

The American Peace Movements

by David Adams

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Photo of April 1985 Peace Mobilization in Washington

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Since this 2002 edition is still in preliminary form, the author especially welcomes your comments and suggestions.

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SUMMARY

I begin from the assumption that war and the culture of war can be abolished, and that in order to achieve this and to make the transformation to a culture of peace, we need to understand the causes of war and the forces for peace.

This book traces the history of one of the most important forces for peace, the American peace movements of the 20th Century. There have been six mass-based peace movements, each responding to a particular war or threat of war. They developed in response to the Spanish-American and Philippine Wars of 1898-1902, World War I 1914-1918, the rise of European fascism, 1932-1938, the rise of the Cold War 1946-1950, the Vietnam War 1965-1972 and the threat of a first-strike nuclear war from 1980 to 1990. Each of the six peace movements will be described in turn, including their program, the social class relations of the people involved, the problems they encountered, and the extent to which they were successful.

The next section of the book analyzes the culture of war and the economic and political roots of the six wars and war threats that have provoked the American peace movements.

A new section describes the origins of the Global Movement for a Culture of Peace from 1992 through 2002. This is done from my vantage point as the initiator of the Culture of Peace Programme at UNESCO and the Director of the UN International Year for the Culture of Peace in 2000.

The final section draws lessons from the past to suggest how today's peace movement can best accomplish its task in the future. By analyzing the strengths and weaknesses of past American peace movements, by understanding the culture of war and the causes of war, and by putting the American struggle in the context of the Global Movement for a Culture of Peace and Non-Violence, we can move from understanding to effective action for peace.

FOREWARD

In the seventeen years since 1985 when the first edition of this book was written, there have been many changes in the world. Of particular importance:

With the collapse of the socialist world (under the weight of the nuclear arms race) there has been a decrease in the perceived danger of a nuclear war. I say "perceived" because I fear that we have not escaped from the danger of nuclear war, but that we have only entered into a period of relative calm before the risks mount once again.

There was no new peace movement involving over a million people in the US during the intervening years. However, in much of the rest of the world, more than 75 million people were engaged around the Manifesto 2000 and the United Nations International Year for the Culture of Peace in the Year 2000, extended into the UN International Decade for a Culture of Peace and Non-Violence for the Children of the World (2001-2010).

With these changes in mind, I have decided to add a new and extended section to The American Peace Movements concerning the Global Movement for a Culture of Peace. In a narrow sense this is not part of the American Peace Movements, but I hope to show that it is relevant to the future of the American Peace Movements. In one respect, this direction was foreseen in the final section of the 1985 edition ("The Future of the Peace Movement") with the claim that "The future success of the American peace movement depends on its linkages with the growing peace movement in the rest of the world." However, in another respect, it was not foreseen, because the 1985 edition predicted that the leadership for this international peace movement would come from a further growth of the socialist countries, a prediction that did not come to pass.

Hence, in addition to writing a new section on the Global Movement, it has been necessary to revise completely the final section on The Future of the Peace Movement. Furthermore, in the chapter on the root causes of war it is necessary to analyze the key role of the military-industrial complex in the collapse of the socialist countries, something that was not recognized in 1985.

The chapter on the Nuclear Freeze Movement, which was at its peak when the first edition was written in 1985, has been expanded in this new edition to account for important initiatives of people-to-people diplomacy between 1985 and 1990 that played a major role in the bringing the Cold War to a non-violent end.

CHAPTER 1:

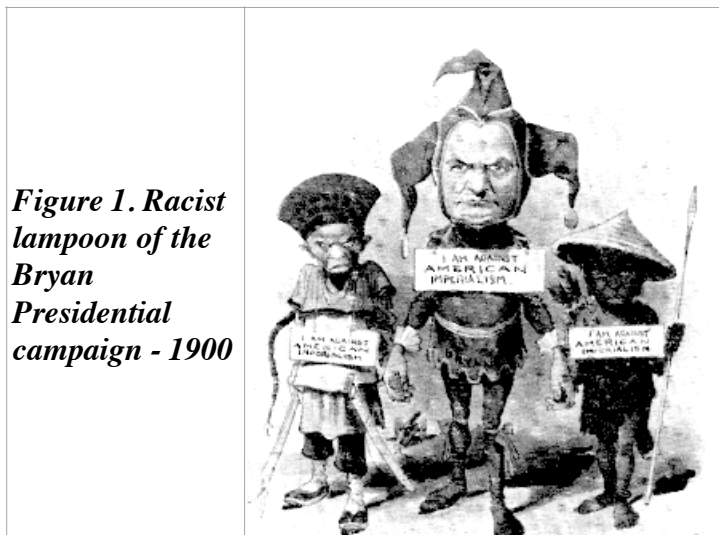
THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST LEAGUE 1898-1902

The United States was rather late among the great capitalist powers to begin establishing a colonial empire. It wasn't until the 1890'S that the U.S. went beyond seizing or buying adjacent land from Mexico or Canada and began to seek an overseas empire.

The Spanish-American War and the U.S. colonial seizure of the Philippines led to the greatest American anti-war movement up until that time, the Anti-Imperialist League ([Note 1](#)). As DeBenedetti's history of the peace movement describes, "The eruption of the Filipino-American War transformed the Anti-Imperialist League into a national movement with a mass constituency. Working with other anti-imperialist elements, League membership expanded to over 30,000 in a growth spurt that made it the largest antiwar organization per capita in American history."

The growth of the Anti-Imperialist League from a small group of intellectuals and businessmen in Boston to a large nationwide movement was a reaction to the mounting casualties in the Philippine War. The war with Spain had . been rather brief and had relatively few casualties, but the Philippine War was bloodier (the Filipinos lost up to 600,000 dead). By the spring of 1899, letters were arriving in the U.S. from American troops indicating that casualties were much greater than what the government and newspapers were willing to admit. The Boston movement spread to the rest of the country as people demanded that American troops be brought home.

As indicated by its name, the Anti-Imperialist League specifically opposed the new American policy of imperialism which sought to obtain part of the overseas empires being divided up by Europe and Japan. The League's program, as described by DeBenedetti, "defended the country's traditional commitments to political unilateralism, military independence, and exemplary moral conduct, [and] maintained that overseas conquest would do nothing but subvert America's unique experiment in constitutional republicanism."



Anti-war sentiment against the Philippine war was channeled into the Presidential candidacy of William Jennings Bryan in the election of 1900. Under pressure from the Anti-Imperialist League Bryan agreed that a declaration should be inserted in the party platform that imperialism was the "paramount" issue of the campaign, and he devoted his acceptance speech for the Democratic nomination to that issue.

The Anti-Imperialist League lost strength after Bryan's defeat in the 1900 election. Faced with government threats to prosecute anti-war activists for treason, on the one hand, and McKinley's decision to withdraw volunteer troops from the front, on the other hand, there was a "quickened shrinkage of upper-class support for anti-imperialism," according to Schirmer's history of the Anti-Imperialist League. Since the League lacked a solid base of working class support, being "overwhelmingly middle and upper class" according to Schirmer, it was unable to survive these defections. Analyzing Bryan's loss, Schirmer claims that "the most serious weakness of the campaign was the failure to win the participation of organized labor in the anti-imperialist coalition despite frequent efforts."

The weakness of the Anti-Imperialist League reflected the weakness of organized labor at the turn of the Century. Of the 30 million wage earners, only 2 million were in unions, including 1 1/2 million in the rapidly growing American Federation of Labor. The A.F. of L. was conservative, led by Samuel Gompers, and divided from the militant socialist wing of labor that was led by Eugene Debs and the newly-formed Socialist Party. And neither wing of organized labor was organizing Afro-American workers who were excluded from most unions. Despite the presence of some trade unionists in the Anti-Imperialist League (Boston union leader George McNeil spoke at the founding meeting of the League and Gompers was a national vice-president), the rank-and-file of labor was never mobilized. According to Foner's labor history, organized labor felt that the Bryan campaign failed to live up to its promise of a vigorous anti-imperialist position and therefore sat out the election.

Was the Anti-Imperialist League successful? According to Schirmer, "After a rash of annexations accompanying the Spanish War, the dominant imperialist group turned away from outright colonialism to indirect forms of political domination...The anti-imperialist uprising of the American people against the annexation of the Philippines appears to have influenced that decision."

Although the Anti-Imperialist League was able to have some effect on U.S. foreign policy, it could not save the Philippine people from a devastating defeat and thirty more years of colonial rule. According to Schirmer, "certainly central to the defeat of the Philippine people was their isolation internationally. Faced with an imperialist adversary of overwhelming military superiority, the Filipinos got no aid, military or diplomatic..." At the turn of the century, the international understanding and support of national liberation was still weak.

The world was changing, however, and the working class was at the center of change. Eugene Victor Debs, head of the Socialist Party in America and leader of the great railroad strike of 1894, denounced the war in 1998, and proclaimed:

They realize that war is national murder, that the poor furnish the victims and that whatever the outcome may be, the effect is always the same upon the toiling class...We are opposed to war, but if it ever becomes necessary for us to enlist in the murderous business, it will be to wipe out capitalism, the common enemy of the oppressed and downtrodden of all nations (Note 2).

CHAPTER 2:

THE PEOPLE'S COUNCIL OF AMERICA 1917-1919

In 1914 when World War I began in Europe, there were American peace organizations involving leading members of the U.S. ruling class. They were financed by such wealthy industrialists as the steel baron Andrew Carnegie and automaker Henry Ford. However, by 1917 when the U.S. entered the war, these initiatives had collapsed, because they were based exclusively on "middle and upper classes" who the leadership assumed "could more easily understand and identify with the civilized quality of their movement than the unenlightened masses." The Women's Peace Party, formed in 1915 and combining anti-war and women's suffrage as issues, split as many suffragists seized the war emergency to declare their patriotism. The anti-war movement in the U.S. "narrowed to a hard core of anti-war socialists, FOR-related liberal pacifists, and scattered urban intellectuals."

In 1917, as American casualties in the war began to mount, a new organization emerged at the head of the peace movement, the People's Council of America ([note 3](#)). The People's Council launched its campaign at a Madison Square Garden Rally in New York with 20,000 people in May, 1917, one month after the U.S. declared war on Germany. At its peak, according to Curti's history of the peace movement, it had at least two million sympathizers.

The program of the People's Council was "radical." It was a direct response to the Russian Revolution where Russian workers had laid down their weapons and refused to continue fighting World War I against German workers. In addition to favoring an "early, just, and democratic peace," the People's Council also "denounced war profiteering, insisted on adequate wages for labor and expressed sympathy with the ideals of economic and social justice which the new Russia seemed to champion."

The base of the People's Council was working' class, and its leadership, for the most part, was explicitly socialist. It drew support from many trade unions and from the left wing of the Socialist Party. Although there were few direct ties to the IWW (Industrial Workers of the World), the militancy of the IWW workers and their outspoken opposition to the war added strength to the cause. The U.S. government became so worried that there might be a working class revolution that they came to the direct support of the pro-war leadership of Samuel Gompers in the American Federation of Labor, and the government funded a pro-war propaganda organization, the American Alliance for Labor and Democracy" in order to split the labor opposition. The subsequent battle provides the title for the most complete book on the history of the People's Council, *The Struggle for Labor Loyalty*, by Frank Grubbs. Despite massive defections from the ranks of organized labor, Samuel Gompers managed to hold the AFL leadership to a pro-war program ([note 4](#)).

