Yemen Observation Mission of 1963 it is hardly enough to say that “living conditions and frustration at the UN’s inability to curb the fighting caused the morale of the Canadians to decline.” The truth was, as Leonard Johnson has noted in his recent memoir, *A General For Peace*, that imprisoned in “an alien culture that offered them no amenities whatever...Alcohol, abundantly available, became the anaesthetic and sole diversion, and some, alcoholics to begin with, went over the edge. Discipline broke down and morale disintegrated. The nights echoed with the nightmares of men breaking down under stress....” We need to know about the psychological stamina of our servicemen in adversity; their sexual peccadilloes are relatively unimportant.

Gaffen concludes — without explaining why — that Canadians “should be circumspect about committing their forces to new peace-keeping assignments.” This is a better reference book than a history, but a book which every library and archives should have.

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**Witness Against War: Pacifism in Canada, 1900-1945. THOMAS P. SOCKNAT.**


The title of Thomas P. Socknat’s history of Canadian pacifism in the first half of the twentieth century is taken from a United Church pacifist manifesto dating from October 1939, shortly after Canada entered the Second World War. The declaration, entitled “A Witness Against the War,” is in many ways a microcosm of the manifestation of the idea of pacifism in Canadian history: the document was written by a pacifist minority within the United Church to protest the church’s acquiescence to the horror of war and, moreover, its apparent support of the state in the war effort. This struggle not only to maintain a belief in pacifism but also to live out that belief in everyday life — by assuming an activist public role in various humanitarian and peace-supporting activities as well as seeking peaceful harmony in close personal relationships — was at the heart of most debates over pacifism from 1900 to 1945, and especially when Canada entered a war. Socknat terms this mixture of intellectual formulation and social action the “pacifist crisis of conscience;” this central theme is analyzed through an examination of the interactions of various Canadian peace activists and peace organizations in their struggle to understand what pacifism meant for them. He argues that, in their uncompromising emphasis on questions of conscience, the pacifist witness against war helped preserve certain moral principles important to many aspects of Canadian culture and laid a solid foundation for the politicized peace movement of the nuclear era. Beginning his study with an analysis of the roots of pacifism as a Christian phenomenon and continually winding the reader back to the meaning of pacifism as he “traces the changing role of the pacifist idea in Canada,” Socknat effectively writes a hybrid social and intellectual history of Canada in the early twentieth century.

The pacifists’ “Witness Against the War” campaign is only one important part of Canadian history unearthed by Socknat and placed into the broader historical framework. Other insights concern the torture at the Minto Street Barracks in Winnipeg of two
conscientious objectors who refused to obey a lawful command during the winter of 1917-18; they were forcibly undressed and held under ice-cold showers and violently lashed dry until they collapsed and were eventually brought to hospital. Socknat also recognizes the contributions of various individual women and women's organizations to Canadian pacifism; for example, the only peace organization in Canada that "survived" the First World War was the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WIL). In a discussion of alternative service performed during the Second World War by the traditionally pacifist religious sects, Socknat tells a colourful story about 196 Jehovah's Witnesses sent to work in sugar-beet fields near Chatham, Ontario; apparently the experiment ended in failure because the workers regularly left the fields to spread the gospel in nearby towns. Socknat's work is rich in detail about various peace organizations too. During the Spanish Civil War in the 1930s, for example, the Canadian peace movement found itself tempted to compromise its commitment to non-violence in order to achieve ends of social justice; one organization which supported military intervention actually called itself the League Against War and Facism until lukewarm responses from other peace organizations (such as the Toronto branch of the WIL) forced it to change its name to the League for Peace and Democracy.

