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Natalie Atkin

From Margin to Mainstream: American Peace Movements, 1950s–1970s

During 2003, the world witnessed an impressive display of antiwar sentiment. In some ways, the antiwar demonstrations of this year have built on precedents established in the period following World War Two. In particular, the movement against the Vietnam War has provided valuable lessons for those opposed to the war in Iraq. Although much has changed over the past thirty years, many things have not. Deciding on demonstration locations, marshalling the energies of established peace groups and activists, and communicating with the media among other skills are still significant in determining whether an event, and ultimately a movement, is successful. The historiography on the modern American peace movement has undergone considerable change in the past fifteen years, especially that of the Vietnam era. The literature on the movement in the post-World War Two era can be divided into three periods: the immediate postwar period, which has focused on peace organizations; the Vietnam era, which is diverse, making generalizations difficult; and the movement in the aftermath of Vietnam, which has garnered the least scholarly attention.¹

Pre-Vietnam Era

Most of the monographs that explore the early postwar era are focused on specific groups such as women, important peace-organizations including the anti-nuclear group Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy (SANE) or campaigns such as the 1963 testban. Generally, these books examine the entire history of a group and cover the pre-Vietnam era as part of a larger study. Catherine Foster's *Women for All Seasons* examines the history of the longstanding women's peace group, the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF). Beginning at the group's founding during World War One, the book is largely an organizational history. Its coverage of the post-World War Two period examines WILPF's grappling with anticommunism and then Vietnam.² Harriet Hyman Alonso's *Peace As A Women's Issue* explores the connection between peace activism and women's activism. Much of the post-World War Two material deals with the activities of WILPF and Women Strike for Peace (WSP), a women's-only peace organization that was middle-class, but somewhat more radi-

1 For a useful bibliography, see Charles F. Howlett: *The American Peace Movement. References and Resources*, Boston 1991. The best peace history archive in the United States is located at Swarthmore College, outside of Philadelphia.

2 Catherine Foster: *Women For All Seasons. The Story of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom*, Athens 1989.

cal than WILPF. It became active against nuclear arms and then organized innovative local campaigns against the Vietnam War.³

The book *Ban the Bomb* by Milton S. Katz remains the most complete history of SANE.⁴ In this organizational history, the author details the group's activism from the testban to Vietnam to the antinuclear movement. Recent scholarship, however, has reflected interest in both local variations and women's history. Allen Smith's article "From the Bottom Up" considers the important roles women played in New Jersey's SANE chapter in the 1950s and early 1960s.⁵ He argues that despite the national organization's male leadership, anticommunism and hierarchical structure, its New Jersey chapter was more leftist and experimental. In fact, many New Jersey SANE activists came from radical backgrounds and had a multi-issue agenda that included broad social and political change. Smith's article is useful in showing the diversity of the peace movement and the degree to which there was local divergence even within mainstream groups such as SANE.

The immediate postwar era is included in Kleidman's *Organizing for Peace*. Using organizational theory as its analytical framework, he examines the movements in support of the 1963 Testban Treaty and the nuclear freeze in the 1980s. Kleidman's collaboration with Charles Chatfield in *The American Peace Movements. Ideals and Activism* contains chapters on the modern period, including the Red Scare, the movement against nuclear weapons from the mid-1950s to the testban treaty, and then Vietnam. This monograph is valuable for its combination of sociological theory and peace movement history.⁶

A more recent book examines the impact of communism and anticommunism in the American peace movement in the early postwar era. Lieberman's *The Strangest Dream* begins with the decline of the 1930's peace movement, the rise of the Progressive Party, McCarthyism, then to SANE and WSP just prior to these groups' focus on Vietnam.⁷ The author argues that communists made important contributions to the advancement of peace, while the peace movement itself became increasingly equated with subversion during the anticommunist hysteria of the 1940s and 1950s. Lieberman's case study of McCarthyism in the peace movement is valuable for its coverage of the connections between the peace movement and communism.

3 Harriet Hyman Alonso: *Peace As A Women's Issue. A History of the U.S. Movement for World Peace and Women's Rights*, Syracuse 1993.

4 Milton S. Katz: *Ban the Bomb. A History of SANE, the Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy, 1957-1985*, New York 1986.

5 Allen Smith: *From the Bottom Up. The Ramifications of the History of the New Jersey Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy*, in: *Peace and Change* 28 (2003), 37-66.

6 Robert Kleidman: *Organizing For Peace. Neutrality, the Test Ban, and the Freeze*, Syracuse 1993; Charles Chatfield with Robert Kleidman: *The American Peace Movement. Ideals and Activism*, New York 1992.

7 Robbie Lieberman: *The Strangest Dream. Communism, Anticommunism, and the U.S. Peace Movement, 1945-1963*, Syracuse 2000.

The post-war peace movement is the subject of a recent book by Scott Bennett entitled *Radical Pacifism*.⁸ In this history of the radical secular pacifist group the War Resisters League (WRL) the author examines how the organization underwent a radicalization after World War Two. The WRL gradually embraced direct action methods and a multi-issue agenda for social change, departing from its largely educational focus on war resistance. Exposing the internal debates, Bennett explores how the group grappled with the issue of civil disobedience, amnesty, tax resistance, and draft non-registration as expressions of war resistance. During the early Cold War, the WRL participated in the nonaligned peace movement (elaborated on by Wittner below) that defied American society's push to conform to the national security state.

In the post World War Two material, Bennett's main point is that the WRL helped in the rebirth of the American peace movement with 1955 as a pivotal year. It was then that Gandhian nonviolence became a more popular form of protest in the United States and the WRL unequivocally endorsed a more radical platform that included tax resistance, civil defense protests, support for black civil rights and the antinuclear movement. Impressively researched, Bennett's account is lively, with attention given to organizational debates, as well as individual participants.

