

The Literature of Isolationism, 1972-1983: A Bibliographical Guide

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In this essay, the author updates his monograph *The Literature of Isolationism: A Guide to Non-Interventionist Scholarship, 1930-1972* (Colorado Springs, Colo.: Ralph Myles, 1972). Only rarely will material from the earlier volume be repeated here. This essay supplements, not replaces, the earlier work. It was originally written in 1980 for a seminar sponsored by the World Without War Council, Berkeley, California, but it is updated even further.

To be called an isolationist wins no popularity contests, and no politician can afford the label. Indeed, the indiscriminate use of this word has done much over the years to cloud serious debate over foreign policy. However, because of American disillusionment with the Vietnam War, it is safe again to express skepticism concerning the nature and scope of United States commitments overseas.

In fact, concern over the current direction of American policy cannot help but color the way many movements in the past are interpreted, and the so-called isolationist movement is no exception. During at least the last twenty years, many scholars have been able to free themselves from the bitter polemics surrounding World War II and have been able to research the movement with fresh eyes. Often the result is a more balanced and thorough appraisal.

The collective efforts of these scholars show a movement of infinite diversity. In their ranks, isolationists included libertarians such as Albert Jay Nock and Frank Chodorov, conservatives such as Herbert Hoover and Robert A. Taft, liberals such as Chester Bowles and Charles A. Beard, socialists such as Norman Thomas, collectivist elitists such as Lawrence Dennis. If financier Joseph P. Kennedy was an isolationist, so was labor leader John L. Lewis. Indeed no element of American society was immune to isolationist sentiments.

Definition

During the 1970's, practically no historian wrestled with the basic nature of isolationism—that is, focused on its causes and explanations—as had such earlier commentators as Ray Allen Billington, Wayne S. Cole, and Samuel Lubell. One

major exception, Raymond A. Eustus, "Isolationism and World Power," *Diplomatic History* 2 (Spring 1978): 117-29, deals with the period between 1898 and 1914. Yet we have reached a workable consensus on its definition, one ably expressed by Manfred Jonas: "the avoidance of political and military commitments to, or alliances with, foreign powers, particularly those of Europe." Jonas outlines the isolationist posture in his article entitled "Isolationism," published in the second volume of Alexander De Conde, ed., *Encyclopedia of American Foreign Policy: Studies of the Principal Movements and Ideas* (New York: Scribner's, 1978), pp. 496-506.

Bibliography

Over the past decade, Justus D. Doenecke has contributed several essays covering research on isolationism: *The Literature of Isolationism* (previously cited); "Isolationism of the 1930's and 1940's: An Historiographical Essay," in R. Sellen and T. Bryson, eds., *American Diplomatic History: Issues and Methods* (Carrollton, Ga.: West Georgia College Studies in the Social Sciences, 1974), pp. 5-40; and "Beyond Polemics: An Historiographical Re-Appraisal of American Entry into World War II," *History Teacher* 12 (February 1979): 21-52. In "The Anti-Interventionist Tradition: Leadership and Perceptions," *Literature of Liberty: A Review of Contemporary Liberal Thought* 4 (Summer 1981): 7-67, Doenecke combines a review of the scholarly literature with extensive discussion of prominent isolationist leaders and their published works.

Other historians have made efforts to place scholarly literature on isolationism into a wider context. Exceptionally good are Ernest C. Bolt, Jr., "Isolation, Expansion, and Peace: American Foreign Policy Between the Wars," and Gerald K. Haines, "Roads to War: United States Foreign Policy, 1931-1941," both in Gerald K. Haines and J. Samuel Walker, eds., *American Foreign Relations: A Historiographical Review* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1981), pages 133-57 and 158-77 respectively. No student of foreign policy should be without Richard Dean Burns and the Society for the Historians of American Foreign Relations, eds., *Guide to American Foreign Relations since 1700* (Santa Barbara, Calif.: ABC Clio, 1983). For an imaginative approach, see "The Problem of American Entry into Twentieth Century World War: A Study in Conflicting Historiography" (Ph.D. diss., University of Idaho, 1982), written by William Dixon Newall.

General Studies—The Thirties and World War II

Wayne S. Cole's new volume, *Roosevelt and the Isolationists, 1934-45* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1983), is definitive on Roosevelt's relationship to the most prominent and influential isolationist leaders. The product of over thirty years of research, it is particularly strong on the midwestern progressives whom Cole sees as the backbone of the movement. Manfred Jonas's *Isolationism in America, 1935-1941* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1966) has achieved almost classic status for the years it covers.

General Studies—Cold War Era

Many opponents of American participation in World War II remained active

in the early Cold War years, and Justus D. Doenecke has told their story in *Not to the Swift: The Old Isolationists in the Cold War Era* (Lewisburg, Pa.: Bucknell University Press, 1979). His interpretation concerning this group can also be found in: "The Strange Career of American Isolationism," *Peace and Change* 3 (Summer-Fall 1975): 79-83; "Conservatism: The Impassioned Sentiment: A Review Essay," *American Quarterly* 23 (Spring 1977): 601-19; "The Isolationists and a Usable Past: A Review Essay," *Peace and Change* 5 (Spring 1978): 67-73; and "The Legacy of Cold War Isolationism," *USA Today* 109 (July 1980): 64-65. In all these works Doenecke finds the isolationist legacy an ambivalent one, but not one without vision or insight.

Another work casts a wider net than these studies do, for it is not limited to those active in the dispute over Roosevelt's foreign policy. In Tad Galen Carpenter's "The Dissenters: American Isolationists and Foreign Policy, 1945-1954" (Ph. D. diss., University of Texas at Austin, 1980), the author finds the Cold War gradually eroding the isolationists' ranks. He concludes that, despite their ideological and organizational limitations, they offered relevant and sometimes prophetic criticism of American intervention.

Specific Issues of the Twenties, Thirties, and Early Forties

Certain incidents and issues have received special focus. For discussion of a theme long stressed by isolationists, see David A. Richards, "America Conquers Britain: Anglo-American Conflict in Popular Media during the 1920s," *Journal of American Culture* 3 (Spring 1981): 95-103. In his "Victory in Defeat: The Senatorial Isolationists and the Four-Power Treaty," *Capital Studies* 2 (Spring 1973): 23-38, Thomas N. Guinsburg finds long-term isolationists picking up some surprising allies. Harry Dahlheimer, "The United States, Germany and the Quest for Neutrality, 1933-1937" (Ph. D. diss., University of Iowa, 1976), claims that there was little continuity between the isolationists of the thirties and those of the previous decade. The classic account of the neutrality acts remains Robert A. Divine, *The Illusion of Neutrality* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962). Ernest C. Bolt, Jr.'s *Ballots before Bullets: The War Referendum Approach to Peace in America, 1914-1941* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1977) is definitive on its topic. For an able treatment of the 1940 election, see Charles Joseph Errico, "Foreign Affairs and the Presidential Election of 1940" (Ph. D. diss., University of Maryland, 1973). A general discussion of "American Isolationism, 1939-1941" is found in Doenecke's article of that title, *Journal of Libertarian Studies* 6 (Summer/Fall 1982): 201-15.

World Court

The World Court is re-emerging as an object of study. Here two scholars stand out. Gilbert N. Kahn has written "Pressure Group Influence on Foreign Policy Making: A Case Study of United States Efforts to Join the World Court-1935" (Ph. D. diss., New York University, 1972), as well as "Presidential Passivity on a Nonsalient Issue: President Franklin D. Roosevelt and the 1935 World Court Fight," *Diplomatic History* 4 (Spring 1980): 137-60. The other historian is Robert

D. Accinelli, who has written his dissertation on "The United States and the World Court, 1920-1927" (University of California at Berkeley, 1968). Among Accinelli's numerous published articles, those most important to the historian of isolationism are: "Peace Through Law: The United States and the World Court, 1923-1935," *Canadian Historical Association—Historical Papers*, 1972, pp. 249-61; "The Hoover Administration and the World Court," *Peace and Change* 4 (Fall 1977): 26-36; and "The Roosevelt Administration and the World Court Defeat," *Historian* 40 (May 1978): 463-78.

The Nye Committee and Senator Gerald P. Nye

Major works on Nye and his committee remain John E. Wiltz, *In Search of Peace: The Senate Munitions Inquiry, 1934-1936* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1965), and Wayne S. Cole, *Senator Gerald P. Nye and American Foreign Relations* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1962). Cole summarizes his analysis of Nye in John N. Schacht, ed., *Three Faces of Midwestern Isolationism* (Iowa City, Iowa: Center for the Study of the Recent History of the United States, 1981), pp. 1-10. Specialized articles include: Lawrence H. Larsen, "Gerald Nye and the Isolationist Argument," *North Dakota History* 47 (Winter 1980): 25-27; J. Garry Clifford, "A Note on the Break Between Senator Nye and President Roosevelt in 1939," *ibid.*, 49 (Summer 1982): 14-17; Robert Jones Leonard, "The Nye Committee: Legislating Against War," *ibid.*, 41 (Fall 1974): 20-28; and Wayne S. Cole, "A Tale of Two Isolationists—Told Three Wars Later," *Newsletter of the Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations* 5 (March 1974): 2-16.

Negotiated Peace

For isolationist dreams of a peace between Hitler and the Western powers, see Doenecke, "Germany in Isolationist Ideology, 1939-1941: The Issue of a Negotiated Peace," in Hans L. Trefousse, ed., *Germany and America: Problems of International Relations and Immigration* (New York: Brooklyn College Press, 1981), pp. 215-26. Isolationists occasionally put their hopes in Britain's former prime minister, David Lloyd George, whose views are summarized in A. J. P. Taylor, ed., *Lloyd George: Twelve Essays* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1971).

Interventionism

No bibliographical essay devoted to isolationism can offer a thorough account of interventionism as well. One must, however, note Robert Dallek's comprehensive *Franklin D. Roosevelt and American Foreign Policy, 1932-1945* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979), which offers good explanations as to why the movement was long so powerful in Congress.

