

PHS NEWS

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Test Ban Treaty: A Better Shield Than Missile Defense

By William Lambers, History News Service

This past week's successful missile defense test was a victory for George W. Bush, who sees such a system as critical to our national security interests. But buried by the debate over missile defense lies a smaller, less dramatic, but more vital national security measure. It is ratification of the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT).

President Bush's proposed defense system would be designed to shoot down nuclear missiles launched against the United States. It would act as a shield against rogue nations with smaller weapons stockpiles, not against Russia or other nuclear superpowers.

By contrast, the CTBT bans all nuclear test explosions. Rejected in 1999 by the U.S. Senate, this treaty has been signed and ratified by Great Britain, France and Russia. To take effect, 44 nations with a nuclear capacity must join; 31 of those 44 nations have already ratified the treaty, leaving the United States in the missing 13.

The Eisenhower and Kennedy administrations of the 1950s and 1960s each sought a comprehensive ban on nuclear testing. Both President Eisenhower and President Kennedy realized that such a treaty was not, by itself, going to end the threat of nuclear attack or halt nuclear proliferation. However, they understood a test ban's significance toward achieving those ends.

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Their negotiations did produce a limited test ban treaty in 1963 with the Soviet Union, banning test explosions in outer space, underwater and in the atmosphere. The Limited Test Ban Treaty came on the heels of the Cuban Missile Crisis of 1962 and years of frequent nuclear testing. At that time the nuclear arms race was a runaway train.

Today, the possibility of nuclear warfare between the United States and Russia has diminished. Nuclear weapons stockpiles are reduced from the Cold War days. But now with more nations possessing nuclear weapons and others on the brink, how can the United States defend itself in a world full of danger and uncertainty?

One proposed way, which the Bush administration favors, is to build a missile defense system. Such a system is risky if it jeopardizes progress on nuclear arms reductions with Russia. The building of a missile defense system is in violation of the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty signed with the Soviet Union, Russia's predecessor state. Russia or other nations are likely to advance weapons development in response to a disregard of the ABM treaty. Cooperation with Russia is critical, for it is a key partner in helping to end global nuclear proliferation.

A better way to defend the United States from nuclear attack would be to ratify the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty. Failure to ratify the treaty leaves the United States less able to influence other nations to stop testing or developing nuclear weapons.

Conducting nuclear test explosions escalates world tensions and increases proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. One only needs to look to Asia for an example of this. Three nations -- India, Pakistan and China -- possess nuclear weapons. China's test explosions in the

1960s prompted India's development of nuclear weapons. Rivals India and Pakistan each conducted nuclear test explosions in 1998.

The existing stockpile of nuclear weapons can be maintained without test explosions. Billions of dollars annually are invested in this program, called Stockpile Stewardship. A former Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, General John Shalikashvili, commented on the ability to test nuclear weapons under the comprehensive treaty: "Almost all of the approximately 4000-6000 parts of a nuclear weapon . . . Are outside of the 'physics package,' -- i.e. the subsystem that creates the nuclear explosion. Under the Test Ban Treaty, these parts can still be thoroughly tested."

But one cannot rely entirely upon military might to defend itself whether it be building nuclear weapons or missile defense systems. To quote President Dwight D. Eisenhower, "Let no one think that the expenditure of vast sums for weapons and systems of defense can guarantee absolute safety for the cities and citizens of any nation. The awful arithmetic of the atomic bomb does not permit any such easy solution."

Good faith can go a long way toward achieving national security. That is why the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty is so vital. Is it risk free? No. Could a nation potentially "cheat" and carry out test explosions undetected by the treaty's monitoring system? Perhaps. However, President Kennedy faced risks when signing the Limited Test Ban Treaty. Today, one can look back at that event and say that it was the right thing to do.

It is a serious mistake not to ratify the CTBT. Without it, there can be no hope of ending the terror of nuclear weapons. By ratifying the treaty, the United States can

take a step in the right direction toward ending nuclear proliferation and securing peace for future generations.