Lawrence Wittner's *One World or None*, the first book in a three-volume series on the antinuclear movement, considers the international effort to offer an alternative to nuclear weapons and the belligerent Cold War mentality that dominated international relations in the immediate postwar period.⁹ Chronicling the antinuclear movement in several countries, Wittner places the modern American peace movement in a detailed international context. His study considers the movement for nuclear disarmament in the Third World, and among communist and non-communist nations. Scientists, he argues, played an important role as did established peace organizations such as WILPF and the War Resisters League in proposing new ways to conduct foreign policy in the atomic age. The non-alignment movement in the Third World was a direct attack on nuclear diplomacy pursued by the superpowers; however, none of these forces exerted great influence in the politically polarized world of the Cold War. These voices, nonetheless, set the stage for a stronger assault on nuclear weapons policy that would come in later decades. While Wittner's book on the movement around the world is unprecedented and ambitious, it is more of an organizational account of a social and political movement; the other volumes in his series examine the grassroots dimension in greater detail (see below).

Wittner's second volume in the series, *Resisting the Bomb*, examines the international movement for disarmament from the mid-1950s until 1970.¹⁰ Whereas the first volume fo-

8 Scott H. Bennett: *Radical Pacifism. The War Resisters League and Gandhian Nonviolence in America, 1915–1963*, Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2003, XVIII + 335pp., \$ 24,95, paperback.

9 Lawrence S. Wittner: *One World or None. A History of the World Nuclear Disarmament Movement Through 1953*, Stanford 1993.

10 Lawrence S. Wittner: *Resisting the Bomb. A History of the World Nuclear Disarmament Movement, 1954–1970*, Stanford 1997.

cused on the development of antinuclear movements in countries around the world at the outset of the atomic age, the second volume examines how atomic testing galvanized grassroots movements. In this period, antinuclear protests were more widespread and antinuclear groups exerted greater influence on governments, forcing them to temper their pro-nuclear rhetoric and to rethink their reliance on nuclear weapons. Again, the strength of Wittner's second volume is its comprehensiveness; he covers the changing movements in North America, Western Europe, Eastern Europe, Japan and in the Third World. In this volume, the author devotes more attention to the grassroots feature of the movements, as well as describes its decline in the 1960s in the aftermath of the 1963 Testban Treaty.

Vietnam Era

As the 2004 American presidential race gets underway, we are reminded that the memory of Vietnam is never very far removed from contemporary politics. For George W. Bush, defending his decision to serve in the National Guard rather than go to Vietnam is contrasted with Democratic candidate John Kerry's medal-earning military service in Vietnam. Their divergent experiences have become endowed with political and patriotic meaning, revealing just how important Vietnam still is to Americans.

American involvement in Vietnam represented a watershed in both foreign policy and domestic life. The antiwar movement that emerged to contest American intervention in Southeast Asia became part of the 1960s' protest culture. Antiwar activists joined previously marginalized groups such as African-Americans, women, students, and others who took to the streets to demand social and political change and to make the federal government more accountable. Although the impetus for social change predated widespread public outrage at the Vietnam War, America's growing commitment and attention to Vietnam influenced the social movements of the 1960s and 1970s. As Robert Buzzanco argues, the war overshadowed and ultimately transformed virtually every aspect of domestic political and culture life.¹¹

In an eclectic compilation, Daum et alii investigate the importance the Vietnam War holds for America's role in the world in *America, the Vietnam War and the World*.¹² Indeed, the book's purpose is to connect and compare the American dimensions of the war with the international features of it. Employing comparisons with American policy toward Thailand and the Philippines, as well as how the war influenced American relations with its traditional European allies, this book emphasizes the war as a watershed in American foreign policy. Its breadth and variety, including coverage of countries not typically examined in relation to the Vietnam War reveal the richness of the literature on the topic and the significance this topic holds for both American and non-American scholars. There are chapters on different meth-

11 Robert Buzzanco: *Vietnam and the Transformation of American Life*, Malden, MA 1999.

12 Andreas W. Daum/Lloyd C. Gardner/Wilfried Mausbauch (eds.): *America, the Vietnam War, and the World. Comparative and International Perspectives*, New York: Cambridge University Press 2003, XII + 371 pp., \$ 65, paperback.

ods to end wars, the international economic dimensions of the war in addition to the antiwar movements in Europe and elsewhere. This compilation is valuable for its layered analyses, which use Vietnam as a springboard for sophisticated comparisons of foreign policy, political philosophy, economics, and social movements.

Scholars studying the antiwar movement of the Vietnam era represent the largest group examining peace history in the postwar period. Their topics are as diverse as the movement itself. While the established peace movement existed before the Vietnam War, it then became only one component of an eclectic social movement. Radical pacifists, liberals, men, women, workers, African-Americans, students, religious leaders and laypeople and citizens that belie categorization all served as the backbone of the antiwar movement. Individuals and organizations all over the country participated in a myriad of activities, many of which became at once more radical and more mainstream over time. That is, as the war continued, many activists employed more radical tactics such as civil disobedience while antiwar sentiment spread through mainstream America. Although capturing the complexity of such a movement may seem impossible, the scholarship has generally reflected the variety of the movement. Aside from the few recent overviews, studies have tended to focus on specific dimensions such as media coverage or students, or have examined the decentralized feature of the movement by looking at it in specific places such as Chicago or at non-elite college campuses. The following section looks at overviews, monographs on the antiwar movement's impact, then books and articles exploring specific constituencies such as women, veterans, and students.

The most comprehensive overview remains DeBenedetti with Chatfield's *An American Ordeal*, which chronicles the movement from the early 1960s to the mid-1970s.¹³ In this narrative account, the authors trace the evolution of the antiwar movement from radical pacifists to more mainstream politicians and citizens. Describing the activities of the countless national antiwar coalitions, including mass demonstrations, in addition to the grassroots activism of local groups, this volume provides chronology and organization to a very decentralized and diverse movement. Tom Wells, in *The War Within*, offers a year-by-year chronicle from 1965 through 1975 of the antiwar movement.¹⁴ In this voluminous book that uses oral interviews among a host of other sources, Wells provides an impressive in-depth analysis of the movement's motives, tactics, and eventual factionalism. Despite the divisions, Wells contends, the movement influenced the government and contributed to the eventual American withdrawal from Vietnam. More recently, Melvin Small has written a more concise overview in *Antiwarriors*, which examines the major events of the movement, the debates about tactics, the role of the media, as well as the impact of the movement on the Johnson and Nixon administrations. He maintains that the movement affected decision-making about the war, but not to the extent that many activists claim.¹⁵ Although the antiwar movement is not the sole

13 Charles DeBenedetti with Charles Chatfield: *An American Ordeal. The Antiwar Movement of the Vietnam Era*, Syracuse 1990.

