves and risked their lives
in the belief that men can co-exist without
resorting to violence.

The Wounded Dove documents the struggle
of these peacemakers. Many of their
initiatives were little known attempts to end
conflicts and many of the conflicts
themselves have all but disappeared into
history's footnotes. But wherever war or
civil strife has broken out, individuals have
bravely stepped forward and sought to put
an end to force of arms as a means to resolve
human disputes.

Adventure Film Productions in collaboration
with the Peace History Society is producing
a ten hour documentary series about
peacemakers of the 20th Century. Please
send proposals for this program on peace to
NeilLundy@compuserve.com If your story is
used in the series you will be given an
honorarium.

- Global Action to Prevent War -

* A Coalition-Building Effort to Stop War,
Genocide, and Other Forms of Deadly
Conflict *

Web site: www.globalactionpw.org

Email: info@globalactionpw.org

DISARMTIMES

Contact: 777 United Nations Plaza, Room 3-
B, New York, NY 10017

Phone: (212) 687-5340,

Fax: (212) 687-1643

Email: disarmtimes@igc.apc.org

Web Site: <http://www.igc.apc.org/disarm/>

➤ The United Nations is placing the text of
all of the world's treaties on the Internet.
Liberty Information Management Systems is
overseeing the text conversion and online
project. Over 600,000 pages of text are
involved in the project and will be displayed
on the UN's Web Site,

www.UN.ORG.Depts/Treaty, which is open to
registered users. An overview page can be
viewed by non-registrants. The first phase
of the project required each page of every
treaty to be sorted, scanned, indexed and
stored in an optical jukebox with 41.6GB of
capacity. Imaging and optical storage
technology was employed to assure the
security and integrity of the documents.
Phase II of the project, which is currently in
progress, is the placement of the documents
on the Web Site.

➤ Hiroshima Research News, a biannual
newsletter of Hiroshima Peace Institute, has
been planned in order to help the public get
a deeper grasp of this institute's activities.
In publishing this series of newsletter, we
wish to make available to the public
analyses prepared by the staff of the institute
or researchers actively at work in the area of
our priority interest, who will express their
personal points of view on these problems.
It is our hope that articles published in this
issue will stimulate discussions and research
on current situations.

Please Contact: The Editorial Office,
Grassroots House, Curator – Shigeo
Nishimori, International Exchange Section –
Kazuyo Yamane, 9-11 Masugata, Kochi
City Pref., Japan 780-0861, Tel: 81-0888-
75-1275, Fax: 81-0888-21-0586,
Email – GRH@mal.seikyuu.ne.jp (one after ma)

**** Lets Talk About the LOGO ****

PHS Readers may have noticed a different Logo on the Cover – The original logo was designed by a student of Charles Chatfield. Do you like the old logo better? Please write and let us know how you feel and we will print responses in the Winter issue. – The Editors

New Conflict Resolution Scholarship Program

Rotary to establish Peace & Conflict Resolution Centers at select universities worldwide.

(Singapore, June 15, 1999) – Rotary International announced today that it will establish international studies centers where scholars can learn diplomacy and skills to resolve conflict and promote international understanding.

There will be seven Rotary Centers for International Studies located at prestigious universities around the world. The first 70 scholars, 10 students at each center, will be selected to participate in two-year graduate programs related to peace and conflict resolution, beginning in the 2002 academic year.

Applications for scholarships will be available in the fall of 2000.

The Rotary Foundation operates the largest privately funded scholarship program in the world. Each year, nearly 1,300 students receive scholarships to study at colleges and universities worldwide.

For more information, contact David Alexander at (847) 866-3245, alexandd@rotaryintl.org

Or the PHS News Editors at (203) 245-4000, ext 2871, 0 kmyles@fair1.fairfield.edu

Deadlines for Upcoming PHS News:

- Winter Issue: January 15 for February Mailing
- Spring Issue: April 15 for May Mailing
- Summer Issue: July 15 for August Mailing

Amendment

In reference to the PHS/IPB HAP Symposium, the editors of PHS News would like to say that although Professor J.O. Baylen was at the last moment prevented from attending the symposium, he had prepared and submitted a paper entitled *The Role of W.T. Stead in Publicising the preparation and proceedings of the First Hague Conference*. The paper was meant to be read out and made available during the session but practical circumstances prevented this from happening. Participants in the symposium who would like to receive a copy of Professor Baylen's paper should contact Peter van den Dungen, Department of Peace Studies, University of Bradford, Bradford BD7 1DP, England.

➤ In the image of the Garland War and Peace Series of the early seventies, would it be possible for peace history scholars to undertake the re-publication of noted antiwar novels? One approach to expanding student interest in peace studies and expanding the Society's visibility would be to see a scholarly publisher willing to reprint noted antiwar novels for classroom consumption. The novels could come from all areas of the world but would be reprinted in English. Each novel would include an editor's introduction written by one of our members and would also include a set of cutting questions to stimulate class discussion. The introduction would include a historical perspective to the period and biographical analysis. A committee of PHS members would be selected to determine the novels selected and the approach to be undertaken. Interested scholars should contact one of the Society's Board members. Chuck Howlett, PHS Board Member Phowlett@aol.com

Congratulations!!!