In his seminal work, *The Creation of the Anglo-American Alliance, 1937-41: A Study in Competitive Co-operation* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1982), David Reynolds deals with many issues focused on by isolationists. He claims that in 1939, when war broke in Europe, Roosevelt first believed that Allied strategic bombing would preclude the need for another American Expeditionary Force. According to Reynolds, Roosevelt's Charlottesville speech (prom-

ising major aid to the Allies) was more inspirational than substantive, the mission of Sumner Welles centered on mobilizing neutral Europe behind a compromise peace, and Washington policy-makers, including FDR, initially doubted Churchill's sobriety and balance. When lend-lease was first passed, it was neither outstandingly novel, notably attractive, nor particularly important.

Some new essays are quite suggestive. Charles J. Errico, "The New Deal, Internationalism, and the New American Consensus, 1938-1940," *Maryland Historian* 9 (Spring 1978): 17-31, offers material on convergence between foreign policy internationalism and belief in a welfare state. For the interventionist belief in social control, see Stephen J. Sniegowski, "Unified Democracy: An Aspect of American World War II Interventionist Thought, 1939-1941," *ibid.*, pp. 33-48. Mark M. Lowenthal, "INTREPID and the History of World War II," *Military Affairs* 41 (April 1977): 88-90, debunks later claims by the British security leader in America, William Stevenson, who did much boasting in his *A Man Called Intrepid* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1976).

Specific Issues of the Cold War Era

Thomas M. Campbell's *Masquerade Peace: America's UN Policy, 1944-1945* (Tallahassee: Florida State University Press, 1973) sees a resurgence of isolationism just before and after the Yalta conference. Richard Paul Hedland, "Congress and the British Loan, 1945-1946" (Ph. D. diss., University of Kentucky, 1976), covers one of the first postwar debates that had Cold War overtones. Matthew Edwin Mantell, in his "Opposition to the Korean War: A Study in American Dissent" (Ph. D. diss., New York University, 1973), surveys a variety of dissenters, ranging from pacifists to such senators as William Langer.

Douglas MacArthur

As many isolationists supported MacArthur's presidential ambitions, Carolyn Jane Mattern's "The Man on the Dark Horse: The Presidential Campaign for General Douglas MacArthur, 1944 and 1948" (Ph. D. diss., University of Wisconsin at Madison, 1976) is extremely significant. By tracing conflicts within his campaign organization, Mattern shows that MacArthur's political supporters could not be stereotyped as mere reactionaries and isolationists. One should also note Howard B. Schonberger, "The General and the Presidency: Douglas MacArthur and the Election of 1948," *Wisconsin Magazine of History* 57 (Spring 1974): 201-19. MacArthur's 1944 campaign is also covered in D. Clayton James's second volume of *The Years of MacArthur, 1941-1945* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1975). William Manchester's *American Caesar: Douglas MacArthur, 1880-1964* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1978) is often superficial and should be used with caution.

Bricker Amendment

John W. Bricker offers his own reminiscences on his ill-fated efforts to change American treaty law in his "John W. Bricker Reflects upon the Fight for the Bricker Amendment," ed. Marvin R. Zahniser, *Ohio History* 87 (Summer 1978): 322-33. Terence L. Thatcher offers an extensive legal discussion in his "The Bricker Amendment: 1952-54," *Northwest Ohio Quarterly* 69 (Summer 1977): 107-20. Duane

Arden Tananbaum, "The Bricker Amendment Controversy" (Ph. D. diss., Columbia University, 1980), shows that the dispute made senators examine treaties more carefully and seek a greater share in decision-making.

Organizations

Groups too have been surveyed. Wayne S. Cole's history of the America First Committee, entitled *America First: The Battle Against Intervention, 1940-1941* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1953), remains definitive. Works had been done on other groups as well. Justus D. Doenecke has examined several bodies, presenting their strengths and weaknesses. See his "Verne Marshall's Leadership of the No Foreign War Committee, 1940," *Annals of Iowa* 41 (Winter 1973): 1153-73; "Noninterventionism of the Left: The Keep America Out of the War Congress, 1938-41," *Journal of Contemporary History* 12 (April 1977): 221-36; and "Toward an Isolationist Braintrust: The Foundation for Foreign Affairs," *World Affairs* 143 (Winter 1980-81): 264-77. Marshall's group, led by the editor of the *Cedar Rapids Gazette*, suffered from bad leadership and disappeared within a few months. The KAOWC was a socialist-pacifist coalition in which Norman Thomas was strong. The FFA was established in 1945 to offer alternatives to Truman foreign policy. Samuel Walker tells the story of the leading front of the Communist Party, U. S. A. in his "Communists and Isolationism: The American Peace Mobilization, 1940-1941," *Maryland Historian* 4 (Spring 1973): 1-12. For a study of a group active during the early Cold War, see Gail Quentin Unruh, "Ultraconservative Distortion: Merwin K. Hart and the National Economic Council" (Ph.D. diss., University of Oregon, 1982). An even more extreme group is described in Frank Paul Mintz, "Liberty Lobby: Vanguard of a Dispossessed Right" (Ph.D. diss., University of Maryland, 1983).

The Lindberghs

No isolationists have been subject to as much writing as have the Lindberghs. During the heated debate that took place from 1939 to 1941, the prominent aviator Charles A. Lindbergh was subject to more attack than any other leading foe of intervention. Anne Morrow Lindbergh supplements her husband's diary, *The War-time Journals of Charles A. Lindbergh* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1970), with her own diaries: *The Flower and the Nettle: Diaries and Letters, 1936-1939* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1976); and *War Within and Without: Diaries and Letters, 1939-1944* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1980). In these two volumes, Charles's wife reveals her hatred of Nazism, sympathy for Jews and other subject people, and anger concerning the vilification to which her family was subject. Charles's own memoirs, *Autobiography of Values* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1978), is disappointing to a historian of anti-interventionism, for it reveals little concerning his own isolationism and the reasoning behind it. For the actual memos of the man who arranged Lindbergh's trips to Germany, see Robert Hessen, ed., *Berlin Alert: The Memoirs and Reports of Truman Smith* (Stanford, Calif.: Hoover Institution Press, 1983). Smith was American military attaché to Hitler's Reich and a close friend of Lindbergh.

Wayne S. Cole has done much demythologizing. In his book *Charles A. Lindbergh and the Battle Against American Intervention in World War II* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1974), Cole disproves long-held beliefs concerning the Lone Eagle's supposed racism, fascism, and anti-Semitism. Indeed, in some ways, Cole finds Lindbergh a prophetic figure, with his "warnings against presidential power, secrecy, and deception in foreign affairs quite relevant to today's world." For Cole's comparison of Lindbergh and Senator Nye, see "A Tale of Two Isolationists—Told Three Wars Later" (previously cited).

Because of the controversy long surrounding him, Lindbergh has been subject to bad history as well as good. One should use Leonard Mosley's *Lindbergh: A Biography* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1976) with extreme care, as the author offers few references, is given to highly colored prose, and occasionally engages in a running debate with his subject. Raymond H. Fredette's "Lindbergh and Munich: A Myth Revived," *Missouri Historical Society Bulletin* 30 (April 1977): 197-202, effectively challenges Mosley's claim that Lindbergh's reports on German strength helped foster the Munich Pact.

The Kennedys

Like the Lindberghs, the Kennedys still engage biographers. Fresh coverage on the man whom Richard J. Whalen calls "the founding father" is offered in David E. Koskoff, *Joseph P. Kennedy: A Life and Times* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1974), and Michael Beschloss, *Kennedy and Roosevelt: The Uneasy Alliance* (New York: Norton, 1980). The latter work is based on the Joseph P. Kennedy Papers and hence superior to all other accounts. We now have two dissertations on Kennedy's London years: Roger C. W. Bzerk, "Kennedy and the Court of St. James: The Diplomatic Career of Joseph P. Kennedy, 1938-1940" (Washington State University, 1971); and Jane K. Vieth, "Joseph P. Kennedy: Ambassador to the Court of St. James, 1938-1940" (Ohio State University, 1975). In her article "The Donkey and the Lion: The Ambassadorship of Joseph P. Kennedy at the Court of St. James, 1938-1940," *Michigan Academician* 10 (Winter 1978): 273-81, Vieth finds Kennedy a failure as a diplomat. Another essay contributed by Vieth is her "Joseph P. Kennedy and British Appeasement: The Diplomacy of a Boston Irishman," in Kenneth Paul Jones, ed., *U. S. Diplomats in Europe, 1919-1941* (Santa Barbara, Calif.: ABC Clio, 1981), pp. 165-82. Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr. touches upon the Kennedys' isolationism in his *Robert Kennedy and His Times* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1978). The brief flirtation of John F. Kennedy with isolationism is covered in Herbert S. Parmet, *Jack: The Struggles of John F. Kennedy* (New York: Dial, 1980), and Joan and Clay Blair, Jr., *The Search for J. F. K.* (New York: Berkley, Putnam, 1976).

John Foster Dulles

In 1939, when he wrote *War, Peace and Change* (New York: Harpers, 1939), John Foster Dulles argued for recognizing the needs of "have-not" nations. No efforts at collective security could work, he went on, that did not permit alteration of the status quo. Ronald W. Preussen, *John Foster Dulles: The Road to Power*

(New York: Free Press, 1982), is usually most thorough, but it underplays Dulles's isolationist sentiments before Pearl Harbor. So too do both Michael A. Guhin, *John Foster Dulles: A Statesman and His Times* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1972), and Townsend Hoopes, *The Devil and John Foster Dulles* (Boston: Atlantic-Little, Brown, 1973). Surprisingly enough, Albert N. Keim, "John Foster Dulles and the Protestant World Order Movement on the Eve of World War II," *Journal of Church and State* 21 (Winter 1979): 73-89, conveys far more than the title suggests, for it notes how Dulles fell increasingly into the anti-interventionist camp.