14 Tom Wells: *The War Within. America's Battle Over Vietnam*, Berkeley 1994.

15 Melvin Small: *Antiwarriors. The Vietnam War and the Battle for America's Hearts and Minds*, Wilmington 2002.

focus of Terry Anderson's *The Movement and the Sixties*, it is considered in relation to other often-overlapping social movements of the 1960s.¹⁶ His study is particularly useful in understanding the political and cultural contexts of the period and the connection among the various forms of activism such as grassroots campaigns and national events, as well as the targets of activism, including the federal government.

Whereas the above-mentioned scholars provide insight into the movement as a whole, Mary Hershberger's *Traveling to Vietnam* documents peace activists who traveled to Vietnam.¹⁷ Many of them had some peace group affiliation such as WSP and were active on other social fronts. Organized chronologically beginning in 1965, the book traces the evolution of individuals' activities, from organizing humanitarian aid to attempts to help American POWs. She contends that activists who had traveled to Vietnam presented alternative ways to resolving the Vietnam conflict in comparison to what the American government was pursuing. Their activities, their arguments and their first hand accounts laid the foundation for an eventual American withdrawal.

In exploring the antiwar movement, scholars have attempted to assess the movement's impact on society, on politicians, and on ending the war. Small's *Johnson, Nixon and the Doves* argues that indeed the movement forced the administrations to reconsider military measures for fear of widespread and embarrassing protests.¹⁸ This book was followed by his examination of the role the media played in shaping the movement, its message and ultimately its effectiveness in *Covering Dissent*.¹⁹ Using print and television coverage of major antiwar events from 1965 to 1971, Small contends that the media often inaccurately depicted the movement as unruly and unpatriotic by highlighting the actions of the most radical elements at demonstrations, confirming what media critics have long said about the nature of news and protest.

Dissenting from most scholars who portray the Vietnam antiwar movement in a positive light is Adam Garfinkle in *Telltale Hearts*.²⁰ He argues that the movement did not only not shorten the war, it likely prolonged it. Garfinkle believes that most of the literature of the antiwar movement has been written from a sympathetic perspective. As a result, authors lack objectivity and portray the movement as effective in order to make their subjects appear righteous. Furthermore, in a chapter about "Vietnam as metaphor," Garfinkle discusses the meanings of the war and the movement for citizens, politicians, the media, and academics, as well as comparing the Vietnam era movement to more recent activism against the first Gulf War.²¹ Although most antiwar scholars would likely disagree with most of its conclusions

16 Terry Anderson: *The Movement and the Sixties*. Protest in America from Greensboro to Wounded Knee, New York 1995.

17 Mary Hershberger: *Traveling to Vietnam*. American Peace Activists and the War, Syracuse 1998.

18 Melvin Small: *Johnson, Nixon, and the Doves*, New Brunswick, NJ 1988.

19 Melvin Small: *Covering Dissent*. The Media and the Anti-Vietnam War Movement, New Brunswick, NJ 1994.

20 Adam Garfinkle: *Telltale Hearts*. The Origins and Impact of the Vietnam Antiwar Movement, New York 1995.

21 *Ibid.*, 209–264.

about the movement, *Telltale Hearts* offers an alternative perspective on the movement; therein lies its value. Moreover, while he provides a more critical view of the antiwar movement that some may find refreshing, he also examines the cultural and intellectual contexts of the war and the movement, which contributes to a better understanding of the importance Vietnam held and still holds for American society.

In addition to overviews and assessments of the movement's impact, recent studies of the antiwar movement have considered how the movement has involved and affected specific groups. Jeffreys-Jones's *Peace Now!* considers how some women, segments of organized labor, and some students and African-Americans initially felt about the war, then how members of all groups except labor eventually came to oppose the war. While this is a good overview of four social groups and the war, there are more detailed monographs that deal with each group (with the exception of African-Americans).²² Better anthologies include Small and Hoover's *Give Peace A Chance* and Marc Jason Gilbert's *The Vietnam War on Campus*.²³ Small and Hoover's 1992 compilation includes articles on different aspects of the movement such as the counterculture, women, religious opposition, resistance in the military, and activism on non-elite campuses. Books have since been written on some of these topics. Nonetheless, *Give Peace A Chance* is still a valuable book for its exploration of multiple themes in a single volume and for its breadth and depth.

Gilbert's *Vietnam War On Campus* is more recent and enriches our understanding of the diversity of the antiwar movement even further. As the title suggests, much of the anthology explores the movement on campuses, including high schools, non-elite colleges and those in the South, which will be discussed below. This book, however, is not limited to campuses. There are chapters examining the movement as a breeding ground for feminism, conservative youth opposed to the draft, as well as Catholic students and intellectuals opposed to the war among other topics not discussed elsewhere. *Vietnam War on Campus*, furthermore, corroborates earlier studies that contend that the movement's strength was its decentralization and that much of its innovativeness originated in local communities.²⁴ Similarly, the volume, *The United States and the Vietnam War: The Vietnam Antiwar Movement*, contains an impressive seventeen articles on a range of topics such as the impact of the movement on the Johnson and Nixon administrations, military dissent, political repression, the connections between the antiwar movement and the civil rights movement, among others.²⁵ Many of the articles are abridged versions of monographs or longer studies that appear elsewhere by familiar scholars such as Melvin Small and Charles DeBenedetti. Notwithstanding, the compilation has considerable introductory value because of the number and quality of the articles.