William Lambers is the author of "Nuclear Weapons" (2001) and a writer for the History News Service.

CHARLES DE BENEDETTI PRIZE FOR PEACE HISTORY

Prizewinner for 1999-2000 Articles

Among a large group of very fine articles submitted for consideration for the Charles DeBenedetti Prize, Laura Hein's analysis of the "military comfort women," who were forced to serve the Japanese armed forces during World War II, stood out for its powerful and perceptive observations, its wide-ranging sources, and its relevance for contemporary peace historians and peace activists. Elegantly and engagingly written, Hein's article, "Savage Irony: the Imaginative power of the 'Military Comfort Women' in the 1990s," GENDER AND HISTORY 11 (July, 1999) carefully reviews the primary and secondary sources -- from Japanese, Korean, and English-language material -- on the sexual exploitation and crude violence suffered by the so-called "military comfort women." More significantly, Hein delineates the ways that a variety of constituencies -- Japanese anti-fascists, internationalist feminists, an emerging "Asian diasporic community," even hard-line Japanese nationalists -- have interpreted this horrifying wartime experience in light not only of debates about the past but to fashion meaning for the present and the future.

Hein's all-encompassing analysis ranges from a consideration of the shame of "fallen women" in neo-Confucian societies, to the difficulty of publicizing the experience of

these victims of sexual violence without contributing to a "pornography of pain," from still-raging Japanese debates about the relationship of the individual and the state, to a critique of the racist and sexist assumptions which underlay the Tokyo war crimes tribunal. Hein's discussion raises important questions not only about the association between militarism and sexual exploitation, but also about the important differences that do exist among the various manifestations of this relationship.

Particularly noteworthy for peace historians are Hein's perceptive observations about the integral connections between the movement for redress for the "military comfort women" and the movements against Asian "sex tours" and against military prostitution around U.S. bases in Asia. Similarly, Hein argues that the movement for redress for the "military comfort women" is one of the pivots of an emerging, post-Cold War "Asian diasporic identity" that rejects both Japanese and Western imperialism and racism, an identity that can link elderly Japanese Americans, female Asian-American college students, Chinese dissidents, and Korean activists. More ominously, Hein offers an insightful critical evaluation of the opposition in modern Japan to the redress movement.

Hein's article, in sum, through a focus on one of the most significant recent subjects of historical research in the areas of war, gender, and race, is a meditation on, and in many ways a tribute to, the ways that contemporary progressive social movements use and construct history, and through the use of this history help to construct or reinforce their own movements.

Details concerning honorable mention in this competition will be printed in the Fall issue.

Prize Committee: Harriet Alonso, Joyce Blackwell-Johnson, Robert Shaffer (Chair).

POSITIVE MOVES FOR PEACE

*The International Peace Center And The
New Peace Museum*

The building of the UK's only Peace Museum (one of around 100 worldwide) has taken a significant step forward. After many years of false dawns, of waiting and of creative planning and dialogue, the site went on the market in Bradford in June.

In a joint deal with the Bradford City Council, a selected private developer and the International Peace Center Ltd (IPC), the three-part outcome will be The Peace Museum premises, a set of rooms for like-minded organizations, and a hotel/conference center.

The Peace Museum will be fitted out with both its own displays and with visiting exhibitions, an education room, and an office. Finance, hopefully from the European Regional Development Fund, is needed for that.

With a start on site likely this year, an opening in two years' time is planned. In the meantime, from its 'temporary' premises, The Peace Museum continues to develop its collection, display and outreach work. It needs to be able to 'hit the ground running' when the new premises are ready.

Peace from personal, community and national/international points of view is covered. The collection of 3,300 items is steadily increasing and more are very welcome. Regular exhibitions are created, for example, looking at the contribution of women to peacemaking in the early 20th century (especially of the Women's International League for Peace & Freedom). More on CO's is also planned. A Nobel Peace Prize Centennial display is planned for the autumn when it will also be available for borrowing free. There are two other traveling exhibitions available, all with educational packs. 20,000 people across the

UK (and abroad) saw the main traveling exhibition during 2000. Local school peace artwork is also encouraged and displayed. The outreach work underpins all that is done. This also includes facilitating training in the museum on conflict resolution techniques for teachers. Helping other museums to reflect on how they display conflict is part of this too.