Herbert Hoover

Two recent biographies of Hoover touch on his isolationism, though far more is needed. Joan Hoff Wilson, *Herbert Hoover: Forgotten Progressive* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1975), relates her subject's anti-interventionism to Hoover's domestic vision of a decentralized but corporatist society. David Burner, *Herbert Hoover: A Public Life* (New York: Knopf, 1979), puts Hoover's isolationism in a broader context, one that notes Hoover's initial support for American entry into World War I and for American entry into the League. Wilton Eckley, *Herbert Hoover* (Boston: Twayne, 1980), offers a useful overview of Hoover's own writings. For the most comprehensive treatment of Hoover's rich career when he left the White House, a career that revealed an isolationism seldom seen before, see Gary Dean Best, *Herbert Hoover: The Postpresidential Years, 1933-1964*, 2 vols. (Stanford, Calif: Hoover Press, 1983). Best summarizes some findings in his "Totalitarianism or Peace: Herbert Hoover and the Road to War, 1939-1941," *Annals of Iowa* 44 (Winter 1979): 519-29. For a detailed look at Hoover during the Cold War, see Donald J. Mrozek's "Progressive Dissenter: Herbert Hoover's Opposition to Truman's Overseas Military Policy," *ibid.*, 43 (Spring 1976): 275-91. For an essay that focuses on "The Anti-Interventionism of Herbert Hoover," see the paper on that topic by Justus D. Doenecke, delivered at a conference on the Hoover presidency at the Hoover Presidential Library, West Branch, Iowa, on April 13, 1982. The paper is scheduled for publication under auspices of the Herbert Hoover Presidential Library Association. Needed now is a book on Hoover's National Committee on Food for the Small Democracies, an effort Hoover promoted to feed occupied Europe in the two years before Pearl Harbor.

Revisionism

Since 1970, there have been studies of several scholars who were extremely critical of American intervention in World War II. Frederick Lewis Honhart III, "Charles Callan Tansill: American Diplomatic Historian" (Ph. D. diss., Case Western Reserve University, 1972), finds Tansill's opposition to World Wars I and II partially rooted in his deep ties to the Old South, a region he perceived as strongly committed to a stable social order. Robert Hobbs Myers, "William Henry Chamberlin: His Views of the Soviet Union" (Ph. D. diss., Indiana University, 1973), finds the militant anti-communism of this noted journalist to be based upon his skepticism towards all state-imposed solutions to economic disorder. Far

more is needed on Chamberlin, however, for he commented on much aside from Russia and offered more learned rationales of his isolationism than Myers deals with.

For recent treatment of the nation's leading revisionist, see Thomas C. Kennedy, *Charles A. Beard and American Foreign Policy* (Gainesville: University Presses of Florida, 1975); John Braeman, "The Historian as Activist: Charles A. Beard and the New Deal," *South Atlantic Quarterly* 79 (Autumn 1980): 364-74; Braeman, "Charles A. Beard: Historian and Progressive," in Marvin C. Swanson, ed., *Charles A. Beard: An Observance of the Centennial of His Birth* (Greencastle, Ind.: De Pauw University Press, 1976), pp. 74-77; and Ellen Nore, *Charles A. Beard: A Biography* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1983). In her work, which includes a doctoral dissertation of the same title (Stanford University, 1980), Nore shows much appreciation of Beard's anti-interventionism.

For the arguments of two prominent scholars of international law, see Justus D. Doenecke, "Edwin M. Borchard, John Bassett Moore, and Opposition to American Intervention in World War II," *Journal of Libertarian Studies* 6 (Winter 1982): 1-34. Moore's name was almost synonymous with scholarship in the field; he served on the Columbia faculty from 1891 to 1924, edited the famous *Digest of International Law* (1906), and was the first United States judge on the Permanent Court of International Justice. Borchard, professor at Yale University Law School from 1917 to 1950, was best known among isolationists for his *Neutrality for the United States* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1937; rev. 1940). In the essay, Doenecke notes that isolationists usually did not avail themselves of arguments based on the absolutist concept of international law espoused by Borchard and Moore; they preferred to argue on the basis of more "practical" economic and social reasons.

Harry Elmer Barnes

Much work has been done on Harry Elmer Barnes, one of the most polemical of the revisionists. Through his long career, Barnes was a perennial iconoclast, backing a diversity of reforms ranging from Sweden's mixed economy to the abolition of capital punishment. Toward the end of his life, Barnes went so far in his revisionism as to attempt to establish that Roosevelt had foreknowledge of Pearl Harbor, that Hitler was lenient towards Poland on the eve of the Danzig incident, and that the Nazis never had a systematic policy of exterminating the Jewish people.

Foremost in research on Barnes is Roy Carroll Turnbaugh's doctoral dissertation, "Harry Elmer Barnes: The Quest for Truth and Justice" (University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1977), a full-scale biography that includes extensive discussion of his isolationism. Turnbaugh's work is often critical of Barnes, but does much with Barnes's seldom-treated columns in the *New York World-Telegram*. For more of Turnbaugh's detailed work on Barnes, see his "Harry Elmer Barnes and World War I Revisionism: An Absence of Dialogue," *Peace and Change* 5 (Fall 1978): 63-69; and "The FBI and Harry Elmer Barnes: 1936-1944," *Historian* 42 (May 1980): 385-98. Justus D. Doenecke addresses issues of Barnes's World War II revisionism and historical "presentism" in "Harry Elmer Barnes," *Wisconsin Magazine of History* 56 (Summer 1973): 311-23, and "Harry Elmer Barnes:

Prophet of a 'Usable' Past," *History Teacher* 8 (Fall 1975): 265-76. As if to prove that some aspects of Barnes's revisionism are not dead, the Cato Institute published selected essays under the title *Revisionism: A Key to Peace* (San Francisco, 1980).

Pearl Harbor

It is hardly surprising that the Pearl Harbor attack still generates much controversy. John Toland, *Infamy: Pearl Harbor and Its Aftermath* (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday, 1982), presents the view held by many old isolationists, namely that Roosevelt had foreknowledge of the attack. On the other hand, Gordon W. Prange, *At Dawn We Slept: The Untold Story of Pearl Harbor* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1981), sees no such conspiracy. Prange places the bulk of the blame—though not all—on the American commanders in Hawaii. Hans L. Trefousse, *Pearl Harbor: The Continuing Controversy* (Malibar, Fla.: Robert E. Krieger, 1982), systematically challenges one revisionist claim after another. *On the Treadmill to Pearl Harbor: The Memoirs of Admiral James O. Richardson* (Washington, D. C.: Naval History Division of the Department of the Navy, 1973), is uneven but illuminating. For a scholarly discussion of an issue once emphasized by isolationists and one that Toland tried to link to the Pearl Harbor attack, see Warren F. Kimball and Bruce Bartlett, "Roosevelt and Prewar Commitments to Churchill: The Tyler Kent Affair," *Diplomatic History* 5 (Fall 1981): 291-311. They find little to the "exposés" claimed by Kent, a decoding clerk in the American embassy in London in 1940.

After years of neglect, we have several works on the various investigations into the disaster. The theme of Bruce R. Bartlett's *Cover-Up: The Politics of Pearl Harbor, 1941-1946* (Westport, Conn.: Arlington House, 1979), is aptly conveyed in the book's title. For two studies on the investigations that had their roots in doctoral research, see Martin V. Melosi, *The Shadow of Pearl Harbor: Political Controversy over the Surprise Attack* (College Station: Texas A & M University Press, 1977), and William Paul Iles, "In Quest of Blame: Inquiries Conducted 1941-1946 into American Involvement in the Pacific War" (Ph. D. diss., University of Iowa, 1978). Melosi also offers some findings in "Political Tremors from a Military Disaster: 'Pearl Harbor' and the Election of 1944," *Diplomatic History* 1 (Winter 1977): 79-95, and "National Security Misused: The Aftermath of Pearl Harbor," *Prologue* 9 (Summer 1977): 75-89.

Conservative and Rightist Spokesmen

No student of American conservatism can afford to neglect George H. Nash's balanced and thorough book *The Conservative Intellectual Movement in America since 1945* (New York: Basic Books, 1976). Nash notes, even if in passing, the opposition many of his subjects had to American entry into World War II. Furthermore, he traces the long-standing differences between the more isolationist libertarians of the early Cold War and the more interventionist conservatives and militant anti-Communists. The transformation is shown on the political level in David W. Reinhard, *The Republican Right since 1945* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1983). For another treatment of this transformation, see Michael M.

Miles, *The Odyssey of the American Right* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980). Hawkish sentiments among elements of the population that were once strongly isolationist are found in Jonathan Martin Kolkey, "The Radical Right, 1960-1968" (Ph. D. diss., University of California at Los Angeles, 1979), and William F. Crandell, "A Party Divided Against Itself: Anticommunism and the Transformation of the Republican Right, 1945-1956" (Ph.D. diss., Ohio State University, 1983).

Certain individuals in particular have been the subject of fresh research. Michele Flynn Stenehjem, *An American First: John T. Flynn and the America First Committee* (New Rochelle, N. Y.: Arlington House, 1976), ably captures the passion surrounding the interventionist controversy of 1940-41 while empathizing with Flynn himself. Students should not neglect the superb doctoral dissertation by Richard C. Frey, Jr., "John T. Flynn and the United States in Crisis, 1928-1950" (University of Oregon, 1969), a more analytical work than Stenehjem's and one that places Flynn's career in a much wider context.

For a provocative treatment of five prominent isolationists, see Ronald Radosh's *Prophets on the Right: Profiles of Conservative Critics of American Globalism* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1975). In his discussion of Flynn, Beard, Senator Robert A. Taft, journalist Oswald Garrison Villard, and elitist commentator Lawrence Dennis, Radosh stresses their anti-interventionism. He writes, "We will learn much from their journeys and courage." Radosh has also written an appreciative preface to Flynn's *As We Go Marching* (1944; New York: Free Life, 1973), a book that claimed that Roosevelt was leading the United States towards fascism.

Justus D. Doenecke offers two detailed studies of the foreign policy views of Lawrence Dennis, who is often represented in the popular press as a "fascist" intellectual. See Doenecke's "The Isolationist as Collectivist: Lawrence Dennis and the Coming of World War II," *Journal of Libertarian Studies* 3 (Summer 1979): 191-208, and "Lawrence Dennis: Revisionist of the Cold War," *Wisconsin Magazine of History* 55 (Summer 1972): 275-86. Doenecke will discuss Dennis's newsletters *The Weekly Foreign Letter* and *The Appeal to Reason* in the forthcoming anthology *The American Conservative Press*, edited by Ronald Lora and William H. Longton.