22 Rhodri Jeffreys-Jones: *Peace Now! American Society and the Ending of the Vietnam War*, New Haven 1999.

23 Melvin Small/William Hoover (eds.): *Give Peace A Chance. Exploring the Vietnam Antiwar Movement*, Syracuse 1992.

24 Marc Jason Gilbert (ed.): *The Vietnam War on Campus. Other Voices, More Distant Drums*, Westport, CN 2001.

25 Walter L. Hixson (ed.): *The United States and the Vietnam War. The Vietnam Antiwar Movement*, New York 2000.

Not only do the anthologies include chapters on women, but monographs on women's peace groups that predated Vietnam also discuss the Vietnam era as part of a larger study. Foster and Alonso include sections on the Vietnam era, although it is not their focus. In Foster's study, for instance, the chapter that covers the 1960s and 1970s emphasizes the impact of feminism on WILPF. Alonso's coverage of women's activism in the Vietnam era emphasizes the civil rights movement and feminism, rather than anti-Vietnam war protest. In contrast, Amy Swerdlow's book, *Women Strike for Peace: Traditional Motherhood and Radical Politics in the 1960s*, provides an in-depth analysis of that group's demographic and political origins, as well as its unique contributions to the Vietnam antiwar movement.²⁶ The author believes that not only did WSP offer an organizational and tactical alternative to established peace groups, but that its mostly middle-class female membership added legitimacy to the antiwar movement in the eyes of many Americans. Swerdlow's book is an excellent contribution to 1960s literature in that it examines how middle-class women's activism was indeed groundbreaking and radical, a contention that challenges both academic and popular views of the 1960s as a decade of youth-centered activism.

Continuing in Swerdlow's footsteps is Amy Schneidhorst in her article on Chicago women's peace activism, 'Little Old Ladies and Dangerous Women.'²⁷ Exploring the Chicago chapter of WSP in addition to another women's-only peace group, Women Mobilized for Change, she concludes that female activists defied stereotypes of peace advocates while also invoking traditional maternalist arguments about women and peace. Typical of a case study, Schneidhorst also discusses the particularities of Chicago in the Vietnam period including the city's growing race consciousness and repressive police behavior, which shaped women's activism. Although the author confirms in many ways what Swerdlow maintains, she gives equal attention to the issue of how female activists' maternalism co-existed with arguments about citizenship to motivate and rationalize women's activism. In doing so, Schneidhorst's subjects negotiated a proper place for themselves in the peace movement and in Chicago politics.

For the most part, these studies deal with older middle-class women's activism. There is a growing literature on the connections between the antiwar movement and the burgeoning women's movement. Focusing on younger women who came of age in the 1960s, authors such as Nina Adams and Alice Echols, in their contributions to *Give Peace A Chance*, look at how the antiwar movement primed women for future activism in the women's liberation movement.²⁸ Similarly, Barbara Tischler's "The Refiner's Fire" in Gilbert's compilation investigates how women in the antiwar movement became aware of their own marginalization and channeled their discontent into the antiwar and women's movements. Likewise,

26 Amy Swerdlow: *Women Strike For Peace. Traditional Motherhood and Radical Politics in the 1960s*, Chicago 1993.

27 Amy Schneidhorst: 'Little Old Ladies and Dangerous Women'. *Women's Peace and Social Justice Activism in Chicago, 1960–1975*, in: *Peace and Change* 26 (2001), 374–391.

28 Nina S. Adams: *The Women Who Left Them Behind*, in: Small/Hoover (eds.): *Give Peace A Chance*; Alice Echols: 'Women Power' and Women's Liberation. *Exploring the Relationship Between the Antiwar Movement and the Women's Liberation Movement*, in: *Ibid*.

Tischler's article, "All Power to the Imagination!" in a comparative anthology, *America, The Vietnam War and the World*, examines connections between the antiwar movement and feminism with some attention to the international dimensions of such cross-fertilization.²⁹

Several articles in a special edition of the now defunct journal *Vietnam Generation* also consider women as a distinct constituency in the antiwar movement. The most valuable is Ruth Rosen's "The Day They Buried Traditional Womanhood," which describes the various grounds for women's peace protest from the Vietnam era to the 1980s, from women's biological predisposition to peace to many feminists' views that war is inherently patriarchal. The article's title refers to the Jeannette Rankin Brigade (JRB), an all-women peace protest that occurred in January 1968 in Washington. There, older middle-class activists stood with emerging feminists to oppose the war in a variety of activities including a mock burial of woman's traditional roles that celebrated men's militarism. The JRB also witnessed the often-heated exchanges between traditional women's peace protestors and women who wanted to challenge sexist assumptions about women's alleged innate pacifism. Rosen's article demonstrates how the war and the antiwar movement became an arena for debates about women's roles in society and in the movement itself. Another article in the same volume is Kathie Sarachild's "Taking in the Images," which analyzes visual representations of Vietnamese women as important and inspiring symbols for budding American feminists.³⁰

While female antiwar activists have been garnering scholarly attention, so has religious activism against the Vietnam war. Mitchell Hall's *Because of Their Faith* chronicles the activities and ideologies of Clergy and Laity Concerned About Vietnam (CALCAV), one of the most important antiwar organizations of the era.³¹ Examining the breadth of religious opposition to the war, CALCAV's tactics, as well as its effectiveness, Hall argues that the group influenced public opinion and prevented the government from escalating the war. A more recent addition to the religious dimension of the antiwar movement is Michael Friedland's *Lift Up Your Voice Like A Trumpet*.³² Whereas Hall's study is somewhat of an organizational history, Friedland's book is a biographical history, detailing the activities of prominent CALCAV individuals such as the Berrigan brothers and William Sloane Coffin. The author contends that activist clergy contributed to both the legitimacy of the movement in many Americans' minds and to the movement's positive impact because they occupied such an influential place in American society.

29 Barbara Tischler: The Refiner's Fire. Antiwar Activism and Emerging Feminism in the Late 1960s, in: Gilbert (ed.): *The Vietnam War on Campus*, 54–71; Barbara Tischler: All Power to the Imagination! Antiwar Activism and Emerging Feminism in the Late 1960s, in: Andreas W. Daum/Lloyd C. Gardner/Wilfred Mausbach (eds.): *America, the Vietnam War and the World*, 321–340.

