

as “conscientious objection to military service in Germany lacked any kind of legal recognition” (285).

In contrast, during World War I, the Russian Empire “produced more conscientious objectors to military service than did any other country in Europe ... except Great Britain” (301). Nevertheless, in an army numbering between three and seven million, “CO’s constituted an infinitesimal fraction of the total number of men under arms.” The military’s main concern was that “CO’s might encourage malingering or outright desertion from the forces” (301). Many were influenced by Count Leo Tolstoy’s pacifism. The Tolstoyan Antimilitarist Movement continued after World War I, with over 30,000 cases of conscientious objection being registered by 1920 (319). With the advent of the secret police, however, some objectors were executed and others were sent to forced labour camps. It is a relief to turn from the appalling suffering of objectors in Stalinist Russia and Nazi Germany to the experience of a group of pacifist Oxford and Cambridge undergraduates who formed a Universities Ambulance Unit at Hawkspur Green in Essex during the Battle of Britain.

To return to my opening comments, this fine book contains such variety and richness of experience that it will serve as a useful reference on pacifists and objectors in a number of countries, situations and eras. It is a fascinating and well-written study of a courageous group of people, small in number, but not insubstantial in influence, as the book amply demonstrates.

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Judy Kutulas, *The American Civil Liberties Union and the Making of Modern Liberalism, 1930-1960* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 2006).

Kutulas carefully explores the operations of the American Civil Liberties Union during a critical time in the evolution of modern liberalism. She discusses the period when the ACLU experienced something of its heyday, before it proved so controversial—as it had during its infancy—that liberal politicians shied away from identifying with it. Kutulas forthrightly contends that the founders of the ACLU were radicals, although not all were, and some, like director Roger Nash Baldwin, shifted back and forth between liberal and more progressive stances. She traces the determination of the organization’s leaders to sustain civil liberties in a period when such freedoms were on the defensive around the globe. Her volume relates the roles played by both the National ACLU and affiliates, in addition to challenges offered by the great events of the time, including the Great Depression, WWII, and the early Cold War. Intended to add to the existing literature on the ACLU, rather than to challenge previous interpretations, Kutulas’s book critically but sym-

pathetically explores organizational intricacies and individual conflicts.

After its early years when the government tailed its members and liberals shunned them, the ACLU acquired greater respectability but at some cost. By the 1930s, the civil liberties movement helped to foster greater appreciation for 1st Amendment rights of both a political and a religious cast. The ACLU now possessed some luster thanks to its involvement with the Scopes trial involving the teaching of evolution in public schools, as well as the seemingly indefatigable energy of Baldwin. As the American economy plummeted, liberals more fully recognized the need to afford civil liberties' protections for marching veterans, striking workers, and communist organizers, among others. Such identification proved double-edged. Congressional critics, the FBI, and military intelligence viewed the ACLU with suspicion. The organization attracted new recruits, particularly young liberals who envisioned civil liberties careers and positions with the New Deal administration of Franklin Delano Roosevelt. The ACLU also experienced growth, Kutulas contends, because of a mistaken notion that civil liberties and antifascism necessarily went hand in hand. Moreover, civil libertarians led by Baldwin promoted political freedoms for right-wingers and left-wingers alike. Nevertheless, during the Depression decade, the ACLU appeared tied to the Popular Front championed by the Soviet Union and the American Communist Party, which propounded the gospel of anti-fascism in purported defense of democracy and civil liberties.

By the late 1930s, the ACLU was again assaulted by critics who particularly underscored its association with communists. The signing of the Nazi-Soviet nonaggression pact in August 1939 resulted in the determination of Baldwin and several other top ACLU figures to disassociate themselves from the Popular Front and communists, including those like Elizabeth Gurley Flynn who had long been attached to the organization. This led to one of the most controversial moments in ACLU history. Communists were disallowed from serving in a leadership capacity, which placated some liberals and infuriated others. Other groups would adopt a political litmus test following WWII, leading to a diminution of progressive voices and the fostering of another red scare.

The anti-communist position alienated many in the ACLU and its affiliates, which were long viewed ambivalently by Baldwin, who feared the loss of control over local branches. Affiliates grew slowly but even Baldwin came to support their creation in the 1930s. Still, affiliates lacked the luster of the national office and financial support, while suffering from administrative difficulties exacerbated by Baldwin's heavy-handed approach, internal squabbles, and turf battles, as in the case of California chapters. Little helpful too were Baldwin's early encouragement of the Popular Front approach, and clashes between communists and anti-Stalinists. The national office's adoption of the anti-communist resolution troubled various affiliates, which had considered the ACLU a genuinely democratic enterprise.

World War II proved to be another trying time for the ACLU, with many liberals and even some pacifists opposed to its defence of conscientious objectors. Baldwin sought to maintain cordial relations with federal agencies, an approach that troubled some board members, including Norman Thomas. The ACLU responded hesitantly to the internment of Japanese Americans and Japanese aliens but did seek to improve the status of internees, albeit to little avail. ACLU members outside New York, like Ernest Besig and A.L. Wirin of the Northern California and Southern California affiliates, respectively, attempted to contest the actual internments. A similar conflict appeared at the national level regarding the prosecution of native fascists, once more pitting, in Kutulas's words, relativists against absolutists. The ambitions of the ACLU only broadened after the war, with Baldwin determined to protect the rights of black Americans and workers and to assist both Japan and Germany in laying a foundation for civil liberties. The ACLU remained splintered, divided between an anti-communist wing and another group even more hostile to communists. Distressing too were Baldwin's inept administrative bent and his authoritarian makeup in dealing with staff members. The ACLU hardly adopted a staunchly civil libertarian perspective regarding the ability of communist teachers to remain in the classroom, the federal loyalty oath program, Congress' investigation of the Hollywood film industry, and the federal prosecution of Communist Party leaders. The organization failed to support the commutation of the death sentences meted out to Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, vacillated about deportation hearings pertaining to labor leader Harry Bridges, and refused to contest the denial of a passport to entertainer-activist Paul Robeson. Meanwhile, affiliates chafed at policies determined by the National ACLU, opposing its anticommunist fixation, as the organization grew under new leadership during the 1950s. Now guided by Patrick Murphy Malin, the ACLU sought to create a genuinely national organization that would have greater legislative influence.

The American Civil Liberties Union and the Making of Modern Liberalism, 1930-1960 joins the small body of essential works examining the ACLU and its relationship to the once dominant strand of thought in the United States. It joins earlier studies by Samuel Walker, Donald Johnson, and Peggy Lamson that grapple with the complexity of the nation's leading civil liberties organization and its relationship to both liberalism and radicalism.

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David L. Tubbs, *Freedom's Orphans: Contemporary Liberalism and the Fate of American Children* (Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 2007).

In *Freedom's Orphans: Contemporary Liberalism and the Fate of American Children*, David L. Tubbs critiques contemporary American liberalism, arguing throughout that