Other dissenters are being examined. In John Muresianu's unpublished dissertation, "War of Ideas: American Intellectuals and the World Crisis, 1938-1945" (Harvard University, 1982), the author discusses such isolationists as Dwight Macdonald, William Henry Chamberlin, and Charles Clayton Morrison. Denials that H. L. Mencken ever sympathized with National Socialism are offered in Frank Turaj, "Mencken and the Nazis: A Note," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 67 (Summer 1972): 176-78, and Dean Banks, "H. L. Mencken and 'Hitlerism,' 1933-1941: A Patrician Libertarian Besieged," *ibid.*, 71 (Winter 1976): 498-515. Michael Wreszin, *Superfluous Anarchist: Albert Jay Nock* (Providence, R. I.: Brown University Press, 1972), gives a critical view of a rightist libertarian. For the story of an exciting intellectual relationship, see Charles G. Nitsche, "Albert Jay Nock and Frank Chodorov: Case Studies in Recent American Individualist and Anti-Statist Thought" (Ph. D. diss., University of Maryland, 1981). Some of Chodorov's

isolationist essays are included in Charles H. Hamilton, ed., *Fugitive Essays: Selected Writings of Frank Chodorov* (Indianapolis: Liberty Press, 1980). Hamilton's essay on Chodorov's journal *analysis*, a weekly that even betrayed its individualism by putting the first letter in lower case, will appear in the Lora-Longton anthology, *The American Conservative Press* (previously cited). In his *Ezra Pound: The Last Rower* (New York: Viking, 1976), C. David Heymann draws upon recently released files of the Federal Bureau of Investigation to offer a political profile of the famed poet, a man who broadcast pro-fascist messages from Italy during World War II. See also "Ezra Pound's Anti-Semitism" by Ben D. Kimpel and T. C. Duncan Eaves in the *South Atlantic Quarterly* 81 (Winter 1982): 56-69. Fresh material on a German-American propagandist is found in Elmer Gertz, *Odyssey of a Barbarian: The Biography of George Sylvester Viereck* (Buffalo, N. Y.: Prometheus Books, 1979).

Isolationist radio commentators Boake Carter and Fulton Lewis, Jr. are covered with the more powerful interventionist counterparts in David H. Culbert, *News for Everyone: Radio and Foreign Affairs in Thirties America* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood, 1976). To follow the conversion of a prominent broadcaster who once had isolationist leanings, see Alfred Haworth Jones, "The Making of an Interventionist on the Air: Elmer Davis and CBS News, 1939-1941," *Pacific Historical Review* 42 (February 1973): 74-93.

With the passage of time, more anti-interventionists have contributed their memoirs. Felix Morley's *For the Record* (South Bend, Ind.: Regnery/Gateway, 1979) shows the former editor of the *Washington Post* a strong opponent of both World War II and Cold War involvements. For more on Morley's relation to the *Post*, see Chalmers M. Roberts, *The Washington Post: The First Hundred Years* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1977). John Chamberlain's *A Life with the Printed Word* (Chicago: Regnery, Gateway, 1982) indicates how an anti-interventionist could still stay close to journals published by Henry Luce. One should not neglect Frank Annunziata's fine interpretive essay, "The Political Thought of John Chamberlain: Continuity and Conversion," *South Atlantic Quarterly* 74 (Winter 1975): 53-73. Henry Regnery's *Memoirs of a Dissident Publisher* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1979) reveals that one can be revisionist on the Second World War while hawkish concerning the Cold War. In George T. Eggleston's *Roosevelt, Churchill, and the World War II Opposition: A Revisionist Autobiography* (Old Greenwich, Conn.: Devin-Adair, 1979), the former editor-in-chief of *Scribner's Commentator* gives his view of the controversial isolationist digest and his prosecution by the Roosevelt administration.

Nazi and Fascist Activities

In the past decade, much work has been done on domestic fascism. Leland V. Bell's *In Hitler's Shadow: The Anatomy of American Nazism* (Port Washington, N. Y.: Kennikat, 1973) and Sander A. Diamond's *The Nazi Movement in the United States, 1924-1941* (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press, 1974) find little strength within any American brand of National Socialism. Students should also note: Ronald W. Johnson, "The German-American Bund and Nazi Germany: 1936-1941,"

Studies in History and Society 6 (Spring 1975): 31-45; Arthur L. Smith, Jr., "The Foreign Organization of the Nazi Party and the United States, 1931-39"; and Sander A. Diamond, "The Bund Movement in the United States: An Overview," the latter two in Trefousse, *Germany and America* (previously cited), pages 173-82 and 183-98 respectively. Finally published is Gaetano Salvemini's report of 1943, *Italian Fascist Activities in the United States*, ed. Philip V. Cannistraro (New York: Center for Migration Studies, 1977), in which a distinguished Italian medievalist and politician combines a thorough account with impassioned rhetoric. For the story of an American who was in the pay of the Japanese puppet government of "Manchukuo," see Frederick B. Hoyt, "George Bronson Rea: From Old China Hand to Apologist for Japan," *Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 69 (April 1978): 61-70.

Father Coughlin

Father Charles E. Coughlin has been the subject of several new studies. In his *Father Coughlin: The Tumultuous Life of the Priest of the Little Flower* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1973), Sheldon Marcus updates the traditional picture of the radio priest. For a balanced treatment of Coughlin's early career, see Alan Brinkley, *Voices of Protest: Huey Long, Father Coughlin, and the Great Depression* (New York: Knopf, 1982). Richard A. Davis's doctoral thesis, "Radio Priest: The Public Career of Father Charles Edward Coughlin" (University of North Carolina, 1974), delves into his relationship with the Roman Catholic Church. Philip V. Cannistraro and Theodore P. Kovaleff, "Father Coughlin and Mussolini: Impossible Allies," *Journal of Church and State* 13 (Autumn 1971): 445-64, describes Coughlin's abortive overtures to the Italian dictator. Coughlin looks back on his own career in a special interview in Robert S. Gallagher, "The Radio Priest," *American Heritage* 23 (October 1972): 39-41, 100-109. Fresh scholarship is found in Mary Christine Athons, "The Fahey-Coughlin Connection: Father Denis Fahey, C.S.S.P., Charles E. Coughlin, and Religious Anti-Semitism in the United States, 1938-1954" (Ph. D. diss., Graduate Theological Union, 1982).

Domestic Demagogues

Coughlin, of course, was not the only populist demagogue. Geoffrey S. Smith's *To Save a Nation: American Countersubversives, the New Deal, and the Coming of World War II* (New York: Basic Books, 1973) covers Coughlin, Bundist leader Fritz Kuhn, and Silver Shirt leader William Dudley Pelley. In the process, Smith notes the success of the Roosevelt administration in linking mainline anti-interventionists to the lunatic fringe. See also Smith's "Isolationism, the Devil, and the Advent of World War II: Variations on a Theme," *International History Review* 4 (February 1982): 55-89.

In his book *The Old Christian Right: The Protestant Right from the Great Depression to the Cold War* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1983), Leo P. Ribuffo examines the careers of Pelley, Gerald L. K. Smith, and Gerald Winrod. He attempts to understand such extremism in light of certain fundamentalist and cultic strains in their thinking, and in the process he describes what he calls the "brown scare" of the 1940's. Ribuffo also offers some preliminary findings in his "Fascists, Nazis

and the American Mind: Perceptions and Preconceptions," *American Quarterly* 26 (October 1974): 417-32.

For a journalistic account of the latter career of Gerald L. K. Smith, see John Fergus Ryan, "Twilight Years of a Kindly Old Hatemonger," *Esquire* 70 (August 1968): 88-91. One should also note two dissertations: John McIntire Werly, "The Millenarian Right: William Dudley Pelley and the Silver Legion of America" (Syracuse University, 1972); and Gail Ann Sindell, "Gerald B. Winrod and the *Defender*: A Case Study of the Radical Right" (Case Western Reserve University, 1973).

The Congress—The Thirties and World War II

Superior work continues to be done on isolationism and the Congress. For a specialized study on the interwar period, see Thomas N. Guinsburg, *The Pursuit of Isolationism in the United States Senate from Versailles to Pearl Harbor* (New York: Garland, 1982). Here Guinsburg covers such topics as the League of Nations, the Four Power Pact (1921), the World Court, the Kellogg Pact, the neutrality acts, and lend-lease. Guinsburg has drawn upon interviews with various isolationist leaders in the "Ebb Tide of American Isolationism: The Senate Debate on the Arms Embargo, 1937-1939," *Canadian Historical Association—Historical Papers*, 1972, pp. 313-34. David L. Porter has contributed two fine books: *Congress and the Waning of the New Deal* (Port Washington, N. Y.: Kennikat, 1980); and *The Seventy-sixth Congress and World War II, 1939-1940* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1979). The latter is particularly important for students of isolationism, for it examines neutrality revision, aid to Finland, and selective service. One dissertation, John A. Dreier's "The Politics of Isolationism: A Quantitative Study of Congressional Foreign Policy Voting, 1937-1941" (University of Kentucky Press, 1977), finds political partisanship the single most important determinant in foreign policy voting; division over intervention followed logically from division over the New Deal. We now have a collective biography, one that includes a host of isolationists: William E. Borah, Charles McNary, Peter Norbeck, Lynn Frazier, Henrik Shipstead, Gerald P. Nye, and Robert M. La Follette, Jr. This is Ronald L. Feinman, *Twilight of Progressivism: The Western Republican Senators and the New Deal* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1981).