◆ Larry Gara, a member of PHS since its parent organizations' founding in Philadelphia Friends Meeting House, has just published *A Few Small Candles: War Resisters of World War II Tell Their Stories*, (Kent State University Press, 1999) which was co-edited with Lenna Mae Gara, his wife. In April, Wilmington College hosted a reunion of seven of the book's authors who participated in a symposium, which was taped by C-Span and broadcast on their BookTV on Memorial Day weekend. *Book ordering information: 1-800-247-6553, cost - \$28, ISBN - 0-87338-621-3*

◆ James Otis, of Silence Films (Los Angeles) and Lester Kurtz are working on a 4-part documentary, *Peaceful Warriors: The History of Nonviolence*, and need your help please. We are particularly interested in interviewing scholars of nonviolence from outside of North America, especially people of color, who might be travelling to the US in the next few months. James will also be in London a couple of times, so could interview people there. We want to avoid making it too slanted toward North American scholars, but don't have the funds for extensive travel. If you know of any good interview prospects, please let us know. *Lester Kurtz, Professor of Sociology and Asian Studies, University of Texas, Austin, TX 78712, phone: (512) 471-1122, fax: (512) 471-1748, email: lkurtz@soc.utexas.edu*

◆ *Citizen Action for Global Change: The Neptune Group and Law of the Sea*, Syracuse University Press, 1999 (hardbound \$45, paperback \$19.95) has just been published by Ralph B. Levering and Miriam

L. Levering, a leading NGO activist during the long U.N. law of the sea conference (1973-82). This book is both a memoir and a history of the contributions that Ms. Levering and other NGO activists made both at the conference and in the American political arena. **Ms Levering hoped until her death in 1991 that this book will inspire others, including students, to work diligently and effectively on global issues.

◆ Sandi Cooper, Department of History, The College of Staten Island, CUNY was awarded as distinguished teacher last spring, a major honor from her college

Former President of PHS, Mel Small has just published *The Presidency of Richard Nixon*, University Press of Kansas, 1999.

**** The Culture of Peace and the Rule of Law ****

It was over a hundred years ago – in the summer of 1898 – that Russia's ruler, the Czar, sent a call to the nations the world to come to a peace conference. He chose the Dutch Capital at The Hague as the place to meet, because of its neutral status. Most nations accepted.

The meeting was unique and unprecedented: it was the first time in global history that members of the community of nations had met to talk about peace in the absence of an ongoing war.

Russia had had a hard time keeping up with a feverish arms race and hoped to slow it down. [Russia did] not [have] much success at that in the meeting at The Hague. But we of the United States can remember with pride, although our school books do not, the success of an American delegation that brought to The Hague Conference the idea of a World Court to judge among the nations, and thereby help to maintain peace.

The "American plan" for a Court had only a limited victory then. A plan for centralizing voluntary arbitration was actually adopted. At a second Hague Conference of 1907, our Secretary of State, Elihu Root, pursued the effort to create a court, [and] almost achieved it. Success came at Versailles in 1919, and then the Court was crippled because the U.S. and Russia refused to join. But that Court was, with U.S.

and U.S.S.R. participation, reorganized and continued at San Francisco in 1945, and is still functioning.

This existing Court, officially called the International Court of Justice should be distinguished from the proposed "International Criminal Court." The latter can only decide about, and punish, the actions of a few individual human beings. The Court we now have can judge among the nations. It can decide any question of International Law, such as borders, fishing rights, breach of treaties, and legality of transnational use of force. It can punish by awarding damages, and can also order violations to halt. Its purpose is to prevent or terminate illegal wars, that is, all cross-border violence.

The Court is composed of 15 judges, no more than one of whom can be a national of any one country. They are elected by separate votes of the U.N. Security Council and General Assembly, requiring a majority in each. Its President is now Stephen Schwebel, an American.

No one can claim that the present Court has been a complete success, but neither has it been a failure. It has been able to dispose of some major and many minor disagreements. It has been limited only by the reluctance of nations to agree to go to it and be bound, as they must if they do, to comply with its rulings. That reluctance has, in some measure, been due to the Cold War's creation of a mood to act without regard to the legality of the use of force, a factor obviously no longer applicable.

Even before the end of the Cold War, the Court began to demonstrate its potential to aid in bringing about peaceful settlement of threatening conflict. For several years now, more cases than ever before have been brought to it, which can be considered proof of an unprecedented popularity and acceptability. This new arrival of hope for worldwide, successful conflict resolution has neither been made known by the media, or acted upon by the nations leaders. If it were better known and understood, there would be the hope for development of an irresistible, popular sentiment for reversal of President Reagan's rejection of the Court's authority to decide on the legality of trans-border violence.

That failure of public opinion has not only been due to self-censorship by the media, in failing to treat international law or its Court

seriously or adequately. It is also due to the effect of persistence of the "culture of war."

For only the last century has there been in existence an instrumentality for fulfilling age-old hopes for a better way of resolving sharp disputes. A standing tribunal, a pre-existing Court is available now, when all else fails, to serve as an agreed-upon "third party" capable of judging disputes impartially and peacefully.

