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VAN GOGH

The Definition and Proclamation

A Movement of Movements

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VAN GOSSE

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steeped in Trotskyist perspectives, but cogently lays out the arguments, personalities, and inner workings of the movement's highest level. Of course, that sphere of inter-coalition maneuvering and strategizing for national demonstrations often went little locally, where the bulk of activism was self-generated by independent activists. Despite the distance the movement's putative national leadership (one of the most useful, if tendentious, investigations of local activism is Kenneth Heineman's [1982] comparison of four different state university campus towns). Farber's is a bold attempt to show how three parallel actors assembled and then converged violently on the streets outside the Convention: the main body of the anti-war movement, the "Mobe" led by the pacifist Dave Dellinger; the publicity-seeking, countercultural agitators who called themselves "Yippies," led by Abbie Hoffman and Jerry Rubin, on the other side of the national divide, the Chicago political establishment and the police themselves, who ultimately swept the streets clean of those they perceived as enemies of all civilized order. As for Malle, allowing for his dated hypernasalizing voice, it is still the best personal account of how the war radicalized people, even those as famous and comfortable as the celebrity author, as well as a superb point-by-point description of a decisive mass mobilization by a movement that defined itself through its ability to put large numbers on the streets and bodies on the line. What all three of these books share, in radically different ways, is a sense of the larger, intensely charged context - the war itself as it lurched forward from one catastrophe to another, the weight of the forces backing it, how it tore apart the larger society.

Thankfully, many smaller parts of this sprawling history have been studied, notably the disarmament movement of the 1955-65 period. Lawrence Wittner (1993, 1998) the prominent historian of anti-nuclear activism, has authored a two-volume international history of that movement since Hiroshima. Milton Katze (1986) has traced the organizational history of the Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy (or SANP), the major new peace formation of the late 1950s, notable for its anti-communist caution. Much more needs to be written about the network of established peace organizations, including SANP, the American Friends Service Committee, Fellowship of Reconciliation, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, and the War Resisters League, since they provided much of the left's infrastructure and political ballast throughout the Cold War. In this context, Jo Ann Ooinin Robinson's (1981) subtle and sympathetic biography of A. J. Muste, the sophisticated pacifist leader who rebuilt the peace movement after 1955, is crucial. Also important is Amy Swardlow's (1988) portrait of Women Strike for Peace, which invoked a "maternalist" ethic to butt McCarranite attitudes while mobilizing women outside of the left.

For the Vietnam years, basic organizational histories are available for a few branches of the movement, including Mitchell Hall's (1990) study of Clergy and Laity Concerned About Vietnam, Andrew Hunt's (1999) account of Vietnam Veterans Against the War, and Philip Foner's (1989) survey of those parts of the labor movement that supported the anti-war struggle. Richard Moser (1996) has looked at the phenomenon of GI and veteran resistance in the larger cultural context of American history, suggesting the ways in which Vietnam reanimated a popular understanding of radical citizenship with lasting impact. Charles Meconis (1979) produced an early sketch of the Catholic left that generated unflinching direct action against the war's bureaucratic machinery through raiding draft boards, destroying records, and invoking trial, though Daniel Berrigan's (1968) impassioned writings and Garry Wills's (1971) contemporary account of the sea change in Catholicism remain useful. Still, so much more needs to be done - investigations of some of the largest national phenomena, such as the development of organized anti-war groups and caucuses in the mainstream religious denominations, and among business and professional people; even more important, comprehensive local histories, beginning with major cities like New York, San Francisco, Chicago and then moving into the heartland, where President Nixon's "silent majority" resided. Eventually, scholars should follow up on Heineman's pioneering work, by examining university communities in selected regions or states. Most difficult but necessary will be studying the war's impact on, and dissent within, small towns and rural areas, including the South and the Great Plains.