The Congress—The Cold War Era

Serious work is now being done on Cold War Congresses. Congressional isolationists are skillfully covered in several dissertations: Joan Lee Bryniarski, "Against the Tide: Senate Opposition to the Internationalist Foreign Policy of Presidents Franklin D. Roosevelt and Harry S. Truman, 1943-1949" (University of Maryland, 1972); Thomas Philipose, "The 'Loyal Opposition': Republican Leaders and Foreign Policy, 1943-1946" (University of Denver, 1972); and David R. Kepley, "Challenge to Bipartisanship: Senate Republicans and American Foreign Policy, 1948-1952" (University of Maryland, 1979). Mary K. Atwell's dissertation, "Congressional Opponents of Early Cold War Legislation" (St. Louis University, 1974), focuses on the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan. For treatment of such Great

Plains isolationists as William Langer, William F. Lemke, and Usher L. Burdick, see Robert Griffith, "Old Progressives and the Cold War," *Journal of American History* 66 (September 1979): 334-47. John T. Rourke indicts what he calls congressional parochialism in his "Congress and the Cold War," *World Affairs* 139 (Spring 1977): 259-77, an essay dealing with the years 1945-1947. Richard S. Grimmett asks for more accurate labeling of a number of senators mistakenly called isolationists, among them Joseph R. McCarthy, Styles Bridges, Bourke H. B. Hickenlooper, and William F. Knowland. See his "Who Were the Senate Isolationists?" *Pacific Historical Review* 49 (November 1973): 479-98.

Robert A. Taft

At long last, after two decades of polemical literature, we have a thorough and balanced account of Robert Taft in James T. Patterson's *Mr. Republican: A Biography* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1972). Patterson notes the haunting questions Taft raised concerning such issues as presidential power and military alliances, but finds him expediential—particularly during the Cold War—on Asian policy and loyalty issues. In addition, Patterson has written two articles on the Ohio senator: "Robert A. Taft and American Foreign Policy, 1939-1945," in Leonard P. Liggio and James J. Martin, eds., *Watershed of Empire: Essays on New Deal Foreign Policy* (Colorado Springs, Colo.: Ralph Myles, 1976), pp. 183-207; and "Alternatives to Globalism: Robert A. Taft and American Foreign Policy, 1939-1945," *Historian* 36 (August 1974): 670-88. Here Patterson sees Taft guilty of the same excessive moralism he was quick to perceive in others.

Others too have written on Taft. Samuel De John, in his doctoral dissertation "Robert A. Taft, Economic Conservatism, and Opposition to United States Foreign Policy, 1944-1951" (University of Southern California, 1976), argues that anxieties over the fate of local government and free enterprise caused Taft to oppose Truman's collective security policies, policies that the Ohio senator sought to replace by air power and control of sea lanes. To Geoffrey Matthews, a Taft presidency in the 1940's and 1950's would have provided insufficient world leadership. However, he finds that much of Taft's constitutional position was justified. See Matthews, "Robert A. Taft, the Constitution, and American Foreign Policy, 1939-53," *Journal of Contemporary History* 17 (July 1982): 507-22. Leonard P. Liggio presents the argument that Taft's view of the international system was gained from his close friend Herbert Hoover. Note Liggio, "A New Look at Robert A. Taft" (Paper delivered at a joint session of the American Historical Association and the Conference on Peace Research in History, San Francisco, December 28, 1973).

Arthur H. Vandenberg

Arthur H. Vandenberg remains the subject of much research. C. David Tompkins, *Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg: The Evolution of a Modern Republican, 1884-1945* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1970), remains standard on the period it covers. Thomas Michael Hill finds Vandenberg's transformation from isolationist to internationalist less complete than it appeared, for the

Michigan senator still opposed the expansionist objectives of liberal internationalism and rejected power politics as the basis of international relations. See Hill, "Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg, the Politics of Bipartisanship, and the Origins of Anti-Soviet Consensus, 1941-1946," *World Affairs* 138 (Winter 1975-1976): 219-41. For limits upon his bipartisanship, note James A. Fetzer, "Senator Vandenberg and the American Commitment to China, 1945-1950," *Historian* 36 (February 1974): 283-303. In his article "Senator Vandenberg, Bipartisanship and the Origins of United Nations' Article 51," *Mid-America* 60 (April 1978): 163-69, Philip J. Briggs shows Vandenberg retaining his strong nationalism. For a more traditional picture, one stressing Vandenberg's "conversion" to internationalism, see James A. Gazell, "Arthur H. Vandenberg, Internationalism, and the United Nations," *Political Science Quarterly* 88 (September 1973): 375-94.

Hiram Johnson

More is now being published on the volatile California senator, Hiram Johnson, though a full-scale biography is still needed. Here one should begin with Howard A. De Witt, "Hiram Johnson and American Foreign Policy" (Ph. D. diss., University of Arizona, 1972). De Witt indicates wide divergencies between Johnson and William E. Borah in his "Hiram Johnson and Early New Deal Diplomacy, 1933-1934," *California Historical Society Quarterly* 53 (Winter 1974): 377-86. In an article "The 'New' Harding and American Foreign Policy: Warren G. Harding, Hiram W. Johnson, and Pragmatic Diplomacy," *Ohio History* 86 (Spring 1977): 96-114, De Witt notes that Johnson was unable to criticize Harding's more internationalist foreign policy effectively, as the president skillfully manipulated public opinion and politics alike.

De Witt is not the only Johnson scholar. Richard Coke Lower finds that Johnson opposed U. S. entry in the League not so much because of anxieties concerning sovereignty as out of fear of continual participation in international strife. See Lower's "Hiram Johnson: The Making of an Irreconcilable," *Pacific Historical Review* 48 (November 1972): 505-26. For efforts to tie Johnson's isolationism to his progressivism, see Peter G. Boyle, "The Roots of Isolationism: A Case Study," *Journal of American Studies* 6 (April 1972): 41-50.

The La Follettes

David P. Thelen summarized the career of the most famous member of the La Follette family in his *Robert M. La Follette and the Insurgent Spirit* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1976). Patrick J. Maney's "Young Bob" *La Follette: A Biography of Robert M. La Follette, Jr., 1895-1953* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1978) discusses his isolationism, which the author finds rooted in hostility to both Europe and presidential power. For new background on La Follette's brother, see John Edward Miller, *Governor Philip La Follette, the Wisconsin Progressives, and the New Deal* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1982). Miller notes how World War II split the La Follettes' Progressive Party, thereby weakening any efforts to secure a national political realignment.

Jeanette Rankin

Much work has been done on Congresswoman Jeanette Rankin: Hannah Josephson, *First Lady in Congress: Jeanette Rankin* (Indianapolis: Bobbs Merrill, 1974); Ted Carlton Harris, "Jeanette Rankin: Suffragist, First Woman Elected to Congress, and Pacifist" (Ph. D. diss., University of Georgia, 1972); Joan Hoff Wilson, "'Peace is a Woman's Job . . .': Jeanette Rankin and American Foreign Policy," *Montana: The Magazine of Western History* 30 (Winter 1980): 39-53; and Helen L. W. Bonner, "The Jeanette Rankin Story" (Ph. D. diss., Ohio University, 1982). Rankin was prominent not just for her general peace and suffrage work, but for having cast the sole Congressional vote against American entry into the Second World War.

Political Figures

Though space does not permit extensive coverage of the World War I era, one should note the several new studies of Henry Cabot Lodge. William C. Widenor, *Henry Cabot Lodge and the Search for an American Foreign Policy* (Berkeley: University of California, 1980), finds Lodge governed by far more than political expediency. See also David Mervin, "Henry Cabot Lodge and the League of Nations," *Journal of American Studies* 4 (August 1972): 201-14. Kendrick A. Clements offers a fresh interpretation of the Great Commoner in his *William Jennings Bryan, Missionary Isolationist* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1983). John Milton Cooper, Jr., *The Vanity of Power: American Isolationism and World War I, 1914-1917* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1969), and Ralph Stone, *The Irreconcilables: The Fight Against the League of Nations* (Louisville: University Press of Kentucky, 1970), remain definitive on their subjects.

Certain individual members of Congress have been studied. Senator William Langer, probably the most consistent isolationist of the early Cold War Congresses, is the subject of Glenn H. Smith's *Langer of North Dakota: A Study in Isolationism, 1940-1959* (New York: Garland, 1979). Donald E. Spritzer, "Senators in Conflict," *Montana: The Magazine of Western History* 23 (April 1973): 16-33, discusses the fight between isolationist Burton K. Wheeler and interventionist James Murray. Far more detail on Wheeler is offered in John T. Anderson, "Senator Burton K. Wheeler and United States Foreign Relations" (Ph. D. diss., University of Virginia, 1982). Here Anderson argues that Wheeler's lifelong anti-interventionism proceeded logically from his progressive political convictions. David L. Porter, "Ohio Representative John M. Vorys and the Arms Embargo in 1939," *Ohio History* 84 (Spring 1974): 110-13, shows Vorys far more hawkish towards Japan than towards Germany. Studies of various other legislators include: John W. Partin, "The Dilemma of a 'A Good, Very Good Man': Capper and Noninterventionism, 1936-1941," *Kansas History* 2 (Summer 1979): 86-95; and Mary W. Atwell, "A Conservative Response to the Cold War: Senator James P. Kem and Foreign Aid," *Capital Studies* 4 (Fall 1976): 53-65. Justus F. Paul's *Senator Hugh Butler and Nebraska Republicanism* (Lincoln: Nebraska State Historical Society,

1976), stresses Butler as politico. Jerome E. Edwards discusses a powerful senator who combined his isolationism with red-baiting in his *Pat McCarran: Political Boss of Nevada* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1982). However, one should not neglect Von Veron Pittman's "Senator Patrick A. McCarran and the Politics of Containment" (Ph. D. diss., University of Georgia, 1979). One of the more staunch Congressional isolationists is discussed in John A. Samosky, "Congressman Noah Morgan Mason: Illinois Conservative Spokesman," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 76 (Spring 1983): 35-48. The early and spotty views of a man once junior senator from Missouri are covered in Wilson S. Miscamble, "The Evolution of an Internationalist: Harry S. Truman and American Foreign Policy," *Australian Journal of Politics and History* 23 (August 1977): 268-83.