This could make possible the putting into effect of the "outlawry of war" agreed upon in the Pact of Paris, also known as the Kellogg-Briand Pact, of seventy years ago, which promoted the rejection of trigger-happy use of force or threat of violence to settle on a basis of self-judgement or righteousness issues between the state-members of the community of nations. In a "culture of peace," this dream could become a reality.

To question the effectiveness of the World Court is to make a self-fulfilling prediction. We should not have expected the "culture of war," that prevailed for sixty centuries, to have been displaced by a "culture of peace."

This is not to concede that it cannot be achieved in less than two: the human spirit when properly informed, is capable of miracles. Then centennial of the 1899 Conference at The Hague would serve to inspire humankind to build successfully on what was achieved so far on behalf of the functioning of a Court whose home is in a edifice built by American generosity and called a "Peace Palace." What better basis [is there] for the victorious establishment of a "culture of peace?"

- Howard N. Meyer

Including American Peace History in Classroom Texts: Why the Exclusion?

In recent years various historians have integrated peace research into their scholarship as a legitimate alternative perspective on America's past. Previously in American historiography, to the extent that pacifists, peace advocates, and peace movements were even included in monographs and textbooks, they were generally treated negatively – widely denounced as misguided idealists or even traitors to the patriotic guardians of the nation's past.

Since the Vietnam War, perhaps encouraged by this tragic event, the number of scholars engaged in American peace history has grown significantly. The field itself, defined as the

historical study of nonviolent efforts for peace and social justice, has become widely recognized and accepted as a sub-field of the discipline of history.

Yet, as we enter the next century, despite the growing body of peace history literature now available, how successful have scholars been in achieving an inclusion of peace work in standardized American history texts?

For nearly four decades, the 1950s to the 1980s, millions of high school students were introduced to the historical contributions of peace work in Lewis Paul Todd and Merle Curti's text, America's History (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1950). Published in 1950, it became one of the most popular social studies textbooks published in the 20th century. It was also the first textbook this century to discuss specifically various aspects of the peace movement.

Have we had a successor? Sadly, no textbook has come close to duplicating the Todd-Curti endeavor. The secondary and college texts I consulted reveal scant attention to the peace movement's social, political, and intellectual contributions to our nation's past. In fact, none make reference to the historical traditions of a peace movement. What accounts for this oversight? One plausible explanation has been provided by historian Akira Iriye. In his opinion, "Most major works in the field are...written in terms of national security, national interest, national power, national prestige, national styles of foreign policy and the like."

Despite his observation, why is it that with such a growing body of peace history available, a point made by the late peace historian Charles DeBenedetti, in a 1984 article in The History Teacher ("Peace History in the American Manner," pp.75-110), historians have been unable to record such events in standard classroom texts?

In recent years, moreover, the Journal of American History has devoted a section to commentaries on "Textbooks and Teaching." Not one discussion has been undertaken to address the role of peace history. There is plenty of information on women, minorities, labor, culture, native Americans, the New Left, and treatment of immigrant groups.

Among those I reviewed included: the popular Advanced Placement high school text, The American Pageant: A History of the

Republic by Thomas A. Bailey and David M. Kennedy (Lexington, MA: DC Heath, 1994), America's History by James Henretta et al (New York: Wortham, 1997), The Enduring Vision: A History of the American People by Paul Boyer et al (Lexington MA: DC Heath, 1996), The Great Republic: A History of the American People, 2 vols, by Bernard Baylin et al (Lexington, MA DC Heath, 1992), These United States by James P. Shenton et al (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1978), Liberty, Equality, Power: A History of the American People by John Murrin et al (Fort Worth, TX: Harcourt Brace, 1973), and many other such texts. [For the complete listing of books reviewed, please email 0_kmyles@fair1.fairfield.edu]

The only mention of viable peace work in these texts was in relationship to the protests against the Vietnam War. And even this was done in cursory fashion in one or two pages at most. No effort has been made to connect these protests to the efforts of mainstream peace leaders and their organizations. Students are continually being left in a vacuum when it comes to a proper understanding of how the ideological opposition of war begins, due in large part to the efforts of peace groups.

Despite PHS' journal, newsletter, and scholarly contributions, much more needs to be done. PHS needs to call upon established historical bodies such as the AHA, OAH, Society for History Education, Council for Social Studies, the Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations, and others, to encourage the inclusion of peace history in social studies and college survey textbooks. There are compelling reasons for doing so. First, the evolution of peace movements in the 20th Century has emphasized the growing intellectual rationale that peace today embodies more than the absence of war. In keeping with the development of our democratic principles, peace efforts have also focused on social and economic justice. Consider the labor and civil rights movements. Second, and perhaps more significantly, textbook writers and publishers must address the claim made by the late Harvard president, Charles W. Eliot, that one of the great paradoxes in our past is the realization that American opposition to war and contributions to peace were among the five contributions of America to civilization. The beginning of the new century is an appropriate time to unravel this dilemma. - Charles F. Howlett

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