30 Ruth Rosen: The Day They Buried 'Traditional Womanhood'. Women and the Politics of Peace Protest, in: *Vietnam Generation 3 & 4* (1989), 208–234; Kathie Sarachild, with documents from the Redstockings Women's Liberation Archives: Taking in the Images. A Record in Graphics of the Vietnam Era Soil for Feminism, in: *Vietnam Generation 3 & 4* (1989), 235–245.

31 Mitchell Hall: *Because of Their Faith*. CALCAV and Religious Opposition to the Vietnam War, New York 1990.

32 Michael B. Friedland: *Lift Up Your Voice Like A Trumpet*. White Clergy and the Civil Rights and Antiwar Movements, Chapel Hill, NC 1998.

The more radical facets of religious opposition to the war are explored in *Direct Action*, a study of radical pacifism.³³ James Tracy's coverage of the Vietnam era includes insights into well-known pacifists such as David Dellinger and Staughton Lynd, as well as studies of pacifist ideologies, strategies and tactics used by the antiwar movement. Tracy's book is valuable for placing the Vietnam antiwar movement in the context of well-established pacifism of the post-World War Two period. Religious opposition to the war is also studied in Jill K. Gill's article "The Political Price of Prophetic Leadership," which considers the National Council of Churches (NCC) during the Vietnam War.³⁴ The author argues that, in the context of its institutional struggle for social and political change, the NCC's antiwar articulations cost it access to presidential administrations. The NCC wished to present a moralistic antiwar message that was distinct from the publicized antiwar movement, which the organization viewed as both too narrow and too radical. In doing so, the NCC alienated the Johnson and Nixon administrations. Gill's article is useful for its discussion of a mainstream but elite religious group and its leaders, something not explored in great depth by authors focusing on CALCAV and religious radicals.

Of all the topics related to the antiwar movement, the one that has garnered the most attention lately is GI and veteran opposition to the war. There has been a flurry of interest and subsequent books on antiwar activism among active and former servicepeople. Richard Moser's *The New Winter Soldiers* is the earlier monograph on the topic.³⁵ Maintaining that soldier resistance to the war was revolutionary, Moser investigates how soldiers' views about the "citizen-soldier" ideal in American society played an important role in shaping their antiwar perspective. He also examines the connections between antiwar soldiers and the broader peace movement. His study is valuable for placing soldier resistance in the broader context of the cultural rebellion of the 1960s including manifestations of black power and hippie culture in the military. More recently, Andrew Hunt in *The Turning* explores the history of the most important antiwar soldiers' group of the Vietnam era, Vietnam Veterans Against the War (VVAW).³⁶ In this well-researched volume, Hunt provides the definitive history of the organization, using, among other sources, FBI files and oral interviews. Tracing VVAW's rise, its battles with the Nixon administration, its fall and its legacy, Hunt's book is an invaluable contribution to the antiwar literature. Despite VVAW's decline (it was replaced by Vietnam Veterans of America), Hunt argues that the organization represented a unique manifestation of soldier discontent.

In addition to the strictly scholarly monographs, there are several oral histories of the GI-veteran movement. Using interviews, Richard Stacewicz in *Winter Soldiers* documents VVAW activists' motives, ideologies, views of their country, and their radicalization as a re-

33 James Tracy: *Direct Action. Radical Pacifism from the Union Eight to the Chicago Seven*, Chicago 1996.

34 Jill K. Gill: *The Political Price of Prophetic Leadership. The National Council of Churches and the Vietnam War*, in: *Peace and Change* 27 (2002), 271–300.

35 Richard Moser: *The New Winter Soldiers. GI and Veteran Dissent during the Vietnam Era*, New Brunswick, NJ 1996.

36 Andrew Hunt: *The Turning. A History of Vietnam Veterans Against the War*, New York 1999.

sult of the continuing war and their being targeted by police and the Nixon administration. This book is particularly useful for the personal accounts of disillusionment with American ideals and American society in addition to people's motives for social movement participation. Gerald Nicosia's voluminous quasi-autobiographical account, *Home to War*, also sheds light on individual experiences of Vietnam veterans, although the antiwar slant of the book is more implicit.³⁷ *Days of Decision*, an oral history of conscientious objectors, also provides personal accounts of twenty-four antiwar soldiers.³⁸ Chronicling people's military service and their military resistance, Gerald Gioglio uses oral interviews to illuminate the people's motives, as well as what happened to objectors after they left the military.

While the above-mentioned books look at soldiers and veterans, Michael S. Foley's *Confronting the War Machine* looks at men and women who resisted military service.³⁹ During the war and since, draft resistance, actively undermining the conscription system and not just evading it by not registering, has been controversial. Perhaps because of this, little has been written on the topic. Foley fills the void, and he does more than this. Using the draft resistance movement in Boston as his case study, the author examines motivations, tactics, official responses to, and divisions within the Boston branch of the Resistance. Despite the fact that draft resisters were relatively few in number, in many ways they were the vanguard of the antiwar movement. In fact, Foley contends that "draft resistance became the driving force of Boston's antiwar movement."⁴⁰ It provided its momentum, its morality, its compass for interacting with media, its leadership and its militancy. Likewise, Boston's movement reflected changes in draft resistance as the latter debated strategies and new approaches in undermining what resisters saw as an unfair system of general conscription.

A particular strength of the book is Foley's willingness to discuss internal conflicts even though he is clearly sympathetic to the high moral ground that many draft resisters claimed. For instance, how the group dealt with conflicts over gender and how female activists felt is illustrated using oral interviews. Because the draft and draft resistance per se were male preserves, the role of women was ambiguous; in most accounts of the New Left and the antiwar movement, the role of women in draft resistance has not been considered in great length. For some women, draft resistance and their marginalization within it became a stepping stone to women's liberation. For others, however, draft resistance provided them with invaluable opportunities to demonstrate their antiwar commitment in the most risky segment of the antiwar movement. Foley reveals the multiple and complex sentiments of women draft resistance activists in the most detail yet seen.⁴¹

37 Richard Stacewicz; *Winter Soldiers. An Oral History of the Vietnam Veterans Against the War*, New York 1997; Gerald Nicosia: *Home to War. A History of the Vietnam Veterans' Movement*, New York 2001.