There was still no effective mobilization of the Afro-Americans into the peace movement, largely because they continued to be excluded from trade unions. One bright exception was the monthly publication of *The messenger*, an anti-war and socialist periodical put out by Black intellectuals and trade unionists, including A. Philip Randolph of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. The war years were a time of lynchings and Ku Klux Klan terrorism, as well as segregation. Responding to the murder of 30 Afro-Americans in an East St. Louis race riot, Eugene Victor Debs noted: "Had the labor unions ever opened the door to the Negro, instead of barring him...the atrocious crime at East St. Louis would never have blackened the pages of American history."

Figure 2. People's Council flyer opposing World War I - 1917

People of America

YOU Must Pay for Peace

Mothers, Farmers, Workmen, Liberals

YOU—the People must help, for the rich will not. The People's Council has no endowment—no wealth back of it. You must sacrifice in time and money. We need your help. You need our power . . . The organized power of the sovereign people demanding peace and their liberties from their government.

We Need \$50,000 by September 1st

The entire country must be organized, the truth printed and spread broadcast. Unless your help comes NOW the People's Council will lack just that much power.

Send in your contribution—all you can afford—then add more by some personal sacrifice. The price of peace is little beside the Price of War!

Send Contributions to the Treasurer

DAVID STARR JORDAN,
2 West 13th Street,
New York, N. Y.

The Organizing Committee

James J. Bagley	William O. Hart	Judah L. Magnes	Winter Russell
Emily Greene Balch	Edward I. Hartman	James H. Maurer	Benj. Schlesinger
Joseph D. Cannon	Amy Mays Hicks	Duncan McDonald	Joseph Schlossberg
H. W. L. Dana	Morris Hillquit	Howard Melish	Rose Schneiderman
Rogez V. Debs	Richard W. Hooge	Patrick Magle	Western Starr
Mary Ware Bennett	Bishop Paul Jones	Scott Neuring	Frank Stephens
Crystal Eastman	Jenks Lloyd Jones	James O'Neal	Sidney Strong
Max Eastman	Lindley M. Keasbey	Jacob Fankha	Arthur LeSueur
Edmund C. Evans	Daniel Kiefer	Elsie Cleve Parsons	Mrs. W. L. Thomas
Fols LaFollette	Charles Kraus	Max Pine	Irene St. J. Tucker
P. Felichter	Algernon Lee	A. W. Ricker	John W. Workes

TREASURER:

David Starr Jordan

SECRETARIES:

Louis P. Lochner	Lella Faye Secor	Rebecca Shelly	Elizabeth Freeman
Executive	Organizing	Financial	Legislative

DAVID STARR JORDAN, Treasurer,
2 West 13th St., New York.

I am in sympathy with the aims of the People's Council of America for Democracy and Peace. Enroll me as constituent. I send herewith \$..... for the support of the Council.

Name

Address

State



People of America

UNITE FOR PEACE

MOTHERS OF AMERICA

The President said in his Flag Day speech: "We are about to bid—it may be millions of our men—the young, the strong, the capable men of the nation—to die—on fields of blood far away." Mr. Hoover asks you to "Buy less and serve smaller portions" to your children at home. War means hunger and desolation. YOU WANT PEACE!

FARMERS OF AMERICA

Your toil feeds war. The food you win from Nature by hours of weariness, in cold and heat, is no longer coming back to you in necessities and comforts. It is no longer making easier the lot of your fellow-men. YOU WANT PEACE!

WORKERS OF AMERICA

Your labor pays the final cost of war. You work harder. You get less. Wages do not meet the increased cost of food. Your rights are threatened. Congress has passed a law that can stop strikes. War means your work is wasted. YOU WANT PEACE!

LIBERALS OF AMERICA

War conscripts your minds and hearts. The hard-won rights of free speech, free press, and peaceful assemblage are threatened with violence. At least eight radical papers have been denied the use of the mails. War crushes criticism, halts progress, and enslaves the people. YOU WANT PEACE!

You Must Organize for Peace
in
THE PEOPLE'S COUNCIL
for **DEMOCRACY and PEACE**

As the People's Council organizations spread across the country, they encountered direct and brutal government suppression. The government branded the Council's work as "sedition," banned its publications from the mails, raided its offices, barred its national congress from Minneapolis, and broke up the congress with an invasion by National Guard troops when it was finally held in Chicago. An indication of the strength of this movement despite government suppression may be gained from the vote for Eugene Victor Debs. Debs, a member of the Council, received almost one million votes as the Socialist Party candidate for President in the election of 1920 even though he sat in a federal prison cell because of his opposition to the war.

The government's suppression of the People's Council was part of the anti-communist "Red Scare" of 1919. It began with the Overman Committee in the U.S. Senate that investigated "radical" activity in the peace and labor movements, and it climaxed in the Palmer raids on the night of January 2, 1920, in which 10,000 peace and trade union activists were arrested and imprisoned without due process. The Red Scare did not confine its attacks to labor and the Left, but it also tried to split the movement into Left and Right fragments by red-baiting the liberals. Such leaders of the women's peace movement as Emily Balch, Lillian Wald and Jane Addams were branded as "radicals" by the Overman Committee, and they were vilified in the mass media. Even Samuel Gompers was red-baited, to which he responded by red-baiting his own A.F. of L. union membership.

The American peace movement shifted to the left in the decade following the First World War. Not only was it in response to the People's Council and the Presidential candidacies of Debs, but it was also associated with a worldwide shift. In Russia, the first socialist revolution had won the support of the people on the promise of Bread, Land, and Peace. The first official act of the revolutionary Bolshevik government was the Peace Decree, which, we have noted, directly inspired the People's Council in America. At the World Disarmament Conferences in the Twenties and Thirties it was the Soviet delegate Litvinov who led the call for world disarmament.

After the Russian Revolution there was a fundamental shift in the nature of war itself. The fight between rival capitalist nations that had caused World War I was now augmented by a new fight in which the capitalist nations sought to destroy the new socialist state, the Soviet Union. This new cause of capitalist wars culminated in the rise of Hitler.

CHAPTER 3:

THE AMERICAN LEAGUE AGAINST WAR AND FASCISM AND THE EMERGENCY PEACE CAMPAIGN 1933-1939

The largest and most effective peace movements in the years between the two World Wars sprang up in response to the threat of fascism ([note 5](#)). By 1932 fascism had already seized power in Italy and Germany and had begun to develop powerful war machines. Fascist solutions were being proposed in the other capitalist countries to deal with the massive unemployment and militant organizing of workers during the Great Depression. In Germany, fascism was justified by Hitler to his anti-communist supporters as a domestic force against the communist and socialist parties and an international force against the only socialist country, the Soviet Union.

The American League Against War and Fascism was organized in September 1933 at a United States Congress Against War. The stimulus came from Europe where communists, socialists, liberals, and pacifists were beginning to work together in the face of the fascist threat. The United States Congress in 1933 was patterned after a World Congress Against War held in Amsterdam in 1932. Fascism had accomplished what no amount of ideological argument could do: it brought the socialists, communists and liberals together into a united front. Although their alliance was unstable and there were frequent quarrels, the American League prospered. By 1935 it could claim a rank and file membership of over two million through its affiliated organizations, which were particularly extensive in organized labor and in Protestant denominations.

The Emergency Peace Campaign, which Chatfield's history calls "the greatest single pacifist effort" between the World Wars, was established in 1935 as a ruling class response to the peace mobilization on the Left. It was intended to provide an anti-communist peace movement for liberals and conservatives. The Campaign grew out of a meeting of ruling class leaders described by Chatfield as "distinguished almost to a fault. These men, in their dinner jackets and black ties, were educators, editors, lawyers, or political figures. They typified conservative internationalists." Faced with a growing Left, their object "was not to stem the tide but...swerve it into the true channel of international cooperation." At its peak in 1931 the Campaign had developed workers and committees in some 2,000 towns and cities and it had a list of sponsors that represented all sectors of the nation's establishment.

The two organizations represented different class interests. The American League Against War and Fascism, though it attempted to attract as broad a following as possible and included many members of Roosevelt's Cabinets, was based primarily in the working class and its leadership was largely socialist and communist. By 1937, its Communist Party members boasted that 30 percent of the entire organized labor movement was represented in the League, and labor delegates occupied 413 of the 1416 seats at the national convention. Afro-Americans were also well represented in both the leadership and rank-and-file delegates. The Emergency Peace Campaign, on the other hand, drew mostly from the middle and upper classes and obtained little support from organized labor.

The programs of the two organizations reflected their different class interests. The League declared that "both war and fascism were organized by the same people for the same purpose - the preservation of their power and privilege" and it proposed to "withdraw from the war system the services and support of the masses, particularly the workers and farmers." The Emergency Peace Campaign took an isolationist position that sought to "promote international economic justice and keep a neutral America out of foreign wars."

Figure 3. Pamphlet of American League Against War and Fascism attacking Hearst newspaper support of Hitler - 1935

There is no time for
POLITE CONVERSATION
 in such a situation as exists today in Spain. The Spanish Government is occupied with a Fascist insurrection which seriously threatens to destroy democracy in Spain as it has done in Italy and Germany. In

"SPAIN'S DEMOCRACY TALKS TO AMERICA"
 the American League Against War and Fascism presents a 20 page verbatim report of an interview conducted by Prof. Harry F. Ward and A. A. MacLeod, chairmen of the American and Canadian Leagues Against War and Fascism, with nine leading representatives of Spanish democracy. One copy, 3 cents.

MANY CONDEMN THE AMERICAN LEGION
 all over the lot for various reasons, but few know all the facts. For every Legionnaire who kicks up a fuss for a loyalty oath or a big navy, etc., there is a Legionnaire who opposes it. Do Legionnaires in general agree with the views expressed by their leaders? Read the whole story by Walter Wilson.

"AMERICAN LEGION AND CIVIL LIBERTY"
 One copy, 5 cents.

The Fight

AGAINST WAR AND FASCISM

The issues of Fascism, Democracy, war and peace are the forces rapidly changing this world of ours. Do you know the facts and news behind the headlines? The leading anti-war and anti-Fascist magazine in the United States joins a well-balanced content, a freshness of style and make-up—large size format and five colors—with authoritative articles on national and foreign affairs, and such departments as WALL STREET, RADIO, BOOKS, MOVIES, excellent short stories, photographs and drawings by leading illustrators. Among its contributors in recent issues were George Seldes, Sherwood Anderson, John L. Lewis, Bishop Francis J. McConnell, Richard Watts, Jr., Maurice A. Halpern, Art Young, Sylvia Townsend Warner, William Gouper, Heywood Brown, Dr. George A. Cox, Professor Gaetano Salvemini, Emily Greene Balch, Matthew Josephson, Peggy Bacon, Adolf Dehn, C. Hartley Grattan, H. C. Engelbrecht, Johannes Steel, Maxton Culbert, John Groh, Robert Morse Lovett, Dorothy Douglas, Louis Lozowick, Hoff, Agnes Smedley, A. F. Whitney, Oscar Ameringer, etc., etc.

10 Cents a Copy \$1 a Year

I enclose \$1 for a year's subscription to THE FIGHT
 I enclose \$1.50 for a year's subscription and membership to the League

AMERICAN LEAGUE AGAINST WAR AND FASCISM

268 Fourth Ave.

New York, N. Y.