Doctoral dissertations continue to be extremely valuable. Peter Baldwin Buckley's "Daniel A. Reed: A Study in Conservatism" (Clark University, 1972) looks at the influential and feisty congressman from upstate New York in terms of a declining rural environment. In Richard Rollin Chenoweth's "Francis Case: A Political Biography" (University of Nebraska, 1977), the author notes that, even during the Cold War, the Dakota congressman continued to oppose long-term international commitments. Coverage of a far more extreme isolationist is found in Paul Poder, "The Senatorial Career of William E. Jenner" (University of Notre Dame, 1976), and Rodney Joel Ross, "Senator William E. Jenner: A Study in Cold War Isolationism" (Pennsylvania State University, 1974). John Raymond Taylor's "Homer E. Capehart: United States Senator, 1944-1962" (Ball State University, 1977) and William B. Pickett's "Homer E. Capehart: The Making of a Hoosier Senator" (Indiana University, 1974) tell of a manufacturer-politician who never ventured from Taft Republicanism. Donald Edwin Walker's "The Congressional Career of Clare E. Hoffman, 1935-1963" (Michigan State University, 1982) traces the career of a strong isolationist and foe of organized labor thought to be more conservative than his constituents.

Not all isolationists were in Congress. For the life of a Utah politician who received national attention for his attacks on the United Nations, see Devins L. Lythgee, *Let 'Em Holler: A Political Biography of J. Bracken Lee* (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society, 1982). And for the early isolationism of a man who later became an impassioned internationalist, see J. Samuel Walker, "Henry A. Wallace as Agrarian Isolationist, 1921-1930," *Agricultural History* 49 (July 1975): 532-48. A leading State Department figure is discussed, if far too briefly and simplistically, in Martin B. Hickman and Ray C. Hillam, "J. Reuben Clark, Jr.: Political Isolationism Revisited," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 7 (Spring 1972): 37-46.

Converts to Intervention

Arthur Vandenberg was not the only political figure to convert to a more interventionist position. For two works on a famous politician who, before Pearl Harbor, could sound quite isolationist, see Barry K. Beyer, *Thomas E. Dewey, 1937-1947: A Study in Political Leadership* (New York: Garland, 1979), and Richard Norton Smith, *Thomas E. Dewey and His Times* (New York: Simon and

Schuster, 1982). For another transition, see Edward L. and Frederick H. Schapsmeier, "Senator Everett M. Dirksen and American Foreign Policy: From Isolationism to Cold War Internationalism," *The Old Northwest* 7 (Winter 1981-1982): 359-72. Other material on Dirksen includes "Everett M. Dirksen of Pekin: Politician Par Excellence," by the Schapsmeiers, and "Everett McKinley Dirksen: The Roots of an American Statesman," both in *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 76 (Spring 1983), pp. 3-16, 17-34 respectively.

An earlier about-face is traced in Thomas N. Guinsburg's "The George W. Norris 'Conversion' to Internationalism, 1939-1941," *Nebraska History* 53 (Winter 1972): 477-90. The definitive work on Norris is Richard Lowett's *George W. Norris*, 3 vols. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1963-1978). Harl A. Dalstrom's "The Defeat of George W. Norris in 1942," *Nebraska History* 59 (Spring 1978): 231-58, shows how the Nebraska senator lost to the more isolationist Kenneth S. Wherry.

Business

We have additional material on business aspects of isolationism, though far more needs to be done. Justus D. Doenecke notes how isolationists stressed national self-sufficiency at the expense of Asian, European, and Latin American markets. See his "Power, Markets, and Ideology: The Isolationist Response to Roosevelt Policy, 1940-1941," in Liggio and Martin, *Watershed of Empire* (previously cited), pp. 132-61. Doenecke also describes the career of the prominent Chicago merchant who headed the America First Committee in "General Robert E. Wood: The Evolution of a Conservative," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 71 (August 1978): 162-75, and in an essay on Wood in Schacht, *Three Faces of Midwestern Isolationism* (previously cited), pp. 11-22. For a first-class dissertation on its topic, see Jonathan Evers Boe, "American Business: The Response to the Soviet Threat, 1933-1947" (Stanford University, 1979). William Arthur Weinrich, "Business and Foreign Affairs: The Roosevelt Defense Program, 1937-1941" (Ph. D. diss., University of Oklahoma, 1971), offers many citations from the business press.

Labor

If business still needs extensive study, labor requires even more. Le Roy J. Lenburg's "The CIO and American Foreign Policy, 1935-1955" (Ph. D. diss., Pennsylvania State University, 1973) finds that the often divided Congress of Industrial Organizations had little effect on American foreign relations. In their book *John L. Lewis: A Biography* (New York: Quadrangle, 1977), Melvin Dubovsky and Warren Van Tine question any stress laid on the CIO founder's supposed ties to Germany. For additional analysis, see Dubovsky's essay on Lewis in Schacht, *Three Faces of Midwestern Isolationism* (previously cited), pp. 23-33. Hugh Ross discusses Lewis's isolationism in his "John L. Lewis and the Election of 1940," *Labor History* 17 (Spring 1976): 160-89. A wider focus is found in Timothy Roger Dzierba, "Organized Labor and the Coming of World War II, 1937-1947" (Ph. D. diss., State University of New York at Buffalo, 1983).

The Democratic Left

Donald L. Miller's *The New American Radicalism: Alfred M. Bingham and*

Non-Marxian Insurgency in the New Deal Era (Port Washington, N. Y.: Kennikat, 1979) gives us the first major study of the founder of the radical monthly *Common Sense*. In a particularly trenchant chapter, Miller shows how the interventionists of World War II laid the ideological foundation for a tough-minded Cold War stance based upon a "gloomy neo-realism." S. A. Longstaff, "Partisan Review and the Second World War," *Salmagundi*, no. 43 (Winter 1979), pp. 108-29, discusses such left isolationists as Dwight Macdonald. Alexander M. Bloom's doctoral thesis, "The New York Intellectuals: The Formation of a Community," (Boston College, 1979), also focuses on the *Partisan Review*. For the story of V. F. Calverton's journal, see Haim Genizi, "The *Modern Quarterly*, 1923-1940: An Independent Radical Magazine," *Labor History* 15 (Spring 1974): 199-215.

Some individuals have been the subject of special attention. In his autobiography *A Child of Two Centuries* (New York: Stein and Day, 1981), Bertram D. Wolfe concludes by noting his opposition to American entry into World War II. Stephen J. Whitefield's *Scott Nearing: Apostle of American Radicalism* (New York: Catholic University Press, 1974) tells of the odyssey of a utopian thinker whose activities involved communism, socialism, and pacifism. For able treatment of the nation's leading philosopher, see Charles F. Howlett, *Troubled Philosopher: John Dewey and the Struggle for World Peace* (Port Washington, N. Y.: Kennikat, 1977), and John P. Diggins, "John Dewey in Peace and War," *American Scholar* 50 (Spring 1981): 213-30. Will and Ariel Durant, *A Dual Autobiography* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1977), touches upon their opposition to war. In David E. Shi's *Matthew Josephson, Bourgeois Bohemian* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1981), the isolationism of a prominent muckraker is fully explored.

Norman Thomas

James Duram offers a brief sketch of a man who was once the nation's leading Socialist in his *Norman Thomas* (New York: Twayne, 1974). For a more thorough if meandering biography, see W. A. Swanberg, *Norman Thomas: The Last Idealist* (New York: Scribners, 1976). A respectful critique of Thomas's anti-interventionism is found in Frank A. Warren, *An Alternative Vision: The Socialist Party in the 1930's* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1974). Thomas is also the subject of John Dennis McGreen, "Norman Thomas and the Search for the All-Inclusive Socialist Party" (Ph. D. diss., Rutgers University, 1976). Here the author claims that, had the Socialist Party been more realistic in responding to fascism, it would have avoided internal schism and survived as an independent force. Stephen Mark Gens, "Paranoia Bordering on Resignation: Norman Thomas and the American Socialist Party, 1939-1948" (Ph. D. diss., University of Oklahoma, 1982), argues that the Soviet Union, the Communist Party, U.S.A., and the two-party system doomed the American Socialist Party.

Stalinists and Trotskyists

Several recent studies have been made of Trotskyists and Stalinists. Constance Ashton Myers, *The Prophet's Army: Trotskyists in America, 1928-1941* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1977), covers her topic well. Samuel Walker tells the

story of the leading isolationist front of the Communist Party, U. S. A. in his "Communists and Isolationism: The American Peace Mobilization, 1940-1941," *Maryland Historian* 4 (Spring 1973): 1-12. Maurice Isserman's *Which Side Were You On?: The American Communist Party during the Second World War* (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1982) discusses the party's opposition to "the second imperialist war."

Military Aspects of Isolationism

Historians should pay more attention to military aspects of isolationism, and much work in particular should be done on air power, for isolationists often centered their military strategy on the air arm. Charles Vaughn Reynolds, Jr., "America and a Two-Ocean Navy, 1933-1941" (Ph. D. diss., Boston University, 1978), covers Congressional opposition to naval expansion. In *Harry H. Woodring: A Political Biography of FDR's Controversial Secretary of War* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1975), Keith D. McFarland gives an account of one Roosevelt appointee who thought that FDR's defense policies endangered national security. For treatment of a leading isolationist in the military, see Mark A. Stoler, "From Continentalism to Globalism: General Stanley D. Embick, the Joint Strategic Survey Committee, and the Military View of American National Policy during the Second World War," *Diplomatic History* 6 (Summer 1982): 303-21. The works of military theorists J. F. C. Fuller, B. H. Liddell Hart, Hoffman Nickerson, Alfred Vagts, and Quincy Wright are covered in Bobby Leon Roberts, "The Relationship between War and Society as Reflected in the Writings of Five Military Historians, 1941-1945" (Ph. D. diss., University of Arkansas, 1978). Isolationists were particularly delighted with the suspicion of mass armies shown by Hart and Nickerson.