38 Gerald R. Gioglio: *Days of Decision. An Oral History of Conscientious Objectors During the Vietnam War*, Trenton, NJ 1989.

39 Michael S. Foley: *Confronting the War Machine. Draft Resistance during the Vietnam War*, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press 2003, XV + 449pp., \$ 19,95, paperback.

40 Ibid., 79.

41 Ibid., 180–191.

The selective service system drew disproportionately from the working class, which is another constituency in the antiwar movement that is gaining attention. In *Peace Now!*, Jeffreys-Jones devotes a chapter to labor, upholding the standard perception that workers generally supported the war.⁴² In contrast, Frank Koscielski, in his case study of a United Auto Workers local, *Divided Loyalties*, contends that although much of organized labor's leadership did not want to break with the Johnson administration over the war, the perspectives of the rank and file is more difficult to ascertain. While working-class opponents were under-represented at antiwar protests, they did not generally endorse the war and expressed considerable ambivalence toward it.⁴³ Only after additional case studies can scholars attempt a more accurate generalization of workers and the antiwar movement.

In addition to studying particular groups in the antiwar movement, scholars have increasingly been paying attention to the movement in a variety of places, especially college campuses. Naturally, this has meant that students have been the subject. Early memoirs and monographs generally tended to focus on elite schools such as Berkeley that were not representative.⁴⁴ More recently, historians have considered the antiwar movement at non-elite schools. Kenneth Heineman in *Campus Wars* examines the movement at several state universities including Michigan State, Penn State and Kent State. Arguing that the antiwar movement was as vibrant far from the east and west coasts, the author contributes greatly to expanding the scope of antiwar movement research.⁴⁵ In *Putting Your Bodies Upon the Wheels*, however, Heineman diverges from his largely sympathetic portrayal of the movement. The author offers a scathing and cynical overview of the 1960s student unrest. In an almost complete reversal of his approach in *Campus Wars*, that may reflect a general conservative mood, Heineman generalizes about the most radical and unrepresentative activities of the period to brand the whole spectrum of political and social activism as violent, communist, and misguided.⁴⁶

Heineman's *Campus Wars* set the stage for further studies that focused on the movement in cities and college towns that likely did not appear on the cover of the *New York Times*. Douglas Rossinow's *The Politics of Authenticity*, for one, examines the connections among the various social movements based at the University of Texas at Austin.⁴⁷ The antiwar movement in Austin was part of a broader struggle for social justice that included the New Left and women's liberation. Although the author does not concentrate on the antiwar movement, this study discusses the moral grounds for activists' critique of American society and American foreign policy. By discussing the particularities of the Texas movement includ-

42 Jeffreys-Jones, 179–181.

43 Frank Koscielski: *Divided Loyalties. American Unions and the Vietnam War*, New York 1999.

44 Tom Hayden: *Reunion. A Memoir*, New York 1988; Todd Gitlin: *The Sixties. Years of Hope, Days of Rage*, New York 1987; W. J. Rorabaugh: *Berkeley At War. The 1960s*, New York 1989.

45 Kenneth J. Heineman: *Campus Wars. The Peace Movement at American State Universities in the Vietnam Era*, New York 1993.

46 Kenneth J. Heineman: *Put Your Bodies upon the Wheels. Student Revolt in the 1960s*, Chicago 2001.

47 Douglas C. Rossinow: *The Politics of Authenticity. Liberalism, Christianity, and the New Left in America*, New York 1998.

ing indigenous populist impulses, Rossinow highlights the unique features of the movement in the South while placing Austin activists in the context of broader American reform traditions such as Christianity and evangelicalism.

Similarly, Rusty Monhollan's *"This is America?"* is a case study of Lawrence, Kansas in the 1960s, concentrating on the University of Kansas (KU).⁴⁸ Again, the antiwar movement is not the sole focus, but part of a broader look at activism in the decade. Like Rossinow, Monhollan sheds light on a city not generally associated with social and political upheaval. Examining how Lawrencians struggled over civil rights, the Vietnam War, the counterculture and feminism, Monhollan stresses how deeply the Cold War affected the social movements of the sixties—it encouraged, defined and limited them. In some ways, his conclusions echo those reached by scholars looking at other places. Of course, Monhollan emphasizes the fact that local people and local conditions provide Lawrence's unique story. Civil rights activists, for example, used Kansas's history as a free state in the Civil War to press for anti-discrimination measures in housing and other areas. Civil rights issues were also key factors in the budding student movement at the KU. Similar to Rossinow's Austin subjects, religion was an important catalyst for activism among KU students.⁴⁹ Monhollan's chapter on the antiwar movement proper is strong, describing how KU was an important element in the city and state's antiwar movement. KU professors founded the Kansas Peace Forum and the campus was a key site for high- and low-profile protests.⁵⁰ Such actions, Monhollan adds, were met with fierce opposition by many Lawrence residents. People's positions on the war came to symbolize the deep divisions within the community and ultimately around the country. The author concludes that deep in the heart of the country, citizens struggled over the meaning of the social and political changes they were facing, whether they were desirable, and how to implement or prevent them.

Moving from Kansas to Indiana, Mary Ann Wynkoop explores 1960s activism in Bloomington in *Dissent in the Heartland*.⁵¹ Just as Monhollan considered the University of Kansas as central to his case study, Wynkoop uses Indiana University as the focus of her book. Examining the civil rights movement, the antiwar movement, the counterculture, and the women's movement, the author maintains that dissent, albeit not widespread even among IU students, was evident far from elite schools and movement centers on the east and west coasts. Unlike other cities and campuses that witnessed a whole spectrum of radical political opinion and behavior, activism in Bloomington was generally lacking in revolutionary goals, rhetoric or tactics. As in other case studies, *Dissent in the Heartland* reveals that issues that galvanized citizens, and students in particular, were local ones, often related to university policy such as tuition increases.

48 Rusty L. Monhollan: *"This is America?" The Sixties in Lawrence, Kansas*, New York: Palgrave 2002, XII + 284pp., \$ 19,95, Hardcover.