Hearst

COUNTERFEIT AMERICAN



by ANN WEEDON

The student anti-war movement was especially effective. The Socialist League for Industrial Democracy, (social democratic) the National Student League (Communist), and the National Student Federation of America (liberal) joined forces at the end of 1933 to initiate an annual student strike against war. Joined the next year by a new liberal organization, the American Youth Congress, they sponsored strikes which grew by 1935 to include 175,000 students and by 1936 to include half a million. The student unity was built around a simple program based on the Oxford pledge which students at Oxford, England, had originated. The American version was "We pledge not to support the government of the United States in any war it may conduct." In addition to organizations on Northern white campuses, the student peace organizations reached out for solidarity with trade union organizing drives throughout the country, and they pioneered in developing Black/White unity among Southern college students.

The student groups rejected red-baiting and kept a united front during the Thirties, which was a key to their success. The American League Against War and Fascism also stood its ground against red-baiting, but many liberals in the Emergency Peace Campaign succumbed. In response to one attack from the American Legion, prominent Campaign official Frederick Libby replied, "We have no communists on our staff. We do not cooperate with communists." True to his word, Libby not only refused to cooperate with the League, but he also refused to attend the Brussels Congress in 1936 to plan a world wide peace campaign because it would require cooperation with communists.

By the end of the decade it was becoming clear that war with fascism could not be avoided. The political struggle against the rise of fascism had been only partly successful. By the end of 1936 Germany was Nazi, Italy was fascist, and along with imperial Japan, they signed the Anti-Comintern Pact (the word Comintern refers to the "Communist International"). The anti-communism that the fascists had used to rise to power at home was now turned outward as an excuse for military expansion abroad. As long as they could convince the other capitalist powers that war would be directed against the Soviet Union, the fascists were appeased and allowed to expand ([note 6](#)).

The American peace movements shifted, awkwardly at times, away from anti-war isolation and towards support for World War II against fascism. The first shift came when the revolutionary government of Spain was attacked in 1936 by fascist forces, including troops and bombers from Italy and Germany. The American peace movement was divided between isolation and intervention, as much of the movement took up the cause of the besieged Spanish Republicans and tried in vain to get the U.S. government to ship arms to their government. Another period of division occurred when the Soviet-German truce (the so-called "Hitler-Stalin Pact") went into effect from 1939-1941. However, after Germany invaded the Soviet Union, Japan bombed Pearl Harbor, and the United States entered the war, most activists supported the war. The anti-war movements withered to what DeBenedetti has called a "tiny base of support."

The American peace movements of the Thirties made a major contribution to world history. They set the mood of opposition to fascism that determined that the U.S. would intervene on the side of the Allies rather than on the side of fascism in World War II. Many Americans now take this for granted, but at the time there were American capitalists who supported Hitler because of his promise to destroy the Soviet Union and suppress organized labor ([note 7](#)).

CHAPTER 4:

THE PROGRESSIVE CITIZENS OF AMERICA 1946-1948

The death of Roosevelt and the dropping of atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945 marked the end of an era as well as the end of the war. Roosevelt and his Vice President Henry Wallace had made plans for cooperation with the Soviet Union after the war in the framework of the United Nations. But the new President Truman took the opposite position of confrontation. Meeting with liberal leaders while the war was still raging in April 1945 Truman banged his fist on the desk and exclaimed, "We have to get tough with the Russians...We've got to teach them how to behave." As a lesson to the Russians, the U.S. dropped atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki and opened the age of nuclear terrorism.

As the Cold War was heated up by the Truman administration, many of the liberals and Leftists who had supported Roosevelt fought back by forming the Progressive Citizens of America in 1946. By mid-1947, it had 25,000 members with chapters in 19 states of which 15 had paid staff members. When Wallace barnstormed America in 1947, 200,000 people turned out to hear him speak against the Cold War and call for cooperation with the Soviet Union. And by the end of the year, Wallace announced his candidacy for President, running on a peace platform under the banner of a new third party, the Progressive Party ([note 8](#)).

Figure 4.
***Nominating
convention of
progressive
party - 1948***



The Progressive Party platform called for "negotiation and discussion with the Soviet Union to find areas of agreement to win the peace." It called for repeal of the draft, and an end to military and economic intervention in support of reactionary regimes in China, Greece, Turkey, the Mideast, and Latin America, as well as independence for Puerto Rico and self-determination for all colonial areas. And finally, it called for "continuous strengthening of the United Nations" and a world disarmament agreement to outlaw the atomic bomb.

The strong stand against colonialism by the Progressive Party reflected the active involvement of the most outstanding Afro-American leadership of the times. W.E.B. DuBois and Paul Robeson played major roles in the campaign. They expressed the awakening interest of Afro-Americans in the world-wide national liberation struggles, and especially those in Africa that were taking place as the old colonial empires crumbled during and after World War II.

The Progressive Citizens of America had grown out of a working class base. Many of its organizers had been involved with the Political Action Committee of the Congress of Industrial Organizations during the War. CIO unions had been organized during the Thirties with major input from Communist Party organizers, and by 1945 they represented almost half of the nation's workers and were taking positions in favor of peaceful relations with the Soviet Union. In 1945 they exchanged delegations with the Soviet trade unions and joined with them in the World Federation of Trade Unions.

Despite having built the base for the Progressive Party, the CIO abandoned the Wallace campaign in the summer of 1948. Other forces had been at work, including the Association of Catholic Trade Unions which had done "its utmost to turn the key Catholic CIO leaders...into anti-Communists." The Catholic attack on the labor movement was carried out by spies, informers, infiltrators, and "ACT cells" in the CIO that were "pledged to keep Communists out" of key areas in the labor movement. Once the CIO withdrew its organized labor support, the Wallace campaign had no chance of victory despite the best efforts of its supporters who included both Communists and non-Communists.

By the time of the elections in November, 1948, the Cold War was so well established and anti-Communism and anti-Sovietism so pervasive in the United States that Wallace got only a million votes for President. Redbaiting escalated and threatened to swallow up all of America's democratic traditions. Not only did the Left and peace movement come under attack from newspapers and government (including Richard Nixon of the House UnAmerican Activities Committee and Joseph McCarthy of the Senate Internal Security Committee), but they were attacked by the liberals as well. The Americans for Democratic Action had been formed in 1947 as a specific anti-Communist alternative to the Progressive Citizens of America. They drew away the support of many liberals who had been peace movement activists in the Thirties. Their program was a reflection of government policy: anti-Sovietism abroad (support for the Cold War); and anti-Communism at home ("We reject any association with Communists or sympathizers with Communism.")

The American peace movement was virtually destroyed by anti-Communism in the Fifties. Historian Lawrence Wittner speaks of the period as the "midcentury nadir" for the peace movement and says "rarely had the prospect seemed so bleak and their witness so hopeless." Protest against the Korean War (1950-1953) was limited, according to Wittner, to pacifists "talking to themselves" along with "a few Communists and die-hard isolationists."

While the American peace movement was weakened and isolated in the Fifties, peace movements in the rest of the world were developing rapidly. At a meeting in Warsaw in 1950, the World Peace Council was formed. In 35 years it has developed into the largest peace organization in world history, with affiliates in 140 countries and a staff of 60 people at the Helsinki headquarters. Beginning in 1950, the Council circulated the Stockholm peace Appeal which called for "an absolute ban on atomic weapons and weapons of mass destruction." More than 500 million people signed the appeal around the world, including 2 million in the United States in a campaign directed by W.E.B. DuBois during the worst days of the anti-Communist hysteria of McCarthyism.

The isolation of the American peace movement in the Fifties was mirrored by an increasing isolation of American militarism in the rest of the world. In previous eras the United States had been just one among many capitalist imperialist powers. The rest were destroyed in World War II, leaving the U.S. alone as the dominant power of imperialism. The U.S. took the lead in founding the United Nations in San Francisco in 1945, and at first it could dominate U.N. decisions. But as the years went on, a great number of former colonies achieved national liberation and many of them turned to socialism. They came flooding into the United Nations and demanded an end to imperialism. Increasingly the U.S. and a few allies in NATO and Israel began to find themselves isolated in the votes of the U.N. General Assembly. It wasn't just the American peace movement that was isolated. American imperialism was becoming isolated as well. But it wasn't until Vietnam that most Americans discovered what the rest of the world thought of our imperialist policies.

CHAPTER 5:

THE "MOBES" AGAINST THE VIETNAM WAR 1966-1970

The next massive American peace movement developed in response to the intervention in Vietnam where U.S. troops attempted to stop the growth of national liberation movements and socialism. The Vietnam War with its military draft and its mounting casualties roused the American people to anti-war activity between 1965 and 1972. Although SANE was the peace organization with the largest membership when the war began, it was unable to organize effectively because of its anti-communist exclusionary policies, and for a while the movement was led by student groups such as SDS (Students for a Democratic Society).

As casualties mounted in Vietnam and stirred opposition to the war, a series of loose-knit coalitions called the "Mobes" coordinated thousands of local anti-war groups into massive nationwide demonstrations ([note 9](#)). Every year or two the Mobes were reconstituted: the Spring Mobilization (1966); the Student Mobilization (1966); the National Mobilization (1967); and the New Mobilization (1969). "Mobe" leadership came from a broad range of peace groups ranging from the Communist Party and Socialist Workers Party to the Quakers, radical pacifists, and liberals formerly associated with SANE. Many of them had learned their organizing skills in the Civil Rights Movement of the preceding decade. MOBE programs were simple, calling for an end of the war and withdrawal of American troops. The only argument was whether troop withdrawal should come before or after a negotiated settlement.



Figure 5. Vietnam peace marchers confront the Pentagon - 1967

The mass mobilizations against the war reached a peak in 1969. Three quarters of a million people took part in the November 15 rally in Washington - "by any count the largest political mass march and demonstration in the history of the nation to that time," according to the account of Zaroulis and Sullivan.

The strength of the anti-Vietnam War movement grew gradually in the years from 1965 to 1969 as the organized working class and Afro-American people overcame obstacles and brought their decisive numbers to the movement. They joined a movement that had already developed on college campuses with a range of participants that included all social classes. Leadership came from the Left, many of the leaders being the children of participants in the peace movements of the Thirties and Forties.

Labor activists had to overcome the leadership of the AFL-CIO that had developed close relations to the CIA and supported the Cold War since the 1950's. By 1967, however, the tide began to turn. A key point came when Victor Reuther, head of international affairs for the United Auto Workers, attacked the AFL-CIO leadership, denounced its ties with the CIA, and supported the rank-and-file sentiment in his union against the war. Trade unionists associated with SANE called for a national labor leadership conference against the war, which no longer excluded the left unions. As one commentator noted, "It seemed a long step toward ending two decades of redbaiting in the labor movement." By 1969 organized labor had assumed a major role in the New Mobilization to the extent that when the New Mobe split into two factions, it was a trio of trade union leaders who were asked to heal the split.

The key to massive involvement of Afro-Americans in the movement was the Reverend Martin Luther King Jr. Black organizers of the Civil Rights Movement had long been active against the war, but they did not have the mass following that King commanded. King had emerged from the Civil Rights Movement of the Fifties as America's spiritual and moral leader but he had held back from denouncing the war under pressure from some of his liberal supporters. On April 4, 1967, King made a major speech in New York "to break the betrayal of my own silences and to speak from the burnings of my own heart." He linked the anti-imperialist struggle of the Vietnamese people to the civil rights struggle of Afro-Americans including trade union organizing drives he was working with in the South. King committed himself to the peace movement, becoming co-chair of the Clergy and Laymen Concerned About Vietnam. From then on, Afro-Americans began to take part in the peace movement in larger numbers, including Black soldiers who returned from Vietnam and joined the militant Black Panther Party.