This survey of movement historiographies is incomplete because in some cases the scholarship does not exist. The community-organizing tradition associated with Saul Alinsky and the Industrial Areas Foundation predates the 1960s, and was an important current linking labor liberalism with parts of the New Left, including both the United Farm Workers and SDS's moderate wing. It surged from the 1970s on, through powerful national organizations based in door-to-door canvassing like Citizens Action (in which former SDS'ers Heather and Paul Booth and Steve Max played central roles). A related variant of citizen activism rejecting a clear-cut left-wing ideological stance, the "consumer politics" associated with Ralph Nader's organizational empire, is another product of the New Left populism. Other than Sanford Horwitt's (1989) uncritical biography of Alinsky, there are no histories of this significant trend. Similarly, while environmentalism is routinely examined by social scientists as exemplar of interest-group activity, no historian has investigated its relationship to the New Left; the sole exception is Barbara Epstein's (1991) theoretically sophisticated account of how a "direct action" movement linking radical environmentalism, peace, spirituality, and third world solidarity prospered in the decade after 1975.

Finally, we are only at the beginning of international histories of the New Left. Though clearly a global trend, was it essentially a response to rising postwar affluence and a concomitant democratization of consumption in the advanced capitalist countries, as Arthur Marwick (1989) argues in his intriguing, scattershot look at "cultural revolution" in the United States, England, Italy, and France? Or a generalized rejection of the West's political order, as some authors suggest in a recent collection about 1968 edited by American and German scholars (Fink et al., 1998)? Clearly, 1968 looms large in theorizing a global New Left, as books by authors like Ronald Fraser (1988), Paul Berman (1996) and George Katsisias (1997) testify. The subtitle of Fraser's collective oral history, "a student generation in revolt," indicates their common thesis, for which there is ample evidence. Berman links the "generation of 1968" to the liberal revolution in Eastern Europe in 1989, the development of identity politics via Gay Liberation, and varieties of neoliberal ideology, such as the French New Philosophes and Francis Fukuyama's thesis of an "end to history," which he argues share a common moral economy. Katsisias's is the most ambitious, asserting a transnational confrontation with state power, East and West, that parallels the pan-European revolutions of 1848, and initiated a new epoch in solid history. The problem with this visionary argument is that Katsisias argues that a single, shared purpose links protests in Eastern Europe against the Soviet sphere of influence with upsurges in Western Europe and the United States, and with the third world tide of armed liberation movements stretching from Vietnam to southern Africa to the hills.
WHERE DO WE COME FROM?  

In 1969, the year the Apollo 11 astronauts first stepped on the moon, our understanding of life on Earth was about to change forever. The discovery of fossils and the theory of evolution had long suggested that humans shared a common ancestor with other primates, but until then, the actual process of life had been shrouded in mystery.

The first hint of the truth came when the astronauts returned with soil samples and images from the moon's surface. These samples contained rocks of varying ages, some of which were billions of years old. By comparing the age of the lunar rocks with the Earth's, scientists could calculate the age of the Earth itself.

Further analysis revealed that the Earth and the moon were both formed from a protoplanetary disk of material swirling around the early sun. This disk contained the building blocks of all the planets, including the Earth and the moon. From this disk, the Earth formed from the densest material, while the moon formed from the material that remained after the Earth had differentiated into its core and mantle.

This process of differentiation is a natural consequence of the Earth's gravitational forces, which cause denser material to sink to the center, leaving behind lighter material on the surface. By understanding this process, scientists were able to piece together the history of the Earth, including the origin of life.

In recent years, advances in technology have allowed scientists to study the Earth's history in even more detail. By analyzing the Earth's magnetic field, researchers have been able to determine the direction of the Earth's magnetic poles over time. This information, combined with data from the moon, has allowed scientists to create a detailed map of the Earth's magnetic field over the past 3.5 billion years.

The study of the Earth's magnetic field has also shed light on the origin of the moon. Scientists believe that the moon was formed from a collision between the Earth and a Mars-sized protoplanet. This impact caused a massive explosion, which ejected material into space. This material then coalesced into the moon, leaving behind a record of the Earth's magnetic field at the time of the impact.

In conclusion, the discovery of the moon and the study of its magnetic field have allowed scientists to understand the Earth's history in new ways. By piecing together the evidence from multiple sources, we can now see the Earth as a dynamic, ever-evolving planet, continually shaping and being shaped by the forces that have shaped it for billions of years.
The Triumph of Conservatism: A Liberal Age

David T. Chappell

CHAPTER SIXTEEN