Website: www.peacemuseum.org.uk

Email: peacemuseum@bradford.gov.uk

PERSPECTIVES FOR HISTORICAL PEACE RESEARCH:

*Annual conference of the Arbeitskreis
Historische Friedensforschung, Berlin,
3-5 November 2000*

The Heinrich Böll Foundation provided a distinguished setting for nearly 60 researchers, *AKFH* members and interested observers, to discuss the prospects, tools and methods of historical peace research under today's political and academic conditions.

Ernst-Otto Czernpiel (Frankfurt am Main) proposed a rigorous critique of the concept "peace", arguing that the terms "negative" and "positive peace" are no longer operationally viable. He called for systemic change, i.e. replacing structural anarchy by institutionalized cooperation, equitable distribution, democratized power structures and regulated interaction between societies and states.

Thomas Kater (Paderborn) then explored the metaphorical value of early modern examples of "positive peace." Following a presentation on *Gewalt* "violence/force/coercion," as a key concept

in historical peace research by Brigitta Nedelmann (Mainz), Dirk Schumann (Atlanta) then argued that the discipline needs a clear definition of this word, though he rejected Galtung's notion of "structural violence."

The second thematic session focused on gender- and discourse-oriented approaches. Jennifer Davy (Berlin) discussed "peace" from gender history perspectives, outlining how the military apparatus of violence is historically determined in bourgeois society and challenges the women-peace myth. Irene Stoehr (Berlin) addressed the Cold War and gender history. Kathleen Canning (Ann Arbor) explained the need for further studies to help develop appropriate theoretical generalizations. Alexander Pollak (Vienna) devoted his contribution to critical discourse analysis in historical peace research, illustrating this with work from the *History in the Making* project, which has monitored depictions of World War II in the Austrian media and post-1945 memories of the Nazi years. Elisabeth Domansky (Berlin) assessed this discourse-based perspective as an advance on conventional descriptive forms.

The third segment returned to the more traditional fold of historical peace research. Ursula Lehmkuhl (Erfurt) advocated a governance-centered management of international policy, which in combination with a network-based approach bridges the gap between micro and macro policies. However, Jost Dülffer (Cologne) presented a paper on the role of politics, law and mentalities in peace making which included the governance approach as one among several options in post-war and peace-building scenarios. Wolfgang Knöbl (Berlin), discussing intra-social conflict regulation, remarked that the monopoly of power can be over confined to the issue of democracy and urged historical peace

research to examine the economic mechanisms behind declared strategies. Ulrich Bröckling (Konstanz) gave a sociological view of the growing importance of mediation, e.g. as a movement for alternative dispute resolution.

In the final session, Jeffrey Verhey (Berlin) and Bernhard Chiari (Potsdam) turned to the history of pacifism and military history. Verhey listed some tasks for historical peace research, such as responsiveness to gender studies, more consideration for the peace movement in the international (not primarily national) context, more awareness of new media and the history of legitimate violence. He also asked whether the human rights movement should be regarded as the new peace movement. Chiari observed some rethinking about military history after the Cold War and described some projects.

In his concluding remarks, Ziemann (Bochum) emphasized the contextualisation issues raised by the non-historians present and the need to challenge some assumptions in historical peace research. He defined peace and violence as relational key concepts.

The AKHF will hold its next annual conference, centering on the theme "Reciprocal Killing," on November 2-4, 2001 at the Evangelische Akademie in Loccum. Participants are welcome.

Announcements!