Several presidential campaigns grew out of the antiwar movement. The campaign of Robert Kennedy for the Democratic nomination in 1968 was based on opposition to the war. It ended tragically with his assassination, less than two months after the assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr. Eugene McCarthy continued the anti-war campaign, but lost at the convention in Chicago where police attacked anti-war demonstrators in the view of television cameras. Four years later, the campaign of George McGovern gained its strength from anti-war liberals, but failed to engage the labor movement and was soundly defeated in the general election. The history of the McGovern campaign written by campaign manager Gary Hart makes hardly any mention of organized labor.

The movement against the war in Vietnam was the most successful peace movement in American history. Although it was not able to elect a President, it was able to succeed in its most important task which was stopping the American escalation of the war. Lyndon Johnson was profoundly affected by the movement which limited his military options and "contributed directly to the fatigue anxiety and frustration" that led eventually to his withdrawal from the 1968 Presidential race. And the anti-war movement "made it politically impossible" for President Nixon to proceed with a planned escalation of the war which included the possible use of nuclear weapons.

The movement against the war in Vietnam was world-wide. The socialist nations, the non-aligned nations, and large numbers of people within the NATO nations supported the Vietnamese. Demonstrations in Europe were so large and militant that France even seemed on the brink of revolution. When the World Peace Council organized a Vietnam peace meeting in Versailles, France, in 1972, there were over 1200 delegates from 84 countries, including representatives from Vietnam and from virtually every major organization in the American peace movement. Despite vigorous red-baiting by the U.S. government, American peace activists made no secret of their meetings with the Vietnamese "enemies." Practically every major leader of the "Mobes" had an opportunity for such meetings at one time or another.

Faced with the determination of the Vietnamese people and their support from a world-wide peace movement, there was only one way the U.S. could have "won" the war in Vietnam. That was by destroying it completely with nuclear weapons. The fact that such an alternative was seriously considered by Nixon and the Pentagon foreshadowed the revival of the Cold War and the threat of a first-strike nuclear war that stimulated the Nuclear Freeze Movement.

CHAPTER 6:

THE NUCLEAR FREEZE MOVEMENT AND PEOPLE-TO-PEOPLE DIPLOMACY: 1980-1990

The success of the "nuclear freeze" idea, initiated in 1980 by a young disarmament researcher, Randall Forsberg, caught many by surprise. It was not caused by an actual war, but by the increased threat of war associated with the U.S. Senate's failure to ratify the SALT II arms control agreement that had already been negotiated with the Soviet Union, and by Carter's Presidential Directive 59 that made plans for a first strike nuclear war. The movement also was fueled by a massive diversion of federal funds and increased federal debt to pay for the largest arms buildup in the history of the world ([note 10](#)).

Much of the success of the Freeze campaign was due to the simplicity and clarity of its program. It called on the U.S. and Soviet Union to "adopt a mutual freeze on the testing, production, and deployment of nuclear weapons and of missiles, and new aircraft designed primarily to deliver nuclear weapons." The Freeze struck right to the heart of the military buildup ordered by President Carter and later continued by Reagan in order to generate business and profits for the military-industrial complex. After considerable internal debate (the Freeze did not call for British, French or Chinese participation, but was only bilateral), the Soviet Union agreed to support the Freeze proposal at the United Nations.



Figure 6. A New England town meeting votes for the Freeze - 1982

The Freeze campaign culminated in the 1982 rally at the United Nations, the 1982 ballot referendums, and the 1984 race for the Democratic presidential nomination. The 1982 rally was the largest in the entire nation's history, bringing a million people to Central Park in association with the United Nations special session on disarmament. It was organized by a coalition of 130 organizations reminiscent of the breadth of the Vietnam Mobes. Local Freeze and other anti-war groups then placed the question of the Freeze on the November election ballots where it passed by overwhelming majorities. According to the New York Times of November 4, 1982, "the voting on the resolution, which is purely advisory, constituted the largest referendum on a single issue in the nation's history." In the 1984 elections, the Freeze was supported by practically all of the major contenders for the Democratic nomination for President, and the convention was packed with Freeze supporters. Although Mondale won the nomination, claiming to support the Freeze, in the campaign itself his position was even more militaristic than Reagan's, as seen in the televised foreign policy debate. Mondale's failure to present a strong peace position probably contributed to his defeat in the election.

The Freeze failed to mobilize the working class to its full potential. Instead, it tended to engage mostly white and middle-class people in its leadership. This is despite the fact that the support for the ballot referendums and for the candidacy of Jesse Jackson came especially from Afro-American and other working class people, and that 20 major national trade unions endorsed the Freeze ([note 11](#)). In fact, these union endorsements probably represent a greater percentage of organized labor than has ever taken a peace position in our history! Also, the massive peace demonstrations such as June 12, 1982, the Martin Luther King anniversary march of 1983, and the 1985 April demonstration were filled out by trade union marchers behind their colorful banners.

The leadership of the Nuclear Freeze movement came especially from women. This is not the first time that women have been in the forefront of the movement. The Women's Peace Party prior to World War I, the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom in the Twenties and Thirties, and the Women's Strike for Peace in the Sixties have all provided inspiration and leadership. The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom took the initiative in establishing the Second Disarmament Session at the United Nations and the June 12 demonstration in 1982; and the National Freeze has been organized largely by women. Their leadership reflects the fact that women have always been excluded from war and that they are the original peace constituency of the world ([note 12](#)).

Support for the Freeze reached into the capitalist class itself. This is indicated by a Gallup poll taken on Wall Street in 1982: 53% of capitalists from small companies favored the nuclear Freeze, compared to only 30% from medium-sized corporations, and only 17% from the largest corporations, which, of course, include most of the military-industrial complex. And there was strong support for the Freeze among the middle strata of American society, as indicated by the strength of the physicians' movement for peace and by the various peace campaigns among churches, including the Catholic Bishops Statement.

The ability of the Freeze movement to reach out and cooperate with other peace movements was hampered by anti-communism. Reagan red-baited the Freeze during the 1982 elections, saying that it was "inspired by not the sincere, honest people who want peace, but by some who want the weakening of America and so are manipulating honest people and sincere people." (*New York Times*, October 5, 1982). On the defensive, the National Freeze Campaign refused to publicize the fact that the Soviet Union had accepted the Freeze proposal because, to paraphrase their response, "if they support it, we can't demand that they support it, and we have to demand they support it so that those who oppose the Freeze can't attack us." Similarly, the Freeze was slow to link up with solidarity movements that demand an end to U.S. intervention in Central America and South Africa. As time went on, there was an honest struggle over anti-communism in the Freeze, as activists came to realize that in order to make peace, they would have to negotiate in good faith with communists in Moscow. In fact, a brief summary of the 1985 edition of this book, including a call for acceptance of communists as bonafide contributors to the Freeze Movement, was one of two articles requested for the Unity Book that was used in the merger of the Freeze with SANE, an older, more established peace organization.

The growth of the Nuclear Freeze Movement in the U.S. was matched by a growth in peace movements in the rest of the world. The massive peace demonstrations of the United States in 1982, 1983, and 1985 were surpassed in size by demonstrations in Western Europe and the Soviet Union. European marches at Easter time became an annual tradition involving millions of participants, especially trade unionists. Soviet peace rallies in 1982 involved a reported 40 million people, also organized largely around trade union participation. Americans, for the most part, were only dimly aware of them however, because of the tight controls on our foreign news coverage. The Easter marches of 1985 in Europe were not reported in the New York Times. And the massive Soviet rallies of 1982 and 1983 were not reported until finally they marched many of the one million participants in a rally past the windows of the U.S. embassy in Moscow after which they could no longer be ignored (New York Times, October 2, 1983).



Figure 7. A Soviet newspaper headlines Scandinavian peace marchers as their route takes them by Red Square in Moscow - 1982

Pressure for a nuclear freeze also came from the United Nations where the U.S. and NATO found themselves increasingly isolated. At the Second Special Session on Disarmament in 1982, the two resolutions for a nuclear freeze passed 119-17 and 122-16. The socialist and developing countries voted solidly for a freeze, while the U.S. and NATO were those who voted against it. By 1983, the United States cast the only opposition vote to the resolution to prevent an arms race in outer space (147 nations voted for the resolution).

In the second half of the 1980's, a number of related peace initiatives made major contributions to ending the Cold War, including: the International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War (IPPNW); the people-to-people exchanges with the Soviet Union by groups such as Promoting Enduring Peace; and the Peoples Peace Appeal. IPPNW had been founded on the basis of a friendship between a U.S. and a Soviet heart specialist, Dr. Bernard Lown and Dr Yevgeny Chazov, which occurred when Dr. Lown took advantage of scientific exchange programs to work in the Soviet Union in the 1970's. Chazov became the private cardiologist for President Gorbachev and was able to carry the IPPNW message directly to the top. Dr. Lown and others, including Dr. Helen Caldicott, made a major effort to organize physicians throughout the world around the simple message: a nuclear war would be the greatest medical catastrophe of history, and physicians had a responsibility to prevent it. The IPPNW received the Nobel Peace Prize in 1985, which helped them to get widespread publicity and to convince many people of their cause. In his book "Perestroika," written while he was still at the head of the Soviet Union, Mikhail Gorbachev gives special credit to IPPNW for helping the Soviets decide to press for nuclear disarmament despite what seemed to be unfair terms imposed by the West: "after their congress in Moscow, I met all the leaders of the movement. It is impossible to ignore what these people are saying...prompted by accurate knowledge and a passionate desire to warn humanity about the danger looming over it."

Thousands of people took advantage of people-to-people exchange between the U.S. and the Soviet Union, breaking down the enemy images that made possible the Cold War on both sides. As an activist with one of these exchange programs, the National Council for American-Soviet Friendship, I made many trips to the Soviet Union and hosted many Soviet groups in the U.S. It was during one of the people-to-people exchanges in 1986, a cruise down the Mississippi River by Soviet and U.S. peace activists (sponsored by Promoting Enduring Peace), that a joint U.S.-Soviet peace petition was drafted and signed: the People's Peace Appeal. Over the course of 1986-87, the People's Peace Appeal was signed by 500,000 Americans and millions of Soviets (see [note 13](#) for details).

The basement of our office in New York was filled with cardboard cartons of American signatures that finally had to be thrown away when we moved the office. As for the Soviet figure of 40 million signatures, provided to us in July 1987, this is quite plausible as entire schools and factories were mobilized. On the basis of the Peoples Peace Appeal we started a pairing project of schools, trade unions, cities and towns between the two countries which was just getting underway in 1988, but never worked out, because by then the Soviet Union had started to disintegrate.

Figure 8. Signing of Peoples Peace Appeal at United Nations headquarters in 1966

Since people-to-people exchange directly challenged the image of the enemy, the Peoples Peace Appeal was considered as treasonous by some (See [US State Department, Soviet Influence Activities 1986-1987](#), pages 81 and 85). In this respect, it is not so surprising that many of us who were engaged in this movement found ourselves harassed by the FBI and other U.S. government agencies as well as by anti-communists in the U.S.