Public Opinion

As public opinion possesses a somewhat amorphous nature, it is one of the most difficult of topics of study. Yet there are historians who have assumed this task. In many ways, the best place to begin is Ralph B. Levering, *The Public and American Foreign Policy, 1918-1978* (New York: William Morrow, 1978). In his doctoral dissertation, "Opinion-Makers and Foreign Policy: The Concept of America's Role in World Affairs, the 1920's" (Michigan State University, 1977), Michael James Conwell focuses on the reaction of opinion elites to the League, the World Court, and the Kellogg Pact. For extensive treatment of the first major assault upon the world system established at the Versailles and Washington conferences, see Justus D. Doenecke, *When the Wicked Rise: American Opinion-Makers and the Manchurian Crisis, 1931-1933* (Lewisburg, Pa.: Bucknell University Press, 1983). In Michael Leigh's *Mobilizing Consent: Public Opinion and American Foreign Policy, 1937-1947* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood, 1976), the author notes that opinion polls of 1939-41 were ambivalent and therefore did not constrain Roosevelt's policies. Public opinion concerning Italy is contained in Wayne Clayton Jordan, "America's Mussolini: The United States and Italy, 1919-1936" (Ph. D. diss., University of Virginia, 1972), though John F. Diggins, *Mussolini and Fascism: The View from America* (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press,

1972) remains the classic account. Ralph B. Levering's *American Opinion and the Russian Alliance, 1939-1945* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1976) combines the tracing of public opinion with a critique of American leaders, who—according to Levering—did not sufficiently prepare the public for Soviet expansion.

Propaganda

Few government policies disturbed the isolationists as much as propaganda, and anti-interventionists were equally alarmed about private efforts to influence public opinion in a more interventionist direction. One can contrast government propaganda efforts in the two world wars by comparing findings revealed in two excellent works: Stephen L. Vaughn, *Holding Fast the Inner Lines: Democracy, Nationalism, and the Committee on Public Information* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980); and Allan M. Winkler, *The Politics of Propaganda: The Office of War Information* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1978). Other aspects of government-initiated propaganda are shown in Michael Eric Hanin, "War on Our Minds: The American Mass Media in World War II" (Ph. D. diss., University of Rochester, 1980). Political science models are used in Thomas Raymond Fedyszyn, "Liberal America and War Entry: A Study of the Propaganda Campaign Conducted Prior to the American Intervention in World War II" (Ph. D. diss., John Hopkins University, 1978). For good material on how motion pictures switched from isolationism to interventionism, see Peter Roffman and Jim Purdy, *The Hollywood Social Problems Film: Madness, Despair, and Politics from the Depression to the Fifties* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1981). Rodney Dale Smith, "A Study of the International Political Events and Commentary in Selected American Comic Strips from 1940-1970," covers the foreign policy of such figures as *Smilin' Jack* and *Terry and the Pirates* (Ed. D., Ball State University, 1979). See also Roger Miller, "Up Front with the Comics," *Southwest Review* 57 (Autumn 1972): 288-99. Thomas Stuart Jackson's massive doctoral thesis, "Historical and Ideological Aspects of the American World War II Novel" (University of California at Los Angeles, 1978), notes that much literature of the Second World War remained anti-militarist in the tradition of Hemingway and Dos Passos. For a fascinating study that focuses on the political and cultural context of novels ranging from Kathleen Winsor's *Forever Amber* to Ernest Hemingway's *The Old Man and the Sea*, see Theodore Yale Blumoff, "Popular Fiction and the Creation of a Cold War Consensus, 1943-1952" (Ph. D. diss., Saint Louis University, 1976).

Much research has been done on American attitudes towards the Soviets. Thomas R. Maddux, "Red Fascism, Brown Bolshevism: The American Image of Totalitarianism in the 1930s," *Historian* 40 (November 1977): 85-103, finds much of the American press perceptive in recognizing, even before the Hitler-Stalin Pact, the affinity between the Communist and National Socialist systems. The article challenges arguments made in Les K. Adler and Thomas G. Paterson, "Red Fascism: The Merger of Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia in the American Image of Totalitarianism, 1930s-1950s," *American Historical Review* 75 (April 1970): 1046-1064. One of the leading experts in the whole subject of public opinion and

foreign policy, Melvin Small, has contributed two articles on the World War II era: "How We Learned to Love the Russians: American Media and the Soviet Union during World War II," *Historian* 36 (May 1974): 455-78; and "Buffoons and Brave Hearts: Hollywood Portrays the Russians, 1939-1944," *California Historical Quarterly* 4 (Winter 1973): 326-37.

Religious and Ethnic Groups

Alfred O. Hero, Jr. has made a massive study of the laity in his *American Religious Groups View Foreign Policy: Trends in Rank-and-File Opinion, 1937-1969* (Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press, 1973). Hero notes that the American Jewish population has been more internationalist than other groups; that Roman Catholics of Irish, German, and particularly Italian descent were hostile to Roosevelt's foreign policy; and that black Christians were less enthusiastic about World War II and Cold War involvements than their white counterparts. Additional information can be found in Leo Vincent Kanawada, Jr., *Franklin D. Roosevelt's Diplomacy and American Catholics, Italians, and Jews* (Ann Arbor, Mich.: UMI Research Press, 1982).

The McCormick and Patterson Press

While we still lack a serious and comprehensive study of Captain Joseph Medill Patterson, founder of the *New York Daily News*, two other members of the famous publishing dynasty still hold fascination for writers: Colonel Robert R. McCormick, publisher of the *Chicago Tribune*, and Eleanor Medill ("Cissy") Patterson, publisher of the *Washington Times-Herald*.

In his book on Colonel McCormick, Joseph Gies argues that "looking back today it is difficult to argue the superior common sense of the [Theodore] Roosevelt-[Franklin] Roosevelt position over the McCormick-Patterson." See Gies's *The Colonel of Chicago* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1979). Jerome Edwards's *The Foreign Policy of Col. McCormick's Tribune, 1929-1941* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1971) is more detached, though the author cannot help but note that those who later were most critical of McCarthyism "were among the most active in affixing the charge of 'pro-Hitler' and 'Nazi' upon McCormick." In a large and thorough volume entitled *Chicago Tribune: The Rise of a Great American Newspaper* (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1979), Lloyd Wendt looks at McCormick's career in terms of Chicago press rivalries. The *Tribune's* Washington correspondent Walter Trohan combines his recollections with more than a touch of gossip in his *Political Animals: Memoirs of a Sentimental Cynic* (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday, 1975).

Ralph G. Martin's *Cissy* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1979) is strong on Cissy Patterson's personality, weak on her politics.

William Randolph Hearst

Although we still need much more work on Hearst, Rodney P. Carlisle, *Hearst and the New Deal: The Progressive as Reactionary* (New York: Garland, 1981), gives some background on international events. See also Carlisle, "The Foreign

Policy Views of an Isolationist Press Lord: W. R. Hearst and the International Crisis, 1936-41," *Journal of Contemporary History* 9 (July 1974): 217-27, and "William Randolph Hearst: A Fascist Reputation Reconsidered," *Journalism Quarterly* 50 (Spring 1973): 125-33. Carlisle shows Hearst as long suspicious of Britain, France, Japan, and Soviet Russia. In 1939, the San Simeon press lord organized his own pressure group, the Mothers of America. Yet he supported defense spending, calling in particular for aircraft development. For a discussion of how Hearst ran his papers, see William Quayle Parmenter, "The News Control Explanation of News Making: The Case of William Randolph Hearst, 1920-1940" (Ph. D. diss., University of Washington, 1979).

Civil Liberties and Isolationism

The issue of harassment of isolationists has only recently come to the fore. In his book *War and Society: The United States, 1941-1945* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1972), Richard Polenberg writes, "From the start, the administration was prepared to curb the freedom of speech of right-wingers." Efforts to intimidate opponents of entry into World War II are discussed in several of Wayne S. Cole's major works—the books on Lindbergh, the America First Committee, and the general study on Roosevelt and the isolationists.

In "Franklin D. Roosevelt and His Foreign Policy Critics," *Political Science Quarterly* 44 (Spring 1979): 15-32, Richard W. Steele finds continued attempts to silence or discredit the president's critics. Roosevelt used the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the Federal Communications Commission as political instruments. Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., in his commentary on Steele's article, claims that Steele has neglected the sense of emergency existing in the forties. According to Schlesinger, the president did not conduct "a systematic campaign to extirpate free speech and brand all Roosevelt critics as traitors." Schlesinger offers further comment in his article "Desperate Times," a review of Cole's *Roosevelt and the Isolationists* (previously cited) in the *New York Review of Books* (November 24, 1983), pp. 36-38. To see how both sides used the conspiracy motif, see Geoffrey S. Smith, "Isolationism, the Devil, and the Advent of the Second World War: Variations on a Theme," *International History Review* 4 (February 1982): 55-89.

For new material on FBI intimidation of dissenters, see Kenneth O'Reilly, "A New Deal for the FBI: The Roosevelt Administration, Crime Control, and National Security," *Journal of American History* 64 (December 1982): 638-58. More material on FBI conduct is found in David J. Williams, "'Without Understanding': The FBI and Political Surveillance, 1908-1941" (Ph. D. diss., University of New Hampshire, 1981).

Pacifism—General

Pacifist movements receive perceptive treatment in two essays: Charles Chatfield, "Pacifism," and Robert H. Ferrell, "Peace Movements," both in De Conde, *Encyclopedia of American Foreign Policy* (previously cited), 2: 722-29, and 3: 752-62, respectively. Harold Josephson is editing a *Biographical Dictionary of Modern Peace Leaders* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press) that will include

numerous portraits of American pacifist leaders. For a new history of the peace movement, see Charles De Benedetti, *The Peace Reform in American History* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1980).

Pacifism—The Twenties

In reference to the question of pacifism in the twenties, one must note various essays of De Benedetti: "Borah and the Kellogg Pact," *Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 63 (January 1972): 22-29; "The Origins of Neutrality Revision: The American Plan of 1924," *Historian* 35 (November 1972): 75-89; "Alternatives Strategies in the American Peace Movement in the 1920's," in Charles Chatfield, ed., *Peace Movements in America* (New York: Schocken, 1973), pp. 57-67; and "The American Peace Movement and the State Department in the Era of Locarno," in Solomon Wank, ed., *Doves and Diplomats: Foreign Offices and Peace Movements in the Twentieth Century* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood, 1978), pp. 202-16. For definitive work on slightly earlier periods, see C. Roland Marchand, *The American Peace Movement and Social Reform, 1898-1918* (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1972), and David S. Patterson, *Toward a Warless World: The Travail of the American Peace Movement, 1887-1914* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1976).