CALL FOR ESSAYS

Peace Studies: The Next Half Century

PEACE REVIEW

Spring 2002: Volume 14, Number 1

Special Editor: Andrew Murray, Juniata College

Deadline for Submissions: Oct. 1, 2001

Peace Studies, as a programmatic focus of inquiry, is generally dated to 1948 when the program at Manchester College was begun under the guidance of Gladys Muir. Those of us who do Peace Studies must recognize that though it may be far from maturity, its youth is clearly behind it. This issue of *Peace Review* will invite practitioners to contemplate the next fifty years for Peace Studies, especially from the perspective of strategies and philosophies that will provide vigor and strength for the enterprise.

Important issues to consider include: developing leadership, focus, research, academic content, experimental learning, methodology, institutional context, vocational interface, undergraduate/graduate relationships, organization, fiscal viability, and others. Although a certain amount of assessment and prediction may be in order, it is not the focus of the issue. The primary task is for us to produce some advice for each other regarding the future of Peace Studies - advice born of experience, hard thought and responsible dreaming.

Peace Review is a quarterly, multidisciplinary, transnational journal of research and analysis, focusing on the current issues and controversies that underlie the promotion of a more peaceful

world. We define peace research to include human rights, development, ecology, culture, race, gender and related issues. Our task is to present the results of this research and thinking in short (no more than 3500 words), accessible and substantive essays.

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Email: Eliasar@usfca.edu.

UPCOMING CONFERENCE:

Peace Brigades International 20th anniversary conference—The 26th -27th of October 2001 in Konstanz, Germany and Romanshorn, Switzerland

Dear Friends

As you may know, PBI is celebrating its 20th anniversary this year. To mark this special occasion, we would like to invite you and other members of your organization to an international conference on Promoting nonviolence and protecting human rights - the role of civilian third party initiatives in conflict areas.

The event brings together representatives and individuals from a wide range of

backgrounds in peace and human rights movements, organizations and communities they support, as well as intergovernmental and state bodies. It is an opportunity to learn from each other's experiences and to spread the word on third party initiatives to a wider public. The conference also presents an excellent platform for the international exchange of ideas and for establishing new partnerships.

Further conference materials will be published on the Internet as soon as available.

Best regards,

Jürgen Störk
Peace Brigades International, President

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www.peacebrigades.org
Peace Brigades International
1981 - 2001: 20 Years of Promoting
Nonviolence and Defending Human Rights

FBI FILES AVAILABLE

The FBI website now includes an area devoted to the Freedom of Information Act (<http://foia.fbi.gov/foiaindex.html>).

Many of the most requested FBI files asked for under the Freedom of Information Act are now available, in PDR format (you must have Adobe Acrobat Reader to read them. The file sizes tend to be large, but there will be images of actual pages from FBI files, such as:

American Friends Service
Committee (3498 pages)
Cesar Chavez (2021 pages)
Clergy and Laity Concerned (1699
pages)
Highlander Folk School (1107
pages)
Abbie Hoffman (13,262 pages)
John Winston Lennon (248 pages)
Wilhelm Reich (789 pages)
Clyde Tolson (2141 pages)
Weathermen (420 pages)

*Thanks to Mennolink and Wendy Chmielewski,
Swarthmore College Peace Collection.*

Personals:

James Juhnke and Carol Hunter are the authors of *The Missing Peace: The Search for Alternatives to Violence in United States History*, published in August 2001 by Pandora Press (Kitchener, Ontario) and co-published by Herald Press (Scottsdale, PA). The book is a peace-minded revisionist survey of main themes in U.S. history from Native-American contact through the Cold War. Soft cover, 321 pp, \$25.00 USD.

Deadlines for Upcoming Editions:

Fall, '01, October 15

Winter, '01 January 15

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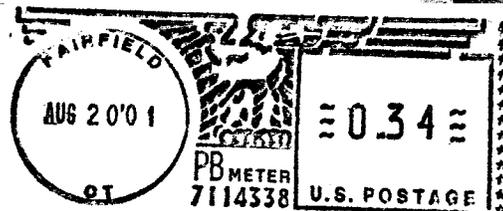
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