A strong case can be made that the Nuclear Freeze Movement, the strong movement for peace in the Soviet Union and other Eastern European countries and the many initiatives for people-to-people diplomacy made the difference in the avoidance of a nuclear war during the 1980's and helped ensure that the demise of the Soviet empire was not bathed in blood. Gorbachev, who was greatly influenced by what he called "citizen diplomacy", stated later that "my credo was: We need radical reform without bloodshed, without violence." In fact, the fall of the Berlin Wall and the transition of Eastern Europe, including the Soviet Union from the power of the Communist Party to a "savage capitalist" system was accomplished with a minimum of overt violence. The violence that did occur, in Afghanistan and Chechnya, was aided and abetted by the Central Intelligence Agency. The U.S. role in Afghanistan is well-known, including support for Bin Laden and other Mujahadeen, while that for Chechnya is less well known. I knew about it because at least one of my fellow Fulbright scholars in Soviet Georgia in 1980 boasted of running guns to Grozny for the CIA.

Despite the end of the Cold War and the transition of the socialist countries to open capitalist economies in relation with the NATO countries, there was no end to violence and war. Where was the American Peace Movement? During the Gulf War in 1991 anti-war mobilization started to develop very quickly in churches, trade unions and the U.S. Congress, but the war was declared over within a few weeks, thus defusing the further development of a peace movement. In fact, it is probable that one reason the war was ended so quickly was that the U.S. government feared the development of another movement as large and powerful as those against the Vietnam and Cold Wars. Following the Gulf War military budgets diminished somewhat for a few years, but by the end of the 90's they were on the increase again, accelerating with the so-called "War on Terrorism" in 2001.

CHAPTER 7:

GLOBAL MOVEMENT FOR A CULTURE OF PEACE: 2000 - ?

Although the involvement of the American people was not extensive, there were 75 million people around the world who made a commitment to practice a culture of peace in their daily lives in celebration of the International Year for the Culture of Peace in 2000. This was initiated by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) and all of the Nobel Peace Laureates, and picked up by the UN General Assembly, who, in September 1999, called for the first time for a global movement, a global movement for a culture of peace. The movement was launched during the UN International Year for the Culture of Peace in 2000 and continued during the International Decade for a Culture of Peace and Non-Violence for the Children of the World (2001-2010) ([note 14](#)).

The culture of peace, as it had been adopted by the UN General Assembly in 1997, is broader and deeper than traditional concepts of peace; it is conceived as an alternative to the culture of war and violence. The UN resolution stated that a culture of peace was to be based on "respect for human rights, democracy and tolerance, the promotion of development, education for peace, the free flow of information and the wider participation of women". In the 1999 resolution, disarmament was added to this list. The culture of peace thus provides an alternative to the exploitation, authoritarianism, enemy images, military education, secrecy, male domination and war preparations (armies and weapons systems) that are necessary and sufficient for the culture of war and violence. It undercuts the very basis on which war systems have always been built and it provides the basis for a common, universal vision for a peaceful future.

As Director at UNESCO of the International Year for the Culture of Peace, I had the unique opportunity to help launch this global movement against war with the unanimous authorization of the nation states of the world, with the widespread network of UNESCO and the strong support of its Director-General, Federico Mayor.

With the help of the campaign that had engaged the Nobel Peace Laureates, we developed a popular version of the UN resolutions on a culture of peace. The Manifesto 2000 commits each individual to work for a culture of peace in his or her daily life, in schools, family, workplace and community. The diplomatic language for the behavior of states was translated into the language of everyday life, a commitment to:

- respect all life
- reject violence
- share with others
- preserve the planet
- listen to understand
- rediscover solidarity (building the community with democratic participation and the full participation of women)

MANIFESTO 2000

Join the international movement for the culture of peace and non-violence

Peace is  in our hands

- Because the year 2000 must be a new beginning, an opportunity to transform – all together – the culture of war and violence into a culture of peace and non-violence.

- Because this transformation demands the participation of each and every one of us, and must offer young people and future generations the values that can inspire them to shape a world based on justice, solidarity, liberty, dignity, harmony and prosperity for all.

- Because the culture of peace can underpin sustainable development, environmental protection and the well-being of each person.

- Because I am aware of my share of responsibility for the future of humanity, in particular to the children of today and tomorrow.

I PLEDGE IN MY DAILY LIFE,
IN MY FAMILY, MY WORK, MY COMMUNITY,
MY COUNTRY AND MY REGION, TO:

1 **“Respect all life.”** Respect the life and dignity of each human being without discrimination or prejudice.

2 **“Reject violence.”** Practise active non-violence, rejecting violence in all its forms: physical, sexual, psychological, economical and social, in particular towards the most deprived and vulnerable such as children and adolescents.

3 **“Share with others.”**

Share my time and material resources in a spirit of generosity to put an end to exclusion, injustice and political and economic oppression.

4 **“Listen to understand.”** Defend freedom of expression and cultural diversity, giving preference always to dialogue and listening without engaging in fanaticism, defamation and the rejection of others.

5 **“Preserve the planet.”**

Promote consumer behaviour that is responsible and development practices that respect all forms of life and preserve the balance of nature on the planet.

6 **“Rediscover solidarity.”** Contribute to the development of my community, with the full participation of women and respect for democratic principles, in order to create together new forms of solidarity.

In the name of UNESCO, Director-General Mayor sent out thousands of letters to mobilize support for the culture of peace. They went to all Heads of State, over 180 National Commissions for UNESCO in the Member States, over 70 UNESCO field offices, hundreds of international non-governmental organizations affiliated with UNESCO, and thousands of university presidents and mayors of major cities. Along with posters and flyers for the Manifesto 2000, television and radio spots, and a manual for conducting the campaign, this preparation bore fruit. In September 2000, over 50 million signatures were symbolically presented to the President of the UN General Assembly in New York, and by the end of the year, the sum had reached 75 million, more than one percent of the earth's population.



Figure 10. Signing of Manifesto 2000: 35 millionth in India - 2000

By extending the culture of peace initiative into a UN Decade from 2001-2010, including continued signatures on the Manifesto 2000, the UN General Assembly has provided a framework for further development of the Global Movement for a Culture of Peace. However, because of objections by the rich Member States no funds have been provided for this purpose. The culture of peace resolutions were pushed forward at the UN by the countries of the South, and although the rich nations eventually signed on, they resisted along the way. In the fall of 1998, their diplomats at UNESCO in Paris refused to discuss the draft UN resolution, and immediately afterwards their diplomats in New York claimed that it could not be discussed in the UN because it had not been properly discussed in Paris. Once on the agenda, the European Union insisted that all reference to the culture of war must be removed (this was in May 1999, at the height of the bombing of Kosovo). At one point, Director-General Mayor suggested that the culture of peace should include a provision for a "human right to peace." This was so strongly attacked by the Europeans at the UNESCO General Conference in 1997 that countries of the South accused them of resisting the culture of peace in order to maintain the profits from their arms industries. And at the May 1999 informal discussions on the draft resolution, the U.S. delegate stated that his country was opposed to any reference to a human right to peace "because that would make it more difficult to start a war."

The countries of the South, the overwhelming majority of the UN General Assembly, continue to support UN resolutions and programme of action on a culture of peace. As African delegates pointed out during a meeting on the culture of peace at UNESCO: "Don't think that the culture of war comes from the South. Ask where the weapons come from. Where do the violent television programs come from? And where are the terms of trade set that impoverish our people?" Although the countries of the South support the culture of peace at the UN, their actions are limited by the lack of budget. Therefore, the leadership of the Global Movement for a Culture of Peace needs to be assumed by non-governmental organizations, using the framework provided by the UN.

CHAPTER 8:

THE ROOT CAUSES OF WAR

As shown in the preceding chapters, each of the six American peace movements that have mobilized millions of people in this century has been shown to have developed as a response to a concrete war or war threat.

To take a scientific attitude about war and peace, we must carry the causal analysis a step further. If peace movements are caused by wars and war threats, then we must ask, what are the causes of these wars, both in the short term and in the long term?

Before analyzing the causes of wars, it is necessary to dismiss a false analysis that has been popularized in recent years, the myth that war is caused by a "war instinct." The best biological and anthropological data indicate that there is no such thing as a war instinct despite the attempt of the mass media and educational systems to perpetuate this myth. Instead, "the same species that invented war is capable of inventing peace" ([note 15](#)).

Since there are several kinds of war, it is likely that there are several different kinds of causes for war. There are two kinds of war in which the United States has not been engaged for over two centuries. The first are wars of national liberation such as the American Revolution or today's revolutions in Nicaragua and South Africa being waged by the Sandinistas and the African National Congress. The second are wars of revolution in which the previous ruling class is thrown out and replaced by another. In the British and French Revolutions of earlier eras the feudal land-owners were overthrown by the newly rising capitalist class. In the revolutions of this century in Russia, China, Cuba, etc. the capitalists, in turn, were overthrown by forces representing the working class and landless farmers.

The six wars and threats of war that have caused American peace movements in this century have been wars of imperial conquest, inter-imperialist rivalry, and capitalist-socialist rivalry. What are the root causes of these wars in the short term? For the following analysis, I will rely upon some of America's best economic historians ([note 16](#)).

The Spanish-American and Philippine Wars of 1898, according to historian Walter LaFeber, were inevitable military results of a new foreign policy devoted to obtaining markets overseas for American products. The new foreign policy was the response to a profound depression that began in 1893 with unemployment soaring to almost 20 percent. Farm and industrial output piled up without a market because American workers, being unemployed, had no money to buy them. Secretary of State Gresham "concluded that foreign markets would provide in large measure the cure for the depression." To obtain such markets, the U.S. went into competition with the other imperialist empires such as Britain and Spain. The U.S. intervened with a naval force to help overthrow the government of Hawaii in 1893, intervened diplomatically in Nicaragua in 1894, threatened war with England over Venezuela in 1895, and eventually went to war with Spain in 1898 and invaded the Philippines in 1898. To quote from the title of LaFeber's book, the U.S. established a "new empire."

American intervention in World War I again rescued the economy from a depression. In 1914 and 1915, as war between the European imperialist powers broke out, American unemployment was rising towards ten percent and industrial goods were piling up without a market. One industrial market was expanding, however, the market for weapons in Europe. The historian Charles Tansill concludes that "it was the rapid growth of the munitions trade which rescued America from this serious economic situation." And since the sales went to Britain and France, it committed the U.S. to their side in the war. Finance capital was equally involved: "the large banking interests were deeply interested in the World War because of wide opportunities for large profits." When bank loans to Britain and France of half a billion dollars went through in 1915, "the business depression, that had so worried the Administration in the spring of 1915, suddenly vanished, and 'boom times' prevailed." Of course, German imperialism did not stand idly by while the U.S. profited from arms shipments and loans to their enemies in the war. German submarine warfare against these shipments finally provoked American involvement in the War.

The rise of fascism in Europe was the direct result of still another cyclical depression, the Great Depression that gripped the entire capitalist world in the Thirties. In his recent book on the collapse of the Weimar Republic and the rise of fascism, David Abraham has documented how major capitalists turned to Hitler to fill the vacuum of political leadership when the economy collapsed. In part, the absence of political leadership "with the collapse of the export economy at the end of 1931...drove German industry to foster or accept a Bonapartist solution to the political crisis and an imperialist solution to the economic crisis. The "Bonapartist solution", as Abraham calls it, was found in Hitler's Nazi Party. As he says, "By mid-1932, the vast majority of industrialists wanted to see Nazi participation in the government." For these industrialists, "an anti-Marxist, imperialist program was the least common denominator on which they could all agree, and the Nazis seemed capable of providing the mass base for such a program."