Quite beyond his elucidation of such unknown aspects of twentieth-century Canadian history, however, Socknat sensitively analyzes Canada's pacifist heritage, showing how it is rooted in two distinct yet complementary traditions: the separational pacifism of the historic, non-resistance peace churches, such as the Mennonites and the Hutterites, and the liberal or integrational pacifism first associated with the Quakers and later the Protestant social gospel and progressive reform movement, and finally with social radicalism. The interactions both between and within these groups and their various definitions of pacifism form the basis underlying the manifestations of their pacifist stances, all of which are outlined for the reader. Following a roughly chronological approach, the book covers early pacifist traditions in Canada, the collapse of liberal pacifism during the First World War, the resurgent peace movement after the war and into the 1920s, the search for peace and social justice in the Depression years, the crisis of the means and ends of social justice vis-a-vis the Spanish Civil War, the consolidation of the peace movement once again as the Second World War loomed on the horizon, alternative pacifist service during the war, and the continuing relief efforts by peace supporters — such as working with refugees — to live out their pacifist ideals after the war was over.

This analysis of pacifism in Canada is solidly based on a wide variety of archival sources, including manuscript collections from across Canada, government records, and published and private records. Religious primary publications such as the Christian Guardian, the Presbyterian Record, and Minutes of the Genesee Yearly Meeting of Friends, and records at the United Church Archives are mined alongside the Borden, Woodsworth, and Violet McNaughton Papers, the records of the Departments of National Defence, Labour, and Parks Canada, and verbatim accounts from interviews the author conducted. These many sources are very sensitively used; evidence is presented and interpreted to form a rich and completely interwoven story.

Although the book is meticulously footnoted and the sources cited are varied, a bibliographic essay as well as a list of abbreviations and their meanings would be helpful, especially as this book is the first of its kind in Canada. Also, even though Socknat has adeptly written about pacifism as an idea — including the motives behind pacifist beliefs and
actions — he fails to do the same kind of analysis of peace-oriented women’s groups or, more importantly, to consider recent feminist historical and political theory on the strong inclination of women over the millennia to support peace in the first place; instead, women are mentioned only insofar as they contributed to the larger Canadian peace movement. Whether Socknat has actually “laid the groundwork for an important new dimension in Canadian social history,” his study certainly points to possible new avenues of research. For example, although the study of feminism and peace is gaining more exposure, several studies on individual women and women’s peace groups remain to be written to fill in the gaps in Witness Against War, as do more conceptual analyses of various churches and sects and related philosophical, religious, and feminist ideas. And, of course, this book tells only one part of the history of pacifism in Canada; a complementary study of the Canadian peace movement from 1945 to the present would be welcome.

Given the vast number of studies of Canadian involvement in the two world wars, it is amazing that somebody has not previously produced a comprehensive overview of the general opposition in Canada to direct involvement in war. Witness Against War is more than an overview, however. Not only does this book make the “war story” more complete by filling in previously untold portions of Canadian history, but it also provides a concise and critical historical analysis of an idea and its manifestation in Canada from 1900 to 1945. By making a Canadian minority come alive while tracing the development of the idea of pacifism, Thomas P. Socknat’s contribution to Canadian social and intellectual history is long overdue and welcomed.

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This book is a very readable, well documented account of a fascinating period in Canadian-American defence relations from the end of World War Two until the establishment of the North American Air Defence Command (NORAD) in the spring of 1958. In the belief that the acrimony surrounding Canada’s role in NORAD following its establishment has distorted public perceptions in Canada of the origins of Canadian-American defence cooperation, Professor Jockel set out to find answers to a number of key questions. For example, to what extent was air defence of the continent primarily an American project? When did Ottawa abandon its determination, so strongly professed at the end of the war, to undertake alone, or at least to control, all military activities on Canadian soil? Was the real purpose of NORAD to alert the Strategic Air Command rather than to defend the territory of Canada and the United States?

Professor Jockel has dealt with these and other issues brilliantly with just the right amount of historical context. Moreover, as a result of thorough research of both Canadian and American sources (some obtained through the U.S. Freedom of Information Act), he has succeeded in describing the respective national perspectives which often differed dramatically. Possibly the most fascinating of many episodes in the book is the powerful