Pacifism—The Thirties and the Forties

Chatfield summarizes his findings in "Alternative Antiwar Strategies of the Thirties," in Chatfield, *Peace Movements in America* (previously cited), pp. 68-80. A serious student must not fail to consult Glen Zeitzer's "The American Peace Movement During the Second World War" (Ph. D. diss., Bryn Mawr, 1978). Zeitzer supplies detailed information on the leading pacifist group in "The Fellowship of Reconciliation on the Eve of the Second World War: A Peace Organization Prepares," *Peace and Change* 3 (Summer-Fall 1975): 46-51. Justus D. Doenecke traces an early division within pacifist ranks in "The Debate over Coercion: The Dilemma of America's Pacifists and the Manchurian Crisis," *ibid.*, 2 (Spring 1974): 265-76. Theodore Richard Wachs's dissertation, "Conscription, Conscientious Objection, and the Context of American Pacifism, 1940-1945" (University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1976), discusses the role of pacifist groups as well as problems dealing with alternative service. New light on a theme stressed by many pacifists is found in Judith Papachristos, "An Exercise in Anti-Imperialism: The Thirties," *American Studies* 15 (Spring 1974): 61-78. Michael Young offers significant treatment of Jews in "Facing a Test of Faith: Jewish Pacifists During the Second World War," *Peace and Change* 3 (Summer-Fall 1975): 34-40. Charles De Benedetti has contributed "The American Peace Movement and Asia, 1941-1961," *Pacific Historical Review* 50 (May 1981): 192-214. For a more comprehensive article by De Benedetti, see "The American Peace Movement and the National Security State, 1941-1971," *World Affairs* 142 (1978): 118-29. The standard work on pacifism during World War II and the Cold War remains Lawrence S. Wittner, *Rebels Against War: The American Peace Movement, 1941-1960* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1969).

More general histories of the peace groups are needed. Daniel William Barthell's "The Committee on Militarism in Education, 1925-1940" (Ph. D. diss., University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1972) covers a group that fought military training in the schools. The best history of the War Resisters League comes in the form of a senior thesis completed at Brown University in 1975. See Michael David Young, "'Wars Will Cease When Men Refuse to Fight': The War Resisters League, 1925-1950." For other material on the WRL, see Mary Jezer, *Fifty Years of Non-Violent Resistance* (New York: War Resisters League, 1973), and Susan Dion, "Pacifism Treated as Subversion: The FBI and the War Resisters League," *Peace and Change* 9 (Spring 1983): 43-54.

Although historians are writing biographies of prominent peace leaders, a good bit more is needed. For discussion of the founder of the National Council for the Prevention of War, see George Peter Marabell, "Frederick Libby and the American Peace Movement, 1921-1941" (Ph. D. diss., Michigan State University, 1975). And for Libby's role in the controversial Malmedy affair, a case involving alleged American torture of German prisoners of war, see Doenecke, "Protest Over Malmedy: A Question of Clemency," *Peace and Change* 5 (Spring 1977): 28-33. Jo Ann Ooiman Robinson, *Abraham Went Out: A Biography of A. J. Muste* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1982), is definitive on its subject. See also Robinson's "A. J. Muste and the Ways to Peace," in Chatfield, *Peace Movements in America* (previously cited), pp. 81-94. Brief memoirs of a host of peace leaders are found in *Against the Tide: Pacifist Resistance in the Second World War*, an oral history edited by Denna Hurwitz and Craig Simpson (New York: War Resisters League, 1983). Still more material is located in Robert Cooney and Helen Michalowski, *The Power of the People* (Culver City, Calif.: Peace Press, 1977).

Roman Catholic Pacifism

The leading Catholic pacifist group, the Catholic Worker Movement, is the subject of several studies: William D. Miller, *A Harsh and Dreadful Love: Dorothy Day and the Catholic Worker Movement* (New York: Liveright, 1973); Mel W. Piehl, "The Catholic Worker and the Origin of Catholic Radicalism in America" (Ph. D. diss., Stanford University, 1980); John L. Le Brun, "The Role of the Catholic Worker Movement in American Pacifism, 1933-1972" (Ph. D. diss., Case Western Reserve University, 1973); and Nancy Lee Roberts, "Dorothy Day and 'The Catholic Worker,' 1933-1982" (Ph. D. diss., University of Minnesota, 1982). Gordon C. Zahn's *Another Part of the War: The Camp Simon Story* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1979) offers a depressing first-hand account of a Catholic conscientious objector camp during World War II.

University Opinion

University opinion is still a topic far too neglected. Joseph Louis Jaffe's "Isolationism and Neutrality in Academe, 1938-1941" (Case Western Reserve University, 1979) concentrates upon three university presidents: Robert M. Hutchins of the University of Chicago, Alan Valentine of the University of Rochester, and Henry Noble MacCracken of Vassar College. He also discusses the American Youth Con-

gress and the American Student Union, as well as the small but effective isolationist student group at Yale, which played a significant role in the formation of the America First Committee. Pathbreaking essays include: Patti McGill Peterson, "Student Organizations and the Antiwar Movement in America, 1900-1960," in Chatfield, *Peace Movements in America* (previously cited), pp. 116-32; Dennis Mihelich, "Student Antiwar Activism During the Nineteen Thirties," *Peace and Change* 2 (Fall 1974): 29-40; and Eileen M. Eagan, "'War is Not Holy'—The American Student Peace Movement in the 1930s," *ibid.*, pp. 41-47. Eagan has also written *Class, Culture, and the Classroom: The Student Peace Movement of the 1930s* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1980).

Protestant Anti-Interventionism

There has been less research done on Protestant anti-interventionism during the past decade than there had been earlier. Still much needed is a scholarly treatment of the critics of Reinhold Niebuhr's "Christian realism" and the way in which they engaged the prominent neo-orthodox theologian. Similarly a full-scale study of such figures as Charles Clayton Morrison, Paul Hutchinson, Harold E. Fey, E. Stanley Jones, and Kirby Page would be in order. Alden B. Pearson has made a start on Morrison in his "A Christian Moralism Responds to War: Charles Clayton Morrison, *The Christian Century*, and the Manchurian Crisis, 1931-1933," *World Affairs* 139 (Spring 1977): 296-307. For the decline of pacifism by 1941, see Edward W. Orser, "World War II and the Pacifist Controversy in the Major Protestant Churches," *American Studies* 14 (Fall 1973): 5-24.

Some doctoral theses have proven interesting. Pedro Manuel Arrambide, "The Reaction of the Protestant and Catholic Churches of the U. S. A. to the Spanish Civil War" (Memphis State University, 1976), sees both groups under an illusion: Catholics ignored the brutal repression by the Nationalists; Protestants were incorrect in associating the Republic's cause with that of democracy. Elston J. Hill, "Buchman and Buchmanism" (University of North Carolina, 1972), describes a man and a group that briefly sought rapport with Hitler. In his dissertation, "The Attitudes of American Protestantism Toward War and Military-Related Affairs Involving the United States, 1945-1953" (Tulane University, 1977), Jerrold Lee Brooks finds the churches possessing little discernible influence. Though they would always stress peace, they could argue both sides of a controversy with equal vigor.

Roman Catholic Anti-Interventionism

Roman Catholicism has been the subject of several able studies. For a fine integrative essay, see Wilson D. Miscamble, "Catholics and American Foreign Policy from McKinley to McCarthy: A Historiographical Survey," *Diplomatic History* 4 (Summer 1980): 223-40. George Q. Flynn continues his studies with *Roosevelt and Romanism: Catholics and American Diplomacy, 1937-1945* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1976), a book that covers such topics as the neutrality acts, the Spanish Civil War, the interventionist controversy of 1939-41, and aid to the Soviet Union. Much material concerning liberal Catholic opinion can be found in Rodger Van Allen, *The Commonweal and American Catholicism: The Magazine, the Move-*

ment, the Meaning (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1974), though one should also consult Robert B. Clements, "The Commonweal, 1924-1928: The Williams-Shuster Years" (Ph. D. diss., University of Notre Dame, 1972). Gary McDonogh is contributing an essay on the equally isolationist, but far more conservative, *Catholic World* to the forthcoming Lora-Longton anthology, *The American Conservative Press* (previously cited). Esther Josephine MacCarthy's "The Catholic Periodical Press and Issues of War and Peace: 1914-1946" (Ph. D. diss., Stanford University, 1977) notes how church leaders adhered to the concept of the just war on the abstract level, while neglecting it on the practical one. She covers such journals as *Commonweal*, *America*, and *Catholic World*, focusing on various historical crises.

Regional Studies

Several regional studies have been made. Bryon Andrew Powell Parham, "Isolationism in Missouri" (Ph. D. diss., University of Missouri, 1972), traces the state's gradual shift to an interventionist sentiment. In an examination of selected newspapers published between 1918 and 1935, Warren F. Kuehl finds such a high degree on internationalism that he writes, "Perhaps it is time to start talking about the internationalist Middle West." See his "Midwestern Newspapers and Isolationist Sentiment," *Diplomatic History* 3 (Summer 1979): 283-306. Kuehl's study is borne out in Dixie Lee Williams Ehrenreich's "Newspapers, Public Opinion, and Neutrality: 1935-1939" (Ph. D. diss., University of Idaho, 1977). Covering Idaho, Oregon, and Washington State as a group, Ehrenreich notes that the press, as a unit, did not advocate isolation. In his dissertation, "The Anxieties of Neutrality: Chicago Public Opinion and American Foreign Policy" (University of Wisconsin at Madison, 1979), James Covill Schneider denies that reactionary business dominated America First, although he claims that its spectacular success in attracting members masked weaknesses in organization, tactics, and strategy. For reasons for one area's indifference to a major crisis, see Shirley G. Kulevksy, "Facets of Isolationism: North Dakota's Reaction to the Spanish Civil War, 1936-1939," *North Dakota Quarterly* 46 (Autumn 1978): 5-20.