The appeasement of Hitler's promise to smash the communists and socialists at home and to destroy the Soviet Union abroad expressed a new cause of capitalist war. Up until that time, inter-imperialist wars were simply the response to economic contradictions at home and capitalist competition abroad. In part, World War II was yet another inter-imperialist war. But now a new cause of war was emerging alongside of the old. The rise of socialism was a direct threat to the entire capitalist world. In addition to glutted domestic markets and competition for foreign markets, the capitalists now had to face the additional problem that the overall foreign market itself was shrinking. Thus, they tended to support each other in the face of a common enemy.

After World War II, there was a particularly sharp shrinkage in the "free world" for capitalist exploitation as socialism and national liberation triumphed through much of the world. The U.S. and its allies responded by demanding that the socialist countries open their doors to investment by capitalism. According to historian William Appleman Williams, "It was the decision of the United States to employ its new and awesome power in keeping with the traditional Open Door Policy which crystallized the cold war." As Williams explains, "the policy of the open door, like all imperial policies, created and spurred onward a dynamic opposition."

Diplomatic and military confrontation between the U.S. and USSR were used to justify the Cold War and establishment of NATO, but the underlying issues were economic. As pointed out by historians Joyce and Gabriel Kolko, "The question of foreign economic policy was not the containment of Communism, but rather more directly the extension and expansion of American capitalism according to its new economic power and needs."

In addition to the new problem of shrinking world markets, there remained the problem of cyclical depressions. Although unemployment was not bad in 1946 because industry was producing to meet the accumulated needs of the war-deprived American people, the specter of another depression was very much a factor in the Cold War. As the Kolkos point out, "The deeply etched memory of the decade-long depression of 1929 hung over all American plans for the postwar era....In extending its power throughout the globe the United States hoped to save itself as well from a return of the misery of prewar experience."

The Vietnam War was a continuation of the Cold War, as the United States tried to prevent further shrinkage of the world capitalist economic system. The U.S. had already fought a similar war in Korea. In his chapter, "The U.S. in Vietnam, 1944-66: Origins and Objectives," Gabriel Kolko calls the intervention of the United States in Vietnam, "the most important single embodiment of the power and purposes of American foreign policy since the Second World War." Elsewhere in his book, Kolko goes into detail about the economic basis of American imperialism: access to raw materials, access to markets for American products, and investment opportunities for American capital. The Vietnam War, he explains, was not a conspiracy or simply a military decision. It was the natural result of "American power and interest in the modern world."

Finally we come to the question of what has caused the massive escalation of the arms buildup under Presidents Carter and Reagan (and more recently under Bush, father and son). To some extent, it is a response to the old problem of cyclical depressions. Since World War II, each recession has been deeper than the last, until by 1981 unemployment reached double digits for the first time since the Thirties. Government spending was needed to put people back to work. Would the government spend the money for military weapons or for civilian needs? A long line of Presidential candidates, standing for the military solution, have been supported in their campaigns by the military-industrial complex against other candidates who were unable to wage a serious campaign for civilian spending instead of military spending.

The growing power of the military-industrial complex is a new and especially dangerous addition to the economic causes of war. It reflects an economic crisis that goes even deeper than those of the past. In addition to the cyclical depressions and the shrinkage of foreign markets, there is a new imbalance in the entire structure of capitalism. There is an enormous increase in financial speculation and short-term profit schemes. The military-industrial complex has risen to become the dominant sector of the American economy because through the aid of state subsidies it generates the greatest short-term profits. Never mind if the U.S. government goes into debt to banks and other financial institutions in order to pay for military spending. The world of financial speculation does not worry about tomorrow. Not only does this "military spending solution" endanger the security of the planet, but it also increases the risk of a major financial collapse and subsequent depression.

To summarize, we may point to the following causes of American wars over the past century: 1) cyclical crises of overproduction and unemployment, 2) exploitation of poor colonial and neo-colonial countries by rich imperialist countries, 3) economic rivalry for foreign markets and investment areas by imperialist powers, 4) the attempt to stop the shrinkage of the "free world" - i.e. the part of the world that is free for capitalist investment and exploitation, and 5) financial speculation and short-term profit making of the military-industrial complex.

In the 1985 edition of this book the argument was made that the socialist countries were escaping from the economic causation of war. In comparison to the capitalist countries, they did not have the same dynamic of over-production and cyclical depression, with periods of enhanced structural unemployment. As for exploitation and imperialism, despite the frequent reference in the American media to "Soviet imperialism," the direction of the flow of wealth was the opposite of what holds true under capitalist imperialism. Instead of the rich nations extracting wealth from the poor ones, which is the case, for example between the U.S. and Latin America, the net flow of wealth proceeded from the Soviet Union towards the other socialist countries in order to bring them towards an eventually even level of development. According to an authoritative source associated with the U.S. military-industrial complex, the net outflow from the Soviet Union amounted to over forty billion dollars a year in the mid-1980's.

In one crucial respect, however, the 1985 analysis was incorrect. It failed to take account of the military-industrial complex that had grown to be the most powerful force of the Soviet economy, a mirror image of its equivalent in the West. The importance of this was brought home to those of us who attended a briefing on economic conversion from military to civilian production that was held at the United Nations on November 1, 1990, a critical time for Gorbachev's program of Perestroika in the Soviet Union. The speaker, Ednan Ageev, was the head of the Division of International Security Issues at the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He was asked by the Gorbachev administration to find out the extent to which the Soviet economy was being used for military production. Naturally, he went to the Minister of Defense, where he was told that this information was secret. Secret even to Gorbachev. In conversation, Ageev estimated that 85-90% of Soviet scientific researchers were in the military sector. That seems high until you realize that the Soviet's were matching U.S. military research, development and production on the basis of a Gross National Product only half as large. Since about 40% of U.S. research and development was tied to the military at that time, it would make sense that the Soviets would have had to double the U.S. percentage in order to keep pace.

How could the Gorbachev administration convert their economy from military to civilian production if they could not even get a list of defense industries? Keeping this in mind, along with the enormous militarization of the Soviet economy, it is not so surprising that the Soviet economy collapsed, and with it the entire political superstructure.

The origins of the Soviet military-industrial complex can be traced back to the Russian revolution which instituted what Lenin, at one point, called "war communism". He warned that war communism could not succeed in the long run and that instead of a top-down militarized economy, a socialist economy needed to be structured as a "cooperative of cooperatives." But war communism was entrenched during the Stalin years, carried out of necessity to an extreme during the Second World War, and then perpetuated by the Cold War.

The economic causation of the war system is not new. It originated long before capitalism and socialism. From its beginnings in ancient Mesopotamia, the state was always associated with war, both to capture slaves abroad and to keep them under control at home. As states grew more powerful, war became the means to build empires and to acquire and rule colonies.

In fact, the economic causation of war probably extends back even further into ancient prehistory. From the best analysis I know, that of Mel and Carol Ember, using the methods of cross-cultural anthropology, it would seem that war functioned as a means to survive periodic but unpredictable food shortages caused by natural disasters. Apparently, tribes that could make war most effectively could survive natural disasters better than others by successfully raiding the food supplies of their neighbors.

While particular wars can be analyzed, as we have done above, in terms of immediate, short-term causes, there is a need to understand the war system itself, which is as old as human history. Particular wars are the tip of a much deeper iceberg. Beneath war, there has developed a [culture of war](#) that is entwined with it in a complex web of causation. On the one hand, the culture of war is produced and reinforced by each war, and, on the other hand, the culture of war provides the basis on which succeeding wars are prepared and carried out. The culture of war is a set of beliefs, attitudes and behaviors that consists of enemy images, authoritarian social structure, training and arming for violence, exploitation of man and nature, secrecy and male domination. Without an enemy, without a social structure where people will follow orders, without the preparation of soldiers and weapons, without the control of information, both propaganda and secrecy, no war can be carried out. The culture of war has been so prevalent in history that we take it for granted, as if it were human nature. However, anthropologists point to cultures that are nowhere near as immersed in the culture of war, and it is the opinion of the best scientists that a culture of peace is possible.

Peace movements have not given enough attention to the internal use of the culture of war. The culture of war has two faces, one facing outward and the other inward. Foreign wars are accompanied by authoritarian rule inside the warring countries. Even when there is no war threat, armies (or national guards) are kept ready not just for use against foreign enemies, but also against those defined as the enemy within: striking workers, movements of the unemployed, prisoners, indigenous peoples, just as in an earlier time they were used against slave rebellions. As documented in my 1995 article in the Journal of Peace Research ([Internal Military Interventions in the United States](#)) the U.S. Army and National Guard have been used an average of 18 times a year, involving an average of 12,000 troops for the past 120 years, mostly against actions and revolts by workers and the unemployed. During periods of external war, the internal wars are usually intensified and accompanied by large scale spying, deportations and witch hunts. It would appear that we have once again entered such a period in the U.S. We are hardly alone in this matter. Needless to say, the culture of war was highly developed to stifle dissent in the Soviet Union by Stalin and his successors of "war communism." The internal culture of war needs to be analyzed and resisted everywhere. For example, readers living in France should question the role of the CRS.

The internal use of the culture of war is no less economically motivated than external wars. The socialists at the beginning of the 20th Century recognized it as "class war," carried out in order to maintain the domination of the rich and powerful over the poor and exploited. Not by accident, it has often been socialists and communists who are the first to be targeted by the internal culture of war in capitalist countries. And they, in turn, have often made the most powerful critique of the culture of war and have played a leading role in peace movements for that reason. Their historical role for peace was considerably compromised, however, by the "[war communism](#)" of the Soviet Union. With its demise, however, there is now an opportunity for socialists and communists to return to their earlier leadership against war, both internal and external, and to insist that a true socialism can only flourish on the basis of a culture of peace.

CHAPTER 9:

THE FUTURE OF THE PEACE MOVEMENT

In considering future prospects for the American Peace Movements, I shall begin with trends from the past and then consider different factors for the future? First, let us look back over the economic factors and movements of the previous century to see if the trends are likely to continue.

1. Wars are likely to continue because, for the most part, their economic causes remain as strong as ever: 1) cyclical crises of overproduction and unemployment, 2) exploitation of poor colonial and neo-colonial countries by rich imperialist countries, 3) economic rivalry for foreign markets and investment areas by imperialist powers, 4) the attempt to stop the shrinkage of the "free world" - i.e. the part of the world that is free for capitalist investment and exploitation, and 5) financial speculation and short-term profit making of the military-industrial complex. The fourth factor is not as prominent since the collapse of the Soviet Union, but there is still evidence of this factor at work: for example, the attempted overthrow of the government of Venezuela in spring, 2002, was apparently linked to its developing ties with socialist Cuba, especially in terms of its oil resources. Although the coup d'etat failed, there was a risk of plunging Venezuela into warfare, especially considering the increasingly internationalized war next door in Colombia. Although the "war against terrorism" in Afghanistan, Philippines, etc. and the associated military buildup is usually justified as revenge for the attacks of September 11, there seems little doubt that there are economic motives involved as well, including the control of oil resources from Central Asia as a supplement to those of the Middle East. At the same time, the massive expansion of the military-industrial complex in the U.S. appears at some level to be intended as an increase in government spending to hedge against declining non-military production, unemployment and financial crises in the stock markets.