49 Ibid., 60, 65.

50 Ibid., 116, 119.

51 Mary Ann Wynkoop: *Dissent in the Heartland. The Sixties at Indiana University*, Bloomington: Indiana Univ. Press 2002, XI + 214 pp., \$ 19, 95, paperback.

Southern Illinois University, another midwestern school, is the topic of Robbie Lieberman and David Cochran's article, "We Closed Down the Damn School."⁵² The authors examine how students at SIU focused on student rights and other New Left issues that were markedly local; that is, issues that affected them on their own campus. In contrast to many other studies of 1960s activism, they argue that the movement was gaining strength in late 1960s when three elements of the student movement coalesced: Advocates for student rights, New Leftists, and the "party culture" came together late in the decade to participate in mass demonstrations and eventually the school's forced closure; such activities challenge the contention that the movement was in decline.⁵³ The "party culture" is an important local dimension that refers to SIU's rapid growth in the postwar period and its reputation as a "party school," which often featured students contesting the school administration's policies. The Vietnam War was also a catalyst for SIU's student movement as it provided a single issue on which the three strains could unite.

Lieberman and Cochran's argument that the antiwar movement was indeed undergoing an upswing later in the decade is corroborated by a chapter on the antiwar movement at Iowa State University (ISU) by Clyde Brown and Gayle K. Pluta Brown in Gilbert's *Vietnam War on Campus*.⁵⁴ The authors maintain that the ISU campus did not see widespread protest against the war until the 1969 Moratorium; in fact, it was the 1970 Cambodian invasion that really prompted students to mobilize. They conclude that students were committed to non-violent protest. University administrators, for their part, accommodated them in many respects, realizing students' right to oppose the war and wishing to avoid any provocative restrictions that might result in violence. Indiana is the focus of another Midwest campus case study in Anthony O. Edmonds and Joel Shrock's article, "Fighting the War in the Heart of the Country," which documents the movement at Ball State University.⁵⁵ Like the students at Iowa, the Moratorium was perhaps the most important antiwar event at Ball State even though there was no widespread outbreak of antiwar activism. In fact, the timid antiwar movement and the antipathy toward the movement in Muncie likely reflected the area's conservative demographics and history. Students appeared more interested in campus antics such as "panty raids" than serious political issues. Ball State, then, was much different than both elite campuses and other non-elite campuses in the Midwest that have been studied to date.⁵⁶ To what extent Ball State is representative remains to be seen. It appears that the Muncie campus was more conservative than Bloomington, even though both schools seem more conservative than others in the region examined so far.

52 Robbie Lieberman/David Cochran: 'We Closed Down the Damn School'. The Party Culture and Student Protest at Southern Illinois University During the Vietnam War Era, in: *Peace and Change* 26 (2001), 316–331.

53 *Ibid.*, 318.

54 Clyde Brown/Gayle K. Pluta Brown: Moo U and the Cambodian Invasion. Nonviolent Anti-Vietnam War Protest at Iowa State University, in: Gilbert (ed.), *Vietnam War on Campus*, 119–141.

55 Anthony O. Edmonds/Joel Shrock: Fighting the War in the Heart of the Country. Antiwar Protest at Ball State University, in: Gilbert (ed.), *Vietnam War on Campus*, 142–148.

56 *Ibid.*, 144.

College campuses were sites of well-publicized antiwar demonstrations. High schools, however, also witnessed unprecedented political activism during the Vietnam era. They are the subject of two articles in *Vietnam War on Campus*. Gilbert's "Lock and Load High" and Charles Howlett's "When the Bell Rings."⁵⁷ Gilbert's article on the movement at a Los Angeles high school highlights the struggles over freedom of speech at University High's conservative campus newspaper, *The Warrior*. Students pressed the administration to have the campus paper present more balanced coverage of the war, as well as antiwar opinions. Although the battleground was largely on paper, the student movement at University High reveals how high school students participated in the antiwar movement.

Howlett's article, like Gilbert's, emphasizes the constitutional dimensions of public school protest during the Vietnam era. Concentrating on Amityville Memorial High on Long Island, Howlett contends that high school students managed to gain important free speech rights in contesting schools' policies. As at University High, Howlett's subjects used their school newspaper to voice antiwar sentiment and their opposition to school policy that aimed to silence them. Public school students' desire to become politically active against the war and on other issues led to landmark legal cases such as the 1969 Supreme Court ruling *Tinker v. Des Moines* that established their free speech rights.⁵⁸

Another useful article in Gilbert's compilation is Stephen H. Wheeler's "Hell No–We Won't Go, Ya'll," which, like Rossinow, examines the student movement in the South.⁵⁹ Wheeler does not provide a case study of any single campus, but rather looks at how some Southern students came to oppose the war based on "honor," a widely accepted notion in the region of what is considered right. The civil rights movement, furthermore, was an important influence, providing ideologies, organizations and activists to the antiwar movement, as well as serving to dissuade potential white antiwar supporters for fear that they would be labeled integrationists.⁶⁰ The author argues, like scholars of other places, that although Southern student opposition may not have been widespread, it did exist; to what extent and how representative remains to be studied.

These articles and monographs are invaluable for understanding not only how local studies confirm what was happening at better known places, but it also challenges the standard story of the 1960s. The degree to which local histories diverge from those once thought to be representative demonstrate that the definitive history of the movement and of the 1960s is yet to be written. If there is so much local variation, then perhaps what they are varying from is not an accurate portrayal of the period at all. However, it is these local studies that provide substance to our analyses of the decade. Furthermore, scholars of the movement on campuses devote attention to the type and degree of opposition to protests for political, social and cul-

57 Gilbert, Lock: Load High. The Vietnam War Comes to a Los Angeles Secondary School, in: Gilbert (ed.): *Vietnam War On Campus*, 174–193; Charles Howlett: When The Bell Rings. Public High Schools, the Courts, and Anti-Vietnam War Dissent, in: *Ibid.*, 194–215.

58 Howlett, 198, 199.

59 Stephen H. Wheeler: Hell No—We Won't Go, Ya'll. Southern Student Opposition to the Vietnam War, in: Gilbert (ed.): *Vietnam War On Campus*, 149–157.

60 *Ibid.*, 150, 151–153, 155.

tural change. In considering people described as the “Silent Majority” by Richard Nixon in his television address to the nation on 3 November 1969, that was itself an attempt to gain new influence on public opinion against the anti-war-movement, these authors add another layer of understanding to the often complex ways in which issues were negotiated in local communities. Although many scholars provide a narrative history of a group, authors such as Tischler, Monhollan, Rossinow and Wynkoop, as well as some contributors to *Vietnam War On Campus* have taken the scholarship in a somewhat different methodological direction. They have emphasized the interconnection among movements and activists, which paved the way for a broader assault against the social and political status quo. Such attention to social movement cross-fertilization highlights the similar ideological roots, as well as how each individual segment of a broad social movement contributed unique features. As well, there is a growing tendency to show the war’s effects on various social movements beyond the antiwar movement, oftentimes prompting a radicalization, followed by a backlash.

As a whole, the Vietnam antiwar movement exemplified the degree to which various constituencies of Americans felt compelled to speak out against policies they deemed un-American. Although the antiwar movement was rarely united, segments within it attempted to broaden its appeal by demonstrating how the war ill-affected various groups such as African-Americans or women. As a result, the movement succeeded at reflecting the concerns of a broad section of Americans disillusioned with the war. Ultimately, it contributed to a reassessment of American political life that ironically resulted in a deep public cynicism and retreat from activist politics.

Post-Vietnam Era, 1975–1980

Unlike the two previous periods, the post-Vietnam era has garnered much less scholarly attention. Chatfield with Kleidman’s *The American Peace Movement* includes a section on the post-Vietnam period.⁶¹ In it, the authors focus on the antinuclear movement, showing the political spectrum of activists, as well as the movement’s values, goals, divisions, and interaction with the public and with politicians. Lawrence Wittner’s *Rebels Against War*, which details the American peace movement through 1983, covers the 1970s in his epilogue.⁶² Despite the end of the Vietnam war, peace activities continued on other fronts, namely disarmament. Wittner also discusses how the post-Vietnam peace movement’s agenda and membership broadened somewhat, revealing the influences of, among others, the women’s movement.

Wittner’s last volume in his anti-nuclear series, *Toward Nuclear Abolition*, covering 1971 to the present, is the most in-depth study of its kind on this era.⁶³ His look at the 1970s fo-

61 Chatfield with Kleidman: *American Peace Movement*.

62 Lawrence S. Wittner: *Rebels Against War. The American Peace Movement, 1933–1983*, Philadelphia 1984.

63 Lawrence Wittner: *Toward Nuclear Abolition. A History of the World Nuclear Disarmament Movement, 1971 to the Present*, Stanford: Stanford Univ. Press 2003, XII + 657pp., \$ 32,95, paperback.

cuses on how disarmament receded in the wake of the more immediate concern of the Vietnam War then returns to prominence in the late 1970s. Like preceding volumes in this series, the author describes the similarities and differences in the disarmament movements in countries around the world. More so than the other volumes, *Toward Nuclear Abolition* succeeds at combining grassroots material with governmental responses to the movement, no small feat considering the breadth of coverage Wittner provides. The material on the 1980s is especially dramatic; he demonstrates the challenges posed to the antinuclear campaigns by such conservative governments as Ronald Reagan's and the eventual breakthroughs evident as the Cold War wound down. Wittner credits the antinuclear movement for limiting leaders' options. However, he also cautions that it is precisely when nuclear proponents concede, anti-nuclear activists declare victory, that activism declines and nuclear options are then pursued (until the antinuclear movement protests again and the cycle begins again). He also points out, in a somewhat determinist fashion, that despite antinuclear activism, nation-states will continue to seek nuclear solutions to gain the diplomatic (and military) upperhand over potential foes.

Barbara Epstein's *Political Protest and Cultural Revolution* also considers the antinuclear movement.⁶⁴ However, she is much less interested in what the movement's outward effects were than in the movement's internal dynamics and their impact on grassroots movements and activists. About half of Epstein's monograph is devoted to aspects and campaigns of the American antinuclear movement. She argues that the tactics used by and the institutional structures created by the American antinuclear movement such as the Clamshell Alliance were manifestations of radicalism and idealism. Paying attention to how decisions were made, leadership (or lack of), and the use of direct action, Epstein contends that certain facets of the antinuclear movement were indeed revolutionary. The strength of the book lies in its close examination of the grassroots character of the movements in the United States, as well as the author's placement of such movements in the broader contexts of feminism and radicalism.

Conclusion

In the post-World War Two period, peace movements in the United States were sometimes part of an oppositional subculture and other times, part of mainstream politics. In all cases, they consistently challenged American society and the American government to uphold its rhetoric of democracy and freedom. Throughout the period, the War shaped the peace movements' activism, ideologies, issues, strategies, successes and shortcomings. America's battle against the Soviet Union and communism ultimately prompted and restricted the peace movements. The Vietnam War has delineated the scholarship on the American peace movement in the postwar era to 1980. The literature on the early period has considered the effects of the Cold War and anticommunism on a variety of peace organizations, including

64 Barbara Epstein: *Political Protest and Cultural Revolution. Nonviolent Direct Action in the 1970s and 1980s*, Berkeley 1991.

WILPF and SANE. The movement against nuclear weapons, itself a product of the Cold War, is the topic of additional peace studies of the 1950s and 1960s.

The antiwar movement of the Vietnam era has seen an explosion of interest in the last decade and a half. This historiography is rich and multi-dimensional. As the movement is studied in more and more places, we gain a better understanding of the movement's complexity and diversity. Recent studies have also drawn attention to social movement cross-fertilization as antiwar activists, women, and students, among other groups shared ideologies, tactics and personnel. In so doing, scholars have highlighted how the antiwar movement affected various constituencies in different ways. The post-Vietnam scholarship is sparse. The few monographs have explored the peace movement's redirection to the antinuclear movement after Vietnam. This literature has considered how the post-Vietnam peace movement was transformed by Vietnam and how the stage was set for a strong assault on nuclear weapons in the 1980s.