2. The American peace movements have been reactive in the past, developing in response to specific wars or threats of war, and then disappearing when the war is over or the threat is perceived to have decreased. In fact, this observation at the macro level is mirrored by an observation that I have made previously at a micro level: participants in peace movements have been motivated to an important degree by anger against the injustice of war. This dynamic seems likely to continue. Governments, worried about the reactive potential of peace movements may attempt to engage in very brief wars, just as the U.S. government cut short the 1991 Gulf War after several weeks to avoid an escalating peace movement. In the future, peace movements need to be broadened by linkages to other issues and by international solidarity and unity; otherwise they risk being only temporary influences on the course of history, growing in response to particular wars and then disappearing again afterwards. The world needs a sustained opposition to the entire culture of war, not just to particular wars.

To be fully successful, the future peace movement needs to be positive as well as negative. It needs to be for a culture of peace at the same time as it is against the culture of war. This requires that activists in the future peace movement develop a shared vision of the future towards which the movement can aspire. I have found evidence, presented in the recent revision of my book *Psychology for Peace Activists* ([note 17](#)), that such a shared, positive vision is now becoming possible, and, as a result, human consciousness can take on a new and powerful dimension in this particular moment of history.

3. The leadership and style of each peace movement has been distinct from that of the preceding movement, perhaps because each generation demands new tactics, different from those of the preceding movement. If this continues to be the case, it becomes especially important to develop an inter-generational dialogue of listening and learning from each other, so that the lessons of the past can be used by the activists of the future. While peace movements of the future will no doubt use many of the tactics of their predecessors, they will probably invent new tactics as well, as has been the case in the past. Already, for example, the Internet is being used in ways that were not dreamed of previously.

4. The success of American peace movements has depended to an important extent upon their ability to mobilize and develop a unified opposition to war among the people as a whole, including the multi-racial working class. This is a key lesson that needs to be passed on to future activists.

5. A particularly important issue in class unity in the past has centered around anti-communism, which has been used by the state and by capitalist enterprises, especially the media, to divide and fragment peace and justice movements. While some might say that anti-communism is no longer an issue since the demise of the Soviet Union, I disagree. Economic crises, with high levels of unemployment, are likely to continue to plague the capitalist system, with socialists and communists once again in the leadership of reform and revolution. If so, once again, they will be among the first to be targeted by the internal side of the culture of war. Anti-communism originated as a means to divide and weaken peace and justice movements long before there was any Soviet Union (William Jennings Bryan was accused of being pro-communist when he made anti-imperialism an issue of his Presidential campaign of 1900), and it is likely to continue long after. Drawing lessons from the past, it is wise to anticipate and reject anti-communism in order to protect the solidarity and unity of the peace movement.

6. The American peace movements have tended to share the isolationism that characterizes so much of American culture. The most recent example concerns the [Manifesto 2000](#): although it was signed by one percent of the world's population, there were fewer than 50,000 American signatures. Occasionally, isolationism has been overcome by the American peace movements and there have been moments of success when common ground has been found with activists in other countries. For example, as mentioned above, the increased contacts between U.S. and Soviet activists played a major role in ensuring that the Cold War ended with a minimum of overt violence. In the future, it will be important to resist isolationist tendencies and find ways to develop international exchange and solidarity.

A key question for the future of American peace movements concerns the alliances it makes.

One important alliance is with revolutionaries. This is important because in the long run, we need to abolish the entire war system and replace it with a culture of peace. Given the strong historical connection of the state to the culture of war, this is no less than a revolutionary task. In the past this alliance has been difficult because of the strong links of revolutionaries to their own version of the culture of war. Hopefully, however, future revolutionaries will learn from the mistakes of Soviet and other "culture of war revolutions" and commit themselves, instead, to non-violent revolution based on democracy, transparency, equality of women and solidarity instead of hierarchy, secrecy, male domination, violence and fear. If so, then a base can be laid for a powerful alliance between the peace movement and revolutionary change for social justice. Both sides would then be committed to a permanent, radical transformation in the structure and priorities of government, replacing its culture of war by a culture of peace.

Another set of potential alliances is with all those who work against violence at the level of the family and community. There is good scientific research showing that violence at the local and inter-personal level is greatly increased in countries with a strong culture of war, apparently because the government provides a model of violence which is followed by its citizens ([note 18](#)). To put it another way, the struggle to reduce violence in the family and community must include, if it is to be successful in the long run, a transformation of state policy to a culture of peace.

The culture of peace provides a basis for alliances with other movements as well, in which each of them struggles for a different, but complementary aspect:

- Peace movements: disarmament, non-violence, tolerance and solidarity
- Ecology movements: sustainable development
- Trade unions and revolutionary movements: human rights and economic justice
- Movements for democracy: democratic participation
- Women's movements: women's equality

In addition there is one other aspect of a culture of peace, the free flow of information,. This is not associated with a particular movement, but it can make a powerful contribution to all of them. While secrecy and propaganda are essential to the culture of war, they are also a point of vulnerability. We can expect that as the institutional structures of the culture of war begin to disintegrate, people on the inside will begin to divulge its secrets, and with today's technology (Internet, etc.) the effects will be greater than revelations in the past (e.g. the release of the secret Pentagon Papers by Daniel Ellsberg which helped turn public opinion against the Vietnam War). As always, an informed and concerned citizenry is the bulwark of democracy and peace.

My psychological studies of peace activists indicate that anger, in the form of righteous indignation, is a key aspect of the consciousness development of peace activists ([Note 17](#)). The same is no doubt true for activists in other movements (ecology, trade union, human rights, women's, democracy, and, of course revolutionary movements). As Martin Luther King once said, "The greatest task is to organize and unite people so that their anger becomes a transforming force."

As Gandhi and King found through long experience, the constructive use of anger must be carefully learned. To be constructive, anger needs to be directed towards actions and institutions rather than being directed at individuals and personalities. As Gandhi explained, we must struggle with our opponents to convince them of the truth, so that they will turn away from their ways and join with the forces of justice. This is based on the profound idea that every person, no matter how much they have been engaged in the culture of war, is capable of learning and changing and working ultimately for a culture of peace. It is an essential aspect of a culture of peace that we have no enemies and we must create no enemy images.

Most social movements have not concentrated enough on developing in their participants the skills of constructive anger against actions and institutions. Instead, they often take the shortcut of channeling anger by caricaturing their opponents, dehumanizing them and holding them up as targets for violence. But this tactic is one of the principal methods of the culture of war and in the long run, it may backfire, corrupting the movement and laying the groundwork for demagoguery and violence.

Finally, what is needed is a global movement, because the culture of war is global. This is a lesson that we can draw from the successful movement to end apartheid in South Africa. It was the combination of struggle within South Africa and the struggles around the world to boycott the South African government and big business that was ultimately successful. In the process of building that movement, we became aware that the apartheid forces had strong alliances throughout the world; it was not easy to struggle for divestment in the North because there were many in the North who were profiting from their investments in the apartheid regime. As this is being written, a similar global campaign is developing to overcome the war in the Middle East which shares many features with the previous apartheid struggle.

Quoting from the book on the culture of peace that I produced for UNESCO in 1995 ([note 19](#)): "The transformation of society from a culture of war to a culture of peace is perhaps more radical and far-reaching than any previous change in human history. Every aspect of social relations, having been shaped for millennia by the dominant culture of war, is open to change - from the relations among nations to those between women and men. Everyone, from the centers of power to the most remote villages, may be engaged and transformed in the process." The time has come to turn this vision into reality.

NOTES

1. The most complete story of the Anti-Imperialist League is in Daniel B. Schirmer, *Republic or Empire: American Resistance to the Philippine War*, (Schenkman Publishing, Cambridge, MA, 1972). Also useful is Richard E. Welch, Jr. *Response to Imperialism: The United States and the Philippine-American War, 1899-1902* (University of North Carolina Press, 1979). The quotations from Schirmer are from pages 157, 8, 212, 258, and 257. The quotations from DeBenedetti are from pages 73 and 71, Charles DeBenedetti, *The Peace Reform in American History* (Indiana University press, 1980). Information for this chapter also comes from Philip S. Foner, *History of the Labor Movement in the United States, Vol. II*. (International Publishers, New York, 1955).

2. The story of Eugene Victor Debs is essential to American peace history. I have used Ray Ginger, *The Bending Cross: A Biography of Eugene Victor Debs*. (Rutgers University Press, 1959). The quotation is from page 203.

3. Accounts of the People's Council of America may be found in three books: Frank L. Grubbs, Jr., *The Struggle for Labor Loyalty: Gompers, The A.F. of L., and the Pacifists, 1917-1920*, - (Duke University press, 1968); C. Roland Marchand, *The American Peace Movement and Social Reform, 1898-1918*, (Princeton University Press, 1972); and Merle Curti, *Peace or War: The American Struggle 1636-1936*, (W.W. Norton & Co., 1936. The program of the Council is quoted from Curti on page 259. The quotations concerning the collapse of the pre-war upper class movements come from DeBenedetti, page 101 (see footnote 1) and from David S. Patterson, *An Interpretation of the American Peace Movement, 1898-1914*, in Charles Chatfield, *Peace Movements in America*, (Schocken Books, New York, 1973). The quotation from Eugene Deb; is from the Ginger book, page 404 (see footnote 2). For an account of the shift to the left of peace movements after World War I, see DeBenedetti, beginning on page 119.

4. Although the Gompers leadership of organized labor was usually reactionary, there were two incidents in which his leadership revealed the true potential power of the organized working class in the struggle for peace. Under Gompers, the A.F. of L. joined with the trade unions of Mexico in 1916 to persuade U.S. President Wilson to call off a threatened military attack designed to overthrow the new Mexican revolutionary government, (Bernard Mandel, *Samuel Gompers: A Biography*, Antioch press, 1963). When another attempt at a counter-revolution in Mexico was made in 1924, Gompers instructed rank-and-file trade unionists to find and stop illegal gun-running to the counter-revolutionary forces (Philip Taft, *The A.F. of L. in the Time of Gompers*, Harper & Bros., Publishers, 1957, p. 329). A parallel in recent years has been the refusal of West Coast longshoresmen to load ships bound for South Africa, an action that started today's wave of action against the apartheid regime which carries on an internal war against the Black majority population.

5. There is no comprehensive account of the American League Against War and Fascism. I suppose the reasons are ideological, as liberal historians may be reluctant to acknowledge a movement in which leading roles were played by Communists. I have used a variety of sources: Eugene P. Link, *Labor-Religion prophet: The Times and Life of Harry F. Ward*, (Westview Press, Boulder, CO:- 1984); Earl Browder, The American Communist Party in the Thirties, in Rita James Simon, *As We Saw the Thirties*, (University of Illinois press, 1967); and William Z. Foster, *History of the Communist Party of the United States*, (Greenwood Press, New York, 1968).. as well as the peace histories of Curti (footnote 3) and Charles Chatfield, *For Peace and Justice: Pacifism in America 1914-1941*, (University of Tennessee Press, 1971). The best account of the Emergency Peace Campaign is in the Chatfield volume where quotations are drawn from pages 170 and 262-263. Programs of the two organizations are quoted from Curti, page 286, and DeBenedetti, page 130 (see footnote 1). Also useful is Frederick J. Libby, *To End War: The Story of the National Council for Prevention of War*, (Fellowship Publications, Nyack, NY, 1969.) from which quotations are taken from pages 124-125. The account of the student movements is from three sources: Dennis Mihelich.. Student Antiwar Activism during the Nineteen Thirties, *Peace & Change*, (1974) vol. 2, No.3; Hal Draper, The Student Movement of the Thirties: A Political History, in the Simon book (see reference above) and James Wechsler, *Revolt on the Campus* (Covici-Friede, New York, 1935).

6. Most Americans know little of this critical period of European history. For the following account I have relied upon D.F. Fleming, *The Cold War and Its Origins*, two volumes (Doubleday, Garden City, N.Y. 1961). Anti-communism in France, Britain and the United States played a critical role in their refusal to join with the Soviet Union to stop the expansion of Germany, Italy, and Japan. Soviet ambassador Litvinov called for united action when the Italians invaded Ethiopia in 1935, but the French made their own deal with the Italian fascists. Similarly the British ignored the Soviet proposal for a treaty to stop the Germans in 1935 when Hitler announced German rearmament. Instead, the British agreed to a "Western air pact" that would "leave Hitler a free hand in the East" and an Anglo-German Naval Treaty that allowed Germany to build a submarine fleet. When the Germans marched into the Rhineland in 1936, the British, French and U.S. ignored Soviet calls for action. According to Fleming (page 61) "German industrialists had also done their work well among their associates in the democracies, especially in Britain, explaining that Hitler's real aim was to suppress communism." This pattern was repeated. Litvinov called for action at the League of Nations when the fascist counter-revolution in Spain was supported by German and Italian troops in 1936, when Austria was invaded by Germany in 1938, and when Czechoslovakia was taken over by Germany in 1938-1939, but each time the Western countries turned a deaf ear. The climax of "appeasement" came in 1938 when British minister Neville Chamberlain went to Munich and yielded Czechoslovakia to Hitler. By 1939 the Soviet struggle to forge a common front with the West had failed and they resorted to what Fleming calls "The Soviet-German Truce" of 1939-1941. Concerning the buildup to World War II, many Americans know only about this pact which is often called "The Hitler-Stalin Pact" although the two men never met each other.

7. In the United States, as in Europe, there were powerful ruling class forces who favored the fascists in Europe because they were attacking communist parties and the Soviet Union. One of the strongest pro-Hitler voices came from the Hearst newspapers which was a vast and powerful chain of mass media. According to the American League Against War and Fascism, Hearst received direct financing of \$400,000 a year from Hitler. As late as 1941, when Hitler's armies had invaded the Soviet Union, future President Harry Truman stated that "If we see that Germany is winning the war we ought to help Russia and if Russia is winning we ought to help Germany and that way let them kill as many as possible" (*New York Times*, June 24, 1941).

8. Traditional peace histories give little attention to the movement against the Cold War after World War II, presumably for ideological reasons, despite the fact that it engaged over a million people. For accounts of the Progressive Party, I have relied primarily upon *Gideon's Army* by Curtis D. MacDougall (Marzani & Munsell, NY, 1965), an account of the Wallace campaign by one of its organizing staff. The quotation from Truman is taken from his book on page 23. The description of the Wallace platform and descriptions of the trade union movement at that time are taken from the *Labor Fact Book*, published annually by Labor Research Association, New York. The description of the Catholic attack on the CIO comes from James C. Foster, *The Union Politic: The CIO Political Action Committee* (University of Missouri Press,) pages 83 and 84. Quotations concerning the destruction of the peace movement in the 1950's come from Lawrence Wittner, *Rebels Against War: The American Peace Movement, 1933-1983*, (Temple University Press, 1984), pages 213 and 202.

9. This account of the movement against the Vietnam War is drawn primarily from two excellent sources: Nancy Zaroulis and Gerald Sullivan, *Who Spoke Up? American Protest Against the War in Vietnam, 1963-1975* (Doubleday & Co, 1984); and Philip S. Foner, *American Labor and the Indochina War: The Growth of Union Opposition* (International Publishers, NY, 1971). The quotation from Zaroulis and Sullivan is from page 286 and the quotation from Foner about the "end of redbaiting in the labor movement" is from page 53. The quotation on Lyndon Johnson's withdrawal from the Presidential race is from Melvin Small, The Impact of the Antiwar Movement on Lyndon Johnson, 1965-1968: a preliminary Report. *Peace & Change* (1984), Vol. 10, No. I, page 14. For government redbaiting of the peace movement, see the Small article, along with Charles DeBenedetti, A CIA Analysis of the Anti-Vietnam War Movement: October, 1967, *Peace & Change* (1983) (vol. 9, No. I, page 34. Concerning Nixon's decision about using nuclear weapons in Vietnam, see Zaroulis and Sullivan, page 296, and Daniel Ellsberg, Call to Mutiny, in E.P. Thompson and Dan Smith, *Protest and Survive* (Monthly Review Press, 1981) pages xv and xvi.

(Note added in 2026: Many years after the events, we now learn that the great peace march of 1969 was critical in Nixon's decision not to destroy Vietnam with nuclear weapons. See the following article in the Culture of Peace News Network: <https://english.cpnw-world.org/?p=39296>

10. The first strike policy outlined in Carter's Presidential Directive 59 in 1979 was not the beginning of first strike strategy, although it was more public and aroused more concern than previous such policy documents. As described in detail by Robert Aldridge (*First Strike: The Pentagon's Strategy for Nuclear War*, South End Press, Boston, 1983), it was the culmination of a policy that reaches back into the 1950's. Aldridge's book not only describes the policy, but is also an authoritative source on first-strike weapons systems and it has a very readable analysis of the military-industrial complex as the main source of the nuclear war threat. The exact wording of the Freeze proposal is taken from Randall Forsberg's original article, "Call to Halt the Nuclear Arms Race - Proposal for a Mutual U.S. Soviet Nuclear Weapons Freeze", *Bulletin of Peace Proposals*, Vol. 12, No. 4 (1981). Soviet agreement to the Freeze proposal at the UN was reported in *Disarmament Times*, Vol v, No. 24, 1982. The process of Soviet internal deliberations that led to their acceptance of the Freeze is described by Marilyn Bechtel in *The Soviet Peace Movement: From the Grass Roots*, published in 1984 by the National Council for American-Soviet Friendship. The Gallup Poll results are quoted from the *New Haven Advocate*, Sept. 22, 1982. The quotation on the attitude of the National Freeze Campaign regarding Soviet agreement with the freeze was from Emily Denitto, The Freeze Movement Needs the Grassroots, *Daily World*, Oct. 24, 1985. The quotations from Gorbachev are taken from his book *Perestroika*, 1987, Harper and Row, page 140, and from an interview with him in *The Nation* in their edition of February 2/9, 1998.

11. *Economic Notes*, Vol 52, No. 9, 1984. The unions include: Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union; American Federation of state, Country and Municipal Employees; American Federation of Teachers; Communication Workers of America; International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers; International Chemical Workers Union, International Longshoresmen's and Warehousemen's Union; National Association of Letter Carriers; National Education Association; National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees (1199); The Newspaper Guild; Screen Actors Guild; Service Employees International Union; United Automobile, Aerospace and Agricultural Implement Workers of America; United Cement, Lime, Gypsum and Allied Workers; United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers; Also the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists and the Coalition of Labor Union Women.

12. From ancient times, women have been excluded from any participation in warfare. To understand how this came about, I have used the scientific method of cross-cultural analysis and concluded that it resulted from a contradiction between the prehistoric institutional structures of marriage and warfare. Wives tended to be taken from outside the community, and often from villages of the "enemy." During a war, they could not be trusted to fight for their husbands and against their fathers and brothers. (Why There Are So Few Women Warriors, *Behavior Science Research*, Vol. 18, No. 3, ages 196-212, 1983).

13. Although a full account of the Peoples Peace Appeal has never been published, I have deposited a set of documents from the campaign at the Wesleyan University Library so that they are accessible to scholars. A summary account is available [here](#).

14. Most of the relevant documents for the International Year for the Culture of Peace and for the Decade follow-up, including an account of where the 75 million signatures came from, are available on-line from UNESCO at <http://www3.unesco.org/iycp>.

15. Evidence to contradict the myth that war is intrinsic to human nature is summarized in the *Seville Statement on Violence*, published in booklet form by UNESCO in 1990. The Statement and its history are available on the Internet [here](#).

16. The analysis of causes of the Spanish-American and Philippine Wars comes from Walter LaFeber, **The New Empire: An Interpretation of American Expansion 1860-1898** (Cornell University Press, 1963), and the quotation is from page 200. The analysis of World War I comes from Charles Callan Tansill, **America Goes to War** (Little, Brown and Co. 1938) with quotations taken from pages 55, 70, and 114. The analysis of the rise of Hitler comes from David Abraham, **The Collapse of the Weimar Republic: Political Economy and Crisis** (Princeton University Press, 1981), with quotations from pages 167 and 315. See also articles and letters in **The Nation**, February 16 and March 23, 1985, and **Political Affairs**, September and October 1985, concerning an unprecedented attack on Abraham by certain capitalist historians who wish to deny the role of capitalists in the rise of fascism. For the analysis of the Cold War, I have relied on two sources. See William Appleman Williams, **The Tragedy of American Diplomacy**, second edition (Dell Publishing Co., 1972) and quotations on pages 206 and 209. See also Joyce and Gabriel Kolko, **The Limits of Power: The World and United States Foreign Policy, 1945-1954** (Harper & Row, Publishers, 1972) with quotations from pages 23 and 20-21. For Vietnam, see Gabriel Kolko, **The Roots of American Foreign Policy: An Analysis of Power and Purpose** (Beacon Press, 1969) with quotations from pages 88 and xiv. The higher profit ratios of the military-industrial complex are documented in the **Washington Post**, November 28, 1985, in which a Navy Department study is quoted as saying that the ratio of profit to investment for the top 22 defense contractors in 1984 was 26.7% for their military contracts compared to 10.7% for their civilian contracts. The net cost of Soviet economic relations with other socialist countries is calculated in an article by Charles Wolf, Jr., head of the Rand Corporation's "graduate school": **The Costs of the Soviet Empire**, *Science* Vol. 230, pages 997-1002, 1985. Regarding arguments at that time that there was a military-industrial complex in the Soviet Union, see E.P. Thompson and Dan Smith, **Protest and Survive** (Monthly Review Press, 1981). In the 1985 edition of this book I was skeptical, but with time it became evident that they were essentially correct (see **Economic Collapse of Soviet Union**).

17. **Psychology for Peace Activists**, which includes an assessment of the steps of consciousness development in peace activists, including the emergence of a new step of vision, as well as the continued importance of anger, is available here. See especially the chapter on anger. See also the scientific paper **The Role of Anger in the Consciousness Development of Peace Activists**.

18. Although I am not aware of a general scientific review of the subject, the following studies show that countries with a strong culture of war produce more violence in the citizenry:

Embers, C.R., and Embers, M., 1994, War, socialization, and interpersonal violence. **Journal of Conflict Resolution**, 38: 620-646.

Phillips, D., 1983, The impact of mass media violence on U.S. homicides. **American Sociological Review**, 48: 560-568.

Archer, D. and Gartner, R., 1984. **Violence and Crime in Cross-National Perspective**. Yale University Press, New Haven.

Landau, S.F. and Rolef, S.H. 1998. Intimate Femicide in Israel: Temporal, social, and motivational patterns. **European Journal on Criminal Policy and Research** 6: 75-90.

19. **UNESCO and a Culture of Peace: Promoting a Global Movement**, 1995, David Adams, editor, UNESCO: Paris. The original version of this book is out of print, although a later, abbreviated revision without graphics is available from UNESCO Press. Most of the original is now available on line.

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